GUIDE TO THE MX3 RIF FILE

[The Rif are a Berber-speaking group (of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock) living in the mountains of northern Morocco. Although the file unit designated as MX3 Rif incorporates some limited data on the Metalsa (Mtalsa), located in southeastern Morocco and on the Ghomara (Ghomera), located in the northwest--both subdivisions of the Rif proper--the file focus is on the Central Rif area, in particular the Riffians of the north and northeast with emphasis on the tribe of the Aith Wuryaghil (Beni Wariyahhar, Ait Wäryagäl, Aith Wäryager, Beni Urriaghel, or Aith Yaryaghar), a relatively unacculturated group (i. e., to Arabic language and culture). Cultural information on the Jebala and Senhaja has been subheaded for the respective Jebala MX2 and Senhaja MX4 files.

Historically the Rif were little affected by their early contacts with the Carthaginians, Romans and Vandals. In 710 A.D. the first wave of Arab conquerors established a strong kingdom at Nekor and converted the Riffians to Islam. Later in the 11th century a second wave of nomadic Arab immigrants entered Morocco and strongly influenced the eastern Rif. In 1216 A.D. Zenata Berbers from the Moroccan Sahara conquered the region. The Spaniards, in 1497, conquered Melilla and have held it ever since. Most of the Riffian territory today falls into the former political unit known as Spanish Morocco rather than former French Morocco.

Riffian economy is based primarily on agriculture with plow cultivation, use of animal manure, irrigation and terracing of fields. Barley is the staple crop followed by maize and rye. Numerous varieties of fruits and vegetables are grown on a

small scale. Cattle are the principal domesticated animals, followed by goats, horses, donkeys, mules, dogs, chickens, bees, sheep, cats, and pigs, but no camels. Hunting and trapping are also important subsistence activities, with fishing being practiced along the coastal regions. Weekly markets (usually one in each district) are also an important part of the economy.

The Rif are primarily a sedentary people living in compact villages consisting of square houses with flat roofs, walls of stone masonary, and inner courts. Slight variations in house styles occur among the Ghomara and the semi-nomadic Metalsa. Residence was generally patri-local, although matri-local residence sometimes occurred in cases where a stranger served his father-in-law as a share-cropper. Although local endogamy was preferred, sometimes exogamous unions took place. Marriage was forbidden with FaBrDa, but allowed with other first cousins. Descent was patrilineal, but only the minor patrilineage ("vein" or jājghu), localized as an extended family, was exogamous. Several patrilineally related veins or jājghu, formed a patri-sib ("bone" or igh) which was preferentially but not exclusively endogamous and was localized as a clan. Within the community structure the patri-sib (or clan) was usually localized as a patri-local clan community (thārfiqth or dhārfiqth), which sometimes functioned as a politically independent clan-barrio. As these patri-sibs increased in size, they usually broke off from the parent organization and formed independent clan-communities of their own. Clan-villages, generally unrelated to one another within a valley or other small geographical area were politically integrated into a district (arrba) and these in turn into tribes. Five groups of districts together were known as khoms or "fifths". Political cohesion among the Rif, even at the district level, was only slight. However, each district did have its own council with the membership being chosen by the council predecessors, generally with the tendency for a father to be succeeded by his

son. The council appointed a presiding officer or moderator (moqaddem), and handled all important judicial and administrative matters. Tribal and intertribal councils assembled in cases of emergencies. Until recently the Central Rif has been independent of Moroccan administrative control, and of centralized political control in general, with each community being autonomous in handling its own affairs.

In regard to social stratification, the Rif, although generally not having slaves, did recognize a number of despised endogamous "castes", primarily in specific occupational fields. These groups were the smiths (often Negroid), musicians, public criers (who also served as market weighers and measurers), and Jews (who were confined to special colonies and subject to severe restrictions). Among ordinary freemen, while there were appreciable differences in land ownership and wealth, these differences never crystallized into sharp class distinctions and mobility both upward and downward within a single generation was common.

This file consists of seven sources of which 1: Coon and 3: Hart are probably the best for an over-view of Riffian ethnography. While 1: Coon contains material on all aspects of the culture and is particularly strong on the subsistence pattern, material culture, trait distribution, technology, economy, etc., it is weak in terms of information on social organization, a factor which is compensated in part by the equally good data on socio-political organization in 3: Hart. Hart notes in reference to this book (i.e., 1: Coon) that Coon is most accurate in his description of the tribe of the Igzinnayen, among whom he lived, while his information on other Riffian tribes, such as the Aith Wariyaghar for example, is riddled with errors of fact (e.g., Coon states that there is no moiety organization among the Rif which Hart strongly refutes). 2: Westermarck deals with

various beliefs of the Riffians, particularly with the innate sanctity of objects, places and persons, with attendent observances. Although the value of Westermarck's material has been questioned by some (e.g., Murdock), especially since he never actually visited the Rif himself but relied on Riffian informants in Tangier and Tetuan, Hart checked the bulk of Westermarck's data in the field and found them to be amazingly accurate. 4: Hart describes briefly a religious pilgrimage made by the Rif to Sīdī Khiyār, as observed by the author. 5: Blanco Izaga, dealing primarily with the Aith Waryaghar, was written by the author as a result of his twenty years of administrative experience among the Rif. Data to be found here center on socio-political organization, law and the traditions of the local communities. In the introductory part of this source, Hart provides some biographical information on Blanco Izaga, a history of colonial Morocco, and background information on the Aith Waryaghar. The second part of the work is Hart's translation of Blanco's unique and rare book La Ley Rifeña, dealing with Riffian law. It should be brought to the attention of the researcher at this point that on p. 252 of Blanco Izaga's work there is a glaring inconsistency in the presentation of his data. A number of tribal groups are listed belonging to the Ghumara (Ghomara) a subdivision of the MX3 Rif file and Sanhaja (Senhaja MX4), a different OWC cultural unit. Included in his list for the Senhaja are several Riffian groups including the Aith Waryaghar. 6: Joseph is basically an economic study written to show how wealth in such a non-industrialized society as the Rif is used to meet the needs of relatives and/or ritual obligations with the production of economic goods carefully regulated to meet such needs. A secondary theme in the source attempts to show how the market place, which is generally peripheral to Riffian economy, has led to the development of a particular type of social organization in which each local community has grown inwards, dependent on its own social and economic resources. 7: Mikesell, written by a geographer, attempts to account for the distribution of various cultural traits in northern Morocco and to show the effects of man's activities on the land.

The cultural and physical geography of the area are discussed as well as the cultural history of the region dating as far back as 500 B.C. as a background for the assessment of man's effect on vegetation and soil.

All sources in the file were based on primary fieldwork, with two, sources 5 and 7, being further supplemented by secondary source material. Sources 1, 2, and 6 were written by ethnologists, sources 3 and 4 by a social anthropologist, 5 by a government official and 7 by a geographer. As noted previously emphasis in the file in on the Aith Waryagher tribe on the Central Rif, with data on other Riffian groups being scattered and diffuse. With the addition of sources 5-7 in 1975-1976, the file has been brought up to a general level of adequacy for most cross-cultural purposes. A number of marking decisions have been made for this file. The village or dshar (dchar)--a collection of both related and unrelated clan-communities (thārfīqīns)--621, 613; farīqath--a sub-fraction or canton composed of a single hill-valley or watershed unit, comprising 4 or 5 villages--634 and/or 614; jājghū ("veins")--the extended family--596 and/or 613; thārfiqth (dharfīqth)--a form of clan-community and an amplification of the jājghū--613, 596 (sometimes 614); thakhammasth (or arrbā)--a primary section of the tribe into "fourths" and "fifths", each claiming descent from a common ancestory--619 and/or 614; taqbitch--the entire tirbe--619; "bones" (ighs)--patri-sibs--614 and/or 613; fqih--a learned man of the mosque--212, 793; concept of "turns"--571; sdaq--dowry--583; qadi--a religious judge--692; religious brotherhoods--792, 794, 795; baraka--spiritual power--778; "protectors"--556 and/or 571; and caids--631. The file was processed in the periods of 1958-1959 and 1975-1976.]

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

INTRODUCTION

THE Muhammadan natives of Morocco are chiefly of Berber race, although the Berber language, which before the arrival of the Arabs was spread over the whole country, has in a large part of it been superseded by the tongue of the invaders. The Berber-speaking tribes, to whom alone the term "Berber" is popularly applied, may be divided into several groups. There are the Berbers of the Rīf, called by themselves Irifīyen and in Arabic Ruâfa, whose country extends along the Mediterranean coast between a line about forty miles south-east of Tetuan and the neighbourhood of the Algerian frontier; the Brâber, who inhabit the mountain regions of Central Morocco and the eastern portion of the Great Atlas range; the Shlōḥ, or Išelḥīn as they call themselves, who inhabit the western part of the Great Atlas and the province of Sūs, situated to the south of it—a territory the eastern frontier of which may be roughly indicated by a line drawn from the neighbourhood of Demnat in a south-easterly direction, and the northern frontier by a slightly curved line uniting Demnat with Mogador on the Atlantic coast and following the foot of the mountains or, in some places, intercepting a strip of the plain; and the Drâwa, who inhabit the valley of the Wâd Drā in the extreme south of Morocco. A fifth group consists of various tribes living in the neighbourhood of Ujda, in the north-eastern corner of the country. All the Berber-speaking people are called by a Berber name Imazīġĕn.

This division into groups is based not only on geographical but also on linguistic considerations. The dialects of the tribes belonging to the same group have greater

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID MONTGOMERY HART

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE RIFFIAN TRIBE OF AITH WURYĀGHIL (*)

122 THIS paper, a result of six months of ethnographic field work in Spanish Morocco, was made possible by funds granted from the Ford Foundation. That foundation is not, however, the author owner, publisher or proprietor of the publication in which this paper appears, and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements made or views expressed herein.

* * *

101 [161] Aith Wuryāghil is not only the biggest and most important tribe in the Rīf, but the most heavily populated in the whole of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, totaling some 65.000 people at the present time. It is delimited on the north by the Bay of Alhucemas and by the Mediterranean Sea; on the west by the tribes of Buqqūya, Banī Yaṭṭuft and Targīst; on the east by the Nakūr River and the tribes of Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn; and on the south by Aith Mazdūwī, Aith 'Ammarth and Gimnāya (the last mentioned being just over the 101 border in French Morocco). Although Targīst and most of Banī 197 Yaṭṭuft are Arabic-speaking, the other tribes all speak the Riffian dialect of Berber. Aith Wuryāghil, Aith 'Ammarth and northern Gimnāya form, in particular, a Central Riffian linguistic bloc where Arabic is known only by a tiny literate minority. This dialect, called *Shilḥa* in Arabic and *Thamāzighth* in Riffian, is stronger in the Central Rīf than in any other part of northern Morocco, which gives an indication of the conservatism of the people who speak it. The three 101 nuclear Riffian tribes have all retained in large measure many of

(*) Excepcionalmente se ha conservado el sistema de transcripción usado por el autor del artículo, aunque difiere del adoptado por esta Revista (N. de la R.).

[P. 51]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

their archaic Berber cultural patterns in the face of an ever-increasing Arabization. For this reason, I use the Berber term *Aith* (sons of) rather than its Arabic equivalent *Banī*, which has become current in the literature. Although a tribesman who does know Arabic will say *Banī* when speaking of his tribe to a stranger, he will employ *Aith* when in conversation with his own people. I have also singled out the tribe of Aith Wuryāghil as the object of this article not only because, at the time of writing, I know it much better than the other Riffian tribes, but because, as it is the largest and most powerful of all of them, it has always taken the leading role in the past history of the Rīf, and it has, on most occasions, called the turn to the other tribes when necessary. The presence of Aith Wuryāghil, with that of Gizmāya, in the confederation of the Ṣinhāja during the great Ṣinhāja-Ghumāra war was what won that war for the former group; and in recent times the tribe produced 'Abd al-Karīm, of whom we shall say more later on.

Running in a northeast-southwest direction, the tribal territory, 1028.5 square kilometers, consists, in the north, of an open alluvial plain bordered on the east by the mountains of Tamsamān; this plain overlooks the Mediterranean and forms the Bay of Alhucemas. Further south it gradually ascends into and merges with the brown, barren and eroded mountains which are such a characteristic feature of the Riffian landscape; these are bisected by arroyos and high valleys, and in Aith Wuryāghil they culminate in the rugged massif of Jabal Ḥammām (1948 meters), which is covered with snow in January and February. Vegetation consists largely of scrub and lentiscus bushes. Except in the highest altitudes, rain is infrequent even in the winter; the so-called «levante», coming from Spain, brings it suddenly and in the form of flash floods, which change the two sluggish rivers in the tribal territory, the Ghīs to the west and the Nakūr to the east, into raging, torrents. In the mountains the winters, although not long, are cold, but snowfall is much less than in Aith 'Ammarth or in the Ṣinhāja Srair to the southwest, where the mountains are considerably higher. The rest of the year the climate is warm and usually so dry as to produce only a bare subsistence economy.

S: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

INTRODUCTION 1:

EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA AND THE SPANISH PROTECTORATE OF MOROCCO

114 Emilio Blanco Izaga (1892-1949), whose work, both unpublished and published, on the social structures and political systems of the Berber-speaking tribes in the Rif Mountains of Northern Morocco we have tried, in the pages that follow, to render into reasonably acceptable English prose, was a colonel in the Spanish Army who, before his untimely death, had nearly twenty years' administrative experience amongst the people whereof he wrote.

A preliminary assessment, by the present author, of Emilio Blanco and of his published work, has already appeared elsewhere[1]; but although much of the material presented in it need not be restated here, in the light of further and later knowledge on my own part, some recapitulation, especially that dealing with Blanco's biography, is certainly necessary.

101 175 Blanco had much of extreme interest to say about the social structure and indeed about the everyday life of the Rifian tribesmen of what was then the Spanish, and now the North, Zone of Morocco, and especially about these same features, with particular attention to sociopolitical institutions, among the Aith Waryaghar: the key tribe, and the largest one, of the Central Rif, the tribe which always "commanded" in the region, the tribe which smashed the Pretender Bu Hmara

[113] 1--David Montgomery Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquies, VI, 2, Tetuan 1958, pp. 171-237.

in 1908, the tribe which, in 'Abd al-Krim, produced both a reformer of Customary Law and a military near-genius who from 1921 to 1926 held both Spain and France at bay, the tribe which I myself studied in detail in the field, as an anthropologist, intermittently, from 1953 to 1955 and again from 1959, intermittently, to 1966; and the tribe which in 1958 to 1959 provided, through a traditional revolt championing modern objectives, the Royal Army of Independent Morocco with its first serious test of strength.

I assume that a good many anthropologists, in the course of their fieldwork, and in that of checking local libraries and archival materials about the tribal groups or societies that they have studied, have chanced across reports on these same tribes by previous colonial administrators of them which have been really meritorious in quality. If such is the case, many anthropologists may logically be supposed to have their "favorite" tribal administrators, district commissioners, or whatever. In my own case, Emilio Blanco Izaga, exasperating as certain facets of his writings are, is certainly the man.

This introduction to Blanco's work is divided into three sections: I) Biographical Data, II) The Spanish Protectorate Administration of Morocco And Blanco's Place In It, and III) A General Critique of Blanco's output as presented in this volume. This presentation is selective, not all-inclusive, because although much of Blanco's material dealt with Rifian sociopolitical institutions, not all of it did so, by any means. Hence, regarding my own initial acquaintance with Blanco's work, I can do not better to quote from my original article.[2]

2--Op. cit., p. 173.

114 seven-chapter work, which as it stands is entitled Conferencia sobre Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño (Lectures on Rifian Customary Law), and dated December 17-18, 1935, plus numerous isolated fragments of information (some in typescript, most handwritten) which bear on the same subject in one way or another. There are, in addition, four other shorter typescripts, and, of these, the first two I found not amongst the Blanco papers in Madrid, but in the archives of the Bureau of Ajdir, the intervención comarcal site for the Aith Waryaghar, where they were kindly brought to my attention by the then administrator of that tribe, Capt. José Rodriguez Erola, in 1955. The third I found in the Blanco archives in 1960, and the fourth, plus a duplicate of the second, in the Africa Section of the National Library in Madrid in 1970. These papers are: 1) Las Yemáas Tradicionales de los Ait Uariaguel (The Traditional Jma'ath of the Aith Waryaghar), dated Ajdir, August 27, 1935; 2) relevant sections from a longer administrative report entitled Estudio Relativo a la Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia (A Study on the Border Tribe of the Igzinnayen[24]), Anexo al Boletín de Informacion, Num. 4, dated April 30, 1940; 3) an unpublished introduction, in typescript, to the work on the Rifian qanuns (to be referred to henceforth as La Ley Rifeña, or simply as LR) published in 1939, which deals with Blanco's hypotheses regarding the survival of Berber Custom and Common Law in an Islamic country and context;

[101] 24--The Igzinnayen are referred to in this particular context as a "border" tribe because they are the one Central Rifian tribe located in the then (before 1956) French rather than in the then Spanish Zone of Morocco. The memorandum in question bears the catalogue no. U/ñ in the Garcia Figueras collection of the Africa Section in the National Library, Madrid.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000

PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without 369 urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 779 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

631 augmentation to the "building" or "house" of Rifian society (of which
621 the traditional jma'th is the "cornerstone").[141]

631 Aith Waryaghar, then, could be organized in the following way:

619 I) QA'IDATE OF L-UTA: Shaikhate of Aith Yusif w 'Ari --12 jma'ths
621 Shaikhate of Imrabdhen --15 jma'ths

II) QA'IDATE OF NKUR: Shaikhate of Bni Bu 'Ayyash --16 jma'ths
Shaikhate of l-Jbil --16 jma'ths

III) QA'IDATE OF UPPER GHIS: Shaikhate of Bni Hadifa --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Bni 'Abd Allah --16 jma'ths

Total----87 jma'ths

000 If this organization is applied to the other tribes[142], the patron must be remembered in salary gradation, so that salaries do not turn out to be prejudiced as the Aith Waryaghar have been, up to now, both in salary and category of their office-holders and tribal authorities.

Ajdir, August 27, 1935.

I) Notes on the Igzinnayen:

• 101 1) Etymology and Language:--The word Gzinnaya (Rifian Igzinnayen) is derived from Berber gizna, meaning "libertine"[143]. The
191 tribesmen of Igzinnayen are bilingual, although even so, Rifian speech has a far greater predominance over Arabic. Their men of letters
[212] (fqihs, etc.), although they know how to read and write Arabic, express themselves very poorly in that language, and their grammatical construction tends to be bad. Knowledge of French is extremely slight,

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619 144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first,
648 is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
[186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the
619 "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

or similar agglomerates. This might also perhaps explain the persistence in disorder up to exhaustion point, for thanks to an obscure family feud, a chain reaction would unleash violence throughout the whole region as fast as a burning cigarette can produce a forest fire[35].

There is no doubt that through their origins the tribes can be classified into two great groups, Sanhaja and Ghumara, which formed the two great Rifian alliances of the same names, and between which the Rifian tribes were distributed in an apparent equilibrium, as follows[36]:

Ghumara: Ibuqquyen, Aith Yittuft, Aith 'Ammarth, Mtiwa dyal Bhar (Mtiwa of the Sea), Ghmara Proper (Bni Rzin, Bni Khalid, Bni Silman, Bni Zjil, Bni Buzra, Bni Mansur, Bni Grir, Bni Smih and Bni Ziyat), Bni S'aid (of the Jbala, not the Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid), Bni Zarwal, Bni Zarwal, Bni Winjil, Slas, Hiyaina, Branis, Igzinnayen[37], Marnisa, Mtiwa dyal Uta (Mtiwa of the Plain), Bni Mstara and Ghziwa.

Sanhaja: Bni Bu Frah, Bni Gmil, Mistasa[38], Aith Waryaghar, l-Khmas, Bni Waryagil[39], Jaya, Mzzyat, Rgiwa, Dsul, Rhuna, and Sanhaja Srir (Ktama, Aith Siddat, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Aith Bu Nsar and Bni Bu Shibt).

However, it seems somewhat limited to attribute the basis of Rifian political preferences and the reason for alliances in the region to this dim and garbled tradition of the very distant past[40]. If, on the other hand, the form of government or religion were in dispute, it would be easier to explain its affinities to the European type[44]. Furthermore, if we discard as vaguely traditional such causes of union

A, [This should read "41" not "44"--Analyst]
A

616 as were forgotten by the people, we have no others to explain the liff system save external autonomy and internal equilibrium. The liff is the opponent of group hegemony, as the latter is of the preponderance of one family, and it thus results as a protector of both. This was the cause of the ephemeral character of the empires founded upon such a powder-keg, a mosaic of minuscule autonomous republics, as of the transitory periods of tyranny which they would have undergone. If external danger brought about the sacred interclan unity, internal danger (rivalries and hegemony) separated them, seeing them forced to support themselves, now divided, in other neighboring tribes[42].

(614) Whatever may have been the cause of these alliances, it is certain that among the clans of a tribe there were two bands which put them into this framework and gave them this frame of reference....And if their ethnic origin permits us, in principle, to reestablish the division of the tribes which gave its name to the two great liffs (Sanhaja and Ghumara), it is in the equilibrium and autonomy (author's italics) thus established and in operation that we see the origin and persistence of the other two liffs commented upon, among the Aith Waryaghar[43].

616 619 Perhaps among the Aith Waryaghar, different aspects of this interpretation may be corroborated. We see their khmas or "fifths" allying themselves one against the other to form two rival groups and thus equalizing their internal strength and avoiding attempts at supremacy by individual clans. And we also see how the Aith 'Abd Allah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash look for their internal security in the tribes which border them, the first uniting with the "Badisiya" tribes of the A_A^A, [Apparently footnote "44" should appear here--Analyst]

[101]

Ibuqquyen, the Aith Yittuft and the Bni Bu Frah on the one hand, while the second unites with the Axt Tuzin and the Thimsaman on the other, thus giving rise to a curious small and narrow passage across the territory of the Sanhajan (sic) tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, through which the Ghumaran tribes can communicate[45]. This might be borne out through other possible passages of the same type which, if found, would widen our political conceptualizations of this problem and might explain the apparent anomaly of ethnographic islets[46]. But in this, before it can be attempted, there must be an agreement on the basic affinities of the tribes in each band, Sanhajan or Ghumaran, and even among the Zanatans[47].

The liffs also seem to show, and manifestly, the reason for this progressive increase observed in the concentration of groups struggling in order to obtain the successive enlistment of possible far-away liff adherents.....so that their support would be required or attracted by the idea of burning of houses, etc., and their sudden disappearance, as if the earth might have swallowed them up, on the retreat of such far-flung allies....and thus creating the vacuum which one might label post-ta'rqiba[48] (author's italics), in order to astonish superficial observers, and coming to doubt the veracity of confidences and trusts, as well as of the enemy whom they had in front of them, and of the sincerity of the peace testimony....And nevertheless, a submission must be accepted as effective for those who are about to make it, or for the next enemy group, seeing that it does not naturally endanger the lives of the warriors, who voluntarily defended the territorial integrity of their part of their liff. The ta'rqiba of this

121 Production and distribution continue to be geared to a series of
433 goals arising out of the status economy. These goals involve
128 obligations attendant to life crises (Chapter 3), incumbent on the correct religious performer, or to placate the spiritual world (Chapter 4), to enhance status and/or acquire allies (Chapter 5). The relationship of the Riffian to the marketplace is described in the final chapter.

101 The field work upon which this study is based was carried
114 out in the Province of Alhucemas in northern Morocco between June of 1965 and November of 1966. The initial month and a half was spent in the port city of Alhucemas arranging necessary papers and working on the local Berber dialect. The following six months were spent among the Beni Wariyaghar in a location of scattered homesteads on the Wariyaghar-Igzinnayen border. The first quarter of 1966 was spent recovering from illness. May to October was spent in a compact village in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen. Field work was terminated in November.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

IN THIS MONOGRAPH I attempt to explain some features of the cultural geography of the northern (formerly Spanish) zone of Morocco. The work has two related themes. I have sought, in the first place, to interpret the distribution of a selected number of culture traits. My second main effort has been to determine the effects of man's activities on the land. The cultural and physical geography of the area is introduced in chapters i and ii. It seemed desirable to reverse the usual order of geographic presentation and begin with culture rather than nature, for most of the processes described in this work have been initiated by man. The discussion of culture history in the next two chapters covers two millennia. It is my conviction that cultural geography is best studied in the light of origins and dispersals, which implies an unrestricted view of the past. The historical résumé in chapters iii and iv constitutes the foundation for interpretations of modern settlement and livelihood in chapters v–vii. The sum of these studies—cultural and natural, historical and modern—provides the background for an assessment of man's effect on vegetation and soil. In chapter viii the main findings of the entire work are summarized.

In a volume of modest size it is manifestly impossible to consider all elements of the landscape. By choice I have not stressed the areas of European influence and urbanization. The focus of my interest has been in rural areas where the most important goals of life are independence and self-sufficiency. The mountainous area of northern Morocco, like the High, Middle, and Anti Atlas, has suffered little from the obscuring effects of foreign influence. The Arabs, who first entered Morocco in the seventh century, had little interest in the highlands. European colonists, concerned primarily with mechanized agriculture, also preferred lands of gentle relief. All the mountain tribes have embraced Islam, some have learned to speak Arabic, and a few have adopted the Singer sewing machine. But subsistence farming and barter still govern tribal economy, and tradition arbitrates disputes.

When a Moroccan is close to home he identifies himself as an inhabitant of a certain village or hamlet. If further clarification is necessary, he may add that he is a member of a community or canton (*farqa*). He will announce his tribal affiliation (*qabila*) only when he is away from home. For example, in Alhucemas one meets members of the tribes of Ibuqquyen, Aith Wariyaghar, and Thimsaman. It is only in Tetuán or some equally remote place that the same people identify themselves as Rifians. They are keenly aware of being Moroccans or North Africans only when they are abroad.

It follows that this study should begin with hamlets or cantons, and only later consider differences among tribes or confederations of tribes. Unfortunately, this procedure would be impractical. I have been compelled to limit my analysis to differences of large scale. Moreover, I have been obliged to focus my attention on variations in material culture. When a Moroccan is questioned about his neighbors, he seldom comments on the nature of their houses, clothing, or crops. His first thoughts are of personality traits, especially those he regards as objectionable. Here again, I have had to adopt a limited and somewhat distorted

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

perspective. Material traits do not include all of cultural geography, but they do constitute the core of things that the geographer can study systematically.

The thesis of my study of deforestation is that the extent of change can be roughly delimited by historical research and by observation of present trends. In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the principal agents of deforestation have been (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to clear land for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by livestock. There is evidence that each of these agents has been active for centuries. If allowance is made for probable variations in the rate of disturbance, tentative conclusions may be reached as to the extent of change.

For reasons that are painfully evident to all students of Moroccan languages or dialects, correct transliteration is difficult to achieve. Consider the word for "mountain." On French maps it apears as *jebel* or *djebel;* on Spanish maps it is *yebel.* The proper English transliteration of the classical Arabic is *jabal.* But most Moroccans know little of classical Arabic. The usual pronunciation is *jbil,* and this is the way I have written the word. I have tried to transliterate words so that they are intelligible to English-speaking readers. Thus the Maghribi Arabic word for "stream" appears as *wad,* not as *oued* or *uad.* Shawen is substituted for Chauen or Xauen, and Wezzan for Ouezzane. The variant spellings of French and Spanish cartographers are listed in the Appendix.

The field work for this study was carried out from November, 1955, to May, 1957, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to that institution for its support. I am grateful to many Moroccans who helped me to understand their land and culture. Special mention should be made of my frequent traveling companions, Muhammad Miqqi of Ktama and Muhammad ben Hmid l'Arbi of Aith Seddath. I am indebted also to Charles Sauvage of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien for assistance in the identification of plants.

Since returning to the United States, I have profited from correspondence with David M. Hart. Mr. Hart was engaged in ethnological field work in the Rif from 1953 to 1955 and has since returned to Morocco for more extensive research. I am indebted to him for notes on many aspects of Moroccan culture, and especially for his advice on transliteration. The reader with prior knowledge of the literature on northern Morocco will be aware that I have derived great profit from study of the pioneer work of Carleton S. Coon. The illustrations of clothing and house types for chapters i and v were made from my collection of photographs and field sketches by Iris Neff and Jacques Lemieux.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation for the encouragement given to this undertaking by my teachers at the University of California. A preliminary version of this study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in geography under the supervision of Professors Carl O. Sauer, Melvin M. Knight, and James J. Parsons. The present work has profited from the criticism of Professors John Leighly, Erhard Rostlund, and Clarence J. Glacken.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

MOROCCANS refer to their country as al-Maghrib al-Aqsa: the "Far West" of the Muslim world (fig. 1). From 1912 until 1956 it was divided into three zones: French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and the International Zone of Tangier. In March, 1956, a joint declaration was signed by representatives of France and

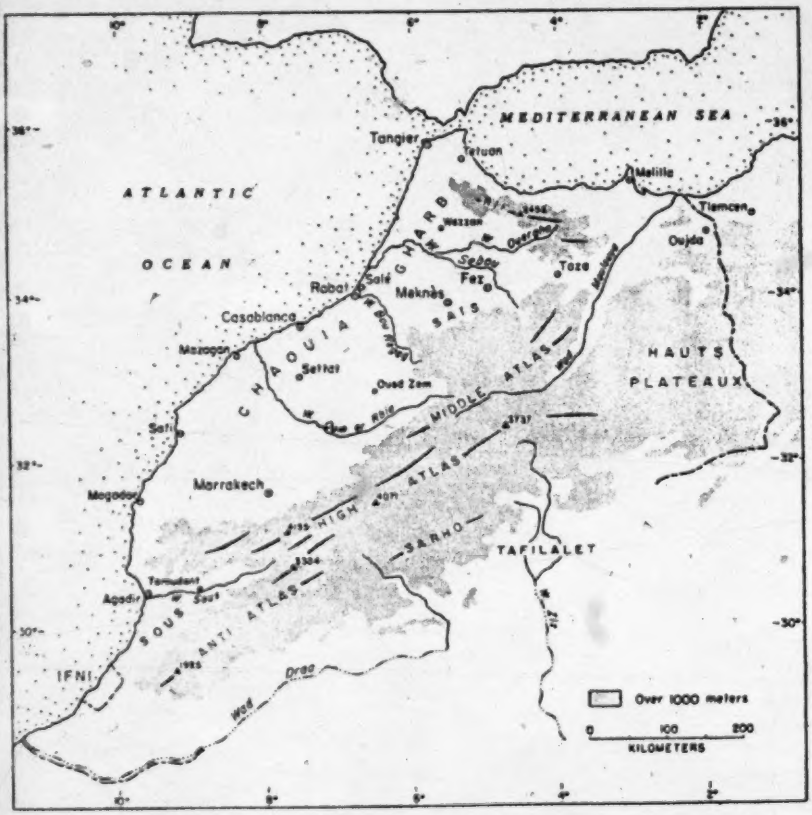


Fig. 1. Morocco: orientation map.

Morocco, restoring independence. Within a month Spain resigned its protectorate, and before the end of the year the international regime was abolished. Moroccan governors promptly replaced the European administrators. Spanish Morocco ceased to function as a separate political unit, although it continued to be recognized as the northern zone. In this study the expressions "northern Morocco" and "northern zone" refer to the area previously under Spanish and international control.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R
S
101
102
619
131
133

Fig. 8. Northern Morocco: tribal divisions.

/p. 2/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[3]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[4] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[5]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[6] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

[3] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[4] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[5] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[6] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

thetic to Morocean or "Arab" nationalism, refer to a "Berber myth" and refuse to recognize any ethnic division in the country.[7] The *politique berbère* may have had its faults, but this fact does not mean that we should rewrite Moroccan history.

Berber dialects are still spoken by six to seven million people, including about 45 per cent of the population in Morocco, about 30 per cent in Algeria, and about 2 per cent in Tunisia.[8] Berber dialects are spoken also in the Jabal Nefusa and the Siwa oasis in Libya,[9] and on the southern fringe of the Sahara. The Berber language once extended to the Canary Islands.

The Berber-speaking peoples of northern Africa are now concentrated in five groups: Rifians, Braber, Shluh, Kabylies, and Shawiya (fig. 9). They are chiefly mountaineers, and all but the Braber, who practice transhumance, are sedentary farmers. The other groups include the Ghmara, who are almost completely Arabized, the tribesmen of Sanhaja as-Srair, a small colony on the island of Jerba, the Tuareg of the central and southern Sahara, and the inhabitants of the oases of Mzab, Touggourt, Ouargla, Ghardaia, Figuig, Gourara, and Touat.[10]

The original home of the Berber language is unknown, but scholars believe that it is most nearly related to Ancient Egyptian, Cushite, and certain of the Chad languages, which are traditionally but perhaps improperly called Hamitic.[11] This relationship reinforces the theory advanced by archaeologists that the Neolithic of northern Africa shows Egyptian influence.[12] In spite of a bewildering number of dialects, which is normal for an ancient language without literature, Berber can be divided into three groups: Masmuda, Sanhaja, and Zenata.[13] Masmuda was the language of the majority of the sedentary farmers before the Arab invasion. The Shluh and the Ghmara speak it today; Rifian is thought to be a mixed form. The Sanhajan dialect was the speech of the transhumants and nomads. It is now spoken in northern Morocco (Sanhaja as-Srair), in the Middle Atlas, and by the Kabylies, Shawiya, and Tuareg. Zenatiya, formerly confined to the high plateaus of Algeria and the Oujda region, has spread to many of the Saharan oases, including distant Siwa. Because of natural population growth the number of Berber speakers has increased, but the area of Berber speech has lost ground to Arabic. In fact, since the Muslim conquest Berber has gained ground only in Negro Africa, where some tribes in the Niger Territory and the French Sudan have adopted the Tuareg dialect. Without fixed grammar or an effective system of writing, Berber could not compete with the language of the Prophet.[14]

[7] Marvine Howe, "The Birth of the Moroccan Nation," *Middle East Jour.*, 10 (1956), 1–16.

[8] G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France [collection "Que Sais-Je?"], 1957), pp. 16 ff.

[9] Louis Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," *Middle East Jour.*, 12 (1958), 33–44.

[10] On the distribution of Berber speech, see also André Basset, *La langue berbère* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

[11] J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Co., 1955). First published in *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 5, 6, 10 (1949–1954).

[12] Egyptian influence on north African rock art is examined in Raymond Vaufrey, "L'art rupestre nord-africain," *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine*, Mémoire 20 (1939). The most striking evidence of direct influence is the presence in Algeria of rock drawings of rams wearing the solar disk associated with the worship of Re. When worn by the ram, which was sacred to Amon of Thebes, it indicates Amon-Re, the composite god of Egypt during the New Kingdom (1600–1100 B.C.).

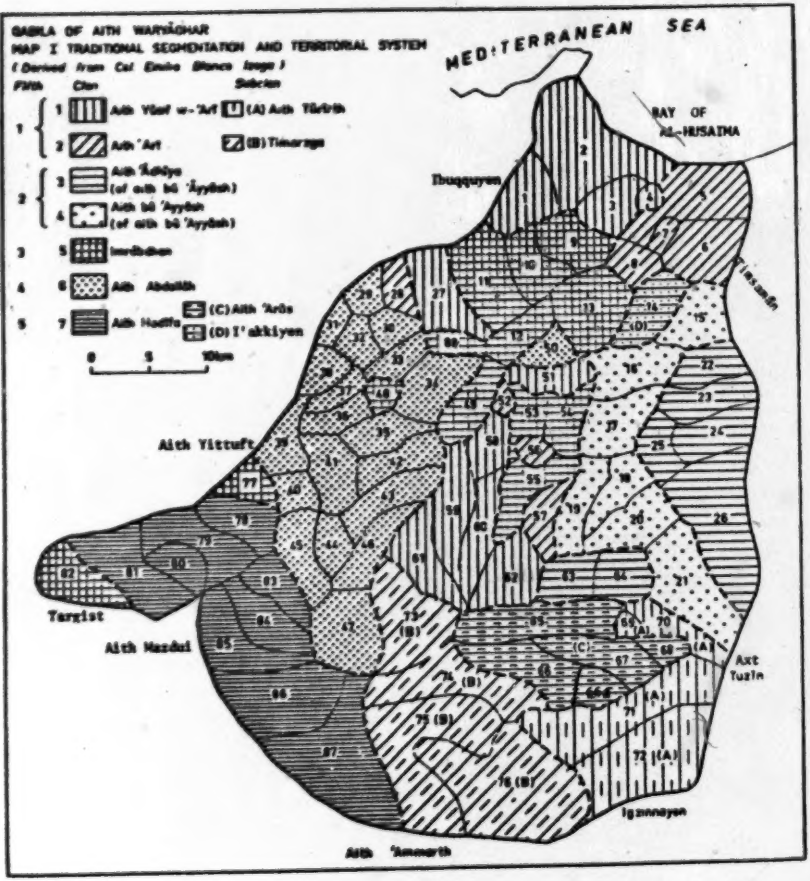
[13] These are the major genealogical divisions of Ibn Khaldun. Strictly speaking, it is not correct to use this division in linguistic classification.

[14] The only system of writing at the time of the Arab conquest was the Libyco-Berber alphabet used in rock art. This alphabet was probably developed from ideas borrowed from the Phoeni-

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

BLANCO MAP I (1934)

102
631
613
619
614



5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

KEY TO BLANCO MAP, 1934 - TRADITIONAL SEGMENTARY AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR (Derived from EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA)

N.B. Numbers of "fifths" and clans correspond to those, numbered 1-5 and 1-7 respectively, on the legend of the map, while nos. 1-88 represent local communities.

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

1. Izifzafen
2. Ajdir: Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, Aith Misa'ud u-Yusif, Aith Zara'
3. Azghar
4. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Plain

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

5. Tafrasth
6. Aith Musa w-'Amar
7. Imjjudhen
8. Tigarth

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(1) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

9. Aith Hishim
10. Aith Misa'ud
11. Aith Qamra
12. Idardushen
13. Ifasiyen, Aith Brahim, Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, Aith Yusif

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

14. (D). Subclan of I'AKKIYEN

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(4) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH

15. Izakiren
16. Aith Tfarwin
17. Isufiyen
18. Aith Tfarwin (again)
19. Aith Ta'a
20. Iriyanen
21. Aith Bu Khrif

102
631
613
619
614

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

22. Ighmiren
23. Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen
24. Imnudh
25. Aith Bu Qiyadhen (r-Rabda)
26. Tazurakhth: Aith 'Aisa, Aith Ruqsan

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

27. Aith Buham

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

28. Aith Dawud

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

29. Tazaghin
30. Aith Zkri
31. Imarnisen
32. Tizi 'Ayyash
33. Ibunharen
34. Bu Khalifa (Aith Ziyyan)
35. Iqanniyen
36. Ikiddaben
37. Uqrishen
38. Dahar n-Zimmurth
39. Thariwin
40. Bu Sarah (Bu Salah)
41. Aith Sa'id
42. Aith Dris
43. Bu Zdur (Tigarth 'Ari)
44. Ihwahwahiyen
45. Thirkuzin (Tilkuzin)
46. Thimkiliwin
47. Marrui

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

48. Bu Ghardain
49. Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (Zawiya Sidi 'Aisa)

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

50. I'ayyaden

102
631
613
619
614

1 - "FIFTH" OF THE AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

51. Thamasind n-Waddai (Lower Thamasind)

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

52. Bu Minqad

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

53. Aith r-Qadi
54. Aith 'Aziz
55. Aith r-Qadi (again, I'athmanen

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

56. Thamasind n-Dara (Upper Thamasind)
57. Iswiqen

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

58. Aghridh (Aghlid)
59. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountains
60. 'Arnuq
61. Isrihan
62. Ikattshumen (Ikultumen)

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

63. Ighmiren (again)
64. Igar w-Anu

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

(C) - Subclan of AITH 'ARUS

(C) 65. Bu Sa'ida
(C) 66. Aith Tigarth (or simply Tigarth)
(C) 66a. Aith u-Maru (or simply Maru): "people of the shade"
(C) 67. Aith u-Sammar (or simply Sammar): "people of the sun"
(C) 68. Aith Juhra

102
631
613
619
619

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

(A) - Subclan of AITH TURIRTH

(A) 69. Aith 'Amar
(A) 70. Thizimmurin
(A) 71. Thigzirin
(A) 72. Bulma, Ignan, l-'Ass

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

(B) - Subclan of TIMARZGA

(B) 73. r-Maqsuridh
(B) 74. Bu Ma'dan
(B) 75. Thafsasth
(B) 76. Aith Yusif

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

77. Kammun

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH HADHIFA

78. Mishkur
79. Ihadduthen
80. Iharumen
81. Thizimmurin

3 - "FIFTH OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

82. Thamarkatt (Tamarkalt)

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

83. Bihban
84. Aghzar 'Aisa
85. Bashkra
86. Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id
87. Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar (Zawiya Sidi 'Abd l-Qadir)

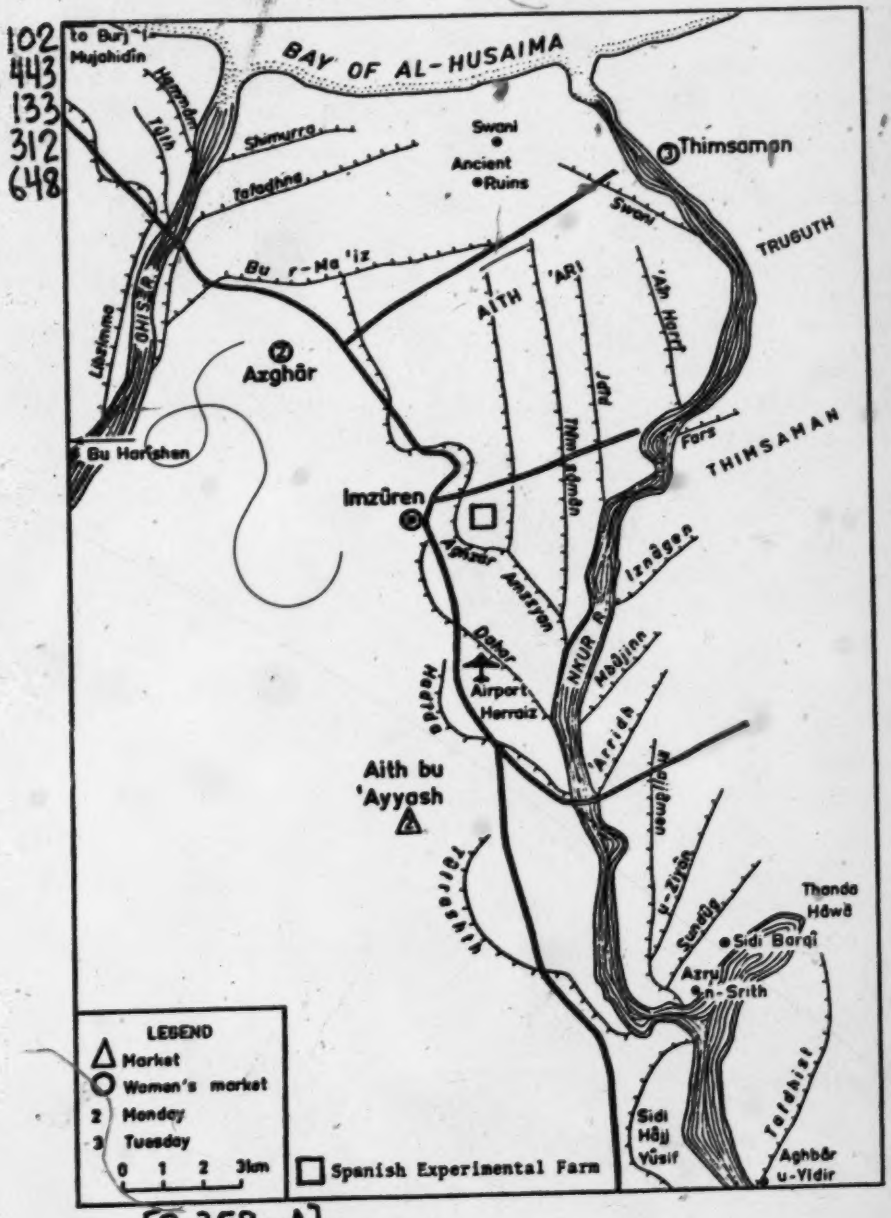
3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

88. Izarruqen

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

BLANCO MAP II (1939) - PLAIN OF AL-HUSAIMA



[P. 358-A]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

MOROCCANS refer to their country as al-Maghrib al-Aqsa: the "Far West" of the Muslim world (fig. 1). From 1912 until 1956 it was divided into three zones: French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and the International Zone of Tangier. In March, 1956, a joint declaration was signed by representatives of France and

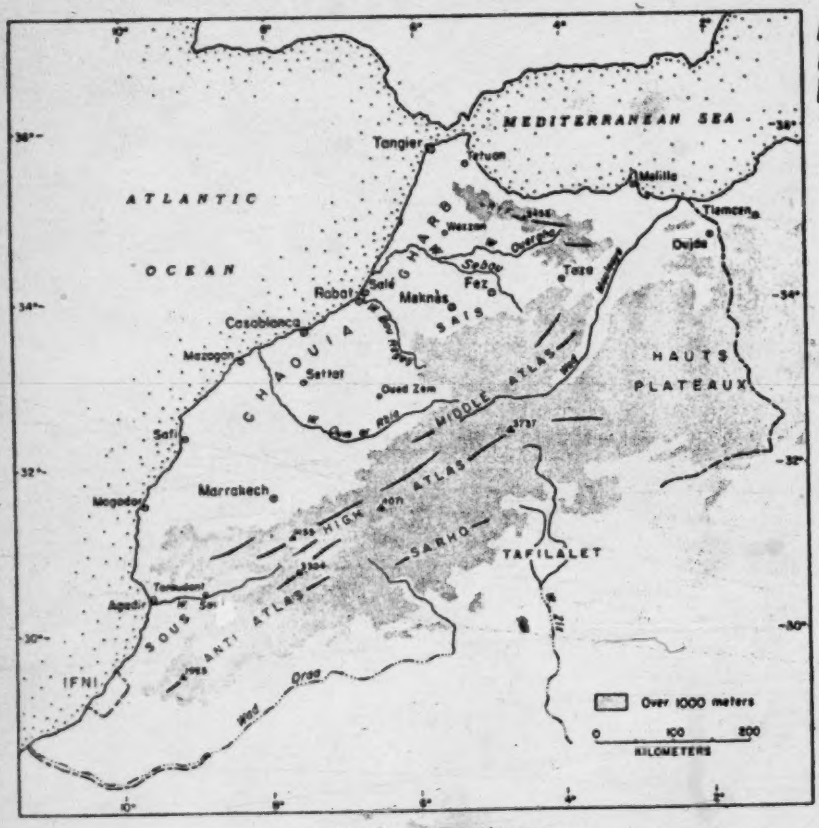


Fig. 1. Morocco: orientation map.

Morocco, restoring independence. Within a month Spain resigned its protectorate, and before the end of the year the international regime was abolished. Moroccan governors promptly replaced the European administrators. Spanish Morocco ceased to function as a separate political unit, although it continued to be recognized as the northern zone. In this study the expressions "northern Morocco" and "northern zone" refer to the area previously under Spanish and international control.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

RS
101
102
619
131
133

Fig. 2. Northern Morocco: tribal divisions.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102
133
131

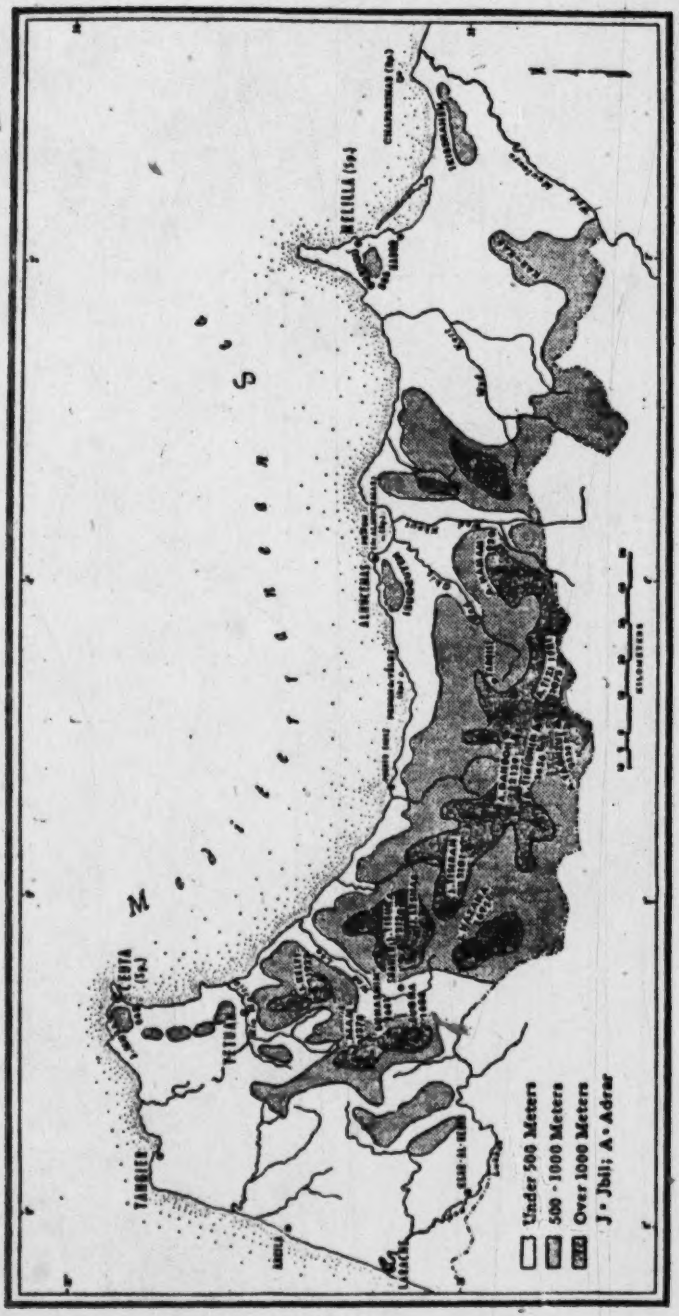


Fig. 4. Northern Morocco: relief.

/p. 14/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102
131
133

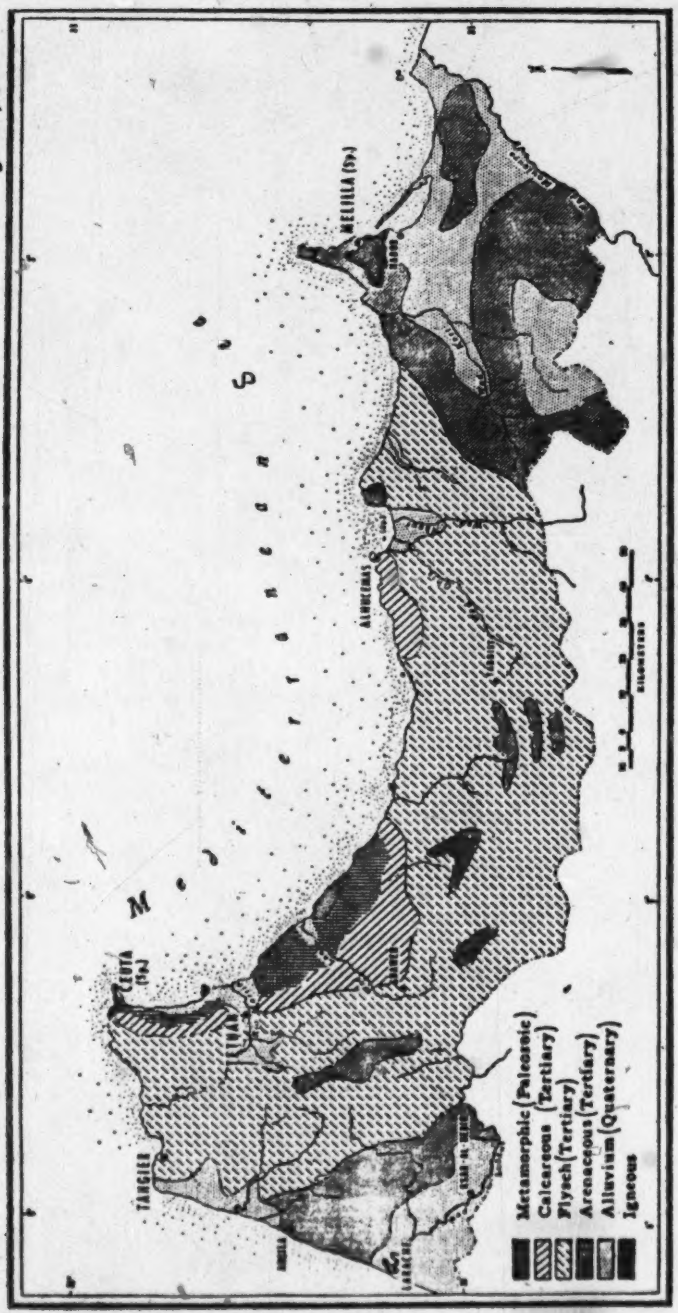


Fig. 6. Northern Morocco: surface geology.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102
131
132

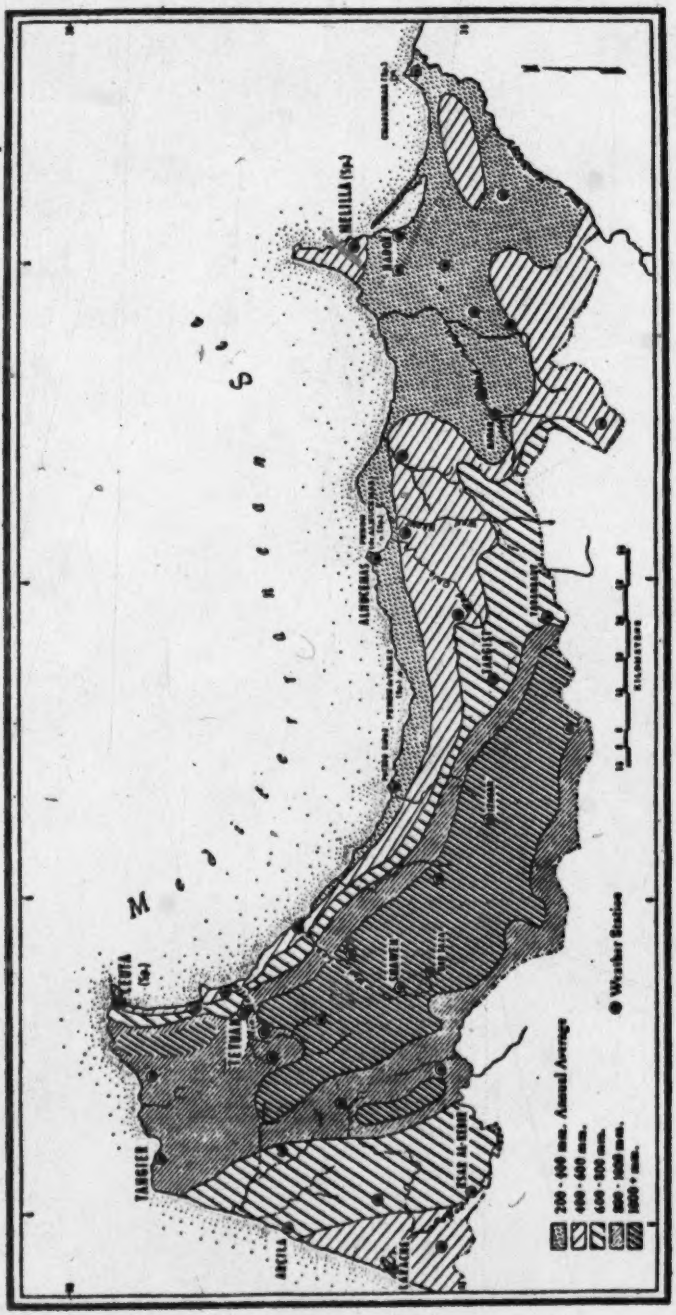


Fig. 6. Northern Morocco: precipitation, 1944-1955.

/p. 16/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3 ●
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

● 102 map
131
139

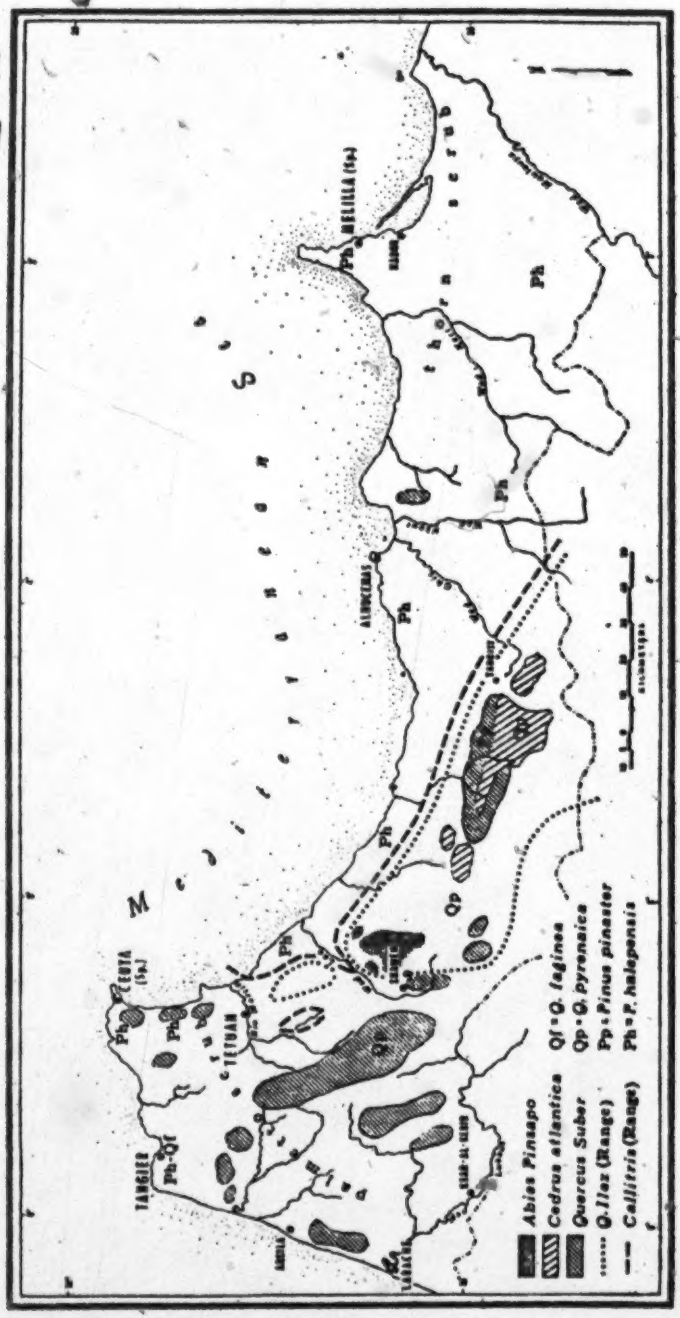


Fig. 8. Northern Morocco: distribution of forest and scrub.

102
197
648
131

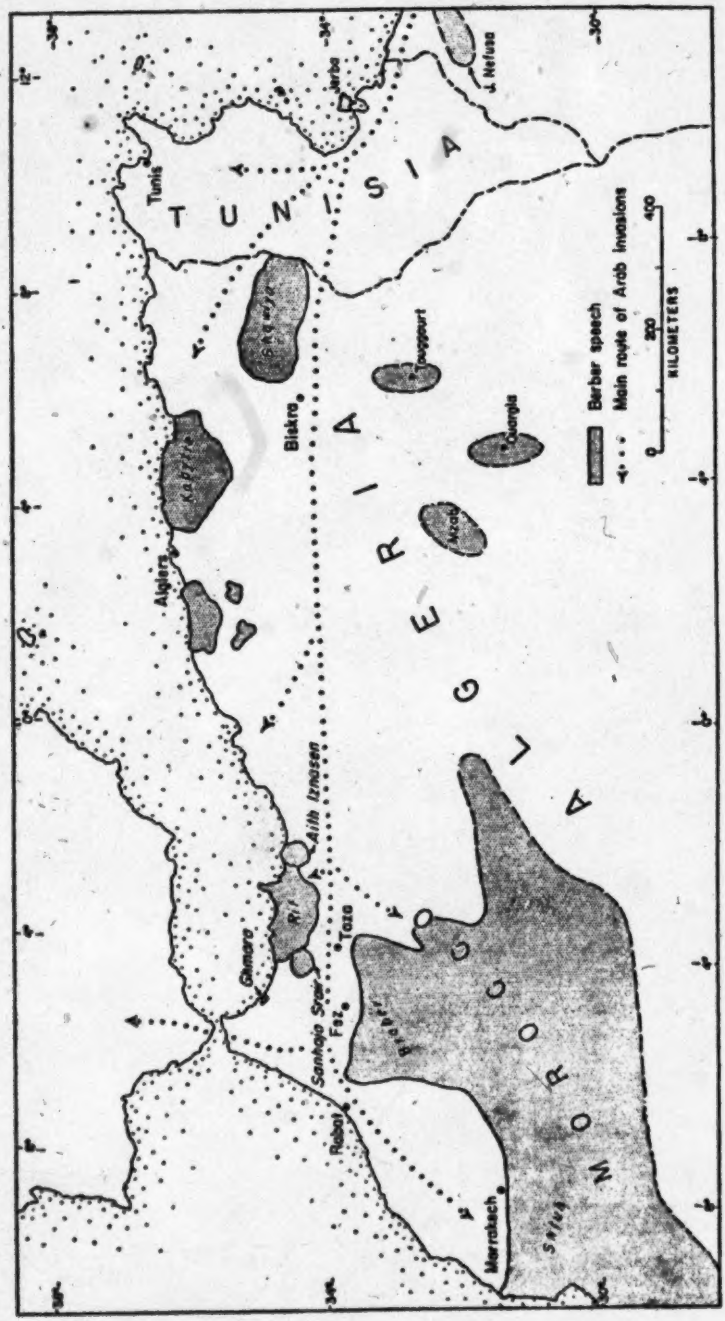


Fig. 9. North Africa: distribution of Berber speech.

102
195

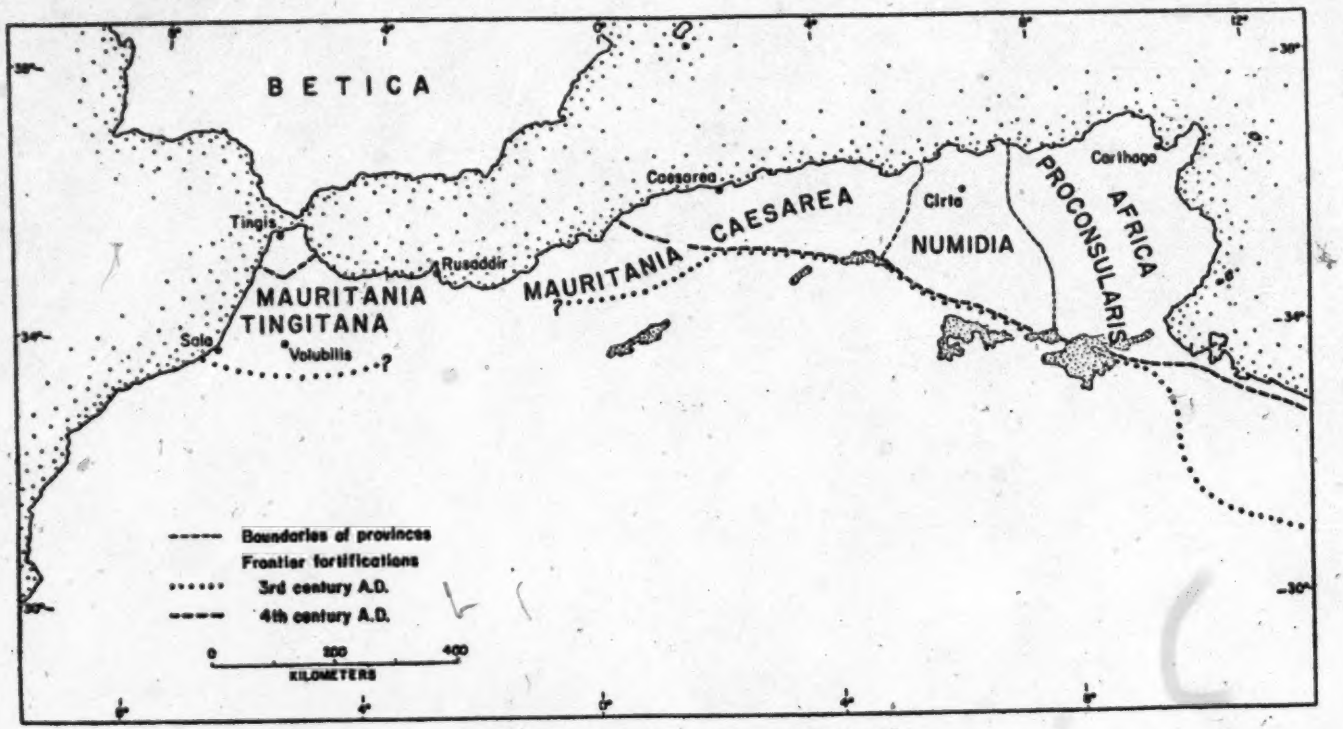


Fig. 10. North Africa: Roman provinces and fortifications.

/p. 40/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

102
175

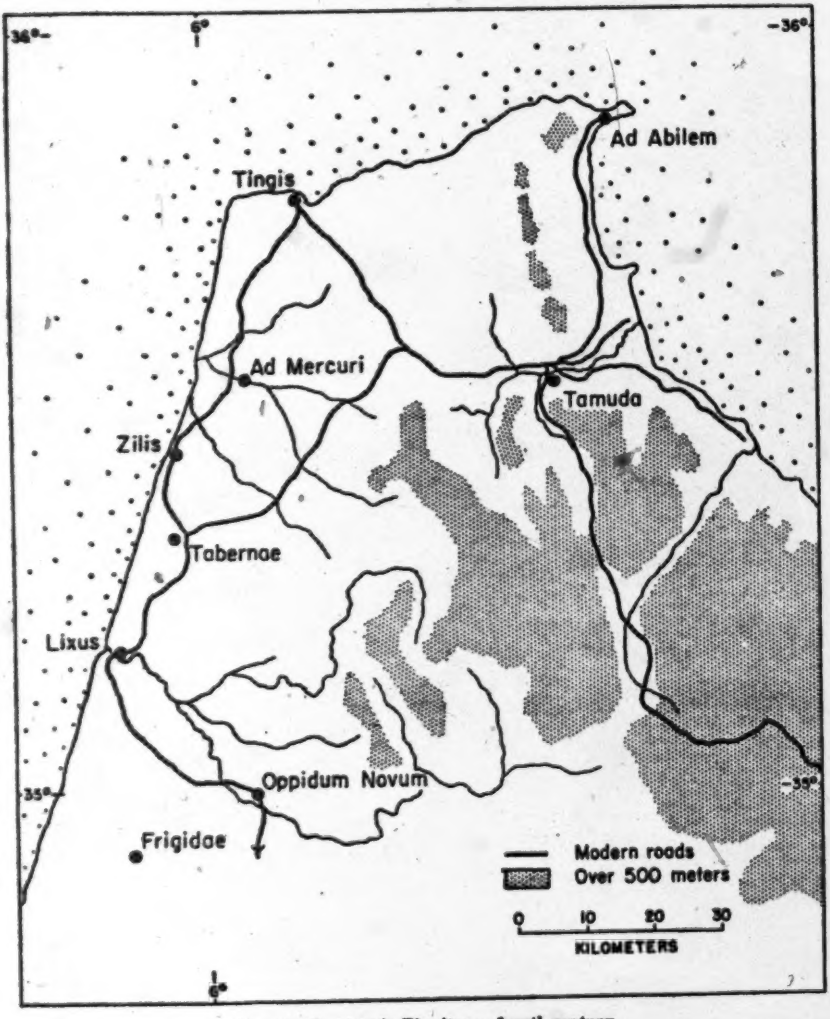


Fig. 11. Mauritania Tingitana, fourth century.

175 of the same tradition have been discovered at Taza, and neo-Punic inscriptions appear at several sites. Indeed, at Volubilis the two officials who were in charge of the municipal government at the time of Roman annexation had the Carthaginian title of *suffete* (magistrate).[29]

The effect of Carthaginian influence was to draw northern Africa into the Mediterranean world. Morocco was the last area to be attracted, and the impact of

[29] For other examples of neo-Punic influence in Roman times see Terrasse, *op. cit.*, I, 47, cited in note 28.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3 ●
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

● 102 197 619

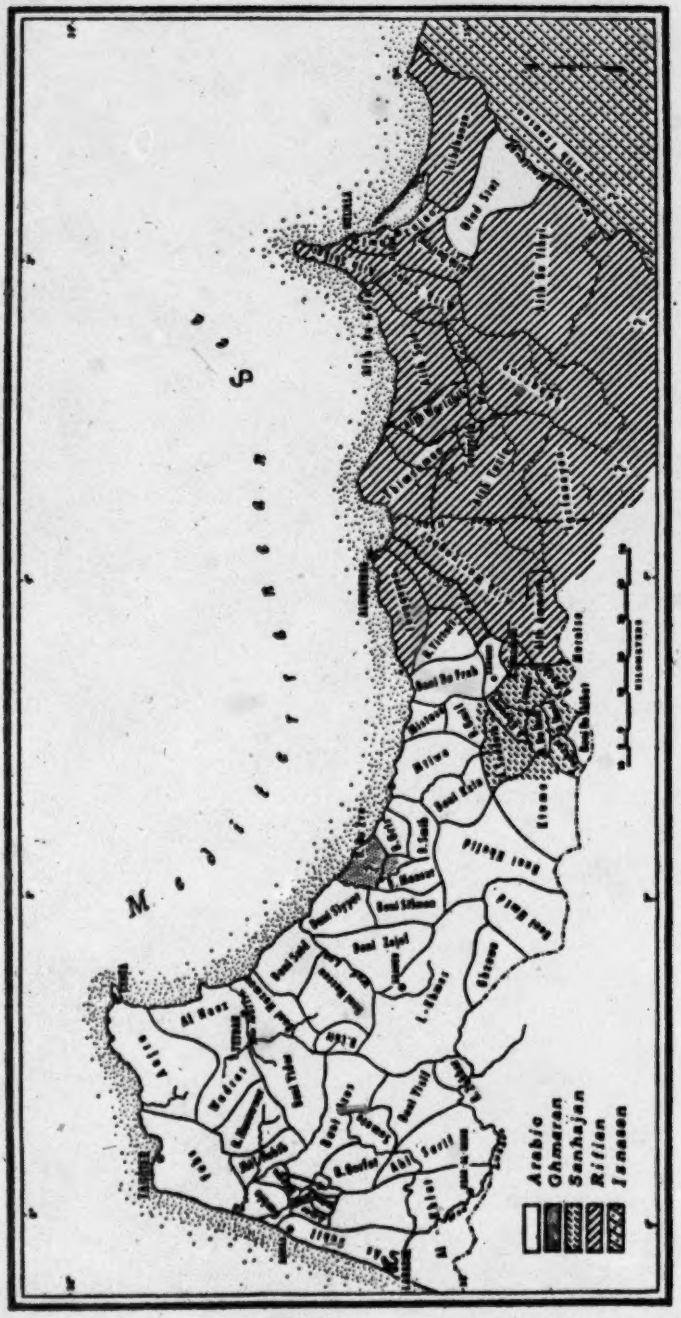


Fig. 12. Northern Morocco: distribution of Arabic and Berber speech.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

102
175

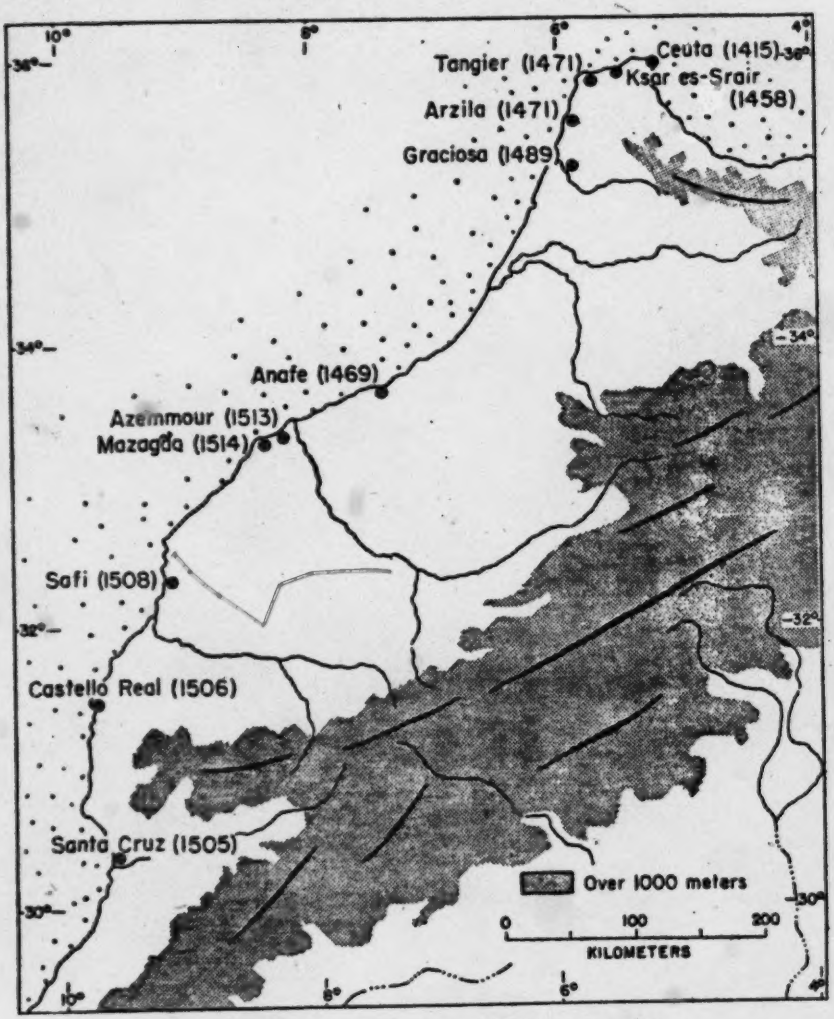


Fig. 13. Portuguese settlements on the Moroccan coast.

175 drew into an isolation within which fermented a religious revival based on a violent and intractable xenophobia.

Spanish Activity

While the Portuguese were settling on the Atlantic coast, the Spanish were attacking the remaining shores of Barbary. At the beginning of the sixteenth century they captured Mers al-Kebir, Oran, and Bougie, and established themselves at the Peñón of Algiers, with the town under their cannons. But the Spanish soon

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R
S
361
341
102

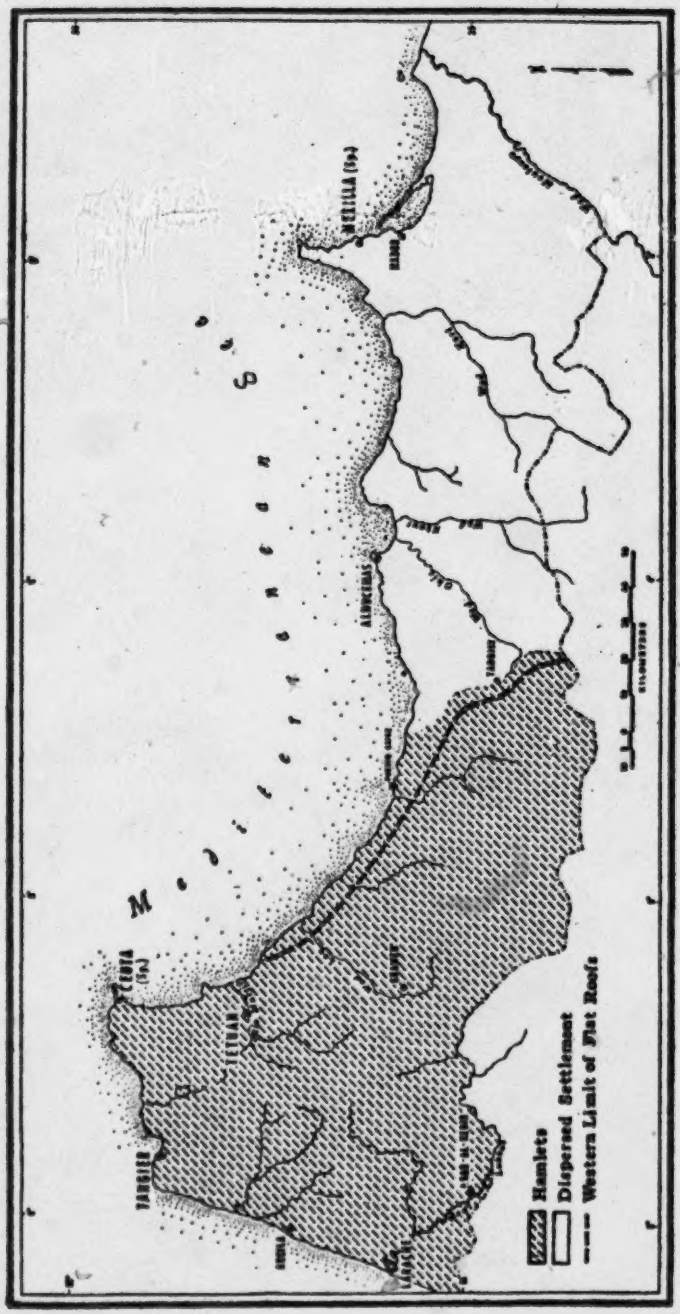


Fig. 15. Northern Morocco: settlement morphology.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R
54
361
342
111
102
341

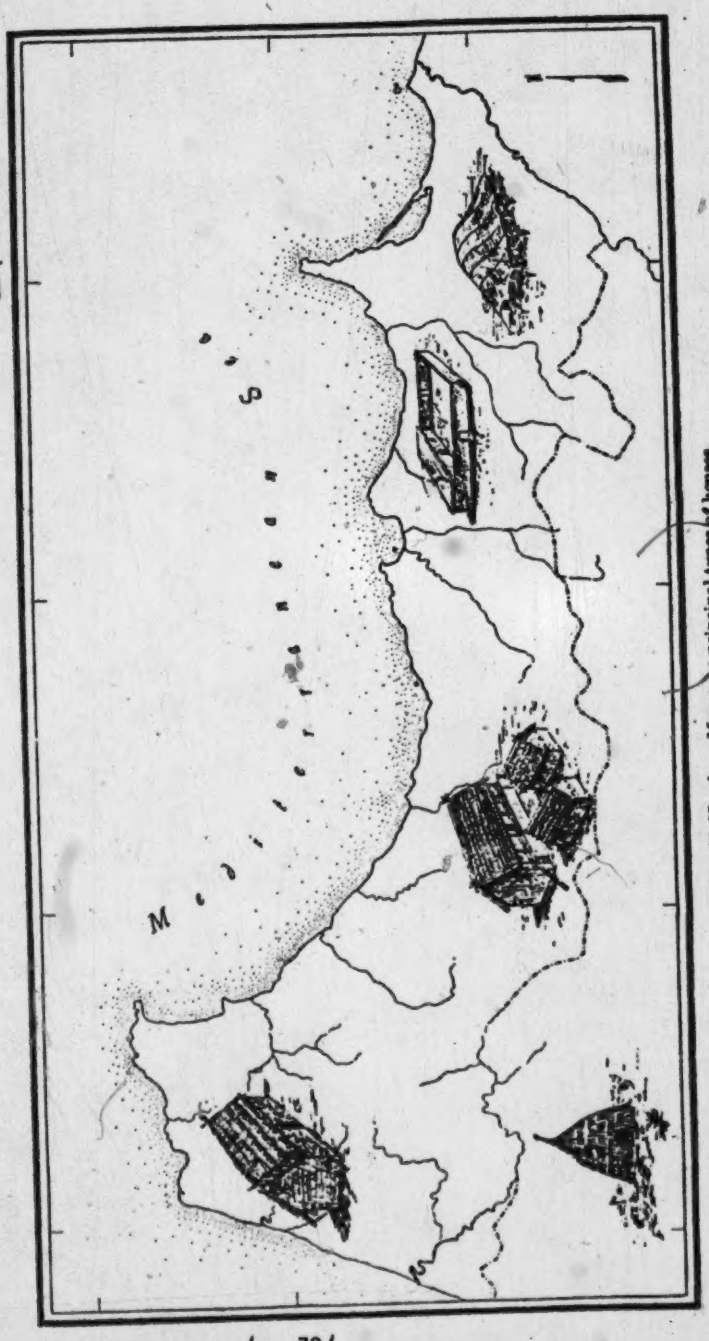


Fig. 17. Northern Morocco: principal types of houses.

/p. 70/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

LSR
102
443
131

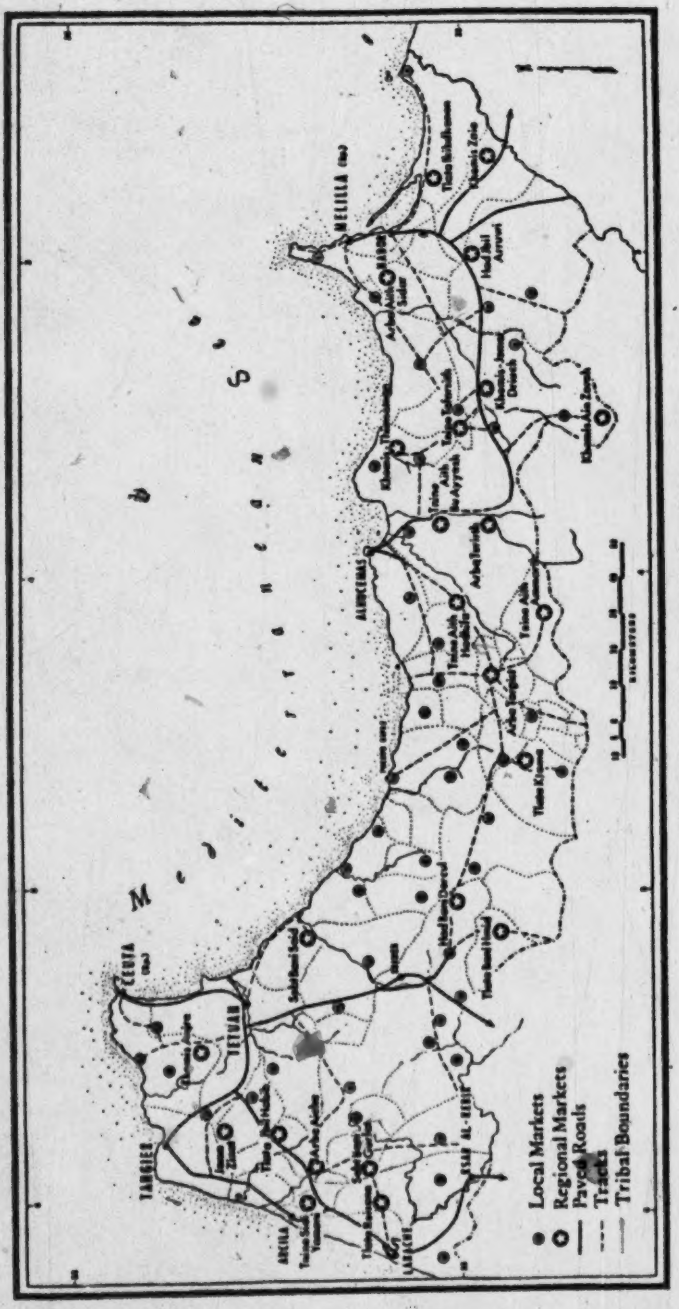


Fig. 24. Northern Morocco: tribal markets.

/p. 92/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102
139

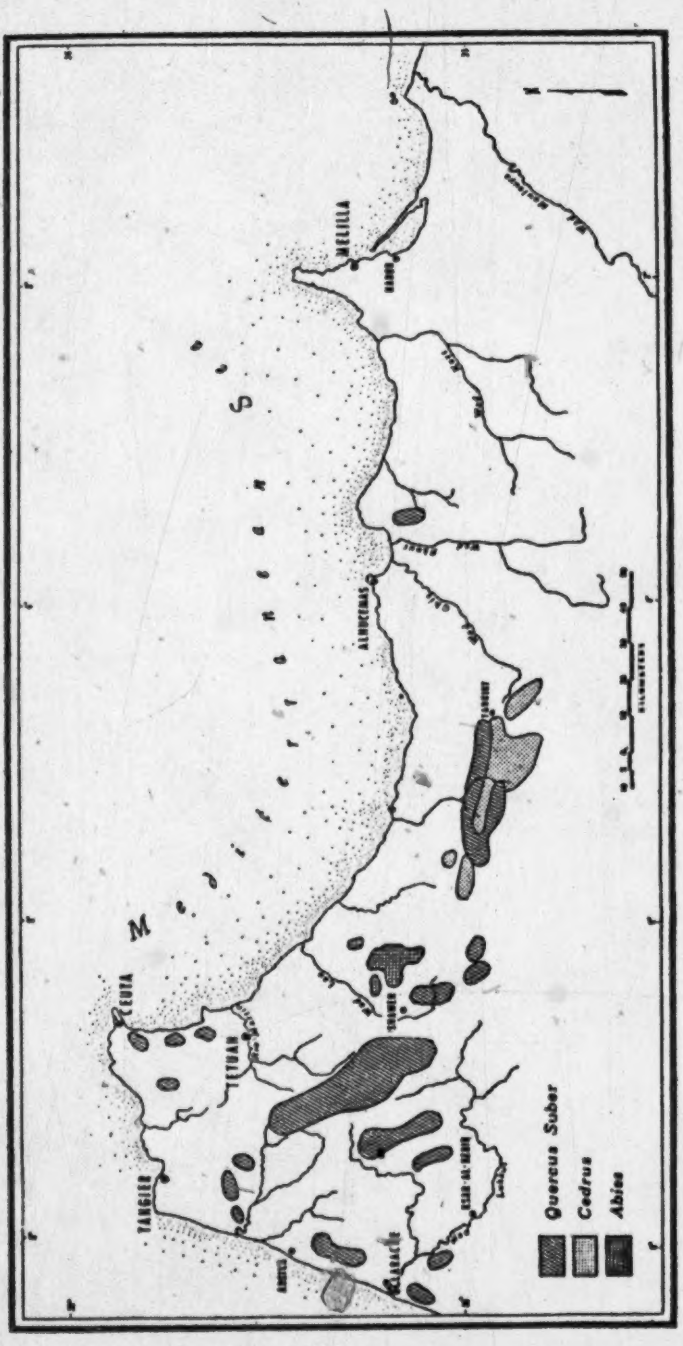


Fig. 26. Northern Morocco: present distribution of forest.

/p. 108/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102 spps
133
139

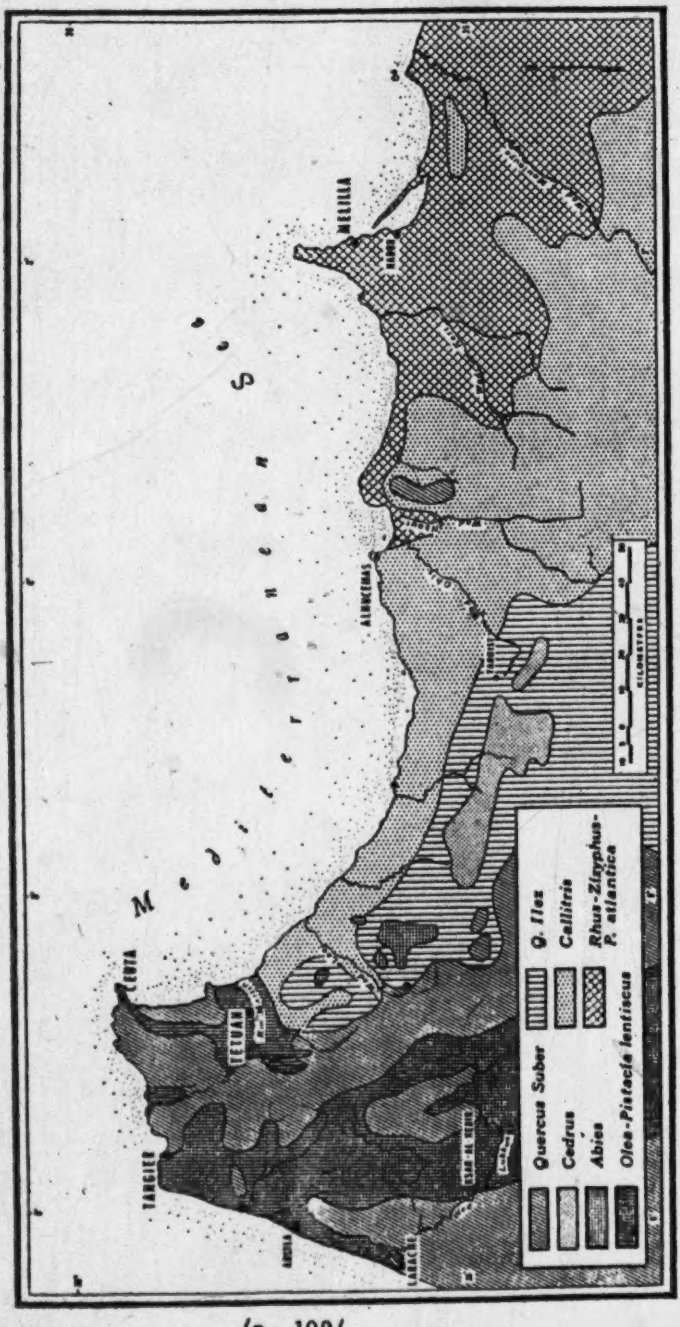


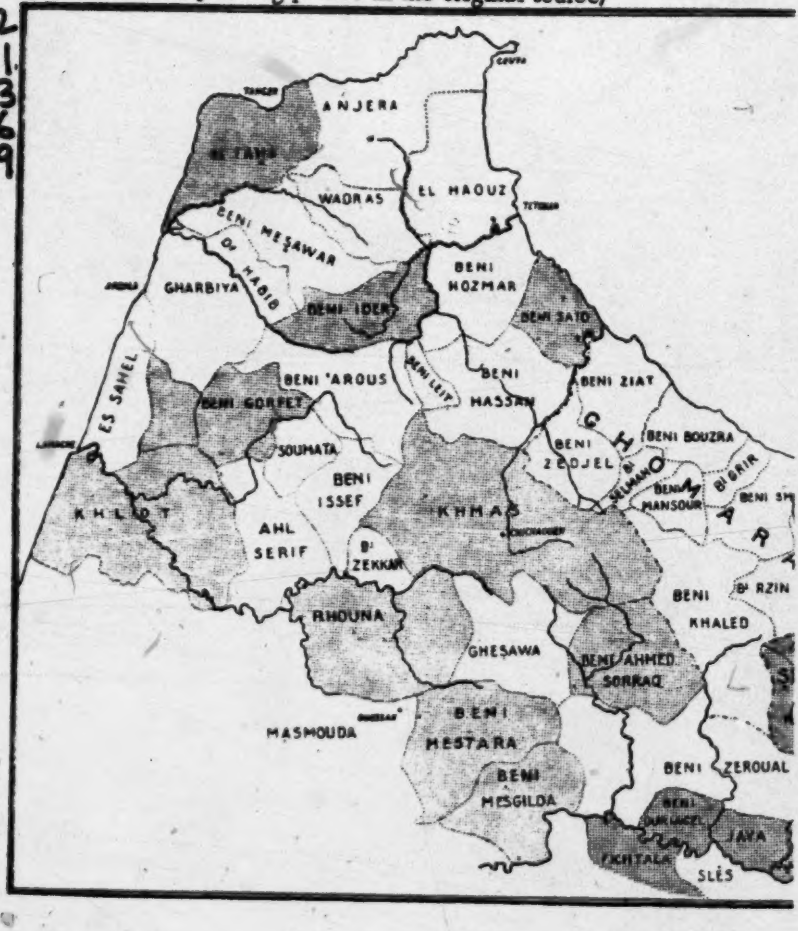
Fig. 27. Northern Morocco: inferred primordial distribution of forest.

/p. 109/

2: Montagne--280 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh.
Rif MX3

/Left side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

•102
131
133
616
619



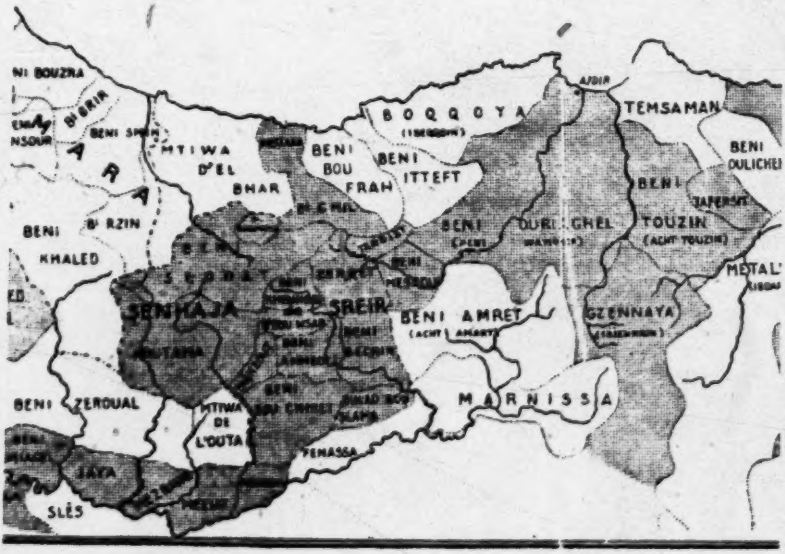
2: Montagne--281 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Center part of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

•102
131
133
616
619

The two Leffs of the North of Morocco in the 20th century
The territories of the Tribes of the Senhaja àlam are shaded; those of the Tribes of the Ghomara àlam are in white

Scale 1/800,000

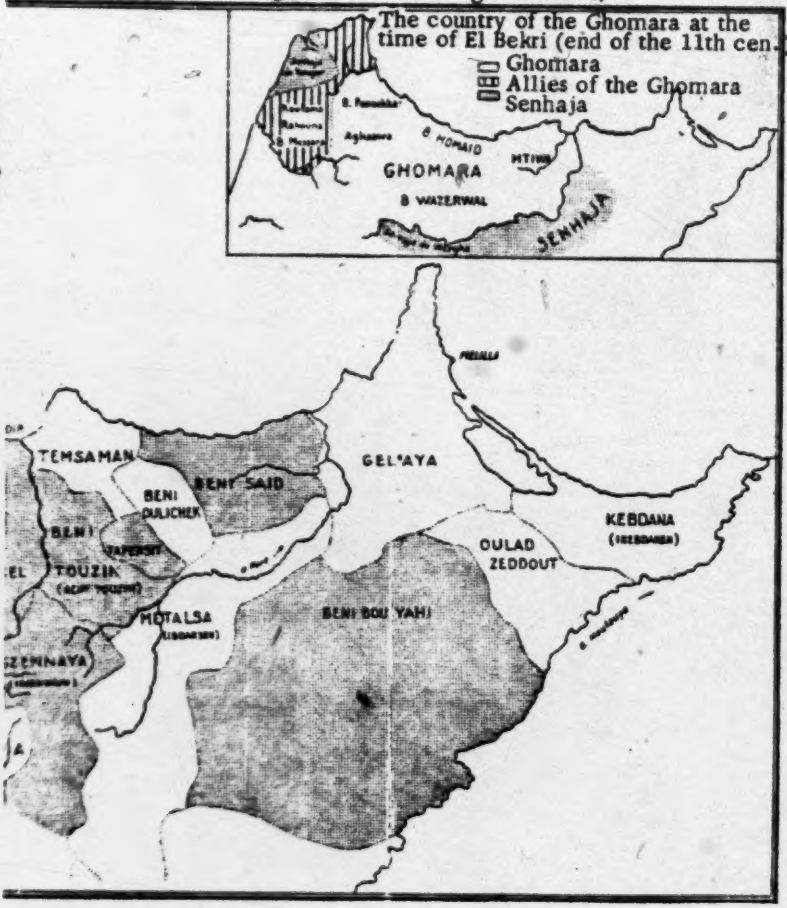


/"Sreir" is spelled "Srair" in the text./

2: Montagne--282 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Right side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

•102
131
133
616
619



2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

LIST OF TRIBES, DISTRICTS, TOWNS, AND OTHER LARGE PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

'Abda, district in the neighbourhood of Saffi inhabited by "Arabs".
Agadīr Iġīr, town on the coast of Sūs.
Aglu, large place on the coast of Sūs.
Ait 'Attab, Berbers living north-east of Demnat.
Ait Ba'ámran, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Ait Bráyim, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Ait Bûṭṭaib, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Ait Buwúlli, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Ait Mdîwal, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Aiṭ Mjilḍ, Brâber.
Ait Mzal, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Aiṭ Nḍēr, Brâber.
Aiṭ Sádděn, Brâber.
Ait Seġrûššěn, Brâber.
Ait Táměldu, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Ait Temsâmān, Rifians.
Ait Waráin, Brâber.
Aiṭ Wāryâġer, Rifians.
Ait Wauzgit, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region
Aiṭ Yúsi, Brâber.
Ait Zĕlḍn, Shlōḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Alcazar, town in the interior.
Amanūz, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Amzmiz, small town in the district of the Igdmiūn.
Andjra (= An^{d}jra), tribal district among the Jbâla.
Aštûkĕn, Shlōḥ in Sūs.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

● 109 Aṭ Buséggu, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Aṭ Ubáḥṭi, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Aṭ Yá'la; Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Aṭ Ziḥri, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Azemmur, town on the Atlantic coast.
Azîla; town on the Atlantic coast.
Beni Ăḥsen, "Arab" tribe in the neighbourhood of Salli.
Bni 'Ăroṣ, Jbâla.
Bni Ḥássạ̄n, Jbâla.
Bni Mĕssâra, Jbâla.
Bni Mezgẹ́lda, Jbâla.
Bni Mṣáuwar, Jbâla.
Bni Zą́rwạl, Jbâla.
Casablanca, town on the Atlantic coast.
Ceuta, town on the Mediterranean coast.
Demnat, town at the foot of the Great Atlas.
Dukkâla, district between Azemmur and Saffi inhabited by "Arabs".
Faḥṣ, tribal district outside Tangier.
Fẹ̈šṭ'âla, Jbâla.
Fez, the chief city of Morocco.
Fṭûâka. *See* Infḍûak.
Ġaiyât'a, "Arab" tribe east of Fez.
Ġarb, district inhabited by "Arabs".
Ġarbîya, tribal district with Arabic-speaking people in Northern Morocco.
Ġẹġáya. *See* Iġiġain.
Glawi, tribal district in the Great Atlas inhabited by the Iglíwa.
Ġzáwa, Jbâla.
Habṭ, ancient name for a district comprising the plains of the Ġarb and the Ḥloṭ and a portion of the mountains inhabited by Jbâla.
Ḥáḥa, district in the Great Atlas region inhabited by Shlöḥ.
Ḥămár, district south of Dukkâla inhabited by "Arabs".
Ḥiáina, "Arab" tribe near Fez.
Ḥloṭ, tribal district in Northern Morocco inhabited by "Arabs".

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

103

Ḥmąs, Iá-, Jbâla.
Ibqqóyęn, Rifians.
Ida Ggẘárs mûgt, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Ida Ugŏrḍ, Shlōḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Ida Utânan, Shlōḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Igdmiūn, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Igerwąn, Brâber.
Iġiġain, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Iglíwa, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas.
Iḥaḥan, the Shlōḥ inhabiting Ḥáḥa.
Imărmûšĕn, Brâber.
Imĕjjaṭ, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Imintagen, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Imintâtelt, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Imsfíwan, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Infḍûak, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Inīknâfĕn, Shlōḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Isksáwan, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas.
Iurīkĕn, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Jbel Ḥbīb, tribal district among the Jbâla.
Laraiche, town on the Atlantic coast.
Marráksh, the southern capital of Morocco.
Masst, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Mazagan, town on the Atlantic coast.
Mehdîya, port on the Atlantic coast.
Melilla, town on the coast of the Rīf.
Mequinez, town in the interior.
Mesfíwa. *See* Imsfíwan.
Mnáṣăra, " Arabs " on the Atlantic coast north of Mehdîya.
Mogador, town on the Atlantic coast.
Ntîfa, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Rabat, town on the Atlantic coast.
Raḥámna, district between Dukkâla and Marráksh inhabited by " Arabs ".
Rīf, province situated along the eastern part of the Mediterranean coast of Morocco.
Saffi, town on the Atlantic coast.
Sáḥel, Jbâla.
Salli, town on the Atlantic coast.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

103 Ṣĕfru, small town in the interior south-east of Fez, in the district of the Aiṭ Yúsi.
Sĕksáwa. *See* Isksáwan.
Settat, place in the Shāwîa.
Shāwîa, district south of Casablanca inhabited by " Arabs ".
Shiáḍma, district between 'Abda and Ḥáḥa inhabited by " Arabs ".
Shrâga, " Arabs " living north-west of Fez.
Shrárda, " Arabs " in the Ġarb.
Sūs, province situated south of the Great Atlas.
Tafilelt, district in the Sahara.
Tangier, town on the northern coast.
Tarudant, the capital of Sūs.
Tazĕrwalt, tribal district in Sūs inhabited by Shlöḥ.
Ṭemsâmän, tribal district in the Rīf inhabited by the Ait Temsâmān.
Tetuan, town close to the Mediterranean coast.
Tinduf, caravan centre in the Moorish Sahara.
Tiznit, large place in Sūs.
Tsūl, Jbâla.
Ūdáya, l-, " Arab " tribe in the neighbourhood of Marráksh.
Ujda, small town in the north-eastern corner of Morocco.
Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, " Arab " tribe in Dukkâla.
Ulâd Frạj, " Arab " tribe in Dukkâla.
Ůnzûṭṭ, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas.
Urîka. *See* Iurīkĕn.
Wazzan, town in the interior.
Z'air, " Arab " tribe in the neighbourhood of Rabat.
Zārhūn, mountain north of Mequinez with a town containing the shrine of Mûlāi Idrīs the Elder.
Zemmūr, Brâber.
Zkara. *See* Aṭ Zihri.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif, MX3

an altitude of 6500 feet, is the highest point in the whole tribe of Aith Wariyāghir. It is located above the village (*adshār*) of Bū Ma'dān, in the district (*r'ayyith*) of Timarzga. The tomb itself, a simple structure unadorned with the usual white cupola, was, in time, supplemented with a small mosque of mud and stone, today in a state of distrepair owing to the ravages of wind, snow, sleet and ice. The actual pinnacle of the massif is not the site of the tomb proper, but a point about 150 feet above it, called Tamrābiṭ. Upon ascending this point, after a spine-shattering journey by jeep up the tortuously winding *piste* from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turīrth (Spanish *Zoco de Arbaa Taurirt*), one realizes that one is at the top of the Central Rif. Almost all of Aith Wariyāghir is below one to the north, and only one or two of the Azru Uqshar peaks in the tribe of Igzinnāyen to the southeast, discernible in outline on a clear day, are higher. Just east of the tomb-mosque complex is a flat space measuring about 600 feet by 300 feet, used for prayer, and just above and north of this is a small grove of *ādhān* (from, by association, the Arabic for «prayer-call»?) trees; and between the mosque and the tomb itself is a small open area called the *Sūq al-Ṣāliḥīn* the Market of the Righteous.

The pilgrimage takes place on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah, one day before the 'Aid al-Kabīr or Great Feast of Islam, called *r-'Aid Umqqran* by the Rifians. People come from all over the southern mountain districts of Aith Wariyāghir, as well as from the neighboring tribes of Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnāyen, to attend it. The greatest number are locals from Timarzga (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), after which come those from Aith 'Arūs (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), Aith 'Ammarth, Aith Bū 'Avyāsh (Aith Wariyāghir), Zāwīth n Sīdī 'Abd r-Qādir of the Imrābdhen of Aith Ḥadhīfah (Aith Wariyāghir), Mārruwī in Aith 'Abd Allāh (Aith Wariyāghir), Isrīḥan in Aith Yūsif w 'Arī (Aith Wariyāghir), and Igzinnāyen. In 1955, all the tribal authorities of the Nkūr qaidate of Aith Wariyāghir (Ait Bū 'Avyāsh and Jbil), as well as the Spanish *interventores* both of Aith Wariyāghir and Aith 'Ammarth, were also present.

By about 10:00 A. M., most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, have assembled on the mountain top, where their first act is to visit the shrine. Merchants are busy setting up their small

794 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a
871 rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an....

[872] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedi-
[873] cated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some
[829] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar
[876] and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or ishadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that
● 103 of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never
[631] formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

443 562 since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

[184] Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'unen), as did the Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have [114] disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. Sánchez Pérez, then, is essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of origin.

000
● [103] 117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in [133] every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at 1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. With certain notable [823] exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now [121] in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

000

142--This organization, as it turned out, was not applied to other tribes; there was no need for it, for the others do not have the problems of segment discontinuity which the Aith Waryaghar have in such abundance.

[114] 143--This is close, and perhaps it was only prudence or modesty which prevented Blanco from giving the real etymology. Igzinnayen (sing. agzinnai) means "fornicators", and is derived from Arabic zina, "adultery". Their neighbors of the Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth say, in addition, that the Igzinnayen fully live up to their name!

144--This is very true, and it contrasts strangely with the fact that a great many Rifians further north--for all the Rifian tribes except the Igzinnayen are located within the former Spanish Zone of Morocco--speak Spanish. Many, indeed, speak it better than they do Arabic; and if grammatical correctness is often lacking, a considerable fluency of expression and a wide range of vocabulary more than make up for this.

It is probable, furthermore, that as the Igzinnayen are located in the former French Zone, this report of Blanco's is based on contemporary and unpublished French reports rather than on personal fieldwork. The report is dated 1940.

145--The distinction which Blanco makes between Arabic and Rifian speech among the Igzinnayen seems to have little basis in fact, because informants from that tribe have repeatedly said that Rifian speech is the linguistic universal among all their clans; but it is true that a knowledge of Arabic becomes more widespread the further south in the tribal territory that one goes. However, it seems to me that the best linguistic index is what is spoken by the women, rather than by the men--and among the Igzinnayen, one gathers that although most of the men know at least some Arabic (which is seldom the case among the Rifian tribes in the ex-Spanish Zone), the women do not.

• [103] 146--Renditions of place (or personal) names generally depend upon how the investigator approaches the matter; and in my own experience, and unless he specifically requests it, what the student will often find himself taking down is the Arabic rather than the Berber version, particularly if he is not familiar with Berber. However, we do not mean to imply by this that Arabic place names are non-existent in the Rif; far from it, and Jbil Hanam is an excellent example. The same applies to tribal and segment names: on the tribal level, for example, the prefix bni is the "official" one, and is employed not only in all administrative reports, but it is also employed with some frequency by the Rifians themselves, although not nearly to the same extent as Berber aith. This is true for certain segments, also: Bni 'Abd Allah, Bni Hadifa, Bni Bu 'Ayyash--but Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari, Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Arus and Aith Turirth, to take examples from the Aith Waryaghar (or Bni Waryaghal) only. In other words, even though some segment names do also, other segment names still retain the prefix aith; and it would be most interesting to know what rules, if any, of linguistic change govern this phenomenon. In this same official usage, the prefix aith or asht has entirely disappeared from segment names in the Aith 'Ammarth (or Bni 'Ammart: Ulad S'aid Ikhlif, Ulad l-Hasain,

312 133 into the sea, in order to really listen and take notice at last of the song of the Ghis, the activity and human ingenuity, the fertilizing mission of the water, the utility of the same, the gentleness of the countryside, the density of the population, the happiness (by comparison) of the orchards and gardens, the wealth and well-being, the convenience for (administrative) functionaries, the advantages of technology and the necessity of associating oneself with humans.[126]

312 402 In its long course the Ghis provides the water to turn 55 Rifian turbine mills (1935).[127]

312 [103] In Bu Harishen, on the left bank of the Lower Ghis, upstream from the bridge over the river, is where this river begins its well-performed work, bored by its useless rambling, acquires freedom, jumping from its bed to spill itself over in equal parts into the three principal ditches, l-Bzimma, "the tied-up"[128], on its left bank, and Bulma'iz and Thafadhna on its right. The regimen of these ditches is indicated below and their mean longitude is some six kilometers.

[103] Sidd Dharga nl-Bzimma (l-Bzimma): "the tied-up", which takes its name from that of the ancient ruined city, al-Mazimma[129], on its left bank. Its flow is one-third of the permanent intake of the dam at [212] Bu Harishen. There is a written document which regulates distribution of its water and proves its rights to property.[130] It empties (into the Mediterranean) at the height of the ruined castle of the Mujahidin[131] on the beach, in front of the old Peñón de Alhucemas (Isle of al-[402] Husaima). It moves a mill belonging to the Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi and to Muhand Ushshan.[132]

312 Dharga n Tasaman: This ditch in May 1938 had a flow of 256 liters per second. It is located on the same bank of the river, and down-
[402] stream from the Aghzar Amzyan ditch. It moves two mills (one belonging to the Muhammad nd-Hajj Ussar, and the other to Muhammad n Tahir), and it has three turns, one for the tribe of the Thimsaman[156] and two for that of the Aith Waryaghar (lineage of Aith Musa w 'Amar, subclan of the Aith r-'Abbas, clan of the Aith 'Ari), as follows:[157]

1st Day: Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

2nd Day: Thimsaman

3rd Day: Ihankuren (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

The three other ditches on this bank, Sidd Jdid, Sidd 'Ain Harri and Sidd Swani, only have water in times of abundance:

Sidd Jdid: At the end of May 1938 this ditch had a flow of 40 liters per second. It originates one kilometer below Dharga n Tasaman, in the crossroad from Bu Srana[158] and the (Spanish-built) airport to the Thimsaman.[159]

Sidd 'Ain Harri: Born near the road leading from the Granja of Imzuren to Truguth (Thimsaman).

Sidd Swani: The last ditch on the west bank of the Nkur, some two kilometers from the mouth of the river.

East Bank:

312 Dharga n Tufdhisth (???--"ditch of the hammer"??): At the point
619 called Aghbar u Yidir, in front of the mkhazniya post of Imnudh, up-
675 stream from the Thanda Hawa pond, a division of waters is originated
217 between the tribes of the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Waryaghar in equal
[103] parts, according to a document in the archives of the Bureau at Ajdir,[160] which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

000 which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

312 613 The flow taken up by the Aith Waryaghar bathes the meander of Sidi r-Hajj Yusif[161], and is used by the Aith Umudh lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. It is divided [571] into two turns of twenty-four hours each: one for the lineage branch of Aith Ishshu (some 80 irrigators) and the other for the lineage branch of "True" Aith Umudh (some 130 irrigators).[162] The flow taken up by the Axt Tuzin (clan of the Axt 'Akki) is distributed through the Dharga n Tufdhisth.

312 [823] [103] Azru n Srith ("The Rock of the Bride"): This legendary site[163], the point of departure for water from the pond of Thanda Hawa, beside the tomb of Sidi Birqi, is the principal shed for the waters of the Nkur River, and four ditches flow from it: one on the left, or Aith Waryaghar, side, Dharga n Tufrashth, and three on the right, called Sunduq (Axt Tuzin), Sidd Asiyar[164] (Thimsaman) and Ihajjamen ("barbers") (Thimsaman), respectively.

Sunduq and Tufrasht divide water into equal parts. In turn, the Sunduq ditch, by the same token, divides it with Dharga Usiyar, and the latter, in turn, with Ihajjamen, which in time of scarcity has no water.

[571] [613] The turn cycle of Dharga n Tufrasht is five days for Izakiren and two for Ighmiren.[165]

Dharga Sidd 'Arridh: begins at the same height as Dharga Hadhidha, on the other (west) bank, and beside and just upstream from the crossing of the main Tetuan-Melilla road and the piste to the Thimsaman.[166]

000 with the lineages of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid irrigating; Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours) with the Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush irrigating; and Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit (24 hours).

[114] 144--Blanco gives the "9 hours 20 minutes" figure (the difference between 12 hours and 2 hours 40 minutes) as "h. 60", which seems to make no sense whatsoever, and may be simply a typographical error.

[103] 145--Our notes record this as one ditch, called Sidd Tuth r-Hammam ("mulberry in the heat"?), a lower extension, in fact, of Sidd Dharga nd-Bzimma. It has a two-day turn, distributed as follows: U Kammuni, U r-Qadhi, U 'Amar u Bukar, U Muhand and Zawith. As in the l-Bzimma ditch, these names are purely names of turns, and not names of actual lineages located in the area around the ditch. However, at least three of the turn names recall present lineage segments of the clan of the Imrabdhen: U Kammuni and U r-Qadhi recall the Aith Kammun and Aith r-Qadhi in the Upper Imrabdhen, and U 'Amar u Bukar recalls the Aith 'Amar u Bukar in the Lower Imrabdhen. Given this fact, it is also possible, therefore, that Zawith in this context might refer either to the Zawith n Sidi Yusif in the Lower Imrabdhen or to the Zawith n Sidi 'Aisa or Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar in the Upper Imrabdhen. The turn name U Muhand is too generalized to provide any lead.

146--Blanco unfortunately does not provide us with a translation of this document.

147--'Azib, in an Arabic dictionary, is generally given the meaning of "estate", but it is one of many words in Arabic which mean different things to different groups of people. In the Central Atlas, it refers to a shepherd's shelter in a summer pasturage area; and in the Rif it refers to a second house built by an individual who already owns one, preferably a second house in which he spends a certain season of the year, such as summer. Such an individual is called a'azzab, pl. i'azzaben, and there are very few of them in the Central Rif, where transhumance, in any form, is non-existent.

148--The tribes in question which are bounded by the Lower Nkur are the Aith Waryaghar on the west bank and the Thimsaman on the east; but it should also be remembered that the Middle and even a part of the Upper Nkur divides the Aith Waryaghar (west) from the Axt Tuzin (east).

[621] [613] [614] 149--The latter is a lineage-community of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the former (Imzuren) is a thoroughly mixed local community, with elements of the Aith 'Ari, Aith Yusif w 'Ari Imrabdhen and even the Aith Bu 'Ayyash clans all included.

[613] 150--Our notes on Dharga n Dahar state that it has nine turns: five for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (by which, naturally, is meant only those lineage segments of this clan localized around the area of the ditch), and the remaining four as follows: Abyadh (the Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Isrihan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Thasrand Imziren (half for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and half for the Aith Musa w 'Amar), Ihaddushen (a branch of the Aith Musa w 'Amar) and Imzuren. In each one of these turns, there are 7 or 8 nubath. From Thasrand Imziren to the Nkur, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash irrigate; and from Ihaddushen to Imzuren, the Aith 'Ari do so.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

In rendering Arabic and Berber words and phrases used in Morocco I endeavour to represent them as they are pronounced by the natives, independently of the written Arabic. As the same word is often pronounced differently in different places, and by different persons, the reader should not accuse me of inconsistency if he finds it spelt sometimes in one way and sometimes in another.

My system of transliterating the Arabic consonants is the following :—

B represents ب; *d* د, or ذ when pronounced as the English *d*; *đ* ذ when pronounced as *th* in *this*[1]; *ḍ* ض, or ظ when pronounced as ض; *ḏ* ظ when not pronounced as ض[2]; *f* ف, in Morocco written ڤ; *g* ج or ق, in Morocco written ڤ, when these letters are pronounced as *g* in *grand*, a sound for which the Moors also use a ك with three dots above it; *ġ* غ; *h* ه; *ḥ* ح; *ḫ* خ; *j* ج when pronounced as the French *j*, *ʤ* (or, if the sound is doubled, *ʤʤ*) representing the same letter when pronounced as the English *j*; *k* ك; *l* ل[3]; *m* م; *n* ن; *q* ق (Moorish ف); *r* ر; *s* س; *ṣ* ص; *š* ش (a letter which is also represented by *sh* in names of common occurrence); *t* ت, or ث when pronounced as the English *t*; *ṯ* ث when pronounced as *th* in *thing*; *ṭ* ط;

[1] Among the Jbâla the ذ of the written language is often pronounced in the same way.

[2] In Andjra the ض of the written language is often pronounced in the same way.

[3] *L-* represents the definite article لل.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

104 *t'* ت or ث, when these letters are pronounced as *ts*; *w* و when pronounced as *w* in *will*; *y* ى when pronounced as *y* in *yoke*; *z* ز; *ʿ* ع; *ʾ* ء (*hamza*).

In some Berber words the following signs are also used:—

g', to represent a sound which to me appeared almost as a strongly pronounced consonantal *y*, but which my Berber scribe from the Aiṭ Sádděn, who had a remarkably fine ear, considered to be more closely related to a *g*; *ḥ*, corresponding to the German *ch* in *ich*; *ñ*, to be pronounced as *n* in *bank*; and a small letter above the line (*ᵃ*, *ᵉ*, *ᵛ*, *ᵎ*, *ᵚ*, or *ᵡ*), to be pronounced with a reduced sound.

The vowels are, at least approximately, to be pronounced—

A as in Italian; *å* between *a* and *o*; *ą* between *a* and *ä*; *ä* as in *fat*; *e* as in *met*; *ę* between *e* and *i*; *i* as in *this*; *o* as in *not*; *ö* as in German; *u* as in *put*; *ů* between *u* and *o*; *ü* between *i* and the French *u*.

The sign ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ^ that it is long and accentuated; ˘ that it is very short; ' that it is accentuated.

The vowel sounds of the words are subject to great variations, not only in different localities, but in the same locality, and even in the mouth of the same individual. The length of the vowel, in particular, is a very difficult matter, both because it is so changeable, and because it allows of so many different degrees; and it is equally difficult in many cases to distinguish between the presence or absence of a vowel sound before a consonant or between two consonants. In these respects absolute accuracy may, in fact, be impossible without the aid of phonetical instruments.[1] I have only made use of the signs ¯, ^, and ˣ in cases when I have distinctly heard the sound pronounced either long or very short, but the omission of any such sign does not *eo ipso* imply that it might not have been used, nor does the use of it imply that the vowel is always pronounced long or very short, or, in the latter case, that a vowel sound is

[1] *Cf.* Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. xi.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

always present. Some distinguished students of colloquial Arabic have (largely, I believe, under the influence of the written language) applied the symbol for length more liberally than my ear has allowed me to do; vowels which in the Arabic writing are marked as long have a distinct tendency to be pronounced short in syllables which are not accentuated. The accent is also very changeable both in Arabic and Berber words, and ' or ˙ over a vowel only indicates that I have heard the syllable in which it occurs accentuated, not that it invariably is so; and in Berber words the sign for the accent has very frequently been omitted.[1]

[1] On the accent in Berber see Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 14; Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa* (Paris, 1918), p. 44 *sqq.*

[p. xii is blank]

abarrah (barrah)--market crier (p. 127)
'adl (pl. 'adul)--notary public (p. 53)
agharrabu (pl. igharruba)--boat (p. 342)
agirmam (pl. igirmamen)--a pond (p. 351)
agraw (pl. igrawn)--a meeting of councillors (p. 40)
aith--sons of; this term is equivalent to the Arabic bani (p. 46); people of (p. 175, no. 127)
Aitharba'in--council (p. 164, no. 58); the collective of clan delegates (p. 123)
akhammas (pl. ikhammasen)--hired men who cultivate fields of cereal grain (p. 50)
'am alfillah--agricultural calender (p. 92)
amarras--storehouse/silo guardian of the Eastern Rif (p. 123)
amddukar (pl. imddukar)--friend (p. 247)
amghar (pl. imgharen)--a clan representative elected by the jma'th (p. 126)
amghar n-suq--"market chief" who policed the market (p. 127)
amin--the market provost who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees that the market is run smoothly and efficiently (p. 87)
amina--a female market provost in a women's market (p. 88); see the definition given for amin
amrabidh (pl. imrabdhen) -saint's tomb (p. 66); saint (p. 91); a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (p. 155); a living or dead saint (p. 157)

amrabit--hermit saint (p. 116)
anigmar (pl. inigmarn)--hunter (p. 219)
aquwwam (pl. iquwwamen)--agricultural/irrigation expert (p. 169, no. 92)
arkan al-din--"pillars of religion" (p. 227, no. 17)
ar-raqba--"turns" of vengeance or reprisal (p. 102)
ar-rba' (pl. rurbu')--"fourth" or "quarter"; a Rif term which is used to denote maximal segments in tribes possessing less than five of these; this term is also employed (more often than khums) to designate the five maximal segments of tribes which do have "fifths" (p. 159, no. 22)
'ashur or zakah--alms giving (p. 227, no. 17)
'ashur (Rif-dha'ashurth)--tithe from harvests (p. 193)
'ashura--the 10th day of the first month of the Muslim year, Muharram (p. 227, no. 17)
athmun (pl. ithmunen)--conical silos (p. 48)
azdif (pl. izdifen)--a village council member (p. 58)
'azib(Arabic)--in the Rif, this term refers to a second house owned by an individual who already owns a house (p. 412, no. 147)
aziddif or aziddjif (pl. iziddifen or iziddjifen)--the headman of the jajgu (p. 107)
'azizi (pl. aith 'azizi)--father's brother (p. 227, no. 14)
baraka--a wonderworking power similar to the Melanesian mana (p. 92)

blad l-makhzin--government controlled land (p. 16); the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law (p. 96)
blad s-siba--"land of anarchy" i.e., the Atlas and the Rif (p. 16); land of custom or of customary law (p. 96)
bu-mwarith--an official who takes over, in the name of the government, the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs (p. 170, no. 105)
ca'ida or 'urf--Berber Customary Law (p. 26)
darraz--a weaver (p. 86)
ddiyith--blood money to a victim's agnates (p. 234, no. 54)
dha'ashurth--voluntary alms; self-taxation (p. 194)
dkakhammasth--"fifth"; used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments (p. 158, no. 22)
dhakhshifth--a trap used in hunting (p. 237, no. 68)
dhaddarth--nuclear family (p. 99); properly, this terms means "house" (p. 159, no. 25)
dhamzyidha--a mosque (the construction, repairs, and maintenance) (p. 190)
dhaqbitsh (pl. dhiqbar)--tribe (p. 156, 118)
dhasirth w aman (pl. dhisira w aman)--turbine watermills (p. 351)
dhimssi--hearth (literally "fire") (p. 159, no. 25)
dhrarsha--a fishing net (p. 349)
dhukkardha--"turns" of theft (p. 102)
dhuri--an association between two farmers whereby one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other man provides the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment; the actual work is done by an akhammas (a hired gardener) (p. 50)

dhwara--"turns" of pasturage (p. 102)
diya (Arabic)--bloodwealth (p. 43); ddiyith (Rif, p. 109)
dshar--village, hamlet, community (p. 166, no. 71)
fariqath--a minor political division comprising four or five villages; a descent group in which all members are related, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable (p. 67)
fqih (pl. tulba)--a teacher in a mosque (p. 168, no. 89); the personage who officiated in a mosque (p. 190)
fqir--a member of a religious order (p. 195)
fraction--clan or subclan; an association of neighboring jma'th for sociopolitical ends (p. 115)
ghaba--areas where brushwood is gathered by the women for their ovens (p. 49); scrub forests (p. 66)
ghwarfth (Rif)--storeroom for grain in a mosque (p. 190)
guma--a slaughter house in a market (p. 86)
habus--a religious or charitable endowment (p. 162, no. 49); mosque property (p. 120)
hadj--pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca
hajjamin--barberbleeders (p. 87)
halal--that which is permitted to be eaten (p. 237, no. 68)
hannash--evil doers, snake charmers (p. 289)
haqq--a fine (p. 43, 72); law, reason, right (p. 397, no. 13)

harim--communal pasture lands (p. 66)
harka--war parties (p. 239)
hauma--a separate barrio in a village comprised of a single tharfiqth, the fundamental social unit (p. 58)
hizb--(pl. hizib)--one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran (p. 228, no. 21)
ibarudiyen--dramatic actors (p. 127-128)
idhuran(sing. adhuggwar)--in-laws (p. 259-260, no. 24)
ifaradhen--a contract between two farmers in which they join their individual resources to produce crops and then equally divide the harvest between them (p. 50)
imam--a prayer leader in the mosque who stands before the congregation (p. 228, no. 23)
imdhiyazen--musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also breed mules (p. 160, no. 36)
imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith")--A property less (usually) social class in the Central Rif which originated from the tribe of Axt Tuzin. These people specialize in ironwork (p. 160, no. 36)
interventor--Spanish tribal administrator
isrif (pl. isrifen)--an affinal kinship term signifying "wife's sister's husband"; two men who marry sisters are isrifen to each other (p. 164, no. 57)
iziddjifen (sing. aziddif)--headman or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th (p. 126)
izidjith--a plaintiff (p. 230, no. 38)

5: Blanco Izaga

● 104

izudj or yuxshar n rimin--an accused person (p. 230, no. 38)
izudjen or yuxshin n rimin--cojurors (p. 230, no. 38)
jajgu (pl. ijujgu)--patrilineal extended family (p. 52, 56)
jama'ath--village, council of notables (p. 51); a collection of both related and unrelated tharfiqin (p. 65); a local community (p. 97)
jari (pl. jwari)--village headman (p. 66) in the Aith Waryaghar tribe
jbil--mountains (p. 219)
jillab--a woolen cloak with sleeves and a hood worn by men (p. 63)
jnun--a supernatural being (p. 91)
khums (pl. khmas)--one-fifth of the tribe (p. 188)
liff (pl. lfuf) -a complicated network of alliance systems (p. 58); political moiety organization (p. 69, 76)
ma'ar--silos (p. 123)
maghrib--sunset prayer (p. 363)
mahkama--tribunal building of the qa'id or qadi (p. 206)
makhzin--the government of the Sultan of Morocco (p. 16)
mhalla--a military expedition (p. 251)
mkhazni--a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army (p. 206, 225, no. 8)

mmis n 'azizi (pl. dharwa n'azizi)--father's brother's son (p. 226, no. 14)
mqaddim (Arabic)--village headman (p. 122) in all tribes except the Aith Waryaghar where the village headman is called jari. In the Aith Waryaghar, the mqaddim became the head of the administratively created "sub fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh (p. 176, no. 140)
mqaddim n-tmzidha--caretaker of the mosque on the local level (p. 168, no. 88)
mulu'--the leader of a hunting party (p. 382)
muna--food (p. 192)
murabit--holy man (p. 61)
mushaf--Koran (p. 231)
n-dara--upstream (p. 371)
ndzir l-ahbas--habus administrator; caretaker of the mosque on the provincial level (p. 168, no. 88)
nims (pl. inimsan)--a ferret used in hunting (p. 237, no. 68)
nubth (pl. nubath)--the notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" (p. 102); nuclear family (p. 159, no. 25)
qabila (Arabic)--tribe (p. 22-23)
qadi (pl. qudat) (Arabic)--a judge of Shari'a law (p. 159)
qaid (pl. quyad) (Arabic)--chief of the tribe (p. 24)
qanun (pl. qawanin)--Customary Laws documents of the Rif (p. 41); decisions of the village or tribal council with or without documentary evidence in Arabic (p. 166, no. 75)

qawa'id al-Islam--"customs of Islam" (p. 227, no. 17)
rabba'--hired gardeners who tend vegetable gardens and orchards (p. 50)
r-'adhawth (Rif)--vengeance (p. 398, no. 29)
ra'is (pl. ruyas)--the master of a boat (appointed by the owner of the boat) who directs the operations of the boat (p. 343)
rba' (pl. rubu')--see definition for thakhammasth
r-ghramth--"turns" of gift-giving at weddings (p. 102)
rhaqq--a market fine (p. 234, no. 54)
rimin or thzaddjith--collective oaths (p. 230, no. 38)
ribat--an agreement (p. 316)
r-knwaghadh (sing. r-kinghadh)--legal documents (p. 100)
r-mitrag--a long stick bound with copper wiring which was thrown to kill birds in flight (p. 237, no. 68)
rqisas--a fine paid to a victim of a crime by the person who committed that crime (p. 234, no. 54)
r-Rogi--a false pretender to the Moroccan throne (p. 263, no. 31)
rshuhudh--witnesses (p. 230, no. 38)
r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a)--the distribution of meat from a sacrificed animal (p. 415, no. 181) or from a hunted animal or bird (p. 382)
r-waratha (sing. awrith)--the remaining angantes of a dead man (p. 226, no. 14)
Shari'a--Muslim religious law (p. 203)

sharif--holy man (p. 61)
shuf'ath (Berber, Shafa'a)--agnates priority rights over both land and women (p. 227, no. 14)
sidd (Arabic)--dam (p. 409, no. 129)
ssdhaq (sdaq)--brideprice; dowry
sulh--truce (p. 374)
sunna--the custom of the Prophet (p. 208)
suq (pl. aswaq)--a weekly market
s-waddai--downstream (p. 371)
talib (pl. tulba)--a post-graduate student in Koranic knowledge; the functions of a talib are almost identical to those of a fqih (p. 169, no. 89)
tartib--the tax paid to the Makhzin in Tetuan by each farmer on all the livestock he owns as well as all the land he has under cultivation (p. 71); also spelled "tirtib" (p. 161, no. 43)
thafgirth (pl. thifgirin)--a bonfire (p. 239)
thakhammasth (pl. thikhammasin) or rba' (pl. rubu')--the major or primary political section which literally means "fifth" and "fourth" respectively; the tribe of Aith Waryaghar is divided into five major sections, each of which claims descent from a common ancestor; the tribe as a whole does not claim descent from a common ancestor (p. 68)
thamagra--the wedding celebration
thamza--a hideous local ogress who eats babies (p. 91)

thamzida n khutbath--the principal cantonal mosque which is attended on Fridays (p. 68); also spelled dhamzidha (p. 156) (Rif)

tharfiqth (pl. tharfiqin) -the fundamental social unit and a form of clan-community; the tharfiqth is an amplification of the jajghu (extended family) by inclusion of the families of all the sons of the original founder-ancestor (p. 57-58). Also spelled dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin) (p. 155). A lineage (p. 155)

thargha (pl. tharghiwin)--irrigation ditches (p. 51)

thasrafth--In the Central Rif, an underground deposit in the patio of a house in which grain reserves are kept (p. 170, no. 98)

thzaddjith or rimin--collective oaths (p. 230, no. 38)

timrath--wife

tislith--bride

twiza--a corvee (p. 102)

uggug (pl. uggugen)--a dam (p. 358-359)

ukil (fem. pl. ukilat)--legal representative (p. 110-111)

ukil l-ghuyab--an inheritance or property representative for absentees (p. 170, no. 106)

uma (pl. aithma)--brother (p. 226, no. 14)

'urf or ca'ida--Berber Customary Law (p. 26)

yinn--"those of"; roughly synonyomous with aith, but Rifians tend to use yinn only when speaking of lower level segments (p. 175, no. 127)

yuxshar n rimin or izudj--an accused person (p. 230, no. 38)
yuxshin n rimin--cojurors (p. 230, no. 38)
zakah or 'ashur--alms giving (p. 227, no. 17)
zattat--the gift given to a prospective brides' father to put him in a receptive mood
zawiya--residence of a virtuous or holy personage and invariably associated with a saint's tomb (p. 110)
zujiya--a marriage contract document (p. 159)

FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the 'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps [illegible] translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally [illegible]zed for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch b[illegible]ose who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

181 tion of French corvee), which underscores its mandatory character.
● 104 Wuzi'a, in Arabic, refers to distribution on a prorata basis; but its Rifian derivative, r-uzi'ath, refers only to the dividing up of the meat of a ritually edible and ritually slaughtered animal, which has just died, and those who share in the division are expected to pay the owner of the animal back at a later date. Dhwara, a purely Rifian word which Blanco mistakenly gives as twala, thinking it, no doubt, an Arabic derivative, is synonymous with Arabic nuba and its Rifian derivative nubth, means "turn" in its widest sense: use of irrigation water in turn by each user; taking of barley to the fiqh or schoolmaster in the local mosque by each nuclear family within the scattered hamlet type of community, so much the Rifian norm in settlement morphology, in turn, etc. etc. (cf. Blanco's own very interesting and elucidating remarks on the Rifian conceptualization of turns in the chapter on Family Organization). And liff is a crucially important intra- or inter-tribal pattern of alliances.

181 3--All words which are rendered in quotations are Blanco's, and in
114 no case does he define what he means by them. It should be noted here that Blanco, as well as the great majority of tribal administrators in French Morocco at the time, was heavily influenced by the thinking of the late Robert Montagne, Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930--to such an extent, in fact, that many of the "value judgments" which Blanco makes are indirectly those of Montagne. In all fairness to Blanco, however, it should be noted that he takes sharp exception to certain of Montagne's interpretations of Rifian political sociology; and these exceptions are for the most part fully justified.

668 4--Although the famous "Berber Dahir" of 1930 was enforced, of course,
671 by the French up until the very end of their protectorate in Morocco in 1956, it never even had a chance in the Spanish Zone. This state
668 of affairs was due not to any special decision-making on the part of the Spanish Protectorate administration (for much of the corps of tribal interventores was in favor of the dahir), but to the Rifian reformer 'Abd al-Krim, who had vigorously suppressed what he considered the most objectionable features of Customary Law in the Rif as early as 1921 or 1922. This was one of the ways, indeed, in which he was able to consolidate his position as leader of the Rifian war effort and as "President of the Rifian Republic", whereas, perhaps paradoxically, it is the pre-'Abd al-Krim era of "organized acephaly", of councillors and bloodfeuds, which is known, perhaps in retrospect as the 'Ripublik', and which is referred to elsewhere in Berber Morocco, and as a permanent condition, as siba. By the term "most objectionable features" we mean to say that he effectively stamped out any and all aspects of Rifian customary law (collective or plural oaths, in particular) which could in any outwardly discernible way be construed as being opposed to "bonafide" Muslim law. Thus, in short, what happened was at the end of the Rifian War in 1926, the Spaniards found that because of 'Abd al-Krim, orthodox Maliki law (for of the four Sunni, or "Orthodox", Islamic legal schools, it is the Maliki which predominates in North Africa) was already functioning in the Rif, even it overlay a solidly Berber jural base; and during their protectorate, though with some misgivings, they merely preserved 'Abd al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front
[402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills
(Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168]
[571] It has two turns, for the Thimsaman and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and
[571] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'-
[402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid
n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

• 104 Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")-anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the
614 three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those
312 who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and
578 those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the
423 River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of
691 Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

224 262 782 783 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah invocation must be eaten; but as, unfortunately, a mouse or some other ritually unclean animal might fall in, and as the owner of the trap would have to eat it, hunters prefer not to pronounce the invocation. They would prefer to wait until the next morning, trusting to luck to find the animal alive, if indeed it has not escaped from the trap.

The hunters must see the animals alive and pronounce the invocation in order to be able to eat them.

[231] For this reason, an animal caught by a dog, as well as one captured by a ferret, must be seen by the hunters in order that it be ritually permissible for them to eat. In the case of the ferret, if the animal turns up dead in its burrow and has not been seen previously by the ferret, it is also rejected, since death might have taken place earlier.

●104 M) Vocabulary:

1) hunt, hunting--Arabic rayah, Rifian dhagimmarth, dhingimarth or dhingmarth
2) hunters--Arabic mruyah, Rifian igimmaren (sing. agimmar), or ingmarn (sing. angmar)
3) signal of game--Haw-haw-haw! (repeated)
4) hunting in company--shirka, shurka
5) signal for attention and flushing of game--L-'adaw!; and if the game in question is partridge--Birraw!
6) sticks--dhigharya (Iqar'qyen dhigharyin), sing. dhaghrith, in the Ibuqquyen and in all the Aith Waryaghar save the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil, where a hunting stick is called r-mitrag and a walking stick dhqabut.

104 7) dog--aidi, pl. itan; smaller dog--aqzin, pl. iqzinen

8) saluki or greyhound--ushshai or ushsha, pl. ushshayen

9) ferret--nims or inimsi, pl. inimsan

10) division--Ar. wazi'a, R. r-uzi'ath

11) partridges--dhisxrin, sing. dhasxurth

12) rabbits--iqanniyen (in Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, iqannai), sing. aqanni (in Eastern Rif, aqanninni).

13) hares--iyarziyen, sing. ayarziz

14) jackal--uhar, pl. uharan (properly "fox")

15) wolf--ushshan, pl. ushshannen (properly "jackal")

16) net--dhrarsha (Eastern Rif, dhrashsha)

17) net for partridges--dhinigmarth (dhingmarth, lit. "hunting"); in Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, dhabhyuth

18) net for rabbits--aghassil (??)

19) snare for partridges (of esparto)--ahabbas

20) trap for partridges (of wood)--dhifriwin, sing. dhafruith (??)

21) trap for rabbits and jackals (of iron)--dhakhshifth

22) threshing floor--annar (in Eastern Rif, andrar), pl. inurar

23) bees--dhizizwa, sing. dhizizwi

24) hive--dhaghrasth, pl. dhighrasin

25) Palmetto sling (used by boys herding goats or cattle to drive them on, but used on occasion for hunting as well)--r-wuttaf n-tighzdhand

26) fiber sling of century plant--r-wuttaf w-uxfir

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

[755] [782]

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

104 624 [686] by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

000 172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

[613] 173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

[554] [648] [631] 176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

[614] 177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[224] [113] 179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

121 perspective. Material traits do not include all of cultural geography, but they
128 do constitute the core of things that the geographer can study systematically.

The thesis of my study of deforestation is that the extent of change can be
121 roughly delimited by historical research and by observation of present trends.
311 In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the principal agents of deforestation have been (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to clear land for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by livestock. There is evidence that each of these agents has been active for centuries. If allowance is made for probable variations in the rate of disturbance, tentative conclusions may be reached as to the extent of change.

104 For reasons that are painfully evident to all students of Moroccan languages or dialects, correct transliteration is difficult to achieve. Consider the word for "mountain." On French maps it apears as *jebel* or *djebel;* on Spanish maps it is *yebel*. The proper English transliteration of the classical Arabic is *jabal*. But most Moroccans know little of classical Arabic. The usual pronunciation is *jbil*, and this is the way I have written the word. I have tried to transliterate words so that they are intelligible to English-speaking readers. Thus the Maghribi Arabic word for "stream" appears as *wad*, not as *oued* or *uad*. Shawen is substituted for Chauen or Xauen, and Wezzan for Ouezzane. The variant spellings of French and Spanish cartographers are listed in the Appendix.

101 The field work for this study was carried out from November, 1955, to May,
114 1957, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my
122 gratitude to that institution for its support. I am grateful to many Moroccans
114 who helped me to understand their land and culture. Special mention should be made of my frequent traveling companions, Muhammad Miqqi of Ktama and
128 Muhammad ben Hmid l'Arbi of Aith Seddath. I am indebted also to Charles Sauvage of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien for assistance in the identification of plants.

[127] Since returning to the United States, I have profited from correspondence with David M. Hart. Mr. Hart was engaged in ethnological field work in the Rif from 1953 to 1955 and has since returned to Morocco for more extensive research. I am indebted to him for notes on many aspects of Moroccan culture, and especially for his advice on transliteration. The reader with prior knowledge of the literature on northern Morocco will be aware that I have derived great profit from
[126] study of the pioneer work of Carleton S. Coon. The illustrations of clothing and house types for chapters i and v were made from my collection of photographs and field sketches by Iris Neff and Jacques Lemieux.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation for the encouragement given to this undertaking by my teachers at the University of California. A preliminary version of this study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in geography under the supervision of Professors Carl O. Sauer, Melvin M. Knight, and James J. Parsons. The present work has profited from the criticism of Professors John Leighly, Erhard Rostlund, and Clarence J. Glacken.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

APPENDIX

Variant Spellings of Place and Lineage Names

104 The first rendition of the following names is that of the present work. Subsequent renditions indicate variant spellings found on French (Fr.) and Spanish (Sp.) maps.

CITIES AND TOWNS

Arcila (Fr. Arzila)
Bab Barrad (Fr. Bab Berret; Sp. Bab Barret)
Dar Chaui (Fr. Dar Chaoui)
Fez (Fr. Fès)
Ishshawen. *See* Shawen
Izagan (Fr. Issagene; Sp. Isagan)
Ksar al-Kebir (Fr. Ksar el-Kebir; Sp. Alcazarquivir)
Segangan (Fr. Segangane)
Shawen (Fr. Chauen, Chechaouene; Sp. Chauen, Xauen)
Tabarrant (Fr. Taberrant)
Tangier (Fr. Tanger; Sp. Tanger)
Targist (Fr. Targuist; Sp. Targuist)
Tetuán (Fr. Tétouan, Tétouane)
Tistutin (Fr. Tistoutine)
Wezzan (Fr. Ouezzane)
Zeluán (Fr. Selouane)

DISTRICTS

Gharb (Fr. Rharb)
Ghmara (Fr. Ghomara, Rhomara; Sp. Gomara)
Jbala (Fr. Jebala; Sp. Yebala)
Sanhaja as-Srair (Fr. Senhaja es-Srair; Sp. Senhaya es-Serair)
Sanhaja Ghaddu (Fr. Senhaja Rheddou)
Sanhaja Musbah (Fr. Senhaja Mosbah)

TRIBES

Aith (Fr. Ait; Sp. Ait)
Aith Ammarth (Fr. Ammart; Sp. Ammart)
Aith Bashir (Fr. Becher; Sp. Bechir)
Aith Bu Gafar (Fr. Bou Gafar; Sp. Bugafar)
Aith Bu Ifrur (Fr. Bou Ifrour; Sp. Buifrur)
Aith Bu Nsar (Fr. Bou Nsar; Sp. Buensar)
Aith Bu Yihyi (Fr. Bou Yahi; Sp. Buiahi)
Aith Imasen (Fr. Guassene; Sp. Gnassen)
Aith Khannus (Fr. Khennous; Sp. Jennus)
Aith Masduwi (Fr. Mesdoui; Sp. Mesdui)
Aith Seddath (Fr. Seddat; Sp. Seddat)
Aith Shikar (Fr. Sicar; Sp. Chicar)
Aith Sidar (Fr. Sidel; Sp. Sidel)
Aith Tuzin (Fr. Touzine)
Aith Warishik (Fr. Oulichek; Sp. Ulichec)
Aith Wariyaghar (Fr. Ouriaguel; Sp. Urriaguel)
Anjra (Fr. Anjera; Sp. Anyera)
Bani (Fr. Beni, Bni; Sp. Beni)
Bani Bu Frah (Fr. Bou Frah; Sp. Bufrah)
Bani Bu Shibat (Fr. Bou Chibet; Sp. Buchibet)
Bani Bu Zra (Fr. Bouchera; Sp. Buscra)
Bani Gmil (Sp. Guemil)
Bani Grir (Fr. Guerir; Sp. Guerir)
Bani Gurfat (Fr. Gorfet; Sp. Gorfet)
Bani Hassan (Fr. Hassane; Sp. Hasan)
Bani Hmid (Fr. Ahmed; Sp. Iahamed)
Bani Hozmar (Fr. Hozmar; Sp. Hosmar)
Bani Khaled (Fr. Khaled; Sp. Jaled)
Bani Mansur (Fr. Mansour; Sp. Mansor)
Bani Musawwar (Fr. Mezaouar; Sp. Mesauar)
Bani Rzin (Fr. Ersine; Sp. Ersin)
Bani Silman (Fr. Selmane; Sp. Selman)
Bani Siyyat (Fr. Ziat; Sp. Siat)
Bani Smih (Fr. Esmih; Sp. Esmih)
Bani Yidar (Fr. Ider; Sp. Ider)
Bani Yisif (Fr. Issef; Sp. Issef)
Bani Yittuft (Fr. Iteft; Sp. Itteft)
Bani Zakkar (Fr. Skar; Sp. Scar)
Bani Zejal (Fr. Esjjel; Sp. Seyyel)
Bdawa (Fr. Bedaua; Sp. Bedaua)
Ghzawa (Fr. Rhezaoua; Sp. Guesana)
Haus (Fr. Haous; Sp. Haus)
Ibdharsen (Fr. Metalsa; Sp. Metalza)
Ibuqquyen (Fr. Bokoia; Sp. Bokoia, Boccia)
Igzinnayen (Fr. Gzennaia; Sp. Guznaia)
Ikibdhanen (Fr. Kebdana; Sp. Quebdana)
Imazujen (Fr. Mazoura; Sp. Mazucha)
Jbil Habib (Fr. Jebel Hebib; Sp. Yebel Habib)
Khlut (Fr. Khlott; Sp. Jolot)
Khmas (Fr. Akhmas; Sp. Ajmas)
Ktama (Fr. Ketama; Sp. Quetama)
Mistasa (Fr. Mestasa; Sp. Mestasa)

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

TRIBES—*Continued*

104 Mtiwa (Fr. Metioua; Sp. Metiua)
Mzura (Fr. Mzora; Sp. Mzora)
Sahil (Fr. Sahel; Sp. Sahel)
Sumata (Fr. Soumata)
Tafarsith (Fr. Tafersit; Sp. Tafersit)
Taghzut (Fr. Tarhzout; Sp. Tagzut)
Thimsaman (Fr. Temsamane; Sp. Tensamen)
Ulad Stut (Fr. Oulad Setout; Sp. Ulad Settut)
Wadras (Fr. Ouedras; Sp. Uadras)
Zarqat (Fr. Sarkat; Sp. Sarcat)

MOUNTAINS AND STREAMS

Adrar (Sp. Aderar)
Adrar Dahdoh (Fr. Dahdeuh; Sp. Dehdoh)
Adrar Hamam (Fr. Hammane; Sp. Hammam)
Adrar Taghzut (Fr. Tarhzout; Sp. Tagzut)
Adrar Tidighin (Fr. Tidirhine; Sp. Tidiguin)
Jbil (Fr. Djebel, Jbel, Jebel; Sp. Yebel)
Jbil Alam (Sp. Aalam)
Jbil Buhashim (Fr. Bou Hachem; Sp. Buhachem)
Jbil Kelti (Sp. Quelti)
Jbil Khsana (Fr. Khesana; Sp. Jesana)
Jbil Lesbab (Fr. Lechab)
Jbil Musa (Fr. Mousa)
Jbil Sugna (Fr. Sougna; Sp. Suna)
Jbil Tisuka (Fr. Tisouka; Sp. Tisuca)
Jbil Tisiran (Fr. Tisirene; Sp. Tisiran)
Kar-Kar (Fr. Kerker; Sp. Ker-Ker, Quer-Quer)
Wad (Fr. Oued; Sp. Uad)
Wad Ghis (Fr. Rhis; Sp. Guis)
Wad Kart (Sp. Quart)
Wad Lao (Sp. Lau)
Wad Martil (Sp. Rio Martin)
Wad Moulouya (Sp. Muluya)
Wad Nkour (Fr. Nekour; Sp. Necor)
Wad Ouergha (Fr. Ouerrha; Sp. Uarga)

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

INTRODUCTION

121. While few would disagree that systems of economics are different, the notion that economies might be propelled by sets of dynamics radically different from those that developed in Western economy is much less accepted. That this should be the case rests to a large degree on the development of economics as a science. Those people who accepted the calling to become economists were concerned with understanding and explaining the economic systems of which they were the most aware. Economic theory became synonymous with an analysis of industrial economies. Yet the majority of the human populace lived in societies that had been only marginally affected by the industrial revolution and there even were social enclaves which were still untouched by it. Only in recent years have a growing number of economists, anthropologists, and sociologists sought to understand the economic systems of these nonindustrial societies. The present work, as a description and analysis of how wealth is distributed in one such society, is intended to make a modest contribution to this understanding.

121 105 The society which we shall examine is that of the Berbers in the Central Rif of Morocco. The empire of Morocco itself has a lengthy history as a political unit. However, various mountain

121 and desert areas remained politically distinct from the Sultan's
105 regime. These areas, of which the Rif was one, were called the
bled-as-siba, or the land of insolence. In such areas there was
[571] no centralized political authority and whatever small degree of
security that existed came from a system of social relationships
whereby mutual assistance was expected and granted. The absence
of political integration at any higher than the local kin and
residence group was paralleled by an absence of extensive economic
121 integration. Not only political success but economic well-being
105 as well depended on relatives, friends and neighbors all support-
571 ing one another. Out of this developed an economic system based
602 on status. By "status" I mean an economy in which the deployment
433 of resources is based primarily, though not exclusively, on imper-
556 atives derived from social relationships and religious obligations.
In such societies wealth is expended on ceremonial activities, on
reciprocal obligations, on the gift and countergift. In an indus-
trial society there are analogous ceremonies and celebrations in
which wealth is spent on relatives and ritual. However, such
expenses are marginal to the amount of total outlay. Such expen-
ditures have proportionately little effect on the sum total of
wealth in comparison to expenditures connected with rational pro-
duction. By way of contrast, in a nonindustrial society social
expenditures of wealth can be the most important way in which
121 wealth is utilized. In a society heavily dependent on local ties,
105 on kin alliance, on neighborhood association, social activities
571 tend to be the essence and breadth of the group. Production is
602
433

6 Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

121 aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise
105 from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation
571
602 of these activities and the social relationships that they help
433 establish.

The central problem I have set for myself is to describe
121
128 and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the condi-
121
433 tions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that
571 the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was soci-
602 ally, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political condi-
[178] tions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

CONCLUSION

105 631 I shall now drew a résumé of the character of the Rif economy. The first factor which merits our attention is that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba, the land of insolence, as opposed to the bled as-makhzen. The central feature of the 105 631 latter was that a central political body integrated the economy, 648 extracting taxes, channeling production, and supervising trade. The central government ran the economy which, with its large estates, absentee landowners, and tax-supported upper class, presented a classical example of an Oriental style of economic integration.

105 631 The bled-as-siba presents quite another form of political integration and economic organization.[1] Politically, the Rif consisted of a number of small sub-units, each autonomous from the rest and each relying only on its own power for maintaining its political integrity and economic well-being.

---

[1] This holds true for only parts of the bled-as-siba. Other parts of the land outside the makhzen developed complex feudal political organization while at the same time remaining free of the Sultan. Examples from the current century include the Pasha of Marrakesh, el-Galoui, and Raisuli in the northwest. As Benet noted, "The appearance of an internal proletariat in the Siba is a sure sign that it is developing an oligarchic tyranny of local character and a Makhzen of its own" (1957: 195).

105 631 The economic system of the bled-as-siba reflected this preoccupation, each sub-unit incorporating both its economic activity and its social activity in a manner so that the two could rarely be separated.

105 648 [631] [178] The Rif, however, is no longer bled-as-siba. Since 1926 it has been integrated into political systems with centralized authority. Yet most of the elements of the traditional economic system continue to persist. Why? I think that along with geographical isolation a poverty in natural resources has helped to maintain the Rif free from outside interferences. Sultans were hesitant to send a sizable army into the Rif because it was questionable whether the army could live off the land. Spain was interested less for economic reasons than as an effort to recoup some of the colonial glory she had but recently lost in a war with the United States. Once Spain established her protectorate she only selectively exploited the country in such items as minerals and lumber. On the whole this had no effect on the indigenous economic system. Nor has the Rif fared better since independence. "By comparison, the inhabitants of the old Spanish zone, largely Riffian, are poor relations when contrasted with their compatriots to the south. Extremely limited agricultural possibilities and poor communication in rugged terrain combine to produce this situation" (Steward 1964:170). The Moroccan government has found that the incorporation of the north constitutes a drain on national resources, contributing little to the national economy while at the same time extracting

105 a disproportionate share of the national income towards support-
648 ing the region. "On balance, the ex-Spanish zone brings little other than problems to the Moroccan administration and economy" (Ibid.:170).[1] Since it cannot be profitably exploited, the Rif is allowed to follow its own form of economic integration. This integration is based on an adaptation to the prevailing ecological and social conditions of the Rif. That the adaptation is successful is testified by its persistence.

105 In summary I shall sketch what seem to me the basic features of this economic system. I do not pretend that this is an exhaustive summation of all elements of the system nor is it adequate as a treatment of the new forms of economic organization which are emerging in the Rif (expanding wage labor, tourism, etc.). It does, however, serve as a guide towards understanding the major elements of this status economy and, it is hoped, deepens our perception of the economic life of nonindustrial society.

105 We may start with the element in the system which marks
43 the greatest point of departure from the economy of an industrial
182 society. Those resources of the fellah which are not devoted to subsistence are predominantly tied up in meeting needs arising from a combination of social and religious factors. Production

---

[1] The same is said about the Kabylia in Algeria. Yet it is unlikely that independence in either country could have been achieved as quickly as it came without the assistance of these dissentient Berber groups. Unfortunately, once independence is achieved they become a burden to the urban-oriented leaders.

105 43 182 [152] is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption, etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies. These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources" (1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unimportant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest, respectively, appearing only as different instances of price according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most predominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the complete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic

105 443 182 [181]

[114]

105 443 182 114 blindness that led Benet to conclude: "Everything that is not domestically produced has, therefore, to be obtained from the market, through market transactions, and no exchange or commercial activities of any kind are attempted outside of these times and places. The market place has a monopoly on exchange transactions [amongst Berbers]" (1957:196).

105 443 441 182 434 438 The market itself is not the area of primary concern for the fellah. Professional merchants, of course, fall into another category. But there is little impetus for the growth of an indigenous merchant class. The merchant entrepreneur is, by definition, acting in a way which runs counter to the status economy. He is primarily concerned with devoting his capital to profit or income-producing investments. While the peasant comes to the market with commodities to exchange for money to buy other commodities, the merchant seeks to convert money into commodities which he can resell in order to acquire more money. Social and religious imperatives only interfere with the merchant's freedom of action.[1] Unlike transactions in the social sphere which perpetuate themselves into the future as part of a web of reciprocal obligations, the merchant seeks transactions which are impersonal and terminal at the moment of exchange. He is most at home in the suq, where these conditions are nearest to being achieved.

---

[1] I do not mean to draw too close a parallel between the Protestant merchant and his Muslim counterpart. The Islamic business ethic still awaits its Weber.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105 443 441 182 Yet at the same time, the merchant becomes increasingly isolated from the culture of the Rif and increasingly involved in the ideology of industrial society.

105 182 Outside the marketplace, resources continue to be circumscribed by social strictures, credit is based on reputation, prestige is evoked through ceremony, while honor and shame guarantee each transaction. Bulls are killed to bring on rain, witches paid to remove evil eyes, and man continues an intensive dialogue with his external environment based on a cultural evaluation which provides a measure of both social and physical comfort.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter VIII

SUMMARY

105 From the standpoint of the cultural geographer, northern Morocco is perhaps best described as an area of modified Berber culture located within the realms of Mediterranean environment and Islamic civilization. The influence of the Mediterranean environment is most clearly seen in modes of livelihood, while Islamic influence predominates in religion, language, and social organization. The persistence of traits of truly indigenous (i.e., Berber) culture is explained in large part by the lack of direct communication with the Muslim heartland and the main centers of Western civilization. Berber traits have persisted also because of environmental conditions and social circumstances that discouraged economic development and political centralization. The cultural geography of northern Morocco is best studied in the light of contingencies that are peculiar to this corner of the Old World.

The dominant physical feature of the area is the Rif mountain chain, which marks the division between a zone of effective isolation and one of peripheral passageways. The diffusion of most innovations can be traced along a hook-shaped course with the point embedded in the Ghmaran hills. The main stream of Moroccan history flows through the Taza corridor and then north or south along the Atlantic littoral. The Moulouya Valley has never been more than a minor distributary. It was followed by bedawin during the final phase of the Arab invasions, but the semiarid plains of northeastern Morocco did not attract immigrants seeking opportunities for a settled life. In contrast, the Taza corridor leads to lands of reliable rainfall and fertile soil.

The first and most important breach of the mountain rampart occurred along the ridges leading from Shawen to Targist. It was along this route that Islam and Arabic advanced most rapidly into the highlands. The same route served the Spaniards as the sole link between the western and eastern parts of their protectorate. Invaders found it easy to move along the Atlantic littoral, and a few managed to penetrate the Jbalan hills, but no major force moved into the highlands from the east or south. It is not yet certain whether the famous "Unity Road" (Tariq at-Tauhid), built immediately after independence to link Alhucemas and Fez, will prove worthy of its name.

From 1912 until 1928 the area of effective Spanish occupation was about the same as the area occupied by the Romans. The extent of the *bilad al-makhzen* fluctuated from reign to reign; yet even the more ambitious sultans were not able to exercise enduring influence in the Rif. Roman Morocco was a land of plains. The Arabs managed to add a large area of foothills. After numerous setbacks the Europeans were able to subdue the highlands. The present government, profiting from the accomplishments of the protectorates, has tried to unify the Moroccan people and integrate the national economy. It is no longer reasonable to describe Morocco as a primitive country rent by the hostility of Arabs and Berbers or townsmen and tribesmen. The conquest of the lands of dissidence has eliminated or at least masked the major dichotomies. Nevertheless, one is still tempted to speak of Moroccos rather than a Morocco.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

105 Many of the basic distinctions in the cultural geography of northern Morocco can be attributed to two main factors: the sense of collective identity that is felt by members of tribal confederations and some individual tribes, and the extent to which such groups have been exposed to alien influence. For example, Berber speech in the Rif has survived because it is an expression of fraternal unity, and because the traditions of political independence and economic self-sufficiency have enforced the isolation of the area from the main centers of Arab influence. [186] Moreover, the preservation of Berber speech and many other aspects of Berber culture have been encouraged by the contempt of the Rifians for their Arab or [176] [178] Arabized neighbors. In the Rif, as elsewhere, an innovation may be accepted or rejected, not on the basis of its form and content or its compatibility with established custom but because of its affiliation with desirable or undesirable groups.

Consciously or unconsciously, tribal groups have selected material traits, such as distinctive clothing, settlement patterns, and types of houses, to serve as symbols of their identity. It is not by accident that the western limits of dispersed settlement and flat-roofed houses nearly coincide with the western limits of Rifian speech. Nor is it surprising that symbols of tribal identity are more conspicuous in the highlands than on the Atlantic littoral. This contrast is explained, or at least clarified, when the distribution of culture traits is compared with the physical division between refuge areas and passageways.

Other notable examples of refuge areas are found on the Ghmaran coast, especially the territory of the Bani Bu Zra, and in the less accessible parts of Sanhaja as-Srair. The most exposed areas of northern Morocco are the Fahs territory, south of Tangier, and the basin of Wad Lukkus. These territories are cultural melting pots in which heterogenous elements have been blended by the pervasive force of Islam. Moreover, these territories, unlike the rest of the northern zone, have been affected by social and economic influences emanating from towns.

For northern Morocco as a whole, subsistence farming is clearly the predominant mode of livelihood. With the exception of hemp, grown in the Sanhajan highlands, there is no large cash crop. At most markets barter is more important than cash transactions, and the essential imports from the urban centers are limited to sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene. Yet the rural economy of northern Morocco should not be described as one of simple subsistence with little or no specialization or exchange. In northern Morocco, as in many other areas of the non-Western world, self-sufficiency at the scale of the canton or tribe reflects the specialized or semispecialized production of individual hamlets and farmsteads.

The basic differences within the agricultural framework depend upon the opportunities for cultivation of crops to supplement the staple cereals. Maximum opportunity is found in the Sanhajan highlands, where perennial streams provide water for irrigation of vegetables and legumes. There are few perennial streams in the western lowlands, but the combination of gentle slopes, fertile soils, and dependable rains minimizes the risks of dry farming and makes possible a surplus yield of grain to be drawn upon during unproductive months. In the Rif, horticulture provides a safeguard against failure of the cereal crops, and when bread is scarce, raisins, nuts, and figs are staple foods. The number of orchards decreases

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

105 toward the eastern plains, and the tribesmen of Garet and Gal'aya stake their lives on the unpredictable rains. The seasonal emigration from these districts results from the serious imbalance between population and reliable food supply.

In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the natural vegetation has been substantially modified. The principal causes of disturbance have been cutting, burning, and browsing, which have changed northern Morocco from a land of forests to a land of scrub. Large areas now covered with palmetto or thorn scrub once supported forests of oleaster, oak, cedar, and thuya. At present the distribution of forests is approximately the obverse of the distribution of men and livestock. Most of the remaining cedar forests are located above the limits of cultivation, and the surviving stands of holly oak occur in karstic highlands rising above cultivated plains. In the western lowlands most of the native plant cover has been destroyed. Sacred groves of oleaster give some indication of primordial or potential conditions, but only palmetto and a few other shrubs of the secondary growth survive. The record of succession is more complete in the Jbalan hills, and all stages in the retrogression are present in the Sanhajan highlands. The natural vegetation of the eastern plains, like that of the Atlantic littoral, has been almost completely destroyed, but the repeated expansion and contraction of the area of cultivated land permits an extensive development of secondary scrub.

The processes that have produced these changes can be traced into prehistory. Cereals were cultivated and goats were raised before the Phoenicians arrived. Since clearing is, and probably was, accomplished by burning, the limitations of Stone Age technology probably did not inhibit some modifications of vegetation and soil. It is hazardous to generalize about variations in the intensity of disturbance, for there is no way to determine long-term trends in the growth of human and animal populations. Nevertheless, some parts of the historical record are sufficiently striking to command attention—for example, the indication that shipbuilding was once an important industry on the Mediterranean coast, and that gates of cedar used to stand in city walls.

121 Understanding in cultural geography is attained through analysis of processes
105 initiated and carried forward by man. In this work an attempt has been made to account for the distribution of culture traits and the effects of man's activities on the land. In other words, this study has been concerned with patterns and imprints of culture. The evidence examined suggests that the landscape of northern Morocco has long been affected by two trends: a blurring of cultural patterns, and a deepening and extension of cultural imprints. It is reasonable to suppose that both trends will persist. Political centralization will encourage acculturation, and further increase in population will accelerate modification of the land.

/p. 120 is blank/

105

Identification

The Riffians belong linguistically to the Riffian branch of the Berber division of the Hamito-Semitic linguistic stock. They live in the northern mountains of Morocco and are culturally akin to the Jebala, who now speak Arabic. They fall into the following divisions:

A. Metalsa (Mtalsa), located in the SE. They numbered 68, 000 in 1921, and their language is strongly affected by Zenata Berber.

B. Riffians proper, located in the N and NE. They numbered between 300, 000 and 400, 000 in 1921, and fall into three subdivisions:

   a. Eastern: Kebdana, Galiya (Guelaia), Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit. This group is strongly infiltrated by Zenata Berbers.

   b. Central: Temsaman, Touzin (Beni Touzine), Gzennaya (Gzennaia), Beni Amert, Urriaghel (Beni Ouriaghel), Targuist, and Bokoya (Bokaia).

   c. Western: Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Fra, Mestassa, and Mtiwa.

C. Ghomara (Ghomera), located in the NW. They numbered about 107, 000 in 1921, are strongly Arabized, and speak a language mutually intelligible with Riffian proper.

D. Senhaja (Sanhadja), located in the S. They numbered about 180, 000 in 1921. Only the nuclear Senhaja speak Berber--a dialect close to but not mutually intelligible with Riffian proper. The other Senhaja speak Arabic today. There are through subdivisions of the Senhaja:

   a. Nuclear Senhaja: Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Berber, Taghzuth, Ktama, and Beni Mesduy.

   b. Eastern Arabaphone Senhaja: Marnissa, Beni Krama, Brane, Amshesh, Beni Wenjin, Fenassa, Beni Ulid, Zrarka, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, Ain Medinna, Bab Wendar, Muziet, Rgheiwa, Aghbalu, Khunduktamda, Ulad Brahim, and Beni Bu Shama.

105

c. Western Arabaphone Senhaja: Beni Hamid Sorak, Ghazawa (Ghezaoua), and Khmes (El Khmes). The town of Chechaouen is in Khmes territory.

The Ghomara sub-tribes are the Beni Ziat, Beni Zejel, Beni Selman, Beni Bu Zra, Beni Mansur, Beni Grir, Beni Smih, and Beni Rezin. The Riffians were apparently not strongly affected by Carthaginian, Roman, and Vandal rule. The first wave of Arab conquerors established a strong kingdom at Nekor in 710, converting the Riffians to Islam. In the 11th century a strong wave of nomadic Arab immigrants entered Morocco, about 150, 000 strong, and strongly affected the eastern Rif. In 1216 the country was conquered by Zenata Berbers from the Moroccan Sahara. In 1497 the Spaniards conquered Melilla, which they have held ever since. The bulk of the Riffian territory today falls into Spanish rather than French Morocco.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with plow cultivation, use of animal manure, and considerable irrigation and terracing of fields. The staple crop is barley, followed by maize and rye. Also grown are wheat (rare), sorghum (recent and uncommon), beans (Faba vulgaris and a small black species), peas, lentils, vetch, potatoes, turnips, onions, carrots (few), tomatoes, peppers, squash, gourds, almonds, apples, apricots, figs, grapes (important), lemons, olives, oranges, peaches, pears, plums, pomegranates, and walnuts.

Cattle, used for milk, meat, hides, and traction, are the principal domestic animals, but numerous goats, horses, donkeys, mules, dogs, chickens, and bees are also kept, as well as a few sheep and cats but no camels. Pigs were kept until recently, and even today are occasionally kept surreptitiously. Butter but not cheese is made. There is considerable hunting and trapping, and considerable fishing (with seines) on the coast. There are weekly markets, usually one in each district.

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt and do nearly all the agricultural work; among the Senhaja and some Ghomara, however, the women also work in the fields. Boys herd sheep and goats. Women tend cattle, gather greens, and do some of the market trading.

Property

Irrigation ditches used by more than one man are communally owned and tended, each farmer having so many days or half-days of water use. Share-cropping is common.

Inheritance is patrilineal, following the Koranic law--an eighth of a man's estate going to his widow with the remainder in equal shares to his children (or to his siblings, if he has no children) with females receiving half rather than full shares. When a woman marries, she releases her inherited property to her brothers or other near male relatives.

Social Stratification

There are practically no slaves, Negro or otherwise, but there are despised endogamous castes of smiths (often Negroid), musicians, public criers (who are also market weighers and measurers), and Jews (who are confined to special colonies and are subject to severe restrictions). Among ordinary freemen there are appreciable differences in land ownership and wealth, but these have not crystallized into sharp class distinctions, and both upward and downward mobility within a single generation are common.

Marriage

Marriage involves a substantial bride-price, which averages $100 to $600 among the Riffians proper but only about $7 among the nuclear Senhaja. Youths select their own spouses, the mothers make the preliminary arrangements, and the fathers negotiate the bride-price and make final arrangements. Virginity is demanded and tested.

Polygyny is permitted, but only in the non-sororal form. It is rare, however, and only rich men have more than one wife through choice (they live in the same house). Most polygynous unions result from the operation of the preferential levirate; a widow continues to reside in her deceased husband's house, where she is visited by her levirate husband. Preferential sororate also prevails.

Family

There are patrilocal extended families called "veins" (awar), including a group of brothers and their descendants who sometimes but not usually live in a single house. When all the brothers of the oldest generation die, the group splits into as many new patri-families as there were brothers.

Residence

A groom by preference builds or buys a separate house in his father's village, but if he is poor he and his bride may reside in his father's house. Matrilocal residence occurs in cases where a stranger serves his WiFa as a share-cropper.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

There is preferential local endogamy, but exogamous unions sometimes occur.

Marriage is forbidden with a FaBrDa, but allowed with other first cousins.

Descent is patrilineal, but only the minor patri-lineage or "vein" localized as an extended family is exogamous. A number of patri-lineally related "veins" form a patri-sib called "bone" (ighs), which is preferentially but not exclusively endogamous and which is normally localized as a clan.

Settlement Pattern

The Riffians live in compact sedentary villages of square houses with flat roofs, walls of stone masonry, and interior courtyards. The Ghomara and Senhaja houses have gabled roofs covered with thatch or shingles, though some Senhaja houses also have flat roofs. The Senhaja and some Metalsa have walled and fortified towns. Alone among the Riffians, the Metalsa are semi-nomadic with seasonal transhumance (in the mountains in the winter, in the valleys in the summer) and live in tents during their nomadic phase.

Community Organization

A patri-sib is usually localized as a patrilocal clan-community, sometimes, however, as a politically independent clan-barrio within the village. Strangers may be attached to the clan, but without political rights. As their descendants increase, they usually hive off and form independent clan-communities of their own. Circumcision is practiced--usually in infancy but sometimes at the age of 7 or 8.

Local Government

Local government is usually confined to two or three youths appointed for their promise or intelligence by the district council to serve as a sort of police force, dealing with petty offences.

State

The clan-villages (usually unrelated) of a valley or other small geographical area are politically integrated into a district (arrba), and districts are integrated into tribes, often by five grups of districts called "fifths" (khom). Political cohesion is slight, even in a district. Each district, however, has a council (amghar) consisting of 3-4 men from each prominent clan (exclusive of those founded by strangers). The members are chosen by their predecessors, usually with some tendency for a father to be succeeded by his son. The council appoints a presiding officer or moderator (mokaddem), and handles all important judicial and administrative matters. Tribal and even intertribal councils assemble in cases of emergencies. The Targuist tribe of the Riffians proper and the nuclear Senhaja tribes are exceptional in being under the domination of marabout families. The Ghomara differ in having an Arab type of political organization with tribal chiefs (kaid) and district chiefs (sheikh).

Warfare

Warfare is common between districts, and even between the clans of a district. Montagne reports a system of moiety-like groups (lef) comparable to those of the Shluh. When a war affects neighboring groups adversely, the neighboring tribes call an intertribal council which assesses a heavy fine against the aggressor tribe; if this is not paid, the neighbors attack the offending tribe district by district. As each district is defeated, a fine is collected, and it is compelled to join in the fight against the next district, sharing in the fine collected from them, and so on until the last district is conquered and pacified.

Bibliography

Bernard, A. Afrique septentrionale et occidentale, Vol. I. Paris, 1937. (A very few items).

Coon, C. S. Tribes of the Rif. Harvard African Studies, IX, 1-417. 1931. (A modern ethnography with substantial information).

Mouliéras, A. Le Maroc inconnu, Vol. I: Exploration du Rif. Paris, 1895.

Piquet, V. Le peuple marocain. Paris, 1925.

1: Coon, Carleton Stevens. Tribes of the Rif. Harvard African Studies, Vol. 9. Cambridge: Peabody Museum, 1931.

HRAF copy.

Pp. xviii, 417; 67 plates; 42 maps.

Omitted from the files. Pp. 175-405 and accompanying plates and maps.

[This source covers the Berber tribes of the Rif, an area along the northern coast of Spanish Morocco. It deals in particular with three adjoining sub-areas: Rif, Ghomara, and Northern Senhaja. The material has been marked only for the MX3 Rif file. Pages 175-405, dealing with the comparative physical anthropology of the Rif, have been omitted; pages 406-418, containing the author's conclusions as to Berber origins, and a general bibliography, have been included in the file.

The book covers first the geography, traditional history, and recorded history of the area. There follows a thorough treatment of material culture, social organization, government and warfare, markets, public buildings and instruction, officers, life crises, religion, magic, and an analysis of the

1: Coon, Carleton Stevens.

distribution of cultural traits. The many distribution maps are particularly useful.

The author undertook the fieldwork on which this book is based when he was a graduate student in anthropology at Harvard University.

Mr. David M. Hart, a graduate student in anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, and recently returned from two years fieldwork in the Rif, supplied the following information which supplements Coon's observations:

P. 91. "A dual organization does exist among the Rif..... each tribe in the Rif is split in half politically, and each of these halves not only fights the other one, but brings in, in most cases, other whole tribes or segments of tribes to help it out. This...is called liff; the only liff that Coon mentions is the smaller type within each tribal segment. These small lifuf (pl. of liff) constantly change; the big ones do not. Aith Wariyaghar, for example, is divided into five primary segments; two of these are in one liff, two in the other, and the fifth is split in half, part of it on one side and part on the other. In Aith 'Ammarth there are four segments, and a two-way split. In Igzinnayen, with five segments, it is three and two. In Asht Tuzin (as I recall) each of the five

1: Coon, Carleton Stevens.

segments is split in half."

P. 96. "While the village council may be composed of boys in Igzinnayen, this is not the case in Aith Wariyaghar or any of the other tribes. In these groups, adult men form the village council."

P. 110. "In his chapter on markets, Coon discusses women's markets, but fails to point out their distribution. They are located only in the lowlands and median slopes of Aith Wariyaghar; there are none elsewhere and none in the high mountains of that tribe. Although most of the other tribes have traditions of having had women's markets in the past, none have them now."--Analyst]

Field date: 1926-1927
Analyst: James Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1958

2: Westermarck, Edward. Ritual and Belief in Morocco. 2 vols. London: Macmillan and Co., 1926.

HRAF copy

Pp. xxxii, 608; 129 figures, 1 plate. xviii, 629; 10 figures; 1 map.
/HRAF pagination: i-xxxii, 1-99/

[This source was written by an ethnologist on the basis of seven years of field work undertaken in twenty-one journeys to Morocco. In the case of the Rif, the author worked through informants and did not actually visit the area he describes. Although the value of Westermarck's materials has been questioned by some, his material is cited frequently in the literature. Despite the fact that many of his data were not based on direct observation, his long residence in the area gives them some weight. The work has been excerpted since only a relatively small portion of it pertains to the Central Rif. The material includes data on the sanctity of objects, places and persons, information on sorcery and the ceremonial cycle, and sections on luck, funeral customs, ethnozoology, and

2: Westermarck, Edward.

ethnobotany. Westermarck's complicated system of phonetic transcription of native words has been omitted in the HRAF text. --Analyst]

Field date: 1898-1926
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist -5
Processed in 1959

MX3 Rif.

3: Hart, David Montgomery. An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil. Tamuda, Vol. II, No. I. pp. 55-86. Tetuan: High Comission of Spain in Morocco, Delegation of Education and Culture, 1954.

HRAF copy.

[This article, by a professional anthropologist, summarizes cultural data gathered by him during field work in the Rif. Portions of the summary include the agricultural system, property, religion, physical anthropology, and warfare. The most extensive portion of the article deals with socio-political organization. The author gives listings of the various divisions and their respective officials, as well as the inter-relationships between groups and the history of recent social change in the political structure of the area. --Analyst]

Field date: 1953-1954
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist -5
Processed in 1959

4: Hart, David Montgomery. An 'Imārah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sīdī Khiyār. Tamuda, Vol. 5, No. II, pp. 239-245. Tetuan: High Comission of Spain in Morocco, Delegation of Education and Culture, 1957.

HRAF copy

[This article describes a short pilgrimage observed by the author in the Rif. Some material is contained on a brotherhood devoted to the local saint, and comparisons are made between this pilgrimage and those observed elsewhere in Morocco. --Analyst]

Field date: 1953-1954
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist - 5
Processed in 1959

5: Blanco Izaga, Emilio. Emilio Blanco Izaga: colonel in the Rif. A selection of his material, published and unpublished, on the sociopolitical structure of the Rifians of Northern Morocco. Translated and with an introduction by David Montgomery Hart. HRAFlex Books, Ethnology Series, MX3-001. New Haven, Human Relations Area Files, 1975.

3, 3, 418 l.; 2 maps; 3 text figures.

HRAF copy.

[The information, both published and unpublished, contained in this source is the result of Blanco's twenty years of administrative experience among the Rif. The introduction, written by Hart, gives a biographical sketch of Blanco, a history of colonial Morocco, and also information on the Aith Waryaghar tribe, the tribe about which most of this source is written. The second part of this work is Hart's translation of Blanco's book, La Ley Rifena, which was written when Blanco was the regional administrator of the Rif, and then published in 1939. This book was originally intended to have been the second part of a two-volume study of Rifian customary law. The first part of this proposed treatise on Rifian law and jural procedure was never published by Blanco. It is presented here for the first time in print, and constitutes the first part of this source.

Most of the information is concerned with the Aith Waryaghar tribe: its sociopolitical organization; law; and the tradition of the local communities. One section, however, contains notes on the Igzinnayen tribe of the Rif (pp. 139-152), and a

5: Blanco 'zaga

law of the Aith Siddat tribe (Senhaja MX4) is discussed on pp. 329-336. Pages 45-95 (excluding pp. 64-64d) are a duplicate of 3: Hart and, therefore, these pages have not been marked. See 3: Hart in the MX3 Rif file for this information.

Hart has supplied many footnotes which are quite useful, not only because of the additional information they contain, but also because of their critical nature, which serves to place Blanco's remarks in proper perspective. Hart criticizes Blanco for his many factual errors in the notes on the Rif as well as his irresponsible statements and value judgments. It is for these reasons that Hart has called Blanco an amateur ethnologist. Another of Hart's criticisms of Blanco is concerned not with the content of the work but with the way in which the author has presented the information. Anyone who reads this source must agree with Hart that Blanco was quite adept in constructing "tortuously meandering sentences." (p. 194 f.n.).

In all fairness, however, it must be noted that not all of Hart's comments about Blanco were negative. Hart recognized the contributions that Blanco made to an understanding of the Rif. For example, Hart states that, "The concept of the relative autonomy or independence of the tribal clan ... is, as far as we know, an original contribution by Blanco to the overall study of Berber social structure." (p. 156, f.n. 13). Also, Hart thinks that one of Blanco's most significant contributions was his recognition of the Rif concept of 'turn' (p. 161, f.n. 43), 'doing things in or by turn' (p. 102). Another recognized contribution, or rather "original discovery," was that of the staggered irrigation rotation (p. 411, f.n. 140).

Blanco has used many Arabic and Rif terms without always stating which ones were Arabic and which were Rif. A glossary

5: Blanco Izaga

has been prepared for this source and will be found in Category 104. Where possible, it has been indicated whether a word in the glossary is Arabic or Rif.

Footnotes appearing in the body of the text will be found at the end of each major section of the source (see Table of Contents) in Category 116.

It should also be noted that there are spelling or typographical errors, and misused words (Hart usually points these out) are not rare. With imagination, however, the reader should not have difficulty discovering their true meaning.]

Field date: 1914-1945
Analysts: Heather Fellows, marker
John Beierle, checker

Evaluation: Government Official - 4,5
Processed in 1975-1976

6: Joseph, Roger, Jr. Rituals and relatives: a study of the social uses of wealth in Morocco. Dissertation (Anthropology)--University of California, Los Angeles, 1967. University Microfilms, Publications, 67-14,270. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1967 [1975 copy].

3, 9, 118 l.; bibliography.

HRAF copy.

[In this source the author attempts to show how the element of wealth in a nonindustrialized society, as represented here by the Rif, is used to meet the needs of relatives and/or ritual obligations, with the concomitant production of economic goods regulated to satisfy the needs arising from the activities and responsibilities induced by such social and religious obligations. This study attempts to describe and explore the various ways in which wealth is distributed among the Berbers of the Central Rif. Joseph points out that the fundamental feature of the Riffian economy is status and one in which the deployment of resources rests primarily, though not exclusively, on imperatives derived from social factors (p. vii). Economic consumption, exchanges and transfers not directly related to subsistence are dealt with by a different order of practical considerations and ideological commitments from those found as dominating factors in industrialized societies.

In the source the author further develops the theme of how the market place, which is basically peripheral to Riffian

6: Joseph

economy, has led to the development of a particular type of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and economic resources. Since the Central Rif, until recently, has been independent of the administrative control of the Moroccan government, the autonomy of the local communities, coupled with other factors discussed in the text, has led to a Riffian society in which there is a complete absence of centralized political control. This lack of control has directly influenced the system by which economic resources are distributed, with the result that the economy has developed as a reflection of the social organization wherein well-being depended on relatives, friends, the good-will of the spirits and God, each supporting one another (p. ix).]

The data for this study were collected by the author from two adjoining villages in the Province of Alhucemas in northern Morocco between June 1965 and November 1966, and pertain primarily to the Beni Wariyaghar and Ibuqquyen groups of Rif.]

Field date: June 1965 - November 1966
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1975

7: Mikesell, Marvin Wray. Northern Morocco: a cultural geography. California, University, Publications in Geography, 14. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1961.

7, 135 p.; 29 figures (including maps); 11 plates; appendix.

Yale: E10 / C12 14.

[In this source the author, now (1975) Professor of Geography at the University of Chicago, attempts to account for the distribution of various cultural traits in northern Morocco and to show the effects of man's activities on the land. In presenting the data the cultural and physical geography of the area are first discussed, then an account of the cultural history of the region dating as far back as 500 B.C. all of which provides a background for the assessment of man's effect on vegetation and soil. The author's findings are summarized in chapter 8, pp. 117-119. Since the author discusses his data from the viewpoint of northern Morocco as a whole, category 171 (distributional evidence) has been used extensively in this source to indicate the distribution of cultural elements beyond the Riffian area. Data on the Jebala (MX2) and Senhaja (MX4) Berber groups have been appropriately subheaded in the source. Since much of the information in the source applies equally to the general Morocco file (MW1) and to Spanish Morocco (MX1), cross-reference slips have been prepared for these files referring the researcher to the MX3 Rif file for specific cultural information.

7: Mikesell

The fieldwork for the study was done by the author from November 1955 to May 1957 under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation.]

Field date: November 1955 - May 1957
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Geographer - 4,5
Processed in 1975

Coon, Carleton S. Flesh of the Wild Ox: A Riffian Chronicle of High Valleys and Long Rifles. London: Jonathan Cape, 1932. 367 pp.

[This is a literary by-product of Coon's expedition to the Rif in 1926-28 and his monograph, "Tribes of the Rif." It is a portrait of Riffian life, based upon oral tradition of the legendary history of the Rif. The first part of the book is an historical chronicle centered about characters from successive generations of a Riffian family; the narrative continues the history of the Riffians up until their final pacification by the Spanish. The book contains little ethnographic information not covered in Coon's monograph.]

M12 MX3 Rif

Moulieras, Auguste. Le Maroc Inconnu: Exploration du Rif. Oran, 1895-1899. 200 pp.

[This source, essentially an administrative report, deals with the various tribal groups giving demographic statistics, location, and some local traditions of origin. In addition it gives for each tribe some comments on the character of the people and a few ethnographic remarks. The rest of the material covers natural resources and matters of administrative interest. Coon does not cite this work in his text. It is regarded by modern authorities on the area as being unreliable and mainly of historical interest.]

MX3 Rif

Hart, David and Jose R. Erola. Riffian Morals. Encyclopedia of Morals, pp. 481-490. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956.

[This short article begins by locating the group and speaking briefly of tribal divisions. It then relates Riffian belief to Islam in general. Tracing Riffian competition from "a lack of sufficient arable land and of water, plus overpopulation" the authors state: "Within the tribe the achievement of personal power is the goal of everyone, and if it cannot be obtained through force or violence, trickery and cunning are resorted to, and culturally sanctioned." The authors then examine a number of aspects of Riffian morality. A few of their conclusions are follows: delinquency, low; sexual morality, very high; and so on, examining finally the total configuration. Various examples from everyday life are used.]

Westermarck, Edward. Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco. London: Macmillan, 1914. 422 pp.

[This source discusses marriage in Morocco from the betrothal to the post-ceremony taboos. Only a relatively small portion of the work pertains to the sample group, the Ait Waryager. Most of the pertinent materials are contained in Westermarck's Ritual and Belief in Morocco, source #2, this file.]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

ABDERRAHMAN BEN ABDULLAH BEN 'IMRAN BEN 'AMIR ES-SA'DI, Tarikh es-Soudan. Text and Translation. Translated by O. Houdas. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1900.

ALBENIZ, VICTOR RUIZ, España en el Rif. Madrid, Biblioteca Hispania, 1922.

——, El. Riff. Madrid, Imprenta de Juan Pueyo, 1912.

AMAT, CHARLES, Le Maab et les Maabites. Paris, Challamel et Cie., 1888.

ARANZADI, T. DE, "Observaciones Anthroponetricas en los Carcereños," *Actas de la Sociedad Española de Historia Natural*, 2nd series, Vol. III (XXIII), Session de Enero.

ARTRAUER, OTTO C., Riffpiraten und Ihre Heimat. Stuttgart, Verlag von Strecker und Schröder, 1911.

ATGIER, E. A., "Les Touareg à Paris," *Bulletin et Mémoirs de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 5th series, Vol. X, pp. 222–243. Paris, 1909.

BARRAS DE ARÁGON, F. DE LAS, "Notas sobre índices obtenidos de medidas tomados en vivo, de sujetos naturales de la Provincia de Sevilla y sus limitrofes," *Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropologia, Etnografia, y Prehistoria*, Vol. II. Madrid, 1923.

BASSET, HENRI, Essai sur la Litterature des Berberes. Algiers, Jules Carbonel, 1920.

——, La Culte des Grottes au Maroc. Algiers, Jules Carbonel, 1920.

BATES, ORIC, The Eastern Libyans. London, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1914.

EL BEKRI, Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale. Traduite par Mac Guckin de Slane. Algiers, Adolphe Jourdan, 1913.

BERTHOLON, L., and CHANTRE, E., Recherches Anthropologiques dans la Berberie Orientale. Lyon, A. Rey, 1913.

BIARNAY, S., Etude sur les Dialectes Bérbères du Rif. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1917.

BRUNEL, RÉNÉ, Essai sur la Confrerie Religieuse des Aissoua au Maroc. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1926.

BRYN, HALFDAN, and SCHREINER, K. E., Die Somatologie der Norweger. Oslo, I Kommisjon Hos Jacob Dybward, 1929.

CANDOLLE, ALPHONSE DE, The Origin of Cultivated Plants. New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1885.

CASTRO, FERNANDEZ DE, Guelaia y Qebdana. Malaga, Zambrana Hermanos, 1911.

CAUDEL, M., L'Afrique du Nord, Les Premieres Invasions Arabes. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1900.

CHENIER, LOUIS SAUVEUR DE, Recherches Historiques sur les Maures. Paris, chez l'Auteur, 1787.

DAVENPORT, CHARLES B., and LOVE, ALBERT G., Army Anthropometry. Washington, 1921.

DAVIS, WILLIAM STEARNS, An Outline History of the Roman Empire. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1911.

DELBREL, GARIEL, Geografia General del Rif. Melilla, el Telegrama del Rif, 1911.

DENIKER, JOSEPH, The Races of Man. London, Walter Scott, 1900.

DEPONT, OCTAVE, and COPPOLANI, XAVIER, Les Confrèries Religieuses Musulmanes. Algiers, Adolphe Jourdan, 1897.

DIXON, ROLAND B., The Building of Cultures. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928.

DOUTTÉ, EDMOND, En Tribu. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1914.

DUVEYRIER, HENRI, La Derniere Partie Inconnue du Littoral de la Mediterranée, Le Rif. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1888.

[p. 413]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rlf MX3

113 FLOWER, WM. H., and LYDEKKER, RICHARD, Mammals Living and Extinct. London, Adam and Charles Black, 1891.

DE FOUCAULD, VICOMTE CHARLES, Reconnaissance au Maroc. Text and Plates. Paris, Challamel et Cie., 1888.

FOURNEL, HENRI, Etude sur la Conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes. Paris, Imprimerie Imperiale, 1857. 2nd edition. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1875.

FREJUS, SIEUR ROLAND, Relation of a Voyage made into Mauretania in Africk. London, W. Godbid, 1671.

FREUND, WILLIAM, Latin-English Dictionary. Edited by E. A. Andrews. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1855 seq.

FÜRST, CARL M., Index Tabellen zum Antropometrischen Gebrauche. Jena, Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1902.

GAUTIER, E. F., Les Siècles Obscurs du Maghreb. Paris, Payot, 1927.

GENTIL, LOUIS, Le Maroc Physique. Paris, Librairie Felix Alcan, 1912.

GHIRELLI, ANGELO, Monografia de la Kabila de Beni Tuzin. Madrid, Graficas Reunidas, 1923.

——, El Norte de Marruecos. Melilla, Artes Graficas-Postal Expres, 1926.

GORING, CHARLES, The English Convict. London, Darling and Son, Ltd., 1913.

GOULD, B. A., United States Sanitary Commission Memoirs. New York, 1869.

GRESA DE CAMPS, SANTIAGO, Las Rabilas de Bocoya, Beniburiaga y Tiemsmana. Barcelona, F. Sanchez, 1903.

GSELL, STEPHANE, Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord, Vol. I. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1913.

HANOTEAU, A., and LATOURNEAU, A., La Kabylie, Vol. I. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1872.

HANSEN, SOREN, "On the Physical Anthropology of the Faroe Islanders," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, new series, Vol. XV, 1912.

HAUSMAN, LEON AUGUSTUS, "The Pigment Granules in Head Hair, a Comparative Racial Study," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 276-277, October-December, Washington, 1928.

D'HERCOURT, GILLEBERT, "L'Anthropologie de l'Algerie," *Mémoirs de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, Vol. III, pp. 1-23. Paris, 1868.

HOOTON, EARNEST A., "The Ancient Inhabitants of the Canary Islands," *Harvard African Studies*, Vol. VII. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1925.

HOROWITZ, VICTOR J., Marokko. Leipzig, W. Friedrich, 1887.

HOYOS SAINZ, LUIS DE, "Un cuestionario de Demografia Etnografia," *Actas de la Sociedad Española de Antropologia, Etnografia, y Prehistoria*, Vol. I. Madrid, 1922.

——, "Etnografia Española," *Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropologia, Etnografia, y Prehistoria*, Vol. I, pp. 91-128. Madrid, 1922.

HOYOS SAINZ, LUIS DE, and ARANZADI, TELESFORO DE, "Un Avance a la Antropologia de España," *Anales de la Sociedad Espanol de Istoria Naturale*, Vol. XXI. 1892.

——, "Sur l'Anthropologie de l'Espagne," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 4th series, Vol. IV. Paris, 1893.

——, "Vorläufige Mittheilung zur Anthropologie von Spanien," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Vol. XXII, pp. 429-433. Braunschweig, 1893-94.

HRDLIČKA, ALEŠ, The Old Americans. Baltimore, The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1925.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

IBN KHALDUN, Histoire des Berbères. Translated by Baron Mac Guckin de Slane; edited by Paul Casanova. 5 vols. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1927.

JUSTINARD, COMMANDANT, Manuel de Berbère Marocain (Dialecte Rifain). Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1926.

KELLEY, TRUMAN L., Statistical Method. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1923.

KIDD, BERESFORD, J., A History of the Church to A.D. 461. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1922.

LAOUST, E., Mots et Choses Berbères. Paris, Augustin Challamel, 1920.

LEGEY, DOCTORESSE, Contes et Légendes Populaires du Maroc. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1926.

——, Essai de Folklore Marocain. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1926.

LEO AFRICANUS, JOHN, Description de l'Afrique. Edited by Charles Schefer. 3 vols. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1896.

LEYS, NORMAN M., and JOYCE, T. A., "Notes on a Series of Measurements from East Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, new series, Vol. XVI, 1913.

LIDDELL, HENRY G., and SCOTT, WILLIAM, A Greek-English Lexicon. 7th edition. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1882.

LIVI, RIDOLFO, Antropometria Militare. Rome, Presso il Giornale del Regio Esercito, 1896.

LUNDBORG, H., and LINDERS, F. J., The Racial Characters of the Swedish Nation. Stockholm, Swedish State Institute for Race Biology, 1926.

MAC AULIFFE, LÉON, and MARIE, AUGUSTE, "Variation de la Pigmentation des Yeux et des Cheveux chez les Peuples Latins," *L'Ethnographie*, 5th series, April 15, 1922.

MARCUS, LOUIS, Histoire des Wandales. Paris, Arthus Bertrand, 1836.

DEL MARMOL CARAVAJAL, LUYS, Descripcion de Affrica. 3 books. Granada, Casa de Rénè Rabut, 1573. All references are to third book.

MARTIN, RUDOLF, Lehrbuch der Anthropologie. 3 vols. 2nd edition, Jena, Gustav Fischer, 1928.

MASPERO, GASTON, The Struggle of the Nations. London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1896.

MEAKIN, BUDGETT, An Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco. London, Bernard Quaritch, 1891.

——, The Moorish Empire. London, Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 1899.

MENDELSSOHN, SIDNEY, The Jews of Africa. New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., 1920.

MICHAUX-BELLAIRE, M., Le Rif. Rabat, Bureau des Renseignments, 1925.

——, A Propos du Rif. Rabat, Bureau des Renseignments, 1926.

MORANT, G. M., "A First Study of the Craniology of England and Scotland." *Biometrika*, Vol. XVIII, p. 82, 1926.

MOULIERAS, AUGUSTE, Le Maroc Inconnu. 2 vols. Oran, D. Heintz, 1899.

——, Paris, Librarie Coloniale et Africaine.

MUIR, SIR WILLIAM, The Caliphate, Rise, Decline, and Fall. Edinburgh, John Grant, 1924.

NOPCSA, BARON FERENCZ, Albanien, Bauten, Trachten, und Geräte Nordalbaniens. Berlin und Leipsig, W. de Gruyter Co., 1925.

OLDFIELD, THOMAS, "List of Mammals obtained by the Hon. Walter Rothschild, Ernst Hartert, and Carl Hilgert in Western Algeria during 1913." *Novitates Zoologicæ*, Vol. XX, pp. 586–591. 1913.

OLORIZ, F., "Distribution de l'Indice Cephalometrique en Espagne," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 4th series, Vol. V. Paris, 1894.

OVILO Y CANALES, DON FELIPE, La Mujer Marroqui. Madrid, Libreria de Fernando Fé, 1881.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

113 PAPILLAULT, DR., "Sur les Populations de l'Aures," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 4th series, Vol. VIII, p. 538. Paris, 1897.

PARSONS, F. W., "The Color Index of the British Isles," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. L, pp. 159–182. London, 1920.

——, "On the Long Barrow Race and its Relationship to the Modern Inhabitants of London," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LI, pp. 55–81, 1921.

PEARSON, KARL, Tables for Statisticians and Biometricians. Cambridge University Press, 1924.

PROCOPIUS, De Bello Vandalico. Text and translation by H. B. Dewing. 5 vols. London, W. Heinemann. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1914–28.

RANDALL-MAC IVER, DAVID, and WILKIN, ANTHONY, Libyan Notes. London, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1901.

RAWLINSON, GEORGE, (Translator), The History of Herodotus. 2 vols. Everyman's Library, No. 406. London, J. M. Dent & Sons, New York, E. P. Dutton and Co.

RIPLEY, WILLIAM Z., The Races of Europe. New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1899.

ROGER-MATHIEU, J., Memoires d'Abd el Krim. Paris, Librairie des Champs-Elysees, 1927.

ROGET, RAYMOND, Le Maroc Chez les Auteurs Anciens. Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1924.

ROHLFS, GERHARD, Adventures in Morocco, etc. London, S. Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1874.

DE SAINT-MARTIN, M. VIVIEN, Le Nord de l'Afrique dans l'Antiquité. Paris, Imprimerie Imperiale, 1863.

SALE, GEORGE, The Koran (translation). London, William Teeg & Co., 1857.

SALLUST, Works. Translated by T. Gordon. London, 1744.

SCHREINER, ALETTE, Anthropologische Untersuchungen in Norge: Valle, Hålandsdal, und Eidfjord. Oslo, I Kommisjon Hos Jacob Dybward, 1930.

DE SEGONIAC, MIR., Voyages au Maroc (1899–1901). Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1903.

SERGI, G., The Mediterranean Race. London, Walter Scott, 1901.

SHAPIRO, HARRY L., "Descendants of the Mutineers of the *Bounty*." *Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum*, Vol. XI, pp. 1–106. Honolulu, 1929.

SLOUSCHE, NAHUM, "Une Voyage des Études Juives en Afrique," *Memoirs de l'Institut Francoise*, 1st series, Vol. XII, 2nd edition.

——, "Hebraeo-Pheniciens et Judeo-Berbères," *Archives Marocaines*, Vol. XIV. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1908.

SMITH, R. BOSWORTH, Carthage and the Carthaginians. London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1807.

SNYDER, LAURENCE H., "Human Blood Groups, their Inheritance and Racial Significance," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. IX, pp. 233–263. Washington, 1926.

TOZZER, ALFRED M., Social Origins and Social Continuities. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1925.

VAN GENNEP, ARNOLD, "Les Poteries Peintes de l'Afrique du Nord," *Harvard African Studies*, Vol. II, pp. 235–296. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1918.

VAVILOV, NIKOLAI I., Studies on the Origin of Cultivated Plants. Leningrad, 1926.

VIRÉ, ARMAND, "La Kabylie du Djurdjura," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 4th series, Vol. IV, p. 71, Paris, 1893.

VOINOT, L., Le Tidikelt. Oran, Imprimerie L. Fouque, 1909.

WAZAN, EMILY SHERIFA OF, My Life Story. London, E. Arnold, 1911.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

WEININGER, JOSEF (RUDOLF PÖCHS NACHLASS), Eine Morphologish-Anthropologische Studie. Vienna, Anthropologische Gesselschaft, 1927. . . . an 100 Westafrikanischen Negern. . .

WEISGERBER, H., Les Blancs d'Afrique. Paris, Octave Doin et Fils, 1910.

WESTERMARCK, EDWARD, Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco. London, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1914.

——, Ritual and Belief in Morocco. 2 vols. London, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1926.

WILLIAMS, GEORGE D., "Spanish-Maya Crosses in Yucatan," *Peabody Museum Papers*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1931.

YULE, G. UDNEY, An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics. London, Charles Griffin and Co., Ltd., 1927.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

had been to give a comprehensive account of all that is known about the popular religion and magic of Morocco, their names would certainly have appeared more frequently in its pages. But its aim is less ambitious, being chiefly restricted to a presentation and discussion of the results of my own researches among the natives.

A considerable portion of these results have been previously published in the following essays and articles :— " The Nature of the Arab *Ginn*, illustrated by the present Beliefs of the People of Morocco ", in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xxix. (1900) ; " The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs ", *ibid.* vol. xxxiv. (1904) ; " Sul culto dei santi nel Marocco ", in *Actes du douzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Rome, 1899*, vol. iii. pt. i. (Florence, 1902) ; " Midsummer Customs in Morocco ", in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi. (1905) ; " The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco ", *ibid.* vol. xxii. (1911) ; " *L-'âr*, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco ", in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907) ; *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. liv. 1911–12, sec. B, No. 1 ; Helsingfors, 1913) ; *The Moorish Conception of Holiness* (*Baraka*) (the same series, vol. lviii., 1915–16, sec. B, No. 1 ; Helsingfors, 1916) ; *The Belief in Spirits in Morocco* (*Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora*, vol. i. No. 1 ; Åbo, 1920). The facts and most of the theories in these publications have, more or less revised, been incorporated in the present work, but a large number of facts have been added, and the subjects concerned have also in other respects been treated more fully. Moreover, many new subjects, not previously dealt with by me, have been introduced ; so that at least one half of the work may be said to be completely new. Other results of my researches, not embodied in this book, are found in a purely linguistical essay, *Nomina im status absolutus und status annexus in der südmarokkanischen Berbersprache* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. lvi. 1913–14, sec.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

B, No. 3; Helsingfors, 1914); and in my book *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), a French translation of which, made by Madame J. Arin, has been issued by L'École supérieure de Langue arabe et de Dialectes berbères de Rabat (Paris, 1921).

I beg to express my most sincere thanks to Miss Helena Hadley for kindly reading over both the manuscript and the proofs. To her suggestions I am indebted for the improvement of many phrases and expressions, as also to some references to books with which she has supplied me when I have been out of reach of an adequate library. I have to thank my friend Professor C. G. Seligman for stimulating discussions and for information on certain points.

I gratefully acknowledge the material support given me by the Rockefeller Research Fund Committee at the London School of Economics and Political Science by making liberal grants towards the expenses for my journeys to Morocco in the summers of 1924 and 1925.

My friend Carl Dahl, Consul-General of Sweden at Tangier, has much contributed to my comfort by his kindness in placing at my disposal his delightful country house for the many months I spent in Morocco in the course of the last two years.

E. W.

VILLA BALBINA, OUTSIDE TANGIER,
30*th March* 1926.

5: Blanco Izaga. G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

INTRODUCTION 1:

EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA AND THE SPANISH PROTECTORATE OF MOROCCO

114 Emilio Blanco Izaga (1892-1949), whose work, both unpublished and published, on the social structures and political systems of the Berber-speaking tribes in the Rif Mountains of Northern Morocco we have tried, in the pages that follow, to render into reasonably acceptable English prose, was a colonel in the Spanish Army who, before his untimely death, had nearly twenty years' administrative experience amongst the people whereof he wrote.

A preliminary assessment, by the present author, of Emilio Blanco and of his published work, has already appeared elsewhere[1]; but although much of the material presented in it need not be restated here, in the light of further and later knowledge on my own part, some recapitulation, especially that dealing with Blanco's biography, is certainly necessary.

101 175 Blanco had much of extreme interest to say about the social structure and indeed about the everyday life of the Rifian tribesmen of what was then the Spanish, and now the North, Zone of Morocco, and especially about these same features, with particular attention to sociopolitical institutions, among the Aith Waryaghar: the key tribe, and the largest one, of the Central Rif, the tribe which always "commanded" in the region, the tribe which smashed the Pretender Bu Hmara

[113] 1--David Montgomery Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquies, VI, 2, Tetuan 1958, pp. 171-237.

121 as I have had to drop the revision of my original Blanco manuscript in order to prepare my own studies on the Aith Waryaghar[3] (or, in Arabic, Bni Waryaghal, and in bad Hispanicized and bad Gallicized transliterations, "Beni Urriaguel" and "Beni Ouriarhel") for publication, as well as because of further fieldwork elsewhere in Morocco and be-
121 cause of teaching and other duties. Hence a ten-year gap. In any
128 event, Blanco's copious unpublished papers on Rifian architecture and
114 house styles[4], for example, good as they may be, have no place in a work of this kind; and the same holds true for his work on grave decorations[5] and for his excellent treatise on dance forms in the Rif[6]. His undeniable qualifications as an artist, whether in sketch or watercolor form, I am simply not competent to discuss, although his ideas about Spanish Colonial policy in Morocco[7] will receive some attention in Section II.

---

113 3--The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, and The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: A History, to be published simultaneously under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.

4--Emilio Blanco Izaga, La Vivienda Rifeña, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930, passim.

5--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Noticia sobre Arte Funerario Norteafricano", Africa, No. 52, Madrid, April 1946, pp. 19-21.

6--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas", Africa, Vol. V, No. 55, pp. 315-316; Nos. 56-57, pp. 414-419; and Nos. 59-60, pp. 547-551, Madrid 1946. The content of this important paper is discussed in detail in my preliminary study: cf. Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 220-237. Two of the drawings originally published in it are reproduced in the present monograph.

7--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Política Africana", Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos (pub. by Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Madrid), I, 1946, pp. 43-56.

114 As noted in my preliminary study (1958), the only article which has ever been published about Blanco is one by Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa[8]. It is devoted largely to Blanco's achievements during the late 1930s, when he was the regional administrator of the Territory of the Rif, both as an architect of administrative policy and as an architect per se, as well as touching briefly upon his artistic abilities. Of basic biographical information, as well as providing any assessment of Blanco as a military ethnologist and as a student of
121 Berber social life, however, it says nothing at all. My 1958 article and this present introduction will attempt to fill in these lacunae; and we begin with Section I, Blanco's biography.

Section I: Biographical Data[9]

114 Emilio Blanco Izaga was born on March 15, 1892, in Orduña, in the north Spanish province of Vizcaya, just west of the Basque country, and about 45 km. south of Bilbao. On August 30, 1910, he entered the Spanish Military Academy in Toledo where, on June 24, 1913, he was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry, joining the 30th Regiment for garrison duty in Burgos. The following year he was sent to Morocco for the first time with the 6th Battalion of Figueras for duty in Larache, and the next two years saw him taking part in military

---

(113) 8--Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa, "Una Teoría de Arquitectura Politica y un Interventor Excepcional: El Coronel Don Emilio Blanco Izaga", in Selección de Conferencias Pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el Curso 1950-1951, Tetuan: Delegacion de Asuntos Indigenas, 1951, pp. 129-150.

9--This section is taken in extenso from Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 174-180. I am particularly indebted to Col. Blanco's son, Dr. Don Agustín Blanco Moro, of Madrid, and to Sr. Don Tomás García Figueras, of Jérez de la Frontera, who succeeded Blanco as Delegate of Native Affairs in Tetuan, for supplying me with the essential facts of Blanco's life.

000 sublet only the small northern dorsal ridge of the country (one-twentieth of the total extent of the Sultan's domains) as well as an equally small piece of its southwestern desert. Both of these widely disparate chunks of Moroccan territory (of which the former was turned over, with the French Zone, to Independent Morocco in 1956, while the latter was only ceded in 1958) were handed over to Spain because of Spanish "historic claims", as aforementioned, and, in a sense, as a sop to Spanish colonialist sentiments about Lebensraum in Morocco, of which more later. There is a considerable body of literature in Spanish which attempts to justify these claims, to assert that Spain was thwarted in the division of the protectorate spoils of 1912 (which, of course, is true), and which, in general, regards the Spanish Protectorate - a small, northern appendage of the French one - as a victim of circumstances, one which needed to be administrated as best it could.[10]

● 113 10--For traditional Spanish views on the historical background of the Spanish protectorate, cf. Tomás García Figueras, La Acción Africana de España en Torno al 98 (1860-1912), 2 vols., Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1966, and for that on the presidios, cf. Enrique Arques, Las Adelantadas de España: Las Plazas Españolas del Litoral Africano del Mediterraneo, Madrid: I.D.E.A., 1966. For a variant viewpoint, with consideration of diplomatic sources, see Henri Marchat, "Les Origines Diplomatiques du 'Maroc Espagnol' (1880-1912)", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérannée, VII, 1, 1970, pp. 101-170. On the protectorate itself, there is a worthwhile English summary by Nevill Barbour in Nevill Barbour, Ed., A Survey of North-West Africa (The Maghrib), 2nd Ed., Oxford University Press: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1962, pp. 67-69, 137-172. Cf. also especially Tomas Garcia Figueras, Marruecos: La Acción de España en el Norte de Africa, 4th Ed., Tetuan: Editora Marroquí, 1955, and España y Su Protectorado en Marruecos (1912-1956), Madrid: I.D.E.A., 1957.

000 the French Bureaux Arabes of Algeria, which, on the Spanish side, were certainly the direct inspiration on the Intervenciones. Contemporary Spanish sources, notably Capt. Candido Lobera, an influential architect of early Spanish policy in the Rif, as well as (from 1902) the editor of the Melilla newspaper El Telegrama del Rif, are quite explicit on this point - one on which later Spanish sources tend to hedge[13], possibly because of misgivings (in our opinion, totally unwarranted) regarding the French origin of the concept.

In the initial period after pacification, the Spanish authorities tended to divide up the administrative territories of their zone along ethnic lines entirely, but by the 1930s they had decided that such a division produced blocs of territory which were too unequal in size. Hence a compromise was reached, and one which, furthermore, did no violence to pre-existing tribal structures or territories. What it amounted to was, in effect, the division of the zone into five territorios or "territories" of more or less equal size, each with its regional or territorial capital and each with its regional or territorial interventor, the Interventor Territorial. Reading from west to east, these territories were: 1) Jbala, with its regional capital (apart from the zonal capital), in Tetuan, and consisting of 11 tribes

---

(113) (114) 13--Capt. Cándido Lobera Girela, Memoria sobre la Organización y Funcionamiento de las Oficinas de Asuntos Arabes de Argelia: Proyecto de Bases para la Creación de Organismos Analogos en las Plazas en el Norte de Africa, Melilla: Tipografia "El Telegrama del Rif", Sept. 1905, pp. 31-42. The title of this work alone is a give-away. Hence the asseveration of José María Cordero Torres (Organización del Protectorado Español en Marruecos, 2 vols., Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1942-1943, vol. II, p. 6) to the effect that the intervenciones were derived from the earlier Spanish encomienda system in Latin America may be regarded as completely erroneous.

000 (qabilas), for which there were 6 Interventores Comarcales (District Interventors), and 15 Interventores de Primera Clase (first-class interventors, generally army captains or lieutenants); 2) Lukkus, with its regional capital Larache (l-'Ara'ish), and 14 qabilas; with 5 Interventores Comarcales and 12, de primera clase; 3) Ghmara, with regional capital at Shawen, with 13 qabilas, 4 Interventores Comarcales, and 14, de primera clase; 4) Rif, with regional capital at Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), and with 18 qabilas, 4 Interventores Comarcales (one for the Aith Wayaghar), and 17, de primera clase (of which three for the Aith Waryaghar); and 5) Kart, with regional capital at Nador, with 14 qabilas, 6 Interventores Comarcales, and 17, de primera clase[14].

These figures are worth citing not only because the North Zone contains some 70 tribal groups, as here defined (the figure is not quite accurate, erring a bit on the side of plenitude), but because it is, in general, one of Morocco's highest areas of rural population, especially in the Central Rif. The Spanish administration was evidently never completely cognizant of this fact (which came through very clearly as a result of the first census conducted in Independent Morocco, that of 1960), but nonetheless seemed to maintain a general awareness of it: for, as Montagne remarks, as of 1939, Spanish interventores seemed to outnumber their French Affaires Indigènes counterparts by three or four times, on the ground[15], in a comparative sense. (Sanchez Perez

[113] 14--T. Garcia Figueras and J.L. Fernandez-Llebrez, Manuales del Africa Española, II-Marruecos, Madrid; I.D.E.A., 1955, pp. 157-158.

15--Robert Montagne, La Política Africana de España, translation of unpublished report by Servicio de Intervenciones de la Región de Gomara, Chauen, Oct. 1939, 57 pp. (my ref. to p. 33). Catalogue No. Ca. C-14 in Garcia Figueras Collection, Seccion Africa, National Library, Madrid.

175 (Sanchez Perez
161 mentions tha population density of the Aith Waryaghar, in the mid-
114 1940s, as being 65 individuals per sq. km., a figure which would be outrageously high for much of the Atlas Mountains today, but which by the time of the 1960 census had in Waryagharland - or at least in the Plain of al-Husaima - doubled, virtually, to 120...[16])

000 Such facts indeed reflect the density of the local tribal population in the North Zone, but they also reflect the density of the local administration - and nothing has been said about urban administration, at that. The total population of the North Zone, in the 1950s, was just under a million; and even so, the thickness at ground level of administrative personnel would argue for a very direct form of administration. In actual fact, this was not quite so.

Each of the five territories of the zone had its Interventor Territorial, usually a lieutenant-colonel who reported directly to the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas in Tetuan. Below him, in the administrative hierarchy, were several Interventores Comarcales, usually majors, and then Interventores de Primera Clase, usually captains, who were often seconded by lieutenant Interventores de Segunda who were the neophytes of the service, young men sent out to learn.

The real point about the intervencion system in the tribal areas, however, is that the Spanish interventor de primera, usually a captain, and the qaid or chief of the tribe which he administered were opposite numbers, each in his own separate hierarchy. For the interventor de

---

[113] 16--Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Históricos sobre Ciudades Rifeños", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados Durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-1952, Tetuan: Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos, 1952, pp. 29-47 (my ref. to p. 31).

114 It is now appropriate to introduce Emilio Blanco Izaga into this same intervención system, of which he made so much and for which, in the Rif, he did so much. His effectiveness was achieved largely in the decade of 1930-1940, during a period of extreme strife in Spain itself. One cannot, of course, have everything; but in one sense it is perhaps unfortunate that Blanco was unable to participate actively in Spain's war against 'Abd al-Krim: for it is possible that some of his ideas about the resuscitation of Berber Customary Law (ca'ida or 'urf) in the Rif might have become considerably modified had he done so. He did not realize that by the time he himself had arrived on the scene, Customary Law was already a dead letter, and that 'Abd al-Krim, at the zenith of his power in 1923-1925 and in his role of religious reformer (for he was a former qadi who had been strongly influenced by the Salafiya Movement), had been responsible for its demise[17].

Thus, in 1930, Emilio Blanco, quite unwittingly, seems to have begun his career as an interventor with a possible strike against him. For 1930 was the year of the famous - or notorious - "Berber Dahir" in the French Zone; and although the official Spanish attitude toward it, and toward the formal support to be given to Customary Law - as opposed to Orthodox Maliki Muslim Law (with which it was in fact in agreement on most, though not all, major issues) - in the large Berber-speaking areas of the French protectorate, was one of outright

---

[113] 17--Cf. Pessah Shinar, "'Abd al-Qadir and 'Abd al-Krim: Religious Influences on their Thought and Action", Asian and African Studies: Annual of the Israeli Oriental Society, I, 1965, pp. 139-174; and cf. also D.M. Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: A History, Chapter III, to be published.

114 disapproval, Blanco was to become a leading spirit of protest, on the Spanish side, in favor of the decree. His attitude about it evidently faithfully echoed that of many of his co-officers in the intervención service. They felt that the Spanish "Africanist League" should have had its way in 1925, while the Rifian War was still on, and seen to the imposition of Berber Customary Law throughout the Rif, from the Muringa River on the west to the Nkur River and the Thimsaman to the east[18]. None of these people, Blanco included, had reckoned with the now departed 'Abd al-Krim, exiled by the French on Reunion Island (so that the Spaniards would not execute him), as the agent of social change that he was[19]. The plain fact was 'Abd al-Krim had effected so many changes in the Rifian politico-jural system that, once the war was over and disarmament of the tribes had been completed, the Spanish administration really had no option but to continue where he left off. It also would seem more than probable that the expenditure and outlay (to say nothing of the paperwork) involved in such a regional re-structuring of the judiciary, or of one segment of it, would have been more than the protectorate budget could stand, particularly after a long and costly war.

Yet the evidence is clear that up, at least, until April 1939 Blanco kept forwarding indignant memoranda to the High Commissioner in Tetuan urging the adoption of a Customary Law system for the Rifians, along the lines of that already created by the French for the Berber

---

(113) 18--Cf. Cesareo Rodriguez Aguilera, Manual de Derecho de Marruecos, Barcelona: Bosch, 1952, p. 109.
19--Cf. D.M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, II, 1, Tetuan 1954, pp. 51-86.

114 The creation of the new clan councils persisted until the end of the Spanish Protectorate in 1956; and in concluding our remarks about the protectorate it seems appropriate to make a brief assessment of the ideology behind it: for this ideology was strongly if not totally endorsed by Blanco himself, in a published article in 1946[21]. His viewpoint, nicely and previously gauged by Robert Montagne (himself a latter-day architect of Berber policy in the French Zone), in an unpublished paper of 1939, after a visit to the Spanish Zone just after the conclusion of the Civil War[22], may hence be taken as thoroughly representative. Montagne refers to the central feature of this ideology as "encirclement", an almost claustrophobic Spanish fear of being hemmed in by both France and England, and the relevant passage in his paper is worth quoting (the translation is my own):[23]

> "Spain felt threatened both by France and England (i.e., at the time of the colonial "grab" in the nineteenth century: translator's comment), and hence to one part of enlightened Spanish public opinion, the mountains of the Rif and the Jbala represented a (polar) frontier with the Pyrenees which gave Spain a kind of strategic protection. But this frontier was badly defended: the profound unity of the Sharifian Empire, cemented by centuries of history, could not help imposing itself upon Moroccans of the Spanish Zone. On the other hand, great breaches are opened in the east by the Mulwiya Plains, the Aith Bu Yihyi gap which threatens Melilla, while in the center are the French observatories in the Igzinnayen, from which (Central Rifian) point the whole Plain of al-Husaima can be held under fire. (Translator's comment:

114
[113]

21--Cf. Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Politica Africana", op. cit., 1946.
22--Robert Montagne, La Política Africana de Espana (trans.), Servicio de Intervención de la Región de Gomara, Chauen, Oct. 1939, MSS., 57 pp., Catalogue No. Afr. GF Ca. C-14 (in Africa Section, National Library, Madrid).
23--P. 46 of Montagne, ibid., MSS., 1939.

128 that the responsibility both for the translation and for the arrangement of the materials is entirely my own.

114 We come now to the overall content of this work. It will soon become evident to the reader that Col. Blanco labored under a number of anthropological handicaps: 1) he was a soldier, with strictly a military mind; 2) he was evidently not fluent in Arabic, as evinced by the fact that he refers to Juan Gomez Jaen as the real translator into Spanish of the qanuns in his LR; 3) he was probably not fluent in Rifian, as evinced by his transliteration of Rifian terms in the text (many of which I have had to retransliterate); 4) he continually tried to force Rifian categories of thought into European molds; and 5) he made numerous errors of fact, mostly small, but a very few, gigantic.

These may seem unnecessarily harsh judgments to some, and it is certainly not my intention to tread on any toes. But despite Blanco's frequent errors of fact and occasional errors of interpretation, despite his tendency to romanticize the subject, and despite the strong influence exercised upon him by the work of Robert Montagne[26] (with whom, nonetheless, he could frequently disagree, as shown by his "rejoinder" of 1946 to Montagne's 1939 paper on Spanish African policy in the previous section: for Montagne's influence on the sociological thinking of French Protectorate officialdom was enormous), there is one colossal point in Blanco's favor: without any question, and in a very sure way, his work, throughout, creates a thoroughly Rifian mood;

[113] 26--Cf. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Félix Alcan, 1930, and La Vie Sociale et la Vie Politique des Berbères, Paris: Editions du Comite de l'Afrique Française, 1931.

114 on the hillsides, bringing the cries of victims and the echo of rifle
67] shots in its train" (LR, p. 19). Blanco's work is shot through with
443
182 references to the clan (or, as he calls it, fraccion), with its market, as the basic Rifian patria - which of course applies better to large tribes like the Aith Waryaghar than to small ones like the Thafarsith, "Rifian Switzerlands" surrounded by more powerful neighbors.

114 By 1960, some of the finer points of the Rifian qanuns or Cus-
607 tomary Law documents had been forgotten even by members of the oldest
[608] living generation, e.g., such as how much is to be paid if one shoots at a man and misses him, or if one threatens him with a dagger, but
114 does not stab him. Blanco, and to a lesser extent Carleton Coon[28],
127 have both set down many of these common-law niceties; and Blanco's
[607] work has the additional merit (and we refer here primarily to LR) of being a translation and an analysis of primary documents, some dating as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. These are invaluable source materials for the long and unbroken period of the Rifian 'Ripublik' (as opposed to 'Abd al-Krim's Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya, or "Rifian Republican State", 1921-1926, although he only constituted it "officially" early in 1923), which is today only a memory and, according to some, a skeleton in the Rifian closet. However, old tribesmen and even some younger ones who are less sophisticated - and who therefore generally make better informants - still grudgingly admit to admiring it and to looking upon it with nostalgia.

---

[113] 28--Cf. Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, Vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931. Coon's data on customary law come primarily from the tribe of the Igzinnayen, whereas the bulk of Blanco's come from their northern neighbors, the Aith Waryaghar.

FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 • 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the 'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

000 al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber-speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

000 8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes, even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons, never quite complete.

16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem more nearly to fit the context.

17--Imrabdhen, sing. amrabidh (from Arabic murabit) are saints, living or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused with shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed, perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is (or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult to fathom.

19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the blad as-siba, and Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be extended to cover the whole notion of siba. In another publication we have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of this term, which goes back to Montagne, of siba as "anarchy", a notion which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--cf. André Adam, La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect, concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term, but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words, this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind when writing of "organized anarchy".

181
114 However, we would still take a somewhat more charitable viewpoint, and question the somewhat ethnocentric notion that a tribal society is any more "anarchical", even in an "organized" sense, than that of a nation-state. In any event, all this terminology is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930).

000 20--Blanco uses the term ramo ascendiente, which, in the sense that a jajgu is conceived of as a branch (ramo)--the Rifians employ the term azwar, pl. izuran, "vein", in this connection--of a dharfiqth or or lineage group, is very apt. The use of a term such as "ascending", however, depends entirely on which way one looks at Rifian tribal segmentation: from the bottom up (nuclear family to tribe) or from the top down (tribe to family).

We have found, however, that, except in the single instance of the recitation of their own personal antecedents in unilinear progression to the ancestor who forms the "apex" of the lineage, Moroccan tribesmen invariably tend to give the segmentation of their own tribes starting from the top and working downwards. In the Rif, [631] indeed, this approach to the segmentary system is greatly reinforced [681] by the method of dividing up the fines (r-haqq) imposed upon murderers by the members of the tribal council. The division of such fines follows traditional segmentary lines as closely as possible; in such instances where this is not possible (and they are very few, only occurring in cases of territorial discontinuity among the larger lineages), it follows the next best thing, the territorial system, which is in essence nothing but the lineage system spread out spatially on the ground.

21--The term "canton" is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930), and is [634] also employed by Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African [114] Studies, vol. IX, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 91. It [113] is a valid enough designation for the watershed canyon, ravine and gorge-studded districts of the higher mountains in the Rif (Konrad Miche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen", in Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1956-1956, Vienna 1957, pp. 485-527, also employs the term Talschaften for similar districts in the Western Atlas), but loses its force if one attempts to apply it to the Plain of Alhusaima or the open rolling country of the Eastern Rif.

22--Khums (Rifian dhakhammasth) means "fifth", and is used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments, such as the Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen (among whom, in fact, this alignment seems to have little functional significance), Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith Wurishik and Aith Sa'id. Furthermore, when it is said of any tribe that it "has five 'fifths'", this is an implicit admission that the tribe in question is a strong one. For a structural-functional analysis of the "fifth" among the Aith Waryaghar and elsewhere, see David M. Hart, "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65-95.

[114] Far more common in Rifian parlance, however, is ar-rba', pl. rurbu', literally "fourth" or "quarter", which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 91) has equated with "canton", and in doing so, has noted that,

000
[114] paradoxically, a "fifth" is larger than a "fourth"--so he employs "canton" to avoid confusion. He has failed to see that essentially, the two terms are interchangeable (a fact which once again underlines the fluidity of Berber and Arabic social unit terminology) and that ar-rba', which is almost always used to denote maximal segments in tribes possessing less than five of these, is also employed, more often than is khums, to designate the five maximal segments of tribes which do have "fifths".

[343] [114] [113] 23--There are no collective storehouses in the Rif proper, as there are all over the Atlas, and here Blanco has committed a major error. However, Montagne has signalled their presence in parts of the Ghmara, to the west of the Rif. See R. Montagne, Un Grenier Collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka, Paris: Larose, 1930.

24--It is somewhat difficult to understand precisely what Blanco means in this connection. However, his MSS. chapters on religion and economics were only evidently projected, and never written.

25--Dhaddarth is properly "house", and dhimssi (lit. "fire") is "hearth", whereas the normal word for nuclear family is nubth, pl. nubath, lit. "turn".

26--In the original, la major fuerza y derecho es el de los mas fuertes. Indeed, Rifians themselves generally conceptualize the cultural goals of their society during the 'Ripublik' in very similar terms.

27--In the original, un contrato de compraventa. Marriage is indeed conceptualized contractually in the Rif, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, but it need hardly be pointed out that compraventa, "buying and selling", is highly misleading.

28--The word "absolute" is, in this connection, of course, extreme; but, considering the position of women in Spain itself at the time, it is interesting that a Spaniard should have employed it.

29--The marriage contract document, or zujiya, is written (both today and as far back into the past as any Rifian's memory goes), in conformity with the Shari'a. It says, in effect, that A, son of B, has married X, daughter of Y, in the presence of C, D, and E, and is signed by a qadi (judge of Shari'a law) and two 'adul (sing. 'adl), [114] or notaries public. Blanco is in error in saying that the zujiya document was unwritten until recent times, because during the "Republik" period, the fqih or schoolmaster of the local mosque--a man who was and is usually only slightly more literate than his constituents--drew it up. It is in any case axiomatic in the Rif [692] that whatever other cases (primarily criminal) that he did not handle, a qadi invariably resolved all matters pertaining to: a) marriage, b) divorce, and c) land. This means, in turn, that in all these cases, the necessary documents were drawn up in Arabic--at least theoretically!

[114] 30--This is not so today, nor, we suspect, was it so in the past. Every Rifian has a number of documents, all carefully guarded in his house; and, in addition, most holy men or shurfa have always had genealogical family trees to prove the "genuineness" of their own pedigree.

000 [613] 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own, but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[171] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of [113] brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts [668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Amarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 428 114 423 [794] 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religious endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion [113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

000 in the social organization of the area as a whole.

57--Blanco mistakenly transcribes this as islifen. In Rifian, this has an entirely different meaning, for isrif (pl. isrifen) is an affinal kinship term signifying "wife's sister's husband". Thus, two men who marry sisters are isrifen to each other.

[196] [114] [113] 58--Jma'ath does not, except in official Spanish parlance, properly mean council. The term for council is Aitharba'in or Aitarba'in (sing. utharb'in), literally "people (e.g. representatives) of the people" and not "sons of (or people of) the forty", as numerous other authorities (including Coon, op. cit., p. 96, and José Martos de Castro, "Lo Bereber en Marruecos y Sus Relaciones con lo Ibero", Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos: Labor de España en Africa, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333, have indicated. Lionel Galand, however, favors on linguistic grounds the "people of the forty" etymology for the Berbers of the Sus, however (personal communication).

59--What a Rifian generally says is Nish zi dharwa n fran, "I am from the sons of so and so", mentioning the name of his dharfiqth rather than the word dharfiqth itself, when the question of lineage identity, within the clan, comes up.

60--Definitions of this kind were very much the rule, it might be added, among both the French and Spanish tribal administrators, most of whom were military men.

[114] 61--This is an instance of Blanco's constant inclination to divorce what he considers "social units" from those he considers "political units". The distinction, of course, is very largely an artificial one, for the higher up the purely "social" units go in the scale, the more "political" they tend to become, and vice versa. It is, once again, a classic example of European rigidity in classification (and the ever-present desire to put abstractions such as sociopolitical units into neat pigeonholes) as opposed to the essential fluidity (and consequent tendency to elude neat pigeonholing) which, we feel, is so basic to an understanding of these units, not only as they exist in Rifians' minds but as models structurally conceived by the anthropologist. And this means, above all, that each unit can only be understood in relation to all the others, not only on the same level of segmentation, but on those above and below it as well.

It is quite true that in some individual jma'ath-s, lack of kinship between component dharfiqin is an overriding factor in group composition; but this is by no means the case for all of them, and is really the exception rather than the rule.

62--This latter may be the correct derivation; Rifians who know enough Arabic to be conscious of the metathesis (and they are few) sometimes consciously pronounce the word dhafriqth. But the first possibility seems equally valid, that the word is derived from the root r-f-q, "to accompany" and that it refers hence to "men who march and fight together". Cf. Jacques Dumaine (probably a pseudonym for Robert Montagne), "Les Eléments du Problème du Rif", Renseignements Coloniaux et Documents Publiés par le Comité Algérie-Tunisie-Maroc, No. 2, bis, 1926, pp. 89-99. [113]

000 and Sundays at Thisar, in the very center of the tribal territory (now held at Thamasind); II) Ibuqquyen--Tuesdays at Izimmuren (now defunct), Wednesdays at Anu in Azghar (now defunct), and Sundays at Ruwadi; III) Ktama (which now has only two markets, Tuesdays at Ktama and Sundays at Iqqawen)--Argiwen in clan of Bni Tmim in Swahil, Makhzin in Ulad 'Abd l-Ghaya, Imaten in Tamsaut, and Bab s-Saqiya in Amzaz (no days of the week are listed, and whether or not any of these markets are the same as the above two we do not know); IV) Aith 'Ammarth--clan of Yinn S'aid Ikhrif--blank; clan of Aith r-Hasayn--Mondays, serving the whole tribe; clan of Ija'unen--blank; clan of Aith 'Abbu-blank.

[114] 80--Aside from the rather far-fetched idea of nomadism, this notion of Blanco's is not unlike one expressed to me by Ernest Gellner (personal communication, Sept. 13, 1960) regarding segment or clan names among various tribes in the Central Atlas: "When a tribe migrates to and/or conquers a new territory, all its forces are required; hence all segments are represented, and hence each segment gets a share in the spoils of the new territory. This means, however, that the old "top segments" now stand for relatively small groups in the new place, and in due course the whole lot of them in the new place come to be known either by the place name and in effect add a new segment, or one of the old top segments comes to cover the lot of them in the new place, so that, locally, the other previous top-level names now move one down relatively to it.....This might be illustrated by Ait 'Atta, Ait Yafalman and Ait Sukhman groups, by comparing inconsistencies in the segmentary naming system from place to place".

[113] 81--Blanco only touches here on the highly interesting and important problem of the respective and complementary roles of genealogy and geography in tribal, clan and segment names in the Rifian area; for a fuller discussion of this subject, see our "Place and Tribal Names among the Arabo-Berbers of Northwestern Morocco: A Preliminary Statistical Analysis", Hesperis, 3e-43 trimestre, 1960, pp. 457-571.

[114] 82--This is an error. Friday is the Muslim day of rest, although not in exactly the same degree that Sunday is among Christians. However, the contrast made by Blanco here is challenging from another point of view: attendance at market on market day seems to be greater, both from an absolute standpoint and from the standpoint of percentage, than attendance at the mosque of the sermon on Fridays.

83--A clan may be either predominantly geographically based, in which case the propinquity of its members overrides what is essentially their non-relationship to each other; or it may be structured in terms of a common patrilineal ancestor, whose name is perpetuated even though the genealogical links which lead to him may be forgotten; or both.

84--Blanco in this sense means qanuns when he refers to customary law. As will be seen in La Ley Rifeña, the fact of whether a single tribe contains a qanun applicable to all of it or whether each clan has in effect its own qanun is largely a function of the size of the tribe in question. Virtually each clan (and in some instances each jma'th of a

huge tribe like the Aith Waryaghar possessed its own qanun, whereas a small tribe like the Aith Siddat in the Sanhaja Srir had only one qanun for the lot of them.

[114] 85--The idea which Blanco conveys here, i.e. that the whole Rif is in the last analysis split into two opposed liffs, is completely exaggerated. It is certainly true that each Rifian tribe is split more or less down the middle and contains two hostile factions, which are not always equal in size; but, on the outside, each of these tends to be allied only with that combination of clans in the next tribe which is politically favorable to it. The system thus tends to appear like a series of interlocking concentric circles rather than like a chessboard, as in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, if Montagne, op. cit., 1930, is correct. (More recently, however, some reservations have been recorded by Jacques Berque on the overall validity of Montagne's liff theory: vide J. Berque, Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, pp. 42 sq.) A further difference is the size factor: in the Rif, far larger blocs of man-units are involved in each alliance than in the Western Atlas, though the territory encompassed may in fact be much smaller.

[113]

[191] 86--This is true among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, who have a very complex system of election of chiefs, but not for those of the Rif, where headmanship and chieftainship have always been a "dog-eat-dog" proposition, and where a councilmember attended council meetings until he was murdered.

[114] 87--This kind of legal terminology has always been in vogue in French and Spanish monographs and administrative reports about Berbers. To be sure, it describes the situation with reasonable accuracy, but in our view tends to put it far too neatly into a Western conceptual straitjacket.

[114] 88--The fqih has nothing to do with habus property, which was looked
[194] after by the mqaddim n-tmzidha or caretaker of the mosque, and ultimately still is, on the local level, although at the provincial level the ndzir l-ahbas or habus administrator, has fulfilled this function since protectorate times.

89--The functions of a talib and those of a fqih are, in the Rif, almost interchangeable; indeed, the plural form of fqih, to most Rifians, is tulba. Technically speaking, a fqih is a teacher in a mosque, while a talib is a sort of post-graduate student, a "seeker after (Koranic) knowledge"; but the experience and abilities of the two are just about the same. Both are called upon to write out charms of all kinds, etc., and both are always addressed by the term Si ("Mr."), followed by their names, e.g. Si Muhammad, Si Mhand, Si ʿAmmar, Si Hmid, in recognition of their (relative) literacy in Arabic.

[114] 90--To our knowledge, each man who had them kept his own arms and
[346] ammunition in his house. A mosque, after all, is a house of peace, not an arsenal!

000 [114] 109--In the Rif, to our knowledge, there was never a special "market chief", although this office existed in certain parts of the Central Atlas.

[565] 110--The market crier, like the blacksmith and members of certain other occupational groups, occupied a very low rung on the Rifian social ladder, and can in no way be considered as a "tribal functionary".

[533] [534] 111--The imdhiyazen, or professional singers of couplets at weddings and players of the zammar (an instrument with two mouthpieces and two flaring ends, each of which is adorned with a cow's horn), the flute and the tambourine, who invariably come from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, own no property in their own rights, and double as mule and donkey breeders.

[113] 112--For a detailed account of the dance of the ibarudiyen of the Aith Waryaghar, see Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas, Africa, nos. 55, 46-7, 59-60, Madrid 1946, pp. 315-16, 414-19, and 547-51., as well as our own article, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, pp. 232-37. This dance was stopped [648] by order of 'Abd al-krim during the Rifian War in order to save cartridges, and was afterwards forcibly discontinued because of the post-protectoral prohibition of firearms in the Rif. Our account is only a translation of Blanco's, with comments.

(113--Diagram.)

[114] 114--The social structure of the Aith Waryaghar is indeed complex, and this admission by Blanco is a strange contrast to his earlier diagnosis of it as "rudimentary". Although in all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the other Rifian tribes, it is more intricate because of certain variations between the lineage structure and the territorial system. These variations are expressed in terms of spatial discontinuity between certain subsegments bearing the same names, as hinted at in Section F above; and it is this same discontinuity, virtually non-existent among the other Rifian tribes (and where it does exist, only in embryonic form at the level of the minor and minimal lineages), which is, in fact, one of the central arguments advanced by Blanco in the present section. Our own opinion is that it is intimately linked with the notion of lineage scission.

Among certain transhumants in the Eastern Atlas, notably the Ait 'Atta and Ait Saghrushshan (there are no doubt other well-authenticated examples as well), this kind of discontinuity assumes classic proportions, for it is elevated to the tribal level as well. The fact that it exists among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar, however, leads me to believe that it is not primarily connected with the economic organization under consideration (sedentarism or transhumance), but rather with gradual shifts, over time, of tribal clans.

115--The discontinuity alluded to in note 114 had long been an established fact when 'Abd al-Krim rose to power, and there was no reason for him to attempt to change it through, presumably, any regroupment of jma'ths. Such a change would in any event have been highly artificial, and it seems logical to assume that he was fully aware of this.

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

[646] The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north [648] to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés
562 Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid,
[113] May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are for-
[171] bidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir.
443 Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the
562 Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area,
114 they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the
562 men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

000
[114] 135--Although he does not couch them in anthropological language, Blanco here elucidates certain principles which are so common to most segmentary systems as to have become anthropological platitudes, since Evans-Pritchard's work among the Nuer. They were not, however, platitudes in 1935, and Blanco's perspicacity in stating them (even if obliquely) should be commended.

[113] [144] 136--For competent discussions on the racial affiliations of the Rifians, see Carleton S. Coon, The Races of Europe, New York: Macmillan, 1939, and Coon, 1951, op. cit., pp. 156-7.

But why should the Rifians be aware of their own racial affiliations well enough to "forget" them? They know they are whites, and they know they are Berbers (the latter example of self-knowledge is particularly well developed at the present day, since the independence of Morocco, and contains definite political overtones); and these facts, to them, are sufficient, genealogies and traditions explaining all the others.

137--Ghis, in Moroccan Arabic, means "mud", and a better name for the river in question could not be found.

138--The sixth "clan" of the Jbil is in reality made up of three subclans which are "brothers" of the members of two of the other five "ancient" clans which Blanco mentions above: Aith Turirth are "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Timarzga are "brothers" of Aith 'Ari (Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari in turn form the two top segments of one major clan, that of Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari--it has no proper name, on this level, of its own), and Aith 'Arus are "brothers" of Aith Hadhifa. These three subclans, being contiguous to each other in the mountain massif of the Jbil Hamam and discontiguous to their larger "clan brothers" mentioned above, formed a single administrative unit under a shaikh during Spanish times.

139--Blanco's recommendation to do away with the khalifa or representative of the qa'id in order to make for greater administrative simplicity was not acted upon by the Spanish authorities.

[822] [184] 140--The office of jari or village headman is one which exists only among the Aith Waryaghar. In all other tribes, the village headman is the mqaddim, who in Aith Waryaghar became the head of the administratively created "sub-fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh. The creation and insertion by the Spaniards of another tribal [648] office-holder on a level between that of village and clan (where no such office-holder had existed previously) was their answer to the greater segmentary intricacy, larger territorial units and greater population of the Aith Waryaghar. And last, but not least, Blanco's division of the total tribal territory into three blocs, each under its own qa'id, and each perforce following territorial rather than segmentary lines (owing to the frequent geographical discontinuity of subsegments), was, in the last analysis, the best and indeed the only way to make for an effective tribal administration.

141--This phrase comes from Hanoteau and Letourneux' famous reference to the Thajm 'aith of Kabylia as "la pierre angulaire de l'edifice berbère".

671 428 562 housebuilding, although here women help, in return for male protection. Women are disregarded here, for in these aspects of movable property, to the formation of which, in the last analysis, they have not ultimately contributed, they receive nothing. On the other hand, in such work as befits their sex, nothing is denied them (even including cereals, for they contribute to the harvest by reaping grain with a sickle and transporting it, on their backs, to the threshing floor.) This notion is linked with the manner of acquiring property through inheritance, purchase or even through force (i.e. blood vengeance)[15]. Property gained in any other way is illegitimate, and as men are the ones who gain it, they have no reason to divide ir or share it with women.

114 113 D) Points Regarding Arabic Work on Anti-Sunna Traits (fragmentary):

I hereby review a work in Arabic by Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Brahim Aqibli Amshali al-Susi[16], dated 1342 A.H. (1923-4 A.D.), and published by al-Fatimi ibn Muhammad al-Shagadi. In this work the author exhorts 114 798 Berbers to give up practices which are irreverent and contrary to the sunna, the Custom of the Prophet, and lists those which are to be condemned, as follows:

798 796 1) Irreverent Customs at the 'Ashura:[17] Carnivals. The author rejects all forms of bonfires, of costume and of representation, i.e. imitating animals, birds, old men and old women, as well as the use of obscene words and the wearing of transparent clothes. I have myself seen all this practiced in the Rif[18]. Regarding the use of bonfires, it seems that in the Rif they are lit up to smoke the trees as a possible disinfectant[19].

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--With varying degrees of success, most so in the Middle and Central Atlas, and least so in the Sus and Anti-Atlas. The inclusion of the Algerian Kabyles and Shawdya of the Auras in this connection invites other problems.

[114] 2--Blanco is mistaken here, for the Arabization of the Rif was the work not of Spain but of 'Abd al-Krim; and in view of this paramount fact, his plea for a return to a hypothetical state of "pure customary law", however eloquently expressed it may be, seems passe and academic.

3--Hardly. In any case, this is a more difficult and delicate problem than meets the eye, although even on an a priori basis it seems reasonably safe to assume that the Arabization of custom is the commoner of the two phenomena. However, for a documented example of Berberization of the Shari'a, see S. Biarnay, "Un Cas de Regression vers la Coutume Berbère chez une Tribu Arabe: Wadras", Archives Berbères, vol. I, no. 4, 1916, pp. 219-229. Wadras is an Arabic-speaking tribe, but one of indisputably Berber origin, in the Northwestern Jbala, between Tangier and Tetuan.

671 199 195 113 4--Most of the existing accounts of the political history of these cities, insofar as it is known, are based on Ibn Khaldun, Histoire des Berbères, translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris 1925-56. See E. Michaux-Bellaire, Le Rif, Paris 1925; Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 22-36; Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos Sobre Ciudades Rifeñas", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el curso de Interventores, 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47, and, for a synopsis account of Nakur only, Angelo Ghirelli, Pueblos Arabes y Pueblos Arabizados, vol. II--Pueblos Arabizados, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, pp. 142-45. These last accounts have little 195 to add to Ibn Khaldun, although Sánchez Pérez was correctly able to locate the now entirely buried ruins of the city of Nakur within the village limits of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya within the clan territory of Aith Bu 'Ayyash in the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, on the west bank of the Nakur River some 25 km. from Alhucemas. This is [113] confirmed by a subsequent report of Ahmed el Mekinasi, in Tamuda, Año VII, Semestre II, 1959, pp. 156-8.

The city of Nakur, in fact, has the distinction of housing the first Muslim dynasty (even though on a local level only) in Morocco, as it was founded in 726 A.D. by an Arab from the Yemen, Salih ibn Mansur al-Himyari. Despite being sacked on two separate occasions (once by Norman pirates in 859-60, and again in 929-30 by Musa ibn Abi l-'Afya), Salih's descendants continued to hold, govern and rebuild the city aided and abetted by the Umayyads in Spain, until a complete sacking by the Almoravid sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfint in 1084 ended its career forever. Between this point and the end of the 19th century, the history of the Rif is an almost complete blank, and the chances of any documentary material in Arabic turning up to bridge the gap in any way are remote.

[131] Two points of general interest, however, emerge from ibn Khaldun's material (which dates from the 14th century and is in turn largely

taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably L. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hespéris, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is harim; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.

000 [128] 10--Blanco does not, in fact, employ the terms "levirate" and "sororate", and here I confess to having taken liberties with the text; but his meaning is abundantly clear. To readers who want refresher definitions, levirate refers to the practice of a man marrying the widow of his brother (as Coon has pointed out, in the Rif this is usually a junior levirate, meaning that the brother who does the marrying is generally a younger brother), while sororate refers to the practice of a man marrying his deceased wife's sister.

[113] 11--This is indeed true, and the only published work thus far specifically dealing with any aspect or aspects of Rifian custom, aside from Blanco's own La Ley Rifeña, is José Maria Peniagua, "Notas Sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif", Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos, no. 4, Madrid 1948, pp. 7-44 and ditto, La Prescripción y el Retracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. Paniagua's work, particularly the last-mentioned monograph, deals with problems which seem to be almost entirely constructs of a European legal mind, and have no basis in social reality; and such work cannot be considered serious contributions to the study of Berber jural systems.

12--We cannot identify the work to which Blanco refers here.

13--The only work of Sidi Ahmad ar-Rhuni which we know is the Spanish translation of his Historia de Tetuan, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, and this contains no allusions whatever, even remote ones, to Rifian custom.

671 428 171 114 562 14--This is not so. Under Shari'a regulations, women receive one-half of what men receive, in inheritance, and this is the case for both movable and real property. Granted, of course, that the point in the Rif is largely theoretical and that women in fact, as Blanco points out, generally get nothing (particularly insofar as real property is concerned), it still seems appropriate to correct this error. In any case, we have never heard of any customary variation of normal Shari'a usage, which would allot to women one-third of movable property; and neither have any of my informants. It is one-half in theory, and, as a rule, nothing in practice.

671 428 171 562 Besides the current practice of a woman's father or brothers appropriating, in effect, her share of the patrimony on her marriage (in order to keep it in family hands and to keep in-laws out), there is a second institution which reinforces the notion that women do not inherit. If a man dies leaving only his widow and a daughter or daughters (no sons), his r-waratha (sing. awrith) or remaining agnates stand to inherit, which they would not do even if he had only one son. According to Shari'a regulations, the man's widow gets one-eighth, and then, if he has only one daughter, the rest of the property is divided in half, the daughter getting one-half and the r-waratha getting the other. If, on the other hand, he has more than one daughter, the rest of the property is divided up into three parts, the daughters getting one and the r-waratha getting one. However, even if there is a son or not, certain r-waratha (e.g. mmis n 'azizi, pl. dharwa n 'azizi, father's brother's son), but not others (e.g. uma, pl. aithma, brother, and

000 26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event, [178] as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish adminis- [656] tration, people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the last 30 years or more.

[562] 27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

[535] 28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two [114] tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala, the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first. As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator, it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

[685] 32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch belonging to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanun in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

[648] The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan administration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

[113] Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.

681 the side with the lesser. (This last piece of information comes from
682 some of the lowland clans of the Aith Waryaghar, and the highlanders
[628] of the same tribe deny it.)

000 58--The victim, if he is alive, receives the rqisas, and, if dead, his family gets the ddiyith--if they choose to accept it rather than take up their guns. It is barely possible that in the division of the rhaqq by the imgharen along segmentary lines, the victim's family might receive a tiny fraction of the total, although the chances are strongly against it. The rhaqq almost always goes into the pockets of the imgharen themselves, and when we say that it is divided along segmentary lines, what we mean is that it is the imgharen of each segment and subsegment, rather than the rank-and-file of either, who are the real beneficiaries.

However, this is not really the point, which, in any event, Blanco [682] has missed entirely. The point is that a murderer pays bloodmoney to his victim's agnates and a fine to the council members (the latter only if the murder has taken place in the market or on a track leading to it).

[114] 59--Blanco is theoretically correct in saying that dharfiqin distribute their share of the fine to the nubath making them up (although in practice this almost never occurs, as the money which filters down, through the normal process of division, goes no further than the lineage heads!); but it is surprising that he does not start at the top levels of segmentation, the clans, as the imgharen themselves did, and work down from there (though even at this level the imgharen tended in practice to pocket the fines).

[114] 60--In this term, el poder ejecutivo, once again, we have a formalistic European notion, which, though certainly accurate in one sense, nonetheless ill befits the essential informality of the tribal council members who convened in the market to discuss the week's happenings and to assess, equally informally, any cases which came to them.

61--It may be stated categorically that such Qur'anically-inspired punishments as putting out a thief's eyes were completely unknown in the Rif and in the rest of Berber Morocco.

[839] 62--Though it is probably of frequent occurrence elsewhere, bestiality
[838] is not common in the Rif, and those who do practice it are always the object of derision. Furthermore, the Rif is probably one of the few regions of Morocco where homosexuality is nonexistent.

[113] 63--These notes of Blanco's on hunting are extremely fragmentary; for fuller information on Rifian hunting practices, see the final chapter in La Ley Rifeña on the hunting qanun or qanun r-rayah, as well as a recent summary of the same material in R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg, 16-17 September 1958 [114] (mimeographed). Our own impression of Blanco's data on hunting is that although very complete, his description is at the same time unnecessarily complex.

64--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting may take place on any day of the week.

000

last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels, and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Montagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent it, they hardly succeeded!

27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be reactivated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactivation would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside it.

28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams khmas (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition indicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu 'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith 'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

616 619 648 [114] [113] to a far earlier incidence of tribal unity, and on a much wider scale, than the events precipitated by Bu Hamara's invasion. Blanco's listing, however, is incomplete, for this feud encompassed not only the Rif, but all of Northern Morocco, centering, supposedly, on the Ghumara and Sanhaja, each of which had allies both to the west (Jbala) and to the east (Rif). There are other listings available, the most complete of which may be found in Montagne, op. cit., 1930, map facing p. 208. See also Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 17-8, and Jesus Ortoneda Jiménez, Estudio de la Region del Rif, Ceuta, 1930, p. 37, as well as Vademecum de Intervenciones Militares, Melilla 1928. None of these listings is in complete agreement with any of the others.

000 37--According to Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 18, the Igzinnayen were not in the Ghumara liff, but in the Sanhajan one, and, according to his informants, the fact that the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen were both on that side brought the Sanhaja the ultimate victory.

38--Until 1906, Bni Gmil and Mistasa formed a single tribe. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, Vademecum del Territorio del Rif, 1946, p. 81.

39--Bni Waryagil is a small tribe in the southern Jbala, and Rifian informants have all disclaimed any connection between it and the very much larger Aith Waryaghar of the Rif. Literate informants, moreover, point to the difference in orthography: the name of the Rifian tribe is written in Arabic with the letter ghain, while that of the Jbalan group is written with the gaf (kaf with three points above it).

40--It does indeed!

[114] 41--Why should it be necessary to "explain its affinities to the European type"? One feels that liffs, like any other institutions, can only be "explained" in their own terms!

[698] 42--What Blanco presumably refers to here, in an oblique manner, is, among other things, the fact that murderers must flee their own tribes.

[114] 43--It seems to us that Blanco is looking at this aspect of the problem upside down. If anything, an alliance and war of the Sanhaja-Ghumara type probably had its origins in the Rifian system discussed in note 18, rather than the other way around. It is, of course, also possible that problems and/or notions of this kind cut both ways.

44--This term refers to the western maritime tribes of the Rif, located around the early Islamic center of Badis.

616 619 114 45--There are three basic errors in this sentence. First, the Aith 'Abd Allah had only an ad hoc liff arrangement with the Ibuqquyen; this was directed against their own enemies within the Aith Waryaghar, namely, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and the Aith Hadhifa, the former of whom, in particular, the Ibuqquyen could never forgive for having accompanied Bushta al-Baghdadi's punitive expedition into their tribal territory. There was no question whatsoever of an alliance with either the Aith Yittuft or the Bni Bu Frah. The same applies to the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who were also (but very tenuously) allied, through the transitive principle, to the Axt Tuzin clan of Axt Tsafth, because their "brothers" and enemies the Aith 'Adhiya were in liff (again through the transitive principle)

000

[128] 9--Blanco terms this el pacto interfamiliar; I use "inter-lineage" in the interests of greater structural accuracy. The pact itself concerns certain lineages of the Aith Waryaghar. And, as we are dealing here with MSS., I employ standard transcription for classical Arabic.

10--This saint, as his name indicates, comes from the subsegment of Aith Zwith n Imrabdhen (Imrabdhen n Waddai), of the clan Imrabdhen.

[113] 11--In the conversion from Muslim to Christian dates, we have used H. G. Cattenoz, Tables de Concordance des Ères Chrétienne et Hégirienne, 3rd Ed., Rabat 1961, as the conversions themselves do not occur in the Spanish translation.

In this connecticut also, it is well to point out that all the qanuns begin with the phrase "Praise be to God", then get to the matter at hand, and terminate with a statement or statements by the notaries, of whom there are always two, admitting the validity of the testimony of all the witnesses present. If the qanun is signed at the end by the qadi as well, he merely confirms the document by literally putting his seal of approval upon it.

12--More often stated as Uddji wu r-haqq or yarrza r-haqq ("there is no reason" or "reason is broken"), which also alludes neatly to the fact that when a feud is on, the rhaqq fine for murder is not paid to the imgharen, who themselves, of course, have picked up their rifles to participate!

13--Haqq means "law, reason, right"; and in Rifian it has the additional special meaning of "fine".

14--In Spanish, Oficina de Asuntos Indigenas.

15--It is difficult to surmise why judges of Muslim law would be "refractory" in their attitude toward markets, as through them they received their bread and butter; for the Shari'a in the tribal areas of Morocco has always been administered (where it has been applicable) in tribal markets. It is interesting, however, that Blanco attributes [114] greater control of markets to the Rif in pre-Spanish times than he does after pacification!

16--e.g. among each other and with the provisions of the qanun about to be drawn up.

17--Not so much "mechanism" of Rifian law as the mechanics of Rifian jural procedure.

[184] 18--Among the smaller Rifian tribes, there are often tribal clans which lack their own markets; but Blanco's statement holds true for the Aith Waryaghar, which is obviously the tribe he had in mind.

19--The unpublished Conferencia sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, which forms Part II of this work.

20--Again, Blanco uses the term interfamiliar.

21--The name of this lineage is written Isaghwen in Arabic, but in all likelihood it refers to Izzugwaghen ("Sons of the red-head"), a branch of the Dharwa nj-Hajj 'Amar of the lineage of Aith Injin, of the Aith 'Aisa (r-Qman?) of Tazurakhth.

000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.

[976] [732] 67--This saint, nicknamed Bu Rjila, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of baraka were legendary.

[613] [614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.

69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.

70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.

71--The jillab is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.

72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.

[464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.

[114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.

75--Blanco actually means aitharba'in rather than agraw in this particular context.

[113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.

77--Ra'is in Arabic is "headman", from ras, "head".

[792] [113] 78--Mulay Admad al-Raisuli was a sharif from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, The Sultan of the Mountains, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

000

[175] 129--Al-Mazimma was the port, in the 8th century A.D., for the City of Nakur. Modern Rifians do not confuse it with al-Husaima which, they say, aside from the present city and provincial capital of that name, covered the whole area from Badis in Bni Bu Frah to Ras Sidi Sh'aib in Thimsaman. It should also be noted that Sidd, in Arabic, means "dam".

[423] [432] 130--A translation of this document is given in Chapter XVII. It should be noted, in any case, that if a foreigner or anyone whose family does not traditionally irrigate in the area comes to buy land (and to build a house, etc.) in the Lower Ghis region, he has no right to irrigation water until he buys an irrigation turn. He must, furthermore, have a document proving that he bought his turn.

[712] [648] [175] [113] 131--The Jami' al-Mujahidin, or "mosque of the fighters of the faith", where the Aith Waryaghar mounted a permanent and perpetual guard against Spanish invasion, from 1673, when Spain occupied the Isle of al-Husaima, until 1926, when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas, Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47.

[175] [648] [631] 132--Both these men were of Ajdir, subclan of Aith Ughir Iyizan, clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi, a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim who during the Rifian War was pensioned by the Spaniards and in 1926 made qa'id of all Aith Waryaghar by them, died in 1936.

133--This statement needs some qualification. The four names under consideration here, although two of them (Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan) certainly correspond to lineage names, are in effect names of irrigation turns, for, on the other hand, Bu Mqathir and Zawith (the latter refers to the area around the Monday Women's Market, at Azghar, and not, as far as we know, to any particular zawiya) are both place names, and in both these instances, as indicated in the notation of participants in the Zawith turn, it is the lineages who form local groups in the area under consideration who have right to irrigation water, irrespective of their clan affiliations. In the Zawith turn, again, one of the participating ijujga is that of the Andrusen: this lineage, whose name means "Andalusians", has become a member segment of the subclan of Lower Imrabdhen, in the clan of the Imrabdhen; we say "has become" rather than "is", because, as in fact its name shows, it is made up of the descendants of "foreign shurfa" rather than of those of local ones. Another participating jajgu, the Ihaddallahan, is a lineage branch of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif of Ajdir, of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan in the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; while the Ushshannen are a branch of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, also of Ajdir. We have unfortunately been unable to establish the lineage affiliations of the Fisra and Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi; and, like Blanco's, our own notes on irrigation in the Lower Ghis (made in Imzuren in the autumn of 1953) have nothing to say regarding the lineage participating in the Bu Mqathir turn on the fifth day.

However, one point is very clear: that with the rotation over the first four days between Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan, and the additional fact that at least two lineages of Ajdir participate in the Zawith turn,

104 624 [686] by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

000 172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

[613] 173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

[554] [648] [631] 176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

[614] 177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[224] [113] 179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

000
[656] 187--Firearms have been prohibited in the Rif since 1926, and still are at date of writing (1961).

188--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, a hunting party always consists of at least four or five persons, more often ten to twenty; and it hunts the whole day, away from the village, returning home only at night. The catch, even if only one rabbit, is divided up equally among the hunters, no matter how many; and on the same principle, fines are equally shared by all members of a hunting party. The owner of a ferret (nims, pl. inimsan) which has caught an animal gets the head; and the owner of a trap (dhakhshifth, made of iron and generally reserved for larger animals) into which an animal has fallen has a right to the whole animal, even if someone else should discover it in the trap before the owner arrives. If an animal in flight passes through the land of any person, it still belongs to the hunter no matter who catches or kills it; this, however, presumably does not often happen, for hunting is always done away from the village.

[411] Rabbits and hares are always hunted with sticks, and in snow. Generally, the hunters wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing their sticks, because if a rabbit's face is smashed by a stick, the man who threw it is accused of being a poor hunter by his fellows.

[788] It is customary to pronounce the Muslim invocation "Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim!" ("In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate!") before throwing or shooting at an animal or before setting a trap, as this act renders the meat halal, or lawful for human consumption, the same as if its throat had been cut. If an animal is found dead (imwardhas, "dead animal"), it is thrown away.

189--What is presumably meant here are qadi's and other Muslim legal personnel.

190--As the catch is equally divided, so fines are equally shared, among the hunters.

191--The only dogs used for hunting in the Rif are a kind of greyhound or saluki, called in Rifian ushshai, pl. ushshayen. Hunting with greyhounds, however, is not done in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar.

192--This proves that hunting is indeed a corporate and cooperative venture, based on a principle of share and share alike.

193--In other words, it is the presence or absence of a circle around the burrow which denotes ownership and which is in fact the most visual and reliable proof of same.

194--And in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar as well.

[13] 195--Blanco and R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, O.F.M., Diccionario Español-Rifeño, Madrid 1944, p. 355, both give as the term for "partridge net" thinigmarth, pl. thinigmar (which also means "hunting"); and Ibáñez lists this as the term in use both in Ibuqquyen and in Iqar'ayen. In the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, however, a partridge net is termed dhabhyuth.

132 mean would be somewhat higher in the highlands, the range of
[243] variation would be as great. Since the economic backbone of the area is the dry farming of cereals, low rainfall or drought causes serious difficulties.

175 The history of the Rif presents us with the strange paradox that it is better documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries than for the nineteenth. We have several written chronicles of the Arab city states established along the Mediterranean, such as Nekor which drops out of history in the eleventh century, and Bades which was captured by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. Of the Berbers in the hinterland we have
[113] little material with the exception of el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif (French translation by Colin, 1926) dated 1311, and el-Bekri's Description de l'Afrique septentrionale from the
[131] eleventh century. El-Bekri notes that already in that time most of the present tribes of the Rif were located in their present
[648] sites (Michaux-Bellaire, 1925: 180-181). Between these accounts, fragmentary at best, and the uncritical chronicles of Spaniards leading punitive expeditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Riffian history is rather blank.

175 Geographical circumstances made the Central Rif peripheral
648 to most events going on in Morocco. Only with the insistence of the Spanish government did the Moroccan Sultan send an expedition into the Rif in the late nineteenth century to punish the Ibuqquyen for piracy. During the early years of the present

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

BIBLIOGRAPHY

● 113 Albéniz, Victor Ruiz
1930 Monografía sobre Colonización Rural en Marruecos Español. Madrid, Saez Hermanos.

Benet, Francisco
1957 "Explosive Markets: The Berber Highlands" in Polanyi, Arensberg, and Pearson (1957):188-217.

Bohannan, Paul J., and George Dalton, eds.
1965 Markets in Africa. New York, Doubleday.

Bourdiou, Pierre
1965 "The Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society" in Honour and Shame, the Values of Mediterranean Society, J. G. Peristiany, ed. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Bourrilly, Joseph
1932 Eléments d'Ethnographie Marocaine. Paris, Larose.

Charhadi, Driss ben Hamad
1964 A Life Full of Holes. Translated into English by Paul Bowles. New York, Grove.

Coon, Carleton
1931 Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies IX. Cambridge, Peabody.

el-Badisi, Abd el-Haqq
1926 al-Maqsad (The Lives of the Saints of the Rif). Translated into French by G. S. Colin in Archives Marocaine XXVI. Paris, Ancienne Honoré Champion.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E.
1949 The Sanusi of Cyrenaica. Oxford, Clarendon.

Hart, David M.
1956 Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph. New Haven, Human Relations Area Files.

Justinard, C.
1926 Manuel de Berbère Marocain, Dialecte Rifain. Paris, Geuthner.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

113 Maldonado, Eduardo
n.d. El Rogui. Tetuan, Instituto General Franco.

Maunier, R.
1927 "Rechercher sur les échanges rituels en Afrique du Nord" in l'Année Sociologique, Series 2, Vol. 2, Part 1. Paris, Felix Alcan.

Michaux-Bellaire, M. E.
1925 "Le Rif" in Archives Marocaine XXVII:175-209. Paris, Ancienne Honoré Champion.

Mikesell, M. W.
1958 "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," Geographical Review, 48:494-511.

Montagne, Robert
1930 Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc. Paris, Felix Alcan.

Morocco
1965 Area Handbook for Morocco. Washington, Foreign Areas Study Division American University.

Murdock, George P.
1959 Africa, its Peoples and their Culture. New York, McGraw-Hill.

Nash, Manning
1966 Primitive and Peasant Economic Systems. San Francisco, Chandler.

Polanyi, Karl
1957 "The Economy as Institute Process" in Polanyi, Arensberg, and Pearson (1957):243-270.

Polanyi, Karl, Conrad M. Arensberg, and Harry W. Pearson, eds.
1957 Trade and Market in the Early Empires; Economics in History and Theory. Glencoe, Free Press.

Renisio, A.
1932 Étude sur les dialectes Berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair. Paris, Ernest LeRoux.

Steward, Charles
1964 The Economy of Morocco, 1912-1962, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs XII. Cambridge, Harvard University.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

113 Waterson, Albert
1962 Planning in Morocco. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins.

Westermarck, Edward
1914 Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco. London, MacMillan.

1920 The Belief in Spirits in Morocco. Helsingfors, Finnish Literary Society.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[a]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443]

One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes' and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[b] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[a] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443. [113]

[b] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

[c] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman. Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[a] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[b] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[a] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[b] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 526. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter II

ENVIRONMENT

133 Most of northern Morocco is mountainous. The dominant surface feature is the Rif mountain chain, which curves in a great arc from the Strait of Gibraltar to the hills of Aith Said.[1] The main artery of east-west traffic in Morocco is the Taza corridor, south of the Rif chain (fig. 1)[A]. The important north-south routes run along the Atlantic coast or follow the valley of Wad Moulouya. Innumerable ridges lead to the Mediterranean, but that coast has few beaches and little shelter. The exposed and straight Atlantic coast is even more hostile to maritime life. Enclosed within the bounds of a rugged mountain range and inhospitable coasts, most of northern Morocco is isolated. The narrow valleys and ridges of the Rif chain "form a secluded mountain region, difficult of access, which at all times enabled its Berber inhabitants to keep their necks free of foreign yoke."[2]

The Rif Chain

The Rif chain consists of a series of arcs, pierced by gorges trending at right angles to the main structural lines (fig. 4)[B]. The northern versants of these arcs have undergone extreme dissection. Streams fed by heavy rainfall have cut deep canyons, and most interfluves are narrow, knifelike ridges. The overlapping folds of this chain are similar to those of the alpine mountains in Europe, notably the Sierra Nevada, with which the Rif was joined in early Tertiary time.[3]

Geologists divide the Rif into three zones (fig. 5):[C]

1. A zone of metamorphic rocks, mainly of Paleozoic age, flanks the coast from Ceuta to Puerto Capaz. This zone constitutes the southern flank of the Betico-Rifian massif, which was broken into two segments when the Strait of Gibraltar was formed. Although countless navigators have viewed this coast, it is scientifically one of the least-known segments of the Mediterranean littoral.

2. A zone of calcareous rocks is mostly of Tertiary age. Its terminal point is Jbil Musa, one of the Pillars of Hercules. From Jbil Musa a high wall of limestone runs southeastward to Shawen, curves to the sea, and then reappears as the Karstic highland of Ibuqquyen. Several peaks exceed 1,000 meters in elevation, and Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab are slightly more than 2,000 meters high. The structural break at Tetuán is the only gap in the wall. The gorge cut by the antecedent Wad Lao is too narrow to be used as a trade route. Most of this range is a formidable barrier.

3. A broad zone of younger sedimentary rocks is schistose for the most part, but includes some strata of sandstone. The formation name "Flysch" has been

[1] "Rif" is used here in the popular sense to refer to the mountainous area of northern Morocco. In Maghribi Arabic *er-rif* means a fertile or cultivated zone on the banks of a river, along a coast, or on the edge of a desert. It can be translated also as "margin" or "fringe."

[2] Theobald Fischer, "Marokko: eine länderkundliche Skizze," *Geog. Zeitschr.*, 9 (1903), 67.

[3] The best geological map of northern Morocco is the *Bosquejo geológico de la zona del protectorado español* (Madrid: Comisión de Estudios Geológicos, 1952). Brief accounts of the physical geography of the area appear in "Maroc septentrional," *Livret-guide des excursions A 31 et C 31, Congrès Géologique International* (Rabat, 1952); Horst Mensching, *Marokko: die Landschaften im Maghreb* (Heidelberg: Keyersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957), pp. 148–154; and G. Maurer, "Les pays rifains et prérifains," *L'Information Géographique*, 23 (1959), 164–171.

[113]

[12]

A, B, C. [See pp. 1, 14-15 respectively--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

applied to this zone, which includes northern Morocco's highest mountains and principal watershed.[4] Adrar' Tidighin, highest of the Sanhajan mountains, rises to 2,456 meters and is snow-capped during six months of the year (plate 1, *b*).

Margins of the Rif Chain

From Bab Taza northward the karstic mountains of Bani Hassan form the principal arc of the Rif chain. West of this range the highland complex consists of a series of outliers trending northwest to southeast. Several of these ridges are more than 1,000 meters in elevation, and the highest peaks, Jbil Sugna and Jbil Buhashim, exceed 1,500 meters. A line drawn from Tangier to a point about 30 kilometers east of Ksar al-Kebir marks the division between the Rif highlands and the hills and terraces of the Atlantic littoral.[5]

The eastern margin of the Rif highlands is difficult to delimit. The main arc extends to a point about halfway between Alhucemas and Melilla. Mountainous terrain is found farther to the east, but its structure and lithology are different. The Rif chain is composed almost entirely of sedimentary and metamorphic rocks. Volcanism is evident from the eastern edge of the Nkour Valley to the Algerian frontier. The largest volcanic feature is Adrar Gurugú (886 meters), a composite cone of basalt and andesite behind Melilla. A number of smaller cones dot the plains of Garet and Gal'aya, and the promontories at the bay of Alhucemas and the Melilla peninsula are formed of trachyte and andesite. A large part of Gal'aya and Garet was submerged in Tertiary time. This lowland area includes the flattish plains of recent alluvium extending inland from Nador, and hill sections formed by recent stream dissection of Tertiary and Pleistocene sediments. The small range of Ikibdhanen appears to be an anticline. This range and the Kar-Kar highland were formed prior to the period of Rifian orogeny.

The Three Coasts

Most of northern Morocco is isolated by the Rif mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. The Atlantic façade, even more hostile to maritime life, has been the country's best rampart. Since these two shores are of little value, the coast facing Gibraltar has played a preponderant role.

Straight and shelterless, the Atlantic façade is indented only by mediocre harbors and poor estuaries. A series of marine terraces, mostly of Pliocene or Miocene age, dominates the littoral from Arcila to Larache. Quaternary dunes line the coast from Larache to and beyond the old interzonal frontier. The plain of Wad Lukkus is the largest zone of alluvial soil on the Atlantic coast and the only area in northern Morocco where agriculture is almost entirely mechanized. The small coastal plain on the frontier between the former Spanish and international zones is poorly drained and swampy most of the year.

Cliffs of Cretaceous or Eocene sandstone line the Strait of Gibraltar from Cape

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

[4] The best description of this area appears in the log of the excursion sponsored by the Société de Géographie du Maroc in March, 1957; see *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 43–46.

[5] I use the Berber *adrar* rather than the Moroccan Arabic *jbil* because this peak is in an area of Berber speech.

[6] I am omitting the pre-Rifian foothill zone, immediately south of the area shown on the maps. For a description of that zone see Maurer, *op. cit.*, and Jean Dresch, *Essai sur l'évolution du relief dans la région prérifaine* (Paris: Larose, 1933).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization, but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

Climate

The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude, irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[1]

Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[1] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Drainage

132 Drainage basins are small in this area, for the watershed is close to the sea. The
133 seasonal rate of flow follows the seasonal rainfall, but with a lag in time that varies with the slope, the vegetation, and the permeability of the rock. Spate follows rainfall where impermeable rocks form the basin, more slowly where the basin is of permeable limestone. All the Mediterranean streams may be roaring torrents at some period from October to May; but most of them dry up during the long summer drought. The valleys of some of the larger streams, like the Ghis and Nkour, betray their Mediterranean regimen by a double bed: in summer a narrow channel is cut below the broad rocky shelf which is the winter bed. Wad Ouergha draws off most of the drainage from the Sanhajan highlands; it is the largest stream flowing from the Rif chain, and one of the sources of irrigation water in the Gharb coastal plain (fig. 1). The basin of Wad Lukkus includes most of the Atlantic drainage. Surface streams are rare in the calcareous zone. The only stream that flows through the limestone mountains is the Wad Lao, which follows an antecedent course; but Wad Hajara, Wad Khemis, and Río Martín (Wad Martil) are fed by springs issuing from the base of this range. The area between Wad Nkour and Wad Moulouya has only one large stream, Wad Kert, and it receives little nourishment after it leaves the highlands. Wad Moulouya, from the distant Ayache Mountains of the High Atlas, is northern Morocco's great exotic stream. This stream and Wad Lukkus constituted the only natural segments of the boundary between French Morocco and Spanish Morocco.

Plant Domains

137 The vegetation of North Africa can be divided into (1) a Mediterranean domain, where forest and shrubs predominate; (2) a domain of "steppe," where forest is confined to highland enclaves in the midst of a predominant cover of grass and herbs; and (3) a domain of highland vegetation, which includes a subalpine formation with some trees and, only in the Moroccan Atlas, an alpine formation
[132] without trees. Saharan vegetation penetrates Barbary at only two points: in the Hodna basin of Algeria and on the plains extending inland from the Gulf of Gabès in Tunisia. Figuig, Ksar as-Suq, Zagora, and Goulimine, all within the political limits of Morocco, receive less than 200 mm. of precipitation per year, but the records of these stations do not show the variability indicative of true desert. The Moroccan territory south of the Atlas chains forms part of the "pre-Sahara" of French terminology.[1]

In terms of this classification, all but a small part of northern Morocco falls within the Mediterranean domain. No peak in the Rif Mountains rises above timberline, and only a small area can be called subalpine. Grassland is confined to one area on the eastern edge of the zone. This area, in the lower Moulouya Valley, is one of the driest parts of northern Morocco, but it is not certain that the presence of steppe vegetation can be attributed solely to meager precipitation. The dominant species is *Stipa tenacissima* (Arabic *alfa*). This hard tussock grass

[113] [1] For a brief description of vegetation in all North Africa, see Jean Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), pp. 80–96; and Louis Emberger, "L'Afrique du Nord-Ouest," *Unesco Arid Zone Research*, VI, "Plant Ecology" (Reviews of Research) (Paris, 1955), pp. 219–249.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

has deep roots, forms strong clumps, and its awns stick to the coats of passing animals. More important, it is palatable only for a brief period in spring.[9] Alfa grass is scattered over most of Garet, but is conspicuous only in the area between the hills of Ikbdhanen and Kar-Kar.

Forest, Maqui, Garrigue

The climate that has prevailed during historic time is such that trees ought to dominate the vegetation of this zone. As figure 7 indicates, *Pistacia atlantica*,

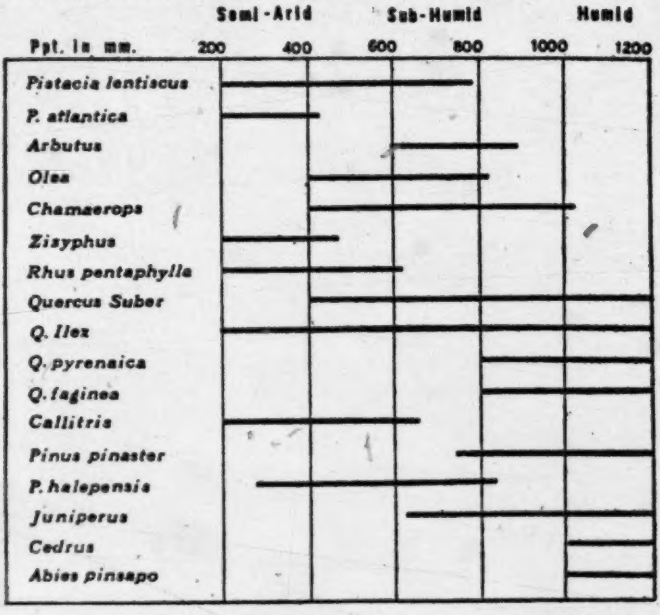


Fig. 7. Range of forest species according to average annual precipitation.

P. lentiscus, Quercus Ilex, Pinus halepensis, Callitris articulata, Rhus pentaphylla, and *Zizyphus lotus* can grow in the semiarid sector of northeastern Morocco. The altitudinal range of at least three and possibly eight trees extends above the highest peaks of the Rif chain (table 1). Edaphic factors impose some limitations. The cork oak will not grow on calcareous soils, and most forest species are excluded from poorly drained alluvium. Nevertheless, areas that are barren of trees as a result of natural causes constitute only a small part of this zone.

Most of the forest species common in northern Morocco are endemic to the Mediterranean region; a few belong more specifically to the western province of that region. *Quercus coccifera, Quercus Ilex, Pinus halepensis, Arbutus Unedo,* and a number of prominent Moroccan shrubs are spontaneous in most of the

[9] Charles Killian, "Plantes fourragères-types des hautes-plaines algériennes," *Annales de l'Amélioration des Plantes,* 4 (1954), 505–527.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Mediterranean lands. The natural range of *Pinus pinaster, Chamaerops humilis,* and *Quercus Suber* extends to Sicily and the western versant of Italy, but not to Greece, Turkey, or Lebanon.[13] As typical elements of Mediterranean vegetation, these plants are provided with mechanisms of defense against excessive transpiration during the long summer drought. The trunks of most trees are incased in a thick, deeply fissured bark; leaves are thick and leathery, and have hard, shiny surfaces. Under normal conditions few of the Moroccan trees cast deep shade; so the understory is usually well developed.

This shrubby undergrowth of bushes and small trees may form a dense thicket,

TABLE 1

ALTITUDINAL LIMITS OF SOME MOROCCAN TREES

Species	Elevation (meters)	Location
Rhus pentaphylla	1,000?	Rif?
Zizyphus lotus	1,000?	Middle Atlas?
Pistacia lentiscus	1,600	High Atlas
Olea europaea	1,650	High Atlas
Callitris articulata	1,800	High Atlas
Arbutus Unedo	1,900	Anti Atlas
Pistacia atlantica	2,000	High Atlas
Quercus Suber	2,000	Rif
Quercus pyrenaica	2,000	Rif
Quercus faginea	2,200	Middle Atlas
Chamaerops humilis	2,200	High Atlas
Pinus halepensis	2,200	High Atlas
Pinus pinaster	2,200	Rif
Abies pinsapo	2,200	Rif
Cedrus atlantica	2,700	High Atlas
Quercus Ilex	2,800	High Atlas
Juniperus Oxycedrus	3,150	High Atlas

SOURCE: Personal observations and Louis Emberger, *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938).

but is more often degraded by burning, cutting, or browsing. There are many names for it: in Greek *longos,* in Spanish *monte bajo* or *matorral,* in Italian *macchia,* while we have adopted the Corsican—and French—*maqui(s).* It is a mixed association of evergreen plants, with tough and twisted wood, brilliant and often scented flowers, and shiny or glaucous foliage. Where degradation has been severe, the maqui ceases to form a closed canopy. This type of rather stunted and open vegetation, known in France as *garrigue*—from *garoulia,* the Provençal name for *Quercus coccifera*—is marked by a wealth of aromatic Labiatae, Cistaceae, and Rutaceae, which sprout and germinate quickly after fires. All these plants, whether maqui or garrigue, are heliophilous and many of them are thorny. In chapter vii it will be demonstrated that garrigue constitutes a degraded form of maqui, and maqui a degraded type of forest.

[13] M. Rikli, *Das Pflanzenkleid der Mittelmeerländer* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1943–1948), traces the natural range of most of the plants considered here. See also the "Notice explicative" accompanying Planche 19 *a,* "Forêts et ressources végétales," *Atlas du Maroc,* cited in note 7.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Relict Species

137 The vegetation of northern Morocco has not only been modified by man, but has also undergone progressive natural change. In the varied Moroccan flora, European, Asiatic, and tropical elements are found along with species endemic to the Mediterranean region. During the Pleistocene, the southward movement of a colder and wetter climate brought corresponding southward migrations of European and Euro-Siberian plants. Europe and Barbary were no longer linked by land bridges, but seeds could easily blow or float across the narrow Strait of Gibraltar. Relicts of these invasions are found today in the mountains of northern Morocco in growths of fir (*Abies pinsapo, A. tazaotana*) and deciduous oaks (*Quercus pyrenaica, Q. faginea*) that seem strangely out of place in northern Africa.[11] Other Pleistocene relicts include birch (*Betula alba*), two species of maple (*Acer monspessulanum, A. Opalus*), alder (*Alnus glutinosa*), and the mountain ash, or service tree (*Sorbus torminalis*).[12]

Enigma of the Oleaster

The olive tree (*Olea europaea*) has long been regarded as a symbol of the Mediterranean landscape. Since classical antiquity it has been recognized that not all olive trees are alike, that some grow without cultivation and produce small and bitter fruit. The "wild" olive, or oleaster, was long thought to be an endemic element of the Mediterranean flora and the ancestor of the cultivated tree. Victor [114] Hehn may have been the first to challenge this view on historical and philological grounds.[13] Today this problem is the subject of vigorous debate. Most authorities consider the oleaster to be a natural element of maqui, but some scholars, including August Chevalier, describe it as a "subspontaneous race," escaped from cultivation in ancient time.[14]

[245] In contrast to the common cultivated olive, the oleaster has four-angled thorny branches, broader leaves, and smaller fruit. Moreover, the oleaster, obviously, grows without cultivation or apparent care. None of these points proves that it is an ancestral wild race. As De Candolle remarks, "In a woody species which lives so long and shoots again from the same stock when cut off by accident, it is impos- [245] sible to know the origin of the individuals observed."[15] To make matters worse, it is a common practice in northern Morocco to graft scions of the cultivated olive to oleaster stock.[16]

The oleaster is best developed in the area covered by palmetto scrub, where the winters are too cold and wet for the cultivated race, but a few oleasters are seen

113 137

[11] Changes of climate also have been invoked to explain the presence of wild olive (*Olea Laperrini*) and cypress (*Cupressus Dupreziana*) in the mountains of the central Sahara. L. Lavauden, "Les Forêts du Sahara," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 65 (1927), 265–277.

[12] The adaptation of "Nordic" species to the Mediterranean environment is considered by Andrea Gincobbe in "Les effets écologiques de l'aridité du climat sur la végétation méditerranéenne: héliophilie et configuration morphologique des forêts," *Unesco Arid Zone Research*, V, "Plant Ecology" (Proceedings of the Montpellier Symposium) (Paris, 1955), pp. 64–66.

[13] Victor Hehn, *The Wanderings of Plants and Animals from Their First Home* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1888), pp. 88–101.

[14] Aug. Chevalier, "L'origine de l'olivier cultivé et ses variations," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 28 (1948), 1–25.

[15] Alphonse de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (New York: Appleton, 1885), p. 280.

[16] Pliny (*Natural History*, XVII, 30) thought that this practice was limited to Africa.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

in the semiarid region south of Melilla. Both varieties sprout vigorously, and both are polymorphic. The latter fact is of major significance, for if the oleaster were a wild species it should be monomorphic, at least in a given area. Chevalier's argument is based upon this point. The seemingly primitive oleasters may be escaped and neglected variants of races that were once cultivated." The longevity of the olive is lengendary; some sprouts in Algeria and Tunisia are almost certainly derived from Roman trees." The fact that some trees have spines and small fruit may not be distinctive. Both varieties probably evolved from *Olea chrysophylla*, the true wild olive of southwestern Asia." The oleaster may be no more difficult to explain than the "wild" pears and apples in the forests of France. It is not unusual for a neglected cultivated plant to become naturalized. Subspontaneous varieties of the cultivated carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*) are common in the Mediterranean region. In northern Morocco this tree, cultivated for its edible pods, is widely scattered in the area covered by palmetto scrub. Like the oleaster, it often appears to be a natural element of the maqui.

Shrub Formations

In most of the Mediterranean basin, shrub formations now cover much more territory than do forests (fig. 8). In northern Morocco, shrub vegetation is dominated by dwarf palm or palmetto (*Chamaerops humilis*) and the xerophytic camel thorn (*Zizyphus lotus*). The range of these two species delimits two shrub formations, palmetto scrub and thorn scrub. The first formation is the *Oleo-Lentiscetum* (i.e., *Olea europaea—Pistacia lentiscus*) of most authors, but in northern Morocco neither of these plants is as conspicuous as the palmetto.

The palmetto (Arabic *doum*) is best developed on argillaceous soils in areas of mild temperature and moderate to heavy precipitation (fig. 7). These preferences explain the absence of palmetto in the cool highlands and its rare occurrence in semiarid areas. Dwarf palm may be seen on rocky knolls near Wad Moulouya, but most of the eastern half of northern Morocco is too dry for the species. In the western half of the zone the altitudinal limits of palmetto rise from west to east according to the lessening amount of precipitation.

The popular names "dwarf palm" and "palmetto" as well as the Linnaean binomial (*Chamaerops humilis*), derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "dwarf or stunted bush," do not suggest that this plant may grow five to ten meters high. Excellent specimens of this height are preserved, however, at the cemeteries of Chella near Rabat and at Asni south of Marrakech. In northern Morocco I have seen tall palmettos on several sacred sites. Palmetto is exploited

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 25]

[10] H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953), p. 11, states that charcoal from a midden near Tébessa in eastern Algeria "a révélé d'une manière certaine l'existence de l'oléastre en Afrique au Paléolithique Supérieur." But in the study to which she refers—R. le Du and L. Saccardy, "Etude de quelques charbons préhistoriques de la région de Tébessa," *Rev. Africaine*, 88 (1949), 111–119—there is no mention of oleaster. Charcoal of *Phillyrea*, another genus of the olive family, is mentioned, but this adds nothing to the history of *Olea europaea*.

[11] L. Joleaud, "L'ancienneté de la fabrication de l'huile en Afrique du Nord," *Rev. Africaine*, 70 (1929), 19–36.

[12] If this be correct, the present range of the cultivated olive is almost completely separated from that of its ancestor. I. H. Burkill, "Habits of Man and the Origins of the Cultivated Plants of the Old World," *Proc. Linnean Soc. London*, 164 (1951–1952), 12–42, ref. to fig. 2, p. 16.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[20] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[21] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[22] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wad Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

[20] *Marruecos, zona jalifana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[21] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognised by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* . . . , II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est déterminée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[22] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of *doum*.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 [314] delta, but it becomes progressively rarer toward the eastern semiarid sector of this zone. Pistacia wood is highly prized as a source of charcoal, and this fact alone may explain the plant's degraded appearance in the hills south of Tangier.

Pistacia rarely forms a pure stand. Several of the other plants found in palmetto scrub could be described as weeds, for they appear mainly in fallow fields. *Asphodelus microcarpus, Urginea maritima, Daphne Gnidium,* and one or more species of *Asparagus, Ononis,* and *Papaver* are prominent among them. In areas where most of the surface is cultivated, as in the Fahs territory south of Tangier, these plants, together with thistles and scattered clumps of palmetto, constitute all but a small part of the total inventory of vegetation. On rocky knolls and alluvial slopes too steep for cultivation, these plants grow among *Pistacia, Calycotome, Lavandula,* and the oleaster. The percentage of thorny plants is high. Besides *Calycotome* and thistles, *Carduus, Smilax,* and *Rosa* are found.

Dense shrub formations are rarely seen on the thickly settled Atlantic versant. One may walk unimpeded anywhere in the zone bounded by the Atlantic coast, Tangier, and Ksar al-Kebir. The thick shrub growth on the Mediterranean coast near Wad Lao contrasts sharply with the open formations on the Atlantic littoral. In the former area, *Cistus ladaniferus, C. albidus, Erica arborea, Pistacia lentiscus,* and *Arbutus Unedo* combine to form an impenetrable thicket. The limestone mountains of northern Morocco are almost bare of shrub or tree growth. [133] From Ceuta to Wad Lao the eastern horizon is dominated by a great wall of limestone, almost completely devoid of soil. The prevalent whiteness is disturbed only by scattered clumps of palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

In the area covered by palmetto scrub the persistent riparian plant is the toxic *Nerium oleander.* It may be accompanied by *Crataegus, Myrtus,* and *Arbutus,* but in most of northwestern Morocco the oleander is the only plant on the banks of streams. The presence of *Alnus, Populus, Salix,* and *Vitex* along stream channels in the Sanhajan highlands may be explained by the persistence in that area of other trees, especially cedar, juniper, and oak, which have been adequate thus far as a source of fuel and building material.

In the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco, palmetto scrub grades into a thorn scrub dominated by *Zizyphus lotus,* a spiny and xerophytic member of the buckthorn family (Rhamnaceae). It is difficult to draw a line between these two formations. Isolated clumps of palmetto are found as far east as the Moulouya Valley, and zizyphus extends up the valley of Wad Ghis as far as Targist.

Well adapted to aridity and continentality, *Zizyphus lotus* has become the dominant plant of Morocco's semiarid plains. Clumps of zizyphus are conspicuous within most of the area mapped as thorn scrub. This plant may grow three meters high, but is most often seen as a shrub. It is deciduous; and, during the dormant winter season, gray and seemingly lifeless clumps of zizyphus are a characteristic feature of the landscape. Its branches are widely used as fence material, and this practice enhances the contrast between the semiarid sector of northern Morocco and the wetter western zone, where *Opuntia* is planted as a hedge. The fleshy [262] drupe of zizyphus is collected wherever it grows; when cereal stocks are exhausted, "lotus bread" is an important food.[a]

[222] [113] [a] *Zizyphus lotus* is occasionally planted in Andalusia, Portugal, and Sicily, but in northern Africa the fruit is collected from wild plants. Aug. Chevalier, "Les jujubiers ou zizyphus de

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 On protected sites, zizyphus and sumac (*Rhus pentaphylla*) form a thicket. In areas where zizyphus and sumac are mixed with *Pistacia atlantica*, the thorn scrub formation could be described as a thorn forest. Fields that have been fallow for several years are covered with *Asphodelus microcarpus*, *Marrubium alysson*, *Fagonia cretica*, and *Lycium intricatum* as well as the ubiquitous zizyphus. Alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*) covers part of the area between Ikibdhanen and Kar-Kar. Alluvial soils in the same general area are covered with esparto grass (*Lygeum spartum*) and dwarf sage (*Artemisia herba alba*). The areas occupied by these three species may be advanced colonies of the steppe formations of the upper Moulouya Valley and the Algerian Hauts-Plateaux.

Forest Formations

As figure 8 indicates, most of the forest species in northern Morocco belong to the families Pinaceae and Fagaceae. Two evergreen oaks dominate the latter group: the holly or holm oak (*Quercus Ilex*) and the cork oak (*Quercus Suber*). The wide range of the holly oak is indicative of its edaphic and climatic tolerance (fig. 7). In northern Morocco it is found from an elevation of about 500 meters up to the crest of the Rif chain. It is mixed with cedar and fir above 1,500 meters and with zizyphus in the semiarid region east of Alhucemas. *Quercus Ilex* may appear as a tall tree, but most specimens show the damaging effects of fire, cutting, and browsing. The holly oak is certainly a forest species, but it would be misleading to speak of forests of this tree. The area delimited in figure 8 merely indicates the zone in which specimens of this species are numerous. Many specimens are only two meters high. Emberger estimates that *Quercus Ilex* is spread over 700,000 hectares of Morocco, and that this territory may represent less than half of the primordial range.[12]

[132] The effective limit of the cork oak nearly coincides with the 400 mm. isohyet. *Quercus Suber* appears on schist in the highlands of Ghmara and Sanhaja, on sandstone in the mountains west of Tetuán and Shawen, and on Pliocene dunes south of Larache. Cork forests are not found on residual soils weathered from limestone, or on heavy alluvial soils. Most of the eastern half of northern Morocco is too dry for the cork oak. A single stand occurs in the highlands east of Wad [132] Nkour, where the orographic mechanism produces rainfall heavier than is observed in the neighboring lowlands.

The natural form of the cork oak is that of a large tree with a short trunk and spreading crown. Specimens of this form are rare today. Tall trees develop from seed regeneration, whereas most trees have a lateral growth that results from sprouting. The latter habit indicates a history of abuse, whether by cutting, burning, or browsing. Undisturbed forests usually have a shaded floor with little underbrush, but cork trees are more commonly accompanied by a number of shrubs. The faithful companion of *Quercus Suber* in northern Morocco is the woody briar *Erica arborea*, which also avoids calcareous soils. Under conditions of extreme degradation, the quick-seeding Cistaceae and the aggressive palmetto are more prominent than other undergrowth. Frequent disturbance, especially

[222] [113] l'ancien monde et l'utilisation de leurs fruits," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 27 (1947), 470–482.

[12] Emberger, *Les Arbres du Maroc*, p. 117.

A, B, [See pp. 24 & 20 respectively--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

by burning, may completely destroy the oaks. The Mamora cork forest north of Rabat (137,000 hectares) is the largest in the world.[12] Cork oak covers about 100,000 hectares in the northern zone.[13]

Much of the economic activity in northern Morocco is concerned with the collection and shipment of cork. The bark of the trunk and the larger branches is utilized. Cork is first removed when trees are about twenty years old, with subsequent stripping every seven to ten years. The first yield (*liège mâle*) is very rough and coarse and of little value. Cork of subsequent stripping (*liège de reproduction*) is more homogeneous and of higher commercial value. In northern Morocco, cork is collected by Spanish concerns with native labor, and also by small independent operators who collect cork from isolated villages and carry it to places of deposit on the main roads. Most of the cork from northern Morocco is shipped in bulk to Spain.

Deciduous oaks cover about 7,000 hectares in northern Morocco. Two species are represented, and they have the scattered distribution characteristic of relicts. The larger stand of deciduous oaks grows at an elevation of about 1,000 meters in the mountains west of Shawen and southwest of Bab Taza—Jbil Buhashim, Jbil Sugna, and Jbil Hazana. *Quercus pyrenaica* = *Q. Tozae* is the species in this area; it appears also at elevations of 1,200–2,000 meters on Jbil Tiziran and, as the binomial indicates, in the Pyrenees. The second species, *Q. faginea* = *Q. lusitanica*, is scattered over the Sanhajan highlands. The largest stands are on the slopes between Jbil Tiziran and Jbil Leshab. Other stands appear on the slopes of Adrar Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut, and there are a few trees mixed with *Erica arborea*, *Cistus ladaniferus*, and *Pistacia lentiscus* in the maqui near Tangier.

It is difficult to explain the scattered distribution of the deciduous oaks. They are abundant in the largest forested area (fig. 8), that of the mountains west of Shawen, but many of the trees in this forest were cut by the Spanish for use as railroad ties. Both species seem to be calcifuge, and it is unlikely that either will be found in the drier parts of the zone. The scattered and mountainous distribution suggests that the deciduous oaks are Pleistocene relicts now restricted to the coolest and wettest parts of northern Morocco. The extreme polymorphism of *Quercus faginea*, with its great number of subspecies and races, seems to support this view.

The highest peaks in northern Morocco are clothed with forests of fir and cedar. The former genus is confined to the calcareous mountains east of Shawen. Two species are present: *Abies tazaotana* occurs at elevations of 1,500–1,854 meters on Jbil Tazaot, and *A. pinsapo* appears on Jbil Maggo, Jbil Tisuka, and Jbil Leshab, as well as in the mountains near Ronda in southern Spain. This restricted highland distribution again suggests that these species are relicts. On Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab, forests of fir begin at an elevation of 1,600

[12] Estimate of Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 101. For an excellent description of the Mamora forest see A. Métro and Ch. Sauvage, *Flore des végétaux ligneux de la Mamora* (Rabat: Société des Sciences Naturelles et Physiques du Maroc, 1955).

[13] This figure and the estimates of forested surface in later paragraphs are taken from S. Sánchez Cózar, "Montes," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948), pp. 5–25. Earlier estimates appear in E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 meters and persist up to the summits at slightly above 2,000 meters. Fir forests are never pure. Deciduous oaks replace fir in moist canyons, and the maritime pine is found on drier, south-facing slopes. Cedar is scattered through most stands of fir, but is conspicuous only on the highest peaks. There are about 6,000 hectares of fir forest in northern Morocco.

The Atlas cedar (*Cedrus atlantica*) is North Africa's most valuable source of timber.* Cedar forests are found in the Rif and the Middle and High Atlas in Morocco, and on some of the highest peaks in Algeria. In northern Morocco cedar forests extend from the calcareous range east of Shawen to the schistose mountains south of Targist. A single isolated stand appears on Jbil Kelti, in the karstic mountains of Bani Hassan. The best forests are found on siliceous soils in the Sanhajan mountains, where the cedar is prominent from an altitude of 1,600 meters to the summits of the highest peaks (pl. 1, *b;* pl. 10, *a*). In the valley of Wad Ouergha some cedars may be seen as low as 1,000 meters, and a small stand of very large trees appears at Tlata Ktama at 1,300 meters. In the High Atlas, cedar forests give way to *Juniperus thurifera* at about 3,700 meters. There is no natural timberline in northern Morocco, but trees are stunted on the highest peaks (pl. 1, *b*). Distortion caused by strong winds is especially evident on the summit of Adrar Tidighin. Stumps a meter in diameter have about a hundred rings, but it is difficult to generalize about the age and size of trees, for edaphic and microclimatic factors are highly varied in mountainous terrain.

In the few areas where cedar forests are undisturbed, closely spaced trees shade out shrubs, and undergrowth consists mainly of ferns (*Pteris apulina*). On steep slopes and on the edge of clearings, cedars are mixed with *Juniperus Oxycedrus* and cork oak or holly oak. When cedar forests are cut or burned, the oaks become dominant. When the latter also are destroyed, forest degenerates to scrub. Badly degraded slopes are covered with scrub oaks (i.e., sprouts from the damaged trunks of holly oak or cork oak), *Genista quadriflora, Cistus laurifolius, Halimium lasiocalycinum, Cytisus megalanthus, Daphne Gnidium,* and *Thymus riatarum.* Where destruction of the forest is accompanied by severe erosion, slopes may be covered only by widely spaced clusters of *Genista* and occasional junipers. In areas of sparse human population, stream channels are lined with *Alnus glutinosa, Salix purpurea, Populus nigra, Crataegus laciniata, Rosa canina, Betula alba,* and *Vitex Agnus-castus.*

The distribution of the Moroccan pines is difficult to explain. Two species are identified in figure 8. The maritime pine (*Pinus pinaster*) is scattered in the Rif highlands from Shawen to the Nkour Valley, and the Aleppo pine (*P. halepensis*) appears in the foothills of the Rif chain and at several places on the Mediterranean coast. There are a few stands of maritime pine in the Sanhajan highlands, all on the Mediterranean versant and all at an elevation of about 1,500

* Taxonomists usually distinguish four species of *Cedrus:* the Atlas cedar (*C. atlantica*), the Cyprus cedar (*C. brevifolia*), the cedar of Lebanon and southwestern Turkey (*C. Libani*), and the Himalayan deodar (*C. deodara*). Actually, the distinction among these forms is trivial, and some authors prefer to regard them as geographical variants of a single species. René Marie, in his monumental *Flore de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Lechevalier, 1952), lists the Atlas cedar as *Cedrus libanotica ssp. atlantica.* The best general description of the ecology of the several "species" is Louis Emberger's "Contribution à la connaissance des Cèdres," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale,* 18 (1938), 77–92.

● (113)

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 by cutting, browsing, or fire. This ability explains the presence of scrub thuya in deforested areas. But it grows slowly and is sensitive to disturbance in its early years. In the area delimited on the map, thuyas are widely scattered and for the most part badly mutilated. Large formations have been completely [313] destroyed. More than half of the houses in the eastern part of the Rif have [314] rafters of thuya, which is used, wherever it grows, as a source of charcoal. The [322] Barbary thuya has been used for centuries in making cabinets and other furniture, and was esteemed by the Romans for roofing temples.[a] Damaged trunks sometimes develop giant burls, which have been used since classical time as table [314] tops. A hard resin, sandarac, exudes from the trunks, and a modest quantity [439] of it is shipped to Britain, where it is used in the manufacture of varnish.[b]

[a] Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI, 231, XXXIII, 146.

[b] W. Dallimore and A. Bruce Jackson, *A Handbook of Coniferae* (London: Edward Arnold, 1948), p. 610. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER III

CULTURE HISTORY PRIOR TO EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

FOR THE POPULATIONS and civilizations that reached it, Morocco was a cul-de-sac. Every movement came up against the Atlantic barrier and was retarded by the hostile environment of the Sahara. During the Pleistocene epoch and, indeed, during the first millennia of Recent geologic time, Morocco was a redoubt in which outmoded ways of life perfected themselves in isolation. The descendants of the Neolithic farmers remained dependent on stone tools three thousand years after the Egyptians, at the other end of the Mediterranean, had begun to use metal. Basically, the Stone Age cultures still persist, in spite of Phoenician, Roman, Arab, and European influence.

The historic accounts of the Canary Islands are of special interest. When the Norman and Spanish conquerors reached the Canaries a few generations before the discovery of America, the islanders spoke a Berber dialect and still retained their Neolithic culture. They used stone tools, and fashioned implements from wood, horn, and shell. They produced crude and underfired pottery in the Neolithic style, and their textiles were plaited matting and basketry. Their clothing was of cured goatskin, and their houses were made of stone, pine timbers, and earth. They raised pigs, dogs, sheep, and goats, and grew barley and wheat. They knew how to preserve meat by drying and milk by making cheese. Add metal, weaving, and the crops and animals introduced from southwestern Asia and the Americas, and this outline of material culture is little different from that of an isolated Moroccan village of today.[1]

THE PROBLEM OF CLIMATIC CHANGE

A mass of circumstantial evidence suggests that Barbary has become drier since the time of the Roman occupation. The impressive ruins of Thamugadi (Timgad) and the great amphitheater of Thysdrus (el-Jem) now stand on desolate plains. The ancient seaports of Leptis Magna and Sabratha were found buried under an immense drift of sand. Mosaics and historical records tell of the presence in Roman Africa of elephants, lions, and other wild animals now confined to the tropical zone. Further examples of change presumed to be a result of desiccation could be cited, but these suffice to illustrate the type of evidence that impresses the traveler.

It cannot be denied that the landscape of northern Africa has changed since classical time, but the thesis of a climatic explanation of this change is difficult to defend. Most of the evident deterioration can be traced to neglect or destruction by man. Aqueducts, dams, and cisterns made possible the building of the now dead cities. With the collapse of the Pax Romana, marginal land dependent on irrigation went out of cultivation. Burning, cutting, and overgrazing

[1] Leonardo Torriani, *Die kanarischen Inseln und ihre Urbewohner;* trans. from the MS of 1590 by D. J. Wölfel (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1940), Vol. VI of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde.* C. S. Coon, in *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1951), pp. 36–40, calls attention to the Canary Islanders as "Berbers" unaffected by foreign influence.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[5]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[6] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[7]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[8] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35)

[5] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[6] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[7] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[8] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

thetic to Moroccan or "Arab" nationalism, refer to a "Berber myth" and refuse to recognize any ethnic division in the country.[6] The *politique berbère* may have had its faults, but this fact does not mean that we should rewrite Moroccan history.

Berber dialects are still spoken by six to seven million people, including about 45 per cent of the population in Morocco, about 30 per cent in Algeria, and about 2 per cent in Tunisia.[7] Berber dialects are spoken also in the Jabal Nefusa and the Siwa oasis in Libya,[8] and on the southern fringe of the Sahara. The Berber language once extended to the Canary Islands.

The Berber-speaking peoples of northern Africa are now concentrated in five groups: Rifians, Braber, Shluh, Kabylies, and Shawiya (fig. 9). They are chiefly mountaineers, and all but the Braber, who practice transhumance, are sedentary farmers. The other groups include the Ghmara, who are almost completely Arabized, the tribesmen of Sanhaja as-Srair, a small colony on the island of Jerba, the Tuareg of the central and southern Sahara, and the inhabitants of the oases of Mzab, Touggourt, Ouargla, Ghardaia, Figuig, Gourara, and Touat.[9]

The original home of the Berber language is unknown, but scholars believe that it is most nearly related to Ancient Egyptian, Cushite, and certain of the Chad languages, which are traditionally but perhaps improperly called Hamitic.[10] This relationship reinforces the theory advanced by archaeologists that the Neolithic of northern Africa shows Egyptian influence.[11] In spite of a bewildering number of dialects, which is normal for an ancient language without literature, Berber can be divided into three groups: Masmuda, Sanhaja, and Zenata.[12] Masmuda was the language of the majority of the sedentary farmers before the Arab invasion. The Shluh and the Ghmara speak it today; Rifian is thought to be a mixed form. The Sanhajan dialect was the speech of the transhumants and nomads. It is now spoken in northern Morocco (Sanhaja as-Srair), in the Middle Atlas, and by the Kabylies, Shawiya, and Tuareg. Zenatiya, formerly confined to the high plateaus of Algeria and the Oujda region, has spread to many of the Saharan oases, including distant Siwa. Because of natural population growth the number of Berber speakers has increased, but the area of Berber speech has lost ground to Arabic. In fact, since the Muslim conquest Berber has gained ground only in Negro Africa, where some tribes in the Niger Territory and the French Sudan have adopted the Tuareg dialect. Without fixed grammar or an effective system of writing, Berber could not compete with the language of the Prophet.[13]

[6] Marvine Howe, "The Birth of the Moroccan Nation," *Middle East Jour.*, 10 (1956), 1–16.

[7] G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France [collection "Que Sais-Je?"], 1957), pp. 16 ff.

[8] Louis Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," *Middle East Jour.*, 12 (1958), 33–44.

[9] On the distribution of Berber speech, see also André Basset, *La langue berbère* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

[10] J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Co., 1955). First published in *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 5, 6, 10 (1949–1954).

[11] Egyptian influence on north African rock art is examined in Raymond Vaufrey, "L'art rupestre nord-africain," *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine*, Mémoire 20 (1939). The most striking evidence of direct influence is the presence in Algeria of rock drawings of rams wearing the solar disk associated with the worship of Re. When worn by the ram, which was sacred to Amon of Thebes, it indicates Amon-Re, the composite god of Egypt during the New Kingdom (1600–1100 B.C.).

[12] These are the major genealogical divisions of Ibn Khaldun. Strictly speaking, it is not correct to use this division in linguistic classification.

[13] The only system of writing at the time of the Arab conquest was the Libyco-Berber alphabet used in rock art. This alphabet was probably developed from ideas borrowed from the Phoeni-

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

531 171 In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of 342 Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local 171 variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can 171 fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[" Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

771 789 171 [772] [805] A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[12]

631 Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[13] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence [596] and self-sufficiency.[14] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed [614] clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, 631 groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates 634 from each family.[15] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

[212] [113] cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marey, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[113] [12] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[113] [13] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[113] [14] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhsen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[15] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[113] [16] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules.[10]

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[11]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[10] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[11] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

established at Rusaddir (Melilla), Tingi (Tangier), and one or more intermediate points, but the regular chain of trading stations did not extend west of Cartennae (Ténès).[25] The strong strategic position of Carthage and the comparable one of Gades enabled the Carthaginians, who were uncompromisingly intolerant of interlopers, to prevent any interference with their trade by foreigners. There was no need to occupy a continuous stretch of the north African coast.

Active interest in the Atlantic coast of Morocco seems to have been delayed until after Tartessos had been destroyed and the Carthaginians had gained control of the Spanish silver mines. Even then the commercial importance of Carthage continued to be based upon its privileged situation at the contact of the two Mediterranean basins. The evidence, both historical and archaeological, suggests that Punic merchants did not develop a serious interest in the open sea until after the commercial possibilities of Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, and western Iberia had been thoroughly explored.[26] In classical time, Mare Altum was thought to be a domain of "demons, eerie darkness, mudflats, and immense fields of seaweed" from which no ship could free itself. But, as Paul Hermann suggests, these tales may have been deliberately spread by the various powers in control of the Strait to discourage competition.[27]

The periplus of the Carthaginian admiral Hanno, who between 475 and 450 B.C. led an expedition of discovery and colonization to the Atlantic coast of Africa, still gives rise to long arguments.[28] It is not necessary to review the arguments for and against the notion that he sailed as far as the Gulf of Guinea. The important point is that this expedition was commissioned to found colonies on the Moroccan coast. Six colonies are named in the periplus, but no two scholars agree on their location. Punic remains have been unearthed only at Tingi (Tangier), at Lixus (near Larache), and on a rocky islet off Mogador,[29] but other settlements are mentioned in inscriptions or on coins.

Carthage itself rapidly became a great metropolis, but the Carthaginian land empire was never large. In the third century B.C. it seems to have included nearly all northern Tunisia but very little of Algeria, apart from a narrow zone along the coast. Much of eastern Algeria became Punic in language and culture, but the more remote trading stations were separated by large areas under barbarian control. "The power of Carthage," as Miss Semple suggests, "was based on its overseas trade and the land beneath its feet, not on the big continent at its back."[30]

The Carthaginians were so successful in concealing their secrets that we can draw only tentative inferences about the nature of their trade. It is likely that

[25] Ch.-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord* (2d ed., Paris: Payot, 1956), I, 66, and fig. 4.

[26] On the chronology of Phoenician expansion, see Rhys Carpenter, "Phoenicians in the West," *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, 62 (1958), 35–53.

[27] Paul Hermann, *Conquest by Man* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1954), p. 36. The Carthaginians sought to prevent other powers from gaining access to the tin of Cornwall and Brittany. The exclusion of the Greeks and Romans from the coastal waters of the western Mediterranean is reflected also in the paucity of information given by the classical authors about the African trade.

[28] For an English translation of the periplus, see B. H. Warmington, *Carthage* (London: Robert Hale, 1960), pp. 62–64.

[29] For discussion of the probable range of Punic settlement in Morocco see Pierre Cintas, *Contribution à l'étude de l'expansion carthaginoise au Maroc* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1954).

[30] E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), p. 141.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

most of the Punic trade was of an entrepot nature, with goods carried from one country to another or raw materials exchanged for finished products. The Carthaginians were not dependent on Africa itself for the support of their trade. Indeed, the Berber tribes of the littoral were probably too primitive to be able to make any great contribution to it. Wool, skins, timber, purple dye, ivory, and ostrich feathers were the principal local products that found their way into foreign ports. It is not known whether the Carthaginians imported gold or slaves from across the Sahara, but it is reasonable to suppose that Hanno's expedition was intended to establish an easier route for such a trade."

It follows that cultural changes during this period should be described largely in terms of diffusion or drift, not as a direct exchange. The Carthaginian merchants carried not only the objects of their trade but also customs and techniques, ideas and beliefs. Elements of Punic culture, both material and nonmaterial, seem to have spread far beyond the coastal towns. Some of these innovations were obscured in later centuries by Roman and Arab influence, but a Punic substratum can still be discerned in Berber culture.

When the first Thalassic traders reached Barbary, the native peoples were growing barley and wheat, and used all the domestic animals (except the dromedary) now found in the area. The vine, pomegranate, almond, walnut, and olive may have been introduced to Barbary by the Phoenicians. Each of these trees is grown by cuttings, a technique previously unknown in northern Africa. A pre-Roman introduction of the oleaster is a necessary part of the thesis that this tree is not really a wild race, for in Roman time a clear distinction was made between cultivated and "wild" trees. As a result of all or part of these introductions, northern Africa began to shift from cereal farming and transhumance to a Thalassic agriculture of terraced orchards and gardens. Barley and wheat remained the staples, but the diet probably came to include a greater variety of vegetables and salad plants. The Carthaginians may have introduced refinements of irrigation technique also.

Another result of Punic influence is that tools tipped with iron replaced implements of wood, stone, and bronze.[11] Although evidence is lacking, it may be presumed that stone architecture was adopted in some areas in place of cruder construction with mud bricks, straw, and hides. The family crafts of the Berbers probably were not greatly altered, for the Carthaginians were indifferent craftsmen, and in northern Africa even today there is an almost complete separation between the arts of the countryside and those of the towns. But the rural tribesmen must have had ample opportunity to observe and test new ideas and new techniques. In each tribe there would have been several men who had served the Carthaginians as mercenary soldiers, and many tribal areas were attached, at least partly, to native kingdoms that were under Punic control. Evidence of Punic influence has been recovered at several Roman sites. At Lixus, some megalithic tombs, anterior to the Roman tradition, are clearly Punic. Subterranean tombs

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 41)

[10] For discussion of this possibility see E. W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 22 ff.

[11] It used to be said that northern Africa moved from the Stone Age to the Iron Age without passing through an intermediate era of bronze. It is now known that bronze implements were used in many parts of Barbary at the time of the Phoenician invasion. G. Camps, "Les traces d'un âge du bronze en Afrique du Nord," *Rev. Africaine*, 104 (1960), 31–55.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 Punic civilization was certainly stronger in the littoral zone than in the highlands. Nevertheless, the pattern of life must have changed, even in the more remote areas, between the time of Hanno's voyage and the arrival of the Romans.

After the third Punic war, which ended in 146 B.C., the area directly controlled by Carthage became a Roman province, the Provincia Africa. Long experience in administering conquered territories had taught the Romans that it is difficult to control an expanding frontier. They resolved, therefore, to restrict their occupation to Carthage and its hinterland.[9] At first this resolution was accepted, but in time the hostility of the native tribes and the ambition of the Roman commanders led to wider conquest. Numidia, roughly eastern Algeria, was occupied in 45 B.C., and in A.D. 46 the Emperor Claudius created two new provinces, known as Mauritania Caesariensis and Mauritania Tingitana from their capitals Caesarea (Cherchell) and Tingis (Tangier). With these annexations the whole of the north African littoral came under Roman rule.

The extent of Roman control can be roughly delimited by the remains of an elaborate system of frontier defenses (fig. 10). The word for such a system—*limes*—denoted not only material barriers but also forts, camps, and roads behind the line and outposts and watchtowers in advance of it.[10] This system of defense in depth was designed to delay attackers until reserves could be brought to the frontier zone. In Tunisia and eastern Algeria the defensive system was intended to prevent raids by nomads from the pre-Saharan zone—a problem the Romans helped to create by introducing the dromedary.[11] In Mauritania and the western sector of Numidia the system was apparently designed to protect the fertile plains from attacks by the unsubdued mountain tribes. Responsibility for the defense of much of the frontier was relegated to retired legionaries or peasant soldiers (*limitanei*), who established semimilitary colonies, comparable to the *kibbutzim* of modern Israel. When they were first organized, most of the *limitanei* were probably recruited from troops already on the frontier. Later, land was given to Latinized barbarians.[12]

In Tingitana at the end of the second century, the fortified frontier started on the Atlantic coast, a few kilometers south of Rabat, and then continued eastward between the Rif chain and the Middle Atlas. The easternmost outpost yet discovered is at Bou Hellou, between Fez and Taza. Although archaeological evidence is lacking, there is reason to believe that Tingitana and Mauritania Caesariensis were linked by a military road.

The part of Morocco directly controlled by the Romans was a triangular area bounded by Tingis and Ad Abilem (Ceuta) on the north and by Sala (Rabat)

[9] As Terrasse notes, *ibid.*, p. 48, "Rome ne s'était installée en Afrique que pour garder la tombe de Carthage."

[10] *Limes* means the whole defensive system, while *fossatum* refers to an artificial barrier consisting of a ditch and wall. Only slight traces of the *fossatum* were known until recently. These were on the frontier of Tingitana near Fez and to the southwest of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria. Air photography has revealed other sections of considerable length. J. Baradez, *Fossatum Africae: vue aérienne de l'organisation romaine dans le sud-algérien* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1949). [113]

[11] For evidence of the probable date of this introduction, see M. W. Mikesell, "Notes on the Dispersal of the Dromedary," *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 11 (1955), 231–245, reprinted in *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire*, Série A, 18 (1956), 895–912. [113]

[12] B. H. Warmington, *The North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954). [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

and some point near Fez on the south. After the reform of Diocletian in A.D. 285, Tingitana was attached to the diocese of Betica. This transfer doubtless was made because of the difficulty of communication between Tingitana and the rest of Roman Africa. The road going westward from Carthage ended at Caesarea, where the traveler desirous of proceeding farther was forced to put to sea; and he could find no road nearer than Tingis or Ad Abilem, the points of debarkation.[84]

From the standpoint of political geography, the main function of Tingitana was to guard the southern flank of Betica. Volubilis was a city of impressive size, and there must have been extensive colonization in the fertile plains of the Gharb. Nevertheless, when it was no longer easy to control the southern base of the triangle, Volubilis was abandoned, and the southern boundary of Tingitana was withdrawn to the line of Wad Lukkus and Wad Lao. This withdrawal, effected toward the end of the third century, reduced Tingitana to one-tenth of its original size.[85]

The part of Morocco that remained under Roman control consisted of little more than the coast opposite Gibraltar and a small part of the Atlantic lowland (fig. 10). The principal settlements were confined to the plains and terraces of the littoral zone. There is no evidence as yet of Roman towns or outposts in the highlands, although there may have been scattered colonies on the Rifian coast.[86] In northern Morocco the number of suitable urban sites was and is limited. Tingis, Ad Abilem, Zilis, and Oppidum Novum occupied the same sites as the modern towns of Tangier, Ceuta, Arcila, and Ksar al-Kebir. Tamuda and Lixus were only a few kilometers from modern Tetuán and Larache. The close relationship of ancient and contemporary patterns is revealed also by the alignment of Roman settlements along the routes of the modern roads (fig. 11).

The principal functions of the Roman towns probably were similar to those of their modern counterparts. Tingis and Ad Abilem were the great ports of Tingitana and the termini of the roads. Tamuda was a focus of land transportation and the head of navigation for the Río Martín.[87] Lixus, at the mouth of Wad Lukkus, must have enjoyed a lively trade, for a long stretch of this river was still navigable in the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese arrived.[88] Ad Mercuri, Zilis, Tabernae, and Oppidum Novum served as military posts on the road from Tingis to Sala and Volubilis. There is archaeological evidence of other posts on the roads from Tingis to Tamuda and Ad Abilem.[89]

Most of the highland zone was evidently beyond the limits of effective Roman control; the colonies on the Mediterranean coast, with the possible exception of Rusaddir, functioned as ports of call and not as trading outlets for the interior.

[84] Raymond Roget, *Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1924), p. 39.

[85] The causes and consequences of this change are described by Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, pp. 70 ff.; and M. Tarradell, "La crisis del siglo III de J. C. en Marruecos," *Tamuda*, 3 (1955), 75–105.

[86] For the names of settlements as yet undiscovered, see P. César Morán and G. Guastavino Gallent, *Vías y poblaciones romanas en el norte de Marruecos* (Madrid: Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos, 1948).

[87] For further information on Tamuda, see M. Tarradell, "Las excavaciones de Tamuda de 1949 a 1955," *Tamuda*, 4 (1956), 71–85.

[88] T. García Figueras, *Expedición de los Portugueses al Río de Larache y fundación de la fortaleza de "La Graciosa" en el Lukus* (Larache: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe, 1941).

[89] For a preliminary report of the excavation of one such post, see M. Tarradell, "El Benian: Castellum Romano entre Tetuán y Tanger," *Tamuda*, 1 (1953), 302–309.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 Roman territorial organization seems to have been strikingly similar to the pattern of European occupation during the protectorates. Roman influence, like Spanish influence, must have been considerable in the lowlands, but it is unlikely that many of the mountain tribes were subdued. In Roman time, as in recent years, the principal agents of cultural change would have been tribesmen who had served as mercenary soldiers.

The Roman occupation probably did not have an important influence on the racial composition of the Moroccan tribes. There was no large immigration from Italy during the period of conquest, and after the new provinces were occupied a large part of the Roman army was recruited locally. Even in the cities of Proconsular Africa, where Roman influence was strongest, many names found on inscriptions are merely Latin translations of Berber names.[a] Native preponderance in Numidia and Mauritania, where the cities were fewer in number and the proportion of Italian immigrants smaller, must have been even greater. In Roman time, as today, the Rif and Atlas mountains were the areas least affected by foreign influence. Yet it must be remembered that cultural change does not depend on face-to-face relationships. Roman goods and ideas penetrated far beyond the imperial frontiers.[b] The extent of Roman influence in northern Africa is illustrated by the presence of coins and implements of the second and third centuries at the tomb of the Tuareg queen Tin Hanan in the heart of the Sahara.[c] The Romans' concept of defense in depth and their willingness to recruit barbarians facilitated acculturation.

If it is reasonable to suggest that the basic patterns of cereal farming and pastoral life are anterior to Punic influence, and that horticulture was introduced by the Carthaginians, few agricultural innovations can be ascribed to the Romans. Perhaps their greatest contribution was the perfection of dry farming and irrigation. But most of the crops cultivated by the Romans were already known in northern Africa, and it is safe to infer that the date palm was cultivated in that region before the Romans arrived.[d] The Romans probably introduced the dromedary, but the first camels may not have reached northern Morocco until after the Arab invasions.

Roman contributions in metallurgy, architecture, and urban planning are more readily discerned. The *qsar* of the oases, according to Terrasse, retains the outline and often the orientation of the Roman *castrum*, and the *tighremt* with its four towers is nothing but a *castellum* transposed into Berber architecture.[e] The general aspect of the fortified hamlets in southern Morocco suggests Egyptian or east African influence, but Terrasse is probably correct when he assumes that many of the details of the *qsar* represent ancient attempts to emulate Roman style.

It is not known when Christianity came to Morocco, but this faith apparently

175
113

[a] For evidence in support of this point, see Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, pp. 69–75, cited in note 33.

[b] For evidence of the extent of Roman penetration, see Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (Harmondsworth and Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955).

[c] E. F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[d] This inference is supported by Herodotus' reference (*History*, IV, 183) to "palms of the fruitful kind" in the Fezzan.

[e] Terrasse, *op. cit.*, I, 70 ff., cited in note 20

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 persisted long after the termination of Roman control. At Volubilis, epitaphs dated A.D. 599, 605, and 655 prove the survival of Latin and Christian order up to the eve of the Muslim invasion.[a] The extent of Christian expansion beyond the *limes* is difficult to trace, but the rapid expansion of Islam, which raced ahead of most of the Arab innovations, suggests that Christianity may have spread beyond the Roman military and economic frontiers. Arabic writers point to the presence in the eighth century of a Christian community at the foot of the High Atlas,[b] and several tribes in the mountains of northern Morocco still retain notions of Christian ancestry.[c] Most of the Berber tribes still use the Julian almanac, and the Latin names for the months have passed with but slight changes into the Berber tongues; these facts suggest Christian influence, for the association of religion and agriculture is a fundamental aspect of Berber culture. Unconsciously, Moroccans still associate Christianity with Rome, for in Maghribi Arabic the term usually applied to an infidel is "Roumi" (Roman).

In A.D. 429 what was left of Roman authority in northern Africa was challenged by the Vandals. The route of their invasion is unknown. Procopius says only that they "crossed the strait at Gadira (Cádiz) and came to Libya."[d] Some scholars believe that the army was transferred by sea as far as the site of modern Algiers;[e] others trace the invasion through the Taza corridor.[f] In any event, a year after their departure from Spain the Vandals were besieging Hippone (Bone), and within ten years they were masters of Carthage. Once victorious, the Vandals limited their activity to Proconsular Africa, roughly northern Tunisia. Except for occasional contacts during the conquest, it is unlikely that they exerted any influence on the Berber tribes. As Coon remarks, "the popular theory of a Vandal origin of blondism in north Africa is historically unsupportable."[g]

In A.D. 533 a Byzantine army landed on the Syrtic coast. It soon disposed of the Vandals, and within three months the Byzantine commander reported that Africa was "Roman" again. Tangier and Ceuta became Byzantine outposts, but their only function was to guard the Strait of Gibraltar. Little is known of Moroccan history during the half century that remained before the beginning of the Arab invasion. During this interval the Visigoths crossed over from Spain and took possession of Ceuta and part of Ghmara, but their influence probably did not extend beyond the coast.[h]

Arabization

Forays into Cyrenaica and Tripolitania followed soon after the Muslim conquest of Egypt in 640. The conquest of Barbary began thirty years later when Uqbah ibn-Nafi invaded Tunisia, founded Qayrawan, and undertook an expedition toward the west. This expedition had no durable result. Later, when the Byzantines had

175 113

[a] The evidence of Christian survival is examined in Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, pp. 76 ff.

[b] Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, I, 64.

[c] This tradition seems to be especially strong among the tribes of Sanhaja as-Srair. See Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 16 ff., cited in note 4.

[d] Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, III, 3.

[e] B. J. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A. D. 461* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), III, 344.

[f] C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1955).

[g] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 26.

[h] Ibn Khaldun comments on the Visigoths, but does not mention the Vandals.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 been eliminated, Berber resistance was broken, and Musa ibn-Nusayr was able, from 703 to 711, to resume the conquest. In Morocco he followed the route of Uqbah, through the Taza corridor, and eventually the Atlantic plains were brought under Umayyad rule. But the progress of Islam was slow. At the end of the eighth century, Christians still lived on the plains, and pagans controlled the highlands.[a]

It is useful to think of Arabization as a process carried forward in three overlapping stages. The first stage was the initial contact between the Arab invaders and the native Christians and pagans. The second stage began with the arrival of Arab bedawin in the eleventh century. During the third stage, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, Arabization was accelerated by the arrival of Andalusian refugees.

It is unlikely that the first Arabs had much contact with the rural tribes. The men who marched with Uqbah and Musa were soldiers, explorers, and missionaries, not rural colonists looking for new land. Arabic triumphed in each administrative center, but the towns of Morocco remained islands of Arabic language and foreign civilization in a sea of Berber tribes.[b]

The early restriction of Arabic to the cities is not hard to explain. Between city and country in Morocco there is a chasm without counterpart in the Western world. The Moroccan towns did not grow gradually from small beginnings; they were built by decree. The tribesmen living around such artificial creations could not regard them with any feeling of pride. The new cities, like the Roman settlements, reminded them of the master or even of the foe.[c] Prior to the European occupation, all cities were protected by high walls and gates that were closed at night. After the bedawin invasions, Arab tribes were sometimes given land and pasture around the larger cities, with the intention that they would form a defensive ring.[d]

If the cities of northern Africa had remained the only centers of diffusion for Arabic, it probably would not have diffused at all. The most effective teachers were the bedawin, who began to move into northern Africa in the seventh century. This movement was headed by the Bani Hillal and Bani Soleim, who had been ejected from the Syrian desert for plundering pilgrim caravans. About 1050 the caliphs in Cairo, enraged at the disobedience of the Sanhajan emirs in Qayrawan, sought to chastise their rebel vassals by launching the bedawin against them. After having conquered southern Tunisia, these rough and illiterate nomads passed through the Saharan Atlas, spread over the Algerian plateaus, and entered Morocco through the Taza corridor. By the end of the fourteenth century they were camped on the Atlantic littoral.[e]

The bedawin differed profoundly from the aristocratic adventurers who had conquered the country three centuries earlier. They had no desire to propagate religion or to found cities; their task was to find new pastures for their flocks

175 113

[a] W. Marçais, "Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée," *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, 4 (1938), 1–32; "L'arabisation des campagnes," *ibid*, 14 (1956), 5–17.

[b] Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale* (2d ed., Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925–1934), I, *passim*.

[c] E.-F. Gautier, "Native Life in French North Africa," *Geog. Rev.*, 13 (1923), 27–39.

[d] Robert Montagne, *La Civilisation du désert: nomades d'Orient et d'Afrique* (Paris: Hachette, 1947), pp. 262–264.

[e] For a detailed study of their migrations, see G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIe au XIVe siècle* (Paris: Leroux, 1913).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

and new camping grounds. They were numerous enough to compete with the plains-dwelling Berbers for their land, but as bedawin they were unable to dislodge or greatly influence the mountain tribes.

Wherever pastoral Arabs and sedentary Berbers came together, the economic conflict was accompanied by a clash of agrarian democracy with the authoritarian order of pastoral society. The importance of this conflict is suggested by the fact that Arab dialects are confined, even today, to lowland or plateau areas well suited to urbanization and pastoral life. In the highland zones, particularly in the irrigable areas, Berber society was not seriously disturbed. The only important exception to this generalization is the Jbalan sector of northern Morocco, which is well adapted to sedentary life but nevertheless was Arabized at an early date. It must be remembered that Jbala is a passageway between Morocco and Spain, and that many of the troops that took part in the Spanish campaigns were recruited there.[a]

The coincidence of Arabic speech and gentle relief should not be viewed as a simple relation of cause and effect. The plains were better suited to bedawin life, and the bedawin were chiefly responsible for the spread of Arabic speech. During most of Moroccan history the areas of gentle relief coincided with the effective limit of the central government (*bilad al-makhzen*). In many areas the advance of governmental control and Qur'anic law favored the adoption of Arabic speech. In contrast, the rugged terrain of the Moroccan mountains helped to maintain Berber independence.

Some writers have asserted that the Berber-speaking tribes were *driven* to the highlands, and that the dominance of Arabic in the lowlands represents displacement rather than assimilation.[b] From the time of Uqbah and Musa, the Arabians in the army of conquest and among the colonists must have been comparatively few, limited to those in command and in high office. The number of women accompanying the army and the first immigrants was necessarily small. Disease and fighting took their toll. After the fourth generation the Arabian "blood" would have been greatly diluted by intermarriage with native women. Many if not most of the troops that took part in the Spanish campaigns were Berbers from Jbala, Ghmara, and the Rif. In the opinion of one scholar, the veins of the Caliph Abd al-Rahman III (912–961) contained less than a hundredth part of Arabian blood.[c]

The bedawin were more numerous than the first invaders, and moved with their families, but Gautier thinks that they could hardly have numbered more than 200,000, probably less than 2 per cent of the population of northern Africa at that time.[d] After centuries of mingling with Berbers in Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria, it is doubtful that the bedawin who reached the Moroccan coastal plains retained more than a nominal amount of Arab blood. Montagne believes that no more than 10 per cent of the Moroccan population can claim to be of Arabian

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49)

[a] On the Arabization of Jbala, see also A. Bernard and P. Moussard, "Arabophones et berbérophones au Maroc," *Annales de Géographie*, 33 (1924), 267–282.

[b] Cf. Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," p. 33, cited in note 8: "The once-powerful Berbers of North Africa are now principally a marginal, conservative people living in mountain refuge areas, driven there by successive waves of Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans."

[c] J. Ribera y Tarragó, *Disertaciones y opúsculos* (Madrid: Imprenta de E. Maestre, 1928), I, 12–35, 109–112.

[d] E.-F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs* (Paris: Payot, 1952), p. 429.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

descent." The Andalusian Muslims could hardly have displaced any large group of Berbers, for they settled, almost to a man, in cities and towns. It is reasonable to conclude that the Moroccan highlands remained Berber not because they were a place of retreat but because the drift of Arab influence went around the mountains rather than through or over them. The horticultural skills of the highland Berbers and their intricate social organization suggest stability, not the culture of a refugee population driven to new and unfamiliar environments."

The Christian reconquest of Spain, led by Castile and Aragón, began in 1225. Córdoba fell in 1236, and Sevilla in 1249. Soon Spanish Islam was reduced to the small kingdom of Granada, which had accepted Castile as an overlord. In 1492 Granada itself was taken, and Spanish Islam ceased to exist. Even before the conquest of Granada, many Muslims sought refuge in Morocco. These refugees repeopled most of the Moroccan towns, and provided the Saadians with technical experts and soldiers. Northern Morocco became a center of Andalusian civilization. Some families in Tetuán, Shawen, and Fez still retain keys to their ancestral homes in al-Andalus.

The Andalusian refugees brought a richer and more classical form of Arabic speech. Since most of the immigrants settled in towns, the distinction between urban and rural dialects was intensified. This distinction is still strong. The more elegant city speech is spoken not only in Fez (the great center of Andalusian culture) but also in Rabat-Salé (settled by Andalusians in the seventeenth century) and in Tetuán (most of whose inhabitants came from Ronda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Taza, Ksar al-Kebir, and Azemmour also have somewhat urbanized dialects, while Tangier and Wezzan show the influence of neighoring tribes. Meknès and Marrakech, perhaps the most extreme examples of country speech, are accordingly looked down upon by their bourgeois neighbors. Thus there is, besides the Arab-Berber distinction, a strong contrast even among Moroccans who are Arabized. No one familiar with the sounds and rhythms of Maghribi Arabic could fail to distinguish between the dialect of Old Fez and the quasi-bedawin speech of the rural tribes."

Several of the tribes shown as Berber-speakers in figure 12 are described as Arabophones in previous work. Disagreement arises from the fact that many tribes are bilingual. When questioned about their language preference, many Berbers reply that they speak only Arabic, but if questioned further they will add that their women and children speak Berber, and that boys do not begin to learn Arabic until they are old enough to attend a Qur'anic school. This is the situation among the Aith Seddath, a tribe often described as bilingual or Arabophone." It is important to note whether merchants or the educated members of a tribe use more than one language, but the linguistic attainments of the elite should not be allowed to obscure the basic pattern of domestic speech. The fact that one Rifian in ten speaks some Spanish or Arabic does not mean that the Rif

" Montagne, *La Civilisation du désert*, p. 265, cited in note 56.

" René Raynal, in "Quelques aperçus géographiques sur l'évolution des régions humanes du Maroc," *Hesperis*, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, 39 (1952), 1–16, refers to the Berber mountains as "vieilles régions humaines."

" G. S. Colin, "L'Arabe," in *Initiation au Maroc* (3d ed., Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1943), pp. 208 ff.

" A. Benisio, *Etude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair* (Paris: Leroux, 1932).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

should be described as a bilingual zone. Probably not one Rifian woman in a hundred understands Arabic or Spanish, and few Rifian men speak either language correctly.

In northern Morocco the Berber language is represented by three dialects: Rifian, Sanhajan, and Ghmara. Rifian is by far the most important. It varies somewhat from tribe to tribe, but this variation does not hinder communication. The differences in pronunciation are evident as one moves from the Nkour Valley toward Wad Moulouya, particularly in Ikibdhanen. Rifians can understand the dialect of the Aith Iznasen, but they are obliged to use interpreters when they deal with the Sanhajans. The Ghmaran dialect is nearly extinct. Today it is spoken only in Bani Bu Zra and in a few hamlets of Bani Mansur and Bani Grir. The relationship between Ghmaran and the other dialects is not yet clear, but Ghmaran seems to be a distinct dialect, not a variant of Rifian or Sanhajan.[46] Differences in pronunciation may be considerable, even among speakers of the same dialect. The speech of Ktama and Taghzut, for example, is barely intelligible to the Aith Seddath. The degree of difference between Rifian and Sanhajan is probably as great as that between Spanish and Italian. Nevertheless, philologists prefer to recognize only one Berber language, and attribute differences of this magnitude to isolation and the absence of literature.[47]

Berber speech has completely disappeared from the area west of Bani Siyyat, Bani Silman, and Bani Khalid. The progress of Arabization was more rapid in the interior than along the Mediterranean coast. Even today the route from Tetuán to Melilla follows the ridges of the Rifian chain, whereas no road follows the coast east of Wad Lao. The Ghmaran dialect is preserved in an area crossed by deep canyons, and bounded by high mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. In Sanhaja as-Srair most of the Arabophones occupy land south of the mountain chain. The Bani Bu Shibat and Bani Hmid find it much easier to visit the markets of Marnisa, where Arabic is spoken, than to climb the mountains to reach the main area of Sanhajan speech. In the eastern part of the Rif, Arabic is spoken only along the Moulouya Valley, the route of advance for bedawin tribes moving northward from the Algerian plateaus. The Ulad Stut not only speak Arabic but are of Arabian (i.e., bedawin) descent.[48] This claim can also be made by the Khlut, who moved into the Atlantic lowland during the fourteenth century.[49]

The first to abandon Berber (or Latin) speech were the peoples of the Tingitanian peninsula and the plains near Fez. After the collapse of Muslim Spain the same areas became havens for Andalusian refugees. From these two centers Arabic speech and Islamic culture gradually moved into the highlands. This movement is still in progress. In fact, Moroccan independence will cause an acceleration, for the language of the Prophet now has political as well as religious sanction. The Ghmaran dialect will become extinct in a generation, and in another generation or two the Sanhajan dialect may also disappear. In Ktama, Sanhajan speech is retained only in the inaccessible valley of Abd al-Ghaya, between Adrar

[46] G. S. Colin, "Le parler berbère des Gmara," *Hespéris*, 9 (1929), 43–58.
[47] Basset, *op. cit.*, in note 9.
[48] Marçais, *op. cit.*, in note 57.
[49] According to D. M. Hart (personal communication), only 9 out of 171 place and lineage names in the Khlut area are indisputably Berber.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[11] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[12]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[13] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[14] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[15] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[16] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[11] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[12] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[13] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[14] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[15] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[16] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

when the Arabs arrived. But the Arabs introduced a number of additional crops: rice (Sp. *arroz;* Ar. *al-aruzz*), the apricot (Sp. *albaricoque;* Ar. *al-barquq*), and cotton (Old Sp. *coton;* Ar. *al-qutn*).[77] The Arabs brought the bitter or Seville orange, but the sweet or common orange was introduced by the Portuguese from India.[78] The Arabs also brought the artichoke (from the eastern Mediterranean), spinach (from Persia), sugar cane (probably from India), the mulberry (originally from China), pepper, ginger, saffron, and parsley. Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), the great cash crop of the Sanhajan highlands and the object of a lively contraband trade between Spanish and French Morocco, may also have been carried to Barbary by the Arabs. In an indirect sense the Arabs may be credited with the introduction of a number of New World plants, for many of the Spanish Muslims did not leave al-Andalus until after the final order of expulsion in 1609. By that time Europeans were familiar with the agave, opuntia, tomato, and the great American crop combination of maize, beans, and squash.

Moroccan Jews

Of the Hebrew people in Morocco, the largest and most prosperous group are the Sephardic Jews who were driven out of Spain after the reconquest of Andalusia. A second, quite different group was already settled in the country when their co-religionists arrived.

The Arab chroniclers state that Jews were in Morocco at the time of the first Muslim invasion. They may have arrived with the Phoenicians or the Romans, for Hebrew scholars believe that some of their religious practices are pre-Talmudic.[79] Today most of the original Jews inhabit ghettos (*mellah*)[80] in the cities, but a few are scattered among the rural tribes. The latter usually pay tribute to the tribesmen with whom they live. Many are caravan men who travel with mule and donkey trains into the less accessible parts of the country. Others are tinkers and petty traders, while many of the prosperous urban Jews are moneylenders, jewelers, and tailors. A small but interesting group cultivates small plots in the High Atlas, and speaks Berber domestically. These "Berber" Jews, like the peasant Jews of Yemen, the Jewish highlanders of the Caucasus, the Falasha of Ethiopia, and the Turkish-speaking Jews of the Crimea, present a difficult problem for historical research.[81] They may be descendants of ancient immigrants, but it seems more likely that they are descendants of indigenous peoples who were converted to Judaism at some remote time.

When the Sephardim arrived in Morocco they negotiated an ordinance as to their status, which also contained rules laid down for the guidance of their own conduct, no doubt out of fear that contact with the more primitive Moroccan Jews might compromise their tenets. The Sephardim had already abandoned

[77] Names from P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 528.

[78] "Orange" comes from the Spanish *naranja* through the Arabic *naranj* and the Persian *narang*. "Lemon" is the Arabic *laymun* and the Persian *limun*. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

[79] For clarification of this point, see Hahum Slouschz, *Hebraeo-phéniciens et Judeo-berbères* (Paris: Leroux, 1908); and André Chouraqui, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).

[80] *Mellah* is the Arabic word for "salt." The usual explanation for this association is that Jews were once assigned the task of preserving the heads of the sultan's enemies so that they could be put on display.

[81] A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), II, 257, 402–412.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 563 polygamy, which is still practiced by some of the native Jews. Keen businessmen, organizers of remarkable ability, and excellent linguists, the Sephardim played an important role as middlemen in the initial contacts between Europeans and Moroccans. European protection brought a distinct improvement in their social and economic status. They were particularly active in banking, since the Qur'an enjoins believers from engaging in usury. In Tangier, Jewish bankers attained remarkable privilege and affluence. On the other hand, none of the Moroccan Jews enjoyed true citizenship, and in the days before European protection they were subject to Qur'anic law, which does not recognize the oath of a Jew.

As a consequence of European protection, the Sephardim became more Spanish or French than Moroccan. Differences in dress and speech still distinguish this group from the older and more backward Jews. Only the more conservative Jews cling to the traditional black skullcap. The Sephardim use Maghribi Arabic for commercial purposes, but prefer to speak Spanish or French among themselves. The original Jews speak Berber or Arabic, depending upon the location of their homes and the circumstances of their livelihood. Among them, as among the Sephardim, Hebrew is only a ritual language. Neither the Sephardim nor the more conservative group is prominent in the rural districts of the northern zone. [162] The latest census of Spanish Morocco lists 8,062 Jews, of whom only 180 are described as rural.[a]

[113] [a] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1953), p. 40.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IV

EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

ATTEMPTS to gain control of the Moroccan littoral began in the fifteenth century, at the dawn of the great age of European expansion. The first expeditions to the Moroccan shores were Spanish, but later, as a result of treaties between the two nations, the coast to the west of Peñon de Vélez was reserved for the Portuguese.

PORTUGUESE ACTIVITY

At a time when their ships were skirting the coasts of Africa, the Portuguese would naturally be tempted to set foot in a country so near.[1] During the fifteenth century they established forts at Ceuta (1415), Ksar as-Srair (1458), and Arcila and Tangier (1471); but the strong resistance of the Jbalan tribesmen made it impossible for them to move inland. So they made their greatest effort farther south, on the Atlantic coast. In 1469 a fortress—which came to be known as Casa Branca (whence the modern Casablanca)—was built at Anafe. In 1489 the Portuguese established the fort of Graciosa on the banks of Wad Lukkus, and in 1505 built the fortress of Santa Cruz de Aguer (Agadir). Castello Real (Mogador) was founded in 1506, and two years later another stronghold was established at Safi. In 1513 and 1514 Azemmour and Mazagão (Mazagan) were fortified. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese controlled a long strip of the Atlantic coast, and had made raids as far as Marrakech.

The Portuguese occupation, however, was threatened in 1541, when the Moroccans captured Santa Cruz. The Portuguese abandoned Safi, Azemmour, and Ksar as-Srair soon thereafter, and in 1580 evacuated Arcila. At the turn of the century they retained only Mazagan, Tangier, and Ceuta. The brevity of their occupation can be attributed to the restricted nature of their operations and the hostility of the Moroccans. The Portuguese, like the Carthaginians (but unlike the Romans), made no attempt to establish a system of defense in depth.[2] Even before the Moroccan counterattacks, Portuguese settlement was confined to the littoral zone (fig. 13). The disastrous defeat of the Portuguese at Ksar al-Kebir in 1578 marked the downfall of the last crusade of Mediterranean Christianity, and the beginning of a Moroccan recovery consolidated by ransom money and then by victories in the Sudan.[3] For a time Morocco seemed to be a great power, and the countries of western Europe were reluctant to plan new aggressions. The net effect of the Portuguese adventure was to raise still higher the wall between Europe and Barbary. The Moroccans, previously at war among themselves, united to repel the infidels. The consequence of this struggle was that no enduring economic or social contact could be made between Moroccans and Europeans. Morocco with-

[1] The motives of the Portuguese adventure are considered by Marcel Bataillon, "Le rêve de la conquête de Fès et le sentiment impérial portugais au XVIe siècle," in *Mélanges d'études luso-marocaines dédiés à la mémoire de David Lopes et Pierre de Cenival* (Lisbon: Portugalia Editora, 1945).

[2] For an interesting study of Portuguese defenses, see A. L. Guevara, *Arcila durante la ocupación portuguesa (1471–1549)* (Tangier: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe, 1940).

[3] On the causes and consequences of the battle, see E. W. Bovill, *The Battle of Alcasar* (London: Batchworth Press, 1952).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 became involved in more important adventures in the New World, and the Ottoman Turks, then in the midst of their last burst of offensive power, captured the presidios east of Oran. The Spanish never relinquished control of their outposts on the Moroccan coast. Melilla, annexed in 1471, and Ceuta, ceded by Portugal in 1668, are still governed as integral parts of Spain (*plazas de soberanía*).[4]

From the sixteenth to the twentieth century, the Spanish garrisons were under siege.[5] The positions held by the Spanish show an abiding concern for defense. Ceuta and Melilla are on rocky promontories forming natural strongholds. Peñón de Vélez and Peñón de Alhucemas are rocky islets, easy to defend but poor positions from which to launch an attack.[6] At the beginning of the present century the garrisons of the two islets were forced to obtain food and drinking water from Málaga.[7] During the nineteenth century the Spanish made several efforts to enlarge their holdings, but none had enduring success. In 1859 it took an army of Spaniards six months to reach Tetuán from nearby Ceuta.[8] The siege of Melilla was not broken until 1909. Seven years after the proclamation of Spanish protection, it was not safe to travel from Tetuán to Tangier. Shawen remained closed to infidels until 1920. Ifni, ceded to Spain in 1860, was not permanently occupied until 1934.

Partition and "Pacification"

The secret Franco-Spanish agreement of 1904, the Algeciras agreement of 1906, and the Franco-Moroccan treaty of 1912 divided Morocco into areas of French and of Spanish custody,[9] but neither power was able to exercise complete control of its zone. In French Morocco early occupation was restricted to the most accessible regions—the Moroccan continuation of the Algerian steppe, and the Atlantic coastal plains. In 1914 the Taza corridor was occupied, and tracks were laid for a railroad to link Morocco with Algeria and Tunisia. But the First World War curtailed French activity, and at the end of the war French control was still restricted to the eastern plateaus and the Atlantic coastal plains.[10] Occupation of the High Atlas and the pre-Saharan zone was not completed until 1934, and within six years of that date French authority in Morocco was seriously compromised by the German conquest of the motherland. Order was reëstablished after the war, but a new and final rebellion began in 1955, when most of the Rif and Atlas mountains were again described as "zones of insecurity."

[4] Ceuta is administered as a part of Cádiz province, while Melilla is controlled from Málaga. During the protectorate both cities were separated from Spanish Morocco by customs barriers. Peñón de Vélez, Peñón de Alhucemas, and the Chafarinas are also governed as integral parts of Spain.

[5] For an account of one siege of Melilla, see F. Sebastián de Miranda, *El sitio de Melilla de 1774 a 1775* (Tangier: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe, 1939).

[6] The standard history of the two islets is by Rafael Pezzi, *Los presidios menores de Africa y la influencia española en el Rif* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico Fortanet, 1893). See also D. Bacaicoa Arnaiz, "El Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera en 1791," *Tamuda*, 3 (1955), 197–230.

[7] *Instructions nautiques sur le Maroc, l'Algérie et la Tunisie*, Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Publ. 801 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1899), pp. 53, 58.

[8] W. B. Harris and W. Cozens-Hardy, *Modern Morocco: A Report on Trade Prospects, with Some Geographical and Historical Notes* (London: Bank of British West Africa, 1919), p. 28.

[9] The different delimitations of the two protectorates are shown in *Atlas histórico y geográfico de Africa española* (Madrid: Dirección General de Marruecos y Colonias and Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1955). See also George F. Deasy, "Spanish Territorial Boundary Changes in Northwest Africa," *Geog. Rev.*, 32 (1942), 303–306.

[10] *Carte des étapes de l'occupation française* (Rabat: Institut Géographique National, Annexe du Maroc, 1934).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The Spanish experienced even greater difficulty in their zone. The area between Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert was occupied in 1919, ten years after the siege had been lifted at Melilla. But at this time the Rifian highlands were still under tribal rule and most of Jbala was controlled by the brigand Raisuli.[11] When it seemed that the Spanish would at last be able to begin large-scale offensive action, they were defeated by the Rifian forces of Abd al-Krim.[12] Thanks to French intervention, the Rifian rebellion was suppressed in 1926, but the impoverished Spaniards were unable to bring their protectorate under effective control. The northern zone was completely neglected during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Efforts to organize and develop the zone began in earnest only after the end of the Second World War, and these efforts were frustrated when Morocco regained its freedom in 1956.

These remarks are necessary to provide a proper focus for any image evoked by the expressions "French" or "Spanish" Morocco. Yet economic and cultural influence do not depend upon military occupation and the exercise of formal power. A decade before the Spanish gained control of Jbala, tribesmen of this province were wearing undergarments and waistcoats made of cotton spun at Manchester and Roubaix. When Sidi Muhammad ben Abdullah founded Mogador in 1765, he hoped that the new town would serve as a center for European traders and consuls. At the beginning of the twentieth century, eight ports—Tetuán (Río Martín), Tangier, Larache, Salé, Casablanca, Mazagan, Mogador, and Agadir—were open to foreign trade, and each received commodities destined to become important in Moroccan life. Tea, the foundation of Moroccan hospitality, was introduced by the English in the eighteenth century.[13] Tobacco came later, also as an article of European trade.[14] Spanish currency was widely circulated long before the Spanish themselves gained power. In his account of Peñón de Vélez, Leo Africanus relates that "Venetian galleys used to resort unto this isle, and to exchange their wares for the wares of the inhabitants, and sometimes to buy for ready cash."[15] Perhaps the best indication of the extent of European influence in northern Africa is the use by native peoples of a large number of European words.[16] The technical vocabulary of the fishermen on the Tunisian coast includes terms derived from Spanish, Catalan, various Italian dialects, and Maltese.[17]

[11] On Spain's difficulties with Raisuli, see W. B. Harris, *Morocco That Was* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1921).

[12] The Rifian uprising became a major revolutionary war on July 21–22, 1921, when a large force under General Silvestre was defeated at Annual. For a full account of the war, see W. B. Harris, *France, Spain and the Rif* (London: Edward Arnold, 1927).

[13] A. Leriche, "De l'origine du thé au Maroc et au Sahara," *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire*, Série A, 15 (1952), 731–735; J.-L. Miège, "Origine et développement de la consommation du thé au Maroc," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 71 (1956), 377–398.

[14] Berthold Laufer *et al.*, "Tobacco and Its Use in Africa," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthro. Leaflets*, 29 (1930).

[15] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 519.

[16] Muhammad ibn Azzuz Hakim, *Glosario de mil quinientas voces españolas usadas entre los Marroquíes en el arabe vulgar* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1933); Mohammed Hadj-Sadok, "Dialectes arabes et francisation linguistique de l'Algérie," *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, 13 (1955), 61–97.

[17] A. Gateau, "Introduction à l'étude du vocabulaire maritime en Tunisie," *Rev. Africaine*, 87 (1946), 140–183.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Spanish Morocco circa 1955

000 Figure 14 gives some indication of the distribution of Spaniards and the material results of their efforts to control and exploit the northern zone. Settlements, mines, and roads were concentrated in the eastern and western extremities of the zone, and there is meager evidence of Spanish enterprise in the central highlands. Only a small area was used for commercial agriculture.

The overwhelming majority of the Spanish population was concentrated in cities and towns (table 2).[A] In 1950 only 5,000 Spaniards out of a total of 85,000 for the protectorate lived in rural areas. Indeed, one Spaniard in three lived in Tetuán, and the Spanish population of Tangier (30,000), Ceuta (50,000), and Melilla (70,000) was nearly twice as large as that of the protectorate as a whole.[B] Spaniards outnumbered Muslims only in Alhucemas and Castillejos.[B] This fact suggests that Spanish settlement was confined mainly to the established urban centers, and that little effort was made to found new towns.

As the data in table 3[A] indicate, only five or six of the towns that were founded by the Spaniards could have exerted marked influence on the surrounding countryside. In fact, Targist and Alhucemas were the only new towns to exert such influence, for Rincón was an army post, and Segangan, Castillejos, and Río Martín were mere adjuncts of Melilla, Ceuta, and Tetuán. In each urban center, Spanish and Muslim communities were in direct contact, but the traditional schism between town and country checked the extension of Spanish influence just as earlier it had retarded Arabization.

Spanish officials made no effort to encourage colonization by their countrymen, and the Spaniards who did emigrate were not allowed to compete with the Moroccans as manual laborers. Rural colonization was discouraged. In the last year of the protectorate, commercial agriculture was concentrated in the valley of Wad Lukkus, where the Compañía Agrícola del Lukkus had about 15,000 hectares of land under cultivation. Minor developments, with irrigation, had also been undertaken in the plains around Nador and Zaio, and in the deltas of Río Martín, Wad Lao, and Wad Nkour.[B] But, as figure 14 indicates, the acreage allotted to commercial agriculture was only a small part of the zone.

It would have been difficult for the Spaniards to expand their operations, for there are few plains in northern Morocco, and the Mediterranean streams are short and have extremely variable flow. The Wad Lao dam has an irrigation potential of 15,000 to 20,000 hectares, but the flood plain of the stream amounts to only 2,000 hectares. The Spanish policy was to concentrate on development of hydroelectric power. The Wad Lao project will eventually provide power for Tetuán, Ceuta, Larache, and Ksar al-Kebir, cities that are now dependent on

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[113] [B] The figure given for Tangier is an estimate by the Spanish consulate. The source of the other figures is the *Resumen estadístico de Africa española* (Madrid: Dirección General de Marruecos y Colonias and Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954).

[B] I use the past tense because the Spanish population of many of these towns decreased substantially after the termination of the protectorate in 1956. There are probably no more than a dozen Spaniards still living in Targist, and there may no longer be any Spaniards in Puerto Capaz (now called al-Jabha).

[113] [A] On irrigation see J. Karst, "Les aménagements hydrauliques des provinces du nord du Maroc," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 73 (1957), 5–11; and J. M. Houston, "The Significance of Irrigation in Morocco's Economic Development," *Geog. Jour.* 120 (1954), 314–328.

A,B, [See p. 61--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

thermal power. The joint Spanish-French Moulouya scheme has the same major objective, although some of the water impounded by the two dams will be used for irrigation.[a]

TABLE 2

URBAN POPULATION, 1950

	Spaniards	Muslims
Tetuán	29,232	47,182
Larache	12,409	28,166
Nador	8,506	13,313
Alhucemas	7,148	3,541
Castillejos	4,199	569
Ksar al-Kebir	3,350	27,056
Arcila	2,554	10,752
Sbawen	2,446	11,099
Targist	1,035	1,965
Totals	70,879	143,652

SOURCE: *Resumen estadístico de Africa española* (Madrid, 1954).

TABLE 3

POPULATION OF TOWNS FOUNDED BY THE SPANISH, 1950

	Spaniards	Muslims
Alhucemas	7,148	3,541
Castillejos	4,199	569
Río Martín	1,840	2,013
Segangan	1,128	911
Targist	1,035	1,965
Rincón	973	966
Monte Arruit	485	289
Zaio	320	112
Zeluán	194	225
Puerto Capaz	114	604
Totals	17,438	11,195

SOURCE: See table 2.

At least 70 per cent of the large trade deficit of Spanish Morocco was made up of food imports. Cotton and hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), the main cash crops, were consumed within the zone. Citrus fruit, melons, pimento, lumber, cork, and palmetto fiber were shipped abroad, but all of these exports probably did not pay for the large imports of breadstuff, sugar, and tea. In most of northern Morocco little could have been done in agricultural development even if Spain had been more adequately endowed, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the small size of their fields discouraged mechanization.

[113]

[a] This project began in 1946. The first dam, Mechra Homadi, was completed in 1956 and the second, Mechra Klila, in 1960. J. Karst, "L'équipement des travaux publics dans les provinces du nord," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 78 (1958), 211–224.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

weeks by snow. In the final year of Spanish occupation, snow-clearing equipment was limited to a single jeep with a crude wooden plow.

In 1955 the road network consisted of a main east-west route and a number of short tributary routes. During the dry season even the poorer tracks were used by market buses and trucks. Many of the tributary routes were constructed for logging, and a few were built for the collection of cork and walnuts. An intrepid driver could reach many highland valleys. It was even possible to drive from Targist over the Sanhajan mountains to French Morocco. However, many of the logging roads were used for only a few years, and in time abandoned tracks were plowed and converted to barley or wheat. Perhaps the most interesting gap in the Spanish road system was the lack of a through route along the Mediterranean coast.[*] The coastal zone between Wad Lao and Puerto Capaz was and is one of the least accessible sections of the Mediterranean littoral.

Spanish efforts to improve port facilities were at best halfhearted. Larache is protected by a 475-meter breakwater, but the entrance to the harbor requires constant dredging, and this effort often lagged behind the accumulation of sand. The mouth of Río Martín might have served as a port for Tetuán, but the Spanish were unable to stabilize the channel. The port of Alhucemas offers sheltered anchorage for ships of ten meters' draught, but is isolated from any productive hinterland by the barrier of the Rif chain. Sebkha Bu Areg (Mar Chica), a lagoon of 115 square kilometers, might have served as a harbor for the eastern plains, but no effort was made to dredge channels or to stabilize the entrance through the bar. At present the port of Nador can be used only by ships of less than three meters' draught. It is indicative of the poverty of Spanish enterprise that Peñón de Vélez, one of the few sheltered coves on the Rifian coast, was never linked to any road.[*]

Iron, lead, and copper probably were mined in northern Morocco in Roman time. The Spaniards were interested in the antimony and copper deposits near Ceuta as early as the fourteenth century. During the protectorate at least a hundred deposits were registered, but actual exploitation was limited to the few deposits shown on the map (fig. 14). Numerous mining permits were issued, but many of these were granted to small operators with modest equipment and meager funds.[*] The cement works at Tetuán and the iron mines near Melilla were the only operations that employed a large number of Moroccans. The Compañía Española de Minas del Rif mined rich deposits of hematite and magnetite, which were carried to Melilla by a narrow-gauge railroad, but this was the only operation of relatively large scale. Many of the mines were worked only intermittently, and few employed more than a handful of miners. The meagerness of extractive industry is surprising, for interest in mineral resources was one of the motivations of the Spanish occupation.

Spanish industrial activity also was on a small scale. Tetuán had cement works,

[*] Besides the daily service between Ceuta and Algeciras and between Melilla and Málaga, the Compañía Transmediterranea operated a small steamer that made weekly voyages from Ceuta to Melilla, with landings at Puerto Capaz and Alhucemas.

[*] On the ports of northern Morocco, see J. Ochoa y Benjumea, "Los puertos de Marruecos," *Anales de la Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias*, 10 (1945); and H. Surleau, "L'économie des ports marocaines," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 75 (1957), 289–304.

[*] J. Agard, "Les gîtes minéraux et l'industrie minière de la zone nord du Maroc," *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 13–22.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

and a number of small factories made soap, shoes, dyes, furniture, matches, paper, and glass. A paper mill, using alfa grass from the eastern Rif, was established at Tetuán. Sawmills, using cedar, fir, and oak, were maintained at Tetuán and Targist, and at several places in the central highlands. Larache had fruit-packing and fish-canning plants. But none of these activities made a substantial contribution to Spanish or Moroccan economy.[28]

One is again struck by the contrast between the Spanish and the French zone. In the French zone Europeans traveled into all parts of the country to seek out resources. By the last year of the protectorate there were ostrich farms, mule-breeding centers, nurseries for fruit trees, agricultural experiment stations, large areas of mechanized farming, hydroelectric plants, and numerous mines. The larger cities had light industrial establishments, including printing plants, breweries, and smaller factories producing soap, bricks, and glassware. In 1955 Europeans controlled about 80 per cent of the managerial and directive positions.[29] Moreover, Europeans were not restricted to business, civil service, professions, and minor service functions. A large number of Europeans, particularly in Casablanca, were skilled and semiskilled laborers, and many of the latter were Spaniards, Italians, and Maltese. Indeed, French Morocco differed from the Spanish zone not only in its higher degree of economic development but also in the presence of large numbers of relatively poor and unskilled Europeans.

It would be idle to speculate on whether the meager development of Spanish Morocco reflects reluctance to interfere in native affairs (as Spanish authors claim), incompetence (as some French authors claim), or shortage of capital. Doubtless all three factors were present. For the detached observer, the interesting question is why Spain so ardently desired this zone. Spanish Morocco was clearly a deficit investment. From first to last, the Spanish zone had little value except as a contribution to national prestige. Spanish pride had suffered from the great defeats in the New World. It was imperative for national honor, if for no other reason, that Spain's remaining possessions be retained and strengthened. The sentimental value of the protectorate is impressed upon any reader of literature on "Spanish Africa." It is significant that the Spanish colonial office published a substantial atlas on the eve of Moroccan independence.[30] In sponsoring works of this sort, Spanish officials were expressing that "colonial melancholy" which characterizes the spirit of western Europe as a whole.

[28] On industry in the northern zone, see T. García Figueras and R. de Roda Jiménez, *Economía social de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950–1955), III, 223–253.

[29] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 126–130.

[30] *Atlas histórico y geográfico de Africa española*, cited in note 9.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

now have electricity and plumbing, but functional organization and morphology remain very much as they were before the European occupation.[a]

The narrow alleys, noisy bazaars, and dark corners of the Muslim cities contrast sharply with the bright and spacious arrangement of the European settlements (pl. 7, *a*). The former are always surrounded by walls, and other walls divide the urban area into wards. There is usually a large open space near one of the principal gates, serving as a market place. Here country people come to expose their wares and to exchange farm surplus for articles offered by merchants from the city. The more sophisticated cities occupied by descendants of Andalusian refugees (e.g., Tetuán, Wezzan, Fez) are divided into economic quarters, but most cities maintain an ethnic or tribal division, and each ward has its own crafts and trades.

Producers or retailers of the same kinds of goods usually occupy adjacent stalls, and each trade is likely to have a lane to itself. Carpenters, leather merchants and the makers of slippers, smiths and the producers of copper utensils, all have their special lanes. On the periphery of the built-up area are the industries that require space and involve activities regarded as undesirable: butchers, dyers, tanners. Candlemakers, dealers in incense, and booksellers usually settle near the largest mosque.

Each city has a few cobbled streets that lead across town from one gate to another. Branching out from the main streets are narrow lanes that end in blind alleys. Business districts may take the form of a single band (e.g., Meknès), a double band enclosing a narrow residential district (e.g., Fez), or may virtually surround the city (e.g., Rabat). A line of shops may extend for some distance along the main street. Occasionally, the space between opposing roofs is covered, and when the road has been sprinkled with water the atmosphere is surprisingly cool and damp. It is difficult to generalize about population densities, but they must be high. Houses and shops often have common walls, and private structures are usually small. Many craftsmen work in minute booths.

Tetuán and Shawen exhibit features characteristic of most Moroccan cities.[b] The *madina*, or native quarter, of Tetuán forms an irregular triangle, and is divided into six wards, each with its own mosque. Access to the city may be gained by any one of six gates. The streets of Tetuán, like those of all Moroccan cities, are intricate and confusing.

At the turn of the century Joly divided the native industries of Tetuán into eleven categories, including leatherwork, ceramics, metalwork, woodwork, building, painting, textiles, clothing, and numerous small trades and industries, ranging from bookbinding to the manufacture of gunpowder.[c] The most important guilds were and still are the tanners, shoemakers, and potters.

[13]

[a] The classic study of urbanism in Morocco is Roger le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat: étude économique et sociale d'une ville de l'Occident musulman* (Casablanca: Société Marocaine de Librairie et d'Edition, 1949). For a summary account of urban geography, see Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), pp. 485–527

[b] Tetuán is derived from the Berber "Thittawin" meaning "eyes." Shawen is the local Arabic of the Berber "Ishshawen" meaning "horns," and refers to the peaks that tower above the town. In 1953 there were 47,000 Muslims in Tetuán, and 11,500 in Shawen. Tetuán also had 30,000 Spaniards and 4,000 Jews. Shawen had 2,500 Spaniards but only 15 Jews. *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 42.

[13]

[c] A. Joly, "L'industrie à Tétouan," *Archives Marocaines*, 8, 11, 18 (1906–1912).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

000 Physical form differs little from the largest to the smallest city. Shawen has a bewildering number of narrow alleys and dead ends—the same pattern of walls and gates found in Tetuán, Fez, and Marrakech, the same crowded houses and minute booths. The one distinctive feature of Shawen is its architecture. Sloping tile roofs and whitewashed walls betray Andalusian influence.

Shawen has a number of craft guilds and three tanneries, but their products are largely for local use. The presence of a ward of shoemakers suggests that the making of leather slippers was once an important industry. Today the Shawen shoemakers send their work to Tetuán for finishing. Silk and linen work used to be important, but neither is now practiced. The most important industry at present is textile weaving, which is unsurpassed in Morocco. Shawen is said to produce the finest cloaks in the northern zone.

In Morocco, as in most parts of the Muslim world, it is difficult to find intermediate stages in the settlement hierarchy. Indeed, there is no equivalent in Maghribi Arabic for the word "town." From *madina* (city) the Moroccan vocabulary turns to *dshar* (village), *douar* (hamlet), and *azib* (farmstead).

One reason for the absence of intermediate forms of urbanization is that the existing cities did not evolve as trading centers for the rural countryside. In rural Morocco the traditional foci of commerce are weekly markets (*aswaq*) held in the open air. Permanent markets are a recent development, and most of them are located in areas where European influence has been strong. In the more isolated and self-sufficient districts the successful functioning of the weekly markets has acted as a check against urbanization.[8]

The Moroccan city is an imposed entity, foreign to tribal life. Some cities trace their origin to Roman time, others began during the period of Arab conquest, and still others were founded by Europeans. No Moroccan city is truly native. It is not surprising, therefore, that cities should be found only in the lowlands where alien authority was easy to establish and maintain. In the highlands, Berber ideals of political independence and economic self-sufficiency had an arresting effect on urbanization.

The ports of Ceuta and Melilla were used by the Portuguese and Spanish as bases of colonial and military activity, and even today are governed as integral parts of Spain. Larache and Arcila also reflect Iberian influence. Tetuán began as a military post designed to protect the route from Tangier to Fez. In the sixteenth century it was a focus of immigration for Muslims and Jews who were being expelled from Spain. Shawen, established in 1471 as a base of operations for campaigns against the Portuguese, served also as a refuge for Andalusian Moors. Ksar al-Kebir had a similar function in the eleventh century. Tangier has been the headquarters of a whole series of foreign interests: Carthaginian, Roman, Portuguese, Spanish, English, and lately even international. Most of the Moroccan residents of Tangier are immigrants from the Rif, who do not wish to be identified with the Jbalan tribesmen of the nearby hills. Only two other settlements in the northern zone, Alhucemas and Nador, deserve to be called towns, and they owe their development to the Spanish.

Intimate relations between city and hinterland are difficult to establish when

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 69)

(113) [8] For a fuller discussion of this topic, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking.[1] The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers. Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred meters,[2] and in former generations each house had a corner tower used as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this use led to violent conflicts.

Types of Houses

In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common house is a crude conical structure (*nouala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

[1] See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

[2] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos historicos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951–52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

R 342 191

Rectangular houses, built about a courtyard, are common in the Rif and in the coastal zone from Mazagan to Agadir. The tribes of the Middle Atlas, who practice transhumance, spend the summer months in tents. Tents are seen also in the Gharb and in the lower Moulouya Valley. In the northwestern corner of Morocco one finds still another type of house, again rectangular in shape, but with a sloping roof of thatch.*

The sketches in figure 17 illustrate and roughly locate northern Morocco's main architectural styles. Two traditions are immediately discerned. In the eastern half of the zone the houses have flat roofs and the walls enclose an open courtyard; in the western area the houses have sloping roofs and there are no courtyards. Tents of woven goat hair appear only in the areas occupied by pastoral tribes—Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut. The division between flat and sloping roofs coincides almost exactly with the division between clustered and dispersed settlements. These distinct patterns of settlement in turn roughly coincide with the division between Rifian and Arabic or Sanhajan speech (cf. figs. 15 and 12). Targist, with clustered settlement and houses of both eastern and western style, is an area of transition. Settlement morphology reveals the heterogeneous character of this tribe.

R 342 361 191

J 342 191

Houses are built of mud brick in Jbala and along most of the Atlantic littoral. After the walls have been constructed, a ridgepole, usually the trunk of a slender riparian tree, is placed across the top of the structure, and smaller poles are set at right angles to the ridge. Thatching is applied, and the house is ready to be occupied. The distinguishing feature of houses in the Jbalan area is that the thatch is allowed to droop almost to the ground. Hipped roofs are seen in Anjra and the Fahs territory, but the more common form is a simple saddle or ridge. The Jbalan house is a small structure about five meters long and three meters wide. There is seldom any differentiation of floor levels or rooms, and furnishing is usually limited to a single mat or rug. Hamlets may be enclosed by a cluster of opuntia or a brush fence, but there is no attempt to build houses and walls to enclose a courtyard.

000

South of Wad Lukkus, in the Gharb, the Jbalan type of house is replaced by cruder structures of cane or reeds. One form is like the Jbalan house, except that its walls are made of wickerwork. Another and much cruder form consists of a conical or circular framework of cane covered with straw. This structure, which seems to be of Sudanese origin, has been adopted by settled tribes of bedawin origin as a substitute for tents. Conical huts are the dominant dwelling in the

R (113)

* In the area of French influence, the literature on rural architecture is abundant, but for the Spanish zone there are only the accounts of E. Blanco Izaga, *La vivienda rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930); C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); and Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. On types of houses in French Morocco, see A. Bernard, "L'Afrique du Nord," in *L'Habitation indigène dans les possessions françaises* (Paris: Editions Maritimes et Coloniales, 1930); Robert Montagne, *Villages et kasbas berbères* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930); E. Laoust, "L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc central," *Hespéris*, 10, 14, 18 (1931–1944); M. Gaud and G. Sigault, "L'habitat indigène au Maroc," *Bull. de l'Institut d'Hygiène au Maroc*, 4 (1937), 4–102; André Adam, *La Maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas* (Paris: Larose, 1952); Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); E. Mauret, H. Pommeret, and R. Ringuelet, "Problèmes de l'habitat rural dans la région de Rabat," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 70 (1955), 15–71; and R. Aujard, "Problèmes de l'habitat rural dans la région d'Agadir," *ibid.*, 75 (1957), 275–288.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

coastal plains between Rabat and Ksar al-Kebir, but they have not yet penetrated the northern zone.

Ghmaran houses differ slightly from those farther to the west. Like the Jbalan houses they are rectangular and have thatch roofs. Ghmaran houses may, however, have two stories. Another distinguishing feature is that adjoining structures often have common roofs. Ghmaran hamlets, like those in Sanhaja as-Srair, tend to develop into units of L- or U-shape (pl. 2, *a*). When a second story is added, steps are cut into the adobe walls. (In Sanhaja as-Srair the second floor is reached by a notched log.)

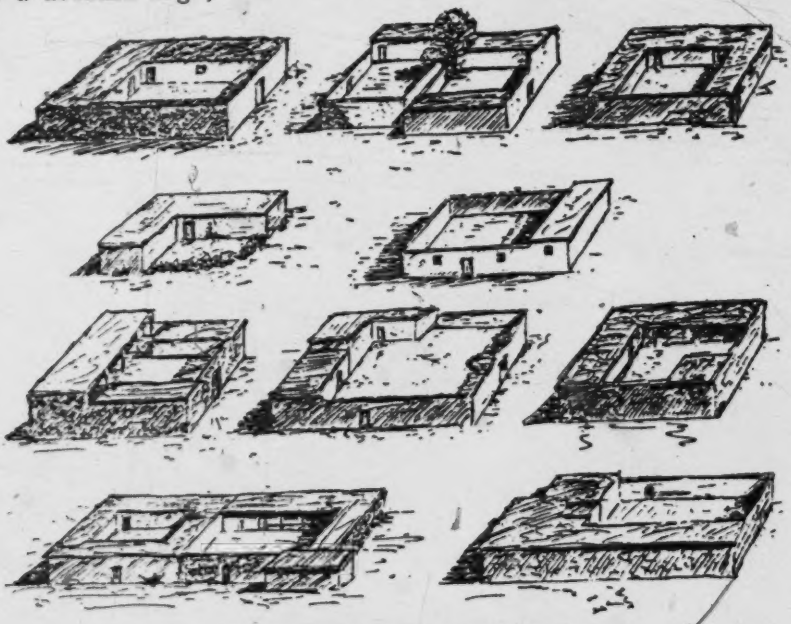


Fig. 19. Examples of Rifian courtyards, Aith Wariyaghar.

by a notched log.) Ghmara seems to be the only area in northern Morocco with special structures built to serve as granaries. Communal granaries (*agadir*) usually have the form of the prevalent houses.[10] Individual or family granaries are small structures of adobe brick and plaster set on wooden planks and supported by stone pedestals.[11]

At first glance, Sanhajan houses seem much like those in Ghmara and Jbala. The difference is in detail rather than in general outline. The foundation of the Sanhajan house is a rectangular shell of mud brick or stone with end sections constructed to form peaks about two meters above the walls. The two ends of

[10] In northern Morocco communal granaries are found only in the territory of the Bani Zejal. Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 64 and figs. 24, 25.

[11] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebíes* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), p. 133.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

CHAPTER VI

LIVELIHOOD

THE RURAL POPULATION of northern Morocco is composed mainly of sedentary farmers who enjoy some of the advantages of specialization and exchange. They are not peasants in the European sense of the word, but neither are they subsistence farmers comparable to some of the tropical African tribes. Differences in slope and exposure encourage a modest degree of crop specialization even among communities that strive to be self-sufficient in staple foods. The purpose of specialization is to produce crops that can be exchanged for others less well adapted to the available land. In the Sanhajan highlands there is a notable difference in land use on sunny and shady slopes; yet all Sanhajan communities try to produce an adequate amount of barley. Tea, sugar, salt, and kerosene constitute the only primary commodities that must be brought in from the outside. Since barter is common locally, currency has little value as a medium of exchange, except for a few hours on market days, for example, after the sale of eggs or walnuts but before the purchase of a week's supply of sugar or tea. Morocco's large food imports—more than half of the wheat flour consumed between 1946 and 1950 was imported[1]—are directed to cities and towns.

Another distinctive feature of rural economy is the meager development of craft specialization. The cumulative skills of any rural community do not greatly exceed the combined skills of a man and his wife. If necessary, any man can produce most of the tools he needs; and the combined knowledge of a hundred women does not greatly exceed the knowledge of any one woman of middle age.

Since technology does not vary greatly from place to place or even among individuals, prosperity or poverty is conditioned primarily by the quantity or quality of land. From the standpoint of precipitation alone, the most attractive parts of northern Morocco are the limestone highlands extending from Ceuta to Shawen, and the sandstone outliers on the western margins of the Rif chain. But the precipitation often has very little efficacy. The concentration of most of the annual rainfall during a few days emphasizes its torrential character and erosive power on steep slopes. Most of the calcareous zone is now devoid of soil, and a large part of the arenaceous highlands have been eroded down to sterile subsoil. There are great variations in fertility even in the lowlands. At one end of the scale are the poor dune soils south of Larache. The dark color of many of the heavier soils is indicative not of humus but of iron salts. Between these extremes of sand and clay is a wide range of loams, like the *hamri*, or terra rossa, which are better suited to cultivation and better adapted to irrigation. But the total area of such soils, indeed of all alluvial soils, amounts to less than 10 per cent of the northern zone.[2]

[1] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1955), p. 95.

[2] On edaphic conditions in the northern zone, see J. A. Jiménez Salas, "Suelos de la zona norte del protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Anales de Edafología y Fisiología Vegetal*, 5 (1946), 277–305; 8 (1949), 3–31.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

zone may be used only for pasture. This arrangement seems orderly and rational, but its effect is to accelerate the deterioration of the land. Grain stubble (which is often grazed) and vines (which are often placed parallel to the slope) do not constitute an adequate protection for the soil. As population increases, the zones of dry farming and pasture are extended to higher slopes. First the forest is destroyed, then the scrub cover is removed, and eventually the zone of dry farming is stripped of soil.[5]

Crop Combinations

The basic crops of northern Morocco are well adapted to the Mediterranean climate, for cereals can be grown during the rainy season, and trees, by virtue of their large root systems, are suited to the long dry summers. When water is available for irrigation, diets are balanced and there is no danger of famine. This happy combination of dry farming, horticulture, and gardening is realized only in the highlands and on the main river plains. Irrigated land probably accounts for less than 5 per cent of the surface of the northern zone. Most tribesmen depend on the unpredictable rains.

TABLE 4

Land under Cereals
(Hectares)

	1935-40	1951	1952	1953
Barley	75,729	193,600	164,129	174,905
Wheat	30,518	70,895	73,180	76,392
Sorghum	25,656	49,092	51,094	46,981
Maize	4,318	4,992	6,020	6,206
Rye	1,253	3,411	3,724	3,305
Totals	137,474	321,991	298,147	307,789

Source: *Anuario estadístico, 1953-53* (Madrid, 1955), p. 93.

In the whole of Morocco about 90 per cent of the land under field crops is planted to cereals. Table 4 shows the amount of land used for growing cereals in the northern zone. Barley accounts for nearly half of the total cultivated area in the northern zone.[6] One advantage of barley is that it can be cut while green, thus making space for summer crops. When barley is cut green, it is toasted before it is milled, and then is mixed with butter to form a paste. Wheat is more highly prized, but is less successful on thin residual soils. In many areas wheat flour is used only as a flavoring and leavening agent. Rye is [illegible] in the Sanhajan highlands, but is not generally regarded as an important [illegible]. No one would think of serving rye bread to a guest. At the approach of a visitor, an attempt may even be made to hide all rye bread. When land is abundant, rye may be grown for use as thatch, and the grain is not collected. In the Rif it used to be a

[5] On the relationship of economic history and erosion, see Paul Vageler, "Zur Bodengeographie Algiers: Faktoren der Bodenbildung und -verteilung. Die Catena als bodengenetische Einheit," *Petermanns Mitt.*, Ergänzungsheft 258 (1955), 88–99.

[6] In 1950 there were 373,482 hectares of land under cultivation in Spanish Morocco. *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

the gradual decrease in the number of fruit and nut trees. The tribesmen of Jbala and the Atlantic littoral can count on adequate rainfall for a good cereal crop in most years. Moreover, since the summer weather is cooler and more humid than in the interior, crops do not suffer from excessive evaporation. Cereals in winter give way to summer crops of sorghum and chickpeas. The latter are not irrigated, and so there is no need for terracing. Slopes are covered with an irregular patchwork of cultivated plots without walls or ditches. Each hamlet is surrounded by cactus (*Opuntia Ficus-indica*), which is cultivated as a hedge and for its edible fruit.

Farm Implements

The implements used by Moroccan farmers are simple and few, for long-established habit opposes change. There are some general reasons for conservatism, such as the abundance and cheapness of manpower and the stagnation of industry. There are specific reasons as well: the prevalence of steep slopes, of small plots where only handwork is possible, and the difficulty of hauling heavy equipment through mountainous terrain. Implements are limited to mattocks, picks, hatchets, hoes, plows, grist mills, and equipment for pulping and pressing olives. Plowshares and other iron tools are made and repaired by local blacksmiths.

The Moroccan plow is a one-handled implement without wheels, colter, or moldboard. Wings are attached obliquely to either side of the share in order to widen the furrows, though not to reverse the sod. Since there is no harrow, clods are broken with hoes or clubs, and a second plowing is necessary to cover the seed. The share is made from a flat piece of iron hammered over at the edges to form a socket. The plow itself is much the same throughout the northern zone. The main regional difference is in the manner of yoking. In Jbala plows are fastened to the foreheads of cows or oxen (pl. 4, *b*); neck yoking is practiced elsewhere.[1] Mixed teams are common, combining donkeys, mules, or oxen, or one of these animals with a camel (pl. 4, *b*).

Figure 21 illustrates the main hand tools. The first four (*a–d*) are digging and weeding tools; the complex tool in the fourth sketch (*d*) seems to be restricted to Jbala, for the Sanhajans and Rifians are unable to give it a name. The fifth sketch (*e*) shows an all-purpose grubbing and cutting tool, which the women use to collect fuel and edible plants. Figure 20, *f*, is the hatchet used by woodcutters in Ktama; 20, *g*, is the ubiquitous sickle.

Milling is ordinarily accomplished with a rotary hand mill consisting of an upper stone, turned with a wooden handle, and a lower stone that remains stationary.[2] In areas of abundant runoff there are also vertical water mills, consisting of a turbine wheel attached to the upper of two millstones, a hopper mounted above the stone, and a feed slot jiggled by the upper stone to ensure an even flow (fig. 22). The lower stone is larger than the upper, and is rimmed with a slightly raised border, broken at one place to allow extraction of the flour.[3] Mills of this

[1] For other illustrations of Moroccan plows, see E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères: notes de linguistique et d'éthnographie* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1920), pp. 275–301.

[2] This type of mill is illustrated in Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958), plate LI.

[3] The origin and evolution of the rotary hand mill and the turbine mill are discussed at length in L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

Mills of this type are usually privately owned, and the owner collects one-tenth of the flour. When there is neither hand nor turbine mill, the women pound the grain with iron bars.

The implements used to press and pulp olives are similar to those used in Roman time.[10] The apparatus consists of a mill, a press, and a vat. The millstone lies against a centrally placed revolving post and is turned by means of a horizontal shaft with one end secured in the center post and the other projecting beyond the stone (fig. 23). Mills are used both for bruising the fruit before pressing and later to pulp the pressed fruit for use as cattle fodder. The larger mills are powered by animals, the smaller by hand. The essential part of the press is a large log, held in place by heavy wooden screws, which is forced down on baskets filled with olive mash.

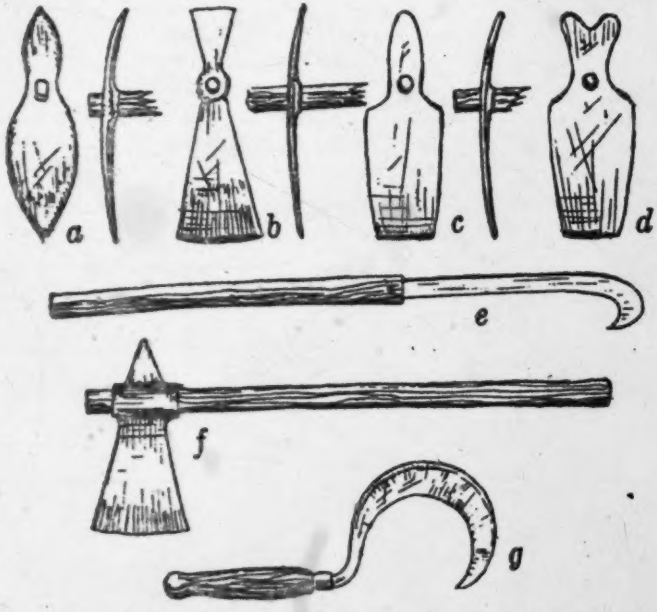


Fig. 21. Farm implements: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, digging and weeding tools; *e*, grubbing and cutting tool; *f*, hatchet used by woodcutters; *g*, sickle.

Role of Domestic Animals

In the statistical report of 1953 the number of domestic animals in Spanish Morocco is given as 1,104,000 goats, 661,000 sheep, 337,000 cattle, 55,000 donkeys, 22,000 mules, and 2,000 camels.[11] The number of goats nearly equals that of human beings. They are kept for their meat, milk, and hides. In many areas the number of goats is limited only by the amount of space available for storage of fodder and by the number of goatherds.

[10] H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953).

[11] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 131, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

241 different dam. In deep valleys it is often necessary to move water back and forth
312 across the natural drainage lines. For this purpose, wooden conduits are set on
171 long tripods. Construction of irrigation works begins in the spring, and after a few months of use the water is redirected into its natural course. Since water is required only during the dry season, irrigation systems are designed for the minimum runoff. On steep slopes, water is carefully directed into a series of ponds; check dams are used to impound water from springs. Channels are constructed to lead water to grist mills, but the use of water for milling has a low priority, for most communities also have smaller mills turned by hand.

The construction and maintenance of dams and irrigation ditches require less effort than the construction and maintenance of terraces. With the exception of a few works in the coastal plains, terracing is necessary for irrigation. Since irrigation involves channeling rather than simple flooding, most terraces have a slight slope and are supported by stone walls (pl. 6, *b*). There is no rotation of crops on irrigated land. In areas of thin residual soil the land is gradually built up by the constant deposition of baskets of mud, another of the backbreaking tasks assigned to the women. Fertilizer, a mixture of sheep dung and ashes, is applied each year.

312 The regulation of water rights is a complicated matter.[14] The rights of pref-
17 erence pass from human beings to animals, crops, and industries. The two main
[423] rivers of the Rif, Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, illustrate the problems of management. Wad Ghis has only about a fourth of the flow of Wad Nkour, but its flow is more predictable. Those who irrigate with its waters know the quantity they can expect, and plan accordingly. In normal years Wad Nkour irrigates nearly ten times as much land as Wad Ghis, but in some years it remains little more than a muddy trickle. Hence there is frequent occasion for disputes, which in the past often led to prolonged feuds. In both basins the mountaineers have almost unlimited use of water, while the more numerous plainsmen must be satisfied with what is left. Most Rifian communities have secondary sources of water: wells, springs, and ponds. Each family is allowed a certain time at the water source, and the community as a whole works out the regulations and fines.

An elaborate series of agreements, usually verbal, deals with the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. The labor of construction as well as the necessary reconstruction after heavy rains is done by representatives of the fami-
[508] lies using the water. Infractions of agreement often lead to differences of opinion about these responsibilities or the period of time water is used. Serious disputes may arise over the outlines of ditches, and for this reason it is necessary to gain the consent of each property owner over whose land the water is to flow. The irrigation turns of the larger communities are regulated by days. Within such communities, individual families are allowed shorter periods of use, usually an hour. The mechanics of irrigation requires the use of the hoe to build up and then destroy a tiny diversion dam.

[113] [14] In this section I have made use of J. M. Paniagua y Santos, "Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, 4 (1948), 1–44; D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, 2 (1954), 55–57; and D. A. Caponera, "Water Laws in the Moslem Countries," *FAO Development Paper 43* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1954).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Contracts and Coöperation

When tribesmen are unable or unwilling to work their own land, contracts are made between the wealthier and the poorer members of a community; those who have little land or equipment hire themselves out to those who have more. Farmers who have more animals than they or their sons can manage, make agreements with others to care for the herd. The hired shepherds, while the animals are in their hands, receive part of the milk and butter, some of the young that are born, and, if the animals are sold, a share of the profit. The shepherd receives part, sometimes half, of the wool. Full-time employment as a shepherd is considered rather degrading, and for this reason it is the common occupation of exiles and orphans.

Vegetable gardens, orchards, and fields may be cared for by hired laborers. If their job entails the difficult task of setting up terraces, they may get up to a third of the crop. If they perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, they receive a fifth of the crop. If the hired hand needs an assistant during the reaping, the latter is paid with a tenth of the harvest. Associations of this sort are not common; farm labor is ordinarily done by the landowner and his sons.

A second type of association takes place when two farmers own plots of about the same size but do not have enough animals or equipment to work their land independently. The two farmers join forces, each supplying his share, and the harvest is divided between them. This form of coöperation is common when a farmer has only one draft animal. In irrigated areas, one man may supply the land and part of the seed, and another the rest of the seed, the animals, and the plow. Since most communities are kinship groups, coöperation of this sort is usually among brothers or cousins.[12]

Inheritance

The inheritance of property[13] in most of Morocco follows standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. When a man dies his widow first receives one-eighth of his property and the remainder is divided among the sons and daughters. All sons inherit equally, as do all daughters. If a man dies leaving a widow and daughters only, the widow gets one-eighth and the remainder is divided into three parts, of which the daughters receive two and the father's brother one. If the father has no brothers, the rest (aside from the widow's share) goes to the daughters. If he does have brothers, and dies leaving only one daughter, she receives half of the property (minus the widow's share) and the brothers get the other half. If a man dies leaving no children, his widow receives a fourth of his property and the rest goes to the brothers. If a man with children dies prior to his father, the children have no right to the property and receive shares only if the grandfather agrees to such a division.

Moroccans are very reluctant to divide up their land. When brothers inherit land they customarily work it jointly, the eldest brother acting as a substitute

[12] On contracts and coöperation, see also A. Sánchez Pérez, "Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en el Rif," *Selección de conferencias pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso 1950–51* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1951), pp. 95–104.

[13] This paragraph is based upon the remarks of D. M. Hart in *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 141–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

Hunting and Fishing

In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle." Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla*.

Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch."

In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century." At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[113] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[113] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Intercentores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[175] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[m]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus, C. laurifolius, C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[n] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[m] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[n] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93]

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Tnine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Caballo Almeras, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167–169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[34] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[35] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[34] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[35] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

161 221 464 The answer to this dilemma, if it may be called an answer, is emigration. In the decade preceding the current disorder, more than 30,000 Rifians went to Algeria each year to work on French farms. The main drift took place during the slack winter season, but smaller groups migrated at other times of the year. Few Morocans thought of emigration as a permanent change. They were hired by members of their own tribe appointed to serve as contractors, and messengers visited them regularly to collect money for the families left at home. Each tribe had its special place of employment. The Aith Warishik went to Sidi bel Abbes, the Aith Tuzin to Tlemcen, the Thimsaman to Blida and Ain Temouchent, and the Gal'ayan tribes to Oran.[111] The largest number of emigrants were recruited from the Aith Said, and it is not a coincidence that the territory of this tribe includes spectacular badlands. From the standpoint of the French farmer this movement was a blessing, for the Moroccans worked harder than the Algerians and were satisfied with less pay. The tribesmen of the western Rif did not join in the seasonal movement to Algeria, but many of them migrated to Tetuán and Tangier.[112]

161 169 171 These movements are manifestations of a general trend. The oasis dwellers of the Mzab have long practiced emigration as a solution to their problem of overpopulation. The Mozabite is a farmer in his youth and again in old age; during the middle years he may be a bus driver, a shopkeeper, or a mechanic.[113] The same tradition is found among the craftsmen of Taghzut and some of the Shluh tribesmen of the Anti Atlas. Emigration is not a new development, but in recent years it has been practiced on an unprecedented scale.[114]

---

[111] F. Benedicto Pérez, "Trabajadores rifeños en Argelia," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1948* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1949), pp. 5–17.

[112] D. M. Hart, "Notes on the Rifian Community of Tangier," *Middle East Jour.*, 11 (1957), 153–162.

[113] In the Mzab the tradition of emigration for men is combined with a tradition that women must not leave the oasis. See Karl Suter, "Die Ortsgebundenheit der Frau bei den Mozabiten," *Geographica Helvetica*, 12 (1957), 102–114.

[114] On emigration see also Günter Glauert, "Veränderungen in den Bevölkerungsstruktur Nordafrikas in den letzen Jahrzehnten," *Die Erde*, 88 (1957), 298–319; René Raynal, "Déplacements récents et actuels des populations du bassin de la Moulouya (Maroc oriental)," *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Lisbonne, 1949* (Lisbon, 1952), IV, 67–80; and J. C. Petit and Castet Barou, "Contribution à l'étude des mouvements de la population marocaine musulmane et de l'exode rural," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 68 (1955), 423–459.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter VII

EFFECTS OF SETTLEMENT ON THE LAND

121 311 Evidence of deforestation has already been considered briefly. In chapter ii the effects of burning and browsing were mentioned parenthetically in discussing the distribution of forest and scrub. Now that man's activities have been described, the discussion can be resumed.[1]

Historical Evidence

195 311 When the Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46, timber resources were nearly exhausted in the eastern Mediterranean basin. The cedars of Lebanon had been retreating since the time of King Solomon. Homer refers to "tall pines and spreading oaks" on the now virtually barren island of Sicily.[2] Plato, in the fifth century B.C., deplores the destruction of the forests in Greece,[3] and a century later Theophrastus complains that the supply of ship timber is limited.[4] In Pliny's time the thuya forests on Mount Ancorarius were already exhausted.[5] At the dawn of the Christian era, Roman ships were sailing as far away as the Caucasus ports to obtain timber, and Roman architecture eventually had to be modified to compensate for the scarcity and increasing price of wood. Large quantities of wood were needed to heat baths, and trees were cut everywhere for charcoal. Cork and tanners' bark were persistent items of trade. In both the Roman and the Carthaginian realms, perhaps the greatest wood-devouring industry was shipbuilding. As Miss Semple suggests, "A multitude of fishing smacks, naval vessels, merchant ships, and coastwise transportation boats kept up the demand for fir, pine, cedar, and minor woods which entered into their construction."[6] The coniferous forests were further depleted by the steady demand for pitch, resin, and tar. It would be rash to make sweeping generalizations on the basis of a few references after the lapse of centuries; yet it may be asserted that deforestation was evident in classical times, especially in the areas of Roman and Carthaginian influence, and that no forested area accessible to lumber merchants was ignored.[7]

In the time of Homer and Hesiod the Morocean mountains were still confused with the peak of Tenerife, of which some indistinct knowledge had been gained from Phoenician sources.[8] The references to Atlas cedar in Latin literature usually refer to forests in the more familiar province of Numidia. According to Pliny,

195 113 311

[1] For additional illustrations, see M. W. Mikesell, "Deforestation in Northern Morocco," *Science*, 132 (1960), 441–448.

[2] *Odyssey*, IX; *Iliad*, XII, XVI, XX.

[3] *Critias*, 111 A–D, trans. A. J. Toynbee in *Greek Historical Thought* (New York: Mentor Books, 1952), p. 146.

[4] *Enquiry into Plants* . . . , IV, 5.

[5] *Natural History*, XIII, 15. Most authorities place Mount Ancorarius in the Ouarsensis Massif of Algeria. Paul Boudy, *Economie forestière nord-africaine* (Paris: Larose, 1948–1955), I, 223.

[6] E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), p. 282.

[7] H. C. Darby, "The Clearing of the Woodland in Europe," in W. L. Thomas, Jr., ed., *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 183–216.

[8] Cf. George Rawlinson's annotation of Herodotus, *History*, IV, 184 (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1910); and R. Thouvenot, "La connaissance de la montagne marocaine chez Pline l'Ancien," *Hespéris*, 26 (1939), 113–121.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175
311

Both of these alien invasions merely accelerated processes of destruction or decay that had been going on for a long time.

Several of the Arab chroniclers refer to woods in areas that are now deforested. The celebrated text of the seventh century in which northern Africa is described as a land of "continuous shade" is doubtless exaggerated,[1] for the Maghrib would appear to be lush and verdant even today after a long trip through the deserts of Egypt and Libya. Later accounts are more specific, and several of these refer to northern Morocco. In the latter half of the eleventh century Al-Bekri describes an "extensive forest" near Qasr al-Awwal (Ksar as-Srair).[2] Today this area is covered by a shrub formation, interrupted only by scattered clumps of cork oak. In the middle of the twelfth century Al-Idrisi describes Ghmara as a "mountainous and wooded" land.[3] A generation later another author refers to forest in the Ghmaran mountains, and indicates that wood from this forest is used in the construction of boats.[4] In the fifteenth century Al-Ansari found an "abundance of trees" near Ceuta, where forest is now limited to a few stands of cork oak and Aleppo pine.[5]

In the sixteenth century the forests on the Rifian coast began to attract the attention of the Spanish. Moorish pirates had been raiding the Andalusian coast and it was virtually impossible for an unarmed ship to sail through the Strait of Gibraltar. The distress of the Spanish resulted not only from the daring of the Moors but also from the fact that the latter's boats were astonishingly fast and maneuverable. Contemporary accounts praise the "alerce" wood used in the Moorish boats and rate it higher than Spanish oak or pine. Opinions differ as to the identification of this wood, but descriptions of its distribution and properties strongly suggest the Barbary thuya (*Callitris articulata*).[6] In 1505 an agent of Fernando el Católico suggested that an expedition should be directed against the Moroccan coast at Peñón de Vélez because large quantities of alerce were to be found there and not elsewhere on the coast.[7] The latter assertion is almost certainly an error, for thuyas are still scattered over most of the Rifian littoral. At this time the interest of the Spanish seems to have been defensive, but they may have been interested in alerce as a source of timber for their own fleet. In the days of the Armada, Spain looked as far away as the Baltic for suitable timber.[8]

175
311
113

[1] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Un nouveau récit de la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les arabes," *Arabica*, 1 (1954), 40.

[2] Al-Bekri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (Algiers: Adolphe Jourdan, 1919), p. 206.

[3] Al-Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1866), pp. 203–204.

[4] J. Vernet Ginés, "Marruecos en la geografía de Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi," *Tetuán*, 1 (1953), 255.

[5] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une description de Ceuta musulmane au XVe siècle," *Hespéris*, 12 (1931), 145–176.

[6] After initially labeling alerce as thuya, T. García Figueras, *Miscelánea de estudios históricos sobre Marruecos* (Larache: Editora Marroquí, 1949), pp. 143–148, suggests that this name is related to *ars* (Arabic for "cedar"), an opinion shared by J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Bern: Francke, 1954). But it is unlikely that the cedar ever grew on the Mediterranean coast. Actually, there is little to choose between *ars* (cedar) and *ar'ar* (thuya) as possible roots of "alerce." The Latin *Larix* (larch) seems more plausible, but there are no deciduous conifers in Morocco.

[7] The reference is to "madera de los alerces, que los hay en Vélez y muchos y no en otra parte de la costa." For the complete text, see M. Jiménez de la Espada, *La guerra del moro a fines del siglo XV* (Ceuta: Imprenta Africa, 1940), p. 16.

[8] R. G. Albion, *Forests and Sea-Power* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 183; Hellmuth Hopfner, "La evolución de los bosques de Castilla la Vieja en tiempos históricos," *Estudios Geográficos*, 15 (1954), 415–430.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

tains of the upper Nkour. The same expression is applied to the mountains on the route between Vélez and Fez (probably the Sanhajan highlands), and to "Mount Seusaoen" (i.e., Shawen, probably Jbil Tisuka). Leo's account of the eastern sector of northern Morocco is very different. The plains of Garet are described as a desert, and the lower Moulouya Valley as being "unpleasant and dry," with "no water but that of the river Muluia."

Accounts of forest in the Rif highlands are to be expected, but it is surprising to find repeated references to forest on the Mediterranean coast. Similar accounts appear in the works of Arab writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Strabo describes the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees. The frequent mentions of trees near Ceuta suggest a profound modification of vegetation in subsequent years. Accounts of shipbuilding and lumber trade indicate some commercial logging; the retreat of the forest near Ksar as-Srair, Ceuta, and Vélez might have been a direct result of these activities. Leo's reference to "great want of wood" at Arcila suggests that the hills and marine terraces of the Tangier-Tetuán-Arcila triangle had been cleared before his time, but extensive woods still existed in the basin of Wad Lukkus. His evaluation of the Moulouya Valley may have been prejudiced by previous exposure to more verdant areas, but "desert" does not mean forest, or even a rich formation of scrub.

Agents and Processes of Change

In northern Morocco today, the most important agents of deforestation are: (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to "improve" pastures and to clear fields for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by sheep and goats. These processes are evident even to the casual observer, but it is difficult to determine their relative importance. Despois believes that the principal causes of deforestation have always been the need for fuel and new land to till.[11] Braun-Blanquet describes the Mediterranean garrigues as "zoöbiotically conditioned communities."[12] Kuhnholtz-Lordat is convinced that the greatest agent of deterioration has been fire.[13]

Each emphasis is supported by abundant evidence, but it may be doubted whether the several causes of deforestation can be treated independently. A series of fires, if not too closely spaced, may not result in deforestation, but burning followed by heavy pasturing inevitably does. Most of the broad-leaf trees in northern Morocco reproduce themselves from shoots after being burned or felled, but in areas overrun by goats the shoots are browsed down and forest degenerates to scrub. In tangled brush formations it is often difficult to tell whether the main destructive agent has been fire, domestic animals, or man.

Consumption of Wood

Although kerosene lamps burn in many Moroccan homes, charcoal and wood are the only important domestic fuels.[14] Butane and electrical appliances are

[11] Despois, *op. cit.*, p. 84, cited in note 13.

[12] J. Braun-Blanquet, *Pflanzensoziologie: Grundzüge der Vegetationskunde* (2d ed., Vienna: Springer, 1951), p. 371.

[13] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), *passim*.

[14] Anthracite of excellent quality has been mined at Djerada south of Oujda since 1931, but

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus*, *Rhus pentaphylla*, and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[a] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix*, *Alnus*, *Populus*, *Vitex*, and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander*, the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[b] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[c]

---

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al.*, *Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[a] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[b] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 69.

[c] Coon, *loc. cit.*, traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

313 The great wooden gates that used to guard the openings of every city wall
648 demonstrate the importance of the lumber trade. Only fragments of these gates
171 still exist, but it is certain that most of them were made of cedar. Logging operations were greatly expanded by the Spanish after the Rifian tribes had been pacified. It is not an exaggeration to say that the mineral deposits and cedar forests of northern Morocco were the only compensations for Spain's investment in colonial prestige. Reliable estimates of the amount of timber cut since the beginning of the protectorate cannot be found, possibly because the Spanish claimed to be conserving and restoring the forests in their zone. With the backing of military force, the Spanish were able to exercise some control over cutting by the native population, but their own work proceeded without interruption or apparent regulation. Spanish officials point out that the forests being exploited were private property and that the forestry service was concerned only with public domain.

In 1956 sawmills operated throughout the year at Tetuán and Targist, and during the summer months trucks heavily loaded with cedar logs could be seen on every mountain road. The fir forests on Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab had not yet been heavily logged when Spanish "protection" came to an end, but the deciduous oaks on Jbil Buhashim had been cut in quantity for use as railroad ties. These operations may have been a brief chapter in the history of the Moroccan forest, but it is probable that the Spanish, with modern equipment, cut more trees in a decade than the local tribesmen could destroy in a century. The effects of Spanish logging are strikingly evident in the Sanhajan highlands, especially on Adrar Dahdoh, Adrar Tidighin, and Adrar Tizi Ifri.

313 This harsh judgment applies only to the exploitation of cedar and the decidu-
191 ous oaks. A modest amount of reforestation was undertaken. A plantation of
[185] *Eucalyptus* was established north of Larache; Aleppo pines were planted near Rincón, Alhucemas, Nador, and Melilla; and an effort was made to prevent premature stripping of the cork oak.[*]

Profiting from long experience in Algeria, the Service des Eaux et Forêts carried out an elaborate program in French Morocco. The system advocated and partly enforced was based upon periodic and progressive thinnings, which were intended to reconcile the interests of the tribesmen with good forestry practice. If effectively enforced, this method would have permitted the production of fuel without waiting for the normal age of exploitation, and would have improved pastoral conditions by facilitating the movement and supervision of livestock.[*]

314 Tannin is extracted from the roots and bark of all the Moroccan oaks, and
191 this operation frequently results in mutilation or death. The cork oak is espe-
311 cially vulnerable, for tannin is scraped from the delicate inner bark immediately after the corky tissue has been removed. Complete girdling destroys trees, and death may result if more than half of the circumference is damaged.[*] The tanners of Marrakech have been responsible for extensive deforestation in the

[113] [*] The program planned by the Spanish forestry service is described in González Vázquez, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–185, cited in note 34; and J. Ruiz de la Torre, *La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos y la elección de especies para su repoblación forestal* (Larache: Centro de Investigaciones Forestales, 1956).

[113] [*] For a brief account of French management, see J. P. Challot, "L'homme et la forêt marocaine," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 84 (1946), 233–261.

[*] Boudy, *op. cit.*, II (fasc. 1), 47 ff., cited in note 5.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

314 High Atlas. Deforestation can be traced also to the tanners of Fez and Tetuán."
311 The tanners' guild in Fez goes back to the ninth century, when master tanners
191 gathered at this site from Córdoba, Qayrawan, and distant Iran. Fez leather was once exported as far away as Baghdad, and shoes went to Egypt until the present century. During the peak years of production. Fez craftsmen tanned about 500,000 skins a year. The descendants of the original immigrant craftsmen are still busy making handbags, slippers, and other articles for the tourist and export trade.

It is not surprising that *Quercus Ilex*, an important source of tannin, should now be rare in the hills near Fez and Tetuán. There is good reason to believe that the holly oak once covered these hills. One well-informed botanist asserts that the primordial cover of the limestone mountains south of Tetuán probably was a "climax" forest of holly oak.[112] In Gal'aya and the eastern Rif, careless stripping of the bark of *Rhus pentaphylla*, a source of red dye, destroys many trees; "Morocco leather," a trade name in bookbinding, is customarily made from goatskin tanned with sumac.

Effects of Burning

372 In the eastern Rif the plant cover is usually too sparse to maintain a fire, and
241 on the Atlantic littoral there is little land left to clear. But between these areas
191 is a large zone covered with forest or scrub that must be burned before the land
311 can be plowed. Some attempt is usually made to control the spread of fire, but conflagrations develop when tinder-dry shrubs are fanned by brisk winds. Fire is employed also for the "improvement" of pasture, for increased blossoming ("bee pasture"), and probably for the mere pleasure of burning or out of carelessness.[113]

233 The importance of pastoral fires has been emphasized by most students of the
372 Mediterranean landscape,[114] but in northern Morocco fires set to clear away nox-
191 ious shrubbery or to facilitate movement of stock are less important than agri-
241 cultural fires. Pastoral fires are neither necessary nor desirable where there are
311 goats, for these animals thrive on woody browse and can break through the thickest scrub. Sheep outnumber goats only in the drier eastern sector, where impenetrable formations are rare. For every fire set to "improve" pasture, probably more than ten are set to prepare new fields for plowing.

372 Whatever its cause, fire is a major agent of deforestation. The difficulty is
311 that there are many kinds of fires: quick fires that run over a thin mantle of vegetation, great conflagrations that consume thicker formations, fires that remain close to the ground, fires that extend to the crowns of trees. It makes a great deal of difference whether fires recur after five or after twenty-five years. Moreover, the important factor may be not the fire itself but what happens to an area after it has been burned.

---

[113] [112] R. le Tourneau, L. Paye, and R. Guyot, "La corporation des tanneurs et l'industrie de la tannerie à Fès," *Hespéris*, 21 (1935), 167–240; A. Joly, "L'industrie à Tétouan," *Archives Marocaines*, 8, 15, 18 (1906–1912).

[113] [113] J. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala (Marruecos español)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1955), pp. 26–27, and the map showing the "natural area" of *Quercus Ilex*.

[113] [113] H. Marc, *Notes sur les forêts de l'Algérie* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 396, lists the causes of serious forest fires from 1886 to 1915 as "accidents" (8 per cent), "imprudence" (32 per cent), "intentional" (23 per cent), "unknown" (37 per cent).

[113] [114] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, "Influence des feux pastoraux dans la région méditerranéenne," *Jour. d'Agriculture Tropicale et de Botanique Appliquée*, 3 (1956), 785–791.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

372 137 311 Plants that are somewhat resistant to fire or are stimulated to multiply and reproduce by fire have been called pyrophytes.[44] There are many kinds of pyrophytes, for resistance to or stimulation from fire may be achieved in several ways. The cork oak could be called a pyrophyte of passive resistance, for it is protected by thick insulating bark. Plants that send out new shoots after their aerial organs have been partly or completely destroyed might be described as pyrophytes of vegetative reaction. Budding may take place above ground, as in the thuya, or below ground, as in the kermes oak, palmetto, madrone, and numerous Mediterranean shrubs. Trees that cast deep shade (e.g., undisturbed holly oaks) could be termed pyrophytes of indirect resistance. Finally, some trees and shrubs that seed heavily and grow rapidly (e.g., Aleppo pine and species of *Cistus*) might be described as social pyrophytes.

372 114 137 311 This classification, derived from the pioneer work of Kuhnholtz-Lordat, has much to recommend it,[45] but, like all classifications, it has some faults. The passive resistance of the cork oak depends upon the lapse of time since the last stripping of the bark. Pyrophytes of vegetative reaction may be destroyed if fires recur in rapid succession. In northern Morocco it is hard to think of a good example of indirect resistance. Some stands of cork oak and holly oak have shaded floors and sparse underbrush, but during the dry season such formations may be inflammable. Again, although the Aleppo pine is an excellent pioneer, it may be exterminated if fires recur in rapid succession or if the young shoots are browsed.

372 137 311 Recurrent burning thus favors some plants and discourages others. Continuous repetition of brush fires produces communities rich in geophytes and therophytes. In much of northwestern Morocco, species of *Cistus* are the first shrubby pioneers.[46] They soon collect in extensive clumps, but die out after ten to fifteen years if not burned again. Large areas in Jbala and Ghmara, now covered with *Cistus monspeliensis*, *C. albidus*, and *C. ladaniferus*, probably were once covered with forests of cork oak or holly oak. Fires usually do not destroy the aerial organs of trees protected by thick bark, but the mortality rate rises sharply immediately after the bark has been stripped.[47]

When aerial organs are destroyed, both cork oak and holly oak reproduce from shoots. An occasional fire may even serve to regenerate a senile forest. But extreme care must be taken to prevent further destruction, for *Cistus*, *Erica*, and other heliophilous shrubs spread over the surface as soon as more light reaches the ground. Since the expanding secondary growth is highly inflammable, this process increases the danger of recurrent fires.[48] After several fires, the mesophytic plants are replaced by species more xerophytic as well as more heliophilous, indicating a change to drier soil conditions.[49]

[44] Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée*, *passim*, cited in note 32.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

[46] Because of its rapid growth and abundant crop of seeds, *Cistus* has been used in California to protect denuded slopes. Gustaf Juhren, "The Use of *Cistus* in Erosion Control," *Lasca Leaves*, Spring, 1956, pp. 26–29. (113)

[47] See also Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 663 ff., cited in note 5; and A. Dugelay, "La remise en valeur des forêts de chênes-lièges incendiées," *Rev. Forestière Française*, November, 1951, pp. 687–694.

[48] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 649, describes *Erica arborea* as an "élément ignicole par excellence."

[49] On the effects of fire in similar environments, see A. W. Sampson, *Plant Succession on Burned Chaparral Lands in Northern California* (Berkeley: California Agricultural Experiment Station, 1944); R. S. Adamson, *The Vegetation of South Africa* (London: British Empire Vegetation Committee, 1938); W. B. Turrill, *The Plant Life of the Balkan Peninsula* (Oxford: (113)

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

372 139 311 The main difference between the effects of fire in broad-leaf forests and in coniferous forests is that the latter, with the exception of the Barbary thuya, do not reproduce by coppice shoots. The resinous bark of maritime and Aleppo pines is highly inflammable, and since neither tree reproduces from shoots, burning is usually fatal. Yet both species, especially the Aleppo pine, are pyrophytes. Indeed, the presence of a large number of pine seedlings is a sure indication of recent burning. Both species produce abundant seed, and proliferation is encouraged by the destruction of competitive growth. If fifteen or more years have elapsed since a fire, the seedlings reach maturity and the ground is again littered with seeds; but recovery is thwarted by more frequent fires.

Little is known of the effects of fire on the Moroccan fir, but it is probably unimportant as an agent of deforestation. The three main stands of fir grow on the highest slopes of limestone mountains, where there is little underbrush. Furthermore, these mountains do not have sufficient surface water to support permanent human settlement. Goats driven to the mountains from the lower slopes have destroyed many seedlings, but there is little evidence of destructive forest fires. Nor is there evidence of destructive fires in relatively undisturbed stands of cedar. Such forests have little underbrush to serve as kindling, and the cedar itself does not burn easily. But fires may be serious where cedar forests have been invaded by secondary growth. Most of the shrubs common in open stands of cedar—*Cistus, Daphne, Genista, Cystius, Thymus,* and *Halimium*—are highly inflammable. Occasional fires followed by long periods free of disturbance generally do not cause deforestation, but deforestation results when seedlings are destroyed before they can produce seed. The critical interval is disadvantageously long, for the Atlas cedar does not produce abundant seed until it is forty to fifty years old.

Destruction by Domestic Animals

233 311 It would be hard to overemphasize the destruction wrought by grazing and browsing. More than half a million sheep and over a million goats are maintained in this zone. These figures are impressive, but the striking fact is that so large a number of animals are maintained by sedentary farmers. No tribe in northern Morocco is nomadic, and only the Ulad Stut and Aith Bu Yihyi practice transhumance. The main types of pastoral disturbance are well described by Braun-Blanquet.[30] Heavy pasturing causes: (1) withdrawal of large quantities of plant matter, (2) mechanical damage to plants by grazing, browsing, and trampling, (3) selective destruction of desired plants, (4) introduction of nitrophilous communities, and (5) alteration of microrelief.

The few cattle and camels kept in northern Morocco probably are not important agents of deforestation. Both animals are used almost exclusively for draft purposes, and few villages can afford to maintain more than one team. Authorities disagree on whether sheep have been significant factors in the process of deforestation. Most of the sheep in northern Morocco are in the drier and warmer parts of the zone, i.e., Garet and the eastern Rif. Woody plants are too

[113] Clarendon Press, 1929); and B. O. Coventry, "Denudation of the Punjab Hills," *Indian Forest Records*, 14 (1929), 49–78.

[30] Braun-Blanquet, *op cit.*, pp. 367–368, cited in note 31.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

tough and massive to be adversely affected by grazing, but sheep can destroy shoots and seedlings, particularly those of the resinous trees.[51] The presence of monotonous formations of *Stipa tenacissima* in the lower Moulouya Valley and on the Algerian Hauts-Plateaux probably indicates overgrazing, for a history of excessive grazing may be inferred wherever hard tussock grasses have replaced more palatable growth.

Where goats are numerous, deforestation is accelerated, for no hillside is too steep to daunt this very agile creature, and few plants escape its voracious appetite (pl. 8, *a*). In Arcila, goats scale the nearly vertical Portuguese walls, and in the Sous Valley they climb into *Argania* trees. Not content with the grazing of grass, goats tear it up by the roots. When woody browse is exhausted, the soil itself is grazed in an attempt to get at the seeds of grasses and other plants. It is not surprising that the goat should be described as an "ecologic dominant,"[52] and that many naturalists would like to see it become extinct, except in zoos.[53]

The most serious deforestation occurs when heavy browsing follows burning. Premature browsing or grazing results in the destruction of seedlings before they can produce a new crop of seeds. The French forestry service has ruled that burned areas should be closed to pasture for at least six years. The recovery of cedar forests may be thwarted if excessive browsing takes place within twenty years.[54]

The best-known relict of the cedars of Lebanon, a stand of several hundred trees, is protected from vandalism by a church and from goats by a stone wall.[55] In open places in the Mamora forest, young cork oaks survive only within a protective cluster of palmetto. On the semiarid plains of northeastern Morocco, *Pistacia atlantica* rarely survives unless it is protected by a spiny hedge of zizyphus or sumac (*Rhus pentaphylla*), and in the Sous Valley the latter species plays an even more vital role as a protector of young *Argania* trees. In the mountains of northern Morocco, seedlings of cedar, pine, and fir are protected by the armature of the juniper. Elsewhere on the Mediterranean versant, young trees may be protected by *Genista*, *Calycotome*, *Ulex*, and other thorny Leguminosae.

Trees that reproduce by coppice shoots are seldom completely destroyed, but excessive browsing may reduce them to shrub form. In the geographic textbooks the scrub or dwarf state of the Mediterranean woodland is often described as a consequence of the Mediterranean precipitation regime. The error of this generalization is manifest in the holly oak. That the stunted and deformed appearance of this tree results from fire-induced sprouting and browsing is evident when stately trees growing on protected sites are compared with the prevalent forms. Neither climate nor any other element of the inanimate environment can explain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

[51] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 616, is more emphatic: "Il est d'observation courante au Maroc, comme en Algérie, que dans tous les massifs de résineux où le parcours des moutons est intense, il n'y a pas de régénération et que ces massifs sont condamnés à disparaître à plus ou moins longue échéance."

[52] Marston Bates, "Man as an Agent in the Spread of Organisms," in Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 798, cited in note 7.

[53] Raymond Furon, "The Gentle Little Goat: Arch Despoiler of the Earth," *The Unesco Courier*, January, 1958, pp. 30–32.

[54] Cf. Boudy's comment, *op. cit.*, II, 552: "Régénération de la cédraie et pâturage sont choses incompatibles." The prerequisites of recovery probably include at least three or four years of unusually heavy precipitation.

[55] W. C. Lowdermilk, "Lessons from the Old World to the Americas in Land Use," *Smithsonian Inst. Ann. Rept. 1943* (Washington, D.C., 1944), p. 416.

A, [See p. 132--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

the stunted form of this tree. The same remarks apply to dwarf forms of thuya and oleaster. On protected sites even the palmetto may become a tree and, when disturbance is manifest, dwarf forms of cedar develop.

Vegetation on Sacred Sites

Throughout Morocco and to some extent elsewhere in the Muslim world, cemeteries are regarded as sacred ground. Sanctity is ascribed also to the areas adjacent to tombs or shrines of saints (*murabitin*). The cult of saints has been an important factor in Moroccan history, and tombs or shrines are found in the territory of each tribe.[a]

Sacred sites often constitute islands of verdure. This correlation is not unique. In *The Golden Bough* Sir James Frazer describes sacred woods in many parts of the world.[b] The interesting feature of the Moroccan situation is that such groves are extraordinarily numerous and that the veneration relates to the ground in which plants grow and not to the plants themselves.[c] Protected growth is usually more dense than the growth on adjacent profane land, and the height and girth of individual plants exceed those of plants growing on unprotected land. Some species (e.g., *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*) rarely achieve arborescent forms on unprotected sites.

The nature of the protected growth varies from a single shrub or tree to thickets and groves. Figure 25 shows the silhouettes of vegetation on a few sacred sites. These examples, selected from hundreds, illustrate the general pattern (cf. pl. 9, *a* and *b*).

Figure 25, *a*, shows a few mature cedars surrounded by a dense growth of holly oak. The prevalent vegetation in this area is a shrub formation dominated by *Cistus laurifolius*. There are no other cedars within a radius of several hundred meters, and holly oaks, apart from those on sacred sites, are in scrub form. It is evident that succession has resulted in a retrogression from cedar to oak forest and then to a sparse cover of shrubs.

Figure 25, *b*, illustrates a protected formation dominated by oleasters (cf. pl. 9, *a*). *Pistacia lentiscus* becomes prominent where oleasters are widely spaced and light reaches the ground freely. Palmetto and thuya, even more heliophilous, are confined to the edges of the protected growth. In the surrounding area the vegetation is limited to shrubs. Numerous other examples of oleaster groves fringed with pistacia and palmetto could be described. A handsome grove appears at the tomb of Sidi Manari on Cape Malabata opposite Tangier. Five groves appear on one ridge between Tangier and Tetuán. Others appear on the marine terraces between Tangier and Arcila, and on the lower slopes of the limestone mountains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

[a] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Marabout," in H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 325–326; Emile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

[b] Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935). Part I of *The Golden Bough*.

[c] J. Cola Alberich, *Cultos primitivos de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954), refers to tree worship (*dendrolatria*), but the evidence he cites relates to popular ideas of the medicinal and magical qualities of plant material (leaves, seeds, acorns, etc.) and not to the sanctity of plants as such. It is possible, for example, to recognize magical qualities in pine cones and yet have no reluctance to destroy or mutilate pine trees. In Morocco the important consideration is not what qualities a plant may possess but *where* it grows.

[See p. 133--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

would have included a large proportion of thorny plants. The exceptionally mesophytic species, *Abies pinsapo*, *Cedrus atlantica*, and *Quercus pyrenaica*, would presumably be restricted to the mountains even if all destructive activity came to an end. But moderately xerophytic and heliophilous trees, the oleaster and the evergreen oak, would occupy larger territories. Under favorable conditions the Barbary thuya would probably be taller and more closely spaced, and the formation described as thorn scrub would be a xerophytic woodland, dominated by *Pistacia atlantica* and *Rhus pentaphylla*.

If cutting, browsing, and burning ceased, most of the area now covered with palmetto scrub would eventually be clothed with forests of oleaster, cork oak, and holly oak. The primordial ranges of oleaster and cork oak would be determined by edaphic and climatic factors. The cork oak, which cannot grow on calcareous soils, would occupy the Pliocene terraces of the Atlantic littoral, the sandstone outliers of the Rif chain, and the slopes of intermediate elevation in the schistose highlands. Some connection may have existed between the cork forests of the central highlands and the small stand of *Quercus Suber* in the mountains immediately east of Wad Nkour. A solitary cork oak grows on a sacred site near the summit of Adrar Gurugú (885 meters). Recent dunes on the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts probably were once covered with *Juniperus phoenicea*.[*] In heavy clay soils the cork oak would give way to *Olea europaea* and *Pistacia lentiscus*, which would cover the lower slopes of the limestone mountains also. The sacred groves west of Ceuta and Shawen exemplify the natural state of this formation.

At higher elevations in the limestone mountains the natural forest was probably dominated by holly oak. It is necessary to postulate such a forest even though there is little evidence of it today. The agents responsible for the destruction and mutilation of *Quercus Ilex* have already been described. As we have noted, this tree is tolerant of most soils and has the widest range of any Moroccan tree (fig. 7).

The natural province of the Moroccan fir would be about the same as its present range, above 1,500 meters in the limestone mountains. At present this genus is restricted to the mountains east and southeast of Shawen. The only other peak in the calcareous chain high enough to support fir forests is Jbil Kelti (1,927 meters). Destructive processes, especially browsing by goats, have reduced the density of the remaining stands, but it is not likely that fir forests covered any lowland area in historic time.

Changes of greater magnitude appear to have taken place in the cedar forests. The lower limit of this tree overlaps the upper limit of cultivation (pl. 6, *a*). Retreat is especially evident on the northern slope of Adrar Taghzut (fig. 28). At present the lower limit of the forest on this slope is at about 1,800 meters, but a single majestic cedar grows on the site of a shrine (Sidi Abd al-Grifar) in the bottom of a deep valley, 600 meters below the main stand. In the valley of Wad Ouergha, protected cedars are found at even lower elevations. In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 113]

[*] The red juniper is still scattered over the dunes between Rabat and Larache, but has been replaced by herbaceous growth and the Aleppo pine on the Mediterranean coast. On dune vegetation, see J. Ruiz de la Torre, "La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos," *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 23–33; and Louis Emberger, *Notice phytogéographique sur une partie de la meseta marocaine septentrionale* (Montpellier: Causse, Graille, and Castelnau, 1931).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

bottoms of valleys, low nocturnal temperatures, caused by air drainage, probably favor the cedar; nevertheless, on many slopes the forest line appears to be 300–500 meters above its natural position.

Cedar forests do not regenerate unless pasturing is suppressed and there is an opportune cycle of wet years. Moreover, the subsoil and parent material must be loose enough to favor the development of seedlings and yet compact enough to retain moisture. A further prerequisite is that there must not be a thick cover of competitive shrubs. A single deforestation may drastically upset the natural equilibrium; if disturbance continues, recovery may be impossible. The mantle of cedars on relatively inaccessible slopes gives some indication of the appearance of the primordial forest (pl. 10, *a*). Figure 29 shows the trend of retrogression. On gentle slopes, undisturbed stands are dense, dark, and relatively free of underbrush. Steeper slopes, exposed to greater insolation, have an understory of shrubs and oaks. Burning or cutting followed by pasturing eliminates the cedar and reduces the oaks to scrub form. If disturbance continues, the plant cover degenerates to a sparse scrub of *Genista quadriflora, Juniperus Oxycedrus,* and *Cistus laurifolius.*

It is difficult to delimit the primordial pattern of the cedar forests. Forests probably existed on Jbil Kelti (1,927 meters), Jbil Sugna (1,600 meters), and Jbil Buhashim (1,681 meters), for a few cedars still grow on these peaks. The absence of cedars from Jbil Khsana (1,695 meters) is puzzling, since this peak receives abundant precipitation, and is composed of sandstone and schist, which weather into deep soils. At present no cedars appear east of Adrar Tizi Ifri, but they may once have clothed the highest peaks of the eastern Rif, including Adrar Hamam (1,930 meters) and Azru Akchar (2,011 meters). It cannot be proved that the cedar once grew beyond its present range, but the pattern of succession suggests that some stands may have been completely destroyed.*

The theory was presented, in chapter ii, that both the Aleppo and the maritime pine may be relicts which have been encouraged to advance by the destruction of competitive growth. If this notion is sound, the area originally covered with pines must have been even smaller than the present stands. This interpretation helps to explain the presence of pines in degraded forests of cedar and fir. However, human interference has probably caused a reduction of some stands of Aleppo pine, particularly on the Melilla peninsula and in the mountains southeast of Shawen. Disturbance might initially have encouraged expansion and then forced a new retreat. It is difficult to enlarge on this idea, for the existing stands of pine are too small and widely scattered to be placed accurately on the maps.

Prolonged disturbance and exploitation of the Barbary thuya have diminished the density of the remaining stands and reduced many trees to shrub form. The natural range of thuya in the western half of the zone can be traced without much difficulty. At higher altitudes on the Mediterranean versant, increased precipitation and lower winter temperatures favor cork oak and holly oak. On the Atlantic versant, climatic factors alone delimit the range. It is more difficult to trace a

* Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), (ref. to map), seems to regard the primordial range of the cedar as essentially the same as the present range. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala,* pp. 22–23, cited in note 41, suggests a natural extension to include the highest peaks of Ghmara and Jbala.

[See p. 134--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

limit in the area east of Wad Nkour. Emberger believes that most of the eastern lowlands were once covered with thuya.[44] According to another study, undertaken by an engineer of the Spanish forestry service, the natural range of the thuya extended to all areas of residual soil from the Nkour Valley to Wad Moulouya.[45] These interpretations may be sound, but the evidence presented here suggests that the primordial cover of most of the eastern sector was a mixed formation of *Pistacia atlantica* and *Rhus pentaphylla* with scattered clumps of oleaster. The effect of prolonged disturbance has been to reduce the area covered by these species and to favor the expansion of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*), dwarf sage (*Artemisia Herba alba*), and camel thorn (*Zizyphus lotus*).

There has been no study of plant succession in the arid and semiarid parts of northern Africa comparable in scope to Aubréville's monumental treatise on the effects of burning, clearing, and pasturing in tropical Africa.[46] Deterioration of ranges and "xerophytism" have been reported for most of the pre-Saharan zone, but it is not yet possible to determine the extent of change. The American statesman-scholar George P. Marsh argued long ago "that forests would soon cover many parts of the Arabian and African deserts, if man and domestic animals, especially the goat and camel, were banished from them."[47] In recent years a number of French scholars have expressed doubts concerning the theory that the vast formations of alfa grass and dwarf sage on the Algerian plateaus developed as a result of the semiarid climate.[48] After careful study of scattered stands of *Acacia gummifera* on the arid littoral of Morocco, south of Agadir, Charles Sauvage questions whether the zone between Anti Atlas and Wad Dra should be described as asylvatic.[49] Basing his conclusions on the wide occurrence of acacias in the desert, one author speaks of the primordial forests of the Sahara.[50] Sixty years ago another naturalist discovered that many of the wadis in the Egyptian desert were named after trees that had since disappeared.[51] Thus we have evidence that the effects of human disturbance have been felt even in the Sahara, and that aridity does not prevent the growth of some trees.

In the semiarid sector of northern Morocco it is possible to reconstruct vegetational changes with the aid of relict formations preserved on sacred sites. At the shrine of Sidi Seddic, on the border of the territories of Ulad Stut and Aith Bu Yihyi, a majestic oleaster, surrounded by sumac, is in striking contrast to the prevalent cover of dwarf sage. *Pistacia atlantica*, one of the few trees of northern Africa that can grow on heavy alluvial soils, appears on several sacred sites in

[44] Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, pp. 71–78.

[45] J. Ruíz de la Torre, "La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos," *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 30–33.

[46] André Aubréville, *Climats, forêts et désertification de l'Afrique tropicale* (Paris: Editions Maritimes et Coloniales, 1949).

[47] George P. Marsh, *The Earth as Modified by Human Action: A Last Edition of "Man and Nature"* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1885), p. 149.

[48] According to Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 68, "Les prairies d'halfa peuvent représenter d'anciennes forêts de *Juniperus phoenicia*, parfois même de *Callitris* et même de *Quercus Ilex*." Buffault, "Le déboisement de l'Afrique du Nord," p. 481, cited in note 15, also accepts the notion of a primordial forest on the Hauts-Plateaux.

[49] Ch. Sauvage, "Les environs de Goulimine: carrefour botanique," in *Volume jubilaire de la Société des Sciences Naturelles du Maroc* (Rabat, 1948), pp. 107–146.

[50] L. Lavauden, "Les forêts du Sahara," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 65 (1927), 265–277.

[51] E. A. Floyer, "Disappearance of Desert Plants in Egypt," *Kew Bull. Miscell. Information*, 72 (1892).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

practice to allow sheep to graze on stubble, many slopes are completely bare when the first rains fall. Erosion is retarded during spring and summer when a part of the runoff is diverted into irrigation ditches, but the irrigation systems promptly disintegrate at the beginning of the rainy season, and runoff again follows the network of gullies (pl. 11, *a*).

Gullying is most severe in the hilly areas of the Rif. The basins of Wad Ghis, Wad Nkour, and Wad Kert show an intricate pattern of short, steep slopes. "Ghis" means "mud" in Arabic, and most of the mud comes from the denuded highlands. The lower course of each river is joined by deeply entrenched tributary streams cutting through old fans and terraces. In Targist, Thimsaman, and Tafarsith the best farms are on fragments of Pliocene conglomerate, isolated from one another by deep ravines. Badland topography covers most of the area between Wad Nkour and Wad Kert. This may be described as an erosion-induced hoe-culture, for slopes are so badly dissected that it is no longer possible to use plows. The desperate effort to produce grain is abandoned only when the harvest does not repay the investment in seed. Cereals are sown in gullies and on nearly vertical slopes. The Spanish learned to their dismay that hungry Rifians try to cultivate even the roadbeds. The plains of Garet and the lower Kert constitute islands of alluvium in a sea of denuded terrain. Serious erosion becomes evident as soon as one passes to older terrace and residual soils. The hills of Ikibdhanen and the volcanic eminence of Gurugú are as bare as the limestone peaks.

The pattern of gullies and rills continues into the hills of Jbala and Ghmara, but the most serious problem in these areas is sliding. The roads from Tetuán to Tangier and Shawen are blocked by slides every year. In Anjra and Fahs one is never out of sight of a slide scar. Gullying is less serious than in the eastern sector, but streams are slightly entrenched even in the rolling country south of Tangier, and the marine terraces between Arcila and Larache are cut by deep barrancas.[113]

[113] René Raynal, "Bodenerosion in Marokko," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, 5 (1956–1957), 885–894.

2: Montagne--283 / E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/209 cont./

619 territory of the Koutama and of Taghzout. Badès, according to
131 Idrisi, was the eastern limit of the bloc of the Ghomara; the present Spanish name of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera would suffice to prove that it was their port.

To the East were still found, between Badès and Ghassasa, in the vicinity of the cape Tres Forcas, Senhajian and Ghomarian populations, which, in the first centuries of the Hejira, had constituted the kingdom of Nekor of the Banou Salih, before the destruction of the town of Nekor at the beginning of the eleventh century (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 139.

[648] Moreover it is not impossible that the internal wars that deeply disturbed the life of this small State were caused by the permanent hostility of the two races.

195 What were the historic causes of the attack led by the Sen-
648 haja against the country of the Ghomara? Already at the time of Idrisi in the twelfth century, the latter had suffered a serious check, since their territory had been reduced toward the South, to the advantage of the Senhaja, by a just punishment from God, "because of their numerous sins, the weakness of their Islam, their perseverance in practicing adultery with complete freedom," and all their other crimes (3).

• [113] 3. El Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, text p. 170.

It is the succession of defeats that they suffered that is alluded to, as we have seen, in the classification of "Bou Tyour," /210/ in which the Ghomara are represented by animals "capable of being eaten."

But it is not possible to explain solely by the advance of Senhaja elements, who doubtless came originally from the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ for the acquisition of better lands,

/240 cont./

628 But in these less wild regions, the periods of calm are never-
182 theless short and do not leave these rudimentary institutions
182 /241/ time to perfect themselves. Anarchy and fights by fam-
642 ilies infuriated by vengeances have never permitted the Riffians
to know a government by regularly elected leaders, changed in
628 turn, or the use of common funds. Only the holy-war treasuries,
652 organized by pious establishments, existed at all times. Hate
721 for the Christian can indeed dominate the strongest feelings;
798 whatever may be the violence of the disputes that divide them,
182 the notables always agree enough to go shares in small sums of
money intended for the purchase of bullets in order to go to aim
at the detested soldiers of the "Peñon" /Rock/ of Alhucemas or
Badès (1).

[113] 1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 89 and sqq.

000 XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- It is above all between the social organization of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the French conquest and that of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ that it is possible to multiply the comparisons in order to find profound analogies under the apparent differences. It is easy, as a matter of fact, to see that the small republics of the Tichka or of the Jbel Kest, sequestered in the high valleys of the South of Morocco, and the ones that have grown and prospered on the summits of the Djurjura live with similar institutions, share the same positive and limited ideal, suffer from identical ills, and are subject to the same rules of existence, to the same laws of development.

The territory of the "ᶜarch" is, as we have seen, equivalent to that of a small "taqbilt" of the Sous; both form, in the free state, autonomous and often even independent political units. But in one of the regions the slight density of the population of a country where human life is difficult, in the other the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

121 In collecting the data upon which this book is based, the chief concern of the investigators was to obtain a sufficiently large series of anthropometric records from each tribe in the Rif, northern Senhaja, and from the Ghomara, so that the distribution of somatological characteristics in these areas might be determined with some degree of accuracy. So much of the expedition's time was spent in this pursuit that it was impossible to secure as much data on the subjects of religion and magic as was desired. Other elements of culture, both material and social, were easier to observe and record.

128 In presenting the data so gathered an attempt has been made not only to describe but to analyze as well, and to reconstruct from the living material the natures and order of cultural and racial changes in the north of Morocco, especially in their relation to the Berber world as a whole.

114 During our travels in Morocco I have unfortunately not learned any one Berber dialect well enough to work directly in it, nor to record phonetic texts. Such fine work is the province of Westermarck, of Biarnay, and of Laoust, whose labors I hold in especial esteem. In wealth of detail, my cultural material falls short of Westermarck's and of Laoust's, especially in the fields of magico-religious practices and of agriculture. Fortunately for me I was able to work in a region which I believe neither of them has visited, and hence am able to supplement their monumental compilations with first-hand data from a fresh quarter of Barbary. The time at which the bulk of these researches were made fell just at the close of the Riffian war, after Abd el Krim's surrender and before all of the tribes had renounced their freedom. Coming at that time I was luckily able to see Riffian life still led according to the old style, for a few weeks at least, and to record by witnessing them practices and customs now forever discontinued.

000 The Spanish authorities, from the highest to the lowest in rank, received us most cordially and generously set the assistance of their military organization at our service. I can never cease being grateful to them for a consideration and kindness which must have cost them considerable work and annoyance. So great was their hospitality that to prevent it from hindering work was sometimes a problem.

As to the Riffians themselves, it would be difficult for me to praise them too highly. Their keen comprehension, ready acceptance of the purpose of our inquiries, high degree of coöperation, and generous hospitality never failed to astonish us. Spain is indeed fortunate to possess such a protectorate. Its wealth of man power, the intelligence of its people, and the natural resources of the country will in time repay her amply for the deservedly con-

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

WHEN I was preparing my book *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* I thought that it might be useful for me to acquire first-hand knowledge of some forms of culture which differ from our own. As the University of Helsingfors had granted me a very handsome travelling scholarship, [122] which enabled me to stay abroad for years, I contemplated going to the East to study both civilised and savage races. I sailed for Morocco in 1898 — and never went farther. I soon realised what a laborious undertaking it is to acquaint oneself sufficiently well even with the natives of a single country: it requires a prolonged stay among them and knowledge of their language. Even the best interpreter is apt to omit details which, though apparently trivial, may be of the greatest importance for a right understanding of the custom or belief in question, or to let his attention slacken for a moment, or to give an inaccurate meaning to expressions which baffle all direct translation. Morocco offered the double advantage of being little known and within easy reach of Europe. I went there time after time; and in the [114] course of twenty-one journeys undertaken in the period between 1898 and 1926 I spent there altogether seven years.

I made it a point to visit towns and tribes in different 114 parts of the country, and to employ as teachers natives of other tribes to which I could not go myself. Thus I spent half a year in Fez; the same length of time among the mountains of Andjra, and several weeks among the Jbâla of Jbel Ḥbīb and the Sáḥel; many months in the Faḥṣ and the Ġarbîya; nearly two months among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz in Dukkâla, besides which I had daily intercourse with people of this tribe during my five months' stay in

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

114 Mazagan; a shorter time among the Beni Ăḥsen and the Mnâṣăra; three months among the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas range; and many months in Marráksh and Mogador, where I had Shlöḥ as my teachers. During my stay in Fez and Ṣĕfru and the excursions I made from the latter place to the surrounding tribe of the Aiţ Yúsi, I had an opportunity to study the Berbers belonging to the group of the Brâber; and at Tangier and Tetuan I came in very frequent contact with Berbers from the Rîf.

In those days when I made nearly all my journeys in the interior of the country there were no roads, and very many districts were inaccessible to travellers. Even for my sojourn in Andjra, which was then in a disturbed state, the Russian legation required of me a written statement to the effect that I went there entirely at my own risk. Yet the treatment I received there, as well as among other mountaineers and peasants not generally noted for friendliness towards Europeans, was invariably of the kindliest nature. For this I have to thank my Moorish friend Shereef 'Abdsslam l-Baqqâli, who has accompanied me on all my journeys in Morocco and given me invaluable assistance. I am happy to say that the President of the Republic of Finland has been pleased to confer on him knighthood of the order of "Finlands Vita Ros" as a reward for the services he has rendered me.

From a sociological point of view Morocco is much better known now than it was at the time when I commenced my researches. This is chiefly due to numerous important publications which have appeared in French during the last quarter of a century, though Mr. Budgett Meakin's books also deserve recognition. The literary activity of La Mission scientifique du Maroc, Le Comitĕ d'Études berbères de Rabat, l'École supérieure de Langue arabe et de Dialectes berbères de Rabat, and L'Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, has been imposing; and valuable works have, in addition, appeared outside the range of their publications. Much attention has been bestowed on the particular subject with which I am dealing in the present book. Various points of it have been ably treated by Messrs. Doutté, Laoust, Henri Basset, and others; and if the object of my book

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

had been to give a comprehensive account of all that is known about the popular religion and magic of Morocco, their names would certainly have appeared more frequently in its pages. But its aim is less ambitious, being chiefly restricted to a presentation and discussion of the results of my own researches among the natives.

A considerable portion of these results have been previously published in the following essays and articles :— " The Nature of the Arab *Ginn*, illustrated by the present Beliefs of the People of Morocco ", in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xxix. (1900) ; " The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs ", *ibid.* vol. xxxiv. (1904) ; " Sul culto dei santi nel Marocco ", in *Actes du douzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Rome, 1899*, vol. iii. pt. i. (Florence, 1902) ; " Midsummer Customs in Morocco ", in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi. (1905) ; " The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco ", *ibid.* vol. xxii. (1911) ; " *L-'âr*, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco ", in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907) ; *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps - Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. liv. 1911–12, sec. B, No. 1 ; Helsingfors, 1913) ; *The Moorish Conception of Holiness* (*Baraka*) (the same series, vol. lviii., 1915–16, sec. B, No. 1 ; Helsingfors, 1916) ; *The Belief in Spirits in Morocco* (*Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora*, vol. i. No. 1 ; Åbo, 1920). The facts and most of the theories in these publications have, more or less revised, been incorporated in the present work, but a large number of facts have been added, and the subjects concerned have also in other respects been treated more fully. Moreover, many new subjects, not previously dealt with by me, have been introduced ; so that at least one half of the work may be said to be completely new. Other results of my researches, not embodied in this book, are found in a purely linguistical essay, *Nomina im status absolutus und status annexus in der südmarokkanischen Berbersprache* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. lvi. 1913–14, sec.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

114
128 I must express my very sincerest and most heartfelt thanks, first of all, to Sra. Da. Agustina Moro de Blanco, the widow of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga, who graciously allowed me to consult her late husband's private papers dealing with the Berbers of the Rif, in Madrid during February-March 1960. I must also express equal thanks to her son, Dr. D. Agustin Blanco Moro, with whom I initially corresponded in 1958 regarding his father's Rifian materials, and who kindly provided me with all the biographical data on his father; and to Sr. D. Tomas Garcia Figueras, the former Delegate of Native Affairs in Tetuan (in what until 1956 was Spanish Morocco), and subsequent mayor of Jérez de la Frontera, who, on hearing of my original interest in Col. Blanco's work, was good enough to put me in contact with his family. And, in this connection, I owe a very special debt of gratitude to Col. Blanco's charming and personable youngest daughter, Srta. Da. Emilia Blanco Moro, who went over the materials with me, and who helped me out when I was unable to read her father's handwriting, during the month I spent in Madrid. Finally, during the second, much later month of April 1970 which I again spent in Madrid, I must express my gratitude to Srta. Da. Concha Bragimo Fernandez, the head of the Africa Section at the National Library, for her assistance in that particular quarter.

122
128 I am also indebted both to the Ford Foundation, which sponsored my initial fieldwork in Morocco (1952-1955) and to the American Museum of Natural History, which sponsored my second (1959-1961) and third (1961-

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

INTRODUCTION 1:

EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA AND THE SPANISH PROTECTORATE OF MOROCCO

114 Emilio Blanco Izaga (1892-1949), whose work, both unpublished and published, on the social structures and political systems of the Berber-speaking tribes in the Rif Mountains of Northern Morocco we have tried, in the pages that follow, to render into reasonably acceptable English prose, was a colonel in the Spanish Army who, before his untimely death, had nearly twenty years' administrative experience amongst the people whereof he wrote.

A preliminary assessment, by the present author, of Emilio Blanco and of his published work, has already appeared elsewhere[1]; but although much of the material presented in it need not be restated here, in the light of further and later knowledge on my own part, some recapitulation, especially that dealing with Blanco's biography, is certainly necessary.

101 175 Blanco had much of extreme interest to say about the social structure and indeed about the everyday life of the Rifian tribesmen of what was then the Spanish, and now the North, Zone of Morocco, and especially about these same features, with particular attention to sociopolitical institutions, among the Aith Waryaghar: the key tribe, and the largest one, of the Central Rif, the tribe which always "commanded" in the region, the tribe which smashed the Pretender Bu Hmara

[113] 1--David Montgomery Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquies, VI, 2, Tetuan 1958, pp. 171-237.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

121
114

"Emilio Blanco is not listed in the Spanish Dictionary of National Biography, and before I went on my first field trip into the Rif Mountains of what, until 1956, was the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, I had never heard of him. After my arrival in the then protectoral capital of Tetuan in February 1953, I stumbled across two of his works in the library of the Delegation of Native Affairs. I picked them up casually, and then began to read them with an avid and ever-increasing interest. Three months later, when I actually began my own researches in the Rif, I came to hear his name so often, from the lips of Spanish army officers and Rifians alike, and always coupled with the highest praise, that I began to wonder if an assessment of his contributions to the field of Berberology (i.e., Berber sociology) might not be worthwhile. After reading more of his writings, both published and unpublished, and finding out more about his policy as a tribal administrator, I became convinced that it was worthwhile, if only to rescue his name from the ethnographic oblivion into which it had fallen, and to give credit where credit was due."

121 I wrote these words in 1958, and since then I have not altered my opinion. After the publication of this preliminary article, however, I had entertained the idea of preparing for publication, with the kind permission of Col. Blanco's widow and family, all his unpublished manuscripts and notes having to do with Berbers, the Rif and Morocco generally; but during the month of March 1960 which I spent in Madrid going over his material, I became convinced that because of the fragmentary and disparate nature of much of this, it would be far [127] too unwieldy a project to undertake. I therefore decided at this time to concentrate only on those data which had, in the language of social anthropology, "structural relevance"; and a continual shifting of Blanco's data since then - plus a second month of further archival research in Madrid, at the Africa Section (the Garcia Figueras collection, inaugurated late in 1966) at the National Library there, in April 1970 - has fully confirmed me in this decision, particularly

121 as I have had to drop the revision of my original Blanco manuscript in order to prepare my own studies on the Aith Waryaghar[3] (or, in Arabic, Bni Waryaghal, and in bad Hispanicized and bad Gallicized transliterations, "Beni Urriaguel" and "Beni Ouriarhel") for publication, as well as because of further fieldwork elsewhere in Morocco and be-
121 cause of teaching and other duties. Hence a ten-year gap. In any
128 event, Blanco's copious unpublished papers on Rifian architecture and
• 114 house styles[4], for example, good as they may be, have no place in a work of this kind; and the same holds true for his work on grave decorations[5] and for his excellent treatise on dance forms in the Rif[6]. His undeniable qualifications as an artist, whether in sketch or watercolor form, I am simply not competent to discuss, although his ideas about Spanish Colonial policy in Morocco[7] will receive some attention in Section II.

---

113 3--The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, and The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: A History, to be published simultaneously under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.

4--Emilio Blanco Izaga, La Vivienda Rifeña, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930, passim.

5--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Noticia sobre Arte Funerario Norteafricano", Africa, No. 52, Madrid, April 1946, pp. 19-21.

6--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas", Africa, Vol. V, No. 55, pp. 315-316; Nos. 56-57, pp. 414-419; and Nos. 59-60, pp. 547-551, Madrid 1946. The content of this important paper is discussed in detail in my preliminary study: cf. Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 220-237. Two of the drawings originally published in it are reproduced in the present monograph.

7--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Política Africana", Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos (pub. by Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Madrid), I, 1946, pp. 43-56.

114 As noted in my preliminary study (1958), the only article which has ever been published about Blanco is one by Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa[8]. It is devoted largely to Blanco's achievements during the late 1930s, when he was the regional administrator of the Territory of the Rif, both as an architect of administrative policy and as an architect per se, as well as touching briefly upon his artistic abilities. Of basic biographical information, as well as providing any assessment of Blanco as a military ethnologist and as a student of
121 Berber social life, however, it says nothing at all. My 1958 article and this present introduction will attempt to fill in these lacunae; and we begin with Section I, Blanco's biography.

Section I: Biographical Data[9]

114 Emilio Blanco Izaga was born on March 15, 1892, in Orduña, in the north Spanish province of Vizcaya, just west of the Basque country, and about 45 km. south of Bilbao. On August 30, 1910, he entered the Spanish Military Academy in Toledo where, on June 24, 1913, he was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry, joining the 30th Regiment for garrison duty in Burgos. The following year he was sent to Morocco for the first time with the 6th Battalion of Figueras for duty in Larache, and the next two years saw him taking part in military

---

(113) 8--Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa, "Una Teoría de Arquitectura Politica y un Interventor Excepcional: El Coronel Don Emilio Blanco Izaga", in Selección de Conferencias Pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el Curso 1950-1951, Tetuan: Delegacion de Asuntos Indigenas, 1951, pp. 129-150.

9--This section is taken in extenso from Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 174-180. I am particularly indebted to Col. Blanco's son, Dr. Don Agustín Blanco Moro, of Madrid, and to Sr. Don Tomás García Figueras, of Jérez de la Frontera, who succeeded Blanco as Delegate of Native Affairs in Tetuan, for supplying me with the essential facts of Blanco's life.

114 operations against Raisuni in that sector (1914-1916). During this time, on June 24, 1915, he was promoted to first lieutenant.

Back in Spain in 1916, he became an Assistant Professor in the Military Academy in Toledo from which he was graduated three years before, and here, on March 6, 1919, he received his captaincy. He was then for a short time in charge of army recruits' pay in Plasencia, but was soon transferred to the 76th Infantry Regiment and sent to the Central Gymnasium (Escuela Central de Gimnasia) in Toledo, once again, where he remained until March 1927.

On September 28, 1919, he married Agustina Moro Pérez; there were six daughters and one son by this marriage, and as of 1960 Sra. Moro de Blanco was still living in Madrid.

It is of considerable interest to note that during the whole period of 'Abd al-Krim and the Rifian War (1921-1926), Blanco was not sent to the Moroccan front, and that his career as an interventor did not begin until April 10, 1927: Dr. Agustin Blanco informed me that his father was called into tribal administration (Intervenciones) solely on the basis of an unpublished report entitled Colonias Indigenas de Montaña, based presumably on his earlier experiences in Larache. He was first sent, as a captain in the Servicio de Intervenciones, to Punta Pescadores (later called Puerto Capaz, and, since Independence, Jibha) in the tribal area of the Ghmara bloc; from this base, he had to administer the tribes of the Mtiwa, Mistasa, Bni Smih, Bni Grir, Bni Rzin and Bni Khalid, all, save the first two, of the Ghmara group. He then took over the administration of the tribes of the Aith (Bni)

114 Siddat (from the office at Imasinen), Aith (Bni) Hmid, Bni Bu Shibt and Taghzur (from the offices at Adukan and Sha'ib), and Ktama (from the office at Badis), all belonging to a somewhat more eastern cluster of tribes known as the Sinhaja Srir. Until July 10, 1927, when Spain had officially accomplished the total pacification of Northern Morocco, his job was the disarmament of practically all the members of the Ghmara and Sinhaja Srir tribal blocs, and to this end, in a region of considerable snowfall in winter, he created a Moroccan military unit of native ski troops, which he commanded until the end of 1929.

On January 1, 1930, Capt. Blanco, for the first time, moved east into the Rif proper by being appointed interventor of the tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth (Ar. Bni 'Ammart), succeeding Capt. (by 1958, Col., ret.) Andrés Sanchez Pérez, himself an authority on Rifian history; he was there almost two and a half years, and on May 12, 1932, was transferred to the office at Izimmuren in the tribal territory of the Ibuqquyen (Ar. Buqquya or Baqqiwa). On July 27, 1934, while still a captain, he became the Interventor Comarcal (or regional interventor, generally a job for a major), at Ajdir, of the largest tribe in the Rif and in Northern Morocco, the Aith Waryaghar. On the site, at Ajdir, of 'Abd al-Krim's former headquarters, Blanco designed and built the new intervencion office, of an architectural style strongly reminiscent of the Berbers in Southern Morocco, along the south slopes of the Atlas. On December 30, 1935, he was promoted to a majority, and less than a year later, on October 2, 1936, he became the Interventor Territorial del Rif (the territorial interventor of the Rif, generally a job held by a lieutenant-colonel).

114 It seems that from almost the beginning of his Moroccan experience it was the Rifian region which made the deepest impression on Blanco. Of the five regions into which the Spanish Moroccan Protectorate was divided, the Rif was always Blanco's first choice. He fell in love with its barren peaks and its austere and vendetta-minded inhabitants at once, and for over fifteen years he devoted almost all his time away from administrative duties to as systematic a collection of ethnographic data as he was capable. Although he found it politically expedient to use a native interpreter, the value of his investigations was materially augmented by the fact that he spoke Rifian fairly fluently, though not always correctly, and with a marked Spanish accent. When one considers that Rifian is generally recognized to be [197] the most difficult to learn (probably because it is the least pure) of the three major Berber languages spoken in Morocco, and particularly in view of the fact that the number of Spaniards who speak it is very small indeed, this is no mean achievement.

In 1930, after becoming interventor of the Aith 'Ammarth, Blanco published his first book. This, a pamphlet entitled La Vivienda Rifeña, is an informal treatise on Rifian house types, profusely illustrated with pen and ink sketches by its author, who not only showed himself a keen observer of Rifian housebuilding techniques, but an artist of no mean talents as well. He had a fine eye for artistic detail, and his sketches pulsate with life.

During his tenure as interventor comarcal at Ajdir, Blanco signed and sent in, on August 27, 1935, a report to the regional administration

114 of the Rif in Villa Sanjurjo (today Alhucemas or El Hoceima: properly, al-Ḥusaima) on the traditional segmentary tribe-clan-subclan-local community-lineage organization of the Aith Waryaghar entitled Las Yemáas Tradicionales de Los Ait Uariaguel - the traditional local communities, or jma'ath (sing. jma'th) of the tribe in question. In this report, and in conformity with his well-chosen illustrative examples of the complex segmentation of the tribe, he recommended that the Aith Waryaghar be divided, for the purpose of a more effective administration, into three qaidates, in accordance with the natural geographical divisions of the Ghis-Nkur watershed. The report in question is translated in extenso in Book I of the text of this volume: Blanco's recommendation was implemented by the authorities in Villa Sanjurjo, and his administrative brainchild persisted until the end of the protectorate. It is, furthermore, more than probable that his promotion to the rank of major at the end of 1935 was a direct result of the way in which he had convincingly solved this knotty administrative problem.

[128]

In connection with this same report, Blanco drew up a series of five excellent tribal maps of the Aith Waryaghar, showing, first, the traditional territorial-segmentary organization, then two maps showing the changes - all with a view toward greater centralization - made successively by 'Abd al-Krim during his tenure, and, finally, two more showing those imposed by the Spanish Protectorate. All are reproduced, with my corrections where needed, both in this volume and in my own Aith Waryaghar Ethnography and History studies. No student of the

[126]

128

127 No student of the subject could possibly fail to recognize the tremendous value of maps such as these, which the then administration kindly lent me as an aid in my own work.

● 114 Civil war had now already broken out in Spain, and Emilio Blanco, like most of his fellow members of the corps of tribal interventores, was solidly pro-Nationalist. In July 1936, General Franco, after a historic meeting at the Yellow Plain of Ktama, won all the tribal elements of Spanish Morocco to his cause (not the least of which were the Aith Waryaghar who had fought so hard, with 'Abd al-Krim, against Spain only ten years earlier), was ready to march into his homeland as the Commander of the Spanish Nationalist Forces, now augmented with a large Moroccan contingent, one which, indeed, amounted to nearly half of the total Nationalist troops. Hence the then regional interventor of the Rif, Juan Bautista Sanchez Gonzalez, left Villa Sanjurjo to join Franco. Sanchez Gonzalez was succeeded by Major Blanco, and it was largely through Blanco's efforts and experience that the Rifians never once wavered in their allegiance to Franco during the next three years while Spain was wracked with strife. We refer anyone interested 114 65 in Blanco's attempts to improve the lot of the Rifians economically, through public works and irrigation projects, and in his architectural projects (schools, mkhazni posts, market tribunals for qaids and qadis, and intervención offices - notably that of the "castle" at l-Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday Market of the Aith Turirth, on which depended the southeastern Aith Waryaghar highlanders) to Sierra Ochoa's article, cited above.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

114 While Blanco was the regional interventor of the Rif, he published, in 1939 and at the close of the Spanish Civil War, his second, and, in my opinion, his best book, La Ley Rifeña, vol. II - Part 2: Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados (Rifian Law, vol. II - Part 2: The Rifian Qanuns, With Commentary). This second part of a projected two-volume study of Rifian customary law was in turn to have formed one of a series of monographs on Rifian society and culture. (Several of the other such monographs exist in typescript or handwritten form amongst the Blanco family papers, and concern Rifian architecture.) It is the translation of the published second half of the Rifian customary law materials which in itself constitutes the second half of the present monograph. The first half is made up of what was to be the nucleus of the first volume on Rifian law, much of which is embodied in a long paper entitled Derecho Consuetudinario de los Ait Uariaguel (Customary Law of the Aith Waryaghar), read in December 1935 at an interventors' course in Tetuan. It is to be greatly regretted that Blanco never published this paper, the nucleus of the first half of his treatise on Rifian jural procedure, which appears here for the first time; but it also indicates something of the man's extraordinary modesty, which made him feel that he really did not know enough about the subject to commit it to print. That this belief was totally erroneous is amply proven by Volume II, which consists of photostatic copies of a number of Rifian qanuns or Customary Law documents drawn up in Arabic, translations of these into Spanish, plus a general introduction and detailed comments by Blanco on the

● 114 substance of each qanun. It is the concise, meticulous and exact nature of these comments which betray Blanco's mastery of the intricacies of Rifian Customary Law. And a second, undated report on Noticia sobre la Yemáa Rifeña (Notes on the Rifian jma'th, the local community), which stems from the same period, and which I discovered in the African Section of the National Library in Madrid, adds further touches of value to Las Yemáas Tradicionales de los Ait Uariaguel and to La Ley Rifeña: for indeed the published book and these various unpublished papers form an organic whole.

In 1940, Blanco wrote another long memorandum (again in the African Section of the Madrid National Library) on the tribe of the Igzinnayen, a nuclear Rifian tribe (bordering the Aith Waryaghar and the Aith 'Ammarth on the south), but at the time under French administrative control across the zonal border. By virtue of the original treaty of the protectorate, Spain should have had control of this tribe rather than France, Blanco cogently argues (in the colonialistic idiom of the time), because its mountains, higher than those of the Aith Waryaghar and the Aith 'Ammarth, dominate both of them militarily. [175] What had happened was that France had moved up from the south to occupy the Igzinnayen in 1926, effectively, as a result of the war against 'Abd al-Krim and the pincer movement waged against him by both the European powers concerned; and that this fact was resented by Spain emerges clearly in Blanco's report. However, this same report, entitled La Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia, although not the result of on-the-spot investigation, is based both on unpublished French documents and on

114 data supplied by informants of that tribe and of the Aith Waryaghar clans just bordering it. Much of the report is concerned with military and administrative information; but the ethnographic and historical data, all to be found in translation in Book I of the text, are clearly put and, for the most part, extremely accurate.

This report was dated April 1940. On June 28 of the same year, Blanco was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. It was about this time that he began one of his major architectural projects in the Rif, the building of the "castle" at Suq l-Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday Market of the Aith Turirth (Zoco de Arbaa de Taurirt, in Spanish), which was to become the headquarters for the local interventor of the Nkur qaid-ate of the highland Aith Waryaghar. This castle, in my opinion, was a magnificent piece of quixotry: architecturally in perfect harmony with the mountainous landscape, it was nonetheless quite out of place culturally: for it was modeled on the style of the Berber igharm or qsar of the High Atlas, with some three stories, and was constructed with the idea of providing the Rifians with a sample of what other Berbers in the South of Morocco had accomplished architecturally. The real idea behind this, of course, was to provide the Aith Waryaghar highlanders with a sense of "cultural continuity" with southern Moroccan Berbers; and this they simply did not and do not have. The castle itself, now a crumbling ruin and no longer used since the mid-1960s, sits on a mountain dominating the entire countryside, overlooking the Nkur River and the marches of another tribe to the east, the Axt (Bni) Tuzin. It is a rather magnificent folly,

114 and a real "castle in Spain" - in this case, transplanted to the Rif. It is also a prize example of Emilio Blanco's ultra-Spanish quixotry.

It seems, however, that in the construction of this edifice, Blanco went over the heads of some of his superior officers. The then High Commissioner of the Spanish Zone, Gen. Luis Orgaz Yoldi, viewed the building of the castle with disfavor, and on February 10, 1942, Blanco was sent off to Spanish Guinea as Secretary-General of that colony, mainly so that he could both be promoted and kept away from Morocco at the same time. However, due both to the fact that the steamy climate of West Africa was injurious to Blanco's health (he suddenly contracted a violent ulcer which up to that time had been quiescent) and that Gen. Orgaz seems to have had a change of heart in the matter, Blanco was recalled to Morocco before the end of the year. Perhaps as appeasement, Orgaz instituted the "Législation Blanco", as it was evidently known to the French, upon which Blanco had worked so ceaselessly during his tenure in the Rif: the establishment of constitutionally recognized jma'ath (jama'a-s) or local community councils (Sp. consejos de yemáa), in accordance with the traditional Berber governmental system of superimposed representation at all major political levels.

On November 5, 1942, Blanco was appointed Sub-Delegate of Native Affairs and Sub-Inspector of Khalifian Forces in Tetuan, and on August 8, 1944, he was promoted again to Delegate of Native Affairs. I have often heard it said that during his tenure, any Rifian was welcome in his office at any hour of the day or night. Favoritism, perhaps; but no apology is offered for it here, for my own interest in

114 Rifians led to my interest in Blanco.

On August 23, 1945, Blanco left Morocco, never to return. He was sent to the office of the Army Chief of Staff in Madrid, which was to be his final post.

The following year, 1946, his last three published articles saw the light, two in the Madrid monthly journal Africa and the third in the Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos organ of the Institute of Political Studies, again in Madrid. The first two were ethnological in character, as befitting the journal in which they appeared, and the third was political, again befitting the second journal. Of the first two, one was a short and well-illustrated essay entitled Notas sobre Arte Funerario Norteafricano, a study in comparative ethnology. In this, Blanco compares Rifian gravestone decorations with those of two Jewish cemeteries in Shawen and Tetuan, which, as Delegate of Native Affairs, he had an opportunity to visit. The second is a much longer essay, which appeared in three instalments, called Las Danzas Rifeñas. This treatise is a definitive work on Berber dance forms in Northern Morocco, and in it Blanco reaches his artistic peak as a master of the pen-and-ink sketch. The content of the third essay, which deals (128) in a fundamental way with the whole position of Spanish colonialist aims in Morocco, will be discussed in its proper place in the next section of this introduction.

On March 23, 1948, Blanco received his final promotion, to full colonel, but the stomach trouble he had contracted in Spanish Guinea was to prove too much for him. He died on April 29, 1949, in the Military Hospital in Madrid, at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven.

000 the French Bureaux Arabes of Algeria, which, on the Spanish side, were certainly the direct inspiration on the Intervenciones. Contemporary Spanish sources, notably Capt. Candido Lobera, an influential architect of early Spanish policy in the Rif, as well as (from 1902) the editor of the Melilla newspaper El Telegrama del Rif, are quite explicit on this point - one on which later Spanish sources tend to hedge[13], possibly because of misgivings (in our opinion, totally unwarranted) regarding the French origin of the concept.

In the initial period after pacification, the Spanish authorities tended to divide up the administrative territories of their zone along ethnic lines entirely, but by the 1930s they had decided that such a division produced blocs of territory which were too unequal in size. Hence a compromise was reached, and one which, furthermore, did no violence to pre-existing tribal structures or territories. What it amounted to was, in effect, the division of the zone into five territorios or "territories" of more or less equal size, each with its regional or territorial capital and each with its regional or territorial interventor, the Interventor Territorial. Reading from west to east, these territories were: 1) Jbala, with its regional capital (apart from the zonal capital), in Tetuan, and consisting of 11 tribes

---

[113] [114] 13--Capt. Cándido Lobera Girela, Memoria sobre la Organización y Funcionamiento de las Oficinas de Asuntos Arabes de Argelia: Proyecto de Bases para la Creación de Organismos Analogos en las Plazas en el Norte de Africa, Melilla: Tipografia "El Telegrama del Rif", Sept. 1905, pp. 31-42. The title of this work alone is a give-away. Hence the asseveration of José María Cordero Torres (Organización del Protectorado Español en Marruecos, 2 vols., Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1942-1943, vol. II, p. 6) to the effect that the intervenciones were derived from the earlier Spanish encomienda system in Latin America may be regarded as completely erroneous.

175
161
114

(Sanchez Perez mentions the population density of the Aith Waryaghar, in the mid-1940s, as being 65 individuals per sq. km., a figure which would be outrageously high for much of the Atlas Mountains today, but which by the time of the 1960 census had in Waryagharland - or at least in the Plain of al-Husaima - doubled, virtually, to 120...[16])

000 Such facts indeed reflect the density of the local tribal population in the North Zone, but they also reflect the density of the local administration - and nothing has been said about urban administration, at that. The total population of the North Zone, in the 1950s, was just under a million; and even so, the thickness at ground level of administrative personnel would argue for a very direct form of administration. In actual fact, this was not quite so.

Each of the five territories of the zone had its Interventor Territorial, usually a lieutenant-colonel who reported directly to the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas in Tetuan. Below him, in the administrative hierarchy, were several Interventores Comarcales, usually majors, and then Interventores de Primera Clase, usually captains, who were often seconded by lieutenant Interventores de Segunda who were the neophytes of the service, young men sent out to learn.

The real point about the intervencion system in the tribal areas, however, is that the Spanish interventor de primera, usually a captain, and the qaid or chief of the tribe which he administered were opposite numbers, each in his own separate hierarchy. For the interventor de

---

[113] 16--Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Históricos sobre Ciudades Rifeños", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados Durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-1952, Tetuan: Alta Comisaria de Espana en Marruecos, 1952, pp. 29-47 (my ref. to p. 31).

●114 It is now appropriate to introduce Emilio Blanco Izaga into this same intervención system, of which he made so much and for which, in the Rif, he did so much. His effectiveness was achieved largely in the decade of 1930-1940, during a period of extreme strife in Spain itself. One cannot, of course, have everything; but in one sense it is perhaps unfortunate that Blanco was unable to participate actively in Spain's war against 'Abd al-Krim: for it is possible that some of his ideas about the resuscitation of Berber Customary Law (ca'ida or 'urf) in the Rif might have become considerably modified had he done so. He did not realize that by the time he himself had arrived on the scene, Customary Law was already a dead letter, and that 'Abd al-Krim, at the zenith of his power in 1923-1925 and in his role of religious reformer (for he was a former qadi who had been strongly influenced by the Salafiya Movement), had been responsible for its demise[17].

Thus, in 1930, Emilio Blanco, quite unwittingly, seems to have begun his career as an interventor with a possible strike against him. For 1930 was the year of the famous - or notorious - "Berber Dahir" in the French Zone; and although the official Spanish attitude toward it, and toward the formal support to be given to Customary Law - as opposed to Orthodox Maliki Muslim Law (with which it was in fact in agreement on most, though not all, major issues) - in the large Berber-speaking areas of the French protectorate, was one of outright

---

[113] 17--Cf. Pessah Shinar, "'Abd al-Qadir and 'Abd al-Krim: Religious Influences on their Thought and Action", Asian and African Studies: Annual of the Israeli Oriental Society, I, 1965, pp. 139-174; and cf. also D.M. Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: A History, Chapter III, to be published.

114 disapproval, Blanco was to become a leading spirit of protest, on the Spanish side, in favor of the decree. His attitude about it evidently faithfully echoed that of many of his co-officers in the intervención service. They felt that the Spanish "Africanist League" should have had its way in 1925, while the Rifian War was still on, and seen to the imposition of Berber Customary Law throughout the Rif, from the Wuringa River on the west to the Nkur River and the Thimsaman to the east[18]. None of these people, Blanco included, had reckoned with the now departed 'Abd al-Krim, exiled by the French on Reunion Island (so that the Spaniards would not execute him), as the agent of social change that he was[19]. The plain fact was 'Abd al-Krim had effected so many changes in the Rifian politico-jural system that, once the war was over and disarmament of the tribes had been completed, the Spanish administration really had no option but to continue where he left off. It also would seem more than probable that the expenditure and outlay (to say nothing of the paperwork) involved in such a regional re-structuring of the judiciary, or of one segment of it, would have been more than the protectorate budget could stand, particularly after a long and costly war.

Yet the evidence is clear that up, at least, until April 1939 Blanco kept forwarding indignant memoranda to the High Commissioner in Tetuan urging the adoption of a Customary Law system for the Rifians, along the lines of that already created by the French for the Berber

---

(113) 18--Cf. Cesareo Rodriguez Aguilera, Manual de Derecho de Marruecos, Barcelona: Bosch, 1952, p. 109.
19--Cf. D.M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, II, 1, Tetuan 1954, pp. 51-86.

114 tribes in their zone. He also tried his best to "unify" Moroccan Berber culture in other ways, e.g., by providing the Rifians in Waryagharland, at least, with Southern Moroccan qsur styles of architecture with which they were totally unfamiliar. The Qasba (to grace it with the Arabic name, rather than with the Spanish alcazaba) at Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday Market of the Aith Turirth, is a magnificent construction, and blends most harmoniously with the landscape; but today it is a crumbling ruin, because it is no longer useful, for tastes and ideas have changed. In this sense, Blanco's ideas were much like those of Marshal Lyautey: to preserve Traditional Morocco in a vase clos. As Lyautey was enchanted with the city of Fez, so was Blanco enchanted with the Rif. But neither of them was able to put his finger in the dyke of social change. In very much the French manner, Blanco kept stressing the politico-jural "differences" between Rifian Berbers and Arabs in the Spanish Zone. This is, of course, one crucial point where his sociological analyses go astray; and a wise protectorate administration evidently recognized the fact by ignoring his repeated requests for the implantation of Customary Law.

It is also possible (as was suggested to me by Blanco's widow) that Blanco's frequent head-on collisions with the administrative higher-ups over matters of this sort led to the eventual blockage of much of the material which he had prepared for publication. The second part of La Ley Rifeña was published, but the first part was never even finished - and its excellent fragments appear here, in translation, for the first time. It seems, indeed, that Blanco had real difficulties with the bureaucracy, and that, in particular, the late Sr. Don José

● 114 Diaz de Villegas, the former Director of Morocco and Spanish Colonies (Director de Marruecos y Colonias) in Madrid, successfully blocked the bulk of his most important manuscript material on the Rif for publication.

What is really needed, of course, in order that scholarly research in any discipline may be able to get to the roots of the intervención system is not so much the formal "chain-of-command" tables, and the accompanying rules and regulations, which abound in the literature, but a perusal of the day-to-day, week-to-week, month-to-month and year-to-year correspondence between Tetuan and the five territories of the Spanish Zone. Only in this way will the real meat of the system be revealed. As yet, this type of correspondence is not available in the otherwise admirable personal archives of Sr. Don Tomás García Figueras, which may be consulted in the Africa Section of the National Library in Madrid. Perhaps some day some of this documentation may eventually be forthcoming: for many of Blanco's reports show his preoccupations about the building of a mosque at Point X, the construction of a spring or well at Point Y, and the cementing of an irrigation ditch at Point Z, to say nothing of the interminable court cases which came up every week, on market day, in the tribunals both of the tribal qaid and the tribal qadi. These were, and still are, day-to-day problems on which both a running commentary and some attempt at analysis would be helpful; and distressingly little is made of them in the literature.

Blanco may have been unrealistic about Customary Law, but he can hardly be said to have been so about Rifian sociopolitical units, as

• 114 his Traditional Jma'ath paper of 1935, his Note on the Rifian Jma'th paper of about 1938 and his published La Ley Rifeña of 1939, amongst other documents authored by him which are translated in this volume, abundantly point out. His point on clan (or "fractional") autonomy, within a tribal context, was delivered so convincingly in his 1939 La Ley Rifeña that the administration really began to take notice of the Interventor Territorial del Rif. It has to do, in such a neat way, with the relative autonomy, from each other, of top-level segments, or clans, in a tribe, that we leave the argument behind it for the appropriate parts of the text, to speak for themselves. For, unlike much of the French literature, one leaves the reading of Blanco's materials with the distinct impression that he really understood something about some of the theory behind segmentary societies, amongst which the Rifian tribes could all traditionally be numbered. His theoretical conclusions of 1939 led to the "rural junta" reforms of 1942, inaugurated under the High Commissionership of Gen. Luis Orgaz Yoldi very shortly before Blanco himself began to take a more high-level policy participation in them as Delegate of Native Affairs. Blanco did not live to see the creation of the clan or "fractional" juntas, or juntas de farqa, in 1952, in which each tribal clan was in effect accorded its own separate budget and its council consisted of an elected member of every local community in it[20]; but he would no doubt have been happy to find that, bit by bit, a few more snippets of civic responsibility were being inculcated in the tribal areas, and that many of the articles in the decree concerned strongly echoed views which he had previously recorded in his own memoranda.

20--Cf. Garcia Figueras, op. cit., 1957, pp. 294-304.

114 The creation of the new clan councils persisted until the end of the Spanish Protectorate in 1956; and in concluding our remarks about the protectorate it seems appropriate to make a brief assessment of the ideology behind it: for this ideology was strongly if not totally endorsed by Blanco himself, in a published article in 1946[21]. His viewpoint, nicely and previously gauged by Robert Montagne (himself a latter-day architect of Berber policy in the French Zone), in an unpublished paper of 1939, after a visit to the Spanish Zone just after the conclusion of the Civil War[22], may hence be taken as thoroughly representative. Montagne refers to the central feature of this ideology as "encirclement", an almost claustrophobic Spanish fear of being hemmed in by both France and England, and the relevant passage in his paper is worth quoting (the translation is my own):[23]

> "Spain felt threatened both by France and England (i.e., at the time of the colonial "grab" in the nineteenth century: translator's comment), and hence to one part of enlightened Spanish public opinion, the mountains of the Rif and the Jbala represented a (polar) frontier with the Pyrenees which gave Spain a kind of strategic protection. But this frontier was badly defended: the profound unity of the Sharifian Empire, cemented by centuries of history, could not help imposing itself upon Moroccans of the Spanish Zone. On the other hand, great breaches are opened in the east by the Mulwiya Plains, the Aith Bu Yihyi gap which threatens Melilla, while in the center are the French observatories in the Igzinnayen, from which (Central Rifian) point the whole Plain of al-Husaima can be held under fire. (Translator's comment:

114
[113]

21--Cf. Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Politica Africana", op. cit., 1946.
22--Robert Montagne, La Política Africana de España (trans.), Servicio de Intervención de la Región de Gomara, Chauen, Oct. 1939, MSS., 57 pp., Catalogue No. Afr. GF Ca. C-14 (in Africa Section, National Library, Madrid).
23--P. 46 of Montagne, ibid., MSS., 1939.

• 114

this last observation is resoundingly echoed by Blanco himself in his comments on strategic factors in his own unpublished Estudio Relativo a la Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia, MSS., April 1940, in which he complains, with some justification, that as a result of the joint Franco-Spanish campaigns in 1925-1926, the French occupied the territory of the Igzinnayen tribe, territory which would originally have fallen to Spain under the initial protectorate agreements; and that the French refused to give it up. It is patently obvious that this Igzinnayen territory dominates the Plain of al-Hussima even more than does the Jbil Hmam of the Aith Waryaghar - for it is higher.)

000

Finally, in the west, the Atlantic plains of l-Qsar and l-'Ara'ish are favorable to the advance of modern armies. Spanish nationalism may be irritated at seeing the preponderance of France in Oran (Algeria), where 250,000 Spanish immigrants, over the course of a century, became transformed into French colons. And Tangier, with its international regime, zealously guarded by France and England, also appeared sometimes as an irredentist zone. So thus the Spanish Rif, shut in behind a double fortress of mountains and fortifications, maintained a precarious state of equilibrium. Part of the tribal contingents would serve to guard the 'threatened' frontiers, and others would come to act as Franco's praetorian guard, to give the military regime of Nationalist Spain a mercenary support of proven fidelity. Hence the nationalism in the cities was thus the only internal threat, and not a great one at that.

"But this project has one weak point: it presupposes the total passivity of the Spanish Zone, proportionately one of the most heavily populated regions of Morocco....."

The above passage of course reflects a thoroughly French point of view, one not calculated to appeal to Spanish Nationalists of the period, with whose administration in their own zone of Morocco Montagne was otherwise in sympathy: for a keynote of his paper is greater inter-zonal cooperation. It is thus of interest to compare Montagne's views with those of Blanco himself, which, as expressed in his 1946 article, are equally throughly Spanish.

[114]

114 Stripped of colonialist rhetoric, it is evident that Blanco's principal concern is with the frontiers of Spain, first of all, and secondly, with Morocco as a natural prolongation of these frontiers. The small northern zone of Morocco which was awarded to Spain through the agreements of 1906 and 1912 was not commensurate, he argues, with the greatness of the Spanish nation and with its role in history; and hence wounded personal and national pride, quite naturally perhaps, comes out as strongly in Blanco's writing on this subject as it does in that of any of the other apologists for Spanish colonialism in Africa. However, Blanco is rather more forceful here than most, and takes the view that Spain's southern frontier should not have been merely relegated to the Rif, but that it should have encompassed the whole of the Atlas chain and the Dra Valley as well, ie., in effect, all of Morocco, to link it up with the Southern Spanish Protectorate and the Spanish Sahara in the south. (His point is, of course, although he never actually says so, total exclusion of the French.) He adduces a notion of complementary frontiers, the Atlas for the Iberians and the Pyrenees for the Berbers. Spain and Morocco, he holds, represent a single cultural unit, a Western Mediterranean one of transition between Northern Europe and Black Africa: of this unit, the upper, northern Iberian half is wealthy and progress-oriented, while the lower, southern Berber half is backward, rude and impoverished. Hence, Spanish security cannot admit any foreign infiltration into this area and Blanco sees no solution other than the careful gaining of the good-will of its inhabitants,

114 not through domination of its soil in the old colonial manner, but because of the fact that the Spanish colonial mission is vital and of the spirit. Spain's historic claims, after seven centuries of Muslim occupation, are to see in Morocco a first line of defence across the straits, and ultimately, the mission of the Spaniard and that of the Berber are one and the same. It is not political, racial or religious in character; it is, rather, to relate between continents. Both peoples, Berbers and Iberians, represent continental appendages in contact (apéndices continentales en contacto), as he argues with a certain nicety (p. 55). In short, they understand each other very well, and to cement such understanding they need the higher interests of mutual security. Beside considerations such as these, factors such as differences in language and religion are of very secondary importance.

000 In our opinion, this represents a more-than-adequate synopsis of the ideology behind the Spanish Protectorate. On the analogy of "flogging a dead horse", there seems now little to be gained either in supporting its (often questionable) premises or in dissecting them. The only real point which need be made, now that the protectorate itself has passed into history, is that, in its critical final stages, at least, there was nowhere the searing hatred by North Zone Moroccans of Spaniards which characterized and typified relations between South Zone Moroccans and the French, in the early 1950s. But then economic development had been almost nil in the Spanish Zone, most Spanish colons were nearly as poor as the Moroccans were, and the gulf between have and have-nots simply did not exist. It may have been, in a sense,

000 a case of the one-eyed leading the blind, but Blanco was certainly correct in describing it as a venture of the spirit rather than as one of development. And in this fact resides the so-called "mystic mission" of the interventor.

Section III: General Critique of Blanco's Work As Here Presented

114 In the opinion of the present writer-editor, the core, and certainly the most interesting aspect, of Emilio Blanco's work, both published and in MSS. form, revolves around Rifian social structure, in the most extensive and all-embracing use of this concept. We use the terms "both published and in MSS. form" advisedly, because the present edited and annotated translation is an amalgamation of the two. As noted above, Blanco in 1939 published a work entitled El Rif (2a. Parte: La Ley Rifeña): II - Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados (The Rif: 2nd Part: Rifian Law: II - The Rifian Qanuns With Commentary), under the auspices of the Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos: Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas: Centro de Estudios Marroquíes (High Commission of Spain in Morocco: Delegation of Native Affairs: Center of Moroccan Studies). As indicated by the title, this slim volume of 151 pages was only the second section of the second part (or possibly only the latter) of what would have been a much longer, general study of Rifian ethnography in an overall sense, if it had ever seen the light of day - or so Sra. Blanco and Spanish officers who knew her husband informed me. The first part, or first volume, consists, in typescript, and, in the main, of five completed chapters of a projected

114 seven-chapter work, which as it stands is entitled Conferencia sobre Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño (Lectures on Rifian Customary Law), and dated December 17-18, 1935, plus numerous isolated fragments of information (some in typescript, most handwritten) which bear on the same subject in one way or another. There are, in addition, four other shorter typescripts, and, of these, the first two I found not amongst the Blanco papers in Madrid, but in the archives of the Bureau of Ajdir, the intervención comarcal site for the Aith Waryaghar, where they were kindly brought to my attention by the then administrator of that tribe, Capt. José Rodriguez Erola, in 1955. The third I found in the Blanco archives in 1960, and the fourth, plus a duplicate of the second, in the Africa Section of the National Library in Madrid in 1970. These papers are: 1) Las Yemáas Tradicionales de los Ait Uariaguel (The Traditional Jma'ath of the Aith Waryaghar), dated Ajdir, August 27, 1935; 2) relevant sections from a longer administrative report entitled Estudio Relativo a la Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia (A Study on the Border Tribe of the Igzinnayen[24]), Anexo al Boletín de Informacion, Num. 4, dated April 30, 1940; 3) an unpublished introduction, in typescript, to the work on the Rifian qanuns (to be referred to henceforth as La Ley Rifeña, or simply as LR) published in 1939, which deals with Blanco's hypotheses regarding the survival of Berber Custom and Common Law in an Islamic country and context;

[101] 24--The Igzinnayen are referred to in this particular context as a "border" tribe because they are the one Central Rifian tribe located in the then (before 1956) French rather than in the then Spanish Zone of Morocco. The memorandum in question bears the catalogue no. U/ñ in the Garcia Figueras collection of the Africa Section in the National Library, Madrid.

114 and 4) Noticia sobre la Yemáa Rifeña (Note on the Rifian Jma'th), which is undated but could have been written any time from about 1936 to 1940, probably closer to the latter date, and which is concerned largely with the perpetuation of the Rifian jma'th as an ongoing social unit in a modern administrative context[25].

There are many other papers in the Blanco collection which have some relevance to Rifian social structure, but most of these are copies of reports written by other tribal administrators which found their way into his possession. The remaining ones, the authorship of which was not indicated, were positively identified for me by Srta. Emilia Blanco Moro as not being the work of her father.

128 As may be deduced from the foregoing, I have, in working up the Blanco materials for publication, had to resort to a "magpie" or "scissors-and-paste" technique, in order to combine and recombine published and unpublished data; and no one is more aware of the [114] shortcomings of such a method than I. But the point at issue here is that the unpublished MSS. materials and the published Ley Rifeña bear a very integral interrelationship to each other, and that each of them can best be understood intercontextually, each in the context of and in terms of the other. This point will become increasingly evident through a perusal of the main body of the work. Another perhaps even more cogent reason for including a translation of LR is that, to my knowledge, there is not a single copy of this work extant anywhere in the United States. It need only be said at this point

25--This paper bears the catalogue no. W1/ñ, in the García Figueras collection of the Africa Section in the National Library, Madrid.

128 that the responsibility both for the translation and for the arrangement of the materials is entirely my own.

114 We come now to the overall content of this work. It will soon become evident to the reader that Col. Blanco labored under a number of anthropological handicaps: 1) he was a soldier, with strictly a military mind; 2) he was evidently not fluent in Arabic, as evinced by the fact that he refers to Juan Gomez Jaen as the real translator into Spanish of the qanuns in his LR; 3) he was probably not fluent in Rifian, as evinced by his transliteration of Rifian terms in the text (many of which I have had to retransliterate); 4) he continually tried to force Rifian categories of thought into European molds; and 5) he made numerous errors of fact, mostly small, but a very few, gigantic.

These may seem unnecessarily harsh judgments to some, and it is certainly not my intention to tread on any toes. But despite Blanco's frequent errors of fact and occasional errors of interpretation, despite his tendency to romanticize the subject, and despite the strong influence exercised upon him by the work of Robert Montagne[26] (with whom, nonetheless, he could frequently disagree, as shown by his "rejoinder" of 1946 to Montagne's 1939 paper on Spanish African policy in the previous section: for Montagne's influence on the sociological thinking of French Protectorate officialdom was enormous), there is one colossal point in Blanco's favor: without any question, and in a very sure way, his work, throughout, creates a thoroughly Rifian mood;

[113] 26--Cf. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Félix Alcan, 1930, and La Vie Sociale et la Vie Politique des Berbères, Paris: Editions du Comite de l'Afrique Française, 1931.

114 and we feel that it merits translation and interpretation if only for this reason. This is so totally aside from the invaluable insights - some of which are occasional flashes of real brilliance - which it gives us into Rifian social structure and customary law, insights which all become evident in the main body of the work.

114 607 171 There is, too, another, wider reason for the translation of Emilio Blanco which is presented here. Berber social structure may be regarded in Morocco as an unfashionable field of study, and this is particularly true of Berber jural procedure, for, since the country became independent in 1956, its whole population, Arabs and Berbers alike, has come under the sway of Islamic Law. The net result of this, we venture to predict, is that the memory of Berber Common Law 114 will die out entirely with the oldest surviving generation. The 607 details of such law are still clearer among the Berbers of the Central Atlas than among Berbers elsewhere in Morocco, because the French administration was rigorous in its underwriting of such law until 1956 - despite storms of Arab protest over the 1930 "Berber Dahir". Present-day Rifians, even the oldest ones, on the other hand, only tend to remember primary jural principles, such as the number of co-jurors required in a case of suspected murder in the days of the 'Ripublik' - a term which Rifians use retrospectively to refer to the long period of violence, bloodfeud and what we have elsewhere labelled "organized acephaly"[27] which preceded the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim, and in no way to be confused with the latter's "Rifian Republic" -

27--Cf. D.M. Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, to be published.

114 671 and, most important of all, what happened if a murder occurred in a market (a place of peaceful commercial exchange, as Blanco points out) on market day (a day of peace, as Blanco again points out). For the 114 443 182 clan market, as Blanco makes very clear, set the tone for the relative autonomy of the clan within the framework of the tribe of which it was part; and this was particularly the case amongst the Aith Waryaghar, a fact which Blanco, once again, did not miss. Hence, in his 114 671 682 fine analysis of the 'Qanun of the 'Fraction' of the Aith 'Adhiya' (in LR, pp. 10, 55), Blanco notes, regarding anyone who should commit a murder in the market, that "...all the above-mentioned communities of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his agnates; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as a fine".

114 671 443 182 In his comments on the qanuns of the clans of the Aith Khattab, Aith 'Abdallah and Aith 'Adhiya (all of the Aith Waryaghar), Blanco clearly brings out the fact of the market as the "preferential institution", both economic and social, and as the "temple of tribal law", where the clan councillors or imgharen convened in regular weekly meetings (called agraw) to settle disputes. Thus the jural aspect of the traditional Rifian market. Market day, in the Rif, absolutely had to be the one day of peace during the week, for if the market was "broken" through fighting and murder, the cry went up: "Now there is no law!" (Ur iddji shi r-haqq!) And this phrase, as Blanco graphically says, was "repeated in the humble dwellings perched on the mountain slopes; and soon the Rifian mountains returned to their harsh, restless and agitated life, as the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance reappeared

114 67 443 182 on the hillsides, bringing the cries of victims and the echo of rifle shots in its train" (LR, p. 19). Blanco's work is shot through with references to the clan (or, as he calls it, fraccion), with its market, as the basic Rifian patria - which of course applies better to large tribes like the Aith Waryaghar than to small ones like the Thafarsith, "Rifian Switzerlands" surrounded by more powerful neighbors.

114 67 [68] By 1960, some of the finer points of the Rifian qanuns or Customary Law documents had been forgotten even by members of the oldest living generation, e.g., such as how much is to be paid if one shoots at a man and misses him, or if one threatens him with a dagger, but does not stab him. 114 127 [67] Blanco, and to a lesser extent Carleton Coon[28], have both set down many of these common-law niceties; and Blanco's work has the additional merit (and we refer here primarily to LR) of being a translation and an analysis of primary documents, some dating as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. These are invaluable source materials for the long and unbroken period of the Rifian 'Ripublik' (as opposed to 'Abd al-Krim's Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya, or "Rifian Republican State", 1921-1926, although he only constituted it "officially" early in 1923), which is today only a memory and, according to some, a skeleton in the Rifian closet. However, old tribesmen and even some younger ones who are less sophisticated - and who therefore generally make better informants - still grudgingly admit to admiring it and to looking upon it with nostalgia.

---

[113] 28--Cf. Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, Vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931. Coon's data on customary law come primarily from the tribe of the Igzinnayen, whereas the bulk of Blanco's come from their northern neighbors, the Aith Waryaghar.

621
671 example, the qanuns of Lower Thamasind, of Imhawren and the Inter-
114 Lineage Pact of Thazurekath (all in LR) clearly show. And that such
621 community and inter-community life can also be constructive, as well
421 as vengeance-oriented and destructive, is amply shown by Blanco's truly excellent analysis of Aith Waryaghar irrigation rights, especially with respect to the "intermittent" and intercalated rights of a particular lineage in the Plain of al-Husaima to the water which three other lineages, all of a different clan from the first, traditionally receive from a given irrigation ditch (LR, pp. 115-116).

114 Very much more could be said about the good points in Blanco's overall analysis and output on Rifian social structure, for they outweigh the bad ones, and by far. He never specifically pointed to segmentation as a crucial structural principle, but one can feel that he sensed it. And although he did not recognize the fact that the principles behind the liff system of alliances often, in the Rif, cross-cut those of segmentation, his understanding of liffs per se was certainly sound enough, and was not unduly influenced by Montagne. He did tend to confuse the concept of diya or bloodwealth with the concept of haqq, the fine paid by a murderer to the councillors if he committed his murder in the market, thereby breaking the peace of the market; but although this distinction is crucial, Blanco's treatment of the whole context of facts nonetheless correctly highlights the Rifian keynote of bloodfeud at home and peace abroad. And this last is perhaps the dominant theme in Rifian society and culture.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

121 In a Morocco which is undergoing rapid sociocultural change, there is still nonetheless a great deal to be learned, we think, at the tribal or "grass-roots" level. Bidonville or "shanty-town" sociology may, along with cité ouvrière sociology as well, be more "topical" or "fashionable" in North African studies at present, but the notion of the tribe, the qabila or taqbilt, with the segmentary depths and patterns of kinship which this embodies, along with other possibly cross-cutting factors, is still very powerful in parts of rural Morocco, even though the present (and largely unsuccessful) Moroccan administrative concept of the "rural communes" has been designed to unseat it. Changes in forms of social structure tend [114] to lag well behind economic changes; and thus Blanco's contributions to the study of the sociopolitical structure of the Rif are far from untimely today, even though they date back to the 1930s. They are herewith presented, and may henceforth speak for themselves. Com- 128 ments in detail, as opposed to the general comments given in this section, may be found in the notes accompanying the translated text.

562 428 [421] [361] Women are always considered as minors[52]. They have no property and do not, in practice, inherit. It would never even occur to a woman to ask for her portion of the inheritance; this is, indeed, very logical in a rural and bellicose society (whose settlement morphology consists of) dispersed dwellings, for otherwise it would 562 have been impossible to defend a woman against bold attacks. She can only take refuge in either her husband's house or that of her agnates. But women wear new clothes, sing, and dance, etc., at weddings, and at least they seem happy; and they are able to plague their husbands in many, many ways.

596 613 4) Jajgu (pl. ijujga--so-called in Aith Waryaghar; jij, pl. ijajjen, "wall-peg",--also, alliteratively, "penis"--in Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; and azwar, pl. isuran, "vein",--also, alliteratively, "penis" in the Eastern Rif):--This is the most difficult social unit to study, because of its intermediacy[53]. It is one of the "family branches"[54] (i.e. a branch of a dharfiqth or patri lineage). I 596 613 really cannot say more than this because informants, also, are unable 114 to explain it properly. In my earliest notes, it appeared to me to be a uterine descent group (SIC!). If a man had agnatic descendants from three wives, he thus produced three "branches" of which he was the "trunk". I now (1935) believe this to be the case, but am not completely sure, for if a man who has only one wife has three sons, these also, as points of descent, form (the bases of) three ijujga. In any case, it is understood that branches or ijujga originate from each type (i.e. point of descent), but I feel that the more important category is that originating from a different mother; and, although

596 613 114 in her role in the family the wife does not count nor is her name perpetuated, there is no doubt that the blood-tie is different, as among our "brothers" and "half-brothers", and I therefore believe this interpretation to be correct.[55]

In any event, the jajgu is an important social grouping, as much in questions of succession, inheritance and collective responsibility as in the division of benefits, fines and communal property. These questions are simple enough for a Rifian in his own mind; and he thinks the question of what jajgu or jma'ath he belongs to such a simple one that he is astonished if the investigator asks him why. To this he does not readily give an explanation; furthermore, even if he (himself) wants to learn, he sees no benefit in teaching (others). He understands his own affairs up to the precise limit which is necessary for him in order to safeguard his own rights and interests. Beyond this point, he is not interested.[56]

596 613 If the jajgu head is incapable of representing his group properly, there is always someone whose courage or polemical attitude may result in his being the spokesman. The headman of the jajgu is [623] called aziddif or aziddjif (pl. iziddifen or iziddjifen,[57] literally "head"), and, with other such headmen, the jma'ath or council[58] of the elementary social unit is formed. These iziddjifen are thus the authentic representatives of the blood or kin groups which in Rifian are called dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin), or "family group" (i.e. lineage).

613 5) Dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin):--...When a Rifian says, "I am of the dharfiqth of so-and-so"[59], he means that so-and-so, in his own memory, is (usually) his most remote genealogical ascendant (on a step-by-step

613 basis). The dharfiqth is the fundamental unit in Rifian social organization, and it is erroneous to circumscribe it by defining it in terms of volume: so and so many houses, hearths or rifles.[60] The 613 623 dharfiqth, a kin group, is independent of the jma'ath, which is the association of dharfiqin or parts of them, and thus the elemental unit of the social (read "political") organization, the most distinctive feature of which, in my opinion, is lack of kinship, a point soon to be proven when we speak of the organization of the grouping called jma'ath.[61]

613 114 According to Robert Montagne in his Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris 1930, p. 239, the Rifian dharfiqth is equivalent to the family (i.e. lineage) group called either ighs or ikhs, or "bone", in the Atlas. It contains a dozen houses, thirty or forty "hearths" (i.e. nubath), and is a group strong enough to defend itself. Its leaders call themselves amghar (pl. imghaien). Montagne says the word is derived etymologically from Arabic rafaqa, "a group or company of people", or that it may be a deformation of Arabic farqa (or fariqa), "division".[62] He thinks it possible to attribute the name "clan" to the unit which the Aith Waryaghar (and other Rifians) call dharfiqth because it is a larger and more durable family group than the ikhs of the Western High Atlas, while at the same time a kind of political unit, for it insures the fact that the blood tie exists between "hearths" of the same Rifian jma'ath.

My own opinion is that Montagne is in error here. Within the (623) dharfiqth, to be sure, there are indeed blood ties, but within the Rifian jma'ath there is no known kinship between its dharfiqin, for

FOOTNOTE: A
A

613
614
619
621
623
594
596
●114

113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right, we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'th (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling islifen), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A, [See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]
A

621 typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the
6446 Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have
182 depreciated and is now dormant.

621 The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign, [114] such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

131 Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order
631 listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of l-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur
614 watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a
631 geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619 144 184 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first, is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
648 [186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
619 648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 619 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

114 619 unfounded argument which is insufficient for making up any definitive listing, for it excludes other criteria. The famous historian from Sevilla (read "Tunis"), Ibn Khaldun, who also never visited Morocco, places them among the descendants of the Sinhajat al-Litham, or "Veiled Sinhaja", who emigrated over all North Africa after having 619 left their original home in southern Algeria. My own humble opinion is that in the Igzinnayen we are confronted with a tribe of purely Berber origin, around which many diversified elements came to establish themselves.

142 159 The Arab, in general, is a man of deliberate movements, thin, long-faced and giving the impression that a certain spiritual elegance emanates from him; the Berber, in general, is much more brusque and abrupt, with a short neck and a round face, and, in speaking, he gesticulates in such a way as to give the impression that he is talking with his eyes rather than with his mouth. Whether Arab, Arabo-619 Berber or pure Berber, the origins of the Igzinnayen are very obscure.[153]

The founders of the tribe originated from the Ulad Akthir (unidentifiable), who, in Tamjund and Buridh (of the Asht 'Asim clan) gave rise to the Asht Bu Zkri (or Izkrithen), Ibaqriyen and Iharrasen; in Azru (of the Asht Yunis), to the Farzugu (unidentifiable), Asht Ishaq and Asht 'Aisa (unidentifiable); in Aqwir (of the Imzdwar), to the Asht Tirmamin and the Asht Tighda 'Ali.

The Jbarna (of the Asht r-Udha clan) have their origin in Imzdurar; they reached their present territory at a time which is impossible to determine. A large number of their families own land

FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the 'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

181 tion of French corvee), which underscores its mandatory character.
104 Wuzi'a, in Arabic, refers to distribution on a prorata basis; but its Rifian derivative, r-uzi'ath, refers only to the dividing up of the meat of a ritually edible and ritually slaughtered animal, which has just died, and those who share in the division are expected to pay the owner of the animal back at a later date. Dhwara, a purely Rifian word which Blanco mistakenly gives as twala, thinking it, no doubt, an Arabic derivative, is synonymous with Arabic nuba and its Rifian derivative nubth, means "turn" in its widest sense: use of irrigation water in turn by each user; taking of barley to the fiqh or schoolmaster in the local mosque by each nuclear family within the scattered hamlet type of community, so much the Rifian norm in settlement morphology, in turn, etc. etc. (cf. Blanco's own very interesting and elucidating remarks on the Rifian conceptualization of turns in the chapter on Family Organization). And liff is a crucially important intra- or inter-tribal pattern of alliances.

181 3--All words which are rendered in quotations are Blanco's, and in
114 no case does he define what he means by them. It should be noted here that Blanco, as well as the great majority of tribal administrators in French Morocco at the time, was heavily influenced by the thinking of the late Robert Montagne, Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930--to such an extent, in fact, that many of the "value judgments" which Blanco makes are indirectly those of Montagne. In all fairness to Blanco, however, it should be noted that he takes sharp exception to certain of Montagne's interpretations of Rifian political sociology; and these exceptions are for the most part fully justified.

648 4--Although the famous "Berber Dahir" of 1930 was enforced, of course,
677 by the French up until the very end of their protectorate in Morocco in 1956, it never even had a chance in the Spanish Zone. This state
668 of affairs was due not to any special decision-making on the part of the Spanish Protectorate administration (for much of the corps of tribal interventores was in favor of the dahir), but to the Rifian reformer 'Abd al-Krim, who had vigorously suppressed what he considered the most objectionable features of Customary Law in the Rif as early as 1921 or 1922. This was one of the ways, indeed, in which he was able to consolidate his position as leader of the Rifian war effort and as "President of the Rifian Republic", whereas, perhaps paradoxically, it is the pre-'Abd al-Krim era of "organized acephaly", of councillors and bloodfeuds, which is known, perhaps in retrospect as the 'Ripublik', and which is referred to elsewhere in Berber Morocco, and as a permanent condition, as siba. By the term "most objectionable features" we mean to say that he effectively stamped out any and all aspects of Rifian customary law (collective or plural oaths, in particular) which could in any outwardly discernible way be construed as being opposed to "bonafide" Muslim law. Thus, in short, what happened was at the end of the Rifian War in 1926, the Spaniards found that because of 'Abd al-Krim, orthodox Maliki law (for of the four Sunni, or "Orthodox", Islamic legal schools, it is the Maliki which predominates in North Africa) was already functioning in the Rif, even it overlay a solidly Berber jural base; and during their protectorate, though with some misgivings, they merely preserved 'Abd al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber-speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

000 almost postulate a sequence more or less as follows: people (and particularly the most important ones, i.e. members of the council) gather in the mosque on Fridays. This, in Durkheimian terms, would make a neat example of the three-way continuum of time, space and society! The fact that the Rifian term for mosque is dhamzidha in no way negates this rather attractive hypothesis (suggested by Ernest Gellner, personal communication, Feb. 4, 1961), for dhamzidha is itself derived from another Arabic word for mosque, masjid.

11--Dhaqbitsh, pl. dhiqbar (from Arabic qabila) is the Rifian term for "tribe", the ceiling unit in the region.

613 621 619 114 614 12--"Fraction": translator's quotation marks. This term, very current in the literature on North African social structure (and deriving from Arabic nuss, "half", tulut, "third", rba', "fourth" and khums, "fifth", each one of which usually refers to the number of clans or top-level segments a given tribe contains), is one which I find both imprecise and misleading. What one should read for "fraction" is either clan or maximal, primary or top-level segment of a tribe. What is totally missing in the term "fraction" is a notion of process.

As Blanco himself thought the term "fraction" absurd (as he indicated in a pencilled comment on a report on village etymologies in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar by another interventor, dated 1939), we shall henceforth take his cue and call it "clan"--even though he continued to employ "fraction" in the bulk of his writing!

13--The concept of the relative autonomy or independence of the tribal clan (Blanco's "fraction") is, as far as we know, an original contribution by Blanco to the overall study of Berber social structure (even though Blanco's thinking may have had its roots, on this score, in Montagne, op. cit., 1930). It is, considering the time and place it appeared, a challenging and cogent theory, and Blanco discusses it at length in the chapter on Social Organization, as well as in La Ley Rifeña, 1939. The fact that the notions of balance and opposition in all segmentary societies have become anthropological commonplaces since Evans-Pritchard's Nuer work does not vitiate Blanco's argument.

000 14--Again, in the choice of words which these notes represent, Blanco gives no definition, and we fear that, although a literal translation renders the reading awkward, a substitution of our own terms might falsify what he had in mind, namely, to attempt to establish criteria for differentiation between social and political units. In our opinion, most of these distinctions exist in the author's mind only, and do not correspond to any sociopolitical realities; for, on upper levels of segmentation at least, social units and political units invariably tend to merge.

15--It is, of course, true that only men make alliances, wage war and engage in politics (councils, etc.), but there seems no need to belabor this rather obvious point. More subtle, however, is the implicit--and possibly unintentional--distinction made between social structure and territorial organization. In the Rif, as elsewhere, the territorial organization reflects a genealogically oriented social system which has been brought down to ground level, so to speak, and

arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes, even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons, never quite complete.

16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem more nearly to fit the context.

17--Imrabdhen, sing. amrabidh (from Arabic murabit) are saints, living or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused with shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed, perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is (or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult to fathom.

19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the blad as-siba, and Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be extended to cover the whole notion of siba. In another publication we have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of this term, which goes back to Montagne, of siba as "anarchy", a notion which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--cf. André Adam, La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect, concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term, but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words, this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind when writing of "organized anarchy".

181
114 However, we would still take a somewhat more charitable viewpoint, and question the somewhat ethnocentric notion that a tribal society is any more "anarchical", even in an "organized" sense, than that of a nation-state. In any event, all this terminology is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930).

000 20--Blanco uses the term ramo ascendiente, which, in the sense that a jajgu is conceived of as a branch (ramo)--the Rifians employ the term azwar, pl. izuran, "vein", in this connection--of a dharfiqth or or lineage group, is very apt. The use of a term such as "ascending", however, depends entirely on which way one looks at Rifian tribal segmentation: from the bottom up (nuclear family to tribe) or from the top down (tribe to family).

We have found, however, that, except in the single instance of the recitation of their own personal antecedents in unilinear progression to the ancestor who forms the "apex" of the lineage, Moroccan tribesmen invariably tend to give the segmentation of their own tribes starting from the top and working downwards. In the Rif, [631] [681] indeed, this approach to the segmentary system is greatly reinforced by the method of dividing up the fines (r-haqq) imposed upon murderers by the members of the tribal council. The division of such fines follows traditional segmentary lines as closely as possible; in such instances where this is not possible (and they are very few, only occurring in cases of territorial discontinuity among the larger lineages), it follows the next best thing, the territorial system, which is in essence nothing but the lineage system spread out spatially on the ground.

21--The term "canton" is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930), and is [634] also employed by Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African [114] Studies, vol. IX, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 91. It [113] is a valid enough designation for the watershed canyon, ravine and gorge-studded districts of the higher mountains in the Rif (Konrad Miche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen", in Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1956-1956, Vienna 1957, pp. 485-527, also employs the term Talschaften for similar districts in the Western Atlas), but loses its force if one attempts to apply it to the Plain of Alhusaima or the open rolling country of the Eastern Rif.

22--Khums (Rifian dhakhammasth) means "fifth", and is used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments, such as the Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen (among whom, in fact, this alignment seems to have little functional significance), Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith Wurishik and Aith Sa'id. Furthermore, when it is said of any tribe that it "has five 'fifths'", this is an implicit admission that the tribe in question is a strong one. For a structural-functional analysis of the "fifth" among the Aith Waryaghar and elsewhere, see David M. Hart, "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65-95.

Far more common in Rifian parlance, however, is ar-rba', pl. [114] rurbu', literally "fourth" or "quarter", which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 91) has equated with "canton", and in doing so, has noted that,

000 [114] paradoxically, a "fifth" is larger than a "fourth"--so he employs "canton" to avoid confusion. He has failed to see that essentially, the two terms are interchangeable (a fact which once again underlines the fluidity of Berber and Arabic social unit terminology) and that ar-rba', which is almost always used to denote maximal segments in tribes possessing less than five of these, is also employed, more often than is khums, to designate the five maximal segments of tribes which do have "fifths".

[343] [114] [113] 23--There are no collective storehouses in the Rif proper, as there are all over the Atlas, and here Blanco has committed a major error. However, Montagne has signalled their presence in parts of the Ghmara, to the west of the Rif. See R. Montagne, Un Grenier Collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka, Paris: Larose, 1930.

24--It is somewhat difficult to understand precisely what Blanco means in this connection. However, his MSS. chapters on religion and economics were only evidently projected, and never written.

25--Dhaddarth is properly "house", and dhimssi (lit. "fire") is "hearth", whereas the normal word for nuclear family is nubth, pl. nubath, lit. "turn".

26--In the original, la major fuerza y derecho es el de los mas fuertes. Indeed, Rifians themselves generally conceptualize the cultural goals of their society during the 'Ripublik' in very similar terms.

27--In the original, un contrato de compraventa. Marriage is indeed conceptualized contractually in the Rif, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, but it need hardly be pointed out that compraventa, "buying and selling", is highly misleading.

28--The word "absolute" is, in this connection, of course, extreme; but, considering the position of women in Spain itself at the time, it is interesting that a Spaniard should have employed it.

29--The marriage contract document, or zujiya, is written (both today and as far back into the past as any Rifian's memory goes), in conformity with the Shari'a. It says, in effect, that A, son of B, has married X, daughter of Y, in the presence of C, D, and E, and is signed by a qadi (judge of Shari'a law) and two 'adul (sing. 'adl), [114] or notaries public. Blanco is in error in saying that the zujiya document was unwritten until recent times, because during the "Republik" period, the fqih or schoolmaster of the local mosque--a man who was and is usually only slightly more literate than his constituents--drew it up. It is in any case axiomatic in the Rif [692] that whatever other cases (primarily criminal) that he did not handle, a qadi invariably resolved all matters pertaining to: a) marriage, b) divorce, and c) land. This means, in turn, that in all these cases, the necessary documents were drawn up in Arabic--at least theoretically!

[114] 30--This is not so today, nor, we suspect, was it so in the past. Every Rifian has a number of documents, all carefully guarded in his house; and, in addition, most holy men or shurfa have always had genealogical family trees to prove the "genuineness" of their own pedigree.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] [241] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] [231] [224] [226] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] [294] [286] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

42--Dhwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

000 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own,
[613] but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[191] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence
[113] on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts
[668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that 'Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the
428 return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religi-
• 114 ouse or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a
423 mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of
[794] "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion
[113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

000 50--The fact of whether or not women inherit (informants invariably say that they do, according to the Shari'a, but they tend, by their actions, to prove the contrary) is a crucial question in Berber [114] social organization. This has been nicely perceived by Blanco, whose opinions on the subject will be treated in their proper place.

[114] [669] [86] 51--This prognostication made by Blanco has yet to come true, as the revolt in late 1958 and early 1959 staged by the Aith Waryaghar against the Moroccan government has abundantly proven. Tribal "we-feeling" and "the sociopolitical importance of the group"--at whatever level of segmentation--seems to us to be as strong as ever.

[829] 52--This is a most interesting notion, and one which is never expressed as such by Rifians but implied in most of their actions, behavior and conversation.

[114] 53--Blanco is in effect trying to define each of the Rifian social units in a state of isolation, as it were, from the others, and trying to take them out of context. In so doing, he advocates, in effect, rigid definitions when what is called for is fluid ones. Small wonder, therefore, that he admits his task to be difficult!

54--In the original, ramas familiares--and, as I have stated earlier, what the jajgu is in fact is a lineage branch of the dharfiqth, and can only be adequately discussed in the light of the latter--or, in anthropological terms, in the light of a total system of segmentary lineage organization.

55--Blanco's argument, when boiled down, is as follows: the jajgu or azwar is a social unit which is essentially the result of polygyny, and if a man has descendants reckoned agnatically from three wives, each of these three sets of descendants form the nucleus of a jajgu which takes a uterine descent from the wife in question as its point of departure.

This, of course, is preposterous. Given a perfectly genuine situation, Blanco has drawn conclusions which are entirely erroneous. He would have us believe, in effect, that matrilineal descent may exist, under certain conditions, in a patrilineal society! Hardly. The fact of the matter is that 1) even though ijujga may originate from the descendants of different wives of the same man; and 2) even though one or more of these wives may come from a clan or tribe other than that of her or their husband--in which case the name of the jajgu may reflect her origin or even her name, although even so it is invariably preceded by that of her son; even in instances of this kind, descent is always reckoned through the male line, and the patrilineal principle obtains throughout. Polygyny is in no way a function of uterine descent, even though there may be evidences of matronymy; and the only mitigating factor in Blanco's hypothesis is that from an overall standpoint, he himself still entertains some doubts about its validity.

56--This is a very good and well-taken point indeed, and goes a considerable way toward explaining why, particularly with respect to issues of wider scope than those within, say, the clan, the statements of different informants (often) tend to vary so greatly. We would go even further: we believe that such ambiguity is absolutely inherent

000 in the social organization of the area as a whole.

57--Blanco mistakenly transcribes this as islifen. In Rifian, this has an entirely different meaning, for isrlf (pl. isrifen) is an affinal kinship term signifying "wife's sister's husband". Thus, two men who marry sisters are isrifen to each other.

[196] 58--Jma'ath does not, except in official Spanish parlance, properly
[114] mean council. The term for council is Aitharba'in or Aitarba'in
[113] (sing. utharb'in), literally "people (e.g. representatives) of the people" and not "sons of (or people of) the forty", as numerous other authorities (including Coon, op. cit., p. 96, and José Martos de Castro, "Lo Bereber en Marruecos y Sus Relaciones con lo Ibero", Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos: Labor de España en Africa, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333, have indicated. Lionel Galand, however, favors on linguistic grounds the "people of the forty" etymology for the Berbers of the Sus, however (personal communication).

59--What a Rifian generally says is Nish zi dharwa n fran, "I am from the sons of so and so", mentioning the name of his dharfiqth rather than the word dharfiqth itself, when the question of lineage identity, within the clan, comes up.

60--Definitions of this kind were very much the rule, it might be added, among both the French and Spanish tribal administrators, most of whom were military men.

[114] 61--This is an instance of Blanco's constant inclination to divorce what he considers "social units" from those he considers "political units". The distinction, of course, is very largely an artificial one, for the higher up the purely "social" units go in the scale, the more "political" they tend to become, and vice versa. It is, once again, a classic example of European rigidity in classification (and the ever-present desire to put abstractions such as sociopolitical units into neat pigeonholes) as opposed to the essential fluidity (and consequent tendency to elude neat pigeonholing) which, we feel, is so basic to an understanding of these units, not only as they exist in Rifians' minds but as models structurally conceived by the anthropologist. And this means, above all, that each unit can only be understood in relation to all the others, not only on the same level of segmentation, but on those above and below it as well.

It is quite true that in some individual jma'ath-s, lack of kinship between component dharfiqin is an overriding factor in group composition; but this is by no means the case for all of them, and is really the exception rather than the rule.

62--This latter may be the correct derivation; Rifians who know enough Arabic to be conscious of the metathesis (and they are few) sometimes consciously pronounce the word dhafriqth. But the first possibility seems equally valid, that the word is derived from the root r-f-q, "to accompany" and that it refers hence to "men who march and fight together". Cf. Jacques Dumaine (probably a pseudonym for Robert
[115] Montagne), "Les Eléments du Problème du Rif", Renseignements Coloniaux et Documents Publiés par le Comité Algérie-Tunisie-Maroc, No. 2, bis, 1926, pp. 89-99.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aures Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individiual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the [114] latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

[423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, [614] do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most [829] Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

71--Blanco assigns the jma'th a predominants geographical or territorial role, while the dharfiqth is given a genealogical one. So far, so good; but, at the risk of adding to the confusion, I think that Blanco mistakes jma'th in this context with dshar, "village, hamlet, community", for jma'th invariably embodies the idea of "people". However, it does not embody any notion of genealogical relationships, and thus Blanco's error is minor, and thoroughly understandable.

72--Not, obviously, in a literal sense; but even though Blanco no doubt employed it to bolster his ideas on lineage and segment shifts, the word was badly chosen.

73--Rifles turned in to the Spanish authorities (often with grave reluctance on their owners' part) after pacification of the Rif in 1926 often formed an index, in administrative reports, to a tribe's fighting strength.

74--We know of no mosque in the Rif which only serves a single family, well-to-do or not.

75--Qanun, pl. qawanin, is, in Rifian parlance, a document drawn up in Arabic which records decisions of the village or tribal council on matters of local interest; or, more often, it merely refers to such decisions themselves, without benefit of documentary evidence.

76--By this Blanco means that an offshoot of jma'th A which through the process of lineage scission has moved physically to tribe B will have property in tribe B. This stands to reason; but the only ties which the new jma'th retains with its "brother" in its former home are those of memory and sentiment. For all practical and functional purposes, it is now a naturalized subsegment of another tribe, and it must conform to the custom of that tribe.

77--Blanco's theory of clan autonomy is most interesting and challenging, and is discussed at some length in La Ley Rifeña. It has, however, one grave shortcoming: its omission of the fact that such clan autonomy is always relative to the tribe. Vide our article "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, p.194.

78--Blanco does not say, but it is possible that such sites may be attributed to the "Portuguese", whom Rifians say once occupied the Rif until "our ancestors rose up against them and drove them out, brandishing sickles in their hands".

79--This is an error of fact, at least in part. Today, the Aith 'Ammarth and the Ibuqquyen have only one market apiece, the former on Mondays and the latter, at Ruwadi, on Sundays; and to my knowledge, except for one women's market which is now defunct, Aith 'Ammarth has always had only one market. Blanco's own market listing, furthermore, brings out this fact: I) Aith Waryaghar--Mondays at Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa; Tuesdays at Dharan n-Dhihlaliyin in the clan of Aith 'Abd Allah (this market no longer functions, having been superseded by the Monday market at Aith Hadhifa); Wednesday at Sidi Bu 'Afif in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ali (also no longer functioning and superseded by a newer market on Saturdays at Imzuren which was set up by the Spanish administration) and at Turirth for the three mountain subclans of Aith Turirth, Aith Timarzga and Aith 'Arus; Thursdays at Imrabdhen;

and Sundays at Thisar, in the very center of the tribal territory (now held at Thamasind); II) Ibuqquyen--Tuesdays at Izimmuren (now defunct), Wednesdays at Anu in Azghar (now defunct), and Sundays at Ruwadi; III) Ktama (which now has only two markets, Tuesdays at Ktama and Sundays at Iqqawen)--Argiwen in clan of Bni Tmim in Swahil, Makhzin in Ulad 'Abd l-Ghaya, Imaten in Tamsaut, and Bab s-Saqiya in Amzaz (no days of the week are listed, and whether or not any of these markets are the same as the above two we do not know); IV) Aith 'Amarth--clan of Yinn S'aid Ikhrif--blank; clan of Aith r-Hasayn--Mondays, serving the whole tribe; clan of Ija'unen--blank; clan of Aith 'Abbu-blank.

[114] 80--Aside from the rather far-fetched idea of nomadism, this notion of Blanco's is not unlike one expressed to me by Ernest Gellner (personal communication, Sept. 13, 1960) regarding segment or clan names among various tribes in the Central Atlas: "When a tribe migrates to and/or conquers a new territory, all its forces are required; hence all segments are represented, and hence each segment gets a share in the spoils of the new territory. This means, however, that the old "top segments" now stand for relatively small groups in the new place, and in due course the whole lot of them in the new place come to be known either by the place name and in effect add a new segment, or one of the old top segments comes to cover the lot of them in the new place, so that, locally, the other previous top-level names now move one down relatively to it.....This might be illustrated by Ait 'Atta, Ait Yafalman and Ait Sukhman groups, by comparing inconsistencies in the segmentary naming system from place to place".

[113] 81--Blanco only touches here on the highly interesting and important problem of the respective and complementary roles of genealogy and geography in tribal, clan and segment names in the Rifian area; for a fuller discussion of this subject, see our "Place and Tribal Names among the Arabo-Berbers of Northwestern Morocco: A Preliminary Statistical Analysis", Hesperis, 3e-43 trimestre, 1960, pp. 457-571.

[115] 82--This is an error. Friday is the Muslim day of rest, although not in exactly the same degree that Sunday is among Christians. However, the contrast made by Blanco here is challenging from another point of view: attendance at market on market day seems to be greater, both from an absolute standpoint and from the standpoint of percentage, than attendance at the mosque of the sermon on Fridays.

83--A clan may be either predominantly geographically based, in which case the propinquity of its members overrides what is essentially their non-relationship to each other; or it may be structured in terms of a common patrilineal ancestor, whose name is perpetuated even though the genealogical links which lead to him may be forgotten; or both.

84--Blanco in this sense means qanuns when he refers to customary law. As will be seen in La Ley Rifeña, the fact of whether a single tribe contains a qanun applicable to all of it or whether each clan has in effect its own qanun is largely a function of the size of the tribe in question. Virtually each clan (and in some instances each jma'th of a

huge tribe like the Aith Waryaghar possessed its own qanun, whereas a small tribe like the Aith Siddat in the Sanhaja Srir had only one qanun for the lot of them.

85--The idea which Blanco conveys here, i.e. that the whole Rif is in the last analysis split into two opposed liffs, is completely exaggerated. It is certainly true that each Rifian tribe is split more or less down the middle and contains two hostile factions, which are not always equal in size; but, on the outside, each of these tends to be allied only with that combination of clans in the next tribe which is politically favorable to it. The system thus tends to appear like a series of interlocking concentric circles rather than like a chessboard, as in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, if Montagne, op. cit., 1930, is correct. (More recently, however, some reservations have been recorded by Jacques Berque on the overall validity of Montagne's liff theory: vide J. Berque, Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, pp. 42 sq.) A further difference is the size factor: in the Rif, far larger blocs of man-units are involved in each alliance than in the Western Atlas, though the territory encompassed may in fact be much smaller.

86--This is true among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, who have a very complex system of election of chiefs, but not for those of the Rif, where headmanship and chieftainship have always been a "dog-eat-dog" proposition, and where a councilmember attended council meetings until he was murdered.

87--This kind of legal terminology has always been in vogue in French and Spanish monographs and administrative reports about Berbers. To be sure, it describes the situation with reasonable accuracy, but in our view tends to put it far too neatly into a Western conceptual straitjacket.

88--The fqih has nothing to do with habus property, which was looked after by the mqaddim n-tmzidha or caretaker of the mosque, and ultimately still is, on the local level, although at the provincial level the ndzir l-ahbas or habus administrator, has fulfilled this function since protectorate times.

89--The functions of a talib and those of a fqih are, in the Rif, almost interchangeable; indeed, the plural form of fqih, to most Rifians, is tulba. Technically speaking, a fqih is a teacher in a mosque, while a talib is a sort of post-graduate student, a "seeker after (Koranic) knowledge"; but the experience and abilities of the two are just about the same. Both are called upon to write out charms of all kinds, etc., and both are always addressed by the term Si ("Mr."), followed by their names, e.g. Si Muhammad, Si Mhand, Si 'Ammar, Si Hmid, in recognition of their (relative) literacy in Arabic.

90--To our knowledge, each man who had them kept his own arms and ammunition in his house. A mosque, after all, is a house of peace, not an arsenal!

623 793 411 421 423 91--The comparison which Blanco makes here of the institution of habus to a rich widow is a challenging one; for after land has been donated to a mosque as habus, the question of who works it is resolved by the nadhir l-ahbas, or habus property administrator, of which there is one, at present, in each province of Morocco (with a central Ministry of Habus in Rabat). He goes to the tribal markets periodically and, through the market crier, auctions it off to the highest bidder, who in turn receives all the harvest for his own use. This system is in vogue at present and was also current during Spanish times. During the "Ripublik", however, in the days before there was a nadhir l-ahbas, the members of the jma'th concerned worked habus land, and, after selling the harvest, used the profits to buy mats for the mosque. Sometimes, also, the jma'th would designate a poor man to work habus land for a fixed share of the field (usually one-fifth or one-fourth), though this was not as common as the preceding arrangement.

000 [114] 92--Blanco is mistaken here, as there was, and still is, only one agricultural-irrigational expert, the aquwwam, whose judgment is generally sought in disputes over irrigation water.

[114] 93--Again in this instance one can detect the influence on Blanco of Robert Montagne, who devotes the whole last third of his book (Montagne, op. cit., 1930) to the "rise to personal power" of the three Grand Qa'ids (the Glawi, the Mtuggi and the Guntafi) in the Western Atlas, and cites the rise of 'Abd al-Krim in the Rif as a parallel case. Under the French, the Glawi soon eclipsed his two competitors to become a single "Lord of the Western Atlas", as well as Pasha of Marrakesh; while it was the presence of the Spaniards in the Eastern Rif which produced the Rifian "national" leader, 'Abd al-Krim. Montagne's argument for a kind of unidirectional political evolution, from the nameless members of a village council, in the middle and latter half of the 19th century, through to nationally known tribal or regional leaders' through a continuous scramble-for-power process of "top-dog-ism", is a very persuasive one. Whatever objections one may have to it, it is likely to remain the argument for a long time to come--because today, in the 1960's, the facts of the matter have become almost impossible to (re-)check; and the old men who remember such things are now all dead or dying off.

[613] 94--"Government by the few": possibly, if the lineage or clan headman can be so designated. However, each lineage head was in reality little more than a primus inter pares, and anyone who attained clan-wide recognition was just that much more primus. Once again we are faced with how badly the European shoe fits the Berber foot.

95--The Spanish original is absurdo.

96--The jma'th is not just an economic organism or organization, but a group of people, the majority of whom are genealogically related to each other, living together in a hamlet or village which bears its own name and forms a member group in a segmentally organized system of such jma'th-s, all of which belong to a territorial or segmental unit of a higher order. Relationships between member jma'th-s of the same order of segmentation are at once economic, social, political, legal, and religious.

000
[465] 97--The fqih is paid by each nuclear family of the jma'th in barley every year, but he receives absolutely nothing from property in habus.

[251] 98--The office of amarras is nonexistent in the Central Rif, where storehouses, either individual or collective, are unknown, and each man keeps his grain reserves in an underground deposit (thasrafth) in the patio of his house.

[804] 99--In the days of the Republik, a mudd was reckoned at 48 kilos; in
[114] Spanish times, 50; and since independence, 56. This puts some doubt on the accuracy of Blanco's figures.

[114] 100--Blanco erroneously thought that collective storehouses once existed in the Rif, and he cites Ajdir and an unnamed place in the Sanhajan tribe of the Bni Hmid as examples; and he also thought that the institution should be revived, as a sort of bank or treasury or center of credit.

101--What Blanco no doubt means to say here is that the notables whose names are written down in this qanun are ipso facto no longer anonymous, and that the first step on the rise to personal power is the shedding off of anonymity.

102--In Rifian, imqqranen dh-imzzyanen, and in the Arabic of qanuns, "al-kibar wa al-sighar": the terms refer to all the men and youths
[114] (or boys) of a given locality. Perhaps this is the root of Blanco's
[562] interesting, if in some ways rather questionable, notion of women, who do not have the same status as their menfolk, as minors.

103--The notion of qa'id came in with 'Abd al-Krim, but no Rifian living can remember the day when there was no qadi, even if only matters pertaining to marriage, divorce and land fell under his jurisdiction.

[114] 104--What Blanco probably means to say here is "Arabization" rather
[199] than "Islamization"; there is much more than just a subtle distinction between the two, and even during the period of the "Republik", a Rifian would have been mortally offended if anyone did not consider him a good Muslim.

105--Bu-mwarith: an official who takes over in the name of the government the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs.

106--Ukil l-ghuyab: inheritance or property representative for absentees; the man's function is a literal translation of his title.

107--This traditionally given etymology seems highly doubtful, for the Rif at least, and the term should rather read aitarba'in or aitharba'in (sing. utharba'in), which changes the meaning to the far more plausible one of "people of the people".

[114] 108--This seems to be purely an ex post facto explanation on Blanco's part and has no relation to reality. The notion of Ait-arba'in as people of the forty, in which there literally were 40 councilmembers, d o es e x i s t in some areas (i.e. the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara), but it is unknown in the Rif.

000 109--In the Rif, to our knowledge, there was never a special "market chief", although this office existed in certain parts of the Central Atlas.

[114]

[565] 110--The market crier, like the blacksmith and members of certain other occupational groups, occupied a very low rung on the Rifian social ladder, and can in no way be considered as a "tribal functionary".

[533] [534] 111--The imdhiyazen, or professional singers of couplets at weddings and players of the zammar (an instrument with two mouthpieces and two flaring ends, each of which is adorned with a cow's horn), the flute and the tambourine, who invariably come from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, own no property in their own rights, and double as mule and donkey breeders.

[113] 112--For a detailed account of the dance of the ibarudiyen of the Aith Waryaghar, see Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas, Africa, nos. 55, 46-7, 59-60, Madrid 1946, pp. 315-16, 414-19, and 547-51., as well as our own article, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, pp. 232-37. This dance was stopped [648] by order of 'Abd al-krim during the Rifian War in order to save cartridges, and was afterwards forcibly discontinued because of the post-protectoral prohibition of firearms in the Rif. Our account is only a translation of Blanco's, with comments.

(113--Diagram.)

[114] 114--The social structure of the Aith Waryaghar is indeed complex, and this admission by Blanco is a strange contrast to his earlier diagnosis of it as "rudimentary". Although in all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the other Rifian tribes, it is more intricate because of certain variations between the lineage structure and the territorial system. These variations are expressed in terms of spatial discontinuity between certain subsegments bearing the same names, as hinted at in Section F above; and it is this same discontinuity, virtually non-existent among the other Rifian tribes (and where it does exist, only in embryonic form at the level of the minor and minimal lineages), which is, in fact, one of the central arguments advanced by Blanco in the present section. Our own opinion is that it is intimately linked with the notion of lineage scission.

Among certain transhumants in the Eastern Atlas, notably the Ait 'Atta and Ait Saghrushshan (there are no doubt other well-authenticated examples as well), this kind of discontinuity assumes classic proportions, for it is elevated to the tribal level as well. The fact that it exists among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar, however, leads me to believe that it is not primarily connected with the economic organization under consideration (sedentarism or transhumance), but rather with gradual shifts, over time, of tribal clans.

115--The discontinuity alluded to in note 114 had long been an established fact when 'Abd al-Krim rose to power, and there was no reason for him to attempt to change it through, presumably, any regroupment of jma'ths. Such a change would in any event have been highly artificial, and it seems logical to assume that he was fully aware of this.

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

[646] The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the [648] Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés
562 Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid,
[113] May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes
[191] of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir.
443 Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the
562 Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area,
● 114 they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the
562 men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

443 562 since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

[184] Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'unen), as did the Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have [114] disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. Sánchez Pérez, then, is essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of origin.

000 [103] [133] 117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at 1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. With certain notable [823] exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now [121] in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

000
[114] 118--The jma'th of Isrihan gave its name to a whole subclan. The picture, however, is somewhat more complicated than Blanco would lead us to believe, although he is substantially correct. The founding family of Isrihan was the lineage of Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar, parts of which are not only to be found in Upper Isrihan and in Lower Isrihan, but in Aith Hishim, Aith Wamra, and Azghar, all of which communities are in the lowlands.

The true Isrihan, then, are fairly well spread out over parts of the tribal territory and in some cases they have differentiated themselves by merely tacking the place name of their new location onto their lineage name, e.g. Isrihan n Buham, Isrihan n Aith Qamra. This is of special interest in view of the fact that most of the original land of the Isrihan, on the northern slope of the Jbil Hamam, is now occupied by a lineage named Imjawiyen, who claim descent from the clan of Amjau in the tribe of the Aith Sa'id in the Eastern Rif. This lineage, moreover, became numerous and powerful enough so that its members split into two hostile and feuding factions.

[114] 119--Blanco fails to point out that Upper Thamasind belongs to the subclan of Thigarth in the clan of Aith 'Ari, while Lower Thamasind belongs to that of Aith Ughiryizan in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and this fact detracts much weight from his argument here.

120--This, in effect, is the reverse of the principle of segmental discontinuity; and the most striking example in the Rif, on the tribal level, of this kind of heterogeneity, in which virtually every segment or clan claims an origin different from that of the others, is that of the Aith 'Ammarth, whose people say not only was their land uninhabited before their arrival, but that they came from many different tribes to fill it up. Their explanation of their tribal name, Aith 'Ammarth, "people of the filling-up", supports this. An even better example is afforded by the Siksawa or Isiksawn of the Western High Atlas (Berque, op. cit., 1955, passim).

[613] 121--The normal Rifian term for "stranger" is abarrani (from Arabic barrani); kharras is unknown to us. The community of Ajdir is inhabited by the members of three lineages, Aith Mis'aud u Yusif, Aith 'Aru 'Aisa and Aith Zar'a (the last-mentioned being that of 'Abd al-Krim); but there are, in addition, numerous stranger accretions, particularly since pacification, and Ajdir is now the largest single community (almost 5000 persons) in the Aith Waryaghar. It is equally true that if one asks about traditional segmentation, one gets only the three lineages mentioned above, for one's informants will not mention the strangers, whom they consider of little account, unless they are forced to do so. This is a problem which would amply repay careful study.

122--What Blanco means by "having a familial origin" is descent from a common ancestor.

123--Etymology of Aith Ta'rafth,: "the people of the Arabic language". This is a possible lead to the speech of their lineage ancestor, who, according to my own field notes, came not from the Aith Yittuft (two out of three clans of which speak Arabic today) but from Algeria.

000

124--This lineage bears no relationship whatsoever to the jma'th of the same name in the Plain of Alhucemas; the latter, in any case, belongs to another clan, the Aith 'Ari.

125--The following lineages of the Aith Waryaghar are considered to be "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin (and thus Zanatan) by descent:
In Aith 'Adhiya of Aith Bu 'Ayyash: Aith Tizi and Aith Fars in the jma'th of Ighmiren, Isi'arithen in that of Imuudh, and Aith Busta in that of Tazurakhth.
In Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper of Aith Bu 'Ayyas: Aith Muzghar in the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif.
In Isrihan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari: Ishshuyen in the jma'th of Upper Ixatshumen and Ijarayen in that of Lower Ixatshumen.
Whether they are in fact descended from the Marinids (a dynasty in Morocco, 1213-1465) is problematical. What is sure, however, is that the inhabitants of the City of Nkur, which was destroyed by the Almoravid Yusif ibn Tashfint in 1084, could not possibly have been Marinids.

[114] 126--According to our notes, not only is there no dharfiqth of this name in Tazurakhth, but none of the lineages there are autochthonous, their ancestors all having come from elsewhere.

[196] 127--The term yinn, "those of", is roughly synonymous with aith, "people of:, but Rifians tend to use it only when speaking of lower level segments.

128--The name ibaranen means "partridges" (sing. abaran); the names of all the other small lineages listed here refer to the lineage ancestors.

129--In the Berber dialect of the Central Atlas, aghwilas means "panther" (fem. taghwilast), and the Rifian thaghirasth is a cognate [136] form. There are panthers still to be found in parts of the Central Atlas today, though none in the Rif.

[114] 130--This lineage is not named by Blanco, and our field notes show no record of it.

[114] 131--It would indeed. The question really is: why should any attempt have been made by the administration to reunite two or more related lineage branches after scission had occurred and after they had not only become separated in space but incorporated into new jma'ths? One might almost think that Blanco is looking (in vain, it must be added) for an artificial neatness in the lineage structure of Aith Waryaghar which has no correspondence with any social reality.

132--Although he has obvious misgivings about it, Blanco appears to resign himself, in this passage, to an acceptance of the structural status quo!

[114] 133--"Tributaries" is the wrong word here; "offshoots" would be better.

134--Mutual rights of two related jma'ths certainly include participation in the collection of fines, and in certain cases (according to inheritance) reciprocal rights in property cultivation; but they do not include contributions to the fqih, as each jma'th has its own fiqh.

000
[114] 135--Although he does not couch them in anthropological language, Blanco here elucidates certain principles which are so common to most segmentary systems as to have become anthropological platitudes, since Evans-Pritchard's work among the Nuer. They were not, however, platitudes in 1935, and Blanco's perspicacity in stating them (even if obliquely) should be commended.

[113] 136--For competent discussions on the racial affiliations of the Rifians, see Carleton S. Coon, The Races of Europe, New York: Macmillan, 1939, and Coon, 1951, op. cit., pp. 156-7.

[144] But why should the Rifians be aware of their own racial affiliations well enough to "forget" them? They know they are whites, and they know they are Berbers (the latter example of self-knowledge is particularly well developed at the present day, since the independence of Morocco, and contains definite political overtones); and these facts, to them, are sufficient, genealogies and traditions explaining all the others.

137--Ghis, in Moroccan Arabic, means "mud", and a better name for the river in question could not be found.

138--The sixth "clan" of the Jbil is in reality made up of three subclans which are "brothers" of the members of two of the other five "ancient" clans which Blanco mentions above: Aith Turirth are "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Timarzga are "brothers" of Aith 'Ari (Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari in turn form the two top segments of one major clan, that of Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari--it has no proper name, on this level, of its own), and Aith 'Arus are "brothers" of Aith Hadhifa. These three subclans, being contiguous to each other in the mountain massif of the Jbil Hamam and discontiguous to their larger "clan brothers" mentioned above, formed a single administrative unit under a shaikh during Spanish times.

139--Blanco's recommendation to do away with the khalifa or representative of the qa'id in order to make for greater administrative simplicity was not acted upon by the Spanish authorities.

[622] [184] 140--The office of jari or village headman is one which exists only among the Aith Waryaghar. In all other tribes, the village headman is the mqaddim, who in Aith Waryaghar became the head of the administratively created "sub-fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh. The creation and insertion by the Spaniards of another tribal [648] office-holder on a level between that of village and clan (where no such office-holder had existed previously) was their answer to the greater segmentary intricacy, larger territorial units and greater population of the Aith Waryaghar. And last, but not least, Blanco's division of the total tribal territory into three blocs, each under its own qa'id, and each perforce following territorial rather than segmentary lines (owing to the frequent geographical discontinuity of subsegments), was, in the last analysis, the best and indeed the only way to make for an effective tribal administration.

141--This phrase comes from Hanoteau and Letourneux' famous reference to the Thajm 'aith of Kabylia as "la pierre angulaire de l'edifice berbère".

000 142--This organization, as it turned out, was not applied to other tribes; there was no need for it, for the others do not have the problems of segment discontinuity which the Aith Waryaghar have in such abundance.

[114] 143--This is close, and perhaps it was only prudence or modesty which prevented Blanco from giving the real etymology. Igzinnayen (sing. agzinnai) means "fornicators", and is derived from Arabic zina, "adultery". Their neighbors of the Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth say, in addition, that the Igzinnayen fully live up to their name!

144--This is very true, and it contrasts strangely with the fact that a great many Rifians further north--for all the Rifian tribes except the Igzinnayen are located within the former Spanish Zone of Morocco--speak Spanish. Many, indeed, speak it better than they do Arabic; and if grammatical correctness is often lacking, a considerable fluency of expression and a wide range of vocabulary more than make up for this.

It is probable, furthermore, that as the Igzinnayen are located in the former French Zone, this report of Blanco's is based on contemporary and unpublished French reports rather than on personal fieldwork. The report is dated 1940.

145--The distinction which Blanco makes between Arabic and Rifian speech among the Igzinnayen seems to have little basis in fact, because informants from that tribe have repeatedly said that Rifian speech is the linguistic universal among all their clans; but it is true that a knowledge of Arabic becomes more widespread the further south in the tribal territory that one goes. However, it seems to me that the best linguistic index is what is spoken by the women, rather than by the men--and among the Igzinnayen, one gathers that although most of the men know at least some Arabic (which is seldom the case among the Rifian tribes in the ex-Spanish Zone), the women do not.

[103] 146--Renditions of place (or personal) names generally depend upon how the investigator approaches the matter; and in my own experience, and unless he specifically requests it, what the student will often find himself taking down is the Arabic rather than the Berber version, particularly if he is not familiar with Berber. However, we do not mean to imply by this that Arabic place names are non-existent in the Rif; far from it, and Jbil Hamam is an excellent example. The same applies to tribal and segment names: on the tribal level, for example, the prefix bni is the "official" one, and is employed not only in all administrative reports, but it is also employed with some frequency by the Rifians themselves, although not nearly to the same extent as Berber aith. This is true for certain segments, also: Bni 'Abd Allah, Bni Hadifa, Bni Bu 'Ayyash--but Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari, Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Arus and Aith Turirth, to take examples from the Aith Waryaghar (or Bni Waryaghal) only. In other words, even though some segment names do also, other segment names still retain the prefix aith; and it would be most interesting to know what rules, if any, of linguistic change govern this phenomenon. In this same official usage, the prefix aith or asht has entirely disappeared from segment names in the Aith 'Ammarth (or Bni 'Ammart: Ulad S'aid Ikhlif, Ulad l-Hasain,

000 Ulad 'Abbu and J'auna) and in the Igzinnayen (or Gzinnaya: Bni 'Asim, Bni Yunis, Ulad 'Ali bin 'Aida, Bni Mhammad, Ulad l-Uta, and Imzdurar, of which only the last mentioned retains its Berber name, "mountaineers").

[114] [829] 147--The Branis tribe (Arabic branis, sing. barnus, "burnous") is very probably Berber by descent; but it is, as Blanco notes, entirely Arabic speaking today (as is Igzinnayen's other neighbor, Marnisa), and Rifians consider it "jabalan" rather than as one of their own.

[133] 148--Tizi Usli, "the pass of the bridegroom", is a tribal administration post in the northeastern Igzinnayen, while Azru Aqshar, "bald rock" or "bald mountain", is, at 2010 meters, the highest peak in the Central Rifian area, and is located just north of Tizi Usli, which nestles in its shadow.

[114] 149--Blanco is in error here, for all of Igzinnayen are Rifians, and of Berber origin. Even if they were not, there would in any case be little basis for a (largely artificial) contrast in physical type and/or language and/or institutions; and once again, Blanco is groping with outmoded anthropological theory.

150--As noted, the "Arab-Berber" dichotomy which Blanco draws within Igzinnayen is largely a figment of his imagination. The southern clans of Igzinnayen neither "obeyed" nor "resisted" the Makhzin in pre-Protectorate times, any more than the northern ones or any of the other Rifian tribes did. In fact, aside from Bushta al-Bahdadi's punitive expedition to Ibuqquyen in 1898, the Makhzin tended to leave the Rifians severely alone. Informants say that the sultans Mulay al-Hasan, Mulay 'Abd al-Aziz and Mulay Hafidh all appointed qa'ids and shaikhs in all the Rifian tribes, but such "appointments" were nothing but dahirs which ratified the already existing tribal and clan chiefs. In the Rif, therefore, the notion of "Republik" or siba was essentially characterized by a lack of contact between tribes and central government; and the above-mentioned dahirs merely preserved the status quo.

619 151--Like the Aith Waryaghar, the Igzinnayen are regarded as being divided into either two or five top segments, according to one's informants, although, unlike Aith Waryaghar, the problem of segment discontinuity within the tribe is (virtually) non-existent. The division into two top segments gives us the following: Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth. Asht Bu 'Amar is in turn segmented into Asht Yunis and Asht 'Asim; and the first of these, Asht Yunis, is again segmented into Asht Yunis Proper, Asht 'Aru 'Aisa and Asht Mhand, while the second Asht 'Asim, is divided into Asht 'Asim Proper and Asht Findish. Asht r-Manth is segmented into Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha.

The division into five top segments bypasses the level of the top to give us Asht 'Asim, Asht Yunis, Asht Mhand, Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha; and immediately we note a discrepancy between the two systems. In the first, Asht Mhand is given the status of a subsegment of Asht Yunis, while in the second it is a top-level segment or clan in its own right; and the Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (Aith Waryaghar), who was 'Abd al-Krim's top field commander in the Igzinnayen in 1925-26 and who provided us with the second set of data, told me

619 that in the Igzinnayen, the Asht Mhand were intrusive "fifth wheels" exactly as the Imrabdhen were in the Aith Waryaghar. Coon (op. cit., 619 1931, p. 19), on the other hand, calls them "autochthonous heathen" 114 because of their origin traditions, and this would accord more with the two-segment division above, which assigns them to a firmer position in the total structure (even though elsewhere in the same work, on p. 92, Coon himself endorses a five-fold division). The two-619 segment division, afforded us by the shaikh of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, is 616 probably the more correct one, although the hypothesis of the Qa'id Haddu is attractive from the standpoint of balance and imbalance of 114 liffs, and it is supported indirectly by Blanco's statement in the text that the Asht Mhand came originally from the Mtalsa, which would help explain their later liff affiliations.

The two liffs of the Igzinnayen were those of Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth, with affiliations as above, so that in this tribe, the liff system did not cut across the segmentary system as in Aith Waryaghar, but was, rather, co-extensive with it. Not only this, but it corresponded, in general, to Blanco's notion of "northern" and "southern" liffs, although without the "Berber vs. Arab" overtones which he suggests. It is true, furthermore, that the moiety of Asht Bu 'Amar, which was bigger than that of Asht r-Manth, usually won, although it is theoretically possible, as the Qa'id Haddu implied, that the presence of Asht Mhand in the Asht Bu 'Amar liff may have tipped the balance. However, this is purely speculation, and in any event liff affiliations shifted about the time of World War I or very shortly thereafter, and before the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim: one moiety, consisting of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa only, crystallized around the person of the Hajj Muhand Biqqish of Ikhuwanen (Asht 'Asim), who became the most powerful man in Igzinnayen and who was eventually poisoned by 'Abd al-Krim; and the other, consisting of the rest of the tribe, formed around Si Hmid Ubarshan of Azru (Asht Yunis). It may be noted that this shift in alliances did nothing to restore a balance, and the two liffs remained as asymmetrical as they had done previously.

After the crystallization of this alignment, the neighboring 619 tribes became involved as follows: in favor of Biqqish were the Aith 616 'Ammarth (who were his affines), the Timarzga of the Aith Waryaghar (into whom Biqqish's daughter had married) and thus also classificatory affines), the Iznagen of the Axt Tuzin; and after the death of Qa'id 'Amar Hamidu, half of the Marnisa; and in favor of Si Hmid Ubarshan were the Aith Turirth and Aith 'Arus of the Aith Waryaghar (who were against the Timarzga), the rest of Axt Tuzin, the rest of the Marnisa, Mtalsa, and Branis. And the disequilibrium of forces still held.

[114] Blanco's statement, therefore, that Axt Tuzin helped the "northern" liff (of Asht Bu 'Amar) and that Mtalsa and Branis helped the "southern" liff (of Asht r-Manth) is entirely plausible. The Axt Tuzin are neighbors of the Asht Yunis, while the Mtalsa borders the Asht Mhand, and the Branis are bounded by the Asht r-Udha; and this would explain why all three tribes later came to support the liff of Si Hmid Ubarshan. It should be noted, however, that wars between the Igzinnayen and the Branis were very frequent; and when they occurred, the tendency was for the former to patch up their own differences and gang up on the latter.

000
[114]
[311]
165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431]
167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616]
[578]
173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616]
[619]
175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613]
[616]
The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[176]
[178]
177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 J) Note on the Rifian Jma'th (Noticia sobre la Yemáa)

N.B. Undated MSS., probably written 1934-1936, Catalogue No. W1/ñ, Sección Africa, National Library, Madrid.

"An old, confused and nostalgic tribal memory of which so many people are unaware, although they all utilize it and nobody expects it. How does it work, and how can it best be reactivated?"

Organs and Functions:

621 613 1) The jma'th is the association of several lineages (grupos familiares) or dharfiqin toward social ends and objectives. It constitutes the elementary unit of Rifian social structure.[1]

[671] 2) It is personified in the iziddjifen, the headmen of these lineage-groups and their authentic representatives, zealous guardians of Custom (qa'ida), which is often codified into written qanums established during an agraw or council-meeting.

3) It is visibly manifested in the mosque, the local community and the lands which belong to it, all of which give rise to a spatial discontinuity and elastic boundaries, the origin of not a few quarrels.

4) Objectives: to regulate the coexistence of these (lineage) groups, to watch over them and to administrate their common patrimony.

5) Obligations: these were to attend to communal services and property (prayer,...education, hospitality, external relations, harka, prestations, collective responsibility and distribution of property, lands, irrigation, spoils of war, and fines), with the exception, in theory, of anything relating to personal and possessory status (marriage, inheritance).

---

[594] [114] 1--The elementary social unit, in the Rif as elsewhere, is the elementary or nuclear family, and hence Blanco is here, again, in error. A more easily defensible argument might have been a consideration of the jma'th as a kind of elementary political unit.

621 [801] This autonomy in the questions which were imposed by the number five[3] rendered necessary an arbitration and a management of resources, and a creation of functionaries, although generally these 000 latter were unpaid. All this created such a solidarity and such benefits, lost today, that one might wonder if it would not be advantageous, in the undeveloped and rural stage in which the Rifians still exist, to resuscitate some of these practices or revitalize those of them whose survival is an indication of the need for them, through their codification in a jma'a statute (author's italics), the transcendency of which seems to us to be basic because it is a matter of foundations and not of retouches on roofs or walls, as we are tired of observing in the copious and unoriginal legislation of both zones of this torn land that is Morocco.

This neglect of the countryside (campo), of which these matters are yet another index, would not be admissible but might be excusable in an industrialized Morocco, but never in a land which, like this one, is essentially agrarian and maritime.[4] Contrary, then, to 121 621 habitual writings on Morocco, we will venture once again on the humble but complicated paths of Rifian social structure, with a view to analyzing it, and intentionally putting aside that chorus of reciters with a more or less "sharifian" genealogy[5], and proceed to an analysis of the functions of the jma'th.

3--The reference to the number five in this connection is curious: is it supposed to refer, for instance, to the concept of "five fifths"?

[114] 4--Blanco reverses the order of these two adjectives in the original text, but we only need point out that Morocco's maritime vocation makes a very poor second, if that, to its agricultural one.

[114] 5--Why Blanco should manifest this evident prejudice against the holders of holy genealogies is not clear, though possibly because he held such geneaologies to be more "Arab" than "Berber" or "Rifian".

691 If aside from local community questions such as irrigation, hospitality and matters dealing with education, these community charters also deal with "crimes of blood" (delitos de sangre), one may see in them, more than the incumbency of these units (organisms), the necessity of providing for the lack of other upper-level associations which were lacking in this organized anarchy, which, in a happy phrase, may be attributed to those days when social disintegration attenuated the functioning of the upper-level units: clan (fracción) and tribe.

621 623 627 10) Security: Internally, security was guaranteed in normal times by the iziddjifen themselves, through the resolution of any incidents and the clearing up of any disputes which might arise, while in the internal political struggle of its council the popular spirit predominated. This was even more the case when within the council the 623 613 621 equilibrium between dharfiqin or agnatic lineages was broken and one lineage came to predominate, as now it was one of its representatives who, in the last analysis, came to achieve the delegation of the permanent executive function of security, under the pompous and strange designation of mqaddim or shaikh[7], who, satisfying his own personal vanity, brought about the envy of the iziddjifen, who were very jealous of their own prerogatives, who were paid in their jobs (sic)[8], and who were opposed to the notion of personal power for which the [671] struggle now began. In this respect the qanun of the jma'th of (Lower) Thmasind (Aith Waryaghar) is of interest.[9]

7--Again Blanco reveals an anti-Arab and a pro-Rifian bias, perhaps: he would obviously have preferred the designation amghar. However, and more to the point: he is also equally aware of the superfluity of such titles in a society as fiercely egalitarian as that of the Rifian tribes.

[114] 8--This was hardly the case: no tribal leaders (to say nothing of mere lineage headmen) in pre-Protectorate Morocco were ever paid in the formal sense of the word. Remuneration came through occasional "perks".

9--Cf. La Ley Rifeña, 1939, Chapter V.

613 621 616 182

This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 7d

Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

616 619

The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613

When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

---

[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

such urgent needs: it disorbitized the simple problems of fiscalization, strengthening and (re)orientation of Rifian popular institutions in order to create a cold and foreign bureaucracy and/or, at the very least, to improve the cities by putting up sumptuous buildings or repairing beautiful minarets.[17]

From a communal administrative organization and an essentially lay and effective position--like that of the ahabbas--a complicated religious problem and political weapon has been forged, i.e. the forms and modes have changed completely, to the detriment of the need which they tried to remedy. The administration has passed into the hands of the tulba; the inspection into those of the qudat (pl. of qadi); and the orders for payments into those of nothing less than a Ministry.[18]

In these dazzling reports it is easy to find science per se and the origin, finality and means of acquiring and utilizing these jma'ath properties in the different tribal areas of our (Spanish) zone in its "anarchical" (sic) existence.

I believe, then, that it is not in ways foreign to the Zone nor to those of the Arab authors of treatises where we must look for the light which will illuminate our path, but rather in what we know (empirically) through investigation of Rifian society itself, whose most durable facets are not very different from old Spanish

---

17--The situation which Blanco hints at here, of local community resources in the Rif disappearing in order to add luster to urban mosque-cum-habus situations, is not one which has ever come up in our own experience.

18--Here Blanco complains again about what can only be labeled as "Creeping Arabism", after his earlier remarks about the pernicious influence of "the city" on the Rifian.

671 the Muslim ruling on inheritance by women), he finds it more convenient
[177] to bypass the Shari'a and invoke custom; for he will always find the means to allay any spiritual lack of scruples he might feel through coating his action with a veneer of pious intent (such as what is in effect a habus in favor of men) or of humanitarianism (such as asylum to divorced women, widow inheritance or sororate[10]), at the same time while he satisfies atavistic impulses.

671 It is very difficult to make any sort of rigorous comparison
● 114 between the Shari'a and Rifian custom, owing to the great lack of data and documents dealing with the latter.[11] I might cite a few notes collected by del Nido[12], and some material of Sidi Ahmad bin Muhammad ar-Rhuni, former Minister of Justice and Chief Qadi of the Spanish Zone; but, then again, I am very doubtful that ar-Rhuni's material refers to the tribes of the Rif--certainly none of his documents are Rifian[13].

671 In matters of inheritance, Rifian custom elevates the condition
428 of women more than the Shari'a does, by matching them with men and
562 therefore by distributing the inheritance in equal parts instead of
171 giving women only one-third (sic); but this is only in theory, and has to do with movable property[14]; in houses and in land, women, in fact,
671 get nothing. The basis of this distinction is not at all a capricious
428 one, but obeys to the letter the strong Rifian idea which conceptualizes
562 women as minors in age. For this reason they are given, within the house, such work and responsibility as do not require masculine effort or personnel, a fact which becomes apparent if one studies family organization. Work in the fields is a masculine occupation, as is

671 428 562 housebuilding, although here women help, in return for male protection. Women are disregarded here, for in these aspects of movable property, to the formation of which, in the last analysis, they have not ultimately contributed, they receive nothing. On the other hand, in such work as befits their sex, nothing is denied them (even including cereals, for they contribute to the harvest by reaping grain with a sickle and transporting it, on their backs, to the threshing floor.) This notion is linked with the manner of acquiring property through inheritance, purchase or even through force (i.e. blood vengeance)[15]. Property gained in any other way is illegitimate, and as men are the ones who gain it, they have no reason to divide ir or share it with women.

114 113 D) Points Regarding Arabic Work on Anti-Sunna Traits (fragmentary):

I hereby review a work in Arabic by Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Brahim Aqibli Amshali al-Susi[16], dated 1342 A.H. (1923-4 A.D.), and published by al-Fatimi ibn Muhammad al-Shagadi. In this work the author exhorts 114 798 Berbers to give up practices which are irreverent and contrary to the sunna, the Custom of the Prophet, and lists those which are to be condemned, as follows:

798 796 1) Irreverent Customs at the 'Ashura:[17] Carnivals. The author rejects all forms of bonfires, of costume and of representation, i.e. imitating animals, birds, old men and old women, as well as the use of obscene words and the wearing of transparent clothes. I have myself seen all this practiced in the Rif[18]. Regarding the use of bonfires, it seems that in the Rif they are lit up to smoke the trees as a possible disinfectant[19].

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--With varying degrees of success, most so in the Middle and Central Atlas, and least so in the Sus and Anti-Atlas. The inclusion of the Algerian Kabyles and Shawdya of the Auras in this connection invites other problems.

[114] 2--Blanco is mistaken here, for the Arabization of the Rif was the work not of Spain but of 'Abd al-Krim; and in view of this paramount fact, his plea for a return to a hypothetical state of "pure customary law", however eloquently expressed it may be, seems passe and academic.

[113] 3--Hardly. In any case, this is a more difficult and delicate problem than meets the eye, although even on an a priori basis it seems reasonably safe to assume that the Arabization of custom is the commoner of the two phenomena. However, for a documented example of Berberization of the Shari'a, see S. Biarnay, "Un Cas de Regression vers la Coutume Berbère chez une Tribu Arabe: Wadras", Archives Berbères, vol. I, no. 4, 1916, pp. 219-229. Wadras is an Arabic-speaking tribe, but one of indisputably Berber origin, in the Northwestern Jbala, between Tangier and Tetuan.

671 179 195 113 4--Most of the existing accounts of the political history of these cities, insofar as it is known, are based on Ibn Khaldun, Histoire des Berbères, translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris 1925-56. See E. Michaux-Bellaire, Le Rif, Paris 1925; Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 22-36; Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos Sobre Ciudades Rifeñas", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el curso de Interventores, 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47, and, for a synopsis account of Nakur only, Angelo Ghirelli, Pueblos Arabes y Pueblos Arabizados, vol. II--Pueblos Arabizados, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, pp. 142-45. These last accounts have little 195 to add to Ibn Khaldun, although Sánchez Pérez was correctly able to locate the now entirely buried ruins of the city of Nakur within the village limits of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya within the clan territory of Aith Bu 'Ayyash in the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, on the west bank of the Nakur River some 25 km. from Alhucemas. This is [113] confirmed by a subsequent report of Ahmed el Mekinasi, in Tamuda, Año VII, Semestre II, 1959, pp. 156-8.

The city of Nakur, in fact, has the distinction of housing the first Muslim dynasty (even though on a local level only) in Morocco, as it was founded in 726 A.D. by an Arab from the Yemen, Salih ibn Mansur al-Himyari. Despite being sacked on two separate occasions (once by Norman pirates in 859-60, and again in 929-30 by Musa ibn Abi l-'Afya), Salih's descendants continued to hold, govern and rebuild the city aided and abetted by the Umayyads in Spain, until a complete sacking by the Almoravid sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfint in 1084 ended its career forever. Between this point and the end of the 19th century, the history of the Rif is an almost complete blank, and the chances of any documentary material in Arabic turning up to bridge the gap in any way are remote.

[131] Two points of general interest, however, emerge from ibn Khaldun's material (which dates from the 14th century and is in turn largely

175 [131] taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that 192 their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

000 [113] 5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably L. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hesperis, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in [114] the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. [196] The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

[784] 7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is harim; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a [682] person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since Independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally [196] "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.

000 [128] 10--Blanco does not, in fact, employ the terms "levirate" and "sororate", and here I confess to having taken liberties with the text; but his meaning is abundantly clear. To readers who want refresher definitions, levirate refers to the practice of a man marrying the widow of his brother (as Coon has pointed out, in the Rif this is usually a junior levirate, meaning that the brother who does the marrying is genereally a younger brother), while sororate refers to the practice of a man marrying his deceased wife's sister.

[113] 11--This is indeed true, and the only published work thus far specifically dealing with any aspect or aspects of Rifian custom, aside from Blanco's own La Ley Rifeña, is José Maria Peniagua, "Notas Sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif", Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos, no. 4, Madrid 1948, pp. 7-44 and ditto, La Prescripción y el Retracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. Paniagua's work, particularly the last-mentioned monograph, deals with problems which seem to be almost entirely constructs of a European legal mind, and have no basis in social reality; and such work cannot be considered serious contributions to the study of Berber jural systems.

12--We cannot identify the work to which Blanco refers here.

13--The only work of Sidi Ahmad ar-Rhuni which we know is the Spanish translation of his Historia de Tetuan, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, and this contains no allusions whatever, even remote ones, to Rifian custom.

671 428 171 114 562 14--This is not so. Under Shari'a regulations, women receive one-half of what men receive, in inheritance, and this is the case for both movable and real property. Granted, of course, that the point in the Rif is largely theoretical and that women in fact, as Blanco points out, generally get nothing (particularly insofar as real property is concerned), it still seems appropriate to correct this error. In any case, we have never heard of any customary variation of normal Shari'a usage, which would allot to women one-third of movable property; and neither have any of my informants. It is one-half in theory, and, as a rule, nothing in practice.

671 428 171 562 Besides the current practice of a woman's father or brothers appropriating, in effect, her share of the patrimony on her marriage (in order to keep it in family hands and to keep in-laws out), there is a second institution which reinforces the notion that women do not inherit. If a man dies leaving only his widow and a daughter or daughters (no sons), his r-waratha (sing. awrith) or remaining agnates stand to inherit, which they would not do even if he had only one son. According to Shari'a regulations, the man's widow gets one-eighth, and then, if he has only one daughter, the rest of the property is divided in half, the daughter getting one-half and the r-waratha getting the other. If, on the other hand, he has more than one daughter, the rest of the property is divided up into three parts, the daughters getting one and the r-waratha getting one. However, even if there is a son or not, certain r-waratha (e.g. mmis n 'azizi, pl. dharwa n 'azizi, father's brother's son), but not others (e.g. uma, pl. aithma, brother, and

000 18--These carnivals are impromptu affairs put on particular feast days ('Ansra, 'Aid l-Kbir, but not on 'Ashura as far as we know) by the people themselves, who are given the name ishwiyikhen when they dress up. A full description may be found in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 152-4. [114] Such carnivals still occur among the Igzinnayen, and possibly among the Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman as well, but are (and were) unknown among the Aith Waryaghar, contrary to Coon's statement regarding their distribution.

[155] 19--The lighting of bonfires was practiced all over the Rif on the day of the 'Ansra, or summer solstice festival, on June 24 (Julian, or agricultural, calendar); women and children used to jump over these fires to cure themselves of any ills. The custom was, however, looked on very much askance, if not actually outlawed, by 'Abd al-Krim; and no one indulges in it today, although it seems that the mountaineers of the subclan of Timarzga in the Aith Waryaghar followed it as late as 1950.

[114] 20--The shroud of a corpse is not pierced in any way in the Rif, nor is a stick nailed perpendicularly to the grave. Perhaps what is meant in the latter instance is the Rifian practice of placing the footstone of a woman's grave perpendicular to the headstone, to differentiate it from a man's grave, in which both stones are parallel to each other.

21--A Hizb, pl. hizib, is one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran.

[796] 22--In the muslim year, there are two feasts called 'aid: the 'Aid s-Sghir, or "Little Feast", which occurs just after Ramadan, and the 'Aid l-Kbir, or "Big Feast", on the 8th through 10th days of the last month of the year, the Dhu l-Hijja. It is to the 'Aid l-Kbir that the text refers here. These three days are those when pilgrims at Mecca [788] undergo the rites of pilgrimage, and when Muslims all over Islam must [782] sacrifice a sheep in commemoration of the sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

23--An imam is a prayer leader in the mosque, who stands before the congregation.

[796] 23a--On the day before 'Aid l-Kbir (i.e. day of 'Arafa), women visit cemeteries and take food with them, which they eat there, while the men go to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar (an amrabidh of Algerian origin, from Tlemcen, who is buried in Bu Ma'dhan, in the subclan of Timarzga, at the highest point--1930 meters--in the whole tribe of the Aith Waryaghar). While there, they watch the litany and ritual of the religious brotherhood of the 'Alawiyin, after which they distribute alms to the tulba (who attend in droves), pray en masse, and go home to sacrifice their sheep the following day (the 'Aid l-Kbir proper) in the bosoms of their families. See our article, "An 'Imarah in the Central Rif: the annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar", Tamuda, Año V, Semestre II, 1957, pp. 239-245; my report is based on field notes taken at the ceremony itself in 1955.

[114] 24--This is not so. Women visit cemeteries on feast days, but that is all.

25--It is not.

000 26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event, as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish administration, people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the last 30 years or more.

27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala, the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first. As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator, it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch belonging to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanun in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan administration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.

000
[114] 37--The jma'th, contrary to Blanco's statement, had absolutely nothing to do with the selection of cojurors by a man accused of a crime. He selected them himself, among his agnates, and if he did not have enough to fill the full complement, he got the remainder from that neighboring dharfiqth which was most closely related, patrilaterally, to his own.

695
[114] 38--The accused always chose his own cojurors, and here Blanco has made a serious error. An even more serious error, and one which appears to us almost classic among French writers on the subject, is a persistent tendency to confuse cojurors (izudjen or yuxshin n rimin) with witnesses (rshuhudh). The distinction between the two should be obvious to anyone, but apparently it has not been: if there is a witness or witnesses to any crime (and the Shari'a states that there must be either 12 ordinary witnesses or 2 'udul or notaries public, the testimony of one 'adl being worth that of six ordinary men), there is, ipso facto, no oath; for the accusatory testimony of witnesses always (quite naturally) overrides the denials of the accused and his cojurors. Furthermore, though the number of witnesses and the number of cojurors (in a murder case) are exactly the same, there is another paramount difference between these two categories of persons, wholly aside from the fact that the function of the ones is to accuse and that of the others is to deny: witnesses had to come from a different lineage or different lineages from that of the accused, while the cojurors of the latter were his agnates and thus his fellow lineage mates, aithmas, "his brothers", or aith 'azizi, or ibin 'azizithen, "the people or sons of his paternal uncles". The fact that the same number of individuals, twelve, was needed in each case may or may not have been fortuitous; but, in any event, it seems of entirely secondary importance.

A summary recapitulation of collective oaths (thzaddjith or rimin) as practiced among the tribes of the Central Rif will not be out of
[692] place. First of all, if one man accused another of any crime or misdemeanor, and the accused man denied it, they both agreed to go to their cantonal or Friday mosque, or any other mosque named by the plaintiff (izidjith), on the following Friday before the noon prayer so that the accused (izudj or yuxshar n rimin) could take oath. The plaintiff, furthermore, stipulated how many cojurors the accused should bring with him.

It appears that the number of cojurors was almost always either six (the accused himself plus five agnates) or twelve (the accused himself plus eleven agnates), the former amount of men being required in less important matters, such as theft of irrigation water or of livestock, or damage to the accuser's property, and the latter in cases of murder,
[114] as aforementioned. (When Blanco says five and ten, respectively, he is in error as to the exact amount, but correct regarding the proportion and the doubled number in suspected homicides.) Twelve was ordinarily the maximum number of cojurors, and murder the maximum offense necessitating this number, among the members of one tribe; but if an oath involved members of two different tribes, over matters such as large scale land disputes involving tribal boundaries, or intertribal murder cases, the number of cojurors which the accused had to bring was elevated to fifty (the defendant plus forty-nine agnates or fellow clansmen or tribesmen, the latter being far more ready to help out one of their own men in an extra-tribal crisis than in an intra-clan or even an intra-

695 [784] It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-[184] appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if [191] one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 [114] 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] [181] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

[191] [577] [114] 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an amghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

000

43--There are several errors here. First of all, the oath formula is not as Blanco gives it at all, but Billahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa, as discussed in note 50. Secondly, this is the recognized formula for oaths as given in the Shari'a, and as such, the Arab formula as well. Thirdly, although it is quite true that oaths are as important among Arabs as they are among Berbers, the Prophet Muhammad, in effect, "decollectivized" them among his Hijazi constituents much as 'Abd al-Krim did among Rifians--for the collective oath, far from being an exclusively "Berber" institution, was current in pre-Islamic Arabia. Blanco fails to distinguish between the singular character of the Shari'a oath and the plural character of the oaths of certain nominally Muslim societies whom the Shari'a, in some respects, has not quite reached.

44--This is in no way remarkable, for it is up to the plaintiff not only to demand that the accused take oath, but to stipulate when, where and with how many of his agnates.

45--Men certainly swear during the day, in fact on Fridays just before noon; but women did not swear during the 'Ripublik', although today they may do so. However, they must do so not at night but during the day, and at home, not in the mosque, although their oaths, like those of men, must be made on the mushaf.

46--A Jew accused of a crime against a Muslim or against a coreligionist was, indeed, forced to walk around the market with a packsaddle on his back, and to swear in this fashion, for packsaddle-making and silversmithing are the two traditional occupations of Jews in northern Morocco; but he took the oath itself in the synagogue.

47--There were no jails in the Rif until 'Abd al-Krim introduced them; he had three, at Ajdir, at Aith Qamra and at Thmasind, all in the Aith Waryaghar.

48--The Koranic sirat al-mustaqim, as given in the Surat al-Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Muslim Book.

49--This is true, but not quite for the reasons given. Women in the Aith Waryaghar have their own markets in order to keep them secluded from strange men and because it is shameful for them, and indeed forbidden (although this is beginning to break down today) for them to enter ordinary markets. The same goes for their "feasts": they visit saints' tombs and cemeteries on Sundays, as a rule, when they know no men will be there.

50--This is a contradiction in terms. If Berber law admits bloodvengeance (which is in any case excessively common in the Rif), why does it not admit talion?

51--Again, a contradiction in terms. If the death penalty is admitted, as Blanco says, why not capital punishment? In actual fact, although murder and feuding were the rule, the death penalty per se was rare: the only instance I can think of (outside of cases in which it was inflicted by 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War, and administered by his huffadh or personal bodyguard, who tied the offender backwards on a donkey, paraded him around the market three times while the crier made his crime public, and then stood him up against the wall and shot him) is that in which a man kills another in a market and is caught by the

000 latter's kinsmen before he can get away. Even in this case, the killer could generally get off if he were able to pay a 2000-duro fine (rhaqq) to the ingharen on the spot, if he was lucky enough to be caught by them and not by his victim's agnates.

[114] [464] [167] 52--Why should the Rifians have been acquainted with the qanuns of the Algerian Kabyles? Granted that Rifian labor migration to Algeria, prior to 1955, was very extensive, it must be remembered that Rifians went to the plains and vineyards of western Algeria (not to Kabylia) to work and send remittances to their families, not to compare notes with their fellow Berbers in Kabylia!

53--This is entirely true, though we know of one case in which, in 1926, after 'Abd al-Krim's defeat, a man from one of the mountain clans of Aith Waryaghar was beaten to death, by order of a lowland qaid from the same tribe, for refusing to hand two rifles in his possession over to the Spaniards.

[171] 54--In the Central Atlas, half ddiyit (blood money to victim's agnates) is paid by a man for shooting at someone else and missing him, but full ddiyit for taking aim and not shooting (E. Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship", Philosophy of Science, vol. 27, no. 2, 1960, pp. 187-204.) In other words, what is punished is the intent to kill, and on this subject Blanco has some interesting remarks to make in the chapter on the qanums of Dhmasind and of Aith 'Abd Allah in La Ley Rifeña (pp. 41-3, 47, 50). In the Rif, however, this is manifested in a different way under different circumstances: ddiyith is paid to the victim's family, under normal conditions, by the killer, who must also pay rqisas to the victim himself in case of wounding. The amount of the ddiyith is anything up to 1200 duros, while that of the rqisas, depends on the nature of the wound. However, there is no question at all of either ddiyith or rqisas being paid if the intended victim has not been harmed. This is the case if the attempted murder has taken place outside the market; but if it has taken place on market day and within the market (even though there is again an exemption from ddiyith and rqisas) the rhaqq or market fine must be paid in full (2000 duros) to the ingharen, because the would-be assassin is an amsasar (pl. imsasaren) or trouble-maker who has knowingly tried to "break" the market by flouting its regulations.

681 682 696 55--In case of murder, only the murderer himself went into exile. He did so immediately after the crime, so that he would not be killed in turn by his victim's agnates. Exile meant that he sought refuge, as an adhrib (pl. idhriben), (derived from Arabic talib, "enemy") in the territory of another tribe, whose members sheltered and protected him until such time (if ever) that he could go home. On occasion, as [613] Blanco suggests, whole lineages have been forced into exile; Coon, in Flesh of the Wild Ox (pp. 74-108), gives an example from the Igzinnayen. However, this particular instance was the result of a decree of the Aitharba'in after a long and bitter feud; and as such, it was exceptional. The rule was that only the murderer fled; he was not accompanied by nine of his agnates, as in the Central Atlas (even though these latter returned after three days in order to start making overtures for payment of ddiyit to the dead man's agnates).

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his
682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally
696 meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill
him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept
[782] this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the
presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was
eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only
after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he
682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on
443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum
[114] (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine
(called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder
on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other
offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market
itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the
imgharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market
path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no
question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in
the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually
meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise
the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the
ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum
which was prohibitively high), the imgharen descended on him in a body
and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re-
682 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the mur-
628 derer. The imgharen, however, could not touch his property as long as
he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's
family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion
of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that
he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's ag-
nates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the
imgharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen
of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted,
as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circum-
stances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to
have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 S6--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for
682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of
commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely stan-
dard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] 57--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the
[114] Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is ex-
pressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading
to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants,
[024] however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is
immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is
[628] assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the
murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and
a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted
up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

681 682 [628] 000 the side with the lesser. (This last piece of information comes from some of the lowland clans of the Aith Waryaghar, and the highlanders of the same tribe deny it.)

58--The victim, if he is alive, receives the rqisas, and, if dead, his family gets the ddiyith--if they choose to accept it rather than take up their guns. It is barely possible that in the division of the rhaqq by the imgharen along segmentary lines, the victim's family might receive a tiny fraction of the total, although the chances are strongly against it. The rhaqq almost always goes into the pockets of the imgharen themselves, and when we say that it is divided along segmentary lines, what we mean is that it is the imgharen of each segment and subsegment, rather than the rank-and-file of either, who are the real beneficiaries.

However, this is not really the point, which, in any event, Blanco [682] has missed entirely. The point is that a murderer pays bloodmoney to his victim's agnates and a fine to the council members (the latter only if the murder has taken place in the market or on a track leading to it).

[114] 59--Blanco is theoretically correct in saying that dharfiqin distribute their share of the fine to the nubath making them up (although in practice this almost never occurs, as the money which filters down, through the normal process of division, goes no further than the lineage heads!); but it is surprising that he does not start at the top levels of segmentation, the clans, as the imgharen themselves did, and work down from there (though even at this level the imgharen tended in practice to pocket the fines).

[114] 60--In this term, el poder ejecutivo, once again, we have a formalistic European notion, which, though certainly accurate in one sense, nonetheless ill befits the essential informality of the tribal council members who convened in the market to discuss the week's happenings and to assess, equally informally, any cases which came to them.

61--It may be stated categorically that such Qur'anically-inspired punishments as putting out a thief's eyes were completely unknown in the Rif and in the rest of Berber Morocco.

[839] 62--Though it is probably of frequent occurrence elsewhere, bestiality [838] is not common in the Rif, and those who do practice it are always the object of derision. Furthermore, the Rif is probably one of the few regions of Morocco where homosexuality is nonexistent.

[113] 63--These notes of Blanco's on hunting are extremely fragmentary; for fuller information on Rifian hunting practices, see the final chapter in La Ley Rifeña on the hunting qanun or qanun r-rayah, as well as a recent summary of the same material in R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg, 16-17 September 1958 [114] (mimeographed). Our own impression of Blanco's data on hunting is that although very complete, his description is at the same time unnecessarily complex.

64--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting may take place on any day of the week.

000

65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since [648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, [656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being [124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

[114] It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi [788] r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide [593] remarks on inheritance of property by women). What Blanco does not say, [848] however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A, [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

684 554 283 626 74--In the Aith Waryaghar, anyone who indulged in bestiality became the object of extreme derision; and as a market crier himself is a person of very low social standing, this in itself would have rubbed more salt in the wound.

000 75--Marriages with parallel cousins occur, but they are uncommon. In this particular instance, there was a good reason for it, as Blanco points out.

76--These cousins, again as indicated in note 17, were the boy's r-waratha, who could normally have inherited only if the boy's father had either died without issue or if he had left a daughter or daughters only. It is un-Qur'anic enough for the r-waratha to appropriate, as [671] they often try to do, a daughter's share of the inheritance as well as their own, but for them to take over a son's share is expressly forbidden by the Shari'a, and may be regarded, in this instance, as the purest personal aggrandizement.

[114] 77--This should probably read "to one's tribe", as the notion of other tribes hardly enters the picture here. Except under an 'Abd al-Krim, how would it have been, or be, possible for a man of the Igzinnayen, for example, to feel any responsibility for a man from the Aith Waryaghar? This error may be due to a typographical error in the original text.

[682] [114] 78--One could hardly label a sanction of 2000 duros for murder committed in a market as indicative of "lack of repressive organs". It is statements of this kind, which continually crop up, that, in conjunction with numerous factual errors, cast a small but ever-present cloud over Blanco's work, and mark him as an amateur ethnologist.

79--See La Ley Rifeña, pp. 47, 50.

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by iziddjifen or imgharen".

2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for instance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clans in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

(682)

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an agraw, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97, and Coon, Flesh of the Wild Ox, New York: Morrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igzinnayen, who pronounce the word ayraw.

4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why: because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

(628) (114)

5--The term harka did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a tabur), each one of which was under a qa'id designated by the number of men under his command--qa'id at-tn'ash (of 12), qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin (of 25), qa'id l-khamsin (of 50), qa'id l-Miya (of 100), and qa'id attabur (of a tabur, or 300).

(171) However, the idea of the harka had been there previously, even if the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

6--In actual fact, those imgharen already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

(602) 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native harkas in Spanish service.

(114) 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, todo el mundillo rifeño, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

616 619 642 114 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic", "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [171] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [171] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[614] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 62 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation, make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at the matter in a slightly different way.

There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows: "Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr, pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even continuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were "external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the former more to higher ones.

Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not continue ad infinitum.

The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big" liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or "smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe (in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chrin--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

616 619 726 [614] [728] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well. [563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and 000 expected to do.

[114] [729] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is [162] said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their [614] liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'unen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

000

last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels, and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Montagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hespéris, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent it, they hardly succeeded!

27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be reactivated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactivation would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside it.

28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams khmās (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition indicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu 'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith 'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

616 619 648 [114] [113] to a far earlier incidence of tribal unity, and on a much wider scale, than the events precipitated by Bu Hamara's invasion. Blanco's listing, however, is incomplete, for this feud encompassed not only the Rif, but all of Northern Morocco, centering, supposedly, on the Ghumara and Sanhaja, each of which had allies both to the west (Jbala) and to the east (Rif). There are other listings available, the most complete of which may be found in Montagne, op. cit., 1930, map facing p. 208. See also Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 17-8, and Jesus Ortoneda Jiménez, Estudio de la Region del Rif, Ceuta, 1930, p. 37, as well as Vademecum de Intervenciones Militares, Melilla 1928. None of these listings is in complete agreement with any of the others.

000 37--According to Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 18, the Igzinnayen were not in the Ghumara liff, but in the Sanhajan one, and, according to his informants, the fact that the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen were both on that side brought the Sanhaja the ultimate victory.

38--Until 1906, Bni Gmil and Mistasa formed a single tribe. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, Vademecum del Territorio del Rif, 1946, p. 81.

39--Bni Waryagil is a small tribe in the southern Jbala, and Rifian informants have all disclaimed any connection between it and the very much larger Aith Waryaghar of the Rif. Literate informants, moreover, point to the difference in orthography: the name of the Rifian tribe is written in Arabic with the letter ghain, while that of the Jbalan group is written with the gaf (kaf with three points above it).

40--It does indeed!

[114] 41--Why should it be necessary to "explain its affinities to the European type"? One feels that liffs, like any other institutions, can only be "explained" in their own terms!

[696] 42--What Blanco presumably refers to here, in an oblique manner, is, among other things, the fact that murderers must flee their own tribes.

[114] 43--It seems to us that Blanco is looking at this aspect of the problem upside down. If anything, an alliance and war of the Sanhaja-Ghumara type probably had its origins in the Rifian system discussed in note 18, rather than the other way around. It is, of course, also possible that problems and/or notions of this kind cut both ways.

44--This term refers to the western maritime tribes of the Rif, located around the early Islamic center of Badis.

616 619 114 45--There are three basic errors in this sentence. First, the Aith 'Abd Allah had only an ad hoc liff arrangement with the Ibuqquyen; this was directed against their own enemies within the Aith Waryaghar, namely, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and the Aith Hadhifa, the former of whom, in particular, the Ibuqquyen could never forgive for having accompanied Bushta al-Baghdadi's punitive expedition into their tribal territory. There was no question whatsoever of an alliance with either the Aith Yittuft or the Bni Bu Frah. The same applies to the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who were also (but very tenuously) allied, through the transitive principle, to the Axt Tuzin clan of Axt Tsafth, because their "brothers" and enemies the Aith 'Adhiya were in liff (again through the transitive principle)

616 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the
619 Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because
•114 tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian. Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are notoften those of the next!)

616 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side
728 which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it
184 involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting
782 its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 49-- Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to
[175] be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts, Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Ammarth contingents who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

of the old days which Arab and European writers have either neglected or toned down, if not falsified.

In the comments which the qanuns have suggested to me, I try to explain what they mean to the European reader, justifying the reason behind their precepts.

This, then, is a simple essay, a modest contribution toward a better knowledge of your preferences and virtues, so that those who live together with you in your land can understand you better[1].

In other studies in preparation, I shall continue the study of your fundamental institutions, economy and art, which are nonetheless interesting and worthy of publication even if they are modest.

My thanks are due to so many Rifians, over long and agreeable periods of time, who with courtesy and patience stimulated my curiosity and questions and tried to satisfy them, answer them and show me how they worked; and especially to Muhammad n Sh'aib Abuqquy, faithful interpreter of my thought.

The translations were done by the official interpreter D. Juan Gómez Jaén.

1. THE RIFIAN QANUNS, WITH COMMENTS:

The analysis of the Rifian qanuns, of these little pieces of paper which I give you to peruse, of these tiny sheets in which unaccustomed hands noted down, after bombastic introductions and flattering patronymics taking up three or four lines, offset by praises to the Divinity, a number of striking and rigorous precepts, the proclamation of which in the suq gave them the force and attributes of law; and it is these precepts which show us graphically and without any doubt that the Rif

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!" Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

[181] [609]

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

[114]

000

[128] 9--Blanco terms this el pacto interfamiliar; I use "inter-lineage" in the interests of greater structural accuracy. The pact itself concerns certain lineages of the Aith Waryaghar. And, as we are dealing here with MSS., I employ standard transcription for classical Arabic.

10--This saint, as his name indicates, comes from the subsegment of Aith Zawith n Imrabdhen (Imrabdhen n Waddai), of the clan Imrabdhen.

[113] 11--In the conversion from Muslim to Christian dates, we have used H. G. Cattenoz, Tables de Concordance des Ères Chrétienne et Hégirienne, 3rd Ed., Rabat 1961, as the conversions themselves do not occur in the Spanish translation.

In this connecticut also, it is well to point out that all the qanuns begin with the phrase "Praise be to God", then get to the matter at hand, and terminate with a statement or statements by the notaries, of whom there are always two, admitting the validity of the testimony of all the witnesses present. If the qanun is signed at the end by the qadi as well, he merely confirms the document by literally putting his seal of approval upon it.

12--More often stated as Uddji wu r-haqq or yarrza r-haqq ("there is no reason" or "reason is broken"), which also alludes neatly to the fact that when a feud is on, the rhaqq fine for murder is not paid to the ingharen, who themselves, of course, have picked up their rifles to participate!

13--Haqq means "law, reason, right"; and in Rifian it has the additional special meaning of "fine".

14--In Spanish, Oficina de Asuntos Indigenas.

15--It is difficult to surmise why judges of Muslim law would be "refractory" in their attitude toward markets, as through them they received their bread and butter; for the Shari'a in the tribal areas of Morocco has always been administered (where it has been applicable) in tribal markets. It is interesting, however, that Blanco attributes [114] greater control of markets to the Rif in pre-Spanish times than he does after pacification!

16--e.g. among each other and with the provisions of the qanun about to be drawn up.

17--Not so much "mechanism" of Rifian law as the mechanics of Rifian jural procedure.

[184] 18--Among the smaller Rifian tribes, there are often tribal clans which lack their own markets; but Blanco's statement holds true for the Aith Waryaghar, which is obviously the tribe he had in mind.

19--The unpublished Conferencia sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, which forms Part II of this work.

20--Again, Blanco uses the term interfamiliar.

21--The name of this lineage is written Isaghwen in Arabic, but in all likelihood it refers to Izzugwaghen ("Sons of the red-head"), a branch of the Dharwa nj-Hajj 'Amar of the lineage of Aith Injin, of the Aith 'Aisa (r-Qman?) of Tazurakhth.

000

22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

000 34--Spanish literature refers to any Rifian who, during the "Republik", had done remunerative work for the Spanish administration on Al-Husaima Island as a pensionado de la isla.

35--It appears that here Blanco implicitly recognizes the Rifians' desire to preserve their system of checks, balances and oscillations within the framework of their segmentary lineage system.

36--"Counter-espionage" might be nearer the mark here, for it is up to the members of the jma'th in question to watch over their own property!

37--Blanco refers here to the addenda in the qanun after the two illegible signatures.

[436] 38--The duro hasani, more than any other denomination of coinage, was the Rifian monetary unit during the "Republik".

[114] 39--It seems to us that Blanco tries to infer too much from the order of appearance of the councilmembers' names; and undue emphasis is placed on social protocol as well. These traits are, of course, very Spanish!

[114] 40--Also very Spanish is the labored and rather far-fetched comparison with the urban ayuntamiento.

41--A word or two of explanation (as of 1961) is necessary regarding the Rifian monetary system. First of all, none of these coins have been in use since protectorate times; all of them date back to the "Republik". It will also be made increasingly clear below, in the text, that bigger fines for graver offenses were always expressed in terms of hasani duros. Secondly, in the corresponding peseta equivalents, it must be remembered that the peseta values are those of 1939, when the Spanish peseta was worth a good deal more than it was in 1961. Thirdly, Blanco does not mention the fact that Rifians call a peseta by the name frank, pl. franik, a term borrowed, of course from French franc, but not to be confused with it. Five franik made a duro, the word riyal being foreign to Rifian usage. This has created considerable terminological confusion, particularly since the introduction of Moroccan francs in 1958 and later, in 1961, the new Moroccan dirhams, into the North Zone. As 10 Moroccan francs, more or less, equal 1 Spanish peseta, the Rifians, unwilling to give up their old monetary terminology, call a ten-franc piece frank, a twenty-franc piece dhnain franik (two franks), a fifty-franc piece khamsa franik (five franks), and a one-hundred franc piece or note 'ashra franik (ten franks). And as the new Moroccan dirham is equal to 100 old Moroccan francs, it is also called "ten franks" by the Rifians, although within the next few years it is probable that the term dirham, or ij udirham (one dirham) will become common usage.

[114] 42--It is perhaps neither warlike nor religious in Blanco's interpretation of this qanun; but it is always highly contradictory and indeed erroneous assertions of this kind which seriously weaken the fabric of Blanco's arguments.

43--Hospitality to guests is very important, in the Rifian scale of values, and nobody would deny this; but is it the most important institution of the jma'th???

[See p. 290--Analyst]

000 44--Which is unwritten in any case.

45--The Aith 'Abdallah are at once a clan and a "fifth" of the Aith Waryaghar.

46--In Rifian, Dhara n Tihrariyin, "the spring of the pure women(?)". The Tuesday Market once located there has not been functioning since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate, or earlier. The people of Aith 'Abdallah at present share a market, held on Mondays, with those of Aith Hadhifa; this market is located on the border of the two clan territories.

[614] 47--Sidi 'Amran is buried in the jma'th of Aith S'aid, in the subclan territory of Aith 'Aru Musa, one of two subclans of Aith 'Abdallah (the other being Aith Tmajurth).

● [114] 48--Presumably with eleven of his agnates as cojurors, for twelve must swear in cases of suspected homicide; but there is no mention of this in the text and Blanco, whose knowledge of collective oaths in the Rif was sketchy, does not comment upon it.

[114] 49--Blanco's notions of Rifian segmentary lineage organization are somewhat deficient; for although the notion of a confederation of tribes might once have existed in the Rif (vide the liffs of Ghumara and Sinhaja), but during the "Republik" as described both by Blanco and myself, it most emphatically did not exist, nor does it exist today.

50--"Autonomous" would perhaps be a better word in this connection, for any segmentary system presupposes an interdependence of its component segments, upward, downward and laterally; and within the framework of such a system, maintained as it is by the principles of balance, oscillation and opposition, there is always some (and often very considerable) latitude for a (virtually or largely) autonomous existence on the part of individual segments, irrespective of the segmental level under consideration.

[619] 51--Because the Aith Waryaghar, in point of population, are the biggest tribe by far in the entire Rif (with the Igzinnayen following, at some distance), its clans may be functionally equated, in certain respects but not in others, with whole tribes elsewhere.

671 614 52--The Aith 'Adhiya are one of two subclans of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (the other being "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash), of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar. We have referred to it as Bani 'Adhiya rather than Aith 'Adhiya in the text itself, as this is how it appears in Arabic.

614 162 Although the Aith 'Adhiya are strictly speaking a subclan rather than a clan proper, as the Aith 'Abdallah are (see Chap. VI), they are nonetheless about the same size as the latter in point of population; and the whole clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with both subclans considered, is the biggest in the tribe, and by a rather wide margin (population 22,000 in 1960). This fact helps explain two things: 1) why the Aith 'Adhiya and the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash are in opposite liffs, and 2) why the qanun of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya deals with almost exactly the same matters as that of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah. Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash form one "fifth".

614 616 671 619

000 53--This is probably Aith Tizi, forming a part of the larger jma'th of Ighmiren, with Aith Fars.

54--Whether all the Aith 'Adhiya jointly sacrificed two bulls, or whether one each was sacrificed by the members of each liff is not indicated.

55--The market in question is the Monday Market of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[671] 56--In both this qanun and that of the Aith 'Abdallah we see how the fine for murder committed in the market is double that for murder elsewhere. Both qanuns also imply that not only must the fine be paid but that the murderer's house and crops will be burned as well. All informants from all over the Central Rif, however, said time and again that if the fine is paid, there is no houseburning. The root of the [735] discrepancy seems therefore to be an implicit assumption that the average murderer is too poor to pay the fine, which is in any event prohibitively high.

57--In some respects one can see what Blanco means here, but such a statement, particularly regarding the "superficiality" of Rifian Islam, is one which the Rifians themselves would hotly and vehemently deny. In their own eyes, they are extremely good Muslims!

[262] 58--Rifians tend to eat meat, as a rule, only on one day of the week: when they buy and bring it home from the market.

● [114] [682] 59--Blanco here confuses the ddiyith, or blood money, to be paid to the victim's agnates, with the rhaqq, or fine for murder, to be paid (both payments being made by the murderer and his own agnates) to the council-members.

[682] 60--Blanco's point about 1000 duros being the fine for murder under normal circumstances (i.e. outside the market) and 2000 for murder inside it is very well taken; and, as he implies, these sums are indeed the norm all over the Rif. But once again, he confuses fines with blood-money, and they are entirely different.

61--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

62--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

[114] 63--This is an interestingly expressed idea, but the linkage with nomadism seems questionable.

[614] 64--As already indicated, the Aith Khattab include the two Waryaghar clans of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; and in this sense they might be considered a "super-clan", particularly if, as some have it (though this is nowhere indicated in the text of the qanun), they embrace the Aith 'Abdallah as well. In the same way, Aith Bu 'Ayyash, if it embraces, on the topmost level, the two clans of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa, may also be regarded as a "super-clan" of the same order of segmentation. However, the group in question is referred to as Bani Khattab, not Aith Khattab, in the text of the qanun.

65--As indicated, this qanun is valid only for the coastal Aith Khattab, those of both Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari who live in and around the Plain of Alhucemas, bordering the Mediterranean.

000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.

[796] [732] 67--This saint, nicknamed Bu Rjila, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of baraka were legendary.

[613] [614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.

69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.

70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.

71--The jillab is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.

72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.

[464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.

[114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.

75--Blanco actually means aitharba'in rather than agraw in this particular context.

[113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.

77--Ra'is in Arabic is "headman", from ras, "head".

[792] [113] 78--Mulay Ahmad al-Raisuli was a sharif from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, The Sultan of the Mountains, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4
Aith Siddat

000 79--It seems that Blanco has mixed his references here. The qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah decrees the death penalty for murder in the market if the murderer be apprehended on the spot, and a fine of 2000 duros if he should escape; the qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya decrees a 2000-duro fine for murder in the market, with no mention of a death penalty; while the qanun of the Aith Khattab only decrees a 500-duro fine for market murder, as we have seen.

R [114] 80--It is very probable that women's markets are an old institution in the Rif, but an assumption of antiquity in terms of "thousands of years" seems rather extravagant!

81--This is an implicit acknowledgement of the role of balanced opposition in segmentary societies. See also Lewis, op. cit., 1961.

R [619] 82--Presumbly what is meant here is the ensemble of clans forming the tribe.

83--See R. Montagne, op. cit., 1930, passim.

84--It is not clear here whether Blanco refers to the domination of the Imgharen of 'Abd al-Krim, or of the Spaniards.

85--This, in our opinion, is one of the most profound statements Blanco ever committed to print.

S 619 691 86--Blanco calls this tribe the Bni Siddat, but outside the qanun itself, we have given them the benefit of the doubt and have called them the Aith Siddat. They are entirely Berber-speaking (Sinhaja Srir dialect), and are one of eight tribes in the Sinhaja Srir confederacy, the others of which are Aith Khannus, Ktama, Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Bni Bu Shibt and Taghzut.

S 691 619 614 114 87--This is a shrewd inference on Blanco's part. We do not know if such was the case, but suspect that it was, particularly in view of the centralization of the Sinhaja Srir under the politico-religious leadership of the Shurfa Ikhamlijhen in Targist and elsewhere.

000 88--As the qanuns on the jma'th level do.

89--Here again, Blanco mistakes the ddiyith for the rhaqq.

S 681 614 812 691 173 90--A written law in only the qanuns with which Blanco has presented us here. Qanun documents in the Rif and the North in general are extremely scarce (unlike the Sus); for usually, the substance of the Rifian qanuns is contained not in documents but in the heads of the oldest surviving men; when they die off, all this material will have been forgotten.

000 91--For ddiyith, read rhaqq, and the same for the rest of this qanun.

92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

S 181 167 114 000 93--It is certainly true that the Aith Siddat are an infinitely smaller and vastly poorer tribe than the Aith Waryaghar; but it seems questionable to me to attempt to infer from the mere presence or absence of a given statement in a qanun that they are more zealous in guarding their property.

R [114] 94--As discussed in Der. Cons. Rif., at some length, liff means "alliance". Blanco, however, is guilty of a howling error here, for he transcribes it throughout the text as lift, which in Moroccan Arabic Arabic means "turnip"!

000 the participating lineages are overwhelmingly affiliated with Ajdir and the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. Indeed, through the first four days, the participants are all members of lineages localized in Ajdir and its immediate environs. Although Ajdir itself may be considered a segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, the distinction made in this context between "Ajdir" on the one hand and "Ughir Iyizan" on the other probably referred originally to participants who were from Ajdir "Proper" as opposed to other Aith Ughir Iyizan. Our own notes tend, in fact, to bear this out, as in the Ajdir turn on the first and third days, the U Haddu and W'Alla w Ujdir part-turns are affiliated with the lineage of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa; the U Hammu part-turn is affiliated with that of the Aith Zar'a; and the U Mis'aud u Yusif part-turn is of course affiliated with that of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif. In the Ughir Iyizan turn, on the second and fourth days, all the part-turn names in question designate lineages which had land in Ajdir long ago but which no longer exist as separate entities. Their names are today preserved only in connection with distribution of irrigation water, the present recipients of which are all in effect members of the three lineages of Ajdir.

To complete the record on the l-Bzimma ditch, it only need be [114] said here that our data vary slightly with Blanco's regarding the irrigational order of the small lineage branches, e.g.,

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir--U Haddu (Aith 'Aru 'Aisa; U Mis'aud u Yusif (Aith Mis'aud u Yusif)
2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan--U Yikhrif; U Yihya u Musa
3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir--W 'Alla w Ujdir (Aith 'Aru 'Aisa); U Hammu (Aith Zar'a)
4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan--W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan; U Dris
5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir
6th Day (24 hours): Zawith and Tishtin r-B'ai

[114] [614] 134--I'arhuthen may be an error; the lineage in question is probably that of the I'abbuthen, a member lineage of the subclan of the Tigarth of the clan of the Aith 'Ari; while the Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru are a branch of Aith r-'Arbi, also of the subclan of Tigarth. We have been unable to trace the lineage affiliations of the Dharwa 'Abdinnbi.

[614] 135--The fact, which Blanco discusses at length below, of the subclan of Imhauren (clan of the Aith 'Ari), of which the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid are member lineages, doling out water on a staggered nine-day basis to the Aith Bu Dhimmus is rendered all the more remarkable when one realizes that the latter are a branch of the lineage of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar, subclan of the Isrihan, in another (and traditionally hostile) clan, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[614] 136--Dhifirasin (literally, "pear trees", sing. dhafirasth) is not the name of a lineage at all, but that of an irrigation ditch. Both the irrigating lineages, however, are of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari: the Aith Mhand u Yihya (of the Plain), though "foreigners" from the Ulad 'Azzam of the Wargha River Sanhaja, are affiliated with the subclan of the Isrihan, while the Im'aruwen (here again there are two groups who are not geographically contiguous, one in Isrihan in the mountains and one in Thafrasth in the Plain--the latter group is under

000
[614] consideration here) are affiliated with the Ajdir segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan.

[614] 137--All three lineages are member groups of the subclan of the Tigarth in the clan of the Aith 'Ari.

312 138--Our own notes on the division of irrigation water from Dharga
571 n-Bulma'iz are a little at variance with those of Blanco. There are
613 three turns of 24 hours each, for the secondary ditches of Dhifirasin,
• 114 r-Ghis Burma'iz and Thafadhna n Dara (Upper Dhafadhna). The Dhifirasin turn is distributed among the lineages of the Ibukriwen, Thanjiqen (both of Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Plain) and Im'aruwen (this is exactly as Blanco indicates); but the Ghis Burma'iz turn is limited only to the three lineages of the Imhawren, i.e. the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid. The Tafadhna n Dara turn is divided between the lineage of the Yinn Si 'Amar (branches of Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Amar and Dharwa nd-Hajj Muhand) of Lower Imrabdhen, clan of the Imrabdhen; and the Aith Bu Dhimmus (Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush); and this is very much at variance with what Blanco says. It is possible, but unlikely, that a change in order may have taken place after the Spanish administration put cement bases in the three principal ditches (r-Bzimma, Bulma'iz and Dthafadhna) in the Lower Ghis; and the cementing occurred long after Blanco left the Rif. It is easier (and probably more plausible) to attribute the discrepancy to ambiguity among informants; but here again, the pitfall of using ambiguity as a scapegoat is that even the least intelligent users of any ditch are always thoroughly conversant with which lineages use it, how much time and how long the cycle is, and in what order it comes. For it is standard irrigation practice in the Plain of al-Husaima that each dharfiqth receives water for 24 hours at a stretch, and that after this, the supply is cut off so that other dharfiqin can irrigate.

000
[114] 139--Blanco is in error here for not being familiar with the segmentary
[614] minutiae of the Aith Waryaghar. The Aith Bu Dhimmus lineage does not belong at all to the dharfiqth of the Imhawren, whose clan affiliations are with the Aith 'Ari, but to that of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar in the subclan of the Isrihan, of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[114] 140--Our own fieldnotes on the subject say nothing of the staggered, around-the-clock rotation every twelve days of the Aith Bu Dhimmus after their insertion into the routine of the Imhawren turn; but we think we are at fault here for not having gone into the matter thoroughly enough. Blanco is indeed to be congratulated here not only on a truly original discovery, but on an excellent exposition of his material as well.

141--This statement proves that in Blanco's time the three principal ditches emanating from the Lower Ghis had not yet been cemented.

142--Only the lineage of the Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith is of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari; all the rest of the individuals and lineages mentioned here are resident in Ajdir of the Aith Ughir Izan subclan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

143--Our own notes on the distribution of water from the Tafadhna ditch, while not as detailed as those of Blanco, are nonetheless largely in accord with his. The ditch has a three-day cycle: Imhawren (24 hours),

000 with the lineages of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid irrigating; Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours) with the Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush irrigating; and Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit (24 hours).

[114] 144--Blanco gives the "9 hours 20 minutes" figure (the difference between 12 hours and 2 hours 40 minutes) as "h. 60", which seems to make no sense whatsoever, and may be simply a typographical error.

[103] 145--Our notes record this as one ditch, called Sidd Tuth r-Hammam ("mulberry in the heat"?), a lower extension, in fact, of Sidd Dharga nd-Bzimma. It has a two-day turn, distributed as follows: U Kammuni, U r-Qadhi, U 'Amar u Bukar, U Muhand and Zawith. As in the l-Bzimma ditch, these names are purely names of turns, and not names of actual lineages located in the area around the ditch. However, at least three of the turn names recall present lineage segments of the clan of the Imrabdhen: U Kammuni and U r-Qadhi recall the Aith Kammun and Aith r-Qadhi in the Upper Imrabdhen, and U 'Amar u Bukar recalls the Aith 'Amar u Bukar in the Lower Imrabdhen. Given this fact, it is also possible, therefore, that Zawith in this context might refer either to the Zawith n Sidi Yusif in the Lower Imrabdhen or to the Zawith n Sidi 'Aisa or Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar in the Upper Imrabdhen. The turn name U Muhand is too generalized to provide any lead.

146--Blanco unfortunately does not provide us with a translation of this document.

147--'Azib, in an Arabic dictionary, is generally given the meaning of "estate", but it is one of many words in Arabic which mean different things to different groups of people. In the Central Atlas, it refers to a shepherd's shelter in a summer pasturage area; and in the Rif it refers to a second house built by an individual who already owns one, preferably a second house in which he spends a certain season of the year, such as summer. Such an individual is called a'azzab, pl. i'azzaben, and there are very few of them in the Central Rif, where transhumance, in any form, is non-existent.

148--The tribes in question which are bounded by the Lower Nkur are the Aith Waryaghar on the west bank and the Thimsaman on the east; but it should also be remembered that the Middle and even a part of the Upper Nkur divides the Aith Waryaghar (west) from the Axt Tuzin (east).

[621] [613] [614] 149--The latter is a lineage-community of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the former (Imzuren) is a thoroughly mixed local community, with elements of the Aith 'Ari, Aith Yusif w 'Ari Imrabdhen and even the Aith Bu 'Ayyash clans all included.

[613] 150--Our notes on Dharga n Dahar state that it has nine turns: five for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (by which, naturally, is meant only those lineage segments of this clan localized around the area of the ditch), and the remaining four as follows: Abyadh (the Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Isrihan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Thasrand Imziren (half for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and half for the Aith Musa w 'Amar), Ihaddushen (a branch of the Aith Musa w 'Amar) and Imzuren. In each one of these turns, there are 7 or 8 nubath. From Thasrand Imziren to the Nkur, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash irrigate; and from Ihaddushen to Imzuren, the Aith 'Ari do so.

224 619 689 114 182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

224 671 [114] [178] We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

224 628 613 614 186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.

A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]

000

[114]
[136]

196--This seems to indicate considerable confusion, both terminological and zoological, for the simple reason that there are no wolves proper in the Rif. A terminological confusion arises because Spanish dictionaries, both Rifian and Arabic, translate Rifian ushshan (pl. ushshannen) and Arabic dhi'b as "lobo, chacal", whereas properly it means only the latter: jackal. By the same token, uhar (pl. uharan) is a fox (not a jackal, as Blanco indicates); and thawardha probably corresponds to awardhyu (pl. iwardhiwen), listed by Ibáñez (op. cit., 1944, p. 439) as synonymous with uhar, "fox". We have never heard the word awardhyu in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, however.

197--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the carcass of a dead animal is used as jackal-bait, and traps are laid around it.

[184]

198--This is in contrast to the situation in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, where division of the game and of the fines incurred are shared equally by all the hunters.

199--We have substituted "system of beliefs" for Blanco's term supersticiones as being somewhat more appropriate anthropologically.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

VITA

114 July 23, 1938 - Born - Pasadena, California

1960 - B.A., University of Nevada

1963 - M.A., University of California, Los Angeles

1962-1964 - Teaching Assistant, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Anthropology

Studies in Economic and Social Anthropology
Professors Pedro Carrasco, Hilda Kuper and M. G. Smith

Studies in Human Population Genetics and Ecology
Professor Joseph B. Birdsell

Studies in Berber Linguistics
Professor Joseph Appelgate

121 related to subsistence are dictated by a different order of
556 practical considerations and ideological commitments than
433 obtain as the dominating factors in industrial society.

121 It has been an on-going dispute in anthropological
114 literature about whether such an economy as that of the Rif
433 is susceptible to the same sort of treatment that marks the study of market-oriented, industrial society. Polanyi began the dispute by pointing out that the rules of choice upon which most economic theory rests are based on a particular social and economic model which has only limited applicability. He noted that the economic behavior of the participants of an industrial society was largely induced by the institution of the market. The difficulty in such economic analysis comes, of course, when we study societies in which the market is not the primary focal point of the economy.

121 In Rif society the marketplace is peripheral to the
433 economy. This condition is due in part to historical and
443 ecological factors which have influenced the evolution of a particular kind of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and economic resources. The Rif has, until recently, been part

121 of the bled-as-siba, or the land outside the administrative
433 control of the Moroccan government. Thus, one of the major
642 social factors in the history of the Rif was the absence of centralized political authority. This lack of a political factor in integrating the economy has directly influenced the

121 Production and distribution continue to be geared to a series of
433 goals arising out of the status economy. These goals involve
128 obligations attendant to life crises (Chapter 3), incumbent on the correct religious performer, or to placate the spiritual world (Chapter 4), to enhance status and/or ecquire allies (Chapter 5). The relationship of the Riffian to the marketplace is described in the final chapter.

101 The field work upon which this study is based was carried
114 out in the Province of Alhucemas in northern Morocco between June of 1965 and November of 1966. The initial month and a half was spent in the port city of Alhucemas arranging necessary papers and working on the local Berber dialect. The following six months were spent among the Beni Wariyaghar in a location of scattered homesteads on the Wariyaghar-Igzinnayen border. The first quarter of 1966 was spent recovering from illness. May to October was spent in a compact village in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen. Field work was terminated in November.

121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
[553] tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
[585] the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
[844] sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.
[852]
[764]

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she
sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
[602] may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
[782] (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
[556] While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
[574] bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so.
However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially
a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is
not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
553
574 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially
602 the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
[114] On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during
553
574 which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the
602 child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to
431 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed
but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by pre-
vious obligations established by gifts that the giver has received
from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money,
20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 is, however, only a descriptive prelude to the much more elaborate presentations which occur in relation to nuptial ceremonies.

585 114 The marriage ceremony is probably the most socially significant public ceremony which takes place in the Rif. The spectacle and complexity of Berber marriage have prompted numerous studies, of which Westermarck (1914) is the most complete and Maunier (1927) the most useful. A rather detailed description of the ceremony among the Beni Iznassen, a tribe neighboring the Rif, is given by Renisio (1932). Accounts for the Rif proper are given by Coon (1931) and Hart (1956). My own description is not at odds with any of the above but the point of view differs from all except possibly Maunier.

585 The marriage process can be broken into three separate divisions of time and into the associated ceremonies and rituals [584] which accompany these three periods. The first period, which takes place prior to the wedding, is one in which the preliminary negotiations take place between the parents of the prospective couple. The second division is the actual wedding festival itself, which takes place over a two or three-day period. The final division is the ceremony held on the seventh day after the marriage. I shall discuss each of these periods in terms of the strategy of bargaining, the expenses entailed by social and religious imperatives, and the function of gift and countergift.

584 In the initial period negotiations are conducted between the male relatives on both sides, the most prominent participants being the fathers of the prospective bride and groom or, if they

565 582 792 other shorfa families. However, the shorfa have never been a solid social class in the Rif because of the large and economically varied numbers of people who claim, with varying degrees of reliability, such descent. Whatever endogamy that exists [556] among the shorfa is between shorfa who are also men of means. Such families as possess both qualities do have a marked propensity towards marrying among themselves. There is also a 556 565 582 class of men who own more land than the average and do not do their own labor but hire others to do it. There is then a very loosely defined economic class which tends to marry within its own circle. It is very rare for a family of this class to marry a girl to a family with small holdings who hire out as laborers. They prefer to marry shorfa women, thus raising their prominence in both economic and religious terms. The majority of people, the small landholders who do their own labor or hire out to others, do not have any noticeable pattern of preference.

582 Aside from a loose class endogamy, marriage in the Rif is relatively freely constructed. There is no guiding principle whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry because of their location within the structure. Aside from incest rules which prohibit marriage with one's mother, father's sister, mother's sister, sister's daughter, brother's daughter, wife's mother, stepdaughter, grandmother, daughter, foster sister, or any child who was suckled by mother, marriage can be contracted with anyone inside or outside the dchar.[1] Within any one dharfiqth

[114] [1] Murdock's information (1959:117) that Riffians do not marry their father's brother's daughter is inaccurate, although the percentage

582 Within any one dharfiqth
[613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzinnayen than for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
565 582 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects from which to draw.

582 602 611 The main structural consequence of the absence of prescriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity at any level of social organization beyond the extended family. Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal principle. Although rights in property and children almost always
611 602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle. A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

---

582 114 [829] of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong. It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we prepared to attend exactly such a union.

584 trousseau. The sdaq does not seem to be regarded as a purchase
583 sum which transfers rights in ownership from one family to another. Although such a transfer may be regarded as an attribute of this exchange, this is not the indigenous explanation. By furnishing the bride with new clothings and new furniture, a husband symbolizes that he is accepting the material responsibilities of her well-being. The bride, in turn, acknowledges that she is relinquishing her material interests in her father's household. Westermarck (1914:72) says that in some places in
[114] Morocco, including tribes in the Rif, the father keeps a portion
[124] of the sdaq for his own purposes. My own field questioning resulted in no example of a parent diverting any portion of the sdaq to his own use. While this may occur on occasion, my informants seemed shocked at the notion and voiced strong disapproval.

Since the bride brings no clothes purchased in her premarried days into her new home, the minimal item required for a marriage is a new wardrobe, including numerous idfina (typical female dress), belts, handkerchiefs, shawls, and slippers. Also required are a wooden chest, and a brass or copper tray and tea pot. All this is placed in the wedding chest which accompanies the bride to the wedding ceremony. It is also customary for the girl to give gifts to all close members of her family, taken from the sdaq (dress and shoes for mother, shoes for sisters, shirts for brothers).

The amount of sdaq varies considerably according to the social position of the families involved. There is considerable

584 haggling over the price, with each side naturally hoping to
583 achieve the best terms. Negotiations can break off at this point but it is considered extremely bad form and every effort is made by representatives of both sides to arrive at an equitable sum. I knew of no sdaq which was less than 500 dirhams ($100) and the average seemed to fall between 500 and 1,000
584 dirhams with some payments going up to 3,000. Hart (1956:170)
583 puts the average at between $50 and $125. The divergence of
● 114 our figures no doubt stems from monetary changes over the past ten years. Hart's figures were based on the Spanish peseta, which was the form of currency up until 1958 in the Rif. My own figures are based on Moroccan dirhams established on a parity with French francs. With the incorporation of the
[458] Spanish zone into the more prosperous French zone, prices for all goods have drastically spiraled upward in the northern zone over the past ten years. Hart is in agreement with my notion that these sums represent a considerable expense to the Berbers.

584 During the negotiations a fqih is present to write down
212 the ultimate agreement over each item, whether it be ceremonial
583 expense or sdaq. He also acts as a mediator, being presumably the only disinterested party present. When the final sum is determined, and this may take many hours and last till dawn of the next day, the fqih draws up a marriage contract. Cash for the sdaq is supposed to be turned over then, but on occasion
584 only a part is exchanged. All the men shake hands and,
583

585 groom to help defray the expenses of the wedding, but a part can
574 also be designated for the groom's personal use. Each gift must
591 also specify a small amount for the person who makes the public
431 announcement. A typical large gift would be announced as two hundred dirhams for the master of the wedding (the father), five dirhams for Moulay el-Sultan (the groom), and one dirham for the spokesman.

Although the smaller gifts are given gratuitously out of good will, the larger ones (fifty dirhams and upwards) are part of an extensive system of social obligations on the part of blood relatives, affines, and friends who are either fulfilling past obligations or setting up future ones. Recipients of gifts given by the father of the groom in the past are now expected to respond in kind. If the marriage is between members of the same lineage or between families who have contracted prior matrimonial links, a set of obligations will already exist. If it is the first marriage between two families, the bride's family is supposed to initiate good relations between the two families by donating to help defray the wedding expenses.

585 Coon has noted in passing (1931:141) that this gift giving
574 can become a competitive game in which the guests give increas-
591 ingly larger amounts of money during the ceremony in order to
431 shame rivals. I have never encountered such a situation in which
556 the ante was raised during the ceremony itself, but a somewhat
[14] similar incident occurred in which a man donated more than the community felt to be his social obligation. At a wedding in one

585 of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes. A
574 feeling of intense competition seems to surround this ceremony
152 with the women of the bride's family appearing lofty and superior vis-à-vis the groom's family. Perhaps it is embodied in the compensatory feeling that one family has permanently lost a member to another family.

585 The seven days prior to this celebration are regarded as a 'honeymoon' during which the bride is still special. With the passing of this ceremony she is no longer tislith (bride) but timrath (wife) and must assume the ordinary business of household
585 activities. Westermarck (1914:309) mentions a further ceremony
431 on the fortieth day after the wedding, in which a goat is slaughtered by the groom and the meat taken to the wife's father's house. There countergifts, in the form of a cow or some goats, are given by the girl's father. This ceremony may
[114] have lapsed by the time I worked in the Rif. At least I have
[178] no data in my notes regarding rituals of marriage following the seventh day ceremony.

796 Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations
785 of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying
[574] numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it
[432] is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the
[431] community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where
[794] they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men
[782] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and dis-
[114] tribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

346 Before turning from religious activities to magical prac-
794 tices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

443 los indígenas, por si mismos, van señalando, con su ausencia e
182 inhibición, cuáles son los que deben desaparecer" (1930:122).
571 Or as Mikesell argues, improved communications and the bus favor the growth of large regional markets over the local one. "The simple charms of the local suq lose their appeal when larger markets with a wider range of goods are accessible" (Mikesell 1958:509).

443 Aside from the fact that market appeal is not based on
182 "simple charms," I think both Albéniz and Mikesell have founded
● 114 their conclusions on a false evaluation of the purposes of the market. When an institution serves multiple purposes it cannot easily be replaced by another institution which serves a single purpose. The large, impersonal regional market does not fulfill the social function of the local suq. Even as a source for supplying the fellah, the regional market has only a marginal value since most purchases are of articles (kerosene, tea, tobacco, etc.) whose value does not appreciably alter from market to market. Indeed, Mikesell elsewhere recognizes that from a buying standpoint one market is as good as another. "Everyone has a turn with the itinerant peddlers, but few purchase anything; for in this area of subsistence economy each family guards its currency for a marriage or some other special event" (1958:503).

443 But it is especially the social functions of the market
182 which reinforce the fellah's loyality to his local suq. It is
571 here that he can maximize his advantages of being part of a status economy. Here he can seek out local notables to assist him.

Composition of the Market of Arba Tsurirt, 1965

443
438
445
265

Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10	Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10
kerosene	6	8	barbers	11	9
rugs	8	7	solderers	3	2
pottery	1	1	shoe repair	9	6
baskets, brooms, and straw hats	4	0	butchers	11	9
men's new clothes	13	12	food for consumption at market	12	10
men's used clothes	7	4	medicine	1	0
women's clothes	x	27	photography	1	0
hardware and spices	29	27	dentist	1	0
barley	8	7	palm reader	0	1
bread	1	2	jewelry	0	1
candy	4	4	rubber boots	0	1
window frames	1	1	belts	0	1
books	1	1	magician	0	1
soft drinks	1	0			
trucks of fish	3	1			
garlic	a	a	turnips	0	a
peppers	a	0	eggs	a	a
almonds	a	0	melons	1	0
walnuts	1	0	grapes	a	0
oranges	0	a	tomatoes	a	0
raisins	0	a	potatoes	a	a
			onions	a	a

a] indicates that the number of vendors was so large and changeable that accurate counting was not possible.

x] indicates that I have no sure figures.

This list includes, to the best of my knowledge, every single item being sold inside the marketplace. It was not possible to keep a tab on livestock transactions. [114]

105 is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or
43 reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to
182 meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption,
[152] etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies. These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic
105 system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself
443 is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan
182 and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with
[181] peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources" (1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unimportant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest, respectively, appearing only as different instances of price according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most predominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the com-
[114] plete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic

105 443 182 114 blindness that led Benet to conclude: "Everything that is not domestically produced has, therefore, to be obtained from the market, through market transactions, and no exchange or commercial activities of any kind are attempted outside of these times and places. The market place has a monopoly on exchange transactions [amongst Berbers]" (1957:196).

105 443 441 182 434 438 The market itself is not the area of primary concern for the fellah. Professional merchants, of course, fall into another category. But there is little impetus for the growth of an indigenous merchant class. The merchant entrepreneur is, by definition, acting in a way which runs counter to the status economy. He is primarily concerned with devoting his capital to profit or income-producing investments. While the peasant comes to the market with commodities to exchange for money to buy other commodities, the merchant seeks to convert money into commodities which he can resell in order to acquire more money. Social and religious imperatives only interfere with the merchant's freedom of action.[1] Unlike transactions in the social sphere which perpetuate themselves into the future as part of a web of reciprocal obligations, the merchant seeks transactions which are impersonal and terminal at the moment of exchange. He is most at home in the suq, where these conditions are nearest to being achieved.

---

[1] I do not mean to draw too close a parallel between the Protestant merchant and his Muslim counterpart. The Islamic business ethic still awaits its Weber.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

perspective. Material traits do not include all of cultural geography, but they do constitute the core of things that the geographer can study systematically.

The thesis of my study of deforestation is that the extent of change can be roughly delimited by historical research and by observation of present trends. In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the principal agents of deforestation have been (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to clear land for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by livestock. There is evidence that each of these agents has been active for centuries. If allowance is made for probable variations in the rate of disturbance, tentative conclusions may be reached as to the extent of change.

For reasons that are painfully evident to all students of Moroccan languages or dialects, correct transliteration is difficult to achieve. Consider the word for "mountain." On French maps it apears as *jebel* or *djebel;* on Spanish maps it is *yebel*. The proper English transliteration of the classical Arabic is *jabal*. But most Moroccans know little of classical Arabic. The usual pronunciation is *jbil*, and this is the way I have written the word. I have tried to transliterate words so that they are intelligible to English-speaking readers. Thus the Maghribi Arabic word for "stream" appears as *wad*, not as *oued* or *uad*. Shawen is substituted for Chauen or Xauen, and Wezzan for Ouezzane. The variant spellings of French and Spanish cartographers are listed in the Appendix.

The field work for this study was carried out from November, 1955, to May, 1957, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to that institution for its support. I am grateful to many Moroccans who helped me to understand their land and culture. Special mention should be made of my frequent traveling companions, Muhammad Miqqi of Ktama and Muhammad ben Hmid l'Arbi of Aith Seddath. I am indebted also to Charles Sauvage of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien for assistance in the identification of plants.

Since returning to the United States, I have profited from correspondence with David M. Hart. Mr. Hart was engaged in ethnological field work in the Rif from 1953 to 1955 and has since returned to Morocco for more extensive research. I am indebted to him for notes on many aspects of Moroccan culture, and especially for his advice on transliteration. The reader with prior knowledge of the literature on northern Morocco will be aware that I have derived great profit from study of the pioneer work of Carleton S. Coon. The illustrations of clothing and house types for chapters i and v were made from my collection of photographs and field sketches by Iris Neff and Jacques Lemieux.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation for the encouragement given to this undertaking by my teachers at the University of California. A preliminary version of this study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in geography under the supervision of Professors Carl O. Sauer, Melvin M. Knight, and James J. Parsons. The present work has profited from the criticism of Professors John Leighly, Erhard Rostlund, and Clarence J. Glacken.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Relict Species

137 The vegetation of northern Morocco has not only been modified by man, but has also undergone progressive natural change. In the varied Moroccan flora, European, Asiatic, and tropical elements are found along with species endemic to the Mediterranean region. During the Pleistocene, the southward movement of a colder and wetter climate brought corresponding southward migrations of European and Euro-Siberian plants. Europe and Barbary were no longer linked by land bridges, but seeds could easily blow or float across the narrow Strait of Gibraltar. Relicts of these invasions are found today in the mountains of northern Morocco in growths of fir (*Abies pinsapo, A. tazaotana*) and deciduous oaks (*Quercus pyrenaica, Q. faginea*) that seem strangely out of place in northern Africa.[11] Other Pleistocene relicts include birch (*Betula alba*), two species of maple (*Acer monspessulanum, A. Opalus*), alder (*Alnus glutinosa*), and the mountain ash, or service tree (*Sorbus torminalis*).[12]

Enigma of the Oleaster

The olive tree (*Olea europaea*) has long been regarded as a symbol of the Mediterranean landscape. Since classical antiquity it has been recognized that not all olive trees are alike, that some grow without cultivation and produce small and bitter fruit. The "wild" olive, or oleaster, was long thought to be an endemic element of the Mediterranean flora and the ancestor of the cultivated tree. Victor [114] Hehn may have been the first to challenge this view on historical and philological grounds.[13] Today this problem is the subject of vigorous debate. Most authorities consider the oleaster to be a natural element of maqui, but some scholars, including August Chevalier, describe it as a "subspontaneous race," escaped from cultivation in ancient time.[14]

[245] In contrast to the common cultivated olive, the oleaster has four-angled thorny branches, broader leaves, and smaller fruit. Moreover, the oleaster, obviously, grows without cultivation or apparent care. None of these points proves that it is an ancestral wild race. As De Candolle remarks, "In a woody species which lives so long and shoots again from the same stock when cut off by accident, it is impossible to know the origin of the individuals observed."[15] To make matters worse, [245] it is a common practice in northern Morocco to graft scions of the cultivated olive to oleaster stock.[16]

The oleaster is best developed in the area covered by palmetto scrub, where the winters are too cold and wet for the cultivated race, but a few oleasters are seen

113 137

[11] Changes of climate also have been invoked to explain the presence of wild olive (*Olea Laperrini*) and cypress (*Cupressus Dupreziana*) in the mountains of the central Sahara. L. Lavauden, "Les Forêts du Sahara," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 65 (1927), 265–277.

[12] The adaptation of "Nordic" species to the Mediterranean environment is considered by Andrea Giacobbe in "Les effets écologiques de l'aridité du climat sur la végétation méditerranéenne: héliophilie et configuration morphologique des forêts," *Unesco Arid Zone Research*, V, "Plant Ecology" (Proceedings of the Montpellier Symposium) (Paris, 1955), pp. 64–66.

[13] Victor Hehn, *The Wanderings of Plants and Animals from Their First Home* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1888), pp. 88–101.

[14] Aug. Chevalier, "L'origine de l'olivier cultivé et ses variations," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 28 (1948), 1–25.

[15] Alphonse de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (New York: Appleton, 1885), p. 280.

[16] Pliny (*Natural History*, XVII, 30) thought that this practice was limited to Africa.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER III

CULTURE HISTORY PRIOR TO EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

FOR THE POPULATIONS and civilizations that reached it, Morocco was a cul-de-sac. Every movement came up against the Atlantic barrier and was retarded by the hostile environment of the Sahara. During the Pleistocene epoch and, indeed, during the first millennia of Recent geologic time, Morocco was a redoubt in which outmoded ways of life perfected themselves in isolation. The descendants of the Neolithic farmers remained dependent on stone tools three thousand years after the Egyptians, at the other end of the Mediterranean, had begun to use metal. Basically, the Stone Age cultures still persist, in spite of Phoenician, Roman, Arab, and European influence.

The historic accounts of the Canary Islands are of special interest. When the Norman and Spanish conquerors reached the Canaries a few generations before the discovery of America, the islanders spoke a Berber dialect and still retained their Neolithic culture. They used stone tools, and fashioned implements from wood, horn, and shell. They produced crude and underfired pottery in the Neolithic style, and their textiles were plaited matting and basketry. Their clothing was of cured goatskin, and their houses were made of stone, pine timbers, and earth. They raised pigs, dogs, sheep, and goats, and grew barley and wheat. They knew how to preserve meat by drying and milk by making cheese. Add metal, weaving, and the crops and animals introduced from southwestern Asia and the Americas, and this outline of material culture is little different from that of an isolated Moroccan village of today.[1]

THE PROBLEM OF CLIMATIC CHANGE

A mass of circumstantial evidence suggests that Barbary has become drier since the time of the Roman occupation. The impressive ruins of Thamugadi (Timgad) and the great amphitheater of Thysdrus (el-Jem) now stand on desolate plains. The ancient seaports of Leptis Magna and Sabratha were found buried under an immense drift of sand. Mosaics and historical records tell of the presence in Roman Africa of elephants, lions, and other wild animals now confined to the tropical zone. Further examples of change presumed to be a result of desiccation could be cited, but these suffice to illustrate the type of evidence that impresses the traveler.

It cannot be denied that the landscape of northern Africa has changed since classical time, but the thesis of a climatic explanation of this change is difficult to defend. Most of the evident deterioration can be traced to neglect or destruction by man. Aqueducts, dams, and cisterns made possible the building of the now dead cities. With the collapse of the Pax Romana, marginal land dependent on irrigation went out of cultivation. Burning, cutting, and overgrazing

[1] Leonardo Torriani, *Die kanarischen Inseln und ihre Urbewohner;* trans. from the MS of 1590 by D. J. Wölfel (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1940), Vol. VI of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde.* C. S. Coon, in *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1951), pp. 36–40, calls attention to the Canary Islanders as "Berbers" unaffected by foreign influence.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[5]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[6] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[7]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[8] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35)

[5] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[6] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[7] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[8] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

thetic to Moroccan or "Arab" nationalism, refer to a "Berber myth" and refuse to recognize any ethnic division in the country.[9] The *politique berbère* may have had its faults, but this fact does not mean that we should rewrite Moroccan history.

Berber dialects are still spoken by six to seven million people, including about 45 per cent of the population in Morocco, about 30 per cent in Algeria, and about 2 per cent in Tunisia.[10] Berber dialects are spoken also in the Jabal Nefusa and the Siwa oasis in Libya,[11] and on the southern fringe of the Sahara. The Berber language once extended to the Canary Islands.

The Berber speaking peoples of northern Africa are now concentrated in five groups: Rifians, Braber, Shluh, Kabylies, and Shawiya (fig. 9). They are chiefly mountaineers, and all but the Braber, who practice transhumance, are sedentary farmers. The other groups include the Ghmara, who are almost completely Arabized, the tribesmen of Sanhaja as-Srair, a small colony on the island of Jerba, the Tuareg of the central and southern Sahara, and the inhabitants of the oases of Mzab, Touggourt, Ouargla, Ghardaia, Figuig, Gourara, and Touat.[12]

The original home of the Berber language is unknown, but scholars believe that it is most nearly related to Ancient Egyptian, Cushite, and certain of the Chad languages, which are traditionally but perhaps improperly called Hamitic.[13] This relationship reinforces the theory advanced by archaeologists that the Neolithic of northern Africa shows Egyptian influence.[14] In spite of a bewildering number of dialects, which is normal for an ancient language without literature, Berber can be divided into three groups: Masmuda, Sanhaja, and Zenata.[15] Masmuda was the language of the majority of the sedentary farmers before the Arab invasion. The Shluh and the Ghmara speak it today; Rifian is thought to be a mixed form. The Sanhajan dialect was the speech of the transhumants and nomads. It is now spoken in northern Morocco (Sanhaja as-Srair), in the Middle Atlas, and by the Kabylies, Shawiya, and Tuareg. Zenatiya, formerly confined to the high plateaus of Algeria and the Oujda region, has spread to many of the Saharan oases, including distant Siwa. Because of natural population growth the number of Berber speakers has increased, but the area of Berber speech has lost ground to Arabic. In fact, since the Muslim conquest Berber has gained ground only in Negro Africa, where some tribes in the Niger Territory and the French Sudan have adopted the Tuareg dialect. Without fixed grammar or an effective system of writing, Berber could not compete with the language of the Prophet.[16]

[9] Marvine Howe, "The Birth of the Moroccan Nation," *Middle East Jour.*, 10 (1956), 1–16.

[10] G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France [collection "Que Sais-Je?"], 1957), pp. 16 ff.

[11] Louis Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," *Middle East Jour.*, 12 (1958), 33–44.

[12] On the distribution of Berber speech, see also André Basset, *La langue berbère* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

[13] J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Co., 1955). First published in *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 5, 6, 10 (1949–1954).

[14] Egyptian influence on north African rock art is examined in Raymond Vaufrey, "L'art rupestre nord-africain," *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine*, Mémoire 20 (1939). The most striking evidence of direct influence is the presence in Algeria of rock drawings of rams wearing the solar disk associated with the worship of Re. When worn by the ram, which was sacred to Amon of Thebes, it indicates Amon-Re, the composite god of Egypt during the New Kingdom (1600–1100 B.C.).

[15] These are the major genealogical divisions of Ibn Khaldun. Strictly speaking, it is not correct to use this division in linguistic classification.

[16] The only system of writing at the time of the Arab conquest was the Libyco-Berber alphabet used in rock art. This alphabet was probably developed from ideas borrowed from the Phoeni-

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

372 137 311 Plants that are somewhat resistant to fire or are stimulated to multiply and reproduce by fire have been called pyrophytes.[a] There are many kinds of pyrophytes, for resistance to or stimulation from fire may be achieved in several ways. The cork oak could be called a pyrophyte of passive resistance, for it is protected by thick insulating bark. Plants that send out new shoots after their aerial organs have been partly or completely destroyed might be described as pyrophytes of vegetative reaction. Budding may take place above ground, as in the thuya, or below ground, as in the kermes oak, palmetto, madrone, and numerous Mediterranean shrubs. Trees that cast deep shade (e.g., undisturbed holly oaks) could be termed pyrophytes of indirect resistance. Finally, some trees and shrubs that seed heavily and grow rapidly (e.g., Aleppo pine and species of *Cistus*) might be described as social pyrophytes.

372 114 137 311 This classification, derived from the pioneer work of Kuhnholtz-Lordat, has much to recommend it,[b] but, like all classifications, it has some faults. The passive resistance of the cork oak depends upon the lapse of time since the last stripping of the bark. Pyrophytes of vegetative reaction may be destroyed if fires recur in rapid succession. In northern Morocco it is hard to think of a good example of indirect resistance. Some stands of cork oak and holly oak have shaded floors and sparse underbrush, but during the dry season such formations may be inflammable. Again, although the Aleppo pine is an excellent pioneer, it may be exterminated if fires recur in rapid succession or if the young shoots are browsed.

372 137 311 Recurrent burning thus favors some plants and discourages others. Continuous repetition of brush fires produces communities rich in geophytes and therophytes. In much of northwestern Morocco, species of *Cistus* are the first shrubby pioneers.[c] They soon collect in extensive clumps, but die out after ten to fifteen years if not burned again. Large areas in Jbala and Ghmara, now covered with *Cistus monspeliensis*, *C. albidus*, and *C. ladaniferus*, probably were once covered with forests of cork oak or holly oak. Fires usually do not destroy the aerial organs of trees protected by thick bark, but the mortality rate rises sharply immediately after the bark has been stripped."

When aerial organs are destroyed, both cork oak and holly oak reproduce from shoots. An occasional fire may even serve to regenerate a senile forest. But extreme care must be taken to prevent further destruction, for *Cistus*, *Erica*, and other heliophilous shrubs spread over the surface as soon as more light reaches the ground. Since the expanding secondary growth is highly inflammable, this process increases the danger of recurrent fires.[d] After several fires, the mesophytic plants are replaced by species more xerophytic as well as more heliophilous, indicating a change to drier soil conditions.[e]

---

[a] Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée*, *passim*, cited in note 32.

[b] *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

[c] Because of its rapid growth and abundant crop of seeds, *Cistus* has been used in California to protect denuded slopes. Gustaf Juhren, "The Use of *Cistus* in Erosion Control," *Lasca Leaves*, Spring, 1956, pp. 26–29. (113)

[d] See also Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 663 ff., cited in note 5; and A. Dugelay, "La remise en valeur des forêts de chênes-lièges incendiées," *Rev. Forestière Française*, November, 1951, pp. 687–694.

[e] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 649, describes *Erica arborea* as an "élément ignicole par excellence." (113) On the effects of fire in similar environments, see A. W. Sampson, *Plant Succession on Burned Chaparral Lands in Northern California* (Berkeley: California Agricultural Experiment Station, 1944); R. S. Adamson, *The Vegetation of South Africa* (London: British Empire Vegetation Committee, 1938); W. B. Turrill, *The Plant Life of the Balkan Peninsula* (Oxford:

Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1
Shluh
R.f pt 3

themselves appointed qā'id. With imperial sanction and modern rifles, they conquered tribe after tribe, dissolving the assemblies and setting out khalīfas and shaikhs in the neighboring valleys to carry out their orders.

These qā'ids settled down into three houses, those of the Glawi, Gundafi, and Mtugi, reading from east to west along the Atlas. (The family of the Glawi, now in its third generation, is headed by the powerful el Ḥajj Thāmi [Tīhāmi], also pasha of Marrakesh.) These three absolute autocrats have so crushed the mountaineers under their control that only the oldest remember the earlier system of government. Each of them has a huge fortress, strategically located near the crest of the divide, as for example that of Telwet, which is the Glawi's stronghold. Inside high walls are a number of castles, with an inner court. Great granaries hold the tribute brought by the farmers; dungeons hide the starving bodies of bandits captured on the roads. Mountain Jews and Negro retainers throng the courtyard, and privileged visitors (I was one in 1927) eat in the guest chambers.

Delegating power to the three great qā'ids is one way of ruling without effort. These men, controlling private armies, could make or break sultans, and they have also figured in the politics of the French Protectorate in a fashion similar to the fabulously wealthy princes of India under the British. Robert Montagne speaks with feeling when he states that Native Affairs officers were able to take over the direction of the small confederation of Ida U Tanan before the Mtugi could swallow it.

Ruling by delegating power to a local autocrat is something new in Morocco, but farther east it is an old system, which we have already seen in operation in western Asia; this is the way both Romans and Sassanian Persians controlled the Nabatean Arabs. This is also the way that the shahs of Iran (when they have been strong enough) have dealt with the Bakhtiari and other tribesmen. The Iranian tribesmen, however, have a reason for unity, the need for order in their annual migration. The Shluh need no more unity than they had in 1860, at the price they have paid for it. What the French think of this system is not easy to discover.

By now the reader is ready to join me in entering the Rif, as I first did in 1926, the year of 'Abd el-Krīm's surrender. On the way into the tribe of Gaennaya we noticed that our dog was growing ill. He

/238 cont./

121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 361 621 632 [619] the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 613 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 •114 [171] It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial gr[illegible]ore numerous and more lasting than the "[illegible]s" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

621
613
614
•114
171

/239 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11. Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse origins there. On the other hand, the bond of blood exists among the households of the same Riffian jema^{c}a.

621 it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and be-
613 comes a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq" heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers"
621 resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they
628 take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring
613 hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of exter-
726 mination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of the Aït ^{c}Abdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, following the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the
[722] country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under
[435] which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ^{c}adoul; if the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

226
389 Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

G) Recovery:

425 Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped (517) to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

H) Arbiters:

628
554 Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

628
648
554
607
642
115 Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

628 to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the
628 verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine
554 and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the
671 same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and
692 finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting them-
[115] selves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this
628 qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen
554 is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

227 The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analo-
[171] gous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the
[177] Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly
501 the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

ooo

22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291
142
492

MOHAMMED LIMNIBHY

[frontispiece]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rlf MX3

ccc

HARVARD AFRICAN STUDIES

VOLUME IX

[p. i]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

000

EDITORS

E. A. HOOTON, PH.D., B.LITT.

NATICA I. BATES

[P.11]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

HARVARD AFRICAN STUDIES

VOLUME IX

TRIBES OF THE RIF

BY

CARLETON STEVENS COON, PH. D.

PEABODY MUSEUM OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U.S.A.
1931

[p. iii]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

000

COPYRIGHT, 1931, BY THE
PEABODY MUSEUM OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

PRINTED AT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U. S. A.

[p.iv]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927). 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

000

"This countrey is very pleasant and good, and you will take great delight (I am confident) at the Relation of this Journey, although I stand not to mention all particulars; and after the reading of it you will see, that they often, with us, make Monsters and Barbarians of those persons, who have nothing of it but the name, which indeed their Country gives them; and you will affirm, as I do, that they are people of real faith, and most obliging to strangers." — SIEUR ROLAND FREJUS, *Relation of a Voyage made into Mauretania in Afrik, in the year 1666.*

[p. v]

[p. vi is blank]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

121 In collecting the data upon which this book is based, the chief concern of the investigators was to obtain a sufficiently large series of anthropometric records from each tribe in the Rif, northern Senhaja, and from the Ghomara, so that the distribution of somatological characteristics in these areas might be determined with some degree of accuracy. So much of the expedition's time was spent in this pursuit that it was impossible to secure as much data on the subjects of religion and magic as was desired. Other elements of culture, both material and social, were easier to observe and record.

128 In presenting the data so gathered an attempt has been made not only to describe but to analyse as well, and to reconstruct from the living material the natures and order of cultural and racial changes in the north of Morocco, especially in their relation to the Berber world as a whole.

114 During our travels in Morocco I have unfortunately not learned any one Berber dialect well enough to work directly in it, nor to record phonetic texts. Such fine work is the province of Westermarck, of Biarnay, and of Laoust, whose labors I hold in especial esteem. In wealth of detail, my cultural material falls short of Westermarck's and of Laoust's, especially in the fields of magico-religious practices and of agriculture. Fortunately for me I was able to work in a region which I believe neither of them has visited, and hence am able to supplement their monumental compilations with first-hand data from a fresh quarter of Barbary. The time at which the bulk of these researches were made fell just at the close of the Riffian war, after Abd el Krim's surrender and before all of the tribes had renounced their freedom. Coming at that time I was luckily able to see Riffian life still led according to the old style, for a few weeks at least, and to record by witnessing them practices and customs now forever discontinued.

000 The Spanish authorities, from the highest to the lowest in rank, received us most cordially and generously set the assistance of their military organisation at our service. I can never cease being grateful to them for a consideration and kindness which must have cost them considerable work and annoyance. So great was their hospitality that to prevent it from hindering work was sometimes a problem.

As to the Riffians themselves, it would be difficult for me to praise them too highly. Their keen comprehension, ready acceptance of the purpose of our inquiries, high degree of coöperation, and generous hospitality never failed to astonish us. Spain is indeed fortunate to possess such a protectorate. Its wealth of man power, the intelligence of its people, and the natural resources of the country will in time repay her amply for the deservedly con-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

siderate and friendly attitude which, so soon after the end of fighting, she has already begun to show in the administration of this conquered people, whose virile spirit of independence has for the first time in history been effectively curbed.

For patronage, advice, and aid in the completion of my research and in the publication of this volume I owe thanks to many persons, more than I could possibly enumerate. Professor Hooton first suggested this work, obtained funds for me, advised me constantly while in the field, taught me how to work up the statistical material, and gave much constructive advice in the preparation of the manuscript. Mrs. Orie Bates has most generously financed its publication.

Funds for the field trip of 1926–27, and for some of the subsequent analysis, were provided by the Bureau of International Research. The head of this body, Professor George Grafton Wilson, showed a kindly interest in the work, as did the late Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge.

In Morocco, the success of this expedition, as well as of that which took place in the summer of 1928, was due almost entirely to the coöperation of two persons, my wife and Mohammed Limnibhy. Travelling with me wherever I went, through the most difficult of conditions, despite poor health, recording without complaint for hours on end, while sitting on a dirt floor with a notebook on her knees, ministering to throngs of diseased persons, and helping the ethnological inquiry tremendously by observing and inquiring from women, my wife performed far more than her share of difficult work. Limnibhy, as interpreter, collector of ethnological data, anthropometric assistant, blood-letter, bodyguard, and diplomat supreme, showed himself to be a brilliant field worker on his own account. During the year which he later spent with us in America he was of incalculable assistance in helping put the first part of this volume into shape. Without the enthusiasm and unselfish assistance of these two persons this volume would have been a slim pamphlet indeed.

Among the American diplomatic and consular officers in Morocco I am especially grateful to the Honorable Maxwell Blake, our minister in Tangier, and to Mr. Russell, formerly consul in Casablanca. Both of these officials exerted themselves most cordially in our behalf, and secured our diplomatic standing with the Spanish officials.

A list of the Spanish officers to whom we are indebted for help and hospitality would be practically a roster of Spain's military staff in the Rif. Commandante Toneda of Melilla arranged our credentials for the entire Rif, and allowed me to measure in his office and in all of the markets of the eastern Rif, thus greatly facilitating the investigation. Colonel Paxtot of Tetwan allowed us to proceed to Sheshawen during a very trying period, and the officers at Sheshawen graciously entertained and assisted us for a week. In Beni Amart, Captain Sanchez Perez was likewise most hospitable and helpful. His ability to win over the respect and affection of a tribe which he had just been fighting marked him as a high type of colonial administrator.

Among the French officials, I received friendly advice and assistance from Dr. de

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Liouville, the head of the Institut Scientifique Cherifien; from the late M. Duclos, head of the Bureau des Renseignments; from Colonel Huot, in charge of the region of Taza, and from the General de Chambrun, of Fez. Officers at Aknul and Bured, in Gzennaya, gave us the hospitality of their posts.

Among the many native inhabitants of the country who treated us with especial kindness might be enumerated the Sheikh Si Moh wild el hajj Bukkeish of Tiddest; the Khalifa Absalem of Ikaroen; the Kaid Bu Kaddur of Temsaman, the Kaid Amar n Woshun of Beni Said, Ben Tato of Targuist, now a Spanish mokhazni; and the Malim Hamid of Taghzuth. Mohammed Guesus, a Fezzi resident in Boston, also gave me valuable assistance.

In the tedious work of statistical compilation which came as an aftermath to these trips I was assisted by Mrs. Barbara Wheeler, James Brewster, and various members of my family. The maps which appear throughout this volume were drawn by Elmer Rising, who also made the plate showing tatooing types. The one photograph used as an illustration which was not taken by the expedition, the picture of the Riffian skiing in Plate 1, was kindly given me by a Spanish officer at Imasinen of Beni Seddath.

Professor Glover Allen of the Zoölogy Department spent considerable time directing my untrained efforts at a zoölogical compilation, and made valuable changes in the proof; F. Tracy Hubbard of the Botany Department identified botanical specimens for me. For the use of unpublished anthropometric material I am indebted to Professor F. de las Barras de Argáon, to Dr. George Williams, to Robert Ehrich, and to Gordon Bowles. Professor Laurence Snyder of the North Carolina State College provided me with blood sample tubes and analysed the specimens sent to him. Dr. Joshua Bloch of the New York Public Library, W. H. Sawyer of Bates College, and Dr. Curtis L. Sopher of Wakefield suggested useful reference material. J. T. Day of the Harvard University Press has been of great assistance in the preparation of this manuscript for publication.

CARLETON S. COON

PEABODY MUSEUM
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
January 23, 1931

[p. x is blank]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

000

CONTENTS

PART ONE. CULTURE

I. Introduction . . . 3
Tribal Boundaries . . . 3
Physical Geography . . . 5
Vegetation . . . 7
Climate . . . 9
Fauna . . . 10

II. Traditions of Origin: Ghomara, Senhaja, and Rif . . . 16
Ghomara . . . 16
Senhaja . . . 16
Rif . . . 19

III. Recorded History of the Rif . . . 22
Pre-Islamic History . . . 22
First Arab Invasions . . . 26
The Kingdom of Nekor . . . 27
Other Early Centers . . . 33
Arrival of the Bedawin . . . 34
The Zenatan Invasion . . . 35

IV. Material Culture . . . 37
Hunting . . . 37
Fishing . . . 38
Animal Husbandry . . . 38
Land Transport . . . 42
Navigation . . . 43
Agriculture and the Gathering of Wild Plants . . . 43
Food Preparation and Eating . . . 56

V. Material Culture (*continued*) . . . 64
Metal Work . . . 64
Manufacture of Gunpowder . . . 66
Preparation and Working of Leather . . . 66
Woodwork and Carpentry . . . 67
Manufacture of Tar . . . 67
House Types . . . 68
Household Furniture . . . 73
Pottery . . . 74
Wood, Skin, and Iron Containers . . . 75
Basketry . . . 76
Textiles . . . 77
Clothing . . . 79

[p. xi]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Tattooing 86
Use of Henna 88
Use of Kohl 89

VI. Social Organization 90
Kinship Groups and Political Divisions 90
Social Classes 92

VII. Government and Warfare 96
Representative Councils 96
Duties of the Village Council 99
Duties of the Council of the Great 102
Duties of the Tribal Council 104
Inter-Tribal Warfare 106

VIII. Markets 109

IX. Public Buildings and Public Instruction 112
Mosques and Saints' Tombs 112
Education 113

X. Judicial and Clerical Officers; Laws Governing Inheritance 117

XI. Crises in the Life of the Individual 122
Birth 122
Names and Naming 124
The First Haircut 127
Circumcision 129
Marriage 132
Divorce 142
Death and Burial 143

XII. Religion 146
Religious Brotherhoods 147
Saints 148
Celebrations 150
Supernatural Beings 154

XIII. Magic 157
Baraka 157
Theira 158
Theira of the *Jnun* 160
Old Women's Magic 162
Shame-Compulsions 162
Oaths 163
The Evil Eye 164
Interpretation of Dreams 164

XIV. Analysis of the Distribution of Cultural Factors 166

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PART TWO. RACE

XV. The Anthropometric Series; Comparative Data 177
XVI. Measurements and Indices of the Body 181
XVII. Measurements and Indices of the Head and Face 201
XVIII. Pigmentation of the Skin, Hair, and Eyes 253
XIX. Morphological Observations 281
XX. Metrical Analysis of Six Moroccan and Seven Comparative Groups . . . 327
XXI. Metrical Analysis of Riffian and Senhajan Tribes 339
XXII. Analysis of Pigmentation Phenomena 348
XXIII. Morphological Types in Tribal Means 387
XXIV. Blood Groups, their Distribution and Significance 393
XXV. Culture, Tradition, and Race. Conclusions regarding Berber Origins . 406
Bibliography 413

[p. xiv is blank]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

ILLUSTRATIONS

PART ONE. ENVIRONMENT AND CULTURE

Mohammed Limnibhy . . . . . *Frontispiece*
1. Environment 1 4
2. Environment 2 8
3. Environment 3 18
4. Archaeology 1 26
5. Navigation and Fishing 1 34
6. Navigation and Fishing 2 36
7. Transport 1 40
8. Transport 2 42
9. Agriculture 1 46
10. Agriculture 2 48
11. Agriculture 3 52
12. Agriculture 4 54
13. Food Preparation 1 56
14. Food Preparation 2 56
15. Industries 1 60
16. Industries 2 60
17. House Types 1 64
18. House Types 2 66
19. House Types 3 66
20. House Types 4 68
21. House Types 5 70
22. House Types 6 72
23. Central Riffian Pottery 76
24. Central Riffian Pottery-Basketry 78
25. Clothing 1 80
26. Clothing 2 84
27. Clothing 3 88
28. Footwear 92
29. Tattooing Designs 94
30. Markets 1 110
31. Markets 2 110
32. Markets 3 110

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 RII MX3

PART TWO. PHYSICAL TYPES

(All plates are at end of volume)

33. Kebdana
34. Galiya, Masuza
35. Galiya, Beni Sidel
36. Galiya, Ait Shisher and Beni Bu Yafer
37. Galiya, Beni Bu Ifrur
38. Beni Bu Yahyi
39. Metalsa
40. Beni Said
41. Beni Ulishk
42. Tafersit
43. Temsaman
44. Beni Tuzin
45. Gzennaya
46. Gzennaya
47. Beni Urriaghel
48. Beni Urriaghel
49. Beni Amart
50. Targuist
51. Bokoya
52. Western Maritime Tribes
53. Riffian Women
54. Beni Mesduy and Beni Gmil
55. Zarhet
56. Beni Bu Naar, Beni Khennus, Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, and Beni Berber
57. Taghzuth
58. Taghzuth
59. Taghzuthi Women
60. Ktama
61. Arabophone Senhaja
62. Negroid Types
63. Ghomara
64. Sheshawen
65. Arabs
66. Shluh
67. Shluh from Sous, and Drawa

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

LIST OF MAPS

PART I

Introductory; Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara 3
1. Distribution of Cereals 48
2. Terraced Agriculture 52
3. Methods of Bread-Making 58
4. Food Preparation 61
5. House Types 1 70
6. House Types 2, Sloping Roofs 71
7. Types of Containers 74
8. Basketry Types 76
9. Textiles 78
10. Types of Footwear 85
11. Tattooing 87
12. Social Restrictions 93
13. Government 98
14. Birth and Naming 123
15. First Haircut 128
16. Preceptor vs. Akovani and Age at Circumcision 131
17. Marriage Traits 1 133
18. Marriage Traits 2 137
19. Burial Rites 143
20. Central Riffian Material Culture—Distribution of 82 Traits 169
21. Central Riffian Social Institutions—Distribution of 33 Traits 169
22. Central Riffian Culture—Tribal Scores above the Means 170
23. Nomadic and Zenatan Traits 172
24. Senhajan and Jebalan Traits 173

PART II

25. Stature 181
26. Head Length 201
27. Head Breadth 205
28. Head Height 213
29. Minimum Frontal 220
30. Bizygomatic 225
31. Bigonial 231
32. Total Face Height 234
33. Nose Height 244
34. Nose Breadth 248

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

35. Skin Color — Percentage of Vascular Light 253
36. Hair Color — Percentage of Pure Blond Beards 264
37. Eye Color — Percentage of Light and Mixed Eyes 271
38. Eye Color — Dark Eyes; Percentage of Light Brown 271
39. Mixed Eyes, Percentage of Zoned Irides 276
40. Pigment Types 352
41. Morphological Types 389
42. Blood Group Types 395

1: Coon . E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

500

PART ONE

CULTURE

131

RIF, SENHAJA AND GHOMARA

[P.2]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE territory with which this book is concerned is of small area, despite the fact that it contains continental extremes of environment. It extends along the Mediterranean coast of Morocco from approximately one degree and twenty-six minutes west longitude to approximately one degree and twenty minutes east longitude, possessing about one hundred and forty-five miles of Mediterranean coast-line; its most northerly point is at approximately thirty-five degrees and twenty-nine minutes north latitude, and its most southerly at about thirty-four degrees and nineteen minutes north latitude. The greatest distance north and south in a vertical line in this area is approximately fifty-three miles. This territory, small as it is, includes three distinct provinces, or regions: the Rif, the Ghomara, and what may be called the Northern Senhaja.

TRIBAL BOUNDARIES

Rif. The Rif occupies the eastern portion of this area and is greater in size than the Senhaja and Ghomara combined. Its westernmost border is the Wed Uringa, which separates it from the Ghomara, and its eastern the Wed Muluya, which separates it from the Zenatan tribe of Beni Znassen and from the Arabs who live to the southeast of that stream. Of these Arab tribes, one has already encroached on Riffian territory by locating permanently west of the river — the Ulad Stut, a nomadic tribe of Bedawin, much mixed with Riffian blood.

There are eighteen more or less distinct tribes in the Rif proper. These are Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Targuist, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, and Mtiwa.[1] The location of these tribes can be ascertained by a study of the map opposite page 3. It will be seen that the largest tribes geographically are Galiya (which includes Mazuza, Beni Shisher, Beni Sidel, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Bu Yafer), Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi. The largest in point of population is Beni Urriaghel, next comes Gzennaya, and Galiya is probably third. The Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, although they inhabit a relatively large territory, are not numerous; they are nomadic in habit and occupy a sparsely vegetated terrain.

One might divide the Rif geographically into three parts, eastern, central, and western. The eastern part would comprise Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit. The central portion would comprise Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Targuist, and Bokoya. The western part would be the maritime tribes, as they might be called — Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, and Mtiwa.

[1] In giving these tribal names I have used the common Arabic equivalents for the Berber originals, since to render the Berber names as they are actually pronounced would involve a confusing use of phonetic symbols and would, furthermore, prevent the use of a standard system, since pronunciations of these names vary from tribe to tribe and in some cases within tribes.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 1

ENVIRONMENT 1

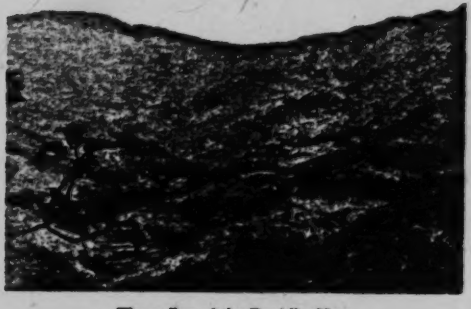
133

Mt. Meggu, behind Sheshawen

On the pass between Beni Bu N-ar and Taghzuth

Member of Riffian Ski-Corps on duty in Beni Seddath

Looking down off to the village of el Kelaa. Taghzuth



The valley of the Beni Bu Nsar

[Facing p. 4]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 619 **Senhaja.** To the west and southwest of the Rif, nowhere touching the Mediterranean seaboard, is the Northern Senhaja, which may be divided into the Senhaja Sghir, or Little Senhaja, and the Arabophone Senhaja, composed of tribes extending to either side of the nuclear group. The Little Senhaja contains eleven tribes. Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Naar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Berber, Taghsuth, and Ktama. To these may be added Beni Mesduy, a tribe of two villages compressed between Targuist, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and Zarket. Politically, Beni Mesduy is divided between Targuist and Zarket; geographically, it is thrust into the side of the Rif; linguistically, it is Senhajan. Since the Beni Mesduy speak the same Senhajan dialect as the people of Zarket, and consider themselves to be remotely descended from the same ancestors, they are usually classed as Senhajan by the Riffians living near them.

197 Although this is not a work on linguistics, some reference to language cannot be avoided. The Riffians speak a peculiar dialect of Berber called *thamazighth*, which seems to be most typically represented in the central region, and grades into the Zenatan idiom as one passes eastward toward the Muluya. The people of Targuist have lost their Berber speech, speaking Arabic domestically, and the same is true to a lesser extent of the Beni Bu Frah, many of whom are ignorant of Berber. The peoples of Mestassa and Mtiwa are losing it rapidly.

The dialect spoken in the Senhaja Sghir, although possessing local differences between tribes, is distinctly different from any dialect of the Rif, and cannot be understood without study by a Riffian. Riffian and Senhajan speakers of Berber are forced to employ Arabic as a means of communication.

The Senhajan tribes which speak only Arabic are divided into two groups, those to the east of the tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil (to be distinguished from the Riffian maritime tribe of Mtiwa, called, to avoid confusion, Mtiwa dial Bhar) and those to the west of it.

The Eastern Arabophone Senhaja contains nineteen units generally considered as tribes. These are Marnissa, Beni Krama, Branes, Amshesh, Beni Wenjin, Fenassa, Beni Ulid, Zrarka, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Muxiet, Rgheiwa, Aghbalu, Khunduktamda, Ulad Brahim, and Beni Bu Slama. Amshesh and Beni Bu Slama are but single settlements, occupied by religious devotees, the former located on the border between Beni Amart and Marnissa, and the latter between Beni Hamid and Beni Wenjin. Both retain Berber speech of the Senhajan variety. Zwawa, a small village of the tribe of Fenassa, likewise preserves Berber speech. Taunat el Uta, a village politically affiliated with the non-Senhajan tribe of Mtiwa djal Jbil, is said to be of Senhajan origin, and hence is included with the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

The Western Arabophone Senhaja, extending from the western border of Ktama to and beyond the city of Sheshawen, is perhaps not as purely Senhajan as the Eastern division. It includes the tribes of Beni Hamid Sorak, Ghasawa, and el Khmes, and two isolated villages separate from the rest — Tazeghudra, in the midst of the non-Senhajan tribe of Beni Zerwal, and Taghsuth, in Beni Hassan of the Ghomara. The latter lays claim to being an offshoot of the tribe of Taghsuth and preserves Senhajan speech.

Beni Hozmar, a tribe to the northwest of Sheshawen, is said to be Senhajan, but data are difficult to obtain, owing to the fact that the Riffian army in their advance on Tetwan during the recent war utterly destroyed the village of these people, and whatever inhabitants survived scattered, leaving their home territory uninhabited.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 619 **Ghomara.** The third great region is the Ghomara, which extends along the Mediterranean coast from Wed Uringa to Wed Lao, and is separated from the Senhaja by the main mountain crest. It is divided into eight tribes, Beni Ziat, Beni Zejel, Beni Selman, Beni Bu Zra, Beni Mansur, Beni Grir, Beni Smih, and Beni Rezin.

197 Of these Beni Bu Zra retains Berber speech in fairly complete form, and all the others employ Berber words mixed with Arabic. This Ghomaran dialect has never been studied, but seems to resemble Riffian more closely than does Senhajan, in that Riffian and Ghomaran are mutually comprehensible.

131 619 **Other Berber Groups.** This work is confined to a consideration of the Riffians, Senhajans, and Ghomarans because my material covers these groups only, and not because they are the only recognizable Berbers of northern Morocco. In the peninsula which culminates at Tangier and Ceuta lives another group, the Anjera, which although Arab in speech is distinctly Berber in appearance, and which is said to be related to the Riffians; to the south and west of the Senhaja are other tribes, such as the Beni Zerwal, which are certainly not Arab in origin.

The term *Jebala*, from the Arabic word for mountain, is generally used to distinguish the Ghomara, the Arabophone Senhaja, and the other Berber tribes of the northwest from the Riffians and from the Arabs. This term is unfortunately inexact, and hence is not employed in this work to designate any specific area.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

133 The most important topographical feature of this region is the high mountain chain which bends southward from Tetwan into the heart of the Senhaja Sghir, and then resumes an eastward course through the Rif until it fades down into a series of hills in Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi to crop up again, thrusting northeastward, in Galiya, and carrying the land of that tribe out into the Mediterranean at the Cabo Tres Forcas. Although the crest of this range is in most places nearly thirty miles from the Mediterranean coast, the shore line itself is rough and craggy, since the mountains carry much of their height to the very water's edge, where they descend with a sharp drop. The mountains are higher in the west than in the east. Adhrar Tidighin, partly in Beni Khennus and partly in Beni Seddath, is the highest in the range, reaching an altitude of 2,549 meters [1] in one peak and 2,455 meters [1] in another; it is covered on the north side with a permanent layer of snow. Although Tidighin is the highest peak, it does not far surpass its neighbors. Between Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar, slightly southeast of Tidighin, is another mountain of great height and majesty, called the mountain of Taghzuth, 2,330 meters [1] high. In the Rif itself the highest points of the divide are Kuin, 1,883 meters,[1] and Tizi Uzli, 2,006 meters,[1] both in the Gzennaya. The Jebel Hammam, in Beni Urriaghel, attains about the same height, 1,948 meters, [1] but does not fall in the direct line of the watershed.

The divide itself runs between the Ghomara and the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; it separates Ktama from Mtiwa of the Rif, and Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus from Beni Bu Nsar (although in truth these three tribes might be said to perch on top of it); runs through Zarket, setting Targuist on one side and Beni Hamid on the other; and cuts through the middle of Beni Amart, along the range of Tizi Ifri, and across the top of Gzennaya, along

[1] Map issued by the Service Géographique du Maroc, Rabat, March, 1926. Scale, 1: 20,000.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

133 Kuin, Akhfiligum, and the pass of Tizi Uzli, thus placing a portion of Gzennaya in the Nekor drainage along with Beni Tuzin and Beni Urriaghel. East of Gzennaya the ridge loses its great importance, and the country sinks down into a flat, arid plain, occupied by Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, while to the north of these tribes it springs up again, pointing northeast and separating the drainages of the two Mediterranean-flowing rivers, the Kert and the Muluya.

In the midst of Gzennaya, at Ihershliyen and Azru Ukshar, the range ceases to be the Atlantic-Mediterranean rainshed, for the ridge passing north and south through Azru and Mellal separates the drainages of the Wergha and the Muluya. Gzennaya is thus the apex of the crest: in it are found the beginnings of three drainage systems, and there the mountains reach their greatest height east of the Senhaja Sghir.

These mountains are said to be of Tertiary origin and to be an extension of the Cordillera Betica in Spain.[1] Marmol describes an active volcano in what must be today Beni Bu Shibet or Beni Beshir.[2] Since his book was written in 1573 and since no tradition survives of a volcano anywhere in northern Morocco, it is quite possible that he was mistaken, since the tradition of so impressive a natural feature would surely have endured three and a half centuries.

The region with which we deal, along with the strip which connects it with the Straits of Gibraltar, is said to have been a part of Europe as late as the Miocene[3] period, and to have been separated from the rest of Morocco by sea. Indeed, the unattractive plain of the Garet, occupied now by the Metalsa and the Beni Bu Yahyi, has every aspect of a withered sea-bottom, and fossils of ocean molluscs have been found in it.

The short distance from the ridge to the Mediterranean littoral is traversed by numerous small torrential streams, perennial only near the mountain tops, where the coat of forest has not yet been wholly hewn off. Another reason for their seasonal dryness is that except during the season of storms the farmers living along the upper reaches lead off all the water in irrigation ditches, leaving none for the people lower down.

The Wed Lao forms the western boundary of the Ghomara; next to the east flow the Wed Tiguisas and its branch the Wed Tasfit, forming the boundary between Beni Ziat and Beni Bu Zra: and between the Tasfit and the Uringa, which form the boundary of the Rif, flow two smaller streams, Wed Seba Zawiat and Wed Mthir.

The Wed Uringa, along three-fourths of its course, demarcates Mtiwa of the Rif from the Ghomara, but in its upper section the boundary shifts to the ridge to the west of its drainage. The next important river to the east is the Wed Mestassa, which empties into the sea at Mestassa, skirts the western edge of Beni Gmil, and has its source in the lofty peaks of Beni Khennus. East of the Mestassa flows the Wed Ferrah, or Frah, through the middle of the tribe of Beni Bu Frah, commencing in the mountain north of Targuist. East of this stream runs the Wed Bades, originating between Beni Itteft and Targuist, traversing the area of the former tribe, and emptying at the ruins of Bades opposite the island of Peñon de Velez. Next comes the Wed Buhem, originating in the Beni Hadifa section of Beni Urriaghel and crossing the tribe of Bokoya.

Emptying into the bay of Alhucemas are the two most important rivers of the central Rif, the Ghis and the Nekor, their mouths lying side by side and combining to form a broad

[1] Louis Gentil, *Le Maroc Physique*, pp. 89-90.

[2] Caravail Luys del Marmol, *Descripcion d'Africa*, bk. iii, chap. 84.

[3] Gentil, p. 94.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

delta. The course of the Ghis slants southwestward from Targuist, while the Nekor flows directly northward through sharp canyons from the mountain of Kuin in Gzennaya, to separate, farther along, Temsaman and Beni Tuzin from Beni Urriaghel. On the other side of the promontory of Temsaman empties the Amkaran, or Wed el Kebir, which commences a short distance away in the mountains of Beni Tuzin. Next to the Amkaran lies an unimportant stream called the Tasagin, coming down from the Dhar O Baran in Beni Ulishk. Beyond this there are none but the important arteries of the Kert and the Muluya, the former of which originates in Gzennaya, the seeming umbilicus of the Rif, and the latter of which flows northward from distant Tafilelt, where its head lies near that of the Draa, a lengthy watercourse emptying into the Atlantic nearly opposite the Canary Islands.

Such is the catalogue of rivers, the waters of which are jealously guarded and conserved, and which have been the cause of many of the local wars in the Rif.

The mountains of the Rif are supposed to be fabulously rich in minerals, including coal, iron, gold, and petroleum. None of these, however, have been extracted by the present inhabitants of the country, and hence they do not concern us here. Suspicion engendered by the presence of the minerals does more to hamper travel and research in the Rif than all other factors combined.

VEGETATION

It is too early in the course of Riffian research to give a complete list of botanical species from that country; no systematic botanist, as far as I know, has published any description of its flora. It will therefore have to suffice in this volume to present merely a very fragmentary roster of some of the more noticeable wild trees and bushes, such as readily meet the eye of the traveler, with local names and tentative identifications, made by observation and by analogy with the rest of North Africa.

CONIFERS

taidha, a tall, straight-growing conifer, with a large globular cone. This tree is much prized for house-building material.

taidha temjda, a similar tree, relatively stunted, with thick, wide branches. The *taidha* is found on the upper slopes of mountains; the *taidha temjda* grows on the mountain-tops and in the passes, where it is exposed to the elements: hence both may belong to the same species. (Plate I shows examples of both.)

Justinard calls the *taidha* a pine.[1] Hanoteau and Letourneau list for Algeria four species of terebinths; *Pistacia terebinthus L.*, *P. Atlantica Desf.*, *P. Lentiscus L.*, and *Rhus pentaphylla Desf.*[2]

takka, another conifer, with a small, compact cone. The wood of this tree is used in making tar. (Perhaps its name is related to the Ntifa word for terebinth.[3]) Justinard calls this a juniper.[4]

afezaz, the scrub juniper (not to be confused with *afesas*). Laoust postulates that the Berber root *zz* indicates the idea of spines or thorns, and cites other words, in Berber dialects, which contain this root and mean juniper.[5]

[1] Commandant Justinard, *Manuel de Berbère Marocain (Dialecte Rifain)*, p. 48.
[2] A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneau, *La Kabylie*, vol. 1, pp. 82–83.
[3] E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses Berbères*, p. 487. [4] Page 131. [5] Page 323.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 2

ENVIRONMENT 2

133

A terrace in the vale of Iberrushen, Gsennaya

The site of the Sunday Market at the confluence of the Bayu and the Tighza, Gsennaya

The Rock of the Ogress, Tiddest, Gsennaya

Olive trees growing at Sidi Misaud on the Beni Ulishk–Temsaman border

[facing p. 8]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

137 *riarz*, a cedar, growing very tall and straight. Its sweet-smelling wood is valued by carpenters and cabinet-makers.

314 *amerzi*, another cedar, with very volatile reddish wood. Its pitch and resin are used as medicine.

rkanus, a similar tree, considered by the Riffians to be the female of the *amerzi*.

The cedars, generally known under the name of *thuya*, or *arbor vitae*, form the characteristic coniferous vegetation of North Africa.[1]

Other Trees

262 *rbejuth*, an evergreen oak, with edible acorns.

taahta, another species of oak, with inedible acorns.

rbejuth n yirif, the so-called pig-oak. Its acorns are eaten by wild boars, but not by men on account of their bitter taste. Justinard lists as oak *adren*, calling *abedjoud* the acorn.[2] The latter word is derived from the Arabic *el-bellut*, the difference in renderings being due, aside from different techniques in transcription, to my retention of the *r*, the berberization of the Arabic definite article, in the Riffian dialects. I have always heard it pronounced with the *r*. Hanoteau and Letourneau [3] identify five oaks in Algeria: *Quercus castaneaefolia C. A. Mey., Q. Mirbeckii Dr., Q. Ilex L., Q. Ilex var. Ballota*, and *Q. Suber L.*

245 *adheman*, the hawthorne. This tree is used as a base for grafting pear and apple shoots. Hanoteau and Letourneau give *Crataegus Oxyacantha* (three varieties), *Cr. Azarolus*, and *Cr. monogyna* for Algeria.[4] Laoust identifies *Cr. Oxyacantha* in Morocco.[5]

62 *asanu*, the arbute, or strawberry tree. Its fruit is eaten fresh, and also dried and put into bread; the wood is used in house construction. Laoust finds it in other parts of Morocco, and gives it the botanical name *Arbutus unedo*.[6]

242 388 *fathis*, a large tree bearing a small red fruit, which is eaten. The ashes of its wood are mixed with water, in which grapes are washed before being set out to dry. These ashes are also used as soap in washing cloth. Westermarck [7] calls this the lentisk, *Pistacia lentiscus*.

azemmur, the wild olive. Its fruit is not eaten, but its wood is used in making spoons, ploughs, and other objects.

245 *thazemmurth*, the female of the *azemmur*, smaller than the male. The male can be used for grafting domestic olives, but the female is never used for this purpose.

za'awiz, a large tree with perennial foliage. It bears a seed containing a red liquid. The wood of this tree was formerly used for gunstocks.

thaghieshth n wushun, a species of wild walnut, called jackal-walnut.

afesas, perhaps a spurge-flax, or broom. It is a bush with a red flower, growing in valley bottoms. Laoust gives *Daphne Gnidium L.* for *walesas*.[8] Hanoteau and Letourneau name three species, *Daphne oleoides Schreb., D. Gnidium L.*, and *D. Laureola L.*, for Algeria.[9] This plant has been mistaken by other botanists for an osier, on account of its extensive use in basketry.[10]

thabgha, a wild blackberry. Justinard affirms this designation.[11]

[1] Justinard, p. 150; Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 60; el Bekri (tr. Macguckin de Slane), p. 15 n.
[2] Page 117. [3] Page 119. [4] Pages 48, 80. [5] Page 509.
[6] Pages 483–484, 519. [7] Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. II, p. 185.
[8] Pages 515–516. [9] Page 116. [10] Laoust, pp. 515–516. [11] Page 143.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

[137] *ariyeri*, the oleander. This plant is important in the manufacture of magical concoctions.
[189] Laoust [1] and Justinard [2] support this identification.

[262] *tuzelt*, a bush resembling a high-bush blueberry. It bears a red pod, like a rose-pod, which is eaten. Laoust [3] calls this *Fraxinus dimorpha*.

[314] *aghanim*, a reed, used extensively in basket making. Laoust supports this identification.[4]

tharugwith, a bush with a red flower, much frequented by bees.

[278] *sui*, a bush bearing a white flower, with peppery-tasting leaves. The latter are used as medicine for stomach-ache.

[263] *r-knuafer*, a bush or low tree which produces a bud resembling a clove. The buds are put into tea as a spice, and are used as a stomach-ache cure for children.

[278] *azir*, a bush the leaves of which are used in the brewing of a tea alleged to be beneficial in fever.

[151] *isarshi*, forsythia. Women cut pieces of its stem and tie them in their belts to prevent boils. This identification is purely personal and lacks confirmation.

[262] *thakhfa*, a wild rose, the pods of which are sometimes eaten in times of famine. Hanoteau and Letourneau [5] give *Rosa sempervirens* for the Kabyle *thaafert*.

Luxurious forests of conifers are said by the inhabitants of the country to have once covered most of the region, but today they are confined to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar, Taghsuth, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarket, and the upland reaches of Mtiwa. Patches of this forest remain on Mt. Kuin in Gsennaya, in parts of Beni Amart, at Aswil, where the Nekor passes from the Gsennaya into Beni Urriaghel, and on the crests of Beni Tusin. The *taidha* grows chiefly in the Senhajan tribes, but the *thuya* is found not only there but also farther to the east, in Gsennaya and Beni Tusin.

After climbing from the hot barrenness of the eastern Rif, one finds the forests of the Senhaja Sghir most beautiful and satisfying. On the mountain between Beni Bu Nsar and Taghsuth, it is difficult to realise that one is in Morocco. The whole of this section reminds one of temperate forests, such as are found in the northern United States and Canada; especially is this true in the long, flat plateau-valley of Beni Seddath, where a lush meadow is variegated with frequent clumps of *taidha*. Even in midsummer this region retains an exhilarating chilliness of atmosphere. (See plate 1.)

CLIMATE

132 The slopes of the Mediterranean border of this region are rugged, mostly deforested, hillsides, with a climate similar to northern Mexico or our own Southwest. Farther to the east, in the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and parts of Galiya, the country becomes rolling and its slope relatively gentle, and grain is grown on it without terracing or irrigation. Farther south, however, stretches the arid expanse of the Garet, that waterless 137 waste whereon the Metalsa and Beni Yahyi shift about from camp to camp. This desert stretches into parts of Beni Said and Galiya, and oversteps the boundary of Beni Ulishk and Tafersit. Here in the Garet grows a sparse crop of grass, and quantities of that coarse grass called *halfa*, resembling our own marsh or beach grass, from which the nomadic peoples, and the Gsenpaya and other Riffians as well, make sandals, pack-saddles, ropes, and all sorts containers.

[1] Page 484.
[2] Page 136.
[3] Pages 493, 499.
[4] Page 483.
[5] Page 48.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

000 of containers. Water is so scarce in the Garet that the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi are 312 accused by the other Riffians of giving their food-vessels to dogs to lick rather than washing them. (See plates 2 and 3.)

132 In the Garet during summertime the heat rises unmercifully, to such a temperature that it seems difficult to endure; in winter cold winds blow across it, and although the ground does not freeze and snow rarely falls, the inhabitants feel considerable discomfort in the flimsy shelter of their tents.

Winter snow falls regularly in Gzennaya, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, throughout the Senhaja Sghir, and in parts of the Ghomara, as well as in the Arabophone Senhaja. On Christmas day, 1926, several inches of snow fell at Ajdir, on the Bay of Alhucemas. In the valley of Beni Bu Nsar every winter the brook freezes over, and its course is obscured by several feet of snow, which smooths off the contours of the terraces; Taghzuth is almost as hard hit, and Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus are under snow for over four months of the year, while in Zarket the snowfall is so great that a whole column of Spanish troops perished in ten-foot drifts in November, 1926. The Spaniards occupying the posts in the Senhaja Sghir have organized a ski troop, composed of Riffians who, during the last two winters, have become adept in this new method of locomotion. (See plate 1.) Both the Riffians and the Senhajans seem perfectly acclimated to the snow, from a physical standpoint. They do not seem to mind the cold as much as do Europeans, and frequently walk for hours in the snow barefoot.

The Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath are as accustomed to snow as are we in New England, and endure a climate in no wise less rigorous.

FAUNA

136 As far as can be determined, no competent zoölogist has worked in the region discussed in this volume. Because of the inaccessibility of the country such a lacuna is not surprising. It is therefore with hesitation that one not versed in zoölogical classifications attempts to catalogue the animals found there. I have made a list of the mammals commonly known to the Riffians, with their Berber and Arabic names and their descriptions. By comparing these names with those given by Hanoteau and Letourneau for Kabylia and checking the descriptions with Dr. Glover Allen of the Zoölogy Department of Harvard University,[1] and by looking them up in Flower and Lydekker, I have arrived at tentative conclusions as to the identities of most of them. My guesses as to species should not be taken as premature and groundless identifications, but rather as suggestions intended to stimulate zoölogical interest in that area.

Mammalia

Ungulata

tighaidat u wazghar (Arabic *ghazal*), the gazelle. This animal is found in the flat arid regions west of the Muluya, in the tribes of Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Beni Tuzin, and in southeastern Gzennaya.

Gazella mhorr and *G. dorcas* are common in Morocco, also *G. isabella*.

[1] Dr. Allen has kindly gone over this section in proof, making numerous additions and corrections.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

136

uthath, the aoudad. The Arabic word, here rendered in the French spelling, is derived from the Berber name and has been taken over into English. The aoudad is a mountain sheep of aberrant variety, the *Ovis tragelaphus*[1] (= *lervia*), which formerly was plentiful in the Rif but now is either extinct or nearly so. There are said to be individuals of this species surviving in Jebel Mulay Abd es Slam near Sheshawen. The aoudad, despite its classification, resembles superficially a goat rather than a sheep. Its horns, which are long, transversely grooved, and bent back, are still used as powder horns and as the ends of the *sammar*, a Riffian musical instrument.

afunes n jakhara, a species of wild cattle, smaller, more wiry, and more hairy than the domestic variety and with shorter horns. This creature survives in Jebel Bu Ma'awia, between Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, and was frequently shot for food by the Riffian soldiers in the recent war.

Suidae

irif (Arabic *halluf el ghaba*), the wild boar, found everywhere in the region. It is the same species as the European wild boar, and extends all over North Africa. Species: *Sus scrofa*.[2]

Rodentia

Muridae

azharbo (Arabic *jarbu'a*), the jerboa, found everywhere in the region. *Jaculus jaculus* is the Algerian species.[3]

aghartha (Arabic *far el kheil*), some sort of woodmouse (probably *Apodemus sylvaticus hayi*) or wild mouse. Several species are probably included. Hanoteau and Letourneau even list one *far el kheil* as the polecat; they also find three insectivores and six murids bearing the same Arabic name.[4] The Kabyle word *thader'ar'ats*, which means both "polecat" and "dormouse," in Riffian means "mongoose." In view of such confusion one could hardly suggest a species for *aghartha*.

aghartha (Arabic *far*), the house-mouse. Riffians say that this is the same species as the preceding, the difference being entirely one of habitat. The Algerian species is *Mus musculus*,[5] the ordinary house-mouse or its ally, *Mus algirus*.[6]

Leporidae

ayarzith (Arabic *arneb*), the hare. The distribution is general. *Lepus kabylicus* is the species found in northern Algeria.[6]

akaniny (Arabic *koniya*), the rabbit. The distribution is general. *Oryctolagus cuniculus algirus* is the Algerian form.[7]

Hystricides

arrui (Arabic *dhurban*), the porcupine, found in Europe and North Africa, with spines often reaching a length of over a foot and a half. It inhabits caves throughout the region. Species: *Hystrix cristata*.[8]

[1] William H. Flower and Richard Lydekker, *Mammals Living and Extinct*, p. 358.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 283; Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 143.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 144; Flower and Lydekker, p. 480.
[4] Hanoteau and Letourneau, pp. 143–144.
[5] Flower and Lydekker, p. 475.
[6] Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 145; Flower and Lydekker, pp. 492–494.
[7] Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 145.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 144; Flower and Lydekker, p. 496.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Insectivora

Erinaceidae

136 *insi* (Arabic *kanfud*), the hedgehog, found throughout the region. This animal makes itself useful by killing snakes. It is said that formerly the Riffians ate the hedgehog, but that
124 once a woman of the Beni Amart, going out reaping, left her two babies in a brush shelter which she had constructed at the edge of the field. When she returned to them she found a cobra arching up in front of them, and a little hedgehog spitting at the cobra and keeping it at bay. In recognition of this favor the Riffians refrain from killing the hedgehog. This tradition may be recent, since the episode is supposed to have happened less than a generation ago. The *insi* belongs to the genus Erinaceus; the exact species is doubtful since, according to Flower and Lydekker,[1] there are about twenty different ones. Hanoteau and Letourneau [2] identify the animal bearing the same name in Algeria as *Erinaceus* (=*Aethechinus*) *algirus*.

Carnivora

Viveridae

134 *thawartha*, a large mongoose greater in size than the *mush abaran*. It kills snakes, is variegated in color, and has bristly hair and a long tail. It is found throughout the region, except in the more arid portions to the east. Hanoteau and Letourneau do not mention this animal as existing in Kabylia. Dr. Allen suggests that it may be *Herpestes ichneumon*,[3] which was sacred to the Egyptians.

sibsib (Arabic *zerdi*), a small species of mongoose. Hanoteau and Letourneau [4] identify an animal of the same name as *Mangusta numidica*. Dr. Allen thinks that the *sibsib* may be a *Calogale*.

izgith may be the *Genetta africana* mentioned by Hanoteau and Letourneau,[4] or the *Genetta vulgaris* of Flower and Lydekker.[5]

Mustelidae

nims (Arabic *nims*), a weasel or polecat, found throughout the region where any forest or moisture remains. Hanoteau and Letourneau [6] call the *nims* of Kabylia a polecat, giving it the name *Putoris bocamela*. Yet the Berber name which they give it, *thader'ar'ats*, in Thamazighth means "mongoose," being another word for *thawartha*. Dr. Allen suggests that the *nims* may be *Mustela africana*.[7]

akazin w aman, or *ar w aman* (Arabic *kelb el ma*), the otter, found wherever there are streams and irrigation ditches. The animal causes constant annoyance by making holes in the ditches and uprooting gardens, as well as by stealing poultry. The animal of the same name and description in Kabylia is called by Hanoteau and Letourneau *Lutra vulgaris*.[6,7]

Felidae

bu haru, anciently *izim* (Arabic *seba*, *asad*), the lion. Lions, which were common in the Rif in the seventeenth century [8] and were killed at intervals up to forty years ago,[9] are now believed to be extinct or nearly so. It is popularly believed by the natives of Gzennaya

[1] Page 620.
[2] Page 144.
[3] Flower and Lydekker, pp. 535–536.
[4] Page 142.
[5] Page 328.
[6] Page 143.
[7] Flower and Lydekker, pp. 589–590.
[8] Sieur Roland Frejus, *Relation of a Voyage into Mauretania*, p. 26.
[9] Otto C. Arthaver, *Riffpiraten und Ihre Heimat*, p. 154.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that an old lion still lives in the bushes around the tomb of Sidi Mhend, near the village of Bured. The lion was pursued into these bushes about forty years ago by a large party of beaters, and is said to have been seen about once a year ever since. There is only one species, *Felis leo*.[1]

aghires (Arabic *nimr*), called by Hanoteau and Letourneau[2] the panther or leopard. This animal has been extinct in northern Morocco, by popular account, for over a hundred years. It is believed that there is no female of the *aghires*, and that it is reproduced in the following mythical manner. A lioness bears seven cubs in her first litter, six in her second, five in her third, four in her fourth, three in her fifth, two in her sixth; and in the seventh year (for she bears but one litter a year) she produces a single creature, the *aghires*, which is stunted but wiry, and stronger than a true lion; after bearing it the lioness becomes barren. The fact that such a legend can be believed warrants the assumption that the *aghires* has been extinct for a considerable period. In Kabylia the animal called *aghilas* (French transliteration *ar'ilas*) has been identified by Hanoteau and Letourneau[2] as *Felis pardus*. As in Morocco, the Arabic name is *nimr* (*gh* and *r'* are but two ways of transliterating the seventeenth character in the Arabic alphabet, and in Riffian dialects the normal Berber *l* becomes an *r*).

mush abaran (Arabic *ḳatt el khala*), a type of lynx or wild cat found throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, where any forest is left. Hanoteau and Letourneau[2] give for the *mush berran* of Algeria the specific name *Felis catus*, the wild cat. Dr. Allen suggests that the Riffian *mush abaran* may be *Lynx caracal*. This latter species is found in Algeria but is called *ursel*.[3] The fact that *mush abaran* has tufted ears tends to favor Dr. Allen's suggestion.

Canidae

oshun (Arabic *dib*). The Arabs use this word for all species.

oshun awithair (Arabic *dib*). The Riffians recognize two species of dog-like animal, one at least of which is the true jackal. The *oshun*, the larger of the two, is different in appearance from the *oshun awithair*, which I have shot. Four of the former, which I saw in one evening, about dusk, looked as large as wolves — gray, and with straighter, more erect ears than the common jackal. At the time I thought them wolves, but later learned that the latter are not found in this part of North Africa.[3] Hanoteau and Letourneau[4] list but one species of jackal in Algeria, *Lupulus* (=*Canis*) *aureus*.

ohar (Arabic *tha'leb*), the fox. The Riffians distinguish but one species, but Hanoteau and Letourneau[4] find two in Algeria, *Vulpes atlanticus* and *Vulpes niloticus*.

Hyaenidae

ifis aghiul (Arabic *dheba'*), the striped hyaena, found everywhere in the region. It does not attack man. The species is *Hyaena hyaena*.[5]

ifis (Arabic *dheba'*). Here again the Arabs use one word for two species. This is the spotted hyaena, likewise found throughout the region. Neither Flower and Lydekker nor Hanoteau and Letourneau mention its presence in North Africa. The Riffians distinguish it from the *ifis aghiul* by its spotted markings, and by its habit of attacking man. Its

[1] Flower and Lydekker, p. 504.
[2] Flower and Lydekker, p. 548.
[3] Page 142.
[4] Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 142; Flower and Lydekker, pp. 541-543.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

reptile, green in color. When annoyed it puffs itself with air and exhales slowly, making an unpleasant noise. It is supposed to give birth to snakes, just as the lion is held responsible for the parentage of the panther. 136 825

Besides the snakes whose existence is unquestionable, one fabulous species is frequently mentioned. This creature is said to have a blunted tail, upon which it rises; using the tail as a lever it hurls itself through the air a great distance in the direction of its victim. The Riffians believe this firmly.

Fish are seldom seen in the smaller streams which empty into the Mediterranean; they are too swift, and, along their lower courses, too seasonal. In the Muluya, of course, fish are plentiful. What few there are in the mountain streams are eaten more by otters than by men, since the Riffians are not fond of fresh-water fish, although they preserve no definite tabu against them. 136 262

In the streams which empty into the Wergha on the Atlantic side of the watershed fish are more common, and are netted and eaten in Taghsuth and Beni Bu Nsar. Sea fishing, which has a special place under "Material Culture," [1] is carried on along practically all the coast.

[1] See below, p. 38.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

136 [825] method of attack, as described by the Riffians, is as follows. It stupefies men travelling at night with its odor, hypnotizes the victim with its laughter until he falls down laughing, and then devours him. Despite the lurid nature of this portrayal, the accurate description of the animal's coat and the mention of its dangerous character imply that its existence is real. One of this species was run over and killed by an automobile owned by the Kaid Midboh of Gzennaya near Aknoul in March, 1928. Species: *Hyaena crocuta*, said to range south of the Sahara.[1]

Primates

rḳird (Arabic *el ḳird*), the Barbary ape. It was formerly distributed throughout the region, but is now limited to the mountain of Taghsuth, to Mt. Meggu behind Sheshawen, and to the pass of Bab el Ḥait in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Wenjin. The species is *Macacus inuus* according to Flower and Lydekker[2] and to Ghirelli;[3] *Pithecus inuus* Geoffroy according to Hanoteau and Letourneau[4] or *Macaca sylvanus* as currently used.

rkaramud (Arabic *el karamud*), a species of Cercopithecus, now extinct, said to have existed up until a hundred years ago. It was smaller than *rḳird* and longer-tailed.

Chiroptera

thasrith ighathain (Arabic *ṭair el lil*), the bat. This animal lives chiefly in caves. Hanoteau and Letourneau[5] give two species for Kabylia, *Vespertilio murinus* and *Rhinolophus unihastatus*. Bats recorded by Thomas for Western Algeria are as follows: *Asellia tridens*, a leaf-nosed bat; *Plecotus christiei*, a long-eared bat; *Pipistrellus kuhle*, a small pipistrelle; *Myotis oxygnathus*, probably the brown bat called *v. murinus*.[6]

This list is not, of course, supposed to be complete. Among mammals unlisted are shrews and probably numerous species of wild mice.

Other Animals

136 [825] It would be difficult to compile a list of the birds, and practically impossible, for other than a specialist, to enumerate the amphibia and reptiles, while the fishes are not well known to the Riffians themselves.

Mentioning but briefly a few of the birds, one might include a species of grouse or partridge, commonly hunted, and the wild pigeon. Varieties of hawks and eagles are abundant, and there is a strong tradition concerning a giant hawk-like bird, larger than a man and now extinct, which swooped down and carried off livestock and children. The last of these creatures, called *baran*, are supposed to have nested on the mountain beneath which took place the famous massacre of Spanish troops, at Dhar u Baran and Anual.

Among the reptiles one encounters species of land tortoise and several varieties of snakes, including such general Moroccan forms as the puff-adder, green python, cobra, and asp, all of which I have seen. Lizards abound and seem to represent numerous species, about one of which a curious legend has arisen. This creature is a small, laterally compressed

[1] Flower and Lydekker, pp. 541–543.
[2] Angelo Ghirelli, *El Norte de Marruecos*, p. 47.
[3] Page 143.
[4] Page 722.
[5] Page 141.
[6] Thomas, *Novitates Zoologicae*, vol. xx, p. 586; for central Western Sahara, *ibid.*, p. 23.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN: GHOMARA, SENHAJA, AND RIF

173 Before attempting to study the history, culture, and racial composition of a people it is frequently worth while to see what the people themselves have to say about these things. Native traditions concerning such matters may in places be hopelessly muddled and obscure, but in other places they may be surprisingly lucid and correct. At any rate, it is worth while to give them a trial to see how far they accord with the facts of history and of cultural and racial distribution.

There are three major Berber groups in the region which we are studying: the Ghomara the Senhaja, and the Rif. Each of them has a different story as to origin, but the stories are interrelated.

GHOMARA

The Ghomara claim that in the country which they now occupy there formerly lived a people resembling Suwasa, or men of the River Sus south of the Atlas. The Ghomarans are not positive that these people were Suwasa, but think it likely. At any rate, there came seven years of foul wind accompanied by mosquitoes, which killed off all the inhabitants. After this the Ghomara, who had wandered up from Segguia el Hamra, or Red Irrigation Ditch, a watercourse in what is now Rio de Oro south of the Draa, entered the country and settled in it. After they had been there a while the Portuguese came in and commenced to rule over them, but the Ghomara rose and expelled their masters. All these things took place in heathen times. After this two Riffians wandered in and established the families of Harthanen and Aduz, Harthanen's ancestor being from Beni Bu Frah, and Aduz's from Bokoya. The rest of the name-ancestors came from Segguia el Hamara. Here we have definite tradition of an invasion from the south, with a slight infiltration of Riffian ancestors afterward.

SENHAJA

In the Senhaja Sghir the legends are equally explicit. The various tribes are supposed to have been settled in the following ways and order. First were the Beni Bu Nsar. A certain heathen king sent a Christian prisoner in exile to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar. This region was at the time uninhabited, and its forests were filled with wild animals. The soldiers of the king took him there with his wife and left them, thinking that they would die there. They had progeny and flourished, felling trees, building villages, and erecting terraces. Years later messengers were sent by the king to see whether or not the exiles had died and found a large village.

The ancestor of the Beni Bu Nsar had a brother who was sent or went to the region even higher up the mountain crest, and became the ancestor of the Beni Khennus. Of the same family are the Beni Seddath, who live in the same place as the Beni Khennus — that is, their villages are intermixed, and neither of them has a territory distinct from the other.

[D. 16]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Next Taghzuth was settled. Originally there had been only Suwasa in Taghzuth, and a castle belonging to them is said to remain. A superficial examination of the so-called ruins show them to resemble a natural group of stones rather than the work of man. Besides this "castle," there is a similar site which is said to have belonged to Rum, meaning Rome, or Christians in general. At any rate, the Suwasa who inhabited Taghzuth were heathen and died off before the ancestors of Taghzuth came in. The ancestors of the families or villages came from the following places. 173

Ulad Ikhalif	Sidi Ikhalif from the Beni Ukil (Arabs near Ujda); his tomb is at Aiun.	Ulad Abekar	Segguia el Hamra
		Ulad el Wartith ..	Segguia el Hamra
		Targamzith	Segguia el Hamra
el Kelaa	Beni Bu Yahyi	Teririn	Segguia el Hamra
Tezarin	Metalsa		

The next tribe to be settled was Beni Hamid, whose ancestors were heathen from the western tribe of Beni Hamid, lying near Ghazawa.

After this came the ancestor of the Beni Bu Shibet. He was a Christian, related to the ancestor of the Beni Bu Nsar, but his descendants have lived in close contact with the Beni Hamid and have intermarried and made alliances with them, so that they are to-day closer to the Beni Hamid than to the Beni Bu Nsar.

Next came the ancestors of the Zarket tribesmen and of the Beni Gmil, who are supposed to be related. Information as to the point of origin of their ancestors or ancestor I was unable to obtain.

Last of all came the ancestors of Ktama, from Segguia el Hamara. Ktama, the last place to be settled, is the least desirable territory in all the Senhaja Sghir, and the inhabitants are looked down upon as yokels by the rest of the Senhajans.

Here again, as in the case of the Ghomara, three factors appear: the original Suwasa, who are said to have disappeared, the ancestors from the Segguia el Hamara, and the infiltration of other ancestors. The disappearance of the Suwasa seems to be a convenient excuse for the disposal of unvaunted ancestors. If none of them were alive at the time the Ghomaran and Senhajan ancestors came, and the countries were both uninhabited, how did they know that the people, of whom they presumably found traces, had been Suwasa? Or how did they know the history of the seven bad years? Ask a Ghomaran or Senhajan greybeard these questions and he will look embarassed and change the conversation. The very look suggests his knowledge or suspicion that the natives were absorbed by the newcomers.

Far more important than the coming of the Senhaja and the Ghomara, in popular tradition and imagination, was the war between them. This conflict took place in pre-Islamic times, according to the descendants of the main participants, or in very early times, according to Riffians who will not admit that Islam has not always existed.

It seemed that the whole world joined in, every tribe of the Rif belonged to one side or the other, and now even inanimate objects are sometimes divided into Senhaja and Ghomara. I was asked in Taghzuth which side the Americans had been allied with.

The cataclysm is supposed to have originated as follows. The son of the ancestor of the Beni Bu Nsar found in his father's documents a paper establishing his rights to Imasinen, a village in the Galiya, which was at the time uninhabited. The Ghomara also claimed the land in question, and so the two disputants took their claims before the Great Council. (Tradition is hazy concerning the composition of this body.) The Great Council decided

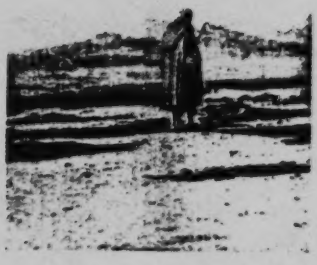
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 3

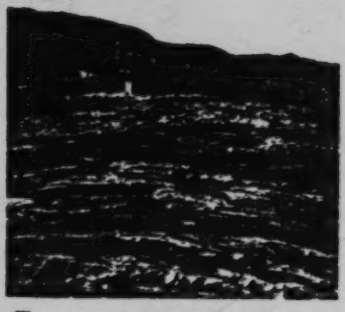
ENVIRONMENT 3

133

Relatively flat country, Beni Said



The plain of Beni Ulishk, with the mountains of Beni Tuzin behind



The country back of Ajdir, on the Beni Urriaghel-Bokoya border

The alluvial plain at the mouths of the Nekor and Ghis, Beni Urriaghel

[facing p. 18]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that the two rivals should start walking at once, and that he who arrived at Imasinen first should own the land. The Senhajan won, and when the Ghomaran arrived he became angry, whereupon the war commenced. On the way home the two rivals collected allies in all the Riffian tribes they passed, as follows:

Senhaja	*Ghomara*
Mazuza of Galiya	Beni Shisher of Galiya
Beni Sidel of Galiya	Beni Bu Yafer of Galiya
Metalsa	Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya
Gzennaya	Beni Bu Yahyi
Beni Urriaghel	Beni Said
Beni Bu Frah	Beni Tusin
Mestasa	Beni Ulishk
	Tafersit
	Beni Amart
	Bokoya
	Targuist
	Beni Ittiēt
	Mtiwa

The forces of the Ghomara, judging by names alone, should have outweighed those of the Senhaja. But Beni Urriaghel and Gzennaya have always far overshadowed the other tribes numerically and in military power, so that their presence on the Senhajan side is supposed to have turned the scale, especially since they had as allies all the tribes on the Wergha here called Arabophone Senhaja. The Senhaja won, and the Ghomara have remained huddled on their seacoast ever since. To this day bitterness remains between the peoples, although the allies of the two have long since been drawn into fresh feuds and new alignments.

One cultural difference between the Senhaja and Ghomara has led to an *ex post facto* explanation for the enmity. It is said that there are two kinds of men: those who when they eat together leave a little food in the bottom of the bowl through shame of taking the last bit, and likewise keep the *baraka* [1] of the food in the house; and those who gobble it all to the last morsel. Furthermore the first kind are hospitable, and the second not. The Black Sultan (a common figure in Moroccan folklore) decreed that those who have shame in this matter should be called Senhaja and those who have none Ghomara. To this day all the Senhaja leave food in the bowl, and the Ghomara leave none; the Senhaja are hospitable and the Ghomara cold to strangers.

In this seemingly simple story of the Senhaja and the Ghomara, recorded as it came from the lips of the old men of these peoples, we have an exceedingly lucid account of happenings that occurred at least a thousand years ago and probably considerably earlier. Certain factors in the tale have been crystallised and handed down as entities, whether or not they are strictly accurate. At any rate, both the Ghomara and the Senhaja invaded from the south, the Ghomara first. Each found traces of previous occupants, each absorbed a certain amount of Riffian blood, and each sought allies among the Riffians when they fought off their old grudges, which they may well have brought with them from the south.

[1] See p. 137.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

RIF

173 In the Rif we have no such clarity of tradition, a fact which in itself indicates antiquity. The Riffian families claim various types of people as ancestors. Some state that their forebears were autochthonous heathen; others that their lines were founded by strangers coming in from the Senhaja; others that their eponymous ancestors were of Zenatan stock, having come in with the Zenatan invasion of the eastern Rif about six hundred years ago; and others, mostly located in the eastern tribes, that their ancestors were *igharbiyen* or westerners, hence foreigners. The following list will make this clearer.

Tribe	*Smaller Group*	*Traditional Ancestry*
Gzennaya	Ulad Abd el Mumen, Beni Tadmut, Ikaroen, Ulad Fars	Brothers from the east, through the Beni Bu Yahyi
	Beni Yunes	Recent entry from Beni Snus, a Zenatan tribe
	Tarosht	Agheir el Hamid, in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja
	Ikhuanen	Khunduktamda, in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja
	Jebarna	Branes, very recent entry
	Teliwin	Beni Abdullah of the Beni Urriaghel
	Telmest, Mukudem	Beni Amart
	Imsdurar, Khebaba, Beni Mohammed, Ulad Alu ben Aisa	Autochthonous heathen. The ancestors of Imsdurar were called Irumiyen, implying a profession of Christianity.
Beni Urriaghel	Aith Yusuf u Ali	One of the *sahaba* of Mohammed. This claim was not advanced until the accession of Abd el Krim to power, and may well be false. Formerly the Aith Yusuf u Ali were reckoned the descendants of heathen.
	Imrabten	Sidi Hamid el Kroni, an Arab saint, probably living at Nekor during the dynasty of Salah
	Aith Ali, Aith Abdullah, Beni Bu Ayesh	Autochthonous heathen
Beni Amart	Buhut, Agheir n Vandu	Vandu, a local heathen
	Beni Maita	Senhaja
	In Amar u Said	Said, a recently arrived saint
	Ibuyibughen	Buyibugh, a famous heathen of old, who had many children. The Ibuyibugheń are said to have formerly worn cowhide clothing in ignorance of cloth. Even to-day they are considered heathen and said to possess magical powers.
	Tazaroth, Ijaonen, Ashth er Hasein	Autochthonous heathen
Beni Turin	Asht Medjur, Thasimin, Thesera n Jakhathe, Ifsani, Taghsuth n Tasa, Bu Hfora, el Asib of Meidhar	Zenata
	Meidhar, Asht Reiri, Zawia Sidi Bu Jiddain, Taurirt n Wusbun, Ijaonen	Igharbiyen
	Asht Taaban, Ibutuyen, Ibarthan, Asht Aziman, Teisera Imziren	Heathen

1: Coon .E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

173

Temsaman	Ait Daud	Zenata from Beni Tuzin
	Tizi Azza	Igharbiyen
	Sidi Bu Daud, Bu Thinar, Amsauru, Truguth, Sidi Shaib u Ftah	Heathen
	Ouhannen	This group, as well as the family of the same name in Beni Said, is descended from the Ulad Alu Fars of the Gzennaya.
Beni Ulishk	Beni Tyeb	Zenata
	Sidi Misaud	Igharbiyen
	Anual, Dhar u Baran	Heathen
Tafersit	Tafersit town	Zenata
Beni Said		Data lacking, except for family of Ouhannen
Galiya	Tisidelt, Beni Bu Ifrur, Beni Bu Yafer	Autochthonous heathen
	Ait Shisher, Masuza, Iferkhanen	Christians
Kebdana	Entire tribe	First heathen, then Christian
Targuist	Entire tribe	Formerly there were heathen in Targuist who died out and were replaced by despised ironworkers coming from outside to found el Malimin, and by the Ikhemrijen shorfa and their families.
Bokoya	Sidi Mersh, Athus, Iselzafen, Tafensa	Heathen
Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Hadifa, Mestasa		Data incomplete, most families said to be heathen
Mtiwa of the Rif		Both heathen and Arab

From this compilation, incomplete as it is, one may see that Senhajan influence penetrated the tribes of Gzennaya and Beni Amart, to the extent of giving certain families in these tribes eponymous ancestors; and that the Zenatan infusion was mostly confined to the nomadic tribes, Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and to border groups of Temsaman and Gzennaya. The tribes both to east and west of those just mentioned were left comparatively free of Zenatan influence so far as ancestors were concerned. Other foreigners, the *igharbiyen*, followed the same path as the Zenata, but extended more to the east as well. The tribes in which the majority of ancestral name-givers were autochthonous seem to be concentrated in the central and coastal Rif: Gzennaya, Beni Amart, the western maritime tribes, Bokoya, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Galiya, and Kebdana. Beni Said, a tribe from which we have little information, may in this respect form a link connecting Temsaman with Galiya. The tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit are considered by the Riffians themselves to be of recent origin and are consequently called *ikharajien*, a *thamazighth* word of Arabic origin meaning "false promisers" or "newcomers."

Regarding those heathen reputed to have been the ancestors of most of the central Riffians and of some of those to the east, there are few traditions obtainable directly as such, although an intensive study of Riffian folklore would without doubt shed a great deal of light on this problem.

There is supposed to have been a people living in Wed Iherrushen of Gzennaya named Imdiwen, who made use of bronze tools, some of the remains of which have been picked up recently by the inhabitants of that valley and thrown away as worthless. The Imdiwen are

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

said to have fought among themselves until few were left; then there came hunger, and later plague, so that what few weak ones were left from the ravages of warfare succumbed utterly to the natural forces which beset them. There is said to have been a heathen king named Azzi, whose fortress was perched on the pass of the Noisy Mountain (Taurirt n Dghujidh) who stretched a rope between two sharp crags on either side of the Nekor, saying that whoever would marry his daughter must first pass over this rope from crag to crag. Many tried and fell down hundreds of feet on the rocks to die, until one day a Jew climbed the easier of the mountains with a load of withes, and wove himself a basket around the rope, got in, and drew himself across. Azzi gave his daughter to the Jew. On another occasion Azzi ordered all the people in Tiddest to bring him bowls of kuskus, stating that if any bowl were cold by the time it reached the top of the mountain its bearer would have his head cut off. The people of Tiddest took counsel and finally decided to cover their bowls with vegetable marrow, which retains the heat a long while, and doing this they all brought their kuskus to Azzi piping hot. The king, thrusting his hand into the first bowl to feel it, burnt his hand. 173

Tradition does not state which came first, the bronze-age Imdiwen or the ordinary ancestral heathen — but at any rate the bronze-age tradition confines the presence of the former to a definite limited area, while the heathen ancestors were found everywhere else in the Rif. Of the ancestral heathen one is told most emphatically that they were autochthonous, despite the fact that some of them are reputed to have adopted Christianity.

Summary. Traditions from this area, then, show several things clearly: that there dwelt originally in the territory a native pagan group which became the ancestors of the Riffians, especially of those now occupying the central tribes; that subsequently two invasions came from the southwest, first the Ghomara and then the Senhaja; that these Ghomara and Senhaja displaced whatever people had originally been in their territories, and subsequently received a slight infusion of Riffian blood; that the Senhaja and Ghomara fought a great war together, in which each of the Riffian tribes allied itself with one side or the other; that the Senhaja won this war; that long afterwards Zenatan peoples from the southeast filtered in, giving rise to a mixed or alien population in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Tafersit, and Beni Ulishk; and that in these same areas and also reaching farther to the east came an infusion of outsiders, called "westerners," who further reduced the purity of the ancestral stock in the eastern Rif. 174

The significance of these traditions will be manifest when the facts of history, cultural distribution, and racial distribution are dealt with.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER III

RECORDED HISTORY OF THE RIF

175 The isolation and impregnability of the Rif, due to the ruggedness inherent in both its landscape and its people, while advantageous to the anthropologist in preserving to this day ancient racial strains and cultural complexes, impede and almost totally prevent the work of the historian. The history of the Rif, so far as we can glean it, is a succession of invasions for the most part thwarted, of streams of conquest and colonization which have often rushed by but seldom through.

PRE-ISLAMIC HISTORY

The earliest reference in written history which may possibly concern the Rif is an inscription in an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb [1] referring to an invasion of Egypt in that period by a group of Libyans called the Mashausha. These people, a part of or affiliated with the Rebu, had conquered the Tehennu, the only Libyans with whom the Egyptians had previously been familiar,[2] and had enlisted the Tehennu under their command to invade Egypt. The Mashausha were said to have been westerners, and blonds. This reference may have some distant connection with the name of the Mazuza, a part of the present tribe of Galiya, but it is equally possible that there was at that time more than one group bearing the name of Mazuza.

Later on Herodotus [3] mentions the Maxyes as occupying the territory to the west of Lake Moeris and being different culturally from the nomadic Libyans to the east. The name may have some connection with that which the Riffians give themselves today, Imazighen, but this would not designate them alone, since other Berber groups use the same term.

The Phoenicians are believed to have first established their trading posts along the North African coast as early as the twelfth century before Christ,[4] and are thought to have traded very early through the Pillars of Hercules and along the Atlantic coast of Morocco, founding colonies as they went.[5] Hanno the Carthaginian, several centuries after the first Phoenician contacts along this coast,[6] led an expedition of colonists to the coast extending from the region of Mogador down to and beyond the Draa,[7] and continued to some point south of the Senegal,[8] almost to the equator.

[1] Orie Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 211 *sqq*.
[2] Gaston Maspero, *The Struggle of Nations*, p. 431.
[3] Vol. IV, p. 180.
[4] S. Gsell, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, vol. I, p. 386.
[5] *Ibid*., pp. 415, 507.
[6] It is impossible to date this exactly. See Gsell, pp. 510-519.
[7] *Ibid*., p. 483; Vivien de St. Martin, *Le Nord de l'Afrique dans l'Antiquité*, p. 367; Raymond Roget (ed.), *Le Maroc chez les Auteurs Anciens*, p. 18; R. Bosworth Smith, *Carthage and the Carthaginians*, pp. 40-41; Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 4. Gsell thinks that Garicon Teichos, the first of the five colonies was located at Mogador. Others differ. Meakin stating that it is impossible to locate them.
[8] Gsell, p. 507; Meakin, p. 544.

[D.28]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The Classical geographers name several of the harbors and landmarks along the Riffian coast; but only one, Russaddir, the modern Melilla, appears to have been a city.[1] This Chenier [2] believed to have been founded by the Carthaginians. A few years ago Spanish engineers building a road outside the city uncovered several ancient graves, containing, in conjunction with badly decomposed skeletons, several pieces of wheel-made pottery, and gold and silver ornaments. Among the latter were two gold earrings of fine workmanship, realistically shaped in the form of doves. Phoenician writing on the pots gave the clue to the identity of these remains.[3] 175

At Ajdir there is a ruin, in the shape of a quadrangle, on the beach directly opposite the island of Alhucemas. This site, unexcavated and filled with sand, consists, on the surface, of several ancient rubble walls enclosing a square. In the walls are to be found potsherds, made on the wheel and well baked, totally different from the hand-made poorly fired modern product. With these potsherds there are also pieces of green-glazed tiling. (See plate 4.)

This ruin is called the "Jema'a el Mujahidin," or Mosque of the Holy Warriors. It is locally supposed to have been built by the first Mohammedan missionaries in the Rif. Whoever built it apparently used as wall-metal the remains of an earlier settlement with a highly developed ceramic culture. An investigation of this site and an archaeological survey of the whole Riffian littoral would be an interesting enterprise.

This stretch of coast was the least-known portion, in ancient times, of the whole Moroccan seaboard, if we may judge by the relative rarity of sites mentioned in the literature of that time. The same means of comparison indicates that it was the region least affected by Punic culture.

Hamilcar, when he invaded Spain in 237 B.C., took his army to Europe by sea, skirting the coast to the Pillars of Hercules, and then sailing across.[4] This may well have been the usual means of travel between Carthage and Spain employed by a maritime people. Movements of troops which may have occurred by land would probably have followed the Trik es-Sultan, the usual east-west artery through what are now Ujda, Guerçif, Taza, and Fez—the normal and topographically easiest route.

The Carthaginians drew their soldiery from all over North Africa and from parts of Europe as well.[5] It is not unlikely that some of the young men of what is now the Rif, finding themselves out of the hills on some errand, enlisted, just as many enlisted in the French forces during the World War, without compulsion. Soldiers coming home from Carthaginian wars may have brought with them new ideas, manners, and styles of living. More probably, however, they felt it expedient to drop new habits at the portals of their land. I have watched returned soldiers come home to the Rif; usually they shed, on the way, any new elements of dress with which they started, — garters, shoes, stockings, kerchiefs, fezzes, go one after the other, — and when the adventurer arrives at the place of his ancestors he is attired in practically the same costume which he wore upon leaving. He converses very seldom about his experiences, and tries to smother himself back again into the old ways.

This, at least, is the modern technique of the returning soldier in the central and more archaic regions of the Rif. He feels that he would not be tolerated if he suggested any change, and if he told tales of things the others did not understand he would be branded a

[1] Itinerary of Antoninus (Roget, p. 40); Ptolemy (Roget, p. 36); Meakin, p. 357.
[2] L. S. de Chenier, *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*, p. 22.
[3] These objects are at present deposited in the City Hall at Melilla.
[4] Smith, p. 157. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 39; see also his reference to Plutarch's *Timoleon*, p. 30.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175

The Classical geographers name several of the harbors and landmarks along the Riffian coast; but only one, Rusaddir, the modern Melilla, appears to have been a city.[1] This Chenier [2] believed to have been founded by the Carthaginians. A few years ago Spanish engineers building a road outside the city uncovered several ancient graves, containing, in conjunction with badly decomposed skeletons, several pieces of wheel-made pottery, and gold and silver ornaments. Among the latter were two gold earrings of fine workmanship, realistically shaped in the form of doves. Phoenician writing on the pots gave the clue to the identity of these remains.[3]

At Ajdir there is a ruin, in the shape of a quadrangle, on the beach directly opposite the island of Alhucemas. This site, unexcavated and filled with sand, consists, on the surface, of several ancient rubble walls enclosing a square. In the walls are to be found potsherds, made on the wheel and well baked, totally different from the hand-made poorly fired modern product. With these potsherds there are also pieces of green-glazed tiling. (See plate 4.)

This ruin is called the "Jema'a el Mujahidin," or Mosque of the Holy Warriors. It is locally supposed to have been built by the first Mohammedan missionaries in the Rif. Whoever built it apparently used as wall-metal the remains of an earlier settlement with a highly developed ceramic culture. An investigation of this site and an archaeological survey of the whole Riffian littoral would be an interesting enterprise.

This stretch of coast was the least-known portion, in ancient times, of the whole Moroccan seaboard, if we may judge by the relative rarity of sites mentioned in the literature of that time. The same means of comparison indicates that it was the region least affected by Punic culture.

Hamilcar, when he invaded Spain in 237 B.C., took his army to Europe by sea, skirting the coast to the Pillars of Hercules, and then sailing across.[4] This may well have been the usual means of travel between Carthage and Spain employed by a maritime people. Movements of troops which may have occurred by land would probably have followed the Ṭrik es-Sulṭan, the usual east-west artery through what are now Ujda, Guerçif, Taza, and Fez—the normal and topographically easiest route.

The Carthaginians drew their soldiery from all over North Africa and from parts of Europe as well.[5] It is not unlikely that some of the young men of what is now the Rif, finding themselves out of the hills on some errand, enlisted, just as many enlisted in the French forces during the World War, without compulsion. Soldiers coming home from Carthaginian wars may have brought with them new ideas, manners, and styles of living. More probably, however, they felt it expedient to drop new habits at the portals of their land. I have watched returned soldiers come home to the Rif; usually they shed, on the way, any new elements of dress with which they started, — garters, shoes, stockings, kerchiefs, fezzes, one after the other, — and when the adventurer arrives at the place of his ancestors he is attired in practically the same costume which he wore upon leaving. He converses very seldom about his experiences, and tries to smother himself back again into the old ways.

This, at least, is the modern technique of the returning soldier in the central and more archaic regions of the Rif. He feels that he would not be tolerated if he suggested any change, and if he told tales of things the others did not understand he would be branded a

[1] Itinerary of Antoninus (Roget, p. 40); Ptolemy (Roget, p. 36); Meakin, p. 557.
[2] L. S. de Chenier, *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*, p. 22.
[3] These objects are at present deposited in the City Hall at Melilla.
[4] Smith, p. 157. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 39; see also his reference to Plutarch's *Timoleon*, p. 20.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 boaster and liar. Such is the conservatism of the Rif, the mental inertia which makes a man look with distrust and intolerance upon any action or device not known to and accepted by his grandfather. If the same conservatism held true in Classical times, the distant presence of Carthage, and later of Roman cities, cannot have affected the Riffian tribes as profoundly as it did other Berber peoples better known in antiquity.

After the fall of Carthage, the Romans concerned themselves with the subjugation of North Africa, and after the Jugurthan war took Tangier.[1] During this period they laid claim to all the territory between the Atlantic and the Red Sea,[2] without much real authority over the outlying parts of their dominions. Along the Moroccan coast they are said to have had no authority more than eight leagues from the coast,[3] which is probably an exaggeration: it is doubtful whether they had any except at strategic points such as Ceuta.

The lands wherewith we are concerned came under the designation of Mauretania Tingitania, and east of the Muluya the country was called Mauretania Caesarea.[4] The part of Tingitania which was actually settled and administered by the Romans consisted of a right triangle, with Volubulis, near the modern Zerhun, as its right angle. (See plate 4.) Ceuta and Salé formed the two acute angles.[5]

This province was considered administratively a part of Spain,[6] and was generally reached by sea or through Spain. The portion of Caesarea lying between the rivers Muluya and Tafna was believed to be a trackless desert inhabited by wild beasts,[6] and the Roman road going westward from Carthage ended at the city of Caesarea, where the traveler still desirous of proceeding westward was forced to put to sea, and could find no road nearer than Ceuta, the point of debarkation.[6]

This negative evidence, although it strongly indicates the relative inaccessibility of the Rif in Roman times, does not mean, of course, that no Roman ever set foot in it, but merely that not enough of them did so to win fame in Classical literature. As will be seen later, the Christian elements in Riffian religion, especially in the region of the Senhaja Sghir, tend to indicate some sort of contact with the Romans, although there is no record of any bishoprics having been established in any part of the territory in question. The episcopal lists later on in the time of the Vandals show only one bishop in Morocco, at the city of Opinon, on the distant Lixus.[7]

It is interesting that perhaps the only positive reference to the Riffians in this period shows them not only unsubjugated by Rome, but actually, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, attacking the Romans and carrying the war into Spain.[8]

In A.D. 429, what little claim the Romans had to the western Mauretania disappeared forever with the incoming of the Vandals.[9] Boniface, the governor of Roman Africa, invited them to share his domain and help him with his personal wars.[10] The army, which

[1] Chenier, p. 109

[2] William S. Davis, *An Outline History of the Roman Empire*, p. 77; Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, bk. iii, chap. 1, ll. 12-13.

[3] Louis Marcus, *L'Histoire des Wandales*, p. 143. Wherever possible I have examined Marcus's sources, since he used Victor Cartensis an eighteenth-century forgery. I have not used those statements of Marcus which are based on Victor Cartensis, except where other sources are quoted.

[4] Chenier, p. 122

[5] Meakin, p. 13; de Saint Martin, p. 346.

[6] Marcus, p. 294 (from Itinerary of Antoninus); see Roget, p. 39.

[7] Marcus, p. 292 (from Optatus, Hist. Donatist., edition Dupin, Introduction, p. lxxxix).

[8] Meakin, p. 17 (from Spartian, Hadrian, xxii, p. 194).

[9] For date, see Meakin, p. 17.

[10] Procopius, bk. iii, chap. 3, l. 25.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

numbered between fifty and eighty thousand,[1] was commanded by Genseric, bastard son of the king Godigisclus.[2] 175

The route which this army took is not clearly known. Procopius says that "the Vandals crossed the strait at Gadira [Cadiz][3] and came into Libya," [4] adding no details concerning the route. Evidence has been offered to prove that Genseric transferred his army by sea as far as the site of the modern Algiers.[5]

Whether or not they traversed Morocco, one year after their departure from Cadiz [6] the Vandals were besieging Hippone,[7] the modern Bone,[8] far to the east of the Rif, and thence marched on Carthage, which they captured in 439.[9]

By 457 those Vandals who had not left Spain with Genseric had probably joined his forces.[10] Marjorien, representing Roman authority in Spain, marched in pursuit of them, but with little success.[11]

The Vandals themselves lived almost exclusively in the territory neighboring Carthage, and both the Vandals and the Romans considered Tingitania a barren area, suitable only to serve as a natural barrier of defence.[12] In 460 Genseric sent men back to burn and devastate the two Mauretanias, poisoning the wells and springs, so as to prevent further attack from Spain by land.[13]

Soon after the arrival of the Vandals in Africa, the native rulers took back the territory previously belonging to them west of the Tafna,[14] and it was only on such destructive expeditions as the two above named that the Vandals came near them at all.

One of the few ways in which the Vandals may have influenced the Riffians was by their periodic habit of exiling the Tunisian Catholics. During periods of special bitterness church officials were sent to live among the Moors, a punishment which was then considered the severest imaginable.[15] Tingitania is not mentioned among the destinations of these unfortunates. If any did go to northern Morocco, however, their advent may have given rise to the tradition-origins of the Beni Bu Nsar and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, whose phylonymic forebears may on the other hand have wandered in independently or have been sent by the Romans.

After the surrender of Gelimer, the last Vandal king, to the Byzantine forces,[16] he and most of the Vandals with him were removed from Africa.[17] Some, including the royal family, were taken to the capital to adorn a triumph,[17] while most of the men were forced into the eastern army of the Empire. Four hundred of the latter escaped and returned to Africa.[18] In 540 Solomon sent to Byzantium what few Vandals, including their women, remained in Africa.[19]

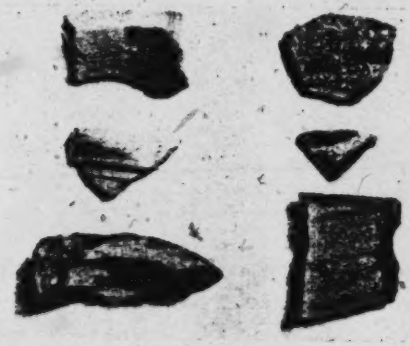
[1] *Ibid.* (ed. Dewing), vol. II, p. 180 n.
[2] *Ibid.* (ed. Dewing), vol. II, p. 5 n.
[3] B. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A.D. 461*, vol. III, p. 344.
[4] Procopius, bk. iii, chap. 3, ll. 31-34.
[5] Marcus, p. 156 (from Prosper, p. 195; Idatius, p. 23).
[6] *Ibid.* (from Possidius).
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 293-294 (from Itinerary of Antoninus).
[8] *Ibid.*, bk. iii, chap. 3, l. 23.
[9] Bk. iii, chap. 3, l. 26 (Dewing's translation).
[10] For date, see Marcus, p. 145.
[11] *Ibid.* (ed. Dewing), vol. II, p. 33 n.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 137 (a personal deduction).
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 266 (after Idatius, p. 27; Marius Aventimus, in *Chronica apud Duchesne, scriptores histor. francor. coaetanei*, vol. I, p. 210; Procopius; and Victor Cartensis). Procopius differs from the others in this, Victor having presumably copied Idatius and Marius.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 293 (based on Procopius).
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 181 (from Victor Vitensis, I, 5, as well as Victor Cartensis).
[16] Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 7, l. 12
[17] *Ibid.*, bk. iv, chap. 9.
[18] *Ibid.*, bk. iv, chap. 14, ll. 17-19.
[19] *Ibid.*, bk. iv, chap. 19, l. 3.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

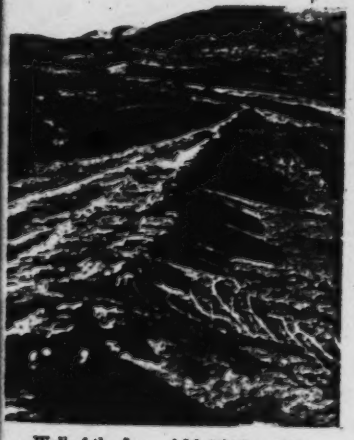
172

Remains of an ancient wall, Jama el Mujahidin, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Roman remains, Volubilis



Potsherds from the wall at Ajdir



Wall of the Jama el Mujahidin, Ajdir

Green-glazed tile, Ajdir

[facing p. 26]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 The disappearance of the Vandals from North Africa may thus be explained historically. There was probably a minimum of race-mixture between this people and the mountain Berber stock; the Berbers hated the Vandals heartily and the Vandals, softened by luxury and excesses out of all moral semblance to their ancestors, looked upon the life of the hardy mountain tribes with delicate horror. The emasculated invaders preferred slavery to a life among a people the hardships of whose manner of living they could not endure.[1] Procopius describes a light-skinned fair-haired people far to the west of the territory with which he was familiar, a people contemporary with the Vandals and incapable of historical derivation from them.[2] The popular theory of a Vandal origin of blondism in North Africa is historically unsupportable.

During the half century which remained between the expulsion of the Vandals from North Africa and the first onrush of Arab invasion, the Romans did not attempt to retake the Mauretanias. The Goths had crossed over and taken possession of Ceuta, as well, perhaps, as of ports along the Ghomaran coast.[3] As related in a previous chapter,[4] the Ghomara retain traditions of a temporary subjugation to a people whom they call Portuguese, and point out decrepit castles on promontories of the seacoast as evidence of their statements. These towers, again, might advantageously be made the object of archaeological research.

Don Julian, the lord of Ceuta, who invited the Arabs to invade Spain, was called the ruler of the Ghomara,[5] which he may well have been. The Goths, for whom little has been claimed, may have possessed more power along the Riffian shore line than the much-vaunted Vandals ever aspired to.

It is during this little-known period between the downfall of the Vandals and the entrance of the Arabs that a Jewish kingdom of the Rif has been postulated by certain Moroccan Jews anxious to exploit deeds traditionally attributed to their ancestors. The claim is that at this time there was a Jewish kingdom in the Rif with a Jacob Pariente as king. This Pariente is said to have warred on the constituted authorities in Spain.[6]

Michaux-Bellaire, who brought this claim to light and has thoroughly exposed most of its details, feels nevertheless that the period of history specified in the tradition may have been one of strong Jewish influence in the Rif.[7] Ritualistic action in a modern Riffian religious ceremony [8] and dramatic representations in the annual carnival [9] seem to support his idea.[9]

FIRST ARAB INVASIONS

In A.D. 648 the Arabs invaded North Africa.[10] This event marks a turning point not only in religion and in certain elements of culture but also in the extent of human knowledge, since the Arabs left far better records of historical events than any of the invaders who had

[1] *Ibid.*, bk. iv, chap. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, bk. iv, chap. 8, l. 20.
[3] Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berbères*, vol. i, pp. 212, 287; vol. ii, p. 135.
[4] Chapter I.
[5] Meakin, p. 26 and n. 1, referring to Ibn Khaldun, vol. i, pp. 212, 287, vol. ii, p. 135, and to En Nasiri, vol. i, p. 31.
[6] Michaux-Bellaire, *Au Propos du Rif*, pp. 3-7.
[7] See below, p. 151.
[8] See below, pp. 152 *sqq.*
[9] Horovitz, *Marokko*, pp. 47, 48; Sidney Mendelssohn, *The Jews of Africa*, pp. 142-145. Both Horovitz and Mendelssohn feel that Jews may have been in this region since before the Babylonian captivity. Slouschz also (*Une Voyage des Etudes Juives en Afrique*, Memoirs Inst. Française, 1re Série, Tome 12e, pp. 482, 507-508, 550-551, 555) finds pre-Talmudic practices employed by North African Jews, indicating that their ancestors left Palestine before the second destruction of the temple.
[10] Meakin, p. 21.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 preceded them. In 688, under Okba, they reached the Atlantic,[1] and shortly afterward the invasion of Spain took place. These Arabs who came as the first Islamic invaders of Morocco were men of good family and of high culture. The Arabic which they spoke was of Classical type, and their standards of literacy and Koranic learning were high. It was this type of Arab culture, brought by the first wave of invaders (who were not Bedawin), that became the foundation of the high civilizations of Fez, Tetwan, and the cities of Andalusia.[2]

Explorers and missionaries rather than colonists, they travelled for the most part without women, and did not hesitate to marry into the families of the Berbers among whom they found themselves. Thus their offspring were as much Berber as Arab; and before many generations one may well imagine that the Berber blood dominated, although the Arab culture was maintained in the cities with little diminution.[3] Thus their descendants were less Arab in blood than the Bedawin who came after them, but more Arab than they in the sense that they were more deeply steeped in Islamic culture. The effect of this early group on the Berbers was not unfavorable. The Berbers took over Islam, but kept to their old language and to a great extent to their old manner of living, incorporating the new and the old into a firm blend which has in several areas survived until today, although in other parts of Morocco the advent of Bedawin [3] in later times has broken it up.

THE KINGDOM OF NEKOR

Such influences came to the Rif largely through the agency of one man and his descendants, and a study of the history of this family may be found useful when the time comes to attempt to unravel the cultural problems of the present-day Rif.

In narrating this history I can do no better than paraphrase the account given by el Bekri,[3] an historian writing in the eleventh century, since all subsequent accounts are based on his.[4]

Saleh ibn Mansur, a Himyarite, established himself in the central region of the Rif in the reign of the Khalifa el Welid ibn Abd el-Melek, about the year 710. He made his home at the port of Temsaman, near Bedkun, situated on the Wed el-Bakar. He converted to Islam the Berbers of the surrounding tribes, but these new converts, soon tiring of the restrictions imposed upon them by their new religion, renounced it and drove Saleh from the country. They then took as their chief one er-Rondi, a Berber of the tribe of Nefza, who had been in Spain, and who relapsed with them into heathenism. Tiring of him, however, they decided to reënter Islam, and called Saleh back to them. Saleh remained in the region until his death, and was buried at Agta, a village on the Temsaman coast.

Saleh married, among others, a Senhajan woman, and had by her two sons, el-Motasem and Idris. Abd es-Samed, his third son, was borne by another wife. El Motasem succeeded Saleh by popular acclaim, and, dying shortly after his accession, was succeeded by his nephew, Said ibn Idris.

This Said, the grandson of Saleh, built the city of Nekor five miles from the sea on the western bank of the River Nekor, on top of a hill which offered facilities for defence. This city became the capital of the kingdom of Nekor, which the descendants of the family were

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[2] Pages 183–196.
[3] E. F. Gautier, *Les Siècles Obscurs du Maghreb*, pp. 385–389.
[4] Introduction, p. 5.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 destined to rule for three centuries more. An important market, which had been established nearby by Saleh, was moved to the town, and gave it promise of commercial prosperity.

In 858–859 Nekor was invaded by a piratical band of Normans, who sacked and destroyed the town, and after eight days departed, taking with them those of the inhabitants who had not fled. Among the prisoners were Ama t-er-Rahman and Khanula, two granddaughters of el Motasem ibn Saleh, who were ransomed and sent home by the Imam Mohammed ibn Abd er-Rahman, the fifth Omeiyad sovereign of Spain.

Said ibn Idris, in whose reign this misfortune occurred, did not die without further troubles. The Branes tribe of Berbers, perhaps the same Branes who today consider themselves part of the Senhaja, revolted, electing a certain Segguen as chief. Segguen won over other tribes, and the rebels attacked the city of Nekor itself; but at this juncture Said organized a sally and defeated them so badly that they entered into submission once more without further trouble.

When Said died he was succeeded by his son Saleh II, who no sooner than in power had to fight his brother Idris, who had stirred Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel into revolt. The two armies met on Mt. Kuin, in Gzennaya, and Idris was completely victorious, except that Saleh escaped. Idris marched on to Nekor and demanded admittance as king. The officer whom Saleh had left in charge defended the place vigorously and refused to let Idris in until he should bring proof that Saleh was dead. During the night Saleh entered by stealth, and in the morning the governor let Idris in, saying that he was now sure of Saleh's death. No sooner had Idris entered, however, than he was seized and locked up in the palace. Saleh was unwilling to put him to death, but at length acceded to the entreaties of his ally, Kasem the Lord of Za, and had him killed by a page, since no one else was willing to do it.

Saleh's next difficulty was with the Meknassa, perhaps the ancestors of the inhabitants of the villages of Meknassa Fokania, and Meknassa Takhtania, today situated directly south of the Gzennaya. The Meknassa having refused to pay taxes, Saleh had let loose in their country an ass bearing a letter in the feed bag on its back. The Meknassa found the letter and read it, discovering it to be full of threats. Fearing Saleh's punishment, they put the amount of overdue taxes on the ass's back, along with a load of fine cloth from Merv, and led the ass back to Saleh, who forgave them.

When Saleh died his son Said II succeeded to the kingdom and to the troubles which usually beset its rulers. Hardly had he taken up office when the slaves of his family, led by his brother Obeid Allah and his uncle Abu Ali er-Rida, revolted and attacked him in his palace. With the help of his wives and attendants he drove them out, and later put down the rebellion, killing all the leaders but his brother and uncle, whom he imprisoned, later sending Obeid Allah to Mekka for life.

Among those he killed was his cousin el-Aghleb, whereupon another cousin, a certain Sedeat-Allah ibn Harun, became angry and in return started a revolt among the Beni Isliten of Temsaman, without Said's knowing of his participation. When Said heard of the revolt, he set out with Sedeat-Allah to crush it, but Sedeat Allah betrayed him, going over to the rebels with all his men. Said fled to Nekor and was besieged there. Finally, however, Said won, and Sedeat-Allah remained in hiding in Temsaman. Said killed Sedeat-Allah's brother and burned his houses, in true Riffian style, and later pardoned Sedeat-Allah and let him return to court. Sedeat-Allah then entered the country of the Botouia and Beni

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Urtedi. From these peoples he obtained possession of the Garet fortress of Kolwé-Jara, whence he made raids on the territory of the Marnissa and Zenata. Later he came back to Nekor and remained as a faithful retainer of Said. During this time the sister of Said married a sherif of lengthy pedigree, who came to live in the country and established his progeny there. 175

Up to this time, and indeed throughout the reign of their dynasty, the family of Saleh had been orthodox Mohammedans of the old school, following literally the precepts of the Malekite rite. Through this adherence to orthodoxy they had remained in the good graces of the Omeiyad khalifas of Spain, one of whom, as has been related, ransomed the princesses of Nekor after the disastrous raid by the Normans in the time of the first Said.

Although their orthodoxy kept the kings of Nekor in the good graces of Spain, it aroused against them the ire of the heretical Fatemid khalifas of Kairwan. Obeid Allah esh-Shiai, the khalifa, sent Said a poem in which he threatened to destroy his kingdom if he should not submit to Fatemid doctrine and power. Said called in an able poet, who wrote a pungent reply which offended the khalifa so much that he sent out Messala ibn Habbus, the governor of Tehert, to invade the domain of Nekor and attack Said. In 917 Messala advanced on Nekor and took up his position at a place called Nesaft, a day's march from Nekor.

Said marched out against him and fought three days without being defeated. Then Hamd ibn el Ayesh, a valiant Riffian in his forces, a native of the tribe of Ituweft, which may have been the same as the present Beni Itteft, attempted to break through the enemy's lines and assassinate Messala. His plan failed, and he was taken prisoner. When Messala was about to kill him, he offered to support Messala in return for his life, and led the Fatemid army through a weak side of Said's line, whereupon Said's troops fled. Said sent his family out to the Isle of Alhucemas, and with a few of his retainers fought until he was killed. Nekor was sacked, and the women and children taken prisoners. Said's head, and the heads of those of his family who had been killed, were taken to the Fatemid khalifa's court and exhibited.

His children and the other members of his family who had escaped went to Spain, where they were well received by the Omeiyad sovereign Abd er-Rahman en-Naṣr, who provided them with what they required and let them remain in Malaga, awaiting an opportunity to return home.

Messala spent six months overrunning the territory of Nekor and then he departed, leaving one of his officers named Delul in charge. Before long the Fatemid soldiers stationed with Delul began to leave, until soon he had but a small group at his command. Said's three sons, Idris, el Motasem, and Saleh, heard this and prepared to return. Each set sail at the same time in a different boat, with the agreement that whoever should land first would be king. Saleh, the youngest one, landed first, on the roadstead of Temsaman and was acclaimed king. His brothers when they landed acknowledged him without controversy. He marched on Delul, captured him and his men, and crucified them all along the banks of the Nekor. Abd er-Rahman ibn Mohammed of Cordova sent Saleh gifts of jewels, clothing, and arms, and had the news of the victory announced throughout Spain.

Saleh III died after a twenty years' reign and was succeeded by his grandson el-Mowayed, who was attacked by Musa ibn Abu 'l Afiya and was killed. In 929-930 Nekor was again destroyed, and this time permanently.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 Later Abu Ayub Ismail, the great-grandson of the first Said through another line, took over the command and rebuilt Nekor, establishing in it a new population, and restoring the market-day. In 935 Sandal, the Negro leader of the Fatemid forces, seeking another force which under Meisur, another Negro, had been lost, approached Nekor and wrote to Ismail demanding his submission. Ismail shut himself up in the castle of Agri and wrote Sandal that he was willing to submit. Sandal sent messengers asking Ismail to come to his camp, but when he learned that Ismail had put these messengers to death he advanced and occupied the fortress of Naseft, the place in which Messala had killed Said ibn Saleh. After eight days of fighting Sandal took Agri, killing Ismail and most of those with him.

Sandal set up a Ketaman Berber named Mermazu as governor of Nekor, and departed for Fez, which city he had heard that Meisur, whom he had originally set out to find, was besieging.

The inhabitants of Nekor then returned, having chosen a member of the family of Saleh as their ruler. He was Musa ibn er-Rumi, who had previously lived among the Beni Isliten of Temsaman. Musa ibn er-Rumi took back Nekor, killed Mermazu, and sent his head to the emir of Cordova.

Two years after the coming of Sandal, Musa ibn er-Rumi was expelled from Nekor by another member of the royal family, Abd es-Semia, and went, with his brother and other relations, to Spain, where members of the family, survivors from previous expulsions, were already living in Pechina. His cousin Jorthem ibn Ahmed at the same time went to Malaga. In 947–948 Jorthem was recalled to Nekor as king, and retained his office until 971. The rule passed successively to several of his descendants, until in 1019–20 the Azdaja conquered them and forced them to reembark to Malaga. After the Azdaja had left, the descendants of Jorthem returned to Nekor, or rather to el Mezemma, its seaport. Later Yala ibn Fotuh the Azdaji drove from the country all the members of this family. In the year in which el Bekri wrote, A.D. 1067–68, Nekor still belonged to the descendants of Yala ibn Fotuh.

This is all that we know of the history of the kingdom of Nekor. Ibn Khaldun, writing several centuries later, merely copied el Bekri,[1] and did not state what events occurred there after the year in which el Bekri wrote.[2]

About six hundred years later a Frenchman, Sieur Roland Frejus, landed at Alhucemas and crossed the Rif by way of the River Nekor, Beni Tuzin, Tafersit, and the Garet. He afterwards returned to Alhucemas and spent some time there.[3] Frejus says that a certain Sheikh Amar commanded part of the Boutoya, the rest of which region, as well as Temsaman, was under the suzerainty of Sheikh Arras of "Albouzema," his brother-in-law and enemy.[4] Sheikh Arras lived in "Albouzema," otherwise known as El Mezemma, the port of Nekor, situated on the beach somewhat to the eastward of the present Ajdir.[5] On his ride into the interior Frejus stopped at Nekor, three leagues from the sea,[6] but does not say whether it was then a flourishing town or a ruin, as it is today. At any rate, El Mezemma must have been more important than Nekor, for when the Filali Sultan Mulay er-Rashid punished Sheikh Arras, his father-in-law, for not assisting him personally in the siege of Fez, he destroyed el Mezemma,[7] but no mention is made of his destroying Nekor, which must therefore have been already demolished, since no one in history had ever before passed by an opportunity to knock it down.

[1] Vol. II, p. 137, n. 4.
[2] Pages 2, 16.
[3] Ibid., p. 143.
[4] Pages 22–23.
[5] Frejus (itinerary abstracted from entire book).
[6] Page 22.
[7] Page 7.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

This event took place in 1666;[1] therefore the most that we know concerning the final abandonment of Nekor is that it occurred probably between 1068 and 1666. 175

The extent of the territory included in the kingdom of Nekor and the names of the tribes which bounded it are clearly stated in el Bekri. On the east he places the country of the Zuagha, about five days' journey from Nekor and neighboring the Jerawa of el Hasan ibn Abi 'l Aish. Near by are the Matmata, people of Kebdana, the Marnissa of the White Hill, the Ghassasa, who inhabit Mt. Herek, and the Beni Urtedi of Kolwé Jara. On the west the territory of Nekor extended to the country of the Beni Merwan, a people who made up part of the Ghomara, and touched on another Ghomaran tribe, the Beni Homeid, famous for its horses, and also on the Mestassa and the Senhaja. Behind these peoples he placed the Aureba and the Band of Ferhun, the Beni Ulid, the Zenata of Taberida, the Beni Irnian, and the Beni Merasen of the band of Kasem lord of Za and of the "hill called Taurirt."[2] The list of these outlying peoples, as well as those on the borders of the kingdom, includes many known today.

The Zuagha are now considered purely Algerian, but may in the days of Nekor have reached as far west as the Muluya. The Kebdana, of course, are still in their place; the Marnissa are now farther west than their order in the list would indicate; the Ghassasa were probably a group of what are now called the Galiya, and the Beni Urtedi, nomadic Berbers, in the Garet. Kolwé Jara, their stronghold, is said to have been one day's journey beyond the River Kert, and a day's journey likewise from the Muluya.[3] Therefore Kolwé Jara can be roughly located by finding a place where the two rivers are two days' march apart, and locating the middle of that distance. A line from the Kert to the Muluya, passing through the wells of Hassi Wensga, in the Beni Bu Yahyi, constitutes a two days' march, and Hassi Wensga is exactly one day's march from either river. At Hassi Wensga there are said to be the ruins of an ancient fortress. The wells of Hassi Wensga furnish the only water for many miles around in the arid waste in which it is located; a castle in that place would have the advantage over its besiegers through its control of the water supply.

El Bekri places the Ghomara to the west of, but not under the sway of, the kingdom of Nekor. Mestassa likewise was on the border, and the Senhaja lay to the west of it. Today the Senhajan tribe of Beni Gmil touches the tribe of Mestassa, thus presenting an unbroken line of Senhaja and Mestassa from the Wergha country to the Mediterranean. If, then, the Ghomara bordered on the kingdom of Nekor,[4] there must have been a gap between the Senhaja and Mestassa; but el Bekri may not have meant it literally, since it is really but a short distance from the junction of the Beni Gmil and Mestassa to the Ghomara.

Of the tribes said to be beyond the border tribes, the Beni Ulid, today forming part of the Senhaja of the Wergha, are still to be reckoned with. We know little of the Aureba, a name usually associated with Algeria, for of the Band of Ferhun, although in the Werghan tribe of Beni Wenjin today is a mountain cave of great size known as the *ifri n Ferhun*, or cave of Ferhun. Neither Beni Irnian nor Beni Merasen are names familiar today, although Za is now the name of a village of Beni Zerwal of the Jebala and the "hill called Taurirt" might be any hill, since in Berber *taurirt* means hill. The most important place today called Taurirt is the French fortress and wireless station on the road from Guercif to Ujda, and this may also be the hill mentioned in Sallust's *Jugurtha*.[4] If Kasem, lord of Za, held sway

[1] Date on Frejus's title-page.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[3] El Bekri, pp. 180–181.
[4] Gordon's translation, p. 253.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 all the way from Taurirt beyond the Muluya to Beni Zerwal, he must have been a potentate indeed. As a matter of fact, his influence on the court of Nekor was great enough to persuade the second Saleh to put to death his brother Idris. The Zenata are listed as occupying the territory to the south of the Garet.[1]

The tribes which I have so far mentioned were border tribes of the kingdom of Nekor, and tribes beyond the borders. The tribes which figure most prominently as subject to the kings were Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gzennaya. Meknassa, Branes, and Beni Itteft have likewise been mentioned as tributary.

El Bekri lists as the harbors dependent upon Nekor, Muluya, Herek, Garet, Marsa 'd Dar Auktis, Wed el Bakar, and el Mezemma. Muluya was apparently at the mouth of that river; Herek, bearing the same name as a mountain before mentioned, was apparently somewhere along the shoreline of the Galiya; Garet was no doubt at the mouth of the Kert; Marsa 'd Dar Auktis, according to el Bekri, was near the Mountain of Temsaman; Wed el Bakar, now Marsa Sidi Hasein, was at the mouth of the river bearing that name; and el Mezemma, the actual port of Nekor, was on the Bay of Alhucemas.[2] It is interesting that in this early account the important harbor and city of Melilla is not mentioned, wherefore one must conclude its Islamic settlement to have been of later date; Carthaginians and Romans may well have occupied it earlier.

Three other ports are mentioned, but not as belonging to Nekor. These were Bades, Bakuia, and Balish, the last-named belonging to the Senhaja.[3] Today Bokoya is a tribe and Bades a ruin, nor have the Senhaja any outlet upon the sea.

El Bekri has mapped out a Rif not radically different in tribal designations from what it is today, the chief difference being in the eastern and Garet section. Beni Tuzin, Tafersit, and Beni Ulishk had not yet taken on their present appellations; Melilla had not been built, nor were the Galiya known as such; Beni Said was called Butuia, a term sometimes expanded to include a much larger region than that of the present Beni Said, and the nomads of the Garet, dominated then by Kolwé Jara, had not adopted their modern names. The Senhaja and Ghomara to the west seem to have occupied much the same territory they hold today, although the tribes now lumped together as Senhaja el Ghuddu, Werghan Senhaja, or, in this volume, Western Arabophone Senhaja, are not designated as Senhajan in origin or affiliation.

The civilization of Nekor seems to have been a counterpart of that of Omeiyad Spain rather than of anything in the Moghreb. The reigning sovereigns were learned in the Malekite rite and led the prayer publicly in the mosque of the city.[4] Koranic learning must have been highly developed and its influence on the three nuclear tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman strong. Said ibn Saleh built on the banks of the Ghis a mosque rivalling that of Alexandria, and today, on the same site or nearby, stands the sanctuary of Sidi Yussuf, in which before the Riffian war three hundred or more students applied themselves to the Koran and magical lore.

Although the descendants of Saleh carried on the traditions of their ancestor in religious and intellectual matters, they could not have avoided becoming more and more Riffian in blood and in general manner of life, for there is but one record of a fresh infusion of Arab blood into a line which was half Berber to begin with, and the contacts with the rest of the

[1] El Bekri, p. 181.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 193–194.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Arab world were few and, except those with Spain, bloody and unsought. We see them quarrelling among themselves and facing constant uprisings; we see the facile shiftings of loyalties and alliances, the high premium placed upon strategy and trickery, the practice of burning the houses of foemen defeated or driven off in a feud. These habits are distinctly Riffian in character. 175

OTHER EARLY CENTERS

Nekor, although the chief source of Arab influence on the Rif during this early period, was by no means the only such city in the Rif. Bades,[1] the ruins of which now confront the Peñon de Velez, and Melilla [2] were important in their time, and there were a number of smaller towns along the coast.

Unlike Nekor, Bades antedated the Moslem invasions, having been built, as Marmol suggests,[3] by the Goths. Bades was a city of some seven hundred houses, occupied by fishermen and shipbuilders. The lord of Velez (Bades) kept a navy of thirty galleys, wherewith to resist attack and to raid the coast of Spain. He likewise held sway over the mountain Berbers behind the town, who came down to defend it in time of need. Marmol cites many battles between the men of Bades and the Spaniards, and Spanish raids on the stronghold itself.[4]

In 1508 Bades fell to the Spaniards, and in 1522 the Turks took it away from them, keeping it until 1564, when the Spaniards seem to have regained control of it.[5] The Spaniards did not occupy the city, which fell into ruins at some subsequent date. During recent times the Spanish government has maintained a prison camp and trading post on Peñon de Velez, a small stony island just off the site of Bades, and this post has been one of the three prime gates of entry for articles of European manufacture into the Rif, the others being the Isle of Alhucemas and Melilla.

The nature of Bades' population is left somewhat in doubt, although from Marmol's description of it one would judge it to have been Berber, excepting for a *mellah* containing one hundred houses of Jews, which he does not fail to mention.[6] Even the identity of the Lord of Velez is left in doubt. Bades may well have exerted an Arabizing influence on the surrounding tribes through its extensive trading contacts with the outside world.

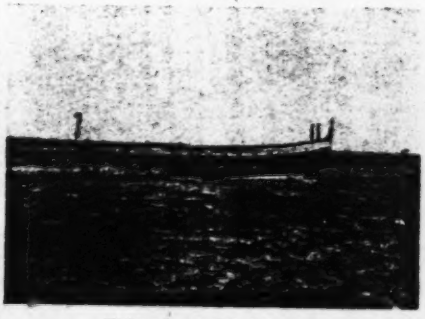
Melilla was the last of the three great centres from which trade influences may have been diffused. It is a very old city, having, as we have seen,[7] probably been built by the Phoenicians. It was occupied by a family called Beni Urtedi, who although the nominal inhabitants of the place were not always in command.[8] In 926–927 Abd er Rahman, the Omeyyad ruler of Spain, captured it, and fortified it to serve as a stronghold for his ally Musa ibn Abi 'l Afia.[9] A century and a half later, however, the original Beni Urtedi seem to have come back into control of their own city, for at that time they invited Mohammed ibn Idris, a member of the Idrisite family, to come over from Spain and be their ruler, which he did.[10] After many serious battles the Spaniards finally captured Melilla in 1497, and have kept it ever since.[11]

[1] El Bekri, p. 151.
[2] Chap. 62.
[3] See below, p. 22.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 178–179; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, vol. II, p. 311.
[5] Meakin, p. 110; Marmol, chap. 92.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[7] Meakin, p. 111.
[8] El Bekri, p. 268.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

NAVIGATION AND FISHING 1

501
226



Fishing boat of the Mazuza

Repairing a seine, Tiguissa, Ghomara

Hauling a net ashore, Tiguissa

Fishing scene showing Ghomaran boat type

[facing p. 34]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 Two smaller cities near Melilla, Cacaca [1] and Tezota,[2] were dependent upon her, and seem to correspond more or less in position to the modern Selwan and Nador, although Tezota, having been built upon rock and having served as a natural fortress, can hardly be the same as Nador, which is built on flat ground. To both these cities as well as to Melilla came Venetian galleys, thus exposing this region to an additional source of trade influence.[3]

Tezota was destroyed by the second Merinid king of Fez, Yusuf ben Yakub, and was not rebuilt until the capture of Melilla by the Spaniards. It then became the refuge of Moors exiled from Granada.[4]

There were other cities in the region, but they seem to have been relatively unimportant and to have had little opportunity of influencing the local population, either in blood or in culture. The region around Melilla was submitted to the kingdom of Fez at the time when these events took place,[5] and so could hardly have escaped Arab influence in culture and perhaps in race.

Nekor, as we have seen, was the greatest centre in the Rif of the higher and earlier Arabic culture; Bades, although not necessarily of Arab foundation or inspiration, possessed an opportunity of bringing in outside factors, as, in a minor degree, did other smaller ports along the coast; Melilla, and to lesser extent Cacaca and Tezota, may have been instrumental in introducing both Zenatan and Arab influences (though not necessarily the same sort of Arab influence as at Nekor) to the eastern region.

ARRIVAL OF THE BEDAWIN

There were two other great events, besides the establishment of Nekor and the activities of Bades and Melilla, which brought external cultures and peoples into contact with the Rif. These were the second Arab invasion of the Moghreb and the northward push of the Zenata under the Beni Merin.

This second wave of Arabs entered Morocco in the eleventh century.[6] It numbered, according to the historians, between 150,000 and 200,000 persons,[4] including women and children,[5] whom, unlike the earlier invaders, they had not neglected to bring with them. The families included in this great migration were Beni Hashem, Beni Ma'awia ben Bakr, Beni Hillal ben Amr ben Ṣaṣa, and Beni Soleim ben Mansur.[6] These various groups are generally united, for the sake of simplicity if not of accuracy, under the name of Beni Hillal. The invaders were nomadic Bedawin,[7] profoundly different from the aristocratic adventurers who three centuries before had conquered the country under the leadership of Okba. They were not there to propagate religion or to erect universities; their task was to find new pasturage for their flocks and new camping grounds; in short, they were immigrants numerous enough and primitive enough seriously to compete with the plains-dwelling Berbers for their land. Being Bedawin, they were ill-adapted to dislodging or even greatly influencing the Berbers of the mountains, who led by necessity a type of existence utterly opposed to

[1] Marmol, chap. 92.
[2] *Ibid.*, chap. 93.
[3] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, Introduction, pp. xxix, 28–51.
[4] Meakin, p. 32 (from Mercier, *Etablissement des Arabes*, p. 143).
[5] Gautier, p. 387 (from Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, p. 433).
[6] Meakin, p. 32 (from en Naṣiri, vol. II, p. 77).
[7] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, pp. 28–29; Gautier, pp. 385–389.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 their own. The only logical place in the present Rif, northern Senhaja, and Ghomara which might have interested them was the plain of the Garet, and the lands immediately adjacent to it. This territory was easily reached, since travelers had but to follow downstream from the headwaters of the Muluya, a region to this day occupied by the Beni Hillal.[1] Bodies of them pressed along the eastern bank of the Muluya, while some of those who crossed this stream were powerful enough to remain, although mixed with Riffian blood. These were the Ulad Stut, "the children of the ogress," whose territory now lies between the tribes of Galiya, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Kebdana. The Ababda, today a family of nomads ranging in the northern Metalsa and counted as Metalsa but speaking only Arabic, may be another relic of a sporadic Hillali invasion.

These Hillali Arabs, although doubtless as worthy as their more acclaimed predecessors, were distinctly less cultured. Where they came into contact with the Berbers their influence could be none other than to destroy or weaken not only cultural factors of Berber origin but also Islamic rites and manners requiring a relatively high religious knowledge and degree of koranic literacy, both of which the Riffians had to a certain extent acquired from the dynasty of Saleh ibn Mansur and from other early Arab contacts.

The question of the invasions and influences of the Zenata is a much more difficult one than that of the Hillali Arabs, whose entrance can be definitely dated.

THE ZENATAN INVASION

The Zenata, one of the great Berber families, according to the genealogists,[2] were native to the northern borders of the Sahara, between Zab and Tafilelt.[3] This territory seems to have been their early habitat and is occupied by members of their group today. They likewise extended, however, northward along the arm of the Sahara, which reaches up past Figuig and Tafilelt along the Muluya bed, reaching the sea in the arid expanse of the Garet.[4]

How early the Zenata, nomads by instinct, wandered up the Muluya into the territory now called the Rif is difficult to determine. Before the invasion of the Beni Merin — the classic and official entry of the Zenata — various tribes and families of them must have been working their way northward for a long while. El Bekri establishes the presence of Zenata two days' march north of Tafilelt.[5] Zenatan groups called the Zenata of Taberida[6] ranged on the outskirts of the territory of Nekor, and the Beni Yala (reigning in Tlemcen from 1002 to 1080) whose armies raided the Riffian kingdom, were of Zenatan origin.[7] Furthermore, the Beni Znassen, a Zenatan tribe now living between the Muluya and Ujda, were noticed in that territory in the thirteenth century.[8]

Whatever the contacts between the Riffians and the Zenata may previously have been, opportunity for their increase arose when the Beni Merin, the leading family of the Zenata, crossed the Atlas and attacked the Muwahaddi empire, centred in Fez.[9] The Beni Merin entered the Rif, presumably through the Garet and across Beni Tusin, and defeated

[1] Arabs, presumably dating from this period, now occupy the land immediately south of the Gaennaya, in the neighborhood of Msun.

[2] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, p. 175.

[3] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, p. 195.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[5] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, p. 121.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. I, Introduction, p. xxxiii, also vol. II, p. 288.

[7] Meakin, p. 89 (from Raod el Kartas, p. 400).

[8] El Bekri, p. 281.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Beaching the catch, Tiguisse, Ghomara

226
291

[facing p.36]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 the Muwahaddi army in 1216 in a great battle on the banks of the Nekor,[1] a contest the reputation of which remains in oral tradition to this day.

Abd el Hakk, the Merinid ruler, married a woman of the Ulad Mahalla of Tafersit, according to Ibn Khaldun,[2] or of the Beni Tuzin, according to Marmol.[3] This Riffian woman became the mother of Yakub ibn Abd el Hakk, the third Merinid ruler of Fez, who, through his relationship with them, released the Beni Tuzin from all necessity of paying taxes or tribute of any kind.[3] In 1666, four centuries later, the evidence of Frejus indicates,[4] this privilege was withdrawn.

According to Marmol the Beni Tuzin are of Zenatan origin,[5] as are the Metalsa, whom one can recognize under his name of *Batalisa*,[5] especially as the *b* is retained to this day in the name which the Gzennaya call them, *Ibdarsen*. Marmol states definitely that the *Batalisa* were relatives of the Beni Merin and were sent into the territory of the Garet by them.[6]

The names Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit do not occur until after the invasion of the Beni Merin. The Beni Said are mentioned by Marmol,[6] who distinctly states that they were of the house of Ghomara. Although Marmol mistook a traditional alliance for a blood relationship, his statement indicates that elements in these two tribes were old enough to have participated in the war of the Senhaja and Ghomara, or at least old enough to have been assigned a part in this conflict by the *horror vacui* of tradition. The name *Beni Tuzin*, in its Berber original, *Asht Uzin*, means "the children of the half," thus perhaps implying a mixed origin.[7]

The path of the inroads of the Beni Merin may be clearly traced in the list of tribal ancestors given in the preceding chapter. Although we can thus date a definite Zenatan invasion of the Rif, we must not deduce from it that Zenatan influences had not been at work in the region earlier. El Bekri's mention of Zenata to the south of the Garet indicates that the Zenata were in his time neighbors, if not invaders. The Beni Merin may be said to have organised and intensified the Zenatan influence on the Rif, but not to have commenced it.

With the coming of the Zenata, the fifth and last of the great invasions of or diffusions into the Rif in history and in clear tradition took place. These five were the traditional invasions of the Ghomara and of the Senhaja, the first Arab invasion and the establishment of the kingdom of Nekor, the invasion of the Beni Hillal into Morocco, and the invasion of the Zenata. The three Berber and two Arab contacts described have had more recognizable influence upon the present racial and cultural composition of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara than have the hypothetical influences of classical civilizations and of the Vandals. After the fall of the Merinid empire the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara assumed their modern character, becoming increasingly jealous of outside interference and less and less known.

[1] Meakin, p. 90 (from Raod el Kartas, p. 406, and En Nasiri, vol. II, p. 4).
[2] Vol. II, p. 123. [3] Chap. 98. [4] Pages 37–38.
[5] Chap. 92. [6] Chap. 96.
[7] Ghirelli, following Schefer, the editor of Leo Africanus, claims that *Tuzin* is derived from *Tudpin*, or, following our own principles of transliteration, *Tujin*, the name of an important sub-group of the Zenatan stock. The only apparent basis for this is the similarity of the names, and the fact that Zenata invaded that region immediately before the name *Tuzin* first appeared. Schefer takes it for granted that in calling them *Tuzin* Moulieras was making a mistake, or was perpetuating the so-called mistake of Leo Africanus. Schefer's error is pardonable in view of the ignorance of Riffian geography in the time in which he wrote. See Ghirelli, *La Kabila de Beni Tuzin*, pp. 51–52; Leo Africanus, vol. II, p. 322, n. 1; Auguste Moulieras, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, vol. I, p. 113.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IV

MATERIAL CULTURE

HUNTING

224 HUNTING is carried on in three ways in the Rif, by means of the rifle, the net, and the trap. In the fall and winter the Riffians, and especially the mountaineers of the Senhaja, spend as much of their time as they can spare climbing about the mountain sides in search of game.

[416] The weapons with which they hunt are confined to rifles of European manufacture and
[263] Taghzuthi flintlocks. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, hares, pigeons, partridges, wild boar, and, where there are any, the aoudad, wild ox, and gazelle. Since before any animal may be eaten by Mohammedans it is necessary that its throat be cut ceremonially, — the butcher pronouncing the formula *"biem illah, ullahu akbar,"* — the Riffians have devised several means of counteracting the consequences of the game's dying before this has been done. The hunter when loading his gun may kiss the lead ball, pronouncing the formula of *hallala*, or the sacrament, over it, and any animal shot by that ball will be clean and edible. Another and more convenient method is to have a gunsmith chase the words of the formula in silver wire upon the stock or barrel, and thereafter any game shot by that rifle will be sacramentally edible. In the case of the wild boar, the hunter does not worry about giving it the *hallala*, since it is forbidden food in any event.

Nets are set up across a path or entrance to a clearing on the side of a hill, and long palisades of brush are erected like wings on either side of the net, slightly wedge-shaped, and at an angle of less than 180 degrees to each other. Beaters start at the foot of the hill and work up, converging until they reach the ends of the palisade, and thus drive into the net whatever small game they may have intercepted. In this way they catch rabbits, hares,
[262] partridges, foxes, jackals, and other animals. Although they kill the foxes and jackals, they never eat them.[1]

[231] Ferrets are used in winter time to unearth rabbits. They are completely tamed and well trained.

224 Traps are made by local blacksmiths and are based on the same mechanical principle as
326 the type with which the reader is familiar. The differences are: (1) The base of the trap is a frame, rectangular in shape, instead of a plate. The jaws are hinged into the sides of this. (2) Each jaw is bent in two right angles instead of in an arc. (3) The spring, attached to one arm of the frame, operates at right angles to the axis of the jaws instead of parallel to it. Thus it actually touches but one side of each jaw, instead of both sides, as in modern traps. (4) There is no trigger or bait-holder. The traps are set by means of two sticks, one put under the end of the frame and over one open jaw, and the other under both sides of the frame and over the end of the first stick. The second stick thus is caught in the jaws when the trap is sprung.

224 The trap is buried in the path or in front of the hole of any small animal, the top being covered with leaves and dust. The two sticks are so arranged that the slightest motion will

[1] I have seen tribesmen of the Zaer, near Rabat, eat a jackal.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

224 separate them and release the jaws. No bait is used, nor is any attempt made to smoke or otherwise deodorise the trap.

Wild animals which are shot, netted, or trapped are not flayed by inflation, as is the case with domestic animals. (See plate 32.) The skins must be taken off laboriously with a knife, otherwise, it is thought, bad luck will befall the hunter and he will never catch any more of that species.[1]

When a Riffian has the good fortune to kill a wild ox, he takes particular pains to eat a portion of its head, thinking that in this way he will be lucky in hunting these animals in the future.

In the days when lions were common in the Rif, they were seldom hunted. The Riffians regarded the lion as a beast on a plane of importance little below that of man. It is said that a lion would never touch a man passing him unless the man made some aggressive motion, in which case the lion generally won. People passing lions used to intone formulae entreating the "father of the heart," as he was called, not to molest them. It is said that lions became rare or extinct not through the device of men, but through the increasing scarcity of wild boar, which formed their principal diet.

FISHING

226 Fishing is carried on all along the coast from the mouth of the Muluya to the western borders of the Ghomara. There are two principal methods, seining small fish near shore and catching larger fish on hooks in deep water.

The seine, called *tharrasha*, is made of hemp and is attached at either end to two long ropes. A boat takes the net out, with one rope on shore in the hands of a number of men. When the boat has reached the end of the rope, the net is let out in a semicircle, and the boat is then rowed back to shore, where the other rope is handed out as far from the first as possible. The two groups then pull on the ropes, gradually lessening the distance between them as they do so. The boat goes out again and is rowed in behind the net, to be on the spot in case of trouble. When the net is finally beached the crowd rushes in and scoops up the still leaping fish in baskets; the fish are put in a common pile on the sand, and are then divided equally among the families assisting in the catch. (See plates 5 and 6.)

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 The domestic animals kept by the Riffians are the horse, ass, mule, camel, cow, sheep, goat, dog, cat, ferret, and pig. Of fowl, the hen is the only one domesticated. Bees are also kept.

Horses are kept exclusively for riding; they are for the most part of the barb type, a strong, heavy, cart-horse breed; Arab horses, of pure or mixed blood, are ridden by the nomads of the Garet. Horses are found in greatest numbers in the east, among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa primarily, and to a lesser extent among the Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, and Beni Ulishk, and in Tafersit.

In the rest of the Rif, and in the Senhaja and Ghomara, the character of the country is such as to preclude the common use of the horse. In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart,

[1] This identical belief is found among the Passamoquoddy Indians of Maine, who feel that such an inflation is an insult to the animal.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

231

In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart,
Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Targuist, and Bokoya, and in the western maritime tribes, horses are owned only by very wealthy and influential men, who buy them in the lowlands, keeping them more for display than for any other purpose. In the Senhaja Sghir and the Ghomara horses are very seldom encountered; in fact none were owned in Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, or Ktama at the time of the Spanish conquest. The sedentary peoples who own horses keep them in the courtyards of their houses and take excellent care of them; without exception the animals are fat, well fed, and not overworked.

[556]

Donkeys are found throughout the region, more particularly in the lowlands. They are of a small hardy breed. During the war the Riffians stole many large Spanish jackasses from the military encampments to increase the size of their own animals. In the high mountains of the central Rif and Senhaja, even donkeys are none too frequently encountered. They are used for transport, riding, threshing, and the operation of olive-grinders. They also are kept in the courtyards of the houses at night and are fed on barley and straw.

Mules are more common than either horses or donkeys. For the most part, the breeding of horses, donkeys, and mules is carried on in the lowlands, where the animals are bought by the mountain people. Mules are more highly prized than either of their parental stocks, since they can carry a much heavier load than donkeys and can navigate the steep trails and passes of the mountains better than horses. They are also used for threshing and for the operation of olive-grinders.

Camels are owned only by the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. Of the usual dromedary type, they are used wholly for the transport of goods and are only exceptionally ridden.

Sheep are kept principally by the nomadic tribes, and to a lesser extent by the lowland tribes of the eastern Rif. They are found only in the southern part of Gzennaya and are seldom raised in the northern section of that tribe. They are likewise absent from the southern Beni Urriaghel area and are rare in the mountains of the western Beni Tuzin. In Beni Amart and Targuist, on account of the flat plateau-like nature of the territory, sheep are fairly numerous. Throughout the Senhaja Sghir and Ghomara they are practically unknown, and of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja tribes only those on the southwestern extremity own them in any quantity.

Goats, on the other hand, have an opposite distribution. Although they are known and kept everywhere, their numbers increase with the altitude. On the lowlands the sheep are more numerous. In tribes on higher levels, such as Temsaman, the numbers are about even, and in the mountain nucleus at the headwaters of the Nekor and in the Senhaja Sghir the goats hold undisputed sway, for they are better able to withstand cold and to climb about mountain crags. The breeding of sheep, on the other hand, where feasible, is more lucrative than that of goats. This distribution does not, however, indicate the priority of goats over sheep in the Rif (even though this may well be the case), since the environmental factor is, in this particular instance, the governing one.

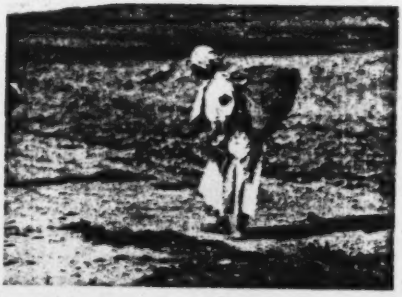
[857]

Sheep and goats are pastured by small boys, usually the sons of the owners, who amuse themselves by shooting with flintlock guns at pigeons, grouse, and small quadrupeds. Sheepfolds consisting of rough stone enclosures are used at night in stormy weather, and in winter the flocks are usually kept in the courtyard when the weather forbids their presence outside. The purchasing or raising of sheep or goats among the sedentary tribes depends largely upon the presence of sons of proper age to tend them, and the animals are usually sold when the sons have grown too old. In Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa this restriction does

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

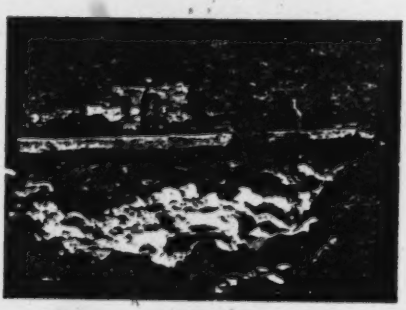
Transport 1

Common method of transporting water, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel



Method of carrying burdens on the back, Beni Said

Boy bringing home brush. Beni Amart



Bridge made of two parallel logs, Suk et Tnine, Taghsuth

[facing p. 40]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

231 not hold, since sheep-herding is done by grown men, especially old men whose age of usefulness in other pursuits has passed.

Dogs. Three breeds of dog are found in the Rif. The most common is the ordinary small yellow cur, with lop ears like a jackal and a bristly mane, which serves as a sentry during the night, is seldom fed, and keeps up a terrific racket, yipping at all hours. These dogs, which frequently breed with jackals and can with difficulty be distinguished from them, are half wild, back away snarling and yelping when approached, and are usually ignorant of human affection. When kept, however, by people kindly disposed to them, as is sometimes though rarely the case, they develop into quite tractable and intelligent pets and companions.

The second variety is a large shepherd dog, resembling a Scotch shepherd, with broad head and shaggy coat. Such dogs are treated with greater respect and are fed regularly. They go out with the boys tending the sheep, and show great intelligence in assisting them. The boys tending the sheep throw stones at them with plaited *halfa* slings, while the dogs snap at the heels of the more distant members of the flock; and between the efforts of the slingers and those of their dogs, the sheep seldom stray. Despite the care of the boys, both sheep and goats sometimes fall prey to the larger variety of *oshun*.[1]

The third type of dog, the aristocrat of canine society in Morocco, is the *sloughi*, the well-known North African greyhound, a smooth-haired variety, covering every possible range of color. The *sloughi*, kept exclusively for hunting, is confined in the Rif to the tribes of Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi. It is likewise kept by the Beni Znassen, a purely Zenatan tribe outside the Rif; it is considered by the Riffians a Zenatan introduction.

Cats are rare and serve as house pets, as elsewhere.

Ferrets are kept in cages in the houses and are used in hunting.[2]

Cattle occupy the first place among Riffian domestic animals. They belong to a short, shaggy-haired, stocky breed, generally red in color and long-horned. Although small, they are very hardy and well adapted to mountain life. They are kept by every family. No house which contains a woman lacks a cow, from the highest mountains to the desert of the Garet. While the weather is favorable, they are pastured in fields or on the less rugged mountain slopes and tended by women or girls; during the winter, and while the storms of October and November are raging, they are kept in the house. To conduct them to pasture is often a difficult feat, on account of the narrowness and steepness of the paths; often four or more women, pulling on ropes, horns, and tail, are required to guide a cow over a dangerous place. Despite this care, many fall and break their legs or necks.

Cows are kept in the house during the night, in the same room in which the family cooks, eats, and sleeps. The cow is given the lower fourth of the chamber, which is sunk below the level of the habitation floor. She is fed on straw, grass, and the stalks of maize. During the late winter, before the green shoots have appeared on the mountain sides, women often spend all their time in a search for weeds and grass to feed the family cow.

Bulls are owned in every village and are put to stud for hire. The mating of cattle is, curiously enough, the task of women. The owner of the bull and the owner of the cow each sends his wife to conduct his animal to a secluded place previously agreed upon, and the husbands take care not to approach the spot. For any man to witness the mating of cattle would be a shameful experience, although women may look upon it with impunity.

[831]

[1] See Introduction, p. 13.

[2] See below, p. 37.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

231 [782] Cattle are used for meat, milk, hides, and traction. Bulls are kept for sacrificial purposes, since several forms of ritual require the sacrifice of a bull. They are never castrated, the same being true of horses and all other domestic animals.

Swine. The problem of the domestication of swine opens up the most difficult aspect of Riffian culture with which one has to deal. Riffians have kept and probably still do keep swine, but they are extraordinarily secretive about it. For some strange reason, they are as ashamed to discuss the matter with a Christian as with an Arab. The practice is as wrapped in secrecy as the witches' sabbat of the Middle Ages. Families which keep swine never bring them to market, never admit that they keep them, and take them out of the house before guests arrive.

Swine were formerly raised in most of the nuclear mountain area of the Rif — in Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the Senhaja Sghir. A generation ago the people of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen of northern Gzennaya discontinued the practice, as the result of a pilgrimage to Mekka performed by one of their prominent men. Within the last six years swine have been kept at Inhanahan, in Gzennaya.

Whether swine are still owned anywhere in the Rif or Senhaja I cannot say, but I suspect that they are. They are not the descendants of any long-domesticated breed, but are bred from individuals caught in traps on the mountains; seldom does a litter have a domestic history of more than two or three generations. When all have been killed off, more are caught and bred. Thus swine domestication is, or was, either in an incipient stage or in the last stage of decadence. The animals are kept in the house, but are confined in a separate room, the door of which is closed at night. In the daytime they are taken out on the mountain slopes to feed on acorns and roots. When they are slaughtered, no *hallala* is performed.

Hens, happily, are kept openly, and present no such difficulties to the investigator as do swine. Their presence is manifest throughout the house and the courtyard, and especially on and about the refuse pile, which is located at some distance. They are the exclusive [422] property of the women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands; they keep the money thus earned, but husbands have the right to demand a hen or two on the occasion of a guest's arrival. Widows who live alone often support themselves entirely by keeping hens, since persons charitably inclined buy them from widows by preference.

Bees provide an important article of local diet. The Riffians are expert in the art of caring for bees, building hives of basketry, wood, and cork. Sometimes hollow logs are used, and the scooped-out bases of yucca plants. The hives are usually kept in caves or in crannies in the cliffs above the villages. In the spring the bee farmer transports his swarm to new hives and removes what honey is left from the winter, since he does not take it out in the fall. Honey is separated from the wax and is kept in jars. Apiculture is most commonly practised in Gzennaya. In many parts of the Senhaja Sghir bees are not kept on account of the cold.

[463] Individual owners of bees do not as a rule care for their own hives, but put them in charge of a bee expert, who takes a previously agreed portion of the honey as his payment. There is generally but one such bee farmer in the village, although most of the families own at least one hive apiece.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

TRANSPORT 2

Donkey with *hallas* and *shouri*, Gsennaya

Donkey transport, Ajdir

492
291

Mule with *hallas* and *shouri*, Beni Bu Frah

Camels, showing method of attaching small loads, Metalsa

[facing p. 42]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

LAND TRANSPORT

Land transport in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara is confined to the bearing of burdens by man and by domestic animals. Wheels and all types of vehicles are unknown. Human transport consists usually of the carrying of loads on the back. (See plate 7.) The negroid method of carrying on the head is not employed, nor is the tump-line used. Women carrying water from the spring or brook to the house use a two-handled jug, with a rope leading from each handle over the shoulders and held or tied in front. The same method is used for carrying bulky burdens such as loads of brush or of charcoal. Men generally carry things in their hands, or put them in the hoods of their garments.

Animal transport is confined to donkeys, mules, and camels. (See plate 8.) Horses do not carry burdens. For donkeys and mules, a special pack-saddle called the *hallas* is used. This is a large heavy object made of cloth and stuffed with straw, covering, in most cases, the entire back of the animal. The top is flat, and the edges of the upper surface are often raised. The *hallas* is held on by a rope or basketry strap passing under the animal's neck and by another under its tail. There is no girth; gravity, size, and the two straps are enough to keep it on when paniers are not used.

The paniers, called *shuari*, are of twilled basketry, a double container with a handle on each side and connected by a strip of basketry wide enough to cover the top of the pack-saddle so that the two containers will hang at the sides. The paniers are filled with whatever objects are to be transported, generally simply thrown in. Soft objects, such as blankets or sacks of grain, are set on top of the flat portion, and long ones, such as tools with handles, are lashed to the sides. A water jug of porous earthenware is often thrust into one of the paniers in such a position that it can be easily extracted. After the load has been placed, a cord is run between the handles of the *shuari*, drawn tight over the top, and carried under the animal's belly as a girth.

Camels have no packsaddles. A long, flapping type of *shuari* is sometimes used, without girth. This falls off whenever the camel becomes excited and breaks into a run. A more efficient method of packing these animals is by tying packages on either side of the hump, as can be seen in the illustrations in plate 8.

Horses, mules, and donkeys are ridden, horses either bareback or with an Arab saddle, imported from the Arab cities of Morocco. These saddles are expensive and difficult to obtain, hence bareback riding is the usual type. Riffians make notably poor riders, except for the tribesmen of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, who are accustomed to that means of locomotion. The bridle is generally imported and of Arab manufacture.

Mules and donkeys are ridden with the *hallas*, either bare or with the addition of a *shuari* and its load. Bridles are never used with donkeys and seldom with mules, a simple hackamore acting as substitute. Mule bridles, when used, are imported from Fes or other Arab centres.

Camels are almost never ridden by the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. They are used for transport and for milk, and attempts at riding them are sporadic and experimental.

In general, riding is an exceptional method of travelling, and the Riffian in most cases journeys on foot. Because of the ruggedness of the country, he can often make better time that way than if he were to ride. The Riffian can walk for long periods over the roughest ground without showing signs of fatigue, often bursting into trots for several miles at a time

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

481 [484] and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

NAVIGATION

501 The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thagharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thagharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *izhizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkalhafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

396 This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

[531] The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

501 Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in felucca rig.

501 Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks.
226 The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

396 Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara,
439 where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

241 Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Waf, of the Beni Urriaghel.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 Riffian acquisition of vegetable food may be divided into four processes, some of which may be developmental stages, and all of which are in contemporaneous use.

1. The gathering of edible wild plants.
2. The care of fruit and nut-bearing trees and of vineyards.
3. The care of gardens.
4. The cultivation of grains and leguminous plants.

The following subjects also pertain to agriculture and vegetable food-getting.

1. A calendric cycle of agricultural events.
2. Tools and machinery.
3. Communism in agriculture.

222 137 **Collecting and Gathering.** There are certain wild products growing on mountains, in valleys, in springs, and on refuse heaps, which are of food value and are collected and eaten, either from choice or as emergency rations in time of famine, although no attempt is made to cultivate them. So far as can be determined, they are as follows.

azemmur,[1] the wild olive.

erbejuth,[1] the oak. Both acorns and the tree upon which they grow are called by the same name.

adheman,[1] the hawthorne. The haws, called *saaror*, are gathered and eaten.

larnej,[2] a wild lemon tree, probably escaped from cultivation.

tuth,[2] the mulberry, at present wild. It was probably introduced earlier and then abandoned.

[245] *habb ul muluk*,[2] the wild cherry, with probably the same history as the mulberry. Both trees are now cultivated by the Senhaja.

sasanu,[1] the arbute, or strawberry-tree. Its fruit is eaten fresh, also dried and put into bread.

thabgha,[1] wild blackberries.

tuzzelt,[1] a bush the pod of which is eaten.

thakkfar,[1] a wild rose, the pod of which is eaten.

askum, wild asparagus.

ma'isha, the wild tomato, found in old refuse heaps. Its cultivation has been abandoned.

thebiseth,[3] a plant growing in the mountains, eaten as a green.

yanush, watercress, or a very similar plant.

thezhiuma, another water plant, growing in springs.

thafa ikshuth, a wild plant resembling celery.

thighigheshth,[4] a wild plant the roots of which are boiled and used for washing wool. Its leaves are cut up, boiled, and eaten.

benaaman, a wild poppy. Women eat its leaves, and children its buds.

imzwar, a plant resembling shamrock or clover. Its leaves, slightly sour in taste, are eaten.

iuasrin, mushrooms.

[1] See Introduction, p. 8.

[2] The wild lemon, cherry, and mulberry were not mentioned in the Introduction because they are not indigenous.

[3] This is perhaps related to the root given by Laoust (p. 508) for mallow. *Tibidas*, in the Zemmour dialect, is the cheese.

[4] Laoust (p. 39) suggests that this may be *Saponaria vaccaria*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The gathering of wild vegetable products is traditionally considered to antedate agriculture. Tales are told of the times when the Riffians subsisted on these products and game alone. In Ktama, where agriculture is difficult, the gathering of wild plants, especially *tuzzelt*, forms an important occupation. At the end of winter, when the dried fruit is gone and when the larders are low, many Riffian families would die of hunger if their womenfolk did not go out on the mountain slopes and up the watercourses looking for these natural foods.

The green plants, such as watercress and asparagus, are subject to a dietary sex tabu. Woman only may eat them. The reason given for this distinction is that they produce blood, fat, and soft flesh, desirable in women but not in men.

Mulberries and cherries were probably introduced by the Arabs and later abandoned. Mulberries are not considered good food and are seldom eaten except through necessity. Tomatoes were probably introduced from Spain and then given up.

Cultivation of Fruit and Nut Trees and of Vineyards. *zilon* (male), *misala* (female), the domestic olive tree. The male tree produces large olives low in oil content, which are preserved in lemon juice and eaten as a relish. The fruit of the female tree is pressed into oil. As a rule all the male trees in an olive yard are cut down with the exception of one, which is left to fertilize the female trees. The olives are called by the names of the trees which bear them.

arman, the pomegranate tree. The Riffians recognize sex differences in pomegranates, considering that the fruit with a thick skin and large, hard seeds in the granules is produced by the male tree, whereas the better fruit is produced by females. As a rule, the male trees are all cut down but one, which is left for fertilizing the others. Sometimes male trees are left, so that the fruit may be sold in markets frequented by people unacquainted with the difference. The fruit and tree bear the same name.

er ghas, the fig tree. There are four varieties of fig trees, *aseiri*, *aghudani*, *awar n aksi*, and *abaran*. The fruit borne by the *aseiri* is round, with longitudinal purple and green lines; that of the *aghudani* is long, pear-shaped, and purple; that of the *awar n aksi* is round and light green. There are two varieties of *abaran*, one of which is round and green and the other long with black or purple lines. The three first varieties bear twice a year, in June and in September. The June figs, called *er bashor*, are eaten but not dried, except for use as medicine, since they contain but little sugar. The September figs, called *thezath*, are dried. The *abaran* varieties bear only in September. The Riffians say that the *abaran* types are the only indigenous strains, and that the *aseiri* and *awar n aksi* came originally from the Arabs, whereas the *aghudani* is derived from the Negroes.

shukwar, a wild fig. Planted, it is said, by birds that have eaten cultivated figs, this fruit is useless for eating, but is employed for magical purposes. Each year the women and children go out and gather the wild figs when ripe, tie them together in pairs with grass, and hang them on the branches of the domesticated fig trees. There are said to be insects in the wild figs which come out and touch the buds of the domestic figs. It is thought that if these wild figs were not so hung and if the insects from them did not touch the buds, the cultivated figs would not bear.[1]

[1] Westermarck (p. 190) states that the Riffians hang male figs in female trees, in order to fertilize their fruit. A small insect, *Blastophaga grossorum*, bores in and out of the figs, fertilizing them. Westermarck refers to Elfving's *De Viktigaste Kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1895), p. 74.

J. Coon E-5 [1926-1927] 1931 MX3 RLF MX3

Leading an irrigation ditch from the stream, Tenarin, Taghanth

Repairing a leaky ditch, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Laundering beside an irrigation ditch, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Ploughing under the fig trees, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

[facing p. 46]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 242 *lishin*, the orange tree. Riffian oranges are of the common North African variety. Tangerines are not grown in the Rif. It is said that the fruit of the male orange tree is elongated, while that of the female tree is round. Orange shoots are grafted to wild lemon trees without distinction of sex.

limon, the cultivated lemon tree, as distinguished from the wild variety.

tifah, the apple tree. Riffian apples are small and stunted, and not very palatable. They are not commonly grown except in the highest mountain tribes. The apple shoots are frequently grafted onto hawthornes. A sex distinction is made between the apples: the male ones are said to be large and white, and the females red.

firas, the pear tree. It is said that the male pear is white, while the female is reddish. Grafting onto hawthorne is common.

thaghieshth, the walnut tree. Walnuts are called *nue n thaghieshth*. The Riffians distinguish male from female walnut trees as follows: The male tree bears a hard-shelled nut with little meat; the female's nut is thinner shelled and meatier. Usually the males are cut down to make room for others. No grafting is attempted with walnuts.

juz, the almond tree. The nuts from this tree are called *nue*, the same word which is applied to walnuts. It is said that the male almond bears a nut with a single meat, while the meat of the female is double. Almonds, like walnuts, are not grafted.

er mishmesh, a species of plum tree. The sex of plums is distinguished by breaking the stone and tasting the meat inside. If it is bitter the tree bearing it is supposed to be male. Plums, like apples and pears, are grafted to the hawthorne.

er barkok, the apricot tree. Males are said to have thick skins, and females thin ones. Males are preferred for export, and females for drying.

er khok, the peach tree. The Riffians do not distinguish sex in the peaches, and do not attempt to graft them.

[262] The Riffian prizes his fruit and nut trees highly, perhaps even more than his grain and vegetables, since on the dried fruit of these trees and upon raisins his family is often forced to subsist for months at a time during the winter. He digs around and manures the roots of the trees every spring, and leads irrigation ditches to their trunks. He keeps them carefully pruned and trimmed, and diligently removes insect parasites from leaves and branches.

262 831 [585] Not only does the Riffian take great pains to distinguish between the sexes of the trees, but he also imposes a sex tabu upon the eating of the fruit of two of them, walnuts and almonds. Walnuts may be eaten only by women, and almonds only by men. The reason for this is symbolically sexual, since walnuts, on account of their wrinkled appearance, are supposed to produce a drying and shrinking, whereas almonds are supposed to produce fluidity and potency in men. Both walnuts and almonds consequently play a prominent part in the wedding diet.

Vineyards. Grapes are as important to the Riffians as fruits and nuts. Those grown in the Rif are a large reddish-purple variety, resembling Malaga grapes in form and in taste. They are grown on vines set out on high mountain slopes too steep and too barren for the cultivation of anything else. The vines are kept trimmed, and in spring the soil about their roots is loosened. It is seldom possible to irrigate them, although fertilizer is brought laboriously uphill when possible.

Among the Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, and Beni Khennus, and in Taghzuth, another variety of grapes is grown, smaller and bluish-purple in color. These grapes are hardier

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

than the Riffian variety. They are grown on trellises outside of and trailing onto the houses, and along the village paths. Since they are trained to climb up trellises, they are not cut back like the Riffian grapes, but are allowed to grow as long as they will, for purposes of shade.

Cactus. The one species of cactus found in the Rif, the prickly pear variety, is called by its Arabic name, *karamus en Nsara*, or the Christian fig. It is found along the seacoast, in the eastern tribes up to Beni Tuzin and Gzennaya, and in the southern part of Gzennaya. It is absent in northern Gzennaya, in southern Beni Urriaghel, in Beni Amart, and in the Senhaja Sghir. Where it is grown it serves as a convenient fence about the house, and as a supply of mediocre food in time of famine. Women and young girls pick its fruit, remove the needles, and sell it in market at a low price.

Garden Plants and Care of Gardens. *batata*, the potato. This vegetable is obviously of American origin, although it has been grown for a long time in the Senhaja and central Rif and has become an integral part of the local culture. It is divided into two varieties: the reddish type, the more frequent, and the white type, found chiefly in Beni Amart. The white is considered the older. Potatoes are grown only where there is irrigation, and then usually in terraces.

er khizzu, the carrot. This vegetable, considered to be of Arab introduction, is not favored and is rarely grown.

er bser, the onion. This is planted in the following manner: in March onions are cut in two or more pieces lengthwise and planted; these pieces are allowed to grow big and go to seed, and the seeds are collected and sown in a starting-bed in August: the next year the stalks are cut off and the plants are separated and transplanted.

jifth, the white turnip.

er firfir, the pepper. Peppers are specially treated, being fertilized with goat manure when they begin to flower.

jubshth, a species of small bean.

ibauen ibershanen, black beans.

thakhseshth, a type of vegetable marrow or squash.

thakhseshth n yieri, the gourd, raised for bottles only and not eaten.

Cultivation of Grains and Leguminous Plants. *dra thesdat*, durra, is considered by the Riffians to be of recent introduction from the Negro country. It is grown only by men who have no terraces whereon to grow maize (*dra*), since it can be grown dry. It is not greatly valued and is not commonly grown.

shinti, rye,[1] is grown without irrigation on the mountain slopes where the land, too steep for ploughing, may be worked with the hoe. It may be grown on land which does not belong to the farmer, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture, and hence is an important source of food supply for families owning insufficient arable land. The Riffians prize rye highly, considering it rich in food value and a strength producer. Since the Arabs ridicule them for eating it, the Riffians seldom discuss the subject with strangers, or produce food made from

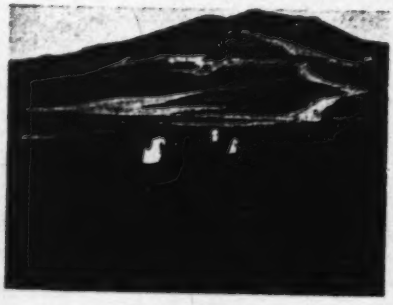
[1] Samples of *shinti* from Gzennaya, now in the Harvard Botanical Museum, have been identified by F. Tracy Hubbard of the Harvard Botany Department as rye. Moulieras mentions *shinti* in his description of the Beni Bu Naar, calling it "une sorte de blé blanc." Procopius ascribes the cultivation of a grain called ὄρυζα to the mountain Berbers of his time. This grain, identified with the Latin *arinca*, was perhaps rye. Moulieras, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, vol. i, p. 53: Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 6, l. 13; Freund, Latin-English Lexicon; Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, unabridged, 1882 edition; Vavilov, *The Origin of Cultivated Plants*, p. 206.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

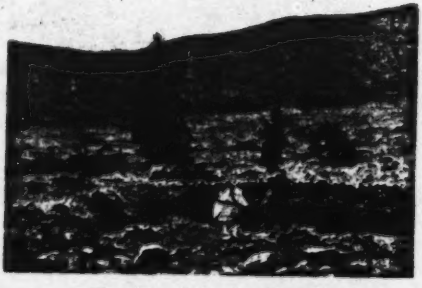
243

Reaping, Targuist

Tying the sheaves, Beni Said



Gleaners, Beni Said



Threshing with mules, Targuist

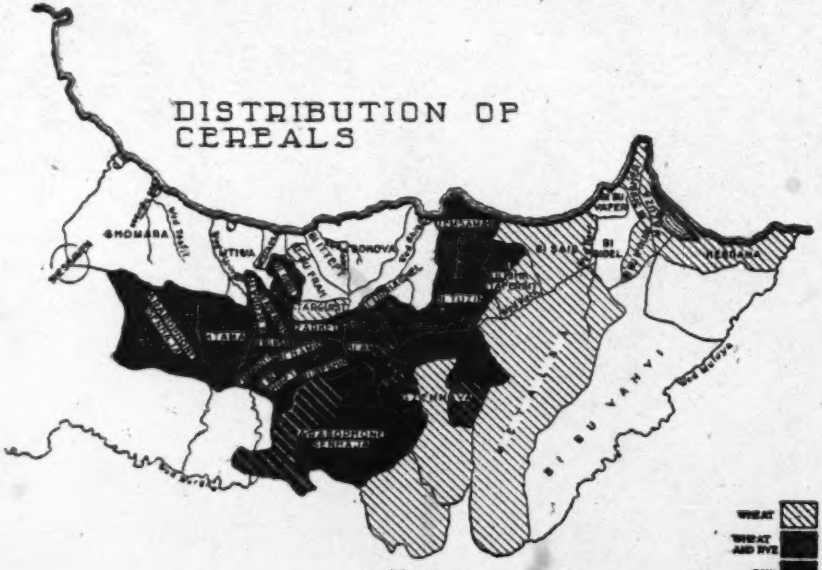
[facing p. 48]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 it when guests are present. It is another of the innocuous things of which they are curiously ashamed.

imindhi, barley, is the universal grain, being grown everywhere except in Taghsuth. It is grown on irrigable plough-land, in the regions where irrigation is practised.

erden, wheat, is found only in the east, in the lowlands, and in flat plateau country, notably at Bured and Targuist, where it has recently been introduced. The mountain farmers consider wheat extravagant and low in food value, while the lowlanders think it the only aristocratic cereal. The distribution map for rye and wheat shows clearly the relative



MAP 1

ranges of these cereals, both being largely regulated by environmental zones. I have not depicted the range of barley, since it is found wherever grain is grown except in Taghsuth.

er ḥortar, oats, are not cultivated in the Rif, but grow wild, and are sometimes gathered and eaten.

243 252 *shasana* is a leguminous plant resembling vetch, the English name of which, if any exists, I do not know.[1] It is grown in the same manner as peas and lentils. These leguminous plants are considered by the Riffians to belong with grains rather than with vegetables, hence I have followed the native usage in considering them in this place. *Shasana* is said to be poisonous when eaten without treatment. Like acorns, the *shasana* is placed in a basketry container and allowed to rest in the bottom of a stream, weighted down with stones,

[1] Specimens brought to the Harvard Botany Department are being studied.

1: Coon / E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 [252]

for several weeks. At the end of this time the poison is supposed to be washed out, and the product is dried and eaten.

thinifin, peas, *ibauen*, broad beans, and *er athis*, lentils, like *shasana*, are grown as grains.

241 805 793

The Calendric Cycle of Agricultural Events. Agriculture in the Rif and in the Senhaja country is conducted on the basis of the old Roman calendar, the names of the months surviving in a form very little altered from its original character. I was unable to transcribe these names exactly since I could find no one who knew them accurately and was willing to reveal them. Knowledge of them is confined to the *fkih*, the preceptor or religious head of each group of villages, and to his students. The *fkih*, while delivering sermons at the mosque on Fridays, reveals the agricultural program for the following week and tells the farmers just what activities the season merits. To reveal this calendar system and the agricultural annotations which go with it woud be to relinquish a portion of the awe in which the religious leader is held.

The preceptor likewise knows the Arabic lunar calendar and is the only one able to tell when religious feasts of Arab origin are due. The farmers reckon only by the four seasons, a solar conception which may well antedate either the Roman or the Arabic system. They know, however, about when each activity is due, since they are in the habit of repeating the program every year. and could probably get along as well without the learned assistance of the *fkih* as with it.

241 805

A rough outline of the year's activities follows.

January. In this month the farmers plough their land. (See plate 9.) When this has been finished they sow barley and *shasana*, and later broad beans and lentils.

February. If the bean and lentil sowing has not been finished in January, it continues over into early February. Sometimes it continues until the end of the month.

March. About the first of March the farmers hoe the mountain slopes and sow rye and peas.

April. On the first of April they commence planting the vegetable gardens with potatoes, beans, carrots, turnips, onions, and peppers.

May. This is the month for trees. The farmers dig around the roots, fertilize them with manure, and water them. After the trees have been cared for in this way and pruned, the soil about the grapevines is loosened and fertilized with manure, without water. At this time the grapevines are also pruned.

June. Toward the beginning of June, or sometimes during the last week of May, the farmers reap the *shasana*, lentils, barley, and peas, in the order named. The barley is cut with sickles; the others are pulled up by the roots and laid aside for threshing. After this has been done the farmers irrigate the terraces in which the *shasana*, lentils, peas, and barley have been growing (see plate 9) and plant them with maize. The plants previously reaped are then threshed, first the *shasana*, which is the most susceptible to insect pests and cannot wait, then the lentils and peas, and finally the barley. All this threshing is done with cattle, donkeys, or mules, which are forced to trot around a circular threshing floor. (See plates 10 and 11.) Toward the last of June the rye is cut, and the women thresh it by hitting the heads of the sheaves against sticks held in the hand. It is tabu to thresh rye with cattle, just as rye is never planted by means of domestic animals or the plough. The whole rye complex seems to antedate or at least to be negatively associated with the cattle and plough complex.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 805

July. In July, forty-five days after having planted the maize, the farmers reap it, fertilize and water the terraces, and set out the second crop. This second maize is a different variety from the first, and grows more rapidly. After it has ripened it is left in the ground until December or January, when it is removed in time for the next season's ploughing. Towards the end of July the almonds and walnuts are picked and stored away.

August. About the first of August, after the second crop of maize has been planted and the almonds and walnuts picked, the farmers gather the turnips, potatoes, and small beans, planting in their stead more potatoes, more turnips, and black beans. They likewise set the onion seed out in beds, and after the shoots arrive cover them with manure and branches to keep them warm during the winter. Toward the last of August the late figs are picked, split, and set to dry. Figs intended for sale rather than for local consumption are not split, but are spitted on sticks of wood. At this time the farmers also pick pomegranates and carob beans.

September. September is the grape season. Whole families repair to the precipitous vineyards with baskets to pick, sleeping in the vineyards at night, and feasting and playing games. This is the season of festival, and likewise the time when weddings take place. At this time, when the families are sleeping in the vineyards, raw garlic is eaten plentifully, since this is the only time of year in which people do not live in the house, and it is considered shameful to have an odor of garlic about the house. After the grapes have been picked the women gather the root called *fathis*, which they burn. The ashes, mixed with water, are used to wash the grapes before these are set out to dry. Grapes washed in this way are said to dry more rapidly, not to rot, and to form better raisins.

262 251

October. Toward the end of October the olives are picked and stored away packed in salt until the farmers find leisure in which to grind them. Olives can be kept two years in storage without detriment.

251

November. In November the farmers graft trees, using beeswax in the process just as it is used among modern farmers. They tie the waxed joints with cloths, which they leave on until the following spring. In October and November the men cut wood and brush for their fires, enough to last them through the winter. The women and children help them to bring this wood in on their backs.

December. Toward the end of this month and in early January, those farmers who possess orange trees pick the fruit. Some of it is eaten, but much is sent to Fez to be sold. During the winter months, when it is stormy outside and farming is ended, the men sit inside the house working with wood, fashioning spoons, hoe-handles, and ploughs, and do what repairing is necessary upon their houses.

This calendar of events keeps the Riffian farmers very busy most of the time, and as a rule they are most industrious and energetic workers.

In the regions where there is no terraced irrigation (left white upon map 2[1]) only one crop of maize is grown, and but one crop of vegetables. This is compensated for by the relatively greater abundance of arable land in the east and other low-lying districts. The mountain people depend to a great extent upon vegetables, especially the leguminous varieties, and dried fruits and nuts, while the lowlanders go in more extensively for wheat and barley.

[1] See p. 52.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241

Tools and Machinery Employed in Agriculture. *ariyzim*, the hoe, or mattock, is the fundamental Riffian agricultural implement. It is made by local blacksmiths and resembles the hoe used all over North Africa and far into the Negro country. The present hoes are hafted in the normal European fashion, but there is some reason to believe that they formerly were socketed. The only difference between a hoe and an adze is that the adze is smaller, more delicate, and has a steel blade welded into the cutting edge. The distribution of the hoe is universal.

amzhar, the sickle, is of ordinary European shape and type, and is made locally by smiths. It is hafted by a tang. The distribution is universal.

er hathitha, the reaping hook, is a short sturdy knifeblade, hooked around to form a right angle about two inches from the end. It is tanged and hafted into a wooden handle.

asghar, the plough, is typical and almost as widespread as the hoe; this is a composite implement, made, except for the iron share, wholly by means of the adze, and by the farmers themselves rather than by carpenters. Any farmer who shows himself proficient in this art may be called upon to make ploughs for his neighbors, but he cannot or does not accept money for this, on account of the sacred quality of the plough. The parts comprising this implement are as follows:

zegru, the body of the yoke, a double curved piece of wood which sets across the necks of the two oxen drawing the plough.

thighenayin, the hames, two U-shaped pins, one at either side of the *zegru*, passing under the necks of the oxen and fastened through holes in the *zegru*.

ashbiu, a piece of leather nailed onto the centre of the *zegru* to hold the hooked end of the plough-pole in place and keep it from slipping.

thazhbat, the wooden peg set in the end of the pole of the plough itself. This peg fits over the middle of the yoke and is held in place by the leather *ashbiu*.

athemun, the long pole of the plough at its rear end set into the body of the plough and at its front end hooked onto the yoke by means of the *thazhbat*.

siri n wusghar, the main body of the plough, a thick curved piece of wood, so hewn that its back rises to form a handle and its front is the part to which the share is attached. The *athemun* is set into the middle of the *siri*.

thafarot n wusghar, a stout wooden peg running vertically, mortised into the *siri* and running entirely through the *athemun*. This prop serves to keep the *athemun* and the *siri* tightly in position.

imzoghen n wusghar, the ears of the plough, two triangular pieces of wood set into the sides of the *siri* just back of the share.

thayasa, the iron ploughshare, made by local blacksmiths. This share is made from a flat piece of iron hammered over at the edges so as to form a socket, which fits over the pointed end of the *siri*.

The *siri* and *thazhbat* must be made of oak; the *athemun* may be made of oak or of cedar; the *thafarot* may be made either of oak or of almond wood; and the *imzoghen*, which need not be very strong, may be made of any available kind of wood.

These are the indispensable elements of the plough.[1] The type just described is found with no important variations all over the area in question, with two exceptions: the sterile

[1] An excellent and exhaustive treatise on Moroccan plough types will be found in Laoust, pp. 275-290.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 RH MX3

241

[facing p. 52]

Threshing with mules, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Winnowing, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Husking grain in a mortar, Tiguisas, Ghomara

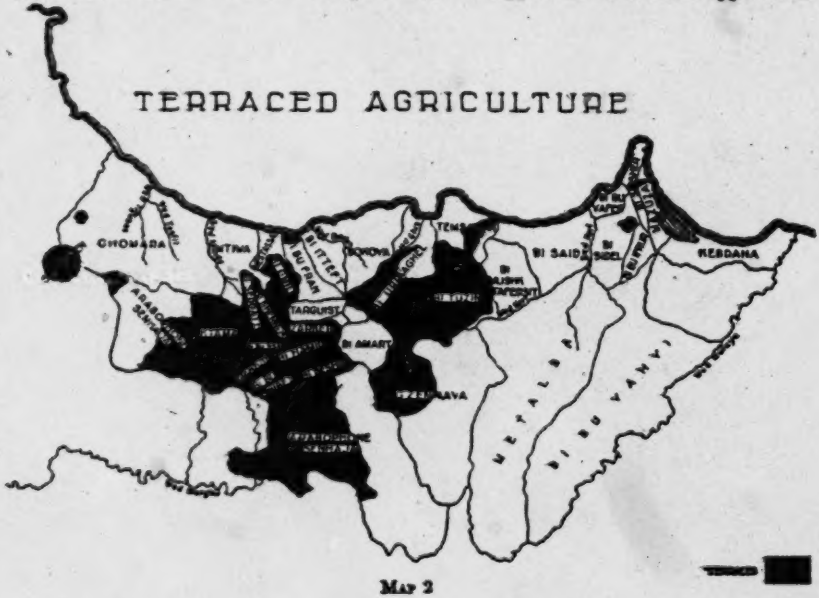
Winnowing out the husks, Tiguisas, Ghomara

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 portion of Beni Bu Yahyi, where no agriculture is practised, and parts of Ktama, where wheat and barley are not or cannot be grown.

252 [376] *thasath n waman*, the turbine grain mill. This type of mill, a complicated mechanical invention, consists of a small house built over a dam or over the end of a high-flowing irrigation ditch, a turbine wheel with tilted paddle-shaped blades set into a thick terminal hub, a circular stone attached to the upper end of the turbine shaft inside of the house and resting on the nether stone, and a hopper hanging above the stone with a feed-slot jiggled by the upper stone so as to insure the flow of grain from the hopper. The hole in the upper stone

241



MAP 2

into which the shaft is set is off-centre, and the upper part of the shaft is bent to allow for this, so that the upper stone turns fairly evenly on its axis, while a second hole, drilled through the exact centre of the upper stone, does not deviate from the centre and allows the grain falling from the hopper to be ground between the two stones. The lower stone is larger than the upper and is rimmed with a slightly raised border, broken only in one place, so that the flour may be extracted from the gap in the rim. This type of mill seems to be concentrated at Taghzuth, where many of them are in constant use. There are several in Beni Bu Nsar and five or six in Beni Aissi of Ktama; there was formerly one in Wed Iherrushen of the Gzennaya; and there are about ten at Ajdir. At Fez many of these mills are in use, and they are also found in the Atlas, particularly at Zerekten.[1]

[1] For a detailed description of this type of mill consult Laoust, pp. 36–48, and Baron Nopsa's *Bauten, Trachten, Gerät: Nordalbaniens*, pp. 131–134.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 *thasath*, the ordinary hand mill, consists of two stones, an upper and a nether, as in the water mill (singular *agharf*, plural *igharfawn*). The upper is set crookedly on an axis fastened into the lower, and a hole through the middle receives the grain poured into it by hand. The upper stone is rotated by a wooden handle set in its side. This hand mill is distributed throughout Morocco and the Mediterranean area in general.

thahont, the olive grinder, is made of a concave platform, circular in shape, about six to eight feet in diameter, and two or three feet high, its surface covered when possible with slabs of slate. In the middle of it is set an upright pole, which rotates in its socket. Through the pole is set a log handle, which goes through a millstone set on edge and reaches several feet over the lip of the platform. Olives are put in the platform, and the wheelstone is turned by men or animals pushing or pulling on the handle. (See plate 12.)

azekor, the oil press, is the second machine necessary in the manufacture of olive oil. The mashed pulp of the olives, taken out of the grinder, is put in low circular baskets with constricted necks. These are then pressed in a machine constructed as follows. A heavy log is set at one end into the side of a hill or into a pile of rocks, so that it is pivoted rather than firmly attached. The other end, upheld by a wooden screw, is prevented from slipping sidewise by two upright logs set in the ground as guides. The screw, equipped with a handle, does not mesh directly with the heavy log, since if it did so the change in the direction of the log during the descent would jam and possibly break the screw. For this reason the screw passes through a large hole in the log and meshes with a smaller piece of hard wood, pegged, with considerable allowance for play, to the log beneath it. The descent of the heavy log is thus regulated by the turning of the screw: if it is turned one way, the log descends; if the other, the log rises. A block of wood is placed between the screw and the fulcrum of the lever, so as to get the maximum pressure. Under the log are set superimposed baskets of olive mash, and the block thus serves to transmit the weight of the log to the baskets. As the log is screwed down, the oil is squeezed out of the mash and flows through the meshes of the baskets, to fall into a wooden or pottery container at the foot of the stone on which the baskets are set. The parts of the oil press are as follows:

thahont, the olive-crushing machine, complete, also the stone wheel.
amghir, the sticks in it, both the upright axis and the horizontal handle.
er hawuth, the grinding table.
azekor the pressing machine, entire, also the log weight above.
azthi, the screw.
aharush, the log which transmits the pressure from the weight to the baskets, so-called from its resemblance to a mortar.

The olive press, including both component machines, is found in every tribe excepting Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. In the Branes and Marnissa is found a variant type of press, in which there are two screws, and the weight-log, the *azekor*, is not heavy, the machine thus depending for its pressure upon the constriction of the screws, which are operated from above.[1]

312 *targa*, the irrigation ditch. (See plate 9.) Irrigation ditches are led from springs and streams along the sides of valleys at a slope less than that of the streams themselves. Their

[1] Laoust (pp. 451–460) describes the variant forms of this machinery in other parts of Morocco. Baron Nopcsa (p. 137) also gives a description of the same thing in Albania. Like the turbine mill, this apparatus enjoys a wide distribution in the Mediterranean area.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

AGRICULTURE 4

252

Thakont of Ikaroen, Gzennaya, showing grinding table clearly

Crushing olives with *thakont*, Tezarin, Taghzuth

Pressing out oil with the *azekor*, Tezarin, Taghzuth

Closer view of same *azekor*

[facing p. 54]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

312 construction requires a great amount of skill. Where the sides of the valley are precipitous and rocky, the ditches are led around through olive logs hollowed out with the adze and supported by long wooden props; at times ditches are led even from one side of the valley to the other by means of these olive-wood troughs. The distribution of the *targa* coincides with that of *tikerathin*, or terraces, except in the lowland alluvial plains of Ajdir, Tigzirin, and other Mediterranean deltas, where irrigation is carried on without terraces. Irrigation is locally supposed to have been invented by the men of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen in the northern Gzennaya, and expert *targa* makers from these places are sent for to construct and repair ditches all over the Rif.

463 *hassi*, the well. Wells are constructed by itinerant craftsmen from the region of the 465 Draa, who wander about throughout the Rif seeking employment. They are never molested, since they are considered benefactors of mankind, and are paid well for their work. These men generally earn as much as twenty dollars for the construction of an average well, and find employment chiefly in flat arid country where there are no springs and where wells are a necessity.

241 **Communism in Agriculture.** The Riffians, living as they do close to the soil and often
735 not distantly removed from the prospect of starvation, have developed several social de-
476 vices whereby the poor may be prevented from perishing and the rich compelled partially to support them. These charitable practices are so ingrained that no one able to act as a benefactor to the poor would venture to criticize them in public or refuse to take part in them. They concern the three vegetable products which seem most deeply entwined with Riffian life: rye, grapes, and olives.

When a man wishes to sow rye on a mountain slope, he invites as many men as wish to do so to help him. Most men who have nothing else of importance to do accept the offer, and no one refuses without an adequate excuse. In this way a man of moderate means is assured of a plentiful crop of rye, to make up for his lack of other foodstuffs.

The crew works diligently from sunrise to sunset, after which they climb downhill to the house of the owner of the rye. The latter's womenfolk have meanwhile busied themselves preparing as ample a meal for the workers as the family's means will allow, and all eat and spend the evening together. If the family cannot provide very abundant rations, the workers seldom complain, since they consider their participation in the work as a form of charity, and their partaking of the food as a social gratification to the providers of it.

Similarly, in reaping season, anyone who wishes may come unbidden and help gather in the grain, whether it be rye, barley, or wheat, and is assured of an adequate meal at the end of the day in payment. In this way people who have finished their own work may be fed without drawing on their own supplies. Gleaning is left to the poor of the village.

241 If two farmers who own adjoining fields or terraces possess each but a single cow, they
476 yoke these together and plough their land in common. No family is without a cow, and since ploughs are constructed by the farmers themselves, or by neighbors especially adept at the art, without payment, the situation of a man with land and no cow or plough does not arise.

241 Irrigation ditches which water the tillage of more than one man are subject to communal
312 care. Each farmer is assigned a definite amount of water during each season when it is required, the amount depending on the amount of land requiring irrigation. The water is measured by days and half-days. Each season the farmer must send out a man for every

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 312 day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

241 735 476 At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathi* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

241 735 All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

252 471 Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he

252 794 is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.

[872] 3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.

[778] 4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Any oil remaining over the three or four cups so given is the property of the man who has pressed it, unless a poor man without trees comes to the press and asks for some. Such demands cannot be refused and each suppliant must be given a cup.

Besides charitable assistance and work done in anticipation of remunerative charity, there are two types of definite agricultural contract by which one man who has not enough land to support himself and his family may acquire sufficient provender to last his household through the winter. The first is that by which a poor man binds himself to assist a richer farmer in all agricultural tasks in which he may engage. In return for this he receives a fifth of the total grain crop, a fourth of the leguminous plants and vegetables harvested, a third of the product of the fruit, olive, and nut trees, and a third of the grapes.

The rich farmer hires these share-laborers (who are called *akhemes*,[1] plural *ikhemesen* or "fifths," because of their return in grain) because he is not able to care for all of his land himself, owing to its extensive size. If the property of a rich farmer is so extensive that he is unable to cultivate it with the aid of one share-laborer, he will hire two, and these will split a fifth, a fourth, and a third of the various types of produce. No matter how many men a farmer employs he never gives more than the stipulated fractions, which are equally divided among the workers.

When a man owns property which he has no intention of working himself, he can rent it out in return for one half of the produce. This type of contract is used by the Beni Bu Yahyi in renting out the northerly portions of their territory to farmers who come down from Galiya to work the land, the Beni Bu Yahyi not being as interested in agriculture.

The share-laborer is often a stranger in the village of his employment, having left his home through shame of having his poverty advertised in his own village, or more often through fear of punishment for some crime. The migrations of these share-laborers has done more to cause infiltrations of blood from tribe to tribe than any other factor, since the immigrant usually marries into the group of his adoption.

Wealth is not a stable thing in the Rif, any more than it is in more modern types of society. Despite charitable practices and opportunities for outside work, many families find themselves on the verge of starvation in or near January and February, and are willing to sell anything within reason to obtain enough food to last them until the next harvest. Others, more industrious, who have worked their land to its limit and spent the rest of their time helping others for pay, may have more food than they require and be willing to sell some of it, at a premium. They generally demand land in payment. Working this land to its limit the following year, they may pile up an even greater surplus than before, and thus before many years may become large landowners and relatively rich men, ready, in their turn, to hire as share-laborers the people from whom they bought the land.

Thus the retention of property depends upon whether or not it is worked diligently, and positions of wealth may be reversed in less than a generation.

FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

The different types of food, including their methods of preparation, may be classified as follows: (1) cereal preparations antedating bread, (2) bread and breadmaking, (3) preparation of vegetable products alone, (4) dishes containing meat, (5) fish, (6) eggs, (7) milk and

[1] The feminine form of this word signifies a political division. See p. 92.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

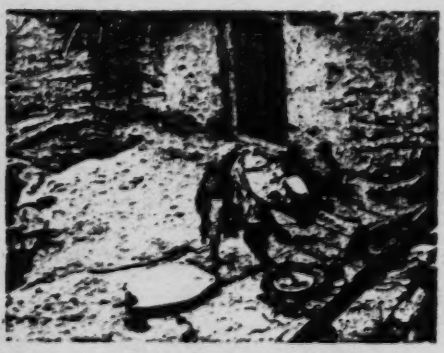
FOOD PREPARATION 1

252

Preparing flour for bread-making, Teririn, Taghzuth

Grinding flour in a hand-mill, Tiguisas, Ghomara

[354]



Frying bread in an earthen skillet, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Typical bake-oven, Ulad Abekar, Taghzuth

[p. 56 (a)]

[p. 56(B)]

[264]

252

Choosing a fat goat for supper, Tiguisa, Ghomara

Broiling goat-meat *kebabs* over a brazier

Eating the *kebabs*

Chopping up *kif*, Tiguisa, Ghomara

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 RIF MX3

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 milk products, and (8) intoxicants and narcotics. To these topics may be added that of table manners.

252 **Cereal Preparations antedating Bread.** In Procopius we are told that the chief food
262 of the mountain Berbers of Algeria consisted of roasted grains, eaten as such and without being made into bread;[1] and early accounts of the Canary Islands describe the Guanches as eating habitually a food called *gofio*, made from roasted barley.[2] This type of food, which the Riffians believe to have antedated bread, is still eaten in the more remote mountain sections of the Rif and Senhaja. The various kinds of food so prepared are as follows:

zimbu, barley or maize, is roasted in an oven or pan, ground in a stone mill (see plate 13), mixed with melted butter, and rolled into balls. These balls of *zimbu* are given children as a delicacy or as a snack between meals. They are likewise taken into battle as emergency rations and carried on long journeys.

tha' asat is maize roasted in the same way as is *zimbu*, then mixed with raisins and either almonds or walnuts, depending on which sex is to eat it. The whole is put into a grain pestle and crushed and mixed together; melted butter is poured through it, and the compressed cake taken out of the pestle and allowed to dry, a process during which it becomes very hard. This makes a compact lasting food, eminently suited for pilgrimages and other long journeys and for war. The maize used in *zimbu* and *tha'asat* is especially chosen so that in roasting it will burst open (like American popcorn).

imshiken, rye, is boiled in water until thoroughly cooked and swollen, then the water is drained off, butter is added, and the dish is ready to eat. It closely resembles oatmeal porridge and other cooked cereals commonly eaten in this country.

thighucwin, barley, is roasted, then husked in a pestle until the skins come off. It is eaten dry in time of war or of great emergency.

iuesan, barley, is broken coarsely so that four or five pieces result from each grain. It is thrown into a pot of boiling water and cooked until swollen, then eaten with a spoon, like boiled rice.

These primitive methods of preparing grains for consumption are restricted to-day to a limited area, although traditionally all the inhabitants of the region formerly employed them. They are always found in association as a definite complex in the mountain sections of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Iherrassen of the Gsennaya, all of the Senhaja Sghir, and the Western Arabophone Sehaja.

Bread and Breadmaking. *agharum*, bread, is made from an incredibly large number of different materials. These are wheat, barley, rye, wild oats, maize in combination with some other cereal, durra (of recent introduction), acorns, dried *sasanu* and barley flour, *iyarni*, a wild tuber, *kirsana*, *ashtar*, another wild tuber, and the seeds from the pod of the *tuzzelt*. There is a tradition, probably unfounded, that the ground pits of olives left after pressing are also utilized.

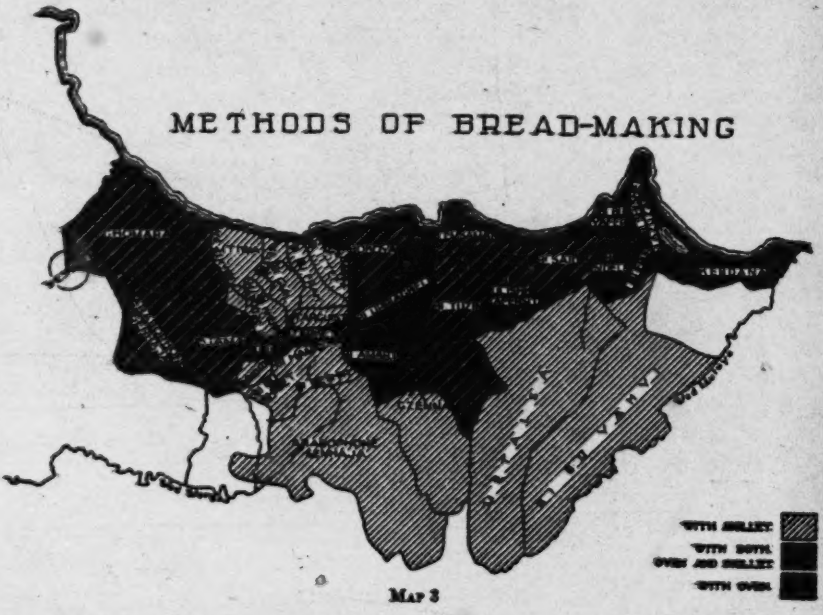
The grain is usually ground fresh for each baking. The first process is to mix warm water with the yeasty dough left over from the previous day's baking. Yeast is kept by holding over a bit of dough each day and mixing it in this way. If one's yeast gives out, a neighbor will supply more. Few housewives attempt to start yeast, which is considered a very difficult task. It is said that it can be done, however, by using the mother from vinegar,

[1] Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 6, l. 13.
[2] E. A. Hooton, *The Early Inhabitants of the Canary Islands*, p. 62.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and lemon juice. After the yeasty dough has been thoroughly diluted in warm water, flour is mixed in, and the resultant dough patted into disc-like loaves. These are piled one on top of the other and allowed to rise until the bubbles start bursting open, and then are thrust into a hot oven, from which the glowing embers of a hot juniper or other brush fire have just been drawn.

The Riffians say that the women of the Senhaja Sghir do not allow their bread to rise as long as do Riffian women, and that the resultant product is not as good. Personally, I found the bread in both places excellent.



MAP 3

It is said that nineteen or twenty loaves of bread can be made from a *mudd* of barley, twenty-four from a *mudd* of wheat, and thirty-two from a *mudd* of rye. In this way rye, although it reproduces less grain than the others, compensates in the final product. A *mudd* is a common Moroccan measure.[1]

Bread is highly prised, due to its scarcity, in the Senhaja Sghir, and in Ktama is eaten only on memorable occasions. Although the usual shape of bread in the Rif, as well as in all Morocco, is discoidal, the Galiya and Kebdana women make long narrow loaves, like French bread. Besides the ordinary bread which has just been described, several types of unleavened bread and pancakes are commonly made:

aftheir, dough, is prepared without yeast, and fried on an earthen skillet.

[1] See p. 113, n. 2.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

tarid, a similar loaf, made with wheat bread and sugar. This is considered to be a recent Arab introduction.

kartata, pancakes, are made from a thin batter, full of ground pepper, dropped on a hot skillet.

Bread is baked in an oven called *thinurth* (see plate 13), whereas *aftheir*, *tarid*, and *kartata* are prepared on an earthen skillet called *nkhadam* and attributed to the Arabs. (See plate 13.) Of the bake-oven and the skillet, the former is unquestionably the older and more characteristic in the Rif. It is found in all the Rif but the maritime tribes, Nomads, Shawia and Imedurar of Gsennaya, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghsuth, Ktama, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. The clay skillet is distributed throughout the Rif with the exception of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Telmest, Galiya, and Kebdana.

Preparation of Vegetable Products without Meat. Another important article of diet is *thamarik*, a sort of purée or thick soup, which is made of dried split peas, ground beans, or lentils. When it is made with lentils, cut-up onions are added. The purée is boiled in a little water, the pulse being thrown in after the water has begun to boil. When it is nearly cooked butter or olive oil is added, and the resultant purée is eaten with bread used to scoop it out of the bowl, instead of with spoons. *Thamarik* is considered particularly nutritious and warming, and is eaten mostly in winter when there are no fresh vegetables and on particularly cold days. It is found in every tribe except the Nomads.

The wild greens mentioned under agriculture, gathered and eaten by the women, are boiled and mixed with oil or melted butter.

Peppers and onions are eaten raw by men working in the fields who do not want to take the time to go home to lunch.

Dried figs, apricots, raisins, almonds, and walnuts are eaten at any time, either on the march or in the house. They are taken especially in winter after the grain of the previous harvest has been used up. During years following poor harvests whole villages go for months with no other vegetable food than these dried fruits and nuts, in addition to what wild roots, herbs, and berries they are able to collect in the wilderness.

Acorns are divided into two classes, *rbejuth marjas*, bitter acorns, and *rbejuth misirth*, sweet acorns. The latter may be eaten raw, but the former must be crushed and left in a stream, inside a bag, until the water has washed all the bitterness out of them, — the same process as that employed with *shasana*.

Dishes containing Meat. *seksu*, commonly known as kuskus, forms an important article of diet in the Rif, as well as in the rest of North Africa. Briefly, since it has been often described, *seksu* is a composite dish made of coarsely ground flour, moistened and rolled into small balls the size of the head of a glass-headed pin. These balls, or granules, are placed in a container the bottom of which is pierced with small holes and steamed over a pot of boiling water or of stew. The stew, which may be cooked separately, consists of vegetables, especially onions and turnips, and lamb, beef, goat meat, or chicken, butter or oil, and seasoning. The *seksu* is spread out, in a large dish, in the form of a symmetrical hill, and the stew is poured on the top, whence the juicier parts seep into the *seksu*; the chunks of meat and vegetable may be readily reached by the persons enjoying the repast.

Another common dish, distributed throughout North Africa, is called *guaz*, a name which the Riffians have taken over from the Arabs. *Guaz* may be purely vegetable or may

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

contain meat. The vegetable *guaz* consists of vegetable marrow, potatoes, onions, and peppers casseroled in a pot with oil. Meat *guaz* consists of the same combination of vegetables, or of as many of them as can be obtained, plus gobbets of any kind of meat — goat, sheep, or beef — or whole chickens. *Guaz* is the dish commonly given to guests, especially Europeans and Arabs.

The *kebab*, a recent innovation, is a series of chunks of meat, preferably mutton or goat, spitted on a length of wire, stick, or on a specially constructed spit. Pieces of fat alternate with the meat, and chopped-up onions and peppers are rubbed into the meat lavishly. The whole is broiled over a charcoal brazier and eaten as soon as it leaves the fire. (See plate 19.) The *kebab* forms an easily prepared and tasty dish, especially convenient for people on the march, who cannot carry pots or other utensils. Although introduced only recently it has had a rapid diffusion throughout the area, and is now known everywhere. An especially prized type of *kebab* is that made from bits of liver wrapped in sweetbreads.

Meat may be preserved for later consumption by two methods, drying in the sun and the manufacture of sausages.

er kadidth, from the Arabic *el kadid*, may be made of any meat commonly eaten, except chicken. Mutton, goat, and beef kadids are common, but the meat most suitable for this form of preservation is the flesh of the wild boar. Until recently pork kadids, resembling in taste ham, shoulder, and bacon, were made throughout the Rif, but through an increasing wave of religious feeling this article of diet is fast disappearing. In the Rif it is found only occasionally, and even then is made and consumed secretly through fear of ridicule. The people of Temjunt and Inhanahan of Gzennaya, as well as the Beni Amart, probably make and consume more of it than any other groups in the Rif. In the Senhaja Sghir it is still manufactured and eaten openly, especially in Ktama, Beni Seddath, Beni Bu Nsar, and Beni Khennus. In Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth it is called by another name when Arabs or Riffians are present. The kadid may be eaten dry, like chipped beef, or in a *guaz*. It is made and eaten by everyone in the area excepting the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi.

thimhagzin, sausages, are made from goat meat, beef, and pork. The latter meat is rarely used at present, but was formerly the common sausage material. The meat is chopped up, mixed with fat, salt, peppers, and onions, and packed into intestines, bladders, and stomachs. Sausages are eaten only on the feast of *Ashor*, and occasionally on the *Haggus*. For the former celebration, one sausage is made for each member of the family, its size varying with the size of the person who will eat it. These delicacies are hung in a cluster on a rafter. Sausages are found in the Beni Amart and among the Mountain Urriaghlis.

Fish. This is eaten very rarely in the mountain interior, although it forms a common enough article of diet along the coast. When eaten fresh, there is but one method of preparation — by frying in a skillet, with olive oil or some other fat. Sardines are more commonly eaten than any other kind of fish, and when prepared in this way, with olive oil, are very tasty.

There are two methods of preserving fish, by salting and by baking. Salting is done as soon as the fish are brought up on shore. The product so prepared is carried inland in baskets and sold in markets. (See plate 32.) Sometimes sardines are put in a bake-oven without being cleaned. When baked to a crisp they are set aside for winter consumption. Salted fish are sold inland, but baked fish are intended for the use of fishermen and their families.

322
492
326

INDUSTRIES 1

Shoeing a mule. Tigulsa, Ghomara

A negroid smith at his portable anvil, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Beni Bu Nsar men with their sawed planks in market. Suk et Tnine, Taghanth

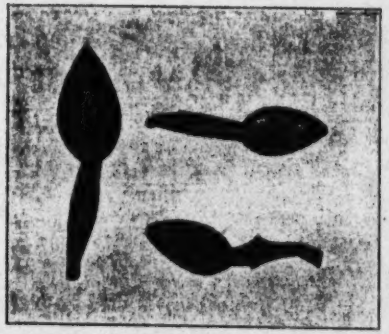
Taghanthi carpenter planing a board

[P. 60 (2)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Ref MX3

INDUSTRIES 2



Wooden spoons; left and upper, Galiya, lower right, Gasmaya

Pounding leather, Tesarin, Taghauth

Cutting a thin strip of colored leather for embroidering, Ulad el Wartith, Taghauth

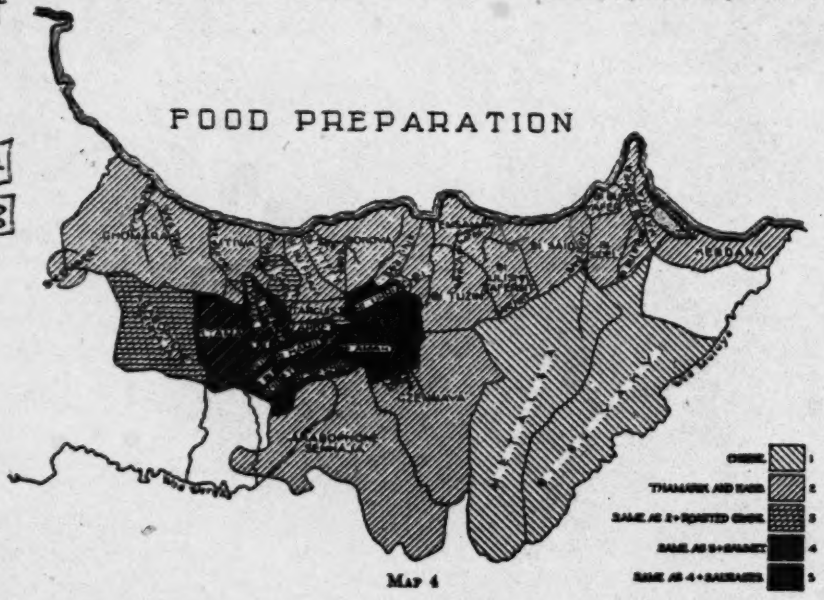
Stitching leather cartridge-belts, Ulad el Wartith, Taghauth

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Fish is never boiled or prepared in any way other than those above named. It is never
262 eaten during a meal at which milk is drunk.

Eggs. These are most commonly eaten hard boiled, a number of them in a bowl of melted butter constituting a common dish. They are also made into omelettes, but this latter method is rare and is probably of recent introduction. They are never mixed in bread or in any other composite dish.

267 **Milk and Milk Products.** Milk is consumed in a number of different ways. It may
234 be drunk fresh, as it commonly is, especially among the mountain peoples, or may be left to



Map 4

curdle. The curds, called *aghin*, are drunk out of a communal pot. Butter, called *adhen*, is made by two methods: (1) In the Rif, except in the region of nomadism, cream is put into an earthen pot with a narrow neck and a spout and two handles. Leather lids are tied over the neck and spout, and the pot tied to the rafters by the handles. Here it is swung back and forth until the butter is ready. (2) Among the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi the cream is put into a goatskin, which is tied tight and swung from a wooden tripod until churning is completed.

el kleila (Arabic), cheese, is made only by the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is commonly produced in the form of flat, hard cakes. Being cheese makers, the nomads naturally know the properties of rennet, which they cut from the stomachs of calves; with this and fresh milk they make junket, *jeben*, which they feed to children. The sedentary peoples,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeezed from the ends of fig branches. They claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammet*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammet* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it.

Wine-making, which Marmol[1] attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khamr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.[2] On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organised which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

kif, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghzuth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammet* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

Riffian Table Manners. When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

[1] Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86–88.

[2] Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 184, 207 *sqq.*, 316, 396, 423, 431, 467, 473, 488 *sqq.*, 507 n., 570, 601.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

host are present, food is served them in a room separate from that commonly occupied by the family. The host is present, but does not partake unless urged to do so by the guest. The host's wife appears only to bring in and take out the food, which she does as rapidly and unostentatiously as possible.

In regard to actual table manners, but a few points serve to distinguish the Riffian from the Arab usage. The Riffian washes his hands with hot water and soap and wipes them on a towel before eating, providing he has soap and a towel, otherwise he washes them with water and dries them on whatever piece of cloth will serve the purpose. After eating he rinses his hands and dries them. He does not indulge in the gargling and spitting practised by the Arabs while washing. He does not expectorate on the floor and walls as do Arabs, nor does he belch to show his appreciation of the meal. In the actual technique of eating, however, from the sacramental breaking of bread to the pouring of tea, little difference can be found, except that the Riffians use wooden spoons more and their hands less than do Arabs.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 17

HOUSE TYPES 1

Old mosque tower, Sheshawen

342
346
363

Typical street, Sheshawen

Town square, showing octagonal mosque tower, Sheshawen

Thatched-roof house type, Tiguisas, Ghomara

[facing p. 64]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER V

MATERIAL CULTURE (CONTINUED)

METAL WORK

326 METAL workers may be divided into three classes: ironworkers or blacksmiths, who are subjected to social restrictions, Jews, and gunsmiths.

325 None of these metal workers know the art of extracting metals from their ores — all the raw material used in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara in recent times has been brought in from outside.[1] Thus, using smelting as the criterion, one might say that these people are not in an age of metal, despite the fact that they use metal tools exclusively. This observation is doubly true when one considers that all the metal workers, except the gunsmiths, are counted as outsiders and immigrants.

The blacksmiths use double bellows of goat-skin bags, which they work up and down with sticks. These bellows, called *tahanut*, must not be confused with the *arrabos*, the bellows of European fireplace type now made in Taghzuth and copied from those made in Meknes and Fez. The blacksmith works over a charcoal fire, quickened by means of these bellows: he heats his metal until it is red hot and then forges it on an anvil, called *er mineburh*, which consists merely of an iron stake driven into the ground (unless he has had the good fortune to buy a European anvil). All iron is forged, none is cast; in fact, the only metal melted and cast is lead, used for bullets. The Riffian smiths are, however, able to perform one feat of considerable difficulty; they weld steel edges into soft iron implements, an art unknown, I believe, to the Negroes of Central Africa, from whom, judging by tradition, the physical type of the smiths, and the types of implements, modern North African metallurgy was borrowed. The Vandals, according to Procopius,[2] are supposed to have shown the North Africans the secret of steel-working, whence the smiths may have obtained this technique, if they did not obtain it later from Jews or Arabs.

325 177

326 412 439 The blacksmiths make hoes, sickles, ploughshares, pruning knives, knives, shears, scissors, axes, adzes, chisels, hammers, and horseshoes. Such tools as files, vises, saws, planes, awls, needles, and pincers they import.

325 412 Hoes, sickles, adzes, and axes were formerly so made that they could be hafted only to shafts which bent at right angles; in other words, the hafting superficially resembled a Bronze Age technique, especially since the end of such a tool away from the cutting edge was equipped with a socket for the reception of the end of the hafting. In order to make this socket, the implement was constructed as follows: a flat square sheet of iron was ham-

[1] Marmol (chaps. 41, 42, 46) states that iron was extracted in the neighborhood of Melilla and of Mazuc, as well as in Beni Said. The first two sites were probably worked, or at least directed, by townspeople, who were not, according to Marmol's own accounts, native Berbers in blood. In Beni Said the mining operations were well organized, and merchants came from as far as Fez to buy iron balls, from which the tools Berbers use were made.

The excellence of the organization of this extinct industry in Beni Said may have been due to Arab or some other non-Riffian inspiration. At the time Marmol wrote the eastern Rif was much more open to outside influences than it has been in later centuries.

[2] Mareus, p. 217 (from Cassiod. Variar. v. 1, Victor Vitensis I, 10).

[.64]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

325 412 mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. [171] The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

325 531 Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern [171] is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

[326] 411 The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibshen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

326 492 231 The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

326 563 The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghsuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghsuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the [531] hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebabs and by the Asht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[434] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghsuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

HOUSE TYPES 2

342

Side view showing projecting *arof*, Beni Bu Nsar

Front view showing projecting *arof*, Beni Bu Nsar

Village of Tamedith, Beni Bu Nsar

Two-storied house showing cribwork, Beni Bu Nsar

[p. 66 (13)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

House Types 3

342
346

Cantonal mosque, Iherrassen, Gsennaya

Village mosque, left, and school, right, Tezarin, Taghsuth

764]

Zawia of the Ikamrijen, on Tizi Ifri between Beni Amart and Beni Bashir, showing wooden amiyimath

Ornate saint's tomb, Suk et Tnine, Taghsuth

[p.66 (R)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

WOODWORK AND CARPENTRY

322 Woodworking is carried on as a trade throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, and in all of these places is considered a respectable profession, in no way to be confounded with the despised art of iron-forging. Carpenters are naturally most flourishing in the tribes where wood is most abundant, notably the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Beni Amart, and Gsennaya. Half the tribesmen of Beni Mesduy are carpenters, and are called out to neighboring tribes, notably to Beni Amart, to ply their trade.

322 412 The tools used by carpenters are as follows:

tharyirinth thumharas	axe	*er barimith* (Arabic)	awl
tharyirinth n thinjerut	adze	*er ghasurith* (Arabic)	gouge
er minshar (Arabic)	saw	*es siar* (Arabic)	vise
er mithara (Arabic)	plane (see plate 15)	*fukkuth*	pincers
thrima (Spanish, from *lima*)	file	*user*	knife
imithi	chisel	*thimsharath*	scissors
thafeithith	hammer		

The Riffian and Senhajan carpenters use most commonly the axe, adze, and chisel. Planes, awls, vises, gouges, and files are of more recent introduction and hence are used less frequently. Saws are frequently employed, but one may truthfully say that Riffian carpentry is largely dependent upon adze technique. The adze is their tool *par excellence*, and they are extremely skillful in fashioning wooden objects with it.

313 Woodcutters, in felling trees upon the mountains, employ the axe exclusively. Once having felled the tree, they trim it, and, if it is too long to drag down the slope in its entirety, saw it into convenient lengths, unless they intend to use if for a roof-beam. The woodcutter chisels a square hole into the side of the log near the butt end, and with bits of wood wedges a long withe into it. If there are several men available for hauling the log, as many withes are wedged in as there are men. By lifting and dragging they move the log to the edge of the forest, and thence drag it down the slope, often finding it more difficult to keep it from rolling or falling end over end than to keep it moving. Sometimes the log is squared with the adze before being taken from the mountain.

When the woodcutter has succeeded in conveying the log to his house, he sets about preparing it for use. If the log is to be made into planks, he saws it lengthwise, making as many parallel cuts as he can, and carefully leaving the butt end solid — in other words, the planks into which the log has been sawed are still attached at one end. He takes the log, so cut, to market, and breaks off each plank as he sells it. (See plate 15.)

322 In making doors, beams, window frames, and shutters, the planks, whether originally sawed or not, are smoothed and flattened with the adze. So expert are the Riffian carpenters at wielding this tool that they can make a smooth surface on which no lines can be discerned. To leave a line is considered a sign of poor workmanship. With the adze they fashion wooden spoons, smooth, delicate, and graceful, and with the same tool a heavier implement, the plough.

MANUFACTURE OF TAR

314 Among the tribes in which the conifer *takka* is found, the manufacture of tar is carried on as a common occupation by woodcutters. These craftsmen fell the trees and cut up and chip sections of the trunks into small pieces. They then dig a hole in the ground, setting in

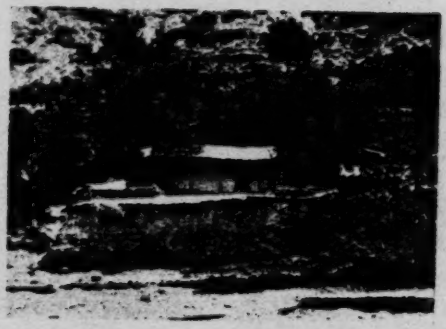
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 20

HOUSE TYPES 4

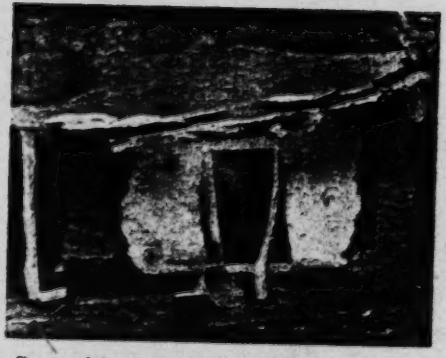
342
346

Cantonal mosque, Tiddest, Ikhuanen, Gzennaya



Village mosque, Tiddest, which served as Hajj Bukkeish's office during the Riffian war. This picture shows the porch clearly

The only two-storied house in the Iherrushen, Gzennaya



Courtyard interior, showing porch and sloping clay roof. Ulad Abd el Mumen, Iherrushen

[facing p. 68]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

314 it a large earthen pot or other vessel. Over this they place a perforated plate like a *sekṛu* dish, and over that the *takka* wood, shielded from the fire by an inverted vessel. Over all a pile of brush is heaped, and this covered with dirt, except for an ignition hole. The fire is then lighted, and smoulders for days. When it has finally died down, the woodcutters extract the tar from the lowest pot.[1]

Tar is called *jathukh*. It is the only product made from the sap of the pine, since turpentine and resin are alike unknown to the Riffians. It is found in Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Hamid, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Amart, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Temjunt, Bured, and Beni Mesduy.

HOUSE TYPES

342 **Sedentary Habitations.** The tribesmen of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara occupy permanent houses, square in room-unit form, and usually built, when there are more rooms than one, about a hollow square serving as courtyard. The house, *theddath*, is generally of stone masonry with a roof of clay, thatch, or shingles. The component elements are as follows:

azkak, the courtyard.

afshthair, the low or sunken area at one end of the nuclear room, used by the family cow.

thisi, the middle area in which the family lives.

arfith, a raised platform at the end of the room opposite to the *afshthair*. This platform is slept on by the family.

thighagha, a rude firehole, hedged with stones, and set in the middle of the floor, usually in line with the door. There is no chimney, except in rare cases where a broken pot is set into the roof, and ordinarily the smoke finds its own way out of the room.

arof, a wooden loft built over the cattle-pit. This loft, made of rafters covered with loose, unnailed planks, and supported by a post from beneath, is used mainly for storage of firewood. In the Beni Bu Nsar, the *arof* is made to project through the wall under the roof, which likewise projects, forming a covered-in second-story piazza, often slept on in summer. It is sometimes supported by posts, the village street passing under it. (See plate 18.)

silum (Arabic *silum*), the notched pole which holds up the *arof* and delimits the edge of the cattle-pit. The notches in this pole serve as ladder rungs for mounting the *arof*.

a'atab, the wooden lintel over the door.

thaworth, the door, made of two or more adze-flattened pieces of wood, with projections left at either end on one side, to fit into the lintel above and the ground below and serve as hinges. There is no lock, no latch, and rarely a handle.

thabuarjth, the window, a square opening of small size in the wall. There is seldom more than one window to a room.

thaworth n thabuarjth, the shutter. When a window is larger than a mere peep-hole, it is entitled to and receives a shutter — merely a miniature door, kept closed most of the time.

thuzukha, the roof, the component elements of which will be discussed separately.

sethur, the ridgepole, generally a single log, either left rough or hewn into hexagonal shape with the adze. Sometimes, with the aid of a pillar, the ridgepole may be composed of two logs laid end to end.

[1] A more complicated method of tar distillation, used in the South Algerian oasis of Tidikelt, has been described by L. Voinot in *Le Tidikelt*, pp. 142–143.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 *ghahenneshth*, the pillar, a whole log or tree trunk. When the pillar has a broad base suitable for holding the ridgepole without the aid of other devices, it is turned upside down. When the butt is of moderate breadth it is set upright, and at the top end thrust into a hole in a curved crutch-head.

tha'asitch, the wooden crutch-head, or capital of the pillar, a curved piece of stout wood, with its concavity facing upward to hold the ridgepole, and having on its convex side in the middle a square hole into which is set the squared end of the pillar. When the pillar is set butt upwards no *tha'asitch* is employed.

igst[illegible], rafters, peeled poles set so close together that they touch, or nearly so, and reaching from the ridgepole to the walls. When the roof is to be of shingles, thatch, or cork the rafters are set further apart. In the tribes of Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar the rafters are often squared.

aris, the small sticks or boards nailed over the rafters, parallel to the ridgepole and the tops of the walls. Sticks form a dense covering, impervious to the earth which is put over them with a layer of leaves and brush in between. Boards are nailed on as in any European house.

asteif, a porch, or piazza, consisting of the natural ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. (See plate 20.) It is found among the mountain Urriaghlis and in Beni Amart, Temjunt, Iherrassen, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Khennus, Seddath, Hamid, Shibet, Zarket, Beshir, and Ktama.

ghwarfth (Arabic *el ghorfat*), a second-floor room. The principle of building a two-story house is said to have been copied from the Arabs. The second-floor room must always be entered by an outside staircase running up the wall of the courtyard, by an outer wall, or by a notched pole. The *ghwarfth* is generally so low-ceiled that only a very short man can stand upright in it. The floor is treacherous, since it is made of thin rafters covered with peeled sticks and overlaid with buff-colored clay. Care must be taken to avoid crashing through into the room below. In Taghzuth and other regions of the Senhaja Sghir, where plenty of wood is available, the floor is made of planks nailed to sturdy rafters; despite this the planks are covered to a depth of about an inch with clay, which is continually working loose and making the upper chamber dirty. These people apparently borrowed the *ghwarfth* from others who had to use clay on account of the smallness of their wood; but did not have imagination enough to omit the clay when it was no longer necessary or even useful. The *ghwarfth* is not found among the mountain Urriaghlis or in Beni Amart, Iherrushen, or Ikhuanen. In recent years one has been built in Tiddest of Ikhuanen, by the Hajj Bukkeish, one in Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iherrushen, and one in Beni Msita of Beni Amart, by the Kaid Amar of that place.

Sloping roofs. The word for sloping roof is the general word for roof, *thazukha*. For a flat roof a special word is used, *asthih*. The fact that the generalized word for roof and that for a sloping one are the same would impute a greater antiquity to the sloping variety. The constant burning of houses in feuds and in the war with France and Spain has caused the destruction of many of the better houses in the Rif. Since the French and Spaniards both have forbidden the cutting of trees on the mountains, many families have found it impossible to obtain the lumber necessary for the restoration of the roofs to their original state, and have by necessity repaired them with the flat type of roofing, much against their inclination. Sloping roofs were found before the war in Iherrushen, Temjunt, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

HOUSE TYPES 5

342

Village of Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel, flat-roofed house types

Defensible second story used by Abd el Krim's officers, Tafersit

Interior of Abd el Krim's central headquarters, Targuist. A recent composite house type

Flat-roofed house with *qfarat*

Tomb of Sidi Misaud, on the Temasman-Beni Ulishk border near the scene of the battle of Anual

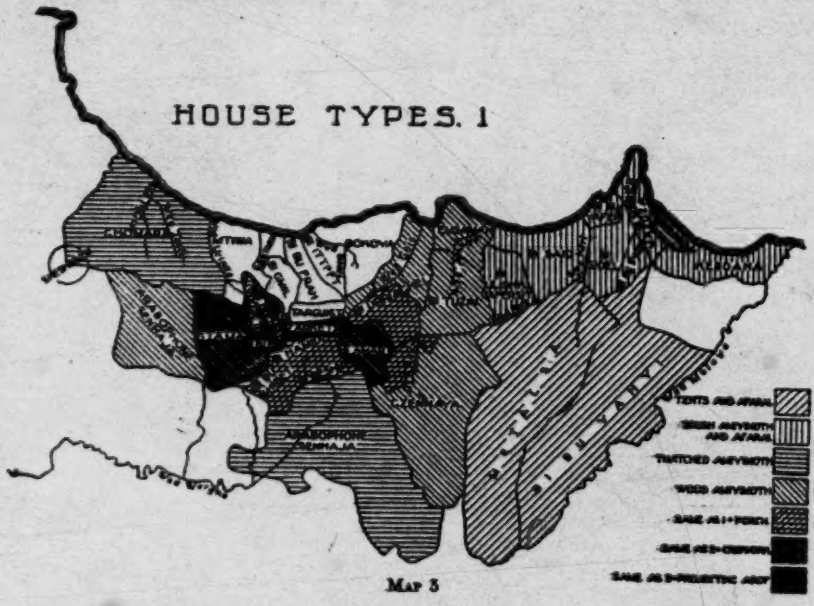
[facing p. 70]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 ben Aissa, Mountain Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrassen, Zarket, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all the Senhaja but Branes, and the Ghomara.

alim (Senhajan dialect), thatching as applied to roofs. Thatched roofs are distributed through Branes, Beni Krama, Khunduktamda, Beni Koras, Ulad Azam, Bu Adl, Bab Wendar, Muziet, Ain Mediuna, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Beni Gmil, Zarket, Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and the Ghomara.

er wakth (from the Arabic word meaning paper) are shingles split from cedar or pine logs and used for roofing. They are found in the Senhaja Sghir. When wood was more plentiful, shingles were used in the Rif.



MAP 3

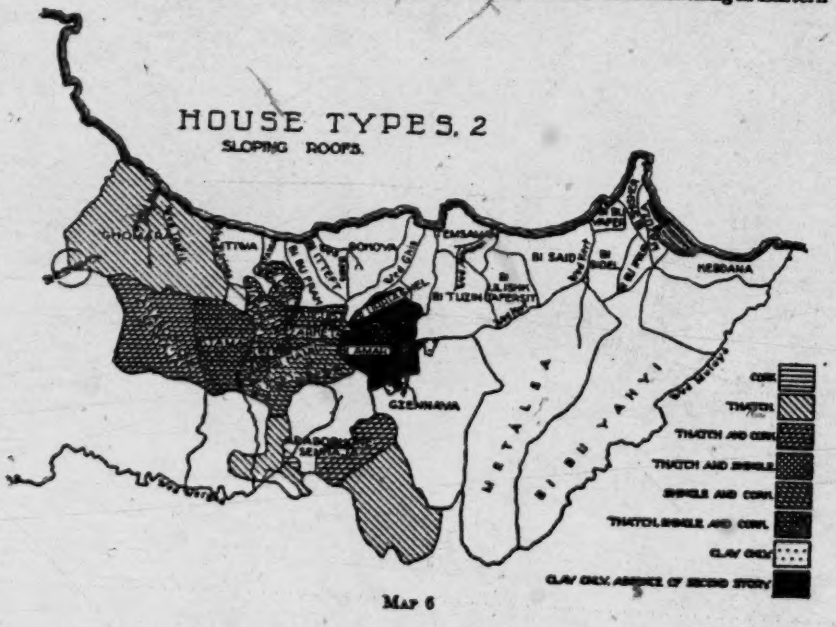
adrim, cork, used for roofing. Cork roofs are found in the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Mesduy, in Western Arabophone Senhaja, Beni Krama, Khunduktamda, and Zrarka. The same peoples who use it for roofing often sleep on and under it, substituting it for blankets and mattress. Mud roofs are found throughout the Rif except among the tent-users, and in the Ghomara.

Cribwork of wood, or beams laid horizontally in the masonry. This construction strengthens the walls in regions where the snowfall is heavy enough to endanger them. (See plates 18 and 19.) It is found in Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarket, and Beni Amart.

342 132 *amiyimoth*, or sheathing. A sheath is sometimes set under the eaves of houses, and sometimes on the sides, or on the ends in the case of flat-roofed houses, to protect the masonry

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 [132] against the *shurrûuh*, a desolating icy wind, accompanied by rain and sleet, which strikes the Rif, particularly the mountain tribes, in winter time. (See plate 19.) Without this sheath the wind and rain would weather out the mortar and the stones might fall. There are three kinds of sheathing: the wooden type, made of planks nailed over the masonry; the brush type, made of a peculiarly dense species of bush, tied to the exposed area; and a type made of thatch. Wooden sheathing is used in Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, Beni Amart, Senhaja Sghir, and Western Arabophone Senhaja; brush sheathing in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit; and thatched sheathing in Eastern



MAP 6

Arabophone Senhaja and the Ghomara. The Nomads and Bokoya, and the Maritime tribes, use no *amiyimoth*.

el asha (Arabic), a very flimsy, poorly constructed house used in the Ghomara, along with masonry houses. This structure is made of a pole frame tied together in rectangular shape, with a pitch roof; walls and roof are thatched with straw. The thatching is inferior to the Senhajan work.

Circular straw huts,[1] such as are so commonly seen along the roads in the French Zone of Morocco (see plate 22), are never used in the Rif, Senhaja, or Ghomara, excepting in Branes, where, since the war, several of them have been built as makeshift or temporary

[1] These are the *mapalia* referred to in ancient documents. See Oric Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, p. 167.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

HOUSE TYPES 6

342

Zawia et-Tifaha, Targuist, the seat of Sidi Mohammed Akhemrij. Tower and tiled roof built by Christian *renegados*. Tiles imported from Fes

Saint's tomb, Galiya. Domes constructed by *renegados*

Nomad tent, of the type used throughout North Africa

Straw bee-hive hut, the *mapalium* of the ancients, characteristic of the Atlantic coastal plain, and recently introduced into the Branes

[facing p. 72]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

356 The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too
358 are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

341 **Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques.** *The Moorish arch* in doors
177 and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

341 *Domes* are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni
764 Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since
177 domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

341 *Tiled roofs* are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of
177 the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

341 Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat
346 of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

342 **Tents.** The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa*
[286] braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhazhen*, sepa-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 rated from the tent proper by long ropes, purposely designed so that the edge of the fabric composing the tent will remain about two feet from the ground. The space under the tent is sometimes walled off with matting set up as sides, and sometimes left open.

351 About the tent or group of tents the Nomads place thick hedges of cut, dried brush, of a particularly thorny and impenetrable variety, called *afarai*. This forms a serviceable enclosure to protect the livestock against animals and the whole encampment against invaders, since anyone stumbling into it would arouse the dogs (if the latter had not already become aware of his approach).

In Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit, the sedentary peoples have adopted the *afarai*, but for a different purpose: they set it around their courtyards and onion patches to keep out wild animals. (See plate 21.)

342 Among the tent-dwellers of Braber extraction and the Arabs, every tent contains a *thaghirtch*, a cloth curtain dividing the area into two rooms, one of which is intended as a chamber of seclusion to which the women may retire when guests arrive. Among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa such an arrangement is not found, since all sleep and live together under the one undivided cloth. Among the sedentary peoples, when a family living in a one-room house wishes to insure privacy for the womenfolk, the *thaghirtch* is hung up across the room in such a way that the part open to the guests includes the door, the women being virtually imprisoned until the guests depart. It seems strange that in the Rif only the sedentary peoples should use what is elsewhere a nomadic means of obtaining privacy.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

352 Household furniture in the European sense is for the most part lacking. What there is consists of mats, skins, mortars and pestles, wooden bowls, pottery containers, baskets, basketry trays, and little else.

Stools are found only in the nuclear area. The Riffian stool, called *thiminjarth*, is a low affair, adzed from a single block of wood, with a long gouge parallel to the edges scooped out beneath to form a cleavage between the two sides. The top is concave and built for comfort. The Riffians who use these stools are very much ashamed of them and hide them [153] when guests from outside the nuclear area are expected. The stools are found in Beni Amart, among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Temjunt, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen.

The Taghzuthis use a sort of low stool made from several pieces nailed together, with four legs and a concave top. This seat is used by leatherworkers, who get down and sit on the ground when not working. These Taghzuthi craftsmen also possess low round tables on which they cut leather, and others, built like butchers' blocks, on which they pound it. Both these types of table and the local chair form are definitely associated with the leather industry, which is a recent one in Taghzuth; indicating that these articles of furniture are of no great antiquity at Taghzuth. Other objects which adorn the house are pottery, basketry, cloth, and blankets, described elsewhere.

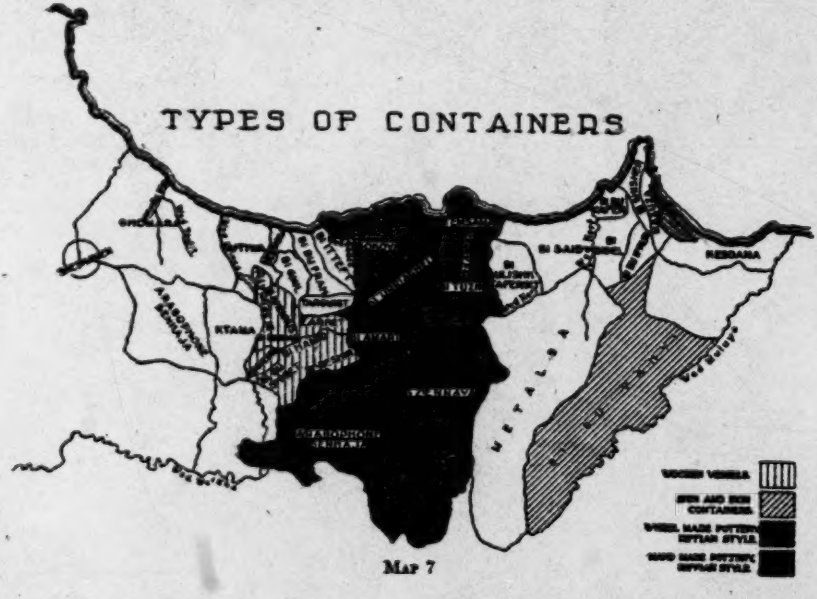
Pegs along the walls serve to support clothing, firearms, leather bags, earthen plates, bottles of European manufacture (highly prized and hung up in places of honor), and strings of peppers and onions, which likewise festoon the rafters. Sausages sometimes hang clustered from these capacious rafters, which likewise furnish a resting-place for the family distaff, wool cards, and wool. The upright women's loom is set up in the rooms least likely to be used in the entertainment of masculine guests.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

POTTERY

323 [462] In the Rif and the territory adjacent to it pottery is shaped both by hand and on the wheel, each system of manufacture possessing its own shapes and types of decoration. Hand work is the exclusive duty of women and wheel work of men.

There are two kinds of clay used, a white variety called *tharakhth*, which breaks easily and is considered inferior, and red clay, called *er-asr* (from the Arabic *el asl*, meaning "honey"), so termed because when it is fired metal sometimes runs out of it, looking like honey. Nothing is done with this slag, and the inhabitants do not even know what metal



MAP 7

it is. This "honey-clay" is red before firing, and buff after; it rings when struck, and makes a harder vessel than the white variety. From it most of the hand-modeled pots are constructed; the white variety is more commonly used on the wheel.

In arranging the paste, the potter crushes dry clay to powder, sifts it through a sieve, and then mixes it with powder crushed from old potsherds to serve as tempering. Sometimes crushed stone is used instead, but only in case the pots are intended for sale rather than for home use, since vessels made with this tempering are considered inferior. When the powdered clay and tempering have been mixed, water is added and the whole kneaded until it reaches the proper consistency.

In the case of hand-made pottery, the potter pats out a piece, flattening it to form a bottom. She then rolls out a strip as for coiling, but flattens it and puts it around the edge

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

of the bottom piece, set on edge. She does not coil it up over itself, but cuts it off, at the proper length, presses the ends together, and adds another strip to the top. When the pot has reached the required height she shapes it by means of a stick held inside and out, and by manipulation with her fingers. Handles and spouts are made separately and put on after the shaping has been finished. 323

The pot is then fired; while this is going on the women crush the ripe leaves of a wild bush called *bu b'kennin*, which resembles dogwood. From the leaves exudes a watery yellow juice. When they have taken out the pots, they paint them, still hot, with this juice, applying it with a stick, bit of straw, or rag, in geometric design, yellow on the buff of the clay. They then replace the pot in the kiln and rebake it. When it is taken out for the second time the design is black on buff, and gradually fades to sepia on buff. This pottery is found in Beni Urriaghel, Gsennaya, Beni Amart, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mesduy. (See plates 23 and 24.) 386 314

The wheel-made pottery manufactured by other tribes resembles the Arab pottery found all over the Arabic-speaking portions of Morocco, both in technique of manufacture and in shape. The vessels are generally cylindrical in form and white in color, without a slip; the wheel striations are plainly visible. Design is limited to a few squiggly lines running down the sides from the brim as the result of the fusion of a pigment put on the brim before firing. Distribution is in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Said, Galiya, and Kebdana.

The shapely designs of the central Riffian ware, two-handled drinking pots with down-curving lips, shallow plates, spouted milk-jugs, and semi-globular bowls, are copied on the wheel in certain tribes adjacent to the central Riffian area. The design typical of the Rif is put on, a little too perfectly to be true, and the product sold in markets as Riffian pottery. This hybrid type is made, not as a survival of Riffian design in an area of recent adoption of the wheel, but as a definite attempt to imitate and to defraud. The wheel is reputed to have been used in the regions where it is now employed from the most remote times, and the diffusionistic tendency has been against rather than for its dissemination. Wheels have been abandoned in Targuist in favor of the cruder technique, and the same tendency is evident in Bokoya, Beni Tuzin, and Temsaman. Distribution: Bokoya, Tuzin, and Temsaman. 323 415

WOOD, SKIN, AND IRON CONTAINERS

Throughout the Rif wooden bowls are adzed out of tree-trunks. These bowls are of one piece, and round in shape. Another type of wooden container, used in serving *sekru* to a large company, is the same as an old-fashioned washtub, shaped like the bottom part of a barrel, and carried about by means of chain handles. Wooden containers, carved from one piece or put together in the manner of barrels, are the characteristic product of the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, with the exception of Ktama. These tribes make no pottery, and have a greater abundance of wood than any other group. They utilize wooden vessels for every purpose which does not necessitate the use of fire. For the latter purpose they import pottery vessels from the Rif; but they have in recent years produced an undecorated imitation of them in Taghzuth. 415 322

Although the Metalsa make wheel-turned pottery, their equally nomadic neighbors, the Beni Bu Yahyi, neither make it nor employ it to any great extent. The Beni Bu Yahyi use 415

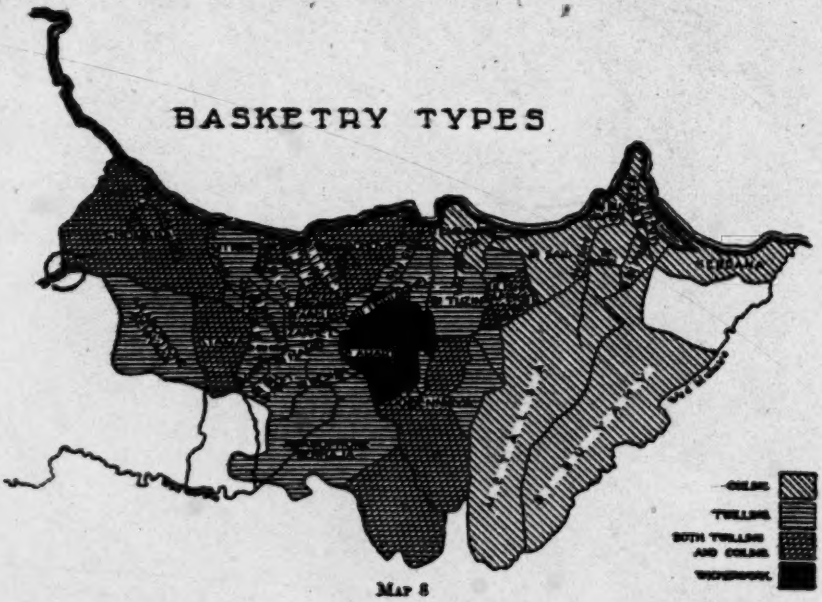
I: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

for the most part containers of iron and of skin, materials which are not apt to break in the course of a nomadic existence. Skins are used to hold all liquids, and likewise as churns for butter.

BASKETRY

There are three types of basket-making employed in the Rif; coiling, twilling, and wickerwork.

Coil-baskets are made with a bundle of *esref*, a grass, circular in section, as rod, and with palmetto leaves for wrapper. Coiled baskets, generally in the form of shallow trays, called



MAP 8

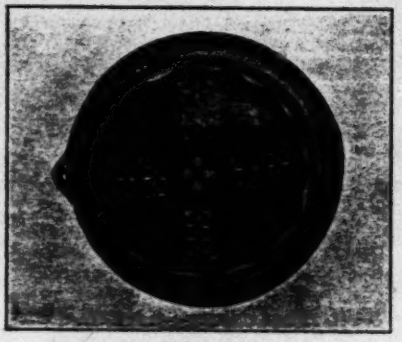
tubbut, are supposed to have been introduced by the Arabs. They are found in Ghomara, Mestassa, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Itteft, Bokoya, Ajdir, Branes, Ktama, Targuist; Khebaba, Shawia, and Beni Yunes of Gsennaya; Temsaman, except for the villages near the sea; Beni Said, with the same exception; Galiya, Kebdana, el Azib of Meidhar, Tafersit, lowland Beni Ulishk, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi.

Twilling, called *iji*, is employed in the manufacture of the *shueri*, or pack-saddle panier, and of the *endu* or flat basket with two handles used as a container of dried figs and raisins, also as a table upon which bowls are set and upon which bread rests during repasts. These articles are made from either *halfa* or palmetto, whichever is available. They are distributed through Beni Mohammed, Shawia, Ulad Alu Fars, Khebaba, Iharshliyen, and Ain el

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Central Rhodian Pottery

415
323
531



Tazpiel

Gonnoya

Gonnoya

Bowl Upright

[facing p. 76]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

285 Hamara of the Gzennaya; Bokoya; Ijaonen of Beni Amart; Beni Hadifa and Ajdir of Beni
415 Urriaghel; Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman; the Metalsa dwelling near Beni Mohammed, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, all the Senhaja and Ghomara, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, and the western Maritime tribes.

[314] *Wickerwork*, the third type, is called *asarow n ughanim*. Oleander switches and reeds are used, the oleander for the uprights, or warp, and the split reeds woven in and out between them. Baskets made of this material are often of great size, four to five feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are used for the transportation of grapes, figs, almonds, walnuts, and the like, and for the storage of raisins, dried figs, and dried apricots. (See plate 24.) They are to be found in Iberrassen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikaroen, Temjunt, Bured, all of Gzennaya, Mountain Urriaghel, Taghzuth n Tassa and Tizera n Imziwen of Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, and Ain Mediuna of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Bu Shibet.

TEXTILES

286 Textiles made in the Rif are confined to woolen cloths, all cotton and what little silk
[439] there is being imported.

The first process in textile manufacture is washing the wool in a stream with the boiled
283 roots of the plant known as *thaghigheshth*. The wool is hung up in the rafters of the house
[824] until dry, and is then carded. In the old days, cards of local manufacture, called *ikarthashen*, were employed, but today the cards used throughout the Rif are imported from Sheshawen and are of European type. The indigenous type consists of a long wooden handle about two feet in length, with a flat piece of cow's horn attached to one end. Into the horn are set two parallel rows of spikes, either wooden or brass, about the length of a human finger. The rows are set at right angles to the axis of the handle, and the spikes project from the handle at a right angle. These cards were kept in pairs, and when not in use were pushed up into the rafters, where, in old houses, a few of them may still be found.

Spinning, the next process after carding, is done in two ways:

1. The thread is suspended from a distaff, on which the rove is wound, and attached to a spindlewhorl held just off the ground. Thread spun in this way is used for warp and is called *asarau*.

2. The rove is spun on the thigh and gathered into a pot below. This thread is used for weft and is called *amshin*.

Weaving, the final process of textile manufacture, is done on two entirely different kinds
276 of loom under different circumstances. The more primitive is the *azta*, an upright two-bar loom with a stick heddle and a wooden comb for battening the warp. The operation of the *azta* is entirely in the hands of women. A girl who does not know how to weave on the *azta*
[863] has a poor chance of marriage, and consequently girls learn this art at an early age. Parties are held for the teaching of it; a girl who is not expert invites a number of skilled weavers, who go to her house, eat, and instruct her. The cloth produced by the *azta* is called *tadsha* and is used for women's clothes, men's sleeveless shirts worn in winter, and blankets. It is generally white, sometimes with red horizontal bands or stripes. The *azta* is employed throughout the region under consideration, except in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CENTRAL RIFFIAN POTTERY-BASKETRY

Bottom of unusual water-jug, showing entrance of cone through which pot is filled when lowered into a well. Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Side view of the same

415
323
531

Bowl showing eastern influence in design. Temasman

Making a wicker basket for raisins. Ulad Abd el Mumen, Iherrushen, Gsennaya

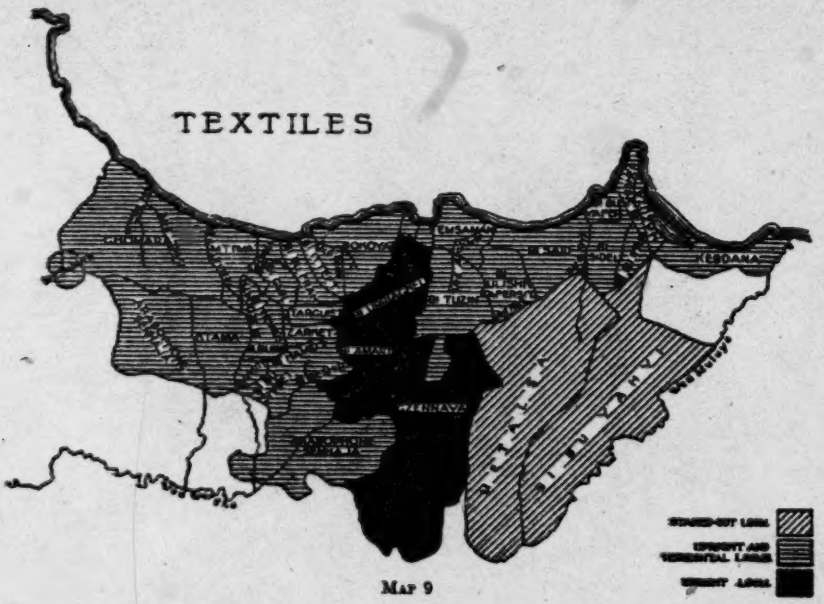
[285]

[177]

[facing p. 78]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

286 The second and more advanced type of loom, called *marmath*, is a horisontal extended mechanism of complicated design, with looped-wire heddles operated by a foot-treadle, a shuttle, and a two-bar wire batten suspended from above. With this machine the weaver, who is always a man, can turn out in a reasonable time a first-class piece of homespun cloth comparable to that produced on Scotch or American hand-looms. The cloth woven in this fashion is generally dark brown or black in color, the black cloth being highly valued and made without dyeing from the wool of black sheep. The thread spun for the *marmath* is finer than that prepared for the *azta*. The *marmath* is used in Sheshawen, all the Eastern



Map 9

Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa and Branes, all Western Arabophone Senhaja and the Senhaja Sghir, the Ghomara, Targuist, the Maritime tribes, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Temsaman, Beni Said, Bokoya, Beni Tusin, Galiya, and Kebdana. The tribes which have none are Beni Amart, Marnissa, Branes, Gsennaya excepting Beni Yunes, Urriaghel excepting Ajdir, and Beni Mesduy. The use of the *marmath* seems to have spread from Sheshawen as a western center, only Ulad Asam of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja having employed it in earlier times. Its use in the east may have spread from Melilla or Algeria.

[314] A third type of textile manufacture is found among the nomadic Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, who employ neither the *azta* nor the *marmath*. These people make long braids of *halfa* grass, and stretch them out on the ground, tied to iron stakes, in the form of a very long, somewhat narrow, loom. The *halfa* braids form the warp, and a coarse thick thread

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

286 spun from black goat hair is put in as a weft by hand, without a shuttle, as in the case of the *azta*. The result of this process, a heavy, hybrid fabric, half textile and half matting, is used for tents.

Rug-making has not reached the high development among the Riffians which it has attained among the Shluh and Braber. Riffian rugs, woven on the *azta*, are coarse, harsh, and unattractive. The hooked-rug method, employed so effectively by the Beni Mgil and Beni Mtir of the Braber, is unknown. In fact, few rugs are made by the Riffians, who prefer to purchase them at Melilla and Fez.

386 All wool intended to be used in garments other than turbans and belts is thrown into a
314 vat of dye before being carded or spun. The dyes used for coloring this raw wool are as follows:

brown, made from boiled apple-leaves.
red, made from the bark of almond-tree roots, boiled.
yellow, made from pomegranate husks.
green, made from the water boiled out of *thaghigheshth* roots or cedar cones.
black, made from an imported mineral called *zaj*.

386 These natural vegetable products are boiled in water, in which the wool is immersed and soaked. When it is taken out the colors are fast. Turbans and belts are dyed after they have been finished; when taken out of the dye they are rubbed with ashes, a process not considered necessary in the case of raw wool. Leather is dyed by exactly the same process as wool.

Tie-dyeing, called *thisfarsth*, is in some regions applied to cloth intended for use as turbans. The distribution is as follows: all Senhaja and Ghomara, and all tribes between them and Tangier.

CLOTHING

291 Riffian clothing was formerly made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven.
177 At present many garments are made of imported cotton cloth, and others of silk. In this compilation of garment-types most attention will be paid to the older elements of Riffian dress, the distribution of which alone is significant.

Masculine Attire. *ajjab*, the jellaba, is a woolen cloak with short sleeves and a hood.
[171] The jellaba is found all over North Africa and is not a distinctive Riffian garment, except as it differs in minor details from jellabas worn by other Berber or Arab groups. The Riffian jellaba is notably shorter than the average, reaching only to the knees, and its hood less broad than the hoods of the Ghomara and other western groups. The Riffian jellaba has definite shoulders; in the western type the transition from hood to sleeve is lacking. The Riffian jellaba is always either dark brown or black, but in other areas white, striped, or other colored types are worn. Furthermore, the Riffian jellaba can be readily distinguished by its embroidery, which will be treated separately. The jellaba is exclusivley a masculine garment. (See plates 25 and 27.)

er serham, the silham, is a cloak resembling the jellaba, but lacks sleeves and is generally
[171] much longer and more flowing. The silham is typical of the Braber and Shluh of the Atlas, and is likewise worn by the nomadic peoples south of the Atlas. In the Rif its use is limited to the nomadic tribes of the Garet. Until recently the silham was worn by both the Metalsa

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CLOTHING 1

Left, jellaba with hood up. Right, typical Riffian trousers. Iherrushen, Gaennaya

Normal way of wearing jellaba. Ajdir

Silham worn over jellaba by man from Beni Zoassen (uniform of Spanish *mokhazniya*)

Shirt with shoulder-slit and cord attachment at neck. Iherrushen, Gaennaya

[facing p. 80]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291 and Beni Bu Yahyi. At present the Metalsa have entirely discarded it, and the Beni Bu Yahyi wear it only on festive occasions. (See plate 25.)

thakhidusth. Three generations ago all Riffians wore a garment resembling a silham, but reaching only to the waist. This garment had a hood, lacked sleeves, and was heavily embroidered. It was worn over the jellaba and was considered highly decorative. The *thakhidusth* was woven on the woman's loom, as was the silham; jellaba cloth is always woven on the newer horisontal or man's loom.

thashbiar, a woolen shirt. The sleeves of this garment reach to mid-forearm, its collar opens on one side, and entrance for the head is permitted by a slit reaching along one side of the shoulder from the opening in the neck to the top of the sleeve. (See plate 25.) The collar is fastened by a looped string. This type of shirt is made of white wool, is very heavy, and is elaborately embroidered with colored silk. The lower edge, called *thimuar*, is ornamented by a row of heavy silken tassels called *thikhemesin*. This shirt is nearly as long as the jellaba, and is never tucked into the trousers. Over the *thashbiar* the Riffian men sometimes wear another shirt, called by the same name and identical in form, except that the neck of the over-shirt is cut low enough for easy insertion of the head. At present woolen shirts of this type are difficult to find, since manufactured cotton cloth has been adopted almost universally in place of the heavier woolen material. The style and design have, however, remained the same.

saarwair (Arabic *serwal*), trousers, entered the Rif at the same time as American cotton cloth, called *melikan*, about a generation ago. The trousers made from this cloth are very broad and baggy, and reach to a point just below the knee. The front and back are indistinguishable, except for a reënforcement patch at the rear, put on when the trousers are made. The tailor uses several yards of cloth and does not waste a scrap of material. Embroidery is confined to the narrow cuffs; the trousers are held up by a string like pyjamas. (See plate 25.) Another distinct type of trouser is found in the Ghomara, very short, open, and wide, reaching only to mid-thigh and exposing the lower part of the abdomen. The Riffians ridicule the Ghomarans when they see them thus attired. The Riffian type is found throughout the Rif and Senhaja Sghir except among the Nomads, Ktama, and Beni Hamid. The Ghomaran type appears in Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja.

The garments just described were, with the exception of headgear and footgear, the only ones worn by the Riffians before the advent of Abd el Krim. During the early stages of the [177] conflict with Spain, the Riffians, become in some cases affluent, went to Fez as tourists and brought home new and strange articles of clothing, notably the *bida'ia*, a woolen or felt vest of loud color, buttoning to the neck by means of many knotted tassels, and the *ferrajia*, a similar garment, reaching below the knees and equipped with broad, flowing sleeves. This latter garment resembles closely the familiar *kaftan*.

There are four principal types of masculine headgear, which will be described in the order of their antiquity.

1. *thagharefi*, a long narrow strip of stiff woolen cloth, with one end tapering and the other flat and broad. The flat, broad end is stuck up behind on the back of the head, and the tapering end tucked in when the turban has been wrapped around the head. This *thagharefi* forms a narrow turban which leaves the top of the head bare, and gives the appearance of a crown with an eminence behind. It is covered with heavy embroidery. The *thagharefi* is at present rare and difficult to obtain, partly because it has gone out of style,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and partly because it was part of Abd el Krim's uniform and would therefore throw suspicion upon the wearer as a rebel sympathiser. It is still worn, curiously enough, by many of the native *mokhaznîya*, gendarmes in the employ of the Spanish military authorities.

2. *furu*. This is a collection of strings of camel's-hair yarn, roughly parallel, and cross-tied just often enough to keep the whole combination together. The *furu* is twisted about the head as a turban just as is the *thagharəft*, leaving the top of the head similarly bare. The camel's hair comes from the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is dyed brown for ordinary wear and red for weddings. The *furu* came in after the *thagharəft*, and like it was worn by individuals here and there in every tribe, according to personal taste.

3. *thaamanth*, a yellow kerchief, silk embroidered, worn as a turban. This is of European manufacture and introduction.

4. *arizith*, a white cotton turban (see plate 25), likewise of European manufacture. In adopting the white turban the Riffians have reached the final step of imitating the Arabs. All the previous types of headgear mentioned were distinctively if not uniquely Riffian, but the *rezza*, as the Arabs call it, in no way distinguishes them from the rest of Moroccans. It has not yet attained universal distribution, being worn only by the least conservative elements in each tribe. The fez, or *sheshia*, as it is called in Morocco, has not yet appeared except in the tribes of Galiya and Kebdana.

The Riffians in the Spanish zone will probably become Europeanised in dress before they submit completely to Arab notions of sartorial accoutrement, since the Riffians have fewer inhibitions against European civilisation than against that of the Arabs. However, European dress among them is at present confined to the very few who have become officers in the Spanish army and to chauffeurs, mechanics, and the like in Melilla.

Riffians never appear in public without some form of belt and a scrip, or bag.

thaghugat is the generalized term for men's belts, which are always made of leather. The ordinary type is about two inches broad, undecorated, and fastened by a buckle in front. *thaghugat n tayish* is a special belt worn at weddings, much broader, covered with silken embroidery, and frequently embellished with tassels. *thaghugat er knenth* is a leather cartridge belt, with pockets for the clips of cartridges which fit into the ordinary Mauser, or Spanish army rifle. *thazabudch*, the scrip or leathern bag, does not hang from the belt, but is supported by a separate strap, called *iyarusith*, passing over the shoulder opposite to the side on which the bag is worn. The old style bags used in the days of the flintlock rifle were very large and contained many pockets, in which were kept powder, lead balls, emergency rations, knives, papers, and other small objects which among us would be carried in pockets. These bags were ornamented with silk embroidery and long leather fringes and tassels. (See plate 27.) The designs were both rectilinear and curvilinear, the curvilinear designs usually being floral. The bags were also decorated by great areas of inlaid colored leather, a technique which had died out but which is now being revived by Taghzuthi workmen in French shops at Rabat.

Accompanying the large bag of former times, a powder horn made from the horn of the aoudad, called the *ish n wuthath*, depended from the belt. The use of these horns has died out, owing to the advent of cartridges and the scarcity or possible extinction of the aoudad.

The bags and belts which typified the Rif of a hundred years ago were made exclusively at a village called Iyarusith in the tribe of Temsaman. The craft has long been extinct there, however, and now the belts and bags used in the Rif are made locally or are imported

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

from Taghzuth. The Taghzuthis, who were craftsmen only in powder and firearms, have within the last generation taken over leatherwork and set themselves up as the foremost manufacturers of belts and bags. The Taghzuthi work is characterized by the stitching of narrow strips of colored leather diagonally in rows so as to form lines. These lines are always straight, and the designs produced by them form isosceles triangles and zigzags. Until recently white and green were the only colors employed for this purpose, but since the Spanish occupation other colors have come in, and the work has become coarser. (See plate 27.) Besides the ordinary belts and bags, the Taghzuthis now make wrist-watch straps and handbags, the former for the Spanish army, and the latter to be sent to the ports of the French zone and thence to America, and, to a lesser extent, to England and France.

Other old centers of the manufacture of bags and belts were Beni Misawr, a sub-tribe of el Khmes of the Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mohammed, situated between Beni Zerwal and el Khmes. The design on these Jebalan bags is curvilinear rather than rectilinear, and is characterized by three circles side by side on the front. The effect is produced by the stitching of leather strips, as at Taghzuth, and not by silk embroidery, as at Iyarusith of Temsaman.

Feminine Attire. Like men's clothing, the garments of women were formerly made entirely of wool. *thawthat*, the principal garment, consists of a long rectangular piece of woolen cloth. The upper corner of one end is held under the left armpit, with the lower corner falling by the left knee. The cloth is then wrapped around the body, from front to back, until it reaches the front again. A belt holds it together at the waist, and it is caught up back and front by each shoulder and fastened there by wooden pins or brooches. (See plate 26.) These brooches, called *thisghanes*, are made by Jews in Melilla, in the Jebarna section of the Shawia of Gzennaya, at Bades, and in Beni Bu Frah. The *thisghanes* consist of a triangular piece of silver or pewter, to which is attached a loose ring of the same material; there is a gap in the ring, through which the point end of the pin, of one piece with the triangle, may pass. To pin cloth together with this device, the ring is turned until the gap coincides with the pin; then the pin is thrust through the material, and the ring pressed beneath it and turned, so that it must stay under the pin. This type of brooch is not confined to the Rif, but is commonly found throughout North Africa.

thaghuqat, the belt, bears the same name as the men's belt, although it is an entirely different object. The old style woman's belt is made of many cords of heavy woolen yarn of different colors caught together, and is locally considered an object of great beauty. This belt is wound around the waist many times, and a long end is left dangling behind. Ghomaran women wear broad belts of native cloth. (See plate 26.) *thaghuqat n malagha*, the belt of Malaga, is a long red woolen belt with fringes at the end, manufactured in Spain and sold to the Riffians at Melilla. It is fast supplanting the heavier belt of native manufacture.

Feminine headwear is of two principal varieties:

1. *ifiran n thimgharin*, or women's braids, consist of long black threads of woolen yarn, which are braided into the hair near where it ends and then downward until they nearly touch the ground. Three of these *ifiran* are braided into each braid, and since the women divide their hair into two braids six *ifiran* are worn by each woman. The hair, supplemented by these long strands of black wool, may be left trailing or else tied around and around the head like a turban.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

2. *thashumbushth*, a cotton headcloth, tied over the bunched-up hair, is a more recent type of headdress which came in with the introduction of American cotton cloth. (See plate 26.) This cloth is generally white, although red and yellow are occasionally used. In the region where tie-dyeing is practiced a headcloth decorated in this manner is worn. 291

The garments just described, the *thawthat* and *ifiran*, were formerly the only garments worn by women, in winter as well as in summer. On exceptionally cold days women might occasionally put on a second *thawthat*, bringing it up over the head like a shawl.

el ḥaik is the Arab ḥaik, or woman's shawl. There is no word for this in the Riffian dialects. It is simply a square piece of cloth worn as a shawl. (See plate 26.) It is to be found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all Eastern Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Branes. *ḥash*, the men's ḥaik, has been given a Riffian name. This is a light thinly-woven woolen scarf worn around the neck and back of the head, and generally tucked into the neck of the jellaba in front. It is considered of Arab origin, and is distributed through Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Shawia and Beni Mohammed of Gsennaya.

Since cotton cloth has come in, women's garments are losing their simple form and becoming tailored. Sleeved shirts, open at the neck and embroidered, are worn with wide trousers like those of the men and the red belts of Malaga. The result is a costume entirely different from that of a few years ago, but more decorative. This type of garment has not yet supplanted the *thawthat*, however, since the old style is still maintained by the older women and by many of the younger ones as well. As with other factors of material culture which depend on European introduction for their diffusion, the pattern of their dissemination seems to be sporadic and voluntary, and without cultural significance. 177 291

The garments of men are tailor-made by *tolba*, or students in the mosque, and women's garments must be made by the women themselves, although often men who have been students and have learned the art of embroidery make and embroider their wives' garments for them. 294

The silk with which embroidery is done is now largely European, and its dyes are not fast. Formerly all the silk used came from Tetwan, and often was not dyed until it arrived in the Rif; hence the dyes, the same as employed on wool and leather, were always fast. The Tetwan silk is still considered superior, but is increasingly difficult to obtain. There is no reason to believe that this native silk was not imported into the Rif in very early times, or since the inception of silk-worm cultivation in Morocco after the advent of the Arabs. El Bekri says that the Meknassa, a group just south of Gsennaya, paid tribute to the king of Nekor in cloth from Merv.[1] 294 439

The designs, the same as those formerly put on the bags and belts of Temsaman, are both curvilinear and rectilinear, the triangular or saw-toothed design predominating. A favorite design is a square capsule, decorated on the inside with sawteeth, and surmounted on the small ends with curved lines reminiscent of the ancient Libyan ostrich plumes. Designs found by Bates to be characteristic of the ancient Libyans are still recognizable in Riffian embroidery.[2] A favorite design employed on the hoods of jellabas and on the cuffs 294 531

[1] El Bekri, p. 187.

[2] Bates (*The Eastern Libyans*, Pl. III, and pp. 137, 139, 140) gives drawings of similar Libyan designs, mainly in the form of tattoo marks.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291
142
301

Ghomaran woman with haik and leggings

Ghomaran girls, wearing haiks and broad cloth belts

Taghsuthi woman wearing *thouthot* with brooches

Taghsuthi woman with *thouthot*, showing attachment

[facing p. 84]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

294 is a cogged wheel with four spokes. On the hood this design is complete, but on the cuff only half of it is represented. This design is difficult to explain, owing to the utter absence of wheels for purposes of traction in the Rif, unless it be connected with a prehistoric sun-motif.

Riffian embroidery is characterised by another peculiar feature, the presence of short tufts of silk set at intervals on the borders of the designs. The tufts are much more prominent in the embroidery of the Maritime tribes of the western Rif and of the Ghomara than in that of the eastern or central Rif. (See plate 27.)

291 **Footwear.** Footwear was formerly restricted to men, women going barefoot at all times. The harshness of this prohibition was somewhat mitigated by the fact that women seldom went out of doors in winter when snow was on the ground.

Masculine footwear is divided into sandals, buskins, stilts, and clogs, and these types have a most significant and interesting distribution. There are two kinds of sandals (*thisira*), those made of *halfa* grass and those made of scrub palmetto.

The *halfa* sandals are constructed as follows: the maker braids a rope of *halfa*, about eight to ten feet long. He then ties this in a ring, and presses it to an oval representing the size and shape of the foot. The long piece, dangling from the knot, he draws between the sides of the oval so as to make a third strand in the middle, and runs what is left over and under these three pieces until the intervening spaces have all been filled in. Thus he has obtained a flat foot-shaped sole. By loosening strands, he inserts the remaining cord, still uncut, so as to form straps for attachment. The cord goes around the heel in back, and crosses itself over the toes, not going between any of the toes. The loose end is cut to a convenient length, and when the sandals have been put on and the cord tightened, it is tied at the cross in the front-straps. This makes an extremely convenient and durable sandal, easily put on and taken off, and one that will not slip on rocks or come off unexpectedly. (See plate 28.)

The palmetto sandals are made as follows: the maker braids a long cord of palmetto leaves, and coils these into a flat oval; then with a thinner cord of the same material and a wooden needle he sews the sole together from side to side; the resultant sole is the same type as that of the rope sandals worn by the Basques and by many Spaniards. This sole is, of course, but one braid in thickness, and is not nearly so durable as that of the *halfa* sandal.

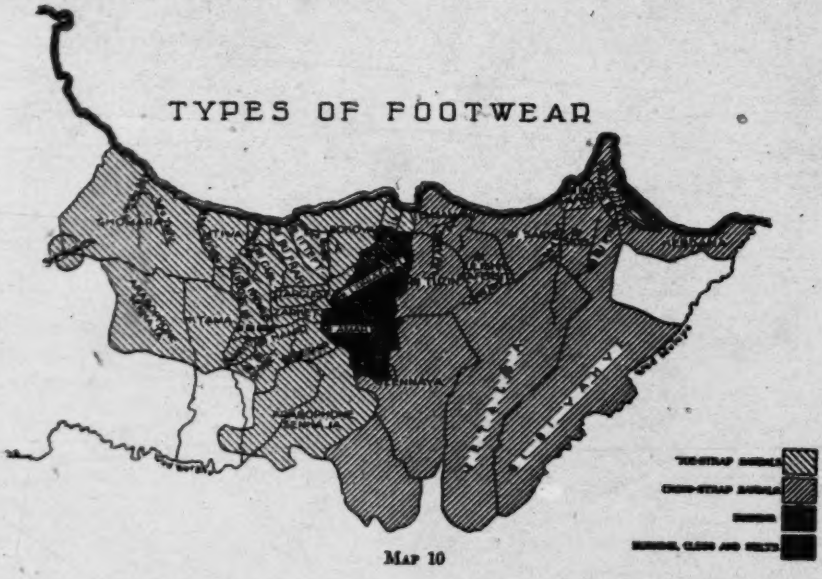
The palmetto sandal differs from the *halfa* type not only in the construction of its sole but also in its attachment to the foot. In the palmetto type the cord left over from the sole is cut free, knotted at one end, and then run through the sole from beneath at a point between the great and second toes. From here it is looped through one side of the sole, carried around so as to form a heel-strap, looped through the other side, and attached to itself at a point two inches from where it emerges from the sole, between the toes. This attachment may be spliced in and permanent, or tied on and temporary, permitting later adjustment. The straps on the *halfa* sandal are always tied so that they may be adjusted later. (See plate 28.)

The toe-strap sandal is much easier to slip on and off than the cross-strap type, but is not nearly so durable. The sole wears out much more quickly than that of the cross-strap type, and the toe-strap is likely to pull through the sole. Thorns and other sharp objects pierce the toe-strap type, but seldom penetrate the cross-strap variety.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291 Both these types are so easily made by everyone in the regions in which they are found that their life is of small moment. In other regions, however, where they must be purchased, they are valued more, hence the cross-strap variety alone is bought.

The *halfa* sandal is distributed through Branes, Beni Mohammed, Khebaba, Shawia, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Beni Bu Yahyi Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, and Temsaman. The palmetto sandal is found in Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel, Bokoya, Beni Hadifa, all the Western Maritime tribes, Targuist, Beni Mesduy, all the Senhaja but Branes, and all Ghomara.



Map 10

airkasen are leather buskins. In winter the mountaineers of the central Rif tie their feet up in cloths and step into square pieces of raw cowhide or wild-boar hide, with the hair out. These squares of hide are then drawn up about the toes and ankles and sewn into place with thongs. As the leather hardens the holes gape open permanently, so that the *airkasen* can be taken on and off without inconvenience. This type of footwear is found among the Braber and Shluh; among the Glawa tribe in the Atlas it has developed into a variety of moccasin. This further development is not, however, found in the Rif. The Riffian buskin is more nearly comparable to the proto-moccasins found in the Basket-maker remains in the American Southwest,[1] and represents the first step toward the manufacture of a moccasin. The North Albanian *opinga* is practically the same thing. The *airkasen* are worn in

[1] Judging from observation of specimens in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, collected by Noel Morss.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291 Beni Amart, all Beni Urriaghel but Ajdir, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Inhanahan, Iherrassen, and Bured.

Of these types of footwear tradition has it that the crude *airkasen* were the earliest and were formerly worn over a much wider area than at present;[1] and that sandals, of both palmetto and *halfa*, were introductions from outside.

In recent times Arab slippers with turn-under heels, called by the Riffians *iherkusen*, have become somewhat popular in the Rif. They are an inferior type of footwear, owing to the difficulty of keeping them on without shuffling. Of imported shoes the only type which has become at all popular is the American sneaker, or tennis-shoe, which has found many users, especially in the east around Melilla and in the region of Ajdir. French army brogans are sometimes worn by men in military service, but are generally cut away at the heels so that they can be taken off without trouble when entering a house.

Beside these normal types of footwear, and their modern rivals, one finds two specialised types used only in rainy weather:

ikabkaben, clogs, are made from single pieces of wood, flat, shaped to the foot, and carved so as to have two cross-props beneath, running at right angles to the axis of the foot, one beneath the ball of the foot and the other under the heel. These clogs are attached with straps made of dried bull's penis, after the same style as the attachment of the western or palmetto type of sandal. When used by women this attachment is thought unseemly, and a piece of cowhide is nailed across the front to serve as a toe.

mawus, stilts, are made of single pieces of wood, chosen so that a fork low down on the shaft will serve as a foot rest. They are worn in wet weather and in snow, and are used as playthings by the children in all weather. The stilts and clogs have an identical distribution: Beni Amart, Mountain Urriaghel, Temjunt, Ikhuanen, Iherrushen, and Inhanahan.

In addition to these types of footwear, a peculiar form of legwear, found in the west, may be mentioned. The women of the region of Sheshawen and of the Ghomara wear leather leggings made of stiff hide, tied around the calves and ankles with straps. (See plate 26.) These are worn to protect the legs from the brush, for women spend a great deal of time on the mountains cutting brush for charcoal, a task which in the Rif properly belongs to men. Curiously enough, women who wear these go barefoot. These leggings are found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama (formerly Taghzuth).

TATTOOING

304 582 Tattooing in the Rif is practiced upon women as a prerequisite for marriage, and, less frequently, for the same purpose upon men. When a girl is sure that she is to be married, that is, when all arrangements for her wedding have been made, her family calls in an old woman of the same *awar*, or sociological family, who is proficient in the art; if there is no such old woman available one is called in from outside. If the artist is related to the victim no fee is paid, otherwise a small sum is given her by the girl's parents.

304 The old woman collects lamp-black from the bottoms of cooking pots, and mixes this with juice squeezed from the leaves of broad-beans. She sets to work with a knife and needle, working both by pricking and incising the skin. She works fairly rapidly so that the wounds will all be healed on the final day of the wedding. It is considered shameful for

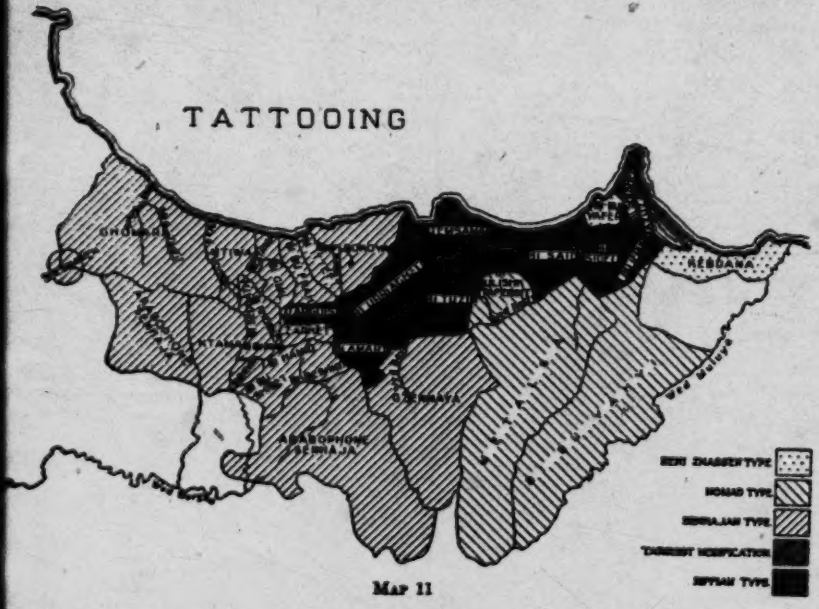
[1] Marmol (chap. 79) says that the Beni Bu Shibet wore these buskins.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304

a woman to go to her husband without having been tattooed, and it is likewise disgraceful for a young girl to be tattooed who is not about to be married.

On plate 29 are shown the various types of tattooing designs executed in the Rif. In numbers 1, 2, 4, and 6, the line running down from the median point of the lower lip reaches to the point of the chin, and in number 1 the two lines running obliquely from the corners of the mouth terminate on the line of the lower jawbone halfway between the gonial angles and the chin. In number 2 the line bisecting the forehead runs from trichion to glabella. In number 3 the central cross is made on the left side of the nose between the bridge and the wing, in the same position as that depicted in number 6, for men.



MAP 11

The distribution of these various types is as follows:

Type 1 (Senhajan). All Gzennaya but Iherrushen, all the Senhaja except Bi Mesduy; Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, and Mtiwa. It is also employed among those of the Ghomara who practice any tattooing at all, the occurrence of this trait there being sporadic and wholly voluntary.

Type 2. This is the central Riffian method, old style, practiced until within a generation ago. It was used in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrushen of Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said, Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, northern Beni Ulishk, and Galiya except Beni Bu Yafer.

Type 3. This is employed by the Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, southern Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, el Azib of Meidhar of Beni Tuzin, and (during recent years) part of Galiya.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CLOTHING 3

291
293
531

Taghauthi scrip

Jellaba embroidery, Temsaman

Embroidery on woman's shirt.
Beni Urriaghel

Old Riffian scrip

[facing p. 88]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 *Type 4.* This is called Zenatan, and is characteristic of the Beni Znassen. In the Rif it is employed in Kebdana and Beni Bu Yafer. It has likewise been used in Targuist in recent years as a partial imitation of the central Riffian technique. In Targuist its identity with the Zenatan type is purely a coincidence.

Type 5. The single cross on the left side of the nose is employed by men in the same area as that covered by the occurrence of Type 3 among women, but extends its distribution farther than the corresponding female decoration. It is found in Khebaba and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya, sometimes in Shawia of the same tribe, in Mazuza, Ait Shisher, and Kebdana. Throughout this area it is optional, except in Khebaba, where all the men use it.

Type 6. This is the modern rendering of Type 2, the modification being in the use of a cross instead of a hatched line on the forehead. Type 6 has come in during the present generation, totally displacing its predecessor, but losing ground in Galiya, where it is gradually being replaced by Type 3.

Where the tattooing on the face is of Type 1, 3, or 4, the rest of the body remains without permanent decoration; but where the facial tattooing is of Type 2 or 6, that is of central Riffian pattern, the body is likewise tattooed. Number 7 shows the design on the abdomen, thorax, and neck, number 8 on the legs, — a stripe up each side and a cross over the ankle, — and number 9 on the forearm. As a variant of number 9, and considered very stylish, are forked antennae coming off the corners of both the distal and proximal terminal bars. The tattooing on the neck reaches up to the chin, where it joins with the tattooing of the face in one continuous design reaching from the center of the lower lip almost to the navel. Care is taken in tattooing the upper of the two hatched single lines just below the breasts not to have the design encroach upon the actual skin of the breasts.

USE OF HENNA

302 Henna, that universal cosmetic stain, is used throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, as well as by all other peoples of Morocco. On each day of the wedding feast, the bride thrusts both hands and both feet up to the wrists and ankles into a bowl of stewed henna leaves. The groom similarly stains his hands, but not his feet. The Riffians make no geometric lines with this henna, as do the Arabs and Atlas Jews, but simply daub it on until the whole extremity is colored a consistent reddish-brown.

It is said that in the Rif henna was not used in former times, but that apple leaves and green walnut shells were employed in place of the henna leaves, which even today are entirely imported, the chief source of supply being the tribe of Dukkala, on the Atlantic seaboard of French Morocco.

[171] Although henna is today distributed throughout North Africa, the presence of this definite tradition would indicate that its diffusion into the Rif took place in fairly recent times, and that in the remoter sections its use was preceded by an imitative employment of other materials.

626 Another use of henna distinct from all ideas of beautification is as follows: when a man has shown himself cowardly in war, the women of the village seize him, rip off his shirt, and smear his back with the stain.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

USE OF KOHL

302
585

Kohl, called *thasutch*, is produced locally, and not imported. Pedlars and women find it in lumps in deposits. It is used in powdered form by women to brighten their eyes and darken the lids and lashes. Although the women apply it to their eyes whenever they wish to look particularly attractive, its use is, nevertheless, chiefly confined to and associated with weddings. Before the bride is brought to her husband's house she is treated to an application of kohl. Kohl is used by women, especially in weddings, in all tribes and regions under consideration with the following exceptions: Mountain Urriaghel, Ikhuanen except Tainest, Iherrushen except Telmest, Temjunt, and Beni Amart.

In certain regions kohl is likewise applied to the eyes of the groom, on the occasion of the final night of his wedding. This is done in the Senhaja, the Ghomara, Targuist, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Shawia.

Besides henna and kohl, rouge made of local products is used by women dancing at weddings. It is applied to the lips.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

KINSHIP GROUPS AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS

[594] 614 The smallest social grouping in the Rif is, of course, the biological family, consisting of father, mother, and offspring; but the importance of this fundamental group is often obscured by the large family group called *ouar* (plural *iouren*), or "vein." [1] The *vein* consists of a father, his wives, descendants, and descendants' wives, and his brothers, their wives, descendants, and descendants' wives. Since Riffian society is patrilineal and families are usually patronymic, daughters who have married into another *vein* become affiliated with [591] the group into which they have married, and offspring of these daughters are considered to belong to their fathers' *veins*. When the brothers composing the oldest generation in a *vein* die, it splits into as many *veins* as there were brothers. Thus the sons of each deceased brother become the brothers forming the elder stratum of the new *vein*. In this way during the course of generations a single union of a man and his wife may give rise to numerous related *veins*.

614 These related *veins* collectively take the name of *ighs* (plural *ikhsan*), or "bone." [2] The 621 *bone* is, however, something more important than a mere collection of related *veins*. In regions of sedentary life it generally takes the form of a village, or politically independent section of a village, and may include *veins* descended not only from the eponymous ancestor of the *bone* but also from strangers who have been adopted into the *bone*. The arrival of these strangers who become ancestors of spurious *veins* is due to the Riffian custom of selling property in order to pay fines or blood money assessed by the governing body. A man who has sold all his landed property and livestock in order to meet such an obligation feels ashamed to remain in his own village and often fears reprisal for his offence, and migrates, generally swiftly and secretly, to some other part of the Rif. When he has arrived at a sufficiently distant village, he hires himself out to a landowner in that village, or, if he seems to be a valuable potential adjunct to the village's military forces, is given land by popular subscription. He thus becomes a member of the *bone* into which his ill-fortune has thrust him, and is expected to marry into this *bone*, generally taking as wife a daughter of the man who first employed and sheltered him, if that man happens to have a daughter available. The newcomer and his wife become the forebears of a new *vein* in the *bone*, and this new *vein* may in turn split time after time until the *bone* contains a large number of alien *veins*. The *veins* descended from strangers exist under the disadvantage that they are not allowed any part in the government,[3] but are at the same time expected to contribute

[1] "Vein" is the literal translation of this word. I have discovered no sociological term in the English language exactly comparable to it, and hence have decided that to translate it literally, and to render this translation consistently throughout, will be less confusing to the reader than to leave it in its Berber form. In describing a highly complex social organization such as is found in the Rif clarity is of greater importance than philological exactitude.

[2] "Bone" is the literal translation, and has been retained through lack of any exact equivalent, although either "sib" or "gens" might be loosely applied. The endogamic character of the bone is not implied in either of these terms.

[3] Wherever the Riffian type of government is found, this is true. Under the Arab system the stranger restriction naturally cannot apply.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

their full share to any martial activity in which the *bone* participates; regarding this lack of balance as unfair, members of alien *veins* split off from the parent *bone* whenever possible, forming new *bones* with their own local government, and, in the course of time, with equal consideration in the larger governmental institutions. The new *bone* thus created may take as its name that of the wife of the adopted alien ancestor, since it was his wife and not he who belonged to the original indigenous strain. In that way one may explain many of the matronymic *bones* which occur frequently in the Rif.

Splitting of one *bone* into several may occur, however, without the necessity of alien immigration. If the *bone* becomes too large to be conveniently administered, if discord arises between two or more parties of *veins*, or if some of the *veins* migrate, voluntarily or through pressure, to a new locality, the *bone* splits up.

Sometimes a *vein* divides, some of the brothers staying at home and others migrating. In this case the original *vein* may never expand sufficiently to take on the status of a *bone*, whereas the brothers who migrated may have had numerous progeny and have become, in a relatively short time, the ancestors of separate *bones*. An example of this is the family of *Oshannen*, or jackals, a *vein* of the *bone* of Tiddest in Ikhuanen of Gzennaya. Two members of the Oshannen migrated, one going to Temsaman and the other to Beni Said. Now, the Oshannen of Temsaman and the Oshannen of Beni Said are not only separate *bones* in these tribes, but have furthermore risen to the highest administrative authority in them. The Kaid Bu Kaddur of Temsaman and the Kaid Moh Amar n Woshun of Beni Said are both descendants of the original migrants from the *vein* of Oshannen of Tiddest.

A different situation is found in the tribes of Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Galiya, Kebdana, and, to a slight extent, Beni Said. Among these tribes are found both *veins* and *bones* composed of strangers called *igharbiyen*, reputed to be of Arab origin. The Igharbiyen are allowed an equal part in the government, and are in no way discriminated against as are members of alien Riffian *veins* among the *bones* of the central Rif. In Beni Said, however, an exception to this is found. The Igharbiyen among the Beni Said are few in number, and are subject not only to the restriction against alien *veins* which is found in the central Rif, but also to that against their *bones*, which are not allowed a part in higher councils.

Families of Zenatan origin in Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, are subject to no discrimination whatever. The single families of Zenata in Gzennaya, Temsaman, and Beni Bu Ifrur are given the standing of *bones*.

Although one finds in the Rif numerous *bones* of immigrant groups, both Igharbiyen and Zenata, no trace of any moiety organization is visible, even among the Beni Tuzin, whose very name, *Asht Uzin*, means, in their own language, "the children of the half." [1]

Next after the *bone*, which is a true family group and is dependent upon kinship and adoption, comes the division known as *arrba'* (plural *roboa'*), derived from the Arabic word meaning "a fourth." In the present volume it will be called "canton." [2] The *canton* is a group of *bones* which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical

[1] See p. 36, n. 7.

[2] Here again is a term with no ready equivalent. I have avoided "fourth," the literal translation, because such a designation would imply that it is greater than the *fifth*, when the opposite is true. Furthermore, there is no extant valid reason for the name *fourth* in Berberized Arabic. "Canton" seems to express the idea of geographical and political unity without an implication of kinship, and hence is applied to the present social phenomenon.

For comment on this, see the 111 slip. - Analyst

1: Coon E.-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 28

FOOTWEAR

291

Cross-strap sandal, made of halfa. Galiya

Toe-strap sandal, normally made of palmetto fiber. (This particular specimen was made of American marsh-grass by a Riffian)

[facing p. 92]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhamsith* (plural *thikhamsin*), or "fifth,"[1] so called because each *thakhamsith* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood, although many *bones* in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and hence in war.

Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabilch*, a word derived from the Arabic *kabila*.[2] In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term *thakabilch* being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are Galiya, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gsennaya. Those of Galiya are Masuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Sidel. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gsennaya are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imsdurar, and Asht Aru u Aissa. In naming these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or Arab as the case may be. In Temsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and Hathith n Temsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two *bones* each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Oshannen, and Amsauru and Tisi Assa. They are given this special standing because Temsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single *fifth*, and because these *bones* are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes between which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take wives from other *bones*. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immigrant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gsennaya, Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imazilen* (singular *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"[3] who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing, piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

[1] The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arba'*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

[2] Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

[3] The chief quality of this class which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565
563
463

is as a rule extremely modest, and considers it degrading to expose himself to the public eye in any but a governmental way, it is only natural that he should look down upon a social class which practices trades that he himself would be ashamed to undertake, despite the fact that these trades might require greater intelligence and skill than his own manner of living.

Blacksmiths are traditionally an invading, or one should perhaps rather say infiltering, group, concentrated today in the east and west, and sparsely settled in the central tribes.

MAP 12

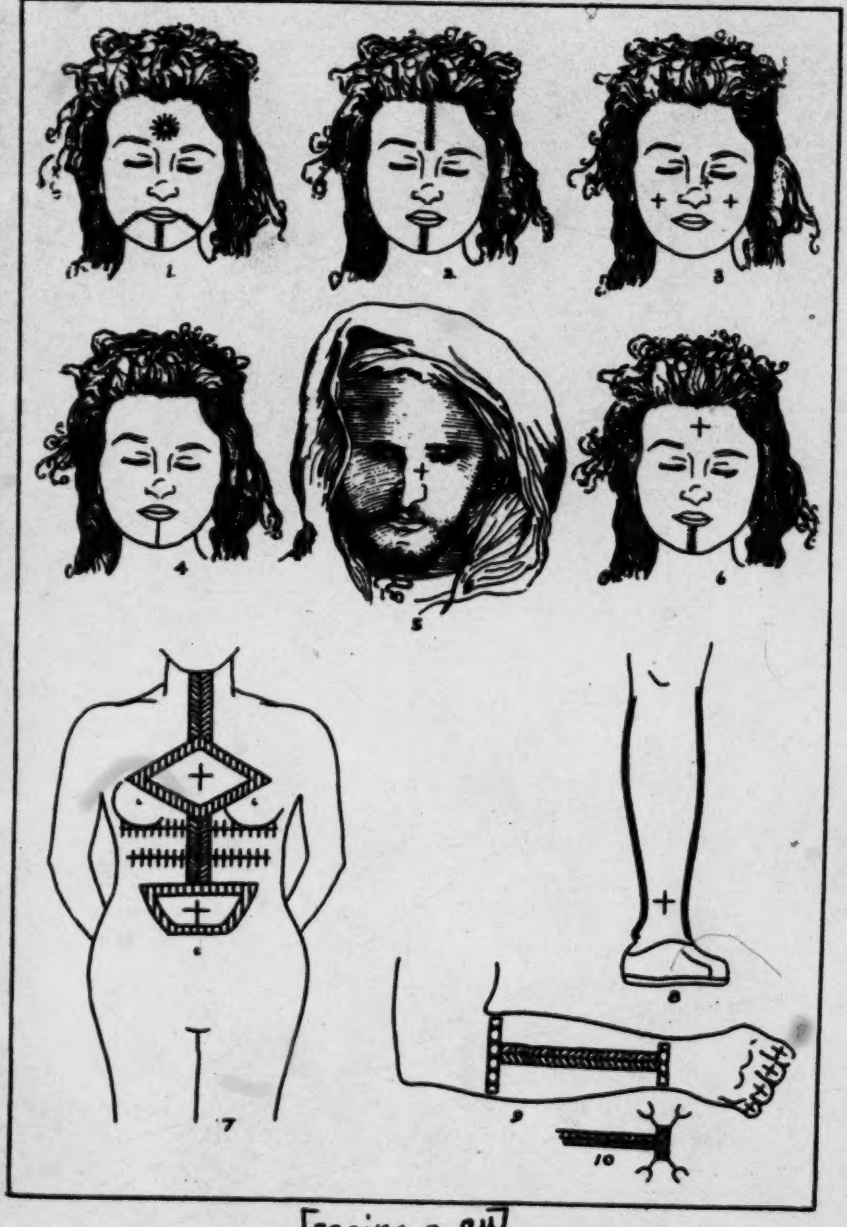
The chief centers of blacksmith families are Azgangen in Beni Bu Ifrur, Imasinen in Mazuza, Mauru in Beni Said, Anual in Beni Ulishk, Tafersit town, Tisera n Jkhatha and Bu Hfora of Beni Turin, Khebaba, on the eastern edge of Gzennaya, Tarosht in Iherrushen of Gzennaya, Beni Msita and Ijaonen of Beni Amart, el Malimin of Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Snada of Beni Bu Frah, Garmaleth of Zarket, Tamadith of Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Berber, Aghbal of Beni Bu Shibet, and Tezarin, on the border between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir.

Only four centers were attributed to the tribes of Gzennaya and Beni Amart (two to each), and none to Beni Urriaghel. The smiths of Khebaba, makers of the famous Khebaba knives, and of Tarosht have been in the country so long that no one remembers whence they came. They are thought to antedate entirely the smiths who live in the regions to the east and west of them. The smiths of Beni Msita and Ijaonen, belonging to one family

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

TATTOOING DESIGNS

304
582



[facing p. 94]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak
563 Arabic domestically, employing *thamazighth* only with outsiders. They are at present con-
463 sidered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gaennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fes from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and shoe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

565 At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering.
563 Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting,
463 the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-
554 building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not
782 be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the *sein*, or of the schoolmaster of the *bone*, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

565 Pipers,[1] or *imṯhiyasen* (singular *amṯhiyas*), play upon the *zammar*, a reed instrument
463 consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending
534 in the horns of the aoudad. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfora and Meidhar of Beni Tuzin, Ighza Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Nador, Asgangen, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area
565 covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2
463 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings[2] their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers[3] and **Weighers**, *iberraḥen* (singular *aberraḥ*) and *ishepairen* (singular *ashepair*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

[1] So translated here because of their profession.

[2] See below, p. 128 *seq.*

[3] The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 463 from the villages of Ifergugen and Ibettoyen of the Beni Tuzin. They wander all over the Rif, establishing themselves temporarily near markets, in which they perform their duties. There is one of each profession settled within convenient distance of each circle of markets in each tribe or group of tribes. Being strictly endogamous, they send home to Ifergugen and Ibettoyen for their women; they cannot even intermarry with other Shameless Ones.

554 Although agriculture is considered the most dignified and worthy of occupations, skilled trades such as those of carpenter, weaver (where weaving is done by men), gunsmith, powder-maker, and professional mason are not despised. A man plying one of these trades does not ostracize his family by so doing, or prevent his daughters from marrying into good families. Such trades are not hereditary as are the occupations of the despised castes.

563 The social position of the Jews is not comparable to that of any other group living in the Rif. The Jews, while living in the places settled by them, such as Galiya and Beni Bu Frah, form distinct colonies which in the past were not often molested. Jews going into other regions could formerly do so only under the protection of some important man in that place. The patron of the Jew considered the Jew as his bondsman or slave, while the Jew regarded the contract as merely a commercial one. The Jew was allowed to work at some trade, but must turn his receipts in to his patron, who gave him his food and lodging and a certain amount of money besides. The patron was held responsible for the Jew's safety and protected him against aggressors. Even under this type of contract Jews were able to enter only such marginal regions as Jebarna of Gzennaya, Ajdir, and, under the aegis of the Ikhemrijen, Targuist. They would not venture, in recent times at least, into the mountains of southern Beni Urriaghel, into northern Gzennaya, or into Beni Amart. For one to do so would have resulted in his death. The Riffians, in common with other Mohammedans, consider it a desecration of gunpowder to shoot Jews, killing them only with stones and knives. Since the Spanish and French occupations the rôle of the Jew has of course changed. He is at present allowed to go to markets to trade, and is not ordinarily molested.

567 Negro slaves are so rare in the Rif that it can almost be said that Riffians do not recognize the existence of slavery. The Ikhemrijen of Targuist have several, and one is owned in Ajdir. There may be others, but I have not seen or heard of them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT AND WARFARE

REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS

623 Riffian government is a highly complex system based on the principles of superimposed representative councils. The smallest and least important of these is the *ashi arbain n dchar*, or village council,[1] which concerns itself with the affairs of its own *bone* only. The second is the *ashi arbain imkaranen*, or council of the great,[2] which has charge of the administration of the *canton*. Each member of the latter council is called by the title *amghar* (plural *imgharen*), or "Councillor"; these councillors go as units to the tribal council,[3] called *ayarau* (plural *iyarawen*).

The village council, or council of the *bone*, is composed of two or three boys from each *vein* which claims patrilineal descent from the common founder of the *bone*. *Veins* descended from incoming or adopted strangers are not allowed to be thus represented. The boys are chosen by the members of the council of the great, supposedly by virtue of their superior intelligence and promise of future ability. The element of personal favoritism naturally enters into the choice in many cases. These boys meet together in the village mosque, elect a *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*), or "moderator,"[4] and judge cases of minor misdemeanor brought before them. Although the cases given them are unimportant, their authority is real and their elders see that their decrees are enforced.

The membership of the council of the great is indeterminate in number, but seldom exceeds three or four from each prominent *bone* of long residence in the *canton*. There are two kinds of *bones* which do not send members to this council, those of long standing which are poor and of little military worth, and those formed by the cleavage of *veins* sired by outsiders. When a *bone* of alien origin is new and the memory of this origin is fresh in the minds of all, it cannot participate in the government of the *canton*, but after a number of generations, when such memories have become dim and the *bone* has come to be considered indigenous, it may be allowed to send its councillors with the others. The selection of councillors to be sent from each *bone* is made by the old men who frequent the common mosque of the *canton*. These men are too decrepit to serve, but all of them at one time during their younger years were councillors. Thus the councillors perpetuate themselves: when they are too old to be of active use in the council they dictate who shall succeed them. This being the case, it is only natural that the succession should become to a certain extent hereditary. An ex-councillor is likely to name one of his sons to take the office he formerly held, or if he has no son competent for the task he nominates a nephew, brother, or grand-

[1] This means literally "The sons of the forty of the village." Where the idea of the number forty comes from is a difficult question. It recurs time and again in Berber lore as a conventional number.

[2] The literal meaning is "the great sons of the forty."

[3] This term will also be used to signify the place in which the council is held.

[4] This Arabic word, which is applied to a number of different types of officials, both civil and religious, may in this case be translated as either "moderator" or "spokesman." In the *Village Council* only the former term applies, but in the *Council of the Great* either may be used.

1 [For comment on this, see the 111 slip. – Analyst]

[p. 96]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

son. In this way certain *seins* within each *bone* manage to control the seats of that *bone* within the council of the great, but if a man of great ability arises in a *sein* of eligible standing which has not previously sent a representative, the old men may be forced by expediency to send him rather than a member of their own *sein*, who may be of mediocre ability. Sometimes, however, a councillor is chosen who is exceptionally stupid and incapable of expressing himself well in deliberations. Such a councillor is chosen for his physical strength and fighting ability, since deliberations of these bodies often end in pitched battles; two or three intelligent men may be enough to bear the brunt of the mental labor involved, and the others can serve as valuable henchmen in a crisis.[1]

The council of the great meets in the common mosque of the *canton*, under the olive trees by a stream, in the house of one of its members, in market (see plate 30), or wherever it pleases the members to convene. The councillors elect a *mokaddem* as moderator and spokesman.

The councillors of each *canton* in the tribe go together, in time of crisis, to a place agreed upon, called the *ayarau* (which means also "tribal council"). This meeting place has no fixed locality, but depends upon mutual convenience. The councillors enter by groups and sit down on the ground huddled together, the various groups forming a circle. Each *fifth* occupies a section of the circle and its councils of *cantons* are contiguous. The moderator of each council talks, generally in a whisper, to its members, until a common attitude in regard to the subject of the meeting is agreed upon. The moderator now having, as it were, received the instructions of his constituency, approaches the center of the circle, where he squats down with the other moderators in a nuclear circle. The councillors left on the outer ring finger their rifles and generally express their readiness to defend their spokesman in case he enters into a violent argument; the moderators likewise hold their gun butts against the ground with their fingers clasping the trigger guard. They discuss the matter at hand, all talking at once or whenever they please, since there is no chief moderator at this meeting, and for one member to bid another be silent would be considered ample excuse for murder. The moderators of a *fifth* usually agree within themselves, and the argument soon devolves into consideration of how many *fifths* favor one opinion and how many the other. A moderator of one *fifth* may lead aside an influential moderator of another and whisper to him outside the ring of councillors, trying to win him over to his way of thinking by arguments and promises of bribery. If the moderator so entreated succumbs to this persuasion he returns to the central ring and tries to change the attitude of the other representatives of his *fifth*. In this way the parley goes on and on until an unanimous decision is reached or until the councillors begin fighting between themselves and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In the latter case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay an indemnity to the other. Even when the tribal council ends peacefully it often takes a week or more before an agreement is reached.

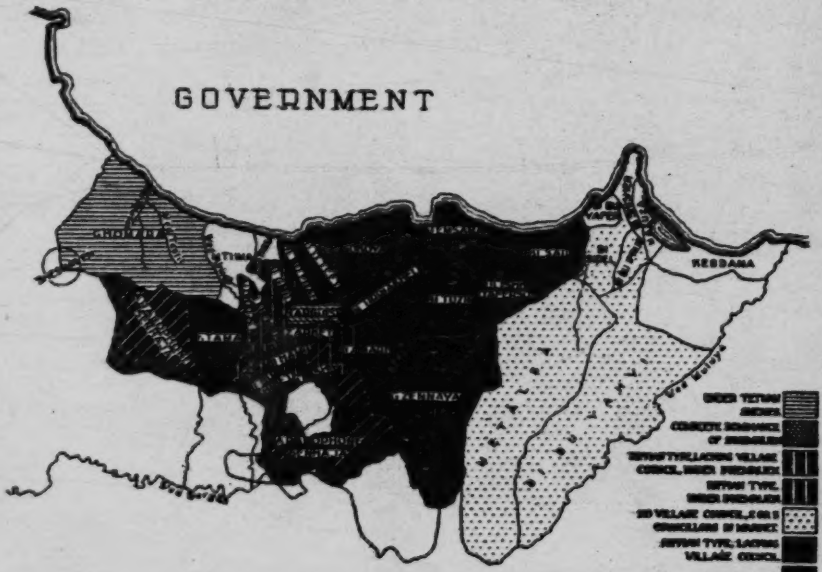
We thus see that the deliberative bodies in Riffian government are really composed of but two sets of members, the village council composed of adolescents who handle the small

[1] During the combats with Spain in the last three decades, certain councillors have arisen from time to time who have acted as virtual dictators. Among these were Moh Azerkan of the Beni Urriaghel, Hajj Bukkaish of the Gzennaya, and, more widely known than the others, Abd el Krim. The rise of such dictators is psychologically un-Riffian; in these cases it was brought about by too late a realization of the necessity of union against a common foe.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 646 affairs of the *bone* and the council of the great, composed of councillors who concern themselves with the problems of the *canton* and go together to take part in the tribal council in which the function of the *fifth* is to divide the councillors into preliminary alliances.

The type of government just described is limited to the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Temsaman, Beni Tusin, Gsennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, most of Beni Amart (exclusive of the region immediately contiguous with Zarket and Beni Mesduy), and, curiously enough, the Senhajan tribe of Ktama.



MAP 12

619 642 The following tribes or parts of tribes have the same sort of government, except that the village council is lacking, the minor duties accomplished by it in other regions being neglected or else taken over by the council of the great: the Asht Dris of Metalsa; Marnissa, Tenassa, Ulad Azam, Beni Kora, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Zrarka, Beni Krama, and Beni Wenjin, from the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; and all the Western Arabophone Senhaja.

In Targuist is the center of the temporal authority of the marabutic family of Ikhemrijen, who have absolute political control of that tribe, as well as of the northwesterly portion of Beni Mesduy; in Zarket, in the rest of Beni Mesduy, which counts with it, in Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Beni Berber, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khemmus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Gmil, the same type of government as that described in the previous paragraph obtains except that the Ikhemrijen dictate to the councils what they shall do, and in fact keep the moderators of these bodies practically in vassalage. In these tribes

1: Coon E[illegible] (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

the Ikhemrijen forbid warfare and alliances, with a result that, as a natural outlet for bellicose exuberance, brigandage is rife. 619 642

In the northwestern part of Beni Amart, in the *cantos* of Ijaonen, the power of the Ikhemrijen prevents warfare and alliance; otherwise the government is purely Riffian in type.

In the Ghomara the Arab system of government is employed, with the customary alignment of ḳaids (leaders of tribes), khalifas (leaders of *fifths*), and sheikhs (leaders of *cantons*), excepting that all these officers are under the jurisdiction of a marabutic family of Tetuan.

Metalsa, except Asht Dris, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, employ a hybrid form of government in which there is no village council and the council of the great consists only of two or three men who meet in the market to administer justice for the region near it.

Mtiwa, Mestassa, Beni Bu Yafer, Ait Shisher, Mauza, Kebdana, Musiet, Rgheiwa, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Beni Ulid, Branes, and Burda had fallen completely under the Arab system before the time when Abd el Krim attempted to remodel the government. In the eastern section and in Mtiwa and Mestassa the ḳaid was euphemistically called by the Berber term *amghar* (councillor), and in the Senhajan tribes mentioned the sheikh was called *kubir el jama*, or "great one of the congregation."

DUTIES OF THE VILLAGE COUNCIL

The cases tried by this body and the matters it is required to regulate are as follows (the fines listed are only approximate): 623 692 685

Theft of eggs and of poultry. The thief must pay a fine of thirty dollars. If the culprit is a child, his father appears and pays it.

Theft of maize. Boys who steal early ripening maize are collectively fined five dollars. The injured farmer has the right to pick ripened ears from the terraces of the thieves' parents to the number which he has lost.

Cutting maize in adjoining terraces. Sometimes maize growing in adjoining terraces, owned by different men, ripens at different times. The owner of the later ripening maize may wish to prevent the owner of the other field from cutting his crop until both are ready, through fear that his own maize may be trampled in the process. This situation arises when it is necessary to enter one terrace by passing through the other. In this case the village council enjoins the owner of the early maize to wait until the other is ready.

Breaking branches of fruit trees. If goats or children break branches from a fruit tree, the owner of the tree brings the branch or branches to the mosque, where the village council counts the number of buds on the branch or branches. A *girch* (about five cents) is charged for each bud, the recompense to be paid the owner of the tree, and in addition a fine of twenty dollars must be paid.

Trampling vegetable gardens. This offense is punished by a fine of one to two dollars, with no restitution.

Policing orchards. During the harvest season the members of this body police the orchards of the *bons* during the night to prevent thefts.

Starting the grape picking. The village council, which has charge of allotting poor families to rich ones for the grape picking, exacts a fine of twenty dollars from anyone guilty of picking grapes before the signal is given.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rlf MX3

623 692 685 *Picking windfall olives.* Similarly, the head of each family must pay a quarter of a dollar for each member of his family who starts picking up windfalls before the signal is given.

Theft of olives. The outright theft of olives is punished by a fine of ten dollars.

Trespassing in order to pick grass. If a man catches a woman picking or cutting grass for her cow on his land, he may report her, and her husband will be fined one dollar. But to make such a report is considered mean and few are willing to do so.

Stray goats and cattle in the cemetery. When goats or cattle, either with or without the intention of their guardian, enter a cemetery, their owner is fined a quarter of a dollar for each goat, and a dollar for each bull or cow which entered.

[689] *Repair of irrigation ditches.* If any farmer fails to send a man or men to work on a ditch, when he is required to do so, he is fined between two and three dollars per day per man.

Taking water illegally from irrigation ditches. This is considered a serious offense, and although it incurs but a five dollar fine, it always breeds bad feelings and often incites to murder.

[782] 623 692 688 *Regulating attendance at prayer.* To explain this function it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of religion. Each *bone* in the *canton* is required to send twenty-five men once a week to the common mosque of the *canton* to pray. The village council of each *bone* lists the names of all married men in the *bone*: a day is set for each *bone* to attend the mosque, and the *bone* keeps that day permanently. The first week the first twenty-five men on the list must go, the second week the second twenty-five, and so on until the list has been exhausted, when the procedure starts all over again. If the number of married men in the *bone* is not evenly divisible by twenty-five, those forming the remainder at the foot of the list are supplemented by enough at the head of it to fill the number, and the rotation starts anew. It is the task of the village council in whose territory the cantonal mosque is situated to see that twenty-five men appear from each *bone* on the allotted day. If a *bone* is so small that it does not contain twenty-five, it is combined with another *bone* for this purpose.

If the members of the village council of the mosque territory find that a quota is not full on a certain day, they fine the man who has defaulted five dollars. If this is not paid promptly the council of the great steps in and fines the guilty *bone* between two and three hundred dollars. If a man is away on a journey his name is temporarily stricken from the list and the following names are moved up one place; if he is ill or for some other reason unable to go, he is allowed to send a substitute. If a man falls ill on the way, becomes wounded, or is otherwise prevented from reaching the mosque when it is too late to obtain a substitute, his absence is excused.

The fines thus extracted, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the mosque, formerly consisted of walnuts, almonds, figs, or raisins. Later, when sugar was first imported, two sugar cones were assessed. Later still the money fine was introduced.

623 681 651 692 *Providing for exiles from other* fifths. When a man has been exiled by the tribal council for a year, two years, or more, he must pass to a different *fifth*, preferably to a *bone* in which he has friends. The village council of the *bone* collects an assessed portion of the crops of every farmer and gives it to him. This it does for the first year only. If he remains more than a year he must work as a share-laborer for a farmer and earn his living. If a farmer refuses to give his assessed portion it is taken by force, and twofold. Such refusals are, however, almost unknown.

1: Coon E-5 · (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rlf MX3

Entertaining councillors of another tribe. If the councillors of a strange tribe stop at a village for the night, the local village council has charge of their entertainment. They first provide a house for the guests by expelling some childless man and his wife from their dwelling for the night. They then collect foodstuffs. Bread and all fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, and vegetables, are assessed from rich men without payment. Meat, sugar, tea, candles, oil, pepper, butter, and poultry are purchased from members of the *bone* willing to sell them. The boys of the council buy the poultry from widows, and eggs as well, if no one brings them voluntarily. Anyone refusing to supply the bread assessed him may be fined ten *soldi* a loaf; but since no one has ever been known to refuse, the fine is purely theoretical. If in buying those articles not given, the members of the council spend more money than they have in the fine treasury, they pay the excess amount themselves, later collecting it in equal portions from all the men of the *bone* who have been married one year or over. They themselves act as cooks for the visiting councillors.

Entering council chamber unbidden. If any member of the *bone* enters the council chamber while the council is deliberating, the intruder is told to remain and is given tea. When at length he departs, a member of the council is immediately sent out to call him back. This time he is reprimanded for having entered unbidden, and is fined between two and three dollars.

Conversing with women. If a man or boy speaks to a married woman belonging to a *bone* other than his own, on the path or in any other public place, except the market, the village council of the village to which the woman belongs summons the offender and fines him five dollars. If the offender repeatedly seeks out the woman, or loiters about places she is known to frequent in order to converse with her, the village council of the offender's own *bone* fines him between fifty and sixty dollars. If the offense takes place in market it is considered more serious, and comes before the council of the great.[1] These rules do not apply to unmarried women, who may be spoken to, in a respectful manner, by anyone.

Quarrels between women. When one woman injures another with a stone, stick, or other implement, the village council collects a fine of from five to six dollars from the husband of the aggressor. The council generally hears of such cases through gossip, since the husband of the injured woman is usually too ashamed to report it.

Entering a cemetery occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a cemetery when the women of the *bone* are convening there on a Friday or holiday, he is fined five dollars.

Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a saint's tomb in which women are convening, the village council fines him from fifty to a hundred dollars.

Fighting with the hands. If two men fight with their hands, without using any weapon, the village council determines which man started the fight and fines him an amount commensurate with the injury done.

Speaking to an enemy. If a man is caught conversing with a member of a hostile *bone*, at a time when war is either in progress or imminent, the village council of his own *bone* fines him fifty dollars.

In the tribes and territories where there is no village council, the rendering of justice in small affairs which is the work of this body is not performed. For example, one man may cut down another's tree or take his grass without any fine or other official reckoning; he can likewise speak to a woman of another *bone*; but if he does these things he incurs the wrath

[1] See below, p. 102.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

627 of the men affected, and may thus start a feud which will end in killings, after which it becomes the concern of the councillors to render justice.

In regions where the Arab form of government has supplanted the indigenous type, such affairs are decided by the sheikh.

DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT

623 This council, which is the governing body of the *canton*, does not convene as often as the village council, but comes together only in market and when some occasion demands it, its moderator then sending for the members. In *cantons* which have no markets, the council of the great has no regular meetings.

Supporting the village council. If anyone who has been fined by the village council refuses to pay it, that body sends a messenger to the moderator of the council of the great. The moderator sends for the members, who come armed to a place previously agreed upon and proceed in a body to the house of the offender. There they assess upon a him fine several times that originally imposed, amounting usually to between fifty and two hundred dollars, depending on the offense.

623 692 685 *Theft of livestock.* A man who has stolen sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules, or horses is summoned before the councillors and fined between a hundred and two hundred dollars, besides being forced to restore to his victim the animals stolen, in cash or in kind. The theft of camels does not incur jurisdiction because of the lawless condition of the nomads who own them. Such a theft simply results in a fight.

683 *Fighting with sticks.* The councillors decide which of the parties is at fault and fine him fifty dollars. If the *bone* of the injured man is a strong one, the councillors force the culprit to bring a goat, bread, tea, and sugar and go with them to the house of the injured man to present him with a feast. Such a feast, provided by visitors to the house, is a strong act of compulsive magic and cannot be disregarded. The recipient of such a favor must grant any request made and cease enmity against the giver. If the *bone* of the injured man is weak, no precaution of this nature is necessary.

683 *Shooting at a man but missing him.* He who shoots at another without hitting him must pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the councillors.

689 *Speaking to women in market.* This offense is considered greater than that of speaking to women in any other place. It is settled by the councillors of the *canton* in whose territory the market is held, and is punished by a hundred dollar fine.

Entering a women's market. For a man to enter a market which is restricted to women is an offense as serious as that of speaking to a woman in a common market, if not more so. It is punished by a fine of a hundred dollars, paid to the councillors.

623 692 684 *Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act.* If a husband hears that his wife has been unfaithful, but did not actually witness such an event, he is not allowed to kill the suspected man without incurring the penalty for ordinary murder. He has the privilege of bringing the matter before the councillors, who fine the suspect, if they are reasonably sure of his guilt, between a hundred and two hundred dollars. They forcibly divorce the woman from her husband, and forbid her to remarry him or any other man. Women so divorced return to their parents to live. Such a woman often becomes a prostitute, plying her trade with the greatest secrecy possible. If she is caught doing this, the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

man with whom she is involved is punished just as was the first convicted offender. If she has been publicly exposed several times as a prostitute, the men of her *bone* kidnap her, carry her into the mountains, and there kill her and hide her body. No notice is taken of her absence, and if the councillors hear about the affair they pretend not to have done so.

If a woman catches her husband in the act of adultery with another woman, she ordinarily goes back to her own people and tells them of it. The men of her family, her father, brothers, or paternal uncle, may bring the matter up before the councillors and have the husband fined and divorced. In many cases, however, the men of her *vein* persuade the woman to do nothing about it, thinking that to make a commotion would only cause the disruption of the *bone*. In case the woman has married outside her *bone*, whether or not action takes place depends largely upon the respect which her own *bone* has for that of her husband. In any case, the sacramental defilement of the man is not considered as great as that of the woman in the opposite situation.

Blood money. Although murders, woundings, and adultery caught in the act are offenses beyond the jurisdiction of the council of the great and are relegated to the tribal council, one consequence of them falls directly upon the councillors. This is the assessment and collection of the *diith*, or blood money. Whereas the tribal council has the right to impose the fine, the council of the great has charge of compensation to the injured family. This takes place after the tribal council has finished its judgment and punishment. Murder is atoned for by the payment of a sum between one and five hundred dollars. The amount varies from *canton* to *canton*, but within a *canton* is constant and inflexible. Wounds are paid for at the rate of twenty-five dollars a month for each month of convalescence, until the injured man is able to work again.

The man who committed the crime pays, if he is able. If he is unable to raise the money by selling his property, the *bone* pays. In some *bones* the group as a whole always pays, whether the guilty one is able to raise the money or not; in others a man other than the guilty one pays, with the understanding that he is to receive the total of the next blood-money payment to his *bone*.

In the *bones* which pay individually, receipts are given to the children of the deceased, and if he left no children, to his father. Children receive the money on the basis that one boy is equal to two girls. If the deceased leaves neither children nor father, it is divided among the members of the *bone*. Many *bones* refuse altogether to receive blood money, preferring to take it out in blood by killing a member of the hostile *bone*, in which case, after the punishment of the tribal council is finished, the account is considered by the councillors as settled. Frequently the injured *bone* accepts the blood money, then suffers a revulsion of feeling and takes blood vengeance in addition, in which case it is required to return the payment.

Murders within the *bone* rarely occur, and are considered unnatural crimes. No blood money is assessed, because such an offender is instantly killed by his own people if he is unable to escape. A man fleeing such a crime will not be harbored by any Riffian, and must continue until he has left the Rif altogether. Even in this case he must take care to go to some place to which Riffians do not ordinarily travel, lest revenge overtake him later.

Attending weddings outside the canton. Another duty of the council of the great, this time of a bloodless nature, is to attend weddings of other councillors or their sons in other *cantons* or *fifths*. This is done in order to foster friendly relations between the two groups.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 The councillors go in a body, taking with them twenty or more girls adept at singing and dancing, hired musicians, a bull or cow, two or three mules laden with bread, and quantities of tea, sugar, and candles. The cost of the presents and the fees of the musicians are paid out of money collected in fines.

DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 692 The task of the tribal council is to render judgment, exact fines, and destroy property in cases of adultery caught in the act, murder, and woundings; to make decisions as to tribal alliances in warfare; and to interfere with internal fights in other tribes.

Adultery caught in the act. A husband who surprises his wife in the act of adultery has 684 the traditional privilege of killing the man, removing his genitals and placing them in the mouth of his corpse, killing his wife, and ripping her from pubis to diaphragm with a knife. 837 This action is a privilege and not a duty. Many husbands are physically unable to do so; others are disinclined; still others mutilate their wives by cutting off the fleshy parts of their noses and let them go. One instance is known in Gsennaya of a man who thrust live coals into his wife's vagina and then released her. In at least half the cases, recently at any rate, no revenge is taken on the woman, her divorce and disgrace being considered ample punishment.

646 684 692 When the members of the tribal council hear of this event, they leave whatever they are doing and go as rapidly as possible to the adulterer's house. This they burn; they impose a fine of one thousand dollars or thereabouts, depending on the usage of the tribe, and on the importance of the *bone*. The fine is accepted either in cash, livestock, land, or in all three. When land and livestock are taken they are sold on the spot, not by bidding but by arbitrary prices fair to the victim, placed on each animal or portion of land. If the proceeds of the sale exceed the amount of the fine, the balance is returned to the *bone* of the adulterer. If the adulterer and the adulteress belong to different *bones* the burden of the fine is shared between the *bones*. If the adulterer has survived the vengeance of the injured man he must leave the tribe forever. Women who survive go back to their families, forcibly divorced T586 and forbidden to marry again.

684 After the cash of the fine is in hand, it is divided among the *fifths*, each receiving an equal share, to be divided evenly among each *canton* composing the *fifth*. Thus the *canton* of the offenders receives back a portion of the money which some of its members have paid. It often refuses to accept this, in which case the money goes to the actual payers. *Cantons* friendly with that of the adulterer may likewise refuse to accept, and their money too is returned.

646 692 683 *Wounding.* When one man wounds another, the tribal council comes to the offender's house and exacts a fine of five hundred dollars after questioning the councillor or councillors belonging to the offending *bone*. The fine is always paid by the *bone* as a whole, whether the blood money is or not.

646 692 683 621 *Murder.* When one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If the man and his *bone* refuse to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which has refused has no allies, it seldom wins,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

but there are few *bones* without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The *bone* which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it de[illegible]es.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another *fifth*, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses being caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council.

A *bone* may thus be expelled from a tribe, permanently or temporarily. A *bone* which is continually making trouble and causing feuds may be the subject of a special meeting of the tribal council, which decides to exile it from the tribe either permanently or for a given number of years. Killing people on Mohammedan feast days or during the month of Ramadan is one of the strongest reasons for the expulsion of a *bone*.

This habit of exiling *bones* has been going on for so long that there are today numerous colonies of exiled Riffians living outside the Rif. Such are colonies of Beni Urriaghel in Oran and in Tangier; of Beni Amart in Ain Leuh, on the Wergha; of Beni Amart and Beni Hadifa at Armeila, on Wed Teberis; of Beni Tuzin at Zerhoun; of Temjunt of Gzennaya in Ain Mediuna (Beni Gzin); of Beni Yunes of Gzennaya at el Kob, in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Ulid; and the Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iherrushen of Gzennaya at el Mta outside of Fez. Most of these exiles could now go back if they so wished, but they have been away for so long, in many cases for generations, that they no longer have any desire to return.

Sometimes a murder spreads into a feud and from a feud into a war so rapidly that before a tribal council can come together to deliberate the councillors find themselves fighting on one side or another, in a tribal war.

Murder often leads to immediate revenge, and immediate revenge to a feud between *bones*. The feud may be a bitter one, in fact a pitched battle, in which may join other *bones* allied of old to one or other of the principal combatants. Most allies, however, are made anew on the occasion of each war. An alliance is called *liff*; it belongs more properly under the heading of magic than under that of political organization, but must be discussed at this point if the complexities of Riffian warfare are to be understood.

A *liff* is a shame-compulsion laid by one *bone* on another, a magical act which forces the second *bone* into alliance with, or at least toleration of, the other. By making *liff* with a number of other *bones*, a *bone* may increase its fighting force many times, and by both sides industriously making *liff* with others, a general war starts, in which there may not remain enough of the tribal council to make its convening worth while.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rlf MX3

721 A tribal war seldom has time, however, to work itself out to its own conclusion, since other tribes in the neighborhood soon see that to take an active interest in the affair will be to their advantage.

INTER-TRIBAL WARFARE

721 If a lively internal war has brokcn out in the tribe as a result of the refusal to pay a fine
727 imposed by the tribal council, or through a series of reciprocal murders and resultant alliances, made before the tribal council could intervene, the surrounding tribes call together their tribal councils which go to the territory of the warring tribe and meet as a great council of tribes in the middle of it, in a village, or in the open country. They summon the tribal council of the warring tribe to answer for its action. If the tribal council comes, the assembled tribal councils (the great council of tribes) assess a fine of from two to three thousand dollars, which they divide, giving each tribe with five *fifths* five parts, and each tribe with only one *fifth* one part. Then the subdivisions within the *fifths* and single tribes take place and the councillors go home.

If, however, the tribal council of the fighting tribe refuses to come and pay a fine, the tribe patches up its difference quickly and presents an united front against the invaders. In this case the councillors of the other tribes send home for retainers, each *fifth* separately, specifying the number of men to come from each *fifth*, from each *canton*, and from each *bone*. The old men, retired councillors, select the warriors and their judgment is final. The reënforcements come as soon as possible and there ensues a war between the erstwhile internally warring tribe and those which have come to punish it. If the alliance wins, it does so by defeating *canton* after *canton*, imposing a fine upon each when it submits; the fine levied on the first *canton* is about five thousand dollars, and the amount increases until the last *canton* to submit has to pay about fifteen thousand dollars. As each *canton* submits it must join the victors in fighting the rest of its own tribe, in return for which it receives its share of the fines paid as each of the other *cantons* submits. In this way all defeated *cantons* pay, and all but the last, which pays the most, receive shares of the spoils.

When the internal war is in Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya is the first tribe to send its councillors, then Beni Amart, usually on the same day; the next day Zarket and Bokoya send their contingents, and later the *canton* Tizera n Jakhatha of Beni Tuzin and that of Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman. Sometimes Beni Said sends two or three councillors to join the others. Gzennaya, Beni Amart, and Bokoya usually sent all their councillors, whereas Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, and Zarket, as well as Beni Said, seldom send more than a few each. If the great council of tribes succeeds without further fighting, the councillors of Zarket, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, and Beni Said receive one or two hundred dollars per tribe. This money the individual councillors keep. The tribes which have come in full strength get their usual shares. If, however, it is necessary to send for reënforcements, the tribes poorly represented send for men with the rest, and after the affair has been settled their tribes receive their full shares, which are communally divided.

The tribes mentioned do not all necessarily interfere when Beni Urriaghel is fighting internally, but only if the combat promises to be extensive. The Gzennaya councillors, however, always go, and sometimes succeed in handling the situation alone. The Beni Urriaghel always band together immediately when [illegible] tribes step in, postponing settlement of their local differences until later. Beni Ha[illegible]minally a *fifth* of Beni Urriaghel,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

is not required to pay its portion of the fines imposed upon Beni Urriaghel unless it has actually been involved. 721

When Temsaman fights internally, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Gzennaya, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit send their councillors to the great council of tribes; Beni Ulishk and Tafersit count as one in the division of the spoils. Beni Urriaghel does not send councillors to Temsaman, partly because the others will not allow it, and partly because the tribe is afraid of retaliation. 727

When the war is in Gzennaya, the Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Marnissa, Metalsa, and Jebarna (the latter, although part of the Gzennaya, do not count as such in time of war, since they are recent immigrants from the Branes) send councillors. When the fight is centered in the *fifth* of Imsdurar, Branes also sends her representatives. Temsaman sends a single councillor if the fight promises to assume large proportions.

When Beni Tuzin occupies the center of the stage, the councillors of Gzennaya, Metalsa, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and Beni Said go, and Beni Amart sends a few representatives.

When the war is in Beni Amart, Gzennaya, Marnissa, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Hadifa (acting as a separate body), and chosen members of Zarket, Bokoya, and Beni Tuzin participate.

When Bokoya is involved, the councillors of Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, and selected members from Gzennaya, Mestassa, and Mtiwa of the Rif attend the great council of tribes. The Sherif of Targuist also is sometimes present at the final settlement, taking ten men with him as bodyguard. He does not take part in any of the fighting, but tries to use his religious influence as a means of putting an end to the bloodshed. When the fine is collected, he is usually given twenty or thirty dollars. Sometimes, however, he is ignored. Shorfa of Targuist have in the past attempted to interfere in Beni Urriaghel and Gzennaya, but without success or remuneration, for which reason they have for some time ceased paying attention to wars within these tribes. [728]

When the fight is in Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, or Mtiwa, the others of this group send their envoys, and those from Bokoya and Beni Gmil attend as well; when the fight is in Mtiwa, Beni Khennus and Beni Seddath also participate.

When the fight is in Beni Ulishk or Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Temsaman, Beni Said, and Beni Mohammed and Khebaba of the Gzennaya take part.

When it is in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Bu Ifrur, Beni Sidel, and Gzennaya send representatives. Beni Said is the only tribe which has recognized the value of such mediation when actually in trouble, since it sends for the Gzennaya councillors to come and settle it for them. They have seldom resisted the intervention of the great council of tribes, preferring to pay the fine rather than continue a destructive internal quarrel.

Beni Bu Ifrur has not fought internally for a long time, since it is all one related group. Beni Sidel has been known to fall into such a difficulty, and Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Ifrur, send councillors, while the sheikhs of Ait Shisher and Mazuza also come. These sheikhs are given none of the proceeds. Beni Said wields the greatest influence in such gatherings.

When Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur fight together, the same alignment appears, and with the others go the sheikhs of Ulad Stut.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

721 Beni Bu Yafer has fought internally upon a number of occasions, but the other groups
727 do not interfere, since they have learned from experience that the Beni Bu Yafer do not submit until after an arduous struggle, at the end of which they do not possess enough property to pay a fine worth the trouble of interfering. In consequence of this, they are not allowed to send their councillors to other tribes.

For a considerable period of time there has been no fighting worthy of intervention in Mazuza, Ait Shisher, or Kebdana; this is perhaps due to the early influence of the Spaniards upon these regions.

When the fighting is in Beni Bu Yahyi or Metalsa no councillors bother to go, since the land is too difficult to travel in, and since there are no houses to burn, and no property to confiscate which cannot readily be moved away before their arrival. Banditry has always
[579 been rife among these tribes, and active feuds between *bones* perpetual. Theft, in the Rif
674] considered a crime unless practiced outside the tribe and its allies, is among the nomads an honorable profession when practiced between *bones*.

When the fight is between any of the tribal groups in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, the others of this group send their councillors and sheikhs, and Gzennaya as well sends councillors. In the meeting which follows Gzennaya plays the dominant rôle.

When the fight is within the Senhaja Sghir, the Sherif of Targuist betakes himself to the scene, accompanied by the councillors of the non-combatant tribes under his control. The Sherif collects the fine, keeping most of it, and distributes a small fraction of it among the councillors, who have nothing to say about the matter.

This rule does not apply to Ktama, which has never submitted to the authority of the Sherif. On account of its poverty and inaccessibility, Ktama is free from the intervention of councillors from other tribes; consequently it is in a constant state of turmoil, and banditry is common. This tribe has always been noted for its lawlessness, and has been generally avoided by travellers.

The tribes of the west, including the Western Arabophone Senhaja and the Ghomara, do not send representatives out to stop war and collect fines. This territory likewise enjoys a perennially bad reputation.

727 Some mention should be made of the ultimate disposal of money and other property taken by the various administrative bodies. Fines collected by the village council are kept by the moderator of that body for the entertainment of guests in the local mosque, for the purchase of tea, sugar, other foodstuffs, and candles for the council to use during its deliberations, and for cartridges and firearms to be used by members of the *bone* in time of war.

Fines collected by the council of the great are partly divided between the *bones*, partly given to the *fkih* or preceptor of the cantonal mosque, and partly expended upon the upkeep of, and hospitality in, this building.

Fines collected by the tribal council are divided equally among the *fifths* and then equally among *cantons* within the *fifths*. The moderator of each council of the great divides the money allotted his *canton* among the councillors who participated in the events which led to its collection, and among ordinary fighting men, if these were called upon to reënforce the councillors. The moderator distributes the money publicly at one time, giving more to the men who deported themselves bravely than to those who showed but mediocre interest in the fighting. Men who manifested cowardice and men who are absent from or come late to the division get nothing.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VIII

MARKETS

DIFFERENT aspects of this subject have already been discussed in the chapters dealing with material culture, social organization, and government.[1] Since indeed the primary purpose of the market is economic, it is the seat of operation of an interesting social class, and likewise often the local administrative center. Hence, little remains for description save the general scheme and coördination of the whole. 443

A market meets weekly on a fixed day and in a fixed place. There is usually but one to a *canton*, although this rule, like all others, has its exceptions. The days and locations of markets are so correlated that it is possible for a person living in almost any place to reach a market on foot and return home again on any day of the week except Friday, when markets are never held. The word for market in both *thamazighth* and Arabic is *suḳ*, and markets are given the names of the days on which they are held. Thus all markets meeting on Thursday are called *suḳ el khemis*, or simply *el khemis*. Markets meeting on the same day are distinguished by the addition of the names of the places in which they are held.

Thursday markets are more important than the others, as a general rule, because Friday is the Mohammedan sabbath and provisions for it must be obtained in advance.

Each market is administered by the council of the great of the *canton*. This body has a house, or among the nomads, a tent, in or on the outskirts of the market. (See plate 30.) On market days it generally meets in a room of this edifice. Most such houses have a second room which is used as a rest-room for people attending the market, or as a guard-house for retainers of the councillors. Cases which have accumulated during the week are brought before the council of the great at this time, since defendants in situations which concern the councillors often prefer to postpone their appeals or complaints until market day rather than request the moderator of the council of the great to have a special meeting called for a single case.

Any offenses committed in market are considered more serious than if committed elsewhere, and are more heavily fined; offenses which would otherwise concern the village council are brought to the attention of the council of the great if committed in market. [673]

The division of spoils among the members of a *canton* who have participated in a tribal war is often made in market. [727]

In the markets under the authority of the Ikhemrijen, firearms must be left outside before their owners may enter. In other markets rifles were usually carried before the European occupation. Serious fights sometimes arose in markets, in some cases so severe that the tribal council convened and decreed the market closed forever, lest the sight of the place where kinsmen had died might in future remind members of the different *bones* of their mutual grievances and incite them to further violence.

The chief purpose of every market is of course the buying and selling of goods. (See plates 30, 31, and 32.) The vendors of different articles are segregated according to their wares, the cloth merchants, the women selling pottery, and so forth. The butchers are rele-

[1] Chapters IV–VII.

[p. 109]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The butchers are relegated to a position as far removed from the rest of the market as possible, on account of the malodorous nature of their wares. If there is a stream in or near the market, the butchers are put on the other side of the stream from the rest. Farmers bring in cattle, sheep, and goats, and turn over the animals to the butchers, who are blacksmiths on other days of the week, or are members of the families of blacksmiths. After the butchers have slaughtered the animals, washed the blood from their throats, inflated their skins, flayed, and quartered them, the owners of the animals hang the meat on wooden racks permanently fixed to trees or posts nearby, where they are thus exposed for sale. Quarters of goat and sheep must have the hoofs and a portion of the adjoining skin left on so that customers can tell the difference between them. The butcher is paid for his work with a portion of the meat, with money, or with the hide, head, and entrails, which are the most common reward.

The meat market is the assembling place of all of the dogs in the *canton* which are able to get there, dozens of them waiting expectantly nearby each time an animal is slaughtered. They often snatch ends of intestine as the animal is being cleaned, and lap up eagerly the rills of blood flowing down towards the stream.

The butchering duties of the blacksmiths are not confined to the market. Whenever members of a *bone* together buy a cow or bull for the meat, the butcher is called in to slaughter it. The portions are divided equally among the married men, who must pay for their pieces before they can have them. A portion is sent up to the mosque of the *canton* for the students in it, and the blacksmith receives his portion as reward for his work.

Returning to the market, we find two other social outcasts at work, the market crier and the official weigher or measurer.[1] These are hired by the councillors, and carry on their functions as official appointees, but disputes arising from the work of the weigher or measurer are carried before the councillors. They work in as many markets as there are days in the week, except of course Friday, and providing that each market is within walking distance of their homes and that the councillors of each are willing to hire them.

Women's markets. In a number of *cantons* there is in addition to the regular market another devoted to women. All men are excluded from it, and are severely punished if they enter. It is commanded by a woman appointed by the councillors of the *canton*. In it the women sell, besides the fruits, vegetables, hens, eggs, and pottery which they dispense at the regular market, magico-medical materials which are supposed to act as contraceptives and to produce abortions. The sale and possession of these is kept secret from the men because the use of them is considered ample reason for divorce. Sometimes a woman who fails to bear children within a reasonable time after marriage is accused, on general suspicion, of using them and is divorced.

Boy Markets. In the Jebala, markets were formerly held in which boys stolen from their families were sold, to be used as apprentices by wandering musicians and as companions by ordinary individuals. They were and still are kept by their purchasers for the purpose of sodomy, and other uses to which these children are put are made secondary to it. When they have grown to an age at which they cease to interest their purchasers sexually they are released and allowed to earn their own living.

The market el Had Ikauen of Ktama was a famous boy market, and was not closed until the advent of the Spanish forces of occupation, who have been trying to prevent such

[1] See p. 92. For comment on this, see the 111 slip-analyst

MARKETS I

A gathering at Suk et Tnine, Beni Amart

Suk en Sebt of Targuist

Talking things over. Suk el Khemis, Ikaroen, Guennaya

The house of the Council of the Great, Suk el Khemis, Ikaroen

623
E. 110(A)
I: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MOS RIF MOS

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

MARKETS 2

443

In the market at Tiguisas, Ghomara

The jeweller's shop. Suk el Khemis, Targuist

A shop on the outskirts of the market. Suk et Tnine, Beni Amart

Brush shelter employed in Ghomaran markets. Tiguisas, Ghomara

[p. 110 (B)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

MARKETS 3

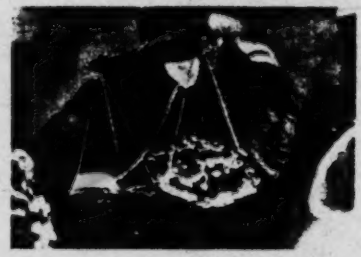
443

Butcher's section, Suk el Arbaa, Kasba Selwan, on the Mazuza-Kebdana border

Sluh butcher with goat's skin inflated before flaying. This method is also employed in the Rif

[804]

Women selling bread. Ajdir



One of the ishqairen (weighers) weighing grapes against a stone. Gsennaya

Selling salted sardines. Tiguisas, Ghomara

[p. 110(c)]

1: Coon. E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

443 938 567 548 684 562 492 583

sales, although it is difficult to stamp out private transactions.[1] Boy markets are found in the Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ghomara, and Ktama (also, of course, in the rest of the so-called Jebala, and centered at Sheshawen and in the tribe of Beni Zerwal).

[1] The whole Jebalan area is permeated with this type of sexual depravity, which is practiced without mutual shame or any attempt at concealment. In the Rif persons sometimes live and die without knowledge of its existence, and those who have travelled and seen it cannot mention it at home without falling into disfavor. It was punished during the recent war, in at least two known instances, by soaking the culprits in gasoline and burning them alive.

This perversion, the only form known in this region, is accompanied in the Jebala by a low esteem for women, who perform the more arduous tasks of agriculture which in the Rif are done by men. A frequent sight in the Jebala is a troop of women marching long distances loaded down under heavy bundles of charcoal and other burdens, which in the Rif would be carried by mules or donkeys.

Bride purchase, a trait common to all Moroccans but the Jews, is in the Jebala literally applied, since here the wife becomes a definite chattel of her husband, not usually the case elsewhere.

The atmosphere created by this combination of cultural factors is in striking contrast to that of the Rif, which, although primitive, is wholesome and vigorous.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

MOSQUES AND SAINTS' TOMBS

346 THERE are three types of building which serve both social and religious purposes: the *thamεyitha n jkhothbath*, or cantonal mosque,[1] the *thamεajoth*, or village mosque,[2] and the *amrabi* (plural *imrabten*) or saint's tomb.[3]

The first, the cantonal mosque, is a large edifice, common to the whole *canton*, and to it come all the people of the *canton* for worship. It can be readily distinguished from lesser mosques by the fact that it bears a flag, green in the morning and white in the afternoon.

The second is the mosque of the *bone*, and there is one for each *bone* in the *canton*.

764 The third, the saint's tomb, may be a structure of some magnitude, a mere pile of stones,
778 or simply an unmarked but nevertheless well-known place. It is supposed to be the grave of a saint, although often it is merely some place noted for the possession of some unusual natural feature, such as a large boulder, a spring, or a clump of trees, revered long before the advent of Islam. Whether it be a definite building, a marker, or merely a place, in any case it fulfills a definite function.

358 In each of these three types of religious edifice there is one man who has been appointed
346 to take care of it, the *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*) or "warden,"[4] who may be a man of learning or, in some cases, illiterate. He is the janitor and general caretaker. He brushes the floor, sees that the mats on them are in good repair, hoists the flag on the cantonal mosque, and occasionally substitutes as muezzin for the incumbent of this mosque.

428 The mosques and saints' tombs acquire land in a number of ways. When a man dies
794 childless, and is displeased with his wife for having borne him no sons, or for some other reason, he may will a share of his land to the cantonal or village mosque or to a local saint's tomb. If he has sons but is not pleased with them, he may leave a share of his property to a mosque or tomb and the rest to his children.

[764] If, when about to die, he wishes to be buried within the mosque, he may buy his burial place with land to be given the mosque after his death. In this way he is interred under the floor of one of the rooms, and the warden has charge of the property so willed.

794 The warden of each public edifice has charge of the land belonging to it, and receives a
358 portion of the produce. He does the farming on the land and cares for the trees, but if there is too much for him to do the village council enlists poor people to work with him, as previously related.

794 Any mosque, be it of the *canton* or merely of the *bone*, and any saint's tomb capable of
485 providing shelter, serves as a free hotel for Riffians travelling from tribe to tribe. Lay

[1] From the Arabic *mezjida el khdtbe*, meaning the "mosque of the Friday sermon."

[2] Likewise from *mezjida*, and meaning literally "mosque."

[3] From the Arabic *muro'bot*. This word means either "living saint" or "dead saint"; the meaning given applies to the deceased variety and to the superstructure erected over his remains.

[4] This Arabic word is also employed to designate the "moderator" of the village council, as well as the "moderator" of the council of the great. See p. 90.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

travellers go to both types of mosque but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuḳaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-har*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *haggus*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 100.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Gomnaya it is equivalent to 16 kilos, in Beni Urriaghel 40, in Beni Tusin 13, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 30.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291] 872 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 794 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor,"[1] is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 574 431 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *kaiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Sekau* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[212 789] In the cantonal mosque the students[2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *talab* (plural *tolba*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *talab*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One of the principal occupations of the students consists in copying the books of the preceptor, since it is impossible to buy books, and the only way to accumulate a library is to copy it off by hand. In order to get a greater variety of books students often travel from *canton* to *canton* through many tribes.

Some of the books are in Arabic and some in Berber, not necessarily of Riffian dialect. Many are in the dialect of the Sous. Most of the books deal with magic and religious problems, but a few of them deal with history and geography. There are also books written in a numerical code, called *el ughabari*, which the students use as a secret means of communication. There are many different kinds of *el ughabari*, and many different codes, but all are based on numbers. Another system is to use a set word for each letter in the alphabet, and to spell out the message, a word for a letter. This system is used in speech as well as in writing, and has the disadvantage of being very lengthy and tedious. It is called *er unsas*; students use it when they want to say something uncomplimentary about someone present.

Students travel from mosque to mosque in order to absorb the learning of different preceptors who have specialized in different subjects. To obtain what is considered a well-rounded education a student must thus fulfill a considerable itinerary. Some preceptors are popular and draw crowds of students from all over the Rif; others teach the local students only.

Wandering or visiting students are fed by the people of the *canton* in which the mosque is situated. Families send food every day to the mosque. Goats are often sacrificed in cantonal mosques containing saintly remains, and the students and their preceptor take half the meat, giving the warden the other half.

There is no fixed time for the completion of studies in the cantonal mosque. When a student is satisfied with his state of erudition, feels that his share of labor is needed by his family, or wishes to marry, he simply stops going to the mosque and spends his time farming instead. Most students stop when they get married; those who continue after marriage do so with the intention of adopting a professional career. Some prefer the indolent, wandering life of the student to the restrictions imposed upon them by marriage, and roam about, living off the land, until they are old. In most cases the latter type of student goes sooner or later to the Jebala and affiliates himself with some religious brotherhood.

Besides being fed by the *canton* in which they study, the students earn money by tailoring and embroidering jellabas, shirts, trousers, and other garments. Ex-students usually embroider their wives' garments for them. They also earn money by chanting from the Koran at funerals and weddings. They are immune from physical violence, and can pass from tribe to tribe with impunity, no matter what the state of affairs may be, except during those periods when the tribal council fails to meet and all law has gone from the land.

A student who aspires to become a *kadhi*, or "judge," must attend either the mosque of Sidi Bu Daud in Temsaman, that of the Beni Mejrau in Beni Zerwal, the university at Tangier, or the Kairawiin university at Fez. At the Kairawiin the student enters the secular, not the religious, college.

Whichever of these institutions the student attends, he studies law and related subjects until he has qualified himself as a judge and has obtained a certicate to that effect from the head of the institution. Formerly very few Riffians studied in Fez, but in recent years the number has been increasing.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

871 522 Riffian students deport themselves more or less in conformity with Riffian ideas of morality and decorum. They enjoy practical joking and general jollification, but do not indulge in the hashish smoking and sodomy practiced by students from the Jebala, who bring with them boys ostensibly serving as musical apprentices. Before European occupation, these western students did not meet with a warm reception in the Rif. They were frequently refused entrance to some districts. In others, so many jokes were played upon them that they left hurriedly and never returned.

On one occasion, Jebalan students entered the mosque in a *canton* of the Gsennaya, leaving outside a mule which they had brought with them. They asked for food, and ate more than was thought necessary by the men who provided it. When they asked for more food, one of the men went outside, cut a slice of meat from the mule's rump, cooked it, and then brought it in. The students ate it. One of them, going outside to feed the mule, found its condition, whereupon the students left immediately, and few of their type have come there since.

Since European occupation, the Riffians have been prevented from excluding the students of the Jebala by such rigorous means. At present many of these undesirables are found in the Rif, to the consternation of the powerless inhabitants, who fear that they will spread their vicious practices among the younger generation.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER X

JUDICIAL AND CLERICAL OFFICERS; LAWS GOVERNING INHERITANCE

THERE are in the Rif two classes of officials who concern themselves with judicial and clerical functions: the "clerk," or *adl* (plural *adul* [1]), and the "judge," or *kedhi*. The former is something between a town clerk and minor judge, and the latter a supreme court of appeal. Both concern themselves only with civil, never with criminal, disputes.

The clerk is a former student who specialized in the cantonal mosque in the study of law, rather than in the usual study of magic and religion: some clerks, however, indulge in magical practices on the side as an additional source of income. The clerk takes pains to keep this second profession secret, lest he be expelled from office. Most clerks spend longer than the average period at study, and attend several different mosques in the course of their preparation.

There is at least one clerk in every *bone*. Any person who is qualified by his training may set up as a clerk, but must receive the consensus of local approval before he is entrusted with enough business to make this occupation profitable. A clerk must be dignified and pious.

The clerk is often the schoolmaster of the *bone* as well. In smaller *bones* it is usually an economic necessity for one man to fulfill these two offices, consequently the terms "schoolmaster" and "clerk" have become somewhat confused. A clerk is often called schoolmaster, but a schoolmaster who is not a clerk is never called clerk.

The duties of the clerk include writing and reading letters for illiterate persons, settling controversies as to ownership of property, making out and administering wills, and drawing up documents of sale for landed property and documents of marriage and divorce. He is also called upon to slaughter animals upon ceremonial occasions.

In making out a document of marriage, the clerk writes out the names of the bride and groom, and the amount paid for the bride. He gives the paper to the bride and makes a duplicate, which he keeps. His signature renders the document valid. He similarly makes out divorce papers, which he gives to the woman, who can thus prove that she is no longer under obligation to her husband.

When the clerk makes out the document for a land sale, he takes the old document from the seller, and gives both old and new papers to the purchaser. Each time a piece of land changes hands a new paper is made out, and the present owner has in his possession all of the extant bills of sale for that piece of land. When a piece is subdivided the heir of the owner of the original piece at the time of its subdivision keeps the papers recording transfers prior to this subdivision.

When a man wishes to sell some of the land which has been in his family since time immemorial, and for which there is no paper, he informs the clerk, who advertises for any other claim to this land, either written or oral, and finding none makes a bill of sale.

[1] The usual Arab notary.

693 624 [791] 624 [875] [211] [585] [586] 624 432 [p. 117]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

624 423 312 One of the clerk's most troublesome duties is keeping track of irrigation property. If a stream commences in the property of a certain man, that man has the right to build a ditch within his own property to irrigate his own fields, and that water belongs exclusively to him. If he wishes to sell the rights to some of the water to a neighbor, he allows the neighbor to lead water off the stream below the place at which he leads off his own water, and likewise allows this neighbor to build a ditch across his land to the purchaser's field. The purchaser must pay for the water rights and for the narrow strip of land on which the ditch runs. The clerk makes out papers for the transfer of these rights, and signs them.

He also makes out papers for other irrigation complications. One man may sell the right of one day's water per year to another man through whose land his ditch passes. If a ditch is led off from a large stream which flows through a number of villages, no one owns the original water, but any man who constructs a ditch from it has the right to the water which is led off, once he has paid for the land which the ditch crosses. Men who construct such ditches usually sell so many shares in it that in time it becomes almost communal. The shares are sold on the basis of so many day's water a year per man. If a dry year comes or the water is low, each man receives a reduced share of the water proportionate to his original allowance.

If a ditch owner has allowed another man to lead off part of his water into another ditch, under time limit or restriction, when a season of drought comes they take turns, day by day, so as to divide equally what little there is of it.

If in a series of step-terraces, built one above the other, an avalanche covers more than the top one, the owners of all the terraces in the series have to work together to remove the stones. If a cloudburst pushes these same terraces down the side of the mountain so that the top one has lowered its position, and the bottom one has fallen into the stream and its earth been washed away, the owners of the terraces go to the clerk and find out exactly how much of this particular terrace land each of them possessed. If they each owned a third, the clerk measures, with string, what arable land remains, and divides it up proportionately, so that the order of ascension is the same as before, but the area of each is proportionately reduced. If, however, the bottom one suffers loss through the action of the stream and nothing has happened to the upper ones, the owner of the bottom terrace has to suffer his loss alone. Any small loss of earth or manure due to a storm may not be recovered; the owner of the lower terrace into which it has been washed may keep it. If the boundary wall between two terraces has been broken in by the storm, and dirt has washed over the stones, making the boundary questionable, the clerk comes with the papers of the original sale and a cord, and measures the terraces anew. Then the owner of the upper terrace must build another retaining wall, and cannot recover the earth which he has lost, unless, as above stated, the upper boundary of his land has slumped downhill and the bottom terrace has fallen into the stream.

624 423 When a man's tree thrusts its branches over a boundary so that it hangs over another man's land and makes shade on it, preventing the growth of grain or vegetables, the owner of the shaded land may protest and demand that that part of the tree be removed. The clerk forbids cutting it, however, and orders the owner of the tree to give a fourth of its fruit to the other man.

624 471 The clerk also keeps track of the olive press, and of the succession of those entitled to use it. If a neighboring *bone* has no press he lets it use the one in his territory, before the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

actual owners of the machine are allowed to do so; and he collects from them the customary divisions of the oil which they squeeze. The village council of each *bone* makes out the list and the clerk writes it down and sees that it is followed.

Another duty of this latter official is making out papers of adoption for strangers who come into the *bone* to live and who wish to become affiliated with it.

The clerk also has charge of wills and inheritance. The head of each family may make a will on his deathbed, or at some time when he fears imminent death. To do this he summons the clerk, who writes down the terms of the bequests and takes the paper away with him. After the man has died he produces this paper, makes its contents public, and administers the estate.

Although most men, in making their wills, follow the traditional rules of inheritance, some bequeath their property unequally among their heirs, at times cutting individuals off entirely, and leave property to mosques or saints' tombs. No man is permitted, however, to disinherit his wife or wives.

In each tribe there is supposed to be a judge, appointed by the tribal council, and holding his office for life or good behavior. He has received a diploma from one of the four institutions previously mentioned. His appointment does not usually come, however, until long after his fulfilment of the requirements for this position. He is almost always a native of the tribe in which he is employed.

There was one in Beni Urriaghel, one in Beni Tuzin, and one in Gzennaya, at the time the Christians entered. The first judge in the Rif in modern times was Si Abd el Rahman of the Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya, who had dwelt long in Fez and married a Fezzi wife. The Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel decided, about fifty years ago, that they would like to have a judge, and therefore sent men of the Gzennaya to Fez to persuade Si Abd el Rahman to come. On the way back from Fez, the Beni Ulid, who did not know that he was a judge, attacked him and his bodyguard in the night, killing him and capturing his wife and children. What remained of the bodyguard returned to the Rif and called together a great council of the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Beni Ulishk, Beni Said, and Metalsa. All these councillors, with their retainers, invaded Beni Ulid and devastated it, taking back the prisoners and loot, and exacting a fine of four thousand five hundred dollars.

Si Abd el Rahman's eldest son was made judge in his place, after him his brother, and after his brother his sons, in turn. Beni Urriaghel and Beni Tuzin later each established a judge, certified by that of Beni Yunes. Several others were set up and deposed in later times.

Every year each *fifth* presents the judge with a cow, five or six goats, and large quantities of all staple agricultural products. The judge in this way receives a large income, but is expected to spend most or all of it on hospitality. He settles disputes concerning landed property. Contestants bring their papers of ownership to him, and he decides which one really owns the property, then signs and seals the paper of the winner. The plaintiffs bring him presents of meat and sugar — any further gift would be considered bribery.

In the Senhaja Sghir the Sherif of Targuist acts as judge, except in Taghsuth, where there has been a judge for generations. Until the time of Abd el Krim, however, the judge of Taghsuth was influenced by the Sherif of Targuist.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

428 **Laws Governing Inheritance.** The following are the traditional rules of inheritance, usually adhered to in wills, and always followed when a man dies intestate:

1. The widow or widows receive an eighth of the property. This eighth is divided equally among the widows in case there are more than one.
2. The children collectively receive the remaining seven eighths. Each boy receives twice as much as each girl. In all of the following cases in which property is inherited jointly by brothers and sisters, the same principle applies, i. e., equality between brothers and equality between sisters, with one brother counting as equal to two sisters.
3. When one or more of the children have died before the father's decease, the share of each dead child is counted out as well as that of each living child. The share of each dead child is divided into two equal parts, one of which is given its mother and the other divided in the usual manner between the living children.
4. In case there are no living children, the brothers and sisters of the deceased inherit the property which would otherwise go to these children. In other words, if the children have all died, the brothers and sisters of the deceased receive one half of the seven eighths left over after the widows' allowance has been deducted. If there never have been any children, the whole seven eighths goes to the brothers and sisters.
5. A childless widow returns to the *sein* of her parents, and may marry any man whom she wishes and who desires her. She may keep the property which she has inherited from her first husband after she has married her second.
6. A widow who is the mother of unmarried or dependent children is expected to marry a brother of her deceased husband. If she refuses to do so, she is not allowed to marry anyone else, unless her brother-in-law is willing to marry and divorce her, or to announce publicly that he relinquishes her. In case she marries a man who is not her brother-in-law, she loses her rights to her children, who go to live with her brother-in-law; but she still retains her rights to the property left her by her deceased husband. In case she does not want to remarry, either because her brother-in-law will not free her or for any other reason, she can go to the clerk, who will give her a document making her legally incapable of marrying in the future. This will protect her against her brother-in-law, or against suitors in general, as the case may be.
7. Widows whose children are grown up and married live with their sons, who support them.
8. When a woman dies who has been married more than once and has borne children by each marriage, the children of each marriage divide the property of the respective fathers, and all of them divide the property of their mother.
9. When a woman with children marries a man who has never been married, and bears no children to this second husband, the children of the woman inherit the property of their stepfather just as if he were their real father, provided that he has not in the meanwhile married another wife and had children by her, in which case the stepchildren receive none of his property.
10. When a woman who owns property dies, her children divide it in the usual way. If she leaves only girls, her own family gets half and the girls the other half. The half which goes to her family is divided between her brothers and sisters. If she has no brothers and sisters, as well as no sons, her father takes it; if she has no father, her mother takes it; and if she dies without relatives the *bone* divides it between the married men.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

11. Girls who have inherited property must give it up when they are married. They give it to their brothers, or, if they have none, to their paternal uncles or masculine paternal cousins. After marriage they cannot inherit except from their husbands. 428

12. When a man dies without near relatives in the *bons* his property is divided among those distantly related on the paternal side; in case the deceased was a stranger who took up residence in the territory of the *bons* and has taken out with the clerk a paper of adoption into it, his property is divided among the married men of the *bons*. If he has neglected to take out a paper of adoption, his relatives from afar have the right to come and claim his property.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XI

CRISES IN THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

128 Sociologists commonly recognize three major crises in the life of each individual: birth, puberty, and death.[1] Besides these major or biological crises they recognize others which lack direct biological importance, but are nevertheless sociologically of interest: naming, circumcision, and marriage. In the Rif, the first haircut should be added to the list and puberty subtracted, since no recognizable rite of passage is used to conduct the adolescent into the state of manhood or of womanhood.

In discussing these crises, my object is not so much to present a detailed picture of the ceremonies which accompany them as to work out a thorough plan of distribution for the various elements in each rite, in order to determine, where possible, the origins and relative antiquity of the various factors.

BIRTH

844 When a woman is considered to be within three days of the expiration of her term of pregnancy, the other women of her household go to the cantonal mosque and there hire a student to make out a charm which will help facilitate the birth. This charm is written, and the writing, soaked off the paper in warm water, is given the mother to drink. Care is taken to see that no knots are tied in the mother's clothing, and she is not allowed to work nor take any strenuous exercise during the last few days of her pregnancy.

On the actual day of the delivery, two midwives take charge of the situation, expelling the men of the family from the room in which the birth is to take place. One of the midwives sits on the floor, and holds the mother in her lap, in a posture half way between sitting and lying, and the mother meanwhile pulls on a rope which has been suspended from the rafters. The woman underneath her grasps her about the abdomen with both hands, helping thus to expel the child.

The Riffians explain the presence of the midwife underneath the mother by saying that it is shameful for a woman to bear a child while lying on the floor, since that is the manner of cattle.

While the mother is hanging by the rope, and the midwife under her is compressing her abdomen, the second midwife busies herself with the details of the actual delivery. When the child has been born, this second midwife cuts its umbilical cord with a pair of scissors, and afterwards goes outside, taking care not to be seen, and buries the afterbirth, the umbilical cord, and the scissors in a hidden place, which she is bound never to reveal, lest some enemy find the remains and with them wreak baleful magic upon the child.

844 554 The midwife who delivers the child and cuts the umbilical cord, and to a lesser extent her assistant, who does the heavier if cruder part of the work, is held in especial esteem by the child in its later life. The child may later even address the midwife as "mother," and

[1] A. M. Tozzer, *Social Origins and Social Continuities*, pp. 86–89.

[P122]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

844 554 [845]

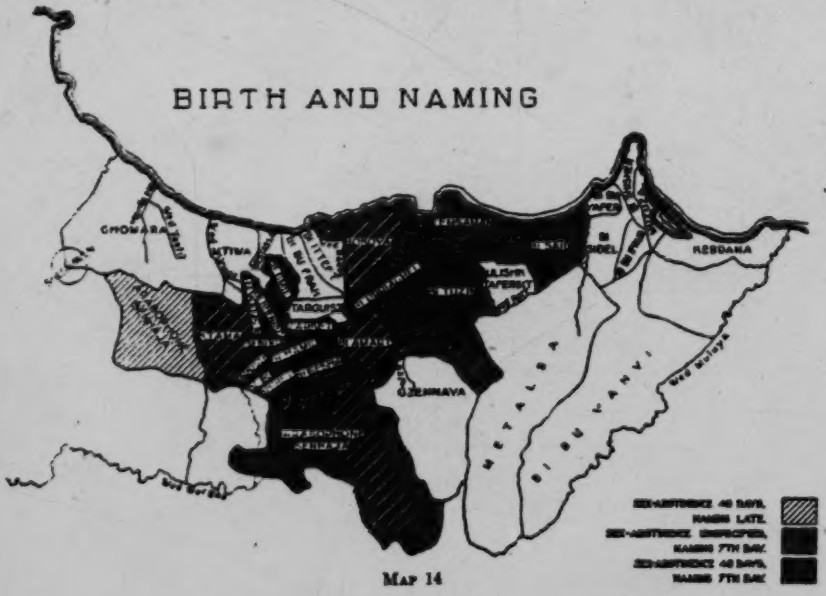
care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden. 853 582 608

BIRTH AND NAMING

844 553



MAP 14

Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard. 844

Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *sekpa*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea. 844 782

This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in 844

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

case the child is masculine, having begun the fusillade at the moment of the delivery, or at the moment when the sex of the child was announced.

The women who come with their husbands bring with them chickens and other articles of food, especially wild greens such as watercress and asparagus, if these be in season. The women install themselves in the room in which the birth has taken place, and prepare nourishing broths for the mother, and for the next week or so continually come in and out looking after her.

On the seventh day the father holds a second celebration, similar to the first, which may be in many cases simply a continuation of it. On this seventh day, the guests, when they have finished drinking tea, each put a silver dollar on the tray; this money is intended as a present to the mother, who may spend it as she pleases.

Among the central Riffians the father is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until after the expiration of forty days after the birth of the child. During these forty days he avoids her as much as possible, seldom entering the room in which she has borne the child and seldom speaking with her. From economic necessity it is unavoidable that he should see and speak to her to a certain extent, but the tabu is nevertheless kept as rigidly as possible. Among the other tribes there is no fixed limit for the renewal of sexual relations, the matter being entirely personal, and there is no attempt at avoidance subsequent to the actual day of the birth, although the husband in most instances is kept busy outside entertaining the men for the first seven days, and naturally hesitates to enter his wife's room when a large number of women are there. The sex tabu is found in Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Iherrushen (except Tarosht, Telmest) Ikhuanen, Iherrassen, Beni Yunes, northern Ulishk, Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghzuth, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Beni Hamid, and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

NAMES AND NAMING

The second important event in the life of a child, be it a boy or a girl, is the occasion when it receives a name. Among the central Riffians this takes place on the seventh day, the same day on which the final feast celebrating the birth is held. Among the other tribes it takes place later, but usually before the child is more than a month or two old. Naming is done on the seventh day in[1] Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, northern Ulishk, Beni Yunes, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Beni Mohammed, Iherrassen, Ikaroen, Inhanahan, Bured, Temjunt, Iherrusben, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Bokoya, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Beni Gmil, Zarket, Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Ktama, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and western Metalsa.

A boy child is at this time given a name usually of Arabic derivation and of religious significance, although such is not always the case. The name is frequently a derivative of the root *hmd*, meaning "to praise," of which Mohend, Moh, Bohosh, Haddu, Haddush, Hammush, Mohammadi, Hamidu, Hadi, and Omuah are all more or less Berberized variations. Of these, Mohend and Moh are the equivalents for Mohammed.

[1] According to de Castro, the Guliya and Kebdana likewise hold the naming on the seventh day. This information would serve to date the transition from a seven-day to a three-day custom between the time of de Castro's writing (1911) and the time at which my material was collected. See Fernandez de Castro, *Guelaia y Quebdana*, p. 130.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

551

If a child is named Mohammed, he is called Moh until he is quite grown up, after which he is addressed as Mohend by outsiders, and still as Moh by his immediate family. He is called Mohammed only by Arabs and Christians.

The name Mohammed is not, as has been stated,[1] given to the first son of a union as a matter of form and tradition; the first-born is more often named after his father, but the Riffians do not follow any hide-bound rule, calling their children by whatever names happen to strike their fancy.

Similarly the first girl is frequently, although not necessarily, named after her mother. Common girls' names are Fatima, Fattush, Hammut, Minnush, Mama, Rowazna, Thamimunt, Mona, Aisha, Mammut, Tha'wat, and Hadduma.

Names which are also used by Jews, such as Ishak, Yussuf, etc., are avoided. Musa, the equivalent of Moses, is seldom used, since in *thamazighth* it has the additional meaning of "hunger." Individuals bearing it must be addressed with a magical formula, lest the hunger implied in it befall him who pronounces it.

Sometimes when a child is given his regular or permanent name he also receives a nickname. This honor is, however, generally reserved until he has developed enough to exhibit distinctive and individualistic traits of appearance and behavior. The Riffians are very clever at finding resemblances and at picking out distinctive physical characteristics. A list of nicknames follows:

1. *Referring to pigmentation:*

Ashabar	very blond
Shu'uat	yellow-haired
Awars	yellow-haired
Shihibun	albinotic (literally, wool-like)
Azarkan	light-eyed (This title is often given to persons with mixed eyes. It really means that the person's eyes are not brown.)
Azgwau	red-haired
Aberkan	brown-eyed
Akarkash ...	freckled

2. *Referring to size:*

el Finah	tiny
Ahaghid	very small (This name is given when the child is very small at birth.)
Amzien	small
Azghirar.....	tall
Bu thaghund	very tall (the father of the rope)
Kabata	giant

3. *Referring to characteristic form, usually exaggerated:*

Akarou'	big head
Bu 'jif.....	big head (in at least one case, applied to a hydrocephal)
Bu shkort ...	hammer-headed (dolichocephalic)
Akhenush ...	pot-headed (brachycephalic)
Bu krish.....	big paunch
Athemran ...	fat
Bu aziw	exceedingly fat
Zaghdud *or* Mutaish ..	skinny
Bu imzoghen	big ears
Bu wenzar	big nose
Bu thaghumesth..	big tooth
Amtals	looking like a typical Metalsa man

4. *Referring to pathological conditions:*

Akshar	scab-head (a victim of scalp disease)
Aidar	lame
Ath-hashor	deaf

[1] E. Westermarck (*Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. II, p. 404) says: "The first-born son is very frequently called Mohammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Ait Wäryäger)." In 1928, after having read this selection, I inquired into the matter while visiting the Beni Urriaghel, and was unable to confirm Westermarck's statement.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

551

Bu tha'arur	hunchback
Bu thumzoghth ..	possessor of a single ear
Athagheir	one-eyed
Amarsu	wounded in leg or arm
Koshih	hand will not open or shut

5. *Referring to habit and occupation, and miscellaneous:*

Thahowat	midwife
Belezghai	stingy (literally, dry)
Amarsgiw	bad, naughty
Bu kiur	wears long hair
Sheikh	musician (also applied to actors in the Carnival)
Harrami	crafty, tricky
Bu rezza	wearer of a large turban
Bu shazara	cultivator of many *shazara*
Derras	weaver (with the horizontal loom)
Bu ghiur	owner (literally father) of a donkey
Akenniny	rabbit, implying fast runner
Shaitan	demon, bad boy, brigand
Bu selmat	left-handed
Aowas	old man
Ishen	twin
Oshun	wolf, jackal, crafty

Besides the names which have a religious significance or secular Arabic derivation, such as the *hmd* group, Ali and its derivative Hari, Amar, 'Omar, Abd el Kadher, Mimun, etc., there exists a body of names without known meaning, and said to be of ancient usage. Such are Abekri (plural Ibkretin), Windish (plural Indishen), Belash, Khartit, Wiginas, Ashor. These names are said to date from pagan times, and may be derived from earlier languages or from an extinct form of Berber speech.

Besides the name given in infancy and the nickname (which may be given at any time and is the most common appellation of the individual) there is the patronymic or matronymic, used only on formal occasions, such as the drawing up of documents by the clerk. A man's formal name is his given name, plus the name of his father, and a woman's is her given name plus the name of her father. The idea of *son* is either left to the imagination or expressed by the genitive particle *n* or the filial particle *th*. The filial particle *u*, typical of the Braber, is not frequently used in the Rif, except in names of social groupings.

When an ancestor of a certain *vein* or even *bone* has left a reputation which his descendants wish to perpetuate, his name, no matter how remote he may have been, is placed at the end after the patronymic. Such is the case, for example, with the families of Indishen and Oshannen, who have virtually acquired family names in the European sense.

[554] Although the Riffians are regularly patronymic, matronymy is found under certain set conditions. If a child's mother is noted for some skilled accomplishment, the child is called "So-and-so the son of the midwife," or whatever she happens to be. Besides midwives, female doctors and women who habitually led the dance before marriage are thus honored. Again, a boy bears his mother's name if she be a native of a different *bone* from his father, in the case of patrilocal residence. In the case of matrilocal residence he usually bears his father's name, but instances are known of the use of the matronymic in cases of matrilocal residence.

When, then, a boy bears his mother's name, as a result of an exogamic marriage on the part of his father this may be the mother's own name or that of her *bone* or *canton*, put in the singular and with the gender reversed. Thus, the son of a woman from Iherrushen would be Moh n Taherusht: from Iherrassen, Moh n Taherast; from Temjunt, Moh n Chimjun; from Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Amar n Charu n Aissa, an actual name.

The occurrence of matronymy, which might lead one to the supposition of an early matriarchate in the Rif, can thus be explained completely on the basis of exogamy and of distinctive trades on the part of the mother. Naturally, Riffians bearing matronyms do not

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

use them when in the presence of Arabs, lest the purpose of these names be misunderstood, for the Arabs would think that a man bearing his mother's name was illegitimate, and would ridicule him. For this reason the use of matronyms will probably soon die out.

Besides regular names, certain titles are in use. *Si* is prefixed to a man's name if he be a preceptor, schoolmaster, or clerk, or even a student proficient in reading and writing. *Sidi* is applied only to a reputed descendant of the prophet. The equivalent title *Mulai* is not known in the Rif, but is in use in the Senhaja Sghir, especially in Taghzuth, where a large part of the population, justly or otherwise, claims Sherifian blood.

THE FIRST HAIRCUT

The next event of importance in the life of the child is its first haircut. In the central tribes and the Senhaja it occurs after the expiration of a year; among the others, after six months. The former is the case in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Gzennaya, and all the Senhaja.

On the day decided on for the first haircut, the father takes a goat to the cantonal mosque and gives it to the students, who sacrifice and eat it. One of the students returns with the father and shaves the child's head, leaving a single lock standing out on the occiput. With some of the hair he makes a necklace, which is tied around the child's neck; the rest he takes out with him and buries secretly. After this the father and mother and immediate family, generally the entire *rein*, hold a small feast.

The scalp lock which the student has left is kept uncut until the death of the individual, and after that event is used by the students washing the body as a convenient handle wherewith to turn the corpse without touching the flesh. The origin of the Berber scalp lock is lost in antiquity, since it is one of the earliest features of Berber culture to be recorded in history.[1]

The position of the lock on the occiput differs among the tribes, there being three places where it may be left; the right occiput, the left occiput, and the center of the occiput, just below lambda. The lock when worn on the left is called *thazhtoshth*, when on the right *thai'iyeshth*, when in the middle *themzirth*.

Distribution of the left scalp lock: Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Shawia, Jebarna. It is also worn by the Ulad Stut, Beni Ukil, the Arabs of Msun, and the Beni Znassen. It is called the Zenatan type.

Distribution of the right scalp lock: Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, rest of Gzennaya, some in Tafersit, Targuist, Western and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Hamid. This is called the Senhajan type, and is worn by the Beni Zerwal, the Mtiwa dial Jbil, and by what few individuals of the Ghomara occasionally leave this lock. It is likewise worn by certain families of Fezzis, and by all of the Braber, who claim Senhajan origin.

Distribution of the median scalp lock: Beni Urriaghel,[2] Beni Amart, Bokoya, Maritimes, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Shibet, and Beni Mesduy.

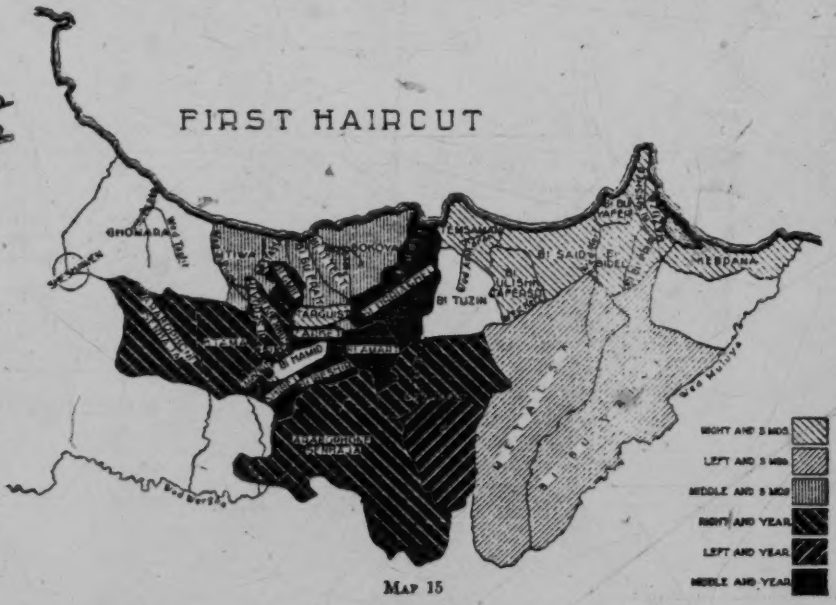
[1] Bates, pp. 134–137.

[2] Westermarck (p. 413) states that the Beni Urriaghel wear the lock on the *right* side, and that this lock is called *thamzirt*. I have never seen an Urriaghli with his scalp lock anywhere but in the middle of his occiput; and the word which Westermarck uses to denote the right lock is really the name of the median lock.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

302 *Tribes which shave the head*: Beni Tuzin, some in Targuist, and most of those in the Ghomara.

302 In most of Morocco, the scalp lock is worn by the boys up until puberty or marriage,
171 when it is removed and the head shaved thereafter. In the Rif and Senhaja it is worn not only by boys but by grown men. In Beni Tuzin, and among most of the families of Targuist



MAP 15

852
302

302 and the Ghomara, the head is shaved at the time of the first haircut, and kept shaved there-
171 after. In Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrushen and Ikhuanen the men shave their faces; in other regions beards are usually worn.

302 By decree of Abd el Krim, who perhaps wanted to make his followers appear more civilized, the scalp lock was ordered removed in 1924. All Riffians and Senhajans within reach of Abd el Krim's punishing arm shaved them off, for the most part with considerable reluctance, with the exception of the exiled Riffians living in Fez and other places, who retained them. After Abd el Krim's surrender in 1926, many of the Riffians let them grow again, and now wear long scalp locks as before; others let their hair grow in the European style, and still others continue shaving their heads.

171 The Berber scalp lock dates back to Libyan antiquity; representations of it are frequent on Egyptian monuments.[1] A median occipital lock is also worn today in Northern Albania.

[1] O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 133-137.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CIRCUMCISION

Despite the statement of Rohlfs to the contrary,[1] all the peoples of northern Morocco circumcise. This operation, although it may be performed at any time of the year, is usually carried out either in September, when the grapes have been picked, or in mid-winter, when it is considered that the cold will prevent infection. On account of this seasonal occurrence of the rite it is impossible to state definitely at what age it is performed. Nevertheless there is a significant difference in the ages at which it is carried out in different tribes, tribes of the central Rif usually performing it when the child is less than a year old. Three months is considered a felicitous age, but naturally the child is not always three months old at one of the favored times. Among the Arab-speaking peoples of Morocco it is usually performed at the age of seven or eight years. Circumcision is performed in early infancy in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Amart; all the Beni Urriaghel excepting Beni Hadifa, all of the Gzennaya excepting Shawia, Imsdurar, Inhanahan, and Ihershliyen, all the Senhaja Sghir, all the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja excepting Fenassa, Beni Koraa, and Rgheiwa, and all the Ghomara.

In all the rest of the region under consideration circumcision is carried out during the seventh or eighth year. It is interesting, from the point of view of comparison with other peoples, that the Arabs and Shluh circumcise at the age of seven or eight, that the Zenata, as represented by the Beni Znassen, put it off until just before marriage, and that among the Braber three separate customs are found; circumcision at seven or eight years, at the period immediately preceding marriage, and, among some groups, I have been told, failure to circumcise at all.

In regard to the person who performs the operation, here again we meet with a difference of custom. Among the central Riffian tribes the act is done by a preceptor or student who makes a specialty of this work, and who has a regular route which he follows twice a year, in September and in mid-winter. Some groups employ local preceptors; others patronize visiting ones from other tribes. Circumcision is performed by local or resident preceptors in Beni Urriaghel (with the exception of the mountain region), Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Targuist, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Taghsuth, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, all the Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. It is performed by borrowed or itinerant preceptors among the mountain Urriaghlis and in Beni Amart, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Ktama.

The routes or spheres or influence of some of the more prominent preceptors are as follows:

Preceptor of Ajdir: Ajdir and the rest of Aith Yusuf u Ali, Beni Bu Ayesh, Beni Abdullah, and sometimes Imrabten; all these being *fifths* of the Beni Urriaghel, excepting Ajdir, which is a village therein.

Preceptor of Iherrushen (from the *bone* of Ulad Alu Fars): Iherrushen, Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ain el Hamara, Ihershliyen, Inhanahan, Bured, and Temjunt; these are *cantons* of the Gzennaya. He likewise officiates for all the Aith Ali and the Jebel Hammam people of the Beni Urriaghel.

Preceptor of Targuist: Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, and Beni Hadifa of the Beni Urriaghel.

[1] Gerhardt Rohlfs, *Adventures in Morocco*, p. 45.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 875 Preceptor of Taghsuth: Taghsuth and Ktama.
Preceptor of Beni Bu Nsar: Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath.

In the rest of the region in which circumcision is performed by preceptors, all are local or resident. Preceptors build up reputations for dexterity in their trade, and their clientele of families grows or shrinks like that of family doctors. There are some families of Ajdir who send for the preceptor of Iherrushen instead of employing their own local practitioner, merely out of personal preference. Hence, due to the individual nature of the choice, the routes of the itinerant ones vary, while the distribution of the local ones remains the same.

304 In other tribes an illiterate man is employed. He performs the circumcision from the secular point of view of earning his living, rather than as an act of religious or magical virtue, as in the case of the preceptor. The lay practitioner is called by the name *akovani*, which means "illiterate" but has acquired the specialised meaning of "circumcisor" as well. The *akovani* is employed by the Kebdana, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, Mtiwa, Beni Bu Shibet. The Arabs of the plains normally use the *akovani*. In Fez, however, a preceptor is employed, as in the central Rif.

85 304 The preceptor when called to perform the operation, puts up a white flag on the roof of the house before he enters it, leaving the flag there until the operation is over and he is ready to depart. He takes eight to ten students with him, whose business it is to read the Koran aloud while he is working.

The preceptor and his students enter a special room, taking with them the boy, who has just been washed by his mother. The parents of the child, all women, and all illiterate men are excluded from the room during the operation.

The preceptor greases the foreskin and gland with butter until all is soft and pliant, puts a goat dropping inside the foreskin, which he twists around over it, and cuts off the foreskin with scissors, in such a way that the goat dropping is cut in two during the process.

Then he takes two eggs, the shells of which have been cracked and the whites of which have been drawn off, and thrusts the penis through holes in the shells into the yolks of both. It is said that this is done to cauterize the wound, and any magical significance which this action may imply is probably forgotten. After this has been done an old woman, preferably the child's grandmother, enters and picks the child up, taking him out on her back.

After the operation the preceptor and his students are given a great feast to which many guests are invited.

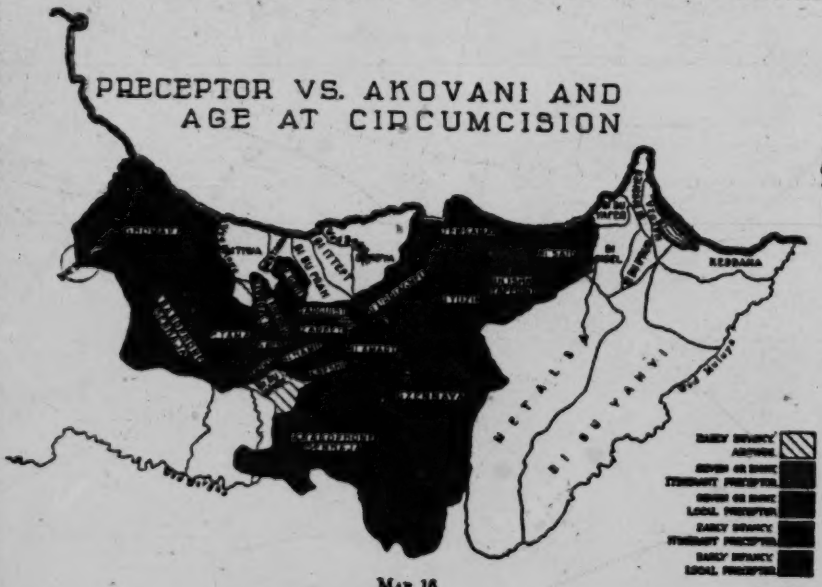
On account of the danger of infection circumcising is a dangerous practice, and the number of practitioners is few. During the hegemony of Abd el Krim, the preceptor of Ajdir once cut off the end of the gland of a child he was circumcising. If it had not been for 168 the intervention of Abd el Krim, who assessed five hundred dollars blood money, the preceptor would surely have been killed, since the child died shortly after the accident. On account of this incident many families of Ajdir call in the preceptor of Iherrushen, as has been previously noted.

304 The *akovani* is a different type of person from the preceptor. He is a rough, unlettered fellow, occupying a social position which, while not definitely degraded and certainly higher than that of blacksmiths and market-criers, is yet lower than that of the ordinary farmer. His occupation does not, however, imply Negro blood, and does not carry any social restrictions with it.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The technique of the *akovani* differs from that of the preceptor. He enters the room in which the child is sitting, without any accompanying students. The child's parents and all men except himself are excluded, but the presence of women is required. Fifteen or twenty of them sit around the room singing throughout the operation. The *akovani* proceeds in the same manner as the preceptor, until the foreskin has been removed. At this point, instead of thrusting the penis into egg-shells, he rubs it with powdered goat manure.

In the process of getting rid of the foreskin, the preceptor and the *akovani* likewise differ. The preceptor puts two eggs in an earthen bowl full of earth, and thrusts the fore-



MAP 16

skin into the earth between the eggs. He hands this to one of the students, who covers the whole with a cloth, and carrying it out into the courtyard gives it to the boy's father or paternal uncle, who takes it out secretly to an unfrequented place and buries it, bowl and all, so that it will never be found. Great care is taken to keep the location of the foreskin secret, and not even the preceptor is trusted with its disposal. The *akovani* does not employ a bowl or eggs, but gives the raw foreskin to the father or paternal uncle, who disposes of it with as great secrecy as in the case of the other technique.

In regard to payment, another difference appears between the preceptor and the *akovani*. The former considers that he is doing a charitable or virtuous work, and never demands payment. If the family is wealthy enough, the father gives him a dollar, a goat, or some article of food. If the preceptor considers the gift a strain on the family resources, he

]: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 gives it back. The *akovani*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his
852 livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two;
875 among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

585 The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

584 Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost [836] secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

582 By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at four-
584 teen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

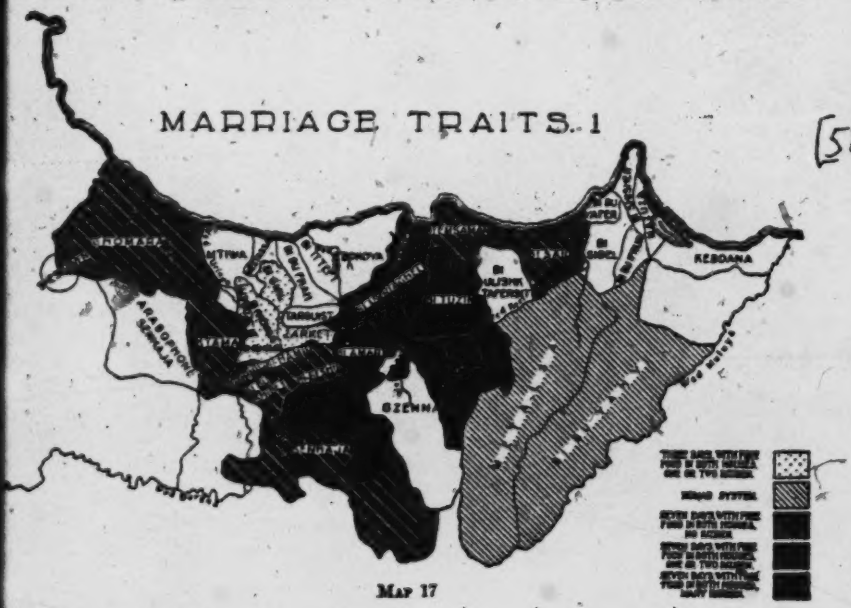
A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married [805] until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

582 Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One reason for exceptionally early marriages is the desire of the parents to have their 584
wishes fulfilled before the children are old enough to make preferences and insist upon them strongly.

When a boy has decided which girl he would like to marry, or when his parents have decided for him and have argued him into submission, the boy's mother seeks out the girl's mother in the women's market or in the ordinary market, and broaches the subject in such a circumlocutory way that if the latter does not show preliminary signs of acceptance the



Map 17

former can change the subject without having committed herself too deeply. If the two women are both willing to have their children wed, the men of the family take the matter up officially. The boy's father, or if he has no father his paternal uncle or elder brother, 583
meets the girl's father in market and proposes it over again; at this time the bargaining 584
over the price commences. This stipend is very variable in amount. Before the war it ranged from one to five or six hundred dollars, until it was fixed by Abd el Krim at one hundred. The amount depended upon the prominence of the girl's parents, as well as upon her own personal usefulness, attractiveness, and character; in case of exogamous marriage her own personal desirability was completely overshadowed by political factors. Today the marriage price has again become variable, but does not attain as high a point as it did before the war, on account of the general poverty and the present disinclination to have children. Before the war marriage was eagerly sought by the *bones*, who wanted to increase

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

their numbers as rapidly as possible so as to swell their fighting forces and replace losses. Often this desire caused the marriage of youthful couples who themselves were not yet old enough to desire it. At present, however, since warfare is forbidden, the incentive is lacking.

The price of brides in Taghzuth, as well as in other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, is fixed at seven dollars.

When the identity of the couple has been established by the consent, at least, of their parents, and in most cases by their own unofficial mutual consent, the groom goes to the clerk in order to obtain the necessary papers, one of which is given to the bride. The wedding cannot be held until the price agreed upon and stipulated in the written contract has been paid. This does not frequently cause a serious delay, because if the groom cannot produce the money some other member of his family will do it for him, expecting him to pay it back later in kind or in labor. Boys who have purchased their wives at the expense of an elder brother may live with that brother afterwards until payment has been made, and until they have built or bought houses of their own.

As soon as betrothal is certain, when the papers have been made out and the money paid, the bride is tattooed. The designs have already been discussed under the subject of material culture, and their distribution shown on a map.[1] The tattooing is usually done gratis by an old woman of the bride's *rein* who is adept at the art. If there is no one in the *rein* competent to do this a woman is called in from some other *rein* and is paid for her work.

This operation is done as soon as possible, because it is desirable that the skin should heal before the wedding. On the other hand, families are usually careful not to have their daughters tattooed until there is no chance of having the wedding called off, since to have an unmarried tattooed daughter on their hands would be as shameful as having an untattooed wife.

The date of the wedding is in some regions limited to a certain season of year, and in others is purely voluntary. Among the central tribes of the Rif, and much of the Senhaja, these festive ceremonies take place only in the month of September, when most of the crops are in, and while the grape picking is going on. Grape picking is a season of carnival; the people sleep in the vineyards, and after and between intervals in weddings the men and women go up to the vineyards, where they joke, shout and shoot off guns, and play games; the men wrestle together, and the women and men form sides and throw stones at each other. The whole aspect of the celebration is one of license, although by this I do not wish to imply that there is a definite practice of a license night. It is only natural, however, that this should be the season for weddings, when spirits are running higher than at any other time of the year. September weddings are the rule in Temsaman, northern Beni Ulishk, all of Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, all the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Gmil, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Ulad Azam. In the rest of the Rif, Senhaja, and in Ghomara, weddings take place not only in September but also at other times. In some parts of the September area, this arrangement has begun to break down since the war.

As soon as a groom determines when he is to be married, he chooses a number of his friends and schoolmates, usually about twenty, to act as *iuziren*, a word derived from the Arabic *wazir*, with the implication that the groom is a sultan and the chosen friends his

[1] See above, p. 87.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585

counsellors. The bride similarly chooses a group of *thiuziren* from among her friends to act as companions. The period between the betrothal and the marriage is considered full of shame and of supernatural dangers for the participants. Consequently they have to be well guarded, and their *iuziren* and *thiuziren* go about with them whenever they leave their respective houses, which they do as little as possible. When the groom goes out he must keep the hood of his jellaba up, and the bride must keep her head covered. If either of them wears *iherkusen*, or leather slippers, he or she must keep the counters, which are ordinarily bent under the heel, up behind it.

This custom of choosing *iuziren* and *thiuziren* is confined to the central Riffian area and the contiguous regions. In outlying areas one finds regions in which but one, two, or three *iuziren* are chosen, with no *thiuziren*, and others in which no companions at all are chosen. The *iuziren* are several in number in Beni Urriaghel, the portion of Temsaman contiguous with Beni Urriaghel, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Beni Ulid, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Burda. They are limited to a few in Beni Tuzin, western Metalsa, Beni Mohammed, Beni Yunes, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Inhanahan, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath. Of these Beni Tuzin have two or three, and the others usually but one. In small *bones* in regions where many are chosen, all the unmarried boys and girls between fifteen and seventeen years of age or thereabouts serve as *iuziren* and *thiuziren*.

The actual duration of the wedding also varies regionally. In the central Riffian area and among the Nomads, a feast is held for seven consecutive nights (in Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Mohammed, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Beni Bu Shibet, Taghsuth, Ktama, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara). In the rest of the territories three nights is the normal duration.

In the seven-night areas, except among the Nomads, food is provided nightly for all the guests; in the three-night areas and among the Nomads, food is provided on the last night only (except in the tribes of Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath, where food is provided every night). These latter tribes seem to have lost the seven-day tradition while retaining that of continuous hospitality. In any case, food, whether provided on all nights or one, is to be had in both the house of the bride and that of the groom. The groom is supposed to pay for all of it in both houses. Often, however, he is unable to do so, and borrows the money from a member of his family, with the agreement that he shall provide a similar feast on the occasions of the loaner's marriage or shall pay him back when he has earned the money.

During all seven, or three, days of the wedding the bride is closely secluded in her house, and the groom seldom leaves his. Each have their companions with them all the time. In regions where there are no *thiuziren*, the women of the immedate family stay with the bride.

Among the nomads of the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, the groom, contrary to the usual practice, sleeps in the tent of his parents-in-law all seven nights of the pre-nuptial period. On the last day he returns to his own tent and makes ready for the bride to be brought to him in the evening. This custom forms a common subject of ridicule among the sedentary tribes.

585
302

On the first day of the feast the women apply kohl to the bride's eyes and henna to her hands. They first boil a pot of henna, allow it to cool, and place it in a shallow earthen bowl.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585 302 In this they put two cracked eggs. They put a veil over the bride's head and face, and hang strings of silver coins between her fingers. The bride's hands are then thrust into the bowl of henna, and smeared up to the wrist. No attempt is made at forming a pattern. The feet are likewise painted with henna up to the ankles. The women in charge smear the henna on their own hands in order to partake of the magical potency of the bride and of the concoction.

At the same time the hands of the groom are stained with henna. This use of henna is repeated daily in both houses until the feast is over. Neither the bride nor groom is allowed to wash during this period.

Kohl is also applied to the bride's eyes during the feast days, in all regions excepting the central mountain area. It is put on the groom's eyes in the Senhaja and Ghomara and in the east. Kohl is used upon brides throughout the Rif except among the mountain Urriaghlis, Ikhuanen except Tainest, Iherrushen except Telmest, Temjunt, and Beni Amart. It is used upon grooms in all Senhaja, all Ghomara, Targuist, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Shawia.

585 On the first day of the feast, when those in charge of the henna convene, a white flag is set up on the roof of each of the houses.

In the regions which have seven-day feasts at both houses, the last three days are subject to definite food regulation, but on the first four any suitable dish such as *seksu* and *guaz* [1] may be served. On the fifth day a *thamarik* of beans cooked with oil and cut-up peppers is served with bread, and no other food may be cooked or consumed in the two houses on that day. On the sixth day, early in the morning, more bean *thamarik* is eaten and then the men slaughter a goat, the meat of which they give the women to cook in the house of the groom. These same men, members of the groom's family, then lead another goat to the bride's house and do the same.

On the seventh day honey is given to the guests early in the morning, and then a hearty meat dish, usually a *guaz*. After this has been eaten the guests bring their presents, consisting of cattle, goats, meat, bread, butter, honey, and other foodstuffs. Bread alone is never presented.

585 533 Each morning during the seven-day period two companies of four *iuziren* each come to the groom's house and waken him by chanting, each four alternately, the following quatrain:

Sabḥain er-raẓḳ
Sabḥain el-khalaiḳ
Sabḥain er-ruwâḳ
El ardh el-khalaiḳ.[2]

[1] See p. 59.

[2] The classical form of this would be:

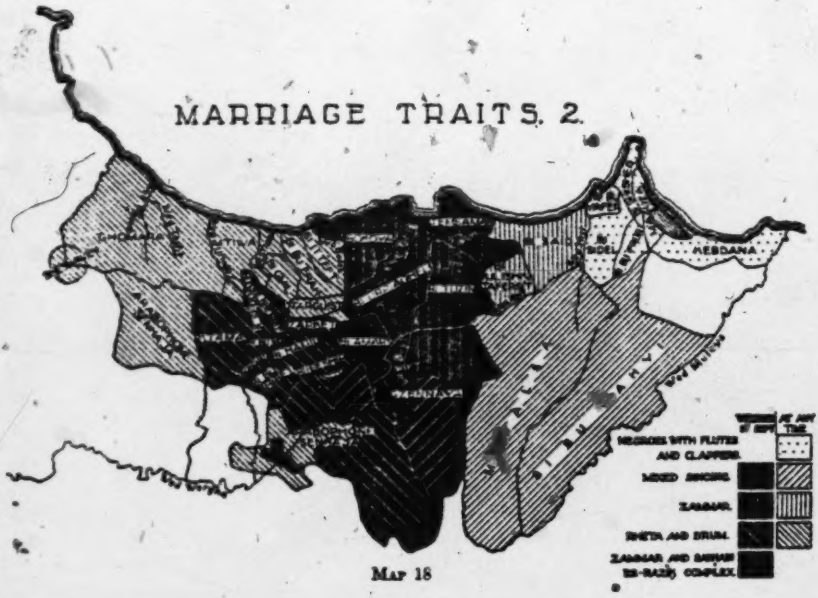
Sabḥân er-râziḳ	Praise to the Provider (Giver of Bread)
Sabḥân el-khâliḳ	Praise to the Creator
Sabḥân er-ruwâḳ	Praise to the Tent (Canopy, Heavens)
El ardh el-khâliḳ	The Earth is the Creator.

The Arabic words are little changed from their classical form; they do not occur in the Koran, and I have been unable to trace their origin.

The idea seems to be that the sky fertilizes the earth, which produces life and food. Such a principle may be a survival of a pre-Islamic belief, with the formula translated into classical Arabic to give it greater ritualistic value; or it may be the last vestige of an obscure heresy, such as that of Haimim (El Bekri, pp. 197 sqq.). Discussion of this troublesome question is earnestly solicited.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The *iuriren* whose turn it is, chant at the top of their lungs, since the other company usually amuses itself by firing off volleys of musketry. After both have chanted it a number of times, they unite in gunplay, and enter the house to greet the groom. The chanting of the *sabbain ar-razh* as the verse is called, is considered a very necessary formality in the region in which it is observed. It is thought that to omit this part of the wedding would be more serious than any other miscarriage of custom. Those who do not practice it look upon it with great ridicule, and call it a survival of heathendom; consequently those who do



MAP 18

practice it take pains to lead strangers away while it is being done, and never mention it nor admit participation in it while travelling. It is another of the strange hypocrisies and inconsistencies of Riffian culture, resulting from their retention of ancient cultural traits. Chanting it is the custom among the mountain Beni Urriaghlis, in Beni Amart, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen, and among some families of Iherrassen.

The chief attractions at the houses of the bride and groom, during all the seven or three nights in the regions where food is given nightly, are the dancing and singing of the girls, the gunplay and shouting of the men, the instrumental music, and the coarse humor of the musicians.

There are two types of dancing, the usual one and the type confined to the central area. In the usual type, all the young women of the *bone* who are presentable form two opposing and equal lines in the courtyard, each line with a leader. The women include not only

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585 535 unmarried ones but also the younger married women whose husbands will allow them to participate. The dancing is slow as far as actual progression and movement of the feet is concerned, since the two parallel lines, each girl with her hands on the shoulders of the one in front of her, move up and down the courtyard, and sometimes swing at angles to each other. A more rapid motion, however, takes place in the abdomen, hips, and shoulders, the dancers writhing in unison in a rapid muscle dance, stamping their feet in time with the music and moving them slowly back and forth.

585 533 While dancing the women sing rhymed couplets, usually in pentameter, to some monotonous and yet not unmusical refrain. The music is more appealing to an American ear than that of the Arabs, but less so than that of the Shluh. The couplets include amorous rhapsodies, extemporaneous personal allusions to boys in the audience whose attention one of the dancers, especially the leader of a line, may wish to attract, and endless narrative dirges and exultations dealing with the war with the Christians. These war poems are beautiful compositions, and have now been sung so often that they have acquired a certain stability of form. They are sung in the dialect of the Galiya; often during the singing men who have participated in the battles referred to burst out weeping.

In some of the songs a dialogue is carried out between the two lines, one representing the Riffians and the other the Spaniards. As an example, one line says (in rough paraphrasing) "O soldiers, why did you come here? Why did you pitch your white tents beneath the crags of sweet-smelling wood?" To this the other, representing the Spaniards, replies, "To see the girls of Temsaman walking by, girded with belts of many colors, and their skirts swishing."

The leaders of the lines sometimes carry shallow open-based drums, the heads of which they pause to tighten by a fire burning in an angle of the court.

585 535 In a restricted part of the central area a different and more active type of dancing is found: all but two of the girls, none of whom are married, dance around in a circle, facing inward and singing. The style of their dancing is the same as that of the usual type. The two leaders, however, dance apart from the others. They wear short skirts, and hold in their hands, instead of drums, wooden clickers or castanets.[1]

These two dance side by side, moving their hips in opposite directions, and from time to time kicking their legs high in the air, clicking their castanets beneath their raised thighs and striking them on their buttocks. When the spirit of the dance has sufficiently aroused them they pick up and swing each other and leap to each other's shoulders and stand for a moment upon them. The atmosphere of this dance, heightened by the presence of the castanets, is quite Andalusian, but more acrobatic. It is to be seen among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Beni Amart, Iberrushen, and Ikhuanen. Since the war the Taghzuthis have taken over this type of dancing, or rather the circle part of it, since the skill required for the parts of the two leaders is beyond them.

535 533 534 There are several kinds of music played at Riffian weddings. The first is that of the *zammar*, a double-reed pipe with vibrator and opposing stops.[2] The ends of the pipes are adorned with aoudad horns. The music produced on this instrument sounds very much like

[1] Bates (pp. 155-156) says that castanets were used by the ancient Libyans. One representation which he exhibits shows two curved pieces, presumably of wood, held in one hand; another shows two sticks, one held in each hand, and struck together. The Riffian women hold a pair in each hand.

[2] Bates (loc. cit.) states on the authority of Durius Samius that the ancient Libyans played on double-reed pipes.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that of bagpipes. The *zammar* is played by the pipers from Temsaman and other places outside the heart of the Rif. They wander into that region during the month of September to play at weddings.[1]

Besides being musicians, the pipers act as professional wits, specializing in double meanings, usually of an obscene nature. Remarks which would cause a fight if uttered by anyone else are received with great applause when uttered by a piper.

The places whence these players come have already been listed.[2] The range of their professional practice includes Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Temsaman, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, all Gzennaya excepting Shawia, Beni Amart, and Bokoya. Pipers inhabiting the territory of the Galiya play locally for weddings within their own families, as well as in the central Rif. Outside of our region, the Arabs of Msun, the Beni Znassen, the Braber, and the Algerian Kabyles employ *zammar* players, and in the last two instances bagpipers as well, to play at their weddings. The North African bagpipe, which is not found in the Rif, resembles the *zammar* in the construction of the two pipes, which are fingered.

The second type of music is that of the *rheta*, a flaring-mouthed straight clarinet which produces an extremely loud, piercing note. This music is accompanied by the beating of large drums, closed at the bottom; sometimes double-headed drums are used.[3] The Jebala is the home of this method of entertainment. The musicians are students from cantonal mosques or *zawias*. This means of livelihood does not place them in a low social category, as it does the pipers. The profession is optional, not hereditary. Jeballi students who wander about playing this instrument at weddings take small boys along to sing in a piping falsetto and dance. On other occasions they use the reed flute instead of the *rheta*, which is reserved for ceremonial occasions. This is the practice in all Senhaja except Marnissa, all Ghomara, the maritime tribes, and Targuist.

The third type, centered among the Nomads, consists of flute music and singing. All the guests, both men and women, except for the dancers, sit together within the brush enclosure surrounding the encampment, or, in the case of sedentary peoples, in the courtyard. They sing in mixed chorus to the accompaniment of a single flute played by one of the company. The musician is not distinguished from the others except in his musical ability. Distribution is in Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Shawia, Marnissa.

The fourth type is found in the Galiya and Kebdana. Negroes belonging to the Nasiri sect, who play flutes, beat on large drums, and click iron clappers, wander into these tribes and are employed as entertainers in weddings. The Beni Bu Yahyi employ them when they can obtain their services, which is not often.

Besides these professional types of music, and the singing of the dancers, the part of the older women must not be omitted. They cluster in a corner of the court or in a room, and indulge in the shrill, pulsating cry known as the *zigharit*, famous in antiquity.[4]

The men sit on the ground, leaning against the walls, laugh, shout, emit piercing cries, and fire off their rifles, holding the butts against the ground so that the muzzles are level with their ears. This action naturally has the effect of temporarily deafening some of the guests.

[1] The social position of this group has already been discussed. See pp. 92 *seq.*

[2] See pp. 93–94.

[3] Bates (*loc. cit.*) shows a drawing of a similar instrument, played in antiquity, and also a double-headed Libyan drum.

[4] Bates, pp. 153–154.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585 The culmination of the ceremony comes, in all regions, on the last night of the feast, when open hospitality is practiced everywhere. The guests, who, in the areas in which there is hospitality on the earlier nights have spent the preceding evenings wandering back and forth between the houses of the bride and groom, entertained alternately by the two groups of dancers and of musicians, concentrate on the final night at the house of the groom.

After it has grown dark the bride is dressed for her journey to her husband's house. Her best clothes are put on, including some which the groom has bought for her as a present. The rest of her clothes and personal possessions are tied together or put in a box to be taken with her. She is veiled, and mounted on a mule. In regions where there are no mules or the path between the houses is too steep for one, she is carried on the back of a strong woman. In no case is she allowed to walk.

Meanwhile, in the region in which the *sabḥain er-raṭḥ* is chanted, the groom makes a final preparation. He goes out of the house to a place where reeds grow, cuts one, and brings it back to the house. With this he re-enters his room and stays there until the bride arrives, keeping the reed for a purpose which will be described later. In the same region, the bride's costume contains one distinctive feature. The *ṭhiuziren* bring two pliant sticks to the house. These they tie together and bend into an arch, which they hold over her head so that the ends touch her temples. They then throw a piece of cloth over this frame, silk if obtainable, and bind a red and white turban around the temples so that it will hold the arch and cloth in place. They thrust a small mirror under the cloth and over the bride's forehead, and remove her belt, which she is not allowed to wear in the presence of her husband.

When the bride has been thus prepared she is mounted on the mule. In the *sabḥain er-raṭḥ* area her brother, or her paternal uncle if she has no brother, mounts behind her and clasps her around the waist. Another relative leads the mule or walks beside it. The women of the family, in all regions, walk in a group about the mule. The men of the bride's family go with the procession, slightly ahead, and fire off their rifles all the way, bursting into especially rapid volleys as they near the courtyard of the groom's house. Before entering, the women of the bride's family hand her a tray full of barley, raisins, and almonds, which she scatters all about her as she enters. The guests rush out to pick these up, and eat the raisins, only the men eating the almonds. The barley is saved to be mixed with the next season's seed-grain, since it is thought that the fertility of the bride will cause an added increase in the crop.

The groom now emerges from his room and is handed a stick by one of the *iuziren*, who hands a similar one to the brother or uncle of the bride. These two hold a mock battle of short duration, after which the groom leads the bride into the room destined for her. In the *sabḥain er-raṭḥ* area he comes out again immediately with the reed which he has previously cut. He hands it to one of the *iuziren*, who holds it while the groom makes three passes at it with his knife without touching it. Then the groom takes it again and cuts it in three pieces. Two of these he gives to guests, who subdivide them and distribute the small pieces. These are considered to be full of *baraka*, and are kept.

While the groom is cutting up the reed eight of the *iuziren* pair off into two equal groups and chant the *sabḥain er-raṭḥ* for the last time. After they have finished the groom takes the third piece of the reed into the chamber with the bride, and hangs it on the wall. The bride and groom do not leave their room until the next day.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Outside, the guests eat. In the old days in many places a friend of the groom provided a tub of *seksu*, so large and so full that it took four men to carry it, lifting it by chain handles on the sides, and ten men could sit around it eating at once. Another man would bring a spouted pot full of honey mixed with melted butter, which he would pour on the *seksu* as dry spots were uncovered. When a guest was through he made way for another, and when all were through they re-assembled and threw coins as a gift to the groom into what remained of the *seksu*. The usual amount for each to throw in was a dollar. Since the discontinuance of the practice of serving such large tubs of *seksu*, the money is thrown into smaller bowls of *seksu* and into brass trays. Sometimes enemies or rivals throw increasingly large sums into the *seksu* in order to shame and exceed each other until one has run out of funds, when the other gloats over his rival's discomfiture. When a man thus runs out of money he may throw in cartridges, knives, or any other negotiable object. One famous instance is related wherein a man led his mule into the room and backed it into the tub, after he had thrown in everything else he possessed but his clothes. 585

Defloration of the bride does not necessarily take place on this night, since the couple is often extremely shy, especially if both are very young. If coitus takes place on the final night of the wedding, a portion of the bride's clothing or a cloth specially intended for the purpose is passed through the door and around among the guests, as proof of the bride's virginity. If the defloration takes place on a later occasion, the family of the groom holds a rapidly assembled celebration, called the *shahad er kreir*, to celebrate the event. If the bride is not a virgin the groom may send her home and get his money back, or may keep her and get back a portion of his money. In case he is fond of her he may do nothing about it, postponing the official defloration until some time when he can falsify the tokens of virginity. Such indulgence usually happens only when it is the groom who has deflowered her before marriage. If he keeps her without making any such exhibition, real or false, no action is taken by the community, but the couple starts its married life with an unsavory reputation. Fear of incurring the wrath of the bride's family sometimes prevents the groom from sending back a hymenless bride, much as he may wish to do so.

There is a tradition in the Rif that the *jus primae noctis* was formerly practiced in certain tribes of the Werghan Senhaja: a certain man from el Kelaa of Beni Ulid was sent for to attend weddings in Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Fenassa, Ulad Azam, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Zrarka, and Beni Krama, where he was feasted during all the days of the ceremony, and on the night of the bride's arrival deflowered and then left her. The man is said to be dead and the custom discontinued. The Riffians tell the story as a joke on the Senhajans, and although this circumstance does not necessarily render the tale false it does not increase its chances of being true.

The marriage of a divorced woman is everywhere carried out with less ceremony than that of a girl who is being married for the first time. In the area in which the *sabbain errazh* is chanted, the brother of a divorced woman does not mount on the mule behind her. The same is true of the marriage of a widow. 587

Residence of the couple after marriage may be matrilocal, patrilocal, in the house of a brother of the groom, or, when possible, in a separate house. Matrilocal residence occurs when the groom is a newcomer to the *bone* and serves the bride's father, as a share-laborer; residence in the house of the groom's father or brother takes place when the groom is not wealthy enough to build a new house or buy an unoccupied one; residence in the house of 591

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

591 the brother instead of that of the father depends on whether or not the father is living, and whether or not the brother has paid for the wedding, for the bride, or for both.

587 In the case of the levirate, which has been discussed under inheritance, the newly-married widow usually remains with her children in the house of her first husband, to which the new husband comes as a visitor rather than as a regular occupant. All wives who have been married in any way other than through the levirate usually live in the same house together.

Not only is the levirate a common feature of Riffian society, but the sororate is also practiced. A man whose wife dies young is expected to marry one of her sisters in her place, and no fee is demanded for the second one. A man cannot, however, marry his wife's sister during the lifetime of the first one.

595 Polygyny in the Rif is more often the result of the function of the levirate than the wholly voluntary marriage of more than one wife. Only men of unusual wealth ordinarily marry more than one wife from choice. Women given a man of a different *bone* by means of a magical compulsion, the purpose of which is the alliance of the two *bones*, form an additional class of plural wives.

589 Such is the social economy of the Riffians that spinsters are practically non-existent.

DIVORCE

586 If a husband and his wife both desire a divorce, the clerk gives her a paper making her free to remarry and she goes back to the house of her parents.

If the wife desires a divorce and the husband does not, the wife may go to the house of her parents to live. If she remains there more than fifteen days without returning to her husband's house she is automatically divorced and is entitled to a paper to that effect from the clerk. This procedure is not as easy as it sounds, however, since the woman's parents may object to the divorce and send her back again by force.

The husband may send envoys, usually his father and brothers, to the house of his wife's parents to slaughter a goat and prepare a meal there, which action serves as a magical compulsion upon the owner of the house to accede to their wishes. The ultimate decision as to whether or not the wife remains all of the fifteen days depends upon the attitude of her parents, the strength of her husband's desire to get her back, and the relative importance of the two *reins* involved. If the wife is from a different *bone* from that of the husband serious hostilities may result.

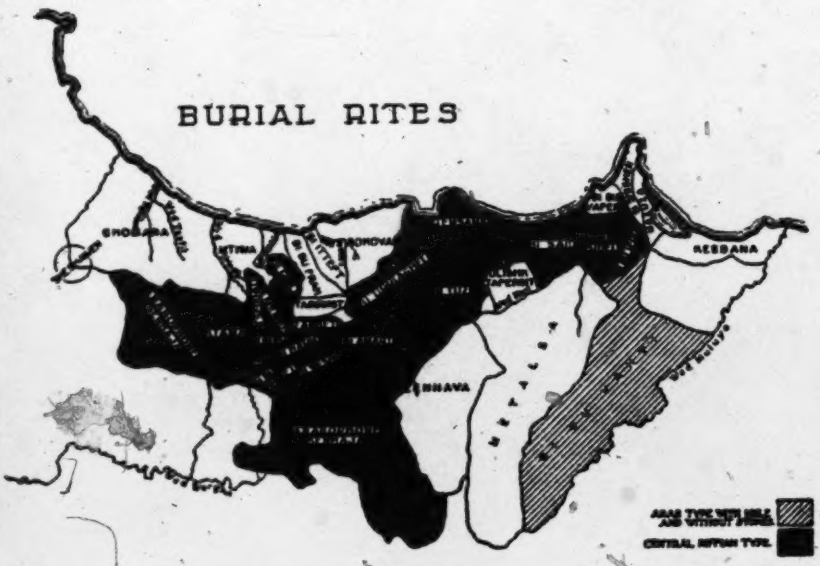
A husband seldom divorces a wife against her will except for infidelity, but he may divorce her for lesser offenses if he desires or dares. He may if he wishes divorce her for failure to bear him children, though in this case he usually marries a second wife and keeps the first one as well.

A woman who wishes to be divorced and cannot, on account of the opposition of her family and of her husband, may run away from the tribe with her lover, if she has one; or alone, if she has not and is sufficiently courageous. Women who have run away on account of unfortunate marriages or as a consequence of being caught in adultery sometimes go to Fez and become prostitutes. So much trouble can be caused a man by a wife whom he has married against her will that few men are willing to undertake the liability of doing so.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

DEATH AND BURIAL

When a man or a woman has died, the first consideration is to have the corpse washed. 764
In the case of a man, this is done by an old man whose person and clothes are clean, or by a student from the cantonal mosque. Two or three students stand by to assist him in bringing water and throwing it on the corpse. In the case of a woman it is an old woman who does the washing with other women helping. The corpse is first washed in hot water, then cold water is thrown on. The washing is done with a woolen cloth, which is afterward



Map 19

thrown away, along with the pot which held the water for washing. After this the corpse is wrapped in a sheet, formerly wool and now cotton.

If the victim dies early enough so that his burial may be effected by *el asr*, or four o'clock in the afternoon, he is buried on the day of his decease; if he dies too late his corpse must be kept in the house all night in its shroud. The corpse must not be left in the dark, so a light is left burning with it.

Students are summoned, as many as the family can afford, to sit in the room with the corpse and chant most of the night. They must chant sixty *haiseb*, or four times sixty chapters of the Koran, since a *haiseb* is four chapters; they thus chant the whole book. Each one is assigned a different part to chant, so that they may cover the ground the more quickly. If the family be poor and only a few students have been summoned, they may not

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

764 get through the whole Koran in time. The family supplies them with food which they eat when tired of chanting.

When the corpse is ready for burial, be it on the day of decease or the next day, the whole village comes out to attend the procession and funeral. The women are represented only by the older married women.

The corpse, resting on the door of the village mosque, is carried by four men, constantly changing, so that everyone in the village may be said to have borne it part of the way. Each man runs up and takes a corner of the door for a few feet, when he is replaced by another. In this way the corpse is carried to the cemetery. If, as often happens, the mosque door comes apart on the way (for it is but loosely tied together), the corpse must be set on the ground while the door is being repaired. In each place where the corpse is thus laid a stone must be set up.

Arrived at the place of burial, some of the men busy themselves with digging the grave. [804] It consists of two holes, one inside the other. The upper hole must be twelve foot-measures long, a leg-straddle wide, and navel deep. The inner hole must be one span wide, the length of the corpse, measured with a rope, and knee deep. The corpse is put in the inner hole on its left side, its feet to the east. If the corpse is too thick to fit into the span-wide hole, it must be forced into it, since it is considered very bad for a corpse to be given a wider grave. When necessary, however, the ditch is widened, but at the expense of the soul of the deceased. Seven flat slabs of slate or other sedimentary stone are brought, having been shaped when necessary. They are laid over the inner grave crosswise, and dirt is piled in above them and the outer grave filled. While the corpse is resting on the bank, just before being set into the grave, the students chant the burial ritual from the Koran. As soon as the body is in the grave the women go away, and the men collect together in a circle and pray.

The pre-Islamic graves in the cemetery at Beni Hozmar, on the road between Sheshawen and Tetuan, can be distinguished from the later ones in the same cemetery by the fact that the former are orientated north and south. The graves at Aswil, on the border between the Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel, are similarly orientated. These graves are said to be pre-Islamic. I witnessed a funeral at Taghzuth, at which the grave was dug north and south, and the corpse buried with its head to the south. Three Riffians who were with me objected to this orientation, but their objection was not heeded. The men taking part in the interment argued that the direction was east and west, obviously an evasion, since at that moment the sun was about to set directly at right angles to the axis of the grave. Since this burial took place during the week of the summer solstice, the orientation must have been almost due north and south. On account of the sensitiveness of the Taghzuthis on this point I was unable to obtain any but visual information concerning the persistence of this custom.

A flat stone, usually artificially shaped, is erected at head and feet; in the case of a man the stones are parallel to each other, and at right angles to the axis of the body; in the case of a woman, the headstone is set in the axis line and at right angles to the footstone.

764 171 The type of burial described above is typical of the central regions of the Rif. In the east, and among the maritime tribes, the custom in use is that employed in the Arabized section of Morocco in general. The body is buried at any time desired, no hesitation being felt at burying it in the night, or at leaving it alone and in the dark. It is carried to the grave on a rug by four paid pall-bearers, accompanied by two paid grave-diggers carrying hoes. The immediate family may attend the burial, but the village as a whole does not.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

764
171

There are no students and no food is served in the house of the deceased afterwards, as is the case in the central Rif. According to the second method the grave is not measured by the navel, straddle, span, knee, and rope, but by rope alone. The first hole is estimated and the second is measured with a rope to fit the corpse. No compunction is felt at making the hole too large or small. The stones put at head and feet are round and the same for men and women. The body is not set down en route, since it is carried on a rug, hence there is no occasion for planting stones along the way. Under this system there is no prayer at the grave.

A third usage is that of the Beni Bu Yahyi, who carry their dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey, and bury it in a shallow hole with the surrounding dirt scraped over it into a mound. No stones are used, probably because stones are very rare in that country. The central Riffian type is found in Beni Bu Ifrur; Beni Sidel; Beni Said; that portion of Beni Ulishk lying near Temsaman; all of Beni Tuzin except the village of el Azib of Meidhar; Beni Urriaghel; Temsaman; Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Al Fars, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Iherrassen, Ikaroen, Ihershliyen, Temjunt, Bured, Inhanahan, Beni Yunes, and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya; Beni Amart; and all the Senhaja and Ghomara.

The second type is found in Kebdana; Mazuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer; Metalsa; that part of Beni Ulishk near Dar Driush; el Azib of Meidhar of Beni Tuzin; Tafersit; Shawia, Imadurar, and Khebaba of Gzennaya; Beni Mesduy; Targuist; Bokoya; Beni Itteft; Beni Bu Frah; Mestassa; and Mtiwa.

The type in which the corpse is carried on a mule is practiced among the Riffians only by the Beni Bu Yahyi; the nearby Arabs of the Ulad Bu Rima, however, use that method.

Although all the factors connected with death and burial which have been described seem to fit together as opposing complexes without overlapping, there is one other trait which has a different distribution. All of the men in the *bone* must sleep in the house for seven days after the death. Any stranger who is in the house at the actual time of the death must sleep there with them. During the seven days, members of neighboring *bones* which are well disposed towards that of the deceased must visit the house to express their condolences to the family.

The women express their grief by weeping and sometimes by scratching their faces and disarranging their hair, but do not put on any costume which marks them as widows. Among the Beni Amart the widows frequently entertain visitors with long recitations of the virtues of their husbands.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION

771 RIFFIAN religion, although of course officially Islam, is a blend of that faith with old heathen ideas, and with factors apparently Christian and Jewish, some of which may antedate the arrival of Islam. The kings of Nekor were rigid adherents to the Malekite rite,[1] and the Islam of the Riffians from that time to this has been officially orthodox.

782 794 The visible practice of orthodox religion consists in the sending by each *bone* of twenty-five men on a set day each week to the cantonal mosque to pray, and in public attendance of Friday sermons there. The preceptor delivers the sermon in the morning, standing before the worshippers and leaning on a cane. He criticises local happenings and gives out the agricultural forecast for the week, besides expounding the Koran.

Most of the men of the *canton* who are married and of serious purpose attend this service. Old women also attend, sitting in a separate room, where they can hear but cannot be seen. Young women do not go, and indeed seldom take the trouble to pray, since religion is almost wholly a masculine concern. When they do pray they do it at home. As an outlet of religious energy, or more often as a holiday excursion, they take food to the saint's tomb and eat it there with their children. Students, apparently immune to the prohibition against men's going to the tomb, do so and are given food by the women. Women also go to cemeteries on Fridays, and enjoy themselves despite their surroundings.

773 A common legend prevalent in many parts of Morocco is that after the Christians have had their way with the Muslimin for a certain length of time, Sidna Ali will come and smite them with the sword. After this Sidna Aissa, or Jesus, will appear and convert the Christians to Islam.

This legend is narrated in the Jebala, where a special intensity is given to the part of Jesus in the drama. The Jebalans claim that when Sidna Aissa comes wolves will lie down with lambs, and that stones, streams, and roads will speak. Ali, who is said by the Jebalans to have been scab-headed, and Jesus, who is probably their most important religious personage, especially in Taghzuth, are the only two historical characters reputed not to have died, but to be living on, awaiting return to earth. This is not said of the Prophet, whose personality hovers in the background as the legitimate but unemphasized pivot of the religion.

At Taghzuth I was told the stories of Jonah and the whale, and the Flood. In the latter legend, the ark was made to land at Tangier. This belief is also held in the Rif. A variant version popular there is that in the beginning of time Banu Adam (a collective name meaning "Children of Adam," or "mankind," but here used to denote an individual) saw that a flood was coming and built a boat, taking into it his wife, his daughter, his dog, his cat, his donkey, and seven men. When the flood was over the boat landed on a mountain. At that time the seven men began quarrelling over Banu Adam's daughter, since each of them

[1] See p. 22.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

wanted her, and the quarrel grew into a fight. Banu Adam was perturbed at this, and sat up all night making *fatha* and other prayers. In the morning he found that instead of one daughter he had seven, each like the next, so that he could not tell which of them was the original. He also discovered that his dog, cat, and donkey were missing, hence he naturally concluded that each of these animals had been turned into two daughters. Each man married one of the daughters, and all mankind is descended from these unions. 773

All women since that time have been divided into four classes: (1) those who are always fighting and making a noise, and interfering in other people's affairs—descended from the dog; (2) those sly, deceitful, and unfaithful—descended from the cat; (3) the stupid, stolid, and slow—descended from the donkey; (4) the quiet, capable, agreeable, truthful, and faithful. These last are descended from the true daughter of Banu Adam, and are rare.

In the Rif, the Ali and Jesus prediction is replaced by the legend that a man, identity unknown, will come and smite both the Muslimin and the Christians until but a tenth of each remains. Then the slayer will introduce a new religion, the nature of which has not yet been revealed. He will come across the sky with the sun from the East in a single day.

RELIGIOUS BROTHERHOODS

Just before the European conquest of the Rif, members of heterodox religious brotherhoods began to come into the territory, teaching and making converts, and Riffians who had lived outside came home bringing these doctrines with them. These sects are the Bokhariin, Derkawa, Tijaniin, and Nasiriin. All four of them now have adherents all over the Rif. The adherents are called *fakir* (plural *fokara*). The *fokara* refuse to go to the mosques or saint's tombs, but will convene for religious purposes only in the house of their local *mokaddem*. Here they pray and work themselves into religious ecstasies by monotonous chants and gruntings, accompanied by rhythmic movements of the body. In these meetings they pretend to see, or believe they see, the Prophet or the founder of their order going by in the form of a cat, a dove, or some other animal, and delivering a message on the way. They are ardent bead-tellers, and delight in expounding distinctions between the *harram* and the *hallal*, or the forbidden unclean and the lawful. They are held in low local repute. 795

There are neither Aissawa [1] nor Hamadcha [2] in the Rif, and no local Hedawa.[3] The only Hedawa in the Rif are devotees, infrequently to be seen begging their way. They are distrusted, and are not encouraged to remain.

[1] The Aissawa are devotees of Sidi Mohammed ben Aissa, whose remains lie outside the walls at Meknes. They follow an extravagant cult the practices of which have often been described by Europeans. Accounts may be found in René Brunel's *Essai sur la Confrérie Religieuse des Aissaoua au Maroc*, and *Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, by Octave Depont and Xavier Coppolani.

[2] The Hamadcha are a sub-sect of the Aissawa. They are commonly known as the "head-choppers," on account of their practice of slashing their own heads with axes, and banging them with clubs, at their annual celebrations. References to them will be found in the two works listed above.

[3] The Hedawa are the followers of Sidi Heddi, a deceased saint of the Jebala. At his tomb there are said to be two horses which plough the fields belonging to the sanctuary, without guidance. The Hedawa do not wash or shave, and go around in rags or sometimes naked. They smoke large pipes of *kif*, and are almost continually under the influence of that drug. They claim that they can foretell the future while under its influence. They can be seen in greatest numbers at Mulai Yakub, a sulphur bath northwest of Fez, accessible by motor.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

SAINTS

792 778 *Imrabten*, or saints, live in some of the tribes and receive local veneration. A saint is a man who possesses *baraka*, a form of magical emanation comparable to *mana*, and usually derived through descent from the Prophet. It is through its possession that he is enabled to perform supernatural acts, and his person, being charged with it, may heal persons who touch him; hence anything which he has touched has partaken of the *baraka* and is a valuable object. By exploiting the belief in these superstitions the saints make their living.

Shorfa, or alleged descendants of the Prophet, have a virtual monopoly of this business, although holy men with no claims to such descent may acquire *baraka* through their manner of living or through religious insanity. In such cases pedigrees are often doctored up for them later.

A sherif or other possessor of *baraka* may lose it through participation in warfare, breaking of religious tabus, friendly traffic with Christians, or simply ceasing to exercise it. Shorfa recently established in the Rif for the most part still possess and exploit their *baraka*, whereas those of long residence have usually lost it and become like the rest of the Riffians. In a family of shorfa one brother may choose to exploit this quality and the other brothers to live as ordinary people.

The foremost shorfa of the Rif are the family of Ikhemrijen, originally from Fez, who are established at Targuist, at Snada of the Beni Bu Frah, in the Beni Bu Shibet, and at Tizi Ifri, between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir. The headquarters of the family are at Targuist, at the Zawiat et Tifah, where Sidi Mohammed n Suddik is the present incumbent. Sidi Hamidu at Snada and the incumbent at Tizi Ifri are likewise said to possess *baraka*, but are not as popular as their relative. The incumbent in the Beni Bu Shibet has in some way lost his *baraka*. When I was at Targuist in 1926 I was told that Sidi Mohammed had lost his *baraka* through eating with the Spanish officers and carrying on friendly relations with them, but when I was there again in 1928 I received no further confirmation of this.

At each of the establishments of this family is a *zawia*, or school, a place of instruction comparable to a cantonal mosque with the presiding sherif as head of it.

In Beni Said there is a living saint named Sidi Mohammed who came from outside the Rif, and who has established a large *zawia*. He is an emissary of the Nasirriin, and *fokara* of this sect come once every three months from all over the Rif to pay him tribute.

In Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya dwells a delegate of the Derkawa, named Sidi Mohammed el Khok. He is a recent arrival, and has a document from the head of the sect in Fez authorizing him to establish a sanctuary in the Rif, to which Riffian Derkawa may repair so as to avoid the long journey to Fez.

Besides these active and first generation saints, there are many families descended from others long dead. Some of them do not fight and are immune from attack, and others fight and are attacked. The former are thought to possess *baraka* in a very dilute form; such is the case with the descendants of Sidi Bu Jiddain, a Zenatan, in the Beni Tuzin. Sidi Bu Jiddain owned a mule with which he conversed. Once he went to Fez, where the sultan ordered him sent to jail, at which the mule cried: "That sultan is crazy." The sultan was so frightened that he ordered Sidi Bu Jiddain out of the city. Today his descendants run a *zawia* at his tomb and live on public credulity and charity.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

All of the Ulad Alu ben Aissa of the Gzennaya claim descent from Sidi Hend u Musa, a local saint in the wall of whose tomb an old sword is stuck. It is said that when this sword is drawn the Muslimin will defeat the Christians and drive them from the land. Men have tried for years to pull it out, but no one has yet been successful. There is a *zawia* to this same saint in Beni Said; he is said to have written books foretelling the recent invasion of the Rif by the Christians, predicting that the last place to submit would be his tomb, and that while the defenders were holding out they would lack salt, and that men would kill each other for it. The Gzennaya claim that this prophecy was fulfilled. His descendants fight, even with each other, and are thought to have lost their *baraka*. A few individuals, however, such as the present Sidi Amar, have a recurrence of it. Sidi Amar is an insane man of the Ulad Alu ben Aissa who when a boy worked as share-laborer in the Beni Amart. One cold morning his mistress told him to go to the spring to fetch water, and Sidi Amar cursed the spring, expressing the wish that it should dry up. The spring did dry up, or is said to have done so, and Sidi Amar has been feared and respected ever since. His chief pleasure is going to market, where he chases women with a stick, being a confirmed misogynist. Sidi Amar went on a pilgrimage to Mekka, and when he got home claimed that he had flown through the air on the way back, and that his return journey had taken him but two days. He was laughed at until two later pilgrims came home with the story that they had checked the date of his departure from Mekka and found it to have been just two days before his arrival. After this everyone believed it, and his reputation increased. Sidi Amar, humorously called the Kaid Amar, at present has no fixed abode, but enters any house he wishes and is given food and shelter. When a man has been wounded Sidi Amar comes in and sits by him, refusing to eat until the patient is out of danger. He is reputed to have effected many cures in this way. When Sidi Amar dies, he will probably have a tomb erected on his grave, to which people will come for its *baraka*, for he has established a sufficiently miraculous reputation already to assure this.

In Iherrassen are the descendants of Sidi Hamid, saints without *baraka*. Their ancestor, a great wizard, used to write charms and then burn them, after which everyone present could see on the wall a moving picture of men walking by with guns, dogs, and mules.

In the Beni Amart live the descendants of Sidi Abd el Kadher Agenau, related to the saints of Beni Urriaghel. Those in Beni Amart have lost their *baraka* and fight continually.

The so-called *Imrabten* of Beni Urriaghel, who have taken the generic word for saints as their patronym, fight and yet preserve a portion of their *baraka*; anyone attacking them is liable to a severe spell of sickness. Their ancestor, Sidi Hamid el Kroni, grew horns on his head with which to fight, so the bellicose quality of these saints started with the first generation.

The Ulad Sidi el Hajj Misaud, saints of Taurirt in Beni Urriaghel, do not fight, yet their *baraka* seems to have "turned sour"; they are considered dangerous, and are not admitted as guests by other *bones*. Parents will not let their children look at them. There are estimated to be twelve hundred saints in Beni Urriaghel.

Sidi Shaib u el Ftah, whose tomb is at the harbor of Temsaman, has left descendants who teach music and dancing in the *zawia*. Men who would like to learn to play the flute or *zammar*, and women who wish to improve their dancing, stay there seven days and are supposed to learn what they came for in that space of time, partly through the instructors and

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

792 partly through the *baraka* of the saint. The saints who teach music here are of a higher class than the itinerant musicians whom they instruct.

778 Among the saints of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja are those at Khunduktainde, descended from Sidi Abdullah el Kholani, from whom some of the Ikhuanen of the Gzennaya also claim descent. The latter send ambassadors once a year to build a fire in his tomb. At Aghbalu are saints who are students, but who fight and have no *baraka*. At Sidi Ali ben Daud in Marnissa and at Sidi Mehend u Ghulbuzur are similar saints. The students of Amshesh, who have no *baraka*, are yet classed as saints and refuse to fight.

Former saints who have died without leaving descendants are remembered by tombs, usually kept by wardens living on the produce of the tomb property. Other tombs have been deserted and allowed to fall into ruins. Sometimes a pile of stones, an ordinary grave, or merely a tradition, establishes the burial-place of a saint. Tombs are often located near a great rock, a spring, a grove, or at some other place of distinctive natural appearance, such as a cave, and this indicates that the hagiolatry of the Rif, like that of other Mediterranean countries and regions, is a survival of an older nature worship. Such places are credited with special magical powers attributed to the lingering *baraka* of the saint.

The tomb of Sidi Mohammed near Burpd in the Gzennaya will serve as an example. This is located in a dense clump of bushes reputed to be full of wild animals, and the home of a venerable lion. Sidi Mohammed had a lion which served him, and followed him whenever he called him. While at Fez, Sidi Mohammed heard that a lion owned by the Sultan had fought and defeated all animals put in a ring with it, and boasted publicly that his lion could vanquish that of the Sultan. For this he was put in jail. While there he sent his servant to the Rif to get his lion, which would come if the words *a seba dh' amendud* were said before the clump of bushes. The servant recited this formula and led the lion to Fez, where it defeated all the others there. The Sultan then released Sidi Mohammed with a present, and the saint returned to the Rif with the lion. After he died his tomb was built in the clump of bushes, and no one has dared to enter the bushes for many years. The warden of the tomb does not enter, but farms the land around it.

At Sidi Merj in Bokoya is a *zawia* near a swampy pond full of lush vegetation. Students staying in the *zawia* declare that they have seen cats and dogs go in and out of the water at night, and that these animals are *jnun*. No one goes any nearer the pond than necessary.

843 The cantonal mosque of Iherrushen in Gzennaya is accredited with the power to cause pregnancy, through the *baraka* of Sidi Misaud, who is buried there. Women come from other tribes to sleep in the mosque, since the *baraka* works during the night.

There are hundreds of these places scattered throughout the Rif and all Morocco. Although most Riffians believe in their efficacious powers, some do not, and there are many who do not believe in the powers of the Ikhemrijen shorfa and other imported saints. The people living east of Targuist do not credit them, while the Senhaja to the west of them do.

CELEBRATIONS

796 Celebrations of a religious character fall into two divisions, according to whether they are dated by the solar or lunar calendar. The former are considered by the Riffians to have nothing to do with Islam, but in accordance with the general hypocrisy of the people,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

who wish to retain their own practices while enjoying the benefits of Islam, they are rigorously observed.

Two such non-Islamic feasts are the *ḥagus* and the *'anṣara*.

The *ḥagus* falls on the 31st of December, according to the old-style calendar to which they adhere.[1] Married men take their wives and children to the homes of their wives' parents, where they remain seven days if they have no children, and three if they have them. They take with them meat, either fresh or cooked, nuts, honey, and other food. They never include animals for slaughter. In the central Riffian area the men bring sausages prepared for the occasion.[2] During this feast they wander among the houses of friends bringing presents of food.

A branch of fir or cedar is hung up over each door, and more branches and almond flowers are tied to the rafters. This is a time of feasting and merriment, with little or nothing to indicate the usual religious attitude. At night a dramatic presentation is given, similar to that of the *Aid el Kebir*.[3]

Westermarck associates the *ḥagus* with the celebration of the New Year.[4] He finds that in other parts of Morocco it is observed a day later, on the first of January.[4] The tribes celebrating the *ḥagus* are the Mountain Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikhuanen, Iherrushen, Temjurt, Ikarcen, Beni Tuzin, and all Senhaja. According to Westermarck the *ḥagus* is found throughout the Jebala,[5] hence its distribution in the Rif seems to tie up with the country to the west.

The *'anṣara* comes on the 24th of June, old style.[6] On this day the Riffians cut a twig from every kind of tree they can find, both wild and cultivated. They also cut stalks and leaves of all plants and herbs with which they are acquainted. Bringing these together they make piles of them, and after the sun has set, light the piles and jump over them through the smoke, which is plentiful on account of the green wood. Everyone jumps twice — men, women, and children, mothers holding their babies in their arms while leaping. When all have jumped the men go to the nearest stream and wash thoroughly every part of their bodies. The women and children go into the houses and do the same with bowls of water. This is called *siarth ṯhudeshth*, or the washing-out of the "Jewishness," or "Jewess."[7] The explanation of the ceremony is that the fires are lit in honor of a Jewish prophet of old, and that all traces of "Jewishness" must then be removed.[8]

This practice is found everywhere in the Rif except among the Nomads and Maritime tribes, and throughout the Jebala to the Atlantic; the only place where I have witnessed it

[1] In this I am relying upon Westermarck, since my own data concerning the date are inexact. See Westermarck, pp. 161–162.

[2] See p. 60. [3] See pp. 152 seq. [4] Westermarck, pp. 160–161.

[5] For a detailed description of this ceremony and a discussion of its significance, see Westermarck, pp. 160–174.

[6] Again I am relying on Westermarck (p. 182).

[7] Westermarck (p. 180) says that they wash out the "Jewessss," but does not give the Berber equivalent. *Ṯhudeshth* might be translated "Jewess" as well as "Jewishness."

[8] While I was travelling through the Atlas in 1926, two Riffians attached to the expedition attended services at a synagogue in the *mellah* of Zerekten, in order to satisfy their curiosity and also to obtain some of the strong drink being served as part of the ceremony. After returning from the synagogue they expressed strong remorse for their action, and declared that it would take forty days for the "Jewishness" they had contracted to wear off. Each day for forty days they calculated how many more days they had to go, and when the fortieth day had passed expressed great delight. They said that should they die before the expiration of that period, they would be buried as Jews and considered as Jews on Judgment Day.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

796 is at Tangier. Westermarck plots a wide distribution for the custom,[1] and shows that it is a survival of a midsummer rite.[2]

The religious feasts of Mohammedan origin celebrated in the Rif are *el Ashor*, *el Mulud*, the month of *Ramadan*, the *Aid es Sghir* at the end of this month, and the *Aid el Kebir*.

The *Ashor* serves chiefly as a vacation for the school children, and is not otherwise important. Many do not even know when it is in force.

On the *Mulud* the women of the *bone* cook coarsely ground barley into a mush and carry it to the mosque, early in the morning, where all the children of the *bone* eat it together. In [182] the evening the men buy a bull or cow by subscription and sacrifice it in front of the mosque so that blood will spurt on the door, then cut it up by the door and divide it, each man taking his share home to eat.

796 *Ramadan* is kept strictly by the Riffians, who do not deviate from the orthodox regula-
785 tions in any way. Those who ordinarily eat pork, smoke, or drink, abstain from these practices during *Ramadan*, and scour with ashes any cooking or eating vessel which has been used for unclean food at other times. On the twenty-seventh night of this fast they believe that the sky opens and that a man who gazes fixedly at it may see God. If he does he dies instantly and is carried to heaven. On the last night, which is the *Aid es Sghir*, everyone washes well and dresses in clean clothing. The father measures out with his hands three double handfuls of barley for each person in the house. He then sends for a poor woman to come and take it, before which no one in the house may eat.

796 On each day of the *Aid el Kebir*, which lasts three days, each household kills a sheep and eats it. The men and women go about from house to house in the *bone*, the men dividing into age groups, and the women all banding together. The unmarried boys form two groups, the very young and the adolescent, and play games, wrestle, and play at government. They imitate the councils, also Arab forms of government, appointing a *kaid*, a *pasha*,[3] and *mokhazniya*.[4] The boys hold mock trials and send each other to jail. The young married men form a third group, the chief diversion of which is the exchange of obscene stories. The last group consists of the middle-aged and old men, who amuse themselves by reminiscing and narrating legends.

796 Each night comes the dramatic presentation by the *ishuikhen*, unmarried men who dress
536 themselves up to represent certain characters and act out parts. The dramas are always
831 comic and inevitably obscene. Staid persons who at any other time would be shocked at the sight or description of any obscene or sacrilegious act cast aside their repressions and enter heartily into the fun.

796 The scenes and situations enacted differ from tribe to tribe and at times change, but the
536 general type and technique are always the same. A description of the carnival presented in parts of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Tuzin, follows. Descriptions of others may be found in Moulieras [5] and Westermarck.[6]

[1] Pages 182, 203–204.

[2] Pages 199–206. Westermarck eliminates the strong association with the idea of Jews by calling it *ex post facto*, and by bringing in parallels from other regions. For the present purpose, whether the Jewish factor be original or superimposed, as Westermarck has well demonstrated, in either case it indicates a degree of Jewish influence at some period of time.

[3] This Turkish title is applied in Morocco to mayors of cities.

[4] Guards, gendarmes, or retainers.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 106–111.

[6] Vol. II, pp. 133–158.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

There are eight rôles enacted by the *ishuikhen*; the Christians, the Christian women, the Jews, the Jewish women, the animals, their drivers, the Muslimin, and their wives. Those representing Christians imitate Christian clothing as best they can with cloth tied, not sewed together. They stick on moustaches of goats' hair, and put on leggings of grass matting. They carve great hats with broad brims out of yucca blades, make bandoliers from split strands of it, and attach small mirrors to their breasts in imitation of medals.

The "Christian women" imitate luxuriant hair with the woolen braids used by Riffian women. On top of their heads they attach white cloths with feathers sticking out of them. A yucca-cord belt is tied around the waist so tightly that it can be drawn in no farther, and onions or pomegranates are thrust under the shirt to look like breasts.

The "Jews" wear long beards of wool stuck on with a mixture of flour and eggs. They drape long white or black cloths around their bodies and tie red or black kerchiefs on the backs of their heads.

Those representing Jewish women wear long black cloths reaching to the ground.

The "animals," — lions, jackals, donkeys, cows, calves, and dogs — wear tails to which have been tied feathers and tufts of goat hair. The "donkey" wears over his face a donkey skull so cut as to allow his face partly to enter it. The "dog" has a long muzzle made of cork, wood, or cloth, and often has a jackal skin tied on his back. The "lions" disguise their faces only by smearing them with black and red pigments. A wooden phallus with onions or pomegranates for testes is attached to each "animal" excepting the "cow," who has a cloth udder with pendant cloth nipples fastened about his groins, and wears real cow horns tied to his head.

Those playing the parts of Muslimin wear large scrips full of ashes, representing gunpowder, and carry wooden rifles. The Jews and Christians carry these as well, and some of the latter drag log cannons.

The most effeminate looking youths are chosen to represent the wives of the Muslimin. They shave, use rouge and kohl, and draw the conventional tattoo marks on their faces with ink. They wear earrings and false hair.

The identity and preparations of the actors are kept secret beforehand. The *ishuikhen* dress and make up in the mosque or in a predetermined house; when ready they enter the houses of the *bone*, one after another, and stage their performance. Crowds follow them from house to house and witness the act over and over again.

First the Jews and their wives come in. They pair off in couples and dance over the floor, carrying on ribald conversation, snatching away each other's wives, approaching with wooden phalli, the women dancing with other men and throwing ashes out of scrips at each other.

After this has gone on for some time the Jews hold a wedding. While this is in progress the donkey and his driver enter. The Jews set the bride upon the donkey's back, and the donkey throws her off, whereupon the Jews become angry and shout incoherently. They then kneel down to hold a prayer, which a Judge leads. The Judge faces west and the Jews in all directions. In the prayer the Judge expounds the *harram* and the *ḥallal* in a loud voice, reversing everything from its normal condition, calling it permissible to eat pork, permissible to commit adultery with a good-looking woman, and forbidden to do so with an ugly one. The extent of these *harram* and *ḥallal* distinctions is limited only by the imagination of the Judge.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

796 536 While this is happening all the rest of the animals come running in and attack the Jews, who throw down their ashes and wooden guns and run away to hide. The animals, when the Jews have disappeared, are herded into a corner by their drivers. Then the Christians come in talking together loudly in a gibberish of extemporized sounds; an interpreter pretends to translate what they are saying to the audience, and accredits them with ludicrous and obscene conversation. He announces that the Christians have ordered all the attractive Moslem girls brought to the headquarters, one girl each day, for the enjoyment of the *ḥakim*, as the officer in charge of a tribal bureau is called.

After this the Christians dance with their wives, and then sit down and pretend to eat from bits of broken crockery which they have brought with them. The situation of people eating from separate utensils is in itself highly ludicrous to the Riffians.

After the meal the Christians and their wives dance again, after which the *ḥakim* performs his duties of administration. Prisoners are brought in, interviewed, and sentenced, and Muslimin who are not prisoners come in and try to sell things to the officers. Neither side understands the other, the Muslimin speaking *thamazighth* and the Christians still jabbering their gibberish. They begin to fight, and the tribal council convenes. The councillors appoint a crier, who shouts, "There is no god but God; O Muslimin, let us make holy war."

Then the *jihad*, or holy war, commences, both sides throwing ashes at each other, and the Christians dragging in cannon. While the fight is going on the Jews sneak out of hiding and going over to the Christian and Mohammedan women sitting on the side steal from them the eggs, meat, and bread which they are holding. One of the Jews makes a speech excusing this theft, saying that the ancestors of the Jews formerly had a great city and a great empire, but that the wild animals came in and destroyed their places and drove them out. Now they must steal to get a little of their property back. The Jews then go around the audience and collect eggs, almonds, sugar, and money.

Meanwhile the war is going on, all of the participants being by this time covered with ashes. Some of the contestants pretend to die or be wounded, and the women of their sides pick them up and take them to a corner, where they bandage the wounded. When most or all of them have simulated death, one woman from each side goes over to the corner where they are lying and touches all of her own kind, bringing them to life again. Finally the Muslimin win, and the Christians depart. The crier announces that the Christians have departed and that government and justice will be restored to the land.

Then the animals and their drivers come to the fore again, the drivers attempt to mount and are thrown, and the cow is milked.

After this they go to another house and give the performance again.

The *ishuikhen* perform once in each house in the village, excepting in those of "soured" individuals who do not approve of this vulgarity and will not permit it on their premises.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

776 Besides the Deity and the historic characters concerned with the Semitic religions, such as the prophets and the *soḥaba*, the Riffians commonly believe in nine types of supernatural being, only two of which are intimately associated with Islam. These are as follows:

1. *malakin*, the Semitic angels.

2. *jnun*, the jinns or genii, including the *afariṭ* and the *shaiyaṭin*. This class also includes the *ṯajinnishth*, a female jinn in the form of a beautiful woman, who meets men on

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

the path or in the wilderness at night and seduces them. She usually leads them to a room beneath a stream, entered by a staircase running down through the water. Before allowing the man she has seduced to depart she exacts from him a promise never to reveal the place where her chamber is hidden. A man who breaks his promise will die as soon as the words have left his mouth.

The *jnun* which disturb the Riffians most are those which take the forms of dogs or jackals. Dogs with light eyes are believed to be *jnun*, and fierce jackals, transformed *jnun*, are said to guard treasure hidden in the bottoms of caves. Doors and shutters are closed at night to prevent *jnun* from entering and possessing the occupants. Hydrophobia is thought to indicate the entrance of a *jinni* into a man's body.

3. *er khier*, a ghost. Ghosts are said to be very tall and thin, and to travel about at night, especially in the neighborhood of cemeteries. They are sometimes able to strike at men with tongues of fire, and can appear and disappear at will.

4. *thasardunth imthran*, a she-mule, decked with bells. It comes out of cemeteries at night and eats people.

5. *er riah*, a hot whirlwind which comes in summer, and is supposed to be a baleful supernatural being.

6. *thamza*, or *stut*, an ogress. She is described as an ugly woman with long trailing breasts that touch the ground and squirt milk as she walks, long slobbering lips, and long, tangled, curly hair. She is able to change her form and appear as an enticing damsel, luring people to her house in order to eat them, and takes great delight in crunching and gnawing on human bones. This ogress lives in a house on a deserted part of a mountain.

7. *amziw* is the husband or male sex of the *thamza*. He resembles her in the configuration of his lips and in the form and condition of his hair. The *amziw* is also able to change his form and appear as a normal man, sometimes as an old man, and sometimes as a Negro. The *amziw* carries on the same means of livelihood as his wife, luring people to his house and eating them. The *amziw* is less frequently referred to in Riffian folklore than the *thamza*, and is apparently considered less common and less dangerous.

8. *bu seba ijjithen*, the Father of Seven Heads, is a creature large as a mule, possessing seven human heads. Its hind legs are those of an animal, and its front legs terminate in human hands. When travelling about the animal runs on all fours, but when in proximity to human beings rises on its hind legs and attacks its victims with its hands. From the nostrils and mouths of its seven heads it breathes fire. It eats its victims in the wilderness where it finds them, since it has no dwelling, wandering about and sleeping in deserted country. There is no mention of sex as applied to the *bu seba ijjithen*, wherefore one is led to conclude that it is either masculine or asexual. The *thamza*, *amziw*, and *bu seba ijjithen* are said to have been mortal, and to be long extinct.

9. *hajuj u majuj*, dwarfs, or gnomes. They live in subterranean caverns without exits to the surface. These creatures are as small as two-year-old children, bandy-legged, pigeon-toed, long-bearded, neckless, and bearing their heads directly on their shoulders. They are hunch-backed and wrinkled, and present every sign of senility, even while in infancy. They all go naked. Each day the dwarfs dig a passage upwards, with the intention of breaking through the earth's crust, issuing forth, destroying mankind, and taking possession of the earth. Each evening, however, they become tired, and say, "It is night now, and we are tired, let us go back to the center of the earth and sleep; there is not much work left

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

for us to do; tomorrow we will finish the hole and get out." Each morning, however, when they go back to work, they find the hole which they made on the previous day filled with earth, and have to commence their work over again. The reason that their hole is filled each night is that in declaring that they will emerge the next day they neglect to say "*In sha'a Allah*," or "If God wills it." If once they should hit upon the idea of saying *in sha'a Allah*, the next day they would succeed in breaking out and would overrun the earth.

There is another legend concerning the dwarfs, which gives them quite a different interpretation. It says that far to the East where the sun rises is a land bounded on the west by an iron wall. On the east side of the wall live the *hajuj u majuj*, described as above, who are more numerous than mankind. If they should ever break down the wall they would overrun the earth. Both legends state definitely that their release would cause the extinction of mankind. The first version implies a gnome-like type of creature, and the second seems to take its inspiration from China. I heard the first in the Gzennaya and the second in Beni Bu Nsar.

Although these supernatural creatures are used mainly as subjects of folklore told to children by their mothers, they are nevertheless believed in by the adults, apparently without exception.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XIII

MAGIC

THE types of magic employed in the Rif can be divided into four categories: (1) the *baraka* of alleged descendants of the Prophet; (2) *theira*, or magic requiring the use of written charms and based on the mystic interpretation of the Koran; (3) *theira* of the *jnun*, a type similar in form but involving the participation of the *jnun*, and the use of books other than the Koran; (4) *sohor*, or old women's magic, which does not involve the use of writing. To these may be added as allied topics: (5) the *ar* or shame-compulsion; (6) the *'ahd* or oath; (7) methods of counteracting the evil eye; and (8) the interpretation of dreams. 789

Both the shame-compulsion and the oath are essentially magical, and are therefore included in this chapter. The treatment of religious and magical phenomena in separate chapters is for convenience only and implies no generic distinction.

BARAKA

Baraka, or *er fthair* is usually confined to supposed descendants of the Prophet, and is dependent upon their possession of a magical emanation supposedly transmitted to them by him. *Baraka* is a force, a power, like the tabu of the Polynesians, and more like the *mana* of the Melanesians. A man possessing it is equipped with supernatural powers; he is able to predict the future, to perform miracles, and to heal or destroy by touch, or, through extension, by employing some object which has been in contact with his body, such as a part of his clothing, a piece of bread, or an egg which he has kissed. 789 778

A client wishing to know his future comes to the sherif at Targuist and presents his problem. On the ensuing night the sherif dreams about it, and in the morning tells his client what the future will contain. The client then pays a fee approximating five dollars and departs. The sherif is not limited to a single dream each night; he dreams as many as are required. 791

Not all Riffians believe in this magic, and only the inhabitants of Targuist and the Senhajan tribes under the control of the Ikhemrijen patronize the sherif regularly.

Persons suffering from any ailment whatever go to him to be touched. The sherif strokes the affected part, and exacts a fee of from thirty to fifty dollars. If the patient does not recover he and his relatives do not blame the sherif, but hold that the fatality is the *mektub*, or established fate, and that the soul's time has expired. 791 755

The sherif gives away pieces of cloth torn from his cast-off garments, which are taken away by the credulous and hung in their houses to prevent mischief from entering. In the *sowia* at Targuist are baked tiny loaves of bread, supposedly full of *baraka*; they are given away, the recipients being told that a quarter of a loaf will fill them completely. Eating this bread is a prophylactic against illness and any mischance. 791 751

The sherif, and ordinary saints as well, give away eggs previously received as presents or fees, for which they have no use. The eggs are considered to be full of *baraka*, and men take them home to eat with their wives, thinking thus to avert calamity. 791

[p. 157]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Women bring their children, ailing or otherwise, to the sherif, who chews a piece of salt and spits it into the child's mouth, whereupon the mother goes away satisfied.

Some of the shorfa are illiterate and ignorant, knowing little of the Koran. They are supported by their fees and by gifts of food constantly brought them.

The *baraka* is transmitted by heredity, but not to all the sherif's offspring. Some of the latter, disgusted with their father's trumpery, work and earn a living like ordinary men. Others stay in the house at all times and pose as examples of propriety and behavior, in order to carry on the traditional calling. A sherif who fights loses his *baraka* by so doing, and the same is true of ordinary saints,[1] few of whom nowadays are credited with supernatural powers. Even the Sherif of Targuist was said to have lost his *baraka* for capitulating with the French and Spanish after the surrender of Abd el Krim in 1926.

THEIRA

The type of magic depending upon writing for its efficacy is called *theira*. The students learn it in the cantonal mosque, and practice it while attending this institution and after they have finished their studies there.

Each student must make anew or copy his own manual, from which he is able to extract the charms fitting for each circumstance requiring magical treatment. He goes through the Koran listing all the nouns which have no direct reference to religion when read alone. He then matches beside each noun the phrase with which it is connected in the text, or the *sura* in which it is found each time it occurs. In this way each noun will have several different phrases or chapters following it in the finished catalogue. When a person requests a charm for a specific purpose, the student looks up the name of that purpose in his book and finds what phrases go with it. He must know the name of the person and the name of his or her mother, which he also looks up.

By a combination of the corollaries of the various nouns, including the purpose of the charm and the names of the participants, the student is able to decide which formula he shall write upon the charm, with what liquid and on what material; whether or not objects in intimate contact with the person to be protected or with the victim, or the hair of such a person, are needed; and by what means the charm shall be administered or used. The materials and methods used are listed below.

Liquids.

Ink made of burnt goat's horn boiled in olive oil. Christian ink will not work.
Blood of hoopoes.
Blood of owls.
Blood of bats.

Materials.

Paper of any kind.
Scapula, rib, or patella of a fox.
Scapula, rib, patella, or mandible of a hedgehog.
Snout of a wild boar.
Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight olive leaves.
A peeled stick of female wild olive wood.

[1] See above, p. 148.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

789

Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight leaves from the "sultan of oleander," an oleander the leaves of which grow in clusters of four instead of three.
A peeled pomegranate stick, three, five, or seven spans in length.
Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight leaves of the reed.
Between one and seven split sections of reed. No single length of reed may be split in more than six sections.
One or three eggs.
A beaten-out strip of lead.

Parts of body or objects in intimate contact with it.
Hair cut from the head, the right or left side, depending upon the circumstances.
A bit of cloth from the victim's clothing.

Methods of disposal or application of the amulet.
Soaking it off and drinking the water or giving it to the victim. It is given to women in childbirth, and to women by their admirers to make them discontented with their husbands.
Burning it so that the smoke will be smelt by the victim, or, if he is asleep, inhaled. This is done to make a woman leave her husband or a husband divorce his wife.
Giving it to a person to eat. This is done only with the snout of a wild boar, which is cut into small pieces and mixed with food. The act is intended to cause anger between the one who eats it and some other specified person. This method is used by plural wives to throw other wives into disfavor with their husbands.
Burying it under the door or in the floor where a person sleeps. This will make the person who walks or sleeps over it rise up insane in the night and depart.
Shaking a stick. If someone shakes a pomegranate stick, prepared as specified, at a conceited man, the latter will boast so extravagantly as to get himself into trouble or make himself a laughing-stock.
Tying it in a tree near the victim's house. The woman who passes under or by it will become distressed, act as if mad, and go to the house of her parents. The wind must be moving the amulet at the time she passes for it to be efficacious.
Tying it to parts of the body. This is done to protect the person purchasing the amulet, to cure ailments, or to attract specified persons to the purchaser. A woman ties a hedgehog's jaw to her belt to insure her husband's fidelity; reeds or sticks may be tied over the stomach, and paper amulets on the forehead, neck, and upper arm. Amulets tied to the forehead are intended to cure headaches and to cause sexual attraction; on the neck, to cure ailments in that place and for attraction. Very rarely, women tie paper amulets about their ankles for attraction.

There is no special use for each kind of writing fluid; any one may be used with any type of material and for any purpose, depending on the details of the situation.

Paper may be used for amulets to be attached to any part of the body except the stomach or abdomen, for tying in a tree, for burying, for soaking off and drinking, or for burning.

Scapulae may be used for burning only.

Ribs, which are rarely used, are employed only for burning or for hanging in trees.

The patella is used only for tying over the abdomen.

The mandible of a hedgehog is used only for tying in a woman's belt.

The snout of a wild boar may be used both for soaking off and drinking and for cutting up and eating.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

789 Olive leaves may be used only for soaking off or for burning.

Oleander leaves may be used for soaking off or for burning. They are used especially in the treatment of malaria.

Pomegranate sticks are used only for shaking at a man to make him boast.

Split reeds are used only for burning.

Leaves of the reed have the same restrictions and use as those of the oleander.

Eggs are used only in the cure of sore eyes. The student passes the egg seven times around the orbit of the patient, then breaks the egg, finds a white speck of albumen in it, and throws the egg away. He claims that the speck of albumen is the illness of the eye, which he has removed. In bad cases he uses three eggs, one on each consecutive day for three days.

837 Amulets written on lead are used as protection against *jnun* while walking alone at night and against bullets in battle, and are worn by women to prevent their husbands from doing them bodily harm should they be caught in adultery. When used for the last-named purpose they are very expensive.

Hair cut from the head is used as string to tie amulets to trees, and cloth cut from garments is used to wrap the amulet or to burn with it.

The type of amulet used for attachment to the body is rendered impotent if borne over a major stream, such as the Bayu, Nekor, Ghis, Kert, Muluya, or Wergha, or over the sea. Branches of streams do not count. There are two ways to prevent this: by putting the amulet in a loaf of bread with salt before crossing, and by sewing a sprig of an herb called *er ḥamr* in its case. This herb is rare, and is sold in markets for an exorbitant price.

In all cases in which more than one amulet, such as seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight leaves, must be employed, for burning, soaking, or the like, one must be used on each consecutive day after and including the first day; otherwise the charm will not work.

The price of the materials used in the charm is not included in the fee charged by the student. He requires the applicant to go out and get anything needed; he must kill a bat or hoopoe if the blood of either is necessary. Payment is not made until the treatment is finished, and only in case of success. Such is the complexity of the formulae employed and so great are the possibilities of error that failures are attributed to mistakes in technique.

This type of magical practice is not approved by everyone, and such actions are performed in secret. A clerk loses his position if he is caught writing amulets.

THEIRA OF THE *JNUN*

This is the same type of magic as ordinary *theira*, except that the formulae are obtained from various books. Only one half the data in the manuals is obtained from the Koran; the other half is extracted from other books, which deal with the *jnun*; these are very rare, and are kept hidden. This type of *theira* is more sinister and dangerous than the other, and is concerned, among other things, with the prevention of sexual intercourse among newly married couples. The following are typical examples:

1. The student writes on the palm of an applicant's right hand. The applicant looks at this until he sees *jnun* walking across it, in the forms of dogs, cats, and black men with evil faces, and clothed only in tall turbans.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

2. The student writes on the applicant's forehead, and the latter looks into a bowl of water until he sees the same spectacle as in (1). Sometimes, although rarely, he sees a battle. 789

3. A student cuts a piece of paper the shape of a silver Spanish or Hassani dollar, and by some privately known means transforms it into a real silver coin, which will remain silver for several hours, after which it will turn back to paper. He must get rid of it immediately and get away before it turns.

4. When a student wishes to find buried treasure he writes an amulet and cuts it into sixty pieces, one of which bears on it a certain indication. He goes to the place where the treasure is supposed to be, throws the sixty pieces of paper in the air, and digs under the place where the specially marked piece lands.

5. To retrieve a stolen cow, the loser hires a student to write an amulet on a piece of paper or on the stake to which the cow was habitually tied. If it is written on paper he ties this to the stake. He sets the stake where the cow was stolen, and leaves it there until the thief, as a result of this magic, becomes terrified and does not dare lead the cow out to pasture. The culprit becomes more and more frightened until he leads the cow out in the night, ties it in an occupied place, and sends a messenger to tell the owner where it is.

6. When a groom about to be married does not make a present to the students at the cantonal mosque, they coerce or take revenge upon him in the following manner. They write a formula on a new jack-knife blade, and sit by a path where the groom is expected to walk. One of the students holds the knife open, but concealed from view. When the groom passes, the student holding the knife calls to him by name, and while the groom is replying, snaps the knife shut. As a result, the groom will not have an erection until the knife has been opened again. If he encounters this difficulty on the final night of the marriage and suspects the cause, he may persuade the students to open the knife by giving them whatever presents they demand.

7. If a boy and a girl are lovers, and the girl is forced into a marriage with another, the boy may go to a student with a loaf of bread. The student writes on it and breaks it into seven pieces. The boy takes these to the bride, who eats one each day of the seven days of the feast. The groom will then be unable to have an erection with that girl until he can find a student to write a counter-charm, which is very difficult. It is said that this procedure will almost inevitably cause the groom to divorce his bride.

8. A man who wishes to marry another man's wife may give an old copper *soldi* to an old woman intimate with the object of his desires, or to the sister of the wife, if he can persuade the sister to be in league with him. The woman who has taken the *soldi* arranges to sleep in the room with the wife, and during the night, while the latter is asleep, passes the coin into her vagina and out again. She then cuts off some of the wife's hair, and the next day gives the *soldi* and hair to the man who gave her the coin. He takes the two objects to a student, who writes on the *soldi*. The man then drives a stake into an irrigation ditch and ties the *soldi* to it with the hair. When the coin commences moving back and forth with the flow of the stream, the wife will commence menstruating, and as long as the coin remains in the stream and keeps moving she will continue to do so. When the husband has become exasperated at this and has divorced her, the man removes the coin from the stream, whereupon the woman ceases menstruating. The man may then ask for her in marriage.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

OLD WOMEN'S MAGIC

789 This type of magic, known as *sohor*, does not involve the use of writing, and is not performed by students. It is the exclusive property of women. The following will serve as examples:

1. When rain falls during a wedding, old women take a bit of the bride's headcloth and stick seven needles into it. They then fasten it to a pole and set it on the roof. This is supposed to stop the rain immediately.

2. When, on the other hand, rain is desired, old women take a *thefoirn*, or wooden breadshovel, and dress it as a bride in the clothes of a bride who has recently been married for the first time. The unmarried girls carry the shovel around to all the houses, and to the mosque and saint's tomb, if there is one, shouting a request for God to send rain. When they have taken it to all the houses in the village they set it up in a grain field, preferably a field of barley. Although they do not expressly say so in the formula which they chant, their idea is to induce the rain to take its bride.[1]

3. When women of one family are jealous of the women of another at a wedding, and wish to exceed them in skill at singing and dancing, an old woman of the first family chews up a mouthful of salt and oil and spits this into the drum-warming fire. This will cause the rival women to fight together and leave the wedding.

4. When a young couple are in love and the boy changes his affection and marries another girl, the mother of the slighted girl invites the boy to enter her house. She sits in a corner holding two wool-cards with unwashed wool between them. She calls out the boy's name, and as he answers takes a stroke with the cards. She does this three times, and if he has answered each time she locks the cards together and puts them up in the rafters. As long as the cards remain there he will be unable to have an erection. In this case the wool serves as a symbol of softness.

SHAME-COMPULSIONS

183 The shame-compulsion, called *ar*, is claimed by the Riffians to have no sorcery in it, but to be based on the use of shame as an effective agent. Its principle lies in one man's doing something ceremonially which will shame another into doing something against his will. The shame-compulsion is connected with hospitality. Just as it is unthinkable to refuse to give food to a guest who enters your house, or to refuse food offered in the house of another, so it is unthinkable to refuse to comply to a shame-compulsion.

If a man should refuse a shame-compulsion some great calamity would befall him; he or one of his family would die, and all mankind would cease to respect him. He would lose his entire social standing. Examples of the shame-compulsion follow:

1. A *bone* hard pressed in a feud, wishing to ally itself to another *bone*, passes *in toto* men, women, and children, to the village mosque of the other *bone*, leading with them a bull if possible, otherwise a cow or a goat. The schoolmaster of the first *bone*, or one of its members who is a student at the cantonal mosque, slaughters the animal sacrificially in front of the mosque, in such a way that the blood will spurt out and hit the door. If this fails to

[1] S. Biarnay (*Etude sur les Dialectes Berbères du Rif*, pp. 174–178), in a text written in the dialect of the Beḥuya, gives a complete account of this ceremony. My account is from the Gzennaya in particular, although this rite is practised in many tribes of the Rif.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

183

happen, however, the shame-compulsion still holds. The *bone* upon which it has been worked is forced to ally itself with the supplicating group, forming *liff*[1] with it.

2. A man condemned to pay a fine in consequence of a murder goes to each house in the *canton* with an open knife held in his teeth and knocks on the door. Those within must make him a present. When he has in this way collected the amount or residue of his fine he pays it, and he does not have to pay back the money he has taken. This type of shame-compulsion is called *er fiheith*.

3. A man fined for murder who has property to sell, but insufficient time in which to do so, leads a goat to the house of a man whom he knows to have ready cash, and sacrifices it in front of the door. The man thus appealed to is compelled to loan the money immediately. After the murderer has sold his own property he must repay his acquaintance.

4. When a family is besieged in its house in a feud, and sees no prospect of getting out, the women and children depart, being immune from harm, go to another *bone*, sometimes even to another tribe, and enter the house of the most important person in that place. This action constitutes a shame-compulsion upon the inhabitants to ally themselves with the worsted party.

5. A has had a feud with B. This has been patched up by payment, and the two have been living tranquilly for some time. Suddenly A again becomes angry with B and takes a shot at him, while he is unarmed, but misses. B runs to a woman of A's *vein* and touches her nipple with his mouth, drawing out milk if she has any. This prevents A from killing B, since it places the two in the position of foster-brothers, by extension.

6. When a family is besieged as in (4), and the besiegers, contrary to custom, will not let the women and children out, the besieged send out students or saints to pick up their dead and carry them to the village mosque of another *bone*. The latter set these corpses down in the mosque, and the *bone* which owns the mosque is bound to ally itself with the besieged and relieve them.

7. When a tribal council has burned the house or houses of a *vein* or *bone*, the members of which flee or are exiled, the victims in passing through another tribe are attacked. They go to the village or cantonal mosque of the attacking group, sacrifice a cow there, if they have saved one, and enter the mosque. The inhabitants give the victims a house and food, and their tribal council goes to the councillors of the victims' tribe to demand their reinstatement. If this is refused the two groups fight, since a powerful shame-compulsion has been effected.

8. When a *bone* is hard pressed in a war and all others in the neighborhood have allied against it, the *bone* dresses an attractive girl in the costume of a bride, hennas and tattoos her, mounts her on a mule, leads her to a neutral *bone*, and gives her to a councillor as wife. He is forced by shame-compulsion to marry her, and his *bone* must ally itself with hers.

OATHS

The *'ahd*, or oath, is an agreement for mutual protection or mutual peace sworn to between two persons or two groups over the grave of a saint. In the case of two persons, one stands at either side of the grave, and the two clasp hands so that their fingers interlock. In this position they recite, in *thamaighth*, the formula "Let the *'ahd* of the Lord God be

[1] See above, p. 105.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

183 between us." If there are two groups of people "making *'ahd*" together, as many of each group as there is room for face each other across the grave. When these have made *'ahd* others fill their places, until all have taken part. An *'ahd* cannot be broken without retribution falling afterwards in some unforeseen way. The following list covers some of the situations which call for the making of *'ahd*.

1. Two men wish to make a covenant not to harm one another.
2. A man fears that a friend will deceive him with his wife, and asks the friend to make *'ahd* with him. This is done at times by men about to start on journeys.
3. One man hires another to commit murder; the two may confirm the agreement by making *'ahd*.
4. A man makes *'ahd* with his wife so that they will have confidence in each other.
5. Adulteresses make *'ahd* together to insure mutual secrecy.
6. *Bones* which have been allied in *liff* and which begin to mistrust each other make *'ahd* as groups. This involves breaking bread at the tomb and exchanging the pieces.
7. *Fifths* allied in *liff* make *'ahd* to continue that condition, under the agreement that the first *bone* to break it will be punished by the destruction of its property and by exile. This punishment, of course, implies the consent of the tribal council. In making this type of *'ahd* the councillors of the two *fifths* meet in a saint's tomb, and not only break and exchange bread but also sacrifice a bull.

Besides the serious *'ahd*-making of grown-ups, children build toy graves of pebbles or small stones and play at making *'ahd* over them.

THE EVIL EYE

154 The evil eye is thought to exert its baleful influence mainly against vegetable gardens and women and children. An old soot-blackened pot, a mule's skull, or a black cloth is put up on a pole in the garden, and acts as a prophylactic. In red-pepper patches goat droppings are tied up when the peppers are in flower.

Pairs of goat horns are tied on pomegranate trees to keep the flowers from falling when a person with the evil eye looks at them.

To keep the evil eye from harming a child, a boar's tooth may be hung about its neck on a string. Women protect themselves by tying cowrie-shells into their belts.

INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS

787 In the Rif it is thought that dreams dreamed in the summer will come true, while those dreamed in winter will not, since the world is turned around at that time. Dreams of an ominous nature are mostly symbolical. The following are a few examples:

1. If you dream that you see a man naked, poverty will befall him. If you dream that you yourself are naked, no harm will result.
2. If you dream that you see a wedding company disporting themselves in the house of one of your relatives, then one of your relatives, not necessarily the same one, will soon die.
3. If you dream that you or someone else falls into a stream or a stream-bed, the government will shortly make trouble for you.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

787

4. When you dream that you mount a horse, or that someone else mounts, whoever mounted it will soon die.

5. When you dream that a snake bites you, you will fall ill.

6. When you dream that you talk with a man who has previously died, and that man asks you for some possession of yours, and you give it to him, then your son or brother will die.

7. If you dream that a procession of dogs, walking in single file, marches out of the door of your house, then a member of your house will die.

It is explained by those relating this superstition that nakedness is equivalent to poverty, weddings and horses are synonymous with death, snakes with illness, dogs with mourners, streams with the government, and that to have something taken from you is to have your son or brother taken.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XIV

ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL FACTORS

171 174 WE HAVE seen in studying the culture of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara that there are three types of factors involved: those located in the center of the Rif and apparently basic there; those held in common with the other peoples of Morocco and representing the modern North African civilization, and those neither basically Riffian nor a part of the usual North African culture. In all parts of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, the prevailing stages of culture, both material and social, are about equally advanced, with certain notable exceptions, as at Taghsuth, where industries are well developed, and in the regions of the Garet and of Ktama and the Western Arabophone Senhaja, where rigorous extremes of environment have stunted the development of certain kinds of material culture. One cannot divide the region into zones of high or low culture; one may merely distinguish between the kinds of culture in different places.

I have chosen twenty-eight features of material culture and thirty-three of social culture which I believe to be nuclear or central Riffian. By this I mean that they represent the most fundamental pattern in the area, and show less evidence of introduction from outside in any but remotely ancient times than features which may replace them in other tribes, or which may exist on the margins without parallels in the center. The lists of these features follow:

CENTRAL RIFFIAN MATERIAL CULTURE

(Twenty-Eight Traits)

1. Roasted grains
2. Bake-oven
3. Absence of skillet
4. *Kadid* and *tamarik* (dried meats and purées)
5. Sausages
6. *Sammet* (grape jelly)
7. Tar
8. Porch
9. Projecting *araf* (loft over the cow-pit)
10. Absence of second story
11. Sloping roof
12. Shingles
13. Possession of *amiyimath* (eave-sheathing)
14. *Amiyimath* made of wood
15. Cribwork
16. Stools
17. Hand-made pottery
18. Riffian design on pottery
19. Wickerwork
20. Absence of horizontal loom
21. Buskins
22. Clogs
23. Stilts
24. Retention of median occipital lock
25. Shaving of face
26. Tattooing, type 2
27. Absence of kohl as regards groom
28. Total absence of kohl

CENTRAL RIFFIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

(Thirty-Three Traits)

1. Tabu against the Shameless Ones
2. Political office tabu
3. Two or three councillors in market
4. Council of the great
5. Village council
6. Freedom from shorfa
7. Sex restriction forty days after birth
8. Naming on seventh day
9. First haircut at one year of age
10. Circumcision early

[p.166]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

11. Itinerant preceptor performing circumcision
12. Local preceptor performing circumcision
13. Wedding feast seven days
14. Hospitality all days of wedding feast
15. One or two *iseiren*
16. Many *iseiren*
17. Wedding in September
18. *Zeemar*-playing at Wedding
19. *Sabbain er-rueik*
20. Cutting of reed
21. Stick headdress
22. Brother mounts behind bride
23. Difference in treatment of divorcee
24. Ring type of dancing
25. Funeral hospitality
26. Definite time for burial
27. Whole village attends funeral
28. Corpse carried on door
29. Bearers changed frequently
30. Grave measured with finger-span
31. Flat stones, differentiated, as markers
32. Stones placed where corpse set down on way
33. No one in house at time of death may leave for seven days after burial

171
174

Under material culture, I have purposely omitted agriculture and the care of domestic animals because these complexes seem so dependent upon environment for their distribution that to include them would unduly weight the classification. Other traits included admittedly depend upon environment, but to a lesser degree and in a less direct way. House types, for example, which I have called central Riffian are today found in more complete form in the Senhaja Sghir than in the Rif. The environment which permits the construction of these forms includes an abundance of coniferous timber which formerly grew in the Rif but which today is found in large quantity only in the Senhaja Sghir.

Deforestation has prevented the perpetuation of the more difficult features of this house-type complex in the Rif, but the essentials still remain, although poorly executed. In other ways the Senhaja, living in an environment which formerly typified the central Rif, have been able to preserve the Riffian material culture as far as the continuation of an abundance of wood and of rainfall permits. In the bulk of their material culture, however, the central Riffians still maintain to the greater conservatism.

In the list of social institutions I have included a number of traits involving the connection of official religious personages with the crises in the life of the individual, crises with which only laymen are involved in other parts of our distributional area. This employment of religious personages is not unique, since it is found in Fez, and among other Arabs who preserve the old Moorish traditions in this time of ritualistic decadence. I personally attribute the presence of these traits in the central Rif to the influence of the old kingdom of Nekor, and to a lesser extent to other media of the diffusion of Arab culture in the days before the invasion of the Beni Hillal. So integral and necessary a part of central Riffian culture have they become that to separate them from the other traits would defeat the purpose of this analysis. The social institutions of the central Rif must be considered a stable blend of old local factors and early Arab ingredients.

In order to present the distribution of the varying intensity of these criteria it is necessary to decide what sub-areas shall be treated as units. I have so treated each sub-area no smaller than a *canton* which has a different cultural pattern in either of the two classes of criteria than any of its contiguous neighbors. Identical sub-areas which are contiguous are treated as one, no matter how large the combination of them may be.

Each sub-area so determined has been given two scores, one in material culture and the other in social institutions. These scores represent the number of traits in each category which the sub-area possesses. Thus the possible range in the case of material culture is 0–28, and in social institutions 0–33. The actual ranges are in material culture 0–26, and in social institutions 2–33.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

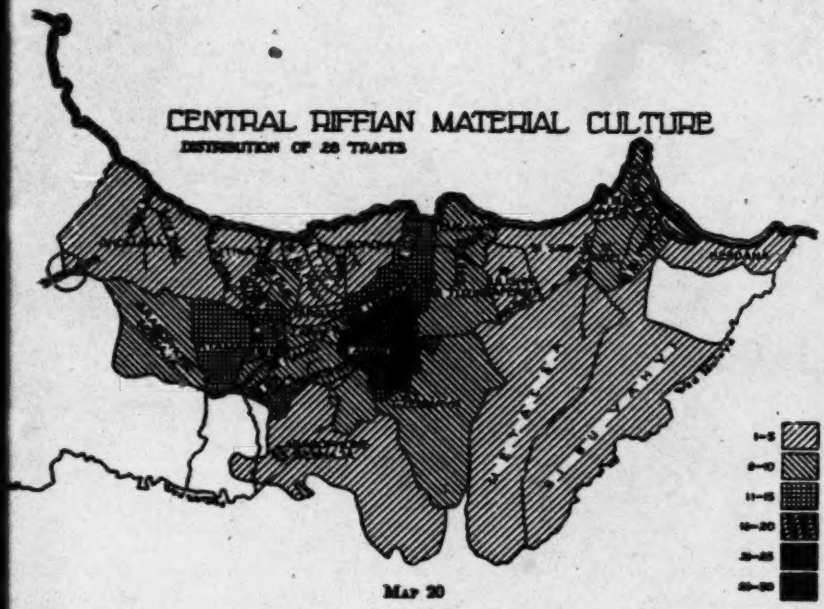
171
174

SEVENTY SUB-AREAS AND THE CULTURAL SCORES OF EACH

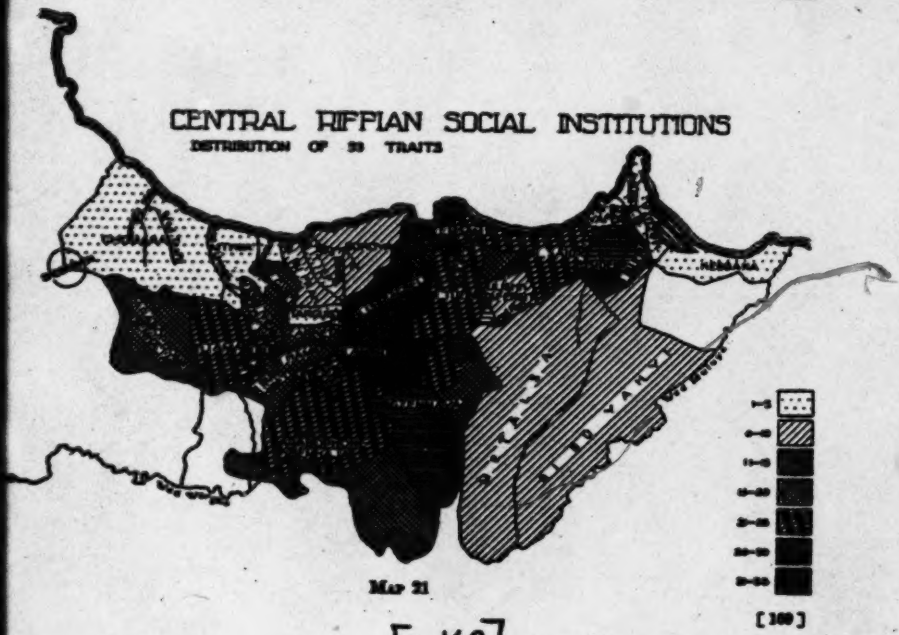
	Material	Social
1. Kebdana	5	2
2. Mazuza and Ait Shisher	6	2
3. Beni Bu Ifrur and Beni Sidel	6	12
4. Beni Bu Yafar	5	2
5. Beni Said	5	22
6. Temsaman bordering Ulishk	7	24
7. Temsaman bordering Urriaghel	7	28
8. Northern Beni Ulishk	5	20
9. Southern Beni Ulishk and Taforsit	4	9
10. Beni Bu Yahyi	0	6
11. Eastern Metalsa	1	6
12. Western Metalsa	1	9
13. El Asib of Meidhar, Beni Tusin	6	13
14. Western Mountain Beni Tusin	8	23
15. Rest of Beni Tusin	7	22
16. Ajdir	12	27
17. Beni Hadifa	13	26
18. Southern Mountain Urriaghel	25	32
19. Rest of Beni Urriaghel	13	27
20. Shawia	6	11
21. Beni Mohammed	8	17
22. Khebabs	8	14
23. Beni Yunes	7	24
24. Ulad Alu ben Aissa	11	26
25. Ikaroen	9	22
26. Iherraouen	13	28
27. Mellal, Ihershliyen	7	12
28. Inbanahan	10	14
29. Bured	11	22
30. Temjust	18	31
31. Iherrushen	22	33
32. Ikhuanen	21	23
33. Southern Beni Amart	26	31
34. Northern Beni Amart	26	30
35. Beni Mesdoy facing Targuist	10	3
36. Beni Mesdoy facing Zarket	10	6
37. Targuist	4	3
38. Bokoya	5	8
39. Beni Ittaft and Beni Bu Ifah	3	6
40. Mestasa and Mtiwa	3	2
41. Zarket	12	20
42. Beni Gmil	7	19
43. Beni Bu Nsar	12	21
44. Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus	11	20
45. Hamid	9	20
46. Beni Bushir	10	21
47. Beni Bu Shibet	11	19
48. Taghouth	10	21
49. Ktama	11	21
50. Zeurka	5	21
51. Mzaist	5	18
52. Ain Medjena	6	23
53. Bu Adi	6	24
54. Ighsiwa	5	17
55. Beni Ulid	5	20
56. Khandaktanda	5	22
57. Beni Korsa	6	23
58. Tsemat and Bab Wender	5	21
59. Fenasa	5	23
60. Beni Wenjin	5	24
61. Amsbuh	5	20
62. Ulad Asam	3	22
63. Beni Krama	5	23
64. Maraisa	6	23
65. Branes	5	17
66. Ulad Brahim	5	21
67. Burda	5	23
68. Aghbalu	5	18
69. Western Arabophone Senhaja	6	18
70. Ghomara	4	5

The maps which accompany this discussion will help to visualise the distributions. Both are clearly centered in the tribes of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the northern part of Gsennaya. The material culture trails out to the east along the mountain divide, through Zarket to Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, and Ktama, as well as Beni Bu Shibet. In the places where invasions have taken place, except in the Senhaja, and in the Maritime tribes (for whose members contact with the outside world has been relatively easy), the paucity of the central Riffian material culture is noticeable. It does not necessarily follow that the basic traits of central Riffian material culture ever extended to the margins of what is today the Rif, but that many of them once extended somewhat beyond their present boundaries is probable. Perhaps if one were to work out the distribution of material culture among all Berber groups similar states of affairs might elsewhere be found. Without such check material worked out in a comparable manner it is impossible to determine accurately whether or not the material complex surviving in the central Rif is a local phenomenon or one of several such peaks of older culture thrust through the surface of a more modern accumulation.

171
174



MAP 20



MAP 21

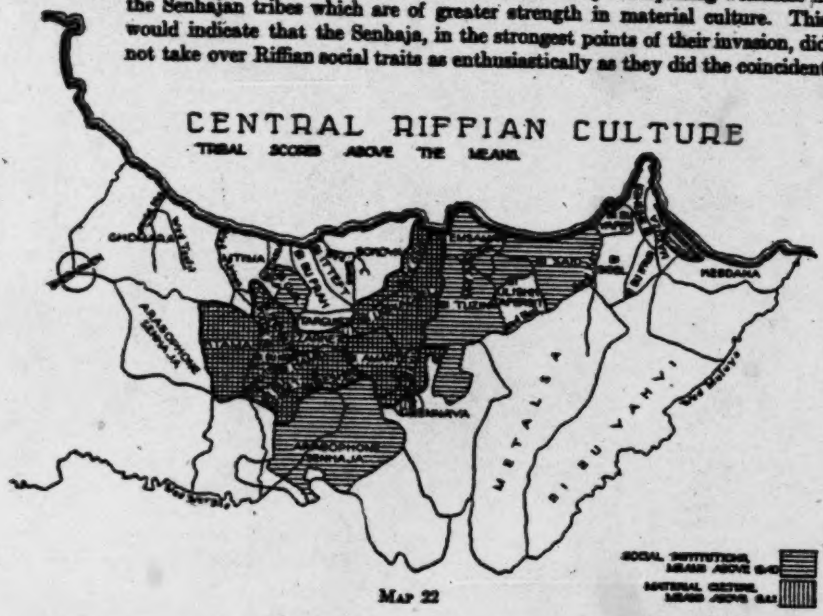
[100]

[p. 169]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

171
174

The social features appear more widespread than the material, which is but natural, since they are not so subject to the limitations of environment. They extend along the coast to the east far beyond the eastward range of the bulk of the material factors, and southward into the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, which is separated from a parallel intensity in the tribes of Taghsuth, Beni Bu Nsar, and Ktama by a surprising weakness in the Senhajan tribes which are of greater strength in material culture. This would indicate that the Senhaja, in the strongest points of their invasion, did not take over Riffian social traits as enthusiastically as they did the coincident



MAP 22

material culture, and that the outlying Senhajan tribes, out of the main path of the invasion, retain or have adopted Riffian social traits in greater intensity. The paths of invasion from the southeast and of diffusion from the northwest are more clearly shown in the map of social institutions than in that of material culture.

In order to compare the two types of culture more clearly, let us resort to a slight exercise of statistics, finding the mean number of traits of each kind possessed by the seventy sub-areas, and the mathematical expression of their coincidence.

Material Culture, 28 traits.
Mean $=8.22 \pm .45$ $\quad \frac{M \times 100}{N} = 29.36$
$\sigma = 5.50 \pm .32$
Social Institutions, 33 traits.
Mean $=18.40 \pm .66$ $\quad \frac{M \times 100}{N} = 55.76$
$\sigma = 5.50 \pm .32$

Correlation between social and material scores in the sub-areas, $+.61 \pm .03$

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Multiplying the mean by 100 and dividing the result by the total number of traits counted in each case gives a pair of comparable figures which show the much greater relative extent of the sociological compilation. The correlation between the numbers of social and material traits found in each sub-area expresses the degree of relationship between the two divisions of the complex. The relationship is significant far beyond question, but by no means approaches identity.

The third map of the series, on which are stippled only those sub-areas possessing more traits of each class than does the mean of that class, expresses this relationship clearly.

The cultural traits which are not central Riffian and which present unusual features marking them as different from the ordinary Moroccan pattern are found more strongly rooted in the southeast and the west than elsewhere. The eastern elements may be divided into those reputed to be of Zenatan origin and those to which only the title Nomadic may be safely applied, since they are adapted to a nomadic life and some of them are used by Bedawin, Braber, and other unassociated nomadic groups.

The following lists indicate the criteria which, without division into material and social traits, I have chosen to identify with the combination of Zenatan and generalized Nomadic culture. To separate them into Zenatan and Nomadic would perhaps render finer results, at the same time exposing the general thesis to a greater possibility of error. Hence I have chosen to keep them combined in one relatively convenient and safe, if generalized, category.

Nomadic and Zenatan Traits

1. The sloughi (reputed to be of Zenatan introduction)
2. Tents
3. *Aforsi*
4. Brush *amiyimesh*
5. Cheese
6. Skin and iron containers only
7. Stake-loom for manufacture of goat-hair and *halfa* cloth
8. Cross-strap sandals
9. *Silham*
10. Men's *haik*
11. Zenatan type of tattooing
12. Tattooing with cross designs
13. Same type of tattooing on men
14. Scalplock hanging from left side of occiput (Zenatan only)
15. Groom sleeps in bride's father's tent during all but the last night of the wedding week
16. Mixed singing with flute-playing at wedding
17. Burial without stones
18. Burial without stones with the employment of a mule

By including the sloughi I have broken the rule established with Riffian traits of excluding domestic animals from the count. I have done this because the sloughi is not dependent upon environment, and because it bears so definite a tradition of Zenatan origin. Since there are two different tattooing types included in this combined roster, one Zenatan and the other perhaps related to the Braber, the complex might be split into two if we could determine which was responsible for other features. Possession of the *haik*, tents, and *aforsi* may be accredited to both; either each has brought them in, or one may have used them there for a long time and the other brought them in as well.

On the following page is a list of scores for sub-areas.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

171
174

SCORE OF COMBINED NOMADIC AND ZENATAN TRAITS

Beni Bu Yahyi	17	Northern Ulishk	5
Eastern Metalsa	16	El Asib of Meidhar	5
Western Metalsa	14	Rest of Tusin	4
Kebdana	6	Shawia	6
Beni Bu Yafer	6	Khebaba	2
Rest of Galiya	5	Bi Mohammed	1
Said	5	Branes	2
Temsaman	2	Marnissa	
Southern Ulishk and Tafersit	6		

MAP 23

The distribution of these scores is heavily centered among the nomads, and very lightly diffused among the sedentary tribes in contact with them. It is curious that Marnissa and Branes, located in the Senhaja, possess some of these traits. In the case of Marnissa, it is perhaps a reflection of the easterly position which el Bekri gave it.[1]

In the west there are again two groups of alien factors, which might well be lumped into one to avoid mistake in identifications. The Senhajan cultural elements which do not coincide with central Riffian usage are:

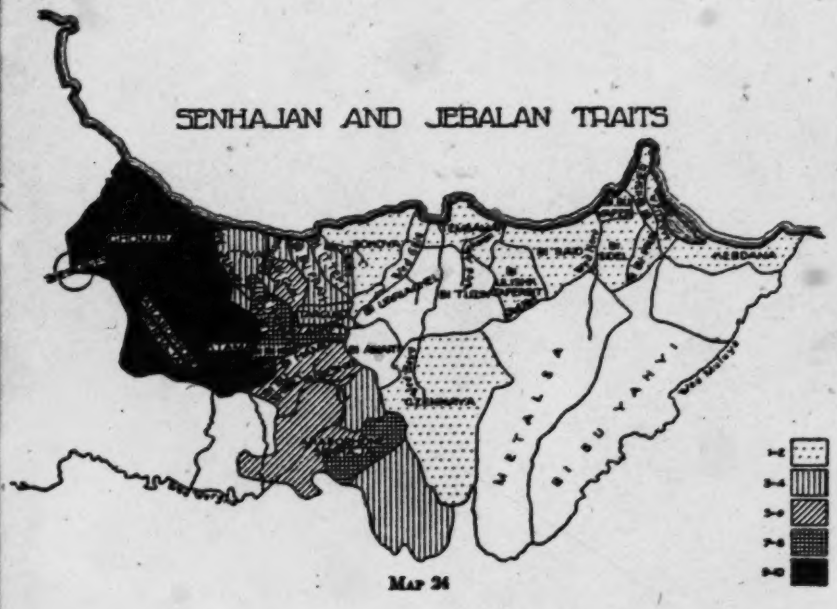
1. Tattooing. Senhajan type
2. Scalplock hanging from right side of occiput
3. Thatched *amiyrnath*
4. Thatched roofs
5. Cork used as roofing and as bedding
6. Absence of pottery

[1] Page 181.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Those which may be Senhajan, but may rather be Ghomaran, or, on account of their wider diffusion, Jebalan, are:

1. Rectangular brush house
2. Use of hemp as a drug
3. Toe-strap sandals
4. Leggings for women
5. Tie-dyeing
6. Use of rheta and drum at weddings
7. Boy-markets



Map 24

Score of Combined Senhajan and Jebalan Culture

Ghomara	10	Rest of Eastern Arabophone Senhaja	5
Taghsuth	9	Branes, Marniesa	4
Ktama	9	Targuist	4
Western Arabophone Senhaja	9	Beni Mesdey	3
Beni Bu Near, Khesmas, Seddath	8	Maritimes	3
Zarket	7	Bokoya	2
Khanduktamda, Beni Krama	7	All Gasmaya excepting Shawia and Ibarrushen	2
Beni Gmil	6	Shawia and Ibarrushen	1
Beni Hamid, Beshir, Bu Shibet	6	Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulichk, Tafersit	1
Ain Medizna, Zrarka, Beni Keraa, Ulad Azam, Bu Adl, Bab Wender, Muniet	6		

This combination of traits extends much farther to the east than the eastern culture did to the west, since it is not as dependent on a specialized environment for the diffusion

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

171 and maintenance of many of its traits as is the latter. The traits which spread farthest are
174 Senhajan rather than Jebalan.

If we were to give scores on Senhajan features alone, Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar would take the lead, which in the merger belongs to the Ghomara. As is the case with the eastern culture, however, it will be safer to refrain from any separation.

The areas in which distinctive cultures have been partly replaced by traits common throughout Morocco do not deserve special treatment, since they are those which have figured in the background in the discussion of all three combinations of complexes. Such are notably the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, southern Gzennaya, and the eastern tribes of the Rif.

It is curious that language has so little correlation with culture in Northern Morocco. In Galiya and Kebdana, where Riffian culture is very diffuse, Berber is spoken with no signs of an impending transition to Arabic. If any linguistic influence is becoming serious in the east, it is that of Spanish. In the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, where Riffian culture is still quite strong, Berber has almost entirely died out. On the other hand, the adoption of Arabic has followed and is following the adoption of Arab cultural traits among the Maritime tribes and in Targuist.

Summary. A compilation of the traits of material and social culture which are characteristically Riffian shows that these traits are definitely concentrated in what may be called the Central Riffian Nuclear Culture Area, comprising northern Gzennaya, southern Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Amart. This area may be regarded as the stronghold of archaic culture in Northern Morocco.

The Riffian type of material culture extends westward through the Senhaja Sghir, being retained in this region by the survival of an abundant coniferous vegitation; the social pattern, on the other hand, stretches eastward through the true Rif, in which changes of environment have altered certain factors of material culture, while old social factors have been retained in greater intensity.

Cultural elements of Zenatan and Nomadic origins are concentrated in Beni Bu Yahyi, and become diffuse the further one goes into the Rif from that tribe. In the Central Riffian Culture Area these traits are entirely absent.

Cultural elements of Senhajan, Ghomaran, or Jebalan origin are concentrated in the Ghomara and in Ktama and Taghzuth. The rest of the Senhajan tribes show them in reduced degree, and some of the Riffian tribes have adopted a few of them. The Eastern Arabophone Senhaja shows itself more Riffian than Senhajan in culture.

There is but slight correlation between the retention of Berber speech and the retention of older cultural patterns: in the east the language is maintained undiminished despite profound cultural changes; in the west and southwest the opposite is the case.

This analysis indicates a certain degree of cultural stratification in the general area comprising the Rif, northern Senhaja, and Ghomara. The older complex, surviving in greatest strength in the central Rif, may represent a culture which was once widespread over the Berber world; or it may be uniquely Riffian. Further compilations in other parts of North Africa are needed before this question can be answered.

[P. 175- 405 omitted.]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XXV

CULTURE, TRADITION, AND RACE. CONCLUSIONS REGARDING BERBER ORIGINS

CULTURE AND RACE

174 The distribution of cultural traits in northern Morocco shows us that the earliest pattern survives in the mountainous nucleus of the Rif, with Beni Amart as the chief center, and Beni Urriaghel and the northwestern fringe of Gsennaya included within the concentrated area. Old social institutions, having no direct association with changes in environment, stretch out eastward across Beni Said to form a secondary and less intense nucleus in Galiya. Material culture of archaic pattern has the same center as the social institutions, but being partly dependent upon an abundance of coniferous timber it has abandoned the east, which is deforested, and extends westward in survival across the still heavily forested mountains of the Senhaja Sghir.

The northern arm of the Sahara which culminates in the Garet has served as the diffusion route for cultural influences of nomadic inspiration, and has tended to bisect the original pattern of social distribution. In the west, the valley of the Wergha has served as a much-used highroad over which alien institutions have been carried; and others have crept across the Jebala through the western tribes, which speak Arabic, and through the Ghomara. In the northwestern Rif commercial navigation and the establishment of a religious center have tended to minimize Riffian culture in the tribes of Mtiwa, Mestasa, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Itteft, and Targuist.

Such in brief is the cultural picture. On the whole, racial differentiation within the fairly homogenous group which characterises this area tends to follow the same geographical tendencies as culture. Owing to the incomparability of the types of data, and the differences in designation of sub-areas, statistical comparison is impossible; nevertheless such is the general agreement that a cursory comparison can be made.

The area in which the older social pattern is retained is precisely that in which the blond, North European racial type survives in greatest purity. Although in general it is hazardous to associate race with culture, in the present area each owes its survival to its geographical inaccessibility. One cannot say that the Nordic type originated this culture, or brought it with it; probably of the two the racial type is far the older; all that one can say is that of recognizable racial and cultural types these two are the oldest and survive in the same place for the same reason.

The region to the south and east of this center of refuge is occupied by a taller, heavier boned, and darker haired type, obviously secondary chronologically to the blonder type. It is improbable that that type was wholly or even largely responsible for the diminution of Riffian cultural elements in the east, since it is found in the Gsennaya associated with a high degree of Central Riffian culture, both social and material. Most of the Gsennaya measured came from that northwestern part of the tribe. Another element which seems so old that its effects upon Central Riffian culture are likewise imperceptible is a diffuse Negroid or

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Mediterranean, which avoids the very center of the old culture area, although being located in other parts of it. This type seems to have had no perceptible effect upon the strongly preserved forest culture of the Senhaja, where the negroid element is most in evidence. 174

One can trace the Saharan or Hamitic racial type in the regions in which intrusive cultural elements seem concentrated, and this type is responsible in part at least for the diffusion of nomadic cultural traits into the eastern Rif. Either it or a Negroid type, or both, brought the Senhajan peculiarities into Taghsuth, Ktama, and the surrounding region. The Ghomaran elements may have been brought by either the mesocephalous broad jawed type, by this latter, or by both.

Thus we can make but two definite associations between culture and race in northern Morocco: that of the earliest racial type with the oldest surviving cultural pattern, and that of the most recent racial type with the most recent cultural diffusions, excluding of course the European. On the whole, racial analysis shows earlier conditions and movements more clearly than does cultural analysis, since naturally the heredity of racial characteristics is more exact in its operation and more conservative than that which must be taught and learned. The cultural analysis is nevertheless of invaluable service in demarcating refuge areas and diffusion routes, thus helping to interpret the fuller evidence of race.

TRADITION AND RACE

Tradition attributes autochthonous ancestry to the people living in the area typified by the greatest concentration of the blond North European type, thus supporting the contribution of cultural evidence. In the east, ancestry is often attributed to Zenatan and Arab sources. Here, however, the eponymous forebears of the various family groups represent an infusion of the Saharan type not yet strong enough to have changed the general characteristics of the group. The Eastern type must have come in so long ago that it cannot be explained away by tradition. In the Senhaja, tradition attributes old Christian ancestry to the tribes least unlike the Riffians, and to Taghsuth and Ktama, ancestors from Segguia el Hamra, who came into a region formerly inhabited by people "like Shluh," in the case of Taghsuth, and by no one, in the case of Ktama. After having visited Ktama one finds it remarkable that human beings inhabit it even today. These Shluh-like people probably represent an older negroid population whom the Senhajan ancestors, probably of the general Saharan type, assimilated. In Ghomara the same nebulous "Shluh" were found and traditionally dislodged. The Ghomaran ancestors came from Segguia el Hamra earlier than did the Senhajan ancestors, and hence the similarity of the Ghomaran lighter type to the "Guanche" element in the Canary Islands may represent a real connection. The similarity of the name Ghomara to Gomera, the island on which this type was especially strong, may possibly indicate this relationship, although such tenuous philological connections should not be stressed. A Saharan element either accompanied or followed the mesocephalous Ghomaran type into the Ghomara.

On the whole, these traditions indicate rather well the general succession of racial positions and movements in northern Morocco, in so far as we have been able to reconstruct them. If the racial elements had been more different from each other skeletally our task would have been easier. As it is, cumulative tendencies within a slightly varied group have of necessity served as criteria.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The general trend which these tendencies have revealed bears a connection not only with the local traditions, but also with the traditions concerning the early origins of the whole Berber group.

According to Ibn Khaldun all Berbers are descended from two individuals each named Berr, who were not related, and both of whom the Arab historian naturally enough descends from Semitic characters.[1] These two Berrs are supposed to have come into North Africa, and their descendants to have have subdivided into many of the present Berber groups. Notable among these are the Senhaja, Ghomara, Masmuda, Huara, and Zenata. Some writers postulate an invasion of Africa shortly before the Christian era by one Ifrikos, who came from Arabia, bringing with him the Senhaja and Ketama families.[2]

It is not profitable to dwell too long upon these theories, which are not proper Berber traditions but garbled Arab versions of them. The significant points about them are two: that the Senhaja, Ghomara, and Zenata are pictured as invaders and are classed as desert nomads; and that there is no traditional group held responsible for the parentage of the families of the central Rif. According to Marmol (who follows Ibn er-Rakik) there were two kinds of Berbers, "African Berbers," and "Shluh."[3] The African Berbers were nomadic and considered themselves aristocrats. The Shluh were the lowly inhabitants of the mountains, the farmers and house-dwellers. From time to time, according to Marmol, certain branches of the illustrious families would be defeated by their enemies and forced to take to the hills, where they would be assimilated by the mountaineers. In this way they would give their names to the groups adopting them, as their local progeny increased. They would also perhaps cause slight changes culturally and racially.

The Senhaja, using the name in its entire designation and not as we have been employing it locally, is a widespread group of peoples, including the Tuareg, the Braber, and our own Northern Senhaja, who form a tiny part of the whole and an erratic excrescence of the main stock. Most of the Senhaja are nomadic, and they cover a large part of the Sahara. Even the Braber, who live in the Middle Atlas, retain nomadic habits despite their present environment, living in houses only in the winter. It is said that the Braber tribes have been pushing each other northward over the Middle Atlas and up the Muluya; in the memory of living men tribal locations have shifted in this direction. It would be logical to consider the Northern Senhaja the pre-Islamic peak of this movement, later bisected by the Arab invasions. On the other hand, their tradition connecting them with Rio d'Oro would imply an older movement.

The Ghomara are located, according to early writers, along the Atlantic coast, in regions which they do not now inhabit. This traditional or historic location would serve to connect them with the coastal region opposite the Canary Islands. The present day Ghomara are again only a dislocated section of a widespread family. According to Marmol,[4] the only true ones of the Ghomara are the Beni Grir, the others being really what he calls "Shluh," in other words, indigenous agriculturalists.

The main body of the Zenata lies outside of Morocco to the south and east, but a definite sequence of them extends up the Muluya watercourse to the main nucleus.

[1] Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berbères* (tr. Mac Guckin de Slane), vol. I, p. 167 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 185.
[3] Marmol, *Descripcion d'Africa*, Book III, chap. 24.
[4] *Ibid.*, Book III, chap. 67.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

174

These traditions, muddled as they are, and especially Marmol's interpretation of them, do, I believe, indicate something of value. They suggest the conclusions which we have so tediously extracted from the present material, that the Berbers are divided racially as well as culturally into two sections: the sedentary, agricultural, historically recessive type, European in racial affiliations; and the dominant nomadic group which comes from the south and east, and is Saharan or Hamitic in racial origin. Considering the linguistic evidence from the Canary Islands,[1] and the rôle the desert type has played in cultural diffusion, one is inclined to ascribe to this group the Hamitic element in Berber languages. One may also suppose an earlier linguistic as well as cultural pattern to have existed along the northwestern Mediterranean littoral, one more truly allied in pre-Indo-European times to the countries across the sea than is the case today. Racially the connections extend farther afield to the north of Europe, but whether the connecting thread ran across the Straits of Gibraltar or around the Mediterranean cannot be answered. If the pre-Berber or at least pre-Saharan cultural affiliations of the northern littoral were Bronze Age or Neolithic, its racial affiliations must go back even farther. In the light of the present evidence I do not see how it would be possible more recently to derive from Europe the North African blonds, scattered remnants as they are, perched in mountain refuges and stony islands, in the latter of which they were living in the Neolithic when discovered.

Summary: Of the pre-Hamitic or pre-Saharan inhabitants of northern Africa there were probably several racial types, a blond North European; a round headed type which Bertholon and Chantre[2] found in oases, along the Tunisian coast, and in the island of Jerba, and which probably produced in mixture the disharmonic "Guanche" type,[3] our own "Eastern" type, and the mesocephalous Ghomara; and a classical Mediterranean type. Personally I believe that the importance of the third has been greatly exaggerated. It may exist and flourish in other parts of North Africa, but in the part intimately covered by the present investigation it is of nebulous character if it is present at all.

It is impossible to say which of these types is the oldest. Some appear older in some regions, others in other regions. In the Rif the blond type seems to have stratigraphic priority, and its presence in Kabylia, the Aures, and the Canary Islands surely does not imply that it was recent in any of those regions.

The chief difference between the conclusions which automatically derive themselves from this study and those of Hooton's careful analysis of the Canary Island problem, is that in the Rif the Nordic type is older than the sub-brachycephalic mixed blonds, whereas in the Canaries the element bearing the round headed tendencies is as old as if not older than the blond.[4] Our Egyptian evidence also indicates that the blond strain was western. Probably the African Nordic type had its early focus in the north of Morocco, and the element which produced the round headed and disharmonic Berber types, which brought the broad jaw into Africa, followed the Atlas from northeast to southwest, from Tunis to the Canary Islands, working northward from this diagonal route in various waves, one of which brought the Ghomara.

Hooton finds a Negroid Mediterranean strain oldest in the Canaries.[5] These islands must have been slower to change both racially and culturally than our corner of the con-

[1] Hooton, *The Ancient Inhabitants of the Canary Islands*, pp. 16-19.
[2] *La Berberie Orientale*, pp. 641, 645, and maps.
[3] Hooton, *Canary Islands*, p. 218 *seq.* [4] *Ibid.*, p. 299. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

174 tinent. Such a type, scattered in the Rif, is unquestionably old there, but it cannot truthfully be called older than the Nordic, while the technique of this investigation indicates it to be younger.

The history of North Africa has been a succession of cultural and racial whitewashings from the south and east. A people Hamitic or Saharan, call them what you will, swept over it at some early period and brought Berber speech, desert culture, and a refined brunet racial type. Arabs have swept over it, bringing in Islam and the concurrent pattern of culture. Saharan peoples have continued their northward drive well into modern times; the Zenata are a relatively late branch of them. Negroes have come or been brought in, broadening the noses, darkening the skins, forging iron, and brutalising the lower religious sects of the people. Finally, the French and Spanish have entered, bringing modern civilisation which will inevitably stir and ferment the racial and cultural orders, causing changes; destruction, growth, the breakdown of regional isolation, and so great an eventual homogeneity that the curious facts recorded in this volume will become legends, and finally linger in the attic of distorted human memories.

Searching beneath the Berber and Arab blankets, beneath the Negroid seepings and the European scaldings, it is still possible to discern the relics of a long bygone age, a time when northern Morocco was nearer to Europe culturally, and a still dimmer time when the races of North Africa and of Europe were the same. The old elements, a Nordic, an early pre-Alpine brachycephal, and a diffuse Negroid which evolved into the Mediterranean, disharmonic mixtures of several of these; the roster of old North African races reminds one of the Europe of the late Palaeolithic and early Neolithic, and especially of the periods in between. Had this welter of early types been allowed to work out its destiny undisturbed, our work would have been easier; as it is, early North African skeletal material is needed before our problem may be solved.

By chance this corner of North Africa in which we have chosen first to work is the asylum of the first of these types, an African Nordic. In determining that this race is at the bottom of the Riffian physical composition we wish to avoid the critical fire which is poured in these days on all so brave or foolhardy as to use the word "Nordic"; let it be understood that the word here means a race and not a frame of mind; head, hair, eyes, and nose, and not an Olympian psychology. That the Riffians are brave and honorable men, and most pleasant companions, is neither here nor there.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

000

BIBLIOGRAPHY

[p. 412]

[p. 411 is blank]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 ABDERRAHMAN BEN ABDULLAH BEN 'IMRAN BEN 'AMIR ES-SA'DI, Tarikh es-Soudan. Text and Translation. Translated by O. Houdas. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1900.

ALBENIZ, VICTOR RUIZ, España en el Rif. Madrid, Biblioteca Hispania, 1922.

——, El Riff. Madrid, Imprenta de Juan Fueyo, 1912.

AMAT, CHARLES, Le Maab et les Maabites. Paris, Challamel et Cie., 1888.

ARANZADI, T. DE, "Observaciones Anthropometricas en los Carcureños," *Actas de la Sociedad Española de Historia Natural*, 2nd series, Vol. III (XXIII), Session de Enero.

ARTBAUER, OTTO C., Riffpiraten und Ihre Heimat. Stuttgart, Verlag von Strecker und Schröder, 1911.

ATGIER, E. A., "Les Touareg à Paris," *Bulletin et Mémoirs de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 5th series, Vol. X, pp. 222–243. Paris, 1909.

BARRAS DE ARAGON, F. DE LAS, "Notas sobre indices obtenidos de medidas tomados en vivo, de sujetos naturales de la Provincia de Sevilla y sus limitrofes," *Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropologia, Etnografia, y Prehistoria*, Vol. II. Madrid, 1923.

BASSET, HENRI, Essai sur la Litterature des Berberes. Algiers, Jules Carbonel, 1920.

——, La Culte des Grottes au Maroc. Algiers, Jules Carbonel, 1920.

BATES, ORIC, The Eastern Libyans. London, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1914.

EL BEKRI, Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale. Traduite par Mac Guckin de Slane. Algiers, Adolphe Jourdan, 1913.

BERTHOLON, L., and CHANTRE, E., Recherches Anthropologiques dans la Berberie Orientale. Lyon, A. Rey, 1913.

BIARNAY, S., Etude sur les Dialectes Bérbères du Rif. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1917.

BRUNEL, RÉNÉ, Essai sur la Confrerie Religieuse des Aissaoua au Maroc. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1926.

BRYN, HALFDAN, and SCHREINER, K. E., Die Somatologie der Norweger. Oslo, I Kommisjon Hos Jacob Dybward, 1929.

CANDOLLE, ALPHONSE DE, The Origin of Cultivated Plants. New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1885.

CASTRO, FERNANDEZ DE, Guelaia y Qebdana. Malaga, Zambrana Hermanos, 1911.

CAUDEL, M., L'Afrique du Nord, Les Premieres Invasions Arabes. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1900.

CHENIER, LOUIS SAUVEUR DE, Recherches Historiques sur les Maures. Paris, chez l'Auteur, 1787.

DAVENPORT, CHARLES B., and LOVE, ALBERT G., Army Anthropometry. Washington, 1921.

DAVIS, WILLIAM STEARNS, An Outline History of the Roman Empire. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1911.

DELBREL, GABIEL, Geografia General del Rif. Melilla, el Telegrama del Rif, 1911.

DENIKER, JOSEPH, The Races of Man. London, Walter Scott, 1900.

DEPONT, OCTAVE, and COPPOLANI, XAVIER, Les Confrèries Religieuses Mussulmanes. Algiers, Adolphe Jourdan, 1897.

DIXON, ROLAND B., The Building of Cultures. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928.

DOUTTÉ, EDMOND, En Tribu. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1914.

DUVEYRIER, HENRI, La Derniere Partie Inconnue du Littoral de la Mediterranée, Le Rif. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1888.

[p. 413]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

113 FLOWER, WM. H., and LYDEKKER, RICHARD, Mammals Living and Extinct. London, Adam and Charles Black, 1891.

DE FOUCAULD, VICOMTE CHARLES, Reconnaissance au Maroc. Text and Plates. Paris, Challamel et Cie., 1888.

FOURNEL, HENRI, Etude sur la Conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes. Paris, Imprimerie Imperiale, 1857. 2nd edition. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1875.

FREJUS, SIEUR ROLAND, Relation of a Voyage made into Mauretania in Africk. London, W. Godbid, 1671.

FREUND, WILLIAM, Latin-English Dictionary. Edited by E. A. Andrews. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1855 seq.

FÜRST, CARL M., Index Tabellen zum Antropometrischen Gebrauche. Jena, Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1902.

GAUTTIER, E. F., Les Siècles Obscurs du Maghreb. Paris, Payot, 1927.

GENTIL, LOUIS, Le Maroc Physique. Paris, Librairie Felix Alcan, 1912.

GHIRELLI, ANGELO, Monografia de la Kabila de Beni Tuzin. Madrid, Graficas Reunidas, 1923.

——, El Norte de Marruecos. Melilla, Artes Graficas-Postal Expres, 1926.

GORING, CHARLES, The English Convict. London, Darling and Son, Ltd., 1913.

GOULD, B. A., United States Sanitary Commission Memoirs. New York, 1869.

GREBA DE CAMPS, SANTIAGO, Las Kabilas de Bocoya, Beniburiaga y Tlemsimana. Barcelona, F. Sanchez, 1903.

GSELL, STEPHANE, Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord, Vol. I. Paris, Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1913.

HANOTEAU, A., and LATOURNEAU, A., La Kabylie, Vol. I. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1872.

HANSEN, SOREN, "On the Physical Anthropology of the Faroe Islanders," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, new series, Vol. XV, 1912.

HAUSMAN, LEON AUGUSTUS, "The Pigment Granules in Head Hair, a Comparative Racial Study," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 276–277, October–December, Washington, 1928.

D'HERCOURT, GILLEBERT, "L'Anthropologie de l'Algerie," *Mémoirs de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, Vol. III, pp. 1–23. Paris, 1868.

HOOTON, EARNEST A., "The Ancient Inhabitants of the Canary Islands," *Harvard African Studies*, Vol. VII. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1925.

HOROWITZ, VICTOR J., Marokko. Leipsig, W. Friedrich, 1887.

HOYOS SAINZ, LUIS DE, "Un cuestionario de Demografia Etnografia," *Actas de la Sociedad Española de Antropologia, Etnografia, y Prehistoria*, Vol. I. Madrid, 1922.

——, "Etnografia Española," *Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropologia, Etnografia, y Prehistoria*, Vol. I, pp. 91–128. Madrid, 1922.

HOYOS SAINZ, LUIS DE, and ARANZADI, TELESFORO DE, "Un Avance a la Antropologia de España," *Anales de la Sociedad Espanol de Istoria Naturale*, Vol. XXI, 1892.

——, "Sur l'Anthropologie de l'Espagne," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 4th series, Vol. IV. Paris, 1893.

——, "Vorläufige Mittheilung zur Anthropologie von Spanien," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Vol. XXII, pp. 429–433. Braunschweig, 1893–94.

HRDLIČKA, ALEŠ, The Old Americans. Baltimore, The Williams and Wilkins Co., 1925.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

IBN KHALDUN, Histoire des Berbères. Translated by Baron Mac Guckin de Slane; edited by Paul Casanova. 5 vols. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1927.

JUSTINARD, COMMANDANT, Manuel de Berbère Marocain (Dialecte Rifain). Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1926.

KELLEY, TRUMAN L., Statistical Method. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1923.

KIDD, BERESFORD, J., A History of the Church to A.D. 461. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1922.

LAOUST, E., Mots et Choses Berbères. Paris, Augustin Challamel, 1920.

LEGEY, DOCTORESSE, Contes et Légendes Populaires du Maroc. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1926.

——, Essai de Folklore Marocain. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1926.

LEO AFRICANUS, JOHN, Description de l'Afrique. Edited by Charles Schefer. 3 vols. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1896.

LEYE, NORMAN M., and JOYCE, T. A., "Notes on a Series of Measurements from East Africa," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, new series, Vol. XVI, 1913.

LIDDELL, HENRY G., and SCOTT, WILLIAM, A Greek-English Lexicon. 7th edition. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1882.

LIVI, RIDOLFO, Antropometria Militare. Rome, Presso il Giornale del Regio Esercito, 1896.

LUNDBORG, H., and LINDERS, F. J., The Racial Characters of the Swedish Nation. Stockholm, Swedish State Institute for Race Biology, 1926.

MAC AULIFFE, LÉON, and MARIE, AUGUSTE, "Variation de la Pigmentation des Yeux et des Cheveux chez les Peuples Latins," *L'Ethnographie*, 5th series, April 15, 1922.

MARCUS, LOUIS, Histoire des Wandales. Paris, Arthus Bertrand, 1836.

DEL MARMOL CARAVAIAL, LUYS, Descripcion de Affrica. 3 books. Granada, Casa de Réné Rabut, 1573. All references are to third book.

MARTIN, RUDOLF, Lehrbuch der Anthropologie. 3 vols. 2nd edition, Jena, Gustav Fischer, 1928.

MASPERO, GASTON, The Struggle of the Nations. London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1896.

MEAKIN, BUDGETT, An Introduction to the Arabic of Morocco. London, Bernard Quaritch, 1891.

——, The Moorish Empire. London, Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 1899.

MENDELSSOHN, SIDNEY, The Jews of Africa. New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., 1920.

MICHAUX-BELLAIRE, M., Le Rif. Rabat, Bureau des Renseignments, 1925.

——, A Propos du Rif. Rabat, Bureau des Renseignments, 1926.

MORANT, G. M., "A First Study of the Craniology of England and Scotland." *Biometrika*, Vol. XVIII, p. 82, 1926.

MOULIERAS, AUGUSTE, Le Maroc Inconnu. 2 vols. Oran, D. Heinta, 1899.

——, Paris, Librarie Coloniale et Africane.

MUIR, SIR WILLIAM, The Caliphate, Rise, Decline, and Fall. Edinburgh, John Grant, 1924.

NOPCSA, BARON FERENCZ, Albanien, Bauten, Trachten, und Geräte Nordalbaniens. Berlin und Leipsig, W. de Gruyter Co., 1925.

OLDFIELD, THOMAS, "List of Mammals obtained by the Hon. Walter Rothschild, Ernst Hartert, and Carl Hilgest in Western Algeria during 1913." *Novitates Zoologicae*, Vol. XX, pp. 586–591. 1913.

OLORIZ, F., "Distribution de l'Indice Cephalometrique en Espagne," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 4th series, Vol. V. Paris, 1894.

OVILO Y CANALES, DON FELIPE, La Mujer Marroqui. Madrid, Libreria de Fernando Fé, 1881.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rlf MX3

113 PAPILLAULT, DR., "Sur les Populations de l'Aures," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 4th series, Vol. VIII, p. 538. Paris, 1897.

PARSONS, F. W., "The Color Index of the British Isles," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. L, pp. 159–182. London, 1920.

——, "On the Long Barrow Race and its Relationship to the Modern Inhabitants of London," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LI, pp. 55–61, 1921.

PEARSON, KARL, Tables for Statisticians and Biometricians. Cambridge University Press, 1924.

PROCOPIUS, De Bello Vandalico. Text and translation by H. B. Dewing. 5 vols. London, W. Heinemann. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1914–28.

RANDALL-MAC IVER, DAVID, and WILKIN, ANTHONY, Libyan Notes. London, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1901.

RAWLINSON, GEORGE, (Translator), The History of Herodotus. 2 vols. Everyman's Library, No. 406. London, J. M. Dent & Sons, New York, E. P. Dutton and Co.

RIPLEY, WILLIAM Z., The Races of Europe. New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1899.

ROGER-MATHIEU, J., Memoires d'Abd el Krim. Paris, Librairie des Champs-Elysees, 1927.

ROGET, RAYMOND, Le Maroc Chez les Auteurs Anciens. Paris, Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1924.

ROHLFS, GERHARD, Adventures in Morocco, etc. London, S. Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, 1874.

DE SAINT-MARTIN, M. VIVIEN, Le Nord de l'Afrique dans l'Antiquité. Paris, Imprimerie Imperiale, 1863.

SALE, GEORGE, The Koran (translation). London, William Teeg & Co., 1857.

SALLUST, Works. Translated by T. Gordon. London, 1744.

SCHREINER, ALETTE, Anthropologische Untersuchungen in Norge: Valle, Hålandsdal, und Eidfjord. Oslo, I Kommisjon Hos Jacob Dybward, 1930.

DE SEGONIAC, MIS., Voyages au Maroc (1899–1901). Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1903.

SERGI, G., The Mediterranean Race. London, Walter Scott, 1901.

SHAPIRO, HARRY L., "Descendants of the Mutineers of the *Bounty*." *Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum*, Vol. XI, pp. 1–106. Honolulu, 1929.

SLOUSCHZ, NAHUM, "Une Voyage des Études Juives en Afrique," *Memoirs de l'Institut Francaise*, 1st series, Vol. XII, 2nd edition.

——, "Hebraeo-Pheniciens et Judeo-Berbères," *Archives Marocaines*, Vol. XIV. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1908.

SMITH, R. BOSWORTH, Carthage and the Carthaginians. London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1807.

SNYDER, LAURENCE H., "Human Blood Groups, their Inheritance and Racial Significance," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. IX, pp. 233–263. Washington, 1926.

TOZZER, ALFRED M., Social Origins and Social Continuities. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1925.

VAN GENNEP, ARNOLD, "Les Poteries Peintes de l'Afrique du Nord," *Harvard African Studies*, Vol. II, pp. 235–296. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1918.

VAVILOV, NIKOLAI I., Studies on the Origin of Cultivated Plants. Leningrad, 1926.

VIRÉ, ARMAND, "La Kabylie du Djurdjura," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, 4th series, Vol. IV, p. 71, Paris, 1893.

VOINOT, L., Le Tidikelt. Oran, Imprimerie L. Fouque, 1909.

WAZAN, EMILY SHERIFA OF, My Life Story. London, E. Arnold, 1911.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

WEININGER, JOSEF (RUDOLF PÖCHS NACHLASS), Eine Morphologish-Anthropologische Studie. Vienna, Anthropologische Gesselschaft, 1927. . . . an 100 Westafrikanischen Negern. . .

WEISGERBER, H., Les Blancs d'Afrique. Paris, Octave Doin et Fils, 1910.

WESTERMARCK, EDWARD, Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco. London, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1914.

——, Ritual and Belief in Morocco. 2 vols. London, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1926.

WILLIAMS, GEORGE D., "Spanish-Maya Crosses in Yucatan," *Peabody Museum Papers*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1931.

YULE, G. UDNEY, An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics. London, Charles Griffin and Co., Ltd., 1927.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

ooo

RITUAL AND BELIEF IN MOROCCO

[p. i]

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

000

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
LONDON · BOMBAY · CALCUTTA · MADRAS
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
NEW YORK · BOSTON · CHICAGO
DALLAS · SAN FRANCISCO

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.
TORONTO

[p ii]

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

RITUAL AND BELIEF IN MOROCCO

000

BY

EDWARD WESTERMARCK

PH.D.; HON. LL.D., ABERDEEN
MARTIN WHITE PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY AT THE ACADEMY OF ÅBO (FINLAND)
AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF HUMAN MARRIAGE", "THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MORAL IDEAS", "MARRIAGE CEREMONIES IN MOROCCO" ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. I

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON
1926

[p. iii]

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

COPYRIGHT

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

[p. iv]

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

WHEN I was preparing my book *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* I thought that it might be useful for me to acquire first-hand knowledge of some forms of culture which differ from our own. As the University of Helsingfors had granted me a very handsome travelling scholarship, which enabled me to stay abroad for years, I contemplated going to the East to study both civilised and savage races. I sailed for Morocco in 1898 — and never went farther. I soon realised what a laborious undertaking it is to acquaint oneself sufficiently well even with the natives of a single country: it requires a prolonged stay among them and knowledge of their language. Even the best interpreter is apt to omit details which, though apparently trivial, may be of the greatest importance for a right understanding of the custom or belief in question, or to let his attention slacken for a moment, or to give an inaccurate meaning to expressions which baffle all direct translation. Morocco offered the double advantage of being little known and within easy reach of Europe. I went there time after time; and in the course of twenty-one journeys undertaken in the period between 1898 and 1926 I spent there altogether seven years.

I made it a point to visit towns and tribes in different parts of the country, and to employ as teachers natives of other tribes to which I could not go myself. Thus I spent half a year in Fez; the same length of time among the mountains of Andjra, and several weeks among the Jbâla of Jbel Ḥbīb and the Sáḥel; many months in the Faḥṣ and the Ġarbîya; nearly two months among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz in Dukkâla, besides which I had daily intercourse with people of this tribe during my five months' stay in

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

114 Mazagan; a shorter time among the Beni Ăḥsen and the Mnáṣăra; three months among the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas range; and many months in Marráksh and Mogador, where I had Shlöḥ as my teachers. During my stay in Fez and Ṣĕfru and the excursions I made from the latter place to the surrounding tribe of the Aiṭ Yúsi, I had an opportunity to study the Berbers belonging to the group of the Brâber; and at Tangier and Tetuan I came in very frequent contact with Berbers from the Rîf.

In those days when I made nearly all my journeys in the interior of the country there were no roads, and very many districts were inaccessible to travellers. Even for my sojourn in Andjra, which was then in a disturbed state, the Russian legation required of me a written statement to the effect that I went there entirely at my own risk. Yet the treatment I received there, as well as among other mountaineers and peasants not generally noted for friendliness towards Europeans, was invariably of the kindliest nature. For this I have to thank my Moorish friend Shereef 'Abdsslam l-Baqqâli, who has accompanied me on all my journeys in Morocco and given me invaluable assistance. I am happy to say that the President of the Republic of Finland has been pleased to confer on him knighthood of the order of " Finlands Vita Ros " as a reward for the services he has rendered me.

From a sociological point of view Morocco is much better known now than it was at the time when I commenced my researches. This is chiefly due to numerous important publications which have appeared in French during the last quarter of a century, though Mr. Budgett Meakin's books also deserve recognition. The literary activity of La Mission scientifique du Maroc, Le Comitĕ d'Études berbères de Rabat, l'École supérieure de Langue arabe et de Dialectes berbères de Rabat, and L'Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, has been imposing; and valuable works have, in addition, appeared outside the range of their publications. Much attention has been bestowed on the particular subject with which I am dealing in the present book. Various points of it have been ably treated by Messrs. Doutté, Laoust, Henri Basset, and others; and if the object of my book

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

had been to give a comprehensive account of all that is known about the popular religion and magic of Morocco, their names would certainly have appeared more frequently in its pages. But its aim is less ambitious, being chiefly restricted to a presentation and discussion of the results of my own researches among the natives.

A considerable portion of these results have been previously published in the following essays and articles :— " The Nature of the Arab *Ginn*, illustrated by the present Beliefs of the People of Morocco ", in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. xxix. (1900) ; " The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs ", *ibid.* vol. xxxiv. (1904) ; " Sul culto dei santi nel Marocco ", in *Actes du douzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Rome, 1899*, vol. iii. pt. i. (Florence, 1902) ; " Midsummer Customs in Morocco ", in *Folk-Lore*, vol. xvi. (1905) ; " The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco ", *ibid.* vol. xxii. (1911) ; " *L-'âr*, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco ", in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907) ; *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps - Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. liv. 1911–12, sec. B, No. 1 ; Helsingfors, 1913) ; *The Moorish Conception of Holiness* (*Barakà*) (the same series, vol. lviii., 1915–16, sec. B, No. 1 ; Helsingfors, 1916) ; *The Belief in Spirits in Morocco* (*Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora*, vol. i. No. 1 ; Åbo, 1920). The facts and most of the theories in these publications have, more or less revised, been incorporated in the present work, but a large number of facts have been added, and the subjects concerned have also in other respects been treated more fully. Moreover, many new subjects, not previously dealt with by me, have been introduced ; so that at least one half of the work may be said to be completely new. Other results of my researches, not embodied in this book, are found in a purely linguistical essay, *Nomina im status absolutus und status annexus in der südmarokkanischen Berbersprache* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societetens Förhandlingar*, vol. lvi. 1913–14, sec.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

B, No. 3; Helsingfors, 1914); and in my book *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), a French translation of which, made by Madame J. Arin, has been issued by L'École supérieure de Langue arabe et de Dialectes berbères de Rabat (Paris, 1921).

I beg to express my most sincere thanks to Miss Helena Hadley for kindly reading over both the manuscript and the proofs. To her suggestions I am indebted for the improvement of many phrases and expressions, as also to some references to books with which she has supplied me when I have been out of reach of an adequate library. I have to thank my friend Professor C. G. Seligman for stimulating discussions and for information on certain points.

I gratefully acknowledge the material support given me by the Rockefeller Research Fund Committee at the London School of Economics and Political Science by making liberal grants towards the expenses for my journeys to Morocco in the summers of 1924 and 1925.

My friend Carl Dahl, Consul-General of Sweden at Tangier, has much contributed to my comfort by his kindness in placing at my disposal his delightful country house for the many months I spent in Morocco in the course of the last two years.

E. W.

VILLA BALBINA, OUTSIDE TANGIER,
30*th March* 1926.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

IN rendering Arabic and Berber words and phrases used in Morocco I endeavour to represent them as they are pronounced by the natives, independently of the written Arabic. As the same word is often pronounced differently in different places, and by different persons, the reader should not accuse me of inconsistency if he finds it spelt sometimes in one way and sometimes in another.

My system of transliterating the Arabic consonants is the following :—

B represents ب; *d* د, or ذ when pronounced as the English *d*; *đ* ذ when pronounced as *th* in *this*[1]; *ḍ* ض, or ظ when pronounced as ض; *đ* ظ when not pronounced as ض[2]; *f* ف, in Morocco written ڤ; *g* ج or ق, in Morocco written ڤ, when these letters are pronounced as *g* in *grand*, a sound for which the Moors also use a ك with three dots above it; *ġ* غ; *h* ه; *ḥ* ح; *ḫ* خ; *j* ج when pronounced as the French *j*, *dj* (or, if the sound is doubled, *ddj*) representing the same letter when pronounced as the English *j*; *k* ك; *l* ل[3]; *m* م; *n* ن; *q* ق (Moorish ڤ); *r* ر; *s* س; *ṣ* ص; *š* ش (a letter which is also represented by *sh* in names of common occurrence); *t* ت, or ث when pronounced as the English *t*; *ṯ* ث when pronounced as *th* in *thing*; *ṭ* ط;

[1] Among the Jbâla the ذ of the written language is often pronounced in the same way.

[2] In Andjra the ض of the written language is often pronounced in the same way.

[3] *L-* represents the definite article لل.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

104 *t*ت or ث, when these letters are pronounced as *ts*; *w* و when pronounced as *w* in *will*; *y* ى when pronounced as *y* in *yoke*; *z* ز; ' ع ' ء (*hamza*).

In some Berber words the following signs are also used :—

*g*ˀ, to represent a sound which to me appeared almost as a strongly pronounced consonantal *y*, but which my Berber scribe from the Aiṭ Sádděn, who had a remarkably fine ear, considered to be more closely related to a *g*; *ḫ*, corresponding to the German *ch* in *ich*; *ñ*, to be pronounced as *n* in *bank*; and a small letter above the line (ᵃ, ᵃ, ᵉ, ᵉ, ᵘ, or ˀ), to be pronounced with a reduced sound.

The vowels are, at least approximately, to be pronounced—

A as in Italian; *å* between *a* and *o*; *ą* between *a* and *ă*; *ă* as in *fat*; *e* as in *met*; *ę* between *e* and *i*; *i* as in *this*; *o* as in *not*; *ō* as in German; *u* as in *put*; *ů* between *u* and *o*; *ü* between *i* and the French *u*.

The sign ¯ over a vowel indicates that it is long; ˆ that it is long and accentuated; ˘ that it is very short; ' that it is accentuated.

The vowel sounds of the words are subject to great variations, not only in different localities, but in the same locality, and even in the mouth of the same individual. The length of the vowel, in particular, is a very difficult matter, both because it is so changeable, and because it allows of so many different degrees; and it is equally difficult in many cases to distinguish between the presence or absence of a vowel sound before a consonant or between two consonants. In these respects absolute accuracy may, in fact, be impossible without the aid of phonetical instruments.[1] I have only made use of the signs ˘, ˆ, and ˣ in cases when I have distinctly heard the sound pronounced either long or very short, but the omission of any such sign does not *eo ipso* imply that it might not have been used, nor does the use of it imply that the vowel is always pronounced long or very short, or, in the latter case, that a vowel sound is

[1] *Cf.* Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger* (Paris, 1911), p. xi.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

always present. Some distinguished students of colloquial Arabic have (largely, I believe, under the influence of the written language) applied the symbol for length more liberally than my ear has allowed me to do; vowels which in the Arabic writing are marked as long have a distinct tendency to be pronounced short in syllables which are not accentuated. The accent is also very changeable both in Arabic and Berber words, and ´ or ˙ over a vowel only indicates that I have heard the syllable in which it occurs accentuated, not that it invariably is so; and in Berber words the sign for the accent has very frequently been omitted.[1]

[1] On the accent in Berber see Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 14; Laoust, *Étude sur le dialecte berbère des Ntifa* (Paris, 1918), p. 44 *sqq.*

[p. xii is blank]

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

LIST OF TRIBES, DISTRICTS, TOWNS, AND OTHER LARGE PLACES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

'Abda, district in the neighbourhood of Saffi inhabited by "Arabs".
Agadīr Iġīr, town on the coast of Sūs.
Aglu, large place on the coast of Sūs.
Ait 'Attab, Berbers living north-east of Demnat.
Ait Ba'ámran, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Ait Bráyim, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Ait Bûṭṭaib, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Ait Buwúlli, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Ait Mdîwal, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Aiṭ Mjilḍ, Brâber.
Ait Mzal, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Aiṭ Nḍēr, Brâber.
Aiṭ Sádděn, Brâber.
Ait Seġrûššěn, Brâber.
Ait Táměldu, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Ait Temsâmān, Rifians.
Ait Waráin, Brâber.
Aiṭ Wāryâġer, Rifians.
Ait Wauzgit, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas region
Aiṭ Yúsi, Brâber.
Ait Zělḍn, Shlöḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Alcazar, town in the interior.
Amanūz, Shlöḥ in Sūs.
Amzmiz, small town in the district of the Igdmiūn.
Andjra (= An^{d}jra), tribal district among the Jbâla.
Aštûkěn, Shlöḥ in Sūs.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

103 Aṭ Buséggu, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Aṭ Ubáḫṭi, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Aṭ Yá'la, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Aṭ Ziḫri, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.
Azemmur, town on the Atlantic coast.
Azîla, town on the Atlantic coast.
Beni Ăḥsen, "Arab" tribe in the neighbourhood of Salli.
Bni 'Ároṣ, Jbâla.
Bni Ḥássạ̄n, Jbâla.
Bni Mĕssâra, Jbâla.
Bni Mezgẹ́lda, Jbâla.
Bni Mṣáuwar, Jbâla.
Bni Zạ́rwạl, Jbâla.
Casablanca, town on the Atlantic coast.
Ceuta, town on the Mediterranean coast.
Demnat, town at the foot of the Great Atlas.
Dukkâla, district between Azemmur and Saffi inhabited by "Arabs".
Faḥṣ, tribal district outside Tangier.
Fẹ̆št'âla, Jbâla.
Fez, the chief city of Morocco.
Fṭûâka. *See* Infḍûak.
Ġaiyât'a, "Arab" tribe east of Fez.
Ġarb, district inhabited by "Arabs".
Ġarbîya, tribal district with Arabic-speaking people in Northern Morocco.
Ġẹġáya. *See* Iġiġain.
Glawi, tribal district in the Great Atlas inhabited by the Iglíwa.
Ġzáwa, Jbâla.
Habṭ, ancient name for a district comprising the plains of the Ġarb and the Ḥloṭ and a portion of the mountains inhabited by Jbâla.
Ḥáḥa, district in the Great Atlas region inhabited by Shlöḥ.
Ḥămár, district south of Dukkâla inhabited by "Arabs".
Ḥiáina, "Arab" tribe near Fez.
Ḥloṭ, tribal district in Northern Morocco inhabited by "Arabs".

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

103

Ḥmaṣ, lá-, Jbâla.
Ibqqóyeṇ, Rifians.
Ida Ggwársmûgt, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Ida Ugŏrḍ, Shlōḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Ida Utânan, Shlōḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Igdmiūn, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Igerwạn, Brâber.
Iġiġain, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Iglíwa, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas.
Iḥaḥan, the Shlōḥ inhabiting Ḥáḥa.
Imărmůšĕn, Brâber.
Imĕjjaṭ, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Imintagen, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Imintâtelt, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Imsfíwan, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Infḍûak, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Inīknâfĕn, Shlōḥ in Ḥáḥa.
Isksáwan, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas.
Iurīkĕṇ, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas region.
Jbel Ḥbīb, tribal district among the Jbâla.
Laraiche, town on the Atlantic coast.
Marráksh, the southern capital of Morocco.
Masst, Shlōḥ in Sūs.
Mazagan, town on the Atlantic coast.
Mehdîya, port on the Atlantic coast.
Melilla, town on the coast of the Rīf.
Mequinez, town in the interior.
Mesfíwa. *See* Imsfíwan.
Mnáṣăra, " Arabs " on the Atlantic coast north of Mehdîya.
Mogador, town on the Atlantic coast.
Ntîfa, Berbers in the region of Demnat.
Rabat, town on the Atlantic coast.
Raḥámna, district between Dukkâla and Marráksh inhabited by " Arabs ".
Rīf, province situated along the eastern part of the Mediterranean coast of Morocco.
Saffi, town on the Atlantic coast.
Sáḥel, Jbâla.
Salli, town on the Atlantic coast.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

103 Ṣĕfru, small town in the interior south-east of Fez, in the district of the Aiṭ Yúsi.
Sĕksáwa. *See* Isksáwan.
Settat, place in the Shāwîa.
Shāwîa, district south of Casablanca inhabited by " Arabs ".
Shiâḍma, district between 'Abda and Ḥáḥa inhabited by " Arabs ".
Shrâga, " Arabs " living north-west of Fez.
Shrárda, " Arabs " in the Ġarb.
Sūs, province situated south of the Great Atlas.
Tafilelt, district in the Sahara.
Tangier, town on the northern coast.
Tarudant, the capital of Sūs.
Tazĕrwalṭ, tribal district in Sūs inhabited by Shlöḥ.
Ṭemsâmăn, tribal district in the Rîf inhabited by the Ait Temsâmăn.
Tetuan, town close to the Mediterranean coast.
Tinduf, caravan centre in the Moorish Sahara.
Tiznit, large place in Sūs.
Tsūl, Jbâla.
Ūdáya, l-, " Arab " tribe in the neighbourhood of Marráksh.
Ujda, small town in the north-eastern corner of Morocco.
Ulâd Bû'ăzîz, " Arab " tribe in Dukkâla.
Ulâd Fraj, " Arab " tribe in Dukkâla.
Ůnzûṭṭ, Shlöḥ in the Great Atlas.
Urîka. *See* Iurīkĕn.
Wazzan, town in the interior.
Z'air, " Arab " tribe in the neighbourhood of Rabat.
Zārhūn, mountain north of Mequinez with a town containing the shrine of Mûlāi Idrīs the Elder.
Zemmūr, Brâber.
Zkara. *See* Aṭ Zihri.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The different groups of Berber-speaking people in Morocco and their dialects, pp. 1-4.—The Arabic-speaking people of Morocco, pp. 4-6.—The large majority of Arabic-speaking tribes purely or essentially Berber by origin, p. 5 *sq.*—Remarks on the customs and dwellings of the Berber- and Arabic-speaking tribes, p. 7.—Representatives of various groups of natives chosen in the present investigation, p. 7 *sq.*—The aim of the book, p. 8.—The collection of the materials, p. 8 *sq.*—The psychological origin of rites, p. 9 *sq.*—The historical origin of rites, p. 10 *sq.*—The culture of the Berbers has been subject to influences from various quarters, pp. 11-15.—Arabic influence, p. 12.—Negro influence, p. 12 *sq.*—Christian influence, p. 13 *sq.*—Roman, Punic, and ancient Egyptian influence, p. 14.—Similarities between rites and beliefs in Morocco and those found on the other side of the Mediterranean, p. 14 *sq.*—A very large portion or the bulk of the Berbers belonging to the Mediterranean race, p. 15.—Blondness among the Berbers, p. 15 *sq.*—The meaning attached to the terms religion and magic, pp. 17-34.—Sir James Frazer's views, pp. 17-21.—Mediæval conceptions of magic, pp. 19-21.—Distinction between "natural" and "supernatural" phenomena or causes, pp. 21-23.—The relationship between magic and religion, pp. 24-26.—The meaning of the word *religio*, pp. 26-28.—*Le sacré* according to Durkheim, p. 28.—The theory that religion is social in its aims and magic anti-social, or at any rate non-social, pp. 28-32.—The mediæval distinction between good and bad magic, p. 29 *sq.*—The author's views as regards the most proper use of the terms religion and magic summed up, pp. 32-34.

CHAPTER I

THE *BARAKA* (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS PREVALENCE

The meaning of the word *baraka*, p. 35.—Arabic and Berber terms for "saint", p. 35 *sq.*—The *baraka* of the prophet Muḥammad, p. 36.—Shereefs, pp. 36-38.—The Sultan's *baraka*, p. 38 *sq.*—*Mrâbṭîn*, p. 40 *sq.*—*Mâ'ammrîn*, p. 41.—Various ways in which a person may be filled with the *baraka* of a saint, p. 41 *sq.*—The transference of *baraka* from one person to another brought about against the will of its possessor, p. 42 *sq.*—The *baraka* of inanimate things appropriated by theft or magic tricks, p. 43.—*Mujâḥḍîn*, or hero saints, p. 43 *sq.*—Sainthood acquired by extraordinary piety and devotion, p. 44 *sq.*—The *baraka* of scribes, p. 45.—Of little children, p. 45 *sq.*—Of schoolboys, p. 46.—Of old men, *ibid.*—Of parents with reference

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

to their children, *ibid.*—Of guests with reference to their hosts, *ibid.*—Of dead strangers, *ibid.*—Of bride and bridegroom, p. 46 *sq.*—Of mothers of twins or triplets, p. 47.—Of ordinary lying-in women, *ibid.*—Of boys when they are circumcised, *ibid.*—Of boys who are born without a foreskin or who lose it in a miraculous manner soon after their birth, *ibid.*—Of idiots and madmen, pp. 47-49.—Mythical saints, p. 49 *sq.*—Anonymous saints, p. 50.—The sea personified as a saint, *ibid.*—Mosques and holy feasts and days personified as saints, *ibid.*—The origin of the belief in saints, p. 50 *sq.*—Female saints, p. 51.—The *qóbba*, pp. 51-54.—The *bit'*, p. 54.—The *ḥauš*, p. 54 *sq.*—The *mzára*, p. 55 *sq.*—The *ḥauwṭa*, p. 56.—The *rḍuḍa*, *ibid.*—Saintly cairns, pp. 56-60.—Whitewashed stones or rocks connected with saints, p. 60.—The *maqām* (*mqām*), p. 60 *sq.*—The *ḍáreḥ*, p. 61.—The *márkā'* (*márkaḥ*), p. 61 *sq.*—The *ḥálwa* (*ḥálua*), p. 62.—Terms for saints also used to denote places connected with them, p. 62 *sq.*—The *dárbūz* (*ḍárbūz*), p. 63.—The *rbē'a*, or money-box, of a saint, *ibid.*—Cannon-balls at saintly places, p. 63 *sq.*—The *ḥorm* (*ḥarm*) of a *ṣlyld*, p. 64.—The *zdwia*, p. 65 *sq.*—Holy places and objects connected with saints, or personified as saints, which are neither marked in any of the ways described nor situated in the *ḥorm* of a *ṣlyld*, pp. 66-74.—Springs or other watery places of this kind, p. 66.—Trees, pp. 66-68.—Rocks and stones, pp. 68-72.—Caves, p. 72 *sq.*—Cannons, p. 73 *sq.*—The *baraka* of rifles and shooting-guns and of the shooters, p. 74.—Places which, although not only connected with saints but also marked as saintly places, undoubtedly derive their holiness from some tree growing there, pp. 74-77.—Miracle-working trees unassociated with any saint, p. 77.—Holy stones, rocks, and caves among the ancient Arabs and Berbers, p. 77 *sq.*—Miraculous stones, rocks, and ruins not even nominally connected with saints, p. 78 *sq.*—Even ordinary stones sometimes treated as though they were sentient beings, p. 79.—Holy mountains, pp. 80-83.—Holy springs among the ancient Berbers and Arabs, p. 84.—Healing springs connected with saint-shrines, pp. 84-87.—Miracle-working springs which are in no way connected with any saint, p. 87 *sq.*—*Baraka* attributed to water generally, p. 88 *sq.*—To sea-water, p. 89 *sq.*—To the sea, although it has rather the character of a demon, pp. 90-93.—Sea-worship among the Libyans and pre-Islamic Arabs, p. 91.—*Baraka* attributed to spittle, pp. 93-96.—To animals connected with a saint, p. 96.—To the horse, pp. 97-99.—To the saddle, p. 98 *sq.*—To the sheep, pp. 99-101.—The ram known to have been a sacred animal in many North African cults, p. 100 *sq.*—*Baraka* attributed to the camel, p. 101 *sq.*—To milk and butter, p. 102 *sq.*—To the dung of cattle, p. 103.—To the greyhound, *ibid.*—To the cat, p. 103 *sq.*—To the bee, p. 104.—To honey, *ibid.*—To various animal species not previously mentioned, p. 105.—To corn and anything made of it, p. 106.—*Baraka* or magic virtue ascribed to many other vegetable species or products, pp. 106-113.—To the date-palm, p. 106.—To the olive and its oil, p. 106 *sq.*—To the fig tree, p. 107.—To dried fruit, *ibid.*—To grapes, *ibid.*—To the pomegranate, laurel, and myrtle, p. 108.—To the leaves of the poplar, p. 109.—To the oleander, p. 109 *sq.*—To various herbs, pp. 110-112.—To the white broom, p. 112.—To the palmetto, p. 112 *sq.*—To henna and walnut root or bark, p. 113.—To antimony, *ibid.*—To the ground, p. 114.—To various mineral products of the earth, p. 115 *sq.*—To rain, p. 116 *sq.*—The rainbow, p. 117 *sq.*—The lightning, p. 118.—Thunder, p. 118 *sq.*—The sun, pp. 119-124.—Sun-worship among the ancient Arabs and Berbers, pp. 121-123.—Eclipses of the sun, p. 123 *sq.*—The moon, pp. 124-128.—Moon-worship among the ancient Arabs and Berbers, p. 126.—Eclipses of the moon, p. 128.—The stars, pp. 129-131.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

—The Milky Way, p. 130 *sq.*—Comets, p. 131.—Fire, p. 131 *sq.*—*Baraka* ascribed to certain days and periods, pp. 132-134.—To the recital of the creed, p. 134.—To prayer, p. 134 *sq.*—To alms-giving, *ibid.*—To the compulsory fasting in Ramaḍân and some other fasts, *ibid.*—To the pilgrimage to Mecca, pp. 134-137.—To the *qâbla*, or the direction of Mecca, p. 137 *sq.*—To the east wind, p. 138.—To the Koran and the names of God, p. 139.—To certain human names, pp. 139-141.—*Baraka* or magic power ascribed to certain numbers, pp. 141-143.—To certain combinations of numbers, pp. 144-146.—Not always possible to decide whether the miracle-working power of which something is possessed may be called *baraka* or not, p. 146.—Sometimes likewise impossible to distinguish between *baraka* and the profane, p. 146 *sq.*

CHAPTER II

THE *BARAKA* (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS MANIFESTATIONS AND EFFECTS

Miracles performed by living saints, pp. 148-153.—The prayers, blessings, and curses of saints particularly efficacious, pp. 153-155.—Saints, as also persons possessed of a smaller amount of *baraka*, acting as doctors, pp. 155-158.—Saints possessed of prophetic gifts, p. 158 *sq.*—The *baraka* of a saint rather increased by his death, p. 159.—Dead saints appearing to the living, sometimes in animal shapes, p. 159 *sq.*—Dead saints having more than one grave, p. 160 *sq.*—Strange phenomena of light often connected with dead saints, p. 161 *sq.*—Miracles attributed to dead saints, p. 162 *sq.*—Their miracle-working capacity often to some extent specialised, p. 163 *sq.*—Many dead saints held in repute as doctors, pp. 164-167.—The assistance of dead saints secured by invocations, offerings, and sacrifices, pp. 167-169.—How the offerings are disposed of, pp. 169-171.—The *mqâddem* of a saint-shrine, pp. 170-172.—Promises of offerings, pp. 172-174.—Reception days of saints, p. 174.—Weekly serenades at saint-shrines, *ibid.*—Religious service at the sanctuaries of saints, p. 174 *sq.*—Annual feasts at saint-shrines, pp. 175-178.—Patron saints, pp. 179-182.—Saints ready to help those who invoke them even for the most wicked purposes, p. 181.—Religious orders or fraternities, pp. 181-186.—The *šêḫ* of a person, p. 186 *sq.*—The society of saints, p. 188.—The assistance of saints secured by putting *'âr* on them, p. 188 *sq.*—The appropriation of, or interference with, a thing belonging to a saint's *ḥorm* punished by him, pp. 189-192.—Saints punishing robbers who merely pass by their sanctuaries, p. 192 *sq.*—Why certain saints meddle with questions of social morality, *ibid.*—Certain saints dangerous to policemen or any representatives of the Government or the Sultan himself, p. 193 *sq.*—Christians and Jews prohibited from entering the sanctuaries of Moorish saints or even from approaching holy places connected with them, p. 195 *sq.*—Certain shrines visited both by Moslems and Jews, *ibid.*—Women prohibited from visiting certain shrines or from being present at the feasts of certain saints, p. 196.—The holiness of saints polluted by contact with infidels and other unclean persons, *ibid.*—*Baraka* producing wonderful effects by physical contact, pp. 196-205.—Benefits expected from sexual intercourse with a person possessed of *baraka*, p. 198.—From the *baraka* of bride and bridegroom, p. 198 *sq.*—From contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places, pp. 199-202.—From the *baraka* of a dead saint through the medium of his followers, p. 203.—From offerings partaking of the *baraka*

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

000 of a saint, p. 203 *sq.*—From the *baraka* of mosques, p. 204 *sq.*—From the *baraka* of sacred words or passages, pp. 205-219.—Written charms, pp. 208-219.—The *t'ebrid*, pp. 208-210.—Other charms belonging to the class of magic known by the name of *t'qāf*, p. 210 *sq.*—Charms written against illnesses or defects of some kind or other, p. 211 *sq.*—The *maḥdbba* or *mḥibba*, p. 212 *sq.*—The *'atf* and the *jelb*, p. 213.—Charms written in order to make schoolboys apt to learn their lessons, p. 213 *sq.*—To make the writer invisible in the presence of others, p. 214.—The *ḥerz Mūrjāna* (*ḥōrz Marjāna*) and the *ḥerz l-Anḍarūn*, pp. 214-216.—The *ḥerz l-jaušān*, p. 216.—Practices relating to the writing and use of charms, pp. 216-219.—*Baraka* giving efficacy to oaths and curses, p. 219.—Though generally a source of good, the *baraka* also contains a seed of evil, pp. 219-228.—Certain food dangerous to eat on account of its *baraka*, p. 219 *sq.*—The seed dangerous, p. 220.—*Qazqāsa* and other excessive *baraka*, p. 220 *sq.*—Saddles more or less dangerous, p. 221 *sq.*—The sexual power of a person affected by the robbing of bee-hives, p. 222.—Rules and beliefs relating to honey, butter, and oil, p. 222 *sq.*—To milk, wheat, yeast, and salt, p. 223.—Injurious elements in holy days and holy periods, pp. 223-226.—Friday, pp. 224-226.—Abstinence from work on a Sunday, p. 226.—Dangerous elements in the *baraka* of prayer, p. 226 *sq.*—In recitations from the Koran and the writing of charms, p. 227.—In the *baraka* of the pilgrim, *ibid.*—Precautions taken by persons visiting saint-shrines, p. 227 *sq.*—The dangerous elements in *baraka* personified in the shape of *jnūn*, p. 228.—The relations between saints and *jnūn*, *ibid.*

CHAPTER III

THE *BARAKA* (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS SENSITIVENESS

Baraka polluted by contact with infidels, p. 229 *sq.*—Women dangerous to holiness, p. 230.—Injurious effects resulting from contact of sexual uncleanness with *baraka*, pp. 230-234.—Excremental impurity injurious to *baraka*, p. 234.—*Baraka* polluted by a full stomach, p. 234 *sq.*—Fasting, *ibid.*—All sorts of bodily impurity detrimental to *baraka*, pp. 235-237.—Ablutions, p. 235 *sq.*—Clean clothes, p. 236.—Paring of the nails, *ibid.*—White the most suitable colour for holy persons and places, *ibid.*—Cleaning of guns, *ibid.*—Polluting effects of the breath, p. 236 *sq.*—Of blood and the shedding of blood, p. 237.—Of wrongdoing, p. 237 *sq.*—Of the killing of lice, p. 238.—Of contact with carcasses and in certain cases meat and grease, p. 239.—Of contact with the ground and its impurities, pp. 239-242.—Removing one's slippers, p. 241 *sq.*—Persons, animals, and objects possessed of *baraka* particularly susceptible to magical tricks, the attacks of *jnūn*, and the evil eye, and even affected or influenced by various acts or omissions which are otherwise harmless, pp. 242-254.—Precautions taken with regard to milk, pp. 243-245.—Rules observed when the first butter of the year is made, pp. 245-247.—Precautions taken subsequently when butter is made, pp. 247-249.—The *baraka* which produces butter very liable to be stolen, p. 249 *sq.*—The milk of a person's sheep or cattle robbed by another person or absorbed by his sheep or cattle, *ibid.*—Additional instances of the belief that *baraka* may be affected by various external influences, pp. 250-254.—Taboos relating to sieves, p. 251.—Connected with the pilgrimage to Mecca, *ibid.*—*Baraka* to be guarded against contact with steel, p. 251 *sq.*—Taboos relating to bread, p. 252.—Practices and beliefs relating to written charms, p. 252 *sq.*—

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

Silence to be observed in connection with *baraka*, p. 253 *sq.*—*Baraka* easily affected by other *baraka*, pp. 254-257.—Rules and beliefs relating to sheep or wool, p. 254 *sq.*—Taboos to be observed on a Friday, p. 255 *sq.*—Butter made on a Friday subject to special rules, *ibid.*—Taboos relating to schoolboys or students, p. 256.—The Sultan and the sea, *ibid.*—The shereefian umbrella, p. 256 *sq.*—Sunshine injurious to holiness, *ibid.*—Fire injurious to *baraka*, p. 257 *sq.*—Many cases in which fire has no power over a holy person or object, pp. 258-260.—The idea that *baraka* or individuals or objects possessed of it are very susceptible to harmful influences, especially those of a supernatural kind, closely connected with the idea that *baraka* itself contains a seed of evil, p. 260.—These ideas due to that feeling of uncanniness in which the conception of the supernatural itself has its root, *ibid.*—Resemblance between *baraka* and uncleanness, *ibid.*—Though chiefly of an injurious nature, uncleanness may in certain circumstances be a cause of good, p. 260 *sq.*

CHAPTER IV

THE *JNŪN* (*JINN*): THEIR NATURE AND DOINGS

Names given to these spirits, p. 262 *sq.*—Special names given to certain kinds of *jnūn*, p. 263 *sq.*—The *jnūn* resemble human beings in various respects, p. 264.—Their native country, properly speaking, under the ground, but they are fond of visiting the surface of the earth, p. 264 *sq.*—They show themselves to mankind in various shapes, pp. 265-269.—In the shapes of human beings, in which case there may be marriage or sexual intercourse between a man and a *jennîya* in the disguise of a woman, pp. 265-267.—Or in the shapes of animals, pp. 267-269.—A *jenn* seen by certain individuals only, and methods of making *jnūn* visible, p. 269.—The *jnūn* may be heard though they cannot be seen, or their presence indicated by something strange, unusual, uncanny, pp. 269-271.—Most frequently by disturbances of the health, especially sudden ones, p. 271.—Events of an improper or uncanny character causing their unwelcome appearance, p. 271 *sq.*—Persons who get angry or frightened very liable to be struck by *jnūn*, p. 273.—Certain classes of people particularly exposed to the attacks of *jnūn*, pp. 273-275.—Dead persons protected against *jnūn* before they are buried, p. 275.—Cemeteries often considered haunted by *jnūn*, *ibid.*—Circumstances in which persons are attacked by *jnūn*, *ibid.*—Each tribe of the *jnūn* has a special day of the week when they attack human beings, p. 275 *sq.*—A *jenn* attacks a person by entering into him, p. 276.—Certain classes of people frequently or regularly haunted by *jnūn*, *ibid.*—Animals attacked or possessed by *jnūn*, p. 277.—Nothing more haunted by *jnūn* than blood, p. 277 *sq.*—Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, considered haunted and therefore in many cases a source of danger, p. 278 *sq.*—Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for food extremely haunted, p. 280.—Beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour, *ibid.*—To breaking wind, pp. 280-282.—Certain trees haunted by *jnūn*, p. 282.—Corn much exposed to their attacks, *ibid.*—'*Afârît*' living among the snow of the Great Atlas, p. 282 *sq.*—The shrine of Sîdi Šĕmhârûš, p. 283.—Haunted caves, pp. 283-289.—Buried treasures haunted, p. 289 *sq.*—Copper-coins and gold haunted, p. 290.—Water and places containing water haunted, pp. 290-293.—Many springs or other places containing water particularly reputed to be haunted, p. 291 *sq.*—Big stones in the sea or on the sea-shore associated with certain *jenn* saints,

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

000 p. 293.—Public baths haunted by *ṣayâṭîn*, or evil *jnûn*, *ibid.*—Fire and fire-places haunted, pp. 293-295.—Many *jnûn* in ashes, p. 295.—Dangerous to pour hot water on the ground or into a water-closet, *ibid.*—Thresholds haunted, *ibid.*—" The masters of the place ", p. 295 *sq.*—Haunted houses and ruins, p. 296.—Saint-shrines, *zâwiât*, and mosques haunted, *ibid.*—The *jnûn* most plentiful and active after the *'âṣar*, or mid-afternoon, prayer, *ibid.*—A variety of actions refrained from or requiring special precautions after *'âṣar*, or when it is dark, pp. 296-300.—The *jnûn* particularly numerous on certain days, p. 300 *sq.*—Confined in prison during the month of Ramaḍân, at least till the twenty-seventh night of it, p. 301.—Said to stay in their subterranean dwellings when an easterly wind is blowing, *ibid.*

CHAPTER V

THE *JNÛN*: PROPHYLACTIC MEASURES AGAINST THEM AND REMEDIES FOR TROUBLES CAUSED BY THEM—THE *JNÛN* IN THE SERVICE OF MEN AND SAINTS

The *jnûn* terrified by light, p. 302.—Afraid of salt, pp. 302-305.—Of iron and still more of steel, p. 305 *sq.*—Of silver and rings of other metals as well, p. 306.—Kept off or driven away by the smell of tar, a piece of charcoal, and soot, p. 307.—By powder, p. 307 *sq.*—By alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin, p. 308 *sq.*—By the smoke of mastic, p. 309.—By henna, walnut root or bark, antimony, and saffron, p. 310.—By a stick cut from a bitter-almond tree and an olive stick, *ibid.*—Why certain substances or their fumes are shunned by the *jnûn*, p. 310 *sq.*—*Baraka* utilised as a safeguard against them, pp. 311-313.—The *jnûn* kept off by holy words or passages, p. 311 *sq.*—By corn after the alms called *lâ-'Ŝôr* have been given out of it, p. 312 *sq.*—Inconsistencies in the relations of *jnûn* to *baraka*, p. 313.—The *jnûn* kept off by water, p. 313 *sq.*—By fire, p. 314.—By strong sounds, *ibid.*—But also by silence, p. 314 *sq.*—By means of a sacrifice, pp. 315-322.—Ceremonies connected with house-building, pp. 315-318.—With the pitching of a new tent or the pitching of tents at a new place, p. 318 *sq.*—With the digging of a well, pp. 319-321.—With the making of a new water-mill, p. 321.—Practices intended to appease the *jnûn*, pp. 322-324.—Remedies against troubles caused by them, pp. 324-351.—Tar, benzoin, and rue, p. 324 *sq.*—Powder, harmel, salt, alum, gum-ammoniac, charcoal made of lentisk, bitter almonds, a dagger, an iron-chain, and silver coins, p. 325.—Blood and earth brought from the grave of a person who has been murdered mixed with water or with coriander seed as well, p. 325 *sq.*—Homicides employed as doctors, p. 326.—Water used to cure illnesses and infertility caused by *jnûn*, p. 327.—The recitation of sacred words or of the whole Koran a method of expelling troublesome *jnûn*, *ibid.*—Written charms used for a similar purpose, pp. 327-329.—Expulsion of *jnûn* by means of certain practices generally including sacrifices or offerings, pp. 329-351.—The so-called *ḍyâfa* and similar practices, pp. 329-341.—The *jnûn* who are troubling people expelled by the active aid of persons standing in an especially intimate relation to those spirits, pp. 341-350.—Curative performances of Gnâwa, pp. 344-350.—Of 'Ęsâwa and Jilâla, p. 349 *sq.*—Illnesses caused by *jnûn* cured by visits, with sacrifices or offerings, made to the sanctuaries of saints ruling over those spirits, p. 350 *sq.*—By offerings to *jnûn* saints, p. 351.—*Jnûn* enlisted by men to help them to carry out their wishes, pp. 351-363.—The ring called *ḫâtʷem*

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

l-ḥékma, p. 351 *sq.*—Method of summoning *jnūn*, p. 352 *sq.*—Methods of finding out the perpetrator of a theft by the aid of *jnūn*, pp. 353-356.—Of getting news about an absent member of the family or finding out whether a sick person at home will recover, pp. 356-359.—Of finding buried treasure, p. 359.—Method of opening doors without a key, *ibid.*—Methods of inducing *jnūn* to help people to practise witchcraft, pp. 360-362.—Method of increasing one's own sexual capacity, p. 362.—Of becoming a successful juggler, *ibid.*—*Ḥanqāṭṭra ṣġéra* and *ḥanqāṭṭra kbira*, *ibid.*—Would-be magicians summoning *jnūn* to amuse people, p. 362 *sq.*—Sacrifices on the threshing-floor made to induce *jnūn* to help the workmen and to give *baraka* to the grain, p. 363.—*Jnūn* giving people a splendid opportunity to enrich themselves, *ibid.*—All departed saints have Muhammadan *jnūn* as their regular servants, *ibid.*—Saints ruling over the *jnūn* in general, p. 363 *sq.*—Over those of a certain locality, p. 364.—Saints having a so-called *ḥámma*, or place haunted by Muhammadan *jnūn* ruled over by the saint, p. 364 *sq.*

CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGIN OF BELIEFS AND PRACTICES RELATING TO THE *JNŪN*

The Moorish *jnūn* resemble in all essentials and in many details the *jinn* of the East, pp. 366-376.—These resemblances must not be supposed to be due to Islamic influence alone, p. 376 *sq.*—The Berber belief in spirits no doubt deeply rooted in the antiquity of the Berber race, p. 377 *sq.*—The *jinn*-cult of the East also influenced by that of the West, p. 378 *sq.*—Sudanese origin of various practices connected with the belief in *jnūn*, pp. 379-382.—The Gnáwa not only exorcists but actual *jinn*-worshippers, pp. 379-381.—The *ḏyáfa* or at least the sacrifice often implied in it probably of Sudanese origin, p. 381 *sq.*—The beliefs and practices relating to the *jinn* in Muhammadan countries may be divided into different strata, p. 382 *sq.*—Many of them preserved from the old Arabic paganism, *ibid.*—Jewish and Christian elements infused into the demonology of Islam, *ibid.*—Robertson Smith's hypothesis that the Arab belief in the *jinn* is a survival of totemism, p. 383 *sq.*—Criticism of it, pp. 384-386.—Criticism of the supposition that the *jinn* were originally the spirits of dead people, p. 386 *sq.*—The *jinn* invented to explain strange and mysterious phenomena suggesting a volitional cause, especially such as inspire men with fear, pp. 387-390.—The *jinn* and *jnūn* closely connected with other mysterious forces, p. 388 *sq.*—With the impersonal force of evil called *l-bṣṣ*, p. 388.—With the evil eye, p. 388 *sq.*—With *baraka*, p. 389.—*Jinn* probably means "covert" or "darkness", p. 390.

CHAPTER VII

INDIVIDUAL SPIRITS

Certain *jnūn* having individual names but nevertheless very shadowy beings without any distinct personality, p. 391.—The case somewhat different with certain other spirits with individual names who are generally included among the *jnūn* but present definite characteristics of their own, pp. 392-413.—'Aïša Qandïša and other female spirits who are evidently equivalents to her, pp. 392-396.—Ḥámmû Qáiyû, p. 393.—'Aïša Qandïša presumably the old goddess 'Aštart, p. 395 *sq.*—Ḥámmû Qáiyû perhaps the Cartha-

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

000 ginian god Ḥaman, p. 396.—The Ġôla and other female spirits who seem to be equivalents to her, pp. 396-400.—The Ġōl and Lġōl, p. 397 *sq.*—*Ġwāl*, *ġōlāt*, and *ḥadmānāt*, p. 397.—Šbūha or Šūbeh, pp. 398-400.—The eastern Ġūle or Ġūl, p. 398 *sq.*—Eastern equivalents to the *ġwāl*, p. 399.—Taġznt or Táġūznt, Ṭâ;u, and Ṭámza, whom the natives themselves identify with the Ġôla, may nevertheless be old Berber spirits, modified by Arab beliefs, p. 400.—The Táb'a (Tᵉáb'a), *t-tâb'a*, or *ttâbâ't*, pp. 400-404.—Ûmm ṣ-Ṣûbyân, pp. 400-402.—Qarîna or Qrîna, p. 401 *sq.*—The Ḫiâl, Lâḫiâl, or Lḫiâl, p. 404.—The Berber belief in a female demon living in cemeteries, pp. 404-406.—*Bġīlᵉ l-ħīl*, p. 406.—Lâ-Ḥkîma 'Oqla, 'Airûd, and 'Aqêṣa, *ibid.*—Fâṭma and Ndaháwa, *ibid.*—Šîṭan (š-Šîṭan, š-Šîṭân, š-Šîṭan, š-Šeiṭân) or Iblis (Iblîs, Yɛ́blis), pp. 406-413.—The Koranic Šaiṭân or Iblîs, p. 412 *sq.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE EVIL EYE

The evil eye a very frequent cause of misfortune, p. 414.—Terms for a person who has an evil eye, *ibid.*—For one who has been hurt by it, p. 414 *sq.*—For the evil eye itself, p. 415.—The belief in the evil eye rooted both in the expressiveness and the uncanniness of the look, *ibid.*—The danger particularly great when the look is accompanied with speech, even though there is no feeling of ill-will or envy, pp. 416-419.—When the look is accompanied with words of praise, pp. 417-419.—Persons who have particularly baneful eyes, p. 419 *sq.*—The evil eye frequently hereditary in certain families, p. 420.—The eyes of women, *ibid.*—Of a bride, *ibid.*—Of Christians, p. 421.—Of dogs and cats, *ibid.*—The first glance most dangerous, *ibid.*—Certain persons, animals, and objects particularly liable to be hurt by the evil eye, p. 421 *sq.*—The belief that fear is a cause of misfortune, p. 422.—The danger of being affected by the evil eye very great while eating, *ibid.*—The safest precaution against the evil eye to avoid exposure altogether, p. 423.—Attempts made to cure a person who is reputed to have an evil eye, p. 423 *sq.*—People unwilling to speak of their intentions, p. 424.—If anybody shows a great liking for a thing, advisable to let him have it, p. 424 *sq.*—The *bġāb dllâh*, p. 425 *sq.*—Means of avoiding the danger of eating in the presence of somebody else, p. 426.—Precautions taken by persons carrying food, p. 426 *sq.*—The evil glance avoided by covering, pp. 426-428.—Veiling the face, p. 427 *sq.*—Disguise a means of protection against the evil eye, p. 428.—Untidy swaddling-clothes, p. 428 *sq.*—The evil glance counteracted by burning or fumigation, pp. 429-433.—Alum used to counteract it, pp. 429-432.—Harmel, sulphur, and garlic, p. 430 *sq.*—Coriander seed and gum-juniper, p. 430.—Rock-salt, p. 431.—Gum-ammoniac, p. 431 *sq.*—Burning a few hairs of the offender's eyebrows and beard, p. 432.—Burning parings of his nails or a piece of his clothes, p. 432 *sq.*—Spilling fire or water on him, p. 433.—Showing him one's buttock, p. 433 *sq.*—Symbolic blinding of the evil eye by means of the juice of a pomegranate, grain, or earth, p. 434.—By means of thorns, bristles, and needles, p. 434 *sq.*—By means of the nail of a horse-shoe, p. 435.—Cutting off the evil glance in advance, *ibid.*—Turning it off, p. 435 *sq.*—Objects used as amulets to attract to themselves the first glance, pp. 436-441.—Skulls or other bones of animals, p. 436 *sq.*—The black picture of a Christian, p. 436.—Sooty pots or other black things, pp. 436-438.—The colour black a charm against the evil eye, p.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

437 *sq.*—A birth-mark, a ram with four horns, and a cock with two combs regarded as charms, p. 438.—Stone weights stolen from a market-place used to counteract the evil eye, *ibid.*—Silver coins, shells, corals, and pieces of cornelian, mother of pearl, and amber, p. 439.—Blue, p. 439 *sq.*—Silver, pp. 439-441.—Ear-rings, p. 440.—Finger rings, p. 440 *sq.*—Gold, copper, brass, and steel, p. 441.—Laurel wood, *ibid.*—The oleander, p. 441 *sq.*—Rue and tamarisk wood, p. 442.—The blood of a hare and saffron, p. 442 *sq.*—The colour yellow, p. 443.—Red, *ibid.*—Henna, *ibid.*—Rain-water which has fallen on 27th April (Old Style), *ibid.*—Fumigation with burned straw and cow-dung on Midsummer day, p. 443 *sq.*—The gall-bladder and the larynx of the animal sacrificed at the Great Feast, and the barley and salt remaining in its mouth, p. 444.—A piece of the larynx of the animal slaughtered when a child is named, *ibid.*—Earth from a saint-shrine, *ibid.*—Written charms containing passages or portions of the Koran, p. 444 *sq.*—Blessings, prayers, incantations, and certain charitable acts, p. 445.—Looking-glasses, *ibid.*—The gesture of stretching out the fingers of the right hand, often accompanied with the phrases "Five in your eye" or "Five on your eye" and sometimes followed by a similar gesture made with the left hand, p. 445 *sq.*—Stretching out of two fingers only or of the middle finger of the right hand, p. 446.—Phrases containing "five", "ten", or the term for Thursday said without any gesture with the hand, p. 446 *sq.*—To mention the word for the number five or any number reminiscent of it improper on certain occasions, p. 447 *sq.*—The number five avoided in the giving of presents, p. 448.—Representations of the hand or its fingers used as charms, p. 448 *sq.*—Various ways in which the number five is made use of in amulets against the evil eye, pp. 449-452.—The cross, p. 451 *sq.*—Cross-roads, p. 452.—Designs based on the protective gesture with the hand, "five in your eye", pp. 452-459.—Paintings of hands, brass hands, four- and eight-petalled rosettes, double-crosses, and other figures with which the Moors both embellish and protect their objects, pp. 452-455.—Figures evolved from the double-cross and the eight-petalled rosette, pp. 455-459.—Double-squares, pp. 455-457.—The empty octagon, p. 457.—Amulets containing three fives with a common centre or three squares, *ibid.*—Suggested explanation of the tendency to produce the number five doubled both on charms and ornaments—as a double-five, a double-cross, a double-square, or an eight-petalled rosette, p. 457 *sq.*—The twelve- and the sixteen-petalled rosette, p. 458 *sq.*—The image of an eye or a pair of eyes or anything resembling an eye used as a charm against the evil eye, pp. 459-466.—The actual eye of some bird used for the same purpose, p. 459.—The gem called *'ain l-horr*, *ibid.*—Combinations of hand and eye, p. 459 *sq.*—Five pairs of eyes, p. 460.—Eye-designs embroidered on cloaks, p. 460 *sq.*—Combinations of five and the eye, p. 461 *sq.*—Anything round or curved may become a charm on account of its resemblance to an eye, pp. 462-464.—Thin plates of a circular shape, silver coins and rings, and charms in the shape of a crescent, p. 462.—Horse-shoes, p. 462 *sq.*—The curved jaw-bone of some small animal and the neb of a raven, p. 463.—Claws and tusks, p. 463 *sq.*—Various other animal charms, *ibid.*—The eye represented in the form of a triangle, p. 465.—Two intersecting triangles with a small round figure in the centre, *ibid.*—Eye and eyebrow designs, pp. 465-467.—Combinations and simplifications of them, p. 466 *sq.*—The eyebrow design in architecture, p. 467.—Answer to the possible objection that the author has tried to explain widespread designs by beliefs, gestures, and charms prevalent in Morocco, pp. 467-477.—The cross, p. 467 *sq.*—The pentacle, p. 468.—The rosette, p. 468 *sq.*—Representations of a hand with its five fingers extended found

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

000 among ancient Mediterranean peoples and farther east most probably charms against the evil eye, pp. 469-471.—The gesture with the five outstretched fingers as a charm against the evil eye and five as a magic number among Mediterranean peoples, including the ancient Romans, p. 470 *sq.*—Representations of an eye or a pair of eyes also frequent among the ancient Mediterranean peoples, p. 471 *sq.*—The crescent, pp. 472 *sq.*—Suggestion that the Ionic capital, strongly resembling a pair of eyes with their brows united, was originally a charm against the evil eye, p. 473 *sq.*—The triangle and the double triangle forming a six-pointed star used as charms in eastern countries, p. 474 *sq.*—General argument in favour of the author's theory that the belief in the evil eye has exercised a profound influence on the decorative art, p. 475.—This belief and the practices relating to it among the Moors connected with their Islamic culture, p. 476.—But also presenting very great similarities to superstitions and practices prevalent in ancient and modern Europe, *ibid.*—The belief in the evil eye known to have existed both among Semitic and Aryan peoples since very early times, p. 476 *sq.*—Its existence among the ancient Egyptians and Etruscans, p. 477.—The present belief in the evil eye in North Africa assumed to have descended not only from Asia but also from Berber antiquity, *ibid.*—The belief in the evil eye so widely spread in different parts of the world that it cannot without strong evidence be regarded as the outcome of one particular people, p. 477 *sq.*

CHAPTER IX

CURSES AND OATHS

Differences between the curse and the evil eye and mouth, p. 479.—The realisation of a curser's evil wish brought about either directly through the mysterious power of the curse itself or by the aid of a supernatural being invoked in it, but no sharp distinction can be drawn between the purely magical curse and the curse which has the form of a prayer, *ibid.*—Terms for the categorical curse—the curse in the ordinary sense of the word, p. 479 *sq.*—The object of a curse not necessarily a human being, p. 480—Curses having the actual form of a wish, which is mostly expressed in an appeal to God, p. 480 *sq.*—Curses upon ancestors understood to involve their descendants as well, p. 481.—Curses in which God is invoked to inflict on the victim some particular evil specified in the curse, p. 481 *sq.*—Curses having an optative form without containing an appeal to God, p. 482 *sq.*—Curses consisting in giving the other person a bad name, which is meant to cause him misfortune and in some cases to make him that which the name indicates, p. 483 *sq.*—A curse of this type often added to one which has the form of an invocation, p. 484 *sq.*—A curse calling forth another curse in reply, which is generally founded on an association of ideas by similarity and is often of a more serious character than the curse which provoked it, p. 485 *sq.*—Acted curses, p. 486 *sq.*—Curses embodied in stones, p. 487 *sq.*—Revenge taken by scribes on a wealthy man whom they have in vain asked for a present, *ibid.*—The effect of a curse influenced by the personality of the curser, pp. 488-492.—Parental curses and blessings, *ibid.*—The curse of a husband as potent as that of a father, p. 490.—The curses of saints, shereefs, and shereefas, pp. 490-492.—The curses of women, p. 490 *sq.*—A woman may serve as an asylum, p. 490.—The curses of unclean persons, p. 491.—The effect of a curse influenced by the guilt or innocence of the person who is subject to it, p. 491 *sq.*—An oath a

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

conditional self-imprecation, p. 492.—Terms for it, *ibid.*—How oaths are taken, *ibid.*—Oaths sworn by God, p. 492 *sq.*—By the Muhammadan religion, p. 493.—On the Koran, *ibid.*—On writing-boards, p. 493 *sq.*—On any book of religious learning, or by the learning of an *'âlem*, p. 494.—In the presence of a band of ambulating scribes, *ibid.*—By schoolboys, *ibid.*—By a rosary, *ibid.*—By Ramaḍân, the month of the Mûlûd, or a religious feast, *ibid.*—By the eve of a holy day, p. 494 *sq.*—Oaths taken on Fridays, or some other holy days, particularly dangerous, p. 495.—Oaths sworn by the direction of Mecca or by a pilgrim, *ibid.*—Taken at mosques, p. 495 *sq.*—At saint-shrines, p. 496 *sq.*—By invoking a saint from a distance, p. 497.—Sworn by something belonging to a saint, *ibid.*—By a market-place, *ibid.*—By the saints of the district, p. 498.—Certain saints by preference invoked in oaths or reputed to be severe avengers of perjury, p. 498 *sq.*—Certain saints said to strike at once, whereas the punishment of others comes slowly, p. 499.—Oaths sworn by living saints or other persons possessing *baraka*, *ibid.*—By an old man or his gray beard, or by a little child, *ibid.*—By the breast of one's mother, p. 499 *sq.*—By the milk sucked in infancy from a woman, p. 500.—By the blood which two relatives have in common from their parents, *ibid.*—By two persons' brotherhood or friendship, *ibid.*—By a stranger on the road or by the accidental meeting of a person, *ibid.*—By a bridegroom, *ibid.*—By a band of huntsmen, p. 500 *sq.*—By a number of people who are sitting or travelling together, p. 501.—By one's own and the other party's right hand and "what they ate and drank", *ibid.*—By one or more guns, *ibid.*—By a sword or a dagger, p. 501 *sq.*—By a hoe, a *gṁbri*, or castanets, p. 502.—By a tent or the door of a house, *ibid.*—By a horse or a saddle, *ibid.*—By an ox, a cow, a camel, or a flock of sheep, *ibid.*—By wool, milk, or honey, p. 503.—By meat or the slaughtering-place of a market, *ibid.*—By the growing crop, *ibid.*—At a threshing-floor, p. 503 *sq.*—By bread, corn, a dish containing *ṡksû*, a garden of fig trees and prickly pears, a tray with tea-pot and glasses, henna, or salt, p. 504.—By the sun, the night, a burning candle or lamp, or fire, *ibid.*—By water, p. 504 *sq.*—By a well, the sea, or the rain, p. 505.—By a stone, or at the cairn on a spot where a person has been found murdered, *ibid.*—The punishment to which a perjurer exposes himself, *ibid.*—An oath may be attended with evil consequences even though it is not false, p. 505 *sq.*—The evil energy in an oath looked upon as a miasma which contaminates anybody who comes near it, pp. 506-508.—Oaths made in a state of nakedness, p. 506 *sq.*—False accusers, p. 507 *sq.*—Perjury and methods of averting the evil consequences of it, p. 508 *sq.*—Habitual perjurers, p. 509.—Oath-taking in judicial proceedings, p. 509 *sq.*—Compurgation, pp. 510-514.—Oath-taking practised by the natives of North Africa since very early times, p. 514.—Oaths taken by women, p. 514 *sq.*—Promissory oaths or sworn vows, pp. 515-517.—The *a'lîya l-ḥdrâm*, p. 516 *sq.*

CHAPTER X

THE *'ĀR* AND THE *'AHD*

The term *'âr* used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, p. 518 *sq.*—Also applied to the relationship in which a person places himself to another by putting *'âr* on him, p. 519.—The *'âr* considered unlawful by Muhammadan orthodoxy, *ibid.*—Generally not thought lightly of, though many persons take no notice of *'âr* put on them, *ibid.*—

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

000 Many different methods of casting *'ār* on a person, pp. 519-537.—*'Ār*-making by personal contact, p. 520.—By offering a person food, *ibid.*—By entering a person's house or tent or taking hold of the tent-pole at the entrance of the tent, p. 520 *sq.*—By touching or sucking a woman's breast, p. 522.—By taking hold of the handmill of the house or tent or turning it round, pp. 522-524.—By making use of a pipkin, a saddle, a piece of an old tent-cloth, the cover of a pack-saddle, or an esparto mat, *ibid.*—By blackening one's face with soot, p. 523 *sq.*—By smearing one's face or clothes with cow-dung, p. 524 *sq.*—By shaving one's head and only leaving on it two locks and a fringe or seven tufts of hair, p. 524.—By keeping a dagger or knife between one's teeth or lips, p. 525 *sq.*—By embodying the conditional curse in stones or in a stake, p. 527.—By sacrificing an animal on the threshold of the house or at the entrance of the tent of the person appealed to, p. 527 *sq.*—Supernatural energy ascribed to blood, p. 528.—Sacrifices of fowls as *'ār*, *ibid.*—The *t'argība* (*t'argība*, *t'arqēba*, *t'arqēb*, *am'drqab*), p. 528 *sq.*—Simulated, and an instance of a real, sacrifice of a child, p. 529.—An unmarried daughter left as *'ār* in a person's house, *ibid.*—Marriageable girls or young married women sent as *'ār* to a tribe appealed to for help, p. 529 *sq.*—The *'ār* resorted to for a variety of purposes, pp. 530-537.—In connection with a blood-feud and the monetary compensation for it, pp. 530-533.—As a method of putting a stop to a war between two tribes, p. 533.—Of bringing about a betrothal, *ibid.*—Of compelling a man to marry a woman who has run away from her husband and to compensate the abandoned husband, pp. 533-535.—The *'ār* a great boon to strangers, pp. 535-537.—The duty of hospitality and its connection with the belief in the *'ār* or similar ideas, pp. 537-549.—The fear of guests, p. 539 *sq.*—Reception ceremonies, p. 540.—A guest also a potential benefactor, p. 541 *sq.*—Hospitality a duty enjoined by religion, p. 542 *sq.*—The religious duty of helping suppliants and guests in ancient Arabia no doubt closely connected with magical beliefs similar to those prevalent in Morocco, pp. 543-545.—Additional support for this conclusion derived from other ancient countries, pp. 545-547.—The duty of hospitality limited to three days, p. 547.—The divine reward of generosity towards guests traced to their blessings, p. 548.—Reception ceremonies in the East, p. 548 *sq.*—Although the Moorish *'ār* is rooted in ideas which prevailed in Arab antiquity and are found among the modern Arabs of the East, it has probably in a large measure an African foundation, p. 549 *sq.*—Certain cases of *'ār* bearing a striking resemblance to practices found among African pagan peoples, p. 550 *sq.*—*'Ār* thrown upon *jnūn*, p. 551.—Upon dead saints, pp. 551-561.—By an exclamation, p. 551.—By putting a stone or stones or something else on a cairn connected with a saint, p. 552.—By making a small pile of stones, p. 552 *sq.*—By tying rags, clothing, or hair to some object belonging to a *slyld*, p. 553 *sq.*—By tying one's turban, p. 554 *sq.*—By knotting a cord in one's clothes, or the leaves of a palmetto or the stalks of white broom growing in the vicinity of a *slyld*, p. 555.—Some of these practices also expected to make the petitioner profit by the *baraka* of the object with which he comes in contact, *ibid.*—Instances in which the idea of disease-transference is conspicuously present in his mind, p. 555 *sq.*—A fusion of different ideas also found in other methods of putting *'ār* on saints, pp. 556-558.—The *'ār* cast on a dead saint frequently consists of an animal sacrifice, p. 558.—Clothes sometimes left at a shrine as *'ār* on the saint, p. 559.—The sanctuaries of saints places of refuge, pp. 559-561.—Mosques also asylums for refugees, p. 561.—Practices at least externally similar to those by which in Morocco *'ār* is cast upon saints found in the East, pp. 561-563.—The custom of tying rags to trees said

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

to have existed among the ancient Libyans, p. 563.—The right of sanctuary in other Muhammadan countries and among ancient Semites, *ibid.*—The origin of the right of sanctuary, p. 563 *sq.*—The *'ahd* or *'dhâd*, pp. 564-569.—Definition of the term, p. 564.—Methods of making a promise very binding, p. 564 *sq.*—Covenanting by an exchange of turbans or cloaks, p. 565 *sq.*—By the joining of hands, p. 566 *sq.*—By eating together, p. 567.—A common meal may in any circumstances be a sort of *'ahd*, laying restraints on those who partake of it, p. 567 *sq.*—Rites of covenanting similar in principle to those practised in Morocco seem to have occurred in North Africa in very ancient times, p. 568.—A common meal an early method of sealing a compact among Semites, p. 568 *sq.*—Sacrifice establishing a covenant between God and man among the ancient Hebrews and Arabs, p. 569.—Criticism of Robertson Smith's views about methods of covenanting with the deity, *ibid.*

CHAPTER XI

WITCHCRAFT—HOMŒOPATHIC INFLUENCES—THE TRANSFERENCE OF EVIL

Terms for witchcraft and persons practising it, p. 570.—Witchcraft practised by the aid of *jnûn*, whose assistance is secured by writing their names, *ibid.*—Witchcraft by writing extensively indulged in by scribes, p. 570 *sq.*—Other kinds of witchcraft particularly practised by women, p. 571.—Sorcerous practices of a preventive character, belonging to the class of magic called *t'qâf*, pp. 571-576.—Practices intended to make men physically incapable of having sexual intercourse, pp. 571-573.—Remedies for such sexual incapacity, p. 573.—Mothers practising *t'qâf* to preserve the virtue of their unmarried daughters, p. 574.—The *t'qâf* practised for the purpose of preventing sexual intercourse often intended to do so by producing lack of inclination rather than physical incapacity, p. 574 *sq.*—Barrenness of women caused by *t'qâf*, p. 575 *sq.*—*T'qâf* practised to prevent the delivery of a woman who is with child, p. 576.—To bewitch animals, *ibid.*—Witchcraft practised for the most diverse purposes, p. 577 *sq.*—Also without reference to any particular individual, p. 578 *sq.*—The precise meaning of the word *sḥôr*, p. 579.—Meaning of the words *sḍḥḥâr* and *sḍḥḥâra*, *ibid.*—Of the word *ḥkîm*, p. 579 *sq.*—Homœopathic influences of many kinds, pp. 580-604.—Practices by which men strengthen their sexual power, p. 581.—Homœopathic rites at weddings intended to ensure or facilitate the consummation of the marriage, pp. 581-583.—Homœopathic rites practised at weddings and on other occasions with a view to making the wife fruitful and, particularly, a mother of male offspring, pp. 583-585.—The sex of an animal's young influenced by the sex of a person, p. 586.—The belief in a homœopathic influence upon the sex of a child traceable in some cases of divination, *ibid.*—Pregnancy suggested by a sty, *ibid.*—An unborn child subject to other homœopathic influences besides such as affect its sex, p. 586 *sq.*—Homœopathic magic practised at weddings for a variety of purposes, pp. 587-589.—To make the marriage union durable, p. 587 *sq.*—To give the husband power over his wife and the wife power over her husband, p. 588.—To make the bridegroom a loving husband, p. 588 *sq.*—To make the couple prosperous, p. 589.—Homœopathic practices intended to increase the supply of food, pp. 589-593.—Various ways of turning the principle that "like produces like" into economic advantage, p. 593.—Effects ascribed to sweeping and to the broom, pp.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

000 593-596.—Beliefs and practices relating to slippers, p. 596 *sq.*—Homœopathic influence of empty vessels or saddles or other empty things, p. 597 *sq.*—Homœopathic practices relating to domestic animals, p. 598 *sq.*—Prison magic, p. 599 *sq.*—Schoolboy customs, p. 600 *sq.*—Children's games, p. 601 *sq.*—Death supposed to be caused or foreboded by something suggestive of it, p. 602 *sq.*—Events indicating a long life, p. 603.—Dangerous to talk about illness or other disagreeable things, p. 603 *sq.*—The spoken word bringing about its own realisation, p. 604.—In other cases supposed to produce a magical effect by communicating an evil from which the speaker suffers to the person spoken to, p. 604 *sq.*—A disease or some other evil not only communicated by infection, but actually transferred from the person suffering from it to another person or an animal or an inanimate thing, so that the sufferer himself gets rid of it, pp. 605-607.—The transference of fatigue, p. 606 *sq.*—The death to which a person is exposed may, as it were, be transferred to an animal by killing it, p. 607.—The slaughter of an animal may save the lives of other animals, *ibid.*—But the *bgs* of a person may also pass into another person or an animal or a thing without any act of transference, as in the case of the death of an infant or an animal or in the case of the accidental breaking of an object, p. 607 *sq.*

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG.		PAGE
1.	Sîdi 'Abdsslam l-Baqqâli in Andjra	2
2.	Scribe from Fez (my secretary)	3
3.	College student in Fez	5
4.	My travelling companions	7
5.	Berber from the Rîf	9
6.	Berbers from the Aṭ Ubâḫṭi	11
7.	Among the Aiṭ Yúsi	13
8.	Among the Aiṭ Yúsi	15
9.	In Dukkâla	17
10.	Boy in the Ġarbiya	18
11.	Country schoolboys	19
12.	Village in the Faḥṣ (Northern Morocco)	21
13.	Mountain village in the neighbourhood of Tetuan	23
14.	The cottage at Ḍâr l-Ḥjar in Andjra in which I was staying	25
15.	Arab village seen at a distance	27
16.	Arab village	29
17.	Mosque in an Arab village	30
18.	Among the Aiṭ Yúsi	31
19.	Huts in the neighbourhood of Marráksh	32
20.	Market outside Amzmiz	33
21.	*Qóbba* outside Alcazar	52
22.	The *qóbba* of Sîdi 'Abdûllah t-Tᵊâudi outside Bâb g-Gîsa at Fez	53
23.	The *qóbba* and mosque of Sîdi Mḥámmed ben lâ-Ḥsen outside Bâb g-Gîsa at Fez	53
24.	The *bitᵉ* of Sîdi Bujîda outside Fez	54
25.	The *ḫauš* of Sîdi Berdélla outside Bâb g-Gîsa at Fez	55
26.	*Ḥauš* in the Faḥṣ	55
27.	*Ḥauš* in the Ḥloṭ	56
28.	Cairn outside Fez	57
29.	Cairns on the road to Fez	57
30.	Cairn on the road between Tangier and Tetuan	58

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

FIG.		PAGE
31.	Saintly cairn with a flag-staff	58
32.	Whitewashed saintly cairn outside Tangier	59
33.	Whitewashed rock at 'Ain ben 'Ămár	61
34.	Holy rapid in Asif n Sîdi Nâṣăr u Mhâṣăr	67
35.	*Talġomt* or *n-nâga* near Sîdi Yâḥya	70
36.	*Styid* with a tree, in the Ḥlot	76
37.	Lâlla T^{s}ugḥâir, on the top of a hill outside Demnat	81
38.	Sîdi Ḥbîb's mountain seen from the Ġarbîya	83
39.	Lâlla Tákĕrkust	86
40.	L-Máqṭa' outside Fez	284
41.	Cairn at l-Máqṭa'	284
42.	Imi n Taqqándut	286
43-70.	Charms and designs from Morocco	449-453
71-73.	Figures on Punic monuments	453
74-121.	Charms and designs from Morocco	454-467
122-127.	Figures on Punic monuments	468-474
128.	Small piles of stones in the Great Atlas	552
129.	Lotus tree outside the *qóbba* of Sîdi 'Âli Bŭġâleb in Fez	553

PLATE

(Between pages 452 and 453)

NO.

1. Embroidery.
2 and 3. Brass hands from which lamps are suspended.
4. Dagger from the Rîf.
5-7. Bags.
8. Saddle- or horse-cloth from Glawi.
9. Berber rug.
10. Dagger from the Great Atlas.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

INTRODUCTION

THE Muhammadan natives of Morocco are chiefly of Berber race, although the Berber language, which before the arrival of the Arabs was spread over the whole country, has in a large part of it been superseded by the tongue of the invaders. The Berber-speaking tribes, to whom alone the term "Berber" is popularly applied, may be divided into several groups. There are the Berbers of the Rīf, called by themselves Irifīyen and in Arabic Ruâfa, whose country extends along the Mediterranean coast between a line about forty miles south-east of Tetuan and the neighbourhood of the Algerian frontier; the Brâber, who inhabit the mountain regions of Central Morocco and the eastern portion of the Great Atlas range; the Shlöḥ, or Išelḥīn as they call themselves, who inhabit the western part of the Great Atlas and the province of Sūs, situated to the south of it—a territory the eastern frontier of which may be roughly indicated by a line drawn from the neighbourhood of Demnat in a south-easterly direction, and the northern frontier by a slightly curved line uniting Demnat with Mogador on the Atlantic coast and following the foot of the mountains or, in some places, intercepting a strip of the plain; and the Drâwa, who inhabit the valley of the Wād Drā in the extreme south of Morocco. A fifth group consists of various tribes living in the neighbourhood of Ujda, in the north-eastern corner of the country. All the Berber-speaking people are called by a Berber name Imazīġĕn.

This division into groups is based not only on geographical but also on linguistic considerations. The dialects of the tribes belonging to the same group have greater

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

197 resemblance than those spoken within different groups, which may differ greatly both in their words and sounds. A Rifian told me that when he heard the talk of Brâber or Shlöḥ he could only recognise a few of the words, while a Berber from

FIG. 1.—Sîdi 'Abdsslam l-Bâqqâli in Andjra.

the south, who had travelled much, said that he could understand the Brâber with difficulty, but the Rifians not at all. There is, however, no sharp line of demarcation between the dialects of the southern and central Berbers, as there is no very definite geographical border between those people; whereas the dialectic differences inside the latter group may

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

be quite considerable. The language even of neighbouring tribes, like the Aiṭ Sádděn and the Ait Waráin, may differ so much in its vocabulary and phonetics that a member of the one tribe sometimes finds it difficult to understand a member of the other, and, as I have tested myself, is unable to imitate certain sounds of his dialect. The dialects of the Rīf[1] also

FIG. 2.—Scribe from Fez (my secretary).

present more dissimilarities than the Shelḥa, the language of the Shlōḥ, which is comparatively homogeneous, phonetically as well as otherwise. Yet in every Berber tribe there are linguistic peculiarities, which may be quite notable even inside the same tribe. The explanation of the remarkable differentiation of the Berber language is not far to seek. It

[1] See Biarnay, *Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif* (Paris, 1917).

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

197 lies partly in the complete absence of a written standard, and partly in the vastness of the territory inhabited by the Berbers and the lack of contact between the different groups or even sections of the same group.[1]

The Arabic-speaking people of Morocco consist of the 'Arab ("Arabs"), who inhabit most of the plains; the Jbâla ("mountaineers") who inhabit the mountain region extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the neighbourhood of Fez and to the west and south of the Rîf; and the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the towns, who are often referred to as "Moors", although this name may be more conveniently applied to the Muhammadan population of Morocco in general. The dialectic differences of the Arabic of Morocco are infinitely smaller than those of the Berber idioms. The pronunciation of ت and ث as *ts* (*t*ˢ) in Northern Morocco and of ڤ (Moorish ف) as *g* among the 'Arab is particularly conspicuous.

191 Although Arabic is spoken over a much smaller area of the country than Berber, it is nevertheless the dominant language, being that of the Government and administration, the religious creed, and the higher culture. Berber is despised as a barbarous jargon. There is an Arabic saying, *Lá-'sel ma hûwa îdąm, l-bêšna ma hîya ṭḍ'âm, š-šêlḥa ma hîya kląm*, "Honey is not grease, durra is not food, Shelḥa is not a language". The Berbers themselves look upon their language as much inferior to Arabic, and those who have learned Arabic—many of them are bilingual—are often ashamed of speaking their mother-tongue. More than once I noticed the glad surprise shown by my Berber teachers at the interest I took in it, and their answers were in the beginning not infrequently accompanied with a friendly smile.[2] But although the Berbers respect the Arabic language, they do not like the 'Arab. The Shlöḥ accuse

[1] For the classification and mutual relations of the Berber dialects of Morocco *cf.* Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 3 *sq.*; Laoust, 'Coup d'œil sur les Études dialectales berbères au Maroc', in *Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, i. (Paris, 1920), p. 117 *sqq.*; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* (Alger, 1920), p. 51 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Basset, *op. cit.* p. 34 *sq.*

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

The Shleh accuse

them[1] of being brutal and filthy in their habits, and call them *izakārn* (Iglíwa) or *izākârĕn* (Tazĕrwalt[1]), meaning "ropes"; the Aiṭ Sádděn call them *iḫššóǧĕn*, or "logs", and other Brâber give them a similar epithet. Nor are the Jbâla fond of the 'Arab. In Andjra I was told that they have no religion, neglect the fast of Ramaḍān, and have illicit

FIG. 3.—College student in Fez.

intercourse with their sisters; and at the weddings there the married men, who in every conceivable way molest the bridegroom and his bachelor friends, are characteristically enough called "the 'Arab". I was assured that the Rifians are a much better race.

It should be noticed, however, that the term 'Arab is only an indication of language, not of race. There can be no doubt that the large majority of Arabic-speaking tribes in

[1] Stumme, *op. cit.* p. 190.

1 [i.e. The Arabs. - Analyst]

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

175
[191] Morocco are purely or essentially Berber by origin. The number of Arab immigrants from the East can only have been comparatively small. Those who came there as conquerors at the end of the seventh and at the beginning of the eighth century were only a handful of people. The chief invasion took place in the eleventh century, when several Bedouin tribes settled down in Barbary. Ibn ar-Raqīq estimated the number of these invaders at more than a million persons of both sexes and the number of combatants at fifty thousand;[1] but it seems that his estimates are considerably exaggerated.[2] In any case the invaders were spread over a large area, from Tripoli to the Atlantic Ocean, and we may presume that only a minority of them reached Morocco.[3] An anthropological investigation of over eight thousand natives of Eastern Barbary has led Messrs. Bertholon and Chantre to the conclusion that the number of Arab immigrants has always been insufficient to impress their type on the mass of the people, and that "the so-called Arab tribes of North Africa present the same somatic characteristics as other tribes which are incontestably Berbers".[4] It seems that among the tribes of Morocco north of the Great Atlas range a fair quantity of Arab blood may be found chiefly in those living between Alcazar and Larache and between the rivers Bū Ragrág and Ûmm r-Rbē' and a little farther south, whereas the other Arabic-speaking tribes mostly consist of Arabised Berbers who have changed their language.[5] I desire to emphasise that in speaking of "Arabs" in Morocco I simply make use of a term by which the people themselves denote the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the plains, while by "Berbers" I mean Berber-speaking people.

[1] Ibn ar-Raqīq, quoted by Marmol Caravajal, *L'Afrique*, i. (Paris, 1677), p. 275; and by Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, trans. by J. Pory (London, 1896), p. 139.

[2] G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIe au XIVe siècle* (Constantine & Paris, 1913), pp. 113, 733.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 515 *sq.*

[4] Bertholon and Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale* (Lyon, 1913), pp. 347, 358.

[5] See Marçais, *op. cit.* map.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

The various groups of tribes, Berber and Arabic-speaking, have also more or less their peculiar customs and mode of life, but to what extent this is the case cannot, of course, be discussed in the present connection. At the same time there may also be a greater resemblance in customs between Arabs and Berbers living in the same neighbourhood than between tribes belonging to the same group. As the dwellings of the people will be frequently referred to in the descriptions of their rites or customs, it may be well to know that the Jbâla,

FIG. 4.—My travelling companions: a Rifian (left), Sîdi 'Abdsslam (mounted), and two Jbâla from Andjra.

the Rifians, and the Shlōḥ live in houses, that most of the Arabs and the Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Ujda live in tents, and that among the Brâber some tribes live in houses and others in tents or both in houses and tents. There were nomadic Berbers living in tents before the arrival of the Bedouins.[1]

I have during my journeys to Morocco studied the customs and beliefs of these various groups of people, with the exception of the Drâwa, as regards whom I have been unable to procure sufficiently trustworthy information. In this book

[1] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by Baron de Slane, i. (Alger, 1852), pp. 167, 177.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

128 the Rifians are chiefly represented by the Aiṯ Wāryâġer and Ait Temsâmān; the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda by the Aṯ Ubáḫṭi; the Brâber by the Aiṯ Sáddĕn, Aiṯ Yúsi, Ait Waráin, Aiṯ Nḏēr, and Aiṯ Mjilḏ; the Shlōḥ by the Iglíwa in the Great Atlas south-east of Marráksh, the inhabitants of Demnat and Amzmiz, the Iḥaḥan on the northerly slopes of the most westerly portion of the Great Atlas, and the Amanūz and the people of Aglu (close to the Atlantic coast) in Sūs; the Arabs by the natives of the Ġarbîya to the south of Tangier, the Mnâṣăra and Beni Âḥsen on the coast between Laraiche and Rabat, the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and Ulâd Frạj in Dukkâla to the south of Azemmur, and the people of the Ḥiáina in the neighbourhood of Fez; the Jbâla by the people of Andjra and Jbel Ḥbīb and the Bni 'Ăroṣ in the northern part, and the Tsūl in the southern part of their district; and the Arabic-speaking townsfolk by the inhabitants of Fez and Tangier. But reference is also made to many other tribes and places.

121 In the present work I am dealing with the popular religion and magic of the Moors, not, except casually, with the general tenets and rites of Islam or those of the Mālikī school of Muhammadans, to which the Moors belong. My chief object is to give a systematic account of what I have myself seen or heard from the lips of natives. I have to some extent made use of, or referred in footnotes to, facts stated by other writers on Morocco, but in such cases I have invariably mentioned the source of information. As for the collection of my materials, I have made it a stringent rule not to accept statements of others than natives of the country, because I have frequently found those of European residents lacking in accuracy. I have further made it a rule not to 121 use information given me about a tribe by members of other 124 tribes, without specially indicating its more or less unauthoritative character. I have also been in the habit of repeating to my informants their statements in full so as to avoid all misunderstanding; and I have occasionally tested their trustworthiness by deliberately misrepresenting their statements, but in such cases they have never failed to correct me. The accuracy of the natives even in the smallest details

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

is remarkable; and the patience of many of my teachers has been beyond praise.

In my study of the various rites I have not been content

FIG. 5.—Berber from the Rif.

with ascertaining the bare external facts, but have, so far as possible, tried to discover the ideas underlying them The reader will find that the explanations given by the natives themselves are not always alike. The reason for this

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

[2] is probably that the real origin of the rite has been partly or wholly forgotten, and a new interpretation substituted for the idea from which it sprung. It is well known that rites are very apt to survive the ideas in which they have originated. This, however, should not make the field-ethnologist less eager to find out the present meaning attached to the facts he records; for whether or no it be the original meaning, it gives us in any case some insight into the ideas of existing people, and these are by themselves important subjects of inquiry. But I maintain that the aim of the field-ethnologist should not be only to observe and describe. Where the meaning of a custom is obscure or lost, his general knowledge of the native mind and its ways of thinking and feeling ought to enable him to make valuable conjectures. I thoroughly disagree with the principle which I once heard expressed by the reader of a paper on some savage tribes at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, that the field-ethnologist should only aim at collecting facts and leave it to the ethnologists at home to explain them. But he must, of course, take the utmost care to avoid mixing up his own interpretations of facts with the observed facts themselves. This is a rule which I have strictly followed. While all explanations given without any qualification are statements expressly made by my native informants, or are directly implied in their statements, those suggested by myself are invariably, in some way or other, marked as my own interpretations.

The difficulties in finding the ultimate psychological origins of rites are frequently increased by the obscurity of their historical origins. A custom may spring up spontaneously among a certain people or tribe, or it may be imported from some other people or community; and to be complete, the study of it must be concerned not only with its intrinsic meaning but also with the question whether it has a native origin or not, and, in the latter case, from where it has been introduced. This study of its history is often beset with difficulties, which indeed may be unsurmountable. It requires a profound knowledge not only of the customs of the ethnic group which is the subject of the investigation but of

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

those of other people with whom it has come in contact; and even with such a knowledge it may in many cases be impossible to decide with certainty whether we have to do with a loan or not. Considering how often absolutely identical customs are found among races living in very different parts of the world, in circumstances which seem to exclude all possibility of a common origin, we have to take account of the fact that such customs may also have grown up among peoples who are of the same stock or have come

FIG. 6.—Berbers from the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi.

into contact with one another. Indeed, the more similar two peoples are, the greater is the probability that new details in their culture may also resemble each other; from seeds of the same kind very similar plants spring up. I have been very conscious of these difficulties in my attempt to trace the historical origin of rites and beliefs recorded in the present work. In many cases it has been quite easy to accomplish, but in others it has only resulted in more or less plausible conjectures; and frequently I have been obliged to abstain from any such attempt, because I have found it a hopeless task.

The culture of the Berbers has been subject to influences

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

177 The culture of the Berbers has been subject to influences

from various quarters. The latest, and from the point of view of religion greatest, wave of this kind came with the Arabic invasions, which brought to them Islam. And hand in hand with the rites and doctrines of their religion the Arabs introduced other customs and beliefs, even such as were actually forbidden by it; a rite of this kind is presumably the irreligious lamentations and self-lacerations of the female mourners which are practised by some of the Berbers, as well as by the Arabs.[1] The Bedouins who settled down on the plains of Morocco in the eleventh century were themselves very imperfectly Islamised, and their impiety and cynicism sometimes scandalised even the native inhabitants of the country;[2] yet they may have influenced the latter's customs and beliefs. The resemblances in these respects between the Berbers, as well as Arabs of Morocco, and the Arabs of the East, many of which will be pointed out on subsequent pages, are so manifold, even in little details, that we may assume a considerable Arab influence falling outside the pale of Islam. But on the other hand it is certain that many of these resemblances are *not* due to such influence; various forms of nature-worship may serve as an instance of this. Owing to our very deficient knowledge of the ancient Berbers, however, it is frequently impossible to say what is Arab by origin and what is Berber, and it may be futile even to make a conjecture on this point. We have, moreover, to take note of the fact that some similarities between the natives of Morocco and Arabic-speaking people of the East may have been caused by a common participation in an ancient Mediterranean culture. Instances of this will, for example, be found in the chapters on the evil eye, the agricultural rites, and the funeral and mourning ceremonies.

There has also been a Negro influence, which among the Berbers of the South no doubt commenced at a very early period when the southern border of their territory was more northerly than it is now,[3] and which has been maintained in later times through the influx of Negro slaves. This influence

[1] *Infra*, ii. 494 *sq.* [2] Marçais, *op. cit.* p. 713 *sq.*
[3] R. Basset, *Mission au Sénégal*, quoted by van Gennep, *L'état actuel du problème totémique* (Paris, 1920), p. 257 *sq.*

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

is very conspicuous in the rites of the Gnąwa,[1] and will probably prove to have had a considerably larger scope than is known at present.[2]

Several writers have perceived in certain Berber customs traces of Christian beliefs.[3] Christianity entered North Africa at an early date, and in the time of the Arab invasions there were a number of Christianised Berber tribes.[4] In Morocco Christian Berbers are said to have existed more than a century after the appearance of Islam, when Mûlâi Idrîs

FIG. 7.—Among the Aiṭ Yúsi.

subdued the last Berbers in that country who still remained "Christians, Jews, or idolaters".[5] It does not seem, however, that Christianity ever gained any considerable hold of the Berbers. In more recent times there were settlements

[1] *Infra*, i. 379 *sqq.* See also *infra*, i. 381 *sq.*

[2] On this subject *cf.* van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 257 *sqq.*

[3] See Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire* (London, 1899), p. 309 *sq.*; *Idem*, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 395.

[4] Joannes Abbas, 'Chronicon', in Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, lxxii. (Parisiis, 1849), col. 866; Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī, *Annales regum Mauritaniae*, ed. and trans. by Tornberg (Upsaliae, 1843), p. 15; Ibn Ḫaldūn, *op. cit.* i. 177, 207, 209; Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* i. 163.

[5] *Raōḍ al-Qarṭās*, trans. by Beaumier (Paris, 1860), p. 16.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

177 of Christian slaves, who are supposed to have left some impress on the native population.[1] But the conjectured survivals of a Christian influence are anyhow exceedingly scanty. The supposition that the cross in modern Berber tattooing and ornamentation is a relic of this kind is the more unwarranted since the cross is also seen as an ornament in the ancient Egyptian representations of Libyans;[2] but the case is different with the Sunday rest observed by the women of some Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Fez.[3] According to Leo Africanus it was the custom in Fez to eat certain dainties on Christmas eve;[4] but I was told that no such custom exists there at present.

Ancient Roman influence is conspicuous in certain rites;[5] and in one or two cases I think I have identified traces of the religion of Carthage, due to the Punic colonisation.[6] Resemblances have been found between the religion of the ancient Egyptians and that of the Libyans, including the Berbers of the West, but there have been different opinions as to their explanation.[7] Such likenesses are not necessarily due to Egyptian influence. Mr. Bates suggests that, just as a definite Libyan element is knit into the Egyptian language, so there are, in all probability, Libyan elements in the Egyptian religion.[8]

171 Finally it should be noticed that a very large number of rites and beliefs in Morocco are identical with, or very similar to, rites and beliefs found on the other side of the Mediterranean. Many such cases will be mentioned in the present work, but its scope does not allow an adequate discussion of this vast and difficult subject. The similarities may be partly due to "the like working of men's minds under like conditions" (as Tylor put it[9]), but largely also

[1] Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 309 *sq.*
[2] *Infra*, i. 451 *sq.* [3] *Infra*, i. 134, 226.
[4] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* p. 452 *sq.* *Cf.* Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. (Paris, 1899), p. 519; Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 373 *sq.*
[5] *Infra*, ii. 153 *sqq.* [6] *Infra*, i. 395 *sq.*
[7] *Infra*, i. 100 *sq.* *Cf.* ii. 86, 253.
[8] Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 207.
[9] Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (London, 1878), p. 5.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

to the contact of peoples or to a common descent. The Berbers are generally considered to belong to a northern branch of the Hamitic stock, though the opinion has been expressed [1] that they are not Hamites by race but conquerors of the Hamitic aborigines of North Africa who adopted the language of the conquered. In any case it seems difficult to doubt that a very large portion or the bulk of the Berbers are members of a race which was once spread over the Mediterranean basin, and which has been called the Mediterranean race, whatever the origin of this race may be. It is

FIG. 8.—Among the Aiṯ Yúsi.

characterised by black hair and brown eyes ; but among the Berbers there is also an appreciable element of blondness. In Morocco blond people are in fact very frequent among the Rifians [2] and by no means rare among the Brâber [3] and the Shlōḥ of the Great Atlas ; and there are such people in the

[1] Lissauer, 'Archäologische und anthropologische Studien über die Kabylen', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xl. (Berlin, 1908), p. 527.

[2] See also Mrs. Brooks, *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay* (London, 1896), p. 153 ; de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc* (*1899–1901*) (Paris, 1903), p. 47 ; de la Martinière, *Morocco : Journeys in the Kingdom of Fez and to the Court of Mulai Hassan* (London, 1889), p. 69.

[3] See also de Segonzac, *op. cit.* pp. 137, 166, 229. According to Harris (*Tafilet* [Edinburgh & London, 1895], p. 159), there are some blue-eyed persons among the Drâwa.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

142 mountains of Algeria as well.[1] This blondness among the Berbers has been explained in different ways.[2] It has been attributed to immigration from Europe. The invasion of the Vandals would of course be quite insufficient to account for it, since blond people are known to have existed in North Africa long before their arrival;[3] but it is supposed that at a much earlier time an immigration took place from the north of Europe, the land of the blonds, across the Straits of Gibraltar.[4] This hypothesis is based partly on the fact that a large agglomeration of blonds is only found in that region of the world, and partly on the occurrence of dolmens in a continuous line from the shore of the Baltic to Tunis which are considered to mark the path of the migration. According to another theory, the blondness is, largely at least, indigenous to Africa, being due to the influence of external conditions, more particularly to that of altitude,[5] or to spontaneous variation of unknown origin.[6] The problem cannot be regarded as definitely solved; but I believe that most students of racial biology would nowadays favour the idea of the infusion of foreign blood as the cause of the blondness.

[1] Randall-Maciver and Wilkin, *Libyan Notes* (London, 1901), pp. 29, 30, 97 *sq.*; Lissauer, *loc. cit.* pp. 518, 525; Steensby, 'Nogle etnografiske Iakttagelser fra en Rejse i Algier og Tunis 1908', in *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, xx. (Kjøbenhavn, 1909–10), p. 68; Hilton-Simpson, 'The Influence of its Geography on the People of the Aures massif, Algeria', in *The Geographical Journal*, lix. (London, 1922), p. 23.

[2] See also Topinard, 'Instructions sur l'anthropologie de l'Algérie. Deuxième partie: Instructions particulières', in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, ser. ii. vol. viii. (1873), p. 645 *sq.*; Ripley, *The Races of Europe* (London, 1900), p. 279.

[3] Bates, *op. cit.* p. 39 *sqq.*; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. (Berlin, 1917), p. 622 n. 1.

[4] Faidherbe, 'Instructions sur l'anthropologie de l'Algérie. Première partie: Considérations générales', in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, ser. ii. vol. viii. (1873), p. 605 *sq.*; Lissauer, *loc. cit.* p. 526 *sq.*; Mehlis, 'Die Berberfrage', in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, new ser. vol. viii. (Braunschweig, 1909), p. 285; Schrader, 'Le Maghreb', in *Revue anthropologique*, xxiii. (Paris, 1913), p. 83.

[5] Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race* (London, 1901), p. 74 *sq.*; Ripley, *op. cit.* p. 280.

[6] Steensby, *loc. cit.* p. 68.

2: Westermarck--17 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[35]

CHAPTER I

THE BARAKA (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS PREVALENCE

770 792 196 The Arabic word baraka means "blessing". In Morocco it is used to denote a mysterious wonder-working force which is looked upon as a blessing from God, a "blessed virtue". It may be conveniently translated into English by the word "holiness".

A person who possesses baraka in an exceptional degree is called by a term corresponding to our "saint".

[36] The Berbers have berberised forms of the Arabic terms, such as ssiyid, ssaleh, and lwali; but among many of them the usual or exclusive name for a saint is amrabad or amrabd (plur. imrabden; Ait Waryager, Temsaman, At Ubahti, Ait Sadden), derived from the Arabic mrabat or mrabt, which, as we shall soon see, is not used in Morocco as a general term for saints, but only for a certain class of saints and their descendants.

[62] It is interesting to notice that certain terms for saints are also used to denote places connected with them; this shows how intimate the connection between them really is. Thus the word siyid is applied to a place where a saint is [63] buried, whether it be indicated by a qobba or bit or haus or in any other way, and some people use the same term for a place which is venerated because a saint has prayed or rested there; in Fez, however, the latter would be called the mzara or halwa of the siyid So-and-so. Other words which are used both for saints and their sanctuaries are fqer (Dukkala), agurram (Shloh), and amrabd or amrabad (Ait Sadden, Temsaman, Ait Waryager).

[64] The sanctity of a saint is communicated not only to the building in which he is buried and the objects contained in it, but to everything inside his horm or harm, that is, the sacred domain of the saint. The horm may be restricted to the building over his grave, but it may also extend far beyond it.

[65] A still more comprehensive term than horm is zawia (Berb. zzawit [Shloh], zzawit [Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager], zzaust [Temsaman]), in one of the senses in which this word is used. The town or village round the shrine of some great saint is often called his zawia.

778 [823] [70] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [71] (the so-called l-hajra de l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 411 [842] [755] [73] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[74] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 755 [84] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[85] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [86] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.

[825 782] The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. Thepati ent goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and [87] he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 843] the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
[754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

789 [95] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Igliwa); among the Ait Waryager he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger—among the Ait Waryager the forefinger of the right hand—with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz).

825 776 778 [97] The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much baraka in it; it is of high blood (d-demm l-kbir); it is like a shereef. It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; l-hail u l-hair wahed, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulad Bu'aziz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Ait Waryager). The sayatin, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Ait Waryager). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager); it says, L-haer liya u l sidi, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Hiaina).

[103] Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean, a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of baraka. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by jnun (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

824 778 241 [105] As certain animal species so also certain species of the [106] vegetable kingdom are possessed of baraka. This is above all the case with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and seksu. The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Ait Waryager). It is the baraka of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.

824 778 Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber idea, since the date-palm (Arab. nahla; Berb. ainiu or tainiut [Igliwa], tini [Temsaman]) has been known to the Berbers from a very ancient period; but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia. Another holy tree, like- [107] wise held sacred in the East, is the olive (Arab. s-sejara de z-zeit un; Berb. tazzitunt [Igliwa], zzeitun [Temsaman]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times. It is said that it has one of the names

824 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka
778 of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit [Igliwa], zzest [Temsaman]) may be
so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan-
[842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power
[843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall be good-looking (Tangier).

[109] Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words
755 from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul,
778 Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

[110] At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura (Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura, sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case
[231] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or, on the 17th of May (mut 1-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame.
A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines,
[842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the morning on an empty stomach.

[841] [111] Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro; Berb. fadis [Temsaman] or fadis [Ait Waryager]) is eaten by women suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 [112] The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand)
824 as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow.
696 Some scribes recite over it something from the [113] Koran, knot seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

696
778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Igliwa], tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager], tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[172] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have baraka.

778
823 Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an
[755] empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 [117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

821 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in
775 a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 [118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman [Igliwa], usm, plur. usmän [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [Igliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

821 [119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [Igliwa],
783 tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

821 783 for an hour or two; whilst one who has been struck by the sun may cure himself by exposing his head to the light of the moon (Fez). The sun may be dangerous. You should avoid sleeping in the [120] sun, especially with the sun in your face, lest it should strike your head. You should never point at the sun.

821 I also found the custom of throwing a tooth towards the sun among the Shlöh of Glawi and Aglu—Rifians from the Ait Waryager and Temsaman said that they had never heard of anything of the kind among their own people.

821 789 [121] The ninety-first chapter of the Koran, called suratu s-sams, "the Chapter of the Sun", which begins with a conjuration by the sun and its noonday brightness, is frequently used in magic rites. In Morocco it is recited by scribes when acting as doctors, and by persons approaching a strange village for the purpose of keeping off the dogs; in the latter case every word ending with aha is followed by a repetition of the same sound (Tangier, etc.). Among the Ait Waryager a band of dissatisfied scribes, who have in vain asked a wealthy man to give them a feast, take revenge on him by writing the said surah on a piece of olive wood, and knocking the latter into the road along which his animals walk, as this is supposed to cause many deaths among the animals.

821 787 [123] An eclipse of the sun (kusuf) is supposed to indicate that the Sultan is (Andjra) or will become (Fez) ill or has died (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or that some great saint has died (Fez, Hiaina, Temsaman), or that there will be dearth in the country (Fez), or generally that some evil will befall the world (Igliwa, Ait Waryager). These beliefs are founded on pre-islamic superstitions, which also probably prevailed among the Berbers, as they with certainty did among the Arabs.

821 789 [124] The moon (Arab. qamar, qmar, or gamra; Berb. aiyur [Igliwa], ayur [Ait Sadden], yur [Ait Warain], daziri [Ait Waryager], taziri [Temsaman]) receives more attention than the sun. In all parts of Morocco some rite is performed at the first sight of the new moon (Arab. s-shar, or l-hilal; Berb. yur [Temsaman]). In Andjra the person who sees it takes some grass from the ground and throws it towards the moon, saying, Siyibna 'alik l-hadura ma t wurrina la sarr wa la drura, "We threw at you green stuff, don't show us either or harm". He then makes fat ha, reciting perhaps a few passages

821 789 from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, Allah itahhlek alina be r-rahha u l-hena, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry things", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkala, Ait Waryager).

821 789 778 [129] Every man on earth has his star (Arab. nejima, plur. njum; Berb. itri, plur. itran or itran [Shloh, Ait Warain], itri, plur. itran or itran [Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager], itri, plur itran [Temsaman]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, Allah italla nejmak, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, Allah itaiyah nejmak, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a jedwal with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is in-
[755] tended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to
[754] be used for witchcraft (shor)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the tabe a, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a rehi it is exposed to the wind, if he is a mawi it is put in water, if he is a t orabi it is buried in earth, if he is a nari it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's tabe a. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them baraka by shining on them.

778 372 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[155] [132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 778 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direction of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 772 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology, as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 778 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [534] [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 796 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners. To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

776 778 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall [681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 515 789 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is wholesome to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 778 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with [754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

778 [199] The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable.

[342] [200] When the Ait Waryager are building ahouse they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

[204] The baraka of mosques is also used for various purposes.

[354] [205] Among the Ait Waryager a new lamp (rqandir) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its baraka.

[208] The baraka of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic herz (or horz; plur. hruz) or hejab (or hajab; plur. hjabat). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as lharz (plur. lahruz) and lhejab (plur. lhejabat) in the Shelha of Tazerwalt, rahajab (plur. rahajabat) in the Rifian of the Ait Waryager, and rhaz (plur. rhruz) in that of the Ait Temsaman.

Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative, [789] or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called t ebrid (by the Ait Waryager).

778 [211] Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a pro-
755 tection against the jnun and the evil eye, and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former or other illnesses.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other.

When [212] a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a herz is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plat[illegible] water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Ait W[illegible]yager).

[261] If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Ait Waryager).

778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts
[224] of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
[753] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
634 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

784 since the barley would otherwise be bad for the animal, and when he
778 gives it he should say the bismillah; I was told that these rules owe
834 their origin to the baraka of the barley (Hiaina). When you stroke the back of such an animal you should not do it with your palm but with the outer side of your hand, since the palm may be unclean (ibid.).

514 [234] Like sexual uncleanness, excremental impurity is injurious
784 to baraka. A person ought not to sleep inside a mosque, because
778 during sleep he may have a nightly pollution or break wind or make water. If anybody breaks wind in a mosque he kills thereby the angels in it or makes them blind, or at any rate displeases them, and he will himself fall ill or become poor. I have seen men remove their trousers before prayer, since no prayer will be accepted from a person in a state of uncleanness. Nobody is allowed to pray in a place where there are excrements of any other animals but such as are used for food, that is, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Urination and evacuation must not take place in the direction of Mecca; in the case of the former the person should have his face turned westward, in the case of the latter north- or south-wards. It is forbidden to do one's needs or urinate in the sea. It is also forbidden to do such things in a river or a pond. He who urinates in water will be struck by a jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden) or urinate blood after his death (Ait Waryager).

784 [239] Baraka may be spoiled by contact with the ground and its
778 impurities. The prayer-place of a Muhammadan must be clean;
782 hence a Moor of the better class often carried under his arm a coloured felt-cloth on which he kneels when he says his prayers, or a cloak is for the same purpose spread on the ground. Yet people may pray on the bare ground if the sun is shining on it. Neither the Koran, nor any other book containing the name of God, nor the writing-boards of schoolboys, must be placed on the ground, at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place; and even where the ground is clean a scribe would not leave on it the book which he consults when he writes a charm, for fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy. A t ebrid loses its power if it falls to the ground. Another written charm may perhaps in similar circumstances retain its efficacy if it is at once put in wheat or barley to be purified, but if anybody has trampled upon it its baraka is irremediably lost (Ait Waryager).

784 [243] Milk and butter are very liable to be injured by the evil
272 eye, witchcraft, or other evil influences, and are therefore in need of many precautions.

704 272 A person who in the evening is going to carry milk from his own house or tent to that of somebody else, puts a little salt in it to protect it from jnun (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he drops into it a green grass-blade as a charm which will avert evil from the cows (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk is given to a neighbor he must not return the vessel empty but he must put something into it, for example, flour, or salt, or grass, or water; otherwise the house or tent of its owner will also become empty (Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Temsaman). But if a person takes milk out of his house or tent to give it to some one to drink, he must not take back there anything of it which is left, but should drink it himself or give it to some poor person or a dog, or pour it out in a place where nobody walks; should he take it back with him his cows, or his family as well, would have to suffer for it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, At Ubahti). If a person who is carrying milk meets another on the road, he must offer him a drink of it, and, as said above, the latter is obliged to accept the offer or, at least, to dip a finger, generally the little finger of the right hand, which is the cleanest, into the milk, putting it then into his mouth or touching his forehead with it. The offering of milk serves as a safeguard against [754] the evil eye, and will besides benefit the offerer in a more positive manner owing to the blessing pronounced on him by the recipient, which will make his animals thrive. But I have also heard that you should offer milk even to a person who does not know that you are [244] carrying such a thing; for if you conceal milk from him God will always conceal it from you (Andjra). The custom in question seems to prevail all over Morocco; but sometimes I was told that it is only observed in the morning (Ait Nder), or not between enemies (Ait Waryager). While gratuitous offering of milk is thus in certain circumstances prescribed by custom, the sale of milk is forbidden [432] (Temsaman): he who sells milk will not have much of it (Andjra), something bad will happen to his cows (Ulad Bu aziz), or he will leave his children destitute (Ait Warain). This rule is often broken, especially in towns where there are European residents; but during my stay in Marraksh I often found people unwilling to sell milk. A gratuity, however, is readily accepted for the milk offered to a stranger of note who passes through the village. When it is offered to the Sultan on horseback he dips the little finger of his right hand into it, wipes off the milk on the neck of his horse, and tells his amin,

784 272 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a person receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 296 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 262 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by selling bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

432 689

778 784 [783] [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 821 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

776
821 by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

784
233 [258] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasror, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti).
[252] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

776 [262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

776 against you by God and the religious law", so as to drive it away if it is a jenn or a saint, or to prevent the jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager). A single raven seen in the morning by a person who sets out on a journey is sometimes said to be a jenn (Temsaman).

[271] Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of jnun, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits [264] saying the bismillah before eating, jnun or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks [272] standing (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or eats with his left hand (Ait Waryager), jnun are eating or drinking with him.

[782] If a person when he is praying does not bow down so low that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, jnun or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

776 262 [263] [278] Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted and consequently in many cases a source of danger. As already said, a person who gets angry with raw meat in his hand is very liable to be struck by jnun. The same is the case with one who is beaten by such a person (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager).

No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shawia, Andjra, Ait Waryager, etc.) or, generally to the person who has given it; it would be bad for both parties (Ait Waryager).

If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market and his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them (Ait Waryager), since otherwise they will be hurt by jnun (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Sadden).

[843] [279] If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she aks, because otherwise the fetus (Ait Waryager) or the woman as well (Ulad Bu aziz) will die; should he refuse, her husband might complain of it to his governor, who would compel him to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for (ibid.).

776 264 If a person eats meat in the presence of some one else he must let him have a share of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden; for l-lham auwaj l-hanak, "meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it]", he will be made ill by jnun (Dukkala)). In explanation of these

776 264 practices and beliefs it was said that a person who sees meat and is not allowed to taste it gets angry and is therefore attacked by the jnun haunting the meat, and also that the jnun haunting the person may hurt him because they do not get the meat they are longing for. We must not expect very clear ideas with regard to haunted objects; yet both explanations well agree with the fact that some of the customs in question have particular reference to women and children, who are more than others exposed to the attacks of jnun. If a person offers another meat the latter must accept it, even though he does not want to eat it; only an enemy can refuse such an offer, since a refusal would be attended with very serious consequences for the person who offered it—he may even die (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Sadden). But I have also heard that the bas, or evil, will fall upon the person who refuses to accept the meat (Hiaina), or that both parties will have to suffer (Ait Waryager).

776 514 753 [280] Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for food are extremely haunted. The Ait Waryager say that there are Jewish jnun in the dung-heap (dazubait, in Arabic zebbala) of the household; and water-closets and drains are favourite abodes of jnun. In this connection some beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour may be mentioned in addition to those noticed before. When a person does his needs he should cover his head with his hayek or the hood (qobb) of his jellaba, he must look neither right nor left, and if he speaks his children will be qora, that is, affected with ringworm (Fez). If a boy does his needs on the road—nobody but a boy can do such a thing—he will have boils (Ulad Bu aziz); the Ait Waryager say that he must be a bastard (mmis rahram). If a person makes water on the road, the bas enters underneath his nails and and makes them diseased (Andjra) or he will have hangnails (Ait Waryager) or he will be forgetful (Fez).

776 372 513 [293] Jnun also haunt the fire and the fire-place (in Arabic l-kanun; in Berber takat or takkat [Sheliha], almssi [Ait Sadden], tahfurt n tmssi [Ait Warain], dagandort [Ait Waryager]). If a person sleeps with his head near the fireplace, he is very liable to be struck by them; some people say that he will never get well again, while according to others he will have a headache or be troubled with bad dreams.

776 372 [294] To throw out a brand from the fire-place when it is raining makes the angels blind (Hiaina); indeed, fire ought never to be thrown

776 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun
372 at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house,
776 namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold
784 of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis,
[585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor,
784 taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between
[264] asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water
776 which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to
272 prevent jnun from drinking of it.

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water,[1] since
776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama qalil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health". A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [307] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [307] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
784 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. — Analyst]

776 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] [304] Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

[305] For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[784] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[307] The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

[308] The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] [309] Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

776 jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke
789 of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

776 [313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsis-
778 tencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place
789 where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the baraka possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

776 [315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is
789 to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[342] [317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat
782] is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[312] [321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the
[782] place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

776 [324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person,
785 attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means
789 used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

776 755 789 [325] The Ait Waryager rub pounded bitter almonds (ddauz mazag) mixed with oil and salt on the affected part of the body of a person who is troubled with le-ryah.

[328] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from an illness caused by jnun, a scribe writes a charm for him on a loaf of bread or on a paper, which is then put in the open in a place where no animal can get at it; it is left there over night so that the stars shall shine on it, and on the next day the patient eats the loaf or hangs the paper round his neck.

776 781 [356] Among the Ait Waryager there are women, called dizuhriyin (sing. dazuhrit), who are likewise able to tell people about secret things and future events owing to the information they derive from jnun.

892 [361] A mahabba, or love-charm, may contain either the names of Muhammadan jnun, as well as something from the Koran, or the names of sayatin. This is a way in which such a charm is used: the man who wants to be loved by a certain woman goes to the neighbourhood of her house, puts the charm between the forefinger and middle finger of his right hand, and moves the fingers with the charm three times in the direction of the house, at the same time whispering the woman's name. Then he burns the charm between his fingers and goes away; and now she will love him (Ait Waryager). The following practice serves the purpose of overcoming a woman's objection to marrying a man who wants to marry her. A scribe writes a charm and keeps it in his house for seven days, fumigating it every evening with the smoke of pepper and saffron. During this period he must refrain from salted food, so that jnun—muminin—may speak to him. He then ties the charm to an olive tree with a hair of the woman, which has been rpocured by the man who wants to marry her. When the wind makes it flutter the woman will lose her senses, and she will remain in that condition until the scribe removes the charm from the tree and takes it to his house. As soon as this is done she not only comes to her wits again, but gets fond of the man, and [362] they soon become husband and wife (ibid.).

776 [396] A jenniya whose name is widely known in Morocco is the Gola. She is said to be very big and have the appearance of a woman, although she has also been seen with her extremities looking like the feet of a goat and with very much hair all over the body and the face.

776 She speaks gently to people and thus allures them to come to her, but at the same time she is very dangerous: when she has got hold of a person she kills and eats him.

[398] A jenniya of the same type is Sbuha, mentioned to me by a scribe from the Ait Waryager. She appears sometimes as a woman and at other times as a she-animal—a mule or donkey or bitch—or in any shape she pleases. Her breasts and lower lip are very long and pendant. She lives in some desert place, from which she comes and frightens people; and those who see her go mad . I have also heard of her at Tangier.

The Gola is the Gule or Gul mentioned in old Arabic literature and Arabic tales as the name for a female demon of a most dangerous disposition, who is fond of eating men; the word comes from a root signifying "to destroy", perhaps originally "to assault". She passes a solitary existence in the deserts, or lies in wait at some place where men are destined to perish; thus she appears to persons travelling alone in the night, and being supposed by them to be herself a traveller, lures them out of their way. She not only converses with the travellers, but sometimes prostitutes herself to them. She has the power of changing her shape. She may appear in the role of a young wife who gives a sleeping-draught to her husband, or as a girl weeping on the roadside. But usually she is described as an ugly woman with [399] long pendant breasts, which she sometimes throws back over her shoulders, or as a hideous monster with the feet of an ass or with hairy skin resembling that of a dog.

[404] Among the Berbers there is the belief in a female demon who lives in cemeteries. The Ait Waryager maintain that [405] every cemetery has a dajennit, or jenniya, who appears in the evening in the shape of a mule and therefore is called dasardund, or "mule". She is very seldom seen, but several persons have heard her voice, which is like that of an ordinary mule, and the rattling noise of something made of silver or iron which she carries round her neck. It is a bad omen to see or hear her: it means illness or madness or death.

[406] The most famous of all jnun is Sitan (s-Sitan, s-Sitan, s-Sitan, s-Seitan; I shall use the form Sitan, without the definite article, as I heard the name being used in Fez) or Iblis (Iblis, Yeblis), that is, Satan or the devil, who is [407] regarded as the chief of the evil jnun—the sayatin or ibales.

776 Sitan is everywhere, except in mosques. He may assume all sorts of shapes, hence he has gained the epithet abribas, or "vari-coloured". But at the same time a few definite bodily characteristics are given to him. He has seven hairs on his chin, and is blind in the right eye. It was put out by Siyidna Idris, the prophet, who was a tailor. Sitan once came to him with an egg in his hand and told him that God had shaped the world like an egg. Siyidna Idris was enraged by this blasphemous talk and answered, "No, God made the world like the eye of this needle, look here". When Sitan looked at the needle the prophet thrust it into his eye. An old scribe told me that Sitan has a penis on the inner side of his right thigh and a vulva on the inner side of his left; to produce offspring he needs therefore only to close his thighs, and this he does all day long, which explains why there are so many sayatin in the world. But from other scribes I hear that Sitan has a wife by name Sitanah (s-Sitana, s-Seitana) or Sa dana.

Sitan is the great tempter. He induces people to refrain from praying, from reciting the Koran, from fasting in Ramadan, from giving alms, and from fulfilling other duties prescribed by God. He makes men and women indulge in lustfulness, tempts brothers to have illicit intercourse with their sisters, causes quarrels between husbands and wives, incites men to fight and curse and kill each other. He finds pleasure in seeing people do what is hateful to God. He rejoices when a man dies unmarried, and weeps when a young man takes to himself a wife. If anybody pollutes a mosque or uses unclean liquid for his ablutions, or treats the Koran disrespectfully, he may be sure to gain Iblis' favour. Sitan is anxious to enter into the bodies of men through their [408] mouth or nostrils or ears or eyes, to induce them to do wrong. If a person behaves badly it is said that he has Sitan in him, fih s-sitan, or that he is himself Sitan; and bad people are called sayatin. They are even worse than Sitan: — S-sitan men j-jenn ula s-sitan men bnadem, or, L-wuswas ("the tempter") men l-jenn wala men bnadem.

776 Sitan makes himself unpleasant to men in many ways. He inflames
787 them with anger and inspires them with fear. He deceives them with false dreams. If a person omits saying his evening prayer his dreams will not be trustworthy, because they are sent by Sitan (Fez). In the first ploughing season dreams are not to be trusted (Shiadma, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder), because Sitan turns them topsy-turvy as the plough turns the earth (Tangier).

776 [409] Among the Ait Waryager, if a party of hunters are in vain
789 hunting for hares and rabbits, they all simultaneously throw the sticks
224 made of olive branches which they habitually use on such occasions on the ground, saying, Allah in'al ssitan rharami, "God damn Satan the villain", and spit; they thus flog the devil, who is evidently looked upon as the cause of their ill-luck, and spit on him so as to drive him away.

754 [414] Besides the jnun the evil eye is a very frequent cause of misfortune. It is said that "the evil eye owns two-thirds of the graveyard"—L-'ain 'anda t ult ayin fe l-mqabar; or that "one half of mankind dies from the evil eye"—N-nuss fe bnadem kaimut be l-'ain; or or that at any rate one-third of all living beings are killed by the same enemy. There is another saying, that "the evil eye empties the castles (or 'houses') and fills the graves"—L-'ain t uhli l-qosor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Fez), or L-'ain t hli d-duyor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Tangier). So firmly is the evil eye believed in, that if some accident happens at a wedding or any other feast where a person reputed to have an evil eye is present, it is attributed to him and he may have to pay damages; and if such a person looks at another's animal and it shortly afterwards dies, he is likewise held responsible for the loss.

[421] I have heard some people say that the eyes of Christians are not dangerous to Muhammadans (Andjra, Ulad Bu 'aziz) and vice versa (Andjra), but there are others who have expressed different views (Fez, Ait Waryager). It is believed that dogs and cats can injure a person who is eating by covetously looking at him. This is quite in accordance with a saying attributed to the Prophet himself.

[423] A person who is reputed to have an evil eye is generally shunned, and is not allowed to take part in feasts or gatherings. Among the Ulad Bu'aziz he must not pitch his tent near the tents of others. Among the Igliwa his neighbours sometimes move from the place; and among the Ait Waryager he may himself have to leave the village if he is only a poor man. Attempts are also made to escape the [424] danger by curing the evil-doer. For this purpose the bridle of a mule is put into his mouth and then pulled by somebody. At Fez I was told that three pulls will cure him. In Andjra it is believed that if he makes a noise he will get worse, whereas silence on his part is taken as a sign that he will no longer have the evil eye.

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust) [822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must [585] [292] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

796 754 301 789 [440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

527 enemy's grave after he has killed him, cuts off a piece of his liver or
578 tongue, and puts it into his own mouth, the vow being considered to
266 be fulfilled through this act of symbolical cannibalism. Other vows in the Rif are to swear to kill an enemy and then to drink his blood, or to roast his liver and throw it to the dogs; but the person who has taken the former vow, on killing the enemy, only puts some of his blood into his own mouth and afterwards spits it out.

627 In many instances the promissory oath is a sworn vow either to re-
578 frain from an act or from acts of a certain kind until a certain design has been accomplished, or to do a thing in case a certain promise is not fulfilled or a certain wish is not complied with. In those parts of the country in which the blood-feud is rife it frequently happens that a relative of the murdered man makes a vow, silent or audible, to refrain from having his head shaved (Jbala, many Arabs of the plains, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Shloh of the Great Atlas and Aglu), from washing or changing his clothes (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager), from having matrimonial intercourse (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager), from slaughtering an animal (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or from going to the market (Ait Waryager), until revenge has been taken. Among the Ait Waryager the women of the [516] family in such a case also refrain from wearing silver ornaments round the head or the neck and from painting themselves with henna, and boys and unmarried men, who otherwise make use of henna at the feast of the Mulud and at weddings, refrain from doing so if their father has taken a vow of this kind.

789 [518] Besides the conditional self-imprecation, or oath, there are other conditional curses, which are directed, not against the curser himself, but against somebody else. This is the case with the 'ar and, in many cases, the 'ahd.

The word 'ar literally means "shame", but in Morocco it is used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request. If a person says to another, Ha l-'ar alik, "Here is 'ar upon you", or Hada 'ar 'alike, "This is 'ar upon you", it implies that if the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the 'ar. A stronger expression is to represent the 'ar cast on a person as 'ar on God, the Prophet, or some saint with an implicit request to curse the person if he does not do what is asked of him.

789 [519] I have even heard the belief that it is dangerous for a person to induce another to grant a request by casting 'ar[1] on him, since in such a case the curse is likely to affect the petitioner and not the individual appealed to (Ait Waryager).

627 728 [522] A refugee places himself in the 'ar of a woman by touching her or sucking her breast (Hiaina, Ait Nder, Aglu, Igliwa)—by which he becomes as it were her son—or by sitting down in front of her or going behind her or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill (Ait Waryager); her husband or family will then have to help him, and if the woman with whom he seeks refuge is the pursuer's own wife, the persecution must cease.

[532] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager, if a manslayer who is pursued by the relatives of his victim takes refuge in somebody's house and seizes hold of the handmill, he is in the 'ar of the mistress of the household, who is the owner of the handmill; then the pursuers must stop firing and the inhabitants of the house are obliged to protect him and to take him in safety back to his own house. On the other hand, a person who has to avenge the death of a relative may induce the owner of a house in which he takes refuge to assist him in taking revenge by offering him some money, which, if accepted, is looked upon as 'ar. If one of their villages has been beaten in a blood-feud with another village and desires to make peace, some of its men go at night to the enemy's village with a sheep or a goat, which they kill outside the yard of the mosque and then throw into the yard. When the dead [533] animal is found there in the morning by the people of the village, they understand from whom it has come and send the schoolmaster to the enemy, who now expresses a wish to put an end to the hostilities. Some men from a third village are called to act as peace-makers, and blood-money—some thirty or forty dollars—is paid for the manslaughter which was the cuase of the feud. It may be added that the animal which was sacrificed as 'ar is only eaten by scribes who are not natives of the village in which it was killed, no native partaking of its meat. So also the Rifians have recourse to 'ar to put a stop to a war between two different tribes. Some men of the vanquished tribe (daqbilt) go before sunrise to one of the enemy's market-places, taking with them a cow or a bullock, which they slaughter there as 'ar. They then retire to a desolate place in the neighbourhood and remain there till they are fetched by

1 [For definition of 'ar see previous page.- Analyst]

627 one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was
728 made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, perhaps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

574 [537] The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the belief in the 'ar and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in the 'ar of his host, in accordance with the principle, "He who is in your house is in your 'ar".

[538] Among the Braber of the Ait Yusi and Ait Sadden, if two or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a guest (anbg i, plur. inbg aun), spending the night in the mosque if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; some one of the villagers brings food to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the fqi is not there, as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any person in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse. The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up; for l-'ain t at akul, "the eye is eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all.

842 [559] Among the Ait Waryager parents who have lost a child de-
765 posit its shirt at a shrine as 'ar in order that they shall be blessed with another child.

778 [561] Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in
696 the 'ar of God and Sidna Jebril, the master of mosques. Among the Ait Waryager, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a village is considered to be in the 'ar of the villagers and is therefore sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint will be unscrupulously killed.

2: Westermarck--49 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[570] CHAPTER XI

WITCHCRAFT—HOMŒOPATHIC INFLUENCES—THE TRANSFERENCE OF EVIL

754 Besides the evil eye and the curse there are other mysterious malign influences which are due to envy or ill-will, namely practices called shor (or shor), that is, witchcraft. The plural shor is much more frequently heard than the singular sahr or sehr, the latter of which is, to my knowledge, only used by scribes. A person who practises shor is called sahhar or sahhar (plur sahharin or sahhara), if a man, and sahhara or sahhara, if a woman. The Berbers have berberised forms of these words, such as sshor (Ait Waryager), sshor (Ait Sadden), or ssehar (Ait Warain); ssahhar (plur. ssahhara; Ait Waryager), ashhar (plur. ishharn; Ait Sadden), or ashhar (plur. ishharn; Igliwa); ssahhara (plur. ssahharat; Ait Waryager), tashhart (plur. tishharin; Ait Sadden), or tashhart (plur. tishharin; Igliwa).

[572] Among the Ait Waryager, if a bridegroom on the day of "the great henna", rhanni amaqran, is not sufficiently liberal to the scribes, it may happen that one of the latter takes revenge in the following manner. He writes something on the blade of a clasp-knife, goes into the room in which the bridegroom is sitting, with the knife hidden underneath his clothes, and shuts it up at the moment when he salutes him. He subsequently ties up the knife so that it shall remain well shut, buries it in a desolate place, and makes a cairn over it; and the husband will now be incapable of having intercourse with his wife. He will, however, be easily cured by inducing the mischiefmaker, whom he will soon find out, to undo the enchantment; but, of course, he has to pay for it. The guilty scribe digs up and unties the knife, writes something from the Koran on a paper, and gives the paper to the bewitched husband, who pours water over it and then drinks the water.

[578] Shor may also be practised without reference to any particular individual. If a band of scribes are in need of money, one of them feigns to be dead and the others cover him up with a blanket, sit down round him, and read over him as if he were dead. The effect of this sham funeral is that there will soon be a death which will bring them

754 profit; a funeral is welcome to the scribes, it is called their wedding (Ait Waryager). For the same purpose they knock the bier which is kept in the mosque, telling it to get up to work: —Qum t hdem 'ala rasak; and they believe that somebody will die within three days (Andjra). Among the Ait Waryager they beat the bier three times at night, saying, Kar athadmed ya rmahmer, "Get up to work, O bier". And when they want a feast they take the empty palmetto or esparto mat (dasfirt) on which they keep their food when [579] they have a meal and give it a good beating, so that it shall help them to what they want (Ait Waryager). It is also shor when a person for wicked and selfish purposes tries to stop or prevent rain, when needed by the community, by ploughing with two cats "yoked" to a toy-plough.

787 [580] If a person accidentally bites his tongue while eating, he will eat meat (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If a man spills food (Andjra), or gets a piece of a straw or some other trifle (Ait Waryager), into his beard, he will have a guest.

832 [581] At Fez I heard of the following methods by which a man may strengthen his sexual power. He puts some chick-peas (hammos) into water and, when they have got soft and swollen, drinks the water; this, I was told, makes him so strong that he in one night might even deflower seventy-two virgin cows. Or he eats on three successive mornings before breakfast shelled almonds pounded with cinnamon and m mixed with honey, which is said to produce a lasting effect. Elsewhere also chick-peas (Tangier, where they are called hommes) and almonds (ibid., Ait Waryager) are used for the same purpose; and so are earth-nuts (biyanat or kaukau; Tangier Fez) and beans (Ait Waryager). The efficacy attributed to them is of course due to their suggestive shape.

585 832 At weddings there are many homœopathic rites intended to ensure or facilitate the consummation of the marriage, which is not surprising considering the frequency of enchantments wrought for the contrary purpose. Among the Ait Waryager, before the arrival of the bride, it is the custom for the bridegroom's mother to place in the yard a mug (daqdeht) upside down with a so-called didli (an ornament consisting of dollar and half-dollar pieces threaded on a string of horsehair and worn by women round the forehead) and an egg on the top of it, and for the bridegroom to break both the mug and the egg with a kick, as I was told, "to destroy the evil", which undoubtedly meant any

585 possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage; it is
232 significant that the bride puts on the didli on the morning after her first intercourse withher husband.

787 [586] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person gets a sty some
755 woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

787 An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic in-
843 fluences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Warain). At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (sfarjel) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere, is found the belief that if a pregnant woman [587] (Hiaina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Ait Waryager), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birthmark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Ait Sadden).

787 [590] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the
777 sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [593] Rezq (razq, rezq) means all sorts of good things contributing
356 to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a per-
[312] son cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own rezq (Fez).

You may also sweep away your rezq. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Hiaina, Dukkala, Tangier, Andjra, Tsul, Ait Waryager), or even after 'asar (At Ubahti); and the Rifians of Temsaman consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon.

[595] Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. settaba; Berb. tasttabt [Ait Warain], tastta [Temsaman], disagwust [Ait Waryager]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Ait Waryager).

777 356 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 291 789 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion. If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 576 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember [261] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth [272] (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-871 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a 754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events 857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect" — alam n-nbi waqaf, —that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

787 have a long life; this belief is particularly prevalent in connection with the sacrifice at the Great Feast, but it also applies to the slaughter of animals on other occasions (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager). So also, if you throw something on the ground and it falls in an upright position you will have a long life—your "luck remained standing"; and the same is the case if a match continues to burn after you have thrown it away (Tangier). If you throw down a stone which you find on the road you will become ill; the idea is evidently that you will have to lie down like the stone (Ait Waryager).

789 753 [604] In other cases the spoken word is supposed to produce a magical effect by communicating an evil from which the speaker suffers to the person spoken to. It is a general belief that if a sick person speaks to another about his illness the other one will become ill, unless special precautions are taken. Before he speaks of it he should say, Smah li ma skit 'alik, leh la iwurrik bas, "Pardon me, I did not complain to you, may God let you have no evil"; and if no such apology is made the person spoken to says or whispers, Basak f rasak ma t ski si 'aliya, "May your evil be on your head, do not complain to me" (Andjra, Tangier). Or if a person complains of being ill in another person's presence, the latter says, Ski 'ala t-treq, dzidek l-hareq, "Complain to the road, may it increase for you the pain"; or Jnun l-marsa temma yersa, "[Complain to] the jnun of the harbour, there it (that is, the illness) will remain" (Fez); or, "Complain to the stones, may God increase it (that is, the illness) for you" (Ait Waryager).

[606] If a sick person sells his clothes his illness will be transferred to the person who buys and wears them, but if he gives them away in charity the recipient will not get his illness, although he himself will get rid of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

789 [607] The death to which a person is exposed may, as it were, be transferred to an animal by slaughtering it. The killing of a fowl on the birth of a child is expressly said to safeguard its life by removing its bas, and the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat in connection with the naming of the child serves a similar purpose.

[608] So also the accidental death of an animal is supposed to a save its owner or his family from misfortune (Dukkala, Andjra, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu).

787 A scribe from the Ait Wayager, however, assured me that to break
789 a stick is an evil omen for its owner; and to break something behind the back of an unwelcome person when he leaves is a method of preventing his return, which will be as impossible as the restoration of the broken object (Tangier).

2: Westermarck--56 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[1]

VOL. II

CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS MAGICAL INFLUENCES AND OMENS—DREAMS

789 In the last chapter we noticed many instances of the belief that
787 qualities, acts, and events have a mysterious power of producing more
777 or less similar effects. In other cases of magic causation the effect is more indefinite or more unlike its cause. Yet even then we very frequently find the law of association of ideas by similarity operating in combining agreeable qualities or events with agreeable, and disagreeable qualities or events with disagreeable, consequences. And there is a parallel combination in the case of omens, which are often hardly distinguishable from magical influences.

777 [7] If a man meets an old woman on his way he should say, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate"; and if he meets her in the morning when he sets out on a journey he should not proceed on that day but turn back (Ait Waryager). It is also unlucky to meet a widow or a barren woman in the morning (Igliwa), and so it is to meet a widow in the evening as well (Ait Waryager).

585 [8] It is bad fal to meet a bridal procession on the road (Shawia,
787 Andjra, Ait Waryager). In Andjra it is believed that if two bridal processions meet, one of the brides will die, being affected by the other one's bas; and among the Ait Waryager it is the custom for the women of both parties to throw stones at each other to drive away the evil. At Tangier I was told that it is bad fal if two 'ammariyat (more often called a'mamer), or bridal boxes, meet, or if anybody meets one in the morning, because the 'ammariya means a bier. But this explanation cannot apply to the tribes mentioned above, among whom a woman's bier is not made to resemble an 'ammariya or, as in the Shawia and among the Ait Waryager, 'ammariyat are not used at weddings.

585 [9] But although a bride is looked upon with some suspicion and
581 a wedding is not without its dangers, benign magic virtue is on the other hand ascribed both to bride and bridegroom, and the wedding is a blessed occasion from which those who take part in it and even

581 the community at large expect various benefits. For marriage is a
585 good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at any rate join in the feast (Ulad [10] Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager), and it is bad fal if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good fal if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the bas, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad fal to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shawia). So also the contrary belief that it is good fal to meet a funeral (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the bas; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier).

783 Manslayers are unclean.

755 [11] Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for stinging pain, in Arabic called nahsa, nogza, bab, or biban, among the Igliwa nnahst or nnogzt, among the Ait Warain tauwurt, among the Ait Waryager dauwort. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh.

783 [12] The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the
775 blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Ait
682 Waryager an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell.
884 Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken
682 anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes

884 and wearing a new bag (dajbirt); and he wears it not on his left side,
682 as usual, but on his right, to announce to all the people what he has done and to show that now he is a man. This is done whether the homicide took place in revenge or not. But though ordinary homicide
682 is admired, it is considered very bad to kill a scribe without sufficient reason because of his knowledge of the Koran, and it is also considered bad, though not in the same degree, to kill an unoffending shereef on account of his holy parentage; and if a man who has committed either of these cribes slaughters an animal, its meat will be difficult to digest. This indicates that the taboos imposed on manslayers have something to do with the moral side of the matter. And the same is obvious from the general view that it is neither sinful nor polluting to kill in war.

In other cases also wrongdoing contains magic energy productive
777 of evil.
789 If the first person you meet in [13] the morning when you set out
826 on a journey is one who does not observe his daily prayers, the best thing you can do is to turn back (Ait Waryager).

In Dukkala it is said that if a one-eyed person, a perfectly bald-headed person, and an albino meet in a boat it will not move.

The Ait Waryager say that the same will happen if a man who is blind, one who is bald, and one who has a sore under-lip meet on board a vessel.

[14] It is good fal for a man to have much hair on his chest (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager), evidently because it suggests strength; such hair is called s-sa'r de s-sbo'a, or "lion's hair".

777 [17] In Andjra, if anybody who is carrying something black meets
822 another person, he must put down what he is carrying while the other
789 one is passing; otherwise the latter will not pass at all but turn back, lest he should have some misfortune on that day. A similar custom prevails among the Shloh of Aglu and Glawi and among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; the person who is carrying the black object says when he puts it down, Hasak, or if he addresses more than one person, Hasakum, "With your permission", to which the answer is, 'Azk allah (in Rifian 'azzek allah), or if the person to whom it is said is a woman, 'Azkem allah, corresponding to our "pray".

789 [18] There are other cases in which people make use of the colour
822 black for their own benefit. It is used as a charm against the evil eye,
755

789 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathie magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough. Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

789 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it by having a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops [514] at once and makes water on them.

777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Ait Waryager).

825 [27] Among the Ait Waryager a fox is styled si Ali, as though it were a scribe, other persons of that name being called 'Allus. They say that the fox was once a scribe, which is indicated by its Arabic name t a'leb—a confusion between t a'leb and taleb.

777 [30] There are auspicious words as well as inauspicious ones. It is
787 a good omen for a person who sets out on a journey in the morning to
192 hear the words mbarak, "blessed", or mes'ud, "lucky"; and if persons who are intent on robbery at night hear either of these words, which are also used as names for people, cried out, they are encouraged by it to carry out their evil intentions (Dukkala). The Ait Waryager regard it as good fal for one who starts on a journey in the morning to hear the names 'Absram ('Abdsslam) or Moh (Muhammed), but as bad fal to hear 'Esa or Musa. In other cases omens are drawn from words or statements which are by themselves neither lucky nor unlucky, but may become good or bad fal in accordance with the circumstances in which they are heard. If a person is speaking of something which he intends to do, and a stranger is at the same moment heard saying something which might be applied to the object of the conversation, then that which is said is regarded as fal. For example, if he says that he is going to travel or to marry, and somebody is heard saying "No", he should refrain from doing it (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [32] If a person starts on a journey or goes to the market and finds that he has left something behind or is called back, he should not turn back, or if he does he should not make another start on that day (Shawia, Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager) or he should eat a little flour before he sets out afresh (At Ubahti); otherwise he will have some misfortune. Hence if some one at home notices the thing left behind he should not ask the other one to return, but call out to make him stop and then take the thing to him.

To do something which is contrary to custom, and therefore improper, is followed by misfortune and, as we have noticed above, is often associated with the activity of [33] jnun or the devil. It is bad fal to light a candle or a lamp in the daytime (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[292] It is likewise bad to wear a garment with the inside out—such a
[781] thing is only done by Jews. Of him who does it people say that "his religion is reversed" (Ait Waryager).

It is bad to walk with one slipper only (Igliwa); it is said that he who does so is like the devil, who has only one foot (Andjra), or like a one-eyed person (Ait Waryager).

777 [264] It is bad fal to eat or drink standing, to drink water from one hand only instead of drinking from both hands united (Andjra, Hiaina), and to drink with the mouth [34] in the water like an animal (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager); if you drink in the latter manner the water will go out through your anus.

[787] If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, his father or grandfather or some other relative of his will die (Ait Waryager).

777 784 The house will also be deserted by the angels (Tangier). It is forbidden to whistle in a mosque or on a threshing-floor, and bad fal to do it on the road (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager). But it is the 533 custom for the shepherd to whistle; he thereby drives away evil influences from the animals (Hiaina, Ait Waryager). From a passage in the Koran it is understood that whistling was in the days of ignorance one of the idolatrous rites in the Meccan temple, and it is therefore generally held to be unlawful for pious Moslems.

787 827 [35] The twitches of muscles and itchings are interpreted as omens, which are in most cases considered good or bad according as they occur on the right or the left side of the body. Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow (Hiaina, Tangier, Aglu, Igliwa, Ait Waryager).

According to a scribe from the Ait Waryager, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow.

[36] If the sole of one of your feet (Hiaina, Igliwa, Ait Waryager) or of your right foot (Dukkala, Shawia, Aglu) itches you will travel.

Some people also believe that you will travel if you feel itching between the toes (Ait Waryager).

777 [40] There are magical influences of many kinds in the various days of the week. I have previously spoken of beliefs relating to Friday, the holy day of the Muhammadan world, as also of the abstinence from work on Sundays observed by the women in some Berber tribes. Sunday is generally considered the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some places even

777 the only lucky day for it, being the first day of the week. In several tribes the reaping also begins on that day, and in some tribes the threshing. In fact, it is a good day for the beginning of any enterprise (Tangier). It is a favourite day for the [41] fetching of the bride to her new home (Tangier, Andjra, Igliwa, Ait Tameldu, Aglu), matrimonial intercourse being very auspicious on the night between Sunday and Monday (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); it is said that a boy conceived on that night, or on the eve of Friday, will become a mujahed (Hiaina).

Monday is also in some tribes considered a favourable day for the commencement of the autumn ploughing, reaping, and threshing. The Ait Waryager maintain that it is a good day for the beginning of any kind of work. Both among them and the Ait Sadden it is one of the two most suitable days for the fetching of the bride.

[42] Tuesday is in Andjra, like Friday, one of the days chosen for the commencement of the sowing of maize and durra. Among the Ait Waryager it is a good day for visiting saint-shrines.

[43] The Ait Waryager consider Wednesday, like Monday, to be a good day for beginning work of any description.

[44] Thursday is in some tribes held to be a favourable day for the commencement of the autumn ploughing, the reaping, and the threshing; the At Ubahti consider it even a better day than Sunday for the beginning of the ploughing. It is a very suitable day for the fetching of the bride (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Igliwa, Ait Tameldu), the eve of Friday being an excellent time for [45] matrimonial intercourse (Fez, Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Igliwa).

It is a good day for blood-letting (Fez, Tangier, Igliwa) and shaving (Ait Waryager).

[46] On the whole, Saturday, like Tuesday, is an evil day. It is held unfortunate to be born on a Saturday (Fez, Tangier, and elsewhere), though some people are of the very opposite opinion (Ait Waryager).

787 Sometimes a disagreeable dream is looked upon as a punishment. A person who has neglected his prayers is liable to dream that he is bitten or persecuted by a snake (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[47] If you dream of bees you should offer food to the scribes in the mosque, the bees representing the Koran (Ait Waryager).

If you dream of a dog somebody is speaking badly about you, barking as it were (Ait Waryager).

787 [48] Again, if you mention to anybody a good dream you have had it will lose its efficacy (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

Sometimes you must yourself do something to make your dream effective. If you dream of having connection with a woman of whom you are fond and then turn your cloak—a Moor generally sleeps in his cloak—she will also dream of you and the love will be mutual (Ait Waryager).

[49] If you dream that one of your teeth falls out, some relative of yours will die (Andjra)—a child or unmarried young person if it is a foretooth and a grown-up person if it is a molar (Tangier); or in the former case a relative will die and in the latter an enemy (Ait Waryager).

To dream of eating fresh figs (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) or grapes (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Nder) means rain, because they are juicy; or to dream of eating grapes means rain if they are black, and sunshine if they are white (Ait Waryager).

If you dream of eating seksu, you will have much corn (ibid.); or your children will have smallpox, professedly on account of the resemblance between seksu and smallpox (Hiaina); or there will be fighting with the firing of guns (Ait Waryager), probably because seksu makes one think of powder. If you dream that you eat, or that somebody gives to you, durra or bread made of it, you will have a lot of boils (ibid.).

[50] If you dream that you receive silver money you will have much barley, which has the colour of silver, and if you dream that you receive copper coins you will have much wheat, which has the colour of copper (Ait Nder); but according to other interpretations copper coins in a dream mean poverty (Hiaina, Andjra), and silver means wealth (Ait Waryager).

If you see a camel in your dream some [51] member of your family will die, the camel representing a bier (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa).

If a person dreams of riding a black horse he will be put in prison (Dukkala), the black colour being bad fal in dreams as otherwise (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Dukkala [black grapes or figs]).

If you dream of eating meat you will speak badly about somebody on the next day, "eating" him as it were (Andjra); but I have also heard that although it is a bad foreboding to dream of eating raw meat, it is good fal to dream of eating meat which has been cooked (Ait Waryager).

787 [52] If you dream of being drowned while swimming, some evil will befall you (Tangier). Otherwise it is good fal to dream of water, because "there is safety in water" (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager).

To dream of fire is bad (ibid., Ait Waryager).

Some people say that he who dreams of a Christian will have to suffer from hunger (Ait Waryager).

[53] In many cases the interpretations of dreams do not follow the rule of homœopathic magic but are based on an association of ideas by contrast; in other words, the dream is supposed to foretell or cause an event which is more or less contrary to that which is dreamed of. That dreams so often go by contraries, in Morocco and elsewhere, is no doubt connected with the fact that night is the opposite of day.

Thus if you dream that you or somebody else dies or is dead, you or that person will have a long life (Shawia, Dukkala, Hiaina, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Nder, Igliwa). To dream of sorrow or weeping means happiness, and to dream of happiness or laughter means sorrow (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder, Igliwa). To dream of a funeral is good fal (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager), but to dream of a wedding is bad fal (Hiaina); somebody in the tent or house where the wedding is celebrated will die (Ulad Bu'aziz, Dukkala, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Nder).

[54] To see a Jew in dream is according to some people a bad omen (Tangier), but according to others a good one because the Jew represents a saint (Hiaina, Ait Waryager); and if you dream that he gives you something, a saint will give it to you (Ait Nder). If you dream of eating sweetmeats, honey, or raisins you will quarrel with somebody (Ait Waryager), which is the opposite of "sweetness".

To dream of cats is bad fal, and so it is to dream of fowls (Ait Waryager).

The belief in a certain interpretation of a dream needs not be shaken by facts which are contrary to it. There are false dreams as well as true dreams. Sitan constantly deceives people with false dreams. If a person does not observe his religion, and particularly if he omits saying his evening prayer (Fez), his dreams are sent by the devil and therefore not to be trusted; whereas the dreams of the religious man who never neglects his prayers are true (Tangier,

787 Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder, Aglu). In the /55/ first ploughing season, however, dreams are generally untrustworthy, because Sitan then turns them topsy-turvey as the plough turns the earth.

777 [58] Muharram, the first month of the Muhammadan year, is in
805 Morocco called s-shar de l-'asur (l-asor, l-'asur), "the month of the
796 'Asur", or simply l-'asur (l-'asor, l-'asur) or, among the Berbers, by some Berberised form of the same word. It has derived this name from the feast on the tenth day of the month. This day, called nhar (or yaum) 'asura ('asora, 'asura) or nhar l-'asur, is practically the Muhammadan New Year's day. Much less notice is taken of the first day of the month; but from a ritual point of view the first ten days sometimes form a period by itself. Townspeople call the first day ras l'am, whereas among country-folks this term is used for the first day of the solar year.

777 The month of the 'Asur is rich in magical qualities. According to
796 Sidi Halil the ninth and particularly the tenth day are blessed days, and on the latter many sacred or wonderful events are said to have taken place in the past. In Morocco baraka is also generally ascribed to those days. Magic, good or evil, is extensively practised on the 'asura [59] day and on the preceding night (lilt 'asura), which is said to favour the witches.

[73] I was told that among the Ait Waryager the farmers give on the 'asura day a tenth part of their sheep and goats to the scribes as zzka ra'sor, believing that there otherwise would be no baraka in their flocks.

[75] The Ait Waryager consider it very meritorious to hoe the ground on their fields or in their gardens on the 'asura day, even though it be only a little, but they do no other agricultural work on that day. The schools are generally, I believe, closed for three days.

777 [76] Among the Ait Temsaman no brooms must be made on the
784 'asura day. It is necessary to refrain from sleeping in the daytime on
796 that day (Tangier, Ait Warain); he who does not observe this rule will become ill or be sleepy throughout the year (Ait Waryager).

In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager there is a similar taboo of longer duration, lasting for the first ten days of the month; the latter maintain that a child conceived in that period would be deaf and dumb, and they consider it advisable to refrain from sexual intercourse even till the end of the month.

777 Among various tribes no hen is said to be allowed to sit on her eggs
784 in this month, because if chicks were hatched during it they would
796 drink of the water with which some dead body has been washed—in other words, somebody in the house or tent would die (Hiaina, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager). But I have also heard another explanation of this taboo, namely, that the chicks would die.

765 Various mourning taboos have to be observed in the month of the
585 'Asur. It is a widespread rule that there must be no weddings during it (Fez, Tangier, Andjra, Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

[77] The women refrain from the use of henna on the 'asura day (Bni (Bni 'Aros), or on the first three (Tsul) or ten (Tangier, Amanuz) days of the month, or on other days as well (Fez, Ait Waryager).

[78] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager, however, it is popularly believed that the Prophet died and was buried on this day, and that it is he who is mourned for, especially by his descendants, the shereefs.

796 [96] There is one night in Ramadan which, according to Islam, is of much more importance than any other, namely, lailatu l-qadr, "the night of power", on which the Koran is said to have been sent down to the Prophet. It is of more value than a thousand months. On this night "Gabriel comes down in a crowd of angels, supplicates and asks grace for every servant, sitting or standing in remembering God". He who then says the prayers "with faith and the hope of reward shall be pardoned of all his past sins". This night is one of the last ten nights of Ramadan, but its exact date[97] has not been discovered by any but the Prophet himself and some of the Companions. A tradition fixes it to be one of the odd nights—the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, or 29th, —and it is generally believed to be the 27th, that is, the night preceding the 27th day.

Among the Arabs of Dukkala and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager the whole Koran is likewise recited during that night.

The Ait Waryager slaughter a number of goats and eat the meat, with oil and bread, in the mosque in the course of the night; this is the only evening in Ramadan when persons other than scribes take a meal in the mosque, because they are afraid of going out in the dark on account of the blood-feud, which is always rife among them. Those who have milch-animals take some dry palmetto leaves to the mosque and put them in the rmahrab where the imam is praying,

796 leaving them there until the whole Koran has been recited; the leaves are subsequently made into ropes, by which they suspend their churns in order to impart baraka to the butter.

796 736 [99] When Ramadan has come to an end and the dawn of day no longer is a signal to abstain from food and drink, the breaking of the taboo is to be preceded by a rite which [100] obviously serves the purpose of removing the danger attending it. Sidi Halil says that it is an obligation on the faithful to give special alms, called fitr, to the poor on this occasion, by preference on the first evening of the festival following upon the month of Ramadan or at the dawn of the next day. These alms should consist of those food-stuffs which the giver habitually uses; their amount should be proporionate to the number of dependents comprised in the household; and the quantity of grain to be given should be one sa'—that is, slightly less than half a bushel—for each Muhammadan member of it. It is said in Morocco that if no fetra, as these alms are called there, is given, Ramadan will be hanging between heaven and earth.

796 [101] Among the Ait Waryager the fetra of a suckling is set aside on the previous evening. Among these Berbers the fetra consists of all kinds of dry vegetable food which they have been eating during Ramadan, including even a few almonds, raisins, and other dried fruits, if they happen to have them in the house. It is measured out with a so-called rmudd ne nnbi, made either of wood (in which case it has been brought from Mecca) or of earthen ware; and absent and [102] deceased members of the household are also remembered on this occasion. The fetra is afterwards taken to the mosque and presented to the fqi, except a small portion of it which is left in the house to be given to poor people and schoolboys calling for it. The men who carry the fetra to the mosque also bring with them some food for breakfast, which is partaken of in common by all the men and bigger boys of the village. The fqi gives one portion of the fetra of his own household to the schoolboys in the mosque, while the other portion is distributed to the poor people calling at his house. Nobody can, of course, eat of the fetra of his own household.

[103] On the tenth day of the month Du 'l-hijjah, the last month of the year, the Muhammadan world celebrates its yearly sacrificial feast, known under different names in different Moslem countries. In Morocco the Arabic-speaking population call it l-'id l-kbir, "the

796 Great Feast", and the Berber-speaking tribes by names such as l'id mqqorn (Amanuz), l'id amqqran (Ait Warain), l'id amqqoran (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), or r'id amqqran (Temsaman), meaning the same. In this case, as in the case of the 'asur, the mulud, and the 'id s-sger, the name of the feast is popularly given to the whole month in which it is celebrated.

796 302 789 [107] An important preparation for the feast is the use of henna, which I have found among all the country people of whose customs I have obtained information, with the exception of the Rifians of Temsaman; and, as has been said above, henna is used not merely as a cosmetic but as a means of protection against evil influences.

Grown-up or married men abstain from it altogether (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Sadden, Aglu), or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers (At Ubahti), or dip the little finger of their right hand (Dukkala) or its nail (Ait Waryager) into it.

796 [231] [108] Greyhounds have henna applied to their foreheads (Ait Yusi), or to their chests and feet as well (Hiaina, Ait Sadden); while the Ait Waryager, who are great hunters, smear it on the feet of the greyhounds only, and on no other animal, on account of its being scarce among them.

[110] Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make seksu, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish damreqt, a kind of porridge made of dried beans.

[112] Among the Ait Waryager the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

796 783 [116] Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly subjected to certain forms of purification or sanctification.

[117] The At Ubahti put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal; the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman some yeast. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and henna is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Hiaina told me that it takes away the bas from the house.

796 782 [120] It is the rule that as soon as the animal is killed its head and feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, At Ubahti). In Dukkala it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances it is only partaken of [252] on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), as also the heart (Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), are partaken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz) and the feet (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Amanuz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Ait Sadden), and the head and th the feet on the first (ibid.) or the third (Ait Waryager). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day.

[262] [121] Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel.

[251] What remains of the meat is made into qaddid (or geddid [Ulad Bu 'aziz], lqaddid [Igliwa], rqaddid [Temsaman, Ait Waryager], tiqqaddidin [Ait Sadden], asawar [Ait Yusi], tagarin [Aglu], tifiyi iqorn [Amanuz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips.

[735] A portion of the qaddid is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following 'asura. Among the Ait Waryager some qaddid must be preserved till the following mulud.

[i e - sacrificial, - Analyst]

796 782 755 [122] The holiness of the victim is also utilised in other ways. Magic propensities are ascribed to its blood.

A very common custom is for persons who have chapped skin on the feet, or who want to prevent the skin from being chapped, to dip them into the blood fallen on the ground (Dukkala, Ait Mjild, Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

The blood of the sacrificed animal is frequently used as a means of keeping off or expelling jnun. Among the Ait Waryager it is drunk by persons who are troubled with such spirits; whilst, as a precaution against them, the corners of the walls of the room inhabited by the owner of the sacrificed animal are sprinkled with its blood.

796 782 [123] The gall-bladder of the sacrificed animal is commonly hung up inside the house or tent, often over the fire-place; there is much baraka in it.

Among the Ait Waryager the person who removes the gall-bladder from the slaughtered animal throws it into the yard (azqaq), where the animals are kept, after first spitting on it.

[124] The right shoulder-blade is often preserved at least till the following Great Feast, being sometimes hung up in the tent or house, and sometimes buried among the corn which is kept there (Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager); but there are people who thus preserve it only in case it has been found to contain a good omen.

[125] Among the Ait Waryager slices cut from the horns are thrown into the fire when a snake is seen inside the house, the smoke being supposed to drive it away.

[126] In various Berber tribes (Ait Nder, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager) the barley which is found in the stomach of the sacrificed sheep is dried and afterwards sown in a special place in the field. The grain of the crop resulting from it is called "the barley of the Prophet" and regarded as holy. It is either sown separately or together with other seed, or, if there is much of it, partly used for food.

787 [128] Very commonly fortune is read in the right shoulder-blade of the sacrificed sheep (Fez, Tangier, Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Amanuz, Aglu, Demnat, Igliwa, and other Shloh of the Great Atlas).

The shoulder-blade is supposed to tell whether the year will be good or bad, whether there will be much rain or drought, whether the food will be cheap or dear, whether the Sultan will be strong or

787 powerless, whether the Christians will trouble the country or leave it in peace, and whether the people will keep in good health or there will be many deaths. As to the manner in which this kind of divination is practised, none of the many Arab and Berber scribes whom I have asked about it has been able to tell anything beyond the general statement that it is done much in the same way as is the fortune-reading in the blood. But I presume that it must be more complicated, as
[791] there are only special persons, called kett afa (sing. kett af, from kt ef, "shoulder"), who are versed in it.

[159]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH CERTAIN DATES OF THE SOLAR YEAR

796 While the Muhammadan year is a lunar year, the Moors are also
805 familiar with the Julian calendar, especially in country places, where the principal occupations of the people are regulated by the seasons. They call the months by their Latin names, more or less modified. January is called yennayer or yennair (Fez), nnair (Ait Sadden, Igliwa), inneir (Aglu); February, yebrayer (Fez), hobrair (Ait Sadden), kobrair (Ait Warain), brair (Igliwa); March, mars (Fez), mars (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); April, yebril (Fez), ibril (Ait Sadden), ibril (Igliwa); May, miyyu (Fez), maiyu (ibid., Ait Sadden), maiyu (Igliwa); June, yunyuh (Fez), yunyuh (Ait Sadden), nunyuh (Igliwa); July, yulyuz (Fez), yulyuz (Ait Sadden), lulyuz (Igliwa); August, gust (Fez), gust (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); September, sut anbir (Fez), sutenbir (Ait Sadden), sutanbir (Igliwa); October, kt ubar (Fez), htobar (Ait Sadden), ktobar (Ait Warain), ktubr (Igliwa); November, nouwanbir (Fez), nuwenbir (Ait Sadden), nuwanbir (Igliwa); December, dujanbir (Fez), dujenbir (Ait Sadden), dujanbir (Igliwa).

The solar year is divided into twenty-eight manazil (sing. menzla), each containing thirteen days, with the exception of the jebha (18th-31st July), which contains fourteen. [160] The first menzla is n-natah (in the written language of the scribes n-natah), from 23rd March to 4th April. The following ones are l-butain (5th-17th April); t uriya (t-turiya), 18th-30th April; d-dabaran, 1st-13th May; l-haq'a, 14th-26th May; l-han'a, 27th May-8th June; d-dira', 9th-21st June; n-net ra (n-natirah), 22nd June-4th July; tarfah, 5th-17th July;

796 805 jebha, 18th-31st July; l-harat an (l-haratan), 1st-13th August; s-sarfa, 14th-26th August; l-'auwa, 27th August-8th September; s-samak, 9th-21st September; l-gafar (l-gafar), 22nd September-4th October; j-janaban, 5th-17th October; l-iklil, 18th-30th October; l-qalb, 31st October-12th November; s-saula, 13th-25th November; n-nu'aim, 26th November-8th December; sa'd l-belda, 9th-21st December; d-dabeh, 22nd December-3rd January; sa'd bla' (sa'd l-bula'), 4th-16th January; sa'd s'oud (sa'd s-su'ud), 17th-29th January; l'ahbiya, 30th January-11th February; farg l-moqaddam, 12th-24th February; farg l-mohhar (farg l-mu'ahhar), 25th February-9th March; batna l-hot, 10th-22nd March.

The year has four seasons (fosol, sing. fasl). Spring (fasl ar-rbe'a) commences on 15th February, summer (s-saif) on 17th May, autumn (l-hrif) on 17th August, winter (s-set wa) on 16th November. The forty days between 12th December and 20th January inclusive are called liali, and the forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive are called s-smaim or s-smaim.

To various dates of the solar year magical qualities are ascribed, and this leads to the observance of many positive rites and taboos.

796 [162] The Ait Waryager call the last day of the old year and the first day of the new imgaren, "sheikhs".

[166] The Bni 'Aros eat siyoha on New Year's eve and sfen j on the next day. The Ait Waryager eat eggs and wheaten bread on the former occasion and seksu with fowl on the following evening.

[169] Among the Ait Waryager women who have cows and are in the habit of making butter go on New Year's day to a scribe and procure from him a charm which he writes with a needle on a bullet; this charm is hung on the wooden hook (ashum) from which the earthenware churn (aqasror) is suspended, and is left there till the following New Year as a protection against witchcraft.

[765] [735] [174] The Ait Waryager, again, take on New Year's morning iuzan, or porridge, to the graves of their deceased relatives and distribute it in charity to children and poor people.

[178] At the same time I have also found quite the contrary belief, that it serves as a protection against snakes and scorpions by making them blind if it touches their eyes (Tetuan, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Tsul, Ait Sadden) or even killing them (Tetuan, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain), whereas if there is no rain in the nisan their eyes are said to become like fisan (hoes) and their mouths like kisan (cups).

796 [182] The 24th of June, or Midsummer day (Old Style), is called in Arabic l-'ansara (l-ansra); and in Berber l'ansart (Shloh, Ait Warain), l'ansart (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), or t'ainsa (Temsaman).

On that day, or sometimes the evening before, smouldering fires are made in many different parts of Morocco.

[185] On the evening of Midsummer day the Ait Waryager make in their yards fires with poplar (asafsaf) leaves, pennyroyal, and barley straw, over which the people leap.

[187] Besides smoke and fire customs, water ceremonies are [188] frequently practised at Midsummer.

[515] [189] Among the Ait Waryager the people take their bath before sunrise, and those who refrain from doing so are supposed to remain unclean.

796 245 [190] "O God, pray for the sake of the Prophet, the chosen one; dust is better than male figs".

The last-mentioned phrase alludes to the custom, found at Midsummer in various northern tribes (Fahs, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), of hanging bunches of male figs in the female trees. This is said to prevent the fruit from dropping or to make it good, although it really serves as a means of fertilising the female figs by the aid of a very small hymenopter, Blastophaga grossorum, which lays its eggs in the interior of the figs. I was told by a scribe from the Rif that one insect is sufficient to make forty figs good by going in and out of them. The male figs hung in the female trees are wrapped up in straw, esparto (ariy; Ait Waryager), or pennyroyal (flaiyu; Andjra), the smell of which is considered good for the trees. The Rif Berbers and Andjra mountaineers also make a few cuts in the trunks of their fig trees so that the sap oozes out, in order to keep the tree from getting dry and the fruit from falling; and some of them, moreover, hang [754] oleander twigs in their fig trees as a charm against the evil eye. To protect their apple and pear trees from the same enemy, the people of Andjra on Midsummer day suspend from them stone weights stolen from the market-place or hang on them thistles (amgil) taken from the same place.

751 796 [192] The Ait Waryager on Midsummer day press the juice of a grape or two into their eyes to prevent their getting diseased; and in order to rid themselves of fleas they put a flea inside a grape and bury it in the dungheap (dazubait).

796 In many parts of Morocco certain eating ceremonies take place on Midsummer day.

[193] The Ait Waryager make imsihan (the Arabic siyoha) by boiling wheat which has been soaked over night, and adding to it salt, as also butter if they have any.

796 787 821 [206] The forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive (Old Style) form the period of s-smaim, or "the great heat". It is a time of omens. Thunder in the smaim is supposed to indicate sickness or death among men or domestic animals (Fez, Hiaina, Tsul, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager).

In Andjra continual east wind in the smaim is taken for a sign of much rain in the earlier ploughing season, whilst the Ait Waryager expect a wet ploughing season if there is much west wind in the smaim.

[208]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH AGRICULTURE

241 The first ploughing season nominally commences on 17th October (Old Style), but the ploughing may begin earlier or later depending on the autumn rains, which must first soak the ground. It is called in Arabic hart l-bekri, l-hart de l-bekri, or simply l-bekri; and in Berber dayarza damanzuit (Ait Waryager), tayaza tamanzust (Temsaman), taharratt umenzu (Ait Nder), amenzu (Ait Yusi), amenzui (Amanuz). During this season wheat,(1) barley (2), beans (3),

1. In Arabic gemah or gmah, and, in Northern Morocco, by preference zra', a word which farther south denotes both wheat and barley; in Berber irden (Shloh), erden (Ait Yusi), erden (Ait Waryager). On the wide extension of this Berber term see Laoust, op. cit. p. 265 sq.

2. In Arabic s'er; in Berber timzin (Shloh), tumzin (Amanuz), timzin (Ait Yusi), a term which is very widely used in North Africa (Laoust, op. cit. p. 264). I have not, however, found it in the dialects of the Rif, where the word for barley is imendi.

241

3. In Arabic ful; in Berber ibaun (Shloh, Ait Yusi, Rif dialects), ibawen (Ait Waryager). See also Laoust, op. cit. p. 268.

peas (4), and lentils (5) are sown; but where irrigation prevails

4. In Arabic jelban; in Berber tinifin (Shloh), tinaffin (Amanuz), dinifin (Ait Waryager), jjilban (Ait Yusi). See also Laoust, op. cit. p. 269 sq.

5. In Arabic 'ades; in Berber tiniltit (Amanuz), l'ads (Ait Yusi), ra'des (Ait Waryager). See also Laoust, op. cit. p. 269.

[209] beans may be sown before the rains, a sowing which in Fez is called t-t aqser and among the Ait Yusi ibaun imenza, "the early beans". There is a later ploughing season—called in Arabic l-mazozi or l-hart de l-mazuzi, and in Berber dayarza damazuzt (Ait Waryager), tayaza tamazust (Temsaman), amazuz (Ait Yusi), tigira (Amanuz)—when the same kinds of cereals or pulse are sown.

[210] On the day when the ploughing commences certain rites are performed in all parts of Morocco.

[215] Among the Ait Waryager, immediately before the ploughing begins, the owner of the field has a dish of seksu and fowl prepared in his house. Part of it is eaten by him, his family, and the ploughman (if he does not plough himself), while the rest is sent to the village mosque to be eaten by those who happen to be there. When they have finished the meal they make fatha and invoke blessings on the future crops.

Among the Ait Waryager the ploughman, when he puts the ploughpoint (dagarsa) into the ground, curses the devil by saying, Allah ina'lek ya ssitan raharami, "May God curse you, O Satan the villain"; or, still better, expels him with the phrase, Misbillah arrahmani arrahemi, arrahemi, a'udu bi llahi mina assitani arrajemi, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, I take refuge with God from Satan the stoned one".

[218] Among the Ait Waryager, if a bull, cow, or mule is not good at ploughing, it is taken three times round a saint's shrine, after

241 which a little bag containing some earth from the shrine is hung on it, and the farmer promises to give a present to the saint if the animal improves.

The ploughman, who is called in Arabic l-harrat or l-hammas and in Berber aharrat (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi) or ahammas (Ait Warain, Ait Waryager), is subject to certain rules the transgression of which is supposed to injure the crops. It is considered necessary that he shall be sexually clean; if he has had intercourse he must wash himself before he commences his work, since otherwise there would be [219] no baraka, or holiness, in the seed or there would grow mostly grass and weeds on the field.

[220] In Andjra the seed is likewise kept carefully apart from other grain; and both there and elsewhere (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Yusi) it is believed that if a child or unmarried person passes ahead of the sower so that some of the cast seed touches him or her, that person will never marry—"the bas will remain in him till his death".

243 [227] When the reaping is finished, or also every afternoon successively as long as it lasts, the reaped corn is carried to the place in the open where it is going to be threshed. This threshing-floor of earth is called in Andjra nwader, in the Hiaina nader, in the Garbiya and among the Ulad Bu'aziz, as also among other Arabs of the plains, ga'a; and among the Berbers anrar (Aglu, Amanuz, Demnat, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder), anrar (Ait Warain), andra (Temsaman), annar (Ait Waryager), arnan (At Ubahti), rrhabt (Ait Sadden). Two stacks are made there, one of barley and another of wheat, unless indeed there happen to be different kinds of wheat which the owner wishes to keep separate.

[229] The corn is generally trodden out on the threshing-floor by animals—horses, mules, donkeys, or in some tribes, e.g. the Ait Nder, by oxen. The wheat is commonly subjected to this process a second time, if there is any considerable quantity of it, in order to be cleared of the husks which may still cling to it; but the barley is threshed first so as to supply the animals with fodder.

[232] The heap of ready threshed corn—which is called in Arabic saba, and in Berber tirrit (Igliwa), tirst (ibid., Amanuz, Aglu), tirrst (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), tirrejt (Ait Warain), dirrest (Ait Waryager), tiarrest (Temsaman)—is protected against jnun by salt (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Igliwa), tar

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

251 [242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

251 778 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

776 778 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried—tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid [783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

4/2 The sieve—called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)—which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

412 231 On the other hand, the sieve is also used as a fertility charm. Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought some sheep or goats, he puts a sieve at the entrance to the yard and makes the animals walk over it with a view to rendering them very fertile; and he then sprinkles the sieve with water to expel any evil influences which may cling to them.

244 [251] There are, moreover, certain superstitions and ceremonies connected with the vegetable garden.

The Ait Waryager believe that [252] a woman's presence in a vegetable garden would make it dry.

[254]

RITES PRACTISED FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCING THE WEATHER

789 In Morocco the failure of the crops is mostly due not to the lack of sunshine or too much rain, but to drought, and to avert this danger many different methods are resorted to.

The orthodox method is to perform the so-called salat al-istisqa in the morning at the musalla, or public place of prayer outside the town or village. This ceremony consists of two rek'at, or ordinary forms of prayer, two hotbat, or sermons, and one du'a, or supplication in which God is asked to send rain. In the prayer, however, the formula of takbir (allahu akbar, "God is most great") is replaced by the phrase istagfir allah, "implore the pardon of God", in accordance with the saying of the Koran, "Ask God's pardon, for he is merciful and will give you abundant rain; he has placed the rain as a reward for him who begs forgiveness for his faults". After the first hotba the preacher changes his mantle from the right to the left shoulder and vice versa, and the same is done by the congregation. That this is intrinsically a magical act calculated to bring about a change in the weather is apparent from the statement of the commentators that it is meant to show God the desire of the [255] faithful to see the threatening famine "turned" into abundance.

[257] Among the Ait Waryager the people go to the mosque of the village or a shrine, walk three times round it, sacrifice a sheep or goat, and make fatha. If this does not produce the desired effect the more religious members of the community, after they have said their

789 evening prayer in the mosque, pray there a thousand times for the Prophet, each of them keeping count of his prayers by placing a pebble in front of him after the completion of every hundred.

/266/ The custom of using a ladle as a rain-charm is common among the various Berber groups. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif the women dress up a wooden ladle (aganja) in women's clothes and walk with it to the village mosque or some shrine, praying for rain.

[372] /276/ As water extinguishes fire, so fire is also supposed to destroy the rain. Among the Ait Waryager rain is stopped by a man whose name is 'Esa boiling some rain-water in an earthenware pan (anahadam) ordinarily used for the baking of bread, and then discharging a loaded gun in the air.

/279/ Among the Ait Waryager, if there is too much rain, scribes write on a board the names of either ninety-nine or one hundred and one saints, and place the board on the roof of the village mosque.

/282/ The Ait Waryager, again, stop a westerly gale by girdling a dog with a woollen belt, which is left on it as long as the gale lasts.

/283/ BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS RELATION TO ANIMALS

231 /284/ In some tribes it is the custom for a man who buys a stallion to kill a sheep or goat and invite the men of the village to a meal; after they have eaten they make fatha, calling down blessings on the host and his animal (Ait Yusi, Ait Waryager).

/285/ Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a horse, mule, donkey, bullock, or cow, or some sheep or goats at the market, he treats those who accompanied him there with grapes, raisins, figs, or other eatables, and they in return call down blessings on him and the animal or animals he bought.

Among the Ait Waryager a person who has bought a mare or some other female animal puts a silver bracelet (damqayyast) or a pair of silver brooches (dibzimin, sing. dabzind), such as women wear over their breast, at the entrance to the yard (azqaq) and makes the animal walk over it, in order that it shall be fertile and good and not run away.

[177] /287/ Among the Ait Waryager donkeys, as also horses and mules, with black spots in their mouths are not bought by anybody, and a white spot on the forehead of a donkey or a mule, but not on that of a horse, is likewise considered bad fal.

231 755 [288] The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (dmaggit; Ait Waryager); and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Ait Waryager). It is also used as a remedy [853] for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (ibid.).

231 839 [289] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Ait Waryager); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Ait Waryager, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn.

231 777 [292] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion.

262 [295] The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic hlib or halib; and in Berber akfai (Amanuz), takfit (Igliwa), aggu akffa (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi (At Ubahti), asaffai (Ait Waryager), asffai (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Buttermilk is called in Arabic lben; and in Berber agu (Amanuz, Igliwa), aggu anddu (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi asemmam (At Ubahti), agiy (Ait Waryager), agi (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Curded milk is called in Arabic rayib or raib; and in Berber ikkil (Ait Sadden), ekkir (Ait Yusi), aklil (Ait Warain), attsil (At Ubahti), assir (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[297] Fresh butter is called in Arabic zebda; and in Berber tudit (Amanuz), tamudit (Igliwa), udi (Ait Warain), tlussi (At Ubahti), drussi (Ait Waryager), trussi (Temsaman). Salt butter is called in Arabic smen; and in Berber udi (Amanuz, Igliwa, Aglu, Ait Warain), ddhen (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

252 [298] The Ait Waryager hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the aqasror, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before.

23 [300] Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a considerable number of sheep or goats he slaughters one of them so that there shall be much baraka in the animals and they shall be very fertile.

[303] Among the Ait Waryager whooping-cough is cured with the [755] milk of a perfectly black she-goat, which is taken in the morning on an empty stomach warm as it comes from the udder.

[304] If a dog eats from a vessel or licks it the vessel will break, unless it is washed seven times with hot water (Andjra); or it must be washed with water into which seven stones have been put in order to make it clean (Ait Waryager).

[305] If a dog or a cat steals food belonging to the scribes of the mosque it will have the itch (Ait Waryager). If the dog eats the flesh or blood of a camel it will become blind or die (Ulad Bu'aziz); and if it eats the blood of a person it will lose its hair (Andjra) or it is bad for the person (Ait Waryager). If a bitch is addicted to stealing food, its owner puts its pups on the road leading to the market-place so that passers-by shall take them up and teach them how to behave; then their mother will cease to steal (ibid.).

[308] Unlike other dogs the greyhound is regarded, not as unclean, but as possessed of baraka.

The cat, also, has some baraka. It is good to eat food of which [755] a cat has eaten before. This is a cure for nervousness (Andjra); and so it is to wash oneself with water from which a cat has drunk (Tangier), or to eat the flesh of a cat (Ait Waryager).

[309] A cat has seven lives; hence to kill one is as bad as to kill seven men (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[310] A person who eats the liver of a fowl is supposed to become a coward (Igliwa, etc.); hence it is not eaten by men and boys (Aglu, Ait Warain) or is not given to young boys to eat (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

A person, or at least a child (Ait Waryager), who eats the head of a fowl will become night-blind, because the fowl is unable to see [311] in the dark.

If a hen does not lay eggs, it is hung in a tree with the head downwards while it is raining (ibid.), or oil is put into its mouth and genitals (Ait Waryager).

[312] We have seen that baraka is ascribed to the bee and to honey, and noticed many observances connected with the idea of their holiness.

825 The wild-boar, as well as the domestic pig, is an unclean animal
[262] and must not be used for food; swine's flesh is strictly forbidden to Moslems in four different places in the [313] Koran.

[317] It is generally believed that the hyena possesses the power of fascinating people with a view to devouring them, a belief which is also found in the East and is spoken of by Pliny as existing in classical antiquity. If a hyena makes water on a person (Casablanca, Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Aglu) or wets its tail and then sprinkles him with the urine (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or when seeking him makes a noise (Ait Waryager), he becomes enchanted or loses his senses and follows the animal to its den, where it eats him.

[755] [319] The jackal contains much medicinal and magic virtue.

[842] [320] Childless men and women who are desirous of offspring burn the dried intestines of a jackal and fumigate themselves with the smoke, letting it pass underneath their clothes (Ait Waryager).

Among the Ait Waryager a person who is going out to steal puts the ear of a jackal in his bag in order to keep the dogs from barking; they will scent the smell of the jackal, of which they are much afraid.

[787] [321] To meet a jackal when you start on a journey is by some people said to be a good omen (Hiaina, Ait Waryager), but by others a bad one (Andjra, Aglu).

755 The fox contains 366 medicines.

825 [322] In other tribes the powder made of a charred fox, mixed with honey, or with honey, butter, and spices, is taken in the morning before breakfast as a cure for an affection of the heart (Ait Waryager) or for lberd (Ait Nder). Men who have been made impotent by witchcraft burn the penis of a fox and fumigate their own with the smoke.

[754] The gall of a fox is used by women for practising witchcraft, for example, with a view to inducing a man to divorce a rival wife.

[787] [323] Among the Ait Waryager the barking of a fox is supposed to indicate that the wind will be westerly, in Andjra and the Garb that it will be easterly. Charms are written on the skin of a fox.

The weasel is used as a medicine for horses and mules and, less often, for men. It is dried and burned, and the sick animal (Ulad Bu'aziz, Hiaina, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) or person (Temsaman) is made to inhale the smoke.

[324] The blood of a hedgehog is smeared on the head of a boy suffering from ringworm (daqassar), so that it shall be covered with hair as the hedgehog is covered with bristles (Ait Waryager).

825 The roasted and pounded liver of a hedgehog, mixed with honey, is also given to schoolboys to eat in the morning on an empty stomach in order that they may remember their lessons (Ait Waryager).

[326] The hare is said to have been once an old woman, who was transformed into a hare because she acted as a panderess (Ait Sadden). It menstruates like a woman and is therefore an unclean animal which [262] should not be eaten; but this rule is not strictly observed. It is eaten both as food and for magical and medicinal purposes.

825 755 [327] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from night-blindness (butallis), the liver of a hare is roasted and cut into three pieces by the schoolmaster of the village, who then writes something from the Koran on them. The patient takes one of the pieces and goes with it in the evening after sunset to the dung-heap (dazubait) of the house, calls a dog, and eats the piece of the liver, giving little bits of it to the dog as well. On the two following evenings he does the same with the other pieces of the liver; and then he will get rid of his complaint.

[787] If you go anywhere in the morning and meet a hare it is a bad omen (Dukkala, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa), especially if the hare is asleep and wakes up and runs ahead of you (Hiaina).

[328] The bat is used as medicine for fever. It is dried and burned and the smoke is made to pass underneath the clothes of the patient (Ait Waryager).

825 [331] To shoot a raven may also be attended with evil consequences. I was told of two men among the Bni Msauwar who did so and whose guns burst, and similar things are said to happen among the Ait Waryager.

[787] [333] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person goes somewhere at any hour of the day, it is a bad omen to see one raven ahead of him but a good one to see two.

[334] The eye of an owl is used as a means of preventing a person from falling asleep.

Both eyes are also removed and put into water. I was told that one of them always sinks and the other one floats; but while some people sew up the eye which sinks in a small leather case and wear it as a charm to prevent sleepiness (Ait Nder), others eat the eye which floats for the same purpose (Ait Waryager).

825 787 [335] The Ait Waryager maintain that the hooting of an owl outside a house indicates that somebody in that or a neighbouring house will die, and they drive the bird away by throwing at it a sooty piece of a broken old earthenware pan or fire at it with a gun.

825 [337] A wild-dove once saved the life of the Prophet when he was persecuted by Christians, by telling them that he had gone one way although he had gone another, and for this reason the faithful were forbidden to kill any bird of its species.

[777] The Ait Waryager consider it unlucky if doves are living in a house, because they want to make it empty. In the same tribe, if a person 825 755 suffers from fever, the dried dung of pigeons is burned, the smoke is made to pass underneath his clothes, and he inhales it as it comes through.

[751] [340] A person keeps his eyes in a good condition by [341] touching the inside of the eyelid with a raw and unbroken egg of a swallow or with a young bird newly hatched (Ait Waryager).

[342] A tortoise is never killed except for medicinal or magical purposes, and water tortoises, I believe, are not killed in any circumstances. People are afraid of them, as they are frequently supposed to be jnun; but when living in a spring or pond connected with a saint-shrine they are regarded as the servants of the saint and help to cure patients visiting the place.

Among the Ait Waryager the boiled flesh of a tortoise, prepared with salt, is eaten by sick people.

825 [343] A tortoise may have an evil effect on cows, sheep, and goats. [231] Among the Ait Waryager, if the owner of a cow which has calved does not give the cowherd the usual meal of bread and salt butter, the latter takes revenge by throwing a tortoise at the cow, which in consequence will never again give birth to a calf.

[344] There is a general fear of killing a frog or toad. At Aglu a man killed one with a stone, and his arm became paralysed. Among the Igliwa a person who killed a frog had fever for a year, and elsewhere also fever is supposed to be the consequence of such an act (Ait Waryager, &c.).

[348] The Ulad Bu'aziz believe that a snake which appears at the place where people are pitching a tent may be mul le-mkan, "the master of the place". They ask it politely to go away, and if it does not do so they kill it; but if they dream of the snake in their sleep they

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary bab lmakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[787] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 852 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355] t- Teida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child.

825 [752] [824] In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[854] [357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 264 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

2: Westermarck--86 E-S (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

262 "In the name of God, God is most great". This may be said before
[264] the breaking of the first egg only (Andjra); or before the breaking of each egg (Ait [363] Waryager).

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz unmarried men and girls refrain from eating the nose of any animal, lest they should have rain at their wedding. Among the same tribe scribes and boys who are studying the Koran must not eat an animal's throat, because the eating of it would make their voices hoarse. Among the Ait Waryager the same part is for a similar reason not given to children to eat. They also prohibit their women from eating the testicles of any male animal, which are eaten by the men; and they believe that if a child ate the kidney of an animal it would come out as lumps on the face and body of the child.

[364] A man who has killed an edible wild animal or bird eats its head in order to be successful in hunting (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he eats, for the same reason, both the head and the heart, though he may share them with his wife and children.

224 [365] Various customs relating to hunting, target-practice, and
689 guns have been mentioned in earlier chapters, but others may be added.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz in Dukkala, if one of the hunters misbehaves, the others draw round him a circle, a so-called gart r-rma, and he has to remain inside it until he pays a fine (haqq or d'aira), after which the hunters surround him and make fatha. An offence which makes a hunter subject to this treatment on the evening after the hunt is the shooting or killing of a hare which is asleep, in which case he will have to give a feast to his companions; for both in Dukkala and elsewhere (Ait Waryager) a hunter must not kill a sleeping hare because it deprives his companions and the grayhounds of the pleasure of hunting it.

[369] Among the Ait Waryager, if one of the rrma has misbehaved, the others punish him when they are shooting at targets by filling the hood of his cloak with stones and compelling him to sit at a distance from them; and they do not remove the stones and admit him to their company until he has repeated the prayer for the Prophet a certain number of times, fifty or a hundred or more, according to their discretion.

844 [370] When a woman is going to give birth to a child, or if her delivery proves difficult, certain practices are often resorted to in order to facilitate it.

844 [372] Among the Ait Waryager, before a woman gives birth to a child, the fqi of the village writes something from the Koran in a bowl, and water is poured over the writing and then given to the woman to drink. This is likewise supposed to facilitate the delivery.

[373] Among the Ait Waryager the after-birth (adan) and navel-string (dmit) are buried at the bottom of the dunghill of the house to prevent their being walked over.

[376] Among the Ait Waryager the mother is [377] immediately on her delivery given a dish of eggs and butter or oil to partake of, and after that the gravy of a fowl. Pieces of thin cakes, eggs, and butter are mixed together in an earthenware pot (dahabbit), which is placed on the head of a boy—a brother of the newborn child if there is one, otherwise a neighbour's son. The other children of the house and the women who are present eat from this pot on the boy's head; I was told that should they not do so something bad would happen to the child.

[378] Among the Ait Waryager, when a boy is born, the father puts into his right hand a knife (dahadmit) to make him a man, and when a girl is born he puts into her right hand a foot of a fowl to make her a good housewife; but the knife may also be a charm against the jnun.

[380] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the room of the lying-in woman is likewise fumigated with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels, who are consequently induced to remain there.

[384] The Ait Waryager have the custom of smearing henna on the top of the child's head on the day after its birth, "to make the head strong".

[387] In some places the child is referred to as the son or daughter of its father (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Amanuz and other people of Sus), and in other places as the son or daughter of its mother.

346 852 553 [391] Among the Ait Waryager the mother generally gets up on the third day, but keeps to the house till the seventh day, when she washes, fumigates herself with benzoin, and paints her hands and feet with henna, her eyes with antimony, and her teeth with walnut root. She also combs and oils her hair, puts a long silk scarf (rahzam) round her head, and dresses herself in her best clothes. On this day there is the ceremony of name-giving. The father kills a sheep or a

852 goat with the assistance of his wife; but if he does not know how to
553 slaughter an animal in the proper manner, the ceremony is performed by the fqi of the village. The meat of the animal is served at the feast which is given on this occasion, the scribes being entertained in the mosque, the other men outside the house, where they amuse themselves with shooting at targets, and the women inside the house. The liver is eaten by the members of the household, the head is given to the midwife, and the skin is sold. I was told that if this sacrifice were not made the child would die. The mother must present some money to the schoolboys of the village to induce the fqi to give them a holiday. On the previous day the nearest relatives brought boiled meat, bread, and butter as presents to the parents.

853 [401] It is a widespread belief that if a pregnant woman suckles a child the suckling will get an illness called la-gyel (l-gyel)— which literally means "the sucking of a pregnant woman", —from which many children die in Morocco (Tangier, Fez, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

755 [404] Among theAit Waryager women take their sick children to a mother of triplets, who cures the child by making cuts on its head and chest and the sides of its body, so that blood issues, and by pricking the top of its head with a red-hot oleander twig.

551 The name of the child is in certain cases fixed by custom. If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this is a very general and stringent rule. Moreover, if a saint has been invoked by the parents to help them to a son, the latter is in most cases called by the name of the saint, who is then supposed to become his protector.

The first-born son is very frequently called Muhammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Ait Waryager).

In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Muhammed. This is a very widespread practice; and it is believed that if the son were called after a living father whose name is not Muhammed, either the father or the son would soon die (Tangier, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[405] Among the Ait Waryager it seems to be the rule that if a man has more than one wife the eldest son of each wife is named Muhammed.

551 As the first son is called after the Prophet, so the first daughter is called after his daughter Fatimah, the wife of 'Ali and the mother of al-Hasan and al-Husain, from whom are descended the posterity of the Prophet known as Saiyids. Her name—which is in Morocco pronounced Fatuma, Fatma, Fatma, Fatna, or (by some Berbers) Fadma—is generally given to the eldest daughter, even though it be the name of the mother, which is otherwise avoided; but among the Ait Waryager the daughter is in such a case called Fattos.

[407] In Berber tribes Arabic names given to children are altered in ordinary conversation. Muhammed is changed into Muhand (Ait Yusi), Mohand (Ait Sadden), Mohand (Ait Waryager, in the case of a scribe or a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), Momoh (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), Mahha (Ait Sadden), Moha (ibid.), or Moh (Ait Waryager).

302 [408] At Fez no child of either sex must be shaved until it is one year of age; while among the Ait Waryager a boy is shaved a year after his birth and a girl never.

[409] Some hair, however, is always left on the head, in accordance with the custom of the family. In all families it is the custom to leave an 'orf, consisting of a narrow line from front to back, but in some families a garn, or tuft, is in addition left on the right side, and in others a garn on the left side as well.

[753] [414] It is believed that if the shaving of a person's head is left unfinished, because the razor is not sharp enough or for some other reason, his head will be affected (Ulad Bu'aziz) or he will become ill in one way or another (Ait Waryager).

[415] In Morocco there is a belief that if it is the custom of a family to leave a garn on the head of a child, the latter will become ill and most probably die if this custom is not observed. The Ait Warain and the Ait Sadden maintain that the same will happen to a boy if the garn left on his head is ever shaved. The Ait Waryager say that if it is shaved before the death of his parents, either the father, the mother, or the boy will die.

852 304 [416] The next important event in the life of a boy is his circumcision. The age at which it takes place varies greatly.

[417] I was told that among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager boys are as a rule circumcised when they are about one year old, but that there are instances of boys being circumcised a few months after their birth. This is the earliest age I have heard of anywhere in Morocco.

852
304 [429] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager circumcision often takes place on the twelfth day of the month of the Mulud, "the day of the feast", at least when the family is fairly well-to-do, and it is performed by an expert, accompanying a band of scribes. It is considered of importance that there should be scribes present to make recitations from the Koran in the room where the operation is made. This is not the room inhabited by the boy's own family—which on this occasion is occupied by the women—but another room in the same house; the Ait Waryager live in houses containing several rooms, each of which is inhabited by one family. On the day when the boy is circumcised his father kills a sheep or a goat or, if he cannot afford that, some fowls; the scribes have to be entertained with food, and rewarded with money as well. Contrary to the custom at Aglu, the father is present in the room where the boy is circumcised, but not the mother. The boy is dressed in new clothes, a belt (rahzam) is wound round the top of his head, and just before the operation is performed his eyes are blackened with antimony. If his father is a man of means, a silver bangle (ahalhal) is also put round the boy's ankle, or round each of his ankles, and is left there until he grows older, to be used again for the next son when he is circumcised. The wounded part of the penis is dipped into the yolk of an egg, which is then thrown away. The foreskin is put in some "clean" place, where nobody can walk over it. The boy is removed to his father's room, where he is confined for seven days.

[434] RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH DEATH

763 If a person is very ill and his death is held to be immanent, his near relatives living in the same town or village assemble in the room in which he is lying. Should any of them fail to appear, the family of the dying person would look upon it as a sign of enmity and would make it a cause of quarrel. In country places a message may also be sent to relatives in neighbouring villages, who likewise hasten to the death-bed of their friend. No menstruating woman, however, should enter the room, nor any woman who has omitted to clean herself after sexual intercourse.

If the family of the dying person can afford it scribes are called in to recite a chapter of the Koran, unless some one of the assembled

763 friends is capable of performing this task. The recitation should be continued till the moment of death, but no longer, its object being to shorten the agony. The chapter considered most suitable for this occasion is the suratu 'r-ra'd, which is called s-sahliya because it makes death easier. For a similar purpose a little honey is put into the mouth of the dying person, and at the last moment some water is dripped into it to moisten his throat. If his teeth are clenched, which is sometimes supposed to indicate that he has led a sinful life (Ait Waryager), some cotton or [435] wool is soaked in water mixed with honey and then pressed against his teeth.

When life is extinct, or sometimes when a person is at the point of death, his eyes and mouth, if open, are closed. It is believed that if he dies with open eyes or, at all events, if they are left open, somebody else of his family or kin will die before long (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden).

[436] Among the Ait Waryager, also, the women of the family and those who come to condole only weep in another room.

[442] As soon as the death becomes known it is the custom for friends to pay a visit of condolence to the family of the deceased.

[443] Among the Ait Waryager the women who come to the house bring flour, while the male condolers assist the men of the family in their preparations for the funeral.

764 Very shortly after death the body of the deceased is washed, at least if he died at so early an hour that the burial can take place on the same day.

[445] The body is washed with warm water, and certain parts of it with soap or scented soap-stone (gasul). The person who performs the act, after washing his own hands, says the bismillah and states inwardly his intention to wash the dead one: — Allahumma inni nawit gasl l-miyit . He then washes the genital region very carefully with a towel, which is left there. He washes the lips and the teeth three times, and the nose the same number of times. All these parts of the body are washed with the left hand. He washes with both hands the face and the right and the left hand and arm to the elbow, all three times. He passes his wet hands once from the forehead to the nape and back again. After again wetting his fingers he puts the forefingers into the ears and passes the thumbs behind their backs. Taking water with the right hand he washes with the left the feet as

764 as high as the ankles, first the right and then the left, three times apiece or more if they are dirty. He then recites the profession of the fatih, unless he has, prematurely, done so before, when passing his hands over the crown and back of the head. This ablution, which is called l-wudu, is followed by the so-called gasl l-miyit . The upper part of the dead body is raised into a sitting position. The washer fills his open hands with water three times and washes the head. With his right hand he washes the inside of the right ear and with his left hand that of the left ear, and washes in a similar manner the backs of the ears. With water poured out by his assistant he then washes the remaining parts of the body in the following order: the right and the left sides from the neck to the knee; the back; the foreside from the chin [446] downwards to the end of the stomach, giving particular attention to the navel; and the right and the left leg from the knee to the ankle. After this he recites once more the profession of the faith. These ablutions must be performed on the day when the dead person is to be buried, even though he had died and been washed on the day before. In such a case, however, the first washing is generally of a very simple character. There may also be a preliminary washing if the death and the burial take place on the same day.

Precautions have to be taken with the water which has been used for the washing of the corpse. It is bad to tread on it. If anybody does so the skin of his feet will chap (Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[447] When the body has been washed it is dressed. Once more the big toes are, in many cases, tied together, and the jaws are bound up.

[448] Among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman the body is dressed in "drawers" (ssarwar, ssawar), "shirt" (ssammir, ttsammir), "turban" (da'mand, arazzet), and "slippers" (iharkusen, ihakas), and is then wrapped up in a shroud (rehfen, resfen).

[450] Among the Ait Temsaman scribes are reciting the tabarak while the body is being washed and dressed, but no recitations are made at night. The case is different among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Sadden, as also in the Hiaina, if the family can afford to employ scribes for nightly recitations.

[451] The time when the deceased is buried depends on the hour of his death.

764 The dead person is said to be anxious to be buried as soon as possible and to "complain of his family" if it is not done. Among the Ait Waryager there is the [452] opposite belief: the departed is too fond of his old home to like to be hurried into the grave, though his people want to bury him quickly. The burial is among them postponed till the following day even if the death occurred shortly after mid-day, and it is said never to take place after 'asar.

[454] Among the Ait Waryager, also, the bier, after being carried out of the house by four men including some member of the family, is placed in the yard (azqaq), from which all the animals have been previously removed so as not to see or hear the dead person; it is believed that he is weeping and that animals can hear it, though men can not, and that they would become sorry if they heard it. The scribes recite the hezb yastabsiruna, contained in the fourth chapter of the Koran (suratu 'n-nisa'), and nobody is then allowed either to weep or talk. After the recitation all the people make fatha, one of the scribes asking God to be merciful to the dead person and to bestow his blessings on the living. Four persons take hold of the bier, and the women begin to cry. But if the departed was a bachelor or an unmarried girl one of the women, instead of crying, trills the zgarit, here called sriwriwen. Before the bier is carried out of the house a meal of meat and bread made of barley without yeast is served in the yard to the scribes and all others who are there on this occasion. But many persons do not like to partake of food served at a funeral, as such food is said to remain in the stomach for forty days.

[455] Everywhere it is considered meritorious to accompany a dead person to his grave; there is charity in every step—kull halfa b hasana. At Fez, Tangier, and other towns no women take part in the procession, and the same is very frequently the case in the country—for example, in Andjra and among the Bni 'Aros and other Arabic-speaking mountain tribes, among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager.

[456] In many other places the procession is headed by a band of scribes, and after them come the men carrying the corpse (Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ulad Bu'aziz, Amanuz); but among the Ait Waryager the bearers go first, after them the scribes, and then the other men and boys.

764 In some country places it is believed that if an accident happens
787 to the bier on the way to the cemetery (Ulad Bu'aziz), or if the funeral

764 procession stops (Ait Waryager), somebody else in the village will soon
[787] die. Among the Ait Waryager, when the procession passes a house, some water is thrown from it on the bier and the [457] men carrying it, in order to avert the pollution of death from the house.

On the arrival at the cemetery imadran [Ait Waryager], the bier is placed at the side of the grave andar [Ait Waryager], ander [Temsaman] [Temsaman], and the prayer for the dead is said, unless it has been already done at a mosque.

[458] The body is laid in the grave on its right side with the face turned towards Mecca, the shroud is opened at head and foot, other bandages are also untied, and in the case of a man the "turban" which has been drawn over the face is removed from it. Among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman the fqi fills his hand with earth and keeps it closed over the dead person's face, reciting in a low voice a chapter of the Koran, one of his own choice, and, still continuing the recitation, strews the earth on the face and on the shroud covering the other parts of the body; but if water from the well Zemzem is available he sprinkles the face and the shroud with the water instead of earth, and in such a case no recitation from the Koran is made.

Boards or flat stones—called in Arabic lahd and in Berber lalhud (Ait Sadden), a jah (Temsaman), ikfafn (Amanuz)—are placed across the ledges formed by the narrow trough, at the bottom of the grave, in which the body is lying, without touching it. Their number should be an odd one—three, five, seven, or nine, according to their size; if, for example, four were sufficient to cover the body, a small one would nevertheless be added in order to avoid the even number (Ait Sadden). Among the Ait Waryager seven boards are used, and they [459] believe that if this number were exceeded there would soon be another death.

Among the Ait Waryager water is poured on the grave either when closed or on the following morning; and if any water is left from the occasion when the body was washed, it is taken to the cemetery to be poured out together with the other water.

[460] An upright stone, or sometimes a board, is placed at the head of the grave, and very frequently another one at the foot; such a stone or board, or that at the head only, is called in Arabic l-meshad or s-sahed, "the witness", and in Berber ssahad (Aid Sadden), damenzwit (Ait Waryager), or tamenzust (Temsaman).

764 Among the Ait Waryager the bamboo cane with which the body was measured is broken and the pieces are put on the grave.

764 767 [464] The washers of the body are paid in towns and many places in the country (Bni 'Aros, Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager), but in other places they do their work gratuitously (Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Amanuz, Aglu). Among the Ait Waryager the clothes of the dead person are taken to the cemetery and given to the fqi and the other scribes, who sell them on the spot and divide the money they get for them, as well as the other money given to them by the family. The latter are afraid of using them, said a man from a neighbouring tribe, the Ait Temsaman, but among his own people there is no such fear. Very frequently the clothes of the deceased are given away in charity or sold.

765 767 776] When all other persons have left the cemetery the fqi remains there to perform an important function. On the first night the dead person spends in his grave—called lilt 'l-wahdaniya, or "the night of solitude"—he is supposed to be visited by angels, who come and examine him and, if they find fault with him, punish him by flogging. At Fez these so-called mlaik swal, or "angels of asking", are, in agreement with the general Muhammadan belief, said to be Sidna Nakir and Munkir, but most people speak of the former only. The scribes of Dukkala are somewhat uncertain as to their number; I was told that the shab s-swal, "the friends of asking", may be three or two or only one—who can know? But the questions were said to be asked in the grave, and the punishment inflicted, by Sidna 'Azrain, that is 'Azra'il, the angel of death, mentioned in the Koran under the title of malaku 'l-maut, who comes to a man at the [465] hour of death to carry his soul away from the body. The same popular belief is found elsewhere (Tangier, Ait Waryager); at Marraksh I was told that the angel 'Azrain examines the dead in their graves and, if dissatisfied with the answers, beats them with an iron rod. It is thus of great importance that the dead person should know how to answer the questions put to him, and it is in order to instruct him in this that the fqi remains at the grave. He bows down over it and, in giving his instructions, addresses the deceased as the son or daughter of such or such a woman, mentioning the mother's name only. The answers may before the interment have been written on a paper, and this so-called msaula put underneath the dead person's head when he was buried, but this does

765 not make the oral instruction of the fqi superfluous. He should
767 answer his examiner thus: Allahu rabbi wa l-islamu dini wa l-ka'batu qiblati wa l-qor'anu imami wa Muhammadun nabiyi, "Allah is my Lord and Islam is my religion and the Ka'bah is my qiblah and the Koran is my director and Muhammad is my prophet". It is said that if the dead man was a scribe the Koran will give the answers on his behalf (Ulad Bu'aziz, Tangier, Ait Waryager.

In some parts of the country I found the belief that the dead person is examined on the first night, even though he still remains in his home (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

764 [468] In many places, on the other hand, there is no general funeral banquet after the burial on the same day. In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the family of the deceased, if in good circumstances, may ask the scribes to come back to the house to recite the fedya or to make recitations from the Koran or even to read the whole of it during the night, and a meal—in Andjra called t-ta'am de 'asa l-qbar—is given to them; but this meal forms part of their fee.

765 [469] After the day of burial there are still various customs and rites observed in connection with the deceased.

[470] Among the Amanuz no food must be cooked in the house on the day of burial and the two following days, neighbours providing the family with food, and I was told of a similar taboo at Amzmiz. The Ait Waryager refrain from making seksu and bread with yeast during those days.

[471] I was also told in Dukkala that no wedding must be celebrated by a near relative of the deceased within forty days, and the same rule is observed in many other places (Fez, Tetuan, Tangier, Bni 'Aros, Sahel, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz). Among the Ait Waryager there must be no wedding in the whole village.

[472] Among various tribes the family of the deceased must for forty days refrain from changing their clothes or washing them, at least with soap (Andjra, Sahel, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz), the men from having their heads shaved (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz).

[473] A widow's mourning (l-adda) lasts, according to the Muhammadan law, four months and ten days; but in some places in Morocco it has been reduced by custom to four months (Aglu, Ait Waryager), three months and ten days (Ait Waryager).

765 A widow who is pregnant by her former husband is nowhere permitted to marry until she has given birth to the child.

Besides being prohibited from re-marrying, a widow is subject to various other rules during her period of mourning. She must refrain from the use of cosmetics and finery, and is not allowed to attend any wedding or other feast. She should be dressed in plain white (Fez, Tangier, Ulad Bu'aziz, Bni 'Aros, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[475] In Andjra and among the Bni 'Aros, the Ait Waryager, and the Ait Temsaman scribes likewise make recitations from the Koran at the grave on the first three mornings after the burial.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, water is poured over the grave on the third day, and the scribes are then entertained with bread and meat in the house of mourning after finishing their recitations.

[476] Among the Amanuz, on the third morning after the day of burial, a meal of seksu with meat, called lma'ruf, is given at the grave to scribes and poor people; the scribes make fatha, but there are no recitations from the Koran. Among the Ait Waryager, on the same morning, the women of the dead person's family offer iuzan [477] —that is, porridge made of pounded barley boiled in water and mixed with salt butter—to the people who come to the grave, without eating of it themselves; and it is believed that if no meal were given at the grave the deceased would have earth in his mouth. The scribes, however, do not partake of this meal but, as said above, are entertained in the house of the family after they have finished their reading at the grave.

[478] Certain rites are often performed on the fortieth day after the burial.

Among the Ait Waryager there is reading both at the grave and in the house of mourning. The family slaughter a goat or sheep or a small ox and offer some of the meat together with bread at the grave; on this occasion neither the members of the family [479] nor the scribes eat anything, but after reciting a chapter of the Koran the latter go to the house and are entertained there with food.

[480] To visit the graves on Fridays or Thursday afternoons is in fact a very widespread custom (Tetuan, At Ubahti, etc.).

Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager the graves are visited by women, rarely by men; and among the latter bread or figs are given to people found at the cemetery, or water is poured at the head of the grave.

765 [481] On the 'asura day much attention is bestowed on the dead.

[482] Among the Ait Waryager, on the 'asura morning, men and women go to the graves of their dead relatives and have there a meal of seksu, bread, and figs; but they only eat food which has been brought by others, not their own food. If there is water in the neighbourhood they also pour water on the graves. It is said that if alms are not given in the cemetery on this day, the dead will suffer from hunger and thirst and weep in their graves; and should children then refrain from visiting the graves of their parents, they would be cursed by them.

[483] The graves of deceased members of the family are also visited on the twenty-sixth (Tangier, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Amanuz) or twenty-seventh (Igliwa, Aglu) day of Ramadan; on the 'Arafa day preceding the Great Feast (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Igliwa, Amanuz) or on the second day of that feast (Bni 'Aros); and sometimes at the Little Feast or on the day preceding it (Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) and at the mulud (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager).

[484] There are yet other occasions on which alms should be given on behalf of the dead, either at their graves or otherwise, namely, when they appear to their living friends in dreams (Ait Waryager, Hiaina), or when the latter dream of figs or other kinds of dried fruit (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[485] There are persons who arrange their own funeral in [486] advance, for fear that otherwise it might not be conducted in the proper manner. Such a person buys his grave-clothing and invites scribes to his house or tent.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz and the Ait Waryager the scribes likewise make their recitations with the grave-clothing in front or in the midst of them, and they are lavishly entertained.

775 [534] The dead are said to visit their former homes on Thursdays, though nobody can see them (Tangier, Andjra); and in Andjra their families should therefore have good food for supper every Thursday. The soul of a dead person is, moreover, supposed to be in his grave every Friday (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Warain), or to come there on Thursday at 'asar (Tangier, Bni 'Aros)—some people say as early as Thursday morning (Ait Waryager) or on Wednesday at 'asar (Andjra)—and leave it on Friday at 'asar (ibid., Ait Waryager) or sunset (Tangier) or as soon as the grave has been visited by members of the family (Bni 'Aros).

775 [546] Dead saints may appear to the living in human or animal shapes; but as to ordinary dead people I have been assured over and over again that the dead do not walk, and I remember how heartily my friends in the tribe of Jbel Hbib laughed when I told them that many Christians believe in ghosts. The dead may come and see their friends; but on these occasions they cannot themselves be seen by anybody, and they come not as enemies but as friends.

Among the Ait Waryager men who have fallen in war with the Christians come to their relatives at night, but they do so only in kindness.

[547] The Ait Waryager believe that graveyards are haunted both by the dead and by jnun who come out of the ground in the dark.

[548] The place where a person has been found killed is regarded as haunted, whether he is buried there—as is often the case with a stranger or one who has no family—or not. Everywhere in Morocco it is marked with a small cairn of stones.

In some parts of the country travellers passing such a cairn often add a stone to it (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Aglu), whereas in other parts of the country there is no such custom.

[550] In Andjra I was told that the place where a person has been killed is meskun, or haunted by jnun. A scribe from the Ait Waryager denied that it is meskun, but admitted that his people are afraid of it.

789 [552] In Northern Morocco, if a married woman is afraid that her [832] husband is in love with somebody else, she secures the assistance of an old woman, who goes in the night to a cemetery with a dish of seksu, unearths the hand of a newly buried corpse, and stirs the seksu with it. Among the Ait Waryager the old woman cuts off the right hand of the corpse and brings it to the jealous wife, who uses it in the said manner, not only once but several times, when she is making seksu.

[556] The magic energy inherent in a corpse, however, is used not only in witchcraft but for prophylactic and curative purposes as well. [755] Among the Ait Waryager one who has decayed teeth rubs them with the forefinger of a dead person's right hand before or while he is washed.

[557] Among the Ait Waryager it often happens that when a grave has been dug, but before the dead body has been lowered into it, a man lies down full length in the grave in order to acquire strength, [755] whether he be ill or not. Among the same Rifians a person who suffers from a bad headache goes to the grave of a stranger (who may be a [illegible]man) before sunrise, places some bread or figs on it, and ties there a piece of his clothes as a little flag; and on the two following mornings he again visits the grave but without putting anything there.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

TAMUDA

REVISTA DE INVESTIGACIONES MARROQUÍES

AÑO II TETUÁN 1954 SEMESTRE I

[Title Page]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID MONTGOMERY HART

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE RIFFIAN TRIBE OF AITH WURYĀGHIL (*)

122 THIS paper, a result of six months of ethnographic field work in Spanish Morocco, was made possible by funds granted from the Ford Foundation. That foundation is not, however, the author owner, publisher or proprietor of the publication in which this paper appears, and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements made or views expressed herein.

• • •

101 Aith Wuryāghīl is not only the biggest and most important tribe
[161] in the Rīf, but the most heavily populated in the whole of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, totaling some 65.000 people at the present time. It is delimited on the north by the Bay of Alhucemas and by the Mediterranean Sea; on the west by the tribes of Buqqūya, Banī Yaṭṭuft and Targīst; on the east by the Nakūr River and the tribes of Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn; and on the south by Aith Mazdūwī, Aith 'Ammarth and Gizināya (the last mentioned being just over the
101 border in French Morocco). Although Targīst and most of Banī
197 Yaṭṭuft are Arabic-speaking, the other tribes all speak the Riffian dialect of Berber. Aith Wuryāghil, Aith 'Ammarth and northern Gizināya form, in particular, a Central Riffian linguistic bloc where Arabic is known only by a tiny literate minority. This dialect, called *Shilḥa* in Arabic and *Thamāzighth* in Riffian, is stronger in the Central Rīf than in any other part of northern Morocco, which gives an indication of the conservatism of the people who speak it. The three
101 nuclear Riffian tribes have all retained in large measure many of

(*) Excepcionalmente se ha conservado el sistema de transcripción usado por el autor del artículo, aunque difiere del adoptado por esta Revista (N. de la R.)

[P. 51]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

101 their archaic Berber cultural patterns in the face of an ever-increasing Arabization. For this reason, I use the Berber term *Aith* (sons of) rather than its Arabic equivalent *Banī*, which has become current in the literature. Although a tribesman who does know Arabic will say *Banī* when speaking of his tribe to a stranger, he will employ *Aith* when in conversation with his own people. I have also singled out the tribe of Aith Wuryāghil as the object of this article not only because, at the time of writing, I know it much better than the other Riffian tribes, but because, as it is the largest and most powerful of all of them, it has always taken the leading role in the past history of the Rīf, and it has, on most occasions, called the turn to the other tribes when necessary. The presence of Aith Wuryāghil, with that of Gixnāya, in the confederation of the Ṣinhāja during the great Ṣinhāja-Ghumāra war was what won that war for the former group; and in recent times the tribe produced ʿAbd al-Karīm, of whom we shall say more later on.

133 Running in a northeast-southwest direction, the tribal territory, 1028.5 square kilometers, consists, in the north, of an open alluvial plain bordered on the east by the mountains of Tamsamān; this plain overlooks the Mediterranean and forms the Bay of Alhucemas. Further south it gradually ascends into and merges with the brown, barren and eroded mountains which are such a characteristic feature of the Riffian landscape; these are bisected by arroyos and high valleys, and in Aith Wuryāghil they culminate in the rugged massif of Jabal Ḥammām (1948 meters), which is covered with snow in [137] January and February. Vegetation consists largely of scrub and 132 lentiscus bushes. Except in the highest altitudes, rain is infrequent even in the winter; the so-called «levante», coming from Spain, brings it suddenly and in the form of flash floods, which change the two sluggish rivers in the tribal territory, the Ghīs to the west and the Nakūr to the east, into raging, torrents. In the mountains the winters, although not long, are cold, but snowfall is much less than in Aith ʿAmmarth or in the Ṣinhāja Srair to the southwest, where the mountains are considerably higher. The rest of the year the climate is warm and usually so dry as to produce only a bare subsistence economy.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The population density, 65 individuals per sq. km., although not the highest in Spanish Morocco, is a greater number of people than the land, which is one of the most infertile in the Protectorate, can effectively support. In the last century the Aith Wuryāghil found blood-feuding a sure outlet to reduce their overpopulation, but, at, the present time, as they are no longer allowed to carry firearms, the population problem is met by a large annual exodus of ablebodied tribesmen to the plains of western Algeria, where they help out with the barley, wheat, olive and grape harvests on the farms of French colons. The terrible drought in the Rīf in 1945 precipitated emigration to a previously unheard of degree, and today the number of people from Aith Wuryāghil who are living and working outside the Rīf is greater than ever before.

Those who stay at home follow an annual agricultural cycle in which cereal cultivation is extensively practiced, particularly that of barley. They plow and sow their fields in the autumn and winter, and reap and thresh the grain the following summer. The straw is piled up into circular, conical silos (*athmūn*, pl. *ithmūnen*) to be used in the winter as fodder for the animals, of which cattle and goats are the most important, sheep less so. Mules and donkeys are employed as beasts of burden, while horses, owing to the extreme poverty of the people and the mountainous configuration of the terrain, are virtually non-existent. All, without exception, keep chickens and, inevitably, dogs, while in certain favored areas apiculture is practiced; the bees of Jabal Ḥammām produce the finest honey which it has ever been my good fortune to sample.

Although barley is the most important cash crop (the barley harvest of 1953 was the best on record), the Aith Wuryāghil spend comparatively little time working their grain fields, not more than three or four months a year, all told; it is their trees which receive the bulk of their attention. The most common trees are fig, pomegranate and almond in the Bay of Alhucemas, with olive substituted for pomegranate in the mountains; they are all pruned, watered, grafted and fertilized with great assiduousness, for dried figs and almonds constitute the principal food reserves during the winters, after the grains have been eaten. The same is true of raisins, and the cultivation of grape vines is extensively practiced in the mountains near Sūq al-Arbaʿ of Taurirt.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

241 near Sūq al-Arba' of Taurirt. Olive oil, extracted from a communally owned olive grinder and oil press, is the essential fat (1).

The fields, orchards and vegetable gardens (the latter producing
[312] broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers and carrots, to mention only a few) of the Aith Wuryāghil are usually terraced near the houses, along the slopes of the mountains. The vineyards, whither the families repair in September to pick grapes, are further up; and along the crests are the communal goat pastures
[313] and the *ghāba* patches, where the women go to cut brushwood for their ovens and for the local mosque. Grape picking is the only important activity in September, which marks the end of the agricultural year; after this is done and after the barley has been reaped and
[585] threshed and the silos piled up, people make merry and get married before the first rains begin again and the time to plow and sow has started up once more.

675 464 Herding and agricultural contracts of a verbal nature are made between the wealthier and the poorer men of the community, those who have little hiring themselves out to those who have more (2). Individuals who own more animals than they can pasture themselves hire herders who, while the beasts are in their charge, receive all the milk and butter and half the young ones born, and, when the animals are sold, half the profits; if the contract concerns sheep, they receive half the wool as well. Vegetable gardens and orchards are cared for by hired gardeners *(rabbā')* who receive one-fourth of the fruit and vegetable crop; as their job entails setting up terraces, they sometimes get one-third of the vegetables if the land is difficult to work. These same men, if they also perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, are called *ikhammāsen* and receive one-fifth of the barley and wheat crop. The owner of the field supplies the seed, the animals (usually cows) and the plow as well in this type of contract, while the *akhammās* (sing. of *ikhammāsen*) provides only his muscles and a switch to keep the cattle moving while they are under the yoke. The *akhammās* contract is the most

(1) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Caravan, The Story of the Middle East**, New York 1951, p. 313.

(2) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: **Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en las yemaas del Rif, Africa**, Madrid, Noviembre 1947, pp. 75-77.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most
common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ifarādhen* (Arabic *bil-fard*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches *(tharga*, pl. *tharghiwīn)* and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rif, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

423 mary to arrange a fixed place beforehand for washing and bathing.
312 Each *jamā'ath* (village, council of notables) works out and agrees on
562 fines for infractions of water rights, particularly with regard to
515 freedom of women; a small boy is stationed at a prudent distance from the women's section of the water, to keep men away (4).

312 671 It was Col. Blanco, in his magnificent analysis of Riffian customary law (5) (which has served as an invaluable aid to me in the collection of my own notes on the subject), who first called attention to the fact that in the Bay of Alhucemas, the primary ditches have secondary branches which only take up water for twenty-four hours; if there are four such secondary branches, each one only takes up water every four days. Secondary ditches in turn have tertiary branches, which take up water only during the day, or at night. The tertiary branches lead to the very small ditches of individuals, which take up water for a few hours only, these hours usually being determined by those of the daily prayers. Distribution of water is based on the tribal social structure: a *thārfīqth*, the fundamental social unit, receives water from a secondary ditch on a twenty-four hour basis, while a *jājghū* or patrilineal extended family within the *thārfīqth* may use only a tertiary ditch. If one of these family groups, during one turn, gets its water during the day, it will receive it at night in the following round, and the first in one turn will be the last in the next. All ditches are subject to communal maintenance and all the families who use them must help repair them after heavy rains have washed them out.

Water rights are still carefully regulated by the *'urf*, or unwritten customary law, and custom in respect to water channeled off from the Ghīs is different from that of the Nakūr, owing to the different nature of the rivers themselves. In the Bay of Alhucemas, the best land in the tribe, the flow of water in the lower course of the Ghīs, although slight, is nevertheless constant. The problem created by the Ghīs is that although today its volume has been artificially increased with new concrete beds for the primary ditches of Thafadhna, Bulma'īz and Libzimma, there would still not be enough water to go around if

(4) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 101.
(5) Blanco Izaga, 1939, passim.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

adequate provisions, sanctioned by custom, for its apportionment had not been made long ago. Because of the relative constancy of its flow, those who irrigate with its waters know that the quantity they can expect is more or less the same at any time of year. Thus the *qānūns* dealing with irrigation in the Lower Ghīs specifically state that any man who purchases land there must buy his irrigation turn independently. Due to the fact that these *qānūns* have been drawn up in Arabic by the *'adūl* or notaries public for all to see and abide by, and to the additional fact that all the land on both banks of the river belongs to Aith Wuryāghil, disturbances of social equilibrium about irrigation water there, although far from uncommon, have been considerably less great than they might have been.

The Nakūr, however, is something else again. Although it irrigates about eight times as much land as the Ghīs, it nevertheless loses much of its potential through infiltration. While in winter I have seen it overflow its banks during a heavy storm, it becomes reduced to a muddy little creek in summer. Owing to its volume capacity, however, its irrigation *qānūns*, in this case unwritten, provide that anyone who buys land there automatically has a right to irrigation water as well, because most of the year there is a sufficient quantity for all. But the hitch is that Nakūr water irrigates not only Aith Wuryāghil but Aith Tuzīn and Tamsamān as well. Although the Spanish administration has fixed the river as the boundary between Aith Tuzīn and Ṭamsamān on the east bank and Aith Wuryāghil on the west, individuals and families from each of these three tribes still own land on the bank opposite them. In the past the river functioned less as a boundary than as a zone of transition, and because of the unclear but traditional and conservative application of customary law, there was ample opportunity for feuds to develop, which they did with great frequency, particularly in summer when the water supply was low. The *shaikh ar-fijjāḥath* (Ar. *shaikh al-fillāḥa*) or *aquwwām* of each of the opposing tribes met to parley in case of a blatant infraction of custom, such as getting water out of turn; he was backed up by his respective constituents, all of whom were armed to the teeth. In case of a general melee, Aith Wuryāghil, being the most powerful, usually won, particularly if Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn were in disagreement with one another.

312 671 312 671 721

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

342 House sites in Aith Wuryāghil are determined by two principal
[361] considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6). The walls, sturdily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square; wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 20 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a *ghurfa*, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located
[356] just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Riffians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of 'Abd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of
351 the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door
[354] through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored
[251] beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an
[417] impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the *akhammās* as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: **La Vivienda Rifeña**, Ceuta 1930, passim.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The houses are widely scattered up and down the mountains, each one being at least three hundred meters away from the next. Its construction and situation reflect the independent spirit of its owner. Almost always isolated to at least this extent, such a dwelling is usually the residence of a man, his unmarried brothers an sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This is only part of the family; the rest of it, living in similar houses the usual distance away, includes the man's married brothers and their wives and unmarried children. Thus the family, as it is know in Aith Wuryāghil, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; when the daughters marry, they go to live with their husbands' people, for this is a patrilineal and patrilocal society. This extended family or *jājghū* (pl. *ijūjgha*) is a cooperative economic unit; the affiliations of in-marrying wives are with it rather than with the families from which they came. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old *jājghū* splits into as many new *ijūjgha* as there were married brothers originally.

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the elders of the *jājghū*, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two *'adūl* proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all, when the father dies; but with many sons, the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit; quarrels may develop, in which case the land is divided up among the sons, each one looking after his own share. The inheritance system follows standard Islamic practice, with the portion of one son equalling that of two daughters. If daughters whose share of the family property includes land marry into other villages or political sections, they are often induced to sell out their own holdings to their brothers so that the land will remain securely in the hands of the family. These are

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

596 the essential features of the *jājghū* as an extended family group but its importanoe in the total social structure is far overshadowed by a larger and more durable unit called *thārfiqth* (pl. *thārfiqin).*

618 This grouping, a form of clan-community, is an amplification of the *jājghū* by inclusion of the families of *all* the sons of the original founder-ancestor, not just of one of them (which constitutes the *jājghū*). This ancestor is apt to be at least three or four ascending generations removed from the speaker, if not more; he is the speaker's furthest remembereb ascendant in the male line and the man from whom the *thārfiqth* takes its name. Within the *thārfiqth,* the various *ijujgha* form its componet parts. Thus, in the *thārfiqth* of Ḥaddūshen or Aith Ḥaddūsh in the village of of Aith Mūsā u 'Amar (Aith 'Alī), the component *ijūjghā* are the families of 'Alī, Sa'īd, Muḥammādi, Muḥand and 'Abdallāh, all sons of Ḥaddūsh, the common ancestor of all; in the *thārfiqth* of Aith Sa'īd in the same village the *ijūjgha* are the families of Ḥmid, 'Aisā and 'Abdallāh. A *thārfiqth* may have a depth of five to nine generations from its ancestral head to its youngest living member; it may number some 200 living people, distributed throught ten to twenty households. In general, it constitutes a separate barrio or *ḥauma* in a village; its political existence as such is undeniable, for the village council members (*izdīfen,* sing. *azdīf,* «head») are the elders of each *thārfiq:h.* Not all of these elders are kin, however, for it is unusual, as we shall see, for all the *thārfiqin* in one village to be related to each other.

582 [618] [596] Preferred marriage takes the form of exogamy between the *ijūjgha* and endogamy within the *thārfiqth.* Instances of parallel or cross cousin marriages of the Arab pattern may be spotted in most large genealogies, but they are rare; on the other hand, exogamous marriages into other *thārfiqin* in the same village or in the same political section are frequently contracted. Marriages into other political sections or into other tribes are less common; these are usually contracted by men of influence for political reasons and in the old days such unions formed the basis of a complicated network of alliance systems called *liff* (pl. *lifūf),* which will be given extensive treatment further on. Weddings usually take place when the boy is sixteen to seventeen years old and the girl fourteen to fifteen.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfīqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlis are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jāris, muqaddams, shaikhs, qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfīqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives **awar** (properly **azwar**), or «vein», and **ighs**, or «bone», corresponding to **jajghu** and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word **ighs** refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

618 596 Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other, native *ijūjgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijūjgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfiqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfiqīn* of their own. All the families in the villages of Bū Zdūr and Marrūwī, and most of those of Thirkuzīn, in Aith 'Abdallāh, are of this type; they are still considered by the locals as foreigners from Aith 'Ammarth, although they banded together long ago to found a new *thārfiqth* of their own, Aith Ḥandu Dāwūd, which has now grown into a *farīqath* or canton.

In the Wuryāghlī sense of being a «whole family», the internal solidarity of the *thārfiqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijūjgha* of a *thārfiqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfiqth* as a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfiqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence. Although murders within the *thārfiqth* did occur, they were very rare and considered unnatural crimes; the local holy man, *sharīf* or *murābiṭ* was brought around at once to appease the bereaved and to act as moderator, and the offenders were either killed or exiled immediately to prevent a feud from spreading. To date, I know personally of only one case of one man killing another in the same *thārfiqth* (in Tharwa n Muḥammādi 'Alūsh, Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī): he was instantly shot by one of the sons of the dead man, and as he himself had no sons or brothers to carry on the feud, the problem ended then and there. Equilibrium was completely reestablished when the killer married his victim's sister, his own parallel cousin.

578 682 618 596

618 628 Each *thārfiqth*, however, was usually at war with its neighbors. Minor quarrels over ownership of land or of irrigation water could and did lead to blood feuds of such extraordinary savageness that on some occasions they did not stop until one or the other of the participating families was completely wiped out. The smaller the group,

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

the greater the number of powerful allies it had to have in order to survive. Periods of peace and quiet were very infrequent events; in the old days every house had a watch tower, forming a second story, in which the owner had a commanding view of the whole countryside. He could thus spot an unwary enemy and drop him dead in his tracks with the greatest of ease and pleasure. The poverty and infertility of the soil was a factor which contributed heavily to an atmosphere of eternal suspicion and mistrust of one's neighbor. Violence was so common that, analyzing it from an anthropological standpoint, Montagne remarks with considerable justification that the concept of the *thārfiqth* obscured and often even obliterated those of the larger political units above it (8). The acceptance of the *dīyath* or blood money by the murdered man's *thārfiqth* was a rare phenomenon; most families, particularly those of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, the political division which has the greatest fighting reputation of all, preferred to keep the feud going. I have been informed that in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh feuding assumed such extreme proportions that, to take one example, the village of Aith Bū Khrif knew *no peace at all* until the Spanish occupation. Another instance on record, cited both by Montagne (9) and Maldonado (10), tells of a feud which started between two *thārfiqīn* of Aith 'Abdallāh, Aith al-Qāsim and Iburāsan; I have personally verified their accounts by conversation with two of the participants.

The shooting began after the murder of a dog which belonged to the guest of the head man of Iburāsan, as the Aith al-Qāsim refused to pay the blood money (50 duros) claimed. Twelve men were killed in combat the first day; each side got its allies and soon the feud spread all through the *farīqas* of Ibunahāren and Aith 'Amar u Ḥmid. In the following years, 40 men died on one side and 62 on the other, in pitched battles alone. This does not take into account the even larger number of those who were shot down in ambush or poisoned with arsenic sold by merchants at Alhucemas. The con-

(8) Montagne, Robert: Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris 1930, p. 240.

(9) Montagne, 1930, pp. 239-240.

(10) Maldonado, Eduardo: El Rogui, Tetuán 1952, pp. 33-34.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MX3 Rif MX3

131
631

AITH WURYĀGHIL
ETHNOGRAPHIC DIVISION OF COL. BLANCO
REVISED AND CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR
I 1 AITH YŪSUF U 'ALĪ
2 AITH 'ALĪ
II 3 AITH 'ABDALLĀH.
III 4 AITH ḤADĪFA.
5 AITH 'AMŪR.
IV 6 AITH 'ADHĪYA.
7 AITH BŪ'AYYĀSH.
V 8 IMZĀBDHEN.
(A) AITH TURYRTH
(B) THIMĀRZSHA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF ALHUCEMAS
Beni Yaljuh
Torgist
Thafeouth
Aith Yūsuf
Thigzran (A)
Bulma (A)
(Aith Lotob)
Aith Yuzin
Aith Tzuri
Aith Ishaq
Aith Ya'la
Aith Ya'qūb
Aith Ya'qūb
Aith Ya'qūb

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

628 quered group eventually decided to leave the country; almost no one was left but old men, women and children, who sought refuge in the sacred mountain of Zarhūn (where Mūlāy Idrīs, the first Sultan of Morocco, is buried), after having sold all their property in order to try to hire a man who would avenge their dead. The vengeance plan was carefully worked out, and the *'adūl* made the following stipulations: 10.000 riyāls if the bullet killed an enemy; 5.000 if it wounded one; and 2.500 if it missed its mark. In any event, the hired killer was usually found the next day with a bullet through his own head, due as often as not to the careful marksmanship of a small boy hidden behind a lentiscus bush.

To give further evidence of lengths which the people of Aith Wuryāghil used to go to put their enemies out of the way, I was told by one of my informants that someone had once insulted his father. The father, an *amghār* or councillor of considerable repute in his own village (Aith Mūsā u 'Amar of Aith 'Alī), would not brook the insult, and promised his *akhammās* a new *jillāb* (11) and a considerable sum of money if he disposed of the insulter. The *akhammās* went out on his master's errand, but seems to have had a change of heart somewhere during his journey, for he decided that he personally had no quarrel with the other party. Thus there was no reason to kill him. But, with the prospect of a fat reward in his pocket, he

291 (11) (Riffian **ajdab**): a woolen cloak with sleeves and hood worn by men. In the days before Abd al-Karim it was made of brown home-spun and reached the knees only; today ankle-length jillabs are much more in vogue, and the younger generation prefers them made of European cloth. The old woolen turban, **thaghrafth**, is also no longer worn, and has been replaced by a white cotton turban among the older men; the younger ones, particularly those who have traveled outside the Rif, prefer the tarbush. The trousers have become baggier in recent years as well; the only item of distinctly Riffian clothing which remains is the toe-strap sandal of esparto grass. It is interesting to note that the old short and decorated Riffian jillaba can only be seen today in the Ghumara.

Women's clothing on the other hand, is far more conservative. The women of Aith Wuryaghil wear a silken band around the head, tied in the back, over which is placed a cotton shawl; a long cotton or silk shirt (if cotton, it is white; if silk, red or yellow) coming to the knees, with blue trousers underneath, coming to halfway between knees and feet; and a heavy red woolen belt. Most women go barefoot, but some, like many of the men, have adopted Spanish sneakers (alpargatas). Both sexes wear babouches (Riffian **tharkusen**, Arabic **blaghi**) only on festival occasions, provided they 'are rich enough to afford them.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

628 announced upon his arrival home that he had shot the man and returned undetected. The *amghār* soon learned the truth, and locked up his *akhammās* for three days without food or water. He then sent him packing, after cutting off his ears.

631 Under circumstances like these, in which even women did not dare go to work alone in the fields and in which men always had to carry their rifles to the mosque or to the market, it might seem, carrying Montagne's argument one step further, that no groupings larger than the *thārfiqth* could exist at all. They do exist, however, thanks to the mechanism of the *liff* alliance system, and the next one up the scale is the *jamā'ath* or *dshār*, the «village», a collection of both related and unrelated *thārfiqīn*. I use the word «village» advisedly, nevertheless; its geographical limits, known perfectly by the tribesmen themselves, are difficult for the outsider to discern owing to the linear nature of the terrain and the scattered house distribution. Its site may be determined by the excessive growth of one *thārfiqth*, by the proximity of a spring, by discords and internal struggles, or by any number of other causes. Its two principal requirements are
631 a communal village mosque (there is often more than one mosque to
623 a village) and a local assembly consisting of the headmen *(izdīfen*, sing. *azdīf)* of its component *thārfiqīn*. This assembly is still in large measure the governing body of the village, and it administrates village affairs largely according customary law (*'urf*); under its jurisdiction fall matters relating to individual and family order, theft of small articles such as eggs and poultry and olives and grapes, vigilance of orchards, reparation of irrigation ditches, and the like. It meets once a week in the courtyard of one of the village mosques, or under a wild olive tree, to hear and try cases of local importance. It elects the *faqīh* of the mosque, who gives Qur'anic instruction to the boys of the village, and the *shaikh arfiiiāḥath* or *aquwwām* to direct work in the fields and to oversee the *tawīzas* or corvees working on irrigation projects (12). Today it also elects a moderator to direct and keep order during its meetings; he is usually the village *jārī* or headman. The mosque, school and cemetery are all communal property of the *jamā-*

(12) Paniagua y Santos, José María: «Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif», **Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos**, núm. 4, primer semestre, Madrid, Junio 1948, pp. 1-44. My references on p. 14 and pp. 20-21.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 623 *'ath*, as, in the mountains, is the olive press; the *jamā'ath* also retains an indefinable hold over saints' tombs *(amrābidh*, pl. *imrābdhen)* if there are any in the vicinity. Each village also has its communal pasture lands *(ḥarīm)* and its scrub forests *(ghāba)*; these may neither be sold nor divided up, and are maintained *pro indiviso* for the sole use of the inhabitants of the village in question. These lands, generally, surround the village, and form a vague line of demarcation between it and the next village; their situation and extension are such that a woman, for instance, can go out after sunrise to cut *ghāba* and return home before sunset (13).

631 The next unit up the scale is the minor political division called *farīqath*, which the Spanish administration refers to as «subfraction» This unit usually takes the form of a canton, a single hill-valley- or watershed-unit, comprising some four or five villages. The administration has brought this grouping into sharper relief by putting a *muqaddam* at its head; but this is for administrative purposes only and is not, except in a few cases, a true reflection of the tribal social structure. In the minds of the tribepeople the *farīqath* is ultimately [614] a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one *farīqath* in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the *farīqath* coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some *thārfiqīn* within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members of a canton together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque *(thamzīda n khuṭbath)* to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the *faqīh*. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, nevertheless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements.

(13) Martos de Castro, José: «Lo bereber en Marruecos y sus relaciones con lo ibero». In Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos: Labor de España en Africa, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333. My references from pp. 328-333.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Next on the list is the major or primary political section, called either *rba'* (pl. *rubū'*) or *thakhammāsth* (pl. *thikhammāsīn*), which literally mean «fourth» and «fifth», respectively. In Aith Wuryāghil, at any rate, these terms are virtually synonymous, although, functionally speaking, the latter is more applicable to the tribesmen's own concept of the political segmentation of their tribe. Aith Wuryāghil is considered as being divided into five major sections, each of which supposedly claims descent, in its turn, from a common ancestor. It is significant that the tribe as a unit does *not* claim such descent; its traditions of origin show it to be a grafting together of various elements, most of which came originally from Giznāya in very ancient times. But the fact that its people regard themselves as a tribe, as a single unit, in opposition to and when threatened by other tribes, we shall see presently. 631

The five major sections alluded to above are: 1) *Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī*, pronounced «Aith Yūsuf Wārī» (with *Aith Turīrth*) and *Aith 'Alī* pronounced «Aith 'Arī» (with *Thimārzgha*), the two of which traditionally constitute a single division, by virtue of their descent from two brothers, Yūsuf u 'Alī and 'Alī u 'Alī; 2) *Aith 'Abdallāh*; 3) *Aith 'Arūs* (with *Aith Ḥadīfa* and *I'akiyen*); 4) *Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh* (with *Aith 'Adhīya*); and 5) Imrābdhen. With the exception of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and Aith 'Abdallāh, who maintain their territorial holdings as solid blocs, all the other divisions have their principal lands in the mountains and enclaves in the plains, or vice versa, and the Imrābdhen, the descendants of Arab *shurfā* as their name, in Riffianized Arabic, indicates, form a supplementary division the segments of which are distributed throughout the whole tribal territory. We see in these divisions the historical basis of the two *lifūf* (sig. *liff*) or political moieties of Aith Wuryāghil, Aith Yūsuf and Aith 'Alī, which became crystallized through the struggles between the descendants of the two brothers Yūsuf and 'Alī; these descendants form, as we have seen, a single *thakhammāsth* or «fifth». In the first *liff*, headed by *Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī*, fall Imrābdhen, allied by marriage with the former since their beginnings Aith 'Arūs (with Aith Ḥadīfa and I'akiyen), half of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (the *farīqath* of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and, in case of an intertribal war, the tribe of Aith 'Ammarth; in the second *liff*, *Aith 'Alī*, are Aith 'Abdallāh and the other half of Aith

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

63| Bū 'Ayyāsh (the *farīqath* of Aith 'Adhīya). Although the second *liff* was the smaller of the two, its fighting strength was heavily reinforced by Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith 'Adhīya, both of which groups have very bellicose reputations. Aith Ḥadīfa and Imrābdhen are weaker sections, on the other hand, while the presence of half of the «fifth» of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh in each *liff* shows how divided within itself this biggest and most warlike of all the divisions used to be. It is also appropriate to point out that only in connection with «fifth» of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī (later to produce 'Abd al-Karīm) and Aith 'Alī does the term *rbā'*, in Wuryāghlī parlance, differ in political significance from *thakhammāsth*; Ait Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and Aith 'Alī are considered as separate *rubū'* belonging to the same *thakhammāsth*, implying, somewhat paradoxically, that a «fifth» is larger than a «fourth». In all the other major sections the terms are used interchangeably, although at the present time *rbā'* takes precedence, as. under the Spanish administration, there are six and not five administrative divisions in the tribe, two in each of three «caidatos». Referred to by the administrations as «fractions», these consist of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Imrābdhen in the caidato of Uṭa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Ḥadīfa in the caidato of the Upper Ghīs, and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and Jabal (Aith 'Arūs, Aith Turīrth of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Thimārzgha of Aith 'Alī) in the caidato of Nakūr.

Aith Wuryāghīl, being the biggest tribe in the Spanish Protectorate, has been given the status of a separate «comarcal» by the administration, and each of the three caidatos is governed by a *qā'id*, who is assisted in his duties by a *khalīfa*. Under and subject to him are the *shiyūkh* (sing. *shaikh*) of the rubū' or «fractions», each of whom is also assisted by a *khalīfa*. The qā'id presides over his tribunal *(maḥkāma)* every week in the principal market of the caidato In addition, special «fractional» juntas were created as of 1952 by the administration; these are made up of all the *muqaddamīn* (sing. *muqaddam)* of the «subfractions» *(farīqath)* and of all the representative (*ukīl*) of the villages, usually the village *jurā'ī* (sing. *jārī*). This junta, which meets every three months in the «fractional» mar-
63| ket, is presided over by the *shaikh*. Its principal duty is to carry
65| out the collection of the *tartīb*, the tax paid to the Makhzin in Tetuan by each farmer on each head of livestock and on each hectare

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

of land under cultivation which he possesses; it also assures the collection of the market tax, a small tariff paid by each man to the market *amīn* on the animals and produce which he brings into the market to sell. The money is destined for «fractional» use entirely: upkeep of the market, digging a new well, or for any purpose which pertains to or is of interest to the «fraction» in general. The *shaikh* of the «fraction» is responsible to the *qā'id* for the assessment and collection of this money, while the *qā'id* himself takes direct charge of matters which involve the caidato as a whole. In another building in the market place, the *qāḍī*, also assisted by a *khalīfa*, administers the Sharī'ā, which at the present time has largely supplanted the old Riffian *'urf* or customary law.

This form of government, based entirely on the Arab system, has completely superseded the old regime of the *Aith Arba'in*, of the *imghāren* (sing. *amghār*), the family and village headmen who, in each «fifth», used to make up its governing body in the days before 'Abd al-Karīm. The powers of the *imghāren*, who also used to meet in the market, were much more extensive than those of the modern «fractional» junta, and included assessment and collection of fines for theft of livestock, for talking to women in the market, for suspected but unproven adultery, and the collection of blood money (*dīyath*). These duties and the unwritten customary law which governed them have all been substantially assimilated by the legal jurisdiction of the Makhzin and by the Sharī'a.

Although in the old days there was no higher body politic than the *imghāren* of the «fifth», those of all five «fifths» used to meet together at a place called *aghrau* (p. *ighrāwen)*, the location of of which had previously been announced in the market by the *barrāḥ* or market crier, in case a crisis arose which assumed tribal proportions. In case of adultery caught *in flagrante delicto*, the injured husband had, and still has, the traditional privilege of killing his wife and her lover with exemption from payment of blood money. In case of murder committed on profane ground, the murderer had to pay a fine *(ḥaqq)* of 5.000 pesetas to the *imghāren*, and blood money amounting to 6.000 pesetas to his victim's family, provided the latter chose to accept it. If they did not, as was usually the case, a feud was in full swing immediately, and the council members, lea-

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

68
623

ving well enough alone, did not bother to interfere until after it was over, when the number of dead on each side was totaled up and excess blood money was paid to the party with the greater casualties. The *ḥaqq* was paid to the *imghāren* as well for the necessity of calling them together; but if one of the «fifths» failed to send its delegates to the *aghrau*, it received no money at all. A *sharīf* or *qāḍi* was always present at the peace negotiations to act as moderator, and he and the *imghāren* ate at the expense of and slept in the houses of the *thārfiqth* heads in the vicinity of the meeting site.

However, if a murder was committed on a Muslim feast day or in a market, or at a time when peace prevailed, the *imghāren* rushed in a body to the murderer's house to call him to account for his action. In case of murder on the road to or in the market itself, the *ḥaqq* was doubled to 10.000 pesetas, owing to the market's sacred character as a place of peaceful trade to which came not only Wuryāghlīs, but people from other tribes as well. If the murderer was unable or unwilling to pay this, which almost always meant that he had to sell all his property, the *imghāren* proceeded to burn down his house. (This was the case in the Bay of Alhucemas; among the mountain Wuryāghlīs and in northern Giznāya, a murderer had to suffer both *ḥaqq* and houseburning, the latter as a symbolic act of vengeance meted out to him by the whole tribe in the person of its body politic, for disturbing tribal peace as a whole and for committing his crime in an area which belonged to the tribe collectively.) If the murderer and his family still resisted, they had a war with the assembled *imghāren* on their hands as well as with the dead man's kin. If the *imghāren* and their cohorts won, as they usually did, they burned down the houses of the other members of the murderer's *thārfiqth* in addition, and the latter had to flee to another «fifth», another tribe, or out of the Rīf entirely for a period of at least two years, when, if they made peace overtures in the proper manner, they might be permitted to come back. But the Riffians are a proud people; if they returned at all, it was most often with revenge in mind Needless to say, there are numerous little colonies of Riffian exiles all over Morocco; many Wuryāghlīs and their descendants are to be found both in Tangier and in Fes. It may thus be seen that it was

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

to the interest of the murderer and his family to come to terms quickly, for if they tried to go against the council, their days were numbered.

The *imghāren* were the real power in the land, and although the Sultan used to nominate *quyād* (pl. of *qā'id*), these were usually nothing but *imghāren* whose local prestige was slightly greater than that of their fellows. In Aith Wuryāghil, the *Bilād as-Saiba* par excellence, a *qā'id* could not govern in the same manner as he did an Arab tribe; if he tried to institute reforms without having the force to back them up, he was likely to be quietly done away with. It was the assembled *imghāren* of all the «fifths» who dictated policy if the tribe was threatened from outside. They declared war, treated for peace, and contracted alliances with other tribes, and they did so jointly. The Riffians are democratic almost to the point of anarchy, and if any man was considered better than his neighbor, it was only because he had more brothers or cousins to help him out in case a fight started. The excellent description given by Coon of what is apt to happen at the meeting of an *aghrau* affords us a wonderful insight into the Wuryāghlī character.

> «... The locality depends on mutual convenience. Each fifth occupies a section of the circle. A moderator talks to the members until a common attitude in regard to the subject of the meeting is agreed upon. - The moderator now having received the instructions of his constituency, he approaches the center of the circle, and the councillors left on the outer ring finger their rifles and express their readiness to defend their spokesman if he gets into a violent argument. They discuss the matter at hand all talking at once or whenever they please, since there is no chief moderator, and for one member to bid another to be quiet would be ample excuse for murder. Moderators of a fifth usually agree within themselves and the argument soon develops into a consideration of how many fifths favor one opinion and how many the other. The moderator of one fifth may lead the moderator of another aside and whisper to him outside the ring, trying to bribe him to come over to his way of thinking. If the second moderator succumbs to this, he returns to the central ring and tries to change the attitude of the other representatives of his fifth. The parley goes on until a unanimous decision is reached or until the councillors begin fighting among themselves

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

623
621

and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In this case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay indemnity to the other. Even when the council ends peacefully it takes at least a week before they reach an agreement» (14).

To his may be appended a short but very apt summation of the situation by Col. Blanco: «En el Rif, donde todos son personajes, sólo una política de masas y no de individuos puede ser fructífera» (15).

618
616
620

In the Rīf, up to the advent of 'Abd al-Karīm, the state of war was so permanent that it can truthfully be said that if is customary for Europeans or Americans to declare war, it was also customary for the Riffians to declare peace. We must remember that the *thārfiqth* was the unit of vengeance, and that feuds between *thārfiqīn* even within the same village were a commonplace. House-to-house fighting was the order of they day. If a feud kept going long enough, the result was that the other *thārfiqīn* in the same and in nearby villages eventually began to group themselves around either one of the two feuding parties, usually with the one which was closer kin to themselves. Thus we have the beginnings of a moiety organization, equivalent to the *ṣof* of the Kabyles of Algeria. If the members of one moiety gradually found themselves on the losing side, their representatives used to lead a bull to the mosque of a neutral village or *thārfiqth* the aid of which they desired, and the *faqīh* slaughtered it on the sill so that its blood spurted over the threshold. The fact that a bull was sacrificed whenever possible is significant in itself, as the Wuryāghlīs [262] are very poor and largely vegetarians by force of circumstances; a bull is the most expensive edible animal they can buy. The act of sacrifice worked as a powerful shame compulsion (*'ār*), and forced the members of the second group into alliance with the first, whether they were willing or not. This type of alliance was called *liff*, as mentioned above, and as the feud grew in size, so did the *liff*. If the feud remained localized, alliances were usually made anew after it was over; but if it spread enough to involve whole «fifths», the traditional *liff* alignment of the two opposing moieties of Aith Yūsuf and Aith 'Alī came into play again. The clever manipulation of this

(14) Coon, 1931, p. 97.
(15) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 67.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

system of alliances which 'Abd al-Karīm displayed during the early part oh his war was one of the major reasons for his successful unification of the Rīf (16).

It must the stated here, however, that it was unusual for most feuds to become anything more than shootings on a local scale. First of all, feuding kept the population down; secondly, house burnings and exaction of fines by the *imghāren* were harsh repressive measures in themselves; thirdly, the constant fear of outside invasion by the councillors of another tribe (which occurred wen the *imghāren* of Aith 'Ammarth stepped in on the side of Aith Yūsuf to end a feud between the latter and Aith 'Alī, plus the standard alignment of other «fifths», which had been going on for seven years) tended to restrict the scope of the feud and to prevent it from spreading; and fourthly, individuals who were considered habitual troublemakers and soreheads even by Riffian standards were exiled. If they refused to accept the dictum of the *imghāren* they were unceremoniously put to death.

The above is a reflection of the Riffian political system and situation which prevailed up until the time of 'Abd al-Karīm. The governmental structure of Aith Wuryāghil followed to the letter the true Berber pattern of superimposed representative councils, with a few of the members of each deliberative body being chosen to participate in the council of the group a rung higher up the ladder. Furthermre, thanks to the *liff* alliance system, as Blanco says, the individual in the *thārfiqth*, the *thārfiqth* in the *jamā'ath*, the *jamā'ath* in the «fifth», the «fifth» in the tribe *(thaqbīt*, pl. *thaqbīr*, from Arabic *qabīla*, pl. *qabā'il)*, and the tribe in relation to other tribes all maintain an unstable equilibrium, expressed in terms of the linking of *rubū'* or of «fifths», and ultimately, in the two great rival moieties of Ṣinhāja and Ghumāra (17). As it happens in our particular case, Aith Wuryāghil was (and is) too large and powerful to need formal alliances with other tribes, its only active ally having been Aith 'Ammarth, for, as many old greybeards have told me, «We could still go out and eat Tamsamān or Aith Tuzīn any day of the week»; but for small tribes surrounded by big neighbors, such as Thafarsīth,

(16) Coon, 1951, p. 317.
(17) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 70.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 the *liff* mechanism was an absolute necessity, for if it did not exist they would have been swallowed up long ago.

619 175 178 The entrance of the Pretender Bū Ḥimāra into the Rīf in 1908 and the short war with Spain in 1909 brought about a disruption of some of the traditional alliances and the constitution of new ones. This had a particularly important effect upon Aith Wuryāghil because, for the first time, the tribe became truly united. Reinforced by contingents from Aith 'Ammarth, the warriors of Aith Wuryāghil banded together to resist the Rūghī and his *ḥarka* of Riffians from the east. They defeated him at the Battle of Imzūren and managed very effectively to check his progress in the Central Rīf.

619 We can thus see that tribal unity, dormant under normal conditions, is manifested when outside forces threaten to upset group equilibrium. The strongest allegiances are family and *thārfiqth* ties, but, in opposition to neighboring tribes, tribal allegiance is undivided. This has its reflection in tribal nomenclature: a man from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh is called Bū 'Ayyāshī only in the tribal territory of Aith Wuryāghīl. Outside it he is called Wuryāghlī, and if he is outside the Rīf entirely he is usually just referred to as ar-Rifī. This is how the Riffian really defines his tribe, by inferred comparison to and in opposition to other tribes. Writing about another tribal society, the Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard has defined a tribe as having: 1) a common and distinct name; 2) a common sentiment; 3) a common and distinct territory; 4) a moral obligation to unite in war, and 5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. It is precisely upon these criteria that the Aith Wuryāghil base their own concept of their tribe, as do all the other tribal groups as well. When menaced by Bū Ḥimāra, the Aith Wuryāghil were welded together by their common «we-feeling», and stopped him.

631 175 178 The ultimate result of Bū Ḥimāra's campaign in the Rīf was the rise to personal power of a number of petty *imghāren* who became absolute masters in their own bailiwicks. Such men were the Ḥājj Buqqaiah in northern Giznāya, Muḥammad 'Abdallāh of Aith ar-Ḥāsain in Aith 'Ammarth, and, in Aith Wuryāghil itself, Muḥand Ḥaddū of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, Sī Ziyān of Ajdīr (Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī), Ḥājj Ḥaddū of Aith 'Alī, Sīdī 'Amar of Imrābdhen, Muḥand n Sī 'Amar of Aith

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Ḥadīfa, and 'Amar n Ṭāhir of Aith 'Abdallāh. This situation, with its concomitant *liff* alliances and wars between «fifths», prevailed until 1920, when Muḥammad n 'Abd al-Karīm made his first appearance upon the Riffian scene. The story of 'Abd al-Karīm, whose relatively obscure beginnings (his father was a *qāḍī* of Ajdīr and not the *qā'id* of Aith Wuryāghil, as is generally supposed) and sudden ascendancy first over his own tribe and then over the whole Rīf, the «Sultan» of which he then became, is too well known to students of Moroccan history to need recounting here. It is highly significant, however, in accounting, at least in part, for the Arabized type of governmental organization which exists among the tribes of the Rīf at the present day.

After 'Abd al-Karīm took the reins of the jihād against Spain, it was necessary for him to start to consolidate his authority by installing individuals whom he could trust at all points, from the highest to the lowest, from «fifth» to village, in the political structure of his own and of the other nuclear Riffian tribes. The inner circle of men who made up his cabinet was composed almost entirely of his relatives and friends from Ajdīr, which became his capital: his brother Mḥammad was his khalīfa and the Commander of the Regular Riffian Army; his paternal uncle 'Abd as-Salām was the Minister of Finance; his brother-in-law Muḥ Azarqan was the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Aḥmad Būdra, now the *qā'id* of the caidato of Nakūr, was the Minister of War. This move brought about considerable objection on the part of *imghāren* of some of the nearby tribes, who, by and large, considered 'Abd al-Karīm to be a parvenu. He had, in fact, for some time previously been working for the Spanish Government in Melilla.

The separatist and explosive temperament of the central Riffians themselves had long fostered the maintenance of a decentralized type of government in which impetuous and trigger-happy council members were responsible as much for starting blood feuds as for stopping them. Feuding and the mechanism which served to maintain it, the inbred rivalry engendered by the *liff* alliance system, had to be silenced if the Riffians were to put up a united front against Spain. Tribal wars could only be abolished if the structure of political authority in the tribes themselves became more centralized. The traditional Berber political organization does not easily lend itself to administration from above, whereas the Arab type does. 'Abd al-Karīm forced the

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

691 newer system on all the tribes in his domain if they did not have it
175 already. Although the *imghāren* loomed large in the early battles
178 of Ighrīben and Anwāl in 1921, their status had become reduced to that of *quyād al-miya* or *quyād al-miyatain* (*qā'ids* of 100 or 200 men) by the time the *Jumhūrīya Rīfīya* or Riffian State was officially created in 1924. Almost all the men in key position in the new government were from Aith Wuryāghīl but *quyād*, *shiyūkh* and *muqaddamīn* took the place of the old *imghāren;* some of the latter fell in with the new regime and became prominent military commanders, while others, like those of the Ghumāra, jealous of 'Abd al-Karīm's success, staged a revolt against him in 1924 and were quietly poisoned or taken off to die in the jails of Ajdīr and Thamāsīnd. By the time 'Abd al-Karīm had conquered the Jibāla and captured his rival Raisūlī in 1925, he was master of all northern Morocco.

692 The natural supplement to this Arabization of the old Riffian
671 political system was the substitution of the Sharī'a for the earlier
178 customary law. Before 1920, custom, or *'urf*, had been king. If a case had arisen which had previously been unprovided for in Riffian law, the *imghāren* met to discuss it. When they agreed upon a solution, which was usually expressed in terms of payment of such and such a fine, the local *sharīf* or any man whose piety and good sense was known and respected by all was called in to give his testimony and sanction to the law in question, if it did not run counter to the Sharī'a. After the law was passed it was registered by the *ṭulbā* or students in the Friday mosque, and proclaimed in the market by the *barrāḥ* (18). These were the only steps necessary to integrate that law into the corpus of tribal custom. It was, in all but the most serious offenses, as we have seen, the «fifth» or the *farīqath* or even the village rather than tribe collectively which made the law and carried it out.

As has been implied above, 'Abd al-Karīm greatly weakened the power of the *imghāren* by centralizing the political authority in himself as head of a new Muslim state. This state was set up to conform to an orthodox Islamic pattern, and therefore the old customary law had to go. It went, and the result was that the Sharī'a was administered according to the Mālikī rite by a *qāḍī* in each «fifth» of the tribe. The weekly markets, in addition to their earlier functions as

(18) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 20.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

commercial and governmental centers, became legal temples as well, when separate tribunals were also set up for the *qāḍīs*, their *khalīfas* and their *'adūl*. In the old days there had been *qāḍīs* too, but they operated on a far more informal basis; they held court in their own houses, and, in actual practice, they acted more as arbiters of Berber custom than as administrators of Islamic Law, while, as Blanco remarks (19), the *'adūl* limited themselves to registering acts passed by the customary tribunal. The *imghāren* were the people who counted, and, until 'Abd al-Karīm's time *qā'ids*, *qāḍīs*, *muqaddams* and other functionaries with Arab titles were largely negative concepts in Aith Wuryāghil and in the other tribes of the Central Rīf. Today, of course, the situation has been reversed; there are no more *imghāren*, while customary law operates on the village level alone, and plays second fiddle to the Sharī'a even there.

692 671 178

A political reorientation toward an Arab governmental prototype thus became a mechanism for the preservation of Riffian freedom. But 'Abd al-Karīm's carefully constructed Jumhūrīya Rīfiya was short-lived; it collapsed like a house of cards in 1926, two years after its foundation, when the tribal fastness of Aith Wuryāghil was itself invaded from the north by Spain and from the south by France, at which time the Wuryāghlī commanders in the Jibāla and on the Wargha River rushed back to defend their own homes. Nevertheless, in the framework of 'Abd al-Karīm's Riffian State the Spaniards found a ready-made administrative set-up which has continued, with only minor alterations, to the present day. When the Riffian leader first came to power, he installed *qā'ids* in the *rubū'* of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and in the «fifths» of Imrābdhen, Ait Ḥadīfa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh. Later on, when the French Army began to push up into the Central Rīf from the south, he added two more caidatos, Turīrth-Thimārzgha and Aith 'Arūs, to tighten up his control over the unruly mountaineers in the southeast part of the tribe. After the war the Spanish administration maintained this chain of command, setting up tribal «intervención» posts in Ajdīr, Thamāsīnd, Aith Ḥadīfa (Sūq ath-Thnain), Aith 'Amar u Sa'īd (Aith Ḥadīfa), Turīrth (Sūq al-Arba'), and Imnūdh (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh). In 1934, however, they subdivided the tribe into the three aforementioned

631 175 178

(19) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 26.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

175 caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the
178 one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād*
631 *as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective
443 *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain
438 of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables, fruits, eggs, butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as
443 clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (ba-
439 buches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramaḍān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imsūren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imsūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith ʿAlī u ʿAisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj ʿAbd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

443 563 considered the social inferiors of the Wuryāghlīs and are entirely endogamous they do not form a separate economic caste, as they go in for little or no economic specialization other than that just mentioned. In a stall on one side of the market a weaver *(darrāz)* 443 is working on a woolen *jillāb* on a horizontal loom; another stall [286] houses two Berber-speaking Moroccan Jews, one of who hammers out silver bracelets and the other repairs packsaddles. In a nearby cafe sit a group of men who are loudly and appreciatively gulping down glasses of piping hot mint tea, while in the background is the blare of Arabic music or news broadcasted from Tetuan, Tangier, Rabat or Cairo. Needless to say, in Aith Wuryāghil very few people can understand the news programs, although very recently broadcasts in Shilha, coming from Tetuan, have been implemented. In another [302] corner the barber-bleeders (*ḥajjāmīn*) shave the dolichocephalic and sometimes favus-ridden crania of their patrons with unsterilized straight razors. And over all watches the market provost or *amīn*, who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees to it that the market is run smoothly and efficiently.

It is of interest to note that Aith Wuryāghil is the center of a uniquely Riffian institution: the women's market (20). This institution is not only Riffian but Central Riffian in distribution. Aside from Aith Wuryāghil, Tamsamān is the only other tribe possessing women's markets; it has two of them, one Tuesday at Suwānī of Tamsamān, just across the Nakūr River from Aith Wuryāghil, and the other on Sunday. In Aith Wuryāghil itself there are six: Sunday at Iswiqen, Monday at Isrīhen, Monday at Azghar, near Ajdīr, Friday at Aghrīdh, Friday at Ighmīren (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and Saturday at Aith Qamra.

The people of Aith Wuryāghil belive that these markets were established as the result of the endless intratribal wars, because, since women were noncombatants and were protected as such by the institution of *'anāya*, an interchange of commodities necessary for the survival of the feuding groups could only be carried on without hindrance in markets attended exclusively by members of the female sex. I have heard that the first women's market to be established was

(20) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: «Zocos de mujeres en Beni Uriagueln, Africa, Madrid. Mayo 1943, pp. 22-23.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

that held on Mondays at Azghar, and that it was the proposed establishment of this market which led to the seven years' war between Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī, the former being pro-market and the latter con. In any event, whatever their actual origin, the significant fact is that men are entirely excluded (although little boys of ten years or under may go with their mothers). The women buy and sell the usual eggs, chickens, bread and pottery, plus a certain amount of grains, fruits and vegetables, with occasional love charms and objects for warding off the *jnūn* and the evil eye thrown in. The markets are supervised by an *amīna* and are subject to the same market duty as the ordinary markets. In the old days two men, standing at a safe distance from the market, used to act as guards and prohibited other men from entering; this is no longer the case, however, for in recent times, Sánchez Pérez relates that a man from Buqqoya, interested in spotting a future wife for himself, went to the Saturday market at Aith Qamra dressed as a woman. He was soon discovered, however, then denounced to the *amīna* in no uncertain terms, and finally taken to the *qā'id* of Uṭa, who tossed him into jail (21). It is noteworthy that even in regular markets men and women do not talk or mix with each other, save in the transaction of business, but remain sharply and distinctly segregated.

Concerning the market as a commercial center, little remains to be said except that each market in the tribe specializes in certain kinds of products and falls into one of three definite categories: village, «fractional», and tribal. An example of the first is the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, specializing in charcoal, to which go only people from the surrounding villages. The second type is represented by the Monday market at Aith Ḥadīfa and the Thursday market at Imrābdhen; both specialize in grain, and to both come people from Aith 'Abdallāh as well as from the «fifths» in which the markets are located. The third type is represented by three markets: that on Saturday at Imzūren, specializing in fruits and vegetables, which caters as much to people from Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn as from Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī, Aith 'Alī and Imrābdhen; that on Mondays at Izakīren in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, specializing in animals, the most remunerative market in the tribe; and that on Wednesdays at Tu-

(21) Sánchez Pérez, 1943, p. 23.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

443 rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, [563] while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of [534] gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith [203] Tuzīn, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members [545] of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jībāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, 692 and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

443 Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life 648 has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

tial functions of the market by supplying in with a permanent site has served to bring its very great cultural significance into even sharper relief (22).

Islām in Aith Wuryāghil is much the same as it is in the rest of Berber Morocco. The Wuryāghlis observe the «Five Pillars» (profession on faith, prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, legal almsgiving and the pilgrimage to Makka) as rigorously as they can, but extremely few have ever managed to make the long and costly trip to the holy places of Arabia. Riffian Islām is essentially a popular Islām, and is manifested chiefly by regular attendance at the cantonal mosque for the noonday prayer on Fridays, by veneration of local saints (Rīffian *imrābdhen*, sig. *amrābidh*; Arabic *murābiṭīn*, sing. *murābiṭ*) and by belief in supernatural beings (angels, *jnūn* and a local ogress of hideous appearance called *thamsa*, who eats babies and is more or less equivalent to the 'Ā'isha Qandīsha of the Moroccan Arabs). As elsewhere in the Muslim world, heathen survivals in religious ritual are numerous. The people of Aith Wuryāghil and of the Central Rīf in general are, however, not as ridden by superstition as those of the Jibāla and the Ghumāra. In the Rīf, Tamsamān enjoys a far more religious reputation than Aith Wuryāghil, whose name has always been linked more with warfare.

The principal zāwiyas (Ar. *zāwiya*, pl. *zawāwī*) are those of Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir in Aith Ḥadīfa, Tashtīwen in Jabal Ḥammām (Iḥwaḥwaḥīyen of Aith 'Abdallāh), Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ḥājj Mis'ūd in Aith Turīrth (Aith La'ārs), Aith Fārs in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Ighmīren), Zāwiya 'Alāwīyīn in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (ar-Rabḍa), and Sīdī 'Aisā, Sīdī 'Amar u Būkar, Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā and Sīdī Yūsuf in Imrābdhen. In 'Abd al-Karīm's time the only one functioning as a *zāwiya* was Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā in Aith Hīshim, located on the point known as «The Hillock of the Saints»; today Sīdī Yūsuf and Zāwiya Iqannīyen, the local headquarters of the 'Alāwīyīn order, are the most active; all the rest, for the most part, have been reduced from functioning lodges of religious brotherhoods to simple schools or

(22) Fogg, Walter: «Villages, Tribal Markets and Towns: Some Considerations concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco», The Sociological Review, vol. XXXII, London, January-April 1940, pp. 85-107.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

771 saints' tombs (23). Ṣūfi brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'Alāwīyīn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, Tijānīyīn and Naṣirīyīn have each gained a number of aherents the first-mentioned predominates at the presen time and the second was the most popular before the Riffian War.

778 Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descendend from *shurfā*, it has completely lost its *baraka* (a wonderwoking power not unlike the Melanesian *mana*) through participation in feuds. Both these families, as well as the rest of Imrābdhen, lehong to distant ramifications of the *Shurfā* Idrīsīyīn. The *shurfā* alone and not even all of them possess the quality of *baraka*, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

796 The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, *Maulid*), 'Īd aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Īd al-Kabīr (called 'Aid th-Amzyān and 'Aid th-Amqrān in the Rīf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or *'ām al-fillāḥ*: the 'Anṣra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Ḥagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is [788] the annual one to the tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, in Bū Mā'dhín, Thimārzgha, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-Kabīr. There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

142 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Riffians, about 40% of the Aith Wuryāghil are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Riffians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas),

(23) Rodríguez Padilla, Isaías: **Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios.**, Ceuta 1930, p. 24.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

and to mixture with an older strain (24), which is strongest in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and in the Jabal (Turīrth-Thimārzgha-Aith 'Arūs), as well as in eastern Aith 'Ammarth and northern Giznāya. This strain, which has probably survived from pre-agricultural times, is without question a very old one and shows a market resemblance to the Afalou crania and skeletal material from Constantine in Algeria and, to a lesser degree, to the Cro-Magnon people of Upper Palaeolithic Europe. The modern representatives of this strain look like Irishmen, with stocky body builds, wide faces (but long heads), snub noses, big teeth, reddish hair, green or light gray eyes, and freckles. I can personally attest that the presence of people of this physical type in the Central Rīf is far too frequent to be ignored, and strongly believe that these «Upper Palaeolithic survivors» are far too firmly rooted in their mountain habitat to be accounted for by any invasion within historic times, whether it be factual or fictional. That the Moroccan Berbers are descendants of Goths or Vandals is a myth that is, unfortunately, taking a long time to die; even more unfortunately, I have met Riffians who have come to believe in it themselves.

If you ask an Arab in Tangier or Tetuan what he thinks of Riffians in general and of Wuryāghlīs in particular, he will tell you that they, especially the latter, are ferocious, treacherous and that for a peseta they would be more than happy to out your throat. In all fairness to the people of Aith Wuryāghil, this seems a very harsh dictum indeed. But at the same time it must be remembered that in the past Wuryāghlī children were conditioned very early in their infancy to violence and murder; they were constantly reminded that a slur on the family honor had to be wiped off the record in blood. There is also the additional factor of mountain air and a more balanced if simpler diet which makes the Wuryāghlī physically stronger and tougher than the city or plains Arab; this is why he can stay out and plow his fields all day in a blistering August sun during Ramaḍān without bothering to stop for a siesta, and it is why he often landed a job as a construction worker or as a porter at the docks when he came to Tangier to find work after the drought of 1945. He is sober,

(24) Coon, 1951, p. 157.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

industrious, and an excellent farmer who has, with the primitive tools at his disposal, managed to raise the maximun possible number of crops on a very rocky and infertile soil.

It seems therefore possible that the city Arab's reaction to the tribesman from Aith Wuryāghil is born partly out of fear; the Wuryāghlī, in turn, has a low opinion of most Moroccan Arabs despite the fact that they gave him his religion. The most lasting impression which he makes on the outside observer is one of sturdy self-reliance and complete individualism coupled with extreme pugnacity. He follows the dictates of his culture to the letter, and, in the last analysis, it is only within the context of the patterns of that culture that he can be accurately judged.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID M. HART

AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF: THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO SĪDĪ KHIYĀR

(Separata de TAMUDA. Año V. Semestre II)

TETUÁN
IMPRENTA CREMADES
1957

[Title Page]

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID M. HART

AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF: THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR

ANNUAL pilgrimages, or *'imārāt* (sing. *'imārah*), to the tombs of certain saints are a major feature not only of the saint cult in Morocco, but of Maghribi Islam in general. A few of these, such as the *Naskhah*, occurring on 15 Sha'bān, to the shrine of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mshīsh in Banī 'Arūs in the Jbālah, or the visits to the sepulchres of Mūlāi Idrīs in Zarhūn or Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Aisā in Meknes, are events to which the faithful gather from all over the country. Seven successive pilgrimages to the tombs both of Mūlāi Idrīs and Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām equal, according to Moroccans, one to Mecca. The pilgrimage in these instances is supplemented by the activities of members of, variously, the Haddāwa (at Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām), 'Aisāwa or Ḥamādsha (in Meknes) brotherhoods, who smoke *kīf* (*Cannabis indica*, a narcotic not unlike marijuana), beat drums, chew and swallow live coals, put skewers through their cheeks and work themselves into a frenzy in order to identify themselves with the spirit of the saint with whose tomb they are associated; and, if possible, to merge with the Infinite.

There are many other saints, however, mostly of a more local and less national character, whose devotees show far more restraint in their behavior than the members of the brotherhoods mentioned above. One of these is Sīdī Bū Khiyār, buried in the southern mountains of the Central Rifian tribe of Aith Wariyāghir; and nothing like the above occurs at the annual pilgrimage to his tomb, for the members of these orders are held in very low repute in the Rif and are not encouraged to come there. A description of this pilgrimage, wich I witnessed on 1 August 1955, is, I think, of ethnographic interest not only for its own sake but because of the light it sheds on the Berber attitude toward Islam.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

788 Sīdī Bū Khiyār («My Lord the Father of the Cucumber») was,
778 according to tradition, an itinerant *murābiṭ* or holy man from the
792 Sahara who reached the Central Rif completely destitute, without
173 family, servants or possessions. Of when this event occurred, or from what part of the Sahara he originated, we have absolutely no indication. Rifians today say that he was not a *sharīf* (pl. *shurfā*), or descendant of the Prophet, and this is negatively and locally confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of him in the genealogies of the Imrabdhen section (*ar-rbaʿ* or *thakhammasth*, according to the context) of the tribe (*thaqbīsth*) of Aith Wariyāghir, who, despite their sobriquet, are shurfā descended from Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Aʿraj («My Lord Abraham the Lame»), whose own lineage ascends to Mūlāi Idrīs. We may note here, parenthetically, that although the Rifians make a genealogical and functional distinction between *shurfā* and *murābiṭīn* (pl. of *murābiṭ*), they do not differentiate between them terminologically; in the Rifian dialect of Berber, both are called *imrābdhen*, derived from Arabic *murābiṭīn*.

778 In any event, Sīdī Bū Khiyār was to become far more important
788 in the religious aspects of tribal life than most of the Imrābdhen. for no organized visits have ever been made to any of the latters' tombs. After settling on the windswept and desolate mountain peak which bears his name, Sīdī Bū Khiyār became famous as a spellbinder who could attract crowds of lesser murābiṭīn from as far as ten to fifteen days' journey away. He never married, and he died without issue on his mountain top; but the name Bū Khiyār is one wich many mountain Rifians are given to this day.

788 The pilgrimage to Sīdī Bū Khiyār's grave is today a local fes-
778 tival entirely. albeit the most important and significant one in the
575 Central Rif. The only religious brotherhood involved is that of the
795 ʿAlawiyyīn, a recently formed order of Algerian origin. whose members bear no relationship to the saint other than the fact that some of them happen to live in the area, and whose litany is a far more toned-down and sedate affair than those of any of the orders mentioned above, as we shall see.

778 The tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is situated on the summit which
133 overlooks the Turīrth-Timarzga-Aith ʿAmmarth Pass and dominates the massif of the Jbil Ḥamām, The Mountain of Doves, which, at

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

an altitude of 6500 feet, is the highest point in the whole tribe of Aith Wariyāghir. It is located above the village (*adshār*) of Bū Ma'dān, in the district (*r'ayyith*) of Timarzga. The tomb itself, a simple structure unadorned with the usual white cupola, was, in time, supplemented with a small mosque of mud and stone, today in a state of disrepair owing to the ravages of wind, snow, sleet and ice. The actual pinnacle of the massif is not the site of the tomb proper, but a point about 150 feet above it, called Tamrābiṭ. Upon ascending this point, after a spine-shattering journey by jeep up the tortuously winding *piste* from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turīrth (Spanish *Zoco de Arbaa Taurirt*), one realizes that one is at the top of the Central Rif. Almost all of Aith Wariyāghir is below one to the north, and only one or two of the Azru Uqshar peaks in the tribe of Igzinnāyen to the southeast, discernible in outline on a clear day, are higher. Just east of the tomb-mosque complex is a flat space measuring about 600 feet by 300 feet, used for prayer, and just above and north of this is a small grove of *ādhān* (from, by association, the Arabic for «prayer-call»?) trees; and between the mosque and the tomb itself is a small open area called the *Sūq al-Ṣāliḥīn* the Market of the Righteous.

The pilgrimage takes place on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah, one day before the 'Aid al-Kabīr or Great Feast of Islam, called *r-'Aid Umquran* by the Rifians. People come from all over the southern mountain districts of Aith Wariyāghir, as well as from the neighboring tribes of Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnāyen, to attend it. The greatest number are locals from Timarzga (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), after which come those from Aith 'Arūs (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), Aith 'Ammarth, Aith Bū 'Avyāsh (Aith Wariyāghir), Zāwīth n Sīdī 'Abd r-Qādir of the Imrābdhen of Aith Ḥadhīfah (Aith Wariyāghir), Mārruwī in Aith 'Abd Allāh (Aith Wariyāghir), Iṣrīḥan in Aith Yūsif w 'Arī (Aith Wariyāghir), and Igzinnāyen. In 1955, all the tribal authorities of the Nkūr qaidate of Aith Wariyāghir (Ait Bū 'Avvāsh and Jbil), as well as the Spanish *interventores* both of Aith Wariyāghir and Aith 'Ammarth, were also present.

By about 10:00 A. M., most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, have assembled on the mountain top, where their first act is to visit the shrine. Merchants are busy setting up their small

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

778 canvas tents in the Market of the Righteous, as they would do in
788 any ordinary tribal market (*sūq*). They sell just the same articles,
443 from clothing and bill-hooks (I purchased two of the latter here)
to soap and matches, as they do in the regular markets, and some
of them also sell sheep to be ritually slaughtered for the 'Aid
[562] al-Kabīr on the following day. As in a normal market, also, men
and women remain sharply segregated.

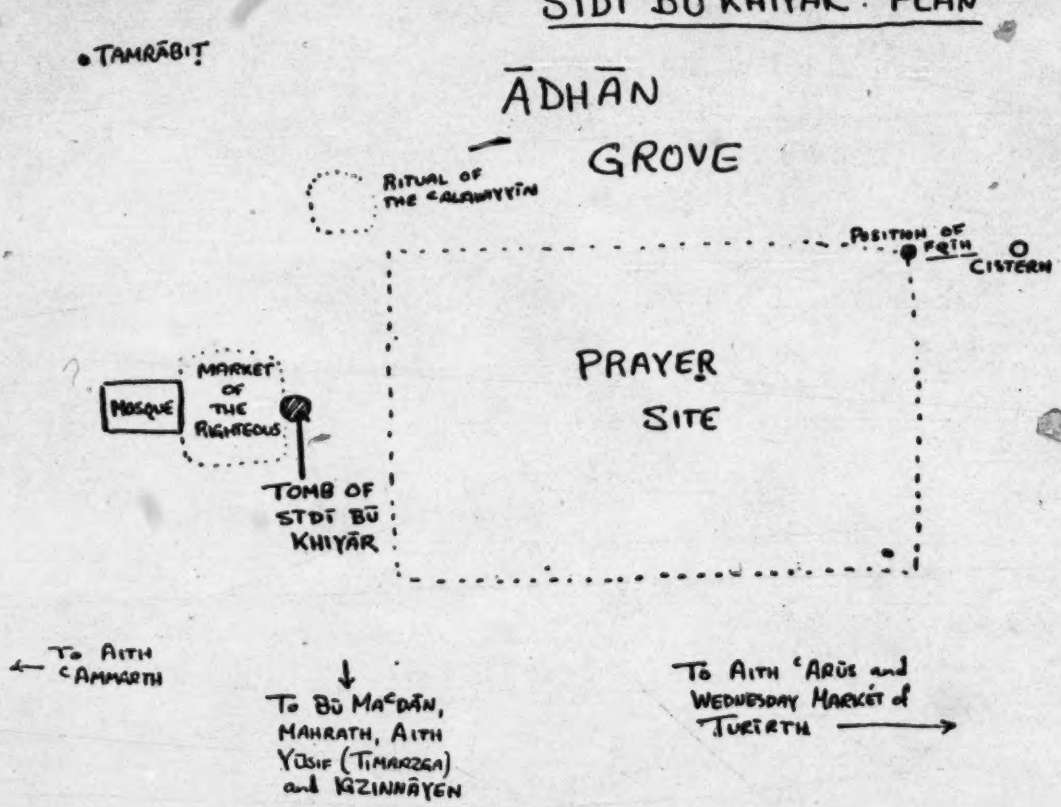
788 Among the pilgrims are numerous *ṭulbā* or students of the
735 Qur'ān, who, after visiting the tomb, where they recite the Holy
Book from beginning to end, proceed to the Market of the Righteous
to ask the faithful for contributions (*ma'rūf*), which are placed in
a box beside the tomb put there for the purpose. The money is later
counted up by the tribal authorities and divided equally among all the
ṭulbā attending (1).

788 The 'imārah of Sīdī Bū Khiyār has also, within the last two
778 decades, become a focal point in the activities of the local members
795 of the brotherhood of the 'Alawiyyīn, who maintain a not insignifi-
575 cant following in Timarzga and Aith 'Arūs, although they do not
781 have a lodge in either of these districts. After paying their respects
to the saint, they congregate for their *miima'*, or reunion, at a spot
between the ādhān grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and
a half to two hours, they go through the litany (*dhikr*) required by
their order. This consists of a constant repetition of the formula
Lā ilāha illā 'llāh, «There is no god but God», over and over, while
the brethren are standing in a circle. The litany is followed by the
'imrah, a form of rhythmic breathing designed to induce ecstasy:
and the 'imrah of the 'Alawiyyīn (the word is *not* to be confused
with *'imārah*) progresses through the following routines, in which
the underlined and accented vocalizations denote outgo, and the
non-underlined ones, intake, of breath:

(1) In 1955, there were 99 ṭulbā from the Ibīl (Timarzga-Turīrh-Aith 'Arūs) of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 717.75 pesetas: 96 from Aith 'Abd Allāh of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 696.00 ptas.; 87 from Aith 'Ammarth, who got 630.75 ptas.; 75 from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh of Aith Warivāghir, who got 471.25 ptas.; 39 from Aith Ḥadhīfah of Aith Warivāghir, who received 282.75 ptas.; 15 from Imrābdhen of Aith Warivāghir, who got 108.75 ptas.; and 10 from Iezinnāven, who received 72.50 ptas. Total ṭulbā attending were 421, and total money collected was 2990.25 pesetas.

[Text continues on p. 243]

SIDI BŪ KHIYĀR : PLAN



17—Tamuda

[p. 242 (A)]

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954) 1957 MX3 Rif MX3

778

TRIBES OF THE RIF

[p. 242 (a)]

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788
B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781
C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 575 795
D) Same as B) above. 778
E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Ḥamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

778
The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 788 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 782

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

788 778 782 a *fqīh*, a schoolmaster from the cantonal mosque of Timarzga, who stands at the northeast corner of the prayer site, between the site itself and a cistern a few yards away. The men about to pray form long parallel lines, of over a hundred to each line, all the way back to the tomb.

The act of prayer in this particular place and on this particular occasion was one which, in my opinion, was unparalleled in simple dignity. The reverence which overcame the worshippers was something very personal and something very startling in its intensity. Here the Rifian was as close to and as intimate with his God as he would ever be, probably, during his life on earth.

The words of the prayer-call, familiar to all who have studied Arabic, became, on this occasion, as I heard them from the ādhān grove, blurred into a monotonous sea of vocalisms, rising and falling as the call was relayed back from line to line. Each line of men has its *muṣammiʿ*, who repeats to the men in his row what the fqīh has said, so they will hear it more distinctly. They all come through loud and clear on the *takbīr* (*Allāhu Akbar*, «God is Most Great»), but the rest of it tends to degenerate into a jumble, for, outside [191] the fqīh, there is only about one man in five hundred who speaks, writes or understands Arabic with any fluency at all; and the rest must perforce try to catch the words of the very, very few who comprehend what is being said. There are always, also, a few old women and widows who pray, but they do so apart from the men entirely, on the other side of the grove; and it is doubtful whether they can hear the fqīh at all.

Although some pilgrims bring food with them which they eat either before or after praying, the prayer is the last item on the agenda. After it is over, everyone goes home, to kill his sheep in the bosom of his family the next day. By mid-afternoon, most people have saddled up their donkeys and departed, and the peak of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is as bare and desolate as it was before.

788 778 [222] If the 'imārah falls at the end of summer, at the time that the grapes in the mountains begin to ripen, grape-picking may begin immediately after the 'Aid al-Kabīr, with no signal given by the village headmen.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

788 778 171

This is all that happens at the shrine of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, and no more. There is a complete lack of the «sensational» aspects of certain other Moroccan pilgrimages, and even the behavior of the 'Alawiyyīn is fully under control. The whole thing is carried off with a maximum of correctness and decorum: the tribesmen gravely pay their respects to the memory of their saint by placing a *ziyārah* [735] in money, which is later distributed among the ṭulbā as charity, in the box beside his tomb; and then they pray. Nevertheless, the fact that they do so haltingly and imperfectly, in a language which is foreign to them, is, in a sense, a reflection of the Berber outlook on Islam as a whole: although they have taken to it unanimously and unquestioningly, their acceptance of it has, in the long run, been very largely, if not entirely, on their own terms and conditioned by their own culture.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000

Table of Contents

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
INTRODUCTION 1: EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA AND THE SPANISH PROTECTORATE OF MOROCCO	1
INTRODUCTION 2: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE RIFIAN TRIBE OF AITH WARYAGHAR (reprint)	45
PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE	
1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW")	96
A) General Introduction	96
B) Introduction to Social Structure	97
C) Family Organization	98
D) Position of Women	109
E) Property	111
F) Social Organization	112
G) Free Professions	127
H) Traditional Jma'ths	130
I) Notes on the Igzinnayen	139
J) Note on the Rifian Jma'th	183
2. LEGAL DECISION PROCEDURE	203
A) Characteristics	203
B) Berber Justice	203
C) The Survival of Custom	204
D) Points Regarding Arabic Work on Anti-Sunna Traits	208
E) Procedure	210
F) Oaths	213
G) Penalties	215
H) Sanctions: Further Notes	217
I) Miscellaneous Data on Fines for Lesser Offenses	218
J) Responsibility	221

[Introductory, P. i]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 Table of Contents (contd) -2-

	Page
3. COUNCILS, WARFARE AND ALLIANCES	239
A) The Agraw	239
B) Harkas and their Formation	242
C) Rifian Alliances	244
D) Political Organization	247
PART II--THE RIFIAN QANUNS	
Introduction	266
1. THE RIFIAN QANUNS, WITH COMMENTS	267
2. THE INTER-LINEAGE PACT (AITH WARYAGHAR)	274
3. THE INTER-LINEAGE QANUN (AITH WARYAGHAR)	279
4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN (AITH WARYAGHAR)	289
5. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF TAMASINT (AITH WARYAGHAR)	296
6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH (AITH WARYAGHAR)	305
7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA (AITH WARYAGHAR)	313
8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB (AITH WARYAGHAR)	317
9. QANUN OF THE TRIBE OF AITH SIDDAT	329
10. EXAMPLE OF A LIFF BETWEEN TWO TRIBES	336
11. QANUN OF HARKA (AITH WARYAGHAR)	341
12. DOCUMENT OF EXEMPTION FROM PAYMENT OF TAXES	342
13. QANUN OF THE SEA (AITH WARYAGHAR)	342
14. QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR)	350
15. QANUN OF THE LOWER GHIS RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR)	361

[Introductory, p. ii]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

Table of Contents (contd) -3-

000

	Page
16. QANUN OF THE KNUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR)	369
17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER	374
18. A SHAHADA ON WATERS	376
19. PURCHASE AND SALE OF AN IRRIGATION TURN	377
20. SUMMARY OF IRRIGATION	378
21. QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH)	380

[Introductory, p. iii]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

HRAFlex Books, MX3-001
Ethnography Series

EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA: COLONEL IN THE RIF

A Selection of his Material, Published and Unpublished, on the Sociopolitical Structure of the Rifians of Northern Morocco

Translated and with an Introduction by
David Montogomery Hart

Volume I

© Copyright 1975
David Montogomery Hart
Garrucha (Almeria) Spain

Human Relations Area Files, Inc.
New Haven, Connecticut
1975

[Title Page]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

114
128 I must express my very sincerest and most heartfelt thanks, first of all, to Sra. Da. Agustina Moro de Blanco, the widow of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga, who graciously allowed me to consult her late husband's private papers dealing with the Berbers of the Rif, in Madrid during February-March 1960. I must also express equal thanks to her son, Dr. D. Agustin Blanco Moro, with whom I initially corresponded in 1958 regarding his father's Rifian materials, and who kindly provided me with all the biographical data on his father; and to Sr. D. Tomas Garcia Figueras, the former Delegate of Native Affairs in Tetuan (in what until 1956 was Spanish Morocco), and subsequent mayor of Jérez de la Frontera who, on hearing of my original interest in Col. Blanco's work, was good enough to put me in contact with his family. And, in this connection, I owe a very special debt of gratitude to Col. Blanco's charming and personable youngest daughter, Srta. Da. Emilia Blanco Moro, who went over the materials with me, and who helped me out when I was unable to read her father's handwriting, during the month I spent in Madrid. Finally, during the second, much later month of April 1970 which I again spent in Madrid, I must express my gratitude to Srta. Da. Concha Bragimo Fernandez, the head of the Africa Section at the National Library, for her assistance in that particular quarter.

122
128 I am also indebted both to the Ford Foundation, which sponsored my initial fieldwork in Morocco (1952-1955) and to the American Museum of Natural History, which sponsored my second (1959-1961) and third (1961-

1967) Moroccan trips; and I should add that neither of these New York institutions being the owner, editor or publisher of the series in which this monograph appears, they can assume no responsibility for its contents - for such is entirely my own.

I must also acknowledge the very great help of Capt. José Rodriguez Erola of the Spanish Army, for having made available to me two unpublished papers by Blanco (translated in the text) from the archives of the Ajdir Office in the Aith Waryaghar comarcal, of which he was the administrator or interventor, in 1955. Professor Carleton S. Coon, Emeritus, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania (who was largely responsible for my initial interest in the Rif as an area of fieldwork) and Professor Ernest Gellner, of the Department of Sociology at the London School of Economics, both gave me much advice and encouragement; and Professor Gellner was kind enough to read and comment upon the first draft (1962) of the manuscript. I hope that I have heeded his comments, as my footnotes needed much pruning. And to Mrs. Don Carl Steffen, who understandingly and uncomplainingly typed up the second draft, I owe a very great debt indeed. The present draft is the third one. I also wish to give credit to the late Dr. Lloyd Cabot Briggs for having thought of the title "Colonel in the Rif."

But, always barring Col. Blanco's own family and heirs, my greatest thanks of all must go to two persons: to 'Amar Azzugwagh of the Aith Turirth subclan of the highland Aith Waryaghar, my mentor, initiator and general factotum in Things Rifian, who checked over all the Blanco materials with me point by point by point, after my return to Morocco

128 from Madrid late in March 1960, for errors of fact and even of interpretation. He did so with extreme patience, forbearance and humor. And last but by no means least, my thanks must go to my wife, Ursula Dorothy Kingsmill Hart, without whose constant help, suggestions and interruptions I should probably not have finished this monograph.

Although what follows represents only a by-product of my own Rifian studies, I only hope that Emilio Blanco Izaga himself would not have objected too violently to the manner, "scissors-and-paste" though it may be, in which I am presenting his work; and I dedicate, herewith, this edited and annotated translation of a particular segment of it to his memory.

Garrucha (Almeria), Spain

September 9, 1971

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

INTRODUCTION 1:

EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA AND THE SPANISH PROTECTORATE OF MOROCCO

114 Emilio Blanco Izaga (1892-1949), whose work, both unpublished and published, on the social structures and political systems of the Berber-speaking tribes in the Rif Mountains of Northern Morocco we have tried, in the pages that follow, to render into reasonably acceptable English prose, was a colonel in the Spanish Army who, before his untimely death had nearly twenty years' administrative experience amongst the people whereof he wrote.

A preliminary assessment, by the present author, of Emilio Blanco and of his published work, has already appeared elsewhere[1]; but although much of the material presented in it need not be restated here, in the light of further and later knowledge on my own part, some recapitulation, especially that dealing with Blanco's biography, is certainly necessary.

101 175 Blanco had much of extreme interest to say about the social structure and indeed about the everyday life of the Rifian tribesmen of what was then the Spanish, and now the North, Zone of Morocco, and especially about these same features, with particular attention to sociopolitical institutions, among the Aith Waryaghar: the key tribe, and the largest one, of the Central Rif, the tribe which always "commanded" in the region, the tribe which smashed the Pretender Bu Hmara

[113] 1--David Montgomery Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquies, VI, 2, Tetuan 1958, pp. 171-237.

in 1908, the tribe which, in 'Abd al-Krim, produced both a reformer of Customary Law and a military near-genius who from 1921 to 1926 held both Spain and France at bay, the tribe which I myself studied in detail in the field, as an anthropologist, intermittently, from 1953 to 1955 and again from 1959, intermittently, to 1966; and the tribe which in 1958 to 1959 provided, through a traditional revolt championing modern objectives, the Royal Army of Independent Morocco with its first serious test of strength.

I assume that a good many anthropologists, in the course of their fieldwork, and in that of checking local libraries and archival materials about the tribal groups or societies that they have studied, have chanced across reports on these same tribes by previous colonial administrators of them which have been really meritorious in quality. If such is the case, many anthropologists may logically be supposed to have their "favorite" tribal administrators, district commissioners, or whatever. In my own case, Emilio Blanco Izaga, exasperating as certain facets of his writings are, is certainly the man.

This introduction to Blanco's work is divided into three sections: I) Biographical Data, II) The Spanish Protectorate Administration of Morocco And Blanco's Place In It, and III) A General Critique of Blanco's output as presented in this volume. This presentation is selective, not all-inclusive, because although much of Blanco's material dealt with Rifian sociopolitical institutions, not all of it did so, by any means. Hence, regarding my own initial acquaintance with Blanco' work, I can do not better to quote from my original article.[2]

2--Op. cit., p. 173.

121
114

"Emilio Blanco is not listed in the Spanish Dictionary of National Biography, and before I went on my first field trip into the Rif Mountains of what, until 1956, was the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, I had never heard of him. After my arrival in the then protectoral capital of Tetuan in February 1953, I stumbled across two of his works in the library of the Delegation of Native Affairs. I picked them up casually, and then began to read them with an avid and ever-increasing interest. Three months later, when I actually began my own researches in the Rif, I came to hear his name so often, from the lips of Spanish army officers and Rifians alike, and always coupled with the highest praise, that I began to wonder if an assessment of his contributions to the field of Berberology (i.e., Berber sociology) might not be worthwhile. After reading more of his writings, both published and unpublished, and finding out more about his policy as a tribal administrator, I became convinced that it was worthwhile, if only to rescue his name from the ethnographic oblivion into which it had fallen, and to give credit where credit was due."

121 I wrote these words in 1958, and since then I have not altered my opinion. After the publication of this preliminary article, however, I had entertained the idea of preparing for publication, with the kind permission of Col. Blanco's widow and family, all his unpublished manuscripts and notes having to do with Berbers, the Rif and Morocco generally; but during the month of March 1960 which I spent in Madrid going over his material, I became convinced that because of the fragmentary and disparate nature of much of this, it would be far too unwieldy a project to undertake. I therefore decided at this time [127] to concentrate only on those data which had, in the language of social anthropology, "structural relevance"; and a continual shifting of Blanco's data since then - plus a second month of further archival research in Madrid, at the Africa Section (the Garcia Figueras collection, inaugurated late in 1966) at the National Library there, in April 1970 - has fully confirmed me in this decision, particularly

121 as I have had to drop the revision of my original Blanco manuscript in order to prepare my own studies on the Aith Waryaghar[3] (or, in Arabic, Bni Waryaghal, and in bad Hispanicized and bad Gallicized transliterations, "Beni Urriaguel" and "Beni Ouriarhel") for publication, as well as because of further fieldwork elsewhere in Morocco and be-
121 cause of teaching and other duties. Hence a ten-year gap. In any
128 event, Blanco's copious unpublished papers on Rifian architecture and
114 house styles[4], for example, good as they may be, have no place in a work of this kind; and the same holds true for his work on grave decorations[5] and for his excellent treatise on dance forms in the Rif[6]. His undeniable qualifications as an artist, whether in sketch or watercolor form, I am simply not competent to discuss, although his ideas about Spanish Colonial policy in Morocco[7] will receive some attention in Section II.

---

113 3--The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, and The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: A History, to be published simultaneously under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.

4--Emilio Blanco Izaga, La Vivienda Rifeña, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930, passim.

5--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Noticia sobre Arte Funerario Norteafricano", Africa, No. 52, Madrid, April 1946, pp. 19-21.

6--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas", Africa, Vol. V, No. 55, pp. 315-316; Nos. 56-57, pp. 414-419; and Nos. 59-60, pp. 547-551, Madrid 1946. The content of this important paper is discussed in detail in my preliminary study: cf. Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 220-237. Two of the drawings originally published in it are reproduced in the present monograph.

7--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Política Africana", Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos (pub. by Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Madrid), I, 1946, pp. 43-56.

114 As noted in my preliminary study (1958), the only article which has ever been published about Blanco is one by Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa[8]. It is devoted largely to Blanco's achievements during the late 1930s, when he was the regional administrator of the Territory of the Rif, both as an architect of administrative policy and as an architect per se, as well as touching briefly upon his artistic abilities. Of basic biographical information, as well as providing any assessment of Blanco as a military ethnologist and as a student of
121 Berber social life, however, it says nothing at all. My 1958 article and this present introduction will attempt to fill in these lacunae; and we begin with Section I, Blanco's biography.

Section I: Biographical Data[9]

114 Emilio Blanco Izaga was born on March 15, 1892, in Orduña, in the north Spanish province of Vizcaya, just west of the Basque country and about 45 km. south of Bilbao. On August 30, 1910, he entered the Spanish Military Academy in Toledo where, on June 24, 1913, he was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry, joining the 30th Regiment for garrison duty in Burgos. The following year he was sent to Morocco for the first time with the 6th Battalion of Figueras for duty in Larache, and the next two years saw him taking part in military

---

(113) 8--Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa, "Una Teoría de Arquitectura Politica y un Interventor Excepcional: El Coronel Don Emilio Blanco Izaga", in Selección de Conferencias Pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el Curso 1950-1951, Tetuan: Delegacion de Asuntos Indigenas, 1951, pp. 129-150.

9--This section is taken in extenso from Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 174-180. I am particularly indebted to Col. Blanco's son, Dr. Don Agustín Blanco Moro, of Madrid, and to Sr. Don Tomás García Figueras, of Jérez de la Frontera, who succeeded Blanco as Delegate of Native Affairs in Tetuan, for supplying me with the essential facts of Blanco's life.

114 operations against Raisuni in that sector (1914-1916). During this time, on June 24, 1915, he was promoted to first lieutenant.

Back in Spain in 1916, he became an Assistant Professor in the Military Academy in Toledo from which he was graduated three years before, and here, on March 6, 1919, he received his captaincy. He was then for a short time in charge of army recruits' pay in Plasencia, but was soon transferred to the 76th Infantry Regiment and sent to the Central Gymnasium (Escuela Central de Gimnasia) in Toledo, once again, where he remained until March 1927.

On September 28, 1919, he married Agustina Moro Pérez; there were six daughters and one son by this marriage, and as of 1960 Sra. Moro de Blanco was still living in Madrid.

It is of considerable interest to note that during the whole period of 'Abd al-Krim and the Rifian War (1921-1926), Blanco was not sent to the Moroccan front, and that his career as an interventor did not begin until April 10, 1927: Dr. Agustin Blanco informed me that his father was called into tribal administration (Intervenciones) solely on the basis of an unpublished report entitled Colonias Indigen. de Montaña, based presumably on his earlier experiences in Larache. He was first sent, as a captain in the Servicio de Intervenciones, to Punta Pescadores (later called Puerto Capaz, and, since Independence Jibha) in the tribal area of the Ghmara bloc; from this base, he had to administer the tribes of the Mtiwa, Mistasa, Bni Smih, Bni Grir, Bni Rzin and Bni Khalid, all, save the first two, of the Ghmara group. He then took over the administration of the tribes of the Aith (Bni)

114 Siddat (from the office at Imasinen), Aith (Bni) Hmid, Bni Bu Shibt and Taghzur (from the offices at Adukan and Shalib), and Ktama (from the office at Badis), all belonging to a somewhat more eastern cluster of tribes known as the Sinhaja Srir. Until July 10, 1927, when Spain had officially accomplished the total pacification of Northern Morocco his job was the disarmament of practically all the members of the Ghmar and Sinhaja Srir tribal blocs, and to this end, in a region of considerable snowfall in winter, he created a Moroccan military unit of native ski troops, which he commanded until the end of 1929.

On January 1, 1930, Capt. Blanco, for the first time, moved east into the Rif proper by being appointed interventor of the tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth (Ar. Bni 'Ammart), succeeding Capt. (by 1958, Col., ret. Andrés Sanchez Pérez, himself an authority on Rifian history; he was there almost two and a half years, and on May 12, 1932, was transferred to the office at Izimmuren in the tribal territory of the Ibuqquyen (Ar. Buqquya or Baqqiwa). On July 27, 1934, while still a captain, he became the Interventor Comarcal (or regional interventor, generally a job for a major), at Ajdir, of the largest tribe in the Rif and in Northern Morocco, the Aith Waryaghar. On the site, at Ajdir, of 'Abd al-Krim's former headquarters, Blanco designed and built the new intervencion office, of an architectural style strongly reminiscent of the Berbers in Southern Morocco, along the south slopes of the Atlas. On December 30, 1935, he was promoted to a majority, and less than a year later, on October 2, 1936, he became the Interventor Territorial del Rif (the territorial interventor of the Rif, generally a job held by a lieutenant-colonel).

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

114 It seems that from almost the beginning of his Moroccan experience it was the Rifian region which made the deepest impression on Blanco. Of the five regions into which the Spanish Moroccan Protectorate was divided, the Rif was always Blanco's first choice. He fell in love with its barren peaks and its austere and vendetta-minded inhabitants at once, and for over fifteen years he devoted almost all his time away from administrative duties to as systematic a collection of ethnographic data as he was capable. Although he found it politically expedient to use a native interpreter, the value of his investigations was materially augmented by the fact that he spoke Rifian fairly fluently, though not always correctly, and with a marked Spanish accent. When one considers that Rifian is generally recognized to be [197] the most difficult to learn (probably because it is the least pure) of the three major Berber languages spoken in Morocco, and particularly in view of the fact that the number of Spaniards who speak it is very small indeed, this is no mean achievement.

In 1930, after becoming interventor of the Aith 'Ammarth, Blanco published his first book. This, a pamphlet entitled La Vivienda Rifeña, is an informal treatise on Rifian house types, profusely illustrated with pen and ink sketches by its author, who not only showed himself a keen observer of Rifian housebuilding techniques, but an artist of no mean talents as well. He had a fine eye for artistic detail, and his sketches pulsate with life.

During his tenure as interventor comarcal at Ajdir, Blanco signed and sent in, on August 27, 1935, a report to the regional administration

114 of the Rif in Villa Sanjurjo (today Alhucemas or El Hoceima: properly, al-Husaima) on the traditional segmentary tribe-clan-subclan-local community-lineage organization of the Aith Waryaghar entitled Las Yemáas Tradicionales de Los Ait Uariaguel - the traditional local communities, or jma'ath (sing. jma'th) of the tribe in question. In this report, and in conformity with his well-chosen illustrative examples of the complex segmentation of the tribe, he recommended that the Aith Waryaghar be divided, for the purpose of a more effective administration, into three qaidates, in accordance with the natural geographical divisions of the Ghis-Nkur watershed. The report in question is translated in extenso in Book I of the text of this volume: Blanco's recommendation was implemented by the authorities in Villa Sanjurjo, and his administrative brainchild persisted until the end of the protectorate. It is, furthermore, more than probable that his promotion to the rank of major at the end of 1935 was a direct result of the way in which he had convincingly solved this knotty administrative problem.

[128]

In connection with this same report, Blanco drew up a series of five excellent tribal maps of the Aith Waryaghar, showing, first, the traditional territorial-segmentary organization, then two maps showing the changes - all with a view toward greater centralization - made successively by 'Abd al-Krim during his tenure, and, finally, two more showing those imposed by the Spanish Protectorate. All are reproduced, with my corrections where needed, both in this volume and in my own Aith Waryaghar Ethnography and History studies. No student of the

[126]

128

∞∞

127 No student of the subject could possibly fail to recognize the tremendous value of maps such as these, which the then administration kindly lent me as an aid in my own work.

114 Civil war had now already broken out in Spain, and Emilio Blanco, like most of his fellow members of the corps of tribal interventores, was solidly pro-Nationalist. In July 1936, General Franco, after a historic meeting at the Yellow Plain of Ktama, won all the tribal elements of Spanish Morocco to his cause (not the least of which were the Aith Waryaghar who had fought so hard, with 'Abd al-Krim, against Spain only ten years earlier), was ready to march into his homeland as the Commander of the Spanish Nationalist Forces, now augmented with a large Moroccan contingent, one which, indeed, amounted to nearly half of the total Nationalist troops. Hence the then regional interventor of the Rif, Juan Bautista Sanchez Gonzalez, left Villa Sanjurjo to join Franco. Sanchez Gonzalez was succeeded by Major Blanco, and it was largely through Blanco's efforts and experience that the Rifian never once wavered in their allegiance to Franco during the next three years while Spain was wracked with strife. We refer anyone interested in Blanco's attempts to improve the lot of the Rifians economically, through public works and irrigation projects, and in his architectural projects (schools, makhazni posts, market tribunals for qaids and qadis, and intervención offices - notably that of the "castle" at 1-Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday Market of the Aith Turirth, on which depended the southeastern Aith Waryaghar highlanders) to Sierra Ochoa's article, cited above.

114 65

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

114 While Blanco was the regional interventor of the Rif, he published, in 1939 and at the close of the Spanish Civil War, his second, and, in my opinion, his best book, La Ley Rifeña, vol. II - Part 2: Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados (Rifian Law, vol. II - Part 2: The Rifian Qanuns, With Commentary). This second part of a projected two-volume study of Rifian customary law was in turn to have formed one of a series of monographs on Rifian society and culture. (Several of the other such monographs exist in typescript or handwritten form amongst the Blanco family papers, and concern Rifian architecture.) It is the translation of the published second half of the Rifian customary law materials which in itself constitutes the second half of the present monograph. The first half is made up of what was to be the nucleus of the first volume on Rifian law, much of which is embodied in a long paper entitled Derecho Consuetudinario de los Ait Uariaguel (Customary Law of the Aith Waryaghar), read in December 1935 at an interventors' course in Tetuan. It is to be greatly regretted that Blanco never published this paper, the nucleus of the first half of his treatise on Rifian jural procedure, which appears here for the first time; but it also indicates something of the man's extraordinary modesty, which made him feel that he really did not know enough about the subject to commit it to print. That this belief was totally erroneous is amply proven by Volume II, which consists of photostatic copies of a number of Rifian qanuns or Customary Law documents drawn up in Arabic, translations of these into Spanish, plus a general introduction and detailed comments by Blanco on the

114 substance of each qanun. It is the concise, meticulous and exact nature of these comments which betray Blanco's mastery of the intricacies of Rifian Customary Law. And a second, undated report on Noticia sobre la Yemáa Rifeña (Notes on the Rifian jma'th, the local community), which stems from the same period, and which I discovered in the African Section of the National Library in Madrid, adds further touches of value to Las Yemáas Tradicionales de los Ait Uariaguel and to La Ley Rifeña: for indeed the published book and these various unpublished papers form an organic whole.

In 1940, Blanco wrote another long memorandum (again in the African Section of the Madrid National Library) on the tribe of the Igzinnayen, a nuclear Rifian tribe (bordering the Aith Waryaghar and the Aith 'Ammarth on the south), but at the time under French administrative control across the zonal border. By virtue of the original treaty of the protectorate, Spain should have had control of this tribe rather than France, Blanco cogently argues (in the colonialistic idiom of the time), because its mountains, higher than those of the Aith Waryaghar and the Aith 'Ammarth, dominate both of them militarily. [175] What had happened was that France had moved up from the south to occupy the Igzinnayen in 1926, effectively, as a result of the war against 'Abd al-Krim and the pincer movement waged against him by both the European powers concerned; and that this fact was resented by Spain emerges clearly in Blanco's report. However, this same report, entitled La Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia, although not the result of on-the-spot investigation, is based both on unpublished French documents and on

114 data supplied by informants of that tribe and of the Aith Waryaghar clans just bordering it. Much of the report is concerned with military and administrative information; but the ethnographic and historical data, all to be found in translation in Book I of the text, are clearly put and, for the most part, extremely accurate.

This report was dated April 1940. On June 28 of the same year, Blanco was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. It was about this time that he began one of his major architectural projects in the Rif, the building of the "castle" at Suq l-Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday Market of the Aith Turirth (Zoco de Arbaa de Taurirt, in Spanish), which was to become the headquarters for the local interventor of the Nkur qaid-ate of the highland Aith Waryaghar. This castle, in my opinion, was a magnificent piece of quixotry: architecturally in perfect harmony with the mountainous landscape, it was nonetheless quite out of place culturally: for it was modeled on the style of the Berber igharm or qsar of the High Atlas, with some three stories, and was constructed with the idea of providing the Rifians with a sample of what other Berbers in the South of Morocco had accomplished architecturally. The real idea behind this, of course, was to provide the Aith Waryaghar highlanders with a sense of "cultural continuity" with southern Moroccan Berbers; and this they simply did not and do not have. The castle itself, now a crumbling ruin and no longer used since the mid-1960s, sits on a mountain dominating the entire countryside, overlooking the Nkur River and the marches of another tribe to the east, the Axt (Bni) Tuzin. It is a rather magnificent folly,

114 and a real "castle in Spain" - in this case, transplanted to the Rif. It is also a prize example of Emilio Blanco's ultra-Spanish quixotry.

It seems, however, that in the construction of this edifice, Blanco went over the heads of some of his superior officers. The then High Commissioner of the Spanish Zone, Gen. Luis Orgaz Yoldi, viewed the building of the castle with disfavor, and on February 10, 1942, Blanco was sent off to Spanish Guinea as Secretary-General of that colony, mainly so that he could both be promoted and kept away from Morocco at the same time. However, due both to the fact that the steamy climate of West Africa was injurious to Blanco's health (he suddenly contracted a violent ulcer which up to that time had been quiescent) and that Gen. Orgaz seems to have had a change of heart in the matter, Blanco was recalled to Morocco before the end of the year. Perhaps as appeasement, Orgaz instituted the "Législation Blanco", as it was evidently known to the French, upon which Blanco had worked so ceaselessly during his tenure in the Rif: the establishment of constitutionally recognized jma'ath (jama'a-s) or local community councils (Sp. consejos de yemáa), in accordance with the traditional Berber governmental system of superimposed representation at all major political levels.

On November 5, 1942, Blanco was appointed Sub-Delegate of Native Affairs and Sub-Inspector of Khalifian Forces in Tetuan, and on August 8, 1944, he was promoted again to Delegate of Native Affairs. I have often heard it said that during his tenure, any Rifian was welcome in his office at any hour of the day or night. Favoritism, perhaps; but no apology is offered for it here, for my own interest in

114 Rifians led to my interest in Blanco.

On August 23, 1945, Blanco left Morocco, never to return. He was sent to the office of the Army Chief of Staff in Madrid, which was to be his final post.

The following year, 1946, his last three published articles saw the light, two in the Madrid monthly journal Africa and the third in the Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos organ of the Institute of Politica Studies, again in Madrid. The first two were ethnological in character, as befitting the journal in which they appeared, and the third was political, again befitting the second journal. Of the first two, one was a short and well-illustrated essay entitled Notas sobre Arte Funerario Norteafricano, a study in comparative ethnology. In this, Blanco compares Rifian gravestone decorations with those of two Jewish cemeteries in Shawen and Tetuan, which, as Delegate of Native Affairs, he had an opportunity to visit. The second is a much longer essay, which appeared in three instalments, called Las Danzas Rifeñas. This treatise is a definitive work on Berber dance forms in Northern Morocco, and in it Blanco reaches his artistic peak as a master of the pen-and-ink sketch. The content of the third essay, which deals (128) in a fundamental way with the whole position of Spanish colonialist aims in Morocco, will be discussed in its proper place in the next section of this introduction.

On March 23, 1948, Blanco received his final promotion, to full colonel, but the stomach trouble he had contracted in Spanish Guinea was to prove too much for him. He died on April 29, 1949, in the Military Hospital in Madrid, at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven.

Section II: The Spanish Protectorate Administration, And Blanco's Place In It

000 One major excuse, among others, for the Franco-Spanish Protectorate over Morocco, established in 1912, was, on the part of the protecting powers, that the Sultan of Morocco and his government, or makhzin, were no longer capable of controlling or even running their own country, in which "anarchy", in the shape of pretenders to the throne and tribal revolts, was rampant. It was held that the Sultan and the makhzin held fiscal control over the Arab tribes of the plains areas near the coast which loosely constituted the blad l-makhzin or government-controlled land, but that they were, conversely, powerless to check the incursions of mountain Berber tribes from the Atlas and from the Rif, the so-called blad s-siba or "land of anarchy", whose inhabitants, though giving spiritual recognition to the Sultan as Commander of the Faithful, yet refused to pay him taxes when due. It was also held that the borders of makhzin and siba lands were eternally in a state of mild fluctuation, but that the situation as described was essentially a permanent one.

It is not our purpose to discuss the merits or demerits of this interpretation here. The real point, of course, was that certain European powers had already acquired extensive commercial and other interests in Morocco, and did not wish to see them jeopardized. Colonial dickering by the powers continued, and the result was that Great Britain and Germany moved on to other colonial pastures, while France, having already taken over Algeria (1830) and Tunisia (1881),

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 wanted to consolidate her North African empire, while it was at the same time recognized that Spain had long had certain "historic claims" to parts of the North Moroccan coast, ever since 1492 when the Nasrid Amirate of Granada officially came to an end and Islam was kicked out of the Iberian Peninsula. For Spain's presidios (later known as plazas de soberania) on the Moroccan coast are indeed of long standing Ceuta (Ar. Sibta), occupied in 1410 by the Portuguese and then ceded to Spain in 1580; Melilla (Ar. Mlilya), occupied in 1497; and the Island of al-Husaima (Sp. Alhucemas), overlooking, from the Mediterranean, the land of the Aith Waryaghar and the Central Rif, in 1673; and several others of lesser importance. The fighting during the Reconquista of the Iberian Peninsula had been savage on both sides; and, as the winner, Spain hence laid claims to her territorial share of the spoils. Her much later wars in and around Tetuan in 1859-1860, and near Melilla both in 1893 and in 1909-1912, merely intensified these claims to a solid "zone of influence" in Northern Morocco. Again, for our purposes, there is no need to attempt to justify or refute the claims concerned; we merely take them as "givens".

It is, of course, in the nature of most colonial and protectorate administrations that much of the literature which attempts to justify them has been written by nationals of, and indeed, participants in, the protectorate power concerned. This is as true of the small Spanish protectorate - or rather, sub-protectorate - of Morocco as of any other; for by the terms of the partitioning Act of Algeciras of 1906, France got the lion's share of Morocco while Spain was to be

000 sublet only the small northern dorsal ridge of the country (one-twentieth of the total extent of the Sultan's domains) as well as an equally small piece of its southwestern desert. Both of these widely disparate chunks of Moroccan territory (of which the former was turned over, with the French Zone, to Independent Morocco in 1956, while the latter was only ceded in 1958) were handed over to Spain because of Spanish "historic claims", as aforementioned, and, in a sense, as a sop to Spanish colonialist sentiments about Lebensraum in Morocco, of which more later. There is a considerable body of literature in Spanish which attempts to justify these claims, to assert that Spain was thwarted in the division of the protectorate spoils of 1912 (which, of course, is true), and which, in general, regards the Spanish Protectorate - a small, northern appendage of the French one - as a victim of circumstances, one which needed to be administrated as best it could.[10]

---

113 10--For traditional Spanish views on the historical background of the Spanish protectorate, cf. Tomás García Figueras, La Acción Africana de España en Torno al 98 (1860-1912), 2 vols., Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1966, and for that on the presidios, cf. Enrique Arques, Las Adelantadas de España: Las Plazas Españolas del Litoral Africano del Mediterraneo, Madrid: I.D.E.A., 1966. For a variant viewpoint, with consideration of diplomatic sources, see Henri Marchat. "Les Origines Diplomatiques du 'Maroc Espagnol' (1880-1912)", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérannée, VII, 1, 1970, pp. 101-170. On the protectorate itself, there is a worthwhile English summar, by Nevill Barbour in Nevill Barbour, Ed., A Survey of North-West Africa (The Maghrib), 2nd Ed., Oxford University Press: Royal Institut of International Affairs, 1962, pp. 67-69, 137-172. Cf. also especially Tomas Garcia Figueras, Marruecos: La Acción de España en el Norte de Africa, 4th Ed., Tetuan: Editora Marroquí, 1955, and España y Su Protectorado en Marruecos (1912-1956), Madrid: I.D.E.A., 1957.

000 The French Protectorate became a reality in March 1912, and the Spanish (sub-) Protectorate did so in November of the same year. The administrative structure of both was remarkably similar, and when we assert that the French system provided, in large measure, a blueprint for the Spanish one, this is in no way to be construed pejoratively. For what happened in practice, despite the structural mirror images which gave the two protectorates appearances which were fairly close to, though by no means completely, identical, was, indeed, the complete independence of the one from the other. This independence was underscored by the fact that the Spanish Alto Comisario, or High Commissioner, in the Spanish protectorate capital of Tetuan, rarely, in historical fact, saw eye to eye with his opposite number, the French Résident-Général in Rabat; and this was so despite a wholesome Spanish respect for Marshal Lyautey and most of his ideas. Yet each of them stood in exactly the same relationship to the supreme Muslim authority in each zone: the French proconsul to the Sultan himself and the Spanish one to the khalifa, the Sultan's cousin, whom the latter delegated in 1913 as his representative in the North. Hence the khalifa was nominally subject to the Sultan, but, as Barbour observes, he acted in fact with complete independence[11], while the High Commissioner represented the apex of a Spanish administrative pyramid, the function of which was "to advise and to intervene", and which was conceived as being parallel (or even superior) to the native Moroccan makhzin of the North Zone[12]. Although most of the actual office-

11--Barbour, op. cit., p. 147.
12--ibid., p. 163.

000 holders in the new protectorate administrations were given different titles in each zone, one is nonetheless tempted to imagine that their "job descriptions" must have resembled each other closely.

There was, however, one very important difference: the French administration was only partially military in character, while the Spanish one (except during the civilian years of the Spanish Republic, 1931-1936) was, to all intents and purposes, totally so. Indeed, one of the major roles of Spanish Morocco, one which was always assumed but seldom explicitly mentioned, was that of acting as a training ground for the Spanish Army. Hence the history of the protectorate and its up-and-down support and opposition in the Iberian Peninsula, which is not our concern here, is more closely linked to that of Spain itself than that of French Morocco is to metropolitan France.

Only the initial blueprints for the administration of the Spanish Zone were laid down in 1912-1913, however, because the pacification of the protectorate had to be taken care of before any ground rules could be made to apply in a positive manner. In grossly simplified [648] [175] terms, this involved first the subjugation (on a back-and-forth basis) of the notorious holy man-cum-bandit Raisuni and his cohorts in the Jbala region in 1913-1920; then the far more serious task of putting down (with French help) 'Abd al-Krim and the Rifians in 1921-1926; and finally, the mopping-up of the last pockets of resistance in the Sinhaja Srir and Ghmara areas, in the center of the zone, and between the Jbala and the Rif, in 1926-1927. Hence full-scale implementation of the new administrative structure could not begin until total tribal disarmament had been completed, in July 1927.

000 For present purposes, and quite aside from other "delegations" created in Tetuan which all depended equally upon the High Commission, the chief instrument in the disarmament and then subsequent administration of the rural and tribal areas in the Spanish Zone was the Military Intervention Service, or Servicio de Intervenciones Militares, which depended directly upon the Delegation of Native Affairs (Delegacion de Asuntos Indigenas) in Tetuan, which, in turn, depended directly upon the High Commission and was, indeed, its chief administrative organ.

Just as, by the provisions of the Treaty of Fez in 1912, the High Commissioner himself "intervened" in the khalifa's administration of the zone's Muslim population, the whole concept of "intervention" or intervención became the operative one both at the territorial and at the local, tribal levels as well. The intervención concept was, more than any other, the centerpiece of Spanish administration in the North Zone, and it was directly comparable to that of the French Officiers des Affaires Indigènes in the very much larger South Zone, in that it was, in both cases, army officers who were responsible for such administration. (As noted, however, congruence was only partial in the French case: only the mountain Berber tribes of the French Zone had military A.I. officers to administer them, while the Arab tribes of the plains fell under the jurisdiction of Controleurs Civils. Hence the correlation was not complete.) At the same time, however, the evidence is clear that the Intervenciones Militares were not directly modeled on the French Affaires Indigènes system, nor, indeed, could they have been, in point of time. Both systems, in fact, go back to

000 the French Bureaux Arabes of Algeria, which, on the Spanish side, were certainly the direct inspiration on the Intervenciones. Contemporary Spanish sources, notably Capt. Candido Lobera, an influential architect of early Spanish policy in the Rif, as well as (from 1902) the editor of the Melilla newspaper El Telegrama del Rif, are quite explicit on this point - one on which later Spanish sources tend to hedge[13], possibly because of misgivings (in our opinion, totally unwarranted) regarding the French origin of the concept.

In the initial period after pacification, the Spanish authorities tended to divide up the administrative territories of their zone along ethnic lines entirely, but by the 1930s they had decided that such a division produced blocs of territory which were too unequal in size. Hence a compromise was reached, and one which, furthermore, did no violence to pre-existing tribal structures or territories. What it amounted to was, in effect, the division of the zone into five territorios or "territories" of more or less equal size, each with its regional or territorial capital and each with its regional or territorial interventor, the Interventor Territorial. Reading from west to east, these territories were: 1) Jbala, with its regional capital (apart from the zonal capital), in Tetuan, and consisting of 11 tribes

---

[113] [114] 13--Capt. Cándido Lobera Girela, Memoria sobre la Organización y Funcionamiento de las Oficinas de Asuntos Arabes de Argelia: Proyecto de Bases para la Creación de Organismos Análogos en las Plazas en el Norte de Africa, Melilla: Tipografía "El Telegrama del Rif", Sept. 1905, pp. 31-42. The title of this work alone is a give-away. Hence the asseveration of José María Cordero Torres (Organización del Protectora Español en Marruecos, 2 vols., Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1942-1943, vol II, p. 6) to the effect that the intervenciones were derived from the earlier Spanish encomienda system in Latin America may be regarded as completely erroneous.

000 (qabilas), for which there were 6 Interventores Comarcales (District Interventors), and 15 Interventores de Primera Clase (first-class interventors, generally army captains or lieutenants); 2) Lukkus, with its regional capital Larache (l-'Ara'ish), and 14 qabilas; with 5 Interventores Comarcales and 12, de primera clase; 3) Ghmara, with regional capital at Shawen, with 13 qabilas, 4 Interventores Comarcal and 14, de primera clase; 4) Rif, with regional capital at Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), and with 18 qabilas, 4 Interventores Comarcales (one for the Aith Wayaghar), and 17, de primera clase (of which three for the Aith Waryaghar); and 5) Kart, with regional capital at Nador, with 14 qabilas, 6 Interventores Comarcales, and 17, de primera clase

These figures are worth citing not only because the North Zone contains some 70 tribal groups, as here defined (the figure is not qu' accurate, erring a bit on the side of plenitude), but because it is, i general, one of Morocco's highest areas of rural population, especially in the Central Rif. The Spanish administration was evidently never completely cognizant of this fact (which came through very clearly as a result of the first census conducted in Independent Morocco, that of 1960), but nonetheless seemed to maintain a general awareness of it: for, as Montagne remarks, as of 1939, Spanish interventores seemed to outnumber their French Affaires Indigènes counterparts by three or four times, on the ground[15], in a comparative sense. (Sanchez Perez

[113] 14--T. Garcia Figueras and J.L. Fernandez-Llebrez, Manuales del Africa Española, II-Marruecos, Madrid; I.D.E.A., 1955, pp. 157-158.

15--Robert Montagne, La Política Africana de España, translation of unpublished report by Servicio de Intervenciones de la Región de Gomara, Chauen, Oct. 1939, 57 pp. (my ref. to p. 33). Catalogue No. Ca. C-14 in Garcia Figueras Collection, Seccion Africa, National Library, Madrid.

175 (Sanchez Perez
161 mentions the population density of the Aith Waryaghar, in the mid-
114 1940s, as being 65 individuals per sq. km., a figure which would be outrageously high for much of the Atlas Mountains today, but which by the time of the 1960 census had in Waryagharland - or at least in the Plain of al-Husaima - doubled, virtually, to 120...[16])

000 Such facts indeed reflect the density of the local tribal population in the North Zone, but they also reflect the density of the local administration - and nothing has been said about urban administration, at that. The total population of the North Zone, in the 1950s, was just under a million; and even so, the thickness at ground level of administrative personnel would argue for a very direct form of administration. In actual fact, this was not quite so.

Each of the five territories of the zone had its Interventor Territorial, usually a lieutenant-colonel who reported directly to the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas in Tetuan. Below him, in the administrative hierarchy, were several Interventores Comarcales, usually majors, and then Interventores de Primera Clase, usually captains, who were often seconded by lieutenant Interventores de Segunda who were the neophytes of the service, young men sent out to learn.

The real point about the intervencion system in the tribal areas, however, is that the Spanish interventor de primera, usually a captain, and the qaid or chief of the tribe which he administered were opposite numbers, each in his own separate hierarchy. For the interventor de

---

[113] 16--Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Históricos sobre Ciudades Rifeños", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados Durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-1952, Tetuan: Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos, 1952, pp. 29-47 (my ref. to p. 31).

000 primera was low man, generally, on an administrative totem pole which went back through the interventor comarcal, then through the interventor regional, and finally back to the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas in Tetuan - and, ultimately, up to the High Commissioner.

[631] Yet this same interventor was on a par with the tribal qaid, usually a man nearly twice his own age, who himself happened to be at the top of his own particular pyramid, consisting (administratively) of village or community mqaddim, clan or "fractional" shaikh, and, finally, qaid of the tribe, the ceiling administrative unit (except in the case of the Aith Waryaghar, who, until Emilio Blanco appeared, were rather too large for effective administration along normal lines...). But the break in the system occurred just at the qaid-interventor point, at the point, precisely, of foreign administrator and local strongman and in theory, the latter could only pipeline messages back to the capital through the former - though in fact, if he were wise and should the situation require it, he generally had other methods of communication as well. (And since Independence, although the qaid is often a non-local civil servant, and although his local shaikhs and mqaddmin, of clans and villages respectively, depend, as he himself does, on the Ministry of Interior, their own particular abilities at "break-through" even to the local provincial authorities depend on the number of friends they have "at court", and on the local patronage-clientage network. Rifians, at least, state categorically that in Spanish times the qaid, whatever his shortcomings, was one of themselves, and, in retrospect, that the Spanish Intervención usually tended to choose the right man for the job.)

631
175

114 It is now appropriate to introduce Emilio Blanco Izaga into this same intervención system, of which he made so much and for which, in the Rif, he did so much. His effectiveness was achieved largely in the decade of 1930-1940, during a period of extreme strife in Spain itself. One cannot, of course, have everything; but in one sense it is perhaps unfortunate that Blanco was unable to participate actively in Spain's war against 'Abd al-Krim: for it is possible that some of his ideas about the resuscitation of Berber Customary Law (ca'ida or 'urf) in the Rif might have become considerably modified had he done so. He did not realize that by the time he himself had arrived on the scene, Customary Law was already a dead letter, and that 'Abd al-Krim, at the zenith of his power in 1923-1925 and in his role of religious reformer (for he was a former qadi who had been strongly influenced by the Salafiya Movement), had been responsible for its demise[17].

Thus, in 1930, Emilio Blanco, quite unwittingly, seems to have begun his career as an interventor with a possible strike against him. For 1930 was the year of the famous - or notorious - "Berber Dahir" in the French Zone; and although the official Spanish attitude toward it, and toward the formal support to be given to Customary Law - as opposed to Orthodox Maliki Muslim Law (with which it was in fact in agreement on most, though not all, major issues) - in the large Berber-speaking areas of the French protectorate, was one of outright

---

[113] 17--Cf. Pessah Shinar, "'Abd al-Qadir and 'Abd al-Krim: Religious Influences on their Thought and Action", Asian and African Studies: Annual of the Israeli Oriental Society, I, 1965, pp. 139-174; and cf. also D.M. Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: A History, Chapter III, to be published.

114 disapproval, Blanco was to become a leading spirit of protest, on the Spanish side, in favor of the decree. His attitude about it evidently faithfully echoed that of many of his co-officers in the intervención service. They felt that the Spanish "Africanist League" should have had its way in 1925, while the Rifian War was still on, and seen to the imposition of Berber Customary Law throughout the Rif, from the Wuringa River on the west to the Nkur River and the Thimsaman to the east[18]. None of these people, Blanco included, had reckoned with the now departed 'Abd al-Krim, exiled by the French on Reunion Island (so that the Spaniards would not execute him), as the agent of social change that he was[19]. The plain fact was 'Abd al-Krim had effected so many changes in the Rifian politico-jural system that, once the war was over and disarmament of the tribes had been completed, the Spanish administration really had no option but to continue where he left off. It also would seem more than probable that the expenditure and outlay (to say nothing of the paperwork) involved in such a regional re-structuring of the judiciary, or of one segment of it, would have been more than the protectorate budget could stand, particularly after a long and costly war.

Yet the evidence is clear that up, at least, until April 1939 Blanco kept forwarding indignant memoranda to the High Commissioner in Tetuan urging the adoption of a Customary Law system for the Rifians, along the lines of that already created by the French for the Berber

---

(113) 18--Cf. Cesareo Rodriguez Aguilera, Manual de Derecho de Marruecos, Barcelona: Bosch, 1952, p. 109.
19--Cf. D.M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, II, 1, Tetuan 1954, pp. 51-86.

114 tribes in their zone. He also tried his best to "unify" Moroccan Berber culture in other ways, e.g., by providing the Rifians in Waryagharland, at least, with Southern Moroccan qsur styles of architecture with which they were totally unfamiliar. The Qasba (to grace it with the Arabic name, rather than with the Spanish alcazaba) at Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday Market of the Aith Turirth, is a magnificent construction, and blends most harmoniously with the landscape but today it is a crumbling ruin, because it is no longer useful, for tastes and ideas have changed. In this sense, Blanco's ideas were much like those of Marshal Lyautey: to preserve Traditional Morocco in a vase clos. As Lyautey was enchanted with the city of Fez, so was Blanco enchanted with the Rif. But neither of them was able to put his finger in the dyke of social change. In very much the French manner, Blanco kept stressing the politico-jural "differences" between Rifian Berbers and Arabs in the Spanish Zone. This is, of course, one crucial point where his sociological analyses go astray; and a wise protectorate administration evidently recognized the fact by ignoring his repeated requests for the implantation of Customary Law.

It is also possible (as was suggested to me by Blanco's widow) that Blanco's frequent head-on collisions with the administrative higher-ups over matters of this sort led to the eventual blockage of much of the material which he had prepared for publication. The second part of La Ley Rifeña was published, but the first part was never even finished - and its excellent fragments appear here, in translation, for the first time. It seems, indeed, that Blanco had real difficulties with the bureaucracy, and that, in particular, the late Sr. Don José

114 Diaz de Villegas, the former Director of Morocco and Spanish Colonies (Director de Marruecos y Colonias) in Madrid, successfully blocked the bulk of his most important manuscript material on the Rif for publication.

What is really needed, of course, in order that scholarly research in any discipline may be able to get to the roots of the intervención system is not so much the formal "chain-of-command" tables, and the accompanying rules and regulations, which abound in the literature, but a perusal of the day-to-day, week-to-week, month-to-month and year-to-year correspondence between Tetuan and the five territories of the Spanish Zone. Only in this way will the real meat of the system be revealed. As yet, this type of correspondence is not available in the otherwise admirable personal archives of Sr. Don Tomás García Figueras, which may be consulted in the Africa Section of the National Library in Madrid. Perhaps some day some of this documentation may eventually be forthcoming: for many of Blanco's reports show his preoccupations about the building of a mosque at Point X, the construction of a spring or well at Point Y, and the cementing of an irrigation ditch at Point Z, to say nothing of the interminable court cases which came up every week, on market day, in the tribunals both of the tribal qaid and the tribal qadi. These were, and still are, day-to-day problems on which both a running commentary and some attempt at analysis would be helpful; and distressingly little is made of them in the literature.

Blanco may have been unrealistic about Customary Law, but he can hardly be said to have been so about Rifian sociopolitical units, as

114 his Traditional Jma'ath paper of 1935, his Note on the Rifian Jma'th paper of about 1938 and his published La Ley Rifeña of 1939, amongst other documents authored by him which are translated in this volume, abundantly point out. His point on clan (or "fractional") autonomy, within a tribal context, was delivered so convincingly in his 1939 La Ley Rifeña that the administration really began to take notice of the Interventor Territorial del Rif. It has to do, in such a neat way with the relative autonomy, from each other, of top-level segments, or clans, in a tribe, that we leave the argument behind it for the appropriate parts of the text, to speak for themselves. For, unlike much of the French literature, one leaves the reading of Blanco's material with the distinct impression that he really understood something about some of the theory behind segmentary societies, amongst which the Rifi tribes could all traditionally be numbered. His theoretical conclusions of 1939 led to the "rural junta" reforms of 1942, inaugurated under the High Commissionership of Gen. Luis Orgaz Yoldi very shortly before Blanco himself began to take a more high-level policy participation in them as Delegate of Native Affairs. Blanco did not live to see the creation of the clan or "fractional" juntas, or juntas de farq:, in 1952, in which each tribal clan was in effect accorded its own separate budget and its council consisted of an elected member of every local community in it[20]; but he would no doubt have been happy to find that, bit by bit, a few more snippets of civic responsibility were being inculcated in the tribal areas, and that many of the articles in the decree concerned strongly echoed views which he had previously recorded in his own memoranda.

20--Cf. Garcia Figueras, op. cit., 1957, pp. 294-304.

114 The creation of the new clan councils persisted until the end of the Spanish Protectorate in 1956; and in concluding our remarks about the protectorate it seems appropriate to make a brief assessment of the ideology behind it: for this ideology was strongly if not totally endorsed by Blanco himself, in a published article in 1946[21]. His viewpoint, nicely and previously gauged by Robert Montagne (himself a latter-day architect of Berber policy in the French Zone), in an unpublished paper of 1939, after a visit to the Spanish Zone just after the conclusion of the Civil War[22], may hence be taken as thoroughly representative. Montagne refers to the central feature of this ideology as "encirclement", an almost claustrophobic Spanish fear of being hemmed in by both France and England, and the relevant passage in his paper is worth quoting (the translation is my own):[23]

> "Spain felt threatened both by France and England (i.e., at the time of the colonial "grab" in the nineteenth century: translator's comment), and hence to one part of enlightened Spanish public opinion, the mountains of the Rif and the Jbala represented a (polar) frontier with the Pyrenees which gave Spain a kind of strategic protection. But this frontier was badly defended: the profound unity of the Sharifian Empire, cemented by centuries of history, could not help imposing itself upon Moroccans of the Spanish Zone. On the other hand, great breaches are opened in the east by the Mulwiya Plains, the Aith Bu Yihyi gap which threatens Melilla, while in the center are the French observatories in the Igzimayen, from which (Central Rifian) point the whole Plain of al-Husaima can be held under fire. (Translator's comment

114
[113]

21--Cf. Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Politica Africana", op. cit., 1946.
22--Robert Montagne, La Política Africana de España (trans.), Servicio de Intervención de la Región de Gomara, Chauen, Oct. 1939, MSS., 57 pp. Catalogue No. Afr. GF Ca. C-14 (in Africa Section, National Library, Madrid).
23--P. 46 of Montagne, ibid., MSS., 1939.

114

this last observation is resoundingly echoed by Blanco himself in his comments on strategic factors in his own unpublished Estudio Relativo a la Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia, MSS., April 1940, in which he complains, with some justification, that as a result of the joint Franco-Spanish campaigns in 1925-1926, the French occupied the territory of the Igzinnayen tribe, territory which would originally have fallen to Spain under the initial protectorate agreements; and that the French refused to give it up. It is patently obvious that this Igzinnayen territory dominates the Plain of al-Hussima even more than does the Jbil Hmam of the Aith Waryaghar - for it is higher.)

000

Finally, in the west, the Atlantic plains of l-Qsar and l-'Ara'ish are favorable to the advance of modern armies. Spanish nationalism may be irritated at seeing the preponderance of France in Oran (Algeria), where 250,000 Spanish immigrants, over the course of a century, became transformed into French colons. And Tangier, with its international regime, zealously guarded by France and England, also appeared sometimes as an irredentist zone. So thus the Spanish Rif, shut in behind a double fortress of mountains and fortifications, maintained a precarious state of equilibrium. Part of the tribal contingents would serve to guard the 'threatened' frontiers, and others would come to act as Franco's praetorian guard, to give the military regime of Nationalist Spain a mercenary support of proven fidelity. Hence the nationalism in the cities was thus the only internal threat, and not a great one at that.

"But this project has one weak point: it presupposes the total passivity of the Spanish Zone, proportionately one of the most heavily populated regions of Morocco....."

The above passage of course reflects a thoroughly French point of view, one not calculated to appeal to Spanish Nationalists of the period, with whose administration in their own zone of Morocco Montagne was otherwise in sympathy: for a keynote of his paper is greater inter-zonal cooperation. It is thus of interest to compare Montagne's views with those of Blanco himself, which, as expressed in his 1946 article, are equally throughly Spanish.

[114]

114 Stripped of colonialist rhetoric, it is evident that Blanco's principal concern is with the frontiers of Spain, first of all, and secondly, with Morocco as a natural prolongation of these frontiers. The small northern zone of Morocco which was awarded to Spain through the agreements of 1906 and 1912 was not commensurate, he argues, with the greatness of the Spanish nation and with its role in history; and hence wounded personal and national pride, quite naturally perhaps, comes out as strongly in Blanco's writing on this subject as it does in that of any of the other apologists for Spanish colonialism in Africa. However, Blanco is rather more forceful here than most, and takes the view that Spain's southern frontier should not have been merely relegated to the Rif, but that it should have encompassed the whole of the Atlas chain and the Dra Valley as well, ie., in effect, all of Morocco, to link it up with the Southern Spanish Protectorate and the Spanish Sahara in the south. (His point is, of course, although he never actually says so, total exclusion of the French.) He adduces a notion of complementary frontiers, the Atlas for the Iberians and the Pyrenees for the Berbers. Spain and Morocco, he holds, represent a single cultural unit, a Western Mediterranean one of transition between Northern Europe and Black Africa: of this unit, the upper, northern Iberian half is wealthy and progress-oriented, while the lower, southern Berber half is backward, rude and impoverished. Hence, Spanish security cannot admit any foreign infiltration into this area and Blanco sees no solution other than the careful gaining of the good-will of its inhabitants,

114 not through domination of its soil in the old colonial manner, but because of the fact that the Spanish colonial mission is vital and of the spirit. Spain's historic claims, after seven centuries of Muslin occupation, are to see in Morocco a first line of defence across the straits, and ultimately, the mission of the Spaniard and that of the Berber are one and the same. It is not political, racial or religious in character; it is, rather, to relate between continents. Both peoples, Berbers and Iberians, represent continental appendages in contact (apéndices continentales en contacto), as he argues with a certain nicety (p. 55). In short, they understand each other very well, and to cement such understanding they need the higher interests of mutual security. Beside considerations such as these, factors such as differences in language and religion are of very secondary importance.

000 In our opinion, this represents a more-than-adequate synopsis of the ideology behind the Spanish Protectorate. On the analogy of "flogging a dead horse", there seems now little to be gained either in supporting its (often questionable) premises or in dissecting them. The only real point which need be made, now that the protectorate itself has passed into history, is that, in its critical final stages, at least, there was nowhere the searing hatred by North Zone Moroccans of Spaniards which characterized and typified relations between South Zone Moroccans and the French, in the early 1950s. But then economic development had been almost nil in the Spanish Zone, most Spanish colons were nearly as poor as the Moroccans were, and the gulf between have and have-nots simply did not exist. It may have been, in a sens

000 a case of the one-eyed leading the blind, but Blanco was certainly correct in describing it as a venture of the spirit rather than as one of development. And in this fact resides the so-called "mystic mission" of the interventor.

Section III: General Critique of Blanco's Work As Here Presented

114 In the opinion of the present writer-editor, the core, and certainly the most interesting aspect, of Emilio Blanco's work, both published and in MSS. form, revolves around Rifian social structure, in the most extensive and all-embracing use of this concept. We use the terms "both published and in MSS. form" advisedly, because the present edited and annotated translation is an amalgamation of the two. As noted above, Blanco in 1939 published a work entitled El Rif (2a. Parte: La Ley Rifeña): II - Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados (The Rif: 2nd Part: Rifian Law: II - The Rifian Qanuns With Commentary) under the auspices of the Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos: Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas: Centro de Estudios Marroquíes (High Commission of Spain in Morocco: Delegation of Native Affairs: Center of Moroccan Studies). As indicated by the title, this slim volume of 151 pages was only the second section of the second part (or possibly only the latter) of what would have been a much longer, general study of Rifian ethnography in an overall sense, if it had ever seen the light of day - or so Sra. Blanco and Spanish officers who knew her husband informed me. The first part, or first volume, consists, in typescript, and, in the main, of five completed chapters of a projected

114 seven-chapter work, which as it stands is entitled Conferencia sobre Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño (Lectures on Rifian Customary Law), and dated December 17-18, 1935, plus numerous isolated fragments of information (some in typescript, most handwritten) which bear on the same subject in one way or another. There are, in addition, four other shorter typescripts, and, of these, the first two I found not amongst the Blanco papers in Madrid, but in the archives of the Bureau of Ajdir, the intervención comarcal site for the Aith Waryaghar, where they were kindly brought to my attention by the then administrator of that tribe, Capt. José Rodriguez Erola, in 1955. The third I found in the Blanco archives in 1960, and the fourth, plus a duplicate of the second, in the Africa Section of the National Library in Madrid in 1970. These papers are: 1) Las Yemáas Tradicionales de los Ait Uariaguel (The Traditional Jma'ath of the Aith Waryaghar), dated Ajdir, August 27, 1935; 2) relevant sections from a longer administrative report entitled Estudio Relativo a la Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia (A Study on the Border Tribe of the Igzinnayen[24]), Anexo al Boletín de Informacion, Num. 4, dated April 30, 1940; 3) an unpublished introduction, in typescript, to the work on the Rifian qanums (to be referred to henceforth as La Ley Rifeña, or simply as LR) published in 1939, which deals with Blanco's hypotheses regarding the survival of Berber Custom and Common Law in an Islamic country and context;

[101] 24--The Igzinnayen are referred to in this particular context as a "border" tribe because they are the one Central Rifian tribe located in the then (before 1956) French rather than in the then Spanish Zone of Morocco. The memorandum in question bears the catalogue no. U/ñ in the Garcia Figueras collection of the Africa Section in the National Library, Madrid.

114 and 4) Noticia sobre la Yemáa Rifeña (Note on the Rifian Jma'th), which is undated but could have been written any time from about 1936 to 1940, probably closer to the latter date, and which is concerned largely with the perpetuation of the Rifian jma'th as an ongoing social unit in a modern administrative context[25].

There are many other papers in the Blanco collection which have some relevance to Rifian social structure, but most of these are copies of reports written by other tribal administrators which found their way into his possession. The remaining ones, the authorship of which was not indicated, were positively identified for me by Srta. Emilia Blanco Moro as not being the work of her father.

128 As may be deduced from the foregoing, I have, in working up the Blanco materials for publication, had to resort to a "magpie" or "scissors-and-paste" technique, in order to combine and recombine published and unpublished data; and no one is more aware of the [114] shortcomings of such a method than I. But the point at issue here is that the unpublished MSS. materials and the published Ley Rifeña bear a very integral interrelationship to each other, and that each of them can best be understood intercontextually, each in the context of and in terms of the other. This point will become increasingly evident through a perusal of the main body of the work. Another perhaps even more cogent reason for including a translation of LR is that, to my knowledge, there is not a single copy of this work extant anywhere in the United States. It need only be said at this point

25--This paper bears the catalogue no. M1/ñ, in the Garcia Figueras collection of the Africa Section in the National Library, Madrid.

128 that the responsibility both for the translation and for the arrangement of the materials is entirely my own.

114 We come now to the overall content of this work. It will soon become evident to the reader that Col. Blanco labored under a number of anthropological handicaps: 1) he was a soldier, with strictly a military mind; 2) he was evidently not fluent in Arabic, as evinced by the fact that he refers to Juan Gomez Jaen as the real translator into Spanish of the qanuns in his LR; 3) he was probably not fluent in Rifian, as evinced by his transliteration of Rifian terms in the text (many of which I have had to retransliterate); 4) he continually tried to force Rifian categories of thought into European molds; and 5) he made numerous errors of fact, mostly small, but a very few, gigantic.

These may seem unnecessarily harsh judgments to some, and it is certainly not my intention to tread on any toes. But despite Blanco's frequent errors of fact and occasional errors of interpretation, despite his tendency to romanticize the subject, and despite the strong influence exercised upon him by the work of Robert Montagne[26] (with whom, nonetheless, he could frequently disagree, as shown by his "rejoinder" of 1946 to Montagne's 1939 paper on Spanish African policy in the previous section: for Montagne's influence on the sociological thinking of French Protectorate officialdom was enormous), there is one colossal point in Blanco's favor: without any question, and in a very sure way, his work, throughout, creates a thoroughly Rifian mood;

[113] 26--Cf. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Félix Alcan, 1930, and La Vie Sociale et la Vie Politique des Berbères, Paris: Editions du Comite de l'Afrique Française, 1931.

and we feel that it merits translation and interpretation if only for this reason. This is so totally aside from the invaluable insights - some of which are occasional flashes of real brilliance - which it gives us into Rifian social structure and customary law, insights which all become evident in the main body of the work.

There is, too, another, wider reason for the translation of Emilio Blanco which is presented here. Berber social structure may be regarded in Morocco as an unfashionable field of study, and this is particularly true of Berber jural procedure, for, since the country became independent in 1956, its whole population, Arabs and Berbers alike, has come under the sway of Islamic Law. The net result of this, we venture to predict, is that the memory of Berber Common Law will die out entirely with the oldest surviving generation. The details of such law are still clearer among the Berbers of the Central Atlas than among Berbers elsewhere in Morocco, because the French administration was rigorous in its underwriting of such law until 1956 - despite storms of Arab protest over the 1930 "Berber Dahir". Present-day Rifians, even the oldest ones, on the other hand, only tend to remember primary jural principles, such as the number of co-jurors required in a case of suspected murder in the days of the 'Ripublik' - a term which Rifians use retrospectively to refer to the long period of violence, bloodfeud and what we have elsewhere labelled "organized acephaly"[27] which preceded the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim and in no way to be confused with the latter's "Rifian Republic" -

27--Cf. D.M. Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, to be published.

114 and, most important of all, what happened if a murder occurred in a
671 market (a place of peaceful commercial exchange, as Blanco points out)
114 on market day (a day of peace, as Blanco again points out). For the
443 clan market, as Blanco makes very clear, set the tone for the relative
182 autonomy of the clan within the framework of the tribe of which it was part; and this was particularly the case amongst the Aith Waryaghar, a fact which Blanco, once again, did not miss. Hence, in his
114 671 682 fine analysis of the 'Qanun of the 'Fraction' of the Aith 'Adhiya' (in LR, pp. 10, 55), Blanco notes, regarding anyone who should commit a murder in the market, that "...all the above-mentioned communities of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his agnates; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as a fine".

114 671 443 182 In his comments on the qanuns of the clans of the Aith Khattab, Aith 'Abdallah and Aith 'Adhiya (all of the Aith Waryaghar), Blanco clearly brings out the fact of the market as the "preferential institution", both economic and social, and as the "temple of tribal law" where the clan councillors or imgharen convened in regular weekly meetings (called agraw) to settle disputes. Thus the jural aspect of the traditional Rifian market. Market day, in the Rif, absolutely had to be the one day of peace during the week, for if the market was "broken" through fighting and murder, the cry went up: "Now there is no law!" (Ur iddji shi r-haqq!) And this phrase, as Blanco graphically says, was "repeated in the humble dwellings perched on the mountain slopes; and soon the Rifian mountains returned to their harsh, restless and agitated life, as the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance reappeared

114 on the hillsides, bringing the cries of victims and the echo of rifle
67 shots in its train" (LR, p. 19). Blanco's work is shot through with
443 references to the clan (or, as he calls it, fraccion), with its mar-
182 ket, as the basic Rifian patria - which of course applies better to large tribes like the Aith Waryaghar than to small ones like the Thafarsith, "Rifian Switzerlands" surrounded by more powerful neighbors

114 By 1960, some of the finer points of the Rifian qanuns or Cus-
671 tomary Law documents had been forgotten even by members of the oldest
[688] living generation, e.g., such as how much is to be paid if one shoots at a man and misses him, or if one threatens him with a dagger, but
114 does not stab him. Blanco, and to a lesser extent Carleton Coon[28],
127 have both set down many of these common-law niceties; and Blanco's
[671] work has the additional merit (and we refer here primarily to LR) of being a translation and an analysis of primary documents, some dating as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. These are invaluable source materials for the long and unbroken period of the Rifian 'Ripublik' (as opposed to 'Abd al-Krim's Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya, or "Rifian Republican State", 1921-1926, although he only constituted it "officially" early in 1923), which is today only a memory and, according to some, a skeleton in the Rifian closet. However, old tribesmen and even some younger ones who are less sophisticated - and who therefore generally make better informants - still grudgingly admit to admiring it and to looking upon it with nostalgia.

---

[113] 28--Cf. Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, Vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931. Coon's data on customary law come primarily from the tribe of the Igzinnayen, whereas the bulk of Blanco's come from their northern neighbors, the Aith Waryaghar.

181 Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the
178 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of
that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim
[421] in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on
[562] what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk,
who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segre-
[423] gated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one
[628] else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with
[554] the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud,
[404] which was once the dominant political institution of the society,
were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the
old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his
[404] mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until
1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons
in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration,
while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

181 The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Govern-
669 ment in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army
in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic in-
dication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apart-
ness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant
to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself
was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And
these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's
621 time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life
671 among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

621
671 example, the qanuns of Lower Thamasind, of Imhawren and the Inter-
Lineage Pact of Thazurakhth (all in LR) clearly show. And that such
114
621 community and inter-community life can also be constructive, as well
421 as vengeance-oriented and destructive, is amply shown by Blanco's truly excellent analysis of Aith Waryaghar irrigation rights, especially with respect to the "intermittent" and intercalated rights of a particular lineage in the Plain of al-Husaima to the water which three other lineages, all of a different clan from the first, traditionally receive from a given irrigation ditch (LR, pp. 115-116).

114 Very much more could be said about the good points in Blanco's overall analysis and output on Rifian social structure, for they outweigh the bad ones, and by far. He never specifically pointed to segmentation as a crucial structural principle, but one can feel that he sensed it. And although he did not recognize the fact that the principles behind the liff system of alliances often, in the Rif, cross-cut those of segmentation, his understanding of liffs per se was certainly sound enough, and was not unduly influenced by Montagne. He did tend to confuse the concept of diya or bloodwealth with the concept of haqq, the fine paid by a murderer to the councillors if he committed his murder in the market, thereby breaking the peace of the market; but although this distinction is crucial, Blanco's treatment of the whole context of facts nonetheless correctly highlights the Rifian keynote of bloodfeud at home and peace abroad. And this last is perhaps the dominant theme in Rifian society and culture.

121 In a Morocco which is undergoing rapid sociocultural change, there is still nonetheless a great deal to be learned, we think, at the tribal or "grass-roots" level. Bidonville or "shanty-town" sociology may, along with cité ouvrière sociology as well, be more "topical" or "fashionable" in North African studies at present, but the notion of the tribe, the qabila or taqbilt, with the segmentary depths and patterns of kinship which this embodies, along with other possibly cross-cutting factors, is still very powerful in parts of rural Morocco, even though the present (and largely unsuccessful) Moroccan administrative concept of the "rural communes" has been designed to unseat it. Changes in forms of social structure tend [114] to lag well behind economic changes; and thus Blanco's contributions to the study of the sociopolitical structure of the Rif are far from untimely today, even though they date back to the 1930s. They are herewith presented, and may henceforth speak for themselves. Com- 128 ments in detail, as opposed to the general comments given in this section, may be found in the notes accompanying the translated text.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

INTRODUCTION 2: A

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE RIFIAN TRIBE OF AITH WARYAGHAR*

by David Montgomery Hart**

This paper, a result of six months of ethnographic field work in Spanish Morocco, was made possible by funds granted from the Ford Foundation. That foundation is not, however, the author owner, publisher or proprietor of the publication in which this paper appears, and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements made or views expressed herein.

Aith Waryāghar is not only the biggest and most important tribe in the Rīf, but the most heavily populated in the whole of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, totaling some 65,000 people at the present time. It is delimited on the north by the Bay of Alhucemas and by the Mediterranean Sea; on the west by the tribes of Buqqūya, Banī Yaṭṭuft and Targīst; on the east by the Nakūr River and the tribes of Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn; and on the south by Aith Mazdūwī, Aith 'Ammarth and Giznāya (the last mentioned being just over the border in French Morocco). Although Targīst and most of Banī Yaṭṭuft

---

* Excepcionalmente se ha conservado el sistema de transcripción usado por el autor del artículo, aunque difiere del adoptado por esta Revist (N. de la R.).

** Reprinted with permission from TAMUDA, REVISTA DE INVESTIGACIONES MARROQUĪES, Año II, Semestre 1, Tetuan, Imprenta Cremades, 1954, pp. 51-86 (which was continued after 1960 by Hespéris-Tamuda, the amalgamation of the two journals, one French and the other Spanish, Hespéris and Tamuda).
At the author's request, the original version of this article has been changed to reflect two most important changes since then, and as of 1958, i.e. "Riffian" to "Rifian" and "Aith Wuryaghil" to "Aith Waryaghar."

A, [The contents of this section (pp. 45-95, except for pp. 64-64-D), are a duplicate of 3: Hart in this file and therefore were not marked. This information will be found in the appropriate categories already list in 3: Hart.--Analyst]

OOO are Arabic-speaking, the other tribes all speak the Rifian dialect of Berber. Aith Waryāghar, Aith 'Ammarth and northern Giznāya form in particular, a Central Rifian linguistic bloc where Arabic is known only by a tiny literate minority. This dialect, called Shilha in Arabic and Thamāzighth in Rifian, is stronger in the Central RĪf than in any other part of northern Morocco, which gives an indication of the conservatism of the people who speak it. The three nuclear Rifian tribes have all retained in large measure many of their archaic Berber cultural patterns in the face of an ever-increasing Arabization. For this reason, I use the Berber term Aith (sons) rather than its Arabic equivalent BanĪ, which has become current in the literature. Although a tribesman who does know Arabic will say BanĪ when speaking of his tribe to a stranger, he will employ Aith when in conversation with his own people. I have also singled out the tribe of Aith Waryāghar as the object of this article not only because at the time of writing, I know it much better than the other Rifian tribes, but because, as it is the largest and most powerful of all of them, it has always taken the leading role in the past history of the RĪf, and it has, on most occasions, called the turn to the other tribes when necessary. The presence of Aith Waryāghar, with that of Giznāya, in the confederation of the Sinhāja during the great Sinhāja-Ghumāra war was what won that war for the former group; and in recent times the tribe produced 'Abd al-Karīm, of whom we shall say more later on.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 Running in a northeast-southwest direction, the tribal territory, 1028.5 square kilometers, consists, in the north, of an open alluvial plain bordered on the east by the mountains of Tamsamān; this plain overlooks the Mediterranean and forms the Bay of Alhucemas. Further south it gradually ascends into and merges with the brown, barren and eroded mountains which are such a characteristic feature of the Rifian landscape; these are bisected by arroyos and high valleys, and in Aith Waryāghar they culminate in the rugged massif of Jabal Hammām (1948 meters), which is covered with snow in January and February. Vegetation consists largely of scrub and lentiscus bushes. Except in the highest altitudes, rain is infrequent even in the winter; the so-called ((levante)), coming from Spain, brings it suddenly and in the form of flash floods, which change the two sluggish rivers in the tribal territory, the Ghīs to the west and the Nakūr to the east, into raging torrents. In the mountains the winters, although not long, are cold, but snowfall is much less than in Aith 'Ammarth or in the Sinhāja Srair to the southwest, where the mountains are considerably higher. The rest of the year the climate is warm and usually so dry as to produce only a bare subsistence economy.

The population density, 65 individuals per sq. km., although not the highest in Spanish Morocco, is a greater number of people than the land, which is one of the most infertile in the Protectorate, can effectively support. In the last century the Aith Waryāghar found blood-feuding a sure outlet to reduce their overpopulation, but, at the present time, as they are no longer allowed to carry firearms,

000the population problem is met by a large annual exodus of ablebodied tribesmen to the plains of western Algeria, where they help out with the barley, wheat, olive and grape harvests on the farms of French colons. The terrible drought in the RĪf in 1945 precipitated emigration to a previously unheard of degree, and today the number of people who are living and working outside the RĪf is greater than ever before.

Those who stay at home follow an annual agricultural cycle in which cereal cultivation is extensively practiced, particularly that of barley. They plow and sow their fields in the autumn and winter, and reap and thresh the grain the following summer. The straw is piled up into circular, conical silos (athmūn, pl. ithmūnen) to be used in the winter as fodder for the animals, of which cattle and goats are the most important, sheep less so. Mules and donkeys are employed as beasts of burden, while horses, owing to the extreme poverty of the people and the mountainous configuration of the terrai are virtually non-existent. All, without exception, keep chickens an inevitably, dogs, while in certain favored areas apiculture is practiced; the bees of Jabal Hammām produce the finest honey which it has ever been my good fortune to sample.

Although barley is the most important cash crop (the barley harvest of 1953 was the best on record), the Aith Waryaghar spend comparatively little time working their grain fields, not more than three or four months a year, all told; it is their trees which receive the bulk of their attention. The most common trees are fig, pomegranate and almond in the Bay of Alhucemas, with olive substitute

for pomegranate in the mountains; they are all pruned, watered, grafted and fertilized with great assiduousness, for dried figs and almonds constitute the principal food reserves during the winters, after the grains have been eaten. The same is true of raisins, and the cultivation of grape vines is extensively practiced in the mountains near Sūq al-Arba of Taurīrt. Olive oil, extracted from a communally owned olive grinder and oil press, is the essential fat(1).

The fields, orchards and vegetable gardens (the latter producing broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers and carrots, to mention only a few) of the Aith Waryāghar are usually terraced near the houses, along the slopes of the mountains. The vineyards, whither the families repair in September to pick grapes, are further up; and along the crests are the commmal goat pastures and the ghāba patches, where the women go to cut brushwood for their ovens and for the local mosque. Grape picking is the only important activity in September, which marks the end of the agricultural year; after this is done and after the barley has been reaped and threshed and the silos piled up, people make merry and get married before the first rains begin again and the time to plow and sow has started up once more.

Herding and agricultural contracts of a verbal nature are made between the wealthier and the poorer men of the community, those who have little hiring themselves out to those who have more(2). Individuals who own more animals than they can pasture themselves hire herders

(1) Coon, Carleton Stevens: Caravan, The Story of the Middle East, New York 1951, p. 313.
(2) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: Approvechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en las yemaas del Rif, Africa, Madrid, Noviembre 1947, pp. 75-77.

who, while the beasts are in their charge, receive all the milk and butter and half the young ones born, and, when the animals are sold, half the profits; if the contract concerns sheep, they receive half the wool as well. Vegetable gardens and orchards are cared for by hired gardeners (rabbā') who receive one-fourth of the fruit and vegetable crop; as their job entails setting up terraces, they sometimes get one-third of the vegetables if the land is sifficult to wor These same men, if they also perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, are called ikhammāsen and receive one-fifth of the barley and wheat crop. The owner of the field supplies the s the animals (usually cows) and the plow as well in this type of contract, while the akhammās (sing. of ikhammāsen) provides only his muscles and a switch to keep the cattle moving while they are under the yoke. The akhammās contract is the most common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called ifarādhe (Arabic bil-fard): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called dhūrī, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an akhammās, and the payment of other hire personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the akhammās, is divided in half.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches (thargha, pl. tharghiwīn) and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Waryāghar; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Waryāghar the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The RIf, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Waryāghar, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is customary to arrange a fixed place beforehand for washing and bathing. Each jamā'ath (village, council of notables) works out and agrees on

---

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2a. parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

fines for infractions of water rights, particularly with regard to freedom of women; a small boy is stationed at a prudent distance from the women's section of the water, to keep men away (4).

It was Col. Blanco, in his magnificent analysis of Rifian customary law (5) (which has served as an invaluable aid to me in the collection of my own notes on the subject), who first called attention to the fact that in the Bay of Alhucemas, the primary ditches have secondary branches which only take up water for twenty-four hours; if there are four such secondary branches, each one only takes up water every four days. Secondary ditches in turn have tertiary branches, which take up water only during the day, or at night. The tertiary branches lead to the very small ditches of individuals, which take up water for a few hours only, these hours usually being determined by those of the daily prayers. Distribution of water is based on the tribal social structure: a thārfīqth, the fundamental social unit, receives water from a secondary ditch on a twenty-four hour basis, while a jājghū or patrilineal extended family within the thārfīqth may use only a tertiary ditch. If one of these family groups, during one turn, gets its water during the day, it will receive it at night in the following round, and the first in one turn will be the last in the next. All ditches are subject to communal maintenance and all the families who use them must help repair them after heavy rains have washed them out.

---

(4) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 101

(5) Blanco Izaga, 1959, passim.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 Water rights are still carefully regulated by the 'urf, or unwritten customary law, and custom in respect to water channeled off from the Ghīs is different from that of the Nakūr, owing to the different nature of the rivers themselves. In the Bay of Alhucemas, the best land in the tribe, the flow of water in the lower course of the Ghīs, although slight, is nevertheless constant. The problem created by the Ghīs is that although today its volume has been artificially increased with new concrete beds for the primary ditches of Thafadhna, Bulma'īz and Libzimma, there would still not be enough water to go around if adequate provisions, sanctioned by custom, for its apportionment had not been made long ago. Because of the relative constancy of its flow, those who irrigate with its waters know that the quantity they can expect is more or less the same at any time of year. Thus the qānūns dealing with irrigation in the Lower Ghīs specifically state that any man who purchases land there must buy his irrigation turn independently. Due to the fact that these qānūns have been drawn up in Arabic by the 'adūl or notaries public for all to see and abide by, and to the additional fact that all the land on both banks of the river belongs to Aith Waryāghar, disturbances of social equilibrium about irrigation water there, although far from uncommon, have been considerably less great than they might have been.

The Nakūr, however, is something else again. Although it irrigates about eight times as much land as the Ghīs, it nevertheless loses much of its potential through infiltration. While in winter I have seen it overflow its banks during a heavy storm, it becomes

reduced to a muddy little creek in summer. Owing to its volume capacity, however, its irrigation qānūns, in this case unwritten, provide that anyone who buys land there automatically has a right to irrigation water as well, because most of the year there is a sufficient quantity for all. But the hitch is that Nakūr water irrigates not only Aith Waryāghar but Aith Tuzīn and Tamsamān as well. Although the Spanish administration has fixed the river as the boundary between Aith Tuzīn and Tamsamān on the east bank and Aith Waryāghar on the west, individuals and families from each of these three tribes still own land on the bank opposite them. In the past the river functioned less as a boundary than as a zone of transition, and because of the unclear but traditional and conservative application of customary law, there was ample opportunity for feuds to develop, which they did with great frequency, particularly in summer when the water supply was low. The shaikh ar-fijjāḥath (Ar. shaikh al-fillāḥa) or aquwwām of each of the opposing tribes met to parley in case of a blatant infraction of custom, such as getting water out of turn; he was backed up by his respective constituents, all of whom were armed to the teeth. In case of a general melee, Aith Waryāghar, being the most powerful, usually won, particularly if Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn were in disagreement with one another.

House sites in Aith Waryāghar are determined by two principal considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6) The walls, studily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square;

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: La Vivienda Rifeña, Ceuta 1930, passim.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX5 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 26 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a ghurfa, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Rifians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of 'Abd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an

impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the akhammās as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

The houses are widely scattered up and down the mountains, each one being at least three hundred meters away from the next. Its construction and situation reflect the independent spirit of its owner. Almost always isolated to at least this extent, such a dwelling is usually the residence of a man, his unmarried brothers and sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This is only part of the family; the rest of it, living in similar houses the usual distance away, includes the man's married brothers and their wives and unmarried children. Thus the family, as it is known in Aith Waryāghar, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; when the daughters marry, they go to live with their husbands' people, for this is a partilineal and patrilocal society. This extended family or jājghū (pl. ijūjgha) is a cooperative economic unit; the affiliations of in-marrying wives are with it rather than with the families from which they came. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old jājghū splits into as many new ijūjgha as there were married brothers originally.

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the elders of the jājghū, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two 'adūl proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all, when the father dies; but with many sons, the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit; quarrels may develop, in which case the land is divided up among the sons, each one looking after his own share. The inheritance system follows standard Islamic practice, with the portion of one son equalling that of two daughters. If daughters whose share of the family property includes land marry into other villages or political sections, they are often induced to sell out their own holdings to their brothers so that the land will remain securely in the hands of the family. These are the essential features of the jājghū as an extended family group but its importance in the total social structure is far overshadowed by a larger and more durable unit called thārfīqth (pl. thārfīqīn).

This grouping, a form of clan-community, is an amplification of the jājghū by inclusion of the families of all the sons of the original founder-ancestor, not just of one of them (which constitutes the jājghū). This ancestor is apt to be at least three or four ascending generations removed from the speaker, if not more; he is the speaker's furthest remembered ascendant in the male line and the man from whom

the thārfīqth takes its name. Within the thārfīqth, the various ijūjghā form its component parts. Thus, in the thārfīqth of Iḥaddūshen or Aith Haddūsh in the village of Aith Mūsā u 'Amar (Aith 'Alī), the component ijūjghā are the families of 'Alī, Sa'īd, Muhammādi, Muḥand and 'Abdallāh, all sons of Haddūsh, the common ancestor of all; in the thārfīqth of Aith Sa'īd in the same village the ijūjghā are the families of Hmid, 'Aisā and 'Abdallāh. A thārfīqth may have a depth of five to nine generations from its ancestral head to its youngest living member; it may number some 200 living people, distributed throughout ten to twenty households. In general, it constitutes a separate barrio or ḥauma in a village; its political existence as such is undeniable, for the village council members (izdīfen, sing. azdīf, «heads») are the elders of each thārfīqth. Not all of these elders are kin, however, for it is unusual, as we shall see, for all the thārfīqīn in one village to be related to each other.

Preferred marriage takes the form of exogamy between the ijūjghā and endogamy within the thārfīqth. Instances of parallel or cross cousin marriages of the Arab pattern may be spotted in most large genealogies, but they are rare; on the other hand, exogamous marriages into other thārfīqīn in the same village or in the same political sections or into other tribes are less common; these are usually contracted by men of influence for political reasons and in the old days such unions formed the basis of a complicated network of alliance systems called liff (pl. lifūf), which will be given extensive treatment further on. Weddings usually take place when the boy is sixteen to seventeen years old and the girl fourteen to fifteen.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 The thārfīqth is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother' widow, and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden in Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Waryāghar appears to have been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Waryāghlis are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: jārīs, muqaddams, shaikhs, qā'ids and qādīs. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

---

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives awar (properly azwar), or «vein», and ighs, or «bone», corresponding to jajghu and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Rifian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Waryaghar the word ighs refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping

000 The size and power of the thārfīqth is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as ikhammāsen for the jājghū heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient jājghū which is formed when children are born in matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token. Although a jājghū of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other, native ijūjgha in time of war. As many of the new ijūjgha considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent thārfīqth to found the nuclei of new thārfīqīn of their own. All the families in the villages of Bū Zdūr and Marrūwī, and most of those of Thirkuzīn, in Aith 'Abdallāh, are of this type; they are still considered by the locals as foreigners from Aith 'Ammarth, although they banded together long ago to found a new thārfīqth of their own, Aith Handu Dāwūd, which has now grown into a farīqeth or canton.

In the Waryāghli sense of being a «whole family», the internal solidarity of the thārfīqth is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual ijūjgha of a thārfīqth may be small in number of personnel, the thārfīqth as a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramadā. therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the

thārfīqth and not the jājghū which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence. Although murders within the thārfīqth did occur, they were very rare and considered unnatural crimes; the local holy man, sharīf or murābit was brought around at once to appease the bereaved and to act as moderator, and the offenders were either killed or exiled immediately to prevent a feud from spreading. To date, I know personally of only one case of one man killing another in the same thārfīqth (in Tharwa n Muhammādi 'Alūsh, Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī); he was instantly shot by one of the sons of the dead man, and as he himself had no sons or brothers to carry on the feud, the problem ended then and there. Equilibrium was completely reestablished when the killer married his victim's sister, his own parallel cousin.

Each thārfīqth, however, was usually at war with its neighbors. Minor quarrels over ownership of land or of irrigation water could and did lead to blood feuds of such extraordinary savageness that on some occasions they did not stop until one or the other of the participating families was completely wiped out. The smaller the group, the greater the number of powerful allies it had to have in order to survive. Periods of peace and quiet were very infrequent events; in the old days every house had a watch tower, forming a second story, in which the owner had a commanding view of the whole countryside. He could thus spot an unwary enemy and drop him dead in his tracks with the greatest of ease and pleasure. The poverty and infertility of the soil was a factor which contributed heavily to an atmosphere of eternal suspicion

and mistrust of one's neighbor. Violence was so common that, analyzing it from an anthropological standpoint, Montagne remarks with considerable justification that the concept of the thārfīqth obscured and often even obliterated those of the larger political units above it (8). The acceptance of the dīyath or blood money by the murdered man's thārfīqth was a rare phenomenon; most families, particularly those of Aith Bu 'Ayyāsh, the political division which has the greatest fighting reputation of all, preferred to keep the feud going. I have been informed that in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh feuding assumed such extreme proportions that, to take one example, the village of Aith Bū Khrif knew no peace at all until the Spanish occupation. Another instance on record, cited both by Montagne (9) and Maldonado (10), tells of a feud which started between two thārfīqīn of Aith 'Abdallāh, Aith al-Qāsim and Iburāsan; I have personally verified their accounts by conversation with two of the participants.

The shooting began after the murder of a dog which belonged to the guest of the head man of Iburāsan, as the Aith al-Qāsim refused to pay the blood money (50 duros) claimed. Twelve men were killed in combat the first day; each side got its allies and soon the feud spread all through the farīqas of Ibunahāren and Aith 'Amar u Hmid. In the following years, 40 men died on one side and 62 on the other, in pitched battles alone. This does not take into account the even larger

(8) Montagne, Robert: Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris 1930, p. 240.
(9) Montagne, 1930, pp. 239-240.
(10) Maldonado, Eduardo: El Rogui, Tetuan 1952, pp. 33-34.

OOO number of those who were shot down in ambush or poisoned with arsenic sold by merchants at Alhucemas. The conquered group eventually decide to leave the country; almost no one was left but old men, women and children, who sought refuge in the sacred mountain of Zarhūn (where Mūlāy Idrīs, the first Sultan of Morocco, is buried), after having sold all their property in order to try to hire a man who would aveng their dead. The vengeance plan was carefully worked out, and the 'adī made the following stipulations: 10,000 riyāls if the bullet killed an enemy; 5,000 if it wounded one; and 2,500 if it missed its mark. In any event, the hired killer was usually found the next day with a bullet through his own head, due as often as not to the careful marksmanship of a small boy hidden behind a lentiscus bush.

To give further evidence of lengths which the people of Aith Waryāghar used to go to put their enemies out of the way, I was told by one of my informants that someone had once insulted his father. The father, an amghār or councillor of considerable repute in his own village (Aith Mūsā u 'Amar of Aith 'Alī), would not brook the insult, and promised his akhammās a new jillāb (11) and a considerable sum of

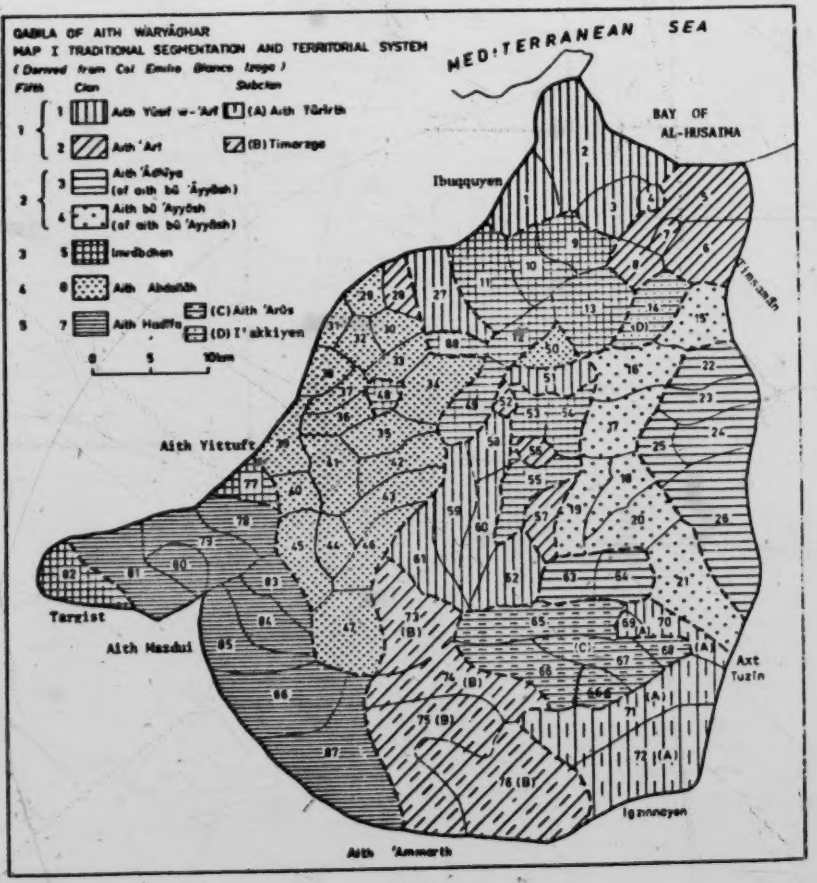
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 65]

(11) (Rifian ajdab): a woolen cloak with sleeves and hood worn by men. In the days before Abd al-Karim it was made of brown homespun and reached the knees only; today ankle-length jillabs are much more in vogue, and the younger generation prefers them made of European cloth. The old woolen turban, thaghrafth, is also no longer worn, and has been replaced by a white cotton turban among the older men; the younger ones, particularly those who have traveled outside the Rif, prefer the tarbush. The trousers have become baggier in recent years as well; the only item of distinctly Rifian clothing which remains is the toe-strap sandal of esparto grass. It is interesting to note that the old short and decorated Rifian jillaba can only be seen today in the Ghumara (continued bottom p. 65)

5: Blanco Izaga · G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

BLANCO MAP I (1934)



5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

KEY TO BLANCO MAP, 1934 - TRADITIONAL SEGMENTARY AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR (Derived from EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA)

N.B. Numbers of "fifths" and clans correspond to those, numbered 1-5 and 1-7 respectively, on the legend of the map, while nos. 1-88 represent local communities.

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

1. Izifzafen
2. Ajdir: Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, Aith Misa'ud u-Yusif, Aith Zara'
3. Azghar
4. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Plain

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

5. Tafrasth
6. Aith Musa w-'Amar
7. Imjjudhen
8. Tigarth

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(1) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

9. Aith Hishim
10. Aith Misa'ud
11. Aith Qamra
12. Idardushen
13. Ifasiyen, Aith Brahim, Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, Aith Yusif

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

14. (D). Subclan of I'AKKIYEN

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(4) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH

15. Izakiren
16. Aith Tfarwin
17. Isufiyen
18. Aith Tfarwin (again)
19. Aith Ta'a
20. Iriyanen
21. Aith Bu Khrif

102
631
613
619
614

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'AIHIYA

22. Ighmiren
23. Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen
24. Imnudh
25. Aith Bu Qiyadhen (r-Rabda)
26. Tazurakhth: Aith 'Aisa, Aith Ruqman

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

27. Aith Buham

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

28. Aith Dawud

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

29. Tazaghin
30. Aith Zkri
31. Imarnisen
32. Tizi 'Ayyash
33. Ibunharen
34. Bu Khalifa (Aith Ziyyan)
35. Iqamniyen
36. Ikiddaben
37. Uqrishen
38. Dahar n-Zimmurth
39. Thariwin
40. Bu Sarah (Bu Salah)
41. Aith Sa'id
42. Aith Dris
43. Bu Zdur (Tigarth 'Ari)
44. Ihwahwahiyen
45. Thirkuzin (Tilkuzin)
46. Thimkiliwin
47. Marrui

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

48. Bu Ghardain
49. Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (Zawiya Sidi 'Aisa)

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

50. I'ayyaden

102
631
613
619
614

1 - "FIFTH" OF THE AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

51. Thamasind n-Waddai (Lower Thamasind)

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

52. Bu Minqad

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

53. Aith r-Qadi
54. Aith 'Aziz
55. Aith r-Qadi (again, I'athmanen

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

56. Thamasind n-Dara (Upper Thamasind)
57. Iswiqen

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

58. Aghridh (Aghlid)
59. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountains
60. 'Arnuq
61. Isrihan
62. Ikattshumen (Ikultumen)

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

63. Ighmiren (again)
64. Igar w-Anu

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

(C) - Subclan of AITH 'ARUS

(C) 65. Bu Sa'ida
(C) 66. Aith Tigarth (or simply Tigarth)
(C) 66a. Aith u-Maru (or simply Maru): "people of the shade"
(C) 67. Aith u-Sammar (or simply Sammar): "people of the sun'
(C) 68. Aith Juhra

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

(A) - Subclan of AITH TURIRTH

(A) 69. Aith 'Amar
(A) 70. Thizimmurin
(A) 71. Thigzirin
(A) 72. Bulma, Ignan, l-'Ass

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

(B) - Subclan of TIMARZGA

(B) 73. r-Maqsuridh
(B) 74. Bu Ma'dan
(B) 75. Thafsasth
(B) 76. Aith Yusif

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

77. Kammun

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH HADHIFA

78. Mishkur
79. Ihadduthen
80. Iharumen
81. Thizimmurin

3 - "FIFTH OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

82. Thamarkatt (Tamarkalt)

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

83. Bihban
84. Aghzar 'Aisa
85. Bashkra
86. Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id
87. Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar (Zawiya Sidi 'Abd l-Qadir)

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

88. Izarruqen

money if he disposed of the insulter. The akhammās went out on his master's errand, but seems to have had a change of heart somewhere during his journey, for he decided that he personally had no quarrel with the other party. Thus there was no reason to kill him. But, with the prospect of a fat reward in his pocket, he announced upon his arrival home that he had shot the man and returned undetected. The amghār soon learned the truth, and locked up his akhammās for three days without food or water. He then sent him packing, after cutting off his ears.

Under circumstances like these, in which even women did not dare go to work alone in the fields and in which men always had to carry their rifles to the mosque or to the market, it might seem, carrying Montagne's argument one step further, that no groupings larger than the thārfīqth could exist at all. They do exist, however, thanks to the mechanism of the liff alliance system, and the next one up the scale is the jamā'ath or dshār, the «village», a collection of both related and unrelated thārfīqīn. I use the word «village», advisedly, nevertheless; its geographical limits, known perfectly by the tribesmen themselves, are difficult for the outsider to discern owing to the linear nature of the terrain and the scattered house distribution.

---

(11) contd. Women's clothing on the other hand, is far more conservative. The women of Aith Waryāghar wear a silken band around the head, tied in the back, over which is placed a cotton shawl; a long cotton or silk shirt (if cotton, it is white; if silk, red or yellow) coming to the knees, with blue trousers underneath, coming to halfway between knees and feet; and a heavy red woolen belt. Most women go barefoot, but some, like many of the men, have adopted Spanish sneakers (alpargatas). Both sexes wear babouches (Rifian ibarkusen, Arabic blaghi) only on festival occasions, provided they are rich enough to afford them.

000 Its site may be determined by the excessive growth of one thārfīqth, by the proximity of a spring, by discords and internal struggles, or by any number of other causes. Its two principal requirements are a communal village mosque (there is often more than one mosque to a village) and a local assembly consisting of the headmen (izdīfen, sing. azdīf) of its component thārfīqīn. This assembly is still in large measure the governing body of the village, and it administrates village affairs largely according to customary law ('urf); under its jurisdiction fall matters relating to individual and family order, theft of small articles such as eggs and poultry and olives and grapes, vigilance of orchards, reparation of irrigation ditches, and the like. It meets once a week in the courtyard of one of the village mosques, or under a wild olive tree, to hear and try cases of local importance. It elects the faqīh of the mosque, who gives Qur'anic instruction to the boys of the village, and the shaikh arfijjāhath or aquwwām to direct work in the fields and to oversee the tawīzas or corvees working on irrigation projects (12). Today it also elects a moderator to direct and keep order during its meeting; he is usually the village jārī or headman. The mosque, school and cemetery are all communal property of the jamā'ath, as, in the mountains, is the olive press; the jamā'ath also retains an indefinable hold over saints' tombs (amrābidh, pl. imrābdhen) if there are any in the vicinity. Each village also has its communal pasture lands (harīm) and its scrub forests (ghāba); these

---

(12) Paniagua y Santos, José María: «Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif». Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos, num. 4, primer semestre, Madrid, Junio 1948, pp. 1-44. My references on p. 14 and pp. 20-21.

ooo may neither be sold nor divided up, and are maintained pro indiviso for the sole use of the inhabitants of the village in question. These lands, generally, surround the village, and form a vague line of demarcation between it and the next village; their situation and extension are such that a woman, for instance, can go out after sunrise to cut ghāba and return home before sunset (13).

The next unit up the scale is the minor political division called farīqath, which the Spanish administration refers to as «subfraction». This unit usually takes the form of a canton, a single hill-valley- or watershed-unit, comprising some four or five villages. The administration has brought this grouping into sharper relief by putting a muqaddam at its head; but this is for administrative purposes only and is not, except in a few cases, a true reflection of the tribal social structure. In the minds of the tribepeople the farīqath is ultimately a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one farīqath in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the farīqath coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some thārfīqīn within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members

(13) Martos de Castro, José: «Lo bereber en Marruecos y sus relaciones con lo ibero». in Alta Comisaria de Espana en Marruecos: Labor de España en Africa, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333. My references from pp. 328-333.

OOOof a canton together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque (thamzīda n khutbath) to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the faqīh. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, nevertheless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements.

Next on the list is the major or primary political section, called either rba' (pl. rubū') or thakhammāsth (pl. thikhammāsīn), which literally means «fourth» and «fifth», respectively. In Aith Waryāghar, at any rate, these terms are virtually synonymous, although, functionally speaking, the latter is more applicable to the tribesmen's own concept of the political segmentation of their tribe. Aith Waryāghar is considered as being divided into five major sections, each of which supposedly claims descent, in its turn, from a common ancestor. It is significant that the tribe as a unit does not claim such descent; its traditions of origin show it to be a grafting together of various elements, most of which came originally from Giznāya in very ancient times. But the fact that its people regard themselves as a tribe, as a single unit, in opposition to and when threatened by other tribes, we shall see presently.

The five major sections alluded to above are: 1) Aith Yūsuf u AlĪ, pronounced «Aith Yūsuf Wārī» (with Aith Turīrth) and Aith 'AlĪ pronounced «Aith 'Arī» (with Thimīrzgha), the two of which traditionally constitute a single division, by virtue of their descent from two brothers, Yūsuf u 'AlĪ and 'AlĪ u 'AlĪ; 2) Aith Abdallāh; 3) Aith 'Arūs (with Aith Hadīfa and I'akīyen); 4) Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (with Aith 'Adhīya);

and 5) Imrābdhen. With the exception of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and Aith 'Abdallāh, who maintain their territorial holdings as solid blocs, all the other divisions have their principal lands in the mountains and enclaves in the plains, or vice versa, and the Imrābdhen, the descendants of Arab shurfā as their name, in Riffianized Arabic, indicates, form a supplementary division the segments of which are distributed throughout the whole tribal territory. We see in these divisions the historical basis of the two lifūf (sng. liff) or political moieties of Aith Waryāghar, Aith Yūsuf and Aith 'AlĪ, which became crystallized through the struggles between the descendants of the two brothers Yūsuf and 'AlĪ; these descendants form, as we have seen, a single thakhammāsth or «fifth». In the first liff, headed by Aith Yūsuf u AlĪ, fall Imrābdhen, allied by marriage with the former since their beginnings Aith 'Arūs (with Aith Hadīfa and I'akiyen), half of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (the farīqath of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and, in case of an intertribal war, the tribe of Aith 'Ammarth; in the second liff, Aith 'AlĪ, are Aith 'Abdallāh and the other half of Aith Bū Ayyāsh (the farīqath of Aith 'Adhīya). Although the second liff was the smaller of the two, its fighting strength was heavily reinforced by Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith 'Adhīya, both of which groups have very bellicose reputations. Aith Hadīfa and Imrābdhen are weaker sections, on the other hand, while the presence of half of the «fifth» of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh in each liff shows how divided within itself this biggest and most warlike of all the divisions used to be. It is also appropriate to

000 point out that only in connection with «fifth» of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī (later to produce 'Abd al-Karīm) and Aith 'Alī does the term rba', in Waryāghlī parlance, differ in political significance from thakkammāsth; Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and Aith 'Alī are considered as separate rubu' belonging to the same thakhammāsth, implying, somewhat paradoxically, that a «fifth» is larger than a «fourth». In all the other major sections the terms are used interchangeably, although at the present time rba' takes precedence, as, under the Spanish administration, there are six and not five administrative divisions in the tribe, two in each of three «caidatos». Referred to by the administrations as «fractions», these consist of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Imrābdhen in the caidato of Uta, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Hadīfa in the caidato of the Upper Ghīs, and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and Jabal (Aith 'Arūs, Aith Turīrth of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Thimārzgha of Aith 'Alī) in the caidato of Nakūr.

Aith Waryāghar, being the biggest tribe in the Spanish Protectorate, has been given the status of a separate «comarcal» by the administration, and each of the three caidatos is governed by a qā'id, who is assisted in his duties by a khalīfa. Under and subject to him are the shiyūkh (sing. shaikh) of the rubū'or «fractions», each of whom is also assisted by a khalīfa. The qā'id presides over his tribunal (mahkāma) every week in the principal market of the caidato. In addition, special «fractional» juntas were created as of 1952 by the administration; these are made up of all the muqaddamīn (sing. muqaddam) of the «subfractions» (farīqath) and of all the representatives (ukīl) of the villages, usually the village jurā'ī (sing. jārī).

This junta, which meets every three months in the «fractional» market, is presided over by the shaikh. Its principal duty is to carry out the collection of the tartīb, the tax paid to the Makhzin in Tetuan by each farmer on each head of livestock and on each hectare of land under cultivation which he possesses; it also assures the collection of the market tax, a small tariff paid by each man to the market amīn on the animals and produce which he brings into the market to sell. The money is destined for «fractional» use entirely: upkeep of the market, digging a new well, or for any purpose which pertains to or is of interest to the «fraction» in general. The shaikh of the «fraction» is responsible to the qā'īd for the assessment and collection of this money, while the qā'īd himself takes direct charge of matters which involve the caidato as a whole. In another building in the market place, the qādī, also assisted by a khalīfa, administers the Sharī'a, which at the present time has largely supplanted the old Rifian 'urf or customary law.

This form of government, based entirely on the Arab system, has completely superseded the old regime of the Aith Arba'in, of the imghāren (sing. amghār), the family and village headmen who, in each «fifth», used to make up its governing body in the days before 'Abd al'Karīm. The powers of the imghāren, who also used to meet in the market, were much more extensive than those of the modern «fractional» junta, and included assessment and collection of fines for theft of livestock, for talking to women in the market, for suspected but unproven adultery, and the collection of blood money (dīyath). These

duties and the unwritten customary law which governed them have all been substantially assimilated by the legal jurisdiction of the Makhzin and by the Sharī'a.

Although in the old days there was no higher body politic than the imghāren of the «fifth», those of all five «fifths» used to meet together at a place called aghrau (pl. ighrāwen), the location of which had previously been announced in the market by the barrāh or market crier, in case a crisis arose which assumed tribal proportions. In case of adultery caught in flagrante delicto, the injured husband had, and still has, the traditional privilege of killing his wife and her lover with exemption from payment of blood money. In case of murder committed on profane ground, the murderer had to pay a fine (ḥaqq) of 5,000 pesetas to the imghāren, and blood money amounting to 6,000 pesetas to his victim's family, provided the latter chose to accept it. If they did not, as was usually the case, a feud was in full swing immediately, and the council members, leaving well enough alone, did not bother to interfere until after it was over, when the number of dead on each side was totaled up and excess blood money was paid to the party with the greater casualties. The ḥaqq was paid to the imghāren as well for the necessity of calling them together; but if one of the «fifths» failed to send its delegates to the aghrau, it received no money at all. A sharīf or qādī was always present at the peace negotiations to act as moderator, and he and the imghāren ate at the expense of and slept in the houses of the thārfīqth heads in the vicinity of the meeting site.

000 However, if a murder was committed on a Muslim feast day or in a market, or at a time when peace prevailed, the imghāren rushed in a body to the murderer's house to call him to account for his action. In case of murder on the road to or in the market itself, the ḥaqq was doubled to 10,000 pesetas, owing to the market's sacred character as a place of peaceful trade to which came not only Waryāghlīs, but people from other tribes as well. If the murderer was unable or unwilling to pay this, which almost always meant that he had to sell all his property, the imghāren proceeded to burn down his house. (This was the case in the Bay of Alhucemas; among the mountain Waryāghlīs and in northern Giznāya, a murderer had to suffer both ḥaqq and houseburning, the latter as a symbolic act of vengeance meted out to him by the whole tribe in the person of its body politic, for disturbing tribal peace as a whole and for committing his crime in an area which belonged to the tribe collectively.) If the murderer and his family still resisted, they had a war with the assembled imghāren on their hands as well as with the dead man's kin. If the imghāren and their cohorts won, as they usually did, they burned down the houses of the other members of the murderer's thārfīqth in addition, and the latter had to flee to another «fifth», another tribe, or out of the Rīf entirely for a period of at least two years, when, if they made peace overtures in the proper manner, they might be permitted to come back. But the Rifians are a proud people; if they returned at all, it was most often with revenge in mind. Needless to say, there are numerous little colonies of Rifian exiles all over Morocco; many

Waryāghlīs and their descendants are to be found in Tangier and in Fez. It may thus be seen that it was to the interest of the murderer and his family to come to terms quickly, for if they tried to go against the council, their days were numbered.

The imghāren were the real power in the land, and although the Sultan used to nominate quyād (pl. of qā'id), these were usually nothing but imghāren whose local prestige was slightly greater than that of their fellows. In Aith Waryāghar, the Bilād as-Saiba par excellence, a qā'id could not govern in the same manner as he did an Arab tribe; if he tried to institute reforms without having the force to back them up, he was likely to be quietly done away with. It was the assembled imghāren of all the «fifths» who dictated policy if the tribe was threatened from outside. They declared war, treated for peace, and contracted alliances with other tribes, and they did so jointly. The Rifians are democratic almost to the point of anarchy, and if any man was considered better than his neighbor, it was only because he had more brothers or cousins to help him out in case a fight started. The excellent description given by Coon of what is apt to happen at the meeting of an aghrau affords us a wonderful insight into the Waryāghlī character.

> «...The locality depends on mutual convenience. Each fifth occupies a section of the circle. A moderator talks to the members until a common attitude in regard to the subject of the meeting is agreed upon. The moderator now having received the instructions of his constituency, he approaches the center of the circle, and the councillors left on the outer ring finger their

000 rifles and express their readiness to defend their spokesman if gets into a violent argument. They discuss the matter at hand a talking at once or whenever they please, since there is no chief moderator, and for one member to bid another to be quiet would be ample excuse for murder. Moderators of a fifth usually agree within themselves and the argument soon develops into a considera tion of how many fifths favor one opinion and how many the other The moderator of one fifth may lead the moderator of another aside and whisper to him outside the ring, trying to bribe him t come over to his way of thinking. If the second moderator succumbs to this, he returns to the central ring and tries to change the attitude of the other representatives of his fifth. The par goes on until a unanimous decision is reached or until the councillors begin fighting among themselves and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In this case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay indemnity to the other. Even when the council ends peacefully it takes at least a week before they reach an agreement» (14).

To his may be appended a short but very apt summation of the situation by Col. Blanco: «En el Rif, donde todos son personajes, sólo una política de masas y no de individuos puede ser fructífera»(1

In the Rīf, up to the advent of 'Abd al-Karīm, the state of war was so permanent that it can truthfully be said that if it is customar for Europeans or Americans to declare war, it was also customary for the Riffians to declare peace. We must remember that the thārfīqth was

(14) Coon, 1931, p. 97.
(15) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p.67.

000 the unit of vengeance, and that feuds between thārfīqīn even within the same village were a commonplace. House-to-house fighting was the order of the day. If a feud kept going long enough, the result was that the other thārfīqīn in the same and in nearby villages eventually began to group themselves around either one of the two feuding parties usually with the one which was closer kin to themselves. Thus we have the beginnings of a moiety organization, equivalent to the ṣof of the Kabyles of Algeria. If the members of one moiety gradually found themselves on the losing side, their representatives used to lead a bull to the mosque of a neutral village or thārfīqth the aid of which they desired, and the faqīh slaughtered it on the sill so that its blood spurted over the threshold. The fact that a bull was sacrificed whenever possible is significant in itself, as the Waryāghlīs are very poor and largely vegetarians by force of circumstances; a bull is the most expensive edible animal they can buy. The act of sacrifice worked as a powerful shame compulsion ('ār), and forced the members of the second group into alliance with the first, whether they were willing or not. This type of alliance was called liff, as mentioned above, and as the feud grew in size, so did the liff. If the feud remained localized, alliances were usually made anew after it was over, but if it spread enough to involve whole «fifths», the traditional liff alignment of the two opposing moieties of Aith Yūsuf and Aith 'Alī came into play again. The clever manipulation of this system of alliances which 'Abd al'Karīm displayed during the early part of his war was one of the major reasons for his successful unification of the Rīf (16).

(16) Coon, 1951, p. 317.

000 It must be stated here, however, that it was unusual for most feu to become anything more than shootings on a local scale. First of al., feuding kept the population down; secondly, house burnings and exactic of fines by the imghāren were harsh repressive measures in themselves; thirdly, the constant fear of outside invasion by the councillors of another tribe (which occurred when the imghāren of Aith 'Ammarth stepped in on the side of Aith Yūsuf to end a feud between the latter and Aith 'Alī, plus the standard alignment of other «fifths», which had been going on for seven years) tended to restrict the scope of the feud and to prevent it from spreading; and fourth, individuals who wer considered habitual troublemakers and soreheads even by Rifian standards were exiled. If they refused to accept the dictum of the imghāren they were unceremoniously put to death.

The above is a reflection of the Rifian political system and situation which prevailed up until the time of 'Abd al-Karīm. The governmental structure of Aith Waryāghar followed to the letter the true Berber pattern of superimposed representative councils, with a few of the members of each deliberative body being chosen to participate in the council of the group a rung higher up the ladder. Further more, thanks to the liff alliance system, as Blanco says, the individu in the thārfīqth, the thārfīqth in the jamā'ath, the jamā'ath in the «fifth», the «fifth» in the tribe (thaqbīt, pl. thaqbīr, from Arabic qabīla, pl. qabā'il), and the tribe in relation to other tribes all maintain an unstable equilibrium, expressed in terms of the linking o rubū' or of «fifths», and ultimately, in the two great rival moieties of Sinhāja and Ghumāra (17). As it happens in our particular case,

(17) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 70.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

Aith Waryāghar was (and is) too large and powerful to need formal alliances with other tribes, its only active ally having been Aith 'Ammarth, for, as many old greybeards have told me, (We could still go out and eat Tamsamān or Aith Tuzīn any day of the week); but for small tribes surrounded by big neighbors, such as Thafarsīth, the liff mechanism was an absolute necessity, for if it did not exist they would have been swallowed up long ago.

The entrance of the Pretender Bū Himāra into the Rīf in 1908 and the short war with Spain in 1909 brought about a disruption of some of the traditional alliances and the constitution of new ones. This had a particularly important effect upon Aith Waryāghar because, for the first time, the tribe became truly united. Reinforced by contingents from Aith 'Ammarth, the warriors of Aith Waryāghar banded together to resist the Rūghī, and his harka of Rifians from the east. They defeated him at the Battle of Imzūren and managed very effectively to check his progress in the Central RīF.

We can thus see that tribal unity, dormant under normal conditions, is manifested when outside forces threaten to upset group equilibrium. The strongest allegiances are family and thārfīqth ties. but, in opposition to neighboring tribes, tribal allegiance is undivided. This has its reflection in tribal nomenclature: a man from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh is called Bū 'Ayyāshī only in the tribal territory of Aith Waryāghar. Outside it he is called WaryāghlT, and if he is outside the RīF entirely he is usually just referred to as ar-RīfT. This is how the Rifian really defines his tribe, by inferred comparison to and in opposition to other tribes. Writing about another

tribal society, the Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, has defined a tribe as having: 1) a common and distinct name; 2) a common sentiment; 3) a common and distinct territory; 4) a moral obligation to unite in war, and 5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. It is precisely upon these criteria that the Aith Waryāghar base their own concept of their tribe, as do all the other tribal groups as well. When menaced by Bū Himāra, the Aith Waryāghar were welded together by their common «we feeling», and stopped him.

The ultimate result of Bū Himāra's campaign in the Rīf was the rise to personal power of a number of petty imghāren who became absolute masters in their own bailiwicks. Such men were the Hājj Buqqaish in northern Giznāya, Muhammad 'Abdallāh of Aith ar-Hāsain in Aith 'Ammarth, and, in Aith Waryāghar itself, Muhand Haddū of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, SĪ Ziyān of Ajdīr (Aith Yūsuf u 'AlĪ), Hājj Haddū of Aith 'AlĪ, SīdĪ 'Amar of Imrābdhen, Muhand n SĪ 'Amar of Aith HadĪfa, and 'Amar n Tāhir of Aith 'Abdallāh. This situation, with its concomitant liff alliances and wars between «fifths», prevailed until 1920, when Muhammad n 'Abd al-KarĪm made his first appearance upon the Rifian scene. The story of 'Abd al-KarĪm, whose relatively obscure beginnings (his father was a qādĪ of Ajdīr and not the qā'id of Aith Waryāghar, as is generally supposed) and sudden ascendancy first over his own tribe and then over the whole Rīf, the «Sultan» of which he then became, is too well known to students of Moroccan history to need recounting here. It is highly significant, however, in accounting, at least in part, for the Arabized type of governmental organization which

000 exists among the tribes of the Rīf at the present day.

After 'Abd al-Karīm took the reins of the jihād against Spain, it was necessary for him to start to consolidate his authority by installing individuals whom he could trust at all points, from the highest to the lowest, from ‹fifth› to village, in the political structure of his own and of the other nuclear Rifian tribes. The inner circle of men who made up his cabinet was composed almost entirely of his relatives and friends from Ajdīr, which became his capital: his brother Mhammad was his khalīfa and the Commander of the Regular Rifian Army; his paternal uncle 'Abd as-Salām was the Minister of Finance; his brother-in-law Muh Azarqan was the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Ahmad Būdra, now the qā'id of the caidato of Nakūr, was the Minister of War. This move brought about considerabl objection on the part of imghāren of some of the nearby tribes, who, by and large, considered 'Abd al-Karīm to be a parvenu. He had, in fact, for some time previously been working for the Spanish Governmer in Melilla.

The separatist and explosive temperament of the central Rifians themselves had long fostered the maintenance of a decentralized type of government in which impetuous and trigger-happy council members were responsible as much for starting blood feuds as for stopping them. Feuding and the mechanism which served to maintain it, the inbred rivalry engendered by the liff alliance system, had to be silenced if the Rifians were to put up a united front against Spain. Tribal wars could only be abolished if the structure of political authority in the tribes themselves became more centralized. The

000 traditional Berber political organization does not easily lend itself to administration from above, whereas the Arab type does. 'Abd al-Karīm forced the newer system on all the tribes in his domain if they did not have it already. Although the imghāren loomed large in the early battles of Ighrīben and Anwāl in 1921, their status had become reduced to that of quyād al-miya or quyād al-miyatain (qā'ids of 100 or 200 men) by the time the Jumhurīya Rīfīya or Rifian State was officially created in 1924. Almost all the men in key position in the new government were from Aith Waryāghar but quyād, shiyūkh and muqaddamīn took the place of the old imghāren; some of the latter fell in with the new regime and became prominent military commanders, while others, like those of the Ghumāra, jealous of 'Abd al-Karīm's success, staged a revolt against him in 1924 and were quietly poisoned or taken off to die in the jails of Ajdīr and Thamāsīnd. By the time 'Abd al-Karīm had conquered the Jibāla and captured his rival Raisūlī in 1925, he was master of all northern Morocco.

The natural supplement to this Arabization of the old Rifian political system was the substitution of the Sharī'a for the earlier customary law. Before 1920, custom, or 'urf, had been king. If a case had arisen which had previously been unprovided for in Rifian law the imghāren met to discuss it. When they agreed upon a solution, which was usually expressed in terms of payment of such and such a fine, the local sharīf or any man whose piety and good sense was known and respected by all was called in to give his testimony and sanction to the law in question, if it did not run counter to the Sharī'a. After the law was passed it was registered by the tulbā or students in the Friday mosque, and proclaimed in the market by the

barrah (18). These were the only steps necessary to integrate that law into the corpus of tribal custom. It was, in all but the most serious offenses, as we have seen, the (fifth) or the farīqath or even the village rather than tribe collectively which made the law and carried it out.

As has been implied above, 'Abd al-Karīm greatly weakened the power of the imghāren by centralizing the political authority in himself as head of a new Muslim state. This state was set up to conform to an orthodox Islamic pattern, and therefore the old customary law had to go. It went, and the result was that the Sharī'a was administered according to the Mālikī rite by a qādī in each (fifth) of the tribe. The weekly markets, in addition to their earlier functions as commercial and governmental centers, became legal temples as well, when separate tribunals were also set up for the qādīs, their khalīfas and their 'adūl. In the old days there had been qādīs too, but they operated on a far more informal basis; they held court in their own houses, and, in actual practice, they acted more as arbiters of Berber custom than as administrators of Islamic Law, while, as Blanco remarks (19), the 'adūl limited themselves to registering acts passed by the customary tribunal. The imghāren were the people who counted, and, until 'Abd al-Karīm's time qā'ids, qādīs, muqaddams and other functionaries with Arab titles were largely negative concepts in Aith Waryāghar and in the other tribes of the Central Rīf. Today, of course, the situation has been reversed; there are no more imghāren, while customary law operates on the village level alone, and plays second fiddle to the Sharī'a even there.

(18) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 20.
(19) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 26.

000 A political reorientation toward an Arab governmental prototype thus became a mechanism for the preservation of Rifian freedom. But 'Abd al-Karīm's carefully constructed Jumhūrīya Rīfīya was shortlived: it collapsed like a house of cards in 1926, two years after its foundation, when the tribal fastness of Aith Waryāghar was itself invaded from the north by Spain and from the south by France, at which time the WaryāghīT commanders in the Jibāla and on the Wargha River rushed back to defend their own homes. Nevertheless, in the framework of 'Abd al-Karīm's Rifian State the Spaniards found a ready-made administrative set-up which has continued, with only minor alterations, to the present day. When the Rifian leader first came to power, he installed qā'ids in the rubū' of Aith Yūsuf u 'AlT and Aith 'AlT and in the (fifths) of Imrābdhen, Ait Hadīfa, Aith 'Abdallāh, and Aith Bū 'Ayyash. Later on, when the French Army began to push up into the Central Rīf from the south, he added two more caidatos, Turīrth-Thimārzgha and Aith 'Arūs, to tighten up his control over the unruly mountaineers in the southeast part of the tribe. After the war the Spanish administration maintained this chain of command, setting up tribal (intervencion) posts in Ajdīr, Thamāsind, Aith Hadīfa (Sūq ath-Thnein), Aith 'Amar u Sa'Id (Aith Hadīfa), Turirth (Sūq al-Arba'), and Imnūdh (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh). In 1934, however, they subdivided the tribe into the three aforementioned caidatos of Uta, Upper GhīS and Nakūr, this arrangement being the one which exists today. A far cry from the old imghāren of the Bilād as-Saiba days, each qā'id is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mulay al-Hasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries

000 have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a nāzir al-ahbās, who takes charge of habūs property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques, an abū l-muwārith, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Rifians who die intestate, and an ukīl al-ghuyāb, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The qā'ids and the qādīs each hold their respective mahkāmas in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain of Aith Hadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uta.

These weekly markets (sūq, pl. aswāq), held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Rifian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Hadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables, fruits, eggs, butter, poultry, meat, milk, hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of the local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals

so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzuth (babuches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colored cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramadān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few Imzīren may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsmān or Giznāya or Banī Yattuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Waryāghar, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the WaryāghīT is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground (<breaking> the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of h mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the gūrna or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the thārfīqth of Isinghān («Blacks», sing. asmigh) of Aith 'AIT u 'Aisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj 'Abd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Rifian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Rifians around them, and, although they are considered the social inferiors of the Waryāghīs and are entirely endogamous, they do not form a separate economic caste, as they go in for little or no economic specialization other than that just mentioned. In a stall on one side of the market a weaver (darrāz) is working on a woolen jillāb on a horizontal loom; another stall houses two Berber-speaking Moroccan Jews, one of whom hammers out silver bracelets and the other repairs packsaddles. In a nearby cafe sit a group of men who are loudly and appreciatively gulping down glasses of piping hot mint tea, while in the background is the blare of Arabic music or news broadcasted from Tetuan, Tangier, Rabat or Cairo. Needless to say, in Aith Waryāghar very few people can understand the

news programs, although very recently broadcasts in Shilba, coming from Tetuan, have been implemented. In another corner the barber-bleeders (hajjāmīn) shave the dolichocephalic and sometimes favus-ridden crania of their patrons with unsterilized straight razors. And over all watches the market provost or amīn, who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees to it that the market is run smoothly and efficiently.

It is of interest to note that Aith Waryāghar is the center of a uniquely Rifian institution: the women's market (20). This institution is not only Rifian but Central Rifian in distribution. Aside from Aith Waryāghar, Tamsamān is the only other tribe possessing women's markets; it has two of them, one Tuesday at Suwānī of Tamsamān, just across the Nakūr River from Aith Waryāghar, and the other on Sunday. In Aith Waryāghar itself there are six: Sunday at Iswīqen, Monday at Isrīhen, Monday at Azghar, near Ajdīr, Friday at Aghrīdh, Friday at Ighmīren (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and Saturday at Aith Qmara.

The people of Aith Waryāghar believe that these markets were established as the result of the endless intratribal wars, because, since women were noncombatants and were protected as such by the institution of 'anāya, an interchange of commodities necessary for the survival of the feuding groups could only be carried on without hindrance in markets attended exclusively by members of the female sex. I have heard that the first women's market to be established was

(20) Sanchez Perez, Andres: Zocos de mujeres en Beni Uriagel , Africa Madrid, Mayo 1943, pp. 22-23.

that held on Mondays at Azghar, and that it was the proposed establishment of this market which led to the seven years' war between Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Aīṭ, the former being pro-market and the latter con. In any event, whatever their actual origin, the significant fact is that men are entirely excluded (although little boys of ten years or under may go with their mothers). The women buy and sell the usual eggs, chickens, bread and pottery, plus a certain amount of grains, fruits and vegetables, with occasional love charms and objects for warding off the jnūn and the evil eye thrown in. The markets are supervised by an amīna and are subject to the same market duty as the ordinary markets. In the old days two men, standing at a safe distance from the market, used to act as guards and prohibited other men from entering; this is no longer the case, however, for in recent times Sánchez Perez relates that a man from Buqqoya, interested in spotting a future wife for himself, went to the Saturday market at Aith Qamra dressed as a woman. He was soon discovered, however, then denounced to the amīna in no uncertain terms, and finally taken to the qā'id of Uta, who tossed him into jail (21). It is noteworthy that even in regular markets men and women do not talk or mix with each other, save in the transaction of business, but remain sharply and distinctly segregated.

Concerning the market as a commercial center, little remains to be said except that each market in the tribe specializes in certain kinds of products and falls into one of three definite categories: village, «fractional», and tribal. An example of the first is the

(21) Sanchez Perez, 1943, p. 23.

Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, specializing in charcoal, to which go only people from the surrounding villages. The second type is represented by the Monday market at Aith Hadīfa and the Thursday market at Imrābdhen; both specialize in grain, and to both come people from Aith 'Abdallāh as well as from the (fifths) in which the markets are located. The third type is represented by three markets: that on Saturday at Imzūren, specializing in fruits and vegetables, which caters as much to people from Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn as from Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī, Aith 'Alī and Imrābdhen; that on Mondays at Izakīren in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, specializing in animals, the most remunerative market in the tribe; and that on Wednesdays at Turīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, while the barrāh, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of gypsy musicians called Imdhiyāzen (sig. amdhiyāz) from Aith Tuzīn, wanders through the sūq announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the qā'id's tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members of religious brotherhoods such as the BuhālIyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jibāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living shurfā present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The mahkāma of the

qā'id meets in a special building, and in another one th- qādī judges individual cases acc:rding to the Sharī'a, while his 'adūl are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al'Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Waryāghar today: Imzūren (Uta), Aith Hadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essential functions of the market by supplying it with a permanent site has served to bring its very great cultural significance into even sharper relief (22).

(22) Fogg, Walter: «Villages, Tribal Markets and Towns: Some Considerations concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco», The Sociological Review, vol. XXXII, London, January-April 1940, pp. 85-107.

060 Islām in Aith Waryāghar is much the same as it is in the rest of Berber Morocco. The Waryāghlīs observe the «Five Pillars» (profession of faith, prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadān legal almsgiving and the pilgrimage to Makka) as rigorously as they can but extremely few have ever managed to make the long and costly trip to the holy places of Arabia. Rifian Islām is essentially a popular Islām, and is manifested chiefly by regular attendance at the cantonal mosque for the noonday prayer on Fridays, by veneration of local saints (Rifian imrābdhen, sing. amrābidh; Arabic murābitīn, sing. murābit) and by belief in supernatural beings (angels, jnūn and a local ogress of hideous appearance called thamza, who eats babies and is more or less equivalent to the 'Ā'isha Qandīsha of the Moroccan Arabs). As elsewhere in the Muslim world, heathen survivals in religious ritual are numerous. The people of Aith Waryāghar and of the Central RĪf in general are, however, not as ridden by superstition as those of the Jbāla and the Ghumāra. In the RĪf, Tamsamān enjoys a far more religious reputation than Aith Waryāghar, whose name has always been linked more with warfare.

The principal zāwiyas (Ar. zāwiya, pl. zuwāwī) are those of SĪdī 'Abd al-Qādir in Aith HadĪfa, TashtĪwen in Jabal Hammām (Ihwahwahīyen of Aith 'Abdallāh), SĪdī Muhammad al-Hājj Mis'ūd in Aith TurĪrth (Aith La'ārs), Aith Fārs in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (IghmĪren), Zāwiya 'AlawĪyĪn in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (ar-Rabda), and SĪdī 'Aisā, SĪdī 'Amar u Būkar, SĪdī Muhand u Mūsā and SĪdī Yūsuf in Imrābdhen. In 'Abd al-KarĪm's time the only one functioning as a zāwiya was SĪdī Muhand u Mūsā in Aith HĪshim, located on the point known as «The Hillock

OOO of the Saints»); today SĪdī Yūsuf and Zāwiya Iqanniyen, the local headquarters of the 'AlāwīyĪn order, are the most active; all the rest, for the most part, have been reduced from functioning lodges of religious brotherhoods to simple schools or saints' tombs (23). Sūfī brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'AlāwīyĪn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, TijānīyĪn and NasirīyĪn have each gained a number of adherents; the first-mentioned predominates at the present time and the second was the most popular before the Rifian war.

Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descended from shurfā, it has completely lost its baraka (a wonderworking power not unlike the Melanesian mana) through participation in feuds. (Imrābdhen belongs to a distant ramification of the Shurfā IdrīsīyĪn.) The Shurfā alone, and not even all of them, possess the quality of baraka, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, Maulid), 'Īd as-SaghĪr and 'Īd al-KabĪr (called 'Aid th-AmzyāĪn and 'Aid th-AmqrāĪn in the RĪf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or 'ām al-fillāh: the 'Ansra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Hagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is the annual one to the tomb of SĪdī Bū KhiyāĪr, in Bū Mā'dhin, ThimārzghaĪ, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-KabĪr There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

(23) Rodriguez Padilla, Isaías: Cofradias Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios, Ceuta 1930, p. 2

000 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Rifians, about 40% of the Aith Waryāghar are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Rifians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas), and to mixture with an older strain (24), which is strongest in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and in the Jabal (Turīrth-Thimārzgha-Aith 'Arūs), as well as in eastern Aith 'Ammarth and northern Giznāya. This strain, which has probably survived from pre-agricultural times, is without question a very old one and shows a marked resemblance to the Afalou crania and skeletal material from Constantine in Algeria and, to a lesser degree, to the Cro-Magnon people of Upper Paleolithic Europe. The modern representatives of this strain look like Irishmen, with stocky body builds, wide faces (but long heads), snub noses, big teeth, reddish hair, green or light gray eyes, and freckles. I can personally attest that the presence of people of this physical type in the Central Rīf is far too frequent to be ignored, and strongly believe that these 《Upper Palaeolithic survivors》 are far too firmly rooted in their

(24) Coon, 1951, p. 157.

mountain habitat to be accounted for by any invasion within historic times, whether it be factual or fictional. That the Moroccan Berbers are descendants of Goths or Vandals is a myth that is, unfortunately, taking a long time to die; even more unfortunately, I have met Rifians who have come to believe in it themselves.

If you ask an Arab in Tangier or Tetuan what he thinks of Rifians in general and of WaryāghlĪs in particular, he will tell you that they expecially the latter, are ferocious, treacherous and that for a peseta they would be more than happy to cut your throat. In all fairness to the people of Aith Waryāghar, this seems a very harsh dictum indeed. But at the same time it must be remembered that in the past WaryāghlĪ children were conditioned very early in their infancy to violence and murder; they were constantly reminded that a slur on the family honor had to be wiped off the record in blood. There is also the additional factor of mountain air and a more balanced if simpler diet which makes the WaryāghlĪ physically stronger and tougher than the city or plains Arab; this is why he can stay out and plow his fields all day in a blistering August sun during Ramadān without bothering to stop for a siesta, and it is why he often landed a job as a construction worker or as a porter at the docks when he came to Tangier to find work after the drought of 1945. He is sober, industrious, and an excellent farmer who has, with the primitive tools at his disposal, managed to raise the maximum possible number of crops on a very rocky and infertile soil.

It seems therefore possible that the city Arab's reaction to the tribesman from Aith Waryāghar is born partly out of fear; the WaryāghlĪ in turn, has a low opinion of most Moroccan Arabs despite the fact

ooo that they gave him his religion. The most lasting impression which he makes on the outside observer is one of sturdy self-reliance and complete individualism coupled with extreme pugnacity. He follows the dictates of his culture to the letter, and, in the last analysis, it is only within the context of the patterns of that culture that he can be accurately judged.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 193[illegible].

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Sharia, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]; c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without 369 urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 779 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

177 Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when
671 Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are compli-
177 mentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

181 5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

602 1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of
571 the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe,
613 from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong i-
621 "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which
619 units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community) and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

571 2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted
(602) by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

571 and orient a Rifian's activities and maintain...the safeguard of the interests which the community of his constituents does not guarantee him. While his social units are of a patriarchal, democratic and lay type, his political groupings are of a "military" type, true alliances which join men together and not territories. While the [562] social unit, minuscule as it is, has its proper jurisdiction over a territory and the people who live in it, whether men, women or children, linking together lands and families, the political unit only links individuals together, and these individuals are men only (author's italics)[15].

776 792 3) The "religious group"[16] satisfies the small (sic) spiritual needs of the rest of the Rifians and at the same time utilizes these needs for benefiting the tribe: they are the imrabdhen[17], who want to keep out of the Rifian's quarrels so that they can be effective mediators and arbitrators for him--and it satisfies the Rifian cult for the individual himself, and lends some distinction to his society, to which he never shows himself averse.

44 4) The "economic group"....is characterized in the Rif by markets, Jews[18], the twiza, wuzi's and dhwara, all of which suffice to fulfill the Rifian's principal needs, as much in terms of personal interests as in beneficial or humanitarian ones.

181 C) Family Organization:

1) Rifian society is an organized anarchy, with all the antagonisms and contradictions which are inherent in such a concept; and these may essentially be reduced to the "instinct of defense" and its derivative, the "spirit of association"[19].

602 571 613 619 596 2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton[21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613 Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594 3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a 594 595 183 [554] conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny 595 182 [181] is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

583 584 The foundation of the nuclear family is through marriage, which in the Rif is a "contract of buying and selling"[27], for, as the result of an amount (i.e. of money) stipulated by her father, a woman becomes her husband's absolute property[28]. A petition is made by the father or legal representatives of the woman; he, or they, fix the bride-price (ssdhāq) and the manner of payment. This 583 584 212 contract, until very recent times, was unwritten[29], and the fact that the jma'ath knew of the agreement was sufficient (to make it binding). Even today (1935), most old men do not have paper (i.e. documents--r-knwaghadh, sing. r-kinghadh.)[30] By virtue of this 583 584 562 593 586 contract, a woman, who is never her own mistress, changes owners and becomes the property of her husband, who uses and abuses her as such, always for his own benefit, either improving her lot or abandoning her[31].

583 Of all the acts which must be performed prior to marriage, none is as important as (payment of) the bride-price; and the day that the boy's father and the girl's father are together in the latter's house, accounts are settled and the former hands the bride-price over to the latter. From this sum, the bride's father buys his daughter's trousseau, with an advance on account from the groom; the latter's representatives, some friends and a fqih are also in attendance. Part of the bride-price is given to the father (immediately) so that he can buy clothing for his daughter; the rest of this clothing is bought by the groom; and the remainder of the bride-price is paid in money[32].

586 [587] a) Suspension of Marriage:--If through the absence of her husband, the bride goes home and is reintegrated with her family, the husband then cedes all rights and obligations with the exception of property; but the wife cannot remarry unless she has her husband's consent.[33]

b) Dissolution of Marriage:--This may come about only through death or divorce, the latter being an act which only a man can initiate and a woman cannot.

462 c) Division of Labor:--Women care for children, keep house, prepare food (grind grain, fetch water, wood and fodder for the animals), wash clothes, and cook. They help reap the cereal harvest (in mid-summer) and carry the straw from the threshing floor to the house. At plowing time (in autumn), they sometimes carry the seed[34] and do the weeding (in early spring). They also bake the bread and care for the oven (located just outside the house). Men's affairs may be subsumed under the headings of war, agriculture, religion, and buying-and-selling; house-building, hunting, fishing[35], cutting trees and brushwood for charcoal, woodwork, reedwork, ironwork[36], wickerwork, work in palmetto and esparto, weaving, sewing[37], and burial rites and attendance at funerals.

562 d) Relations between the Sexes:--Men represent, direct, protect and administer. Women advise, help and obey. Men's work is free, external and primary, women's work subordinate, internal and secondary. Men administer their possessions as they wish, while women can neither alienate nor obtain anything[38]. Men have freedom of movement while women (theoretically) cannot receive visits from

562 anyone, not even their families, nor can they leave their house to wor
visit or travel, attend feasts, markets[39] or saints' tombs, without
previous authorization from their husbands, who tell them how long
[593] they may stay away from home. A man may correct his wife's faults
[684] in any way he wishes, and if she is guilty of adultery, he may kill
her[40]. If he has more than one wife, he sleeps with each in turn.

571 e) Concept of Turns:-(The notion of "turns" and of "doing
things in or by turn" is a cardinal one in Rifian society.) There ar
"turns" of gift-giving (r-ghramth) at weddings, of the allocation of
power (political hegemonies of families and even of tribes), of
(usage of irrigation) water, or corvees (twiza), of theft (dhukkardha)
of vengeance or reprisal (ar-raqba[41]), for (taking barley to) the
fqih, or harkas (war-parties or punitive expeditions), of pasturage
(dhwara)[42], and even of plows and animals during plowing time (if, as
often was the case during the "Republik", there was only one pair of
animals in the community). Rifian society is, thus, a turn-based
society, and the term nubth (pl. nubath), in Rifianized Arabic, is so
widespread as to include the inhabitants of a village.[43]

571 The case may be cited of a restless ex-qa'id (tribal chief
557 under the Spanish administration) who, desirous of returning to power,
constantly pestered the administration with suggestions that he be
[181] readmitted to office. As is logical and as a good Rifian, he wanted
to be able to make a resounding exit, with his head held high, if
he did not get the job. He wanted a responsible position in the
regional government of the Territorio del Rif (in al-Husaima, then
Villa Sanjurjo), and when he finally realized that his accusations

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities.
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
848 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practi he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly

592 593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth 883 and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age [785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time. [584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage, 885 593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in [591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the [594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own. 883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and 885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council 623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he 616 794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].

575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced 593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there 586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

59 i) Summary:--The Rifian family is patriarchal and patrilineal, agnatic and polygamous (i.e. polygynous). It needs to be large because of possible loss through feuds or lack of hygiene. Although 562 428 legally a woman inherits one-half of what a man does (i.e. sons inherit twice as much as daughters), Rifians interpret Muslim inheritance laws in their own way, through customs such as "men's habus"[49], or the return to her house of a divorced woman, whether this be Koranically sanctioned or not. A woman does not inherit but is, in effect, inherited[50]; she bears children but cannot give them her name. She works, but cannot buy or sell; she exists to give pleasure to her husband, and is maltreated in return; but she is probably happier 000 than many of her European counterparts.....In my own opinion, the (Spanish) Protectorate has improved the status of women...and I think that if the Rifians consider men to be the superior of the sexes, this is so undoubtedly because men had to protect their womenfolk constantly, with rifle in hand. They saw in them a cause of weakness, but recognized them as being necessary to group survival (sic!). The Rifian family needed a headman with unquestioned authority, rigorous discipline without sentimentality, and an automatic ability 562 to heal breaches. Women were exempt from feuding and had at their disposition their own markets, reserved for them exclusively; in a sense, they formed a society which was semi-independent from that of [926] men. In battle, they incited men to combat. The shift today (1935) [178] toward Koranic norms is more apparent than real, and is taking place at the cost of parallel diminution, at the same time, of the socio-political importance of the group.[51]

562 428 [421] [361] Women are always considered as minors[52]. They have no property and do not, in practice, inherit. It would never even occur to a woman to ask for her portion of the inheritance; this is, indeed, very logical in a rural and bellicose society (whose settlement morphology consists of) dispersed dwellings, for otherwise it would 562 have been impossible to defend a woman against bold attacks. She can only take refuge in either her husband's house or that of her agnates. But women wear new clothes, sing, and dance, etc., at weddings, and at least they seem happy; and they are able to plague their husbands in many, many ways.

596 613 4) Jajgu (pl. ijujga--so-called in Aith Waryaghar; jij, pl. ijajjen, "wall-peg",--also, alliteratively, "penis"--in Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; and arwar, pl. isuran, "vein",--also, alliteratively, "penis" in the Eastern Rif):--This is the most difficult social unit to study, because of its intermediacy[53]. It is one of the "family branches"[54] (i.e. a branch of a dharfiqth or patri lineage). I 596 613 really cannot say more than this because informants, also, are unable 114 to explain it properly. In my earliest notes, it appeared to me to be a uterine descent group (SIC!). If a man had agnatic descendants from three wives, he thus produced three "branches" of which he was the "trunk". I now (1935) believe this to be the case, but am not completely sure, for if a man who has only one wife has three sons, these also, as points of descent, form (the bases of) three ijujga. In any case, it is understood that branches or ijujga originate from each type (i.e. point of descent), but I feel that the more important category is that originating from a different mother; and, although

596 613 114 in her role in the family the wife does not count nor is her name perpetuated, there is no doubt that the blood-tie is different, as among our "brothers" and "half-brothers", and I therefore believe this interpretation to be correct.[55]

In any event, the jajgu is an important social grouping, as such in questions of succession, inheritance and collective responsibility as in the division of benefits, fines and communal property. These questions are simple enough for a Rifian in his own mind; and he thinks the question of what jajgu or jma'ath he belongs to such a simple one that he is astonished if the investigator asks him why. To this he does not readily give an explanation; furthermore, even if he (himself) wants to learn, he sees no benefit in teaching (others). He understands his own affairs up to the precise limit which is necessary for him in order to safeguard his own rights and interests. Beyond this point, he is not interested.[56]

596 613 If the jajgu head is incapable of representing his group properly, there is always someone whose courage or polemical attitude may result in his being the spokesman. The headman of the jajgu is (623) called aziddif or aziddjif (pl. iziddifen or iziddjifen,[57] literally "head"), and, with other such headmen, the jma'ath or council[58] of the elementary social unit is formed. These iziddjifen are thus the authentic representatives of the blood or kin groups which in Rifian are called dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin), or "family group" (i.e. lineage).

613 5) Dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin):---...When a Rifian says, "I am of the dharfiqth of so-and-so"[59], he means that so-and-so, in his own memory, is (usually) his most remote genealogical ascendant (on a step-by-step

613 basis). The dharfiqth is the fundamental unit in Rifian social organization, and it is erroneous to circumscribe it by defining it in terms of volume: so and so many houses, hearths or rifles.[60] The 613 dharfiqth, a kin group, is independent of the jma'ath, which is the 623 association of dharfiqin or parts of them, and thus the elemental unit of the social (read "political") organization, the most distinctive feature of which, in my opinion, is lack of kinship, a point soon to be proven when we speak of the organization of the grouping called jma'ath.[61]

613 According to Robert Montagne in his Les Berberes et le Makhzen
114 dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris 1930, p. 239, the Rifian dharfiqth is equivalent to the family (i.e. lineage) group called either ighs or ikhs, or "bone", in the Atlas. It contains a dozen houses, thirty or forty "hearths" (i.e. nubath), and is a group strong enough to defend itself. Its leaders call themselves amghar (pl. ighareen). Montagne says the word is derived etymologically from Arabic rafaqa, "a group or company of people", or that it may be a deformation of Arabic farqa (or fariqa), "division".[62] He thinks it possible to attribute the name "clan" to the unit which the Aith Waryaghar (and other Rifians) call dharfiqth because it is a larger and more durable family group than the ikhs of the Western High Atlas, while at the same time a kind of political unit, for it insures the fact that the blood tie exists between "hearths" of the same Rifian jma'ath.

My own opinion is that Montagne is in error here. Within the (623) dharfiqth, to be sure, there are indeed blood ties, but within the Rifian jma'ath there is no known kinship between its dharfiqin, for

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s,
614
623 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each other.[63]

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jajgu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, reception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the jma'th.

D) Position of Women:

562
182
171 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the cancellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains regards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance[64], when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look for friends to reinforce it.

562 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly
627 revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as
628 their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

684 171 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed, while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads[65]. Women do not inherit in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much (1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 428 171

562 586 582 Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage. [171] A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of insurrection (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a zawiya (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain to the jma'th, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslin ukil (legal

562 586 778 623 [171]

627 171 562

representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman) who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his

426 part of the bargain, he is reminded to do so by the chief, and if he
686 refuses, they forcibly commit a theft of animals or property, so
627 that his jma'th will hear of it; and they thus oblige him to fulfill
623 his promises or give rise to the intervention of his jma'th, which will force him to start negotiations.

685 The property of thieves is sold as indemnity, and, if they
627 have gone or if this cannot be done, that of their kinsmen is sold, a fine is imposed, and the eyes of the recalcitrant individual are plucked out by a member of his family if he is caught[68].

623 None of the decisions of the jma'th are registered.

F) Social Organization:

1) The jma'th has generally been defined in terms of what it is not. It has been likened to the Roman forum, the Greek agora, and the Scottish clan[69]; and it has been considered the "cornerstone" or the "roof" of the "Berber house". It has been characterized as an administrative unit by some, and as a social, judicial (i.e. jural), religious or military unit by others. Some have taken the number of houses as a base point, others the fact of whether or not it contains a Friday ("cantonal") mosque. The etymology of the word--"assembly, meeting, council, junta"--has also been invoked as a basis for definition, but this, by itself, is also insufficient[70].

623 In my view, the jma'th is the elemental form of the association
621 of neighboring family groups oriented toward essentially economic ends.
[613] The actual number of such groups, whether two today or two hundred tomorrow, and whether occupying thirty or two hundred households, is

623 613 621 immaterial; for a jma'th which formerly contained only two dharfiqin may now have three, four or five, and tomorrow even more, with a proportionate increase in houses and rifles. What the jma'th is not, however, is a family group united by blood ties--it is not a dharfiqth.

623 182 621 .....The jma'th came into being because of the necessity of common usufruct of elements essential to sustain life, such as water, pasture lands, brushwood, etc., and because of the necessity of regulating relations, both material and spiritual, with one's neighbors (hence mosques, which come into being after such an association has been effected). The result was that when a group for any reason abandoned its original jma'th in order to establish itself elsewhere--insofar as its growth and development made it do so, it cut off relationships with its parent group and its point of origin to constitute a new and independent nucleus[71].

621 623 613 [829] Many Rifians confuse dharfiqth with jma'th, and proof of this is that when one asks the members of a given group where they are from, it is the same to them to answer "From such and such a jma'th" or "From such and such a dharfiqth", because the dharfiqth in question forms part of the jma'th whence they originated. Jma'th has a geographical connotation, while dharfiqth smells of nomadism (sic)[72]. This also explains why in different places one may find jma'th-s having the same name but formed by different dharfiqin, because over the course of time other splinter-groups from other jma'th-s became associated with the initial splinter-group from the first jma'th.....

621 623 571 I am dubious about the value of the number of households as a criterion in definition; but I think that the best single datum available

621 today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of
623 nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant
571 than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in
621 others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as
623 a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and
571 as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but
194 only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer.
[613] This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

623 The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral
623 services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now
671 becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian
[613] customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

621 In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only
623 by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand;
463 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these
326 necessities are complemented.
323

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

621 623 423 The patrimony of the jma'th is made up exclusively of communal lands. The jma'th is thus formed not only by people but by lands. It thus has a territorial significance which the dharfiqth lacks, for it may have immovable property in another tribe[76], and acts committed by its members outside the "municipal terminus" are thus not handled by it exclusively. For this reason there is a need for another 614 621 623 social organ structured in an analogous manner, but of greater importance and more extensive jurisdiction: the "fraction" (i.e. clan or subclan.) This wider grouping, although it also has a localistic significance and a breadth wider than the village or hamlet of isolated homesteads or groups of homesteads that we have seen in the jma'th, has other more sharply defined characteristics. It alone intervenes in inter-jma'th matters, in most cases; for the custom of the jma'th itself is nothing more than inter-family (i.e. inter-lineage) custom.

3) The "fraction" (clan) is an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends; it is a state in miniature, an independent republic, and the true Rifian patria because it is within the limits of this unit that the Rifian lives out his life; where he finds what he needs, and where his law is made[77].

614 443 [671] The clan has two distinctive features: its law and its market. It is my opinion that places in tribal areas which the natives regard as ancient Christian[78] market sites are nothing but former "clan" markets which are no longer in use and the memory of which has not persisted through time. In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin,

In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin, Thimsanan, Aith 'Ammarth, Ibuqquyen, Ktama and Sanhaja Srir, each clan has its own market[79]. Only in a small tribe or in one with more or less artificial clans is this not the case. The clan, which occupies a well determined area topographically, as a rule (a large meseta, valley, mountain fold, etc.), is a rare one which does not have or did not formerly have its own market, where the clan representatives or imqqranen came together to agree upon and proclaim their law, their rules of coexistence, which in some cases were drawn up on paper and which form the basis of my La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte.

The clans of a tribe did not originate through accumulation of the association of jma'ths, but rather, the tribes which came to settle in the territory already contained three, four or five clans in their nomadic (sic) state, and the new lands were distributed equitably.[80] However, it is easier to follow the schematic representation of social groups from smaller to larger units, as the lineages characteristic of these are clearer and better defined. In the tribe, they are quite relaxed, and it is more difficult to see them, because the clans themselves are apt to show this by their patronymic designations, "sons of X"; but this opinion is provisional, as there are also names which are not genealogically based, as in the case of the clan names of Ibuqquyen (Izimmuren, Azghar and Thaghidhith) and in Ija'unen of Aith 'Ammarth; and the same might well be the case with the jma'ths, whose names are often geographical ones.[81]

In the clan, we have all the institutions, organisms, dependencies and economic specializations most necessary to sustain life: an amrabit or hermit saint venerated and besought for pilgrimages and miracles; a market for the provisions and supply and for the council

614 site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
616 elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

614 latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or
[619] the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan
[616] has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are its customary law, its qanuns and its market (as in the qanun of the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

619 4) Tribe or Thaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of
614 clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this
619 level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium
614 (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is
671 guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has
182 no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors, faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law
619 of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans
614 form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as
616 the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin
[613] of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It
[621] would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over
[623] and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes, while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

423 A curious feature of Rifian society is that the territorial limits of its social units are to a certain extent elastic. An individual or a family, for example, may acquire land in another tribe, and his or their own clan or tribe does not appropriate for itself the territory he occupied previously; this remains fixed. But when [628] the properties of an individual or a kin group which are modified are bordering each other, then the jma'th, clan or tribe, or rather, its area of extension or its areal jurisdiction, follows an analogous variation, improvement or cutting-off, increase or loss, advance or retreat, as the case may be; and such instances bring about not a few 423 quarrels and altercations. This happened in Ibuqquyen, whose people 619 saw their neighbors of Aith Waryaghar creeping into their territory through slowly buying up all the good land around the middle course of the Buham River, at which point they opposed selling them any more terrain...This territorial elasticity, although it does not bring about great modifications because of the incessant watch which the tribes instinctively keep over their land, also derives, no doubt, from the ancient family concept of opposition to everything which could weaken it; and, as a result, such land returns most often to its tribe of origin through abandonment, new acquisition or exchange, if it has been alienated. Such elasticity tends to become lessened (with [131] consequently greater rigidity of tribal boundaries) when it coincides with natural boundaries, as, for example, in the middle and upper courses of the Nkur River, separating the tribes of Axt Tuzin and Aith Waryaghar; but even so, this play of property has nevertheless modified tribal frontiers as well delineated as this one.

623 5) Councils and Tribesmen of Authority: All units under consideration up to now (the three "family" ones and the three "social" ones) have their relationships regulated by councils, which, although bearing different names, have similar and analogous functions. The council of the jma'th must undergo no formality in order to convene, and it has no president, although at times the agreements which it comes to are drawn up in writing. Any male (above the age of puberty) [885] [613] may attend and take part in its deliberations; but the personification of it is embodied in the iziddjifen or headmen of each dharfiqth, and these men together form an authentic and permanent council. This council above all legislates what the jma'th deems necessary, in conformance with custom and its agreements. The assembly itself or its representatives chosen for each particular case[86] make and execute all decisions. It is thus a legislative, consultative and executive body[87]. Its attributes, nonetheless, are constantly limited on the [614] one hand by family law, in the form of reprisals, and on the other by the power of the clan, which tries to keep it from prejudicing neighboring jma'th-s or the clan itself in its external politics. Thus, what it has is an administrative autonomy.

623 This council(s) elects its functionaries, the best defined of 793 which is the fqih of the mosque, who is in charge of leading the 212 prayer and of burial services; he is administrator of mosque property (habus)[88], as well as jural notary and council clerk and secretary. In large councils, however, these jobs may be handled by more or less ignorant tulba (sing. talib)[89], who pompously attribute to themselves 600 the qualifications of qadis. The fqih attended to the resources of the

623 793 411 The fqih attended to the resources of the mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 624 312 242 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural supervisors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as litigations over other matters.[92]

623 613 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this, [559] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in 623 578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh 776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of 792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.

623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collectively [642] that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each representative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, [622] which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present-day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal administrators) [648] to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. [622] There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to reappear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

623 621 591 793 The aziddjif or mghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

623
621
571
793
623
184
343
624
the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

646
614
[623]
The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in, and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646
The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

646 authority could obtain for himself by entreaty the representation of
646 554 popular sovereignty. This representation gives him social prestige, a prestige which in the Rif can only be won through bravery, ability or wealth. Beside it, the religious power, also represented by virtuous men, served most of the time only to decorate by their persons, to legalize by their presence, and to preserve with their spiritual power the most solemn agreements. Once such prestige was acquired, it could even be consecrated, as it were, in a written title (such as the Qanun of Lower Thamasint), but this meant ultimately the beginning of personal power and the abandonment of a democratic organization[101].....Such representation won through the personal courage and effort of those who wanted it was given a measure of authority and permanence, a fact which obliges (1935) extraordinary prudence in Spanish nominations of tribal notables--for the original lack of prestige of most functionaries of the Makhzin follows them all their lives as a shadow follows a body.....In a tribe which I
[123] once administered there appeared a new qa'id. The news reached me,
[124] and I wanted to find out in a superficial manner how the nomination had been received; but wherever and whenever I mentioned the word "qa'id", the people I talked to called the man amzir, or "blacksmith"--the Rifian is a master when it comes to establishing social categories!.....Another typical case: among the Aith Waryaghar it was very common in an agrau or council meeting for one of those attending to get to his feet suddenly and express his own opinion at an opportune moment. The igrawn were popular assemblies and many people attended them, each man coming armed and gesticulating with his rifle,

(646 554 7) although not all of them with the same degree of forcefulness. Anyone may speak, although the majority, as elsewhere, are silent. A spontaneous speaker caused the same sensation, stupor and curiosity as those like him in Spain do in the bull-ring, and the result was almost the same. An amqqran or councilmember interrupted him, saying "You here, you have just made the gesture of a stupid idiot," and the poor man, reddened and embarrassed, was silent amid general noise and quarreling, which the ingenious councilmember smilingly recalled in later years.....Another incident: once a man whom I did not know was proposed to me as a candidate for a position of tribal authority, and I wanted to find out about him. I began a series of questions and reflections regarding the virtues which anyone nominated would have to possess, such as honor, ability, etc. I was, however, surprised to find the person to whom I was talking interrupt me, saying quickly, "No, no, no! You think he is like So-and-so?" (And So-and-so was a very short-statured men, as I myself am.) "Not at all, he is thus!" With this the speaker, a big, fat fellow, raised his shoulders up with a graphic gesture, thumping his chest and laughing, saying that nobody could willingly argue about his own authority. (646 554 124)

Among Rifians, then, names of tribal functionaries seem literally and faithfully to interpret the idea of the function involved, as amghar and amqqran both convey the idea of "big, adult, old". This is reflected in the qanuns when, in reference to those attending a meeting, prior to inscribing a list of the names of the notables present, those who drew up the qanun in question were very (646 554 829) [671]

careful to state that all those at the convocation were the "majors" and the "minors" (los grandes y pequeños)[102] of such and such a place. The written titles or nominations of functionaries, and the pompous Arabic names of qa'id, qadi and mqaddim, with which some men like to adorn their names in order to astonish simpletons and impress strangers are only of value inside their own houses (author's italics), just as the titles of doctor and coronel formerly were in certain South American republics! In the Rif, there was, in pre-'Abd al-Krim days, no qa'id and no qadi[103]; only imgharen and igrawn, iziddjifen, dharfiqin and turba, the last-mentioned being warlike amanuenses whose fingers are better suited to hilt or trigger than to pen, while the other names are the most definite external indices of the degree of Islamization[104] of those who possess them. We will not speak here of such fantastic personages as the bu-mwarith[105] or the ukil l-ghuyab and other shadowy figures recently created by the Spanish protectoral administration, who will probably soon disappear if not taken proper care of!

6) Resume of Rifian Tribal Functionaries (given even though Rifians tend to confuse them among themselves!):

a) the iziddjifen, "headmen", or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th.

b) the imqqranen, "big ones" (or imgharen, pl. of amghar), the representatives elected by the jma'th (author's italics) for its own prestige, and the delegates of the latter territorial unit in the clan council, whose habitual meeting site was the market, and whose job it was to make the law.

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

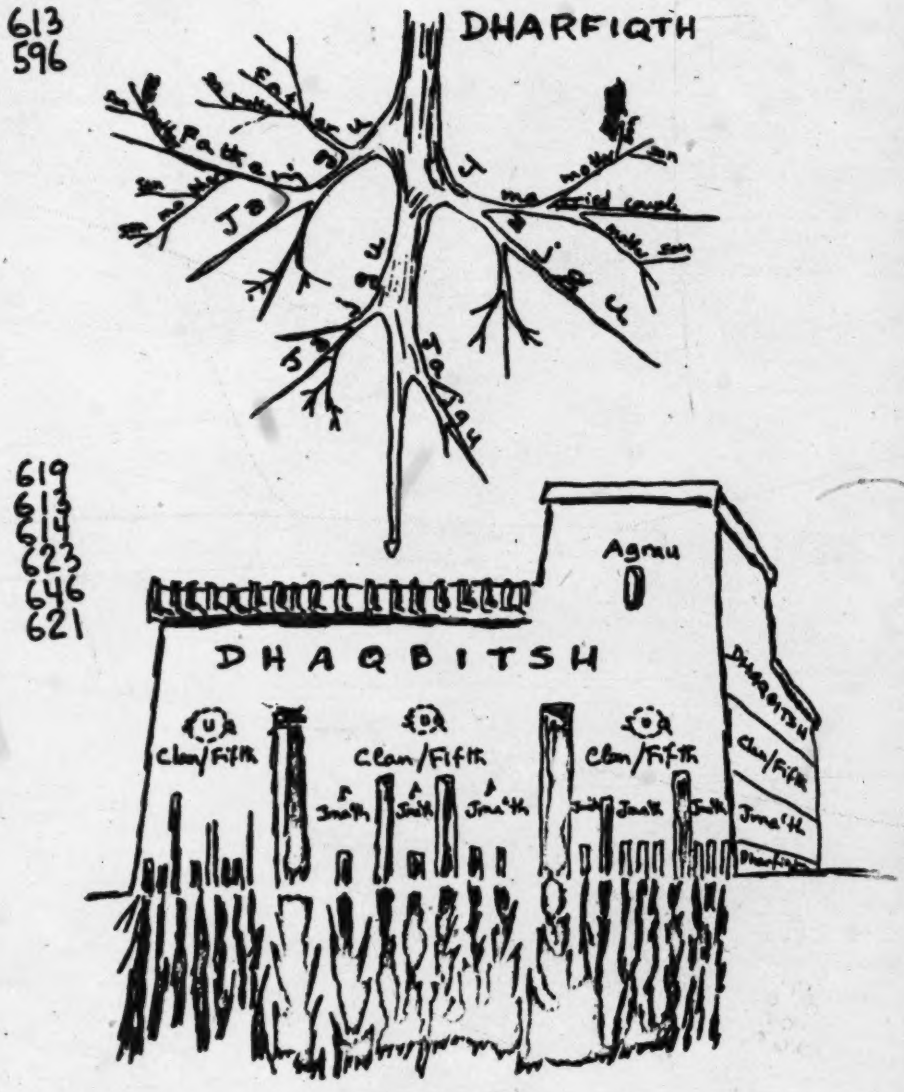
a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar



[P. 127-A]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

594
596
613
621
623
646
619

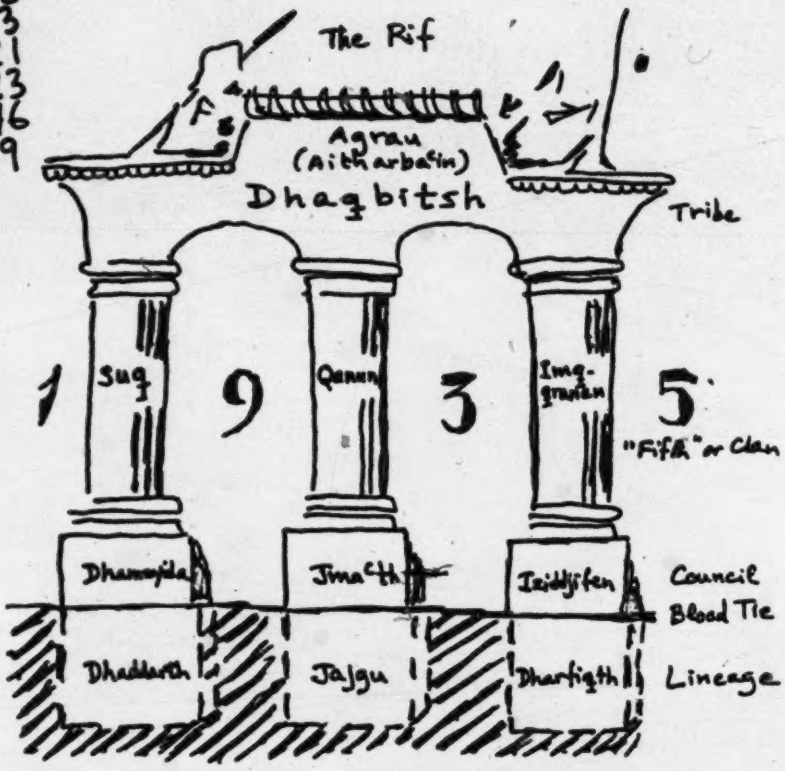
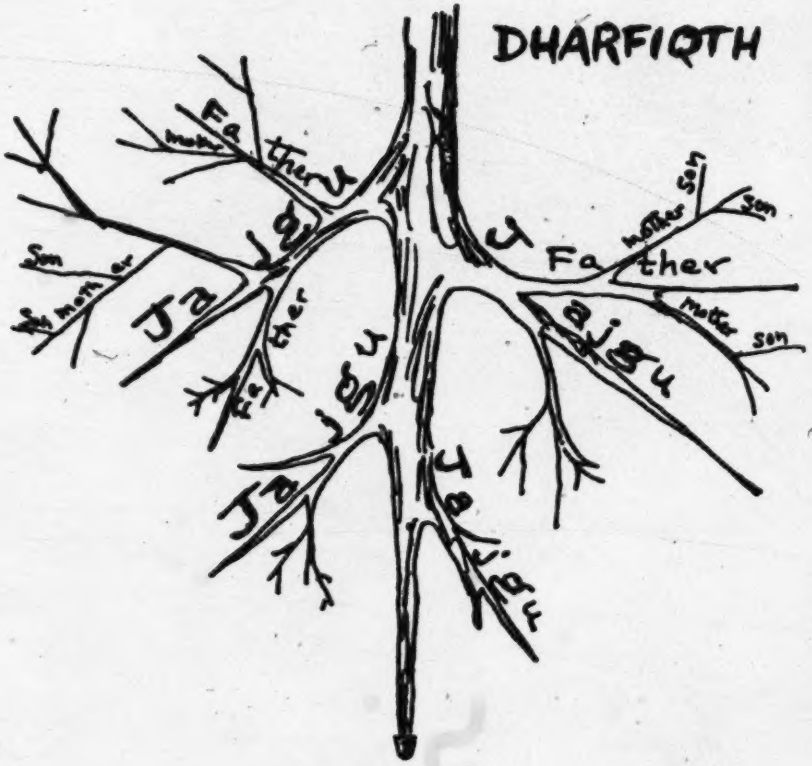


Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

613
596


DHARFIQTH
Father
mother
Son
Son
mother
Father
Son
Son
mother
Father
mother
Son
Father
mother
Son
Father
mother
Son

536
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. mubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

FOOTNOTE: A
A

613
614
619
621
623
594
596
114

113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right, we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'th (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling islifen), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A, [See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]
A

621
631
[619] H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the [648] Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, [643] that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

621
631
131 1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusifw-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusifw-'Ari clan) is also

621 631 131 divided into two others of the same name, to which is added the geographical denomination of "mountain" or "plain", according to the location of each. Each one of these two divisions, like those of the Aith Mhand u Yihya, belongs to two different qa'idates: the mountain group, which is south of the women's market called Suq r-Had n-Tingharin (Sunday Women's Market")[117] at Iswiqen, to the Qa'idate of Nkur; and the plains group, in the vicinity of Imzuren, to the Qa'idate of l-Uta. The originating group is the mountain one.

3) Isrihan:--This jma'th (again of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), again, is divided into two others: the mountain part, in the folds of the Jbil Hamam[117a], belongs to the Qa'idate of Nkur, and the lowland part, in the Buham Plain and known as Isrihan n Buham, belongs to the Qa'idate of l-Uta[118].

4) Bu Minqadh:--This jma'th (of the clan of the Aith 'Ari) presents a further complication, that of a three-fold division: the founding and original section, in Sidi 'Abd Allah u Yusif, near the women's market at Iswiqen, is in the Qa'idate of Nkur; while of its two offshoots, both in the Qa'idate of l-Uta, one if near Thamasind and the other is found down in the plain near Imzuren. There is thus a Mountain Bu Minqadh, a Foothills Bu Minqadh, and a Plains Bu Minqadh.

5) Aith 'Aziz:--There are today two jma'ths (of the clan of the Imrabdhen) of this name, one in Thamasind and the other in Imzuren; and although both are located within the Qa'idate of l-Uta, this fact is purely coincidental.

621 6) Thamasind:--There are two jma'ths of this name: one is called Thamasind n Dara (Upper Thamasind), and the other, Thamasind n

000 621 [631] Waddai (Lower Thamasind). These two have been spatially separated for a long time, although they both happen to be located in the Qa'idate of I-Uta[119].

Aside from these examples given above, we then have those jma'ths which, after their descent to the plain, lose their original names, such, for instance, as Ajdir, and acquire those of new geographical locations or founders without, however, losing their ties with the parent jma'th until these become relaxed with the passing of time or until new needs cause them to become independent, as we find them today, if in the inversion of roles the newly formed nucleus is not imposing itself on the original one, thus becoming converted into a tributary group. We have just seen that among the Aith Waryaghar there are traditional jma'ths which are found to be split, the displaced groups often occupying sites very distant from the original ones; and the fact that this displacement occurred long, long ago led them to become independent of the originating jma'th, and to constitute new jma'ths on their own or even to graft themselves onto the neighboring jma'ths when their importance or convenience so dictated.

By the same token, also, there are jma'ths which are not of the same origin and which may form the initial fusion of perhaps as many as twenty different kin groups and stranger accretions of the most diverse origins[120]. An example of this may be found in Swani, in which the lower part of the jma'th is made up of descendants of Sidi Mhand of Aith Hishim, of the clan of Imrabdhen, who are shurfa, and of the original founders, the people of Thafrasth, of the subclan

621 of Imhauren, of the clan of Aith 'Ari; while the upper part is made up of heterogeneous elements of different tribes. This will eventually happen in Ajdir, where a considerable number of Rifian workers are settling owing to its proximity to the town of Alhucemas. Ajdir has not succeeded in assimilating these people who, installed around and behind the fork in the (Tetuan-Melilla) main road, already form a special quarter which is beginning to be distinguished by the name of Kharras, or "stranger"[121], a disagreeable appellation for them and one which causes them to defend intuitively their jma'ths of origin. A future modification of the jurisdiction of this quarter cannot thus be considered as injurious to the constitution of the jma'th.

We thus see that the traditional jma'th in this tribe, in accordance with the data in our possession at the moment regarding this problem, may or may not have a familial origin (sic)[122], as an analogous examination of the Qa'idate of Nkur also seems to demonstrate.

621 614 If we limit ourselves, in this qa'idate, to the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one of those which from time immemorial seems to have kept its jma'ths most intact, we see that the only one to which a common origin or ancestor is attributed is that of Aith Ta'a. But if, [613] for example, we examine Isufiyen in this light, we find that of its five dharfiqin or patri lineages, three (I'adwiyen, Ihaqqunen and Imdihiriyen) are from the tribe of Ibdharsen (Mtalsa) in the Eastern Rif, and have the same ancestor, while of the two remaining ones, one (Aith Ta'rafth) is from the tribe of Aith Yittuft[123]. Thus, through the elimination of four out of the five kin groups in question, the only one which is left, Aith Musa w 'Amar[124], is the only possible

candidate for earliest occupancy and for the foundation of the jma'th. As it happens, this is the case here.

Passing now to the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif, we see, analogously, that while the founding or ancestral dharfiqth, Aith Wuzghar, that of the present (1935) Qa'id of Nkur, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan, is considered to be descended from the "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin, the former inhabitants of the City of Nkur[125], the other dharfiqin making up the jma'th do so without any apparent relationship to each other. The kin group whose ancestor arrived first was an Imrabdhen lineage from Ibdharsen, formed by the Aith Siddiq, Aith Tumritsh and Aith Tizza; this was followed by Aith Yumis, from the clan of Asht Yumis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; and finally, by the I'addiyen from the tribe of Axt Tuzin, the most recent of all.

If we turn now to the jma'th of Tazurakhth, we see the same thing, but with an increase in complexity, for the dharfiqth which is considered to be the founding one is that of Aith Bukhudam[126]. This group later received the following additional increments: a dharfiqth named Aith Ufaran from the subclan of Aith Turirth to the south; a second, much larger dharfiqth from the jma'th of Igar Ufadhis (local pronunciation Iyar Ufadhis) in the clan of Aith Bu Idhir of the tribe of Thimsaman, named Aith r-Qman (comprising today the four dharfiqin of Aith 'Aru Hammu, Yinn[127] 'Abdssram Bu 'Azza, Yinn 'Abd Allah u Hmidh and Ibaranen[128]); a third, Aith Tizi Marda, came from the clan of Amjau in the East Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid; a fourth, Ihamdiwen, from the jma'th of Asht Tghirasth[129] in the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; a fifth, from Aith 'Aisa in the tribe of Aith S'aid[130];

621 a sixth, a large one named Aith 'Aisa, from the jma'th of Aith 'Ammar
623 u S'aid in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan of Aith Hadhifa (com-
624 prising today the two dharfiqin of Aith 'Aisa--sometimes referred to
629 as Aith 'Aisa w Anu, or "the sons of 'Aisa of the well"--and Aith
Injin); a seventh, Aith Si Hmand 'Aisa, from the clan of Aith 'Abd
Allah; and an eighth, and last, Aith Tihar, from the jma'th of Tfsast
in the subclan of Timarzga to the South.

621 The net result of all the foregoing is that even such a multiplicity of examples will not clarify the question for us, considering that, in Aith Waryaghar, there are traditional jma'ths which have been split since antiquity, and split in such a way that to bring them together again now would create a tremendous political as well as administrative difficulty[131]. This would, indeed, be next to impossible, due to the difficulties of all kinds already felt by the Rifians prior to the Spanish occupation, difficulties which brought them to the transcendental act of separation. This fact on the one hand, and, on the other, the fact that the traditional jma'th in Aith Waryaghar does not seem to present an ancestry which is common to all its constituent groups or a type of "family origin" (i.e. common ancestorship) in the form or for the ends which interest the order of the Spanish regional administration. Under these conditions, it seems the best thing in this tribe, if our knowledge should not lead us to other conclusions, to continue the sedimentation initiated some time ago, avoiding modifications which do not justify an imperious necessity or a convenience manifest to all lights, something which even the author was unable to avert, and to discount, for this reason, any.....or superficially learned innovatory zeal.[132]

These jma'ths, the internal lives of which were regulated by the custom governing the original mountain jma'th, continued as tributaries of the latter[133], enjoying the benefits of such a status (participation in the collection of fines, contributions to the fqih)[134] until, as we have seen, the new nucleus, beginning to stand out more and more as a result of its growth, importance and distance from the parent jma'th, succeeded in emancipating itself from the latter through its own discords and ambitions.[135]

But it is difficult to determine at precisely what moment the new jma'th came of age, as it is to determining everything else, even including finding out the designations in nomenclature of its representatives. This designation is not that of amin, as among the Kabyles of Algeria, a word which, taken over from Arabic, is one which does not permit a confusion of its administrative significance, an individual function, with that of the jma'th, which has a collective mqaddim, a term also adopted from Arabic and employed by certain Berber groups in the Western Atlas, for the personage of the mqaddim also has that function as well as the inadmission of that of the shaikh, which more than one person in Aith Waryaghar attributes to himself and which figures even in documents. These terms, however, do not demonstrate any more than the anarchy which the people have attained, and the forgetting of their own racial (sic!) characteristics[136]; as such words among Rifians can have no meaning nor can they be given any importance greater than those of "colonel" and "doctor" in the South American republics. These are strange nicknames (sic), for to the Rifian, as to any Berber, they say nothing if they are to be considered

621 typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the
6046 Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have
182 depreciated and is now dormant.

621 The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign,
[114] such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

131 Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order
631 listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of l-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur
614 watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a
631 geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

614 631 certainly justified from a political and even from an ethnographic standpoint. On the other hand, perhaps a greater simplification of the chain of command, brought by suppressing the khalifas of the qa'ids, a useless, retardatory and troublesome rung in the ladder, might be possible[139]; for the position of shaikh already exists, and in the absence of or in case of delegation of authority by the qa'ids.. ....the shiyukh can and do exercise the powers of the qa'id with all satisfaction, as has been observed in all cases and from all that has been told to me.

A chain of command without such useless steps would be restricted to qa'id and mqaddimin; but, nevertheless, the wide territorial extension which each of the clans of Aith Waryaghar has advises the retention of shaikhates in the manner expressed above; and the dispersion of the jma'ths advises in many cases the retention of the jwari (sing. jari)[140].

631 621 But these simplifications which are proposed in the framework of authority in the tribe must be followed up with a stronger personality in the mqaddim which would make these jobs remunerative as well as having them, at the same time, fall on the shoulders of persons of true significance in the jma'th, so that the latter must listen to them, accepting procedures put forth by them and avoiding any chances that friendship, adhersion or mere servitude to the qa'id might annul this office, the one which is, in my opinion, the most important in a Berber tribe. It is certainly not advisable to try to accomplish this in one stroke; this patient revision of mqaddimin must be done without hurry on a jma'th-by-jma'th basis, if we wish to make a perfect

augmentation to the "building" or "house" of Rifian society (of which the traditional jma'th is the "cornerstone").[141]

Aith Waryaghar, then, could be organized in the following way:

I) QA'IDATE OF L-UTA: Shaikhate of Aith Yusif w 'Ari --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Imrabdhen --15 jma'ths

II) QA'IDATE OF NKUR: Shaikhate of Bni Bu 'Ayyash --16 jma'ths
Shaikhate of I-Jbil --16 jma'ths

III) QA'IDATE OF UPPER GHIS: Shaikhate of Bni Hadifa --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Bni 'Abd Allah --16 jma'ths

Total----87 jma'ths

If this organization is applied to the other tribes[142], the patron must be remembered in salary gradation, so that salaries do not turn out to be prejudiced as the Aith Waryaghar have been, up to now, both in salary and category of their office-holders and tribal authorities.

Ajdir, August 27, 1935.

I) Notes on the Igzinnayen:

1) Etymology and Language:--The word Gzinnaya (Rifian Igzinnayen) is derived from Berber gizna, meaning "libertine"[143]. The tribesmen of Igzinnayen are bilingual, although even so, Rifian speech has a far greater predominance over Arabic. Their men of letters (fqihs, etc.), although they know how to read and write Arabic, express themselves very poorly in that language, and their grammatical construction tends to be bad. Knowledge of French is extremely slight,

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619 144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first, is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
648 [186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
619 648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

114 619 unfounded argument which is insufficient for making up any definitive listing, for it excludes other criteria. The famous historian from Sevilla (read "Tunis"), Ibn Khaldun, who also never visited Morocco, places them among the descendants of the Sinhajat al-Litham, or "Veiled Sinhaja", who emigrated over all North Africa after having 619 left their original home in southern Algeria. My own humble opinion is that in the Igzinnayen we are confronted with a tribe of purely Berber origin, around which many diversified elements came to establish themselves.

142 159 The Arab, in general, is a man of deliberate movements, thin, long-faced and giving the impression that a certain spiritual elegance emanates from him; the Berber, in general, is much more brusque and abrupt, with a short neck and a round face, and, in speaking, he gesticulates in such a way as to give the impression that he is talking with his eyes rather than with his mouth. Whether Arab, Arabo-619 Berber or pure Berber, the origins of the Igzinnayen are very obscure.[153]

The founders of the tribe originated from the Ulad Akthir (unidentifiable), who, in Tamjund and Burich (of the Asht 'Asim clan) gave rise to the Asht Bu Zkri (or Izkrithen), Ibaqriyen and Iharrasen; in Azru (of the Asht Yunis), to the Farzugu (unidentifiable), Asht Ishaq and Asht 'Aisa (unidentifiable); in Aqwir (of the Imzdwar), to the Asht Tirnamin and the Asht Tighda 'Ali.

The Jbarna (of the Asht r-Udha clan) have their origin in Imzdurar; they reached their present territory at a time which is impossible to determine. A large number of their families own land

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

619 A large number of their families own land
[423] in the region immediately north of Jbil 'Ain 'Uqqa. They are bi-
[191] lingual, but they prefer to speak Rifian, which they learn as children.

The l-'Atamna (of the Asht r-Udha) say that they are descended from the Hawwara, which does not seem probable, considering that they all show "Berber" characteristics and that the Hawwara were "Arabs".

The Dharwa Haddu consider themselves to be descended from the Ulad 'Assu bin 'Abd Allah (Rifian Asht 'Assu 'Abd Allah) and from the Eastern Rifian tribe of Aith Bu Yihyi[154].....The ancestors of Hamza bin 'Abd Allah are buried in the latter area, near the Angad.

A large number of Igzinnayen, some 1500 families, mostly from
[166] Asht 'Asim, left their own land to move to l-Mta, just north of Fez. Various reasons have been given for this, the most probable being that of poverty[155].

The Asht r-Udha, Ishawiyen, Bu Isri and Izimmuren (of the Asht r-Udha) are descendants of Abu 'Amama, whose grandfather Talib ibn Isma'il ibn Hamza ibn 'Abd Allah of Rashida was appointed basha of Igzinnayen by the Sultan 'Abd Allah Hamrini Tamrin in the 7th century A.H. On the other hand, there is still a group of Asht Hamza in the area around Aknul.

The Asht Mhand (or Bni Mhammad), in the earliest times of which the Arab chroniclers have any record, resided in the Jbil Sidi S'aid, in the area at present occupied by the shurfa of Aith Sidi S'aid in
[578] Mtalsa. Due to a dispute which rose up among them, they became divided.
[166] Some went to the Bni Bu Ya'la in the Branis and the rest formed the Asht Mhand of the Igzinnayen, where they are today.

619

The Azru Ishillahan (of Asht Uzru of the Asht Yunis clan) are of "foreign", or Andalusian origin; they came to Igzinnayen when the Muslims were expelled from Spain in 1492. Although I am dubious about this assertion, certain members of this group are considered today as "Andalusians".[156]

The people of Ihadhriyen (of the Asht Yunis) are from Jbarna[157]; those of Tghirasth (of the Asht Yunis)[158] are the descendants of Sidi Ya'qub al-Badisi, who is buried in Badis, in Bni Bu Frah.

The ancestor of the Asht r-'Arqub (of the Asht Yunis) was Sidi 'Azzuz, buried in Taza,[159] and father of Sidi al-Hajj 'Ali, who died in Zaghwan (Tripolitania), on returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca. His tomb is also in Zaghwan.

The Ikhabbaben (of the Asht Yunis) from Bni Khalid in the Branis[160], came to the Igzinnayen as a result of feuds in their homeland, as did the Asht Hazim, from the Aith Iznasan tribe in the province of Oujda[161].

The Ikhuwanan (of the Asht 'Asim) are descended from Sidi 'Abd Allah al'Khulali al-Wazzani, who is buried in Tamadda, in the Sanhaja Srir.

The Asht Marar, Asht 'Ari, Tasharbant, Asht Saghur and Asht Thiyuririn (of the Imzdurar clan), descendants of Sidi 'Athman of 'Ain Zura (Mtalsa), came gradually to install themselves in Igzinnayen, probably pushed on by poverty.[162]

The Iharshriyen and Asht Tighambuyin (of the Imzdurar), descendants of Muly Idris, came under the direction of their ancestor Sidi Hmid, whose tomb is located in Thighambuyin.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

619 The ("holy" clan of the) Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are descended from
613 Sidi Musa bin Mshish[163], the brother of one of the "poles" of Western
614 Islam, Sidi 'Abd al-Salam bin Mshish, who is buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Sidi Musa is buried among the Khmid(?) (unidentifiable).

The principal idea to be extracted from the foregoing is the following: around a principal nucleus consisting of Asht 'Asim, Imzdurar and Asht Marar[164], clans which are known to and recognized by all the Igzinnayen, there came over the course of time an infinite number of lineages originating from very diverse points of northern Morocco; and these lineages intermingled with the above. Their motives for so doing varied between hunger and war. They were brought to the Rif either because there was no room for them elsewhere or because the possibilities of living well there attracted them.....It is probably necessary to look for their origins in regions which are particularly barren and unproductive, such as the Khuld of Huwwara or the northern part of the Angad Plain, in the case of elements from the Aith Bu Yihyi; the Tafrata for the Ahl Rashida, the clayey hills of Mtalsa, and, in general, all the places more or less bordering the Mulwiya River, which, even if they are by no means paradises, are at least hospitable (sic)[165].

794 3) Qur'anic Instruction: --This is organized in exactly the
891 same way as it is among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, and is largely beyond the control of the Administration....There is
[193] usually a school in each village, the fqih of which is paid annually and in kind by its inhabitants. Instruction is carried out almost

completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an.... Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or inhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

619 Today it may be said that there are no ostensible
614 and important divisions among the different clans of the Igzinnayen....
361 The Igzinnayen are sedentary and inhabit fixed houses, which, as among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, are located along the edges of valleys, in fertile lands, and, in a word, wherever life is easier. Nevertheless, there is, aside from the tribal hamlet-
619 villages, no agglomeration of importance....The tribe is divided
614 administratively into seven clans, each one headed by a shaikh except for Asht 'Asim, which is divided into three shaikhates. One of the
[62] latter is made up of the communities of Buridh, Tamjund and Imhar-
[63] rushen, another by those of Ifran, Iaqrru'an and Iharrasen, and the third by Inhanahan, Thara Tazzugwakhth and Iharshriyen[169]; all these
619 clans ("fractions") are headed by a qa'id. The tribe of Igzinnayen presents a line of penetration between the tribes of the Rif and those of the Eastern Gharb, as it has been utilized over a long period of time as a path for incursions by the mountaineers into the plain.

619 7) Political Division:--Qaid (1940): Si Bu Tahar n Mqaddim
614 Saihi.
621 a) Clan ("fraction") of Jibarna: contains villages of Asht Hammu w 'Amar, I'athmanen (1-'Atamna), Dharwa Haddum Jibarna and Suyah. Shaikh (1940): Muhammed l-Mihdi Fars.

b) Clan ("fraction") of Ishawiyen (Shawiya): contains villages of Dharwa 'Abdallah, Dharwa n Tawunza, Bu Isri, Imrabdhen n Nawizaght[170], Aknul, Nadhur, Ihammuthen and Iziimuren. Shaikh (1940): Bushta nj-Qa'id Buhush.

c) Clan ("fraction") of Marar: contains villages of Thighzrathin, Tasharbant, Dharwa 'Ari, Zarhun, Fiddan l-Kbir, Thighambuyin,

619 Thirraamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyuririn.
614 Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.
621

d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyar, Tighza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waunkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

175 8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara. (628) (616) It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal struggles between Ifuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

175 554 When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

175
554

unwillingly brought the rest of the tribe into Bu Hmara's camp.

Bu Hmara, leaving the tribal organization as he found it, limited himself to transforming the existing shiyukh into qa'ids. The names of some of these men have been preserved: Muhammad wuld 'Allal, Midbuh, Muhush Kahwi, Buhut r-'Asimi and 'Allal n Dahu. Divide in order to rule; such was Bu Hmara's idea, severe and brutal. Under his command the Igzinnayen came to swell up his contingents to fight in Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman; and they were finally put in check in front of Silwan.

After Bu Hmara was taken prisoner, brought to Fez and executed by Sultan Mulay Hafidh, in 1327 A.H. (1909 A.D.), he continued to weigh on the tribe, which did not want him....Then anarchy returned.[172] We now see the appearance of Sidi Hmid Midbuh, son and grandson of the Qa'id Midbuh, and also a qa'id himself, in the Jibarna. Faithful to the Rogi Bu Hmara, he defended himself against the Hajj Hammada, who, far from enjoying the favors of Bu Hmara, had been executive after what happened at Silwan. The two families, already divided, came to show an increase in the number of their partisans.

Evil instincts now had free rein. The agreeable life of pillage, theft and murder began anew, with its concomitant of the exclusive satisfaction of the strong. 'Abd al'Malik found the tribe in this situation in 1333 (1915). He got the best group on his side, because of the fact that aside from the facilities of command which he was given, he received important subsidies from Germany; and he did not hesitate for a moment to utilize the ancient quarrels in order to make his authority more secure. At this point, French forces had begun to penetrate the Sharifian Empire.

175
648
554

175
648
554

The French advance in eastern Morocco hardly attracted the attention of the Igzinnayen in the beginning. The infidel was still far away, and, as for the rest, "God would provide." On their arrival at Minada, the events embroidered upon by market story-tellers increased their curiosity. One of their notables, the Hajj Hammada, presented himself to the French authorities. On their arrival at Msun, the Qa'id Midbuh, the Hajj Hammada, his nephew Muhand u Haddu, and all the rest of the notables of the southern Igzinnayen all went to look for them. Nevertheless, the French advance was a direct threat, and the Igzinnayen began to turn up as members of the harkas which fought against them. Importance was attributed to the numbers of these harkas, insofar as they came near the French, even without a definite order of battle.

At this point, 'Abd al-Malik, coming from Tetuan, entered the scene; thrown out by the Ghiyata, he succeeded in enlisting the cause of the Igzinnayen, especially those of Asht Yunis through his good relations with Si Hmid Ubarshan[173] and with Shaikh Hmid n 'Amar. He was spoken of throughout the mountains thanks to his open-handed palm-greasing, and thanks also to his tireless activity. He convoked the Igzinnayen in successive igrawn, the first at the Monday Market of Azru[174] and the second, a little later, along the banks of the Msun River, about 2 km. from the present gates of Kifan. The Qa'id Midbuh was frightened at this move, and after hiding by night with some fifteen of his agnates, he gained the French lines, while the Hajj Hammada, definitely conquered, received large compensations.

175
648
554

'Abd al-Malik, aided by his German collaborator Hermann, sought friendships through money, and spread his propaganda among the Dharwa Haddu through the Hajj Hamada and his son 'Abdssram. Dedicated to their desires, they swelled up the harkas and suffered heavy losses; but the Igzinnayen did not hesitate to abandon and betray 'Abd al-Malik on the day that fortune went against him. His favorite, the Hajj Biqqish, who had sung his praises louder than anyone else, was the very first to rob him when he came to seek refuge amonst the Asht 'Asim.

The Hajj Muhand Biqqish, a notable of Thiddas in Ikhuwanen of Asht 'Asim, takes up all the internal history of Igzinnayen before the French occupation and the domination of 'Abd al-Krim. Having risen to the top through his indisputable merits as a warchief, he extended his power over all of Igzinnayen and a part of the Aith Waryaghar[175]. In 1913 and 1914, we find him in the Jbil Shaushau (?) of Bu Nakris (?) at the head of a harka which fought the French in Msun, in Taza, and in bil-Qasim in the country of the Miknasa. In 1915 he put himself at the disposition of the Hajj Mamm ash-Shangiti.

An excellent administrator, and having on the other hand a constant care about his own person and a great deal of knowledge of tribal politics, the exercise of justice was a considerable source of income to him thanks to certain rights toward discounts which he claimed and pocketed, and other ways of assuaging his conscience; and he thus increased his resources very considerably. He got rich and acquired lands and fields. He inherited the family house from his father in Tighza (Ikhuwanen), and another in Thiddas, as well as land formerly belonging to the subclan of Thimarzga of Aith Waryaghar,

175 on the mountain of Afuzar. In the latter place he built a large house
648 with a huge wall around it, according to the locals; this house is
554 known as Dhaddarth n Biqqish[176]. With 'Amar Hamidu, the qa'id of
648 Marnisa, he helped 'Abd al-Malik against the French. When the French
554 routed 'Abd al-Malik at Kifan on 13 Safar 1336 A.H. (November 28, 1917), the latter took refuge in Biqqish's house. 'Amar Hamidu became hostile to Biqqish over the possession of the Wednesday Market at Buridh, but when 'Abd al-Malik appeared at Sidi 'Ari n Dawud[177], they patched up their differences in order to help him, until the day that he took refuge in Thafarsith. This friendship between the two chiefs of Marnisa and Igzinnayen lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim. In 1921, Biqqish, advised by 'Amar Hamidu, refused to join the Rifians of 'Abd al-Krim in their struggle against Spain. In 1922, 'Abd al-Krim attacked him and, abandoned by more and more of his followers, Biqqish, vacillating, had almost decided to place himself under Spanish protection; but afterward he reconsidered and submitted to 'Abd al-Krim. His son Si Hmid then was given a qa'idship.

By 1924 the importance of the younger Biqqish, Si Hmid, had notably decreased. Finally, in 1925, at the time of the all-out attack on the French front, the elder Biqqish and his son were detained by 'Abd al-Krim for questioning. After three months, in order to ascertain the feelings of the taciturn and mysterious Biqqish, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to the region of Branis to inspect the front and to keep inciting the war against the Christians.

Sick and irreductible, the old man set himself up in the Friday Market of Branis and did nothing. He was denounced and brought

648
554 back to Ajdir, 'Abd al-Krim's capital in the Aith Waryaghar lowlands. 'Abd al-Krim let him return to live with his family and gave his son Si Hmid his freedom; but, furious at the capture of the Mahkama of Brabir (---Branis?), he got rid of the old man permanently by giving him a glass of poisoned tea at the Wednesday Market of Aith Turirth (Aith Waryaghar).[178] Si Hmid was detained during the occupation of Marnisa by French Moroccan troops and then set free in January 1926. He lives today (1940) in the Igzinnayen[179], and has a sister, Mimuna, married to the former qa'id and present (1940) khalifa of Arba' n Turirth, Muh n 'Amar nj-Mqaddim; and this woman, probably because of the spirit she inherited from her father, is the real ruler of the household.[180]

It should be stated that the irreducible enemy of the Biqqish family, the Qa'id Finnish of Iharrasen, died in combat on May 11, 1926, against the French in Izkrithen (in the Asht 'Asim) near Ikhwanen; he had been a principal cause of the persecution and death of the Hajj Muhand Biqqish, through his influence with 'Abd al-Krim.

FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the 'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

181 tion of French corvee), which underscores its mandatory character.
104 Wuzi'a, in Arabic, refers to distribution on a prorata basis; but its Rifian derivative, r-uzi'ath, refers only to the dividing up of the meat of a ritually edible and ritually slaughtered animal, which has just died, and those who share in the division are expected to pay the owner of the animal back at a later date. Dhwara, a purely Rifian word which Blanco mistakenly gives as twala, thinking it, no doubt, an Arabic derivative, is synonymous with Arabic nuba and its Rifian derivative nubth, means "turn" in its widest sense: use of irrigation water in turn by each user; taking of barley to the fiqh or schoolmaster in the local mosque by each nuclear family within the scattered hamlet type of community, so much the Rifian norm in settlement morphology, in turn, etc. etc. (cf. Blanco's own very interesting and elucidating remarks on the Rifian conceptualization of turns in the chapter on Family Organization). And liff is a crucially important intra- or inter-tribal pattern of alliances.

181 3--All words which are rendered in quotations are Blanco's, and in
114 no case does he define what he means by them. It should be noted here that Blanco, as well as the great majority of tribal administrators in French Morocco at the time, was heavily influenced by the thinking of the late Robert Montagne, Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930--to such an extent, in fact, that many of the "value judgments" which Blanco makes are indirectly those of Montagne. In all fairness to Blanco, however, it should be noted that he takes sharp exception to certain of Montagne's interpretations of Rifian political sociology; and these exceptions are for the most part fully justified.

608 4--Although the famous "Berber Dahir" of 1930 was enforced, of course,
607 by the French up until the very end of their protectorate in Morocco
608 in 1956, it never even had a chance in the Spanish Zone. This state of affairs was due not to any special decision-making on the part of the Spanish Protectorate administration (for much of the corps of tribal interventores was in favor of the dahir), but to the Rifian reformer 'Abd al-Krim, who had vigorously suppressed what he considered the most objectionable features of Customary Law in the Rif as early as 1921 or 1922. This was one of the ways, indeed, in which he was able to consolidate his position as leader of the Rifian war effort and as "President of the Rifian Republic", whereas, perhaps paradoxically, it is the pre-'Abd al-Krim era of "organized acephaly", of councillors and bloodfeuds, which is known, perhaps in retrospect as the 'Ripublik', and which is referred to elsewhere in Berber Morocco, and as a permanent condition, as siba. By the term "most objectionable features" we mean to say that he effectively stamped out any and all aspects of Rifian customary law (collective or plural oaths, in particular) which could in any outwardly discernible way be construed as being opposed to "bonafide" Muslim law. Thus, in short, what happened was at the end of the Rifian War in 1926, the Spaniards found that because of 'Abd al-Krim, orthodox Maliki law (for of the four Sunni, or "Orthodox", Islamic legal schools, it is the Maliki which predominates in North Africa) was already functioning in the Rif, even it overlay a solidly Berber jural base; and during their protectorate, though with some misgivings, they merely preserved 'Abd al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

000 al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations 671 about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber 114 sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

197 5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of 67 any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, 219 why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

[554] 6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, [293] in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber- [114] speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

181 7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart 113 and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

000 8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational [596] depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral [193] root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

000 almost postulate a sequence more or less as follows: people (and particularly the most important ones, i.e. members of the council) gather in the mosque on Fridays. This, in Durkheimian terms, would make a neat example of the three-way continuum of time, space and society! The fact that the Rifian term for mosque is dhamzidha in no way negates this rather attractive hypothesis (suggested by Ernest Gellner, personal communication, Feb. 4, 1961), for dhamzidha is itself derived from another Arabic word for mosque, masjid.

11--Dhaqbitsh, pl. dhiqbar (from Arabic qabila) is the Rifian term for "tribe", the ceiling unit in the region.

613 621 619 114 614 12--"Fraction": translator's quotation marks. This term, very current in the literature on North African social structure (and deriving from Arabic nuss, "half", tulut, "third", rba', "fourth" and khums, "fifth", each one of which usually refers to the number of clans or top-level segments a given tribe contains), is one which I find both imprecise and misleading. What one should read for "fraction" is either clan or maximal, primary or top-level segment of a tribe. What is totally missing in the term "fraction" is a notion of process.

As Blanco himself thought the term "fraction" absurd (as he indicated in a pencilled comment on a report on village etymologies in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar by another interventor, dated 1939), we shall henceforth take his cue and call it "clan"--even though he continued to employ "fraction" in the bulk of his writing!

13--The concept of the relative autonomy or independence of the tribal clan (Blanco's "fraction") is, as far as we know, an original contribution by Blanco to the overall study of Berber social structure (even though Blanco's thinking may have had its roots, on this score, in Montagne, op. cit., 1930). It is, considering the time and place it appeared, a challenging and cogent theory, and Blanco discusses it at length in the chapter on Social Organization, as well as in La Ley Rifeña, 1939. The fact that the notions of balance and opposition in all segmentary societies have become anthropological commonplaces since Evans-Pritchard's Nuer work does not vitiate Blanco's argument.

000 14--Again, in the choice of words which these notes represent, Blanco gives no definition, and we fear that, although a literal translation renders the reading awkward, a substitution of our own terms might falsify what he had in mind, namely, to attempt to establish criteria for differentiation between social and political units. In our opinion, most of these distinctions exist in the author's mind only, and do not correspond to any sociopolitical realities; for, on upper levels of segmentation at least, social units and political units invariably tend to merge.

15--It is, of course, true that only men make alliances, wage war and engage in politics (councils, etc.), but there seems no need to belabor this rather obvious point. More subtle, however, is the implicit--and possibly unintentional--distinction made between social structure and territorial organization. In the Rif, as elsewhere, the territorial organization reflects a genealogically oriented social system which has been brought down to ground level, so to speak, and

000 arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes, even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons, never quite complete.

[114] [128] 16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem more nearly to fit the context.

[629] [628] 17--Imrabdhen, sing. amrabidh (from Arabic murabit) are saints, living or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused with shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed, perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

[563] [114] 18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is (or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult to fathom.

181 114 [113] [619] 19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the blad as-siba, and Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be extended to cover the whole notion of siba. In another publication we have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of this term, which goes back to Montagne, of siba as "anarchy", a notion which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--cf. André Adam, La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect, concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term, but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words, this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind when writing of "organized anarchy".

181
114 However, we would still take a somewhat more charitable viewpoint, and question the somewhat ethnocentric notion that a tribal society is any more "anarchical", even in an "organized" sense, than that of a nation-state. In any event, all this terminology is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930).

000 20--Blanco uses the term ramo ascendiente, which, in the sense that a jajgu is conceived of as a branch (ramo)--the Rifians employ the term azwar, pl. izuran, "vein", in this connection--of a dharfiqth or or lineage group, is very apt. The use of a term such as "ascending", however, depends entirely on which way one looks at Rifian tribal segmentation: from the bottom up (nuclear family to tribe) or from the top down (tribe to family).

We have found, however, that, except in the single instance of the recitation of their own personal antecedents in unilinear progression to the ancestor who forms the "apex" of the lineage, Moroccan tribesmen invariably tend to give the segmentation of their own tribes starting from the top and working downwards. In the Rif, [631] indeed, this approach to the segmentary system is greatly reinforced [681] by the method of dividing up the fines (r-haqq) imposed upon murderers by the members of the tribal council. The division of such fines follows traditional segmentary lines as closely as possible; in such instances where this is not possible (and they are very few, only occurring in cases of territorial discontinuity among the larger lineages), it follows the next best thing, the territorial system, which is in essence nothing but the lineage system spread out spatially on the ground.

21--The term "canton" is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930), and is [634] also employed by Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African [114] Studies, vol. IX, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 91. It [113] is a valid enough designation for the watershed canyon, ravine and gorge-studded districts of the higher mountains in the Rif (Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen", in Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1956-1956, Vienna 1957, pp. 485-527, also employs the term Talschaften for similar districts in the Western Atlas), but loses its force if one attempts to apply it to the Plain of Alhusaima or the open rolling country of the Eastern Rif.

22--Khums (Rifian dhakhammasth) means "fifth", and is used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments, such as the Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen (among whom, in fact, this alignment seems to have little functional significance), Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith Wurishik and Aith Sa'id. Furthermore, when it is said of any tribe that it "has five 'fifths'", this is an implicit admission that the tribe in question is a strong one. For a structural-functional analysis of the "fifth" among the Aith Waryaghar and elsewhere, see David M. Hart, "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65-95.

Far more common in Rifian parlance, however, is ar-rba', pl. [114] rurbu', literally "fourth" or "quarter", which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 91) has equated with "canton", and in doing so, has noted that,

000 [114] paradoxically, a "fifth" is larger than a "fourth"--so he employs "canton" to avoid confusion. He has failed to see that essentially, the two terms are interchangeable (a fact which once again underlines the fluidity of Berber and Arabic social unit terminology) and that ar-rba', which is almost always used to denote maximal segments in tribes possessing less than five of these, is also employed, more often than is khums, to designate the five maximal segments of tribes which do have "fifths".

[343] [114] [113] 23--There are no collective storehouses in the Rif proper, as there are all over the Atlas, and here Blanco has committed a major error. However, Montagne has signalled their presence in parts of the Ghmara, to the west of the Rif. See R. Montagne, Un Grenier Collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka, Paris: Larose, 1930.

24--It is somewhat difficult to understand precisely what Blanco means in this connection. However, his MSS. chapters on religion and economics were only evidently projected, and never written.

25--Dhaddarth is properly "house", and dhimssi (lit. "fire") is "hearth", whereas the normal word for nuclear family is nubth, pl. nubath, lit. "turn".

26--In the original, la major fuerza y derecho es el de los mas fuertes. Indeed, Rifians themselves generally conceptualize the cultural goals of their society during the 'Ripublik' in very similar terms.

27--In the original, un contrato de compraventa. Marriage is indeed conceptualized contractually in the Rif, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, but it need hardly be pointed out that compraventa, "buying and selling", is highly misleading.

28--The word "absolute" is, in this connection, of course, extreme; but, considering the position of women in Spain itself at the time, it is interesting that a Spaniard should have employed it.

29--The marriage contract document, or zujiya, is written (both today and as far back into the past as any Rifian's memory goes), in conformity with the Shari'a. It says, in effect, that A, son of B, has married X, daughter of Y, in the presence of C, D, and E, and is signed by a qadi (judge of Shari'a law) and two 'adul (sing. 'adl), [114] or notaries public. Blanco is in error in saying that the zujiya document was unwritten until recent times, because during the "Republik" period, the fqih or schoolmaster of the local mosque--a man who was and is usually only slightly more literate than his constituents--drew it up. It is in any case axiomatic in the Rif [692] that whatever other cases (primarily criminal) that he did not handle, a qadi invariably resolved all matters pertaining to: a) marriage, b) divorce, and c) land. This means, in turn, that in all these cases, the necessary documents were drawn up in Arabic--at least theoretically!

[114] 30--This is not so today, nor, we suspect, was it so in the past. Every Rifian has a number of documents, all carefully guarded in his house; and, in addition, most holy men or shurfa have always had genealogical family trees to prove the "genuineness" of their own pedigree.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] [241] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] [231] [224] [226] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

[565] [463] 36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] [294] [286] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] 42--Dhwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in
[233] error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither
[851] a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this
[196] notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The
[651] most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas
[611] that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for
[171] either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

000
[613] 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own, but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[191] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of [113] brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts [668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562
428 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religi-
114 ous or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the
423 form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of [794] "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion [113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

000 50--The fact of whether or not women inherit (informants invariably say that they do, according to the Shari'a, but they tend, by their actions, to prove the contrary) is a crucial question in Berber [114] social organization. This has been nicely perceived by Blanco, whose opinions on the subject will be treated in their proper place.

[114] 51--This prognostication made by Blanco has yet to come true, as the [669] revolt in late 1958 and early 1959 staged by the Aith Waryaghar against the Moroccan government has abundantly proven. Tribal [086] "we-feeling" and "the sociopolitical importance of the group"--at whatever level of segmentation--seems to us to be as strong as ever.

[829] 52--This is a most interesting notion, and one which is never expressed as such by Rifians but implied in most of their actions, behavior and conversation.

[114] 53--Blanco is in effect trying to define each of the Rifian social units in a state of isolation, as it were, from the others, and trying to take them out of context. In so doing, he advocates, in effect, rigid definitions when what is called for is fluid ones. Small wonder, therefore, that he admits his task to be difficult!

54--In the original, ramas familiares--and, as I have stated earlier, what the jajgu is in fact is a lineage branch of the dharfiqth, and can only be adequately discussed in the light of the latter--or, in anthropological terms, in the light of a total system of segmentary lineage organization.

55--Blanco's argument, when boiled down, is as follows: the jajgu or azwar is a social unit which is essentially the result of polygyny, and if a man has descendants reckoned agnatically from three wives, each of these three sets of descendants form the nucleus of a jajgu which takes a uterine descent from the wife in question as its point of departure.

This, of course, is preposterous. Given a perfectly genuine situation, Blanco has drawn conclusions which are entirely erroneous. He would have us believe, in effect, that matrilineal descent may exist, under certain conditions, in a patrilineal society! Hardly. The fact of the matter is that 1) even though ijujga may originate from the descendants of different wives of the same man; and 2) even though one or more of these wives may come from a clan or tribe other than that of her or their husband--in which case the name of the jajgu may reflect her origin or even her name, although even so it is invariably preceded by that of her son; even in instances of this kind, descent is always reckoned through the male line, and the patrilineal principle obtains throughout. Polygyny is in no way a function of uterine descent, even though there may be evidences of matronymy; and the only mitigating factor in Blanco's hypothesis is that from an overall standpoint, he himself still entertains some doubts about its validity.

56--This is a very good and well-taken point indeed, and goes a considerable way toward explaining why, particularly with respect to issues of wider scope than those within, say, the clan, the statements of different informants (often) tend to vary so greatly. We would go even further: we believe that such ambiguity is absolutely inherent

000 in the social organization of the area as a whole.

57--Blanco mistakenly transcribes this as islifen. In Rifian, this has an entirely different meaning, for isrif (pl. isrifen) is an affinal kinship term signifying "wife's sister's husband". Thus, two men who marry sisters are isrifen to each other.

[196] [114] [113] 58--Jma'ath does not, except in official Spanish parlance, properly mean council. The term for council is Aitharba'in or Aitarba'in (sing. utharb'in), literally "people (e.g. representatives) of the people" and not "sons of (or people of) the forty", as numerous other authorities (including Coon, op. cit., p. 96, and José Martos de Castro, "Lo Bereber en Marruecos y Sus Relaciones con lo Ibero", Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos: Labor de España en Africa, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333, have indicated. Lionel Galand, however, favors on linguistic grounds the "people of the forty" etymology for the Berbers of the Sus, however (personal communication).

59--What a Rifian generally says is Nish zi dharwa n fran, "I am from the sons of so and so", mentioning the name of his dharfiqth rather than the word dharfiqth itself, when the question of lineage identity, within the clan, comes up.

60--Definitions of this kind were very much the rule, it might be added, among both the French and Spanish tribal administrators, most of whom were military men.

[114] 61--This is an instance of Blanco's constant inclination to divorce what he considers "social units" from those he considers "political units". The distinction, of course, is very largely an artificial one, for the higher up the purely "social" units go in the scale, the more "political" they tend to become, and vice versa. It is, once again, a classic example of European rigidity in classification (and the ever-present desire to put abstractions such as sociopolitical units into neat pigeonholes) as opposed to the essential fluidity (and consequent tendency to elude neat pigeonholing) which, we feel, is so basic to an understanding of these units, not only as they exist in Rifians' minds but as models structurally conceived by the anthropologist. And this means, above all, that each unit can only be understood in relation to all the others, not only on the same level of segmentation, but on those above and below it as well.

It is quite true that in some individual jma'ath-s, lack of kinship between component dharfiqin is an overriding factor in group composition; but this is by no means the case for all of them, and is really the exception rather than the rule.

62--This latter may be the correct derivation; Rifians who know enough Arabic to be conscious of the metathesis (and they are few) sometimes consciously pronounce the word dhafriqth. But the first possibility seems equally valid, that the word is derived from the root r-f-q, "to accompany" and that it refers hence to "men who march and fight together". Cf. Jacques Dumaine (probably a pseudonym for Robert [115] Montagne), "Les Eléments du Problème du Rif", Renseignements Coloniaux et Documents Publiés par le Comité Algérie-Tunisie-Maroc, No. 2, bis, 1926, pp. 89-99.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individiual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] [114] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

[423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

[614] 69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] [829] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

∞∞ [114] 71--Blanco assigns the jma'th a predominants geographical or territorial role, while the dharfiqth is given a genealogical one. So far, so good; but, at the risk of adding to the confusion, I think that Blanco mistakes jma'th in this context with dshar, "village, hamlet, community", for jma'th invariably embodies the idea of "people". However, it does not embody any notion of genealogical relationships, and thus Blanco's error is minor, and thoroughly understandable.

[114] 72--Not, obviously, in a literal sense; but even though Blanco no doubt employed it to bolster his ideas on lineage and segment shifts, the word was badly chosen.

[411] [648] 73--Rifles turned in to the Spanish authorities (often with grave reluctance on their owners' part) after pacification of the Rif in 1926 often formed an index, in administrative reports, to a tribe's fighting strength.

74--We know of no mosque in the Rif which only serves a single family, well-to-do or not.

[212] 75--Qanun, pl. qawanin, is, in Rifian parlance, a document drawn up in Arabic which records decisions of the village or tribal council on matters of local interest; or, more often, it merely refers to such decisions themselves, without benefit of documentary evidence.

[619] 76--By this Blanco means that an offshoot of jma'th A which through the process of lineage scission has moved physically to tribe B will have property in tribe B. This stands to reason; but the only ties which the new jma'th retains with its "brother" in its former home are those of memory and sentiment. For all practical and functional purposes, it is now a naturalized subsegment of another tribe, and it must conform to the custom of that tribe.

[114] 77--Blanco's theory of clan autonomy is most interesting and challenging, and is discussed at some length in La Ley Rifeña. It has, however, one grave shortcoming: its omission of the fact that such clan autonomy is always relative to the tribe. Vide our article "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, p. 194.

[648] 78--Blanco does not say, but it is possible that such sites may be attributed to the "Portuguese", whom Rifians say once occupied the Rif until "our ancestors rose up against them and drove them out, brandishing sickles in their hands".

[114] 79--This is an error of fact, at least in part. Today, the Aith 'Ammarth and the Ibuqquyen have only one market apiece, the former on Mondays and the latter, at Ruwadi, on Sundays; and to my knowledge, except for one women's market which is now defunct, Aith 'Ammarth has always had only one market. Blanco's own market listing, furthermore, brings out this fact: I) Aith Waryaghar--Mondays at Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa; Tuesdays at Dharan n-Dhihlaliyin in the clan of Aith 'Abd Allah (this market no longer functions, having been superseded by the Monday market at Aith Hadhifa); Wednesday at Sidi Bu 'Afif in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ali (also no longer functioning and superseded by a newer market on Saturdays at Imzuren which was set up by the Spanish administration) and at Turirth for the three mountain subclans of Aith Turirth, Aith Timarga and Aith 'Arus; Thursdays at Imrabdhen;

000 and Sundays at Thisar, in the very center of the tribal territory (now held at Thamasind); II) Ibuqquyen--Tuesdays at Izimmuren (now defunct), Wednesdays at Anu in Azghar (now defunct), and Sundays at Ruwadi; III) Ktama (which now has only two markets, Tuesdays at Ktama and Sundays at Iqqawen)--Argiwen in clan of Bni Tmim in Swahil, Makhzin in Ulad 'Abd l-Ghaya, Imaten in Tamsaut, and Bab s-Saqiya in Amzaz (no days of the week are listed, and whether or not any of these markets are the same as the above two we do not know); IV) Aith 'Ammarth--clan of Yinn S'aid Ikhrif--blank; clan of Aith r-Hasayn--Mondays, serving the whole tribe; clan of Ija'unen--blank; clan of Aith 'Abbu-blank.

[114] 80--Aside from the rather far-fetched idea of nomadism, this notion of Blanco's is not unlike one expressed to me by Ernest Gellner (personal communication, Sept. 13, 1960) regarding segment or clan names among various tribes in the Central Atlas: "When a tribe migrates to and/or conquers a new territory, all its forces are required; hence all segments are represented, and hence each segment gets a share in the spoils of the new territory. This means, however, that the old "top segments" now stand for relatively small groups in the new place, and in due course the whole lot of them in the new place come to be known either by the place name and in effect add a new segment, or one of the old top segments comes to cover the lot of them in the new place, so that, locally, the other previous top-level names now move one down relatively to it.....This might be illustrated by Ait 'Atta, Ait Yafalman and Ait Sukhman groups, by comparing inconsistencies in the segmentary naming system from place to place".

[113] 81--Blanco only touches here on the highly interesting and important problem of the respective and complementary roles of genealogy and geography in tribal, clan and segment names in the Rifian area; for a fuller discussion of this subject, see our "Place and Tribal Names among the Arabo-Berbers of Northwestern Morocco: A Preliminary Statistical Analysis", Hesperis, 3e-43 trimestre, 1960, pp. 457-571.

[115] 82--This is an error. Friday is the Muslim day of rest, although not in exactly the same degree that Sunday is among Christians. However, the contrast made by Blanco here is challenging from another point of view: attendance at market on market day seems to be greater, both from an absolute standpoint and from the standpoint of percentage, than attendance at the mosque of the sermon on Fridays.

83--A clan may be either predominantly geographically based, in which case the propinquity of its members overrides what is essentially their non-relationship to each other; or it may be structured in terms of a common patrilineal ancestor, whose name is perpetuated even though the genealogical links which lead to him may be forgotten; or both.

84--Blanco in this sense means qanuns when he refers to customary law. As will be seen in La Ley Rifeña, the fact of whether a single tribe contains a qanun applicable to all of it or whether each clan has in effect its own qanun is largely a function of the size of the tribe in question. Virtually each clan (and in some instances each jma'th of a

000 huge tribe like the Aith Waryaghar possessed its own qanun, whereas a small tribe like the Aith Siddat in the Sanhaja Srir had only one qanun for the lot of them.

[114] 85--The idea which Blanco conveys here, i.e. that the whole Rif is in the last analysis split into two opposed liffs, is completely exaggerated. It is certainly true that each Rifian tribe is split more or less down the middle and contains two hostile factions, which are not always equal in size; but, on the outside, each of these tends to be allied only with that combination of clans in the next tribe which is politically favorable to it. The system thus tends to appear like a series of interlocking concentric circles rather than like a chessboard, as in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, if Montagne, op. cit., 1930, is correct. (More recently, however, some reservations [113] have been recorded by Jacques Berque on the overall validity of Montagne's liff theory: vide J. Berque, Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, pp. 42 sq.) A further difference is the size factor: in the Rif, far larger blocs of man-units are involved in each alliance than in the Western Atlas, though the territory encompassed may in fact be much smaller.

[191] 86--This is true among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, who have a very complex system of election of chiefs, but not for those of the Rif, where headmanship and chieftainship have always been a "dog-eat-dog" proposition, and where a councilmember attended council meetings until he was murdered.

[114] 87--This kind of legal terminology has always been in vogue in French and Spanish monographs and administrative reports about Berbers. To be sure, it describes the situation with reasonable accuracy, but in our view tends to put it far too neatly into a Western conceptual straitjacket.

[114] 88--The fqih has nothing to do with habus property, which was looked [194] after by the mqaddim n-tmzidha or caretaker of the mosque, and ultimately still is, on the local level, although at the provincial level the ndzir l-ahbas or habus administrator, has fulfilled this function since protectorate times.

89--The functions of a talib and those of a fqih are, in the Rif, almost interchangeable; indeed, the plural form of fqih, to most Rifians, is tulba. Technically speaking, a fqih is a teacher in a mosque, while a talib is a sort of post-graduate student, a "seeker after (Koranic) knowledge"; but the experience and abilities of the two are just about the same. Both are called upon to write out charms of all kinds, etc., and both are always addressed by the term Si ("Mr."), followed by their names, e.g. Si Muhammad, Si Mhand, Si 'Ammar, Si Hmid, in recognition of their (relative) literacy in Arabic.

[114] 90--To our knowledge, each man who had them kept his own arms and [346] ammunition in his house. A mosque, after all, is a house of peace, not an arsenal!

623 793 411 421 423 91--The comparison which Blanco makes here of the institution of habus to a rich widow is a challenging one; for after land has been donated to a mosque as habus, the question of who works it is resolved by the nadhir l-ahbas, or habus property administrator, of which there is one, at present, in each province of Morocco (with a central Ministry of Habus in Rabat). He goes to the tribal markets periodically and, through the market crier, auctions it off to the highest bidder, who in turn receives all the harvest for his own use. This system is in vogue at present and was also current during Spanish times. During the "Ripublik", however, in the days before there was a nadhir l-ahbas, the members of the jma'th concerned worked habus land, and, after selling the harvest, used the profits to buy mats for the mosque. Sometimes, also, the jma'th would designate a poor man to work habus land for a fixed share of the field (usually one-fifth or one-fourth), though this was not as common as the preceding arrangement.

000 [114] 92--Blanco is mistaken here, as there was, and still is, only one agricultural-irrigational expert, the aquwwam, whose judgment is generally sought in disputes over irrigation water.

[114] 93--Again in this instance one can detect the influence on Blanco of Robert Montagne, who devotes the whole last third of his book (Montagne, op. cit., 1930) to the "rise to personal power" of the three Grand Qa'ids (the Glawi, the Mtuggi and the Gumtafi) in the Western Atlas, and cites the rise of 'Abd al-Krim in the Rif as a parallel case. Under the French, the Glawi soon eclipsed his two competitors to become a single "Lord of the Western Atlas", as well as Pasha of Marrakesh; while it was the presence of the Spaniards in the Eastern Rif which produced the Rifian "national" leader, 'Abd al-Krim. Montagne's argument for a kind of unidirectional political evolution, from the nameless members of a village council, in the middle and latter half of the 19th century, through to nationally known tribal or regional leaders' through a continuous scramble-for-power process of "top-dog-ism", is a very persuasive one. Whatever objections one may have to it, it is likely to remain the argument for a long time to come--because today, in the 1960's, the facts of the matter have become almost impossible to (re-)check; and the old men who remember such things are now all dead or dying off.

[613] 94--"Government by the few": possibly, if the lineage or clan headman can be so designated. However, each lineage head was in reality little more than a primus inter pares, and anyone who attained clan-wide recognition was just that much more primus. Once again we are faced with how badly the European shoe fits the Berber foot.

95--The Spanish original is absurdo.

96--The jma'th is not just an economic organism or organization, but a group of people, the majority of whom are genealogically related to each other, living together in a hamlet or village which bears its own name and forms a member group in a segmentally organized system of such jma'th-s, all of which belong to a territorial or segmental unit of a higher order. Relationships between member jma'th-s of the same order of segmentation are at once economic, social, political, legal, and religious.

000

[465] 97--The fqih is paid by each nuclear family of the jma'th in barley every year, but he receives absolutely nothing from property in habus.

[251] 98--The office of amarras is nonexistent in the Central Rif, where storehouses, either individual or collective, are unknown, and each man keeps his grain reserves in an underground deposit (thasrafth) in the patio of his house.

[804] [114] 99--In the days of the Republik, a mudd was reckoned at 48 kilos; in Spanish times, 50; and since independence, 56. This puts some doubt on the accuracy of Blanco's figures.

[114] 100--Blanco erroneously thought that collective storehouses once existed in the Rif, and he cites Ajdir and an unnamed place in the Sanhajan tribe of the Bni Hmid as examples; and he also thought that the institution should be revived, as a sort of bank or treasury or center of credit.

101--What Blanco no doubt means to say here is that the notables whose names are written down in this qanun are ipso facto no longer anonymous, and that the first step on the rise to personal power is the shedding off of anonymity.

[114] [562] 102--In Rifian, imqqranen dh-imzzyanen, and in the Arabic of qanuns, "al-kibar wa al-sighar": the terms refer to all the men and youths (or boys) of a given locality. Perhaps this is the root of Blanco's interesting, if in some ways rather questionable, notion of women, who do not have the same status as their menfolk, as minors.

103--The notion of qa'id came in with 'Abd al-Krim, but no Rifian living can remember the day when there was no qadi, even if only matters pertaining to marriage, divorce and land fell under his jurisdiction.

[114] [199] 104--What Blanco probably means to say here is "Arabization" rather than "Islamization"; there is much more than just a subtle distinction between the two, and even during the period of the "Republik", a Rifian would have been mortally offended if anyone did not consider him a good Muslim.

105--Bu-mwarith: an official who takes over in the name of the government the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs.

106--Ukil l-ghuyab: inheritance or property representative for absentees; the man's function is a literal translation of his title.

107--This traditionally given etymology seems highly doubtful, for the Rif at least, and the term should rather read aitarba'in or aitharba'in (sing. utharba'in), which changes the meaning to the far more plausible one of "people of the people".

[114] 108--This seems to be purely an ex post facto explanation on Blanco's part and has no relation to reality. The notion of Ait-arba'in as people of the forty, in which there literally were 40 councilmembers, d o e s e x i s t in some areas (i.e. the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara), but it is unknown in the Rif.

000 109--In the Rif, to our knowledge, there was never a special "market [114] chief", although this office existed in certain parts of the Central Atlas.

[565] 110--The market crier, like the blacksmith and members of certain other occupational groups, occupied a very low rung on the Rifian social ladder, and can in no way be considered as a "tribal functionary".

[533] [534] 111--The imdhiyazen, or professional singers of couplets at weddings and players of the zammar (an instrument with two mouthpieces and two flaring ends, each of which is adorned with a cow's horn), the flute and the tambourine, who invariably come from the tribe of the Ait Tuzin, own no property in their own rights, and double as mule and donkey breeders.

[013] 112--For a detailed account of the dance of the ibarudiyen of the Aith Waryaghar, see Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas, Africa, nos. 55, 46-7, 59-60, Madrid 1946, pp. 315-16, 414-19, and 547-51., as well as our own article, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, pp. 232-37. [648] This dance was stopped by order of 'Abd al-krim during the Rifian War in order to save cartridges, and was afterwards forcibly discontinued because of the post-protectoral prohibition of firearms in the Rif. Our account is only a translation of Blanco's, with comments.

(113--Diagram.)

[114] 114--The social structure of the Aith Waryaghar is indeed complex, and this admission by Blanco is a strange contrast to his earlier diagnosis of it as "rudimentary". Although in all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the other Rifian tribes, it is more intricate because of certain variations between the lineage structure and the territorial system. These variations are expressed in terms of spatial discontinuity between certain subsegments bearing the same names, as hinted at in Section F above; and it is this same discontinuity, virtually non-existent among the other Rifian tribes (and where it does exist, only in embryonic form at the level of the minor and minimal lineages), which is, in fact, one of the central arguments advanced by Blanco in the present section. Our own opinion is that it is intimately linked with the notion of lineage scission.

Among certain transhumants in the Eastern Atlas, notably the Ait 'Atta and Ait Saghrushshan (there are no doubt other well-authenticated examples as well), this kind of discontinuity assumes classic proportions, for it is elevated to the tribal level as well. The fact that it exists among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar, however, leads me to believe that it is not primarily connected with the economic organization under consideration (sedentarism or transhumance), but rather with gradual shifts, over time, of tribal clans.

115--The discontinuity alluded to in note 114 had long been an established fact when 'Abd al-Krim rose to power, and there was no reason for him to attempt to change it through, presumably, any regroupment of jma'ths. Such a change would in any event have been highly artificial, and it seems logical to assume that he was fully aware of this.

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

[646] The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the [648] Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés 562 Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid, [113] May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are for-[171] bidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. 443 Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the 562 Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, 114 they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the 562 men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

443 562 since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

[184] Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'umen), as did the Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have [114] disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. Sánchez Pérez, then, is essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of origin.

000

[103] [133] 117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at 1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. With certain notable [823] exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now [121] in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

000
[114] 118--The jma'th of Isrihan gave its name to a whole subclan. The picture, however, is somewhat more complicated than Blanco would lead us to believe, although he is substantially correct. The founding family of Isrihan was the lineage of Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar, parts of which are not only to be found in Upper Isrihan and in Lower Isrihan, but in Aith Hishim, Aith Wamra, and Azghar, all of which communities are in the lowlands.

The true Isrihan, then, are fairly well spread out over parts of the tribal territory and in some cases they have differentiated themselves by merely tacking the place name of their new location onto their lineage name, e.g. Isrihan n Buham, Isrihan n Aith Qamra. This is of special interest in view of the fact that most of the original land of the Isrihan, on the northern slope of the Jbil Haman, is now occupied by a lineage named Imjawiyen, who claim descent from the clan of Amjau in the tribe of the Aith Sa'id in the Eastern Rif. This lineage, moreover, became numerous and powerful enough so that its members split into two hostile and feuding factions.

[114] 119--Blanco fails to point out that Upper Thamasind belongs to the subclan of Thigarth in the clan of Aith 'Ari, while Lower Thamasind belongs to that of Aith Ughiryizan in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and this fact detracts much weight from his argument here.

120--This, in effect, is the reverse of the principle of segmental discontinuity; and the most striking example in the Rif, on the tribal level, of this kind of heterogeneity, in which virtually every segment or clan claims an origin different from that of the others, is that of the Aith 'Ammarth, whose people say not only was their land uninhabited before their arrival, but that they came from many different tribes to fill it up. Their explanation of their tribal name, Aith 'Ammarth, "people of the filling-up", supports this. An even better example is afforded by the Siksawa or Isiksawn of the Western High Atlas (Berque, op. cit., 1955, passim).

[613] 121--The normal Rifian term for "stranger" is abarrani (from Arabic barrani); kharras is unknown to us. The community of Ajdir is inhabited by the members of three lineages, Aith Mis'aud u Yusif, Aith 'Aru 'Aisa and Aith Zar'a (the last-mentioned being that of 'Abd al-Krim); but there are, in addition, numerous stranger accretions, particularly since pacification, and Ajdir is now the largest single community (almost 5000 persons) in the Aith Waryaghar. It is equally true that if one asks about traditional segmentation, one gets only the three lineages mentioned above, for one's informants will not mention the strangers, whom they consider of little account, unless they are forced to do so. This is a problem which would amply repay careful study.

122--What Blanco means by "having a familial origin" is descent from a common ancestor.

123--Etymology of Aith Ta'rafth,: "the people of the Arabic language". This is a possible lead to the speech of their lineage ancestor, who, according to my own field notes, came not from the Aith Yittuft (two out of three clans of which speak Arabic today) but from Algeria.

000

124--This lineage bears no relationship whatsoever to the jma'th of the same name in the Plain of Alhucemas; the latter, in any case, belongs to another clan, the Aith 'Ari.

125--The following lineages of the Aith Waryaghar are considered to be "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin (and thus Zanatan) by descent:
In Aith 'Adhiya of Aith Bu 'Ayyash: Aith Tizi and Aith Fars in the jma'th of Ighmiren, Isi'arithen in that of Imnudh, and Aith Busta in that of Tazurakhth.
In Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper of Aith Bu 'Ayyas: Aith Wuzghar in the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif.
In Isrihan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari: Ishshuyen in the jma'th of Upper Ixatshumen and Ijarayen in that of Lower Ixatshumen.
Whether they are in fact descended from the Marinids (a dynasty in Morocco, 1213-1465) is problematical. What is sure, however, is that the inhabitants of the City of Nkur, which was destroyed by the Almoravid Yusif ibn Tashfint in 1084, could not possibly have been Marinids.

[114] 126--According to our notes, not only is there no dharfiqth of this name in Tazurakhth, but none of the lineages there are autochthonous, their ancestors all having come from elsewhere.

[196] 127--The term yinn, "those of", is roughly synonymous with aith, "people of:, but Rifians tend to use it only when speaking of lower level segments.

128--The name ibaranen means "partridges" (sing. abaran); the names of all the other small lineages listed here refer to the lineage ancestors.

129--In the Berber dialect of the Central Atlas, aghwilas means "panther" (fem. taghwilast), and the Rifian thaghirasth is a cognate [136] form. There are panthers still to be found in parts of the Central Atlas today, though none in the Rif.

[114] 130--This lineage is not named by Blanco, and our field notes show no record of it.

[114] 131--It would indeed. The question really is: why should any attempt have been made by the administration to reunite two or more related lineage branches after scission had occurred and after they had not only become separated in space but incorporated into new jma'ths? One might almost think that Blanco is looking (in vain, it must be added) for an artificial neatness in the lineage structure of Aith Waryaghar which has no correspondence with any social reality.

132--Although he has obvious misgivings about it, Blanco appears to resign himself, in this passage, to an acceptance of the structural status quo!

[114] 133--"Tributaries" is the wrong word here; "offshoots" would be better.

134--Mutual rights of two related jma'ths certainly include participation in the collection of fines, and in certain cases (according to inheritance) reciprocal rights in property cultivation; but they do not include contributions to the fqih, as each jma'th has its own fiqh.

000
[114] 135--Although he does not couch them in anthropological language, Blanco here elucidates certain principles which are so common to most segmentary systems as to have become anthropological platitudes, since Evans-Pritchard's work among the Nuer. They were not, however, platitudes in 1935, and Blanco's perspicacity in stating them (even if obliquely) should be commended.

[113] 136--For competent discussions on the racial affiliations of the Rifians, see Carleton S. Coon, The Races of Europe, New York: Macmillan, 1939, and Coon, 1951, op. cit., pp. 156-7.

[144] But why should the Rifians be aware of their own racial affiliations well enough to "forget" them? They know they are whites, and they know they are Berbers (the latter example of self-knowledge is particularly well developed at the present day, since the independence of Morocco, and contains definite political overtones); and these facts, to them, are sufficient, genealogies and traditions explaining all the others.

137--Ghis, in Moroccan Arabic, means "mud", and a better name for the river in question could not be found.

138--The sixth "clan" of the Jbil is in reality made up of three subclans which are "brothers" of the members of two of the other five "ancient" clans which Blanco mentions above: Aith Turirth are "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Timarzga are "brothers" of Aith 'Ari (Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari in turn form the two top segments of one major clan, that of Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari--it has no proper name, on this level, of its own), and Aith 'Arus are "brothers" of Aith Hadhifa. These three subclans, being contiguous to each other in the mountain massif of the Jbil Hamam and discontiguous to their larger "clan brothers" mentioned above, formed a single administrative unit under a shaikh during Spanish times.

139--Blanco's recommendation to do away with the khalifa or representative of the qa'id in order to make for greater administrative simplicity was not acted upon by the Spanish authorities.

[622] [184] 140--The office of jari or village headman is one which exists only among the Aith Waryaghar. In all other tribes, the village headman is the mqaddim, who in Aith Waryaghar became the head of the administratively created "sub-fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh. The creation and insertion by the Spaniards of another tribal [648] office-holder on a level between that of village and clan (where no such office-holder had existed previously) was their answer to the greater segmentary intricacy, larger territorial units and greater population of the Aith Waryaghar. And last, but not least, Blanco's division of the total tribal territory into three blocs, each under its own qa'id, and each perforce following territorial rather than segmentary lines (owing to the frequent geographical discontinuity of subsegments), was, in the last analysis, the best and indeed the only way to make for an effective tribal administration.

141--This phrase comes from Hanoteau and Letourneux' famous reference to the Thajm 'aith of Kabylia as "la pierre angulaire de l'edifice berbère".

000 142--This organization, as it turned out, was not applied to other tribes; there was no need for it, for the others do not have the problems of segment discontinuity which the Aith Waryaghar have in such abundance.

[114] 143--This is close, and perhaps it was only prudence or modesty which prevented Blanco from giving the real etymology. Igzinnayen (sing. agzinnai) means "fornicators", and is derived from Arabic zina, "adultery". Their neighbors of the Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth say, in addition, that the Igzinnayen fully live up to their name!

144--This is very true, and it contrasts strangely with the fact that a great many Rifians further north--for all the Rifian tribes except the Igzinnayen are located within the former Spanish Zone of Morocco--speak Spanish. Many, indeed, speak it better than they do Arabic; and if grammatical correctness is often lacking, a considerable fluency of expression and a wide range of vocabulary more than make up for this.

It is probable, furthermore, that as the Igzinnayen are located in the former French Zone, this report of Blanco's is based on contemporary and unpublished French reports rather than on personal fieldwork. The report is dated 1940.

145--The distinction which Blanco makes between Arabic and Rifian speech among the Igzinnayen seems to have little basis in fact, because informants from that tribe have repeatedly said that Rifian speech is the linguistic universal among all their clans; but it is true that a knowledge of Arabic becomes more widespread the further south in the tribal territory that one goes. However, it seems to me that the best linguistic index is what is spoken by the women, rather than by the men--and among the Igzinnayen, one gathers that although most of the men know at least some Arabic (which is seldom the case among the Rifian tribes in the ex-Spanish Zone), the women do not.

[103] 146--Renditions of place (or personal) names generally depend upon how the investigator approaches the matter; and in my own experience, and unless he specifically requests it, what the student will often find himself taking down is the Arabic rather than the Berber version, particularly if he is not familiar with Berber. However, we do not mean to imply by this that Arabic place names are non-existent in the Rif; far from it, and Jbil Hamam is an excellent example. The same applies to tribal and segment names: on the tribal level, for example, the prefix bni is the "official" one, and is employed not only in all administrative reports, but it is also employed with some frequency by the Rifians themselves, although not nearly to the same extent as Berber aith. This is true for certain segments, also: Bni 'Abd Allah, Bni Hadifa, Bni Bu 'Ayyash--but Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari, Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Arus and Aith Turirth, to take examples from the Aith Waryaghar (or Bni Waryaghal) only. In other words, even though some segment names do also, other segment names still retain the prefix aith; and it would be most interesting to know what rules, if any, of linguistic change govern this phenomenon. In this same official usage, the prefix aith or asht has entirely disappeared from segment names in the Aith 'Ammarth (or Bni 'Ammart: Ulad S'aid Ikhlif, Ulad l-Hasain,

000 Ulad 'Abbu and J'auna) and in the Igzinnayen (or Gzinnaya: Bni 'Asim, Bni Yunis, Ulad 'Ali bin 'Aida, Bni Mhammad, Ulad l-Uta, and Imzdurar, of which only the last mentioned retains its Berber name, "mountaineers").

[114] [829] 147--The Branis tribe (Arabic branis, sing. barnus, "burnous") is very probably Berber by descent; but it is, as Blanco notes, entirely Arabic speaking today (as is Igzinnayen's other neighbor, Marnisa), and Rifians consider it "jabalan" rather than as one of their own.

[133] 148--Tizi Usli, "the pass of the bridegroom", is a tribal administration post in the northeastern Igzinnayen, while Azru Aqshar, "bald rock" or "bald mountain", is, at 2010 meters, the highest peak in the Central Rifian area, and is located just north of Tizi Usli, which nestles in its shadow.

[114] 149--Blanco is in error here, for all of Igzinnayen are Rifians, and of Berber origin. Even if they were not, there would in any case be little basis for a (largely artificial) contrast in physical type and/or language and/or institutions; and once again, Blanco is groping with outmoded anthropological theory.

150--As noted, the "Arab-Berber" dichotomy which Blanco draws within Igzinnayen is largely a figment of his imagination. The southern clans of Igzinnayen neither "obeyed" nor "resisted" the Makhzin in pre-Protectorate times, any more than the northern ones or any of the other Rifian tribes did. In fact, aside from Bushta al-Bahdadi's punitive expedition to Ibuqquyen in 1898, the Makhzin tended to leave the Rifians severely alone. Informants say that the sultans Mulay al-Hasan, Mulay 'Abd al-Aziz and Mulay Hafidh all appointed qa'ids and shaikhs in all the Rifian tribes, but such "appointments" were nothing but dahirs which ratified the already existing tribal and clan chiefs. In the Rif, therefore, the notion of "Republik" or siba was essentially characterized by a lack of contact between tribes and central government; and the above-mentioned dahirs merely preserved the status quo.

619 151--Like the Aith Waryaghar, the Igzinnayen are regarded as being divided into either two or five top segments, according to one's informants, although, unlike Aith Waryaghar, the problem of segment discontinuity within the tribe is (virtually) non-existent. The division into two top segments gives us the following: Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth. Asht Bu 'Amar is in turn segmented into Asht Yunis and Asht 'Asim; and the first of these, Asht Yunis, is again segmented into Asht Yunis Proper, Asht 'Aru 'Aisa and Asht Mhand, while the second Asht 'Asim, is divided into Asht 'Asim Proper and Asht Findish. Asht r-Manth is segmented into Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha.

The division into five top segments bypasses the level of the top to give us Asht 'Asim, Asht Yunis, Asht Mhand, Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha; and immediately we note a discrepancy between the two systems. In the first, Asht Mhand is given the status of a subsegment of Asht Yunis, while in the second it is a top-level segment or clan in its own right; and the Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (Aith Waryaghar), who was 'Abd al-Krim's top field commander in the Igzinnayen in 1925-26 and who provided us with the second set of data, told me

619 that in the Igzinnayen, the Asht Mhand were intrusive "fifth wheels" exactly as the Imrabdhen were in the Aith Waryaghar. Coon (op. cit., 619 1931, p. 19), on the other hand, calls them "autochthonous heathen" 114 because of their origin traditions, and this would accord more with the two-segment division above, which assigns them to a firmer position in the total structure (even though elsewhere in the same work, on p. 92, Coon himself endorses a five-fold division). The two-619 segment division, afforded us by the shaikh of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, is probably the more correct one, although the hypothesis of the Qa'id 616 Haddu is attractive from the standpoint of balance and imbalance of 114 liffs, and it is supported indirectly by Blanco's statement in the text that the Asht Mhand came originally from the Mtalsa, which would help explain their later liff affiliations.

The two liffs of the Igzinnayen were those of Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth, with affiliations as above, so that in this tribe, the liff system did not cut across the segmentary system as in Aith Waryaghar, but was, rather, co-extensive with it. Not only this, but it corresponded, in general, to Blanco's notion of "northern" and "southern" liffs, although without the "Berber vs. Arab" overtones which he suggests. It is true, furthermore, that the moiety of Asht Bu 'Amar, which was bigger than that of Asht r-Manth, usually won, although it is theoretically possible, as the Qa'id Haddu implied, that the presence of Asht Mhand in the Asht Bu 'Amar liff may have tipped the balance. However, this is purely speculation, and in any event liff affiliations shifted about the time of World War I or very shortly thereafter, and before the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim: one moiety, consisting of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa only, crystallized around the person of the Hajj Muhand Biqqish of Ikhuwanen (Asht 'Asim), who became the most powerful man in Igzinnayen and who was eventually poisoned by 'Abd al-Krim; and the other, consisting of the rest of the tribe, formed around Si Hmid Ubarshan of Azru (Asht Yunis). It may be noted that this shift in alliances did nothing to restore a balance, and the two liffs remained as asymmetrical as they had done previously.

After the crystallization of this alignment, the neighboring 619 tribes became involved as follows: in favor of Biqqish were the Aith 616 'Ammarth (who were his affines), the Timarzga of the Aith Waryaghar (into whom Biqqish's daughter had married) and thus also classificatory affines), the Iznagen of the Axt Tuzin; and after the death of Qa'id 'Amar Hamidu, half of the Marnisa; and in favor of Si Hmid Ubarshan were the Aith Turirth and Aith 'Arus of the Aith Waryaghar (who were against the Timarzga), the rest of Axt Tuzin, the rest of the Marnisa, Mtalsa, and Branis. And the disequilibrium of forces still held.

[114] Blanco's statement, therefore, that Axt Tuzin helped the "northern" liff (of Asht Bu 'Amar) and that Mtalsa and Branis helped the "southern" liff (of Asht r-Manth) is entirely plausible. The Axt Tuzin are neighbors of the Asht Yunis, while the Mtalsa borders the Asht Mhand, and the Branis are bounded by the Asht r-Udha; and this would explain why all three tribes later came to support the liff of Si Hmid Ubarshan. It should be noted, however, that wars between the Igzinnayen and the Branis were very frequent; and when they occurred, the tendency was for the former to patch up their own differences and gang up on the latter.

000 152--This is true, and as Coon indicates, it is probably a hall-mark of considerable antiquity. See Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 19, for traditions of origin of the clans and subclans of the Igzinnayen, many of which conflict with those given by Blanco below.

153--True; but does this necessitate the employment of value judgments as to physical type and temperament?

154--According to our notes, the Dharwa Haddu are autochthonous to Igzinnayen.

[613] [628] 155--According to Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 105), many people of the dharfiqth of Asht 'Abd r-Mumin in the village of Iharrushen, of Asht 'Asim Proper, went to l-Mta as exiles after their feud with the Asht Tadmuth; the Hajj Biqqish, in fact, was a moving spirit in banishing them, as one of their members shot three of the Asht Tadmuth on the feast day of the 'Aid l-Khir. Perhaps poverty was also a factor in the move to l-Mta of members of other lineages in the Asht 'Asim.

156--Ishillahan: our notes state that their origin traditions are not from Andalusia, but from the Eastern Rifian tribe on the Aith Wurishik, which would accord better with their "Berber" name.

157--Ihadhriyen: our notes say that they have nothing to do with the Jbarna, other than that they are members of the same tribe.

158--Thaghirasth is autochthonous to the Igzinnayen, according to our notes.

159--Asht r-'Arqub: our notes contain no reference to Sidi 'Azzuz, in connection with the lineage.

160--Ikhabbaben: our notes contain no reference, regarding them, to Branis.

161--Asht Hazim: our notes, regarding them, contain no reference to Aith Iznasan.

162--To our knowledge they are all local lineages.

163--The Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are more properly descended from Sidi Ahmad, the son of Sidi Musa bin Mshish, and known as Sidi Hand u Musa. He is buried in Swaiyar, in the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while his father is buried in Jbil 'Alam of Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Aru 'Aisa ('Ali u 'Aisa, or 'Ali bin 'Aisa) himself, the real apex of the lineage, is to be found some 11 generations later than Sidi Hand u Musa on the geneaology of these shurfa, whose authenticity is beyond question and is recognized in the right, which they exercise, to share in the annual proceeds of the box (sunduq) of Mulay Idris in Fez.

It is also said that 'Abd al-Krim was descended from the shurfa Sidi Hand u Musa of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa.

[616] 164--The Asht 'Asim and Imzdurar, each being the strongest representative of its respective liff, almost certainly formed the kernel of such a nucleus; but it seems to us that the Asht Yunis might be substituted for the Asht Marar, which is only a subclan of the Imzdurar.

000
[114]
[311]
165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616]
[578] 173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616]
[619] 175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613]
[616] The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[MK]
[178] 177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

179--Si Hmid died about 1950, and his brother Si Muh, who became shaikh under the French, turned against them in 1955 and became an active campaigner in the Moroccan Army of Liberation. Si Muh n Biqqish was still living in 1961, but held no position of responsibility.

180--She died in 1955. Her husband, Muh n 'Amar nj-Mqaddim, was the kalifa of the qa'id (Haddu n Muh Amzzyan) of the qa'idate of Nkur up until Moroccan independence in April 1956; he holds no position now.

000

J) Note on the Rifian Jma'th (Noticia sobre la Yemáa)

N.B. Undated MSS., probably written 1934-1936, Catalogue No. W1/ñ, Sección Africa, National Library, Madrid.

"An old, confused and nostalgic tribal memory of which so many people are unaware, although they all utilize it and nobody expects it. How does it work, and how can it best be reactivated?"

Organs and Functions:

621 623 1) The jma'th is the association of several lineages (grupos familiares) or dharfiqin toward social ends and objectives. It constitutes the elementary unit of Rifian social structure.[1]

[671] 2) It is personified in the iziddjifen, the headmen of these lineage-groups and their authentic representatives, zealous guardians of Custom (qa'ida), which is often codified into written qanuns established during an agraw or council-meeting.

3) It is visibly manifested in the mosque, the local community and the lands which belong to it, all of which give rise to a spatial discontinuity and elastic boundaries, the origin of not a few quarrels.

4) Objectives: to regulate the coexistence of these (lineage) groups, to watch over them and to administrate their common patrimony.

5) Obligations: these were to attend to communal services and property (prayer,...education, hospitality, external relations, harka, prestations, collective responsibility and distribution of property, lands, irrigation, spoils of war, and fines), with the exception, in theory, of anything relating to personal and possessory status (marriage inheritance).

---

[594] [114] 1--The elementary social unit, in the Rif as elsewhere, is the elementary or nuclear family, and hence Blanco is here, again, in error. A more easily defensible argument might have been a consideration of the jma'th as a kind of elementary political unit.

[621] 6) Means: its own functionaries and the contributions (taxes), in money or in kind, of its members (through profits, donations and fines).

7) Functionaries: are as enumerated below, duly grouped and classified for a primary and synthetic idea:

[623] a) Native and Permanent: the iziddjifen, who comprise the legislative body and whose nearest equivalent in European society would be "councillors in their own right" (concejales por derecho propio).

[646] b) Elective: the aitharbi'in, representatives to the outside world when occasion demands, and their auxiliaries, the aith amzzyan[2], and the trustees or administrators (umana).

c) Contracted: the fqih, for religious services; the mudarris or teacher of the community's small boys in Koranic instruction; the amarras or storehouse (strawstack) guardian in the Eastern Rif; and the amzir or blacksmith.

d) Administrative: the mqaddim ("he who goes in front"), delegate of the Makhzin and linking agent; and the jari ("neighbor"), helper of the former in outlying communities or hamlets.

e) Recompensed: although this category, like the previous one, is not a normal jma'th category (but a Makhzin-created one), the tulba, and the notaries ('adul) and the aquwwam, or expert on matters pertaining to land and irrigation, all belong to it.

8) Mechanism: The jma'th was autonomous regarding all matters internal to it, economic questions as well as all others, and was co-sovereign in external matters, for it took part (as we shall see later) in the adoption of agreements and the carrying out of those accords necessary for the upper-level collectivities (i.e. sociopolitical units), in a way to be indicated later.

2--Possibly Blanco refers here to imzzyanen, "small people", in the same equivocal sense in which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 96) considered the council of the Rifian local community to be made up of teen-age boys, so that they would thus be prepared for governing in adult life. In our own experience, councillors are imgharen and imqqranen, "big men", not imzzyanen or "little ones".

621 [801] This autonomy in the questions which were imposed by the number five[3] rendered necessary an arbitration and a management of resources, and a creation of functionaries, although generally these 000 latter were unpaid. All this created such a solidarity and such benefits, lost today, that one might wonder if it would not be advantageous, in the undeveloped and rural stage in which the Rifians still exist, to resuscitate some of these practices or revitalize those of them whose survival is an indication of the need for them, through their codification in a jma'a statute (author's italics), the transcendency of which seems to us to be basic because it is a matter of foundations and not of retouches on roofs or walls, as we are tired of observing in the copious and unoriginal legislation of both zones of this torn land that is Morocco.

This neglect of the countryside (campo), of which these matters are yet another index, would not be admissible but might be excusable in an industrialized Morocco, but never in a land which, like 121 this one, is essentially agrarian and maritime.[4] Contrary, then, to 621 habitual writings on Morocco, we will venture once again on the humble but complicated paths of Rifian social structure, with a view to analyzing it, and intentionally putting aside that chorus of reciters with a more or less "sharifian" genealogy[5], and proceed to an analysis of the functions of the jma'th.

3--The reference to the number five in this connection is curious: is it supposed to refer, for instance, to the concept of "five fifths"?

[114] 4--Blanco reverses the order of these two adjectives in the original text, but we only need point out that Morocco's maritime vocation makes a very poor second, if that, to its agricultural one.

[114] 5--Why Blanco should manifest this evident prejudice against the holders of holy genealogies is not clear, though possibly because he held such geneaologies to be more "Arab" than "Berber" or "Rifian".

623
621
671

9) The Community Charter: The principal function of the iziddjifen, among the many that fell to them, was to establish the norms of coexistence, the laws by which they had to regulate their social relations, the qanun or the haqq, as they call it, and to which we may refer as the community charter, which comes to be its equivalent.

671

This charter, whose archetypes, of a strong rudimentary beauty, I published in the year (not given: translator's note)[6], show very clearly its formative processes; and the matters which are codified are only those which it is convenient to recall periodically to the group as a whole for whatever the reason needed (neglect, modification or innovation), but not the only rules to be obeyed, for those admitted by Custom and followed in good faith, because of their applicability and convenience for the whole neighborhood, were not written down, as they were known to all and sundry. Thus, codifying them for the knowledge and satisfaction of outsiders would have been a waste of time.

The characteristics of these documents or agreements, which many people see only as simple lists of fines, can be resumed as follows: the drafting of the documents by the tulba, and the specification of the place concerned; those who attend; the reasons for the meeting and what is decided at it, i.e. transgressions, crimes and their penalties and sanctions; to whom this applies; the period of time that the agreement is to be in force; the individuals upon whom its fulfillment is incumbent; the neutral and prestigious personage who acts as mediator; and the saint or amrabit whose protection they invoke and under whose shadow they seek shelter.

6--The reference here is probably to La Ley Rifeña, 1939.

671 If aside from local community questions such as irrigation, hospitality and matters dealing with education, these community charters also deal with "crimes of blood" (delitos de sangre), one may see in them, more than the incumbency of these units (organisms), the necessity of providing for the lack of other upper-level associations which were lacking in this organized anarchy, which, in a happy phrase, may be attributed to those days when social disintegration attenuated the functioning of the upper-level units: clan (fracción) and tribe.

621 623 627 10) Security: Internally, security was guaranteed in normal times by the iziddjifen themselves, through the resolution of any incidents and the clearing up of any disputes which might arise, while in the internal political struggle of its council the popular spirit 623 predominated. This was even more the case when within the council the 613 equilibrium between dharfiqin or agnatic lineages was broken and one 621 lineage came to predominate, as now it was one of its representatives who, in the last analysis, came to achieve the delegation of the permanent executive function of security, under the pompous and strange designation of mqaddim or shaikh[7], who, satisfying his own personal vanity, brought about the envy of the iziddjifen, who were very jealous of their own prerogatives, who were paid in their jobs (sic)[8], and who were opposed to the notion of personal power for which the [671] struggle now began. In this respect the qanun of the jma'th of (Lower) Thamasind (Aith Waryaghar) is of interest.[9]

7--Again Blanco reveals an anti-Arab and a pro-Rifian bias, perhaps: he would obviously have preferred the designation amghar. However, and more to the point: he is also equally aware of the superfluity of such titles in a society as fiercely egalitarian as that of the Rifian tribes.

[114] 8--This was hardly the case: no tribal leaders (to say nothing of mere lineage headmen) in pre-Protectorate Morocco were ever paid in the formal sense of the word. Remuneration came through occasional "perks".

9--Cf. La Ley Rifeña, 1939, Chapter V.

613 621 616 182 This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 701 Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

616 619 The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613 When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

---

[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

721 621 623 was imposed by the tribe or the clan: it was based on distribution amongst the several dharfiqin comprising the jma'th in question, while the place and date where and when they had to present themselves was communicated to them by the leader of the expedition, who also examined cases of exemption and desertion.

Thus, both in theory and in reality, all the operations of recruitment of our European municipalities were incumbent upon the jma'th; while relief and provisions, the personal and complementary obligation of the dharfiqth, were sometimes assumed by the jma'th when the earlier operations failed, as a kind of advance.

721 182 This natural system, alleviating the principal one of a number of onerous chores which are discharged by (military) services in European bureaucracies, permitted the Rifians to give their full attention both to military operations and to politics. It bound all of them together, the front and the rearguard, in a common interest, principally economic, which in lieu of discipline was what reinforced local spirit. The economic interest (the saving of ammunition in combat and sobriety in eating--for the individual had to pay for both out of his own pocket), apart from avoiding not a little dissatisfaction and worry, afforded the harka a high degree of addiction to rapine, given the fact that its members had to live on their own account in enemy territory in order to compensate for the woebegone consignments of the wretched rearguard, justifying through its well-known raids its desire to fill its stomach, the clearest of all its bellicose undertakings. Such that, once the booty was obtained, the harka was dissolved on more than one occasion.

621 423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5)A above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794 793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The re- [423] sources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income.

794 [429] [251] The administration of these properties was the job of a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

427 241 621 When plowing-time arrived, the p[illegible]ny was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

A [See p. 183--Analyst] -190-

427
241
621 person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

621
623 The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's
465 job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets,
793 brooms, small repairs, the
622 storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice
794 given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and im-
623 provements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on
621 the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the
613 various lineage heads.

794
423 From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

423
794 It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus
177 (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

423 interested in doing field research may see. What happened was that the
794 jma'ath, given their natural lack of confidence and their fear of our
177 innocent decrees, disclosed to us a part (of what had happened), re-
[621] serving for themselves exactly what was needed in order to assure themselves, in the worst cases, of the maintenance of worship and the dhamzyidha, the social and religious link.

621 With this estate, with this "bank", the poor jma'ath,
423 in their hazardous existence, were able to save themselves in hard
794 times, either in times of famine or drought, with advances of grain, or in times of violence, with advances of fines, muna-s (food) to harka-s in transit, acquisition of arms and ammunition, etc.

423 With the new centralizing system of a shocking and
794 unanimous complaint, there is no rural mosque which is looked after; the fiscalization of accounts does not have that (degree of) efficiency; and, outside of its bureaucracy, the profits may only be revealed in the ostentatious and less accommodating urban mosques, given that if the latter were nests of preachers, and loafers, and rebels, the former acted as places of asylum, banks, storehouses, councils, clubs and schools. But the worst is that such a procedure mocks the will of the donor and falsifies management of the donation, for the property which the devout and rustic tribesman turned over were destined for lay administration and for the profit of his humble dhamzyidha, and with it for his family and for the small social nucleus within which his life developed. It was not in order to cover up the leaks of the mosque, whether large or small, nor to enlighten any urban mulay, whose surplus resources, religiosity and the prodigality of whose adherents could

423 never be made use of through such modest donations, so exact was the
794 objective for which they were turned over. And today they are obliged to be substituted by new constructions, as already we are finding instances in which the tribesmen are obliged to use part of their communal property in order to cover their minimal religious needs.

The traditional tribesman, a localistic and primitive soul, could never dream that his generous gesture and the fruit of his labor would be converted into utilization for and the beautifying of the vampire city, of that city which he knows only through its derisive attitude toward him and its desire to cheat him.[12]

651 b) Self-Taxation: This category was fulfilled in the jma'th
621 through other classes of property, such as religious (properties), through voluntary contributions and through alms.

The 'ashur (Rif. dha'ashurth) or tithe from the harvests, which was received in kind by another amin (read mqaddim), also a lay (author's italics) tribesman expressly nominated by the jma'th to whom he was responsible, justifying payments and income, and guarding and administering voluntary donations.

651 The respect for and knowledge of these good customs and
648 primary institutions in the Rif has permitted us to utilize such sentiments of solidarity on diverse occasions, without excessive shifts from times of abundance to others of restriction, hence giving them the sensation of our constant solicitude and thus coming to establish in some jma'ath and 'bureaux' (oficinas) the idea of voluntary deposits (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

(648) 12--This paragraph, as well as the preceding one with its reference to the "urban mulay", clearly indicate that Blanco fully shared the prevailing view of the protectoral authorities of both zones of Morocco regarding the administrative wisdom inherent in the separation of Town and Tribe.

000 (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

651 621 The 'ashur, a Koranic tax which was always collected by the Makhzin--even including "rebellious Makhzins" like that of 'Abd al-Krim--continued to be collected by the jma'th in its long periods of "anarchy", which to the jma'th concerned meant, of course, autonomy. From this stems the fact that although the tirtib today is the real Makhzin-imposed tax, the 'ashur, for the Rifian tribes, continues to retain its traditional character both of religious obligation and of application to the jma'th (author's italics), a tax which is accepted with such good grace as to leave the evaluation of how much is to be paid to the conscience of the reductions longed for by any Rifian; and this in just the same way as the tirtib is rejected and regarded as disagreeable. Hence the reform of the tirtib, or better yet, the reform of any system of tribute, might also be advisable with a view to freeing the product from any internal encumbrances.

Hence the voluntary alms (self-taxation) which Rifians call dha'ashurth (tithe), collected in kind (figs, raisins, walnuts, olive oil, barley, etc.) and turned over to the hands of the appropriately elected member of the local community, constituted the beneficial bases with which the jma'th fed its own poor and those in transit, without falling into the prodigalities, with relation to their means, of organizations set up in which there are real contests to be poor, with the result that their mean standard of living was higher than the sober mean of the jma'th, which organizations of this type should not surpass nor equal[13].

13--The allusion here has escaped us: it may possibly refer to some particular institution current in Spain in the 1930s. In any event, this is another of Blanco's tortuously meandering sentences.

871 621 793 c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

621 574 651 The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muna) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the 621 iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare 241 651 reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to [794] be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a 792 794 fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

---

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

792 794 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 178 794 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 621 794 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th, for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits [594] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

423 648 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

---

15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

423 the question have (interventors) had to abandon it unfinished, dis-
648 heartened to see the effort yielding so little result, and contemplat-
ing the manner in which the inventory of such properties had diminished.

Regarding these properties, I was recently told by some
423 Rifians about what happened in their tribal territory when, many years
648 ago, the protectorate authorities decided to plant a piece of communal
124 land in the Eastern Rif with olive trees. The news spread through the
[203] tribe with the usual deformation, and its members became alarmed. Some
of them, including my informant, decided to divide up all properties of
this type which remained to them, for fear of being deprived of them.
Did the Makhzin find out? Did it take any action? Is the news true?
I do not know.

000 The above notwithstanding, a new revision and classifica-
tion with every possible guarantee to allay alarm of this sort, and with
the object of restoring to the rural estates the creation and classifi-
cation of their patrimony, is possible. It is a task requiring effort,
tenacity, urgency and desirability, because if the appeal (which is
made) is not strong and healthy, neither will be the outcome. This
patrimony, or at least a part of it, must be made inalienable, as is
that of the habus. It should be made up of arable lands, fields and
fruit trees at the limit or boundary of the jma'th, with no known
owner, and should also include ghaba lands which are not regularly
worked. All this land, when the seed has arrived, should then be par-
celled out for plowing amonst the members of the jma'th; and some lands
should be earmarked for common plowing in order to obtain the means to
meet the obligations of hospitality, in this way removing the burden

000 from the individual member and, today, to subvention the most urgent needs of worship abandoned by the central authorities.

The Statute of the Jma'th

My long sojourns in tribal territory, at different levels of command, and my stumbling upon the jma'ath, surprised me at first, then made me take a second look, and finally made me appreciate them. The Rifian and the European (Spanish) authorities will find only profit in the observation, reception and revitalization of this institution. Whoever does not know the "play" of the jma'ath or does not utilize it is either building on sand or will become a despot whose alarms will disturb him and whose labors will not survive. I have reflected many times upon how little or nothing would remain, in case of a new revolt against all our improvisations and innocent classifications. No matter how many times the Rifian has declared himself to be in a state of rebellion, he has returned to take refuge in his jma'th with an extraordinary atavism which nothing would indicate has disappeared.[16]

For this reason I believe that any new legislative measure must aim at providing a channel in which the activity of the jma'th can develop, providing these localized political groupings with official status and interesting them in active collaboration (with the administration); and thus might be avoided the fact that they might torpedo the Makhzin's decisions. What is needed is to recognize that they have a personality and, in a word, to strengthen them, instead of ignoring

[669] [648] 16--In view of the events of the Aith Waryaghar rebellion against the central authorities of Independent Morocco in 1958-1959, this is a highly prophetic remark.

them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

such urgent needs: it disorbitized the simple problems of fiscalization, strengthening and (re)orientation of Rifian popular institutions in order to create a cold and foreign bureaucracy and/or, at the very least, to improve the cities by putting up sumptuous buildings or repairing beautiful minarets.[17]

From a communal administrative organization and an essentially lay and effective position--like that of the ahabbas--a complicated religious problem and political weapon has been forged, i.e. the forms and modes have changed completely, to the detriment of the need which they tried to remedy. The administration has passed into the hands of the tulba; the inspection into those of the qudat (pl. of qadi); and the orders for payments into those of nothing less than a Ministry.[18]

In these dazzling reports it is easy to find science per se and the origin, finality and means of acquiring and utilizing these jma'ath properties in the different tribal areas of our (Spanish) zone in its "anarchical" (sic) existence.

I believe, then, that it is not in ways foreign to the Zone nor to those of the Arab authors of treatises where we must look for the light which will illuminate our path, but rather in what we know (empirically) through investigation of Rifian society itself, whose most durable facets are not very different from old Spanish

---

17--The situation which Blanco hints at here, of local community resources in the Rif disappearing in order to add luster to urban mosque-cum-habus situations, is not one which has ever come up in our own experience.

18--Here Blanco complains again about what can only be labeled as "Creeping Arabism", after his earlier remarks about the pernicious influence of "the city" on the Rifian.

customs, with their olive trees as the property of the Virgin of such-and-such a locality, or rather, as habus of the saint's tomb.

Perhaps we are not in tune with the fashion, and perhaps we do not have the approval of the picturesque (sic) nationalist of our (Spanish) Zone; but we will have the satisfaction, integrity and Quixotism (quixotry) of having insured its improvement with a minimum disturbance of its clearest and most efficient popular institutions.

In the same way, in a necessary and new classification of communal properties, it will be logical to advise and endow the jma'ath with supplementary resources and means which would permit them to strengthen their estate, remaking their patrimony and earmarking certain plots of land for planting of trees (repoblacion forestal), for creation and improvement of pasture-lands, a task which in our (Spanish) zone, in spite of the legislation and of recognized efforts on the part of individuals, has, like so many other things, never moved beyond the nominal stage, to move the bones of the Intervenciones with ink and good ideas. This is a stage which, in reality, we may venture to say, without excessive shame, all our work may be found at present; and only with a radical change in procedure and a tenacity of purpose which we do not discern anywhere could such an undertaking be implemented in such refractory means and conditions of efficiency.

Conclusions:

1) Organizing the Jma'th: by giving it a mission and dictating the necessary norms of its composition and function; by restoring to it full administrative autonomy and those other attributes

000 conducive to the best development and progress of the urban nuclei (or rural centers), whose principal diagnostics are herewith enumerated: designation of representatives and their system of assemblies; election of functionaries; prestations.

2) Renovation of its Estate: by reestablishing the patrimony, and by pointing out the sources of normal income and the minimal needs which these must satisfy (worship, donations, hospitality, loans, etc.) and the proportion in which they must contribute to the general responsibilities of this sort within the clan (fraccion), tribe or Zone, and by regulating the fiscalization and administration of such communal resources.

3) Establishing Common Services, the rural and communal plan of which would meet the following requirements:

Agrarian (machinery and installation of same): tractors and plows, manure piles, fruit dryers, grain and olive mills, deposits, storehouses and silos, pasture-lands, fruit tree nurseries, reproduction plots, seed plots, etc.

Hydraulic: dams, water points, wells, irrigation ditches, water passes and small water jumps.

Trees: replanting and conservation.

Social: maintenance and improvement of paths or roads, installation in the jma'th of shelter, dispensary, cemetery, etc.

000 2. LEGAL DECISION PROCEDURE:

(Most of this section is made up of the Introduction, in manuscript form and unpublished, to La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte--Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939)

671 A) Characteristics: (fragmentary):

1) Sources of Customary Law:

a) Voluntary Pacts: agreements or conventions which individuals or kin groups establish among themselves, in writing, toward the attainment of specific ends.

b) Qanuns: tariffs or enumerations of fines for various infractions established by the various social units.

c) Local Custom: in effect, the "national" feeling of equity which may ultimately become fused and intertwined with religious law.

B) Berber Justice, with a Hypothesis on the Survival of Custom: (fragmentary):

671 I think it ridiculous of the Spanish administration in Morocco
177 not to have kept the Rif from contamination by the Shari'a (Muslim religious law), which the French in their zone of Morocco and in Algeria have been able to do, among Berber populations existing in these areas[1]. ...I think that Spain, ultimately, has Arabized the Rifians through an ignorance of customary law[2].

[124] In April 1939, the late Si Hammadi nd-Hajj Sh'aib, of the local community of Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, of the clan of the Imrabdhen in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, told me: "The Shari'a did not intervene

671 in or interfere with our qanuns" (which I have already published) "be-
177 cause this had been so agreed previously. At that time, during the
124 'Ripublik', it only had jurisdiction over matters pertaining to land, marriage and divorce. In the clan of Sidi Yusif (i.e. Imrabdhen), there was always a qadi; but he only had to do with matters relating to property, marriages, divorces and other related items."

671 In my opinion, the survival of custom is clear, and it con-
177 tinues to be so today; and not through any lack of knowledge of Muslim law, either. What I do wonder is whether the Shari'a in the Rif is becoming Berberized, or whether custom is becoming Arabized, which is not the same thing.[3]

C) The Survival of Custom: An Explanation:

The Rifians were not and are not in the least unaware of the existence of the Shari'a, but there are reasons why they have in so many ways become estranged from it and have applied customary or common law, transmitted by tradition and revealed in not a few cases by written documents, through which they have tried many times to establish and to codify it.

A major factor here was the material impossibility, in which the Rifians found themselves, of applying Koranic precepts, owing to the constant state of revolt of the area, even though (author's italics) [175] these were reconcilable with custom...Also, we can by no means assume that throughout the recorded history of the Rif there were no men qualified to interpret the Shari'a, particularly in cities such as Badis and Nakur.[4]

671 To what, then, can we attribute the persistence of custom, to

which the Rifians are deeply attached, and their attempts to codify it, in spite of Islamic law?...We are faced with the hypothesis that in times past their conversion to Islam was not complete, a situation analogous to that prevailing in other Berber-speaking regions. Louis Milliot in 1926 pointed to the survival of Kabyle qanuns in Algeria[5], but in the Rif this is neither the only nor the principal factor, as there was no long period of peace in the Rif, and the lack of this experience gave the Spanish administration the option of recognizing an "area of custom", which in the French Zone was the main reason for the Berber Dahir of 1930.[6]

In the Rif, the main reason for the non-application of Islamic law would seem to lie not so much in the degree of Rifian Islamization but rather in the constant state of revolt of the area, which would have rendered regular and dilatory (sic!) Muslim legal procedure inefficient or inefficacious. The basic question was far more one of the impotence of the Rifians themselves in the face of this problem, rather than one of their incompetence. Under these circumstances, we may imagine that fqih-s, tulba and other religious personnel were forced, in order not to die of hunger, to limit themselves to making amulets and charms for women and to writing up and registering the decisions of the imqqranen, "the Big Ones", the ones who counted. For the same reason, shurfa and imrabdhen were unable to do anything else except resolve conflicts and dictate sentences, which were up to the parties concerned to accept or not, as they wanted. Where, then, could one have found a qadi who, conscious of his duty and a disinterested judge of Muslim law,

000 was capable of facing the wrath of the members of a dharfiqth who thought themselves to have been wronged in a legal decision and who were now blocking his path?

628 443 [671] The Rif is an area of warrior tulba; and the "poetry" of the Rifian Maghrib would have dealt with the firing of shots during the course of a feud or raqba[7] and the blood of victims whose bodies fall into canyons and gorges after sunset; for the qanun of the Tuesday market (now defunct) of the Aith 'Abd Allah clan establishes the validity of the agreement in question from the hours of dawn until dusk, on market day, after which time everyone shelters himself and his animals inside his house as fast as he can; and a guard is mounted with a rifle. The daily and weekly truce is over[7a]. And even in Spanish times, after 628 692 671 [648] the pacification, there is the story of the qadi who did not dare to return home unless accompanied by a pair of armed mkhazni-s[8], who represented the protection of the Makhzin in its most elementary form. And in the mahkama (tribunal building of qa'id or qadi), more than one qadi has been intimidated by exasperated litigants! If such things have happened during Spanish times, threats made during the "Republik" must have been far worse--"I'll hang you from a tree, mmis nj-haram!" or "I wonder what you'd look like without a head, mmis n-dhit!"[9]

671 177 As I see it, the Rifian follows the Shari'a in all instances in which customary law cannot help him, either because it has been forgotten or because in such and such a case it is no longer applied. As he is both a practical man and a believer, there is no reason for the Rifian to deny himself the advantages of the Shari'a, but when, instead of these, he encounters a situation which is prejudicial to him (such as

671 [177] the Muslim ruling on inheritance by women), he finds it more convenient to bypass the Shari'a and invoke custom; for he will always find the means to allay any spiritual lack of scruples he might feel through coating his action with a veneer of pious intent (such as what is in effect a habus in favor of men) or of humanitarianism (such as asylum to divorced women, widow inheritance or sororate[10]), at the same time while he satisfies atavistic impulses.

671 114 It is very difficult to make any sort of rigorous comparison between the Shari'a and Rifian custom, owing to the great lack of data and documents dealing with the latter.[11] I might cite a few notes collected by del Nido[12], and some material of Sidi Ahmad bin Muhammad ar-Rhumi, former Minister of Justice and Chief Qadi of the Spanish Zone; but, then again, I am very doubtful that ar-Rhuni's material refers to the tribes of the Rif--certainly none of his documents are Rifian[13].

671 428 562 171 In matters of inheritance, Rifian custom elevates the condition of women more than the Shari'a does, by matching them with men and therefore by distributing the inheritance in equal parts instead of giving women only one-third (sic); but this is only in theory, and has to do with movable property[14]; in houses and in land, women, in fact, 671 428 562 get nothing. The basis of this distinction is not at all a capricious one, but obeys to the letter the strong Rifian idea which conceptualizes women as minors in age. For this reason they are given, within the house, such work and responsibility as do not require masculine effort or personnel, a fact which becomes apparent if one studies family organization. Work in the fields is a masculine occupation, as is

671 428 562 housebuilding, although here women help, in return for male protection. Women are disregarded here, for in these aspects of movable property, to the formation of which, in the last analysis, they have not ultimately contributed, they receive nothing. On the other hand, in such work as befits their sex, nothing is denied them (even including cereals, for they contribute to the harvest by reaping grain with a sickle and transporting it, on their backs, to the threshing floor.) This notion is linked with the manner of acquiring property through inheritance, purchase or even through force (i.e. blood vengeance)[15]. Property gained in any other way is illegitimate, and as men are the ones who gain it, they have no reason to divide ir or share it with women.

114 113 D) Points Regarding Arabic Work on Anti-Sunna Traits (fragmentary):

I hereby review a work in Arabic by Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Brahim Aqibli Amshali al-Susi[16], dated 1342 A.H. (1923-4 A.D.), and published by al-Fatimi ibn Muhammad al-Shagadi. In this work the author exhorts 114 798 Berbers to give up practices which are irreverent and contrary to the sunna, the Custom of the Prophet, and lists those which are to be condemned, as follows:

798 796 1) Irreverent Customs at the 'Ashura:[17] Carnivals. The author rejects all forms of bonfires, of costume and of representation, i.e. imitating animals, birds, old men and old women, as well as the use of obscene words and the wearing of transparent clothes. I have myself seen all this practiced in the Rif[18]. Regarding the use of bonfires, it seems that in the Rif they are lit up to smoke the trees as a possible disinfectant[19].

798
764 2) Funeral Rites Contrary to Sunna: the funeral chant invoking the name of God which is started up when the body is lifted up to be taken to the cemetery (and this is done in the Rif) is rejected as bad (sic). A man should not place himself facing Mecca during the funeral prayer (at the grave) (sic); nor should the body be oriented in this direction (sic) nor should its shroud be pierced (in the Rif, in Ibuqquyen, a hold is pierced in the nose of the shroud), nor can a stick be nailed perpendicularly to the grave (this is done in the Rif[20]); and the catching...in the act by someone of the body being buried or of the recitation of the hizb[21] of the Koran is like lighting the three lights in agony.[22]

798
[302] 3) Deceits and Frauds in the 'Aid: men should not put henna on
[562] their hands and should not shake hands with women, as this is sinful.
[794] Getting meals in the mosque is very bad, as are petitions (of gifts)
[769] to the imam[23] after the prayer of the 'Aid; and visiting the cemetery on feast days is also bad, as these are days of happiness[23a]. (In the Rif all these practices are observed[24]).

798
585 4) Weddings: It is very bad to mark the doors of the house of either the bride or the groom with blood (this is done in the Rif[25]), and so is firing rifle shots in the bride's room on the day that the marriage is consummated[26]; so is touching the bride's clothing, or helping her mount the mule which is to take her to the groom's house, or helping her alight on arrival, or mounting the same animal behind her and equally bad is someone showing up at the moment of union of the newly married couple or staying so near to them that he can hear them talking. Also, men playing in front of women and women dancing in

front of men[27] are also rejected, as are ululations made by the women on behalf of the groom when he enters the bride's room. (In the Bni Hmid[28], the bride is carried on the shoulders of volunteers to the groom's house; she does not, as elsewhere, ride a mule. In the same tribe, on the first day of the 'Aid, the men, on coming out of the mosque, greet the women, who are waiting for them in a line, one by one;

E) Procedure:

Jural proceedings in the Rif are conducted in front of the jma'th, personalized by several individuals (in one qanun, that of the Imhauren of the Aith 'Ari clan, by a triumvirate) who meet daily[29] in a central location known to all; under a large tree (usually carob or wild olive), at some water point, or in the mosque. Here the men come with the iziddjifen, and the old and sick men, to sit in the sun, to talk, and perhaps to take a siesta.

Procedure is as follows: the plaintiff comes to the area chosen and, in most cases, both contestants present themselves there, each explaining his reasons without, however, coming to the central point. If he is a stranger, boys and villagers accompany him to the site and there they give the reason for his presence. Ordinarily the question is apt to be settled amicably right there, if it is not an important one; but if this is not the case, for example, and if one of the parties does not agree, the proceedings are extended somewhat longer, as he might request an evaluation by a specialist in such matters, or offer to provide witnesses[30] or other modes of proof; and he sets the time--or one of them asks to swear. The jma'th, e.g. all of those men present (not all the men of the village nor even nearly all of them) lets the

695 623 participants speak, and from time to time, whoever wants to (there is no single judge, and all present have the right to question the litigants) barks out a question or a sentence at them, and another, and another, until, when the contestants get tired, fed up, angry or have no more to say, things get excited, as a result of the loaded questions and confused answers; a certainty pervades the air which further emphasizes the responsibility and even the judging members of the jma'th, for some abandon the defense of the man fromtheir dharfiqth or liff as impossible, while others affirm their suspicions. The first judgment is not long in being pronounced, one of the most outstanding persons of the casually organized assembly (or jury) giving it as his opinion on the matter, and the rest adhering to it. In most instances, on seeing his case unanimously judged (in his disfavor), the individual responsible yields. If he does not, new people come into play and voice their opinions. If the matter is important enough to be a case which smacks of jurisprudence,[31] the meeting held the following Friday (in the mosque, prior to the noon prayer) is devoted in part to going over it again and adding up the greatest number of opinions (pro and con)--but not votes--in order to give wider publicity to the agreement and even to take it down in writing if necessary, if so stipulated.

[212] [794] If there is written proof, any talib hesitatingly deciphers the documentary evidence, but the members of the jma'th do not let him take a tr'ck (thus showing the power of the layman over the judge??) other than in a very discreet and impartial manner. Sometimes they agree to submit the matter to an arbiter outside the jma'th, for greater impartiality in the decision. At other times they decide to submit the

695 At other times they decide to submit the
696 resolution to the clan council on the next market day; but when the
623 judgment, which is both swift and free of charge, has been rendered, the individual responsible can only comply with the council's decision; and he must do so not only more than rapidly, but virtually explosively, or be sentenced by his neighbors and his peers. If he resists, his only recourse is to take up arms, as everybody else is now after him, and this in itself obliges him to do so. The proceedings are rapid and gratuitous, as aforestated, except if experts are called upon to intervene; they are given an honorarium, the amount of which is determined by the custom of the tribe in question, and consists of such and such a percentage of the value of the appraised object or the object of the litigation[32].

692 Thus, true jural procedure, for the Rifian, is to render public
695 any offense or injury he has suffered, and to gain adherents to his point of view. First his family or kin group wants to intervene on his behalf, then his social grouping (properly: his lineage), and finally his liff, his last recourse. This multiplies the various contingencies and unsuspected turns the case may take ad infinitum, and tends to render useless any reclamations against an offender who is more powerful than the injured party. The latter may not take any action against him, but will often afterwards wait in ambush for him in order to redress the wrong! It is a procedure which.....awakens manliness and courage.....

[671] A good example of the executive procedure in criminal law is the qanun
[613] between dharfiqin[33].

000 Bshara, or procedure of recuperation[34]. (No text here whatsoever: translator's note.)

695 F) Oaths (fragmentary):[35]

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pretensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has [562] no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a women against her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter[36], where does one find more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and 695 839 the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape[36a] A, A etc., which, if not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

695 [671] [191] Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are 695 623 previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants [613] to[37]. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members of his dharfiqth[38].

695 829 181 Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to

A, [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end
A of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

695 829 [181] the individual, in most cases. It therefore seems natural that the group rather than the individual (contrary to Islamic Law) proclaims its innocence[39].

695 212 [685] Although written proofs are admitted, they are not common, and are always submitted previously to a fqih for his consultation. Also, certain tulba were known to take advantage of their essentially notary function in order to falsify documents (one man even wrote up false Sultan's dahirs, or imperial decrees, and was jailed in Tangier!); and this did not make for any great respect of written proofs in Arabic, a language which in any case the Rifians did not understand. [157] Even today (1935) a Rifian who possesses a document is always looking for people to translate it for him, as he is never satisfied with one man's word and always suspects that the man who drew it up for him either misrepresented him or lied to him. I have known Rifians who went to the French Zone and even to Spain in order to obtain proper interpretations of their personal papers! Only death will separate a Rifian from his r-kwaghadh![40]

695 Conciliation and arbitration are the preferential jural processes in this society, where victory is difficult and defeat is hard; and one is drawn to the idea that what actually takes place is more akin to "horse trading" than to justice, in the European sense of the word.

It seems to me that the collective oath is the Rifian equivalent of the European "word of honor", in its unadulterated sense[41]. It has [619] a social rather than a religious significance, and, in practice, very little ritual; it is carried out in the mosque under the eye of the rival or plaintiff, and of those who were in on the secret, a sufficient action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49 A], and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right
[443] path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[574] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

A, [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

681 Berber criminal law admits the death penalty, pecuniary sanctions (i.e. fines), reprisal (i.e. vengeance), despoliation, confiscation and the taking of hostages; but not maltreatment, confinement, talion[50], Koranic capital punishment[51] or mutilation. I should classify Berber sanctions or penalties as follows:

1) Pecuniary or Monetary Sanctions (fines, despoliation, confiscation of property)
2) Corporal Sanctions (death, plunder, taking of strangers as hostages)
3) Afflicting Moral Sanctions (banishment, adverse publicity)

(1777) It is very probable (sic) that the Rifians knew of other such sanctions reflected in the Kabyle qanums of Algeria (such as the enforced shaving of beards and mustaches, a hirsute face being considered a manly attribute), but the memory of them has not remained (1779) sufficiently clear[52]. It is very doubtful that they would ever have admitted whippings or beatings, or the cutting off of hands and feet for theft, as prescribed in the Koran[53]; for no dharfiqth would ever have allowed one of its members to submit to anything of the sort. Berber custom rejects punishment of this type.

The graded scale of fines is worked up according to the external manifestation of the crime, from its beginnings through its commission, and the coefficient of this scale is both the act and the consequences of the crime in question. But it turns out to be infantile (sic), for the manner in which the crime is committed is sanctioned rather than the basis, or the act itself. Thus, for example, from the time a man threatens to shoot a gun at someone, there is a penalty which increases until the bullet hits his adversary[54].

681 H) Sanctions: Further Notes (fragmentary):

1) Punishment: fine, exile, or death of person responsible, whether an individual or a family group[55].

[671] 2) Gradation: variable, according to stipulations in the various qanuns[56]. Rifian law recognizes the same degree of responsibility in
[672] his accomplices as in the man who actually committed the crime, by assimilating them with his kin group[57].

681 3) Victim: receives no indemnity, except through what he or
613 his kinsmen get as their share of the fine, which is equitably dis-
[571] tributed among all the representatives of the dharfiqin[58], thus appearing more than anything else as a payment for services rendered; and the dharfiqin heads divided it up in the same way among their constituent nubath[59]. Thus, if the Rifian is encumbered with the responsibility of executive power[60] (all are obliged to stand against an aggressor), he still participates in the benefits of such power in a true popular sovereignty, and he never cedes his rights or duties.

000 4) Role of Jma'th in Application of Custom: to influence matters or conceal them, by money, force or politicking behind the scenes. Agrau or assembly of the aitarba'in; assessors and arbiters (tulba, shurfa and imrabdhen); role of liffs (aid to their liff-mates in payment of fines, etc.) (This subsection is completely fragmentary.)

682 In summation, three kinds of offenses were punished:
683 1) murder and woundings, with corresponding fines, and vengeance;

683 2) abuse of women (if voluntary on their part, each party had to
684 pay 50 duros, and if it was purely and simply rape, the guilty man paid 50 duros);

685 3) theft, with corresponding fines, and even one of the thief's kinsmen putting out his eyes[61].

673 671 If there are certain crimes, known to all and carrying with them sanctions also known to all, which do not (translator's italics) appear in the qanuns (such as bestiality[52^A], etc.), they are kept out purposely because of the shame, the hashuma, of those who formulate the decrees. In other instances (such as certain misdemeanors having to do with agriculture and fields), they are kept out because their inclusion is difficult and they are also sufficiently well known to and by all concerned so that they do not need to be put in. In still other cases, they are kept out because they are questions of custom which require consultation with men of laws or arbiters. Finally, these are all misdemeanors the nature of which, in one way or another, is inadequate to be put before the public in special announcements by market criers.

I) Miscellaneous Data on Fines for Lesser Offenses:

1) Among the Ibuqquyen:

224 a) Hunting[63]: Saturday is the day for hunting (rayāh or [689] thingimarth)[64]. Whoever does not attend pays a 5-peseta fine[65], and altercations during hunting are punished by a fine or by giving a meal to the other hunters. Animals killed do not belong to the man who kills [685] them but to the man who finds them[66]. Damages to cultivated lands are paid for by those who caused them. If it is not known who was responsible, the fine is divided up among all the hunters[67]. Any birds or eggs which are found by one of the hunters during the hunt are divided up [425] amongst them all. Any other objects found which are obviously lost articles of a third party are returned to their owners.

A [This should read "62" not "52"--Analyst]

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of action of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 684 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 695 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 793 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 231 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

000 does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

684 f) Anyone who commits an act of bestiality must pay for the fodder of the assaulted animal for one day; and among the Aith Waryaghar, he must pay for its packsaddle as well as a 50-peseta fine, and he is cursed by the market crier in the market[74].....

2) Among the Aith 'Ammarth:

685 a) A blacksmith of....asked the qadi for a room to live in. It was given him, and in it he raised chickens, which began to eat the qadi's barley. The qadi claimed compensation from him, saying that he had to kill the chickens and leave the house. He refused to do so, 685 692 and made a reclamation to the shaikh, who said he was in the right. Then a member of the qadi's family poisoned all the chickens, and the blacksmith complained to the mqaddim. The jma'th, as a result, met in the mosque and fined the qadi 18 duros, of which the blacksmith received only two or three.

582 b) In the village of Aith Finathen, clan of Aith r-Hasayin, one 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, a rich man, married his daughter to Muhammadi n Si Siddiq nd-Hajj Sriman, a poor man and one of his agnates (i.e. his 682 [619] brother's son), in order to keep him as a servant[75]. The young man eventually killed his uncle. The tribal council was convoked, and its members punished the dead man's sons by imposing a 6000-peseta fine on them; and they in turn killed Muhammadi and paid another fine....During 662 623 his lifetime, 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, as well as his five brothers, had on various occasions paid 400 duros to the jma'th to excuse themselves from participation in tribal wars.

661 c) A poor man made a goatherd of one of his younger in-laws,

661 and made him pasture the few goats he had. The jma'th or its mqaddim needed money, and so one day they called him up and fined him 65 duros, accusing his mother of incest and saying that if he did not pay up, they would tell the rest of the tribe and it would cost him more. The boy ran away, out of shame.

428 429 685 d) Muhammad Hmidu n 'Abd Allah of Aith Finathen, on the death of his father, was brought up by his grandmother, and when she died, by his cousins, who periodically fed and clothed him in return for his acting as a goatherd for them. They kept and divided up his inheritance in land from his father, and did not give it back to him, in spite of the constant excitement of the qa'id over the matter[76].

J. Responsibility:

672 [671] Collective responsibility as reflected in the qanuns is an amplification of responsibility to one's kin group and even...to the same social ties as those of other tribes (sic)[77]; this forces one's fellow tribesmen to comply with the duty of rectifying an injury or damage caused by one of their own people. It is an instinctive and necessary means of defense, and is done so that crimes will not go unpunished. This is all a consequence of the rudimentary social organization of the Rifians, of the difficulty of inquiry, of the lack of repressive organs[78] and of impartial and dispassionate individuals, such as judges. When independent states multiply and the extension of each one of them diminishes, such factors as the above make extradition (sic) more difficult and impunity more easy; and, for this reason, a group attribute is the obligation to educate (i.e. enculturate) and answer for its components. Thus, when the group publicly claims that

672 it will not answer for the individual, it remains exempt from the responsibilities and aspersions which might fall upon it....A freedom or state of tranquillity (i.e. truce or even peace) which the group could thus regain at such a high price as the public denial of one of its members was only undertaken when there was good reason for doing so (i.e. when a group feared the very certain reprisals of powerful families) and when the inconveniences were greater than the advantages.

Thus it is not the individual alone who is responsible for his acts; for his family, then his jma'th and in the last analysis his tribe will back him up. There is always someone responsible for
[681] every crime. He never remains unpunished, nor does the penalty imposed
[671] upon him lapse, even after many years. Rifian law is not charitable and it does not beg. It punishes, but it does not pardon; it exacts, but it does not implore. Thus there is an individual responsibility with a complementary and collective one behind it.

672 671 Does this responsibility, then, extend equally to all those who participate in a reprehensible act? No. There is, furthermore, the group (author's italics) exception already mentioned, when a group, by public announcement, rejects what could happen to it in the course of a punishable action committed by one of its members, attenuated by considerations of minority (i.e. if committed by a child or a woman), physical abnormality (if committed by a crazy person or an idiot), origin (if committed by a stranger), day or even hour of commission (see the qanun of the Aith 'Abd Allah, La Ley Rifeña, pp. 45-51), and it is exaggerated if committed at night (as in the qanun of Thmasind, La Ley Rifeña, pp. 37-44), by a stranger or infidel. There is also

671 an exemption for homicide in defense of one's property (as in the qanun
[672] of Lower Thmasind).

It is not possible to think of a minute dosification of laws of great instability which were usually worked out as a response to a pressing need at a pressing time and which would in turn be negated or destroyed through the rise of new chiefs. For this reason, an isolated and superficial examination of the qanuns says little and induces error. They are not simple and incomplete tabulations of fines. Rather, they are the codification of Rifian custom, graphically worked out only for variable matters and not for permanent ones, such as personal law with its concomitant regulations regarding inheritance, etc. They are rules of coexistence which were formulated as events demanded, and not (translator's italics) with long-term ends in view. But even though they are embryonic, they are useful.

The qanun of the Aith 'Abd Allah distinguishes between doers and accomplices[79].

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--With varying degrees of success, most so in the Middle and Central Atlas, and least so in the Sus and Anti-Atlas. The inclusion of the Algerian Kabyles and Shawdya of the Auras in this connection invites other problems.

[114] 2--Blanco is mistaken here, for the Arabization of the Rif was the work not of Spain but of 'Abd al-Krim; and in view of this paramount fact, his plea for a return to a hypothetical state of "pure customary law", however eloquently expressed it may be, seems passe and academic.

[113] 3--Hardly. In any case, this is a more difficult and delicate problem than meets the eye, although even on an a priori basis it seems reasonably safe to assume that the Arabization of custom is the commoner of the two phenomena. However, for a documented example of Berberization of the Shari'a, see S. Biarnay, "Un Cas de Regression vers la Coutume Berbère chez une Tribu Arabe: Wadras", Archives Berbères, vol. I no. 4, 1916, pp. 219-229. Wadras is an Arabic-speaking tribe, but one of indisputably Berber origin, in the Northwestern Jbala, between Tangier and Tetuan.

671 199 195 113 4--Most of the existing accounts of the political history of these cities, insofar as it is known, are based on Ibn Khaldun, Histoire des Berbères, translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris 1925-56. See E. Michaux-Bellaire, Le Rif, Paris 1925; Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 22-36; Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos Sobre Ciudades Rifeñas", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el curso de Interventores, 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47, and, for a synopsis account of Nakur only, Angelo Ghirelli, Pueblos Arabes y Pueblos Arabizados, vol. II--Pueblos Arabizados, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, pp. 142-45. These last accounts have little 195 to add to Ibn Khaldun, although Sánchez Pérez was correctly able to locate the now entirely buried ruins of the city of Nakur within the village limits of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya within the clan territory of Aith Bu 'Ayyash in the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, on the west bank of the Nakur River some 25 km. from Alhucemas. This is [113] confirmed by a subsequent report of Ahmed el Mekinasi, in Tamuda, Año VII, Semestre II, 1959, pp. 156-8.

The city of Nakur, in fact, has the distinction of housing the first Muslim dynasty (even though on a local level only) in Morocco, as it was founded in 726 A.D. by an Arab from the Yemen, Salih ibn Mansur al-Himyari. Despite being sacked on two separate occasions (once by Norman pirates in 859-60, and again in 929-30 by Musa ibn Abi l-'Afya), Salih's descendants continued to hold, govern and rebuild the city aided and abetted by the Umayyads in Spain, until a complete sacking by the Almoravid sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfint in 1084 ended its career forever. Between this point and the end of the 19th century, the history of the Rif is an almost complete blank, and the chances of any documentary material in Arabic turning up to bridge the gap in any way are remote.

[131] Two points of general interest, however, emerge from ibn Khaldun's material (which dates from the 14th century and is in turn largely

175 [131] taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that 192 their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

000 [113] 5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably L. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hespéris, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in [114] the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. [196] The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

[784] 7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is [682] harim; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally [198] "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.

000 [128] 10--Blanco does not, in fact, employ the terms "levirate" and "sororate", and here I confess to having taken liberties with the text; but his meaning is abundantly clear. To readers who want refresher definitions, levirate refers to the practice of a man marrying the widow of his brother (as Coon has pointed out, in the Rif this is usually a junior levirate, meaning that the brother who does the marrying is generally a younger brother), while sororate refers to the practice of a man marrying his deceased wife's sister.

[113] 11--This is indeed true, and the only published work thus far specifically dealing with any aspect or aspects of Rifian custom, aside from Blanco's own La Ley Rifeña, is José Maria Peniagua, "Notas Sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif", Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos, no. 4, Madrid 1948, pp. 7-44 and ditto, La Prescripción y el Retracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. Paniagua's work, particularly the last-mentioned monograph, deals with problems which seem to be almost entirely constructs of a European legal mind, and have no basis in social reality; and such work cannot be considered serious contributions to the study of Berber jural systems.

12--We cannot identify the work to which Blanco refers here.

13--The only work of Sidi Ahmad ar-Rhuni which we know is the Spanish translation of his Historia de Tetuan, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, and this contains no allusions whatever, even remote ones, to Rifian custom.

671 428 171 114 562 14--This is not so. Under Shari'a regulations, women receive one-half of what men receive, in inheritance, and this is the case for both movable and real property. Granted, of course, that the point in the Rif is largely theoretical and that women in fact, as Blanco points out, generally get nothing (particularly insofar as real property is concerned), it still seems appropriate to correct this error. In any case, we have never heard of any customary variation of normal Shari'a usage, which would allot to women one-third of movable property; and neither have any of my informants. It is one-half in theory, and, as a rule, nothing in practice.

671 428 171 562 Besides the current practice of a woman's father or brothers appropriating, in effect, her share of the patrimony on her marriage (in order to keep it in family hands and to keep in-laws out), there is a second institution which reinforces the notion that women do not inherit. If a man dies leaving only his widow and a daughter or daughters (no sons), his r-waratha (sing. awrith) or remaining agnates stand to inherit, which they would not do even if he had only one son. According to Shari'a regulations, the man's widow gets one-eighth, and then, if he has only one daughter, the rest of the property is divided in half, the daughter getting one-half and the r-waratha getting the other. If, on the other hand, he has more than one daughter, the rest of the property is divided up into three parts, the daughters getting one and the r-waratha getting one. However, even if there is a son or not, certain r-waratha (e.g. mmis n 'azizi, pl. dharwa n 'azizi, father's brother's son), but not others (e.g. uma, pl. aithma, brother, and

671 'azizi, pl. aith 'azizi, father's brother), marry the daughter or
428 daughters in question. The result is, of course, that if they do so,
they wind up with the daughters' share in any case. However, although
171 father's brother's daughter marriage does occur in the Rif, it is not
562 the rule, and this is because the institution of shuf 'ath (called
shafa'a by Berbers in the Central Atlas, and referring to agnates prior-
ity rights over both land and women, especially fathers' brothers'
daughters) in the Rif applies to land only and not to women. Indeed,
(582) there is no single form of preferential marriage, and most people be-
lieve in marrying "further away" than their parallel cousins. As, on
the other hand, parallel cousin marriage is the norm in the Central
Atlas, the same institution there (where r-waratha are termed imkusa)
is more effective in depriving women of their share than it is in the
Rif, where conditions per se in the latter area are considerably less
favorable to such deprivation. The crux of the matter, perhaps, is
this: that the property of a man who leaves no sons, despite what
other heirs or offspring he may have, is always divided up among these
heirs (and here, in practice, is where daughters tend to be left in
the cold, even though informants invariably say that they get their
part), while on the other hand, if there is a single surviving son,
no matter if he is a tiny baby, the patrimony stays pro indiviso.

000 15--What Blanco seems to be getting at here is that men rather than
women inherit and purchase property, or acquire it by right of con-
quest, and that therefore property and its administration rests ex-
clusively in male hands. The contrast is effective, because such
movable property which is involved in the work and everyday tasks of
women (i.e. pottery, chickens, eggs, etc.) does belong to them, and
is not touched by men. Men, for example, may perfectly easily sell
chickens or eggs in the market, and they often do so; but they in-
variably turn the proceeds over to their wives, who have stayed away
from the market as good women should (although they may go to the
women's market two days later) and because of this have asked their
husbands to do these things for them.

16--From his name, a Berber himself, possibly from the Sus (as his
final sobriquet would suggest), but more likely from the Ilimshan
subclan of the southern Ait 'Atta, the so-called 'Iqibliyen" of the
southern slope of the Central Atlas. These facts are indicated in the
first and second point-of-origin designations Aqibli Amshali, the
last mentioned probably being a metathesis of Alimshi, an Arabized
singular form of Ilimshan.

17--The 'ashura refers to the 10th day of the first month of the Muslim
year, Muharram (itself called 1-'Ashur in Morocco), and commemorates
the martyrdom of the Prophet's two grandsons, Hasan and Husayn. It is
also, in Morocco, the day when almsgiving (zakah or 'ashur) to the poor
is legally enjoined; this act is, indeed, along with the profession of
faith (Ashhadu an la ilaha illa 'llah wa Muhammad al-rasuluY'llah,
"I testify that there is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger
of God"), prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan,
and the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five arkan al-din, "pillars of
religion", or qawa'id al-Islam, "customs of Islam".

000 18--These carnivals are impromptu affairs put on particular feast days ('Ansra, 'Aid l-Kbir, but not on 'Ashura as far as we know) by the people themselves, who are given the name ishwiyikhen when they dress up. A full description may be found in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 152-4. Such carnivals still occur among the Igzinnayen, and possibly among the [114] Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman as well, but are (and were) unknown among the Aith Waryaghar, contrary to Coon's statement regarding their distribution.

[755] 19--The lighting of bonfires was practiced all over the Rif on the day of the 'Ansra, or summer solstice festival, on June 24 (Julian, or agricultural, calendar); women and children used to jump over these fires to cure themselves of any ills. The custom was, however, looked on very much askance, if not actually outlawed, by 'Abd al-Krim; and no one indulges in it today, although it seems that the mountaineers of the subclan of Timarzga in the Aith Waryaghar followed it as late as 1950.

[114] 20--The shroud of a corpse is not pierced in any way in the Rif, nor is a stick nailed perpendicularly to the grave. Perhaps what is meant in the latter instance is the Rifian practice of placing the footstone of a woman's grave perpendicular to the headstone, to differentiate it from a man's grave, in which both stones are parallel to each other.

21--A Hizb, pl. hizib, is one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran.

[796] 22--In the muslim year, there are two feasts called 'aid: the 'Aid s-Sghir, or "Little Feast", which occurs just after Ramadan, and the 'Aid l-Kbir, or "Big Feast", on the 8th through 10th days of the last month of the year, the Dhu l-Hijja. It is to the 'Aid l-Kbir that the [788] text refers here. These three days are those when pilgrims at Mecca [782] undergo the rites of pilgrimage, and when Muslims all over Islam must sacrifice a sheep in commemoration of the sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

23--An imam is a prayer leader in the mosque, who stands before the congregation.

[796] 23a--On the day before 'Aid l-Kbir (i.e. day of 'Arafa), women visit cemeteries and take food with them, which they eat there, while the men go to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar (an amrabidh of Algerian origin, from Tlemcen, who is buried in Bu Ma'dhan, in the subclan of Timarzga, at the highest point--1930 meters--in the whole tribe of the Aith Waryaghar). While there, they watch the litany and ritual of the religious brotherhood of the 'Alawiyin, after which they distribute alms to the tulba (who attend in droves), pray en masse, and go home to sacrifice their sheep the following day (the 'Aid l-Kbir proper) in the bosoms of their families. See our article, "An 'Imarah in the Central Rif: the annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar", Tamuda, Año V, Semestre II, 1957, pp. 239-245; my report is based on field notes taken at the ceremony itself in 1955.

[114] 24--This is not so. Women visit cemeteries on feast days, but that is all.

25--It is not.

000 26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event, [178] as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish adminis- [656] tration, people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the last 30 years or more.

[562] 27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

[535] 28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two [114] tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala, the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first. As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator, it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

[685] 32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch belonging to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanum in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

[648] The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan administration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

[113] Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.

008
[114] 37--The jma'th, contrary to Blanco's statement, had absolutely nothing to do with the selection of cojurors by a man accused of a crime. He selected them himself, among his agnates, and if he did not have enough to fill the full complement, he got the remainder from that neighboring dharfiqth which was most closely related, patrilaterally, to his own.

695
[114] 38--The accused always chose his own cojurors, and here Blanco has made a serious error. An even more serious error, and one which appears to us almost classic among French writers on the subject, is a persistent tendency to confuse cojurors (izudjen or yuxshin n rimin) with witnesses (rshuhudh). The distinction between the two should be obvious to anyone, but apparently it has not been: if there is a witness or witnesses to any crime (and the Shari'a states that there must be either 12 ordinary witnesses or 2 'udul or notaries public, the testimony of one 'adl being worth that of six ordinary men), there is, ipso facto, no oath; for the accusatory testimony of witnesses always (quite naturally) overrides the denials of the accused and his cojurors. Furthermore, though the number of witnesses and the number of cojurors (in a murder case) are exactly the same, there is another paramount difference between these two categories of persons, wholly aside from the fact that the function of the ones is to accuse and that of the others is to deny: witnesses had to come from a different lineage or different lineages from that of the accused, while the cojurors of the latter were his agnates and thus his fellow lineage mates, aithmas, "his brothers", or aith 'azizi, or ibin 'azizithen, "the people or sons of his paternal uncles". The fact that the same number of individuals, twelve, was needed in each case may or may not have been fortuitous; but, in any event, it seems of entirely secondary importance.

A summary recapitulation of collective oaths (thzaddjith or rimin) as practiced among the tribes of the Central Rif will not be out of
[692] place. First of all, if one man accused another of any crime or misdemeanor, and the accused man denied it, they both agreed to go to their cantonal or Friday mosque, or any other mosque named by the plaintiff (izidjith), on the following Friday before the noon prayer so that the accused (izudj or yuxshar n rimin) could take oath. The plaintiff, furthermore, stipulated how many cojurors the accused should bring with him.

It appears that the number of cojurors was almost always either six (the accused himself plus five agnates) or twelve (the accused himself plus eleven agnates), the former amount of men being required in less important matters, such as theft of irrigation water or of livestock, or damage to the accuser's property, and the latter in cases of murder,
[114] as aforementioned. (When Blanco says five and ten, respectively, he is in error as to the exact amount, but correct regarding the proportion and the doubled number in suspected homicides.) Twelve was ordinarily the maximum number of cojurors, and murder the maximum offense necessitating this number, among the members of one tribe; but if an oath involved members of two different tribes, over matters such as large scale land disputes involving tribal boundaries, or intertribal murder cases, the number of cojurors which the accused had to bring was elevated to fifty (the defendant plus forty-nine agnates or fellow clansmen or tribesmen, the latter being far more ready to help out one of their own men in an extra-tribal crisis than in an intra-clan or even an intra-

695 tribal one). To be able to swear, a cojuror had to be old enough to fast during Ramadan (i.e. to have attained puberty); and women did not swear.

The plaintiff had to be present at the mosque (and each tribe or clan generally had at least one mosque at which it was customary to take oath) when the accused and his cojurors arrived. When the latter arrived, they removed their footgear and weapons, as the plaintiff had [793] done before them. Then the fqih of the mosque asked them what they were going to swear; they told him; and he made each one of them repeat it on the mushaf (Koran) after saying the oath formula "Bi-llahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa!" (With God, of whom there is none other than He), the accused swearing first. The accused placed his right hand on the mushaf while taking oath, and each of his cojurors, in turn, did the same.

There were, however, instances in which the mushaf was not employed as a vehicle for swearing; and some say that these instances were more the rule than the exception, and that in them the oath formula was restricted to "Bi-llah" (With God) only. Others deride the practice and 695 say that it was followed only by "ignorant people"; but, even so, the 184 mere fact of its existence tends to place Rifian oaths at more or less 171 of a midpoint between those in the Sus and Western Atlas, where the mushaf was always, without exception, employed, and those of the Middle and Central Atlases, where it was completely unheard of. It is in the latter areas that Berber oaths in Morocco reached their greatest purity and complexity. However, it should be said that in the Rif, unlike the Central Atlas region, the fqih, if the need demanded, repeated the oath as many times as was necessary for all the cojurors to understand it and say it after him; whereas in the Central Atlas, a different official, the anahkam, only repeated it once (the formula there was, in addition, more complicated than the Rifian one), and if any cojuror tripped up over it or got it wrong, the oath was broken; and the same applied if any of a group of assembled bystanders, whose function it was, in effect, to heckle the cojurors, succeeded in making him falter or stumble over the words, by yelling "'Auh! 'Auh! 'Auh!" (In the Rif, there was no such heckling, even though oaths, for obvious reasons, had to be taken publicly.) A further distinction was that in the Central Atlas, all important oaths were taken not at mosques, but at saints' tombs. There were many other differences in detail as well, such as number of cojurors required for various offenses and in the ramifications of the question of who pays in the event that some cojurors were either recusant or missing; but finally, and perhaps most relevant of all, the oath system in the Rif, encompassing fewer tribes and far less territory than in the Atlas, showed a far greater tribe-to-tribe uniformity.

695 To return now to the oath itself: after it was taken, the fqih, 793 who had witnessed it, drew up a document (tibriyith, "letter") in 212 Arabic certifying that the defendant, whom he named, had sworn on such and such a date to the effect that he had not committed such and such a crime: he (the fqih) then appended the names of the latter's cojurors, as well as that of the plaintiff. Finally, he gave this document to the defendant so that the latter could produce written evidence of his innocence.

695 [784] It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if [184] [191] one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 [114] 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] [181] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

[191] [577] [114] 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an amghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

000

[114] 43--There are several errors here. First of all, the oath formula is not as Blanco gives it at all, but Billahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa, as discussed in note 50. Secondly, this is the recognized formula for oaths as given in the Shari'a, and as such, the Arab formula as well. Thirdly, although it is quite true that oaths are as important among Arabs as they are among Berbers, the Prophet Muhammad, in effect, "decollectivized" them among his Hijazi constituents much as 'Abd al-Krim did among Rifians--for the collective oath, far from being an exclusively "Berber" institution, was current in pre-Islamic Arabia. Blanco fails to distinguish between the singular character of the Shari'a oath and the plural character of the oaths of certain nominally Muslim societies whom the Shari'a, in some respects, has not quite reached.

44--This is in no way remarkable, for it is up to the plaintiff not only to demand that the accused take oath, but to stipulate when, where and with how many of his agnates.

45--Men certainly swear during the day, in fact on Fridays just before noon; but women did not swear during the 'Ripublik', although today they may do so. However, they must do so not at night but during the day, and at home, not in the mosque, although their oaths, like those of men, must be made on the mushaf.

[463] 46--A Jew accused of a crime against a Muslim or against a coreligionist was, indeed, forced to walk around the market with a packsaddle on his back, and to swear in this fashion, for packsaddle-making and silversmithing are the two traditional occupations of Jews in northern Morocco; but he took the oath itself in the synagogue.

47--There were no jails in the Rif until 'Abd al-Krim introduced them; he had three, at Ajdir, at Aith Qamra and at Thmasind, all in the Aith Waryaghar.

48--The Koranic sirat al-mustaqim, as given in the Surat al-Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Muslim Book.

[178] 49--This is true, but not quite for the reasons given. Women in the Aith Waryaghar have their own markets in order to keep them secluded from strange men and because it is shameful for them, and indeed forbidden (although this is beginning to break down today) for them to [165] enter ordinary markets. The same goes for their "feasts": they visit saints' tombs and cemeteries on Sundays, as a rule, when they know no men will be there.

[114] 50--This is a contradiction in terms. If Berber law admits bloodvengeance (which is in any case excessively common in the Rif), why does it not admit talion?

[114] 51--Again, a contradiction in terms. If the death penalty is admitted, as Blanco says, why not capital punishment? In actual fact, although murder and feuding were the rule, the death penalty per se was rare: the only instance I can think of (outside of cases in which it was inflicted by 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War, and administered by his huffadh or personal bodyguard, who tied the offender backwards on a donkey, paraded him around the market three times while the crier made his crime public, and then stood him up against the wall and shot him) is that in which a man kills another in a market and is caught by the

000 latter's kinsmen before he can get away. Even in this case, the killer could generally get off if he were able to pay a 2000-duro fine (rhaqq) to the imgharen on the spot, if he was lucky enough to be caught by them and not by his victim's agnates.

[114] [464] [467] 52--Why should the Rifians have been acquainted with the qanuns of the Algerian Kabyles? Granted that Rifian labor migration to Algeria, prior to 1955, was very extensive, it must be remembered that Rifians went to the plains and vineyards of western Algeria (not to Kabylia) to work and send remittances to their families, not to compare notes with their fellow Berbers in Kabylia!

53--This is entirely true, though we know of one case in which, in 1926, after 'Abd al-Krim's defeat, a man from one of the mountain clans of Aith Waryaghar was beaten to death, by order of a lowland qaid from the same tribe, for refusing to hand two rifles in his possession over to the Spaniards.

[171] 54--In the Central Atlas, half ddiyit (blood money to victim's agnates) is paid by a man for shooting at someone else and missing him, but full ddiyit for taking aim and not shooting (E. Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship", Philosophy of Science, vol. 27, no. 2, 1960, pp. 187-204.) In other words, what is punished is the intent to kill, and on this subject Blanco has some interesting remarks to make in the chapter on the qanuns of Dhmasind and of Aith 'Abd Allah in La Ley Rifeña (pp. 41-3, 47, 50). In the Rif, however, this is manifested in a different way under different circumstances: ddiyith is paid to the victim's family, under normal conditions, by the killer, who must also pay rqisas to the victim himself in case of wounding. The amount of the ddiyith is anything up to 1200 duros, while that of the rqisas, depends on the nature of the wound. However, there is no question at all of either ddiyith or rqisas being paid if the intended victim has not been harmed. This is the case if the attempted murder has taken place outside the market; but if it has taken place on market day and within the market (even though there is again an exemption from ddiyith and rqisas) the rhaqq or market fine must be paid in full (2000 duros) to the imgharen, because the would-be assassin is an amsasar (pl. imsasaren) or trouble-maker who has knowingly tried to "break" the market by flouting its regulations.

681 682 696 55--In case of murder, only the murderer himself went into exile. He did so immediately after the crime, so that he would not be killed in turn by his victim's agnates. Exile meant that he sought refuge, as an adhrib (pl. idhriben), (derived from Arabic talib, "enemy") in the territory of another tribe, whose members sheltered and protected him until such time (if ever) that he could go home. On occasion, as [613] Blanco suggests, whole lineages have been forced into exile; Coon, in Flesh of the Wild Ox (pp. 74-108), gives an example from the Igzinnayen. However, this particular instance was the result of a decree of the Aitharba'in after a long and bitter feud; and as such, it was exceptional. The rule was that only the murderer fled; he was not accompanied by nine of his agnates, as in the Central Atlas (even though these latter returned after three days in order to start making overtures for payment of ddiyit to the dead man's agnates).

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his
682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally
696 meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill
him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept
[782] this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the
presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was
eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only
after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he
682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on
443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum
[114] (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine
(called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder
on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other
offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market
itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the
imgharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market
path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no
question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in
the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually
meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise
the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the
ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum
which was prohibitively high), the imgharen descended on him in a body
and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re-
682 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the mur-
628 derer. The imgharen, however, could not touch his property as long as
he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's
family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion
of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that
he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's ag-
nates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the
imgharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen
of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted,
as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circum-
stances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to
have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 56--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for
682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of
commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely stan-
dard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] 57--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the
[114] Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is ex-
pressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading
[124] to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants,
however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is
immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is
[628] assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the
murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and
a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted
up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

681 the side with the lesser. (This last piece of information comes from
682 some of the lowland clans of the Aith Waryaghar, and the highlanders
[628] of the same tribe deny it.)

000 58--The victim, if he is alive, receives the rqisas, and, if dead, his family gets the ddiyith--if they choose to accept it rather than take up their guns. It is barely possible that in the division of the rhaqq by the imgharen along segmentary lines, the victim's family might receive a tiny fraction of the total, although the chances are strongly against it. The rhaqq almost always goes into the pockets of the imgharen themselves, and when we say that it is divided along segmentary lines, what we mean is that it is the imgharen of each segment and subsegment, rather than the rank-and-file of either, who are the real beneficiaries.

However, this is not really the point, which, in any event, Blanco [682] has missed entirely. The point is that a murderer pays bloodmoney to his victim's agnates and a fine to the council members (the latter only if the murder has taken place in the market or on a track leading to it).

[114] 59--Blanco is theoretically correct in saying that dharfiqin distribute their share of the fine to the nubath making them up (although in practice this almost never occurs, as the money which filters down, through the normal process of division, goes no further than the lineage heads!); but it is surprising that he does not start at the top levels of segmentation, the clans, as the imgharen themselves did, and work down from there (though even at this level the imgharen tended in practice to pocket the fines).

[114] 60--In this term, el poder ejecutivo, once again, we have a formalistic European notion, which, though certainly accurate in one sense, nonetheless ill befits the essential informality of the tribal council members who convened in the market to discuss the week's happenings and to assess, equally informally, any cases which came to them.

61--It may be stated categorically that such Qur'anically-inspired punishments as putting out a thief's eyes were completely unknown in the Rif and in the rest of Berber Morocco.

[839] 62--Though it is probably of frequent occurrence elsewhere, bestiality
[838] is not common in the Rif, and those who do practice it are always the object of derision. Furthermore, the Rif is probably one of the few regions of Morocco where homosexuality is nonexistent.

[113] 63--These notes of Blanco's on hunting are extremely fragmentary; for fuller information on Rifian hunting practices, see the final chapter in La Ley Rifeña on the hunting qanun or qanun r-rayah, as well as a recent summary of the same material in R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg, 16-17 September 1958 [114] (mimeographed). Our own impression of Blanco's data on hunting is that although very complete, his description is at the same time unnecessarily complex.

64--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting may take place on any day of the week.

000

65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since [648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, [656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being [124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says [114] above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi [788] r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide [593] remarks on inheritance of property by women).[A] What Blanco does not say, [848] however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A, [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

684 554 203 626 74--In the Aith Waryaghar, anyone who indulged in bestiality became the object of extreme derision; and as a market crier himself is a person of very low social standing, this in itself would have rubbed more salt in the wound.

000 75--Marriages with parallel cousins occur, but they are uncommon. In this particular instance, there was a good reason for it, as Blanco points out.

76--These cousins, again as indicated in note 17, were the boy's r-waratha, who could normally have inherited only if the boy's father had either died without issue or if he had left a daughter or daughters only. [671] It is un-Qur'anic enough for the r-waratha to appropriate, as they often try to do, a daughter's share of the inheritance as well as their own, but for them to take over a son's share is expressly forbidden by the Shari'a, and may be regarded, in this instance, as the purest personal aggrandizement.

[114] 77--This should probably read "to one's tribe", as the notion of other tribes hardly enters the picture here. Except under an 'Abd al-Krim, how would it have been, or be, possible for a man of the Igzinnayen, for example, to feel any responsibility for a man from the Aith Waryaghar? This error may be due to a typographical error in the original text.

[682] [114] 78--One could hardly label a sanction of 2000 duros for murder committed in a market as indicative of "lack of repressive organs". It is statements of this kind, which continually crop up, that, in conjunction with numerous factual errors, cast a small but ever-present cloud over Blanco's work, and mark him as an amateur ethnologist.

79--See La Ley Rifeña, pp. 47, 50.

3. COUNCILS, WARFARE AND ALLIANCES

614
619
623
634

A) The Agraw:

The agraw is a meeting or convening of all the adult Rifian males in a clan or tribe who are capable of supporting their opinions by force of arms. It is an assembly of all men who carry rifles, and it has almost unlimited attributes, among which the major ones are:

a) Declaration of war and of all that this embodies (organization of attack and defense, organization of harka-s or war-parties, contingents which are levied up for distant expeditions, and establishment of agreements of friendship or alliance with neighboring tribes).

b) Guarding the security and honor of its component family and kin groups (making common cause with them, supporting them with force if necessary, and acting as mediators); thus, when the interests of any individual or of his kinsmen are harmed, and he is incapable of defending his rights, the councilmembers claim the resulting damages in his name, and, in order to obtain them, they either very soon have to take up arms, or wait and work out an alliance with other igrawn, or convoke the agraw of the group one step up the ladder.

The agraw may be on a village (or hamlet), "fractional" (or clan), or tribal level, and the only difference between these three levels lies in the number of councillors who attend the meeting on each one....The agraw is convoked by mqaddimin or shiyukh[1]; by word of mouth, by arqqas or messenger (gunshots by day or bonfires--thafgirth, pl. thifgirin--at night, in case of alarm, and in both instances by cries transmitted from hilltop to hilltop, from village to village, and from mountain to plain).

[202]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

634 Every man who carries a rifle drops whatever he is doing and
623 goes immediately to the council site, leaving his house, interests and
614 work in the fields to his women, who collect all their movable property,
619 animals and children, in case they have to move, and await the news,
562 quickly transmitted, with anxiety, while they decide upon their place
722 of retirement (usually the house of some relative) and form a line of sentries, together with the older children. Here they follow, with analogous emotions, the events of the fight, if there is one, and
634 await its outcome....Once the men have arrived at the site of the
623 alarm, or more often at a generally determined meeting site (agraw),
614 they start to look, without orders or signals, for their kinsmen and
619 neighbors who have arrived or are just arriving. They are always careful to seek a spatially dominant position, and remain grouped together some little distance from the other groups which are also being formed, completing a circle, in the interior of which only the chiefs, who are rapidly informed of the matter and of the opinions of their subordinates, may enter. Such opinions are impassioned ones, as they have been forged (in case of alarm) on the spur of the moment, on the basis of what those who echo them have heard, or on the basis of what is going on around them; one can distinguish t[illegible]everish voices of the kinsmen and friends of the injured party, who want immediate reparation.

634 In this heated atmosphere the delineation by the chiefs of the
623 matter at hand begins; they are attentive not so much to what happens
614 in their own little circle, but to the stormy atmosphere being created
619 on the outside one and pressing in on them....If the matter is one of
692

634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
619
692 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
681 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside circle).[2 & 3]

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
614 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
623
628 ....Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
721 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare.... Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities. This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared beforehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
(624) surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

628 721 they send out a couple of individuals to care for their relatives (in their absence) and tell them what has happened, and by day, they have to feed them, after which, once this is done, they start the march toward the enemy group in order to deliver the coup de main either at once or through careful skirmishing.

There is no top command, for, as the objective is clear, it is not needed. All that must be done is to write finis to the enemy. Individual desertion is shameful, booty is eagerly anticipated, and members of the war-party do not worry about the fact that there are neither rearguard services nor defense.

B) Harkas and their Formation (fragmentary):

[701] [626] [689] The obligation to serve in a harka or war-party was general and accepted by all, and avoidance of harka duty was an object of censure and sanction. Any and all groups which were threatened (both internally and externally) provided variable contingents which were activated periodically. Until protectorate times, punitive expeditions organized by the Moroccan Sultans to chastise recalcitrant tribesmen were augmented by auxiliary harkas made up from the tribes through [1048] whose territory the expeditions passed. A good example was the foray undertaken by Bushta al-Baghdadi, one of the fin de siècle commanders of the Moroccan army, against the pirates of the Ibuqquyen in 1898[4].

701 More recently, 'Abd al-Krim solicited harkas for individual engagements; he maintained a reduced contingent, which was periodically increased, under arms. The system was one of partial mobilization with relief contingents, the number and amount of which were fixed by 'Abd al-Krim. Their recruitment and provisions were handled by their

701 own jma'ths; they were headed by men of their own localities; and 'Abd al-Krim only reserved for himself the right to nominate individuals in his confidence for top positions[5].

[619] The contingents of each tribe were headed by the notables of that tribe, and were instructed independently within the whole harka

619 agglomerate. The tribal notables received news of the objectives
726 they had to attain; they took their contingents into battle; and
701 afterwards, they abandoned the field and brought their harkas home....

[621] Through their representatives in the agraw, the jma'ths knew the
[623] contingent which was requested, and they made the division and nomin-
701 ated the chiefs[6]. There were both volunteers and conscripts; but in
[702] each house, one man had to stay at home. An amghar or the amghar was

[621] the elected warchief, and he established his contingent....He did not
[623] abandon his house or agricultural tasks or coerce anyone to fight[7], and the jma'th saw to an equitable distribution of men under arms at all times. Only shurfa, old men, boys and individuals with physical defects were exempt from harka service.

726 Attempts were made to respect geographical order, and each contingent was called upon to engage in combat only on its natural front. The order of battle was traditionally known, and was answerable to political necessity. Coexistence was easier for harka members on their natural fronts, of course, in their own land; resistance was more effective, displacements were more rapid and dispersion was less serious. Knowing the country perfectly, they could send groups to defend passes or watersheds or gorges in relays, each one two or three hours behind the last, so that later arrivals could increase the

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

619 616 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or institution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and [181] security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10] administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of 619 616 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or 182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13], markets and qanun), could never have been justified alone, because the Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances, which they would do until another more powerful force from outside, such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in reducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of individual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threatening its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries 616 619 between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some [614] instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself 616 over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja 619 and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent 648 confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also 173 bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

616 619 648 193 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of 616 619 182 disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

000 villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

616 D) Political Organization:

1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians 616 571 572 going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

616 571 572 171 The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot 616 181 571 abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?[19] (574) [579] ....I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances[20].

616
[182] Individual liffs bind together individuals or families, persons and possessions, and make for solidarity in the payment of fines, in both defense and attack[21].

2) General Liff:--I think the raison d'etre of the general liff to be purely defensive. These large-scale liffs are real military [619] alliances brought about in order to maintain territorial integrity, and it is they which have permitted the coexistence of minuscule tribes alongside of large and powerful ones. The situation in this respect is analogous to that of Switzerland in Europe; and among the most typical Switzerlands in the Rif are the Thafarsith and the Aith 'Ammarth[22].....In a general liff, it is not individual or kin group interests which are in opposition to each other and come into play, but rather the jurisdictional limits and the autonomy of the social [613] groupings (i.e. clans) which integrate them. The general liff obligates with the same end and binds together with the same strength [171] the individuals belonging to rival dharfiqin. There is thus, I think, a notable difference in the two classes of liffs, although the end result or defensive spirit is the same[23]; analogously, there are alliances between European nations which are destined to preserve their independence, as well as friendships of more of an individual or economic character between their members....The national liff, to call it [562] thus, cannot be confused with the social forms which have already been considered above, for while the latter place mutual obligations upon and bind together individuals and lands, the general liff usually applies only to men and binds together only warriors[24].

616 The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping
614 their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members,
619 are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion
[621] on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known pre-
616 viously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these
182 two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary
628 feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

648 As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protec-
692 torate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes
616 up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights
182 to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

616 Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

616 (social), for a man only goes to his liff when the other two types fail him. Thus we see individuals or groups, when they are helpless, calling for their liffs in defense of their rights or taking refuge with them when, conquered or routed, they abandon their own hearths.

61 621 Tribes and their clans, and jma'ths and their kin groups or dharfiqin are generally divided into two balanced, symmetrical and mutually hostile parties; and it is in such an equilibrium that we find the strength of each group, no matter how insignificant that group may appear, and the weakness of the whole tribe, which is only welded together if threatened from outside.

616 619 621 623 In essence, in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, the innumerable feuds between jma'ths are reduced to two parties, within each council, whose quarrel, perhaps rather than for hegemony, is a dispute of interests. But, in discussing parties, let us rid ourselves of the

642 795 notions which these have for Europeans, either in forms of government or in religion. In such simple questions, Republic[28] and Islam have been in agreement for a long time. The Rifian states were religious republics governed by laymen, we might say. Well and good: above and

616 beyond these quarrels and ferocious feuds, the Aith Waryaghar knew how to ally themselves, absolutely independently of these, to other groups, indicating that the motive forces which underlay each class of alli-

619 ance were different[29]. Thus we see, for example, how the five khmas (sing. khums) of the Aith Waryaghar were allied or opposed to each other, and how they constituted two mutually hostile bands; the Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abd Allah on one side, and the rest on the other[30]. In my opinion, these two bands represent the most obvious

619 brake or check upon the expanding hunger of neighbors as well as upon the hegemony of some determined individual.

175 619 But with the threat of the Rogi, Bu Hmara[31], expressed in the form of the mhalla or military expedition under the command of Jilali Mul al-Wudhu[32] (Muludu), we see the Aith Waryaghar reacting violently and uniting, for the first time in their history, as the result of an agraw at Imzuren, nominating their war chief, mounting guard on the line of resistance parallel to the Nkur River, from Imudh (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) to the Mediterranean, and joyfully accepting the hard task, magnificently performed, of smashing Bu Hmara's army to bits and sending it back in headlong retreat to Qasba Silwan.

619 616 175 In the same way, we also see the khums of Aith 'Abd Allah, in liff with the Ibuqquyen, joining the other khmas of Aith Waryaghar to fight against that tribe, as auxiliaries in the punitive expedition of Bushta al-Baghdadi[33]; and thus we see that tribal interests were always superior to clan ones[34].

616 182 [621] [619] [614] For this reason, the mechanism of the liff is simply conservative and not disintegrative, as might seem the case from other points of view. If in the jma'th it equalizes the forces which are feuding, it does the same in the tribe with the rival clans, and in the overall Rifian area with hostile tribes, everywhere balancing the inferiority of weak groups with the strength of its own men. It may be possible to explain in this fashion why in spite of the feverish, ephemeral and unlucky vicissitudes of such minuscule states, they never came to the point of disappearing altogether, while at the same time and by the same token they never permitted the duration of empires

or similar agglomerates. This might also perhaps explain the persistence in disorder up to exhaustion point, for thanks to an obscure family feud, a chain reaction would unleash violence throughout the whole region as fast as a burning cigarette can produce a forest fire[35].

There is no doubt that through their origins the tribes can be classified into two great groups, Sanhaja and Ghumara, which formed the two great Rifian alliances of the same names, and between which the Rifian tribes were distributed in an apparent equilibrium, as follows[36]:

Ghumara: Ibuqquyen, Aith Yittuft, Aith 'Ammarth, Mtiwa dyal Bhar (Mtiwa of the Sea), Ghmara Proper (Bni Rzin, Bni Khalid, Bni Silman, Bni Zjil, Bni Buzra, Bni Mansur, Bni Grir, Bni Smih and Bni Ziyat), Bni S'aid (of the Jbala, not the Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid), Bni Zarwal, Bni Zarwal, Bni Winjil, Slas, Hiyaina, Branis, Igzinnayen[37], Marnisa, Mtiwa dyal Uta (Mtiwa of the Plain), Bni Mstara and Ghzawa.

Sanhaja: Bni Bu Frah, Bni Gmil, Mistasa[38], Aith Waryaghar, l-Khmas, Bni Waryagil[39], Jaya, Mzzyat, Rgiwa, Dsul, Rhuna, and Sanhaja Srir (Ktama, Aith Siddat, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Aith Bu Nsar and Bni Bu Shibt).

However, it seems somewhat limited to attribute the basis of Rifian political preferences and the reason for alliances in the region to this dim and garbled tradition of the very distant past[40]. If, on the other hand, the form of government or religion were in dispute, it would be easier to explain its affinities to the European type[44]. Furthermore, if we discard as vaguely traditional such causes of union

[This should read "41" not "44"--Analyst]

616 as were forgotten by the people, we have no others to explain the liff system save external autonomy and internal equilibrium. The liff is the opponent of group hegemony, as the latter is of the preponderance of one family, and it thus results as a protector of both. This was the cause of the ephemeral character of the empires founded upon such a powder-keg, a mosaic of minuscule autonomous republics, as of the transitory periods of tyranny which they would have undergone. If external danger brought about the sacred interclan unity, internal danger (rivalries and hegemony) separated them, seeing them forced to support themselves, now divided, in other neighboring tribes[42].

(614) Whatever may have been the cause of these alliances, it is certain that among the clans of a tribe there were two bands which put them into this framework and gave them this frame of reference....And if their ethnic origin permits us, in principle, to reestablish the division of the tribes which gave its name to the two great liffs (Sanhaja and Ghumara), it is in the equilibrium and autonomy (author's italics) thus established and in operation that we see the origin and persistence of the other two liffs commented upon, among the Aith Waryaghar[43].

616 619 Perhaps among the Aith Waryaghar, different aspects of this interpretation may be corroborated. We see their khmas or "fifths" allying themselves one against the other to form two rival groups and thus equalizing their internal strength and avoiding attempts at supremacy by individual clans. And we also see how the Aith 'Abd Allah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash look for their internal security in the tribes which border them, the first uniting with the "Badisiya" tribes of the A_A^A, [Apparently footnote "44" should appear here--Analyst]

[101]

616 Ibuqquyen, the Aith Yittuft and the Bni Bu Frah on the one hand, while
619 the second unites with the Axt Tuzin and the Thimsaman on the other,
101 thus giving rise to a curious small and narrow passage across the territory of the Sanhajan (sic) tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, through which the Ghumaran tribes can communicate[45]. This might be borne out through other possible passages of the same type which, if found, would widen our political conceptualizations of this problem and might explain the apparent anomaly of ethnographic islets[46]. But in this, before it can be attempted, there must be an agreement on the basic affinities of the tribes in each band, Sanhajan or Ghumaran, and even among the Zanatans[47].

616 The liffs also seem to show, and manifestly, the reason for this progressive increase observed in the concentration of groups struggling in order to obtain the successive enlistment of possible far-away liff adherents.....so that their support would be required or attracted by the idea of burning of houses, etc., and their sudden disappearance, as if the earth might have swallowed them up, on the retreat of such far-flung allies....and thus creating the vacuum which one might label post-ta'rqiba[48] (author's italics), in order to astonish superficial observers, and coming to doubt the veracity of confidences and trusts, as well as of the enemy whom they had in front of them, and
616 of the sincerity of the peace testimony....And nevertheless, a sub-
728 mission must be accepted as effective for those who are about to make it, or for the next enemy group, seeing that it does not naturally endanger the lives of the warriors, who voluntarily defended the territorial integrity of their part of their liff. The ta'rqiba of this

616
728 group is not and cannot represent the surrender or submission of the chain which, immediately unfurled if a single link is lost, maintains and preserves all those who remain within it in the desirable state of resistance[49].

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by iziddjifen or imgharen".

(682) 2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for instance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clan in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an agraw, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 87, and Coon, Flesh of the Wild Ox, New York: Norrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igzinnayen, who pronounce the word syraw.

(628) (114) 4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why: because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

5--The term harka did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a tabur), each one of which was under a qa'id designated by the number of men under his command--qa'id at-tn'ash (of 12), qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin (of 25), qa'id l-khamsin (of 50), qa'id l-Miya (of 100), and qa'id attabur (of a tabur, or 300). However, the idea of the harka had been there previously, even if (177) the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

6--In actual fact, those imgharen already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

(602) 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native harkas in Spanish service.

(114) 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, todo el mundillo rifeño, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

616 619 642 114 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic", "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though

616 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the poliri-
619 cal organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even
642 though they say that they employed this word because there was no cen-
114 tral government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in
619 fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch
182 of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians
601 themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the
829 intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree:
[191] trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that
[191] Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[614] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the func-
62] tioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go
602
114

616
[62] sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although
[602] he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation,
[114] make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at the matter in a slightly different way.

There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves
[539] readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows: "Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within
616 clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr,
614 pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even con-
619 tinuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were "external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the former more to higher ones.

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not continue ad infinitum.

The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their
616 terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big"
614 liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or
619 "smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes
[124] would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe (in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chrin--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

616 619 726 (614) [728] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well. [563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and 000 expected to do.

[114] [729] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 [162] 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the [614] principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'unen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

000

last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels, and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Montagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent it, they hardly succeeded!

[114] [113]

27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be reactivated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactivation would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside it.

[152] [628]

28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams khmas (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition indicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu 'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith 'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

619 616 114

619 616 614

616 614 [619] Aith 'Arus, though spatially separated from them, are nonetheless clan "brothers" of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa respectively; and each of the former groups gets its share of the tribal rhaqq from each of the latter, though this, at the moment, is beside the point. What is more important, however, is that each of the mountain clans is allied in liff to its "brethren" further down the slope.

In the Aith Waryaghar, the two liff heads depend largely on the clan to which one's informants belong. If they are from the Aith 'Adhiya, the liff heads are Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (which segments, being both member subclans of a single clan, are more "brothers" to each other than they are to any of the other clans); if from the Aith 'Abd Allah, they are Aith 'Abd Allah and Aith Hadhifa; and if from Aith 'Ari, they are Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari (who, again, as subclans of a single clan or clans combining to make up a single "fifth", are more "brothers" to each other than either or both of them are to any or all of the other clans; in this particular instance, in fact they are supposed to be descended from two actual brothers, 'Ari w 'Ari and Yusif w 'Ari). No matter; the structure of the liffs in Aith Waryaghar is as follows:
Faction A (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith 'Ari (with Timarzga), Aith 'Abd Allah, and Aith 'Adhiya (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash). Faction B (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith Yusif w 'Ari (with Aith Turirth), Aith Hadhifa (with Aith 'Arus), Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash), and Imrabdhen. Faction A (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes clans of Truguth, in the tribe of Thimsaman, and Axt 'Akki, in the tribe of the Axt Tuzin. Faction B (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes the clan of I'a'umen, in the tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth, affiliated through liff with Aith Hadhifa.

From the foregoing, four facts are readily apparent: 1) Faction B, internally, is, in both number of clans and total number of individuals involved, considerably stronger than Faction A is, internally. This shows that 2) the liff alignment among the Aith Waryaghar, rather than 616 corresponding to the khums structure, tends to cut across it, for within 619 two of the khmas listed, subclans are pitted against each other in the total tribal moiety system, even though the other three khmas remain intact. It also implies that 3), as discussed below, the liff system of the Aith Waryaghar is in fact far more a function of their territorial system than it is of their system of segmentation. Moreover, as we have noted in an earlier publication (Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204-6, note 44), 4) the exact form that each liff in a given tribe will take depends largely upon whether the number of top-level segments in that tribe is even or odd. As most Rifian tribes have an odd number of top segments (only Bni Bu Frah, Aith 'Ammarth and Thafarsith have even numbers--four, four and two, respectively), usually five and never more than five, (i.e. Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen, Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith S'aid, Aith Wurishik, etc.), a certain amount of improvisation and splitting within clans has to take place. (Among tribes containing an even number of segments, there is no need for this.)

It may well be asked, at this juncture, what the explanation is for the numerical superiority of Faction B. There is, we think, a very good one, but in order to show how it works, we must first consider yet

another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top Segment I is labeled Aith Khattab, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari (plus Aith 'Ari) and Aith 'Abd Allah, while Top Segment II consists of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments of these top segments are aligned into their component liffs, as above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the problem, therefore, is the khums of Imrabdhen, the presence of which, in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above). The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top imgharen of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a khums, and their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqqiwen of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the dispensing of baraka (which, it might be added, could only be inherited by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent liff alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally, "fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary and liff systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative, as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance, between holy and adjudicating imrabdhen, the 10% minority, and lay and warrior imrabdhen, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrabdhen as a clan: whether they are shurfa or not--and here again, one runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say "no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are genuine shurfa, although it is possible that these are, at least in part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the sunduq or box

614 of Mulay Idris in Fez; and over this, they hedge, saying that they do
792 have this right, but that they have never yet exercised it because "Fez is so far away". This is, in effect, a tacit admission of proper imrabdhen and non-shurfa status.)

616 In having postulated a state of equilibrium between the two
614 moieties of the Aith Waryaghar prior to the arrival of the Imrabdhen, and in having postulated that the latter came in time to upset this equilibrium in structural terms, we have up to now left Faction A in a kind of structural limbo. How, one may well ask, did this faction regain its balance? Through the principle of transitiveness within limits, as defined in note 18, by enlisting the aid of one neighboring clan from each of two tribes, Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin. After Faction A made this move, one may assume, Faction B did the same thing with a neighboring clan of Aith 'Ammarth. And here, we feel, is the secondary key to the problem, for, in effect, the inequality of liff alignments of a permanent type within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar is cancelled out or, perhaps, rectified through the mechanism of transitiveness without; and balance is thus restored. And the interplay of the factors of permanence, transitiveness and the chain-link theory (by which, if Faction A gets the Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin, Faction B gets the Aith 'Ammarth) is evident throughout.

000 31-Bu Hmara, as his title, r-Rogi indicates, was a false pretender to the Moroccan throne in the first decade of the 20th century. For full details, see Eduardo Maldonado, El Rogui, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, n.d. (ca. 1952).

[648] 32--Jilali Mul al-Wudhu was a negro general of Bu Hmaram and his top man in the Eastern Rif when he set up headquarters in the qasba or fortress of Silwan in 1907, prior to trying to rally the Riflans to his cause. All of the tribes, in fact, did so rally, save Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth, who thought it very "shameful" that a black "slave" ('abid) should invade their territory; and so, on September 7, 1908, on the banks of the Nkur River, near Imzuren, they cut him and his army to pieces, after which the other tribes turned against him one by one and ambushed his rearguard.

33--Busta al-Baghdad's expedition took place in 1898. It should also be noted that any previous liff arrangement which may have existed between Aith 'Abd Allah and Ibuqquyen was purely and strictly ad hoc.

34--True; but the normal situation was as described in note 25. Only outside invasion could and did ever weld a whole tribe together; and the Aith Waryaghar were united for the very first (recorded) time in their history when Bu Hmara came to the Rif.

35--See note 18. The fact that Rifian liffs were transitive, but only up to and including neighboring clans of the next tribe, tended normally to isolate feuds and to keep them in bounds, to some extent, at least.

616 36--We have commented on the almost mythical Ghumara-Sanhaja war above.
619 The liff system at work in this particular case was at variance with
648 the traditional Rifian system, as described in note 18; although on the other hand, if we can accept the myth (which is doubtful), it points

A, [See p.257, #14--Analyst]

616 619 648 [114] [113] to a far earlier incidence of tribal unity, and on a much wider scale, than the events precipitated by Bu Hamara's invasion. Blanco's listing, however, is incomplete, for this feud encompassed not only the Rif, but all of Northern Morocco, centering, supposedly, on the Ghumara and Sanhaja, each of which had allies both to the west (Jbala) and to the east (Rif). There are other listings available, the most complete of which may be found in Montagne, op. cit., 1930, map facing p. 208. See also Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 17-8, and Jesus Ortoneda Jiménez, Estudio de la Region del Rif, Ceuta, 1930, p. 37, as well as Vademecum de Intervenciones Militares, Melilla 1928. None of these listings is in complete agreement with any of the others.

000 37--According to Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 18, the Igzinnayen were not in the Ghumara liff, but in the Sanhajan one, and, according to his informants, the fact that the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen were both on that side brought the Sanhaja the ultimate victory.

38--Until 1906, Bni Gmil and Mistasa formed a single tribe. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, Vademecum del Territorio del Rif, 1946, p. 81.

39--Bni Waryagil is a small tribe in the southern Jbala, and Rifian informants have all disclaimed any connection between it and the very much larger Aith Waryaghar of the Rif. Literate informants, moreover, point to the difference in orthography: the name of the Rifian tribe is written in Arabic with the letter ghain, while that of the Jbalan group is written with the gaf (kaf with three points above it).

40--It does indeed!

[114] 41--Why should it be necessary to "explain its affinities to the European type"? One feels that liffs, like any other institutions, can only be "explained" in their own terms!

[696] 42--What Blanco presumably refers to here, in an oblique manner, is, among other things, the fact that murderers must flee their own tribes.

[114] 43--It seems to us that Blanco is looking at this aspect of the problem upside down. If anything, an alliance and war of the Sanhaja-Ghumara type probably had its origins in the Rifian system discussed in note 18, rather than the other way around. It is, of course, also possible that problems and/or notions of this kind cut both ways.

44--This term refers to the western maritime tribes of the Rif, located around the early Islamic center of Badis.

616 619 114 45--There are three basic errors in this sentence. First, the Aith 'Abd Allah had only an ad hoc liff arrangement with the Ibuqquyen; this was directed against their own enemies within the Aith Waryaghar, namely, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and the Aith Hadhifa, the former of whom, in particular, the Ibuqquyen could never forgive for having accompanied Bushta al-Baghdadi's punitive expedition into their tribal territory. There was no question whatsoever of an alliance with either the Aith Yittuft or the Bni Bu Frah. The same applies to the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who were also (but very tenuously) allied, through the transitive principle, to the Axt Tuzin clan of Axt Tsafth, because their "brothers" and enemies the Aith 'Adhiya were in liff (again through the transitive principle)

616 619 114 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian. Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are not often those of the next!)

616 728 184 782 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 [179] 49--Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts, Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Ammarth contingents who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

PART II--THE RIFIAN QANUNS

ΟΟΟ Don EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA, Major of Infantry and Regional Administrator of the Rif:

EL RIF (2a. PARTE) (THE RIF-2nd PART)

LA LEY RIFEÑA (RIFIAN LAW)

II--LOS CANONES RIFEÑOS COMMENTADOS (II--THE RIFIAN QĀNŪNS, WITH COMMENTS)

Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos:
Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas:
Centro de Estudios Marroquíes

(Spanish High Commission in Morocco:
Delegation of Native Affairs:
Center of Moroccan Studies)

Imprenta IMPERIO, Ceuta 1939

Administrators:

From the shipwreck of official prose, try to save through publication whatever your tireless service and individual taste permits you to investigate and to serve toward a more exact knowledge of the country; for the best school is the real one; the only doctrine, the truth; and the most effective method, one's own effort.

The fortunate creation of the Center of Moroccan Studies offers you the means.

121 Rifians:

In the documents which follow, I try to reflect aspects of the Rif

121 of the old days which Arab and European writers have either neglected or toned down, if not falsified.

In the comments which the qanuns have suggested to me, I try to explain what they mean to the European reader, justifying the reason behind their precepts.

This, then, is a simple essay, a modest contribution toward a better knowledge of your preferences and virtues, so that those who live together with you in your land can understand you better[1].

114 In other studies in preparation, I shall continue the study of your fundamental institutions, economy and art, which are nonetheless interesting and worthy of publication even if they are modest.

124 My thanks are due to so many Rifians, over long and agreeable periods of time, who with courtesy and patience stimulated my curiosity and questions and tried to satisfy them, answer them and show me how they worked; and especially to Muhammad n Sh'aib Abuqquy, faithful interpreter of my thought.

The translations were done by the official interpreter D. Juan Gómez Jaén.

671 1. THE RIFIAN QANUNS, WITH COMMENTS:

The analysis of the Rifian qanuns, of these little pieces of paper which I give you to peruse, of these tiny sheets in which unaccustomed hands noted down, after bombastic introductions and flattering patronymics taking up three or four lines, offset by praises to the Divinity, a number of striking and rigorous precepts, the proclamation of which in the suq gave them the force and attributes of law; and it is these precepts which show us graphically and without any doubt that the Rif

671 must be considered and was one of the component parts of the Land of Custom, a fact which clarifies for us, at least ostensibly, many of the precepts referred to above.

When a superficial observer, Arab or Christian, believer or heretic (sic) sees in them no more than a simple tariff of fines (for various infractions), to which he attaches no importance, as in his opinion they say nothing because of not being even remotely dressed in the garb of the law, this shows only the narrowness and ethnocentrism of such a man or the lack of knowledge that analogous precepts are still followed in other areas, that they have been made the object of many studies, and that they have revealed not a few (different) social forms, up until the present poorly known and ignored, whose influence in the development of humanity have been very great and which show the latter's essential unity.[2]

But if this same observer, showing curiosity and a critical spirit, knows the preliminary act which originates them; if he is aware of the profound significance which this has; he will then stop to contemplate the efforts of an ancient race to perpetuate itself, of a primitive society to survive; and he will focus his attention upon the transcendence which these acts have in the lives of free peoples, among whom are forged, solemnly proclaimed and voluntarily accepted the law through which they must operate, for their own protection and development; and he would express then the same jubilation that these same good people, these courageous and valiant old farmers who originated them and heard them proclaimed in the shade of large-branched carob trees, secular evergreen oaks or humble and venerated saints' tombs, in front

671 of a compressed crowd which, hooded and silent in a semi-circle, hears its own echo in the voice of one of its constituents calling out to the four winds in a harsh thamazighth accent and with graphic gestures, while the black muzzles of rifles above their heads make the moment more solemn and the silence more impressive and represent the law, a strong, hard and impassioned law, the primitive law of the pastoral (sic) peoples. And if we ourselves might have had the good fortune to be eye-witnesses, perhaps we would have felt the chill of the anathema against our brethren for making them responsible for our acts.

[539] Qanun of the Sub-Clan of the Aith 'Adhiya: ".....all of the above-mentioned villages of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as fine".

671 829 609 Do not ask the Rifians about their qanuns, as they do not like to reveal them; they know them to be modest, they fear that they will not be understood and that they will be considered as a joke; they guard them and conceal them as carefully as the dearest members of their families, as their own tongue, with an understandable atavism; and so strong is the feeling of mistrust that it would be offensive and erroneous to attribute to them an inferiority complex; and if, in circumstantial preservation, you wanted to learn their language, they would invariably try to dissuade you with bitter phrases which they once might have heard, if not from your lips from those of your brother officers; and one does not know whether to think the sad reproach, the instinctive defense of the community or an absurd conviction is 829 the reason[3]. They speak disparagingly of their own language as of

829 their own dwellings, anticipating possible impertinences and discourtesies which, wounding their brittle and easily hurt amour propre, would not be able to reject their ways and customs; but if, at some time, and it would not often happen, their instinctive suspicion and simulated servility and docility are momentarily broken down, a single sentence or even a single word will reveal to you all the power and strength of their race, the pride in their ancestry and the consciousness of their superiority; for it is precisely the Rifian resistance to all innovations and to all submission which is one of their most fundamental characteristics![4] In support of this we may refer to the
177
829
152 case of a qa'id, of an old qa'id of a Rifian tribe, who in the company
[123] of others had to attend an official meeting at which protocol compelled a special dress to be worn. The only indication that I gave him that he had to change his clothes for the officers was an outrage to him, which I noticed on seeing his cheeks turn red. The game was lost and an adequate answer was forthcoming: "Do you think I am a little boy?" The other quyad (pl. of qa'id) intervened, but he paid no attention to them; if they wished, he would do so, if not, he would retire; and that old and dignified mountaineer went out with his clothes unchanged, showing himself in the natural and logical manner of his own protocol and not in that of the others, a manner in which, also, he has all his excellence.

671 If we turn our attention to these qanuns, if, after putting aside our European criteria of judgment, we diligently examine their badly constructed phrases and sentences, if we analyze their meaning with all possible affection and if we really desire to penetrate into the spirit

671 of those who made them, we shall see, increasing rapidly before our astonished eyes as if by magic, the breadth and amplitude of their conceptualization, the extent of their writings and the reason behind their precepts; we shall see in our imagination how these notions recovered all their rigor, all their old flavor, through divesting the words which make them up of the extraneous clothing in which, in such documents, the Arabic transcription disguises them.[5]

It is clear that these qanuns as tariffs of fines are simple, as are the questions which cause them to arise, the means of laying a base for them. Fortunately for Rifian social organization, its most outstanding characteristic is that of being gratis and free of charge, increasing the economy of its institutions lacking in functionaries charged with materializing, distinguishing, entangling, packing, collecting or gossiping.[6]

Thus there are no deceptions. The Rifian qanuns are what they had to be, because of their editors, rifle-carrying tulba whose hands trembled when they clutched reed pens and whose pulses were steady when their guns were in their hands. They have to be so, simple and uncomplicated, because so is the public toward whom they are directed and enforced. They are simple, synthetic, miserable (sic) gleams of primitive law, rudimentary (sic) law, a simple warning to criminals and malefactors which transports us to the beginnings of humanity (sic) and makes us understand better their sad transformation, documentary proofs of history, odds and ends of the history of our brethren, the history of all peoples, the human epic. Surely in order to awaken adventurous souls, those with illusions try to encompass the whole gamut of human

671 wickedness in a few lines; but this is only in appearance, for in the qanuns there only figure those principles which the Rifians want to remember collectively and with some frequency so that they will not be forgotten; but this does not mean to say that these minuscule qanuns were the only rules to which the coexistence and living together of Rifians was adjusted, rules which, it should be said, even though lacking written expression, were nonetheless rigorous, nonetheless observed. The qanuns may be the exponent of the rudimentary law of the Rif, but they are neither the whole of it nor its principal part. The documents to follow are no more than a reflection of the all-embracing power of the iziddjifen.[7]

None of the Rifian jurisconsults is worth the words which he originated and to which he gave birth, and none of the editors who perpetuated them with their foreign writing could dream that one day the qanuns would serve to be profaned by the sinful pens of a foreigner.

How could they retain in their hard minds and infantile (sic) memories....wider codifications or penalties and crimes which would not lend themselves to lamentable confusions of right and wrong, of what is prohibited and what is authorized, of what is principal and what is accessory?

Who can imagine that their law was out of tune with the rude environment in which it grew up and in which it was applied?

These are laws destined to be retained in the memory and not in large law books, pretentiously entangledin European legal terminology.

But if the attraction of the Rifian qanuns, from a European point of view, lies precisely in their simplicity, they then reveal to us and

671 clarify to us the efforts of one of the freest peoples to handle their own affairs and, jealous of their rights in an authentic democracy, to impose notions of conduct upon themselves voluntarily.

671 177 What could the Aith Waryaghar, as Rifians in that stage of society, have done with a law code on a European style? Just what many of them did: to refuse to understand it, to cry out against seeing themselves obliged to suffer it, to place themselves in Divine hands so as not to awaken involvements in its powerful and intricate meshes and so as not to empty their money bags to fill it with official papers. This would not have been worth anything to them, and a good proof of this is the slight service which their religious code can offer them for their convenience when they see themselves obliged to have recourse to persisting in such improvisations.

671 Here the Rifian qanuns remain, unknown or ignored by investigators, so that up to the present (1939), as far as I know, they have not had the honor of seeing themselves reproduced integrally and faithfully; and it does not seem that they have attracted men of laws, whose criticism and science is of another and higher order than the impassioned observations and common and individual interpretation of a [648] tribal administrator, to them. They would not fail to reap many benefits for us, and the greatest ambition for Spain: the respect and esteem which the efforts of her sons creates by their contribution to the development and improvement of humanity and by the scrupulousness in the fulfillment of her international duties.[8]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

2. THE INTER-LINEAGE PACT[9] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

671
628
613
728
[776]

Praise be to God...With the prolongation and extenuation of fire and discord between the sons of the celebrated saint Sidi 'Amar Bu Yamryan al-Yusifi al-Jilmami al-Ghalbzuri[10] of the subsegment (lit. farqa) of the Awlad Ukidar, and of that of the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, with the subsegment of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, their allies, their partisans among the Awlad Tahir Asrih al-Hishami, their patrilateral cousin the Murabit Sayyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar and their brother's sons supporting him, an intercession was initiated between both parties through which they desired to obtain the recompense of God by means of good acts, asking the two parties to incline toward reconciliation, which God qualifies by good work and promises to reward whomsoever puts it into practice; then they decided to initiate it for the space of one year from the present date until the same date of the following year.

In consequence, the first party, composed of the Faqih Muahammad Ashahbar Ukidar, his brothers by his father, his patrilateral cousins the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, such as his brother's son Hammu bin 'Abdallah, etc., appeared for judgment; after this, the second party, consisting of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, his father's brother Akuh, the patrilateral cousin of both the aforementioned, the Siyyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar, his brother's son and those of his party as well as those supporting the aforementioned second party of the subclan of Isrihan, the Awlad Tahir Asrich, such as Muhammad bin 'Aisa bin Tahir and all his patrilateral cousins, also appeared for judgment; they came to

671 628 613 728 [443] [686] agree to the abovementioned truce for one year starting from the present date. All of them appeared for judgment in front of the shiyukh of the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') which exists in the vicinity of Sidi Abu al-'Afif; attendance at this act was completely general, as there also came notables such as the blessed, distinguished and excellent sharif Sidi Ahmad the son of the celebrated saint Sidi Misa'ud, from whose grace God has let us avail ourselves; al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir al-'Abbasi; the shiyukh of Ajdir; the shiyukh of the Murabitin al-Jilmamiyin; and all in general, each of the parties arranging that in case either of them should break off the aforementioned truce in any way before the stipulated time of one year has elapsed, it shall pay a fine of 2000 duros (i.e. 20 x 100) to the shiyukh.

671 628 613 After responding with their goods and estates to the completed arrangement, it was put into effect in the presence of the aforementioned shiyukh in the latters' shop in the aforementioned market; and it was accepted in full and in good faith, with neither party having the right to retract in either the present or the future, each one of them making itself responsible for the fulfillment of what has been set down and for which only those mentioned here have the responsibility.

(The obligation to) payment (of the fine) and the agreement are both complete, as indicated. (The undersigned witnesses) have testified to the testimonial capacity of everyone concerned, that on this day, in the interior of the aforementioned shop, each person concerned, among those known by sight and name, is of sound mind and memory and thus [805] capable of testifying. On the first Wednesday of Rabi' al-Awwal of the Prophet, in the year 1335 (December 27, 1916).[11]

B) Commentary:

671 182 We have here a curious (sic) type of qanun, which, as we read it, reveals the decomposition which Rifian society had reached, the atomism to which its tribal anarchy led, the imperfection, or rather, the inefficacy, of its laws, the irregular coexistence, the demonstration of its independence.

628 613 728 The disputes between two lineages of the Aith Waryaghar threaten to exterminate them through the chain of blood-vengeance in the face of the indifferent attitude of their constituents, who are habituated to taking justice into their own hands in order to defend their own interests. Two rival groups of equal size attain, in their ferocious and persistent struggle, an equal number of losses, and they reach a stage of weariness, a moment of lassitude happily exploited in order to initiate a treaty of peace (author's italics), which will permit them to build up their resources; and this fact leads them to establish this agreement for one year. Those who will (686) see to it that the truce is kept are the shiyukh, to whose protection they submit and who are interested in the affair because of the inducement of the fine which the group must pay, if within this minimal space of time it contravenes what has been agreed upon in any way (author's italics).

671 613 628 728 554 This society lacks a strong executive power; it looked instinctively toward the web of lineages represented through its shiyukh or old chiefs (sic) (no one should believe that this title represented a step in any framework of governmental or judicial power) for a force which was neutral to its feuds and more powerful than itself, to which

671 613 628 728 554 by such a simple and voluntary act it was converted at the same time to an arbiter of incidents and an executor of decisions. The function is not gratuitous as in modern states, for if in the latter the contributor pays indirectly, he does so directly in the Rif. Their covetousness thus awakened, they evidently insured temporarily against feud renewal, but they also stipulated that it would revive the embers of their hatred.

671 613 628 182 [183] These agreements or inter-lineage truces obeyed a double mechanism originating from the vicious circle in which they were debated. On the one hand they originated a series of regulatory norms of coexistence which, gaining in amplitude of concept and extending their jurisdiction to the generalizing of their advantages and the persistence of their exemplarity, painfully came to gain the adhesion of other nearby and related lineages until they were adopted by larger social and territorial units, including districts or entire tribes; and this situation gave rise to some of those qanuns upon which we will comment further on. On the other hand, they represented the ultimate [728] [195] step to which anarchy led, responding to those most curious periods of their history in which one powerful group, having recourse to violence, broke the truce in defense of its own interests, the official recognition of this fact being given by the imgharen in the suq in the face of general consternation, with the tragic phrase War dha bu r-haqq.[12]

628 602 182 195 "Now there is no law"[13]: such was the official form of declaring the state of anarchy into which the Rifians so frequently fell, a phrase which obliged them to strengthen their kin group, without dismay and by all means in their power; for a man's kinsmen were his last refuge in case of social accident.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

195 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings
181
628 perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first
613 with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards
619 with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more
134 or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has
182 in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution,
671 the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed
182 by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals
(648) where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of
671 Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

671 interest were discussed; in the suq resolutions of more importance were
[443] made by significant individuals, more important than the place which gave them a legal character.

Thus, in order to be valid, agreements and decisions had to conform to the following conditions: 1) agreement of the imgharen[16]; 2) necessity of a witness of exceptional character (a personality of religious significance, known and respected throughout the district); 3) registry by the tulba; and 4) proclamation in the suq. The above seems to be the mechanism of Rifian law.[17]

443 And in the suq a double character may be seen: place of business
671 and temple of law, the latter more important than the former, because
614 if it were the other way around, each clan would have various market sites and not just one, it seems to us; and furthermore, some clans, by virtue of their commercial topography would have been lacking in markets, which is also not the case.[18] Thus we believe, as stated in the first part of this work[19], that there is a correspondence between the clan as a social unit and the suq; in fact, we may go so far as to say that the former was the real fatherland (patria) of the Rifian, his political unit, a small independent republic, the distinctive feature of which was the suq, the temple of Rifian law.

3. INTER-LINEAGE QANUN,[20] SHOWING EXECUTIVE PROCEDURE (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 A) Qanun:
628
613 Praise be to God.--Copy taken from the text of a document after legalization, extended for the bearer of some.

Praise be to God.--Upon the reciprocal guarantee (Blanco: note 1)
[682] made by Ait 'Aisa, Ait Tzurakhth, Izubu'an, Ait Haddu u Sa'id and

671 628 613 682 Isaghwan[21] with (the) Awlad Siddiq[22], in the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') of Tawrirt, in the presence of their notables (Blanco: note 2), agreeing there (to fulfill what has been pacted among them) that anyone who should kill another by treachery or cunning (Blanco: note 3) shall pay a great fine, the amount of which (may) be as high as 4000 duros. This was also agreed to in their Saturday Market (Suq al-Sabt) in front of the notaries of both parties.

On the betrayal and killing (Blanco: note 4) by the abovementioned Awlad Siddiq of Shu'aib bin al-Hajj 'Amar, the notables of both the abovementioned markets, accompanied by the rest of the people, went to their villages to look for them, camping there until the latter paid (Blanco: note 6), although they (e.g. the Awlad Siddiq) had agreed to this in their presence and in their abovementioned market (when the agreement took place) with respect to the fine expressed above (Blanco: note 7). Upon not finding any solution which would save them except that of handing over to them all their lands, both in the mountains and in Ait 'Aisa, their houses and their documents (Blanco: note 8), with which they remained free of the pressure which the notables and the rest of the people exercised over them (they opted for surrender).

[792] Then, everything which they handed over was valued at 1300 duros (Blanco: note 9) and after the estimate was made, the notables of both markets, including (Blanco: note 10) the sharif Sidi Ahmad bin Sidi al-Hajj Misa'ud[23], al-Hajj bin al-Hajj Am'awsh al-Tawrirti, 'Allal bin Haddu bin al-Hashimi u l-Fari (of the Axt Tuzin), Haddu bin Muhammad Amzyan al-Bu Khalafi[24], al-Talib al-Bukhamad al-Yunusi, Tuhami bin

671 al-Faqir Siddiq al-'Arusi, Muhammad ibn Tahra, Sidi Musa ibn al-Hajj
628 Sayyid 'Amar Tahtahi, Muhammad bin Bu Hammud Mulaidi; al-Hajj Sidi
613 Misa'ud al-Manduri; Sa'id bin al-Hajj Haddu al-Ufari, Muhammad bin
682 al-Faqir Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Barzi, Muhammad Bu Shu'an, and
[792] the rest of the notables of Tzurakhth (Blanco: note 11) sold all that was handed over to them to the brothers of the murdered man for the above sum, converting it into money.

(Blanco: note 12) The amount stated above was levied and the quantity (literally, price) was divided into four parts: 300 duros for the lineage of Izzugwaghen; the same for the Awlad al-Hajj 'Amar; the same for the Awlad Muhammad bin Muh bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Tazurakhti; and 150 duros for the Awlad Ahmad bin Taimunt (to be split) with Muhammad bin Tah, and the same for Muhammad bin Taimumt bin Misa'ud (to be split) with the Awlad Hammu Kabghith. One hundred (100) duros were divided in half between the son of Bukhalif, that is, Siddiq, and 'Abd al-Qadir Hashsha'.

(Blanco: note 13) Each of the abovementioned parties shall divide with its brothers (i.e. those of the same jurisdiction) the amount which it has exacted and with regard to the quantity of the same.

671 An irrevocable and non-retractable sale, effected (Blanco:
628 note 14) for repression and exemplary punishment. The sellers having
613 levied the total of the abovementioned sum, in the upper part of the
681 present qanun, from the hands of the buyers cited above, thus liberating
432 the sellers from all actions or reclamation regarding this matter and the above-cited buyer thus occupying (the lands) instead of the sellers, as his share. That is to say, occupying the place of the owner in the land, of the land which he buys and that of the owner of immovable

property in that belonging to him, in conformance with traditional law.[25]

Those who attended the present (act) brought their testimony to the above according to the requirements of the interested parties. --In the middle of Jumad al-Awwal of the year 1336 (February 27, 1918). --The 'adl, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hajj al-Warnuri.--Another, whose name is not known.--Another, Muhammad bin Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghamri.

B) Commentary:

The social disintegration which Rifian society has reached is proven by these individual agreements between dharfiqin (Blanco: note 1, corresponding to text of qanun). In the face of helplessness or irregular functioning of higher-level associations, the poor tribesmen, before falling into complete anarchy, hastened to conclude an agreement with a neighboring group in order to attenuate that anarchy, succeeding in the hard struggle for life on a poor soil. These agreements thus formed true islets of irregular and variable peace, anchored in functional (sic) anarchy.

The necessity of agreements between lower-level lineages, who were abandoned by the rudimentary organization, obeyed, according to my understanding, those most curious periods which followed the public declaration of anarchy in the suq, when one powerful group managed by force to sustain the punishment, breaking the truce.

As the dispute was generalized between two preponderant rivals, the unaffected groups, before falling into anarchy, and with that notable instinct of self-defense, worked to bring about these agreements,

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

628 "There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
616 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
[195] inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[203] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alliances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater efficacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

671 These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
628 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
728 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14) for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
721 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

671 628 613 728 Things went well, while the violators of the past were humble figures among the allied groups, incapacitated by their slight strength and the fact that they had few friends to abuse the pact by opposing themselves to other groups concerned; but when the equilibrium was upset or broken by the hatreds of the more distinguished lineage members, dragging their powerful lineages into the fray, the pact was wrecked and peace disappeared anew.

671 628 728 Observe in note 1 the guarantee of peace. In note 2, the formality of the agreement obtained. In note 3, the punishment. In note 4, the violation of the agreement. In note 5, the executive organ, the mass of the population. In note 6, the procedure. In note 7, the reason for the punishment, because it is a voluntary law. In notes 8 and 9, the fulfillment. In notes 10 and 11, the notables, the really significant personages, the Aitharbi'in. In notes 12 and and 13, with economic details, the democratic sensation of defective practice. In note 14, the Rifian illusion.

671 628 152 Notes 3 and 4 seem to show that Rifian custom is not designed to punish the loyal combatant, who, in an inflamed dispute, comes impulsively to make use of arms, incapable of dominating his instincts and always quick to defend his rights, but also to avoid treachery, cunning and hatred, or rather, vengeance, reprisal, from which the Rifians did not know how to free themselves, and which used up men and families. This is a notion which renders honors to manhood and stigmatizes the coward.

[592] [828]

554 671 In notes 2, 10 and 11 it may be seen who the Rifians of significance are and that only these men, and not the ordinary tribesmen, are the executives and legislators. This proves what has been said

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
62 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an aristocracy known
623 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
619 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

pick up his rifle in defense of justice (a few days of visiting, free food, participation in the sharing of the fines, and even a raid, if this be the case). In the latter instance, everyone was (translator's italics) interested and desired to see justice done (with concomitant benefits of a meal and collecting one's own share of the fine).

Rifian law, according to note 7, is definitely superior (sic) to European law, because it obliges anyone who submits to it only to accept it and to agree to its fulfillment, accepting beforehand the santions which it establishes.

It is in these qanuns that Rifians may see sharply reflected who exactly are the men of prestige in the group to which they attach themselves and even the order of preference, by means of the names which figure in them; but we must not lose sight of the fact that they are edited by tulba of childish mentality (sic), a mentality deformed by their Islamic education; and that these tulba do not even translate Berber conceptualizations into their Arabic writing, as may be observed in other qanuns, thus altering the natural order in favor of their religious inclinations.[26]

Nobody believes, then, that such individuals cited in the first place figure in the documents for reasons of religiosity, but for the convenience of the ingharen who, jealous of their prestige, would have promoted interminable altercations in order to be first, in their jealous egalitarianism, and the necessity, which they saw themselves in order to avoid it, of putting above their disputes and petty jealousies individuals of neutral appearance, such as tulba, to officiate as the pacifying presidents of their stormy council-meetings (igrawn).

671 It may also be seen that here there appear no Arabic names of tribal functionaries, such as qa'id, qadi or mqaddim.

[693] The notaries who sign the documents limit themselves, then, to the registry of acts passed by the lay committee or customary tribunal.[27]

000 This procedure clarifies the executive procedure in notes 5, 6, 7 and 8.

627 The notables and a coterie of friends, family or volunteers,
613 or, simply, hungry men, fall like locusts upon the households of the lineage-mates (agnates) of the accused, and they do not budge until the matter is settled; either this, or they throw them out of doors.[28] Documents and lands, proofs and possessions; the accused's agnates must hand over all of these, as well as their very houses. They have violated the pact and the pledged word. They can only save their own
[628] persons, and this with difficulty, thanks to the force of vengeance, bloodfeud and reprisal, to the raqba[29], which may be taken by any member of the victim's family (i.e. any of the victim's agnates).

627 It is a rapid procedure, but not because the law or its executive organs are rapid, for, as among Europeans, as it is their own flesh which suffers, they are in no great hurry. In the Rif, the man who most strongly urges liquidation of these affairs is the one responsible for the crime, and his agnates. However, much beforehand accounts may be adjusted, the matter is over before they will see themselves free of the locusts in their quarters and before they will be able to save bread. After a few days, which are hard to stretch out, the provisions, already considerably reduced, will begin to get

627 very scarce and will soon give out altogether.

627 This period is that of smoothing over. Those responsible hide
614 their possessions, assure (the imgharen) that they have nothing, only a goat and a cow and a tiny plot of land: this is all they can offer, along with their house. The rest had been mortgaged[30], etc. The imgharen, sure in their convictions, do not agree....The members of the victim's family deny having any more possessions.

The neighbors of those responsible for the crime who are also obliged to put up lodgers become impatient and denounce possible concealments. The imgharen continue without deciding, and then their buying begins. Finally a moment arrives in which they hear no more offers or denunciations of those responsible for the crime. All, including the coterie, grumble, become tired and begin to desert, finally going back
627 to their homes. The notables, satiated and fed up, see that this is
614 the time to stop in the struggle and investigations, because of what
613 they hurried to auction when it was taken over, the gross value of which they distribute equally among the lineages concerned in the
[594] agreement, except for that of the man who violated it. This distribution, which the representatives of the lineages present parcel out among their lineage-mates, must in turn be parcelled out by the latter among the nuclear families, and by these among the members of each
[262] family. And thus, one fine day, the imgharen and their numerous coterie, nourished with barley, bread, butter and hard-boiled eggs, abandon those places which they have left as clean as the palms of their hands; for Rifian notions of justice are now satisfied and the lineage responsible for the crime remains in misery.

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 644 695 Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A], and their brother Hammu.

621 692 693 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hannash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 687 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Azizi attended the present act with them. Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

1784

A, [A "83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

695 Valid and complete testimony in virtue of which both instrumental witnesses bring testimony against them.

000 (Two illegible signatures follow.)

692 At the same time, they agreed that whoever should commit any of the wrongs (literally, "things") expressed herein, the case, together with him (the man who committed it) shall be taken to Sayyid Mhammad bin Musa[32] and Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Ali[33] (Blanco: note d).

685 Whoever enters an orchard with intent to rob shall pay 20 685 uqiyyas. If a bull should start to trample property adjacent to that 672 of its owner, the latter shall pay one peseta.

The guarantors (of the fulfillment of this agreement) are three. The Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah, and Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan (Blanco: note e).

[681] Regarding the amount (of the fines imposed) with respect to orchards in cases in which they are injured by animals, this will be donated to their mosque (Blanco: note f).

If they should break a branch of a fig or other tree belonging to anyone, the owner of the animals will pay 20 (uqiyyas).

000 A signature in Arabic follows, which appears to be al-Bu Jma' bin Muhammad (signed).

B) Commentary:

671 624 The reading of this qanun clearly indicates in its first paragraph the names of those who have established it, all of them members of the jma'th of Imhauren, bordering the Island of Alhucemas, in the 624 plain of the same name. Every two or three headmen or iziddifen (sing., 613 554 aziddif, "head") are the visible representatives of the lineage groups

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613
554 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
[182] presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its repre-
792 sentatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692
554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692
212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
671 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
521
571 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
431 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of
556
152 some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628
177 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613
623 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that somebody had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
687 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus public

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673
681 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
685 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good, natural and admirable feeling.

182
671 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
626 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
681 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
613

691 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

000 671 182 628 681 nor a bastardization of his office. It creates guarantees for the accused, protecting him from bloodfeuds; it indemnifies the social unit, the subclan of Imhauren, from injuries caused by some of its members, so that when the fine is donated to the habus of the village mosque, through the particular conceptualization and application of these funds in the Rif, a part of the money always came back to the jma'th in kind; and the eagerness for a reward, as among participating European functionaries, who multiply the fines by increasing their investigations and denunciations in proportion to their needs, was discarded.

671 681 627 It has--and why not?--among its other defects one which is certainly a simple defect in editing, although the frequency with which it is repeated makes this doubtful in several cases. The intention (author's italics) (Blanco: note f, in text) is punished, but how can it be proven? According only to the prudent arbitration of the popular tribunal formed by the two aforementioned individuals. A bad business.

671 621 623 614 182 Curious and noteworthy is the palpable demonstration of this municipal letter, of this qanun of a jma'th, which is careful not to overstep the bounds of adjacent institutions, such as those of personal status law (inheritance, etc.) or of those handled by the immediately superior social unit, the clan, with its qanun approved and drawn up in the markets (murders and woundings, etc.), a fact which reveals the interrelationship and interdependence of the different social units, and even their institutions and how they function.

671 627 182 This qanun is limited, logically, to neighborhood questions, among which there figures in first place that of public security (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property.

000 (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property. It$_{A}^{A}$ says nothing regarding
671 the question of irrigation, because within the territory of this subclan
312 there is not a single point of communal water available or usable only
614 by this jma'th, as happens in Thamasind (see Qanun of Tamasint); on the other hand, it forms part of a group of irrigating jma'ths subjected to the same norms which are described in detail in Chapter XIV, and, if it does not touch other points of coexistence and if it is observed in other qanums, this is simply because such questions did not give rise to any disagreements, for all members of the subclan accepted the old and very well-known customs of their jma'th in good spirit.

000 And rough, practical men cannot lose time inventing or making things up, even though they may be capable of doing so.

671 This qanun, like almost all others, brings into relief the sweat, efforts and oversights of those who drew it up, in order to validate the precepts agreed upon and in order to satisfy, for those attending to them[37]; for, attentive to his individual interests, a man would wish to make an addendum if a mishap had occurred in his orchard
[623] the previous night, as in note i in the text. Amplifications or corrections were required, for, fearing that they were not understood by the hard-headed councilmembers, the plaintiff was accredited before the legislative assembly as proof of his presence at the legislative meeting even if only to legislate egotistically for his orchard.

623 With this, they accredited that under a severe and formalized
182 appearance, there was no more than childishness (sic) and incapacity to govern (sic): lost in small details, strongly addicted to minutiae, passionately influenced by the latest incident, working anarchically (sic), each person obsessed with his own problems, attentive to his

A,[i.e., the qanun--Analyst] -295-
A

623 182 own circumstantial interest, their councils and the agreements fallen back upon in them lacked that breadth and generality which would have been needed for a longer duration in any jural operation. In a short time, new, unspecified cases or prejudice among the influential men brought their usefulness to an end and necessitated their being redrafted, in which previous experience, the analysis of which was discarded in order to resolve the question of the moment, did not play a part.

671 212 For this reason written laws in the Rif are rare, of only relative value and minimal jural operation, which did not go beyond the time it took the minors (author's italics), the small ones, to forget the announcement of the majors (author's italics) by the criers in the markets to reach their hands.

671 They do not have the severity of European law which, even though drafted in moments of emotion, gathers up and encloses in itself principles of general usefulness, a usefulness which does not necessarily exist at the time of codification but which comes into play with possible and presumable variations which later times can introduce, by which, with the prolongation of their legal operation, their disclosure and exemplarity increase, resulting in the slow but sure advance of society.

5. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF TAMASINT (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 695 621 623 A) Qanun:

(Blanco: paragraph a) Praise be to God.--Copy.--In front of both witnesses testifying at the present act, those of the jama'a of Tamasint as-Sifli, Lower Thamasind, appeared for judgment, including:

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present
805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

671
623

b) Commentary:

This document, this community charter, as is customary with such writings, begins by enumerating the men who attended the meeting

671
554
623

in which it was drawn up. This simple list of names reveals to us, in the first place, the supremacy of the laymen, with civil power, over the clerics, a fact which may be observed in the name of the man figuring in first place being ahead of that of the Talib Sidi Shu'aib.

671
829
576
623

The order in which the names occur is not a casual one. The editors of the qanums, profound psychologists who know to perfection the environment in which they operate, never dare to invert the terms of social protocol; they know with their eyes closed who must occupy the preferential place, and that the slightest transgression in this respect would tear down not only the agreement, through any quarrel which might take place, but also the effigy of the editors themselves[39].....

623

The first paragraph puts into relief just who are the representative men of the jma'th, the notables, the heads of the lineages making up the village, the iziddifen, who formed the council regulating neighborhood relations, the only council empowered to legislate in such questions (Blanco: paragraph i or j), and equivalent to the Spanish Consejo or Ayuntamiento.[40]

The agraw or council-meeting held on this occasion by the iziddifen had as its object, as the written qanun shows us, the legislation of neighborhood questions concerning the council, regulation of the coexistence of its lineage members, guaranteeing the free and peaceful usufruct of individual and communal (i.e. water) property,

623 the imposition of minimal social obligations (education and hospitality), the equal division of duties and work, and, finally, nomination of a man to represent the jma'th and to see that local law is enforced.

This jma'th and its representative were legitimate organs of the people, an authentic and faithful reflection of the feeling and convenience of its members, live and efficient organisms. Today a 623 177 182 rigid Arab framework and its imposed and despotic representatives has submerged the jma'th, without any alternative other than the hatred or scorn of its members, according to whether the chief is a tyrant, or a slave to his needs or whims.

436 681 For an analysis of the proportioning of the punishment, it is well to know the equivalents of the Rifian monetary system, as follows:[41]

Mithqal--2 Spanish pesetas

Bsita--0.60 Spanish pesetas

Rbi'a--0.50 Spanish pesetas

Uqiyya or Spanish onza, "ounce"--0.20 Spanish pesetas

Ujjhain (two muzunas)--0.10 Spanish pesetas

Muzuna or Spanish blanquillo, "little target"--0.05 Spanish pesetas.

681 673 With these data to hand, we may now establish the framework of fines which occur in the qanun commented upon, in the following order:

Theft by day, of cereals or fruits (figs, etc.)--100 pesetas

Theft by night, in the orchards or gardens--20 pesetas

Threats with firearms--20 pesetas

Thefts by day, in the orchards--10 pesetas

Threats with knives or daggers--5 pesetas

Damages to dams--5 pesetas

681
673

Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

673
623
685
423

An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

623
423
578

The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is, then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

623
[793]

Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

[623]
[681]
[554]

But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

623 554 legislate, but it is not maintained by conferring distinctions on them, converting them into a caste, nor by giving them stipends for their work. For this same reason, the council-members have, perhaps, greater esteem among their neighbors. On the other hand, the jma'th punishes [681] disobedience to its decrees, but it does not impose a penalty on those who disobey the shaikh, who is simply a representative of the people with outside denomination expressed in writing (i.e. in Arabic), in view of the difficulty of expressing this in his own language.[44] That [622] he is a simple titular and outside arbiter is shown by the fact that his function, in Arabic terminology and organization, would be that of a mqaddim.

607 554 623 [578] This qanun is an excellent example of the beginnings of a trend toward personal power concentrated in a single individual, the shaikh, charged with the representation of the jma'th and the execution of its agreements;.....and we may perceive indistinctly the intrigue and the deaf struggle between this personage and the rest of the community, who are jealous of his attributes. In the first draft, the document is declared valid (Blanco: paragraph f, in text); but in the oversights pointed up in the re-reading of the document, and certainly at the shaikh's request, they consent to the fact that obedience to him be recommended in the addenda; but they have been careful, in the preceding paragraph (paragraph i), to state that only they can make resolutions or define crimes and misdemeanors through enforcement of law and punishment, always granted, of course, that such enforcement be useful (author's italics); but neither the shaikh nor anyone else can invent or contrive more than his council, because only they are capable

671 of knowing the needs of the moment, not past or future needs which do
554 not mean anything to anybody. They are living laws designed for living
623 people, for those present.

671 Paragraph b shows us how they embellish their law, taking aggra-
672 vating and attenuating circumstances into account. Among these are nocturnity and dwellings (where they guard their fig and grain re-
[682] serves). Attenuating and, even more, exemption from responsibility, homicide is legitimate if committed in self defense or in defense of one's property.

681 Paragraph c punishes intention, in order to avoid disputes,
554 and makes a small concession to personal power, permitting the shaikh
661 to keep for himself this fine destined for the common fund.
671

685 Paragraph d is concerned with injuries to crops by animals,
672 which are herded by children. The punishment is minimal.
671

In paragraph e, the law of the jma'th establishes and regulates
671 the social duty of hospitality, imposing the burden equally on all its
623 members. Guests learn that it is not only the shaikh who pays for
574 their upkeep, but all the members of the jma'th, even the poor ones.

623 Consider also the excessive number of voluntary servitors who
574 dance continued attendance on the guest with towels, basins and soap, and finally the amphitrion hands over to their expectant voracity all the remains of your meal, except for one small dish which, passing through the door, is submerged in the mysterious interior of the dwelling as a reward for the activity of the women or children who prepared it. When you leave, each member of the jma'th retires with whatever he presented for your comfort: pillows, blankets, soap, coffee pot or teapot, towel, glasses, candles, etc.

771 [671] Paragraph h shows us the guarantee of keeping the principal religious services (funera'ls, etc.) and of keeping their sons educated in the faith. Today, under a different pretext, it is not uncommon 771 178 to observe someone pretending to reject with disdain such a traditional [793] obligation, for which he must not claim protection. The reason for this, rather than being rooted in irreligiosity, must be sought in possible antagonisms with the fqih.

623 671 Paragraph i conditions the obligation of fulfilling the agreements with certain legalities: that so many individuals be present at the meeting, and that they be useful and not prejudicial. They are, thus, the colegislators, working freely and without limitation, without dependence on anyone. It urges obedience.

671 [554] Paragraph j recommends obedience to the shaikh.

In summation: this beautiful qanun of a jma'th establishes who 671 623 are the iziddifen or council-members, and what their attributes are: to establish statutes regarding damages to crops, education and hospitality, but not to concern themselves with murder, woundings and homicide, an affair of the clan, nor with personal status, a religious 623 matter. In the internal struggle within the jma'th, if, indeed, the 554 iziddifen consent and delegate the execution of their decisions to a representative (the shaikh) to whom they accord circumstantial rewards, at the same time, jealous of their prerogatives, they free themselves very easily from authorizing him to contrive misdemeanors and penalties for these.

554 Thus the shaikh, in reality, is only the guardian of the community.

6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH[45] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

671 443 [778] Praise be to the One God. The will and eternal power of Our Lord having decided thus, the congregation--in the Tuesday Market (Suq ath-Thulatha) (situated) at 'Ain Tihalalin[46], in the vicinity of (the tomb of) the holy emanator of blessings Sidi 'Amran[47]--of its owners, those of the clan of Bani 'Abdallah. (The latter) convened 623 443 692 681 (in the abovementioned market) with the idea of coming to agreement on their criteria and on the purity of their actions in behalf of the common good of all; and, as a consequence, they decided the amount of the fines to be imposed inasmuch as there should occur within the abovementioned market, or, indeed, outside it on the path (which leads to it), (Blanco: note a) incidents, premeditated or not, through error or imprudence, such as woundings and murders (which might happen) through gunshots, knifings, strangulations and stonings, (or, indeed), 682 443 pillaging and sacking. (Blanco: note b) To anyone who kills in the interior of the market and is caught (literally, "had"), rashsha' shall [696] be applied to him (i.e. he shall be shot). If he has not been captured owing to having fled to another tribe (literally, "other tribes"), (they shall impose upon him a fine of) 2000 duros and his house shall be burned down to its foundations. (If he should kill) on the path (which leads to the market) he shall also pay (a fine of) 2000 (duros). Whoever should wound (another), (he shall be fined) 1000 duros. Whoever 683 (shoots) and misses (his target), (he shall pay a fine of) 500 duros.

682 (Blanco: note c) Whoever of the Bani 'Abdallah should commit murder on Tuesday (i.e. on market day, the day of the suq) within the

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take
687 683 justice into his own hands (literally, "ransacking to collect a debt") shall pay 50 duros, as the same for whoever should attack another on
689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of
681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made
443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul)
693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) in order to testify.

(Blanco: note h) If, regarding a murder, there is brought sufficient proof (against the guilty party), the abovementioned fine shall be imposed upon him, and in case sufficient proof does not exist, he shall swear (for acquittal).[48]

(Blanco: note i) Regarding the abovementioned beginning (i.e. on Tuesdays), it is ended at the hour of the 'isha (i.e. at the dinner hour or hour of the sunset prayer). Amen.

On the sixth day of Ramadan the Magnificent of the year 1335 (June 26, 1917). Servant of his God, may He be exalted, Muhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, 'Abd as-Salam bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

Legalization by the qadi. Praise be to the One God. (Both 'udul) have put down its contents, which are accepted and to which I give faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Umar at-Tuzani, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

This qanun manifests in a clear way how social law is made among Rifians: where the legislators gathered to agree on it, how it was made public, whom it obligated, the jurisdiction in which it was exercised, the objective sought and the means of attaining it.

It enumerates the crimes and their sanctions, it distinguishes perpetrators and accomplices, provokers and auxiliaries, natives and stranger. It eschews pardon, it demands proof and it shows the reality of the social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator

[See p.306-- Analyst]

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
62 social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
443 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to
671 those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan, an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in
[182] principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
614
996

671 443 614 776 was drawn up, as the names of those who inspired it disappear into a convenient anonymity as the generic "those of the clan", under the otherworldly tutelage of Sidi 'Amran. As for being alive and present, 671 614 776 I consider that the jealous and rivalrous constituents of this saint would neither have consented, however great his sanctity might be, to figure expressly in this qanun; for such was the independent or anarchical spirit of this clan, that, having iziddifen or ingharen like all other clans, nobody wanted to see himself deferred or ordered around, 554 even in name only. There is no master nor, by the same token, are there servants, titles or honors. Only men and rifles, and only reality and harshness.

614 671 Nevertheless, the common good succeeds in putting the clan's ideas into effect (author's italics--i.e. "the common good makes them agree"), according to the expression of the first paragraph of the qanun, which reveals to us the amount of discussion and work that this would cost.

671 Rifian law grows, pacifying the minds of those who live by it, satisfying a need, not an ideal; and doing so as naturally as the waters of 'Ain Tihalalin, beside which it was made, slake the thirst of the wayfarer and even the clarity of both: the wayfarer and the law. For the function of the water and the function of the Rifian [182] legal system was analogous: to cure, even though the cure was not always successful.

671 443 Rifian society, as this qanun proves, establishes a place of peace, a place which is not (translator's italics) the temple of God, the place of prayer and that selected by almost all other peoples, but the market and its environs, the temple of the merchants. This proves

671 This proves
182 that Rifian law tended to satisfy a need and not an ideal, as we have
443 just said; for further on, the qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah points out
796 a truce to be held on a given day, on Tuesday, the market day, and not on Friday, the religious day and the day of attendance at the noon prayer in the mosque. The day of peace is thus a layman's day.....

671 The law is simple. And hard. And sufficient to be encrusted with obligatory relief in the most refractory cranium of a believer, an objective impossible to obtain among modern societies. Nobody pretended ignorance, as all are wont to do or swear today.

There are neither aggravators nor attenuators, only consummate (and consummated) acts.

Paragraph a: They discount intentions, so difficult to prove
[681] and needing so much patience to investigate. They attain results more easy to prove and more quick to sanction (i.e. castigate) and be sanctioned, in conformance with their rudimentary law.

671 Paragraph b: A hard punishment; the liquidation of the mur-
682 derer, with the loophole that after his flight, the law may fatten on him. But it does not give a heavy punishment to his agnates, although it avoidsimpunity. It does not cease to be more humanitarian than other analogous qanuns, if indeed this custom is followed in reality.
[681] The gradation of fines is simple and even attempted murder is penalized.

671 Paragraph c: A typical example of the fact that Rifian law is only concerned with the external manifestation of the crime.

[681] Paragraph d: And so that the gradation of the punishment follows that manifestation as a shadow does a body, from the time that it is initiated.

671 Paragraph e: This paragraph distinguishes principals from accomplices or auxiliaries.

671 181 Paragraph f: A virile and rural society distrusts the veracity of the so-called humanitarian sentiments, closing its doors to the intrigues which, under such a mask, provoke influential individuals to save their allies and other interested aspirations which mock the objectives that the law, to which they freely gave themselves, pursues.

671 609 628 Paragraph g: We have here a precise and exact detail, an excellent delimitation of a truce, a recognition of Rifian public law (i.e. jural procedure) and interest protecting the stranger, to whom this law guarantees a wide and sufficient time of commercial activity and a prudent warning that he leave an open field to the fierce internal bloodfeuding. We have here a manifestation of the social unit, 671 609 614 the clan, which shows us its reality and consistency, which recognizes a common interest and one superior to its own intestinal vendettas; and this permits it to guarantee to the neutral, to the stranger, a free passage and activity throughout its whole territory (author's italics).

671 695 Paragraph h: Two important additions are made here to the hurried first draft. It is necessary, first, to guarantee the person of the accused against the passions of the moment, the outward appearances, the ill-will and the outright suspicions, by means of evident proof (author's italics), offering him the means of avoiding such passions by taking oath. And in the second addendum (Paragraph i) they list, furthermore, and completing it, the duration of the truce or time of peace.

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanuns, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

671 [62] [623] [614] We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

671 component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to
614 disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual
613 interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing in-
182 fluence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

671 7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)
693 A) Qanun:
695 Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the under-
623 signed notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya)
621 made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who consti-
782 tute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this
682 kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-
613 mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros.
682 This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55]
443 or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

685 In the same way, they agreed to impose fines for all damages or injuries which are caused, such as theft, etc.

Whoever should steal a sheep or a goat shall be fined 10 duros, and whoever should steal barley, broad beans, etc., from someone else's land shall be fined 5 duros.

681 In summation, all injuries or damages caused by one of them (the Bani 'Adhiya) against another (of them), a fine shall be levied from him, whoever (the party guilty) of the injury or damage may be.

671 In accordance with the above, their declarations were put down, as they have been expressed and explained. Valid and complete testimony. The parties who took part in the present agreement know [693] the value of this agreement, and because of this, both the undersigned notaries testify to what is set down and to the fact that they (the Bani 'Adhiya) are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound minds and memories) and that they are known (personally) to them (the notaries).

805 On the second day of the divine month of Jumad ath-Thani of the 600 year 1332 (April 28, 1914). Servant of his God, may He be glorified, 'Abd as-Salam bin 'Abdallah at-Tafrasti, may God be benevolent toward him. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Aisa at-Taxurakhti, may God be benevolent toward him.

B) Commentary:

671 This synthetic qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya, drawn up in conformity with the dictates of the purest tradition, contains within it suggestions analogous to the rest of the documents which we have studied.

[771] It is a pact (author's italics), by which those who have agreed on it must in future regulate their coexistence and traditional

671 771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [514] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 681 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

671
628
681
184
443 1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in certain qanuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the
681
619
443 reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681 For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is
681
628
682
614
619
443
613 therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
691 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

671 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

671 "when they were under God's protection") among the notables of the Bani Khattab situated on the seacoast[65], God made them assemble, both adults and minors (author's italics), and made them put their ideas and criteria into agreement. Then they established the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') in front of the tomb of the saint Sidi Bu 'Afif[66], so that it would be a benefit to the poor as well as to those who should desire prosperity.

May God make concord (and harmony) endure among them, and may He solidify (i.e. render prosperous) their market. The establishment (of the aforementioned market) was due to the blessed sharif Sayyidi Ahmad bin Sayyidi Misa'ud[67]--may God make the whole tribe happy--and to the following persons of Ajdir[68]: to the opulent and considerate Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, to the Qa'id Sayyid Bu Bakr bin al-Hajj Muhammad Ushshan, to the Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar al-'Azizi al-Ghalbzuri and to his neighbor Shaikh al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir u Musa w 'Amar, to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Shaikh Hammu Taqal'ait Ashawi, and to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Hajj Muhammadi. All these shuyukh are those who brought their criteria and aid (for the establishment of the market), and above all of them (is the worthy help) of the sharif Sidi Ahmad.

Each of the shuyukh designated those who had to help them in the aforementioned market; these helpers are their brothers (i.e. the people who fall under their jurisdiction) and have to be the first to arrive at the market and the last to leave, in order to safeguard it from prejudice, harm, danger, evil and brawls which might occur in it (i.e. within its limits).

For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)

682 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)
443 and should kill him shall be fined 500 duros[69], and if, in attacking
he should miss him (i.e. if the bullet should fail to reach its mark),
685 he shall pay 200 duros. Whoever should take justice into his own hands
443 on the path to the market shall be fined 50 duros and shall return what-
ever object he made off with. Of those who should incite riots with
689 shouts and gunshots, as (happened) to the people of Tafrast, Ait Musa
w 'Amar (both in the clan of the Aith 'Ari) and to the people of Ajdir
(in the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), each one shall pay with his
689 death (literally, "with his neck"), that is, he must be shot. Whoever
443 should be discovered in the Monday Women's Market (Suq ath-Thnain n
562 Timgharin, at Azghar) shall be forced to pay 10 duros.

671 This is what has been decided (for fulfillment) of justice in
443 the above-mentioned market. May God, for the common good, put into
agreement His ideas and the criteria of His lords (of the market).
689 Punishment shall seek out anyone who should wish to provoke riots--
may God in His power make him meet his end.

000 The abovementioned shuyukh have worked with good intent, with
the idea of being useful. May God cause the miracles of the saints
to be manifested, and of the saint of the tomb situated in front of the
market (i.e. that of Sidi Bu 'Afif).

Each of the abovementioned shuyukh designated among his brothers
(i.e. among the men in his jurisdiction) those faithful to him (i.e.
those who constituted his escort and supported his decisions), as for
example: the Shaikh Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar designated among them
the Murabit bin Muhammad bin 'Abdallah Bu 'Azza; the Murabit Hammu bin
al-Hajj Muhammad w al-Qadi; 'Umar bin al-Hajj Tuhami Adardush; Muhammad

000 bin Haddu w al-Qadi; Shaikh al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir; Muhammad bin Taghdart Aswiq; Muhammad bin 'Aisa Aswiq; Muhammad bin al-Hajj Aswiq; Haddu bin Hammu Ihaddushen; 'Umar bin al-Hajj Muhammad u Haddu; Muhammad bin Bu 'Azza Hankur; Muhammad bin 'Allush; Siddiq bin al-Hajj Muhammadi Bu Minqad; and from the Imrabdhen, the Murabit 'Alibin Muhammad bin Haddu w 'Ali al-Ghalbzuri. The brothers (i.e. the faithful ones of the same jurisdiction) of Shaikh Haddu bin Hammu Taqal'ait are: Muhammad bin al-Hajj Muhammad bin al-Hajj Shu'aib; 'Umar bin Muhammad Marsaq; al-Hajj Hammu bin Haddu bin 'Ali; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhand al-Mujarrad; the Talib Sayyid Bu Khiyar; Muhammad bin 'Aisa Aa'aru; al-Hajj Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin 'Abdallah of Ait Ahmad u Yahya; Sayyid Haddu bin Tuhami Itarhush; and Muhammad bin Shu'aib bin Haddu al-'Arabi. By the same token, those faithful to Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi and to Shaikh 'Ali Azarqan are: the opulent Muhammad Abuqquy; the Faqir Muhammad bin Haddu bin al-Sayyid 'Umar; Hammush bin al-Sayyid Muhammad; Hammush bin al-Hajj Muhammad bin 'Abdallah; Muhammad bin Haddu bin Dahman; 'Abd al-Karim bin 'Umar; 'Abd al-Hadi; al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Karim bin al-Hajj Misa'ud; al-Sayyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj Muhammad u Yahya; al-Sayyid Misa'ud bin Muhammad w 'Ali Haddu bin al-Hajj 'Umar u Haddu; al-Ra'is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Ali; al-Sayyid Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad w 'Aisa; Muhammad bin al-Sayyid Ahmad; Amghar al-Sayyid 'Umar; al-Sayyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj Budra; Shu'aib bin 'Aisa; the Shaikh Muhammadi bin al-Sayyid Muhammad bin Muhammad Budra and his brothers; the Shaikh Muhammad bin al-Shaikh; Muhammadi bin 'Ali bin al-Sayyid Muhammad; Muhammad bin misa'ud bin Salim; Hammu bin Haddu

000 Taqal'ait; and Muhammad bin al-Hajj Hadidush. All these are faithful (adherents) who are under the orders of their shuyukh, each one (obeying) the orders and countermands of his shaikh. May God help them and put them into agreement (i.e. make them agree) for the common good, because in this is founded the pleasure of God; may God cause all to stay in power, with His protection and generosity.

[805] At the end of the divine month of Rabi' al-Thani of the year 1325 (June 10, 1907).

Servant of his God, may He be glorified, Mhammad bin Muhammad bin Mhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

671 This qanun, following the criteria by which the others have been analyzed, appears the least suggestive, due doubtless to the redundancy of patronyms which it contains, none of which the editor, who is a perfect chronicler of this society, dares suppress in his personal adulation, while he forgets to consign with analogous detail the principal material, the punishments of crimes which are the object of the industrious and complex body politic.

000 He would have beencapable of writing the names of all his constituents, surpassing his own record, which he undoubtedly left established with such an interminable list, the reading of which few could finish, from not doing it with the derisive tone and with the falsetto voice to which they are accustomed, revealing the affected, pompous, superficial and routine mentality of the Arabic schoolroom, very adherent to form but exempt of content[70], which the pure Rifian

000 knows how to listen to, attentively and curiously, with a composure, artfulness and incomprehension which is charming, so that he may interpret it later on according to his whim, and with such freedom that no one could recognize it if there were anyone in this happy land to whom the idea of losing time through research might occur.

The memory of Rifians is of a shocking fragility for whatever does not interest them or is lacking in precise outline.....

693 671 212 How many disputes and fights the talib-editor might have avoided if he had had the least idea of the transcendence of his writing and of his notarial function, and if he had listed, instead of his dull litany of names, that by which "they established a qanun for all in general", from which he shows no more than four examples (author's italics), and these very entangled!

693 212 Undoubtedly the first man to be convinced of his uselessness and transitoriness as a legal recorder was the neglected talib-editor himself. He would not judge it opportune to bother about this, knowing the slight value which Rifian society attached to proof written down by the cunning tulba, to whom it only apportioned snares and delusions. Perhaps intentionally in order to convert himself into the sacred repository of all the juridical sciences of the Aith Khattab, a pre-eminent post, he saw himself as an obligatory consultant for all the disputes among his forgetful constituents, for these would require his testimony and assure him of a certain measure of preponderance, especially sacerdotally, aside from an obligatory invitation to a final meal. All conjectures fit, from that of ignorance to that of gluttony. What is certain and unpardonable is that this voluntary omission deprives us today of tasting the needs which they felt and the form in which they sought to remedy them. -322-

000 sought to remedy them.

671 This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences
671 from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the
181 Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization,
[177] how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society.

181 In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from
369 the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means
554 of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes,
177 in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthen-
369 ing his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers
554 himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although
291 his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

369 The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders
829 on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

369 Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

671 554 Abundant in these ideas, we may observe how in the first lines of the qanun some names are adorned with the honorific titles of shaikh and even qa'id, titles which fit the members of this society as well as two pistols do a saint, for not only did they not realize nor did anyone admit the roles which in Arabic correspond to such titles, but, as can be appreciated, the nominal qa'id (i.e. Sayyid Bu Bakr bin Muhammad Ushshan) does not occupy the first place, which he not only had to yield to the opulent and considerable Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, but to crouch behind another, second shaikh, 'Ali Azarqan, and we finally discover him in third place modestly lost among the notables: the adults (author's italics), with this single, authentic and legitimate representation: that of his lineage (family group) or dharfiqth, and all the rest, of the social group or jma'th.

It may be observed that this is the only qanun in which the imaginary personage of the qa'id is expressly stated; his title and role are as unreal as all other Arab ones in the Rif, whether they be called bu mwarith, ukil l-ghuyab, shiyukh, mqaddimin and even qudat (pl. of qadi). These people did not look toward Fez nor toward the circumference of the Rif, but toward its center, toward the interior, toward their villages. There was no power other than the assembly, the agraw[75], the council of elders. For this reason Rifian society.... could have previously been considered concentric.[76]

181 614 121

671 554 693 We may also see the coincidence that this qanun, the only one in which the term qa'id appears, is also the only one which contains that of amghar among the last names (ninth to last) as well as that of ra'is[77], and it reveals to us how the tulba of the Aith Waryaghar, who

671 554 693 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike proclivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their real profession.

671 779 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code, 671 683 or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack, he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor marksmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect marksmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

681 443 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the [619] [673] tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

562 671 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 183 794 443 689 178 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's

562 443 178 183 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of

[184] (681) the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the fundamentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these kin groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

671 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any in-
vader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed im-
potence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organiza-
tion and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

have just said, a personage who does not show up in any qanun as discharging his office or as even providing the most minimal and non-transcendent representation, for in the one qanun in which we finally discover him (the qanun commented upon here) we have already shown that he hides himself modestly and even effacingly behind the camouflage of two other shiyukh. The result is that not even in the big list, in the listing of "the fat ones" (i.e. the enumeration of the clan brothers of each of the imagharen of importance), does this ambitious man gain first prize, the individual who seizes this being an opulent and lay tribesman whose preeminence clearly gives a clue to the psychology of the talib who drafted the qanun as well as to that of his constituents.

And, reflecting upon bases like these, it is well to ask what reasons or exigencies the first protectorate functionaries felt, discounting both imitative and ignorant ones in order to orient their policies toward big qa'ids who, even if their stature has been diminished, are no longer to be seen for sure anywhere.

To impose upon the tribes more or less significant personalities, representatives of concentrated power, when, subdivided ad infinitum, they unite in their opposition to all types of personal power, is always an ungrateful undertaking and one full of surprises, as practice has shown us....when power is imposed from above.[84]

In the Rif, where all are personalities, only a mass-oriented political system, and not one oriented toward individuals, can bear fruit.[85] The enforced utilization of one or even several dozen persons of some importance serves no purpose if this does not benefit the mass, taking up its aspirations and satisfying its needs, anxious for freedom

R 642 and justice, and so opposed to sharifian and Qur'anic feudalism in theory and practice.....

S 671 9. QANUN OF THE TRIBE OF AITH SIDDAT[86]:

A) Qanun:

S 619 681 Praise be to God. The tribe of Bani Siddat convened to agree that (Blanco: note a) whoever should commit a murder in the above-mentioned tribe shall pay 500 duros, (Blanco: note b) but in case several (individuals should be involved in the commission) of the crime, each one shall pay the above quantity of 500 duros; (Blanco: note c) that, if a thief should penetrate the house of someone and be killed by the owner of the house, there shall be no way in which proceedings can be brought against the latter except if there should previously have existed some matter (of disagreement) between both, in which case (the abovementioned owner) shall have no recourse other than to make good what was established in the agreement; (Blanco: note d) any individual, in case he should attack someone, although the attack be frustrated, and in spite of the fact that he be repulsed and killed, shall pay what has been agreed upon, (Blanco: note e) and against the one who repulsed him there shall be no way in which proceedings can be brought; (Blanco: note f) whoever (should fire) a shot shall be fined one-fourth of the amount agreed upon above, and (Blanco: note g) whoever inflicts a wound shall be fined one-half; (Blanco: note h) whoever should attack with stones or wound his fellow man (literally, "brother") shall be fined 50 mithqals and 1 duro in the coinage of Makhzin; (Blanco: note i) whoever should insult a woman with obscene and dishonest words shall be fined 50 mithqals and 1 duro

619 681 in the coinage of the Makhzin, that is, 15 duros; (Blanco: note j) that everyone, in what he does, must act in accordance with Islamic norms of conduct, with nobility and not with wickedness; (Blanco: note k) and that whoever assists another (in committing these established and punishable acts) will be fined 50 mithqals.

619 693 805 What has been set down is what the abovementioned tribe has agreed upon, to which those (the 'udul) testify in complete form; they, with the abovementioned tribe, attended such an act, by which, by virtue of and in tenor with the contents of the same, they extended their testimony in behalf of the party who required it of them (i.e. the councilmembers of Bani Siddat), at the beginning of the divine month of Rabi' al-Thani of the year 1323 (June 6, 1905).

000 Servant of his God, may He be glorified, 'Ali bin Ahmad, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, al-Hajj Muhammad bin al-Hajj Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-'Arbi, may God pardon him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Aisa, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

671 184 This qanun of the tribe of Aith Siddat shows us.....that if the Rif, topographically, ethnically, linguistically and spiritually, presents (cultural) characteristics sufficiently well-defined for a clear delimitation, this does not imply a rigorous similarity of its component institutions; for even within its cultural borders it is easy to spot local differences, even though in no way do the latter affect or diminish the standing of the Rifian group as a well defined entity within the Berber Bloc, the most outstanding features of which it accentuates.

671 619 [175] [64] Drawn up by the Siddatis, this qanun functions as their law; and we might say here that Aith Siddat, although considered today as an independent tribe, in reality functioned only as a clan of the Sinhaja Srir in the past.[87] Thus we continue to see in the Rifian mountains a true autonomous state, embodying its own legislative and executive power, as the earlier qanuns of the different clans of Aith Waryaghar have already shown us.

671 62 623 [191] As with the qanuns of the Aith Waryaghar, that of Aith Siddat does not descend to details which convert it into a statute of the jma'th, usurping or invading the prerogatives of the latter. The qanun of the Aith Siddat only provides general norms of public or common law, and it only tries to regulate and impose general rights and duties without becoming involved in relations with families and their neighbors, or in religious questions.[88]

671 682 681 For this reason, like all qanuns of this category, it establishes, in the first place, the ddiyith (Arabic diya) or blood price[89], which is the heart of all common law in the Rif, the norm of regional coexistence from which all the rest are derived and which is the best possible index to the evaluation of such law.

681 182 614 The initial datum, the point of departure and the comparison on analyzing Rifian society and the relationships of its component parts.....must be that of the ddiyith, for the reason that it not only can reveal the degree of internal decomposition to which the anarchical (sic) autonomous existence of the clans led and contributed, but it can also explain to us several other aspects of such a primitive society, including that of the simple mechanism of its legislation.

88--As the qanuns on the jma'th level do.

89--Here again, Blanco mistakes the ddiyith for the rhaqq.

682 Thus we see that while the Aith 'Abdallah, a clan devastated
184 by internal feuds, fix the price of a life (author's italics) at
[578] 10,000 pesetas, a fabulous sum at that time and for those people of
[511] such meager economic means, in order to terrify them and to limit their virile impulses toward vengeance, the Aith Khattab and this qanun of the Aith Siddat upon which we are commenting at present
184 set it at one-fourth this amount (2,500 pesetas). This proves to us,
681 along with the independence of the clan, as such, the unity of doc-
671 trine in the region and, that partly because of the greater unity of (the Aith Siddat), their discords, being minimal or at least less frequent in homicidal results, could through lesser occurrence enable the law to become more humane through a decrease in the fine and, in addition, a suppression of the implacable "razzia" (i.e. houseburning) to be found in the qanuns of the Aith 'Abdallah and Aith 'Adhiya.

689 On the other hand, the Aith Siddat, like the Aith Khattab,
683 saw themselves obliged to try to establish a greater public morality,
443 by making it a punishable crime for those who showed lack of respect
562 to women; and the two respective qanuns reflect this, for that of the
671 Aith Khattab punishes with a 10-duro fine anyone who might try to
[184] attend the women's market and thus reserves a fixed and sure gathering place for the weaker sex, while that of the Aith Siddat imposes a 20-duro fine on anyone who should grossly insult them, thereby guaranteeing them a minimum of public respect which presumably civilized countries have not yet attained.

671 As we have said and as this qanun confirms once more, the most
619 transcendental act in the Rifian mountains was the igrawn or council-
681
443

671 meeting of a tribe in the suq or weekly market to establish the basic
619 pact, by which, in what followed, its internal relations were regu-
443 lated; for in the same act the ddiyit or blood price (author's italics)
681 was established. This, the punishment of the murderer, was the basis
681 of all the rest of the law of the clan, and it was afterwards developed
614 into a more or less detailed and precise written law.[90]
212
671

673 Aside from this high initial amount, it dropped rapidly and
671 strongly in order to set up the lower punishments, embellishing the
681 importance and gravity which Rifian society conceded to such acts which they judged prejudicial and harmful to the social order or simply poorly thought of like those for which it tried to effect solutions and which can be summarized here:

a) offenses against persons (aggressions)

b) offenses against property (thefts)

c) offenses against custom (all the rest)

.....The scale of fines, the punishment, continues as the external manifestation of the offense shows.

[682] Thus notation (a) fixes the ddiyith[91] in cases of murder.

[683] Notation (g) points out that only half of the ddiyith is paid if only wounds have been caused.

[682] Notation (f) indicates that one-fourth of the ddiyith be paid for attempted homicide or for frustrated attacks.

671 If we compare this qanun with the earlier ones commented upon,
681 we may observe that if the fixed amount as blood price (author's italics)
619 differs according to the tribe in question, the proportion in which it
184 is applied in the three resulting cases of attack is invariable, a fact

90--For footnote, see p. 404--Analyst]

91--For ddiyith, read rhaqq, and the same for the rest of this qanun.

671
681
619
184 which shows the only notion in the region, among Rifian penalists, to determine punishment.

682
673
171 Among Rifians, then, as in more advanced countries, the maximum penalty is given to crimes of bloodshed, in response to the instinct of conservation.

671
685
673
681 Offenses against property follow in importance, but they are already relegated to a lower plane, which, at the maximum, does not rise above one-tenth (1/10) of the ddiyith; and this only in the gravest imaginable case, theft in an uninhabited area, an offense which in other qanuns is not even fined one-fortieth (1/40) of the ddiyith, a fact which demonstrates a lamentable frequency and a need to which the Rifians, in their imperfect social system, had to resort in order to make amends for uncollectible debts, by taking justice into their own hands in the face of the....attitude of their representatives on enough occasions, rendered impotent by their disagreement, in order to get at what they wanted.

681
671
182 The result is that the smaller punishments imposed, even though being the highest on that level, show us that a sufficiently frequent practice was the seizure by violence of the belongings of one's neighbors, a fact which indicates to us an alarming insecurity in transition. Moreover, we do not see in it, as I say, a degeneration in the manner of the European burglar or the American gangster, but a logical consequence of the Rifian's rudimentary (sic) economic institutions, which in addition lack official functionaries to watch over the security of property and persons.

181
167 They were too good and honorable to see themselves die out, with no fear other than that of the market announcement and without guards of any sort, on a most miserable land, which their way of life made habitable only through emigration[92] and epidemics taking care of the surplus population.

Clearly, bound to necessity, it incited the envy of more than one individual, considering the very slight severity of the punishment, the possibility of concealing the offense and the difficulty of proof, for which reason the people took refuge in traveling to places unknown to them on days which were not market days, without taking natural precautions.

671
685 The qanun of the Aith Siddat shows us, in notation (c), the offense of house-breaking, with a concise and admirable clarity; it recognizes for the owner of the house the right of violent opposition, a previous guarantee to the society that neither a difference of opinion nor known resentment shall mediate between them.

671
682 By the same token, notation (b) indicates and punishes the accomplice with the same penalty in offenses in which blood is drawn as does notation (k) with 50 mithqals in the rest of the cases.

And finally, in notation (d), the right of legitimate defense is established without the slightest doubt.

671
562 If in each one of the qanuns in this volume it is easy to discover its characteristics and, knowing the region, to find out what each one conceals, to explain what it says and the reasons which it gives for doing so, we must point out, in the present qanun, the interest which the Aith Siddat maintained in enforcing public respect

92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

toward women and the exhortation which they conducted at all times with nobility and without wickedness.

On the other hand, we see that in contrast to their fellows of Aith Waryaghar, they neither list in detail nor excoriate cases of theft, a fact which might give rise to the notion that, among them, such actions were no longer considered pernicious. This is not the case at all. Poorer than the Aith Waryaghar, the Aith Siddat must preserve their property with greater zeal, from whence the right of legitimate defense against the aggressor who would try to seize something from them in a field or path, and the right to kill anyone who should penetrate their houses, the only place where they guard their possessions.[93]

The picking of fruit or vegetables in a field or garden in order that a poor man might eat has never been considered an offense by the Rifian, who puts waterjugs along the mountain paths for the thirsty traveler. In addition, the border market of the Aith Siddat and the fact that their geographical location lacks commercial roads are the reasons which, in our opinion, can explain the apparent oversight in listing actions which it is everywhere else desirable to curb.

10. EXAMPLE OF A LIFF[94] BETWEEN TWO TRIBES (BNI BU FRAH AND BNI GMIL):[95]

A) Qanun:

Praise be to God. In the presence of the witness instrumental to the present act and on the day of the date (below) in Dar al-Zikhlif, there appeared for judgment in front of the above notary certain determined members of the Awlad Sa'id of Bani Bu Frah, of the Awlad Ghadura and Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and his allies on the side of their brothers,

the people of Bani Dar al-Zikhlif, the people of Agni, the people of the Awlad al-Hamdi ibn al-Qadi of Qubi'a, the people of Iharmen, the people of Igzinnayen[96] and the people of Bani Gmil, all agreeing among themselves, with respect to the defense of the border, (to impose) a fine of 2000 duros upon any of those mentioned who, in case of war in Dar al-Zikhlif, should flee through negligence (at a time when cooperation in border defense is needed) or should even proceed with cunning (in order not to fulfill the agreement), for which he shall pay the sum mentioned earlier in the present document.

The allies of Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura who flee back to their homes in Dar al-Zikhlif shall pay the above amount to each one of the clans. A sum shall be levied from their hands by those indicated in the earlier part of the present document. Those of both clans mentioned who would appear for judgment in the act and combat against their own (people) remain exempt from payment[97], (the justification of) this procedure being that it is the only way to impose brotherhood and unity, and to cause extralimitation against them to cease.

000 He who attended the present agreement with both parties and heard from them what was agreed upon extended this to the requirement of those who solicited it.

At the end of the divine month of Rajab al-Fard of the year 1336 (May 9, 1918).

Servant of his God, (illegible).--(Signature).

B) Commentary:

The above qanun, as a perusal of it indicates, represents an

R S 6011 6048

alliance between the people of two distinct tribes, the Bni Bu Frah and the Bni Gmil, or, more specifically the clans of Agni and Ulah S'aid in the first tribe and their neighbor Bni Gmil[98], situated in the hollow of the upper basin of the Wad Bu Frah.

R S 6048

This alliance has as its objective more than just the defense of the border, as it points out, for it guarantees the lives and property of its constituents along the tribal frontiers, as these, in the Rif, do not have the stability which they do, for example, among European states, because purchasing of land, principally, renders them extremely mobile.[99]

R 616

These alliances (<u>lfuf</u>) have a significance and a mechanism among Rifians which we have already attempted to assess in the first part of this conference.

The <u>liff</u>, the origins of which are confusing and the development of which is complicated, is difficult for a European to understand; but nevertheless, it attracted us greatly as the center-piece in the life of the Rifian mountains.[100]

The way I view it, the <u>liff</u> is not a social institution, nor does it fit into the family institutions already considered with reference to the kin group; and this is because it binds together different social units, as in this instance, rather than individuals of different families.[101] The <u>liff</u> is more of a political institution and it represents in Rifian political life a complementary force of higher and intermittent action. Perhaps it may have been the real <u>regulator</u> (author's italics) of Rifian life, not coming into play until other forces became rarified or became disturbed. For this reason, to my way of thinking, it is so important.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

616
613 While relationships with one's own and neighboring lineages, regulated by tradition, were maintained, the liff did not plead permanence as a hope of reward, but whenever injustice or violence, ripping up their pact or norms of coexistence, left an individual or his lineage-mates helpless, these latter attained in the liff a final support for their rights and in all cases a secure material refuge for their persons and possessions.

616
779 The liff must not be compared to European political parties (author's italics), for these are activated under a religious aegis or under a governmental form, both things being ones which did not enter into the preoccupations of the Rifians, for whom republics and Islam were points which did not admit controversy even in the slightest degree. Destined to a rude struggle for existence in a harsh and miserable environment, the speculations of the spirit had neither place nor occasion to make themselves felt in the fact of the other, primordial and undeferable.

616
182 To any presumed victims the liff was the best guarantee and forewarning, as through it individuals and social units were forced to bring about the alliances (author's italics) which they deemed necessary in order to oppose adverse forces; and thus they insured their own existence.

616
613 The mechanism of the liff worked the miracle, in the anarchical (sic) state of Rifian society, of permitting the coexistence of the
619 family or kin group or social unit (i.e. the lineage, on whatever level),
182 as small as it might be, among others more numerous in point of population with no diminution of its integrity; and this fact permitted the

616
613 survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian
619 Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were sur-
182 rounded by powerful neighbors.

616 Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family,
182 the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616 I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or
121 the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616 It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

671 This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the
614 clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe.
619 Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring
644 clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the
648 border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

614 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe
648 which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 As European states do, this document imposes a public duty
[671] upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal
[829] lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While,
[682] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that
[443] among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality
574 which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was
671 precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thmasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

671 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:
701
[702] It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

671
701
681

Fines to be imposed:

Harka members: for each day of absence, two (days to be served) in the harka, and a fine of 2 duros.

Qa'ids of 25 men: the same, with a fine of 3 duros.

Qa'ids of 50 men: the same, with a fine of 4 duros.

Qa'ids of 100 men: the same, with a fine of 5 duros.

Qa'ids of 200 men: the same, with a fine of 6 duros.

This is an order emanating from the fortunate Makhzin (i.e. of 000 'Abd al-Krim). May God protect it. In Taghzut on Ramadan 23, 1344 (March 8, 1926). By order of 'Abd al-Karim bin Ziyan.[110]

12. DOCUMENT OF EXEMPTION FROM PAYMENT OF TAXES[111]:

212
651

Praise be to the one God. The blessings of God be upon our (lord) Muhammad, his family and friends.

It shall be known through the present document that we, taking into consideration the services rendered to the Makhzin and the taxes which because of hospitable attentions with warlike objectives (holy war) weigh upon the bearers, the sons of the late Si Ahmad bin Si 'Ali al-Tawti are exempted by us from the contributions concerned....The 'amil, in virtue of this, orders that they not be asked of them....And the peace.

Safar 18 of the year 1341 (October 10, 1922). Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, may God be with him, amen. (Signed and sealed).

13. QANUN OF THE SEA--AITH WARYAGHAR[112]:

471
50

A) The Boat Owner:

He owns the boat (agharrabu, pl. igharruba)[113], acquired by transfer, sale, already used or repaired by carpenters on the beach, of whom there are still a few[114].

of whom there are still a few[114]. In the business, he represents the industrial member and as such he has a right to part of the profits[115], because of the fact that the fishing equipment is also ordinarily his property; and he has the right to appoint a master, the technical director of the business, whose obligations are limited to the maintenance and renovation of the equipment and to fishing. He may transfer the business voluntarily, taking back the equipment, either to sell it or simply to leave it grounded, even though the season may not be over. The construction of a covered shelter for the boats on the beach is his responsibility.

B) The Crew:

The master (ra'is) of the boat, appointed by the owner[116]...., is the technical director of the business and he is therefore responsible for any property damages or injuries which can be justified, if they can be imputed to his unskillfulness or ill-will. He is given a free hand to select, appoint and discharge the individuals who have to make up his crew, of which he is the head, without the necessity of the consent of the owner; he is in charge of the selection of points of putting down the nets, fishing, embarkation and disembarkation, admission of merchandise and passengers, selection of shelters, collection of money, auctions and the responsibility for settlement of accounts; and while on board he is authorized to impose discipline by any means in extreme and necessary cases, and he must show the owner any necessary repairs or acquisitions which fall under his inspection. He is principally in charge of the working of the boat, and it is he who sets the course of direction. He appoints a second-in-command.

501 The crew must obey the master in the working of the boat, as
466 their job includes all operations, including loading and unloading. They can transfer at will (to another boat) whenever they like, in which case they are reimbursed with the gross value of their part of the profits, and in justifiable absences, such as short illnesses, the death of some relative, etc., there is no discount from their wages, if they are co-participants in the business; but this requires justification in front of the master and the consent of the rest of the crew, as well as previous warning.....

226 In fishing boats, they are accountable for the maintenance;
501 in boats of transport, they have charge of the profits.

226 C) Profits:
434

1) Fishing in a boat with net: the gross value of the sale is divided into two equal parts, one for the master and one for the crew. In addition to this, the master also receives one-seventh of the owner's share.

2) Fishing in a boat with hook: the gross value of the catch is divided into three equal parts; one for the owner of the appartus (net, lines, hooks....), another (not listed, probably a typographical error) and the last for the crew. Those who haul the nets on shore receive a few kilos of fish.

3) Fishing with explosives: three equal parts, two for the owner of the explosives and the third for the swimmer.

505 4) Transport of Travelers and Merchandise: the profits of the
434 trip, after maintenance expenses and port duties have been discounted, i.e. the true profit, are analogously divided into two parts, in the same proportion as in the case of fishing boats.

D) Repairs:

227 The expense of the periodic tarring of the net is borne equally by all those who are concerned in the business, the master and the owner hiring two more crewmen. This operation is usually performed every month and a half. The same happens with repairs to the net (thread, etc.).

The acquisition of new gear or repairs to the existing equipment are held to the account of the owner, always if, through use, it has been damaged by the sea; but if the damage has been intentional, then the gross value is demanded of the individual who caused it in front of an arbiter (theft, boarding the boat, etc.).

Each crew member must acquire annually, for the fishing gear, three pieces of cord, each one some 15 meters in length. The rest, up to the necessary length of the net, is taken care of by the owner. The master does nothing.

The straps are improvised with left-over pieces of rope earlier, and in the latter case they are cut from this. When a crew member transfers, leaves or is discharged, he cannot take the piece of rope which he originally supplied.

E) Travelers and Merchandise:

505 When the trip is contracted by the master and the hour of departure fixed by him, the sails are hoisted a short distance off shore, and by this time, if a traveler changes his mind and wants to go back to shore, he is taken ashore at the first opportunity, but he must pay for the trip already contracted.

505 With respect to merchandise, if because of a storm they lose all or part of it, the rest, once on land, is sold and the proceeds divided into equal parts by all the owners whose merchandise made up the boat's cargo, although the sales may not be from it (this is a kind of insurance); on the other hand, objects lost by the traveler have no indemnity at all. This favored and gave security to the business.

Once at the point of destination, the crew is in charge of unloading and storage on the beach or in the port, as well as custody of the cargo for three days, after which they are not responsible for loss or damages, and at the end of which they collect the proceeds of the freight from the consignee.

226 F) The Profession of Fishing:

The masters are chosen from among men known by everybody for their maritime knowledge and practice, and these in turn choose their crews.

The profession of fishing in jurisdictional waters, i.e. those which bathe the coast of the tribe (of Aith Waryaghar), was free, without subjection to taxes or any other obstacle, having no limitations other than that of not entering at the same time any area where another individual has his net spread, and of not entering certain others, such as the Cala del Quemado and Cala de Bonita, which because of the difficulties of their depths, a boat must not enter until the one inside has left. If two boats are waiting, the one which has first arrived in [607] the area enters first. Also, it is ordinarily permissible to fish in front of the coast of another tribe, provided that relations with this

226 tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not
[619] frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast
823 which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from
184 the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are after-
443 wards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed
492 over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another
685 boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

226
389 Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

425 G) Recovery:

Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped [517] to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

H) Arbiters:

628
564 Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

628
648
554
607 Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon
642
115

to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting themselves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analogous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

501 (505) (226) This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

283 277 178 501 They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

ooo This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

423 A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

423 574 271

passers-by may slake their thirst. This also reflects the fact that the retention of surplus water is considered an act of bad faith by a person's neighbors; and the latter fact in part makes it necessary for irrigation water upstream to be properly carried out and led off, and thus that holdings under irrigation be leveled and conveniently prepared.

B) Usage of Water in General:

Utilization of water in the Rif presents three facets which are common to all societies: utilization by animate beings, by (or for) lands, and by (or for) industries. Rights of preference are also the same, and in the same order: first, animate objects, the surplus for lands, and what remains, for industry, which in the Rif is represented by turbine water mills (dhasirth w aman, pl. dhisirn w aman), which in times of excessive dryness or drought do not have the right to utilize water from those irrigation channels which divert or subtract the flow from the principal ditch.

C) Water Points for Men and Animals:

Water points in Rifian villages whose liquid content is destined for human and animal consumption are not regulated by any by-laws other than that of designation of the hours in which men may go to them; the rest are reserved for women, for whom it is also customary to reserve, beforehand, and whenever possible, fixed points for washing and bathing. For this reason, if the village contains diverse water points, one is used by the women and another by the men; and the surplus water is channeled toward a pond (agirmam, pl. igirmamen), which forms the common watering place for the animals as well as a malarial focus from which it is difficult to extinguish the mosquitoes.[118] The

312 562 [623] [681] The jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

312 675 The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agreements [212] are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

[466] The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work [333] done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

312 689 241 242 627 Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2) differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled

amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

312
571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

312
675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of riverain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work
[181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for
[618] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

423
675 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which
312 we are studying it, in which tribe, its cla[illegible] smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

423 that this would have rendered useless all demands and threats voiced
695 by downstream groupings for the transfer of even a minimal amount of
312 flow, and in our time things have not varied; those upstream use all the water that they can, and those downstream, the overflow; and it would not occur to anybody to vary this procedure, followed since time
312 immemorial. To this procedure is very well adapted the regimen of the rivers in the Rif, in the dry beds of which water does not run on the surface, but rises up only in fixed points, each one of these forming, with the help of improvised dams, the sources or points of origin of successive irrigation ditches, making them seemingly independent.

133 In addition, the narrow fissures which form the beds of such
241 torrential rivers, their irregular flow, their devastating overflows
[578] and floods, in short, opposed nature and men so that the latter would have some motive for doing this and even need it for their small irrigable crop and the bare necessities of life; for it did not and would not occur to anyone to work or cultivate any more land than that necessary for his own subsistence, as anything else, overflow aside, would have attracted the envy of neighbors and strangers, and this in
695 turn would have led to blows. An association on such a large scale and for such modest objectives was, for this reason, impossible, inefficacious and unnecessary.

312 The river waters, in their upper courses, running between steep banks, scarcely need to be utilized even to a small degree on the minute riverain plots of land. In those beds, water, although actually slight in amount, is in fact overabundant, and land is lacking. Limited to the confines of the ditch by the topographical conditions

312 of the beds, the Rifians were unable to think in terms of large irrigation developments to lead the ditch to some small and dried-up meseta; for the minimal amount of these in the interior of the country and the longitude of the ditch which they would have needed did not compensate for the effort and expense they would have had nor the loathing they would have incurred (i.e. from neighboring segments of the tribes) in order to maintain the ditch as such. Nature has in no way favored the Rifians, who must gain everything they own through their own efforts. The men, the new men, the protectors (i.e. the Spanish administration) can and must do something to help them, and thus they wait for it and trust them, although up to the present time (1935), and in this connection, nothing other than prejudices and injuries have occurred, as happens with the turn of water which they have been made to cede to the Granja Agricola (i.e. model farm) of Izuren and to a half-dozen Europeans, who, placing their minute holdings in dry rather than irrigable lands, have by virtue of more modern methods converted them into irrigated terrain; and these appear today like minute green islets among the calcinated holdings of the natives, whose ill-will and adverse commentaries are just, logical and in no way flattering.[122] "Nubth nj-Makhzin", the "turn of the Government", as they say, which means that in order to sustain it a group of mkhaznis is necessary; and the salaries of these men added to those of the directors and work force are certainly far higher than the four bushels of vegetables which they manage to obtain and the unknown profits of other kinds which they do their best to make.

[182]

648
312

181
423 The Rifian admits anything which constitutes instruction or improvement; but naturally he wants no part of any division of his
312
648 holdings with strangers. This blessing of water which the official organ (i.e. the Spanish administration) as well as individuals receive, although the latter do so only to a limited degree, is not a product of technique, profitable or exemplary work as new developments would be, possible economic outlets or improvements in the present distributive net, but utilization of native labor in the style of some early-day amghar.

312
Lar Rare are the days of the Makhzin irrigation turn in which the
695 Makhazniya does not present us (i.e. the administration) with some
[427] miserable akhammas[123] accused of the terrible crime of having been surprised at night attempting to lead up a thread of water into his tiny, dried-up holding, a crystalline fiber which, if it even arrives there to irrigate, only God knows; and the nubth which the Europeans derive from it, dispute from it and gain from it, did not cost them the least effort to lead up nor did they do anything other than wait sitting down while the Makhzin appropriated it. And in such a case neither the Makhzin nor the European stands to gain anything; to the contrary, they have much to lose.

F) Irrigation in the Plain of Al-Husaima:

312
675 The usage of irrigation water from the Lower Ghis and Nkur Rivers has been, since time immemorial, the object of individual agreements among the irrigators, agreements which are usually put down in writing, for the flow of water, although variable, permits a regular distribution through permanent ditches, a distribution known

312
675
(648) to all and a distribution which tradition has affirmed. These principal ditches carry water all year round, and at the present time their utilization seldom gives rise to incidents, as their usage has been stabilized and regulated, except in the case of the newly arrived Spanish irrigators, whose despondent attempts to improve their lands with fanciful enlargements, amplifications or regularizations of turns gave rise to the only disputes, aside from the ill-will of the local population already mentioned above.

To be able to find something which leads us to the heart of the irrigation problem, it is necessary for us to look again among the individual agreements which are established by small groups of irrigators from both rivers, and descend through their steep beds to the widenings at their mouths, the journey over which has permitted us to observe the details of their irrigation system and to fix the principal idea which appears to preside over the distribution of the waters of both rivers into a diagram which we have made (see Irrigation Ditch Map of Plain of al-Husaima) for a better understanding and as a synthesis of their custom; and this is completed afterward with an outline of the network of ditches for each irrigated area and in these drawings is summarized our knowledge up to the present time.

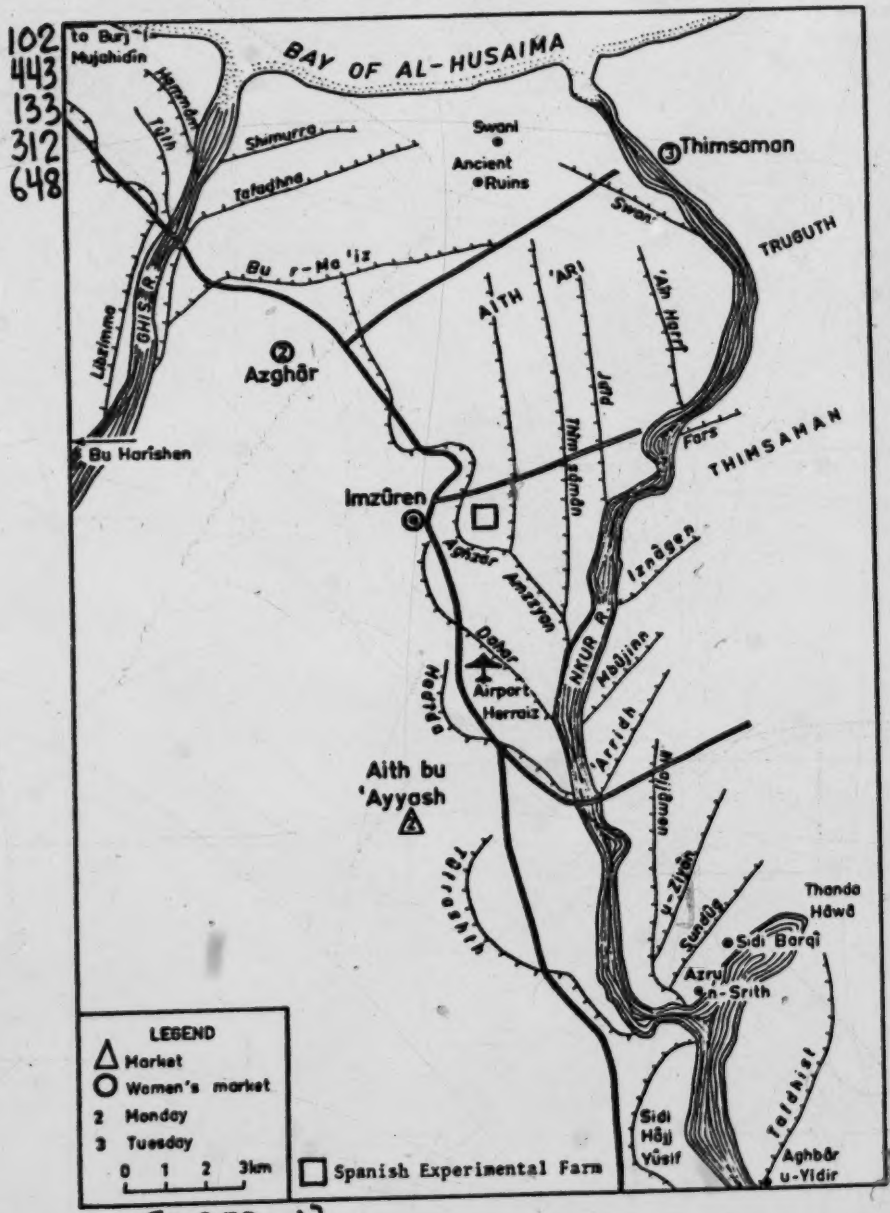
312 The mechanism behind the distribution of irrigation water in Aith Waryaghar is simple, and up to the present time, it has satisfied local needs; it seems exact enough for the tribesmen, and so far they have shown no desire to modify it.

In the river beds there are certain points known to the people where the water always rises up; these are used as dams (uggug, pl.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
443
133
312
648

BLANCO MAP II (1939) - PLAIN OF AL-HUSAIMA



[P. 358-A]

312 uggugen) for the source or origin of irrigation ditches and as partitions of the waters on both banks. After a dam has been set up, built to hold as much water as possible, it is converted into a ditch-head, in which the necessary outlets are made, and it thus acts as the point of origin of the principal or primary ditches which have a permanent flow of water; these are usually two or three in number. Although [183] these outlets are irregular, the Rifians say that a half or a third of the water is utilized in distribution; and although this is what happens in practice, in theory the distribution is far from perfect, as the tribesmen do not take into account the width nor the depth of the outlets; and these are improvised, if not actually variable. The primary ditches are distributed and divided in this way into secondary branches, if these are necessary, in which the irrigation turns proper are initiated, which means that they only take up water for twenty-four hours; therefore, if there are four secondary ditches, each one will take up water every four days. These secondary ditches are sub- [805] divided in turn into other tertiary branches, also of periodic or intermittent flow, which do not take up water other than during the day or at night; and these originate the irrigation furrows of individuals which do not take up any water other than at certain hours, which are determined by those of the principal daily prayers.

312 591 613 596 This distribution of irrigation water is intimately linked to the Rifian lineage system, to the dharfiqth (which tends to have a 24-hour turn) and its component ijujga, and it is completed with one order of turns begun in the tertiary ditches through which if one of these ditches, during its turn, takes up water during the daytime,

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 67 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

15. THE QANUN OF THE LOWER GHIS RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 [133] From this river, the longest of those which bathe the Central Rif (more than 70 km.), as with its companion and eastern neighbor the Nkur, only the surface waters are used, and very imperfectly, by the Rifians in the small meanders which its narrow basin forms. For the [648] Rifians there is too much water and not enough land. Up to the present, the Spanish protectors have not attempted the slightest modification nor the study of the Ghis basin and its regimen with utilitarian ends in mind. It is a wealth which, like so many others, is lost. There is too much water and nevertheless the Rif is thirsty. [132] The Rifian spends the whole year looking at the sky, an attitude which has become contagious to the protectors, imploring a few drops to fall in order to save his miserable winter (author's italics) harvest[125].....

In all the long basin of the Ghis one does not perceive the handiwork of man. Neither bridges nor acqueducts, neither dams nor any [487] installations to raise up its waters. Paths wind along its pebbly and steep banks to hide themselves in the dried-up stony bed. Small [402] and winding irrigation furrows timorously make haste to return suddenly the flow which they secretly absorbed, under the shelter of thickets, after (providing water to) move some small and rudimentary turbine mill. Only at the height of Targist, military techniques with their transportation of water give such a pessimistic sight a chance to change. 312 133 It is necessary to descend kilometers and kilometers down the steep bed of the river, to about some three kilometers from where it empties

312 into the sea, in order to really listen and take notice at last of
133 the song of the Ghis, the activity and human ingenuity, the fertilizing mission of the water, the utility of the same, the gentleness of the countryside, the density of the population, the happiness (by comparison) of the orchards and gardens, the wealth and well-being, the convenience for (administrative) functionaries, the advantages of technology and the necessity of associating oneself with humans.[126]

312 In its long course the Ghis provides the water to turn 55 Rifian
402 turbine mills (1935).[127]

312 In Bu Harishen, on the left bank of the Lower Ghis, upstream from
[103] the bridge over the river, is where this river begins its well-performed work, bored by its useless rambling, acquires freedom, jumping from its bed to spill itself over in equal parts into the three principal ditches, l-Bzimma, "the tied-up"[128], on its left bank, and Bulma'iz and Thafadhna on its right. The regimen of these ditches is indicated below and their mean longitude is some six kilometers.

[103] Sidd Dharga nl-Bzimma (l-Bzimma): "the tied-up", which takes its name from that of the ancient ruined city, al-Mazimma[129], on its left bank. Its flow is one-third of the permanent intake of the dam at
[212] Bu Harishen. There is a written document which regulates distribution of its water and proves its rights to property.[130] It empties (into the Mediterranean) at the height of the ruined castle of the Mujahidin[131] on the beach, in front of the old Peñón de Alhucemas (Isle of al-
[402] Husaima). It moves a mill belonging to the Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi and to Muhand Ushshan.[132]

312 571 613 596

It has a turn cycle of six days, which are distributed among the four lineages (dharfiqin), these in turn dividing their turns among their respective branches (ijujga), in the following order:

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Hammu; U Haddu)

2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Xikhrif; U Yihya u Musa)

3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Mis'aud u Yusif; W 'Alla w Ujdir)

4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Dris; W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan)

5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir

6th Day (24 hours): Zawith (Fisra and Andrusen--Ushannen--Ihaddallahan--Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi)[133]

On the seventh day, the sequence is repeated.

Sidd Dharga n-Bulma'iz: on the right bank. It begins, as does l-Bzimma, at Bu Harishen, crossing the river in order to divide its water with Dharga n Tfadhna, and each one of these three ditches receives one-third of the permanent flow taken in at Bu Harishen. It runs for a few kilometers and reaches the sea at Swani Waddai (Lower Swani). It moves three mills, the first belonging to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and 'Abdinnbi, the second to I'arhuthen and the third to Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru.[134] [402]

It has a turn cycle of three days for the three dharfiqin indicated, and they in turn distribute the water among their ijujga, which make them up in their own way. The turn begins at the maghrib, or sunset prayer. [805]

1st Day (24 hours): Imhauren: Aith 'Aru Hmid
Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid
Aith Muhand u Hmid
Aith Bu Dhimmus (only when water is scarce)[135]

312 571 613 596

2nd Day (24 hours): Dhifirasin: Aith Mhand u Yihya
Im'aruwen[136]

3rd Day (24 hours): r-Hujjaj: Aith r-'Arbi
Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
I'arhuthen[137]

312 571 182 613 (596)

We thus have, in the regimen of the ditch with which we are dealing, an excellent example of Rifian solidarity, observable in the turn of the Imhsuren, as in times of dryness or drought, when they need more themselves, they hasten to aid their neighbors of Aith Bu Dhimmus (who are ordinarily limited to their own turn of hours of irrigation in another ditch, that of Thafadhna, as we shall see later), although by this the other three lineage branches or ijujga only harm themselves, because they defer one of their own turns by nine more days, and even if the turn is a small one in itself, they only receive it once every nine days.

312 571

For a better understanding of the mechanics of irrigation among Rifians, we shall study in greater detail the order which is followed in this ditch[138], for it is curious to observe how they have simplified it, in spite of the modifications which are introduced in the case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus, for example, with its intermittent (author's italics) rights, so as not to interrupt the turn in general; but, at the same time, how can we explain the miracle of how the thousands of Rifian irrigators and the labyrinth of ditches which traverse the Plain of al-Husaima do not produce any disturbances nor give rise to any incidents other than those occasioned by ignorance on the part of the Europeans, of which the Rifians of importance sometimes try to take advantage or the avarice of the fortunately few and ill-named "colons"?

312
571
613

We may see the ingenuity with which they resolve the problem of irrigation during twenty-four hours in a three-day turn, the same to each of the lineages of the ordinary turn as to the nine days in the exceptional case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus.

Ordinary turn:

1st Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid

2nd Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya

3rd Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Aith r-'Arbi

4th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

5th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Im'aruwen

6th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru

7th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith Muhand u Hmid

8th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya (again)

9th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--I'arhuthen (I'abbuthen, probably)

10th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid (again)

[596] And thus the turn is repeated, except for Dhifirasin, which with only two (irrigating) ijujga alternates between one and the other every time its turn comes around. We see here that in the ordinary turn the nubath (pl. of nubth, "turn") of Dhifirasin irrigate once every three days, while those of Imhauren and r-Hujjaj irrigate once every nine days. Now, if we insert Aith Bu Dhimmus into the picture, we see that Dhifirasin continues to irrigate once every three days and r-Hujjaj once every nine, both on the same day as before, while, on the other hand, because of this shift, Imhauren, to which dharfiqth the new irrigators belong[139], irrigates four out of five times once every nine days and once out of five times once every eighteen days, with the

312
571
613

intercalated newcomers irrigating once every twelve days, as shown below, instead of the four lineages of Imhauren rotating every twelve days if they would have been given the right to irrigate with them.

We may observe that in reality, without any alteration of the general turn and without any injury to the other two neighboring dharfiqin which are slightly further away, the thirst of the Aith Bu Dhimmus is miraculously quenched, and how this happens:

1st Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith 'Aru Hmid

2nd Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

3rd Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

4th Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)

5th Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)

6th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru (r-Hujjaj)

7th Day: Aith Muhand u Hmid (Imhauren)

8th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

9th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)

10th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn

11th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

12th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

13th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

14th Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)

15th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru (r-Hujjaj)

16th Day: Aith Muhand u Hmid (Imhauren)

17th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

18th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)

19th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)

312 20th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
571 21st Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)
613 22nd Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn
23rd Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)
24th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
25th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith Muhand u Hmid
26th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
27th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)
28th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)
29th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
30th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

[182] And so on.[140] To attempt to vary this unending chain which the irrigation turns of the Rifians make up in those ditches with permanent flow is to promote major altercations and to upset the equilibrium of the whole of the Plain of al-Husaima.

312 The simple attempt by a Rifian miller to divert for a few
571 seconds the water of Bufma'iz so that it would flow to his turbine mill,
402 I recall, provided the motive for a sudden and vehement protest by the
578 users of this ditch, en masse, to the authorities; the whole Plain of al-Husaima took alarm to such an extent that no procedure nor influence (on the part of the authorities) could be brought to bear toward the peaceful possibility that the people might acknowledge the man's alleged right; and, nevertheless, this Plain needs more than a concerted arrangement and ordination, an improvement and rectification of the principal ditches;[141] and above all it needs a possible increase of flow for the outlet of subterranean or subalveal waters.

312
591
613
(402) Sidd Dharga n Tfadhna: on the right bank. It takes half the water from Bufma'iz, and therefore begins, as do the other two, in Bu Harishen, the permanent flow taking up one-third of the dam. It moves four mills: that of Muhammad Akuh and Si Muhammad Budra; downstream, that of Dharwa nd-Hajj Shiddi; the next, that of Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith, Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and Muhand nd-Hajj Hammu; and finally, that of Dharwa nd-Hajj Hammush.[142]

The turn is one of three days for the three dharfiqin using the ditch, and each lineage redistributes its twenty-four-hour flow as follows:[143]

1st Day: Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit

2nd Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours): Ajdir (12 hours)

Andrusen (2 hours 40 minutes or one-fifth)

Aith Bu Dhimmus (9 hours 20 minutes or four-fifths)[144]

(Andrusen and Aith Bu Dhimmus thus irrigate 12 hours between them)

3rd Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren) (24 hours): Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

Aith Muhand u Hmid

Aith 'Aru Hmid

The Ghis also provides water for three other ditches before it empties into the sea: Tuth ("mulberry") and Hammam[145] on its left bank and Shimurra on its right; but they do not have a permanent flow like the others discussed above, nor for that matter is their regimen or capacity, which is somewhat arbitrary and subordinate to the others, well regulated, for an irrigator, during his turn, can, if he wants,

312 591 613 [402] lead the water to which he has a right in any of the main ditches into these three smaller ones. The ditch of Tuth, when it has water, moves the mill of Dharwa nd-Hajj Mis'aud. The irrigators of the Tafadhna ditch, whether the turn is interrupted or not, have the right to use that of Shimurra, but giving first choice to those who use it regularly.

16. QANUN OF THE NKUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 675 The Nkur River has an irrigation regimen which is less exact than that of the Ghis, and the written agreements on the distribution of its waters are few and recent. One of them refers to the division of waters between the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intervention of the Bureau of the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir).[146] In any case, the establishment of such agreements is based upon the same notions and the same norms as in those pertaining to the Ghis. A

312 [621] In the Middle and Upper Nkur, there is more than enough water to irrigate the meanders which the river has created, through which it is easy to affix by-laws to the 'azibs[147] of the neighboring jma'ths which own land on its banks, given the small amount of land under irrigation. [241] There is even freedom and waste, and it is not uncommon to see, during harvest time, the formation of tiny threshing floors with capricious irrigation-furrows of 300 and 500 meters in the middle of the river bed.

[619] There are meanders like Dhaghzwith n Dasa (upstream, in the territory of Axt Tuzin, and near the bridge on the right bank) and Dhazur-akhth (downstream, in the territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also right beside the same bridge, but on the left bank), which are of relatively large dimension and which have already stabilized turns; but the real difficulties and concomitant near-perfect solutions are

A, [See pp. 361-369--Analyst]

312 only found in the Lower Nkur, the principal water outlets of which,
[619] by acting as dividing lines between different tribes on both banks,[148] are Aghbar u Yidir, on the right bank and upstream from the Thanda Hawa pond, and Azru n Srith ("Rock of the Bride"), north of the former.

The latter point is the most important, where the wide Plain of al-Husaima and the ditches which traverse it may truly be said to begin. In the accompanying diagram, all these points are indicated, as well as the principal ditches, the regimen of which we shall now indicate in outline, with the hope that these notes may someday serve as the basis of a more detailed study.

West Bank:

Dharga n Dahar: begins downstream and right beside the piste to the Thimsaman, bordering it and crossing the main Tetuan-Melilla road to
[402] end up in Imzuren. It moves three mills. It has two turns of twenty-
312 four hours each: one for the Qa'idate of Nkur (Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and
571 the other for that of l-Uta, the Plain. The latter, in turn, is divided into one-third for Imzuren and two-thirds for Aith Musa w 'Amar;[149] and this gives rise to the following cycle:[150]

1st Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

2nd Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar

3rd Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

4th Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar

5th Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

6th Day: Imzuren

312 Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan ("ditch of the small river"): In May 1938
[402] the flow of this ditch was 513 liters per second. It originates

312 (402) downstream from Dharga n Dahar, and it yields one-third of its flow to Dha[illegible] n Tasaman; it arrives at the Bulma'iz ditch at the height of Thafrasth, near the now defunct Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif; and it moves four mills: the first belonging to Muhand 'Aida w 'Amar; the second, to 'Allush nd-Hajj Muhand u Haddu; the third, to 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Bu Qiyadhen; and the fourth, to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and to 'Amar 'Abdallah nd-Hajj Muhand.[151]

312 571 It has three turns: one for those upstream (designated as n-dara), another for those downstream (s-waddai), and the third for the Granja Agricola or Model Farm of Imzuren (this last on Wednesdays and Thursdays), in the following manner:

1) N-dara (24 hours, distributed into 5 ditches): 1st--Sidd r-Hajib
2nd-Sidd Inufan
3rd--Sidd Bu Kra'
4th--Sidd Ahammar
5th--Sidd Miskur[152]

2) S-waddai (24 hours, distributed into 3 ditches): 1st--Tigarth (12 hours)
2nd--Sidd I'abbuthen (6 hours)
3rd--Sidd Aith Mis'aud (6 hours)[153]

3) N-dara (24 hours, distributed into 4 ditches): 1st--Sidd Tagharbund
2nd--Sidd 'Abdallah
3rd--Sidd 'Abdallah
4th--Sidd Ishtari[154]

4) S-waddai (24 hours, distributed into 2 ditches): 1st--Imhauren (12 hours)
2nd--Aith Mhand u Yihya (12 hours)[155]

312 Dharga n Tmsaman: This ditch in May 1938 had a flow of 256 liters per second. It is located on the same bank of the river, and down-
[402] stream from the Aghzar Amzzyan ditch. It moves two mills (one belonging to the Muhammad nd-Hajj Ussar, and the other to Muhammad n Tahir), and it has three turns, one for the tribe of the Thimsaman[156] and two for that of the Aith Waryaghar (lineage of Aith Musa w 'Amar, subclan of the Aith r-'Abbas, clan of the Aith 'Ari), as follows:[157]

1st Day: Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

2nd Day: Thimsaman

3rd Day: Ihankuren (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

The three other ditches on this bank, Sidd Jdid, Sidd 'Ain Harri and Sidd Swani, only have water in times of abundance:

Sidd Jdid: At the end of May 1938 this ditch had a flow of 40 liters per second. It originates one kilometer below Dharga n Tmsaman, in the crossroad from Bu Srama[158] and the (Spanish-built) airport to the Thimsaman.[159]

Sidd 'Ain Harri: Born near the road leading from the Granja of Imzuren to Truguth (Thimsaman).

Sidd Swani: The last ditch on the west bank of the Nkur, some two kilometers from the mouth of the river.

East Bank:

312 619 675 212 [103] Dharga n Tufdhisth (???--"ditch of the hammer"??): At the point called Aghbar u Yidir, in front of the makhazniya post of Imudh, upstream from the Thanda Hawa pond, a division of waters is originated between the tribes of the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Waryaghar in equal parts, according to a document in the archives of the Bureau at Ajdir,[160] which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

000 which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

312 613 The flow taken up by the Aith Waryaghar bathes the meander of Sidi r-Hajj Yusif[161], and is used by the Aith Umnudh lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. It is divided [571] into two turns of twenty-four hours each: one for the lineage branch of Aith Ishshu (some 80 irrigators) and the other for the lineage branch of "True" Aith Umnudh (some 130 irrigators).[162] The flow taken up by the Axt Tuzin (clan of the Axt 'Akki) is distributed through the Dharga n Tufdhisth.

312 [823] [103] Azru n Srith ("The Rock of the Bride"): This legendary site[163], the point of departure for water from the pond of Thanda Hawa, beside the tomb of Sidi Birqi, is the principal shed for the waters of the Nkur River, and four ditches flow from it: one on the left, or Aith Waryaghar, side, Dharga n Tufrashth, and three on the right, called Sunduq (Axt Tuzin), Sidd Asiyar[164] (Thimsaman) and Ihajjamen ("barbers") (Thimsaman), respectively.

Sunduq and Tufrasht divide water into equal parts. In turn, the Sunduq ditch, by the same token, divides it with Dharga Usiyar, and the latter, in turn, with Ihajjamen, which in time of scarcity has no water.

[501] [613] The turn cycle of Dharga n Tufrasht is five days for Izakiren and two for Ighmiren.[165]

Dharga Sidd 'Arridh: begins at the same height as Dharga Hadhidha, on the other (west) bank, and beside and just upstream from the crossing of the main Tetuan-Melilla road and the piste to the Thimsaman.[166]

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front
[402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills
(Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168]
[571] It has two turns, for the Thimsamam and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and
[571] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'-
[402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid
n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

104 Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth,
pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga,
pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")-
anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl.
iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the
614 three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those
312 who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and
578 those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the
423 River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of
691 Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation
ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which
records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh
Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for
himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Arhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

675 578 through allegation, no litigation related to the water cited above. If any of them should demand the continuation of the debate through the presentation of proofs or arguments, everything would be null and void, for neither the present nor the future provides for this. Both parties have renounced all arguments, both public or private, which they could allege, as well as all the successive declarations (or reclamations) which could be brought forth to impede putting this agreement into effect.

000 A valid and executive arrangement. Both parties attending know the value of the present act, and, by virtue of it, the undersigned notaries, who know them to be in a perfect state of legal capacity (who know them to be of sound mind and memory), make their testimony. On 28 Qa'da al-Haram of the year 1250 (March 28, 1835).

A signature follows, illegible and signed. Another illegible signature follows the first.

Legalization by the qadi: Praise be to God.--I give faith (or testimony) to the above after both 'udul (notaries) have done so.--Servant of his God.--Signature (of qadi) illegible.

18. A SHAHADA ON WATERS: TRANSLATION:

695 312 Praise be to God.

(693) Both the undersigned notaries compile the testimonies presented by the respected 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Umar al-'Alawi, the honorable 'Umar bin 'Ali, the respected Talib 'Isa Ajtuh, and the honorable Muhammad al-'Arusi, all of the Bani Waryaghal, in which they testify (the testimony of God is the perfect one) that the water ditch, (the property) of 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Amhawil al-Khattabi al-Waryaghli[175]

695 is to be found situated above the ditch of 'Umar bin Yusif al-Waryaghli.
312
[693] This is what the witnesses of the present (act) certify without there being (any) doubt existing in it. A complete attestation.

693 The undersigned notaries who have compiled (the testimonies which
695 these individuals afforded) from them testify that the latter are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) to testify, and they know them (i.e. personally).

[805] On the 21st day of the blessed Sha'ban of the year 1150 (December 13, 1737). Two illegible signatures follow.

19. PURCHASE AND SALE OF AN IRRIGATION TURN: TRANSLATION:

Praise be to the one God.

312
591 The Qa'id Sulaiman bin Muhammad al-Waryaghli al-Khattabi al-Ajdiri[176]
432 buys, with the power and force of God, from the one who sells it, Siddiq bin Muhammad bin Siddiq al-'Abdallawi[177], one-fourth (of a part) of the irrigation ditch of Bulma'iz, (in his turn) by day or by night, his turn reappearing about (once) every nine days; on some occasions
432 he gets it during the day, and on others at night. A valid, definitive
[435] and firm purchase, so much down, without conditions of resale or op-
[436] tions (to anything) other than that assigned here), for a price the sum of which is 100 duros, in Spanish money (i.e. 500 pesetas). This amount the abovementioned seller has taken from the abovementioned buyer, thus recognizing it in front of both witnesses instrumental to the present act, freeing the buyer from it, who took over his purchase with complete possession, occupying it in his place of ownership in conformity with the traditional law and the right of rehibitory action

(against this sale which was put into effect) after the sight, pleasure and knowledge of his capability as required.

Both parties concerned know the value of the present act, and, by virtue of this, the undersigned witnesses testify to the declarations of both, for both buyer and seller are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound mind and memory) to agree; and the witnesses know them both by sight and by name. In the first part of Rabi' al-Thani of the year 1347 (August 19, 1928).

Servant of his God, 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen (signature). Servant of his God, 'Abd al-Karim bin 'Umar al-Khattabi, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (signature).

Stamp of approval of the qadi: Both 'udul have borne witness (with respect to the above), which he (i.e. the qadi) accepts and to which he gives faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Bu-Dhimmusi[178], may God be benevolent toward him. Amen. (Signature).

20. SUMMARY OF IRRIGATION:

In a few words we may show the present day importance and interest of irrigation in the Aith Waryaghar, as tourists from time to time cross this splendid Plain of al-Husaima....

This Plain, under rudimentary cultivation even today (1938), as no one has succeeded or even proposed to amplify it, is completely criss-crossed by an intricate net of tiny irrigation ditches which in general do not feel the touch of water more than every eight days, and some even every eighteen days; and this for winter cultivation.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 In my humble opinion there is more than enough water for the surface area which can be irrigated; and so much more, in fact, that the amount which is lost is greater than that which is put to use.

312 (499) Calculating grosso modo an irrigable area of 5000 hectars, bounded by the main road on the west, as well as a subalveal flow of over 1 cubic meter per second from the Nkur River, according to the approximate calculations made when the supports of the new bridge (i.e. crossing the river at Km. 20 to the Axt Tuzin and Melilla) were set up, it would not be far off the mark to estimate the flow in both rivers, plus that of Thifarwin (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) at some 3 cubic meters per second, or 10,000 cubic meters per hour; and this would give daily 48 cubic meters per hectar under permanent irrigation.

Most of this water is now lost in the sea....and represents several millions of pesetas lost while technicians, policy makers and businessmen show no iterest.

(571) (435) (241) It should be remembered that a single turn of irrigation water every eight days costs 500 to 600 duros in the Plain of al-Husaima, and continually produces two harvests a year.

Ghis:

Ditch of Bufma'iz -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 131 liters per second

Ditch of r-Bzimma -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 46 liters per second

Nkur:

Ditch of Aghzar Amzyan -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Thimsaman -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Sidd Jdid -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of 'Ain Harri -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of Swani -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

21. THE QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH):[179]

224 619 The data which follow have been gathered principally among hunters from the tribes of the Ibuqquyen, Aith Hadhifa (Aith Waryaghar), Zarqat, Targist, Aith 'Ammarth and Aith (or Bni) Mazduzi; and they can be considered as general hunting qanuns for the region.

A) Significance:

224 182 Hunting in the Rif was neither a sport nor a profession in the European manner. It was a physiological necessity, and it is still 134 considered so today. A poor soil, accidented and dry, rendered it 312 difficult for the tribesmen to utilize its scarce sources of water; 262 and the consumption of meat was limited, because of the scarcity of animals (i.e. both domestic and wild) to Fridays, feast days, days on which pacts were concluded, days of illness, etc., and to market 262 days. As the Rifian is by necessity a vegetarian[180], sacrifices of 782 animals acquire the status of a rite, and they form a fundamental ceremony in the most transcendental and important acts of his life. Peace and war, pacts, births and deaths, rogations, etc., have to be 224 sealed with meat for greater solemnity and efficacy. In hunting, 782 therefore, Rifian society finds a physiological compensation in no 182 way negligible to its sober life and ancestral appetite for meat, the sacrifice in common and equitable distribution of which is subject to strict rules[181], the object of the most rigorous tradition and fiscalization in order not to squander the slender reserves, which are 000 appraised in a manner unsuspected by European minds. The European visitor who is entertained in a Rifian household is not in a position to appreciate sufficiently the hospitality which is offered to him,

000 and he acquires a false idea of the environment in which he finds himself.

B) Days and Sites:

224 619 689 For this reason, all the tribes had fixed days for hunting during the week; it was obligatory for all able-bodied men, and those who eluded such an obligation were penalized.[182]

224 This obligation, like all those which this society imposed upon its members, was not capricious, but served a utilitarian end and responded to a basic need. When the number of the line of beaters was greater, so were the probabilities of yield in the hunt, insuring with good practical sense the flushing of a greater amount of game, the consumption of which was the hunt's object most of the time. In most cases, as today, the meat was to be eaten in common, and never sold; for the Rifian, outside of the times of prohibition, the hunt must be free of all bonds and impositions, for today (1939), it if were not for the understandable tolerance of the Spanish tribal administration, the law would become a privilege for the European hunter, reserving for him a distraction or gain at the cost of the need of the tribesmen.

[796] Even today, the Rifians still continue to hunt on fixed days, ordinarily on Saturdays, but never on Fridays (day of rest) nor on market days; even so hunting is not obligatory in most villages. In the clan of the Izimmuren, in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen, people hunt on Saturdays or Mondays; in the Aith 'Ammarth, on Wednesdays, Saturdays or Sundays; in the Aith Hadhifa clan (Aith Waryaghar), on Thursdays or Saturdays; etc.

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] [821] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

224 Another agreement which is also apt to be made previously, if the hunting is not in shirka, is the case of l-'adaw[184], which is indicated further on, in order to find out if measurements must be taken from above or below.

Regarding the personnel of the hunt, these are generally organized into two groups: the hunters, who go along the lower areas, tracking and flushing game; and the beaters, located in the dominating area and indicating paths taken by the animals to the hunters. Any hunter who gets an animal must change places with a beater, to equalize the possibilities and give the members of the latter group a chance.

The hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) walk in groups or in a line. In the first instance, the dogs go ahead of the groups, and in a line, at the ends, but always with the larger group in order to cut the road better for the game and to preserve it, insofar as possible, from accidents. The disposition which the Aith Hadhifa adopt while 224 628 hunting in shirka, for example, is in two bands: the local communities of Thizimmurin, Ihadduthen, Iharunen, Mishkur and Bihban from one, and those of Aith 'Amar u S'aid[185], Imrabdhen and Bashkra, the other[186]; and the meeting between both bands takes place in Aghir Inibdar, below Thizimmurin.

D) Arms:

224 411 [178] In the days of the Republik, Rifians hunted with firearms, ferrets, sticks, traps and net. Today they do not use firearms[187]; but practice and necessity have converted them into experts in the use of throwing sticks (r-mitrag). Each man carries two or three

224 411 of these, and any Rifian worthy of his salt can knock down a partridge in full flight with noteworthy dexterity, and at a distance of fifteen to twenty-five meters.

[824] The sticks which they use are usually of wild olive wood, in the form of shepherds' crooks, backed by a few turns of copper wiring at each end and the upper third; and this at the same time increases resistence to breakage, facilitates throwing by its greater accuracy.... The net result is that the Rifian is as dangerous, or even more so, to game animals or birds than is the average European hunter with a double-barreled shotgun.

224 At the hour agreed upon, when every participant is provided with his corresponding weapon or dog, they all leave their houses and go toward the hunting site, crying "Haw-haw! Haw-haw!", which is the signal of hunting and reunion.

E) Ownership of Game Caught:[188]

Ownership of game which is caught follows certain rules which are based on a general principle attributing the game first to whoever discovers it; second, to whoever kills it; and finally, to whoever [578] collects it. In different (or individual) cases, disputes may take place, and these and the way they are resolved will be discussed [411] further on. The principal elements of judgment are the range of vision of the hunters, and the range of accuracy of the weapons, some fourteen stick-lengths, or forty feet in a stone's throw.

671 224 692 The customary law of Rifian society minutely anticipates how many cases may arise, and as, furthermore, it is inspired by reality, it is simple and useful, requiring of the judges, first, competence,

671 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

000 223 224 627 578 671 [171] at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

671 223 224 411 4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 223 5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it [572] [695] must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 224 6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

[201] 7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "l-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

671 224 [804] If, however, the animal should flee and be killed by another hunter, it (still) belongs to the one who discovered it, although he may not have shot or thrown at it, provided that the distance from the point where it fell to that where it was discovered can be covered by a stone's throw, done either by him himself or by another hunter designated by him, with, furthermore, the choice of either point as that of the stone-throw being open to him (either where the animal fell or where it got up). This is done in order to utilize the slope, if.....this distance had not been previously established.

671 223 224 8) An animal or bird flushed up by a hunter is his if he does not pass beyond a distance of forty feet counted from the point at which it was flushed, and even though the shot may have missed it or if it was overtaken by a dog (Sanhaja Srir).

[681] 9) If an animal or bird wounded by one hunting party is finished off and collected by another one, it belongs to the first party, to which it must be returned even though it may already be cooked; and if it has been eaten, the second party must pay the first 25 pesetas as compensation (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 623 10) Nests belong to whoever discovers them, and in the event that they are saved as bait in order to hunt the mother with a trap or net, the site must be shown to the jma'th, in order to insure priority rights.

G) Dogs:[191]

671 223 224 231 1) Animals or birds picked up by dogs are not for the owner of the dog, but for whoever takes them out of his mouth (Aith 'Ammarth). This is based upon the fact that if the dogs are not trained, they will

671 223 224 23 eat the birds or animals instead of taking them to their masters. However, from another point of view, it is probably not a bad thing to let them taste meat once in their lives, for not everything in their diet must be bones!

[411] 2) If, at the moment it is flushed, an animal or bird is wounded with a gun or stick and then immediately caught by a dog, so that the result of the blow cannot be determined, it is for the hunter and not for the owner of the dog (Ibuqquyen).

[804] 3) Also for the hunter is any animal or bird which, wounded by him, continues to run and is overtaken by a dog within a radius of fourteen stick-lengths (dhigharya or dhigharyin, sing. dhaghrith, "stick"), counted from the site where the animal was wounded, provided that it shows a fracture. If it does not show a fracture or if it passes this radius, it belongs to the owner of the dog or to whoever picks it up (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

4) An animal pursued by a saluki which succeeds in hiding itself in a thicket or burrow belongs to the first man (i.e. the owner of the saluki), even though another hunter may come to get it (Ibuqquyen).

5) An animal or bird pursued by a saluki and brought to earth by a hunter is for the latter if it drops within the aforementioned radius of fourteen dhigharya (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

H) Aid During the Hunt:

671 224 Whoever discovers an animal in hiding can solicit aid in getting it or can get others to help him spontaneously, without losing his property (i.e. the animal) in either case; but he is obliged, if the

224 671 aid was rendered with firearms, to pay a cartridge, and if rendered with a ferret, to surrender half of the animal taken, for the maintenance of ferrets, based on milk, eggs and bread with olive oil, is costly. The same holds true if he is lent a net; he must pay half of the animals he catches (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 689 Anyone who, if help is required of him, denies it and deliberately frightens the game away with shouts and gestures, in order to hunt it later on his own, is obliged to pay a fine of 25 pesetas for his selfishness.[192]

671 224 I) Snow:

The tracks of animals (largely hares and rabbits) and the footprints of hunters give rise to the following cases:

1) The animals are for whoever discovers them and follows their tracks from the point where these begin or further; this is thus a recognition of the greatest effort (Aith 'Ammarth).

2) This right may be yielded by the pursuer, for reasons of weariness, etc., to anyone whom he meets on the way; and in case he abandons the search, he loses his rights (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 423 3) After the den of an animal is discovered, the hunter makes a circle in the snow around it. This circle is a sign of priority rights to the animal within it, and it permits the hunter to follow new tracks even though he may not kill the animal within the burrow.

671 224 423 627 In case another man takes the animal from its den, the claim is examined in front of the mulu' by the first hunter taking oath to having made the circle in order to locate the animal first.

[681] If through lack of other proof and if afterward it comes to

671 224 423 627 681 be known that one of the parties involved obliged the other one to swear, even knowing that the latter was right, the first party is fined 25 pesetas over and above the value of the animal (Aith Waryaghar).[193]

671 224 4) Animals found on someone's plot of land belong to the man who catches them and not to the owner of the land (Aith 'Ammarth).[194]

J) Nets and Snares:

223 After threshing has been completed in the late summer, threshing floors somewhat distant from the villages are used in order to hunt partridges with nets.[195] The threshing floor is prepared for this purpose, with straw and grains wasted as fodder. It is then surrounded with a semi-circular fence, a sign that it is prepared for birds.

671 223 (685) On a threshing floor, the preferential right to any game caught is that of the owner of the floor. In a floor marked out as indicated above, only the indiviual who prepared it may hunt. Any other person who tries to do so is considered a thief, and the fine he must pay is calculated on the basis of the number of partridges in the net. This right is based upon the patient preparation and expense of fodder, as bait.

223 224 After the den of a rabbit or hare or the nest of a partridge has been discovered, the hunters sprinkle the path to it with the grain residues of threshing in order to gain the animal's confidence; and when they consider it gained, they put the trap hidden between the earth and the remains of the threshed straw.

223 If partridges are being hunted, the net has a truncated conical form. The smaller end is placed in front of the nest and the larger tied to the ground with string or rope. The more the partridge tries to move forward, the more imprisoned it is.

685 671 Theft of nets is generally punished by a fine in accordance with the written qanuns of the tribes.

224 K) Hunting of Jackals (Uhar), Wolves (Ushshan) and Foxes (Uhawardha):[196]

This is effected with an iron trap (dhakhshifth), with various strategems employed because of the cunning of the animals in question. Frequently one of these animals attacks the goats furthest away, and tears them into pieces before the goatherd can arrive. The remains of the goat are tied to a branch, and below them, hidden in the ground, the traps are placed in a circle. They are usually left there for a long time, for if their positions are changed, the animal or animals are apt to become wary. The jackal, after conscientious study and with maximum caution, succeeds most of the time in getting within the circle without harming himself, but the repeated jumps, each time with greater impulse, which he is obliged to make in order to get at the goat, end up with his getting caught in one of the traps (Zarqat).

224 184 825 In the Ibuqquyen, the bait is usually a reed tube full of horse-flies and covered with very rancid butter; this is hidden in the ground, and the traps are placed around it. The wary jackal usually gets inside the circle, attracted by the smell of the butter; but as the cautious animal scratches and bites, he is frightened by the flies, loses his head, and in one of his disorderly leaps, he lands on one of

224
184
825

the traps and is stuck. In other tribes, instead of a reed tube, dried figs with flies are tied to the traps.[197]

L) Ferrets:

224
231

In hunting with ferrets, these sometimes stay in the burrows of the game for several days and eat the game. In order to get a ferret out of the hole, its owner usually takes a chicken to the mouth of the den and makes it squawk; and the ferret is attracted by the noise. If he does not succeed through using this technique, the owner puts the chicken in a leather bag, in which it is kept, with the bag open, beside the entrance. When the ferret comes out, it enters the bag or stays crouched beside it.

Ferrets are also employed in hunting jackals and wolves (sic). The hunters prepare snares at the entrance of the animal's lair. They put the ferret there, and it is held down by its testicles. Aside from the snare already prepared, the hunters are then ready to finish the jackal off with blows from their sticks as it comes out.

M) Damages:

A hunting party is not responsible for damages which the individual hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) might inflict in garden, orchards, or beehives, etc., but the latter are. The injured party, if he does not accuse a specific person through not knowing who did the damage, can demand that the hunting party denounce the guilty individual, and if it does not wish to do this, it must declare, by name, those who passed closest to the site of the damage occasioned.[198]

If the latter confess, they pay a fine, and in case of denial, they are obliged to swear that they have not done the damage and that they do not know the man or men who did.

[681]
[695]

224 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the
672 fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during
685 the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the dis-
224 position of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the
672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another
183 Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

224 L) Taboos:
782 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to
784 make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh,
[751] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated
411 by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

Animals

224 262 782 783 caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah invocation must be eaten; but as, unfortunately, a mouse or some other ritually unclean animal might fall in, and as the owner of the trap would have to eat it, hunters prefer not to pronounce the invocation. They would prefer to wait until the next morning, trusting to luck to find the animal alive, if indeed it has not escaped from the trap.

The hunters must see the animals alive and pronounce the invocation in order to be able to eat them.

[231] For this reason, an animal caught by a dog, as well as one captured by a ferret, must be seen by the hunters in order that it be ritually permissible for them to eat. In the case of the ferret, if the animal turns up dead in its burrow and has not been seen previously by the ferret, it is also rejected, since death might have taken place earlier.

104 M) Vocabulary:

1) hunt, hunting--Arabic rayah, Rifian dhagimmarth, dhingimarth or dhingmarth
2) hunters--Arabic mruyah, Rifian igimmaren (sing. agimmar), or ingmarn (sing. angmar)
3) signal of game--Haw-haw-haw! (repeated)
4) hunting in company--shirka, shurka
5) signal for attention and flushing of game--L-'adaw!; and if the game in question is partridge--Birraw!
6) sticks--dhigharya (Iqar'qyen dhigharyin), sing. dhaghrith, in the Ibuqquyen and in all the Aith Waryaghar save the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil, where a hunting stick is called r-mitrag and a walking stick dhqabut.

104 7) dog--aidi, pl. itan; smaller dog--aqzin, pl. iqzinen

8) saluki or greyhound--ushshai or ushsha, pl. ushshayen

9) ferret--nims or inimsi, pl. inimsan

10) division--Ar. wazi'a, R. r-uzi'ath

11) partridges--dhisxrin, sing. dhasxurth

12) rabbits--iqanniyen (in Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, iqannai), sing. aqanni (in Eastern Rif, aqanninni).

13) hares--iyarzizen, sing. ayarziz

14) jackal--uhar, pl. uharan (properly "fox")

15) wolf--ushshan, pl. ushshannen (properly "jackal")

16) net--dhrarsha (Eastern Rif, dhrashsha)

17) net for partridges--dhinigmarth (dhingmarth, lit. "hunting"); in Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, dhabhyuth

18) net for rabbits--aghassil (??)

19) snare for partridges (of esparto)--ahabbas

20) trap for partridges (of wood)--dhifriwin, sing. dhafruith (??)

21) trap for rabbits and jackals (of iron)--dhakhshifth

22) threshing floor--annar (in Eastern Rif, andrar), pl. inurar

23) bees--dhizizwa, sing. dhizizwi

24) hive--dhaghrasth, pl. dhighrasin

25) Palmetto sling (used by boys herding goats or cattle to drive them on, but used on occasion for hunting as well)--r-wuttaf n-tighzdhand

26) fiber sling of century plant--r-wuttaf w-uxfir

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!"

648 Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on [181] [609] the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get [114] away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

000

[128] 9--Blanco terms this el pacto interfamiliar; I use "inter-lineage" in the interests of greater structural accuracy. The pact itself concerns certain lineages of the Aith Waryaghar. And, as we are dealing here with MSS., I employ standard transcription for classical Arabic.

10--This saint, as his name indicates, comes from the subsegment of Aith Zawith n Imrabdhen (Imrabdhen n Waddai), of the clan Imrabdhen.

[113] 11--In the conversion from Muslim to Christian dates, we have used H. G. Cattenoz, Tables de Concordance des Ères Chrétienne et Hégirienne, 3rd Ed., Rabat 1961, as the conversions themselves do not occur in the Spanish translation.

In this connecticut also, it is well to point out that all the qanuns begin with the phrase "Praise be to God", then get to the matter at hand, and terminate with a statement or statements by the notaries, of whom there are always two, admitting the validity of the testimony of all the witnesses present. If the qanun is signed at the end by the qadi as well, he merely confirms the document by literally putting his seal of approval upon it.

12--More often stated as Uddji wu r-haqq or yarrza r-haqq ("there is no reason" or "reason is broken"), which also alludes neatly to the fact that when a feud is on, the rhaqq fine for murder is not paid to the imgharen, who themselves, of course, have picked up their rifles to participate!

13--Haqq means "law, reason, right"; and in Rifian it has the additional special meaning of "fine".

14--In Spanish, Oficina de Asuntos Indigenas.

15--It is difficult to surmise why judges of Muslim law would be "refractory" in their attitude toward markets, as through them they received their bread and butter; for the Shari'a in the tribal areas of Morocco has always been administered (where it has been applicable) in tribal markets. It is interesting, however, that Blanco attributes [114] greater control of markets to the Rif in pre-Spanish times than he does after pacification!

16--e.g. among each other and with the provisions of the qanun about to be drawn up.

17--Not so much "mechanism" of Rifian law as the mechanics of Rifian jural procedure.

[184] 18--Among the smaller Rifian tribes, there are often tribal clans which lack their own markets; but Blanco's statement holds true for the Aith Waryaghar, which is obviously the tribe he had in mind.

19--The unpublished Conferencia sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, which forms Part II of this work.

20--Again, Blanco uses the term interfamiliar.

21--The name of this lineage is written Isaghwen in Arabic, but in all likelihood it refers to Izzugwaghen ("Sons of the red-head"), a branch of the Dharwa nj-Hajj 'Amar of the lineage of Aith Injin, of the Aith 'Aisa (r-Qman?) of Tazurakhth.

∞

22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

000 unlike the Central Atlas, there is no special time limit on repayment.

[614] 31--Imhawlen is the literal transliteration from the Arabic text, rather than the Rifian form Imhawren. The Imhawren are one of three subclans of the clan of the Aith 'Ari, of the lowland Aith Waryaghar; and the clan of the Aith 'Ari, along with that of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, form a single khums or "fifth" in that tribe.

776 692 32--Sidi Mhand u Musa (died 1254 A.H., or 1838-39 A.D., according to one informant), the apex of the lineage of Izziqiwen of the clan of the Imrabdhen. Sidi Mhand u Musa is buried in Aith Hishim and is one of the most important saints of the Aith Waryaghar. As the text indicates, he adjudicated disputes and settled feuds (between the Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari clans); and he is said to have had a great deal of baraka, which, in accordance with Rifian notions of baraka-transmission, was successively passed down to only one descendant at a time: from Sidi Mhand u Musa to his grandson Sidi Misa'ud, bypassing his own son Sidi Siddiq; then to Sidi Misa'ud's son Sidi Hmid n Sidi Misa'ud; then to Sidi Siddiq's son, Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq; on the latter's death, to his son Sidi Muhand; on the latter's death to his son Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar, who was made qa'id of Imrabdhen by the Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz; and then to his brother Sidi Muhand.

776 792 Some informants say that Sidi Mhand u Musa and his descendants are the only true shurfa among all the Imrabdhen in the Aith Waryaghar, and that they have the right to their share in the sunduq or box of Mulay Idris for this reason. The share in question is divided up every year at the time of the Mulud: either a representative of the Dharwa n Sidi Mhand u Musa goes to Fez to get it, or, as the descendants of Mulay Idris are said to have a complete listing of those entitled to such shares, they sent them out. The shares are the same every year, but informants were unable to tell me the amount (a fact which in itself casts suspicion on the legitimacy of their claim to be shurfa). When the allotted amount arrives in Aith Waryaghar, it is divided into four parts: one for the descendants of Sidi Misa'ud ("Burjila") n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (the Iburjilathen of Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (also in Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi Haddu n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Zawith n Tashtiwin, in the subclan of Aith Tmajurth, in the clan territory of Aith 'Abdallah, and in Swani, where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the Mediterranean at the mouth of the Nkur River, in the clan territory of the Aith 'Ari), and one for the descendants of Sidi Muhammad n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Aith Hishim).

000 33--The reference here is probably to Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari n Sidi Musa n Sidi Hmid l-Quruni, the father of Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnau, of the lineage of Aith 'Aziz in the subclan of Upper Imrabdhen. Both father and son are buried in the Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar, located in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan territory of Aith Hadhifa.

Once again, with Sidi Mhand u Musa and Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari, both subclans of Imrabdhen are represented, no doubt in order to give greater validity to their roles as adjudicators, but also to the qanun itself.

000

34--Spanish literature refers to any Rifian who, during the "Republik", had done remunerative work for the Spanish administration on Al-Husaima Island as a pensionado de la isla.

35--It appears that here Blanco implicitly recognizes the Rifians' desire to preserve their system of checks, balances and oscillations within the framework of their segmentary lineage system.

36--"Counter-espionage" might be nearer the mark here, for it is up to the members of the jma'th in question to watch over their own property!

37--Blanco refers here to the addenda in the qanun after the two illegible signatures.

[436] 38--The duro hasani, more than any other denomination of coinage, was the Rifian monetary unit during the "Republik".

[114] 39--It seems to us that Blanco tries to infer too much from the order of appearance of the councilmembers' names; and undue emphasis is placed on social protocol as well. These traits are, of course, very Spanish!

[114] 40--Also very Spanish is the labored and rather far-fetched comparison with the urban ayuntamiento.

41--A word or two of explanation (as of 1961) is necessary regarding the Rifian monetary system. First of all, none of these coins have been in use since protectorate times; all of them date back to the "Republik". It will also be made increasingly clear below, in the text, that bigger fines for graver offenses were always expressed in terms of hasani duros. Secondly, in the corresponding peseta equivalents, it must be remembered that the peseta values are those of 1939, when the Spanish peseta was worth a good deal more than it was in 1961. Thirdly, Blanco does not mention the fact that Rifians call a peseta by the name frank, pl. franik, a term borrowed, of course from French franc, but not to be confused with it. Five franik made a duro, the word riyal being foreign to Rifian usage. This has created considerable terminological confusion, particularly since the introduction of Moroccan francs in 1958 and later, in 1961, the new Moroccan dirhams, into the North Zone. As 10 Moroccan francs, more or less, equal 1 Spanish peseta, the Rifians, unwilling to give up their old monetary terminology, call a ten-franc piece frank, a twenty-franc piece dhnain franik (two franks), a fifty-franc piece khamsa franik (five franks), and a one-hundred franc piece or note 'ashra franik (ten franks). And as the new Moroccan dirham is equal to 100 old Moroccan francs, it is also called "ten franks" by the Rifians, although within the next few years it is probable that the term dirham, or ij udirham (one dirham) will become common usage.

[114] 42--It is perhaps neither warlike nor religious in Blanco's interpretation of this qanun; but it is always highly contradictory and indeed erroneous assertions of this kind which seriously weaken the fabric of Blanco's arguments.

43--Hospi ality to guests is very important, in the Rifian scale of values, and nobody would deny this; but is it the most important institution of the jma'th???

[See p. 290--Analyst]

000 44--Which is unwritten in any case.

45--The Aith 'Abdallah are at once a clan and a "fifth" of the Aith Waryaghar.

46--In Rifian, Dhara n Tihrariyin, "the spring of the pure women(?)". The Tuesday Market once located there has not been functioning since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate, or earlier. The people of Aith 'Abdallah at present share a market, held on Mondays, with those of Aith Hadhifa; this market is located on the border of the two clan territories.

[614] 47--Sidi 'Amran is buried in the jma'th of Aith S'aid, in the subclan territory of Aith 'Aru Musa, one of two subclans of Aith 'Abdallah (the other being Aith Tmajurth).

[114] 48--Presumably with eleven of his agnates as cojurors, for twelve must swear in cases of suspected homicide; but there is no mention of this in the text and Blanco, whose knowledge of collective oaths in the Rif was sketchy, does not comment upon it.

[114] 49--Blanco's notions of Rifian segmentary lineage organization are somewhat deficient; for although the notion of a confederation of tribes might once have existed in the Rif (vide the liffs of Ghumara and Sinhaja), but during the "Republik" as described both by Blanco and myself, it most emphatically did not exist, nor does it exist today.

50--"Autonomous" would perhaps be a better word in this connection, for any segmentary system presupposes an interdependence of its component segments, upward, downward and laterally; and within the framework of such a system, maintained as it is by the principles of balance, oscillation and opposition, there is always some (and often very considerable) latitude for a (virtually or largely) autonomous existence on the part of individual segments, irrespective of the segmental level under consideration.

[619] 51--Because the Aith Waryaghar, in point of population, are the biggest tribe by far in the entire Rif (with the Igzinnayen following, at some distance), its clans may be functionally equated, in certain respects but not in others, with whole tribes elsewhere.

671 614 52--The Aith 'Adhiya are one of two subclans of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (the other being "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash), of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar. We have referred to it as Bani 'Adhiya rather than Aith 'Adhiya in the text itself, as this is how it appears in Arabic.

614 162 Although the Aith 'Adhiya are strictly speaking a subclan rather than a clan proper, as the Aith 'Abdallah are (see Chap. VI), they are nonetheless about the same size as the latter in point of population; and the whole clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with both subclans considered, is the biggest in the tribe, and by a rather wide margin (population 22,000 in 1960). This fact helps explain two things: 1) why the Aith 'Adhiya and the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash are in opposite liffs, and 2) why the qanun of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya deals with almost exactly the same matters as that of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah. Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash form one "fifth".

614 616 671 619

000 53--This is probably Aith Tizi, forming a part of the larger jma'th of Ighmiren, with Aith Fars.

54--Whether all the Aith 'Adhiya jointly sacrificed two bulls, or whether one each was sacrificed by the members of each liff is not indicated.

55--The market in question is the Monday Market of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[671] 56--In both this qanun and that of the Aith 'Abdallah we see how the fine for murder committed in the market is double that for murder elsewhere. Both qanuns also imply that not only must the fine be paid but that the murderer's house and crops will be burned as well. All informants from all over the Central Rif, however, said time and again that if the fine is paid, there is no houseburning. The root of the [735] discrepancy seems therefore to be an implicit assumption that the average murderer is too poor to pay the fine, which is in any event prohibitively high.

57--In some respects one can see what Blanco means here, but such a statement, particularly regarding the "superficiality" of Rifian Islam, is one which the Rifians themselves would hotly and vehemently deny. In their own eyes, they are extremely good Muslims!

[262] 58--Rifians tend to eat meat, as a rule, only on one day of the week: when they buy and bring it home from the market.

[114] [682] 59--Blanco here confuses the ddiyith, or blood money, to be paid to the victim's agnates, with the rhaqq, or fine for murder, to be paid (both payments being made by the murderer and his own agnates) to the council-members.

[682] 60--Blanco's point about 1000 duros being the fine for murder under normal circumstances (i.e. outside the market) and 2000 for murder inside it is very well taken; and, as he implies, these sums are indeed the norm all over the Rif. But once again, he confuses fines with blood-money, and they are entirely different.

61--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

62--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

[114] 63--This is an interestingly expressed idea, but the linkage with nomadism seems questionable.

[614] 64--As already indicated, the Aith Khattab include the two Waryaghar clans of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; and in this sense they might be considered a "super-clan", particularly if, as some have it (though this is nowhere indicated in the text of the qanun), they embrace the Aith 'Abdallah as well. In the same way, Aith Bu 'Ayyash, if it embraces, on the topmost level, the two clans of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa, may also be regarded as a "super-clan" of the same order of segmentation. However, the group in question is referred to as Bani Khattab, not Aith Khattab, in the text of the qanun.

65--As indicated, this qanun is valid only for the coastal Aith Khattab, those of both Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari who live in and around the Plain of Alhucemas, bordering the Mediterranean.

000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.

[996] [732] 67--This saint, nicknamed Bu Rjila, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of baraka were legendary.

[613] [614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.

69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.

70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.

71--The jillab is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.

72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.

[464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.

[114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.

75--Blanco actually means aitharba'in rather than agraw in this particular context.

[113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.

77--Ra'is in Arabic is "headman", from ras, "head".

[792] [113] 78--Mulay Admad al-Raisuli was a sharif from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, The Sultan of the Mountains, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4
Aith Siddat

000 79--It seems that Blanco has mixed his references here. The qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah decrees the death penalty for murder in the market if the murderer be apprehended on the spot, and a fine of 2000 duros if he should escape; the qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya decrees a 2000-duro fine for murder in the market, with no mention of a death penalty; while the qanun of the Aith Khattab only decrees a 500-duro fine for market murder, as we have seen.

R [114] 80--It is very probable that women's markets are an old institution in the Rif, but an assumption of antiquity in terms of "thousands of years" seems rather extravagant!

81--This is an implicit acknowledgement of the role of balanced opposition in segmentary societies. See also Lewis, op. cit., 1961.

R [619] 82--Presumbly what is meant here is the ensemble of clans forming the tribe.

83--See R. Montagne, op. cit., 1930, passim.

84--It is not clear here whether Blanco refers to the domination of the imgharen of 'Abd al-Krim, or of the Spaniards.

85--This, in our opinion, is one of the most profound statements Blanco ever committed to print.

S 619 691 86--Blanco calls this tribe the Bni Siddat, but outside the qanun itself, we have given them the benefit of the doubt and have called them the Aith Siddat. They are entirely Berber-speaking (Sinhaja Srir dialect), and are one of eight tribes in the Sinhaja Srir confederacy, the others of which are Aith Khannus, Ktama, Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Bni Bu Shibt and Taghzut.

S 691 619 614 114 87--This is a shrewd inference on Blanco's part. We do not know if such was the case, but suspect that it was, particularly in view of the centralization of the Sinhaja Srir under the politico-religious leadership of the Shurfa Ikhamlijhen in Targist and elsewhere.

000 88--As the qanuns on the jma'th level do.

89--Here again, Blanco mistakes the ddiyith for the rhaqq.

S 681 614 312 691 173 90--A written law in only the qanuns with which Blanco has presented us here. Qanun documents in the Rif and the North in general are extremely scarce (unlike the Sus); for usually, the substance of the Rifian qanuns is contained not in documents but in the heads of the oldest surviving men; when they die off, all this material will have been forgotten.

91--For ddiyith, read rhaqq, and the same for the rest of this qanun.

000 92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

S 181 167 114 000 93--It is certainly true that the Aith Siddat are an infinitely smaller and vastly poorer tribe than the Aith Waryaghar; but it seems questionable to me to attempt to infer from the mere presence or absence of a given statement in a qanun that they are more zealous in guarding their property.

R [114] 94--As discussed in Der. Cons. Rif., at some length, liff means "alliance". Blanco, however, is guilty of a howling error here, for he transcribes it throughout the text as lift, which in Moroccan Arabic Arabic means "turnip"!

000 95--The two tribes in question are Bni Bu Frah and Bni Gmil, the former
S a predominantly Rifian even though largely Arabic-speaking tribe, and
[619] the latter, also predominantly Arabic speaking, disclaimed by both the Rifians and the Sinhaja Srir.

R 96--A lineage of the clan of Agni, of the Bni Bu Frah, this unit, as
[613] indicated by its name, came from the tribe of the Igzinnayen. It is the second of the two Rifian-speaking lineages of the Bni Bu Frah.

97--Two questions emerge here. First, the text refers to "both clans", when in actual fact Bni Bu Frah has four clans. This may, however, mean one of two things: a reference to Muhammad bin al-'Arbi, the Awlad Ghadura and their allies (Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura being considered as one clan and the allies as another), or it may in fact refer to the two liffs into which the tribe was split and thus embrace all four clans. The first, in context, seems more probable. This jibes with Blanco's statement, in the commentary (note 259), that the two clans in question are Agni and Ulad S'aid.

Secondly, we find, in the notion of payment for combatting their own people, a contradiction in terms. But this can probably be explained away by the fact that what this statement (which is highly unclear) probably refers to is that those who stay on the tribal border and combat any of their tribal brethren who try to evade the collective obligation by sneaking home are indeed exempt from payment of any fine, because their conduct has been exemplary.

R One further point: the fact that lineages from every clan of the
[613] Bni Bu Frah are mentioned in this border agreement suggests the total
[619] involvement of the tribe as well as, implicitly, that of all of the Bni Gmil; for in small tribes, such involvement is total, whereas in large
S ones, such as the Aith Waryaghar or the Igzinnayen, this may not be
[619] (and indeed often is not) the case.

R 98--Even so, lineages from the other two clans of the Bni Bu Frah, Swa-
[613] hil and Ibuyihyathen, also appear to have been involved (see text of
[614] qanun); and presumably all or most of the Bni Gmil was involved as well, though this is nowhere stated in the text.
S
[619]

99--The mobility of tribal borders to which Blanco alludes here was quite relative; and it was far less great than, for instance, that among desert Bedouins, or even transhumants.

100--The liff system is perhaps a center-piece in Rifian political organization; but it is not the only one. There are other institutions with almost equal claims to primacy, such as the plural oath.

101--The liff system did bind together different social units, but always, let it be remembered, those of the same order or level of segmentation--unless, for example, a shift in alliance occurred, in which case it was possible for a liff to move upward or downward (in a structural sense) in gaining or losing new adherents.

It will be noted that the bulk of Blanco's commentary on liffs here is substantially the same as his chapter on the same subject in Der. Cons. Rif.

800 102--Whether by this Blanco is referring to the two rival bands within a tribe (i.e. the Rifian liff system as described in successive notes in Book 2) or to the rival bands of Ghmara and Sinhaja he does not specify; but we suspect the reference is to the latter, and we have already put our own view on this subject forward elsewhere.

103--As they could also, no doubt, for the theory of whether liffs start wars or stop them.

[C13] 104--An examination of the segmentation of the Bni Bu Frah shows us that lineages from all four of the tribal clans are in fact parties to the border defense agreement.

105--It is not clear from the original mss. whether by "least clear or tangible" Blanco refers to the tribe of the Bni Bu Frah or to the aspects of Rifian political organization under consideration.

106--Once again: for ddiyith, read rhaqq. This consistent howler becomes tiresome!

107--A somewhat similar situation, although born of quite different circumstances, is revealed in a tripartite qanun dated 1909 and translated and commented upon by Manuel Llord O'Lawlor ("Un 'Canon Berber Tripartito", Tamuda, IV, 2, 1957, pp. 305-309), which involves an agreement between two Ghmaran tribes, Bni Smih and Bni Grir, and one "Rifian" (by default, as it is entirely arabic-speaking) tribe, Mtiwa, to establish a ribat in the harim or sacred territory surrounding the tomb of Sidi Yahya al-Wardani in Mtiwa; for Sidi Yahya is regularly visited every year, in mid-August, by all the surrounding tribes.

108--The punishment for whoever does not obey the order in question is not stated.

109--Literally, "big man of the military expedition"; under 'Abd al-Krim it referred to a top commander of tribal levies, rather than Rifian Army regular.

110--'Abd a-Krim Haddu n Si Ziyan, of Ajdir, and 'Abd al-Krim's cousin (and therefore a member of the lineage of Aith Zar'a), was the latter's qa'id al-mishwar (a term which might be translated as "privy counselor"). He took over all of Raisuli's money, after the latter was jailed in Thamasind early in 1925, and handed it over to 'Abd al-Krim.

111--Of this document, we have only the Spanish translation; there is no photocopy of the Arabic original in La Ley Rifeña.

[226] [184] 112--There is, in actual fact, very little fishing among the Aith Waryaghar, who possess only a very small strip of beach where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the sea, at Swani. The Ibuqquyen and Thimsaman, their neighbors to the west and east respectively, are more active fishermen.

113--The agharrabu is the standard Rifian fishing-boat. Made of pine-wood and caulked with tar, it measures 6 m. x 2 m. x 1 m., and in 1954, cost about 7000-8000 pesetas. It is a rowboat, with oarlocks beside each of its three or four benches such that if one bench has an oarlock on its right side, the one in front of it or behind it will have one on the left side, etc. Oars measure 3 m. in length. Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 43) speaks of the existence of sailboats on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, but says they are less common than the agharrabu described

000 here. We have never seen or heard of them.

[463] [396] 114--There was a master boatbuilder who lived on the beach of Aith Bu Dawud in the Thimsaman, none in the Aith Waryaghar. He had no helpers in 1954, and got 500 pesetas and his food from future boat owners for building a boat.

115--The usual arrangement in this case is that the profits are split in half, one-half for the owner of the boat and the other half for the ra'is and the crew.

501 463 226 116--Each boat has a ra'is and a crew of four or five men. Sometimes, though rarely, the owner of the boat will be a different individual altogether; more often, however, the ra'is himself is the owner. It is also common for three or four fishermen to go shares on the price of an agharrabu or moruna (another common fishing boat of the same type, but smaller and of Spanish make), and they elect the most capable among them to be ra'is. If, for instance, there is a ra'is and a crew of four, the money from the sale of the catch is split six ways, the ra'is getting two parts. Before any division is made, however, 15-25 pesetas are given to the mule and donkey men who transport the fish to the tribal markets, while small boys who help pull the nets ashore receive one or two kilos of the catch.

[434] 226 The mouth of the Nkur River, emptying into the Mediterranean on the eastern side of the Plain of Al-Husaima, is an ideal place to fish, particularly in the area around Swani (Thimsaman). A boat takes the net (dhrarsha) out, leaving one of two ropes on the beach in the hands of a number of men or boys. When it has reached the end of the rope length, the net is let out in a semi-circle, with curled up ends, resembling a snail. The boat is then rowed back to shore, and the other rope then handed out to a second group of men and boys, as far away from the first rope as possible. When fish begin to collect in any quantity, each group starts pulling in on the ropes, lessening the distance between them as they do so. If the catch promises to be big, the agharrabu goes out again, to be rowed in behind the net in case of trouble. The site of the net is determined by the crew, who know where the fish are by watching places where birds dive into the water. After the net is hauled up on the beach, the crowd rushes out to scoop up the still leaping fish into baskets. They are put on a common pile in the sand, and the division of the catch begins. During the season, boats go out twice a day, in mornings and afternoons. Late summer is the heaviest season, and the ra'is and crew sleep and eat on the beach. They always have to be on the lookout for breaks in the nets and for fish which enter. At other times of year, after laying the nets out to dry, all go home and return in the morning; but with morunas, one person is always there, day or night, as a guard.

000 117--Capt. Gardiner was an English adventurer who ran guns to 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War; and Si l-Hadi n Dadi, of the lineage of Thighanimin, subclan of Izimurren, clan of Izimmuren, tribe of Ibuqquyen, still lives in Alhucemas (1961). During the Rifian War, in 1924, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to Paris with Si Muhand Uzarqan, the Rifian Foreign Minister, to try to preserve good relations with the French (which were broken when 'Abd al-Krim invaded the French Zone of Morocco the following year). After the war, Si l-Hadi eventually became, under the Spaniards, khalifa to the pasha of Al-Husaima, then known as Villa Sanjurjo.

000 118--Malaria, of the "paludism" variety, was a considerable problem in the Rif of 1939, of which Blanco writes. In 1952-53, however, the Spanish administration conducted a vigorous DDT campaign, which made considerable strides in stamping out this disease. [648] [744]

119--Twiza is also often translated as "corvee". In Rifian, the word is dhiwiza, pl. dhiwizawin.

120--Any individual who failed to show up to take part in a twiza organized for repairing a ditch (of which he was--or is--one of the users) had to pay a fine ranging from about three to five duros. This fine, however, was not and is not paid to the aquwwan, but is levied as r-haqq by the jma'th in question, whose members buy and consume tea and sugar with the proceeds. [466]

121--Irrigation turns, after the lots have been drawn to establish the order in which they occur, continue in the same order until something happens to the ditch, i.e. if it is washed out by a storm or if it loses water completely; and then lots are drawn again.

122--In 1953, the Granja Agricola had two days out of an eight day irrigation turn cycle, from the Dharga Hadhidha, on the left bank of the Nkur River. The other six days, the following lineages irrigated from the same ditch: Bu Srama (Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen n Waddai (Isrihan, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Ihaddjiyen (Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), r-'Aramth (affiliation unknown), Aith 'Alla (Imhawren, in the Aith 'Ari) and Aith Bu Minqadh (a "foreign element", supposedly from the Sus, in the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari). [613]

123--An akhammas is a poor sharecropper who receives one-fifth of the grain harvest of a richer individual with whom he has an annual verbal contract.

124--Blanco handles in a most able manner the whole question of the relationship of irrigation turns to lineage structure. Although by no means 100% accurate in all instances, his equation of the usage of secondary ditches by dharfiqin and of the smaller tertiary branches by the ijujga, or lineage branches, is certainly correct enough and widespread enough, in the Plain of al-Husaima in particular (where the distribution of irrigation turns is a very complicated affair), to be taken as a rule of thumb.

125--This seems a strange remark, particularly because it is italicized; as only plowing and sowing takes place in winter in the Rif, while the harvest is taken in mid-summer. However, it is possibly intended in irony, to show the poverty of the region.

126--Blanco refers here, in somewhat poetic and rhapsodic fashion, to the great topographical difference between the arid mountains along the upper course of the Ghis and the fertile alluvial Plain of al-Husaima which characterizes much of its lower course.

127--This number may have been 55 in 1939; it was certainly much higher in 1961.

128--Blanco mistranslates l-Bzimma, and, by extension, al-Masimma, as "the renowned".

000

[175] 129--Al-Mazimma was the port, in the 8th century A.D., for the City of Nakur. Modern Rifians do not confuse it with al-Husaima which, they say, aside from the present city and provincial capital of that name, covered the whole area from Badis in Bni Bu Frah to Ras Sidi Sh'aib in Thimsaman. It should also be noted that Sidd, in Arabic, means "dam".

[423] [432] 130--A translation of this document is given in Chapter XVII. It should be noted, in any case, that if a foreigner or anyone whose family does not traditionally irrigate in the area comes to buy land (and to build a house, etc.) in the Lower Ghis region, he has no right to irrigation water until he buys an irrigation turn. He must, furthermore, have a document proving that he bought his turn.

[712] [648] [175] [113] 131--The Jami' al-Mujahidin, or "mosque of the fighters of the faith", where the Aith Waryaghar mounted a permanent and perpetual guard against Spanish invasion, from 1673, when Spain occupied the Isle of al-Husaima, until 1926, when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas, Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47.

[175] [648] [631] 132--Both these men were of Ajdir, subclan of Aith Ughir Iyizan, clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi, a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim who during the Rifian War was pensioned by the Spaniards and in 1926 made qa'id of all Aith Waryaghar by them, died in 1936.

133--This statement needs some qualification. The four names under consideration here, although two of them (Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan) certainly correspond to lineage names, are in effect names of irrigation turns, for, on the other hand, Bu Mqathir and Zawith (the latter refers to the area around the Monday Women's Market, at Azghar, and not, as far as we know, to any particular zawiya) are both place names, and in both these instances, as indicated in the notation of participants in the Zawith turn, it is the lineages who form local groups in the area under consideration who have a right to irrigation water, irrespective of their clan affiliations. In the Zawith turn, again, one of the participating ijujga is that of the Andrusen: this lineage, whose name means "Andalusians", has become a member segment of the subclan of Lower Imrabdhen, in the clan of the Imrabdhen; we say "has become" rather than "is", because, as in fact its name shows, it is made up of the descendants of "foreign shurfa" rather than of those of local ones. Another participating jajgu, the Ihaddallahan, is a lineage branch of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif of Ajdir, of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan in the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; while the Ushshannen are a branch of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, also of Ajdir. We have unfortunately been unable to establish the lineage affiliations of the Fisra and Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi; and, like Blanco's, our own notes on irrigation in the Lower Ghis (made in Imzuren in the autumn of 1953) have nothing to say regarding the lineage participating in the Bu Mqathir turn on the fifth day.

However, one point is very clear: that with the rotation over the first four days between Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan, and the additional fact that at least two lineages of Ajdir participate in the Zawith turn,

the participating lineages are overwhelmingly affiliated with Ajdir and the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. Indeed, through the first four days, the participants are all members of lineages localized in Ajdir and its immediate environs. Although Ajdir itself may be considered a segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, the distinction made in this context between "Ajdir" on the one hand and "Ughir Iyizan" on the other probably referred originally to participants who were from Ajdir "Proper" as opposed to other Aith Ughir Iyizan. Our own notes tend, in fact, to bear this out, as in the Ajdir turn on the first and third days, the U Haddu and W'Alla w Ujdir part-turns are affiliated with the lineage of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa; the U Hammu part-turn is affiliated with that of the Aith Zar'a; and the U Mis'aud u Yusif part-turn is of course affiliated with that of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif. In the Ughir Iyizan turn, on the second and fourth days, all the part-turn names in question designate lineages which had land in Ajdir long ago but which no longer exist as separate entities. Their names are today preserved only in connection with distribution of irrigation water, the present recipients of which are all in effect members of the three lineages of Ajdir.

To complete the record on the l-Bzimma ditch, it only need be [114] said here that our data vary slightly with Blanco's regarding the irrigational order of the small lineage branches, e.g.,

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir--U Haddu (Aith 'Aru 'Aisa; U Mis'aud u Yusif (Aith Mis'aud u Yusif)
2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan--U Yikhrif; U Yihya u Musa
3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir--W 'Alla w Ujdir (Aith 'Aru 'Aisa); U Hammu (Aith Zar'a)
4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan--W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan; U Dris
5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir
6th Day (24 hours): Zawith and Tishtin r-B'ai

[114] [614] 134--I'arhuthen may be an error; the lineage in question is probably that of the I'abbuthen, a member lineage of the subclan of the Tigarth of the clan of the Aith 'Ari; while the Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru are a branch of Aith r-'Arbi, also of the subclan of Tigarth. We have been unable to trace the lineage affiliations of the Dharwa 'Abdinnbi.

[614] 135--The fact, which Blanco discusses at length below, of the subclan of Imhauren (clan of the Aith 'Ari), of which the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid are member lineages, doling out water on a staggered nine-day basis to the Aith Bu Dhimmus is rendered all the more remarkable when one realizes that the latter are a branch of the lineage of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar, subclan of the Isrihan, in another (and traditionally hostile) clan, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[614] 136--Dhifirasin (literally, "pear trees", sing. dhafirasth) is not the name of a lineage at all, but that of an irrigation ditch. Both the irrigating lineages, however, are of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari: the Aith Mhand u Yihya (of the Plain), though "foreigners" from the Ulad 'Azzam of the Wargha River Sanhaja, are affiliated with the subclan of the Isrihan, while the Im'aruwen (here again there are two groups who are not geographically contiguous, one in Isrihan in the mountains and one in Thafrasth in the Plain--the latter group is under

000
[614] consideration here) are affiliated with the Ajdir segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan.

[614] 137--All three lineages are member groups of the subclan of the Tigarth in the clan of the Aith 'Ari.

312 591 613 114 138--Our own notes on the division of irrigation water from Dharga n-Bulma'iz are a little at variance with those of Blanco. There are three turns of 24 hours each, for the secondary ditches of Dhifirasin, r-Ghis Burma'iz and Thafadhna n Dara (Upper Dhafadhna). The Dhifirasin turn is distributed among the lineages of the Ibukriwen, Ihanjiqen (both of Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Plain) and Im'aruwen (this is exactly as Blanco indicates); but the Ghis Burma'iz turn is limited only to the three lineages of the Imhawren, i.e. the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid. The Tafadhna n Dara turn is divided between the lineage of the Yinn Si 'Amar (branches of Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Amar and Dharwa nd-Hajj Muhand) of Lower Imrabdhen, clan of the Imrabdhen; and the Aith Bu Dhimmus (Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush); and this is very much at variance with what Blanco says. It is possible, but unlikely, that a change in order may have taken place after the Spanish administration put cement bases in the three principal ditches (r-Bzimma, Bulma'iz and Dthafadhna) in the Lower Ghis; and the cementing occurred long after Blanco left the Rif. It is easier (and probably more plausible) to attribute the discrepancy to ambiguity among informants; but here again, the pitfall of using ambiguity as a scapegoat is that even the least intelligent users of any ditch are always thoroughly conversant with which lineages use it, how much time and how long the cycle is, and in what order it comes. For it is standard irrigation practice in the Plain of al-Hus\u0101ima that each dharfiqth receives water for 24 hours at a stretch, and that after this, the supply is cut off so that other dharfiqin can irrigate.

000
[114] [614] 139--Blanco is in error here for not being familiar with the segmentary minutiae of the Aith Waryaghar. The Aith Bu Dhimmus lineage does not belong at all to the dharfiqth of the Imhawren, whose clan affiliations are with the Aith 'Ari, but to that of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar in the subclan of the Isrihan, of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[114] 140--Our own fieldnotes on the subject say nothing of the staggered, around-the-clock rotation every twelve days of the Aith Bu Dhimmus after their insertion into the routine of the Imhawren turn; but we think we are at fault here for not having gone into the matter thoroughly enough. Blanco is indeed to be congratulated here not only on a truly original discovery, but on an excellent exposition of his material as well.

141--This statement proves that in Blanco's time the three principal ditches emanating from the Lower Ghis had not yet been cemented.

142--Only the lineage of the Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith is of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari; all the rest of the individuals and lineages mentioned here are resident in Ajdir of the Aith Ughir Izan subclan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

143--Our own notes on the distribution of water from the Tafadhna ditch, while not as detailed as those of Blanco, are nonetheless largely in accord with his. The ditch has a three-day cycle: Imhawren (24 hours),

000 with the lineages of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid irrigating; Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours) with the Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush irrigating; and Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit (24 hours).

[114] 144--Blanco gives the "9 hours 20 minutes" figure (the difference between 12 hours and 2 hours 40 minutes) as "n. 60", which seems to make no sense whatsoever, and may be simply a typographical error.

[103] 145--Our notes record this as one ditch, called Sidd Tuth r-Hammam ("mulberry in the heat"?), a lower extension, in fact, of Sidd Dharga nd-Bzimma. It has a two-day turn, distributed as follows: U Kammuni, U r-Qadhi, U 'Amar u Bukar, U Muhand and Zawith. As in the l-Bzimma ditch, these names are purely names of turns, and not names of actual lineages located in the area around the ditch. However, at least three of the turn names recall present lineage segments of the clan of the Imrabdhen: U Kammuni and U r-Qadhi recall the Aith Kammun and Aith r-Qadhi in the Upper Imrabdhen, and U 'Amar u Bukar recalls the Aith 'Amar u Bukar in the Lower Imrabdhen. Given this fact, it is also possible, therefore, that Zawith in this context might refer either to the Zawith n Sidi Yusif in the Lower Imrabdhen or to the Zawith n Sidi 'Aisa or Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar in the Upper Imrabdhen. The turn name U Muhand is too generalized to provide any lead.

146--Blanco unfortunately does not provide us with a translation of this document.

147--'Azib, in an Arabic dictionary, is generally given the meaning of "estate", but it is one of many words in Arabic which mean different things to different groups of people. In the Central Atlas, it refers to a shepherd's shelter in a summer pasturage area; and in the Rif it refers to a second house built by an individual who already owns one, preferably a second house in which he spends a certain season of the year, such as summer. Such an individual is called a'azzab, pl. i'azzaben, and there are very few of them in the Central Rif, where transhumance, in any form, is non-existent.

148--The tribes in question which are bounded by the Lower Nkur are the Aith Waryaghar on the west bank and the Thimsaman on the east; but it should also be remembered that the Middle and even a part of the Upper Nkur divides the Aith Waryaghar (west) from the Axt Tuzin (east).

[621] [613] [614] 149--The latter is a lineage-community of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the former (Imzuren) is a thoroughly mixed local community, with elements of the Aith 'Ari, Aith Yusif w 'Ari Imrabdhen and even the Aith Bu 'Ayyash clans all included.

[613] 150--Our notes on Dharga n Dahar state that it has nine turns: five for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (by which, naturally, is meant only those lineage segments of this clan localized around the area of the ditch), and the remaining four as follows: Abyadh (the Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Isrihan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Thasrand Imziren (half for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and half for the Aith Musa w 'Amar), Ihaddushen (a branch of the Aith Musa w 'Amar) and Imzuren. In each one of these turns, there are 7 or 8 nubath. From Thasrand Imziren to the Nkur, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash irrigate; and from Ihaddushen to Imzuren, the Aith 'Ari do so.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000

151--The third-mentioned individual was from the Aith Bu Qiyadhen lineage of the Aith 'Adhiya subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and the fourth from Ajdir of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The others were unidentified.

312 571 613 614

152--Sidd r-Hajib irrigates the Aith Musa W. 'Amar and Iswiqen n Waddai (affiliated with the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), for the most part. Sidd Inufan irrigates the territory of the same lineages, as well as the land of a few intrusive families of Shurfa Wazzaniyin from Snada (Aith Yittuft), those of Sidi l-Hajj Mikki and Sidi Brahim. Sidd Bu Kra' irrigates up through Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), as well as r-Mruj and Ahamri (the site of the Granja). Sidd Ahammar irrigates land bought by the Hajj Hmid n 'Abdssram Bu 'Ayyashi, the son of 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand Bu Qiyadhen mentioned in note 151; and it irrigates land of the Ihankuren lineage (in Aith Musa w 'Amar) as well. Sidd Miskur irrigates Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar) and the Ifqiren (Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen).

153--These ditches are presumably named for the lineages which use them: Tigarth and I'abbuthen (both of the Tigarth subclan) in the Aith 'Ari, and Aith Misa'ud in the Lower Imrabdhen.

154--Sidd Tagharbund irrigates for the Ihankuren (of Aith Musa w 'Amar of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), certain lineages of Bu Minqad (again of the Aith r-'Abbas of the Aith 'Ari), the (Lower) Imrabdhen of r-'Azih Imzuren, and, in 1953, for the then Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), Mikki n Sriman r-Khattabi, of Ajdir. Sidd 'Abdallah irrigates for the Ifqiren lineage (of Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen subclan) at r-'Azib Imzuren, Sidd Arbib ("dam of the step-child") irrigates for the Ifqiren and Ma'iza lineages (also of Aith 'Amar u Bukar) at r-'Azib Imzuren. Sidd Ishtari irrigates for the Imrabdhen of r-'Azib Imzuren, and for the Imhawren, Aith Musa w 'Amar and Bu Minqadh lineages (the last three of the Aith 'Ari).

155--As indicated, the Imhawren are a subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the Aith Mhand u Yihya are a lineage of the Isrihan subclan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

000

156--For whom, presumably, the ditch was named in the first place, as those of its members who are nearest it share a turn from its water.

[613] [571]

157--Our notes state that the Dharga n Tmsaman always has a right to one-third of the water from Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan; and that there are four, rather than three, turns of 24 hours each, the fourth being that of the Aith 'Amar u Bukar (Lower Imrabdhen) of Ma'iza.

[613] [614]

158--A lineage of Izakiren community in the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

159--Sidd Jdid is used in summer, when water is scarce, by the same lineages who use Dharga n Tmsaman.

160--This document is not given by Blanco in translation.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

104 624 [686] by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

000 172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

[613] 173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

[554] [648] [631] 176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

[614] 177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

[illegible]--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[224] [113] 179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

224
619
689
114 182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

224
671
[114]
[178] We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

224
628
613
614 186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.A

A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]
A

000
[656] 187--Firearms have been prohibited in the Rif since 1926, and still are at date of writing (1961).

188--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, a hunting party always consists of at least four or five persons, more often ten to twenty; and it hunts the whole day, away from the village, returning home only at night. The catch, even if only one rabbit, is divided up equally among the hunters, no matter how many; and on the same principle, fines are equally shared by all members of a hunting party. The owner of a ferret (nims, pl. inimsan) which has caught an animal gets the head; and the owner of a trap (dhakhshifth, made of iron and generally reserved for larger animals) into which an animal has fallen has a right to the whole animal, even if someone else should discover it in the trap before the owner arrives. If an animal in flight passes through the land of any person, it still belongs to the hunter no matter who catches or kills it; this, however, presumably does not often happen, for hunting is always done away from the village.

[411] Rabbits and hares are always hunted with sticks, and in snow. Generally, the hunters wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing their sticks, because if a rabbit's face is smashed by a stick, the man who threw it is accused of being a poor hunter by his fellows.

[788] It is customary to pronounce the Muslim invocation "Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim!" ("In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate!") before throwing or shooting at an animal or before setting a trap, as this act renders the meat halal, or lawful for human consumption, the same as if its throat had been cut. If an animal is found dead (imwardhas, "dead animal"), it is thrown away.

189--What is presumably meant here are qadi's and other Muslim legal personnel.

190--As the catch is equally divided, so fines are equally shared, among the hunters.

191--The only dogs used for hunting in the Rif are a kind of greyhound or saluki, called in Rifian ushshai, pl. ushshayen. Hunting with greyhounds, however, is not done in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar.

192--This proves that hunting is indeed a corporate and cooperative venture, based on a principle of share and share alike.

193--In other words, it is the presence or absence of a circle around the burrow which denotes ownership and which is in fact the most visual and reliable proof of same.

194--And in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar as well.

[13] 195--Blanco and R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, O.F.M., Diccionario Español-Rifeño, Madrid 1944, p. 355, both give as the term for "partridge net" thinigmarth, pl. thinigmar (which also means "hunting"); and Ibáñez lists this as the term in use both in Ibuqquyen and in Iqar'ayen. In the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, however, a partridge net is termed dhabhyuth.

000

[114] [136] 196--This seems to indicate considerable confusion, both terminological and zoological, for the simple reason that there are no wolves proper in the Rif. A terminological confusion arises because Spanish dictionaries, both Rifian and Arabic, translate Rifian ushshan (pl. ushshannen) and Arabic dhi'b as "lobo, chacal", whereas properly it means only the latter: jackal. By the same token, uhar (pl. uharan) is a fox (not a jackal, as Blanco indicates); and thawardha probably corresponds to awardhyu (pl. iwardhiwen), listed by Ibáñez (op. cit., 1944, p. 439) as synonymous with uhar, "fox". We have never heard the word awardhyu in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, however.

197--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the carcass of a dead animal is used as jackal-bait, and traps are laid around it.

[184] 198--This is in contrast to the situation in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, where division of the game and of the fines incurred are shared equally by all the hunters.

199--We have substituted "system of beliefs" for Blanco's term supersticiones as being somewhat more appropriate anthropologically.

[For additional information on the farīqath, a "sub-fraction" or canton composed of a single hill-valley or watershed unit, comprising 4 or 5 villages, the membership of which are related through a traditional rather than an actual ancestor, see also Categories 634 and 614.]

5: Blanco Izaga

MX3 Rif MX3

614

[For information on the tharfiqth, defined by the author (p. 57) as "a form of clan-community", see Category 613.]

5: Blanco Izaga MX3 Rif MX3

623

[For information on the community or village aspects of the jma'th, a collection of both related tharfiqins, see also Categories 621 and 613.]

[For additional information on the farīqath, a "sub-fraction" composed of 4 or 5 related villages (related through a traditional rather than necessarily an actual common ancestor), and making up a single hill-valley or watershed unit, see Category 631.]

5: Blanco Izaga

MX3 Rif MX3

621
613

[For additional information on the function of the jma'th as a counseling body, see Category 623.]

5: Blanco Izaga MX3 Rif MX3

619
634

[For information on the Rifian "fraction", called a "clan" or "sub-clan" by Blanco Izaga, and defined as "... an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends ..., a state in miniature ..., an independent republic, and the true Rifian Patria ..." (p. 115), see Category 614.]

[For additional information on the arrba, thakhammasth (pl. thikhammasin) or rba (pl. ruba), a major or primary section of the tribe, which has been variously described in the literature as maximal lineages, districts, khoms ("fourths" or "fifths" of the tribe), cantons (by Coon), groups of bones, fractions, or clan "fifths" (Blanco Izaga), see also Category 631.]

5: Blanco Izaga

MX3 Rif MX3

779

[For information on the Sharía (Islamic law), see Category 671.]

[For additional information on the thārfiqth (pl. thārfīqth) or dharfiqth, a form of clan community composed of extended families (jājghū) and including the families of all the sons of an original founding ancestor, see Categories 613, 614, and 596.]

623.

[For councils (jemas, jma'th) on the ar-rba or tribal level, see Categories 619 and 646.]

[For additional information on the arrba, thakhammasth (pl. thikhammasin) or rba (pl. ruba), a major or primary section of the tribe, which has been variously described in the literature as maximal lineages, districts, khoms ("fourths" or "fifths" of the tribe), cantons (by Coon), groups of bones, fractions, or clan "fifths" (Blanco Izaga), see Categories 619, 614, and 634.]

613
614
596

[For additional information on the thārfiqth (pl. thārfīqth) or dharfiqth, a form of clan-community composed of extended families (jājghū) and including the families of all the sons of an original founding ancestor, see also Category 618.]

abarrah (barrah)--market crier (p. 127)
'adl (pl. 'adul)--notary public (p. 53)
agharrabu (pl. igharruba)--boat (p. 342)
agirmam (pl. igirmamen)--a pond (p. 351)
agraw (pl. igrawn)--a meeting of councillors (p. 40)
aith--sons of; this term is equivalent to the Arabic bani (p. 46); people of (p. 175, no. 127)
Aitharba'in--council (p. 164, no. 58); the collective of clan delegates (p. 123)
akhammas (pl. ikhammasen)--hired men who cultivate fields of cereal grain (p. 50)
'am alfillah--agricultural calender (p. 92)
amarras--storehouse/silo guardian of the Eastern Rif (p. 123)
amddukar (pl. imddukar)--friend (p. 247)
amghar (pl. imgharen)--a clan representative elected by the jma'th (p. 126)
amghar n-suq--"market chief" who policed the market (p. 127)
amin--the market provost who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees that the market is run smoothly and efficiently (p. 87)
amina--a female market provost in a women's market (p. 88); see the definition given for amin
amrabidh (pl. imrabdhen) -saint's tomb (p. 66); saint (p. 91); a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad (p. 155); a living or dead saint (p. 157)

amrabit--hermit saint (p. 116)
anigmar (pl. inigmarn)--hunter (p. 219)
aquwwam (pl. iquwwamen)--agricultural/irrigation expert (p. 169, no. 92)
arkan al-din--"pillars of religion" (p. 227, no. 17)
ar-raqba--"turns" of vengeance or reprisal (p. 102)
ar-rba' (pl. rurbu')--"fourth" or "quarter"; a Rif term which is used to denote maximal segments in tribes possessing less than five of these; this term is also employed (more often than khums) to designate the five maximal segments of tribes which do have "fifths" (p. 159, no. 22)
'ashur or zakah--alms giving (p. 227, no. 17)
'ashur (Rif-dha'ashurth)--tithe from harvests (p. 193)
'ashura--the 10th day of the first month of the Muslim year, Muharram (p. 227, no. 17)
athmun (pl. ithmunen)--conical silos (p. 48)
azdif (pl. izdifen)--a village council member (p. 58)
'azib(Arabic)--in the Rif, this term refers to a second house owned by an individual who already owns a house (p. 412, no. 147)
aziddif or aziddjif (pl. iziddifen or iziddjifen)--the headman of the jajgu (p. 107)
'azizi (pl. aith 'azizi)--father's brother (p. 227, no. 14)
baraka--a wonderworking power similar to the Melanesian mana (p. 92)

dhwara--"turns" of pasturage (p. 102)
diya (Arabic)--bloodwealth (p. 43); ddiyith (Rif, p. 109)
dshar--village, hamlet, community (p. 166, no. 71)
fariqath--a minor political division comprising four or five villages; a descent group in which all members are related, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable (p. 67)
fqih (pl. tulba)--a teacher in a mosque (p. 168, no. 89); the personage who officiated in a mosque (p. 190)
fqir--a member of a religious order (p. 195)
fraction--clan or subclan; an association of neighboring jma'th for sociopolitical ends (p. 115)
ghaba--areas where brushwood is gathered by the women for their ovens (p. 49); scrub forests (p. 66)
ghwarfth (Rif)--storeroom for grain in a mosque (p. 190)
guma--a slaughter house in a market (p. 86)
habus--a religious or charitable endowment (p. 162, no. 49); mosque property (p. 120)
hadj--pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca
hajjamin--barberbleeders (p. 87)
halal--that which is permitted to be eaten (p. 237, no. 68)
hannash--evil doers, snake charmers (p. 289)
haqq--a fine (p. 43, 72); law, reason, right (p. 397, no. 13)

blad l-makhzin--government controlled land (p. 16); the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law (p. 96)
blad s-siba--"land of anarchy" i.e., the Atlas and the Rif (p. 16); land of custom or of customary law (p. 96)
bu-mwarith--an official who takes over, in the name of the government, the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs (p. 170, no. 105)
ca'ida or 'urf--Berber Customary Law (p. 26)
darraz--a weaver (p. 86)
ddiyith--blood money to a victim's agnates (p. 234, no. 54)
dha'ashurth--voluntary alms; self-taxation (p. 194)
dkakhammasth--"fifth"; used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments (p. 158, no. 22)
dhakhshifth--a trap used in hunting (p. 237, no. 68)
dhaddarth--nuclear family (p. 99); properly, this terms means "house" (p. 159, no. 25)
dhamzyidha--a mosque (the construction, repairs, and maintenance) (p. 190)
dhaqbitsh (pl. dhiqbar)--tribe (p. 156, 118)
dhasirth w aman (pl. dhisira w aman)--turbine watermills (p. 351)
dhimssi--hearth (literally "fire") (p. 159, no. 25)
dhrarsha--a fishing net (p. 349)
dhukkardha--"turns" of theft (p. 102)
dhuri--an association between two farmers whereby one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other man provides the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment; the actual work is done by an akhammas (a hired gardener) (p. 50)

harim--communal pasture lands (p. 66)
harka--war parties (p. 239)
hauma--a separate barrio in a village comprised of a single tharfiqth, the fundamental social unit (p. 58)
hizb--(pl. hizib)--one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran (p. 228, no. 21)
ibarudiyen--dramatic actors (p. 127-128)
idhuran(sing. adhuggwar)--in-laws (p. 259-260, no. 24)
ifaradhen--a contract between two farmers in which they join their individual resources to produce crops and then equally divide the harvest between them (p. 50)
imam--a prayer leader in the mosque who stands before the congregation (p. 228, no. 23)
imdhiyazen--musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also breed mules (p. 160, no. 36)
imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith")--A property less (usually) social class in the Central Rif which originated from the tribe of Axt Tuzin. These people specialize in ironwork (p. 160, no. 36)
interventor--Spanish tribal administrator
isrif (pl. isrifen)--an affinal kinship term signifying "wife's sister's husband"; two men who marry sisters are isrifen to each other (p. 164, no. 57)
iziddjifen (sing. aziddif)--headman or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th (p. 126)
izidjith--a plaintiff (p. 230, no. 38)

izudj or yuxshar n rimin--an accused person (p. 230, no. 38)
izudjen or yuxshin n rimin--cojurors (p. 230, no. 38)
jajgu (pl. ijujgu)--patrilineal extended family (p. 52, 56)
jama'ath--village, council of notables (p. 51); a collection of both related and unrelated tharfiqin (p. 65); a local community (p. 97)
jari (pl. jwari)--village headman (p. 66) in the Aith Waryaghar tribe
jbil--mountains (p. 219)
jillab--a woolen cloak with sleeves and a hood worn by men (p. 63)
jnun--a supernatural being (p. 91)
khums (pl. khmas)--one-fifth of the tribe (p. 188)
liff (pl. lfuf) -a complicated network of alliance systems (p. 58); political moiety organization (p. 69, 76)
ma'ar--silos (p. 123)
maghrib--sunset prayer (p. 363)
mahkama--tribunal building of the qa'id or qadi (p. 206)
makhzin--the government of the Sultan of Morocco (p. 16)
mhalla--a military expedition (p. 251)
mkhazni--a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army (p. 206, 225, no. 8)

mmis n 'azizi (pl. dharwa n'azizi)--father's brother's son (p. 226, no. 14)
mqaddim (Arabic)--village headman (p. 122) in all tribes except the Aith Waryaghar where the village headman is called jari. In the Aith Waryaghar, the mqaddim became the head of the administratively created "sub fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh (p. 176, no. 140)
mqaddim n-tmzidha--caretaker of the mosque on the local level (p. 168, no. 88)
mulu'--the leader of a hunting party (p. 382)
muna--food (p. 192)
murabit--holy man (p. 61)
mushaf--Koran (p. 231)
n-dara--upstream (p. 371)
ndzir l-ahbas--habus administrator; caretaker of the mosque on the provincial level (p. 168, no. 88)
nims (pl. inimsan)--a ferret used in hunting (p. 237, no. 68)
nubth (pl. nubath)--the notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" (p. 102); nuclear family (p. 159, no. 25)
qabila (Arabic)--tribe (p. 22-23)
qadi (pl. qudat) (Arabic)--a judge of Shari'a law (p. 159)
qaid (pl. quyad) (Arabic)--chief of the tribe (p. 24)
qanun (pl. qawanin)--Customary Laws documents of the Rif (p. 41); decisions of the village or tribal council with or without documentary evidence in Arabic (p. 166, no. 75)

qawa'id al-Islam--"customs of Islam" (p. 227, no. 17)
rabba'--hired gardeners who tend vegetable gardens and orchards (p. 50)
r-'adhawth (Rif)--vengeance (p. 398, no. 29)
ra'is (pl. ruyas)--the master of a boat (appointed by the owner of the boat) who directs the operations of the boat (p. 343)
rba' (pl. rubu')--see definition for thakhammasth
r-ghramth--"turns" of gift-giving at weddings (p. 102)
rhaqq--a market fine (p. 234, no. 54)
rimin or thzaddjith--collective oaths (p. 230, no. 38)
ribat--an agreement (p. 316)
r-knwaghadh (sing. r-kinghadh)--legal documents (p. 100)
r-mitrag--a long stick bound with copper wiring which was thrown to kill birds in flight (p. 237, no. 68)
rqisas--a fine paid to a victim of a crime by the person who committed that crime (p. 234, no. 54)
r-Rogi--a false pretender to the Moroccan throne (p. 263, no. 31)
rshuhudh--witnesses (p. 230, no. 38)
r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a)--the distribution of meat from a sacrificed animal (p. 415, no. 181) or from a hunted animal or bird (p. 382)
r-waratha (sing. awrith)--the remaining angantes of a dead man (p. 226, no. 14)
Shari'a--Muslim religious law (p. 203)

sharif--holy man (p. 61)
shuf'ath (Berber, Shafa'a)--agnates priority rights over both land and women (p. 227, no. 14)
sidd (Arabic)--dam (p. 409, no. 129)
ssdhaq (sdaq)--brideprice ; dowry
sulh--truce (p. 374)
sunna--the custom of the Prophet (p. 208)
suq (pl. aswaq)--a weekly market
s-waddai--downstream (p. 371)
talib (pl. tulba)--a post-graduate student in Koranic knowledge; the functions of a talib are almost identical to those of a fqih (p. 169, no. 89)
tartib--the tax paid to the Makhzin in Tetuan by each farmer on all the livestock he owns as well as all the land he has under cultivation (p. 71); also spelled "tirtib" (p. 161, no. 43)
thafgirth (pl. thifgirin)--a bonfire (p. 239)
thakhammasth (pl. thikhammasin) or rba' (pl. rubu')--the major or primary political section which literally means "fifth" and "fourth" respectively; the tribe of Aith Waryaghar is divided into five major sections, each of which claims descent from a common ancestor; the tribe as a whole does not claim descent from a common ancestor (p. 68)
thamagra--the wedding celebration
thamza--a hideous local ogress who eats babies (p. 91)

thamzida n khutbath--the principal cantonal mosque which is attended on Fridays (p. 68); also spelled dhamzidha (p. 156) (Rif)

tharfiqth (pl. tharfiqin) -the fundamental social unit and a form of clan-community; the tharfiqth is an amplification of the jajghu (extended family) by inclusion of the families of all the sons of the original founder-ancestor (p. 57-58). Also spelled dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin) (p. 155). A lineage (p. 155)

thargha (pl. tharghiwin)--irrigation ditches (p. 51)

thasrafth--In the Central Rif, an underground deposit in the patio of a house in which grain reserves are kept (p. 170, no. 98)

thzaddjith or rimin--collective oaths (p. 230, no. 38)

timrath--wife

tislith--bride

twiza--a corvee (p. 102)

uggug (pl. uggugen)--a dam (p. 358-359)

ukil (fem. pl. ukilat)--legal representative (p. 110-111)

ukil l-ghuyab--an inheritance or property representative for absentees (p. 170, no. 106)

uma (pl. aithma)--brother (p. 226, no. 14)

'urf or ca'ida--Berber Customary Law (p. 26)

yinn--"those of"; roughly synonyomous with aith, but Rifians tend to use yinn only when speaking of lower level segments (p. 175, no. 127)

yuxshar n rimin or izudj--an accused person (p. 230, no. 38)
yuxshin n rimin--cojurors (p. 230, no. 38)
zakah or 'ashur--alms giving (p. 227, no. 17)
zattat--the gift given to a prospective brides' father to put him in a receptive mood
zawiya--residence of a virtuous or holy personage and invariably associated with a saint's tomb (p. 110)
zujiya--a marriage contract document (p. 159)

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

000

Rituals and Relatives:
A Study of the Social Uses of Wealth in Morocco

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Anthropology

by

Roger Joseph, Jr.

[title page]

Committee in charge:

Professor Pedro Carrasco, Chairman

Professor Joseph B. Birdsell

Professor Charles Gullans

Professor John Horton

Professor Wendell H. Oswalt

1967

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

000

This is an authorized facsimile
and was produced by microfilm-xerography
in 1975 by
Xerox University Microfilms,
Ann Arbor, Michigan,
U.S.A.

[introductory p. i]

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

This dissertation has been
microfilmed exactly as received 67-14,270

JOSEPH, Jr., Roger, 1938-
RITUALS AND RELATIVES: A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL USES OF WEALTH IN MOROCCO.

University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D., 1967
Anthropology

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

[introductory p. ii]

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

000

The dissertation of Roger Joseph, Jr. is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm:

Committee Chairman

University of California, Los Angeles

1967

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

ooo

To Terri

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

000

[introductory p. iii]

© Copyright by
Roger Joseph, Jr.
1967

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
	Acknowledgements	v
	Vita and Fields of Study	vi
	Abstract of the Dissertation	vii
	Introduction	1
1.	Social History	5
2.	Livelihood	15
3.	Varieties of Social Expense: Birth and Marriage	21
4.	Varieties of Social Expense: Religion and Magic	47
5.	Varieties of Social Expense: Status and Prestige	64
6.	The Marketplace	86
	Conclusion	109
	Bibliography	115

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

122 The research resulting in this study was made possible through a predoctoral grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, as well as the generosity of Mr. Dean Cutchall and my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Roger Joseph, Sr. A grant from the Near Eastern Center at UCLA, arranged through the kind offices of Dr. Walter Goldschmidt and Dr. G. E. von Grunebaum, allowed me free time to complete this study.

000 Guidance and encouragement for my research were provided by many teachers at the University of California, Los Angeles, including Councill Taylor, Hilda Kuper, Jack Prost and M. G. Smith. To Joseph B. Birdsell a particular debt of gratitude is [122] owed. Of my colleagues in Moroccan studies, special thanks must be given David M. Hart who assisted me over many field work difficulties and Ernest Gellner who provided hospitality and guidance.

Two people most instrumental in the completion of this work were Pedro Carrasco and Terri Brint Joseph. Dr. Carrasco has served as a continuing source of advice and encouragement. I am indebted to him for his friendship and kindness as well as for his intellectual guidance and stimulation. Of my wife's contribution no less can be said than that the study would not have been possible without her participation: this was truly a joint intellectual effort for which she deserves full credit for the best parts.

R.J.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

VITA

114 July 23, 1938 - Born - Pasadena, California

1960 - B.A., University of Nevada

1963 - M.A., University of California, Los Angeles

1962-1964 - Teaching Assistant, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Anthropology

Studies in Economic and Social Anthropology
Professors Pedro Carrasco, Hilda Kuper and M. G. Smith

Studies in Human Population Genetics and Ecology
Professor Joseph B. Birdsell

Studies in Berber Linguistics
Professor Joseph Appelgate

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Rituals and Relatives:

A Study of the Social Uses of Wealth in Morocco

by

Roger Joseph, Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 1967

Professor Pedro Carrasco, Chairman

121 556 In industrial society the use of wealth to meet the needs of relatives or rituals is marginal and secondary to total expenditures. By contrast, such expenditures in a nonindustrial society may be the most important manner in which wealth is allocated. 121 556 433 Production in such societies is aimed primarily at satisfying needs arising from the activities and responsibilities induced by social and religious obligations. Distribution seeks to maintain the continuation of these activities and of the social relationships that they establish.

This study is an examination of how wealth is distributed in the Berber society of the Rif Mountains in Morocco. The fundamental feature of the Rif economy is that it is based on status. [554] The economy is one in which the deployment of resources rests primarily, though not exclusively, on imperatives derived from social factors. Exchanges, transfers, or consumption not directly

121 related to subsistence are dictated by a different order of
556 practical considerations and ideological commitments than
433 obtain as the dominating factors in industrial society.

121 It has been an on-going dispute in anthropological
114 literature about whether such an economy as that of the Rif
433 is susceptible to the same sort of treatment that marks the study of market-oriented, industrial society. Polanyi began the dispute by pointing out that the rules of choice upon which most economic theory rests are based on a particular social and economic model which has only limited applicability. He noted that the economic behavior of the participants of an industrial society was largely induced by the institution of the market. The difficulty in such economic analysis comes, of course, when we study societies in which the market is not the primary focal point of the economy.

121 In Rif society the marketplace is peripheral to the
433 economy. This condition is due in part to historical and
443 ecological factors which have influenced the evolution of a particular kind of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and economic resources. The Rif has, until recently, been part
121 of the bled-as-siba, or the land outside the administrative
433 control of the Moroccan government. Thus, one of the major
642 social factors in the history of the Rif was the absence of centralized political authority. This lack of a political factor in integrating the economy has directly influenced the

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

121 433 642 system by which resources are distributed. In the absence of such a factor, the economy developed as a reflection of the social organization wherein well-being depended on relatives, friends, the good-will of the spirits and God, all supporting one another.

121 [126] The data upon which this study is based were collected from two villages in adjoining tribes in the Central Rif. The economy of individual families within the villages was studied, as well as how these local communities articulate with each other and with the wider Moroccan social and economic structure. The principal foci of the investigation were the reciprocal relations between kinsmen and neighbors, the relation of property to prestige, ritual obligations and magical predilection, and the general effects of the indigenous system of social relations on the consumption and distribution of resources.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

INTRODUCTION

121 While few would disagree that systems of economics are different, the notion that economies might be propelled by sets of dynamics radically different from those that developed in Western economy is much less accepted. That this should be the case rests to a large degree on the development of economics as a science. Those people who accepted the calling to become economists were concerned with understanding and explaining the economic systems of which they were the most aware. Economic theory became synonymous with an analysis of industrial economies. Yet the majority of the human populace lived in societies that had been only marginally affected by the industrial revolution and there even were social enclaves which were still untouched by it. Only in recent years have a growing number of economists, anthropologists, and sociologists sought to understand the economic systems of these nonindustrial societies. The present work, as a description and analysis of how wealth is distributed in one such society, is intended to make a modest contribution to this understanding.

121 105 The society which we shall examine is that of the Berbers in the Central Rif of Morocco. The empire of Morocco itself has a lengthy history as a political unit. However, various mountain

121 and desert areas remained politically distinct from the Sultan's
105 regime. These areas, of which the Rif was one, were called the
bled-as-siba, or the land of insolence. In such areas there was
(571) no centralized political authority and whatever small degree of
security that existed came from a system of social relationships
whereby mutual assistance was expected and granted. The absence
of political integration at any higher than the local kin and
residence group was paralleled by an absence of extensive economic
121 integration. Not only political success but economic well-being
105 as well depended on relatives, friends and neighbors all support-
571 ing one another. Out of this developed an economic system based
602 on status. By "status" I mean an economy in which the deployment
433 of resources is based primarily, though not exclusively, on imper-
556 atives derived from social relationships and religious obligations.
In such societies wealth is expended on ceremonial activities, on
reciprocal obligations, on the gift and countergift. In an indus-
trial society there are analogous ceremonies and celebrations in
which wealth is spent on relatives and ritual. However, such
expenses are marginal to the amount of total outlay. Such expen-
ditures have proportionately little effect on the sum total of
wealth in comparison to expenditures connected with rational pro-
duction. By way of contrast, in a nonindustrial society social
expenditures of wealth can be the most important way in which
121 wealth is utilized. In a society heavily dependent on local ties,
105 on kin alliance, on neighborhood association, social activities
571 tend to be the essence and breadth of the group. Production is
602
433

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation of these activities and the social relationships that they help establish.

The central problem I have set for myself is to describe and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the conditions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was socially, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political conditions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

121 Production and distribution continue to be geared to a series of
433 goals arising out of the status economy. These goals involve
128 obligations attendant to life crises (Chapter 3), incumbent on the correct religious performer, or to placate the spiritual world (Chapter 4), to enhance status and/or acquire allies (Chapter 5). The relationship of the Riffian to the marketplace is described in the final chapter.

101 The field work upon which this study is based was carried
114 out in the Province of Alhucemas in northern Morocco between June of 1965 and November of 1966. The initial month and a half was spent in the port city of Alhucemas arranging necessary papers and working on the local Berber dialect. The following six months were spent among the Beni Wariyaghar in a location of scattered homesteads on the Wariyaghar-Igzinnayen border. The first quarter of 1966 was spent recovering from illness. May to October was spent in a compact village in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen. Field work was terminated in November.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 1

SOCIAL HISTORY

133 The Rif is a chain of rugged mountains stretching along the Mediterranean coastline from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Moulouya River. Composed almost entirely of sedimentary and metamorphic rock, it is an extension of the Cordillera Penibotica of Spain. While the mountains are somewhat lower than those of the Atlas, they are just as steep. The invaders of Morocco invariably skirted the Rif and proceeded through the Taza Corridor. If the mountains are foreboding, the coastline is no less so. [504] The entire stretch from Río Martin to Melilla is devoid of ship shelter except for the break in the bay of Alhucemas, the small cove at Puerto Capaz, and the deltas of Wad Lao, Rhis, Nekor, and Bados.

133 131 The area which will be discussed is located in the center of this mountain chain in what is now called the Province of Alhucemas. The Tamazight-speakers of this region lived, until very recently, in a social and economic backwash. The presence of a rugged, inaccessible coast isolated them from Mediterranean contact except for the few points mentioned above. The mountain chain, on the other hand, served as an effective barrier to the interior of the country. The Rif was thus isolated from the rest of Morocco by natural boundaries. The social and political consequences of this shall be discussed below.

633 [504] The area is administered today from the small port and provincial capital of Alhucemas. The growth of this urban center, fishing port, and tourist attraction is but a recent [175] phenomenon. The city, founded in 1925 with the invasion of a Spanish fleet, has been the focal point for whatever innovation that has occurred in the Central Rif in this century.

133 361 Directly behind the city of Alhucemas is a flat plain. Although the land here is rich it was uninhabited prior to the Spanish because the terrain was indefensible during times of feuds. The original population was situated in the foothills [712] and higher mountains. Here homesteads were scattered and since they also served as garrisons or fortresses they were located on hills or ridges which could be defended militarily.

133 The area is not well served by rivers, the principal ones being the Rhis and the Nekor. The former rises in the Sonhaja area and empties into the Mediterranean at Alhucemas. The latter starts in Igzinnayen territory to flow along the border of the Beni Wariyaghar and the Beni Tuzin, emptying into the bay at [312] [161] Alhucemas. Both these rivers and their tributaries are used for irrigation and the population density is higher along them. There are also a good many natural springs (generally regarded as holy sites) and wells have been successfully dug in some of the valleys.

132 Rainfall varies annually and at times disastrously. At the weather station in Alhucemas during the decade 1946-1955, rainfall ranged from 8.5 inches to 16.9 inches. Although the

132 mean would be somewhat higher in the highlands, the range of
[243] variation would be as great. Since the economic backbone of the area is the dry farming of cereals, low rainfall or drought causes serious difficulties.

175 The history of the Rif presents us with the strange paradox that it is better documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries than for the nineteenth. We have several written chronicles of the Arab city states established along the Mediterranean, such as Nekor which drops out of history in the eleventh century, and Bades which was captured by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. Of the Berbers in the hinterland we have
[113] little material with the exception of el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif (French translation by Colin, 1926) dated 1311, and el-Bekri's Description de l'Afrique septentrionale from the
[131] eleventh century. El-Bekri notes that already in that time most of the present tribes of the Rif were located in their present
[648] sites (Michaux-Bellaire, 1925: 180-181). Between these accounts, fragmentary at best, and the uncritical chronicles of Spaniards leading punitive expeditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Riffian history is rather blank.

175 Geographical circumstances made the Central Rif peripheral
648 to most events going on in Morocco. Only with the insistence of the Spanish government did the Moroccan Sultan send an expedition into the Rif in the late nineteenth century to punish the Ibuqquyen for piracy. During the early years of the present

century a pretender to the Sultan's throne, Bou Hmara, seeking to consolidate his position in the north, invaded the Rif. He was halted in 1908 on the shores of the Nekor by the Beni Wariyaghar (Maldonado, n.d.:486) who united not to save a crown but to preserve their own autonomy.

What we do know of the early history of the Rif is not so much definite historical material whereby one can discuss the contents of an event and its eventual repercussions, but rather the sociocultural background of the tribes.

Regarding the original populating of the Rif there is no definite information. The people who live there today may have lived there prior to the Arabic invasion of the seventh century and certainly did live there by the second invasion of the eleventh century according to el-Bekri's account. They may have been pushed into this area by the first Arabic invasion or by other Berber tribes at earlier dates. The ruggedness of the terrain and the difficulty of earning even a subsistence suggests that migration to the Rif was not voluntary. The Rif mountains hardly constitute a promised land. Though it is only conjecture, I suspect that the Rif was first populated by small groups of kinsmen living in the lowlands of the Taza Province who were forced because of the blood feuds to leave their original homestead and take up residence in these inaccessible areas. There is a certain justification for this belief since the present population distribution in the Rif is due mainly to small segments of original lineages fleeing the consequences of the blood feud.

175 The social facts are, however, somewhat clearer. The
648 Berber tribes of the Central Rif were a part of the bled-as-siba,
651 or that area in which the central Moroccan government (bled-al-makhzen) failed to exercise effective control. The boundary between the one and the other was determined by whether within the area in question the makhzen could or could not collect taxes. If a tribe had voluntarily or involuntarily submitted to the payment of tribute, there would be a royal intermediary, a qaid, to collect revenue. In the Rif such dominancy was not present until the Spanish, or in the case of the Igzinnayen, the French, were able to assert supremacy.

619 A complimentary feature of the bled-as-siba, at least as
(648) it obtained in the Central Rif, was that not only were the tribes independent of the makhzen but within any particular tribe itself, the internal segments of which it consisted were independent in most instances from one another. There was no tradition of centralization in this region. Each tribe (taqbitch) was divided
619 into segments of varying degrees of inclusiveness. The maximal
613 lineages or ar-rba agreed that they belonged to a common social group which was socially, geographically, and to some extent linguistically distinct from other taqbitch. This social entity was evoked more in terms of space than of time. If one lived within the spacial limits of the tribe one was a member of that group. However, rights and duties within the taqbitch were nebulous and a Riffian would only use his tribal identity to someone who was unacquainted with local political sub-divisions. As a

619 temporal entity the tribe was only rarely a corporate group as in
613 times of invasion. Even on these occasions tribal-wide support was difficult to solidify since each lineage spokesman had the option of joining in or staying out. In a land where personal and familial enmity was so intense, it was not uncommon for a tribal segment to remain neutral or migrate away, temporarily or permanently, to avoid making common cause with tribal affiliates who might murder them. There were even occasions in which tribal segments allied themselves with an enemy tribe.

619 The social division which had a more frequent jural function was the ar-rba, the group which Coon designates as a 'canton.' The term itself comes from the Arabic and Berber word for the number four. The epistemology of the term is obscure. Some tribes, such as the Igzinnayen and Beni Wariyaghar, contain four of these subdivisions. Others, such as Thimsaman, contain two, and some taqbitch, such as Ibuqquyen and Tafarsith, are not divided into ar-rba at all. In these tribes the term for taqbitch and for ar-rba are used to designate the same set of people. The ar-rba contained both related families and strangers who had purchased land within the territorial limits of the ar-rba. Spacial proximity rather than kinship seems to have been the organizing principle. In tribes covering vast amounts of territory the ar-rba was a territorial division to meet whatever jural responsibilities which occurred within its limits. The smaller the number of tribesmen and of spacial expanse, the less necessary it was to have these subdivisions. Within the ar-rba

Within the ar-rba
619 there was a council (jemas) held irregularly to discuss and
[628] settle judicial matters generally pertaining to the blood feud.
[554] Only the more important families within the ar-rba had representation on the council.

613 The first social unit which is directly reflective of kin ties is the dharfiqth. Whereas tribal and ar-rba names refer to place names generally, the dharfiqth invariably carries the name of a real person, i.e. Aith 'Abdallah or Aith al-Qasim. The members of this group consider that they have a common agnate although they may not be able to demonstrate the genealogical linkage to this ancestor. The group theoretically includes all the sons of the founding ancestor and their offspring. Some dharfiquin seem to have increased in number and power while others grew smaller either through decimation in feuds or from splintering into rival dharfiquin. Solidarity seems to have rested mainly on sentiment, and in such an explosive atmosphere this is perhaps too fragile a mechanism for maintaining agnatic descent groups.

613 The dharfiqth is made up of a varying number of jujgu
596 which are localized patrilineal extended families which may be regarded as minimal lineages. Each ijujga consists of a man, his wife or wives, his married sons and their wives and children, along with his unmarried sons and daughters. When the referent of the ijujga dies, all his sons form separate and new jujgu. The composition of the ijujga is today an idealization since few
000 households contain the above list of relatives. Neolocality is

591 Neolocality is
178 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization.
[613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijuiga
[596] traditional social obligations are still extant.
[602] The final social unit in the Rif is the local community
621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

1. [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is 621 622 657 appointed by the national government. While the appointment is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem 622 631 619 may and usually does have administrative responsibility over more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

623 [554] Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, 623 198 before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed [657] by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

621 The dchar then is a neighborhood association which is made up of all the adult permanent residents. Its functions which formerly held considerable political importance have now been reduced to an association of mutual support and assistance. It is important economically in such activities as maintenance of the local mosque and collecting sufficient funds to support local ceresonies. This latter function shall be taken up in greater detail in Chapter 5.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 2

LIVELIHOOD

243 The primary economic activity in the Central Rif is the cultivation of barley. The agricultural cycle is marked by the [221] planting and harvesting of this crop. Ploughing begins during the months between October and January depending on the occurrence of the first rain which is necessary to soften the soil. [407] Breaking the soil is done by wooden ploughs though the blades are made of metal. The terrain is first weeded and cleared of small rocks by the children of the family. Then the father, an 243 492 older son or a hired man commences the ploughing. Two animals, one on each side of the plough, are used. Mules are preferred, but rarely does a man have two. Thus, there is a bizarre mixture of animals including combinations of donkeys, cows and mules. The value of animals on the market is at its highest in this season since everyone needs them for ploughing.

243 After the land has been ploughed by the animals it is [412] broken even finer by the use of a hand hoe. When the land has been sufficiently prepared, the seed is sown by hand. Once the barley has been planted there is no further care of the fields. The crop is dry farmed and its yield depends entirely on the amount of rainfall it receives during the winter.

243 While barley is the predominant crop, maize is an important secondary one. Wheat and rye are also grown but the latter is held in low esteem as a food product[1] and the former does not grow successfully on the thin residual soil of the region. In
241 [312] those areas where there are rivers or streams, small gardens are maintained by irrigation canals. In these are cultivated potatoes, tomatoes, onions, garlic, squash, turnips, green peppers and mint.

245 In addition to the grains, maize, and small vegetable gardens, many households also have orchards of fruit and nut trees. Fig, lemon, orange, pomegranate, walnut, almond, and olive trees are common. In some areas grapes are also cultivated. Around each house is a grove of prickly pears which serves not only as a means of preserving privacy, but also as a source of food. These products not only supplement and add variety to the regular diet but in the case of oranges, almonds
[258] and grapes serve as cash crops. The olives are pressed by the
[262] women to provide crude cooking oil. Nuts, dried grapes and figs
[221] are an important winter food reserve. The work of pruning and grafting goes on during the months of February-March-April.

243 In early summer harvesting begins. Both men and women engage in this activity, the men doing the reaping with hand

---

[829] [1]Coon (1931:47-48) states that rye is highly praised by the Riffian but that since the Arabs scorn it as a foodstuff the Berbers are ashamed to admit its worth.

243 sickles and the women carrying the grain stalks to the threshing areas. The threshing floors are generally merely a circle of dirt ground, although in some areas they are paved. The stalks [231] are placed on this circular floor and mules, donkeys, or cattle are driven about inside the circle, trampling the grain and separating it from the chaff. The grain is further refined by hand-winnowing done by the women. The straw is accumulated in circu- [231] lar stacks to be preserved as food for the animals during the winter months. When relatives have worked a common piece of land 243 465 the yield is divided by measuring off the appropriate amount of grain in straw baskets. If the division is on a one-for-one basis, each alternate basket will go to one of the parties. If the division is at some other ratio, the number of baskets will [427] accordingly be at that ratio. If the land was ploughed, planted and harvested by a akharmas, a sharecropping laborer, the owner of the land will receive four bushels out of every five, the remaining fifth going to the akhammas.

241 Throughout the summer the vegetables, fruits and nuts are harvested as they come ripe. In late summer and early autumn the [465] maize and grapes are harvested. Once again, if the labor of several families or of akhammas has been involved, straw baskets are used to allot out to each man his appropriate portion. It is 585 221 during this period, in the months of August and September, that [241] weddings are held. The agricultural cycle has been completed and there is spare time to arrange the necessary items for a wedding. Also this is the period in which the optimum amount of food is

585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too [777] enfeebled to do the work. Perhaps it is this unending sameness which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also [262] have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [554] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is 796 vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[771] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless,
433 impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
[191] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif, which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
435

231 of livestock during normal market conditions show a mule to be
435 worth $100 or more, a donkey between $40 and $60. Cows range
from $50 to $70, and bulls upward to $100. Rams sell for $20
[454] to $30, and goats for $10. Given the resources of the Riffian,
expenditures of this magnitude represent expensive investments.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 3

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

121
437 The Riffian then is an agriculturalist, a fellah, who keeps small herds of livestock. Our problem is what does he do with his herd and his cereals once the subsistence needs of himself and his family have been met. If he followed Smith's dictum he would 'by instinct' seek out another individual with whom he could exchange his superfluous product in order to gain a profit. Such exchanges do, of course, take place. Ecological differentiation, for one factor, causes the exchange of special objects from one region to another. Occupational specialization requires the fellah to seek out opportunities for exchanging his produce in the most opportune way in order to acquire services and goods outside his range of competence. The question however is, are these forms of exchange the most frequent, do they account for the most significant amount of distribution, and are they culturally or ideologically the most valued types of exchange? If the answer is no, then we must seek out what sort of exchanges do fulfill the above functions. The study of the circulation of goods must proceed sui generis.

121
556 In order to derive the relative importance of the various uses of wealth in the Rif, I shall commence with an analysis of the distribution of wealth related to some of the life crises of the Berber.

121 [553] [585] the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domestic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of [844] [852] [764] the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumcision and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather 844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives [602] may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon [782] (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed. [556] [574] While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assembled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so. However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is not uncommon among those who can afford it.

553 574 602 [114] Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially the second most important initiation ceremony in the society. On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of 553 574 602 431 his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by previous obligations established by gifts that the giver has received from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money, 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially
574
602 father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this cere-
431 mony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the
[578] family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day
782 the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended
574 to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is
621 expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the

553 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of
556
574 food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys. Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, how-
[571] ever, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to empha-
553 size their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony

553 is, however, only a descriptive prelude to the much more elaborate presentations which occur in relation to nuptial ceremonies.

585 114 The marriage ceremony is probably the most socially significant public ceremony which takes place in the Rif. The spectacle and complexity of Berber marriage have prompted numerous studies, of which Westermarck (1914) is the most complete and Maunier (1927) the most useful. A rather detailed description of the ceremony among the Beni Iznassen, a tribe neighboring the Rif, is given by Renisio (1932). Accounts for the Rif proper are given by Coon (1931) and Hart (1956). My own description is not at odds with any of the above but the point of view differs from all except possibly Maunier.

585 The marriage process can be broken into three separate divisions of time and into the associated ceremonies and rituals [584] which accompany these three periods. The first period, which takes place prior to the wedding, is one in which the preliminary negotiations take place between the parents of the prospective couple. The second division is the actual wedding festival itself, which takes place over a two or three-day period. The final division is the ceremony held on the seventh day after the marriage. I shall discuss each of these periods in terms of the strategy of bargaining, the expenses entailed by social and religious imperatives, and the function of gift and countergift.

584 In the initial period negotiations are conducted between the male relatives on both sides, the most prominent participants being the fathers of the prospective bride and groom or, if they

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated [178] [621] and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with [595] multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The [369] urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the [593] man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society [571] was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- [602] ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is [178] guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy [571] overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 792 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

565 582 792 other shorfa families. However, the shorfa have never been a solid social class in the Rif because of the large and economically varied numbers of people who claim, with varying degrees of reliability, such descent. Whatever endogamy that exists [556] among the shorfa is between shorfa who are also men of means. Such families as possess both qualities do have a marked propensity towards marrying among themselves. There is also a 556 565 582 class of men who own more land than the average and do not do their own labor but hire others to do it. There is then a very loosely defined economic class which tends to marry within its own circle. It is very rare for a family of this class to marry a girl to a family with small holdings who hire out as laborers. They prefer to marry shorfa women, thus raising their prominence in both economic and religious terms. The majority of people, the small landholders who do their own labor or hire out to others, do not have any noticeable pattern of preference.

582 Aside from a loose class endogamy, marriage in the Rif is relatively freely constructed. There is no guiding principle whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry because of their location within the structure. Aside from incest rules which prohibit marriage with one's mother, father's sister, mother's sister, sister's daughter, brother's daughter, wife's mother, stepdaughter, grandmother, daughter, foster sister, or any child who was suckled by mother, marriage can be contracted with anyone inside or outside the dchar.[1] Within any one dharfiqth

[114] [1] Murdock's information (1959:117) that Riffians do not marry their father's brother's daughter is inaccurate, although the percentage

582 Within any one dharfiqth
[613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzinnayen than
565 for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
582 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects from which to draw.

582 The main structural consequence of the absence of pro-
602 scriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity
611 at any level of social organization beyond the extended family. Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal prin-
611 ciple. Although rights in property and children almost always
602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle. A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

---

582 of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more
114 correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me
[829] with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong. It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we prepared to attend exactly such a union.

178 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was
611 that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quar-
602 rels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situ-
578 ations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matri-
lineal lines.

121 I think that the principle of unilineality is not as
611 important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindus-
[571] trial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated
to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this
makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the
structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its
parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform
to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many non-
584 industrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must
decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce
bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and
set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either
type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of
an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on
the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the
couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter
should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely con-
sulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic
as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely
chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community
[521] such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes
knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family.
If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother
to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's
father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are,
however, the majority.

584 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because
562 of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initi-
586 ating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son
into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advan-
tages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.
584 Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if
[782] a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match,
[571] the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing
an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the
Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a
wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of
[593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will
[464] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as
[420] akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such cir-
cumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed
581 that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative
582 which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

584 that the following factors are evaluated in each case.

581 Advantages in marrying a relative are:

582 1. You don't fight over whose family is superior.

2. You know the girl beforehand and have a fair idea of what sort of a person you are getting.

3. It is a simpler property arrangement.

4. Your family already knows the girl, presumably likes her, and there is no problem of an outsider coming in and being picked upon by the women of the household.

5. If a husband is fighting with his wife, the common family relatives will pressure him into treating the woman better in order to decrease the possibility of divorce.

On the other hand, there are a countervailing series of factors which discourage marriage to a relative:

1. It is harder to be in love with or be attracted sexually by a woman with whom you have grown up and whom you regard as a sister.

2. It is socially and economically advantageous to spread out one's contacts through alliances with non-relatives.

3. With an outsider, a non-related wife, the husband has more power because his wife does not have any natural allies with the household or the family.

4. Although property arrangements are more complicated, there is a greater possibility of bringing additional property into the family with an outside wife than there is with a marriage within the family.

581 While such exchange as emerges from marriage defies the
571 making of pronouncements about the guiding principle behind alliance in purely structural terms, it does expose the factor that the distribution of human resources is influenced by both social and economic calculation of a given situation.

584 Negotiations are always begun on the side of the prospective groom. No father would attempt to initiate negotiations

584 on behalf of his daughter, although within the informal network of female rumors the father's disposition in the matter may be learned. Even before negotiations begin there is a prelude in 584 431 which gifts are given to the father of the prospective bride. Among the humblest families there is a period in which one brings over a cone of sugar, a block of rock salt, some kilos of tea, or a chicken. These gifts are regarded as friendship gifts in order to evaluate how the family might look towards a match. During such a period nothing is spoken of marriage and there is no obligation on either party from these gifts. Attitudes are being tested and if the result appears to be negative the process ends at this point. There is nothing to prevent a father from receiving gifts of this sort from several prospective families and, indeed, they may become competitive, although this is frowned upon. Naturally, the wealthier a man, the more expensive and extensive are the gifts from a prospective groom's family. The scale of gift is roughly arrived at but everyone in the community seems to have an approximate notion of how much is involved in even setting up the conditions of friendship whereby negotiations can begin. Since there are no overriding principles whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry because of their location within the structure, this initial gift helps guarantee that women circulate in their proper class. It was commonly acknowledged that it would require gifts in excess of 700 dirhams to place one of the most prominent men in the Beni Wariyaghar in a responsive mood. This man had received suitors

584 for his daughter before and had accepted their gifts but subse-
431 quent negotiations had broken down. Generally, a man will not offer such gifts unless he believes he had a good chance of succeeding. Once the father or guardian of the girl has expressed an interest, all subsequent exchanges are not regarded as gifts but as negotiated prices.

584 Once the conditions for commencing negotiations appear
[574] propitious, a group of male relatives from the boy's side visits
[431] the home of the girl's family. Again it is customary to bring a lamb, loaves of bread, sugar, and tea, although the amount depends on the wealth of the family. The request for the girl is made on this occasion. After the meal has been served, the guests and host go through a prescribed formula. "Do you know why we have come?" The host responds: "Yes. You have come as my guests." The spokesman replies: "No. We have come to ask for your daughter." They then commence the bargaining. There are two separate categories of items that are discussed. There is the
[583] sdaq, or dowry, that must be paid the father of the bride in order to provide her trousseau. This is always in cash. Second, there is bargaining in the amount of goods the groom's family are willing to spend on the ceremony. Both sides will argue over how many bulls, or sheep, or goats shall be provided for the ceremony, along with the quantity of barley and wheat, the loaves of bread, kilos of sugar and tea, and the liters of cooking oil.

584 The major expenditure, however, is the sdaq or the gift
583 from the groom's family to the bride's family to purchase her

584 trousseau. The sdaq does not seem to be regarded as a purchase
583 sum which transfers rights in ownership from one family to another. Although such a transfer may be regarded as an attribute of this exchange, this is not the indigenous explanation. By furnishing the bride with new clothings and new furniture, a husband symbolizes that he is accepting the material responsibilities of her well-being. The bride, in turn, acknowledges that she is relinquishing her material interests in her father's household. Westermarck (1914:72) says that in some places in
[114] Morocco, including tribes in the Rif, the father keeps a portion
[124] of the sdaq for his own purposes. My own field questioning resulted in no example of a parent diverting any portion of the sdaq to his own use. While this may occur on occasion, my informants seemed shocked at the notion and voiced strong disapproval.

Since the bride brings no clothes purchased in her premarried days into her new home, the minimal item required for a marriage is a new wardrobe, including numerous idfins (typical female dress), belts, handkerchiefs, shawls, and slippers. Also required are a wooden chest, and a brass or copper tray and tea pot. All this is placed in the wedding chest which accompanies the bride to the wedding ceremony. It is also customary for the girl to give gifts to all close members of her family, taken from the sdaq (dress and shoes for mother, shoes for sisters, shirts for brothers).

The amount of sdaq varies considerably according to the social position of the families involved. There is considerable

584 haggling over the price, with each side naturally hoping to
583 achieve the best terms. Negotiations can break off at this point but it is considered extremely bad form and every effort is made by representatives of both sides to arrive at an equitable sum. I knew of no sdaq which was less than 500 dirhams ($100) and the average seemed to fall between 500 and 1,000
584 dirhams with some payments going up to 3,000. Hart (1956:170)
583 puts the average at between $50 and $125. The divergence of
114 our figures no doubt stems from monetary changes over the past ten years. Hart's figures were based on the Spanish peseta, which was the form of currency up until 1958 in the Rif. My own figures are based on Moroccan dirhams established on a parity with French francs. With the incorporation of the
(458) Spanish zone into the more prosperous French zone, prices for all goods have drastically spiraled upward in the northern zone over the past ten years. Hart is in agreement with my notion that these sums represent a considerable expense to the Berbers.

584 During the negotiations a fqih is present to write down
212 the ultimate agreement over each item, whether it be ceremonial
583 expense or sdaq. He also acts as a mediator, being presumably the only disinterested party present. When the final sum is determined, and this may take many hours and last till dawn of the next day, the fqih draws up a marriage contract. Cash for the sdaq is supposed to be turned over then, but on occasion
584 only a part is exchanged. All the men shake hands and,
583

584 depending on the hour, return to their respective homes or stay
583 overnight as guest of the bride's father.

584 Once the financial arrangement has been settled, the rep-
583 resentatives of both families go to the religious judge (qadi)
692 in Alhucemas or Targuist and present him with the list of obli-
gations the groom's family has accepted. The young couple are
also supposed to attend this meeting, and in the urban centers
it is obligatory. However, judges who serve tribal areas are
rather relaxed about such attendance and are satisfied if the
fathers are in agreement. It is a rule of thumb that judges
[671] who serve rural Berber areas allow customary procedures to pre-
vail over civil law if the matter does not infringe upon the
security of the state.

584 At this point the groom's family begins to collect the
583 necessary goods for the wedding celebration. This process may
369 take some time, and over a year may pass between the initial
184 agreement and the completion of the stipulated requirements
of the groom. This is, however, quite rare and seems more
584 associated with Berbers living in the city. Among the fellah
585 the marriage has been contracted for good reason and it is
thought best to consummate it as rapidly as possible. Often
the marriage ceremony takes place less than a month after the
meeting to determine the expenses.

585 When all the money and goods have been collected, both
583 parties meet with the qadi again, two or three days before the
692 wedding ceremony. The qadi checks off all the items to make sure

585 that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement.
[583] Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs
[692] the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are
[184] legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In
[369] the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until the wedding ceremony is held.

585 By now, the groom's family has incurred several different
583 types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price'
431 or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss. The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 - - The wedding celebration or thamagra is held in the late
[221] summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the
585 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group
574 of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar. Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group

574
585
[533] by five or ten minutes. As they travel through the hills, each group sings praise songs of themselves and occasionally derogative songs about the other group. As they sing quite loudly, they can generally hear one another's songs even if they can not always see each other. The bride's group is the larger, numbering about twenty girls, all unmarried, while the male group consists rarely of more than ten and may include married male friends. The groom himself is addressed as Moulay or Sultan during this procession and the men with him are his iwziren or advisors. This is a borrowing of terms which are traditionally used to designate positions in the Moroccan government.

As they come to each house, the girls enter into the inside patio where they sing and dance, while the men enter a separate but connected guest room where they are offered tea and a meal. It is customary for the family head of each
585
574
431 visited house to present the groom with a sum of money and a gift of clothing or new shoes. The amount given is related to the prominence and wealth of the household, to the degree of relatedness between the groom and the giver, and to previous reciprocal gifts bestowed by members of the groom's family on the host. These gifts, grama, are interpreted by Westermarck as ". . . really a loan which has to be repaid in the future under corresponding circumstances, or an indemnity for similar contributions in the past; hence the amounts given by the various donors are most carefully taken note of" (1914:125).

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grama has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Turin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

585 The father of the groom provides meals and tea for all
574 the guests at his home as well as at the house of the bride.
262 The meal for the guests in even the humblest of homes consists of a course of cous-cous and a meat tajin. In most ceremonies there is also a poultry course. Enormous quantities of bread and tea are also served. The most accepted casual factor for
[178] reducing the days of the wedding ceremony from seven as they were before Abdel Krim to two or three days as they are today was that the expenses of providing hospitality over such an extended period of time was ruinous to all but the most prosperous families.

585 Guests are likewise expected to incur various expenses.
574 At this moment we need only note the recurrent support of a
571 public ceremony which is expected throughout Berber society. All mature guests are expected to provide a quantity of barley, loaves of freshly baked bread, fresh fruit and vegetables, or a monetary equivalent. This tends to discourage, among the poor fellah, the presence of nonrelatives, because it represents an outlay which is not part of their residual social obligations. In addition, such attendance by a nonrelative imposes future obligations which, in only rare circumstances, they are willing to accept. By attending the wedding and taking part in the joining in matrimony of the couple, one gratuitously assumes the duty of attending the naming ceremonies for the infants of this union. Such acceptance of [illegible]esponsibility is not normally accepted unless there is social [illegible]dvantage thereby.

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the [533] groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the professional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 594 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

b Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

585 574 571 431 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay, or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grana. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (viziers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and viziers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however, quite certain since both Coon (1931:134-135) and Renisio (1932:146-150) report it.

[154] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male

[538] [539] guests they sing in Arabic,

sabhain er-razik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

585 as they walk inside the circle three times. Traditionally,
574 rifles were fired by the iwziren but with the confiscation
571 of all firearms, firecrackers are today used as substitutes.
431

The groom then sits down on a chair in front of a low table which has previously been placed in the center of the circle. Squatting beside him on the ground are his iwziren, his father, and usually his younger brother. Behind him stand four girls who throughout the remaining ceremony fan him with their scarfs. At this point the gift giving commences. The
[522] gifts, always in money, are collected by a traditional spokesmen, often a comic figure, who makes jokes and dances about as he announces aloud who has made the contribution and how much it is. With each announcement, the women who are inside the house but huddled around the doors peering out at the ceremony, commence to ululate. The comic figure goes about the crowd collecting gifts which he hands over to the groom's father, who places them in a brass tray in front of Moulay. The largest gifts, usually given at the beginning of the ceremony, are from relatives of the groom's father, such as brothers and uncles, as well as from relatives of the bride and close friends of the groom's father. These gifts are rarely under 100 dirhams but as the evening progresses smaller gifts of from 5 to 20 dirhams are given by age mates of the groom, by guests who wish to express their thanks for the evening's entertainment, and by local notables who feel it incumbent to give a small gift at each wedding they attend. The greater part of each gift goes to the father of the

585 groom to help defray the expenses of the wedding, but a part can
574 also be designated for the groom's personal use. Each gift must
571 also specify a small amount for the person who makes the public
431 announcement. A typical large gift would be announced as two hundred dirhams for the master of the wedding (the father), five dirhams for Moulay el-Sultan (the groom), and one dirham for the spokesman.

Although the smaller gifts are given gratuitously out of good will, the larger ones (fifty dirhams and upwards) are part of an extensive system of social obligations on the part of blood relatives, affines, and friends who are either fulfilling past obligations or setting up future ones. Recipients of gifts given by the father of the groom in the past are now expected to respond in kind. If the marriage is between members of the same lineage or between families who have contracted prior matrimonial links, a set of obligations will already exist. If it is the first marriage between two families, the bride's family is supposed to initiate good relations between the two families by donating to help defray the wedding expenses.

585 Coon has noted in passing (1931:141) that this gift giving
574 can become a competitive game in which the guests give increas-
571 ingly larger amounts of money during the ceremony in order to
431 shame rivals. I have never encountered such a situation in which
556 the ante was raised during the ceremony itself, but a somewhat
[114] similar incident occurred in which a man donated more than the community felt to be his social obligation. At a wedding in one

585 of the fractions of the Beni Wariyaghar, four large gifts were
574 given. One of these gifts was 350 dirhams ($70) from a friend
591 of the groom's father, another of 450 dirhams from a brother of
431 the groom's father. The final two gifts were from two men who
556 had married daughters of the groom's father. One of these sons-in-law had been married into the family of the groom's father for ten years and assumed a superior attitude towards the other son-in-law, who had only two years previously married into this family. The latter, a young man who was poor in his own right but related to several well-off families, went to his relatives borrowing from each in turn. At the wedding ceremony he was able to give 400 dirhams to the father, or one hundred dirhams more than the other brother-in-law. At the time of the ceremony (578) the shamed brother-in-law bitterly accused the younger man's entire family of deliberately shaming him. The family denied that they had been in collusion with the boy, but also they took his side in the dispute and the two families ceased speaking to one another. As a participant on the one side explained to me, "I have a little bit of the evil eye for that outfit and they probably have the same for us."

585 After all the donations have been collected, the groom's
574 father and his paternal uncles take the tray filled with money
571 into the house and counts the proceeds. The amount received by
431 the groom's father may equal the outlay that he had to make to finance the wedding, and if the sequence of events ended here the man's debts might be balanced out by his newly acquired assets.

585 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing
571 system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future
431 obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding
182 and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the
574 seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors
585 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to
574 be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's
152 family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's
[292] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women
[291] of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

585 of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes. A
574 feeling of intense competition seems to surround this ceremony
152 with the women of the bride's family appearing lofty and superior vis-à-vis the groom's family. Perhaps it is embodied in the compensatory feeling that one family has permanently lost a member to another family.

585 The seven days prior to this celebration are regarded as a 'honeymoon' during which the bride is still special. With the passing of this ceremony she is no longer tislith (bride) but timrath (wife) and must assume the ordinary business of household
585 activities. Westermarck (1914:309) mentions a further ceremony
431 on the fortieth day after the wedding, in which a goat is slaughtered by the groom and the meat taken to the wife's father's house. There countergifts, in the form of a cow or some goats, are given by the girl's father. This ceremony may
[114] have lapsed by the time I worked in the Rif. At least I have
[198] no data in my notes regarding rituals of marriage following the seventh day ceremony.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

48

guidance from the Book and the various interpretations of the Book made by a body of literate scholars. But it also serves as a vehicle for the spiritual expression of the illiterate and the superstitious. The needs of the one community, though not necessarily incompatible with the other, are of a different nature. To meet the needs of the rural tribesmen, a cult of saints has long existed in Morocco. The earliest reference to this phenomenon in the Rif can be found in the work of 'Abd el-Haqq el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif, dated 1311 and translated from Arabic to French by G. S. Colin (1926). The more formal aspects of Islam whereby a morality is derived from dialectic interpretation of Koranic scripture did not have the power of explanation among the tribesmen as mysticism. As Colin points out in his introduction to el-Badisi's work:

> Il s'agit donc, en somme, d'un effort de vulgarisation de la science religieuse et, plus spécialement, du mysticisme, dans le but de rendre ce dernier plus populaire et plus pittoresque, et de permettre par là aux ames simples d'y prendre intérêt et de s'y attacher. (Ibid.:8)

A man became a saint because of various miracles performed during his lifetime which, according to the beliefs of the tribesmen, signify that the man had a closer connection with the spiritual world. In most areas of Morocco the saint was also a sharif or descendent of the Prophet. This does not seem to be a vital criterion for sainthood in the Rif. El-Bakiri lists only one of the saints in his hagiography as being a sharif (1926:11).

The tribesmen came to the saint during his lifetime for advice in spiritual and secular affairs. According to his success

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyia in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a djnoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi,
[782] where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed
at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of
Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated
fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from
Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas
to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and
another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The
chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a
cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at
least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, espe-
cially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah
family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense
would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrim-
age is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such
instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa.
(A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

792 1949.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all
794 founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of
575 the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator.
[779] These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic
[554] leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

792 Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint
794 have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends
795 to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's
575 abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God
[779] in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee.

792 These religious associations are for the most part volun-
794 tary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a
575 son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

792 brotherhood, Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi (1869-1934) broke off from
794 the organization to form his own association which is now the
575 largest in the Rif. According to informant estimate, this brotherhood holds about 50% of those Berbers in the Rif who belong to brotherhoods. Its annual meeting which I attended in 1965 consisted of several thousand brothers from all parts of the Rif and from neighboring Algeria where the mother lodge is located.

792 The importance of these fraternal orders declined to a
794 certain extent during the struggle for Moroccan independence
575 because of their anti-nationalistic behavior. When they are
178 criticized in the Rif it is not on theological grounds but
[662] political. The brotherhoods have been accused of accepting bribes in order to influence their membership on how to vote in local elections and to act as spies for the government. Their cogency has also been reduced by the increase in secular as opposed to Koranic education. Nonetheless, they have a powerful residual following, as attested by the vehemency with which they are attacked.

792 The fraternity supports itself on the annual contributions
794 in kind extracted as membership fees from its adherents as well
575 as the more or less regular visits to the key shrines and lodges
[124] where, again, donations are expected. The size of this contribution is most difficult to estimate, and my inquiries of lodge officials met with only our mutual exasperation. The amount seems to vary with the avarice of the local lodge, where 10% of

792 794 575 [124] annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

788 484 [179] Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. [805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or [178] [509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. [435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally [671] the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, [554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have 788 484 626 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
591 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible. [461] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work [369] pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs 785 at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during 472 Ramadan, the sugs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare 443 and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for [265] the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the 796 Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a 785 time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

796 Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations
785 of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying
[574] numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it
[432] is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the
[431] community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where
[794] they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men
[782] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and dis-
[814] tribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

346 Before turning from religious activities to magical prac-
794 tices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools [658] [178] which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by [425] some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. [782] Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet [241] some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who [212] has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. [794] He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

793 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property
794 owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his
465 services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is
789 not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in
791 Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif
754 society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his
[793] knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are
[799] embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female
754 witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed
791 on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches
562 although the female quality is believed to have magical potency.
[888] This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

754 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical tech-
791 niques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages
789 from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qual-
793 ities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood
[443] from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

754 791 789 793 443 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, a obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 754 789 435 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may [755] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One [755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi- [554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to 000 curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
776 the djnoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The djnoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a djnoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the djnoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 djnoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the djnoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major
756 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as
752 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the djnoun
[753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of
[796] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The djnoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye, amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[793] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who
[435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

751 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams.
435 Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic
796 directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed,
241 the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain
789 received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed
821 with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (<u>thasrith anzar</u>). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins
[533] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community,
[539] singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nia-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawah- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food.
[782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

796
241
789
821

seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be

556
454
791

brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 5

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: STATUS AND PRESTIGE

121
556

The use of wealth in order to maintain or increase prestige is a feature which may have universal applicability to economic action. However, the outward manifestation of such a use of wealth varies from society to society. In industrial society there is a motivation for using wealth based on prestige, but because of the heterogeneous character of its composition, its different ethnic strains, different religions, different social classes, each sub-social unit has its own code and for the society at large there are no well-fixed rules. In the small-scale non-industrial society with its greater homogeneity, the code tends to be fixed and universal for the society. Thus one has the rather formal Kula ring with its minimization of options, the ritualized display and consumption of goods by Northwest Coast Indians, or the measuring of all social ties by cattle among the Nuer.

The Berbers of the Rif display a pattern which is between the flexible standards of prestige evaluation encountered in industrial society and the rigid standards of many traditional societies. The absence of rigidity does not imply that there is not a code of behavior involved in status but merely that the code is flexible.

554
556 Within each Riffian community there are individuals and families of differential social status. This differentiation is only partially based on wealth. Such factors as religious piety, descent, reputation and personal integrity also play a role. Prior to the pacification of the Rif skill in warfare and bravery were also markers. For the moment I shall discuss differentiation based on wealth.

556
423 The most important traditional measure of wealth was, and is today, property ownership. The more land one has, the larger a crop one shall harvest and the greater reserves one can put aside for winter fodder. A consequence is the larger number of animals one can maintain and hence the more elaborate one's ritual activities and the greater assistance one can give relatives, neighbors, and friends.

423
428 While large landholdings have a positive value in the Rif, such a goal is rather difficult to achieve because of the inheritance laws. Inheritance is based on the Maliki practice which divides the land amongst the heirs. Each son is allocated a full share and each daughter a half share. The widow (or widows) each receive an eighth of the property. In the absence of sons, the estate is divided so that the widow receives her eighth, while the remainder of the property is divided into three shares with the daughter(s) receiving two shares and the father's brother one share. If there are no children, the estate is divided among the brothers.

423 Property going to females, either to widows or daughters,
428 tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inher-
562 itance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the
[587] practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more dis-
428 ruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased
[768] husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the
431 inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and
578 his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B,
182 B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on
607 the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exer-
562 cise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

562
428 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister
431 and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal
578 equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land
182
607 claims are mutually balanced off.

428 Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their
423 inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their
607 property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct
562 on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

423 The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheri-
428 tance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differ-
423 entiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there
183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The
556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which
425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

425
423
183
556
[131]

given to one's sons. However, in times of extended drought and famine as in the mid 'forties and again in the late 'fifties, selling of land and migration to the urban centers have taken place on a fairly wide scale. In such a situation the property owner can sell to a stranger but he must give relatives first option and, if they are unwilling to exercise their right, he should give the option to someone inside the community. To buy land under such conditions is considered not only honorable but a community service in that it maintains the integrity of the community by preventing outsiders from becoming members. However, neither the buyer nor the community regards such a purchase as speculation for economic profit. Rather, they see it as community service and a socially approved method of advancing one's children. The acquisition of land under such circumstances is not a part of the motivation system based on profit but part of the same complex which includes social duty and community solidarity.

Land is, of course, one of the factors of production. But whether the Riffian regards this aspect as being the primary attribute of land can be questioned. A man of my acquaintance whose grandfather and father had made sizable land purchases held at the time more land than he could profitably cultivate and manage. Yet he was quite ashamed that he had not been able to buy more land so as to increase the legacy for his own children. To him the economic value of the land was secondary to its prestige function. Nash's remark about property among the Maya

000

423 Nash's remark about property among the Maya
171 Indians of Guatemala has a certain degree of applicability in the Rif. ". . . Since land is what parents leave children to start their adult lives, the idea of heirloom or patrimony is closer to the definition of land than is commodity or factor of production" (1966:39).

556 Those Riffians who have enhanced their prestige by
576 acquiring greater wealth have certain incumbent social res-
574 ponsibilities which are not placed on the less fortunate. It is expected of all Riffians to offer a meal to anyone who comes asking. This form of hospitality is by tacit agreement, however, generally beholden on only the more prosperous. The majority of such travelers are religious men or Koranic students who travel about from community to community consulting with their own kind or making pilgrimages to local holy shrines. Since they are apparently universally poor, they depend for their livelihood on the hospitality of members of the local community. It is considered extremely bad manners not to provide for them in the way of food and lodging should they request such. (Actually, the proper etiquette is for the host to offer.) As an isolated incident such hospitality would appear to be only a slight inconvenience. However, the more prominent a man the more frequently such calls on hospitality take place. In one home where I lived, such visits during the summer and fall months occurred on an average of twice a week. Coon relates that hospitality can be pressed to the point where the host will act unseemly and even refuse entrance (1931:116). Within the limits of reasonable

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off familes have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
574 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local
692 level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
631 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
692 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is
556 placed in the position of protector and is under traditional
554 obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form
571 of mutual support between local lords and the community was much

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

631 692 556 554 571 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally prominent man is generally efficacious since government representatives attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 648 556 619 The national government is well aware of the actual dual organization of political power in the country. While every Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

641 To partake in such leadership requires wealth since the trip
648 itself is expensive (the only form of public transportation
556 from the Rif to Rabat is by bus and these men eschew this in
619 favor of splitting the expense of a taxi ride of several hundred
(494) miles) and the per diem allowance is more a token than anything realistic.

Some men have gracefully retired from positions of community leadership because of expenses such as these. If over a period of years one declines to go to such ceremonies because of ill health or pressing familial affairs, the person is quietly dropped from the list of the invited and another local man is
556 substituted. Expenses for maintaining such a social position are not small in relationship to the amount of wealth available even to the better-off Berber. On the other hand, wealth alone does not qualify one for a position of political prominence and social prestige. The importance of a man is based not on his wealth per se but rather what sort of wealth it is and how he came by it. Wealth divorced from such critical factors cannot be translated by the Riffian into socially meaningful significance. To operate within the context of profit is to operate outside the complex of social responsibility and communal solidarity. Thus while there are entrepreneurs in the Rif, they do
556 not have the social prestige that goes with traditional wealth
472 in land. This distinction could be illustrated by numerous examples but the following cases were selected because they

556 illustrate that this distinction is recognized not only within
472 the community but by outside authorities.

556 a) A tribesman of the Beni Said had migrated to Alhucemas
485 and worked for Spaniards during the Protectorate. He
472 had purchased the hotel of a Spaniard when the latter
[275] sold on the eve of national independence. While it is
[784] illegal for a Muslim to operate a bar, he continued to
do so with tacit approval from local officials. He
opened several other enterprises accommodating Berber
transients and Western tourists. Although he came from
a poor family he had accumulated considerable capital.
However, his values were oriented almost entirely to
city life and he visited his tribe only once or twice
a year. He did not attempt to translate any of his
556 economic power into social status in his tribe. When
485 an European-sponsored hotel opened in the city, the
472 management regarded this entrepreneur as a competitive
477 threat (he was underselling the new hotel by 50%).
They complained to the police (it was rumored that
generous bribes were offered and accepted) and they
promptly closed the Riffian's bar. He complained to
the Ministry of Interior in Rabat and was told he could
reopen once the tourist season was over.

556 b) A Berber of the Beni Wariyaghar was the son of a
prominent man who had sided with the Spanish against
Ab-del Krim. The man, although he held political office

556 under the Spanish, remained more or less a part of his tribe. His son continued to accumulate wealth [423] [425] but exclusively in terms of land, especially from Spaniards leaving the country. He maintained daily contact with his tribe, attended weddings of the more important people within the Beni Wariyaghar and although he lived in the city of Alhucemas, had close and intense connections with the countryside. This man's own son, an officer in the army, was [689] [625] visiting Alhucemas and was accused by the police chief of drinking in a public place. The police chief, a recent transfer from the southern zone, was unaware of the prominence of the boy and had him arrested. As soon as his father heard of this he obtained the immediate release of his son through the Ministry of Interior and the suspension of the police chief.

These two examples are illustrative of the fact that wealth itself is not correlated with prestige or power. One might even suggest that analytically there are two sorts of wealth, each based on a different sort of operation in terms of accumulation and distribution. One sort of wealth, that which derives from the land, is a part of a greater complex in which social factors motivate economic action. The other sort of wealth generally operates free of these social factors and is motivated by the profit incentive.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

556 It is possible, of course, for a single individual to
472 incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition
183 in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylia Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, ". . . only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' . . ." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remunerative but of negative value in terms of social interrela-
556 tions. Those men who are motivated by profit often find the
472 atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate
183 to Alhucemas or Targuist. While Riffians who live in the rural
521 areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to
369 the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they
186 are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

556 There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the
472 ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and
521 that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is mani-
577 fested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
571 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by
577 both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the
556 community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
30 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
454 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.
[422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

452 on a quite different system with its own ideology than that which obtains in an industrial society or even among urban Moroccans. In an industrial society credit is based on tangibles, on some form of material good which has roughly an equivalent value to the loan. In the Rif the majority of transactions involving the 452 554 extension of credit are guaranteed by a personal and intangible factor, one's social status and prestige. A man's reputation, the social credits he has accumulated, the ones his father and grandfather established, are his most valuable assets. A man who has established such social credit can draw on financial resources much broader than those available to the man without it. Because he supports the integrity of the community, he can draw on the community reserve with no greater guarantee than his word. One man, a quite humble fellah, financed his son's wedding with three loans, of $150 apiece, from a brother, the son of a deceased brother, and a friend. He was able in this manner to hold a wedding ceremony of considerable elegance with over five hundred guests. In another case, in which a young man wished to marry against his father's wishes, he could find almost no financing within the community except from returning migrant labor youths. Among this latter class the traditional ideology has [177] [464] been diluted by the industrial experience. These migrants have introduced a certain amount of novelty, especially in the material culture. Whether they shall also exert an influence in traditional social relationships and modes of social organization remains to be seen.

454 Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect. 231 Thus, an extra mule or an ox can raise the level of productivity 454 of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the 433 case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily 554 in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

256 Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is 435 the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water 472 is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah [376] engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

256 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regard-
435 less of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills
472 are not economically competitive with one another, they are soci-
256 ally competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better
472 than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has
477 a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a local-
ity, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community
uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of
[571] preference on the part of the users is not determined by conveni-
[578] ence of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such
[602] as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of
the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

423 Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses
427 of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor.
We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise
between a man who has more property than he alone can personally
cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social
and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who
holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence
needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property
holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own.
Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inher-
itance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to
meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these cir-
[464] cumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to
keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

423 The number of men under such association is difficult to estimate
427 though I have the impression it is large. No man whom I inter-
464 viewed who might be roughly classified as a leader in the community had less than one person working for him in such a relationship.

427 The most prominent and common association is that of the
464 akhammas or sharecroppers. The akhammas is a laborer who voluntarily contracts to contribute all the physical labor necessary for the total production process of a piece of land. The landowner provides the land itself, the seed, fertilizer, plough and any other equipment, and the animal power. The akhammas provides all labor, from the initial ploughing to the ultimate harvesting. [465] For his services he receives exactly one-fifth of the yield, [466] hence the name which derives from hamsa or 'five.' The akhammas also receives the hand-me-down clothes of the master and often a meal each day. Since the activities of the akhammas entail his
427 constant presence around or even inside the household, he has far
464 greater access to the wives of notables than other males. A man
562 of sufficient wealth to employ an akhammas would probably isolate his wife from contact with male society. It is a myth that the Berbers do not seclude their women. The only ones who are not secluded from male society are the wives of poor men who must contribute their labor to the production process. Such women are, of course, the vast majority. The akhammas has more contact with the wives of the notable class than any other male not closely related to the family. Since the akhammas must consult

427 the wife about household tasks and often takes his meals inside
464 the central patio, he is on rather intimate (for the Rif) terms
562 with these women. In such a close and anomalous situation, there
[602] is a preference on the part of the master to hire a poor relative, especially of his wife, as a servant. By hiring a man of the wife's family or of a family which includes the wife's relatives by marriage, one lessens the danger of too close a relationship between wife and akhammas.

427 While both partners in the akhammas arrangement seek to
464 establish a contract which is divorced from social conflict over
466 women, they are nonetheless in basic conflict along incipient
465 class lines. The akhammas, at least in the contemporary situa-
565 tion, regards himself as being exploited by his patron in that the wage scale is fixed and involves difficult manual labor without any guarantees of remuneration. While he is free to negotiate his contract with whomever he so desires, his wage depends directly on the size of the crop yield for any one year. The master with greater reserves of resources suffers only an inconvenience if the crop yield is low. The sharecropper, on the other hand, has few if any reserves, and any reduction in the portion of his share has serious repercussions on his ability to maintain his household. The akhammas is especially aware of the inequity of this arrangement as wage opportunities open up and he becomes aware that salary can be negotiated with commensurate rewards in cash. Most ikhammasen prefer to get into the category of wage

laborer, especially as a migrant worker in Europe or Algeria, where salaries are high by Riffian standards.

On the other end of the spectrum are the landowners who regard the akhammas as the true beneficiary of the association. They argue that since they provide all the elements of production except labor, they are being exploited by the working class. The akhammas provides only his manual labor for a few weeks of ploughing and again for a few weeks at harvest time. Their contention is that although the work is arduous, it spans over a relatively short period of time for which the akhammas receives enough to meet his subsistence needs for the year. The remainder of the year the akhammas is free to contract for such labor as is available. The property owner, however, depends exclusively on his crop and thus does not have the additional revenues which the worker earns throughout the rest of the year. If the crop yield is low, the master will always see to it that the worker gets something, and besides the poor can apply for government relief while the rich can not. I suggested to several owners that they [123] engage a wage laborer for the short duration of actual work involved in performing the cultivation tasks but was met with only stony silence at the notion of such a scheme. I did not encounter and no one ever spoke of an instance in which agricultural labor was paid for in daily or weekly wages. Since the property class is in a position to change the system but does not, presumably the akhammas arrangement works to their benefit.

464 Although the akhamas association is the most prevalent,
465 it is only one of several such arrangements. Another sort of laborer is the amkari, who is hired for sowing and odd jobs about the house. His salary is not fixed and he is apparently paid in cash and clothing (Hart 1956:75). Another type of traditional
[233] work association is the amikhan, who is a youth employed to herd a man's goats and sheep. He ". . . is hired for a fixed period . . . [and] gets a non-stipulated sum at the end of his contract" (Hart, ibid.:75). Such an arrangement is graphically portrayed in Bowles' translation of Charhadi's autobiographical novel, A Life Full of Holes. Another form of association is the arabba' who cultivates household gardens, orchards, and trees. He is given a fourth of the fruit and vegetable crops; if the terrain is difficult to terrace, his portion is adjusted (Hart 1956:75).
[256] Most mill owners employ an assistant to do the grinding, and from the mill owner's portion the worker receives a fourth of the grain.

The common element of this sort of association seems to be that the salary the laborer earns is determined by customary regulations rather than by the supply and demand of workers. It
[571] is an association between the elite and the poor which is based
[565] on a fixed compensation and outside of any regulation by the market economy.

675 A correlate of this situation in which commercial arrangements are based on social factors is the irrelevance of written contracts. Whereas contractual agreement forms the basis of most

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents). 675 466 464 Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

556 554 182 183 [128] In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains significance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

556
554
182
183 the fact that the society disapproves of any action which disrupts the solidarity of the community.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 6

THE MARKETPLACE

128
443 While the preceding chapters have been devoted to distribution of wealth according to imperatives or bias arising from the social conditions of Berber life, this concluding section is devoted to exchanges which take place within the market. In it I describe the composition of the market and the interactions of its participants. I conclude with an analysis of the role of the local market in the economic and social life of the Riffian and in what ways the local Berber economy articulates with the national economy of Morocco. By doing this I hope to present a coherent picture of the integration between the indigenous exchange system and the larger national economy.

443 The characteristic form of the market, or suq, in the Rif is for buyers and sellers to come together once a week at a permanent location within each tribe or large tribal section. By holding their markets on separate days, the tribes have produced a system of staggering weekly markets all across the Rif. [196] Thus a merchant can travel to a different suq every day of the week except Friday, the Muslim sabbath. The fellah, however, rarely engage in any market activity except at the local suq. A study of the reasons behind this will divulge many of the

443 pertinent features of the marketplace and its importance in the economy of the Rif.

443 182 571 The market in the Rif does not function simply to facilitate exchange but serves a whole series of social needs of the fellah. By looking at the noneconomic functions of the market we can better understand why a man will ride a mule or walk for two hours to market, yet make only a single purchase. We will understand why a seller would prefer to deal in a familiar market although other markets may have higher prevailing prices for his goods. The market has both an economic and a social function and it is difficult to say which has primacy over the other. As Montagne points out, "Le montagnard ne se rend pas au 'souq' uniquement pour acheter ou vendre, il y vient souvent aussi pour rencountrer ses amis, réglar des contestations de terrain ou de pâturage, ou plus simplement encore pour connaître les nouvelles du jour" (1930:249). And Bourrilly has noted the importance "non soulement économique mais encore politique, de ces souks ruraux. Ces rendez-vous périodiques, que des liens d'hospitalité, tels que la zettata [a promise of safe passage], rendent plus forts, aboutissent forcément à une fusion plus ou moins complète des groupes qui fréquentent les marchés voisins" (1932:216).

Only by observing the noneconomic significance can we avoid the type of thinking that led Albéniz to conclude that ". . . poco a poco van disminuyendo el número de zocos en el territorio, como consecuencia de la bondad de las vías de comunicación. Los zocos de escasa vida se ven absorbidos por los de auge más intenso, y

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

443 los indígenas, por sí mismos, van señalando, con su ausencia e
182 inhibición, cuáles son los que deben desaparecer" (1930:122).
571 Or as Mikesell argues, improved communications and the bus favor the growth of large regional markets over the local one. "The simple charms of the local suq lose their appeal when larger markets with a wider range of goods are accessible" (Mikesell 1958:509).

443 Aside from the fact that market appeal is not based on
182 "simple charms," I think both Albéniz and Mikesell have founded
114 their conclusions on a false evaluation of the purposes of the market. When an institution serves multiple purposes it cannot easily be replaced by another institution which serves a single purpose. The large, impersonal regional market does not fulfill the social function of the local suq. Even as a source for supplying the fellah, the regional market has only a marginal value since most purchases are of articles (kerosene, tea, tobacco, etc.) whose value does not appreciably alter from market to market. Indeed, Mikesell elsewhere recognizes that from a buying standpoint one market is as good as another. "Everyone has a turn with the itinerant peddlers, but few purchase anything; for in this area of subsistence economy each family guards its currency for a marriage or some other special event" (1958:503).

443 But it is especially the social functions of the market
182 which reinforce the fellah's loyality to his local suq. It is
571 here that he can maximize his advantages of being part of a status economy. Here he can seek out local notables to assist him.

443 182 57 [452] [594] He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

443 182 What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all suqs of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific suq. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturallement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

443 [651] [366] [312] Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

443 On the market day itself, this changes. Merchants arrive on bus, mule, truck, or foot to set up their booths. By eight o'clock there is a small but steady flow of fellah entering the
443 market. At the main entrances of the sug taxes are collected.
651 For those who have certain articles to sell, a tax must be paid,
438 based on the quantity of the commodity. There are certain cases, to be discussed below, when commoditfes may enter the market free to be taxed later, at the moment of sale or after the goods have been accumulated but before they leave the market.

443 The tax of the market is, at present, the main source of
651 revenue that the government realizes from the Rif. Both the
648 Spanish and Moroccan governments found that the collection of taxes on the basis of market exchange was the most feasible way of extracting revenue from the Rif.[1] By walling off the market and stationing guards at the entrances the government is able to impose a stability on the collection process. "Conviene senalar que la recaudación de los impuestos del Majken en los Zocos se viene realizando por las intervenciones militares sin el menor obstáculo y con mucha más facilidad que puede efectuarse en las ciudades la recaudación de los arbitrios urbanos" (Albéniz 1930:118-119).

---

[1] The Spanish charged a tax (tertib) on the yield of the land and upon livestock. The tertib was discontinued after independence and a new tax "was so designed as to exempt the poorest 90 percent of farmers" (Morocco 1965:394). This excludes most of the fellah. For a discussion of the Spanish tax structure in Morocco see Hart 1956:253.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

443 Below is the official tax rate of the Spanish as given
651 in Albéniz (1930:121-122). I have no schedule of my own because
648 of a disinclination on the part of officials to give me such
438 information.
[123]

Articles upon which a tax is paid entering the market:

A load of fruit	0.75 Spanish pesetas
Basket of vegetables	0.75
Basket of fish	1.50
Kilo of honey or butter	0.40

Articles upon which a tax is paid upon leaving the market by the large-scale buyers:

Wool	5% of total value
Straw mats	0.25 each
Dried cereal	0.50 quintal
Goat or lamb hide	0.20 each
Cattle hide	0.50 each

Articles upon which a tax is paid at the moment of exchange:

Horses	5% of the value of the sale
Mules	5% of the value of the sale
Donkeys	5% of the value of the sale
Firewood, a quintal	5% of the value of the sale

Articles upon which a tax is charged when entering the market and again upon being sold:

Basket of wool	.10 and .20
Chickens and wild fowl	.10 and .10
Eggs (dozen)	.10 and .10
Carbon (a sack)	.10 and .10

443 While Albéniz's list follows the general lines of present taxing
651 policy, there have been some changes aimed at helping the poor.
648 For example, small lots of fruit, vegetables, nuts and eggs can
438 enter the market without paying a duty. Revenue is collected for
735

443
651
438
648
[735] such items if they are purchased by the large middlemen merchants who pay the tax upon leaving the suq. Because of governmental tax and conservation laws, carbon is rarely sold in the free market but rather in the black market. The narcotic kif, which
[276] undoubtedly is a major trade item, also is in the province of the black marketeer. Missing from Albéniz's list are almonds, which have become an increasingly important cash crop. Almonds enter the market free in small lots, are bought by large-scale merchants and taxed upon departing from the market.

443 After paying his tax, the seller enters the market and goes to the area occupied by traders of his particular commodity. There are no market rules demanding that a seller go to a special place but areas have by custom been developed for each type of goods. Those people selling an unusual commodity or unique service set up shop wherever they desire as long as it does not interfere with the operation of the market.

443
438 In the following I shall outline the sorts of commodities brought to the market and the categories of people involved in marketing them. The composition of the agricultural products varies greatly with the season. Tomatoes, green peppers, and other vegetables are available only in the summer and early fall. For a short period during the fall, fruit is in overabundance. Potatoes, maize, garlic, and onions appear throughout the year, though again the supply varies. There are always large stacks of unmilled barley even though this is supposed to be the main crop of the region. That the fellah have to buy barley on

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [197] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
[556] to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social
occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides
the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
[735] the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
[265] of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
[785] and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
[796] market group most severely affected by the religious month of
Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is pro-
hibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren,
or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary,
are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought
to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are
wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since
loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is
plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

445 565 423 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes but find their occupation more remunerative.

443 445 In addition to these small merchants there is an assortment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician. (759) The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occasionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs, stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather peripheral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 443 472 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers, the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation, who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

442 Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and
443 we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.
472 Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade
[262] has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though
cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas
226 has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently
[504] rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation,
[178] while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several
[648] centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish
protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards
but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered
442 into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market
443 their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the
472 catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men,
438 in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the
appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually
carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy
a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building
of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by
entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present
[262] the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets
two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest
fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the
poor.

443 Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local
442 <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer
438

province of Nader, where barley is relatively cheap, in order to sell in the Rif, which seldom produces enough to meet local needs. The barley is stacked in huge piles of loose, unground seed which is purchased in relatively small lots to be taken back to the mountains and ground for bread or left in seed form to feed the livestock. The barley is measured and weighed by a member of the imziren class, who loudly cries out the current price of barley in the market. The merchants themselves sit under nearby shade trees, accepting the coins from their criers and listening to the competition.

In addition to these large-scale sellers, there are the large-scale buyers, who resemble the large-scale sellers in all particulars except their immediate function in the market. Among this group are the egg merchants who buy the tiny lots of a myriad fellah in order to transport them to the urban centers of Tetuan or Fez. Another group of buyers are the almond merchants who purchase the Riffian's supply to market abroad, usually in France, to cosmetic companies which transform them into face oils and hand lotions. There are also merchants of oranges who supply the canned juice industry, and grape buyers who purchase the indigenous supply (used locally by the Berbers as a winter reserve in the form of raisins) for the wine industry located in central Morocco.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Composition of the Market of Arba Taurirt, 1965

443
438
445
265

Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10	Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10
kerosene	6	8	barbers	11	9
rugs	8	7	solderers	3	2
pottery	1	1	shoe repair	9	6
baskets, brooms, and straw hats	4	0	butchers	11	9
men's new clothes	13	12	food for consumption at market	12	10
men's used clothes	7	4	medicine	1	0
women's clothes	x	27	photography	1	0
hardware and spices	29	27	dentist	1	0
barley	8	7	palm reader	0	1
bread	1	2	jewelry	0	1
candy	4	4	rubber boots	0	1
window frames	1	1	belts	0	1
books	1	1	magician	0	1
soft drinks	1	0			
trucks of fish	3	1			
garlic	a	a	turnips	0	a
peppers	a	0	eggs	a	a
almonds	a	0	melons	1	0
walnuts	1	0	grapes	a	0
oranges	0	a	tomatoes	a	0
raisins	0	a	potatoes	a	a
			onions	a	a

a] indicates that the number of vendors was so large and changeable that accurate counting was not possible.

x] indicates that I have no sure figures.

This list includes, to the best of my knowledge, every single item being sold inside the marketplace. It was not possible to keep a tab on livestock transactions.

(114)

443 I shall now attempt to schematize the suq in the Central Rif. While this diagram may not include all classes of participants nor all exchanges, I think it covers the majority of all cases. The buyers and sellers in the weekly market can be divided into three separate categories. The first are the tribal fellah, rooted socially in the local community. Unquestionably, this group constitutes the vast majority of people at the suq. Whatever economic interaction they have with the suq is prompted by acquiring cash to finance social expenditures or to provide a limited range of goods such as cooking oil, kerosene, sugar, tea, salt and so forth, for household consumption. The majority of persons in this category, the poor fellah, have brought their small lots of goods derived from their agricultural activities to exchange at whatever the prevailing price in order to obtain cash for making equally small purchases. They do not seek to accumulate surpluses of cash so that they can market larger quantities of goods in successive market meetings.

443 442 434 435 The second category of people involved in any one market is made up of the large-scale merchants who have come to buy from the fellah. This group is completely impersonal, rarely if ever having any local connections with the populace. These merchants are well provided with capital, own their own trucks, and are knowledgeable about supply and demand conditions in both the local and national markets in which they operate. In the case of most large-scale buyers, they are accompanied by a group of hired men who seek out market information. These informants

443 gather up verbal information about the prevailing prices and the
442 supply of a commodity in the suq. Their operation is somewhat
434 more complex than the sellers who can quickly assess the supply
435 of the market since they need only evaluate the quantities of
their competitors. The large-scale buyers do not have such early
information and must rely on their "runners" to supply them with
market conditions on the inpouring of a commodity into the market.
The centers of these operations are quite exciting as information
pours into them and the merchant sends out his buying price.
443 While the lot size of his purchases is uniformly small (buying
442 from the numerous fellah who have only small lots to sell), the
large-scale merchant departs from the market with a sizable supply
442 of his good. At the end of market day he is assessed a tax based
[651] on the quantity he has purchased and transports the merchandise
to urban centers where even larger firms purchase the good either
to transform it into another sort of goods, through an industrial
or factory process, or to break it down into small lots again to
sell at a higher price. The principle behind his operation is
simple. By his act of transporting commodities away from the
area in which they were produced to another area in which they
are scarce, he multiplies the value of the goods.

443 Amongst themselves such buyers have a rather accurate idea
435 of the prevailing prices among their competitors at the market-
442 place. Whatever price differential that exists at the market
develops from the efficiency of information gathering. By this
word-of-mouth information the buyer is able to estimate market

443 conditions and adjust his prices accordingly. The fellah, on
442 the other hand, has no such information channel and merely
435 attempts to get the best price he can with his limited supply of information. The fellah sells his eggs, or almonds, or oranges, to the big buyers almost as soon as he contacts one of them at the marketplace. Since his lots are so small, any fluctuation in the price of the commodity during the day would only remotely affect him and he prefers to get his selling activity over with quickly so that he can get on to his other market activities--buying and social intercourse. It would be far from the market style of the Berber to spend hours prowling the suq in search of an optimum moment to sell. Only in those commodities which the producer sells directly to the consumer (fellah to fellah) is there much time spent in marketing goods. Only in the absence of the large-scale merchant must the tribesman await the disposition of his goods.

It is only on rare occasions that the large-scale merchant attempts to sell what he has bought in the same market. The only instances that I know of were in the case of selling to wholesalers or restaurant owners from the city of Alhucemas who came to the rural suqs to buy for their immediate need, taking advantage of special friendships and buying in lots so large that the price advantage for the large-scale merchants of transporting to another area was offset by the quantity of the purchase. This, however, was rare. Most merchants of this magnitude attempted to derive their profits through their transporting facility.

443 The third group is those merchants who exclusively sell
442 at the market. As noted above, this is merely an analytic device. Empirically, a buyer in one market will be a seller in another. It is only the special ecological conditions of the Rif which separate the two categories in the marketplaces. There is, however, a major dichotomy which splits this group, based mainly on scale of operation. On the one hand are the large-scale sellers who resemble, in terms of organization, the large-scale buyers and who derive their profit mainly through the transportational facility. On the other hand, we have the small-scale merchant who sells his goods and services only in a cycle of small local markets.

443 The small-scale sellers hold in common with the large merchants only the fact that their basic activity is to sell. The difference is essentially in scale. The small-scale merchant or occupational specialist travels from one market within a carefully defined region to the next market. He has no con-
(494) nections outside his immediate circuit and gets from one place
(492) to the next on public transportation or mule. He has little knowledge of market conditions outside his immediate view of
(435) a single market. His prices, which may involve a good deal of
(437) bargaining, vary only slightly from customer to customer and
443 from market to market. He may be divided into two empirical
445 categories: those who sell services, such as barbers, butchers, shoe repairmen, food vendors, blacksmiths, solderers, etc., and those who keep a small inventory of nonperishable goods, such

443 as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and
445 spices.

443 A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe
444 owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consump-
443 tion. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is
444 in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments
452 can be spread into the future. With all the other participants
(439) of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

443 These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I
571 shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within
(128) this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the
442 Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers
443 do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers.
571 This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

442 profit not from dispersing goods in the same marketplace but in
571 transporting the goods from one region to another.
[443]

Large-scale buyers interact with small-lot sellers in a limited range of goods which, generally, can be transformed by industrial processes into another commodity (grapes to wine, almonds to cosmetics, oranges to canned fruit), the conversion of which enhances the value of the original object. These buyers are plugged into a larger economy with export connections and are
442 sensitive to external conditions. Tribesmen who produce in order
433 to meet the demand of such buyers are likewise closely connected
434 with the national and international economy. There is a small but growing number of fellah who produce to sell to this group, but even among them there is a reticence to move completely into the commercial sector. My impression is that the great majority of the Riffian peasantry engaging in cash-cropping attempt to maintain a balance in their production schedule which continues to include a fair proportion of traditional crops. By generalizing their production, few of the grape specialists suffered from
[458] the decrease in prices during 1965. This contrasts with the one-
[435] crop estates in Algeria which during the same period suffered severe setbacks.

443 The small-scale sellers of both goods and services occupy that position which is left open by the unwillingness of the local Berber to engage in full-time commerce and the absence
[434] of the large-scale entrepreneur. They are, on the one hand, dealing in commodities or services the margin of profit on which

443 434 [438] [435] is too low for the large-scale merchants to intrude in competition. The type of commodity (clothes, kerosene, and so on) cannot be increased in value through combination and transportation, while at the same time the volume of trade is so sporadic and low that only the one-man operation can derive a living from it. We might assume that wherever there exists an adequate margin of profit through combination and increase in scale, the large-scale firm will preempt this position. The leftovers, so to speak, go to the small middleman operation. On the other hand, these small-scale merchants are performing services which have a low cultural value among the local population. Thus the small-scale seller of goods and services fills a vacuum. He cannot be displaced by the large firms, since it would not be profitable for them to compete with him. At the same time, he serves the local community by providing necessary but socially disapproved of services.

443 182

Finally, the tribesmen interact amongst themselves-- 443 438 producers selling to household consumers. Since the fellah's trade is always in small lots (with the exception of livestock), most transactions in this sector are on a very small scale. Lack of capital and limited interest in the market characterize this group. Sellers seek to dispose of their product at whatever the prevailing price as quickly as possible. Buyers choose mainly in terms of quality of the commodity rather than price, which tends to be even--each seller listening to his neighbor seller and selling accordingly. There is very little differential in this group in product or price. The cause behind this lies,

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

443 438 undoubtedly, in the fact that each production unit is a replica of all the other units. Each seller has the same commodities, in about the same proportions and selling for similar prices. Individual (A) has commodities x and y which he wishes to sell in order to buy z. Individual (B) has the same commodities which he seeks to dispose of in order to achieve the same goal. And so forth, throughout the whole of the assembled tribesmen. What exchange does take place among the fellah exists, for the most part, as a function of slight ecological differentiation between local areas.

The fellah, by and large, enters the market and disposes of his goods at whatever price they will fetch, either to fellow tribesmen or merchants from the outside. Naturally he seeks the best return that he can get, but his motivations lie far from the rest of the merchants who seek capital accumulation. His [437] desire is to acquire cash for tobacco, tea, sugar, cooking oil, kerosene, and a kilo of fish or meat, or to transfer his gain back into the status economy of which he is so much a part. He partakes of the selling process for only as long as it is absolutely necessary. Ideally, he should not even need to sell.

443 829 Unlike the peasants of many areas (Guatemala and Mexico come to mind), the average Riffian is not a "marketeer" and marketing is not a primary household activity. In an ethnographic study of the small village of San Antonino in Oaxaca, Mexico, I was impressed by the fact that everyone seemed to be deeply concerned about what went on in the market. Many of the

townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local *suq* because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the merchants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market. Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best price based on multiple competition, the larger the market, the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the *fellah* is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local *suq*, he must return the animal home or be entirely

443 dependent on the prices existing in the market for that day.
438 On the other hand, if he is dissatisfied with the price in the
435 local market he can easily transport the beast home again, to
await a more propitious occasion.

443 I think that the major element which emerges from this
182 schematic presentation of the composition of the market and the
571 interaction of its various actors is that each fellah, as an individual, plays a relatively minor role in the workings of the market. The market brings together buyers and sellers, but the fellah have a different orientation than the other
443 buyers and sellers. Stemming from this difference in orienta-
182 tion is a basic difference in the form of economic activity. The primary concern of the professional merchant is to dispose of his products on the market, hopefully at a profit. The primary concern of the fellah is to meet subsistence and social needs. If he can do this by disposing of his crops or livestock on the market, all the better. But the market as such does not provide the dynamics of the Rif economy; the dynamics are provided by the impulses activated by the status economy.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

CONCLUSION

105 631 I shall now drew a résumé of the character of the Rif economy. The first factor which merits our attention is that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba, the land of insolence, as opposed to the bled as-makhzen. The central feature of the 105 631 latter was that a central political body integrated the economy, 648 extracting taxes, channeling production, and supervising trade. The central government ran the economy which, with its large estates, absentee landowners, and tax-supported upper class, presented a classical example of an Oriental style of economic integration.

105 631 The bled-as-siba presents quite another form of political integration and economic organization.[1] Politically, the Rif consisted of a number of small sub-units, each autonomous from the rest and each relying only on its own power for maintaining its political integrity and economic well-being.

---

[1] This holds true for only parts of the bled-as-siba. Other parts of the land outside the makhzen developed complex feudal political organization while at the same time remaining free of the Sultan. Examples from the current century include the Pasha of Marrakesh, el-Glaoui, and Raisuli in the northwest. As Benet noted, "The appearance of an internal proletariat in the Siba is a sure sign that it is developing an oligarchic tyranny of local character and a Makhzen of its own" (1957: 195).

105 631 The economic system of the bled-as-siba reflected this preoccupation, each sub-unit incorporating both its economic activity and its social activity in a manner so that the two could rarely be separated.

105 648 [631] [178] The Rif, however, is no longer bled-as-siba. Since 1926 it has been integrated into political systems with centralized authority. Yet most of the elements of the traditional economic system continue to persist. Why? I think that along with geographical isolation a poverty in natural resources has helped to maintain the Rif free from outside interferences. Sultans were hesitant to send a sizable army into the Rif because it was questionable whether the army could live off the land. Spain was interested less for economic reasons than as an effort to recoup some of the colonial glory she had but recently lost in a war with the United States. Once Spain established her protectorate she only selectively exploited the country in such items as minerals and lumber. On the whole this had no effect on the indigenous economic system. Nor has the Rif fared better since independence. "By comparison, the inhabitants of the old Spanish zone, largely Riffian, are poor relations when contrasted with their compatriots to the south. Extremely limited agricultural possibilities and poor communication in rugged terrain combine to produce this situation" (Steward 1964:170). The Moroccan government has found that the incorporation of the north constitutes a drain on national resources, contributing little to the national economy while at the same time extracting

105 a disproportionate share of the national income towards support-
648 ing the region. "On balance, the ex-Spanish zone brings little other than problems to the Moroccan administration and economy" (Ibid.:170).[1] Since it cannot be profitably exploited, the Rif is allowed to follow its own form of economic integration. This integration is based on an adaptation to the prevailing ecological and social conditions of the Rif. That the adaptation is successful is testified by its persistence.

105 In summary I shall sketch what seem to me the basic features of this economic system. I do not pretend that this is an exhaustive summation of all elements of the system nor is it adequate as a treatment of the new forms of economic organization which are emerging in the Rif (expanding wage labor, tourism, etc.). It does, however, serve as a guide towards understanding the major elements of this status economy and, it is hoped, deepens our perception of the economic life of nonindustrial society.

105 We may start with the element in the system which marks
43 the greatest point of departure from the economy of an industrial
182 society. Those resources of the fellah which are not devoted to subsistence are predominantly tied up in meeting needs arising from a combination of social and religious factors. Production

---

[1] The same is said about the Kabylia in Algeria. Yet it is unlikely that independence in either country could have been achieved as quickly as it came without the assistance of these dissentient Berber groups. Unfortunately, once independence is achieved they become a burden to the urban-oriented leaders.

105 is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or
43 reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to
182 meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption,
[152] etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies. These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic
105 system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself
443 is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan
182 and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with
[181] peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources" (1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unimportant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest, respectively, appearing only as different instances of price according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most predominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the com-
[114] plete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic

105 443 182 114 blindness that led Benet to conclude: "Everything that is not domestically produced has, therefore, to be obtained from the market, through market transactions, and no exchange or commercial activities of any kind are attempted outside of these times and places. The market place has a monopoly on exchange transactions [amongst Berbers]" (1957:196).

105 443 441 182 434 438 The market itself is not the area of primary concern for the fellah. Professional merchants, of course, fall into another category. But there is little impetus for the growth of an indigenous merchant class. The merchant entrepreneur is, by definition, acting in a way which runs counter to the status economy. He is primarily concerned with devoting his capital to profit or income-producing investments. While the peasant comes to the market with commodities to exchange for money to buy other commodities, the merchant seeks to convert money into commodities which he can resell in order to acquire more money. Social and religious imperatives only interfere with the merchant's freedom of action.[1] Unlike transactions in the social sphere which perpetuate themselves into the future as part of a web of reciprocal obligations, the merchant seeks transactions which are impersonal and terminal at the moment of exchange. He is most at home in the suq, where these conditions are nearest to being achieved.

---

[1] I do not mean to draw too close a parallel between the Protestant merchant and his Muslim counterpart. The Islamic business ethic still awaits its Weber.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105
443
443
182 Yet at the same time, the merchant becomes increasingly isolated from the culture of the Rif and increasingly involved in the ideology of industrial society.

105
182 Outside the marketplace, resources continue to be circumscribed by social strictures, credit is based on reputation, prestige is evoked through ceremony, while honor and shame guarantee each transaction. Bulls are killed to bring on rain, witches paid to remove evil eyes, and man continues an intensive dialogue with his external environment based on a cultural evaluation which provides a measure of both social and physical comfort.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

ooo

BIBLIOGRAPHY

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Albéniz, Victor Ruiz
1930 Monografía sobre Colonización Rural en Marruecos Español. Madrid, Saez Hermanos.

Benet, Francisco
1957 "Explosive Markets: The Berber Highlands" in Polanyi, Arensberg, and Pearson (1957):188-217.

Bohannan, Paul J., and George Dalton, eds.
1965 Markets in Africa. New York, Doubleday.

Bourdiou, Pierre
1965 "The Sentiment of Honour in Kabyle Society" in Honour and Shame, the Values of Mediterranean Society, J. G. Peristiany, ed. London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Bourrilly, Joseph
1932 Elements d'Ethnographie Marocaine. Paris, Larose.

Charhadi, Driss ben Hamad
1964 A Life Full of Holes. Translated into English by Paul Bowles. New York, Grove.

Coon, Carleton
1931 Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies IX. Cambridge, Peabody.

el-Badisi, Abd el-Haqq
1926 al-Maqsad (The Lives of the Saints of the Rif). Translated into French by G. S. Colin in Archives Marocaine XXVI. Paris, Ancienne Honoré Champion.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E.
1949 The Sanusi of Cyrenaica. Oxford, Clarendon.

Hart, David M.
1956 Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph. New Haven, Human Relations Area Files.

Justinard, C.
1926 Manuel de Berbère Marocain, Dialecte Rifain. Paris, Geuthner.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

113 Maldonado, Eduardo
n.d. El Rogui. Tetuan, Instituto General Franco.

Maunier, R.
1927 "Rechercher sur les échanges rituels en Afrique du Nord" in l'Année Sociologique, Series 2, Vol. 2, Part 1. Paris, Felix Alcan.

Michaux-Bellaire, M. E.
1925 "Le Rif" in Archives Marocaine XXVII:175-209. Paris, Ancienne Honore Champion.

Mikesell, M. W.
1958 "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," Geographical Review, 48:494-511.

Montagne, Robert
1930 Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc. Paris, Felix Alcan.

Morocco
1965 Area Handbook for Morocco. Washington, Foreign Areas Study Division American University.

Murdock, George P.
1959 Africa, its Peoples and their Culture. New York, McGraw-Hill.

Nash, Manning
1966 Primitive and Peasant Economic Systems. San Francisco, Chandler.

Polanyi, Karl
1957 "The Economy as Institute Process" in Polanyi, Arensberg, and Pearson (1957):243-270.

Polanyi, Karl, Conrad M. Arensberg, and Harry W. Pearson, eds.
1957 Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economics in History and Theory. Glencoe, Free Press.

Renisio, A.
1932 Étude sur les dialectes Berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair. Paris, Ernest LeRoux.

Steward, Charles
1964 The Economy of Morocco, 1912-1962, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs XII. Cambridge, Harvard University.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

113 Waterson, Albert
1962 Planning in Morocco. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins.

Westermarck, Edward
1914 Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco. London, MacMillan.

1920 The Belief in Spirits in Morocco. Helsingfors, Finnish Literary Society.

[For additional information on Riffian "fractions" see also Category 634.]

[For information on the councils (jemas) on the ar-rba or tribal level, see Category 619.]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN GEOGRAPHY

VOLUME XIV

1961

EDITORS

J. B. LEIGHLY

C. J. GLACKEN

J. J. PARSONS

[p. i]

[p. ii is blank]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

NORTHERN MOROCCO

A Cultural Geography

BY

MARVIN W. MIKESELL

[p. iii]

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES
1961

[Title Page]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

000 University of California Publications in Geography
Editors (Berkeley): J. B. Leighly, C. J. Glacken, J. J. Parsons

Volume 14

Submitted by editors January 16, 1961

Issued October 31, 1961

Price, $3.00

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles
California

Cambridge University Press
London, England

© 1961, by The Regents of the University of California

E10
+C12
14.

[p. iv]

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

IN THIS MONOGRAPH I attempt to explain some features of the cultural geography 121
of the northern (formerly Spanish) zone of Morocco. The work has two related themes. I have sought, in the first place, to interpret the distribution of a selected number of culture traits. My second main effort has been to determine the effects of man's activities on the land. The cultural and physical geography of the area 121
is introduced in chapters i and ii. It seemed desirable to reverse the usual order 128
of geographic presentation and begin with culture rather than nature, for most of the processes described in this work have been initiated by man. The discussion of culture history in the next two chapters covers two millennia. It is my conviction that cultural geography is best studied in the light of origins and dispersals, which implies an unrestricted view of the past. The historical résumé in chapters iii and iv constitutes the foundation for interpretations of modern settlement and livelihood in chapters v–vii. The sum of these studies—cultural and natural, historical and modern—provides the background for an assessment of man's effect on vegetation and soil. In chapter viii the main findings of the entire work are summarized.

In a volume of modest size it is manifestly impossible to consider all elements of the landscape. By choice I have not stressed the areas of European influence and urbanization. The focus of my interest has been in rural areas where the most important goals of life are independence and self-sufficiency. The mountainous area of northern Morocco, like the High, Middle, and Anti Atlas, has suffered little from the obscuring effects of foreign influence. The Arabs, who first entered Morocco in the seventh century, had little interest in the highlands. European colonists, concerned primarily with mechanized agriculture, also preferred lands of gentle relief. All the mountain tribes have embraced Islam, some have learned to speak Arabic, and a few have adopted the Singer sewing machine. But subsistence farming and barter still govern tribal economy, and tradition arbitrates disputes.

When a Moroccan is close to home he identifies himself as an inhabitant of a 101
certain village or hamlet. If further clarification is necessary, he may add that he is a member of a community or canton (*farqa*). He will announce his tribal affiliation (*qabila*) only when he is away from home. For example, in Alhucemas one meets members of the tribes of Ibuqquyen, Aith Wariyaghar, and Thimsaman. It is only in Tetuán or some equally remote place that the same people identify themselves as Rifians. They are keenly aware of being Moroccans or North Africans only when they are abroad.

It follows that this study should begin with hamlets or cantons, and only later 121
consider differences among tribes or confederations of tribes. Unfortunately, this 128
procedure would be impractical. I have been compelled to limit my analysis to differences of large scale. Moreover, I have been obliged to focus my attention on variations in material culture. When a Moroccan is questioned about his [124]
neighbors, he seldom comments on the nature of their houses, clothing, or crops. His first thoughts are of personality traits, especially those he regards as objectionable. Here again, I have had to adopt a limited and somewhat distorted

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

perspective. Material traits do not include all of cultural geography, but they do constitute the core of things that the geographer can study systematically.

The thesis of my study of deforestation is that the extent of change can be roughly delimited by historical research and by observation of present trends. In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the principal agents of deforestation have been (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to clear land for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by livestock. There is evidence that each of these agents has been active for centuries. If allowance is made for probable variations in the rate of disturbance, tentative conclusions may be reached as to the extent of change.

For reasons that are painfully evident to all students of Moroccan languages or dialects, correct transliteration is difficult to achieve. Consider the word for "mountain." On French maps it apears as *jebel* or *djebel;* on Spanish maps it is *yebel*. The proper English transliteration of the classical Arabic is *jabal*. But most Moroccans know little of classical Arabic. The usual pronunciation is *jbil*, and this is the way I have written the word. I have tried to transliterate words so that they are intelligible to English-speaking readers. Thus the Maghribi Arabic word for "stream" appears as *wad*, not as *oued* or *uad*. Shawen is substituted for Chauen or Xauen, and Wezzan for Ouezzane. The variant spellings of French and Spanish cartographers are listed in the Appendix.

The field work for this study was carried out from November, 1955, to May, 1957, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to that institution for its support. I am grateful to many Moroccans who helped me to understand their land and culture. Special mention should be made of my frequent traveling companions, Muhammad Miqqi of Ktama and Muhammad ben Hmid l'Arbi of Aith Seddath. I am indebted also to Charles Sauvage of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien for assistance in the identification of plants.

Since returning to the United States, I have profited from correspondence with David M. Hart. Mr. Hart was engaged in ethnological field work in the Rif from 1953 to 1955 and has since returned to Morocco for more extensive research. I am indebted to him for notes on many aspects of Moroccan culture, and especially for his advice on transliteration. The reader with prior knowledge of the literature on northern Morocco will be aware that I have derived great profit from study of the pioneer work of Carleton S. Coon. The illustrations of clothing and house-types for chapters i and v were made from my collection of photographs and field sketches by Iris Neff and Jacques Lemieux.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation for the encouragement given to this undertaking by my teachers at the University of California. A preliminary version of this study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in geography under the supervision of Professors Carl O. Sauer, Melvin M. Knight, and James J. Parsons. The present work has profited from the criticism of Professors John Leighly, Erhard Rostlund, and Clarence J. Glacken.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CONTENTS

I. Introduction: The "Northern Zone" 1
Territorial divisions—Land and livelihood—Cultural uniformity and diversity

II. Environment 12
The Rif chain—Margins of the Rif chain—The three coasts—Climate—Drainage—Plant domains—Forest, maqui, garrigue—Relict species—Enigma of the oleaster—Shrub formations—Forest formations

III. Culture History Prior to European Intervention 32
The problem of climatic change—The Berbers—Punic and Roman influence—Arabization—Moroccan Jews

IV. European Intervention 55
Portuguese activity—Spanish activity—Partition and "pacification"—Spanish Morocco *circa* 1955

V. Settlement Morphology 65
Urban forms and functions—Hamlets versus scattered houses—Types of houses

VI. Livelihood 78
The agricultural calendar—Crop combinations—Farm implements—Role of domestic animals—Irrigation and water rights—Contracts and coöperation—Inheritance—Hunting and fishing—Utilization of wild plants—Markets—Emigration

VII. Effects of Settlement on the Land 95
Historical evidence—Agents and processes of change—Consumption of wood—Effects of burning—Destruction by domestic animals—Vegetation on sacred sites—Extent of deforestation—Erosion

VIII. Summary 117

Appendix: Variant Spellings of Place and Lineage Names 121

Plates 125

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

MOROCCANS refer to their country as al-Maghrib al-Aqsa: the "Far West" of the Muslim world (fig. 1). From 1912 until 1956 it was divided into three zones: French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and the International Zone of Tangier. In March, 1956, a joint declaration was signed by representatives of France and

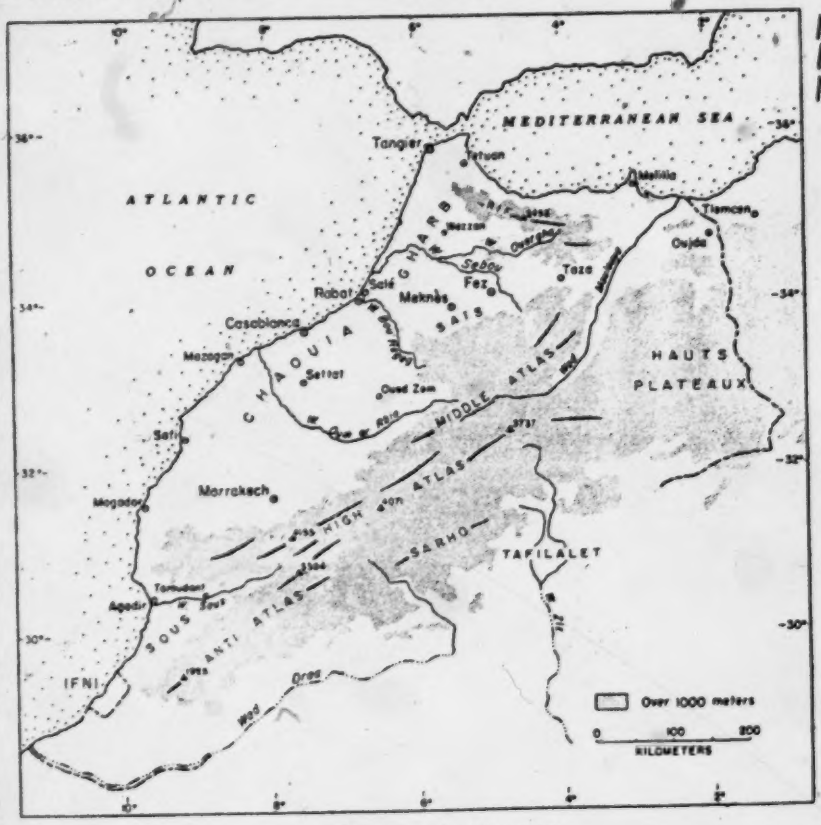


Fig. 1. Morocco: orientation map.

Morocco, restoring independence. Within a month Spain resigned its protectorate, and before the end of the year the international regime was abolished. Moroccan governors promptly replaced the European administrators. Spanish Morocco ceased to function as a separate political unit, although it continued to be recognized as the northern zone. In this study the expressions "northern Morocco" and "northern zone" refer to the area previously under Spanish and international control.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

845
101
102
619
131
133

Fig. 8. Northern Morocco: tribal divisions.

/p. 2/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

Introduction: The "Northern Zone"

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmiz.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebíes* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R S 182 [241] [234] B S 182 226 [224]

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

R 184 171

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

R 771 182 [771]

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

R 779 795

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

R [776] R [778] [128]

R 601

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

R 428 000 R [113] R [113]

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[a]

The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[b] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[c] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[a] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[b] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

[c] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957), 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

RJ
291
369

SJR
291
369

Fig. 3. Clothing: *a*, young man of the Rif; *b*, elderly man of Jbala; *c*, boy's costume; *d*, townsman; *e*, woman of Jbala; *f*, woman of Senhaja as-Srair; *g*, woman of the Rif; *h*, *i*, urban women.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman. Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside." Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[14] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[13] Ernst Ruckow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[14] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 326. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

291 Rifian women present a different picture (fig. 3, *g*). They never wear leggings and are almost always barefoot. Sneakers may be worn on special occasions, but one never sees slippers. In recent years the Rifian markets have been flooded with inexpensive rubber shoes, usually green in color, which some of the younger women have adopted.

Brilliant colors characterize the Rifian woman's outer robe, which is usually of red or yellow silk, worn over an inner robe of white cotton. Rifian women have recently begun to wear baggy trousers, usually blue. Unmarried girls wear a wide cotton headband with brightly colored embroidery, which is partly covered by a head towel. Married women in the mountains of Aith Tuzin and Aith Wariyaghar, and both married and single women in Sanhaja as-Srair, wear strands of black yarn around the crown of the head (fig. 3, *f*). One of the distinctive features of Rifian dress is a red woolen belt introduced about a generation ago from Melilla. It is worn by most Rifian women, but has not been adopted in Ghmara or Sanhaja as-Srair. In summer many Rifian women wear straw hats, but they do not approximate the huge size of the Jbalan "sombreros."

In general, there is a distinct difference in the pattern of women's dress in the Rif and in the western provinces. The brilliant yellow and red robes of the Rifian women are in striking contrast to the somber garments of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. These differences coincide with other cultural frontiers. The human geography of northern Morocco is a complicated pattern of areal succession and overlap; yet many lines coincide, and it is possible to speak of "culture areas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter II

ENVIRONMENT

133 Most of northern Morocco is mountainous. The dominant surface feature is the Rif mountain chain, which curves in a great arc from the Strait of Gibraltar to the hills of Aith Said.[1] The main artery of east-west traffic in Morocco is the Taza corridor, south of the Rif chain (fig. 1).[A] The important north-south routes run along the Atlantic coast or follow the valley of Wad Moulouya. Innumerable ridges lead to the Mediterranean, but that coast has few beaches and little shelter. The exposed and straight Atlantic coast is even more hostile to maritime life. Enclosed within the bounds of a rugged mountain range and inhospitable coasts, most of northern Morocco is isolated. The narrow valleys and ridges of the Rif chain "form a secluded mountain region, difficult of access, which at all times enabled its Berber inhabitants to keep their necks free of foreign yoke."[2]

The Rif Chain

The Rif chain consists of a series of arcs, pierced by gorges trending at right angles to the main structural lines (fig. 4).[B] The northern versants of these arcs have undergone extreme dissection. Streams fed by heavy rainfall have cut deep canyons, and most interfluves are narrow, knifelike ridges. The overlapping folds of this chain are similar to those of the alpine mountains in Europe, notably the Sierra Nevada, with which the Rif was joined in early Tertiary time.[3]

Geologists divide the Rif into three zones (fig. 5):[C]

1. A zone of metamorphic rocks, mainly of Paleozoic age, flanks the coast from Ceuta to Puerto Capaz. This zone constitutes the southern flank of the Betico-Rifian massif, which was broken into two segments when the Strait of Gibraltar was formed. Although countless navigators have viewed this coast, it is scientifically one of the least-known segments of the Mediterranean littoral.

2. A zone of calcareous rocks is mostly of Tertiary age. Its terminal point is Jbil Musa, one of the Pillars of Hercules. From Jbil Musa a high wall of limestone runs southeastward to Shawen, curves to the sea, and then reappears as the Karstic highland of Ibuqquyen. Several peaks exceed 1,000 meters in elevation, and Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab are slightly more than 2,000 meters high. The structural break at Tetuán is the only gap in the wall. The gorge cut by the antecedent Wad Lao is too narrow to be used as a trade route. Most of this range is a formidable barrier.

3. A broad zone of younger sedimentary rocks is schistose for the most part, but includes some strata of sandstone. The formation name "Flysch" has been

[1] "Rif" is used here in the popular sense to refer to the mountainous area of northern Morocco. In Maghribi Arabic *er-rif* means a fertile or cultivated zone on the banks of a river, along a coast, or on the edge of a desert. It can be translated also as "margin" or "fringe."

[2] Theobald Fischer, "Marokko: eine länderkundliche Skizze," *Geog. Zeitschr.*, 9 (1903), 67.

[3] The best geological map of northern Morocco is the *Bosquejo geológico de la zona del protectorado español* (Madrid: Comisión de Estudios Geológicos, 1952). Brief accounts of the physical geography of the area appear in "Maroc septentrional," *Livret-guide des excursions A 31 et C 31, Congrès Géologique International* (Rabat, 1952); Horst Mensching, *Marokko: die Landschaften im Maghreb* (Heidelberg: Keyersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957), pp. 148–154; and G. Maurer, "Les pays rifains et prérifains," *L'Information Géographique*, 23 (1959), 164–171.

[113]

A, B, C. [See pp. 1, 14-15 respectively--Analyst] [12]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

applied to this zone, which includes northern Morocco's highest mountains and principal watershed.[4] Adrar[5] Tidighin, highest of the Sanhajan mountains, rises to 2,456 meters and is snow-capped during six months of the year (plate 1, *b*).

Margins of the Rif Chain

From Bab Taza northward the karstic mountains of Bani Hassan form the principal arc of the Rif chain. West of this range the highland complex consists of a series of outliers trending northwest to southeast. Several of these ridges are more than 1,000 meters in elevation, and the highest peaks, Jbil Sugna and Jbil Buhashim, exceed 1,500 meters. A line drawn from Tangier to a point about 30 kilometers east of Ksar al-Kebir marks the division between the Rif highlands and the hills and terraces of the Atlantic littoral.[6]

The eastern margin of the Rif highlands is difficult to delimit. The main arc extends to a point about halfway between Alhucemas and Melilla. Mountainous terrain is found farther to the east, but its structure and lithology are different. The Rif chain is composed almost entirely of sedimentary and metamorphic rocks. Volcanism is evident from the eastern edge of the Nkour Valley to the Algerian frontier. The largest volcanic feature is Adrar Gurugú (886 meters), a composite cone of basalt and andesite behind Melilla. A number of smaller cones dot the plains of Garet and Gal'aya, and the promontories at the bay of Alhucemas and the Melilla peninsula are formed of trachyte and andesite. A large part of Gal'aya and Garet was submerged in Tertiary time. This lowland area includes the flattish plains of recent alluvium extending inland from Nador, and hill sections formed by recent stream dissection of Tertiary and Pleistocene sediments. The small range of Ikibdhanen appears to be an anticline. This range and the Kar-Kar highland were formed prior to the period of Rifian orogeny.

The Three Coasts

Most of northern Morocco is isolated by the Rif mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. The Atlantic façade, even more hostile to maritime life, has been the country's best rampart. Since these two shores are of little value, the coast facing Gibraltar has played a preponderant role.

Straight and shelterless, the Atlantic façade is indented only by mediocre harbors and poor estuaries. A series of marine terraces, mostly of Pliocene or Miocene age, dominates the littoral from Arcila to Larache. Quaternary dunes line the coast from Larache to and beyond the old interzonal frontier. The plain of Wad Lukkus is the largest zone of alluvial soil on the Atlantic coast and the only area in northern Morocco where agriculture is almost entirely mechanized. The small coastal plain on the frontier between the former Spanish and international zones is poorly drained and swampy most of the year.

Cliffs of Cretaceous or Eocene sandstone line the Strait of Gibraltar from Cape

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14]

[4] The best description of this area appears in the log of the excursion sponsored by the Société de Géographie du Maroc in March, 1957; see *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 43–46.

[5] I use the Berber *adrar* rather than the Moroccan Arabic *jbil* because this peak is in an area of Berber speech.

[6] I am omitting the pre-Rifian foothill zone, immediately south of the area shown on the maps. For a description of that zone see Maurer, *op. cit.*, and Jean Dresch, *Essai sur l'évolution du relief dans la région prérifaine* (Paris: Larose, 1938).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

SHR
102
133
131

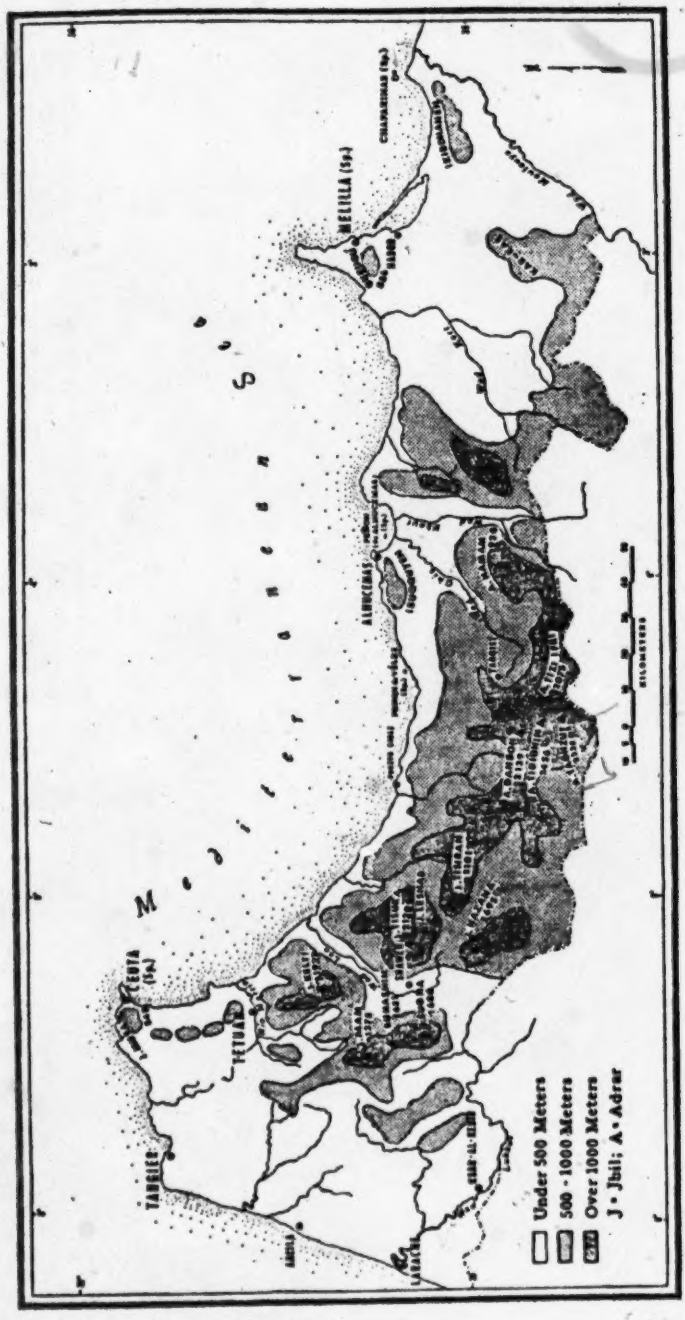


Fig. 4. Northern Morocco: relief.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

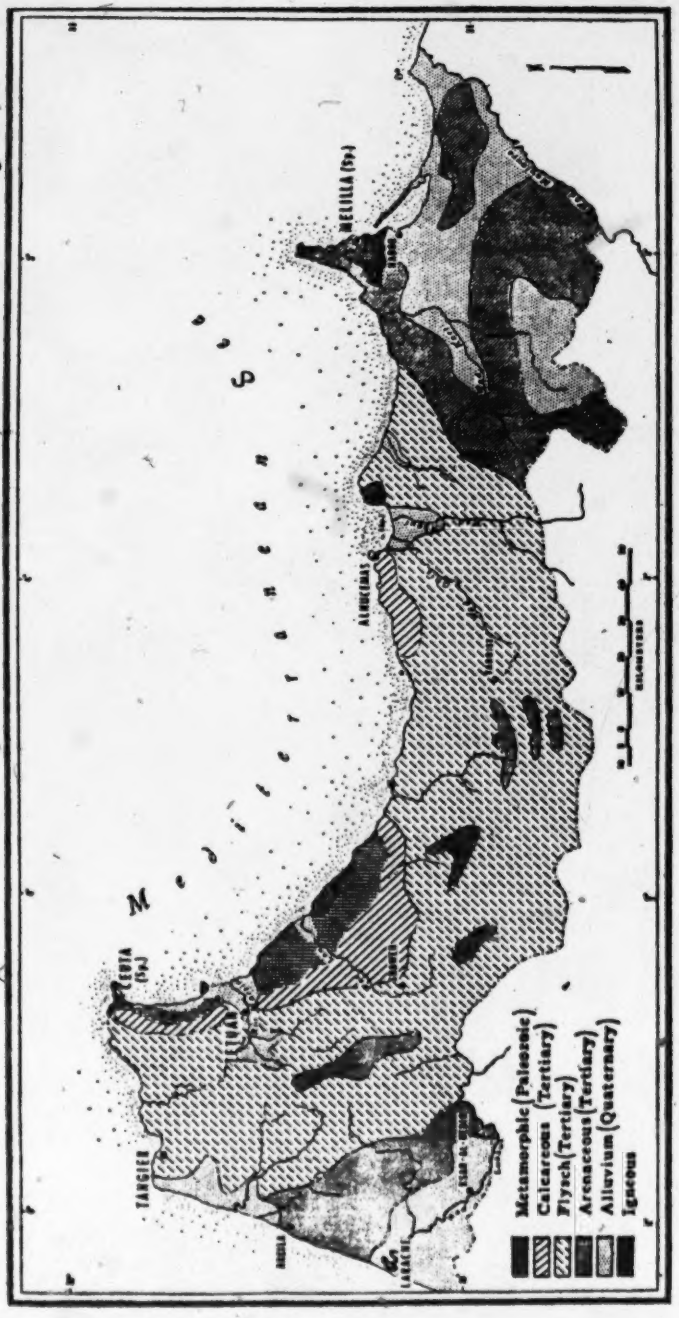


Fig. 6. Northern Morocco: surface geology.

/p. 15/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102
131
132

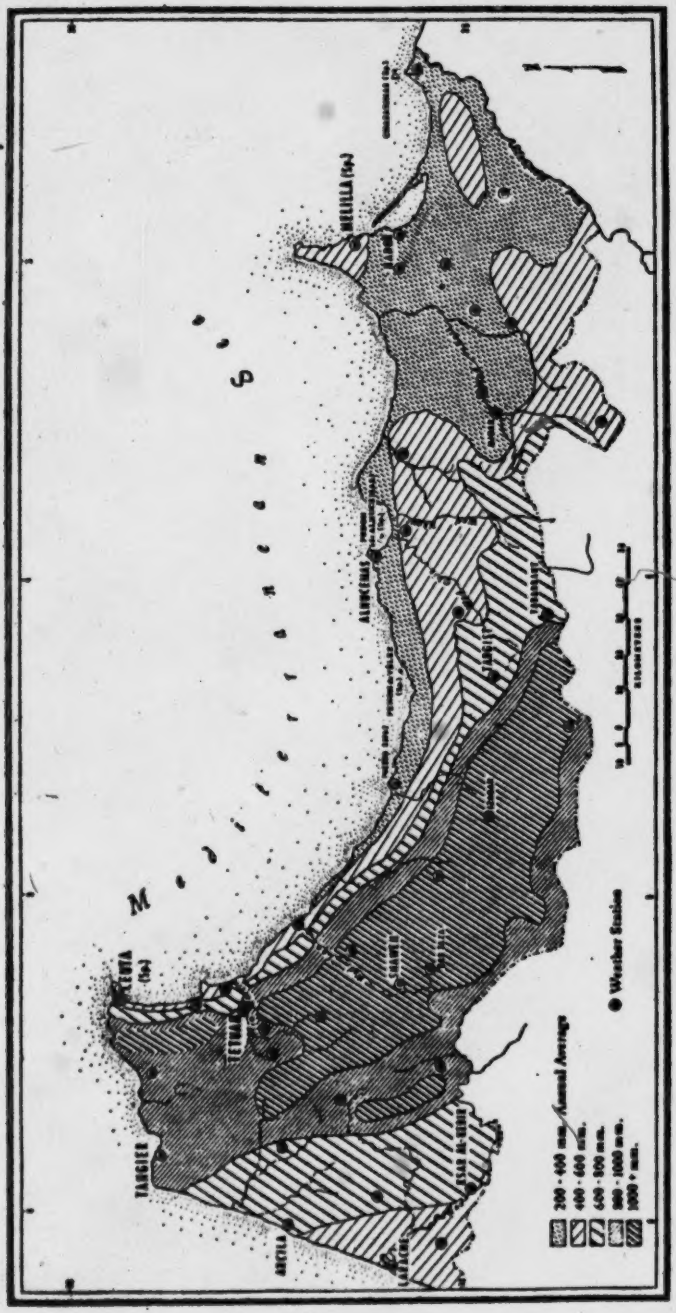


Fig. 6. Northern Morocco: precipitation, 1944-1955.

/p. 16/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization, but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

Climate

The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude, irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[1]

Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[1] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

132 (12.9 in.), and Alhucemas with 315 mm. (12.4 in.). The area of heaviest precipitation runs along the line of the Rif chain. Because of the orographic mechanism, highland areas receive more precipitation than adjacent lowlands. No records exist for the highest altitudes, but annual rainfalls totaling more than 1,500 mm. (59 in.) may be surmised. The amount recorded at Bab Taza—1,315 mm. (51.7 in.)—suggests very heavy precipitation on Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab. In the Sanhajan highlands, Izagan, at an elevation of 1,500 meters, has 1,414 mm. (56.6 in.) and Tabarrant, at 1,140 meters, has 1,199 mm. (47.2 in.) of precipitation. On the highest peaks of the Sanhajan highlands the rainfall may average 2,000 mm. per year. In areas higher than 1,500 meters some snow falls during the winter months. Peaks above 2,000 meters are snow-capped from the middle of November to the end of May.

The rainy season begins at about the same time throughout northern Morocco, but the amount of precipitation varies notably. The meridian running through Targist marks the division between the wetter and drier parts of the northern zone. Targist receives 423 mm. (16.6 in.) of precipitation. At Midar, 65 km. farther to the east, the total is only 281 mm. (11 in.). At Melilla the precipitation is 414 mm. (16.2 in.), but no other station in the eastern lowlands regularly records more than 350 mm. (13.8 in.). The sharp decrease in amount of precipitation east of the Sanhajan highlands is one of the striking aspects of the geography of northern Morocco.

Annual variability in amount of precipitation is characteristic of all stations, regardless of whether the total is large or small. In the decade 1946–1955, precipitation at Arcila varied from 418 mm. (16.4 in.) to 850 mm. (33.5 in.); at Alhucemas the corresponding totals were 216 mm. (8.5 in.) and 430 mm. (16.9 in.). Variation of this magnitude is most noticeable in the drier eastern lowlands, where livelihood is based upon dry farming of cereals. During the same decade, annual precipitation at Midar varied from 105 mm. (4.1 in.) to 450 mm. (17.7 in.). The former year (1947) was one of great hardship, whereas the latter year (1955) was bountiful. The range of variation was just as large at Arcila, but the 1947 rainfall of 416 mm. (16.4 in.) did not mean failure of the cereal crop.

No part of this zone is more than 100 km. from the coast. Since marine temperatures tend to be relatively mild and to change but little from summer to winter, a corresponding mildness is characteristic of all areas into which sea air is regularly carried. Temperatures below freezing or above 35°C. (95°F.) are rare in the Atlantic coastal zone. The Mediterranean coast, because of the warmer water of the inland sea, is somewhat milder throughout the year than the Atlantic coast, which is affected by the cool Canaries Current. The highest summer temperatures are experienced in the Moulouya Valley, which is sheltered from marine air. In the mountains the highest summer temperatures occur on south-facing slopes, where temperatures may rise above 35°C. even at an altitude of 1,000 meters. Freezing temperatures are common at the same elevation during the winter months. It seems reasonable to suppose that winter temperatures may drop to –10°C. at an altitude of 2,000 meters.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Drainage

132 Drainage basins are small in this area, for the watershed is close to the sea. The
133 seasonal rate of flow follows the seasonal rainfall, but with a lag in time that varies with the slope, the vegetation, and the permeability of the rock. Spate follows rainfall where impermeable rocks form the basin, more slowly where the basin is of permeable limestone. All the Mediterranean streams may be roaring torrents at some period from October to May; but most of them dry up during the long summer drought. The valleys of some of the larger streams, like the Ghis and Nkour, betray their Mediterranean regimen by a double bed: in summer a narrow channel is cut below the broad rocky shelf which is the winter bed. Wad Ouergha draws off most of the drainage from the Sanhajan highlands; it is the largest stream flowing from the Rif chain, and one of the sources of irrigation water in the Gharb coastal plain (fig. 1). The basin of Wad Lukkus includes most of the Atlantic drainage. Surface streams are rare in the calcareous zone. The only stream that flows through the limestone mountains is the Wad Lao, which follows an antecedent course; but Wad Hajara, Wad Khemis, and Río Martín (Wad Martil) are fed by springs issuing from the base of this range. The area between Wad Nkour and Wad Moulouya has only one large stream, Wad Kert, and it receives little nourishment after it leaves the highlands. Wad Moulouya, from the distant Ayache Mountains of the High Atlas, is northern Morocco's great exotic stream. This stream and Wad Lukkus constituted the only natural segments of the boundary between French Morocco and Spanish Morocco.

Plant Domains

139 The vegetation of North Africa can be divided into (1) a Mediterranean domain, where forest and shrubs predominate; (2) a domain of "steppe," where forest is confined to highland enclaves in the midst of a predominant cover of grass and herbs; and (3) a domain of highland vegetation, which includes a subalpine formation with some trees and, only in the Moroccan Atlas, an alpine formation
[132] without trees. Saharan vegetation penetrates Barbary at only two points: in the Hodna basin of Algeria and on the plains extending inland from the Gulf of Gabès in Tunisia. Figuig, Ksar as-Suq, Zagora, and Goulimine, all within the political limits of Morocco, receive less than 200 mm. of precipitation per year, but the records of these stations do not show the variability indicative of true desert. The Moroccan territory south of the Atlas chains forms part of the "pre-Sahara" of French terminology.[1]

In terms of this classification, all but a small part of northern Morocco falls within the Mediterranean domain. No peak in the Rif Mountains rises above timberline, and only a small area can be called subalpine. Grassland is confined to one area on the eastern edge of the zone. This area, in the lower Moulouya Valley, is one of the driest parts of northern Morocco, but it is not certain that the presence of steppe vegetation can be attributed solely to meager precipitation. The dominant species is *Stipa tenacissima* (Arabic *alfa*). This hard tussock grass

[113] [1] For a brief description of vegetation in all North Africa, see Jean Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), pp. 80–96; and Louis Emberger, "L'Afrique du Nord-Ouest," *Unesco Arid Zone Research*, VI, "Plant Ecology" (Reviews of Research) (Paris, 1955), pp. 219–249.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

has deep roots, forms strong clumps, and its awns stick to the coats of passing animals. More important, it is palatable only for a brief period in spring.[1] Alfa grass is scattered over most of Garet, but is conspicuous only in the area between the hills of Ikbdhanen and Kar-Kar.

Forest, Maqui, Garrigue

The climate that has prevailed during historic time is such that trees ought to dominate the vegetation of this zone. As figure 7 indicates, *Pistacia atlantica*,

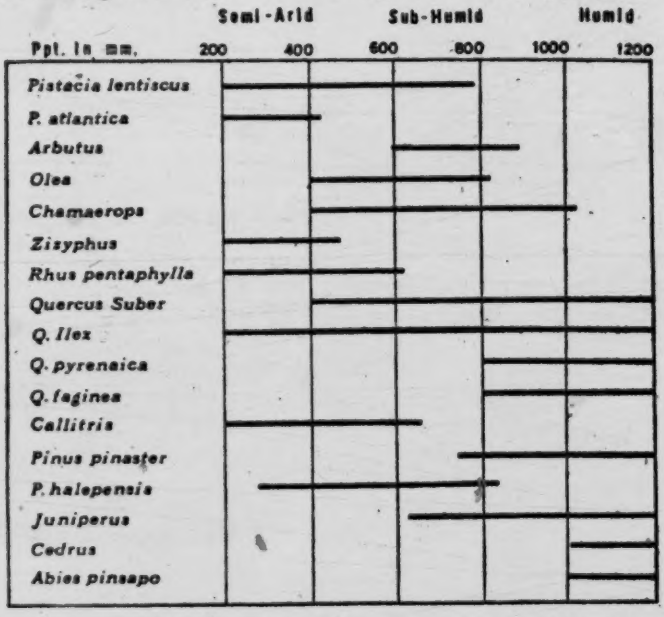


Fig. 7. Range of forest species according to average annual precipitation.

P. lentiscus, *Quercus Ilex*, *Pinus halepensis*, *Callitris articulata*, *Rhus pentaphylla*, and *Zizyphus lotus* can grow in the semiarid sector of northeastern Morocco. The altitudinal range of at least three and possibly eight trees extends above the highest peaks of the Rif chain (table 1). Edaphic factors impose some limitations. The cork oak will not grow on calcareous soils, and most forest species are excluded from poorly drained alluvium. Nevertheless, areas that are barren of trees as a result of natural causes constitute only a small part of this zone.

Most of the forest species common in northern Morocco are endemic to the Mediterranean region; a few belong more specifically to the western province of that region. *Quercus coccifera*, *Quercus Ilex*, *Pinus halepensis*, *Arbutus Unedo*, and a number of prominent Moroccan shrubs are spontaneous in most of the

[1] Charles Killian, "Plantes fourragères-types des hautes-plaines algériennes," *Annales de l'Amélioration des Plantes*, 4 (1954), 505–527.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Mediterranean lands. The natural range of *Pinus pinaster, Chamaerops humilis,* and *Quercus Suber* extends to Sicily and the western versant of Italy, but not to Greece, Turkey, or Lebanon.[13] As typical elements of Mediterranean vegetation, these plants are provided with mechanisms of defense against excessive transpiration during the long summer drought. The trunks of most trees are incased in a thick, deeply fissured bark; leaves are thick and leathery, and have hard, shiny surfaces. Under normal conditions few of the Moroccan trees cast deep shade; so the understory is usually well developed.

This shrubby undergrowth of bushes and small trees may form a dense thicket,

TABLE 1

ALTITUDINAL LIMITS OF SOME MOROCCAN TREES

Species	Elevation (meters)	Location
Rhus pentaphylla	1,000?	Rif?
Zizyphus lotus	1,000?	Middle Atlas?
Pistacia lentiscus	1,600	High Atlas
Olea europaea	1,650	High Atlas
Callitris articulata	1,800	High Atlas
Arbutus Unedo	1,900	Anti Atlas
Pistacia atlantica	2,000	High Atlas
Quercus Suber	2,000	Rif
Quercus pyrenaica	2,000	Rif
Quercus faginea	2,200	Middle Atlas
Chamaerops humilis	2,200	High Atlas
Pinus halepensis	2,200	High Atlas
Pinus pinaster	2,200	Rif
Abies pinsapo	2,200	Rif
Cedrus atlantica	2,700	High Atlas
Quercus Ilex	2,800	High Atlas
Juniperus Oxycedrus	3,150	High Atlas

SOURCE: Personal observations and Louis Emberger, *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938).

but is more often degraded by burning, cutting, or browsing. There are many names for it: in Greek *longos,* in Spanish *monte bajo* or *matorral,* in Italian *macchia,* while we have adopted the Corsican—and French—*maqui(s).* It is a mixed association of evergreen plants, with tough and twisted wood, brilliant and often scented flowers, and shiny or glaucous foliage. Where degradation has been severe, the maqui ceases to form a closed canopy. This type of rather stunted and open vegetation, known in France as *garrigue*—from *garoulia,* the Provençal name for *Quercus coccifera*—is marked by a wealth of aromatic Labiatae, Cistaceae, and Rutaceae, which sprout and germinate quickly after fires. All these plants, whether maqui or garrigue, are heliophilous and many of them are thorny. In chapter vii it will be demonstrated that garrigue constitutes a degraded form of maqui, and maqui a degraded type of forest.

[113] [13] M. Rikli, *Das Pflanzenkleid der Mittelmeerländer* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1943–1948), traces the natural range of most of the plants considered here. See also the "Notice explicative" accompanying Planche 19 *a,* "Forêts et ressources végétales," *Atlas du Maroc,* cited in note 7.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Relict Species

The vegetation of northern Morocco has not only been modified by man, but has also undergone progressive natural change. In the varied Moroccan flora, European, Asiatic, and tropical elements are found along with species endemic to the Mediterranean region. During the Pleistocene, the southward movement of a colder and wetter climate brought corresponding southward migrations of European and Euro-Siberian plants. Europe and Barbary were no longer linked by land bridges, but seeds could easily blow or float across the narrow Strait of Gibraltar. Relicts of these invasions are found today in the mountains of northern Morocco in growths of fir (*Abies pinsapo, A. tazaotana*) and deciduous oaks (*Quercus pyrenaica, Q. faginea*) that seem strangely out of place in northern Africa.[12] Other Pleistocene relicts include birch (*Betula alba*), two species of maple (*Acer monspessulanum, A. Opalus*), alder (*Alnus glutinosa*), and the mountain ash, or service tree (*Sorbus torminalis*).[13]

Enigma of the Oleaster

The olive tree (*Olea europaea*) has long been regarded as a symbol of the Mediterranean landscape. Since classical antiquity it has been recognized that not all olive trees are alike, that some grow without cultivation and produce small and bitter fruit. The "wild" olive, or oleaster, was long thought to be an endemic element of the Mediterranean flora and the ancestor of the cultivated tree. Victor Hehn may have been the first to challenge this view on historical and philological grounds.[14] Today this problem is the subject of vigorous debate. Most authorities consider the oleaster to be a natural element of maqui, but some scholars, including August Chevalier, describe it as a "subspontaneous race," escaped from cultivation in ancient time.[15]

In contrast to the common cultivated olive, the oleaster has four-angled thorny branches, broader leaves, and smaller fruit. Moreover, the oleaster, obviously, grows without cultivation or apparent care. None of these points proves that it is an ancestral wild race. As De Candolle remarks, "In a woody species which lives so long and shoots again from the same stock when cut off by accident, it is impossible to know the origin of the individuals observed."[16] To make matters worse, it is a common practice in northern Morocco to graft scions of the cultivated olive to oleaster stock.[17]

The oleaster is best developed in the area covered by palmetto scrub, where the winters are too cold and wet for the cultivated race, but a few oleasters are seen

[12] Changes of climate also have been invoked to explain the presence of wild olive (*Olea Laperrini*) and cypress (*Cupressus Dupresiana*) in the mountains of the central Sahara. L. Lavauden, "Les Forêts du Sahara," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 65 (1927), 265–277.

[13] The adaptation of "Nordic" species to the Mediterranean environment is considered by Andrea Giacobbe in "Les effets écologiques de l'aridité du climat sur la végétation méditerranéenne: héliophilie et configuration morphologique des forêts," *Unesco Arid Zone Research*, V, "Plant Ecology" (Proceedings of the Montpellier Symposium) (Paris, 1955), pp. 64–66.

[14] Victor Hehn, *The Wanderings of Plants and Animals from Their First Home* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1888), pp. 88–101.

[15] Aug. Chevalier, "L'origine de l'olivier cultivé et ses variations," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 28 (1948), 1–25.

[16] Alphonse de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (New York: Appleton, 1885), p. 280.

[17] Pliny (*Natural History*, XVII, 30) thought that this practice was limited to Africa.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

in the semiarid region south of Melilla. Both varieties sprout vigorously, and both are polymorphic. The latter fact is of major significance, for if the oleaster were a wild species it should be monomorphic, at least in a given area. Chevalier's argument is based upon this point. The seemingly primitive oleasters may be escaped and neglected variants of races that were once cultivated." The longevity of the olive is lengendary; some sprouts in Algeria and Tunisia are almost certainly derived from Roman trees.[11] The fact that some trees have spines and small fruit may not be distinctive. Both varieties probably evolved from *Olea chrysophylla*, the true wild olive of southwestern Asia.[12] The oleaster may be no more difficult to explain than the "wild" pears and apples in the forests of France. It is not unusual for a neglected cultivated plant to become naturalized. Subspontaneous varieties of the cultivated carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*) are common in the Mediterranean region. In northern Morocco this tree, cultivated for its edible pods, is widely scattered in the area covered by palmetto scrub. Like the oleaster, it often appears to be a natural element of the maqui.

Shrub Formations

In most of the Mediterranean basin, shrub formations now cover much more territory than do forests (fig. 8). In northern Morocco, shrub vegetation is dominated by dwarf palm or palmetto (*Chamaerops humilis*) and the xerophytic camel thorn (*Zizyphus lotus*). The range of these two species delimits two shrub formations, palmetto scrub and thorn scrub. The first formation is the *Oleo-Lentiscetum* (i.e., *Olea europaea—Pistacia lentiscus*) of most authors, but in northern Morocco neither of these plants is as conspicuous as the palmetto.

The palmetto (Arabic *doum*) is best developed on argillaceous soils in areas of mild temperature and moderate to heavy precipitation (fig. 7). These preferences explain the absence of palmetto in the cool highlands and its rare occurrence in semiarid areas. Dwarf palm may be seen on rocky knolls near Wad Moulouya, but most of the eastern half of northern Morocco is too dry for the species. In the western half of the zone the altitudinal limits of palmetto rise from west to east according to the lessening amount of precipitation.

The popular names "dwarf palm" and "palmetto" as well as the Linnaean binomial (*Chamaerops humilis*), derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "dwarf or stunted bush," do not suggest that this plant may grow five to ten meters high. Excellent specimens of this height are preserved, however, at the cemeteries of Chella near Rabat and at Asni south of Marrakech. In northern Morocco I have seen tall palmettos on several sacred sites. Palmetto is exploited

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 25]

[11] H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953), p. 11, states that charcoal from a midden near Tébessa in eastern Algeria "a révélé d'une manière certaine l'existence de l'oléastre en Afrique au Paléolithique Supérieur." But in the study to which she refers—R. le Du and L. Saccardy, "Étude de quelques charbons préhistoriques de la région de Tébessa," *Rev. Africaine*, 88 (1949), 111–119—there is no mention of oleaster. Charcoal of *Phillyrea*, another genus of the olive family, is mentioned, but this adds nothing to the history of *Olea europaea*.

[12] L. Joleaud, "L'ancienneté de la fabrication de l'huile en Afrique du Nord," *Rev. Africaine*, 70 (1929), 19–36.

[12] If this be correct, the present range of the cultivated olive is almost completely separated from that of its ancestor. I. H. Burkill, "Habits of Man and the Origins of the Cultivated Plants of the Old World," *Proc. Linnean Soc. London*, 164 (1951–1952), 12–42, *ref.* to fig. 2, p. 16.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

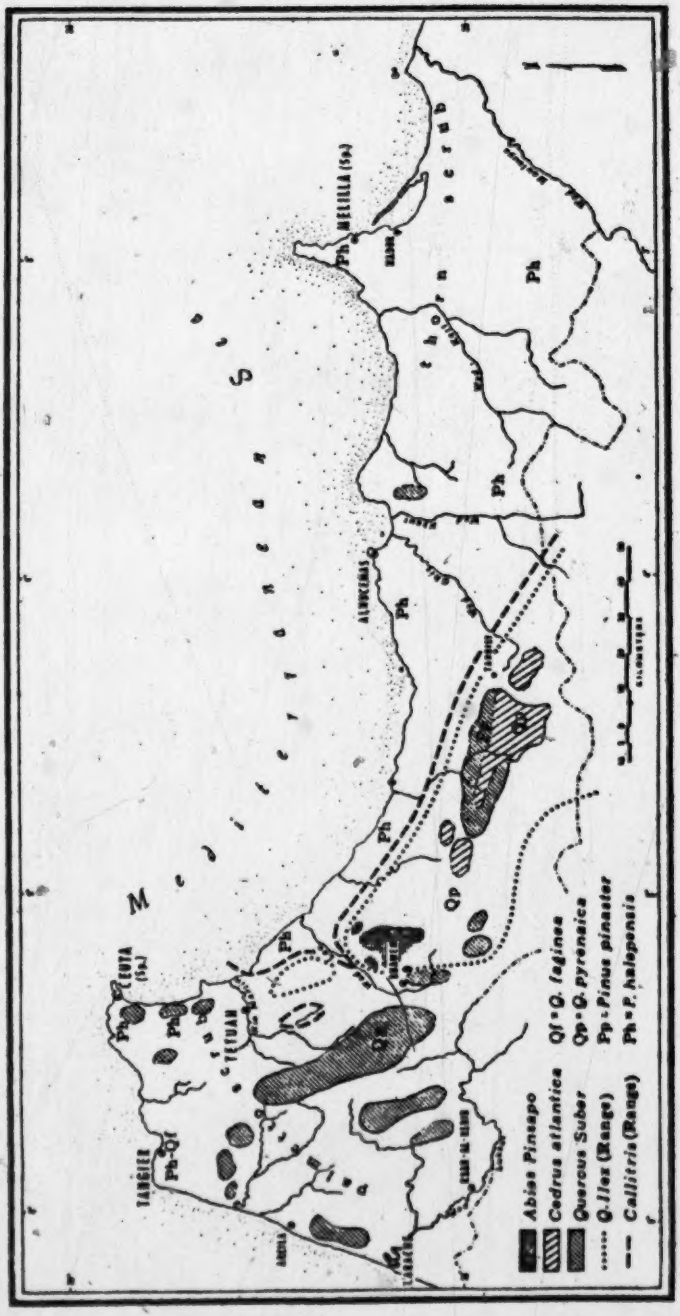


Fig. 8. Northern Morocco: distribution of forest and scrub.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[a] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[b] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[c] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wad Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

[a] *Marruecos, zona jalifiana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[b] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognised by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* . . . , II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est determinée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[c] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of *doum*.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

delta, but it becomes progressively rarer toward the eastern semiarid sector of this zone. Pistacia wood is highly prized as a source of charcoal, and this fact alone may explain the plant's degraded appearance in the hills south of Tangier.

Pistacia rarely forms a pure stand. Several of the other plants found in palmetto scrub could be described as weeds, for they appear mainly in fallow fields. *Asphodelus microcarpus, Urginea maritima, Daphne Gnidium,* and one or more species of *Asparagus, Ononis,* and *Papaver* are prominent among them. In areas where most of the surface is cultivated, as in the Fahs territory south of Tangier, these plants, together with thistles and scattered clumps of palmetto, constitute all but a small part of the total inventory of vegetation. On rocky knolls and alluvial slopes too steep for cultivation, these plants grow among *Pistacia, Calycotome, Lavandula,* and the oleaster. The percentage of thorny plants is high. Besides *Calycotome* and thistles, *Carduus, Smilax,* and *Rosa* are found.

Dense shrub formations are rarely seen on the thickly settled Atlantic versant. One may walk unimpeded anywhere in the zone bounded by the Atlantic coast, Tangier, and Ksar al-Kebir. The thick shrub growth on the Mediterranean coast near Wad Lao contrasts sharply with the open formations on the Atlantic littoral. In the former area, *Cistus ladaniferus, C. albidus, Erica arborea, Pistacia lentiscus,* and *Arbutus Unedo* combine to form an impenetrable thicket. The limestone mountains of northern Morocco are almost bare of shrub or tree growth. From Ceuta to Wad Lao the eastern horizon is dominated by a great wall of limestone, almost completely devoid of soil. The prevalent whiteness is disturbed only by scattered clumps of palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

In the area covered by palmetto scrub the persistent riparian plant is the toxic *Nerium oleander.* It may be accompanied by *Crataegus, Myrtus,* and *Arbutus,* but in most of northwestern Morocco the oleander is the only plant on the banks of streams. The presence of *Alnus, Populus, Salix,* and *Vitex* along stream channels in the Sanhajan highlands may be explained by the persistence in that area of other trees, especially cedar, juniper, and oak, which have been adequate thus far as a source of fuel and building material.

In the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco, palmetto scrub grades into a thorn scrub dominated by *Zizyphus lotus,* a spiny and xerophytic member of the buckthorn family (Rhamnaceae). It is difficult to draw a line between these two formations. Isolated clumps of palmetto are found as far east as the Moulouya Valley, and zizyphus extends up the valley of Wad Ghis as far as Targist.

Well adapted to aridity and continentality, *Zizyphus lotus* has become the dominant plant of Morocco's semiarid plains. Clumps of zizyphus are conspicuous within most of the area mapped as thorn scrub. This plant may grow three meters high, but is most often seen as a shrub. It is deciduous; and, during the dormant winter season, gray and seemingly lifeless clumps of zizyphus are a characteristic feature of the landscape. Its branches are widely used as fence material, and this practice enhances the contrast between the semiarid sector of northern Morocco and the wetter western zone, where *Opuntia* is planted as a hedge. The fleshy drupe of zizyphus is collected wherever it grows; when cereal stocks are exhausted, "lotus bread" is an important food.[a]

[a] *Zizyphus lotus* is occasionally planted in Andalusia, Portugal, and Sicily, but in northern Africa the fruit is collected from wild plants. Aug. Chevalier, "Les jujubiers ou zizyphus de

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

On protected sites, zizyphus and sumac (*Rhus pentaphylla*) form a thicket. In areas where zizyphus and sumac are mixed with *Pistacia atlantica*, the thorn scrub formation could be described as a thorn forest. Fields that have been fallow for several years are covered with *Asphodelus microcarpus*, *Marrubium alysson*, *Fagonia cretica*, and *Lycium intricatum* as well as the ubiquitous zizyphus. Alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*) covers part of the area between Ikibdhanen and Kar-Kar. Alluvial soils in the same general area are covered with esparto grass (*Lygeum spartum*) and dwarf sage (*Artemisia herba alba*). The areas occupied by these three species may be advanced colonies of the steppe formations of the upper Moulouya Valley and the Algerian Hauts-Plateaux.

Forest Formations

As figure 8 indicates, most of the forest species in northern Morocco belong to the families Pinaceae and Fagaceae. Two evergreen oaks dominate the latter group: the holly or holm oak (*Quercus Ilex*) and the cork oak (*Quercus Suber*). The wide range of the holly oak is indicative of its edaphic and climatic tolerance (fig. 7). In northern Morocco it is found from an elevation of about 500 meters up to the crest of the Rif chain. It is mixed with cedar and fir above 1,500 meters and with zizyphus in the semiarid region east of Alhucemas. *Quercus Ilex* may appear as a tall tree, but most specimens show the damaging effects of fire, cutting, and browsing. The holly oak is certainly a forest species, but it would be misleading to speak of forests of this tree. The area delimited in figure 8 merely indicates the zone in which specimens of this species are numerous. Many specimens are only two meters high. Emberger estimates that *Quercus Ilex* is spread over 700,000 hectares of Morocco, and that this territory may represent less than half of the primordial range.[113]

The effective limit of the cork oak nearly coincides with the 400 mm. isohyet. *Quercus Suber* appears on schist in the highlands of Ghmara and Sanhaja, on sandstone in the mountains west of Tetuán and Shawen, and on Pliocene dunes south of Larache. Cork forests are not found on residual soils weathered from limestone, or on heavy alluvial soils. Most of the eastern half of northern Morocco is too dry for the cork oak. A single stand occurs in the highlands east of Wad Nkour, where the orographic mechanism produces rainfall heavier than is observed in the neighboring lowlands.

The natural form of the cork oak is that of a large tree with a short trunk and spreading crown. Specimens of this form are rare today. Tall trees develop from seed regeneration, whereas most trees have a lateral growth that results from sprouting. The latter habit indicates a history of abuse, whether by cutting, burning, or browsing. Undisturbed forests usually have a shaded floor with little underbrush, but cork trees are more commonly accompanied by a number of shrubs. The faithful companion of *Quercus Suber* in northern Morocco is the woody briar *Erica arborea*, which also avoids calcareous soils. Under conditions of extreme degradation, the quick-seeding Cistaceae and the aggressive palmetto are more prominent than other undergrowth. Frequent disturbance, especially

l'ancien monde et l'utilisation de leurs fruits," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 27 (1947), 470–482.

[113] Emberger, *Les Arbres du Maroc*, p. 117.

A, B, [See pp. 24 & 20 respectively--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

by burning, may completely destroy the oaks. The Mamora cork forest north of Rabat (137,000 hectares) is the largest in the world.[a] Cork oak covers about 100,000 hectares in the northern zone.[b]

Much of the economic activity in northern Morocco is concerned with the collection and shipment of cork. The bark of the trunk and the larger branches is utilized. Cork is first removed when trees are about twenty years old, with subsequent stripping every seven to ten years. The first yield (*liège mâle*) is very rough and coarse and of little value. Cork of subsequent stripping (*liège de reproduction*) is more homogeneous and of higher commercial value. In northern Morocco, cork is collected by Spanish concerns with native labor, and also by small independent operators who collect cork from isolated villages and carry it to places of deposit on the main roads. Most of the cork from northern Morocco is shipped in bulk to Spain.

Deciduous oaks cover about 7,000 hectares in northern Morocco. Two species are represented, and they have the scattered distribution characteristic of relicts. The larger stand of deciduous oaks grows at an elevation of about 1,000 meters in the mountains west of Shawen and southwest of Bab Taza—Jbil Buhashim, Jbil Sugna, and Jbil Hazana. *Quercus pyrenaica* = *Q. Tozae* is the species in this area; it appears also at elevations of 1,200–2,000 meters on Jbil Tiziran and, as the binomial indicates, in the Pyrenees. The second species, *Q. faginea* = *Q. lusitanica*, is scattered over the Sanhajan highlands. The largest stands are on the slopes between Jbil Tiziran and Jbil Leshab. Other stands appear on the slopes of Adrar Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut, and there are a few trees mixed with *Erica arborea*, *Cistus ladaniferus*, and *Pistacia lentiscus* in the maqui near Tangier.

It is difficult to explain the scattered distribution of the deciduous oaks. They are abundant in the largest forested area (fig. 8), that of the mountains west of Shawen, but many of the trees in this forest were cut by the Spanish for use as railroad ties. Both species seem to be calcifuge, and it is unlikely that either will be found in the drier parts of the zone. The scattered and mountainous distribution suggests that the deciduous oaks are Pleistocene relicts now restricted to the coolest and wettest parts of northern Morocco. The extreme polymorphism of *Quercus faginea*, with its great number of subspecies and races, seems to support this view.

The highest peaks in northern Morocco are clothed with forests of fir and cedar. The former genus is confined to the calcareous mountains east of Shawen. Two species are present: *Abies tazaotana* occurs at elevations of 1,500–1,854 meters on Jbil Tazaot, and *A. pinsapo* appears on Jbil Maggo, Jbil Tisuka, and Jbil Leshab, as well as in the mountains near Ronda in southern Spain. This restricted highland distribution again suggests that these species are relicts. On Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab, forests of fir begin at an elevation of 1,600

[a] Estimate of Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 101. For an excellent description of the Mamora forest see A. Métro and Ch. Sauvage, *Flore des végétaux ligneux de la Mamora* (Rabat: Société des Sciences Naturelles et Physiques du Maroc, 1955).

[b] This figure and the estimates of forested surface in later paragraphs are taken from S. Sánchez Cózar, "Montes," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948), pp. 5–25. Earlier estimates appear in E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 meters and persist up to the summits at slightly above 2,000 meters. Fir forests are never pure. Deciduous oaks replace fir in moist canyons, and the maritime pine is found on drier, south-facing slopes. Cedar is scattered through most stands of fir, but is conspicuous only on the highest peaks. There are about 6,000 hectares of fir forest in northern Morocco.

The Atlas cedar (*Cedrus atlantica*) is North Africa's most valuable source of timber.[*] Cedar forests are found in the Rif and the Middle and High Atlas in Morocco, and on some of the highest peaks in Algeria. In northern Morocco cedar forests extend from the calcareous range east of Shawen to the schistose mountains south of Targist. A single isolated stand appears on Jbil Kelti, in the karstic mountains of Bani Hassan. The best forests are found on siliceous soils in the Sanhajan mountains, where the cedar is prominent from an altitude of 1,600 meters to the summits of the highest peaks (pl. 1, *b;* pl. 10, *a*). In the valley of Wad Ouergha some cedars may be seen as low as 1,000 meters, and a small stand of very large trees appears at Tlata Ktama at 1,300 meters. In the High Atlas, cedar forests give way to *Juniperus thurifera* at about 3,700 meters. There is no natural timberline in northern Morocco, but trees are stunted on the highest peaks (pl. 1, *b*). Distortion caused by strong winds is especially evident on the summit of Adrar Tidighin. Stumps a meter in diameter have about a hundred rings, but it is difficult to generalize about the age and size of trees, for edaphic and microclimatic factors are highly varied in mountainous terrain.

In the few areas where cedar forests are undisturbed, closely spaced trees shade out shrubs, and undergrowth consists mainly of ferns (*Pteris apulina*). On steep slopes and on the edge of clearings, cedars are mixed with *Juniperus Oxycedrus* and cork oak or holly oak. When cedar forests are cut or burned, the oaks become dominant. When the latter also are destroyed, forest degenerates to scrub. Badly degraded slopes are covered with scrub oaks (i.e., sprouts from the damaged trunks of holly oak or cork oak), *Genista quadriflora, Cistus laurifolius, Halimium lasiocalycinum, Cytisus megalanthus, Daphne Gnidium,* and *Thymus riatarum.* Where destruction of the forest is accompanied by severe erosion, slopes may be covered only by widely spaced clusters of *Genista* and occasional junipers. In areas of sparse human population, stream channels are lined with *Alnus glutinosa, Salix purpurea, Populus nigra, Crataegus laciniata, Rosa canina, Betula alba,* and *Vitex Agnus-castus.*

The distribution of the Moroccan pines is difficult to explain. Two species are identified in figure 8. The maritime pine (*Pinus pinaster*) is scattered in the Rif highlands from Shawen to the Nkour Valley, and the Aleppo pine (*P. halepensis*) appears in the foothills of the Rif chain and at several places on the Mediterranean coast. There are a few stands of maritime pine in the Sanhajan highlands, all on the Mediterranean versant and all at an elevation of about 1,500

[*] Taxonomists usually distinguish four species of *Cedrus:* the Atlas cedar (*C. atlantica*), the Cyprus cedar (*C. brevifolia*), the cedar of Lebanon and southwestern Turkey (*C. Libani*), and the Himalayan deodar (*C. deodara*). Actually, the distinction among these forms is trivial, and some authors prefer to regard them as geographical variants of a single species. René Marie, in his monumental *Flore de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Lechevalier, 1952), lists the Atlas cedar as *Cedrus libanotica ssp. atlantica.* The best general description of the ecology of the several "species" is Louis Emberger's "Contribution à la connaissance des Cèdres," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale,* 18 (1938), 77–92.

(113)

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 meters. Near Izagan the maritime pine appears to have colonized areas previously occupied by the cedar.

On the lower slopes of Jbil Leshab a dense cluster of Aleppo pine has been preserved on the site of a cemetery. In this area it is probable that *Pinus halepensis* once occupied an intermediate position, above forests of cork oak but below the zone occupied by cedar and fir. Another small stand of Aleppo pine, consisting of a few hundred trees, is visible from the Tetuán-Shawen route, a few kilometers north of Arba Bani Hassan. A few pines appear on the dunes between Rincón and Ceuta, and there is a small population on the Ceuta promontory. Aleppo pines appear also at Cape Malabata, opposite Tangier, and a few are scattered in the foothills between Wad Lao and Puerto Capaz. In the drier sector of northern Morocco the Aleppo pine is found on the Melilla peninsula and in the hills between the Moulouya Valley and Wad Nkour.

This distribution would be a severe challenge to the most imaginative plant geographer. In the areas in which the Aleppo pine grows, precipitation varies from 1,000 mm. to less than 400 mm. The Aleppo pine appears on Recent dunes south of Ceuta, and on consolidated Pliocene dunes north of Melilla. It grows on sandstone in the Tangier area, and on gneiss at the Ceuta promontory. The scattered pines between Wad Lao and Puerto Capaz grow on a variety of soils, weathered from schist and metasediments. Other trees appear on calcareous soils, and an excellent plantation has been established near Nador on andesite and basalt. It may be necessary to describe the Aleppo pine as a relict now in process of expanding. This explanation is tenable. Relict populations may become centers of dispersal if competitive vegetation is destroyed.[28] Fire, browsing, and other processes that discourage oaks and cedar favor the Aleppo pine, which is remarkably xerophytic and will thrive on thin mineral soils.[29]

The Barbary thuya, or sandarac tree (*Callitris articulata* = *Tetraclinis articulata*), is even more xerophytic than the Aleppo pine, but is less tolerant of cold. Apart from a few specimens on Malta, and in Cyrenaica and southern Spain, the thuya is restricted to northwestern Africa.[30] Thuya formations appear in the highlands of Tunisia and over a large part of Oran province in Algeria; but Morocco is the principal domain of this tree. On protected sites, thuyas may grow to a height of ten meters, but in most of the area outlined in figure 8 they are shrubs. In the northern zone their range can be delimited by the 1,000-meter contour and the 400 mm. isohyet. This concentration indicates a preference for mild temperatures and semiaridity. The presence of thuyas in more humid areas is explained by calcareous soils and rain shadows.

It would be hard to find a species better adapted to survive disturbance. The thuya is one of the few resinous trees that will sprout vigorously if damaged

[28] In reference to the cedar forests of the High Atlas, Emberger, in *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 95, remarks that "la dégradation de la végétation dominante actuelle favorise l'extension du Pin d'Alep dans les régions où l'état antérieur de la végétation ne lui permettait pas de prendre pied."

[29] Ruhnholtz-Lordat, *op. cit.*, p. 121, cited in note 22: "Autour de la région méditerranéenne, on assiste depuis longtemps au mécanisme de la régression de la sylve originelle. C'est le Pin d'Alep qui y joue le rôle le plus important dans les paysages de substitution en raison de son aptitude à coloniser les terres dénudées, cultures abandonées, terrains incendiés."

[30] Not to be confused with the genus *Thuja* (arborvitae), another member of the cypress family.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 by cutting, browsing, or fire. This ability explains the presence of scrub thuya in deforested areas. But it grows slowly and is sensitive to disturbance in its early years. In the area delimited on the map, thuyas are widely scattered and for the most part badly mutilated. Large formations have been completely [313] destroyed. More than half of the houses in the eastern part of the Rif have [314] rafters of thuya, which is used, wherever it grows, as a source of charcoal. The [322] Barbary thuya has been used for centuries in making cabinets and other furniture, and was esteemed by the Romans for roofing temples.[a] Damaged trunks sometimes develop giant burls, which have been used since classical time as table [314] tops. A hard resin, sandarac, exudes from the trunks, and a modest quantity [439] of it is shipped to Britain, where it is used in the manufacture of varnish.[b]

[a] Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI. 231, XXXIII, 146.

[113] [b] W. Dallimore and A. Bruce Jackson, *A Handbook of Coniferae* (London: Edward Arnold, 1948), p. 610.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER III

CULTURE HISTORY PRIOR TO EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

FOR THE POPULATIONS and civilizations that reached it, Morocco was a cul-de-sac. Every movement came up against the Atlantic barrier and was retarded by the hostile environment of the Sahara. During the Pleistocene epoch and, indeed, during the first millennia of Recent geologic time, Morocco was a redoubt in which outmoded ways of life perfected themselves in isolation. The descendants of the Neolithic farmers remained dependent on stone tools three thousand years after the Egyptians, at the other end of the Mediterranean, had begun to use metal. Basically, the Stone Age cultures still persist, in spite of Phoenician, Roman, Arab, and European influence.

The historic accounts of the Canary Islands are of special interest. When the Norman and Spanish conquerors reached the Canaries a few generations before the discovery of America, the islanders spoke a Berber dialect and still retained their Neolithic culture. They used stone tools, and fashioned implements from wood, horn, and shell. They produced crude and underfired pottery in the Neolithic style, and their textiles were plaited matting and basketry. Their clothing was of cured goatskin, and their houses were made of stone, pine timbers, and earth. They raised pigs, dogs, sheep, and goats, and grew barley and wheat. They knew how to preserve meat by drying and milk by making cheese. Add metal, weaving, and the crops and animals introduced from southwestern Asia and the Americas, and this outline of material culture is little different from that of an isolated Moroccan village of today.[1]

THE PROBLEM OF CLIMATIC CHANGE

A mass of circumstantial evidence suggests that Barbary has become drier since the time of the Roman occupation. The impressive ruins of Thamugadi (Timgad) and the great amphitheater of Thysdrus (el-Jem) now stand on desolate plains. The ancient seaports of Leptis Magna and Sabratha were found buried under an immense drift of sand. Mosaics and historical records tell of the presence in Roman Africa of elephants, lions, and other wild animals now confined to the tropical zone. Further examples of change presumed to be a result of desiccation could be cited, but these suffice to illustrate the type of evidence that impresses the traveler.

It cannot be denied that the landscape of northern Africa has changed since classical time, but the thesis of a climatic explanation of this change is difficult to defend. Most of the evident deterioration can be traced to neglect or destruction by man. Aqueducts, dams, and cisterns made possible the building of the now dead cities. With the collapse of the Pax Romana, marginal land dependent on irrigation went out of cultivation. Burning, cutting, and overgrazing

[1] Leonardo Torriani, *Die kanarischen Inseln und ihre Urbewohner;* trans. from the MS of 1590 by D. J. Wölfel (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1940), Vol. VI of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde.* C. S. Coon, in *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1951), pp. 36–40, calls attention to the Canary Islanders as "Berbers" unaffected by foreign influence.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[5]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[6] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[7]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[8] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

[5] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[6] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[7] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[8] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

102
197
648
131

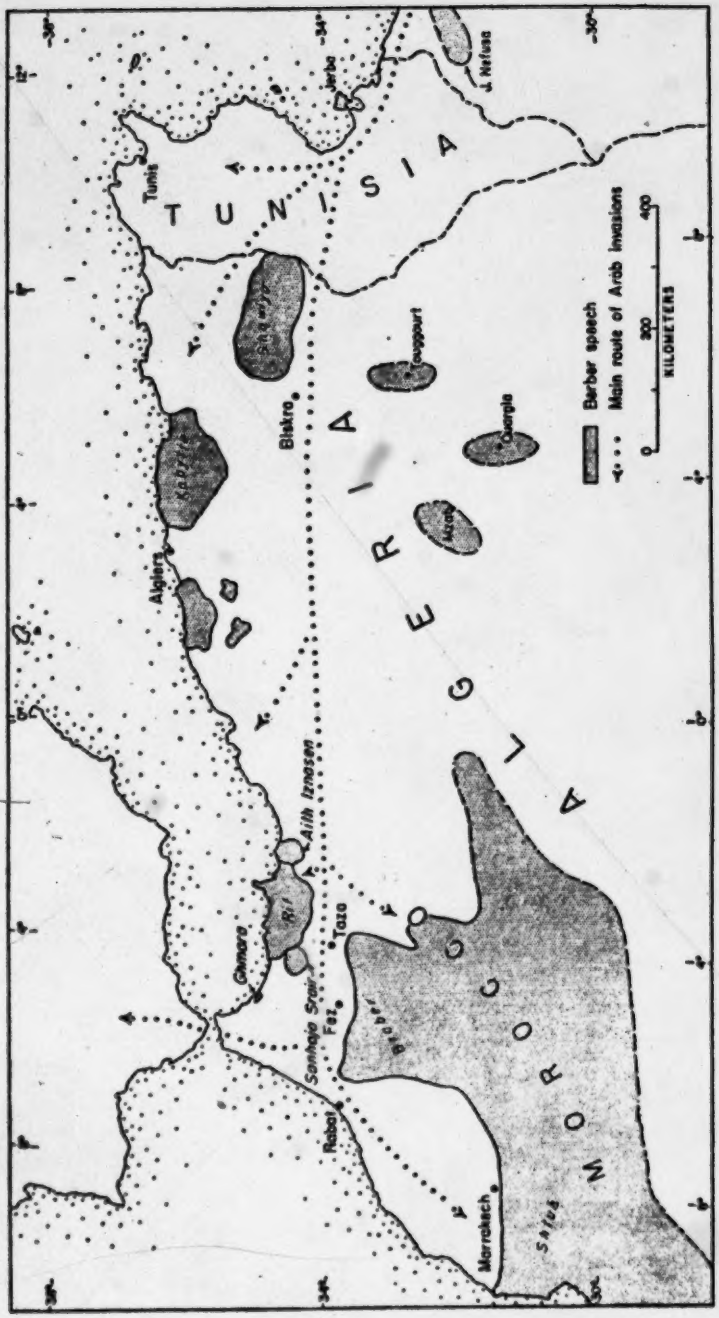


Fig. 9. North Africa: distribution of Berber speech.

/p. 34/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

thetic to Moroccan or "Arab" nationalism, refer to a "Berber myth" and refuse to recognize any ethnic division in the country.[8] The *politique berbère* may have had its faults, but this fact does not mean that we should rewrite Moroccan history.

Berber dialects are still spoken by six to seven million people, including about 45 per cent of the population in Morocco, about 30 per cent in Algeria, and about 2 per cent in Tunisia.[9] Berber dialects are spoken also in the Jabal Nefusa and the Siwa oasis in Libya,[10] and on the southern fringe of the Sahara. The Berber language once extended to the Canary Islands.

The Berber-speaking peoples of northern Africa are now concentrated in five groups: Rifians, Braber, Shluh, Kabylies, and Shawiya (fig. 9). They are chiefly mountaineers, and all but the Braber, who practice transhumance, are sedentary farmers. The other groups include the Ghmara, who are almost completely Arabized, the tribesmen of Sanhaja as-Srair, a small colony on the island of Jerba, the Tuareg of the central and southern Sahara, and the inhabitants of the oases of Mzab, Touggourt, Ouargla, Ghardaia, Figuig, Gourara, and Touat.[11]

The original home of the Berber language is unknown, but scholars believe that it is most nearly related to Ancient Egyptian, Cushite, and certain of the Chad languages, which are traditionally but perhaps improperly called Hamitic.[12] This relationship reinforces the theory advanced by archaeologists that the Neolithic of northern Africa shows Egyptian influence.[13] In spite of a bewildering number of dialects, which is normal for an ancient language without literature, Berber can be divided into three groups: Masmuda, Sanhaja, and Zenata.[14] Masmuda was the language of the majority of the sedentary farmers before the Arab invasion. The Shluh and the Ghmara speak it today; Rifian is thought to be a mixed form. The Sanhajan dialect was the speech of the transhumants and nomads. It is now spoken in northern Morocco (Sanhaja as-Srair), in the Middle Atlas, and by the Kabylies, Shawiya, and Tuareg. Zenatiya, formerly confined to the high plateaus of Algeria and the Oujda region, has spread to many of the Saharan oases, including distant Siwa. Because of natural population growth the number of Berber speakers has increased, but the area of Berber speech has lost ground to Arabic. In fact, since the Muslim conquest Berber has gained ground only in Negro Africa, where some tribes in the Niger Territory and the French Sudan have adopted the Tuareg dialect. Without fixed grammar or an effective system of writing, Berber could not compete with the language of the Prophet.[15]

[8] Marvine Howe, "The Birth of the Moroccan Nation," *Middle East Jour.*, 10 (1956), 1–16.

[9] G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France [collection "Que Sais-Je?"], 1957), pp. 16 ff.

[10] Louis Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," *Middle East Jour.*, 12 (1958), 33–44.

[11] On the distribution of Berber speech, see also André Basset, *La langue berbère* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

[12] J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Co., 1955). First published in *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 5, 6, 10 (1949–1954).

[13] Egyptian influence on north African rock art is examined in Raymond Vaufrey, "L'art rupestre nord-africain," *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine*, Mémoire 20 (1939). The most striking evidence of direct influence is the presence in Algeria of rock drawings of rams wearing the solar disk associated with the worship of Re. When worn by the ram, which was sacred to Amon of Thebes, it indicates Amon-Re, the composite god of Egypt during the New Kingdom (1600–1100 B.C.).

[14] These are the major genealogical divisions of Ibn Khaldun. Strictly speaking, it is not correct to use this division in linguistic classification.

[15] The only system of writing at the time of the Arab conquest was the Libyco-Berber alphabet used in rock art. This alphabet was probably developed from ideas borrowed from the Phoeni-

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[11] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[12]

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[13] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency.[14] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family.[15] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[11] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[12] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Boknandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[13] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[14] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[15] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[113]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[113] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[114] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 established at Rusaddir (Melilla), Tingi (Tangier), and one or more intermediate points, but the regular chain of trading stations did not extend west of Cartennae (Ténès).[104] The strong strategic position of Carthage and the comparable one of Gades enabled the Carthaginians, who were uncompromisingly intolerant of interlopers, to prevent any interference with their trade by foreigners. There was no need to occupy a continuous stretch of the north African coast.

Active interest in the Atlantic coast of Morocco seems to have been delayed until after Tartessos had been destroyed and the Carthaginians had gained control of the Spanish silver mines. Even then the commercial importance of Carthage continued to be based upon its privileged situation at the contact of the two Mediterranean basins. The evidence, both historical and archaeological, suggests that Punic merchants did not develop a serious interest in the open sea until after the commercial possibilities of Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, and western Iberia had been thoroughly explored.[105] In classical time, Mare Altum was thought to be a domain of "demons, eerie darkness, mudflats, and immense fields of seaweed" from which no ship could free itself. But, as Paul Hermann suggests, these tales may have been deliberately spread by the various powers in control of the Strait to discourage competition.[106]

The periplus of the Carthaginian admiral Hanno, who between 475 and 450 B.C. led an expedition of discovery and colonization to the Atlantic coast of Africa, still gives rise to long arguments.[107] It is not necessary to review the arguments for and against the notion that he sailed as far as the Gulf of Guinea. The important point is that this expedition was commissioned to found colonies on the Moroccan coast. Six colonies are named in the periplus, but no two scholars agree on their location. Punic remains have been unearthed only at Tingi (Tangier), at Lixus (near Larache), and on a rocky islet off Mogador,[108] but other settlements are mentioned in inscriptions or on coins.

Carthage itself rapidly became a great metropolis, but the Carthaginian land empire was never large. In the third century B.C. it seems to have included nearly all northern Tunisia but very little of Algeria, apart from a narrow zone along the coast. Much of eastern Algeria became Punic in language and culture, but the more remote trading stations were separated by large areas under barbarian control. "The power of Carthage," as Miss Semple suggests, "was based on its overseas trade and the land beneath its feet, not on the big continent at its back."[109]

The Carthaginians were so successful in concealing their secrets that we can draw only tentative inferences about the nature of their trade. It is likely that

175 [104] Ch.-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord* (2d ed., Paris: Payot, 1956), I, 65, and fig. 4.
[105] On the chronology of Phoenician expansion, see Rhys Carpenter, "Phoenicians in the West," *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, 62 (1958), 35–53.
113 [106] Paul Hermann, *Conquest by Man* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1954), p. 36. The Carthaginians sought to prevent other powers from gaining access to the tin of Cornwall and Brittany. The exclusion of the Greeks and Romans from the coastal waters of the western Mediterranean is reflected also in the paucity of information given by the classical authors about the African trade.
[107] For an English translation of the periplus, see B. H. Warmington, *Carthage* (London: Robert Hale, 1960), pp. 62–64.
[108] For discussion of the probable range of Punic settlement in Morocco see Pierre Cintas, *Contribution à l'étude de l'expansion carthaginoise au Maroc* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1954).
[109] E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), p. 141.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

most of the Punic trade was of an entrepot nature, with goods carried from one country to another or raw materials exchanged for finished products. The Carthaginians were not dependent on Africa itself for the support of their trade. Indeed, the Berber tribes of the littoral were probably too primitive to be able to make any great contribution to it. Wool, skins, timber, purple dye, ivory, and ostrich feathers were the principal local products that found their way into foreign ports. It is not known whether the Carthaginians imported gold or slaves from across the Sahara, but it is reasonable to suppose that Hanno's expedition was intended to establish an easier route for such a trade.[a]

It follows that cultural changes during this period should be described largely in terms of diffusion or drift, not as a direct exchange. The Carthaginian merchants carried not only the objects of their trade but also customs and techniques, ideas and beliefs. Elements of Punic culture, both material and nonmaterial, seem to have spread far beyond the coastal towns. Some of these innovations were obscured in later centuries by Roman and Arab influence, but a Punic substratum can still be discerned in Berber culture.

When the first Thalassic traders reached Barbary, the native peoples were growing barley and wheat, and used all the domestic animals (except the dromedary) now found in the area. The vine, pomegranate, almond, walnut, and olive may have been introduced to Barbary by the Phoenicians. Each of these trees is grown by cuttings, a technique previously unknown in northern Africa. A pre-Roman introduction of the oleaster is a necessary part of the thesis that this tree is not really a wild race, for in Roman time a clear distinction was made between cultivated and "wild" trees. As a result of all or part of these introductions, northern Africa began to shift from cereal farming and transhumance to a Thalassic agriculture of terraced orchards and gardens. Barley and wheat remained the staples, but the diet probably came to include a greater variety of vegetables and salad plants. The Carthaginians may have introduced refinements of irrigation technique also.

Another result of Punic influence is that tools tipped with iron replaced implements of wood, stone, and bronze.[b] Although evidence is lacking, it may be presumed that stone architecture was adopted in some areas in place of cruder construction with mud bricks, straw, and hides. The family crafts of the Berbers probably were not greatly altered, for the Carthaginians were indifferent craftsmen, and in northern Africa even today there is an almost complete separation between the arts of the countryside and those of the towns. But the rural tribesmen must have had ample opportunity to observe and test new ideas and new techniques. In each tribe there would have been several men who had served the Carthaginians as mercenary soldiers, and many tribal areas were attached, at least partly, to native kingdoms that were under Punic control. Evidence of Punic influence has been recovered at several Roman sites. At Lixus, some megalithic tombs, anterior to the Roman tradition, are clearly Punic. Subterranean tombs

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 41]

[a] For discussion of this possibility see E. W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 22 ff.

[b] It used to be said that northern Africa moved from the Stone Age to the Iron Age without passing through an intermediate era of bronze. It is now known that bronze implements were used in many parts of Barbary at the time of the Phoenician invasion. G. Camps, "Les traces d'un âge du bronze en Afrique du Nord," *Rev. Africaine*, 104 (1960), 31–55.

102
175

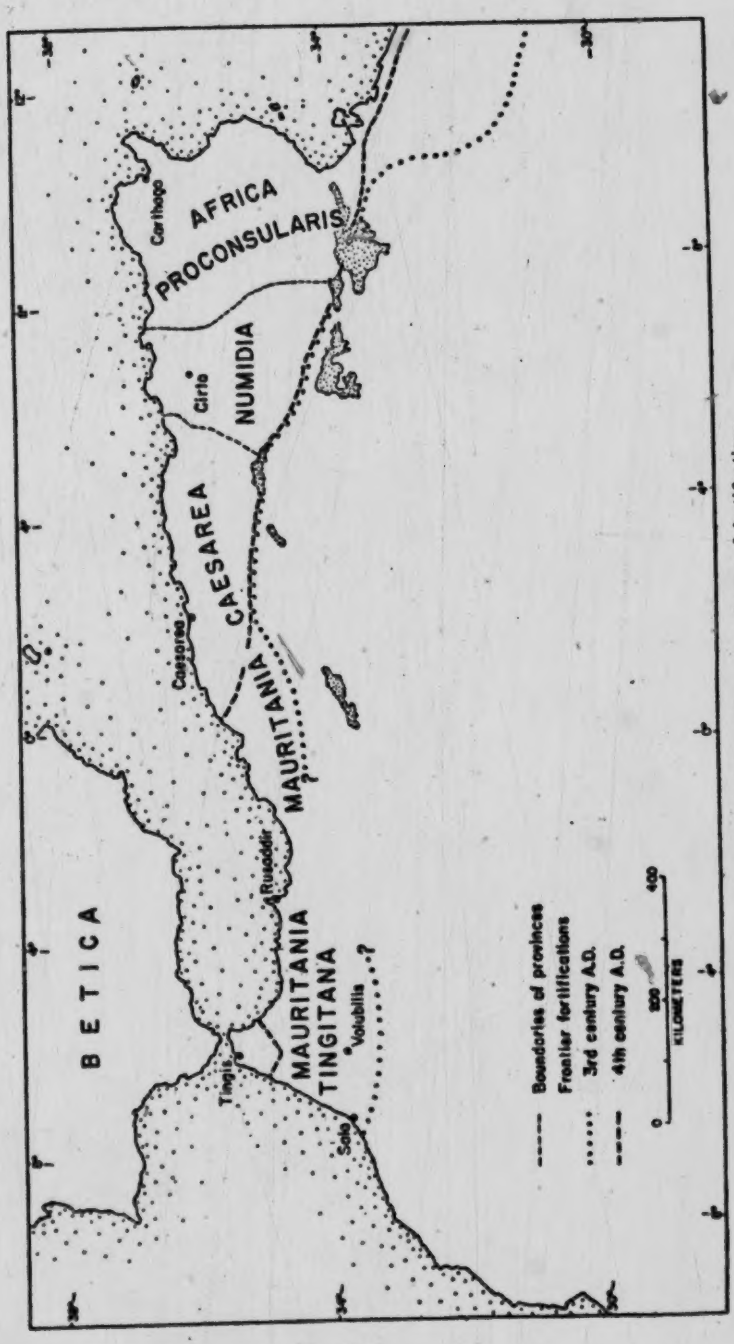


Fig. 10. North Africa: Roman provinces and fortifications.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

102
175

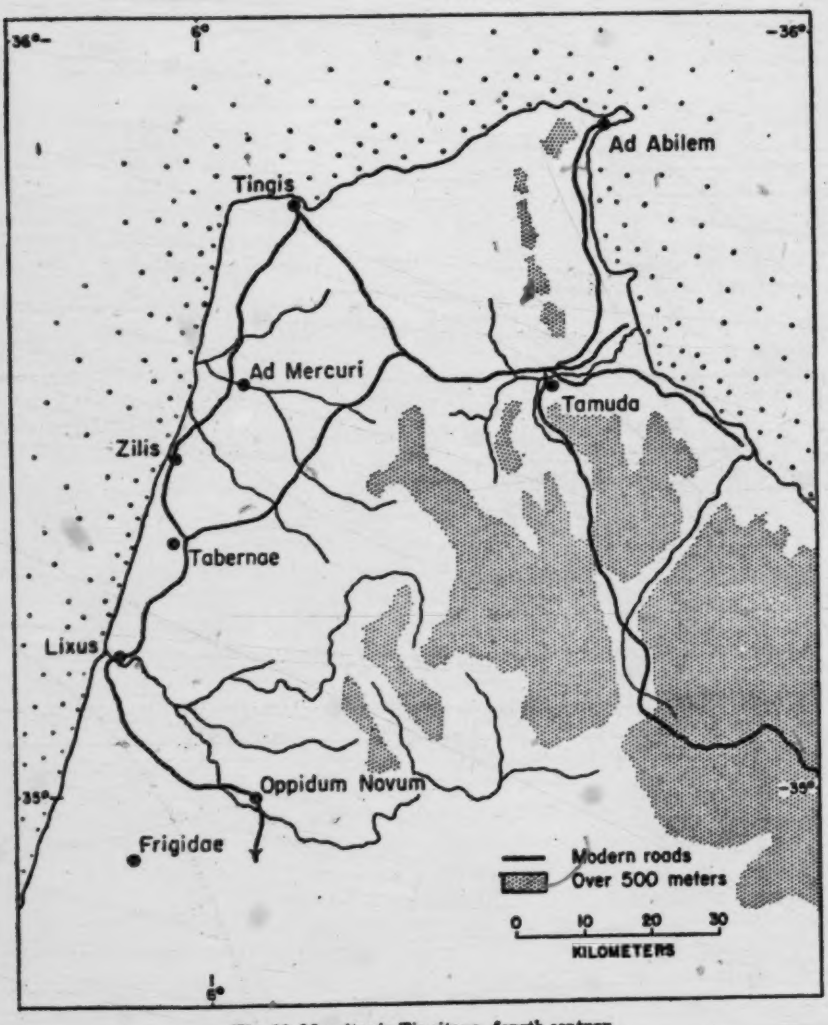


Fig. 11. Mauritania Tingitana, fourth century.

175 of the same tradition have been discovered at Taza, and neo-Punic inscriptions appear at several sites. Indeed, at Volubilis the two officials who were in charge of the municipal government at the time of Roman annexation had the Carthaginian title of *suffete* (magistrate).[28]

The effect of Carthaginian influence was to draw northern Africa into the Mediterranean world. Morocco was the last area to be attracted, and the impact of

[28] For other examples of neo-Punic influence in Roman times see Terrasse, *op. cit.*, I, 47, cited in note 20.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 Punic civilization was certainly stronger in the littoral zone than in the highlands. Nevertheless, the pattern of life must have changed, even in the more remote areas, between the time of Hanno's voyage and the arrival of the Romans.

After the third Punic war, which ended in 146 B.C., the area directly controlled by Carthage became a Roman province, the Provincia Africa. Long experience in administering conquered territories had taught the Romans that it is difficult to control an expanding frontier. They resolved, therefore, to restrict their occupation to Carthage and its hinterland.[111] At first this resolution was accepted, but in time the hostility of the native tribes and the ambition of the Roman commanders led to wider conquest. Numidia, roughly eastern Algeria, was occupied in 45 B.C., and in A.D. 46 the Emperor Claudius created two new provinces, known as Mauritania Caesariensis and Mauritania Tingitana from their capitals Caesarea (Cherchell) and Tingis (Tangier). With these annexations the whole of the north African littoral came under Roman rule.

The extent of Roman control can be roughly delimited by the remains of an elaborate system of frontier defenses (fig. 10). The word for such a system—*limes*—de[illegible]d not only material barriers but also forts, camps, and roads behind the line and outposts and watchtowers in advance of it.[112] This system of defense in depth was designed to delay attackers until reserves could be brought to the frontier zone. In Tunisia and eastern Algeria the defensive system was intended to prevent raids by nomads from the pre-Saharan zone—a problem the Romans helped to create by introducing the dromedary.[113] In Mauritania and the western sector of Numidia the system was apparently designed to protect the fertile plains from attacks by the unsubdued mountain tribes. Responsibility for the defense of much of the frontier was relegated to retired legionaries or peasant soldiers (*limitanei*), who established semimilitary colonies, comparable to the *kibbutzim* of modern Israel. When they were first organized, most of the *limitanei* were probably recruited from troops already on the frontier. Later, land was given to Latinized barbarians.[114]

In Tingitana at the end of the second century, the fortified frontier started on the Atlantic coast, a few kilometers south of Rabat, and then continued eastward between the Rif chain and the Middle Atlas. The easternmost outpost yet discovered is at Bou Hellou, between Fez and Taza. Although archaeological evidence is lacking, there is reason to believe that Tingitana and Mauritania Caesariensis were linked by a military road.

The part of Morocco directly controlled by the Romans was a triangular area bounded by Tingis and Ad Abilem (Ceuta) on the north and by Sala (Rabat)

[111] As Terrasse notes, *ibid.*, p. 48, "Rome ne s'était installée en Afrique que pour garder la tombe de Carthage."

[112] *Limes* means the whole defensive system, while *fossatum* refers to an artificial barrier consisting of a ditch and wall. Only slight traces of the *fossatum* were known until recently. These were on the frontier of Tingitana near Fez and to the southwest of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria. Air photography has revealed other sections of considerable length. J. Baradez, *Fossatum Africae: vue aérienne de l'organisation romaine dans le sud-algérien* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1949). [113]

[113] For evidence of the probable date of this introduction, see M. W. Mikesell, "Notes on the Dispersal of the Dromedary," *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 11 (1955), 231–245, reprinted in *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire*, Série A, 18 (1956), 895–912. [113]

[114] B. H. Warmington, *The North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954). [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 and some point near Fez on the south. After the reform of Diocletian in A.D. 285, Tingitana was attached to the diocese of Betica. This transfer doubtless was made because of the difficulty of communication between Tingitana and the rest of Roman Africa. The road going westward from Carthage ended at Caesarea, where the traveler desirous of proceeding farther was forced to put to sea; and he could find no road nearer than Tingis or Ad Abilem, the points of debarkation.[34]

From the standpoint of political geography, the main function of Tingitana was to guard the southern flank of Betica. Volubilis was a city of impressive size, and there must have been extensive colonization in the fertile plains of the Gharb. Nevertheless, when it was no longer easy to control the southern base of the triangle, Volubilis was abandoned, and the southern boundary of Tingitana was withdrawn to the line of Wad Lukkus and Wad Lao. This withdrawal, effected toward the end of the third century, reduced Tingitana to one-tenth of its original size.[35]

The part of Morocco that remained under Roman control consisted of little more than the coast opposite Gibraltar and a small part of the Atlantic lowland (fig. 10). The principal settlements were confined to the plains and terraces of the littoral zone. There is no evidence as yet of Roman towns or outposts in the highlands, although there may have been scattered colonies on the Rifian coast.[36] In northern Morocco the number of suitable urban sites was and is limited. Tingis, Ad Abilem, Zilis, and Oppidum Novum occupied the same sites as the modern towns of Tangier, Ceuta, Arcila, and Ksar al-Kebir. Tamuda and Lixus were only a few kilometers from modern Tetuán and Larache. The close relationship of ancient and contemporary patterns is revealed also by the alignment of Roman settlements along the routes of the modern roads (fig. 11).

The principal functions of the Roman towns probably were similar to those of their modern counterparts. Tingis and Ad Abilem were the great ports of Tingitana and the termini of the roads. Tamuda was a focus of land transportation and the head of navigation for the Río Martín.[37] Lixus, at the mouth of Wad Lukkus, must have enjoyed a lively trade, for a long stretch of this river was still navigable in the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese arrived.[38] Ad Mercuri, Zilis, Tabernae, and Oppidum Novum served as military posts on the road from Tingis to Sala and Volubilis. There is archaeological evidence of other posts on the roads from Tingis to Tamuda and Ad Abilem.[39]

Most of the highland zone was evidently beyond the limits of effective Roman control; the colonies on the Mediterranean coast, with the possible exception of Rusaddir, functioned as ports of call and not as trading outlets for the interior.

175 [34] Raymond Roget, *Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1924), p. 39.
113 [35] The causes and consequences of this change are described by Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, pp. 70 ff.; and M. Tarradell, "La crisis del siglo III de J. C. en Marruecos," *Tamuda*, 3 (1955), 75–105.

[36] For the names of settlements as yet undiscovered, see P. César Morán and G. Guastavino Gallent, *Vías y poblaciones romanas en el norte de Marruecos* (Madrid: Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos, 1948).

[37] For further information on Tamuda, see M. Tarradell, "Las excavaciones de Tamuda de 1949 a 1955," *Tamuda*, 4 (1956), 71–85.

[38] T. García Figueras, *Expedición de los Portugueses al Río de Larache y fundación de la fortaleza de "La Graciosa" en el Lukus* (Larache: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe, 1941).

[39] For a preliminary report of the excavation of one such post, see M. Tarradell, "El Benian: Castellum Romano entre Tetuán y Tanger," *Tamuda*, 1 (1953), 302–309.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 Roman territorial organization seems to have been strikingly similar to the pattern of European occupation during the protectorates. Roman influence, like Spanish influence, must have been considerable in the lowlands, but it is unlikely that many of the mountain tribes were subdued. In Roman time, as in recent years, the principal agents of cultural change would have been tribesmen who had served as mercenary soldiers.

The Roman occupation probably did not have an important influence on the racial composition of the Moroccan tribes. There was no large immigration from Italy during the period of conquest, and after the new provinces were occupied a large part of the Roman army was recruited locally. Even in the cities of Proconsular Africa, where Roman influence was strongest, many names found on inscriptions are merely Latin translations of Berber names.[a] Native preponderance in Numidia and Mauritania, where the cities were fewer in number and the proportion of Italian immigrants smaller, must have been even greater. In Roman time, as today, the Rif and Atlas mountains were the areas least affected by foreign influence. Yet it must be remembered that cultural change does not depend on face-to-face relationships. Roman goods and ideas penetrated far beyond the imperial frontiers.[b] The extent of Roman influence in northern Africa is illustrated by the presence of coins and implements of the second and third centuries at the tomb of the Tuareg queen Tin Hanan in the heart of the Sahara.[c] The Romans' concept of defense in depth and their willingness to recruit barbarians facilitated acculturation.

If it is reasonable to suggest that the basic patterns of cereal farming and pastoral life are anterior to Punic influence, and that horticulture was introduced by the Carthaginians, few agricultural innovations can be ascribed to the Romans. Perhaps their greatest contribution was the perfection of dry farming and irrigation. But most of the crops cultivated by the Romans were already known in northern Africa, and it is safe to infer that the date palm was cultivated in that region before the Romans arrived.[d] The Romans probably introduced the dromedary, but the first camels may not have reached northern Morocco until after the Arab invasions.

Roman contributions in metallurgy, architecture, and urban planning are more readily discerned. The *qsar* of the oases, according to Terrasse, retains the outline and often the orientation of the Roman *castrum*, and the *tighremt* with its four towers is nothing but a *castellum* transposed into Berber architecture.[e] The general aspect of the fortified hamlets in southern Morocco suggests Egyptian or east African influence, but Terrasse is probably correct when he assumes that many of the details of the *qsar* represent ancient attempts to emulate Roman style.

It is not known when Christianity came to Morocco, but this faith apparently

175 113

[a] For evidence in support of this point, see Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, pp. 69–75, cited in note 33.

[b] For evidence of the extent of Roman penetration, see Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (Harmondsworth and Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955).

[c] E. F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[d] This inference is supported by Herodotus' reference (*History*, IV, 183) to "palms of the fruitful kind" in the Fezzan.

[e] Terrasse, *op. cit.*, I, 70 ff., cited in note 20

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 persisted long after the termination of Roman control. At Volubilis, epitaphs dated A.D. 599, 605, and 655 prove the survival of Latin and Christian order up to the eve of the Muslim invasion.[a] The extent of Christian expansion beyond the *limes* is difficult to trace, but the rapid expansion of Islam, which raced ahead of most of the Arab innovations, suggests that Christianity may have spread beyond the Roman military and economic frontiers. Arabic writers point to the presence in the eighth century of a Christian community at the foot of the High Atlas,[b] and several tribes in the mountains of northern Morocco still retain notions of Christian ancestry.[c] Most of the Berber tribes still use the Julian almanac, and the Latin names for the months have passed with but slight changes into the Berber tongues; these facts suggest Christian influence, for the association of religion and agriculture is a fundamental aspect of Berber culture. Unconsciously, Moroccans still associate Christianity with Rome, for in Maghribi Arabic the term usually applied to an infidel is "Roumi" (Roman).

In A.D. 429 what was left of Roman authority in northern Africa was challenged by the Vandals. The route of their invasion is unknown. Procopius says only that they "crossed the strait at Gadira (Cádiz) and came to Libya."[d] Some scholars believe that the army was transferred by sea as far as the site of modern Algiers;[e] others trace the invasion through the Taza corridor.[f] In any event, a year after their departure from Spain the Vandals were besieging Hippone (Bone), and within ten years they were masters of Carthage. Once victorious, the Vandals limited their activity to Proconsular Africa, roughly northern Tunisia. Except for occasional contacts during the conquest, it is unlikely that they exerted any influence on the Berber tribes. As Coon remarks, "the popular theory of a Vandal origin of blondism in north Africa is historically unsupportable."[g]

In A.D. 533 a Byzantine army landed on the Syrtic coast. It soon disposed of the Vandals, and within three months the Byzantine commander reported that Africa was "Roman" again. Tangier and Ceuta became Byzantine outposts, but their only function was to guard the Strait of Gibraltar. Little is known of Moroccan history during the half century that remained before the beginning of the Arab invasion. During this interval the Visigoths crossed over from Spain and took possession of Ceuta and part of Ghmara, but their influence probably did not extend beyond the coast.[h]

Arabization

Forays into Cyrenaica and Tripolitania followed soon after the Muslim conquest of Egypt in 640. The conquest of Barbary began thirty years later when Uqbah ibn-Nafi invaded Tunisia, founded Qayrawan, and undertook an expedition toward the west. This expedition had no durable result. Later, when the Byzantines had

175 113

[a] The evidence of Christian survival is examined in Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, pp. 76 ff.

[b] Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, I, 64.

[c] This tradition seems to be especially strong among the tribes of Sanhaja as-Srair. See Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 16 ff., cited in note 4.

[d] Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, III, 3.

[e] B. J. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A. D. 461* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), III, 344.

[f] C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1955).

[g] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 26.

[h] Ibn Khaldun comments on the Visigoths, but does not mention the Vandals.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 been eliminated, Berber resistance was broken, and Musa ibn-Nusayr was able, from 703 to 711, to resume the conquest. In Morocco he followed the route of Uqbah, through the Taza corridor, and eventually the Atlantic plains were brought under Umayyad rule. But the progress of Islam was slow. At the end of the eighth century, Christians still lived on the plains, and pagans controlled the highlands.[1]

It is useful to think of Arabization as a process carried forward in three overlapping stages. The first stage was the initial contact between the Arab invaders and the native Christians and pagans. The second stage began with the arrival of Arab bedawin in the eleventh century. During the third stage, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, Arabization was accelerated by the arrival of Andalusian refugees.

It is unlikely that the first Arabs had much contact with the rural tribes. The men who marched with Uqbah and Musa were soldiers, explorers, and missionaries, not rural colonists looking for new land. Arabic triumphed in each administrative center, but the towns of Morocco remained islands of Arabic language and foreign civilization in a sea of Berber tribes.[2]

The early restriction of Arabic to the cities is not hard to explain. Between city and country in Morocco there is a chasm without counterpart in the Western world. The Moroccan towns did not grow gradually from small beginnings; they were built by decree. The tribesmen living around such artificial creations could not regard them with any feeling of pride. The new cities, like the Roman settlements, reminded them of the master or even of the foe.[3] Prior to the European occupation, all cities were protected by high walls and gates that were closed at night. After the bedawin invasions, Arab tribes were sometimes given land and pasture around the larger cities, with the intention that they would form a defensive ring.[4]

If the cities of northern Africa had remained the only centers of diffusion for Arabic, it probably would not have diffused at all. The most effective teachers were the bedawin, who began to move into northern Africa in the seventh century. This movement was headed by the Bani Hillal and Bani Soleim, who had been ejected from the Syrian desert for plundering pilgrim caravans. About 1050 the caliphs in Cairo, enraged at the disobedience of the Sanhajan emirs in Qayrawan, sought to chastise their rebel vassals by launching the bedawin against them. After having conquered southern Tunisia, these rough and illiterate nomads passed through the Saharan Atlas, spread over the Algerian plateaus, and entered Morocco through the Taza corridor. By the end of the fourteenth century they were camped on the Atlantic littoral.[5]

The bedawin differed profoundly from the aristocratic adventurers who had conquered the country three centuries earlier. They had no desire to propagate religion or to found cities; their task was to find new pastures for their flocks

175 113

[1] W. Marçais, "Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée," *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, 4 (1938), 1–32; "L'arabisation des campagnes," *ibid*, 14 (1956), 5–17.

[2] Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale* (2d ed., Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925–1934), I, *passim*.

[3] E.-F. Gautier, "Native Life in French North Africa," *Geog. Rev.*, 13 (1923), 27–39.

[4] Robert Montagne, *La Civilisation du désert: nomades d'Orient et d'Afrique* (Paris: Hachette, 1947), pp. 262–264.

[5] For a detailed study of their migrations, see G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIe au XIVe siècle* (Paris: Leroux, 1913).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 and new camping grounds. They were numerous enough to compete with the plains-dwelling Berbers for their land, but as bedawin they were unable to dislodge or greatly influence the mountain tribes.

Wherever pastoral Arabs and sedentary Berbers came together, the economic conflict was accompanied by a clash of agrarian democracy with the authoritarian order of pastoral society. The importance of this conflict is suggested by the fact that Arab dialects are confined, even today, to lowland or plateau areas well suited to urbanization and pastoral life. In the highland zones, particularly in the irrigable areas, Berber society was not seriously disturbed. The only important exception to this generalization is the Jbalan sector of northern Morocco, which is well adapted to sedentary life but nevertheless was Arabized at an early date. It must be remembered that Jbala is a passageway between Morocco and Spain, and that many of the troops that took part in the Spanish campaigns were recruited there.[a]

The coincidence of Arabic speech and gentle relief should not be viewed as a simple relation of cause and effect. The plains were better suited to bedawin life, and the bedawin were chiefly responsible for the spread of Arabic speech. During most of Moroccan history the areas of gentle relief coincided with the effective limit of the central government (*bilad al-makhzen*). In many areas the advance of governmental control and Qur'anic law favored the adoption of Arabic speech. In contrast, the rugged terrain of the Moroccan mountains helped to maintain Berber independence.

Some writers have asserted that the Berber-speaking tribes were *driven* to the highlands, and that the dominance of Arabic in the lowlands represents displacement rather than assimilation.[b] From the time of Uqbah and Musa, the Arabians in the army of conquest and among the colonists must have been comparatively few, limited to those in command and in high office. The number of women accompanying the army and the first immigrants was necessarily small. Disease and fighting took their toll. After the fourth generation the Arabian "blood" would have been greatly diluted by intermarriage with native women. Many if not most of the troops that took part in the Spanish campaigns were Berbers from Jbala, Ghmara, and the Rif. In the opinion of one scholar, the veins of the Caliph Abd al-Rahman III (912–961) contained less than a hundredth part of Arabian blood.[c]

The bedawin were more numerous than the first invaders, and moved with their families, but Gautier thinks that they could hardly have numbered more than 200,000, probably less than 2 per cent of the population of northern Africa at that time.[d] After centuries of mingling with Berbers in Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria, it is doubtful that the bedawin who reached the Moroccan coastal plains retained more than a nominal amount of Arab blood. Montagne believes that no more than 10 per cent of the Moroccan population can claim to be of Arabian

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49)

175 113

[a] On the Arabization of Jbala, see also A. Bernard and P. Mousard, "Arabophones et berbérophones au Maroc," *Annales de Géographie*, 33 (1924), 267–282.

[b] Cf. Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," p. 33, cited in note 8: "The once-powerful Berbers of North Africa are now principally a marginal, conservative people living in mountain refuge areas, driven there by successive waves of Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans."

[c] J. Ribera y Tarragó, *Disertaciones y opúsculos* (Madrid: Imprenta de E. Maestre, 1928), I, 12–35, 109–112.

[d] E.-F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs* (Paris: Payot, 1952), p. 429.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

SRSN
102
197
619

Fig. 12. Northern Morocco: distribution of Arabic and Berber speech.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

descent." The Andalusian Muslims could hardly have displaced any large group of Berbers, for they settled, almost to a man, in cities and towns. It is reasonable to conclude that the Moroccan highlands remained Berber not because they were a place of retreat but because the drift of Arab influence went around the mountains rather than through or over them. The horticultural skills of the highland Berbers and their intricate social organization suggest stability, not the culture of a refugee population driven to new and unfamiliar environments."

The Christian reconquest of Spain, led by Castile and Aragón, began in 1225. Córdoba fell in 1236, and Sevilla in 1249. Soon Spanish Islam was reduced to the small kingdom of Granada, which had accepted Castile as an overlord. In 1492 Granada itself was taken, and Spanish Islam ceased to exist. Even before the conquest of Granada, many Muslims sought refuge in Morocco. These refugees repeopled most of the Moroccan towns, and provided the Saadians with technical experts and soldiers. Northern Morocco became a center of Andalusian civilization. Some families in Tetuán, Shawen, and Fez still retain keys to their ancestral homes in al-Andalus.

The Andalusian refugees brought a richer and more classical form of Arabic speech. Since most of the immigrants settled in towns, the distinction between urban and rural dialects was intensified. This distinction is still strong. The more elegant city speech is spoken not only in Fez (the great center of Andalusian culture) but also in Rabat-Salé (settled by Andalusians in the seventeenth century) and in Tetuán (most of whose inhabitants came from Ronda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Taza, Ksar al-Kebir, and Azemmour also have somewhat urbanized dialects, while Tangier and Wezzan show the influence of neighoring tribes. Meknès and Marrakech, perhaps the most extreme examples of country speech, are accordingly looked down upon by their bourgeois neighbors. Thus there is, besides the Arab-Berber distinction, a strong contrast even among Moroccans who are Arabized. No one familiar with the sounds and rhythms of Maghribi Arabic could fail to distinguish between the dialect of Old Fez and the quasi-bedawin speech of the rural tribes."

Several of the tribes shown as Berber-speakers in figure 12 are described as Arabophones in previous work. Disagreement arises from the fact that many tribes are bilingual. When questioned about their language preference, many Berbers reply that they speak only Arabic, but if questioned further they will add that their women and children speak Berber, and that boys do not begin to learn Arabic until they are old enough to attend a Qur'anic school. This is the situation among the Aith Seddath, a tribe often described as bilingual or Arabophone." It is important to note whether merchants or the educated members of a tribe use more than one language, but the linguistic attainments of the elite should not be allowed to obscure the basic pattern of domestic speech. The fact that one Rifian in ten speaks some Spanish or Arabic does not mean that the Rif

" Montagne, *La Civilisation du désert*, p. 265, cited in note 56.

" René Raynal, in "Quelques aperçus géographiques sur l'évolution des régions humanes du Maroc," *Hespéris*, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, 39 (1952), 1–16, refers to the Berber mountains as "vieilles régions humaines."

" G. S. Colin, "L'Arabe," in *Initiation au Maroc* (3d ed., Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1943), pp. 208 ff.

" A. Renisio, *Etude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair* (Paris: Leroux, 1932).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

should be described as a bilingual zone. Probably not one Rifian woman in a hundred understands Arabic or Spanish, and few Rifian men speak either language correctly.

In northern Morocco the Berber language is represented by three dialects: Rifian, Sanhajan, and Ghmara. Rifian is by far the most important. It varies somewhat from tribe to tribe, but this variation does not hinder communication. The differences in pronunciation are evident as one moves from the Nkour Valley toward Wad Moulouya, particularly in Ikibdhanen. Rifians can understand the dialect of the Aith Iznasen, but they are obliged to use interpreters when they deal with the Sanhajans. The Ghmaran dialect is nearly extinct. Today it is spoken only in Bani Bu Zra and in a few hamlets of Bani Mansur and Bani Grir. The relationship between Ghmaran and the other dialects is not yet clear, but Ghmaran seems to be a distinct dialect, not a variant of Rifian or Sanhajan.[a] Differences in pronunciation may be considerable, even among speakers of the same dialect. The speech of Ktama and Taghzut, for example, is barely intelligible to the Aith Seddath. The degree of difference between Rifian and Sanhajan is probably as great as that between Spanish and Italian. Nevertheless, philologists prefer to recognize only one Berber language, and attribute differences of this magnitude to isolation and the absence of literature.[b]

Berber speech has completely disappeared from the area west of Bani Siyyat, Bani Silman, and Bani Khalid. The progress of Arabization was more rapid in the interior than along the Mediterranean coast. Even today the route from Tetuán to Melilla follows the ridges of the Rifian chain, whereas no road follows the coast east of Wad Lao. The Ghmaran dialect is preserved in an area crossed by deep canyons, and bounded by high mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. In Sanhaja as-Srair most of the Arabophones occupy land south of the mountain chain. The Bani Bu Shibat and Bani Hmid find it much easier to visit the markets of Marnisa, where Arabic is spoken, than to climb the mountains to reach the main area of Sanhajan speech. In the eastern part of the Rif, Arabic is spoken only along the Moulouya Valley, the route of advance for bedawin tribes moving northward from the Algerian plateaus. The Ulad Stut not only speak Arabic but are of Arabian (i.e., bedawin) descent.[c] This claim can also be made by the Khlut, who moved into the Atlantic lowland during the fourteenth century.[d]

The first to abandon Berber (or Latin) speech were the peoples of the Tingitanian peninsula and the plains near Fez. After the collapse of Muslim Spain the same areas became havens for Andalusian refugees. From these two centers Arabic speech and Islamic culture gradually moved into the highlands. This movement is still in progress. In fact, Moroccan independence will cause an acceleration, for the language of the Prophet now has political as well as religious sanction. The Ghmaran dialect will become extinct in a generation, and in another generation or two the Sanhajan dialect may also disappear. In Ktama, Sanhajan speech is retained only in the inaccessible valley of Abd al-Ghaya, between Adrar

[a] G. S. Colin, "Le parler berbère des Gmara," *Hespéris*, 9 (1929), 43–58.
[b] Basset, *op. cit.*, in note 9.
[c] Marçais, *op. cit.*, in note 57.
[d] According to D. M. Hart (personal communication), only 9 out of 171 place and lineage names in the Khlut area are indisputably Berber.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 197 Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut." The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

R S 197 In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

R 175 771 Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

R 175 179 Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

R 177 175 719 [788] Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[11] The Sanhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dahdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[111] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[112]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[113] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[114] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[115] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[116] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[111] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[112] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[113] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[114] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[115] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[116] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 177 241 when the Arabs arrived. But the Arabs introduced a number of additional crops: rice (Sp. *arroz;* Ar. *al-aruzz*), the apricot (Sp. *albaricoque;* Ar. *al-barquq*), and cotton (Old Sp. *coton;* Ar. *al-qutn*).[112] The Arabs brought the bitter or Seville orange, but the sweet or common orange was introduced by the Portuguese from India.[113] The Arabs also brought the artichoke (from the eastern Mediterranean), spinach (from Persia), sugar cane (probably from India), the mulberry (originally from China), pepper, ginger, saffron, and parsley. Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), the great cash crop of the Sanhajan highlands and the object of a lively contraband trade between Spanish and French Morocco, may also have been carried to Barbary by the Arabs. In an indirect sense the Arabs may be credited with the introduction of a number of New World plants, for many of the Spanish Muslims did not leave al-Andalus until after the final order of expulsion in 1609. By that time Europeans were familiar with the agave, opuntia, tomato, and the great American crop combination of maize, beans, and squash.

Moroccan Jews

175 563 Of the Hebrew people in Morocco, the largest and most prosperous group are the Sephardic Jews who were driven out of Spain after the reconquest of Andalusia. A second, quite different group was already settled in the country when their co-religionists arrived.

The Arab chroniclers state that Jews were in Morocco at the time of the first Muslim invasion. They may have arrived with the Phoenicians or the Romans, for Hebrew scholars believe that some of their religious practices are pre-Talmudic.[114] 563 Today most of the original Jews inhabit ghettos (*mellah*)[115] in the cities, but a few are scattered among the rural tribes. The latter usually pay tribute to the tribesmen with whom they live. Many are caravan men who travel with mule and donkey trains into the less accessible parts of the country. Others are tinkers and petty traders, while many of the prosperous urban Jews are moneylenders, jewelers, and tailors. A small but interesting group cultivates small plots in the High Atlas, and speaks Berber domestically. These "Berber" Jews, like the peasant Jews of Yemen, the Jewish highlanders of the Caucasus, the Falasha of Ethiopia, and the Turkish-speaking Jews of the Crimea, present a difficult problem for historical research.[116] They may be descendants of ancient immigrants, but it seems more likely that they are descendants of indigenous peoples who were converted to Judaism at some remote time.

175 563 When the Sephardim arrived in Morocco they negotiated an ordinance as to their status, which also contained rules laid down for the guidance of their own conduct, no doubt out of fear that contact with the more primitive Moroccan Jews might compromise their tenets. The Sephardim had already abandoned

[112] Names from P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 528.

[113] "Orange" comes from the Spanish *naranja* through the Arabic *naranj* and the Persian *narang*. "Lemon" is the Arabic *laymun* and the Persian *limun*. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

[113] For clarification of this point, see Hahum Slouschz, *Hebraeo-phéniciens et Judeo-berbères* (Paris: Leroux, 1908); and André Chouraqui, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).

[114] *Mellah* is the Arabic word for "salt." The usual explanation for this association is that Jews were once assigned the task of preserving the heads of the sultan's enemies so that they could be put on display.

[113] A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), II, 257, 402–412.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 563 polygamy, which is still practiced by some of the native Jews. Keen businessmen, organizers of remarkable ability, and excellent linguists, the Sephardim played an important role as middlemen in the initial contacts between Europeans and Moroccans. European protection brought a distinct improvement in their social and economic status. They were particularly active in banking, since the Qur'an enjoins believers from engaging in usury. In Tangier, Jewish bankers attained remarkable privilege and affluence. On the other hand, none of the Moroccan Jews enjoyed true citizenship, and in the days before European protection they were subject to Qur'anic law, which does not recognize the oath of a Jew.

As a consequence of European protection, the Sephardim became more Spanish or French than Moroccan. Differences in dress and speech still distinguish this group from the older and more backward Jews. Only the more conservative Jews cling to the traditional black skullcap. The Sephardim use Maghribi Arabic for commercial purposes, but prefer to speak Spanish or French among themselves. The original Jews speak Berber or Arabic, depending upon the location of their homes and the circumstances of their livelihood. Among them, as among the Sephardim, Hebrew is only a ritual language. Neither the Sephardim nor the more conservative group is prominent in the rural districts of the northern zone. (162) The latest census of Spanish Morocco lists 8,062 Jews, of whom only 180 are described as rural."

(113) "*Anuario estadístico, 1952–53* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1955), p. 40.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IV

EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

175 ATTEMPTS to gain control of the Moroccan littoral began in the fifteenth century, at the dawn of the great age of European expansion. The first expeditions to the Moroccan shores were Spanish, but later, as a result of treaties between the two nations, the coast to the west of Peñon de Vélez was reserved for the Portuguese.

PORTUGUESE ACTIVITY

At a time when their ships were skirting the coasts of Africa, the Portuguese would naturally be tempted to set foot in a country so near.[1] During the fifteenth century they established forts at Ceuta (1415), Ksar as-Srair (1458), and Arcila and Tangier (1471); but the strong resistance of the Jbalan tribesmen made it impossible for them to move inland. So they made their greatest effort farther south, on the Atlantic coast. In 1460 a fortress—which came to be known as Casa Branca (whence the modern Casablanca)—was built at Anafe. In 1489 the Portuguese established the fort of Graciosa on the banks of Wad Lukkus, and in 1505 built the fortress of Santa Cruz de Aguer (Agadir). Castello Real (Mogador) was founded in 1506, and two years later another stronghold was established at Safi. In 1513 and 1514 Azemmour and Mazagão (Mazagan) were fortified. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese controlled a long strip of the Atlantic coast, and had made raids as far as Marrakech.

The Portuguese occupation, however, was threatened in 1541, when the Moroccans captured Santa Cruz. The Portuguese abandoned Safi, Azemmour, and Ksar as-Srair soon thereafter, and in 1580 evacuated Arcila. At the turn of the century they retained only Mazagan, Tangier, and Ceuta. The brevity of their occupation can be attributed to the restricted nature of their operations and the hostility of the Moroccans. The Portuguese, like the Carthaginians (but unlike the Romans), made no attempt to establish a system of defense in depth.[2] Even before the Moroccan counterattacks, Portuguese settlement was confined to the littoral zone (fig. 13). The disastrous defeat of the Portuguese at Ksar al-Kebir in 1578 marked the downfall of the last crusade of Mediterranean Christianity, and the beginning of a Moroccan recovery consolidated by ransom money and then by victories in the Sudan.[3] For a time Morocco seemed to be a great power, and the countries of western Europe were reluctant to plan new aggressions. The net effect of the Portuguese adventure was to raise still higher the wall between Europe and Barbary. The Moroccans, previously at war among themselves, united to repel the infidels. The consequence of this struggle was that no enduring economic or social contact could be made between Moroccans and Europeans. Morocco with-

175 113 [1] The motives of the Portuguese adventure are considered by Marcel Bataillon, "Le rêve de la conquête de Fès et le sentiment impérial portugais au XVIe siècle," in *Mélanges d'études luso-marocaines dédiés à la mémoire de David Lopes et Pierre de Cenival* (Lisbon: Portugalia Editora, 1945).

[2] For an interesting study of Portuguese defenses, see A. L. Guevara, *Arcila durante la ocupación portuguesa (1471–1549)* (Tangier: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe, 1940).

[3] On the causes and consequences of the battle, see E. W. Bovill, *The Battle of Alcasar* (London: Batchworth Press, 1952).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

102
175

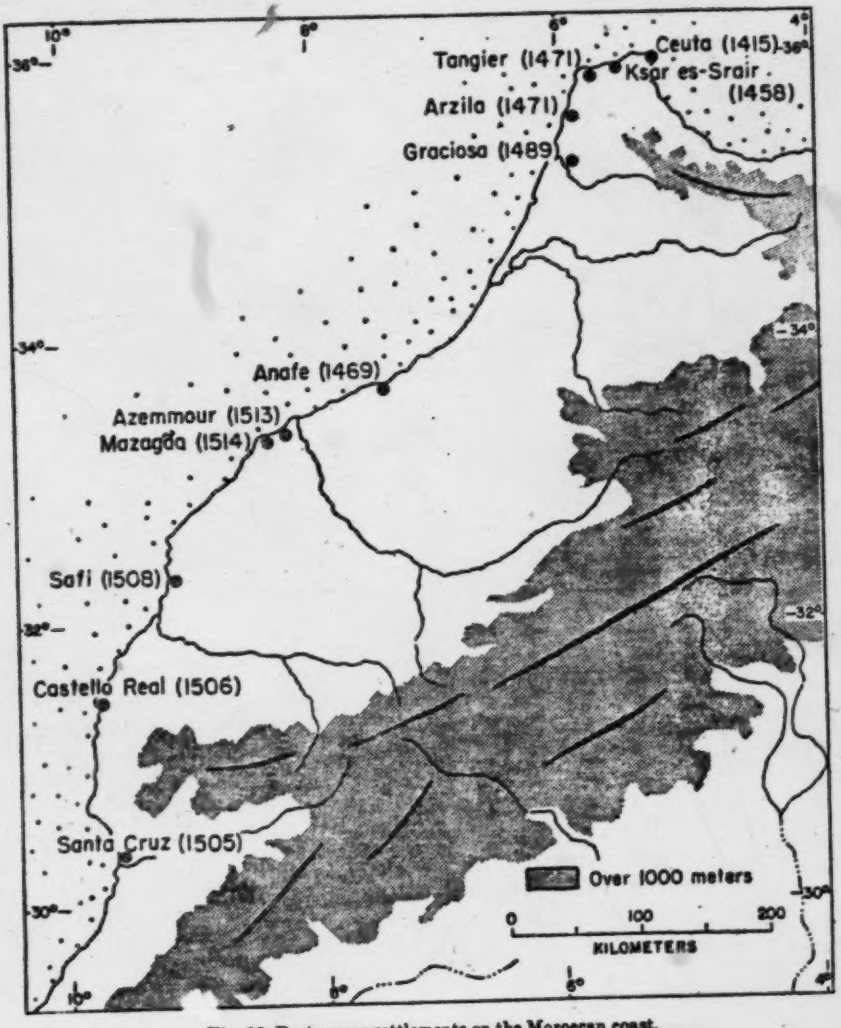


Fig. 13. Portuguese settlements on the Moroccan coast.

175 drew into an isolation within which fermented a religious revival based on a violent and intractable xenophobia.

Spanish Activity

While the Portuguese were settling on the Atlantic coast, the Spanish were attacking the remaining shores of Barbary. At the beginning of the sixteenth century they captured Mers al-Kebir, Oran, and Bougie, and established themselves at the Peñón of Algiers, with the town under their cannons. But the Spanish soon

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 became involved in more important adventures in the New World, and the Ottoman Turks, then in the midst of their last burst of offensive power, captured the presidios east of Oran. The Spanish never relinquished control of their outposts on the Moroccan coast. Melilla, annexed in 1471, and Ceuta, ceded by Portugal in 1668, are still governed as integral parts of Spain (*plazas de soberanía*).[4]

From the sixteenth to the twentieth century, the Spanish garrisons were under siege.[5] The positions held by the Spanish show an abiding concern for defense. Ceuta and Melilla are on rocky promontories forming natural strongholds. Peñón de Vélez and Peñón de Alhucemas are rocky islets, easy to defend but poor positions from which to launch an attack.[6] At the beginning of the present century the garrisons of the two islets were forced to obtain food and drinking water from Málaga.[7] During the nineteenth century the Spanish made several efforts to enlarge their holdings, but none had enduring success. In 1859 it took an army of Spaniards six months to reach Tetuán from nearby Ceuta.[8] The siege of Melilla was not broken until 1909. Seven years after the proclamation of Spanish protection, it was not safe to travel from Tetuán to Tangier. Shawen remained closed to infidels until 1920. Ifni, ceded to Spain in 1860, was not permanently occupied until 1934.

Partition and "Pacification"

The secret Franco-Spanish agreement of 1904, the Algeciras agreement of 1906, and the Franco-Moroccan treaty of 1912 divided Morocco into areas of French and of Spanish custody,[9] but neither power was able to exercise complete control of its zone. In French Morocco early occupation was restricted to the most accessible regions—the Moroccan continuation of the Algerian steppe, and the Atlantic coastal plains. In 1914 the Taza corridor was occupied, and tracks were laid for a railroad to link Morocco with Algeria and Tunisia. But the First World War curtailed French activity, and at the end of the war French control was still restricted to the eastern plateaus and the Atlantic coastal plains.[10] Occupation of the High Atlas and the pre-Saharan zone was not completed until 1934, and within six years of that date French authority in Morocco was seriously compromised by the German conquest of the motherland. Order was reëstablished after the war, but a new and final rebellion began in 1955, when most of the Rif and Atlas mountains were again described as "zones of insecurity."

---

[4] Ceuta is administered as a part of Cádiz province, while Melilla is controlled from Málaga. During the protectorate both cities were separated from Spanish Morocco by customs barriers. Peñón de Vélez, Peñón de Alhucemas, and the Chafarinas are also governed as integral parts of Spain.

175 [5] For an account of one siege of Melilla, see F. Sebastián de Miranda, *El sitio de Melilla de 1774 a 1775* (Tangier: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe, 1939).

113 [6] The standard history of the two islets is by Rafael Pezzi, *Los presidios menores de Africa y la influencia española en el Rif* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico Fortanet, 1893). See also D. Bacaicoa Arnaiz, "El Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera en 1791," *Tamuda*, 3 (1955), 197–230.

[7] *Instructions nautiques sur le Maroc, l'Algérie et la Tunisie*, Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Publ. 801 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1899), pp. 53, 58.

[8] W. B. Harris and W. Cozens-Hardy, *Modern Morocco: A Report on Trade Prospects, with Some Geographical and Historical Notes* (London: Bank of British West Africa, 1919), p. 28.

[9] The different delimitations of the two protectorates are shown in *Atlas histórico y geográfico de Africa española* (Madrid: Dirección General de Marruecos y Colonias and Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1955). See also George F. Deasy, "Spanish Territorial Boundary Changes in Northwest Africa," *Geog. Rev.*, 32 (1942), 303–306.

[10] *Carte des étapes de l'occupation française* (Rabat: Institut Géographique National, Annexe du Maroc, 1934).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 The Spanish experienced even greater difficulty in their zone. The area between Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert was occupied in 1919, ten years after the siege had been lifted at Melilla. But at this time the Rifian highlands were still under tribal rule and most of Jbala was controlled by the brigand Raisuli.[11] When it (648) seemed that the Spanish would at last be able to begin large-scale offensive action, they were defeated by the Rifian forces of Abd al-Krim.[12] Thanks to French intervention, the Rifian rebellion was suppressed in 1926, but the impoverished Spaniards were unable to bring their protectorate under effective control. The northern zone was completely neglected during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Efforts to organize and develop the zone began in earnest only after the end of the Second World War, and these efforts were frustrated when Morocco regained its freedom in 1956.

These remarks are necessary to provide a proper focus for any image evoked by the expressions "French" or "Spanish" Morocco. Yet economic and cultural influence do not depend upon military occupation and the exercise of formal power. A decade before the Spanish gained control of Jbala, tribesmen of this province were wearing undergarments and waistcoats made of cotton spun at Manchester and Roubaix. When Sidi Muhammad ben Abdullah founded Mogador in 1765, he hoped that the new town would serve as a center for European traders and consuls. At the beginning of the twentieth century, eight ports—Tetuán (Río Martín), Tangier, Larache, Salé, Casablanca, Mazagan, Mogador, and Agadir—were open to foreign trade, and each received commodities destined to become important in Moroccan life. Tea, the foundation of Moroccan hospitality, was introduced by the English in the eighteenth century.[13] Tobacco came later, also as an article of European trade.[14] Spanish currency was widely circulated long before the Spanish themselves gained power. In his account of Peñón de Vélez, Leo Africanus relates that "Venetian galleys used to resort unto this isle, and to exchange their wares for the wares of the inhabitants, and sometimes to buy for ready cash."[15] Perhaps the best indication of the extent of European influence in northern Africa is the use by native peoples of a large number of European words.[16] The technical vocabulary of the fishermen on the Tunisian coast includes terms derived from Spanish, Catalan, various Italian dialects, and Maltese.[17]

175 [11] On Spain's difficulties with Raisuli, see W. B. Harris, *Morocco That Was* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1921).

113 [12] The Rifian uprising became a major revolutionary war on July 21–22, 1921, when a large force under General Silvestre was defeated at Anual. For a full account of the war, see W. B. Harris, *France, Spain and the Rif* (London: Edward Arnold, 1927).

[13] A. Leriche, "De l'origine du thé au Maroc et au Sahara," *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire*, Série A, 15 (1952), 731–735; J.-L. Miège, "Origine et développement de la consommation du thé au Maroc," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 71 (1956), 377–398.

[14] Berthold Laufer *et al.*, "Tobacco and Its Use in Africa," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthro. Leaflets*, 29 (1930).

[15] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 519.

[16] Muhammad ibn Azzuz Hakim, *Glosario de mil quinientas voces españolas usadas entre los Marroquíes en el arabe vulgar* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1933); Mohammed Hadj-Sadok, "Dialectes arabes et francisation linguistique de l'Algérie," *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, 13 (1955), 61–97.

[17] A. Gateau, "Introduction à l'étude du vocabulaire maritime en Tunisie," *Rev. Africaine*, 87 (1946), 140–183.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Spanish Morocco circa 1955

000 Figure 14 gives some indication of the distribution of Spaniards and the material results of their efforts to control and exploit the northern zone. Settlements, mines, and roads were concentrated in the eastern and western extremities of the zone, and there is meager evidence of Spanish enterprise in the central highlands. Only a small area was used for commercial agriculture.

The overwhelming majority of the Spanish population was concentrated in cities and towns (table 2).[A] In 1950 only 5,000 Spaniards out of a total of 85,000 for the protectorate lived in rural areas. Indeed, one Spaniard in three lived in Tetuán, and the Spanish population of Tangier (30,000), Ceuta (50,000), and Melilla (70,000) was nearly twice as large as that of the protectorate as a whole.[11] Spaniards outnumbered Muslims only in Alhucemas and Castillejos.[12] This fact suggests that Spanish settlement was confined mainly to the established urban centers, and that little effort was made to found new towns.

As the data in table 3[B] indicate, only five or six of the towns that were founded by the Spaniards could have exerted marked influence on the surrounding countryside. In fact, Targist and Alhucemas were the only new towns to exert such influence, for Rincón was an army post, and Segangan, Castillejos, and Río Martín were mere adjuncts of Melilla, Ceuta, and Tetuán. In each urban center, Spanish and Muslim communities were in direct contact, but the traditional schism between town and country checked the extension of Spanish influence just as earlier it had retarded Arabization.

Spanish officials made no effort to encourage colonization by their countrymen, and the Spaniards who did emigrate were not allowed to compete with the Moroccans as manual laborers. Rural colonization was discouraged. In the last year of the protectorate, commercial agriculture was concentrated in the valley of Wad Lukkus, where the Compañía Agrícola del Lukkus had about 15,000 hectares of land under cultivation. Minor developments, with irrigation, had also been undertaken in the plains around Nador and Zaio, and in the deltas of Río Martín, Wad Lao, and Wad Nkour.[13] But, as figure 14 indicates, the acreage allotted to commercial agriculture was only a small part of the zone.

It would have been difficult for the Spaniards to expand their operations, for there are few plains in northern Morocco, and the Mediterranean streams are short and have extremely variable flow. The Wad Lao dam has an irrigation potential of 15,000 to 20,000 hectares, but the flood plain of the stream amounts to only 2,000 hectares. The Spanish policy was to concentrate on development of hydroelectric power. The Wad Lao project will eventually provide power for Tetuán, Ceuta, Larache, and Ksar al-Kebir, cities that are now dependent on

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[113] [11] The figure given for Tangier is an estimate by the Spanish consulate. The source of the other figures is the *Resumen estadístico de Africa española* (Madrid: Dirección General de Marruecos y Colonias and Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954).

[12] I use the past tense because the Spanish population of many of these towns decreased substantially after the termination of the protectorate in 1956. There are probably no more than a dozen Spaniards still living in Targist, and there may no longer be any Spaniards in Puerto Capaz (now called al-Jabha).

[113] [13] On irrigation see J. Karst, "Les aménagements hydrauliques des provinces du nord du Maroc," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 73 (1957), 5–11; and J. M. Houston, "The Significance of Irrigation in Morocco's Economic Development," *Geog. Jour.* 120 (1954), 314–328.

A,B, [See p. 61--Analyst]
A A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

000

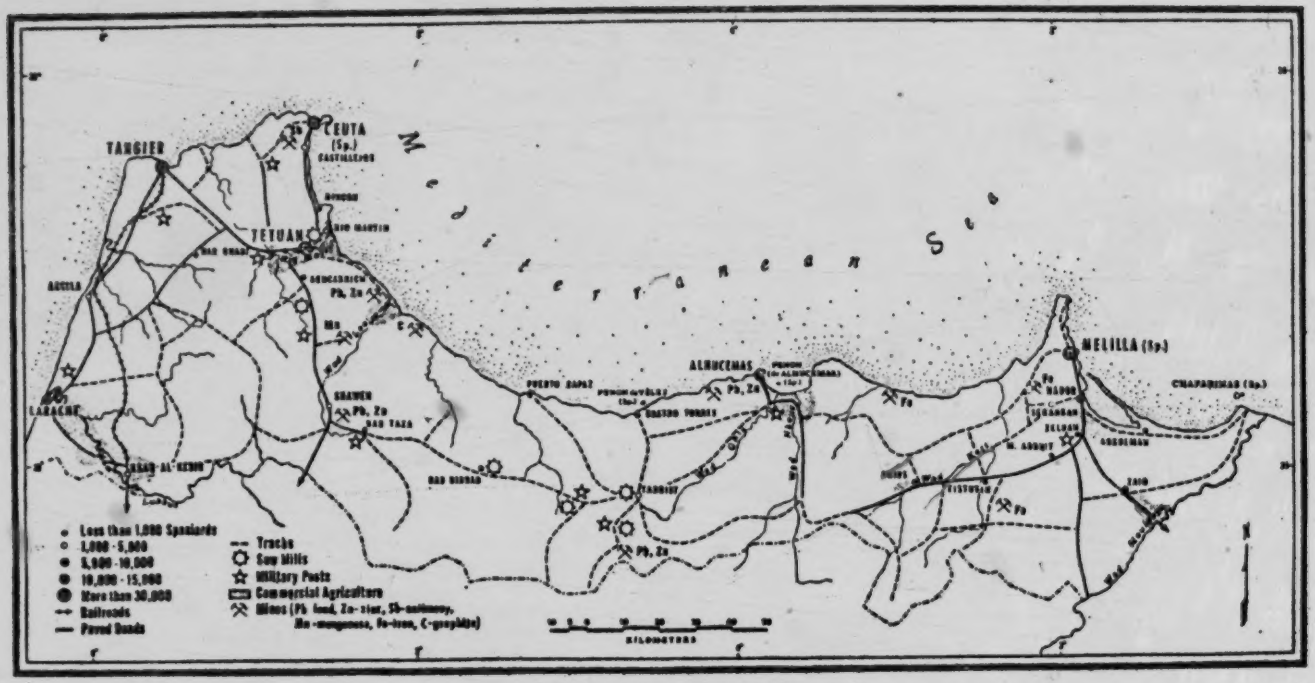


Fig. 14. Spanish Morocco in 1955.

p. 60/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

thermal power. The joint Spanish-French Moulouya scheme has the same major objective, although some of the water impounded by the two dams will be used for irrigation."

TABLE 2

URBAN POPULATION, 1950

	Spaniards	Muslims
Tetuán	29,232	47,182
Larache	12,409	28,166
Nador	8,506	13,313
Alhucemas	7,148	3,541
Castillejos	4,199	569
Ksar al-Kebir	3,350	27,056
Arcila	2,554	10,752
Shawen	2,446	11,099
Targist	1,035	1,965
Totals	70,879	143,652

SOURCE: *Resumen estadístico de Africa española* (Madrid, 1954).

TABLE 3

POPULATION OF TOWNS FOUNDED BY THE SPANISH, 1950

	Spaniards	Muslims
Alhucemas	7,148	3,541
Castillejos	4,199	569
Río Martín	1,840	2,013
Segangan	1,128	911
Targist	1,035	1,965
Rincón	973	966
Monte Arruit	485	289
Zaio	320	112
Zeluán	194	225
Puerto Capaz	114	604
Totals	17,438	11,195

SOURCE: See table 2.

At least 70 per cent of the large trade deficit of Spanish Morocco was made up of food imports. Cotton and hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), the main cash crops, were consumed within the zone. Citrus fruit, melons, pimento, lumber, cork, and palmetto fiber were shipped abroad, but all of these exports probably did not pay for the large imports of breadstuff, sugar, and tea. In most of northern Morocco little could have been done in agricultural development even if Spain had been more adequately endowed, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the small size of their fields discouraged mechanization.

[113] " This project began in 1946. The first dam, Mechra Homadi, was completed in 1956 and the second, Mechra Klila, in 1960. J. Karst, "L'équipement des travaux publics dans les provinces du nord," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 78 (1958), 211–224.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The pattern of colonization was different in the French zone.[28] Drawn by the classic motivations of the time—trade, new land, promise of quick profits, adventure, and dissatisfaction with conditions at home—French colonists poured into Morocco by the thousands. In each of the main areas of *colon* activity—i.e., the plains of the lower Sebou, the Gharb, and the area around Oujda—European colonization necessitated displacement of native farmers and pastoralists. The resulting confusion and conflict were important factors in the development of Moroccan nationalism.[29] In 1955 French settlers owned about 7 per cent of Morocco's productive land, but this land was exceptionally fertile and accounted for 40 per cent of the national income from agriculture.[30] In comparison, the extent of agricultural development in Spanish Morocco seems negligible.

If rural colonization was negligible in Spanish Morocco, the military occupation was not. Since its inception, the Spanish protectorate functioned as a military training ground. During most of the period of effective Spanish occupation, at least 200,000 troops were stationed in the northern zone. This force included the *mehalla*, or Khalifian army, of about 10,000 native troops, and large concentrations of the Spanish army. The more accessible rural areas were patrolled by the *makhzaniya*, or rural police, a force patterned after the Spanish *guardia civil*. Rifians, especially the Aith Wariyaghar, were eager to serve in one of the military forces, and the Spanish, who valued their obedience and hardiness, were just as eager to enlist them. Rifian troops formed a substantial part of Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War. Military service under Spanish officers or "instructors" led to acceptance of some aspects of Iberian culture. The most striking evidence of such acceptance is the widespread use of Spanish as a second language in the Rif.

Contact between Spaniards and the rural population took place also at the scattered outposts of the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas. At the head of each outpost was an army officer called an *interventor*. His function was to act as overseer of tribal government. Most *intervenciones* had a school, with a Spanish teacher, and a few had doctors and veterinarians. The Spaniards led a rather sedentary life, and did not attempt to intervene in the routine events of tribal life. But they could impose fines or make arrests if necessary, and the tribal authorities were obliged to implement Spanish directives if they wished to remain in power.

In Morocco, as in most colonial areas, the extent of road building and improvement in communications is a reliable measure of European influence. In Spanish Morocco the first roads were constructed to facilitate pacification and administration. Once this network was established, little effort was made to add tributary lines for more efficient movement of goods. In 1956 Spanish Morocco had about 1,000 kilometers of primary roads, but only half of this distance was surfaced. The track from Bab Taza to Alhucemas was the only durable link between the western and the eastern sector of the zone, and it was blocked for days or even

[28] M. M. Knight, *Morocco as a French Economic Venture: A Study of Open Door Imperialism* (New York: Appleton, 1937).

[29] Comité d'Action Marocaine, *Plan de réformes marocaines* (Paris: privately published, 1934).

[30] On European holdings in French Morocco, see Planche 33 *b*, "Exploitations rurales européennes," *Atlas du Maroc* (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

weeks by snow. In the final year of Spanish occupation, snow-clearing equipment was limited to a single jeep with a crude wooden plow.

In 1955 the road network consisted of a main east-west route and a number of short tributary routes. During the dry season even the poorer tracks were used by market buses and trucks. Many of the tributary routes were constructed for logging, and a few were built for the collection of cork and walnuts. An intrepid driver could reach many highland valleys. It was even possible to drive from Targist over the Sanhajan mountains to French Morocco. However, many of the logging roads were used for only a few years, and in time abandoned tracks were plowed and converted to barley or wheat. Perhaps the most interesting gap in the Spanish road system was the lack of a through route along the Mediterranean coast.[a] The coastal zone between Wad Lao and Puerto Capaz was and is one of the least accessible sections of the Mediterranean littoral.

Spanish efforts to improve port facilities were at best halfhearted. Larache is protected by a 475-meter breakwater, but the entrance to the harbor requires constant dredging, and this effort often lagged behind the accumulation of sand. The mouth of Río Martín might have served as a port for Tetuán, but the Spanish were unable to stabilize the channel. The port of Alhucemas offers sheltered anchorage for ships of ten meters' draught, but is isolated from any productive hinterland by the barrier of the Rif chain. Sebkha Bu Areg (Mar Chica), a lagoon of 115 square kilometers, might have served as a harbor for the eastern plains, but no effort was made to dredge channels or to stabilize the entrance through the bar. At present the port of Nador can be used only by ships of less than three meters' draught. It is indicative of the poverty of Spanish enterprise that Peñón de Vélez, one of the few sheltered coves on the Rifian coast, was never linked to any road.[a]

Iron, lead, and copper probably were mined in northern Morocco in Roman time. The Spaniards were interested in the antimony and copper deposits near Ceuta as early as the fourteenth century. During the protectorate at least a hundred deposits were registered, but actual exploitation was limited to the few deposits shown on the map (fig. 14). Numerous mining permits were issued, but many of these were granted to small operators with modest equipment and meager funds.[b] The cement works at Tetuán and the iron mines near Melilla were the only operations that employed a large number of Moroccans. The Compañía Española de Minas del Rif mined rich deposits of hematite and magnetite, which were carried to Melilla by a narrow-gauge railroad, but this was the only operation of relatively large scale. Many of the mines were worked only intermittently, and few employed more than a handful of miners. The meagerness of extractive industry is surprising, for interest in mineral resources was one of the motivations of the Spanish occupation.

Spanish industrial activity also was on a small scale. Tetuán had cement works,

[a] Besides the daily service between Ceuta and Algeciras and between Melilla and Málaga, the Compañía Transmediterranea operated a small steamer that made weekly voyages from Ceuta to Melilla, with landings at Puerto Capaz and Alhucemas.

[b] On the ports of northern Morocco, see J. Ochoa y Benjumea, "Los puertos de Marruecos," *Anales de la Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias*, 10 (1945); and H. Surleau, "L'économie des ports marocaines," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 75 (1957), 289–304.

[c] J. Agard, "Les gîtes minéraux et l'industrie minière de la zone nord du Maroc," *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 13–22.

?: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

and a number of small factories made soap, shoes, dyes, furniture, matches, paper, and glass. A paper mill, using alfa grass from the eastern Rif, was established at Tetuán. Sawmills, using cedar, fir, and oak, were maintained at Tetuán and Targist, and at several places in the central highlands. Larache had fruit-packing and fish-canning plants. But none of these activities made a substantial contribution to Spanish or Moroccan economy.[28]

One is again struck by the contrast between the Spanish and the French zone. In the French zone Europeans traveled into all parts of the country to seek out resources. By the last year of the protectorate there were ostrich farms, mule-breeding centers, nurseries for fruit trees, agricultural experiment stations, large areas of mechanized farming, hydroelectric plants, and numerous mines. The larger cities had light industrial establishments, including printing plants, breweries, and smaller factories producing soap, bricks, and glassware. In 1955 Europeans controlled about 80 per cent of the managerial and directive positions.[29] Moreover, Europeans were not restricted to business, civil service, professions, and minor service functions. A large number of Europeans, particularly in Casablanca, were skilled and semiskilled laborers, and many of the latter were Spaniards, Italians, and Maltese. Indeed, French Morocco differed from the Spanish zone not only in its higher degree of economic development but also in the presence of large numbers of relatively poor and unskilled Europeans.

It would be idle to speculate on whether the meager development of Spanish Morocco reflects reluctance to interfere in native affairs (as Spanish authors claim), incompetence (as some French authors claim), or shortage of capital. Doubtless all three factors were present. For the detached observer, the interesting question is why Spain so ardently desired this zone. Spanish Morocco was clearly a deficit investment. From first to last, the Spanish zone had little value except as a contribution to national prestige. Spanish pride had suffered from the great defeats in the New World. It was imperative for national honor, if for no other reason, that Spain's remaining possessions be retained and strengthened. The sentimental value of the protectorate is impressed upon any reader of literature on "Spanish Africa." It is significant that the Spanish colonial office published a substantial atlas on the eve of Moroccan independence.[30] In sponsoring works of this sort, Spanish officials were expressing that "colonial melancholy" which characterizes the spirit of western Europe as a whole.

[28] On industry in the northern zone, see T. García Figueras and R. de Roda Jiménez, *Economía social de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950–1955), III, 223–253.

[29] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 128–130.

[30] *Atlas histórico y geográfico de Africa española*, cited in note 9.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER V

SETTLEMENT MORPHOLOGY

NORTHERN MOROCCO is primarily a rural country. In the 1950 census of the Spanish protectorate, 2,954 places are listed as nuclei of settlement, but more than half of them had less than 200 inhabitants.[1] In 1953 the total population of the protectorate was estimated to be 1,026,056 persons, of whom 788,810 were rural. In the whole of Morocco, rural tribesmen probably account for more than 75 per cent of the population.

Since population density can be calculated only for tribal territories, detailed analysis of distribution is difficult. Nevertheless, it is clear that some areas are much more densely settled than others. The greatest rural density is found on the Atlantic and Rifian littorals, and the lowest in the central highlands and on the semiarid eastern plains. On the terraces and hills of the Atlantic littoral the density of population varies from 50 to 80 persons per square kilometer. In the territory of the Bani Huzmar, which is dominated by karstic mountains, the density drops to 40 persons per square kilometer. Actually, most of this tribe is settled along the base of the limestone range, close to the line of springs. In the Sanhajan highlands the fertile valley of Taghzut, with 85 persons per square kilometer, contrasts with the higher and more rocky terrain of Aith Khannus, with only 22 persons per square kilometer. On the parched plains of Garet, population density drops to about 12 persons per square kilometer. It is surprising to find high density in Gal'aya and the core area of the Rif, for these areas suffer from frequent droughts. Aith Wariyaghar has 65 and Thimsaman 72 persons per square kilometer. The Gal'ayan tribe of Imazujen, with 125 persons per square kilometer, has the highest population density in northern Morocco.[2] Before the recent rebellion these densely settled areas supplied as many as 30,000 laborers annually for the French farms in Algeria. The causes and consequences of emigration will be considered in chapter vi.

The high density of population in Bdor, Amar, and Mzura is encouraged by the small areas of these tribes. Land is available in neighboring territories, but no family wants to sell its land to "foreigners." Tribesmen from the more crowded areas often remark on the underdeveloped appearance of the Jbalan and Ghmaran hills. Tribesmen of the Rif and Gal'aya would gladly work many slopes which the Jbalans and the Ghmarans regard as marginal.

URBAN FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

When the French began their occupation in 1912, Marshal Lyautey declared that European settlements should be set apart from native centers. French settlements grew beside most native cities, but the two forms of urbanization did not merge. The Spanish were less respectful of Moroccan culture, but the urban pattern in the Spanish zone was one of juxtaposition rather than mingling, and the line between European and native communities was never erased. Native cities

[1] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1955), p. 39.
[2] Figures from J. Cabello Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 119–121.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

now have electricity and plumbing, but functional organization and morphology remain very much as they were before the European occupation.[5]

The narrow alleys, noisy bazaars, and dark corners of the Muslim cities contrast sharply with the bright and spacious arrangement of the European settlements (pl. 7, *a*). The former are always surrounded by walls, and other walls divide the urban area into wards. There is usually a large open space near one of the principal gates, serving as a market place. Here country people come to expose their wares and to exchange farm surplus for articles offered by merchants from the city. The more sophisticated cities occupied by descendants of Andalusian refugees (e.g., Tetuán, Wezzan, Fez) are divided into economic quarters, but most cities maintain an ethnic or tribal division, and each ward has its own crafts and trades.

Producers or retailers of the same kinds of goods usually occupy adjacent stalls, and each trade is likely to have a lane to itself. Carpenters, leather merchants and the makers of slippers, smiths and the producers of copper utensils, all have their special lanes. On the periphery of the built-up area are the industries that require space and involve activities regarded as undesirable: butchers, dyers, tanners. Candlemakers, dealers in incense, and booksellers usually settle near the largest mosque.

Each city has a few cobbled streets that lead across town from one gate to another. Branching out from the main streets are narrow lanes that end in blind alleys. Business districts may take the form of a single band (e.g., Meknès), a double band enclosing a narrow residential district (e.g., Fez), or may virtually surround the city (e.g., Rabat). A line of shops may extend for some distance along the main street. Occasionally, the space between opposing roofs is covered, and when the road has been sprinkled with water the atmosphere is surprisingly cool and damp. It is difficult to generalize about population densities, but they must be high. Houses and shops often have common walls, and private structures are usually small. Many craftsmen work in minute booths.

Tetuán and Shawen exhibit features characteristic of most Moroccan cities.[6] The *madina*, or native quarter, of Tetuán forms an irregular triangle, and is divided into six wards, each with its own mosque. Access to the city may be gained by any one of six gates. The streets of Tetuán, like those of all Moroccan cities, are intricate and confusing.

At the turn of the century Joly divided the native industries of Tetuán into eleven categories, including leatherwork, ceramics, metalwork, woodwork, building, painting, textiles, clothing, and numerous small trades and industries, ranging from bookbinding to the manufacture of gunpowder.[8] The most important guilds were and still are the tanners, shoemakers, and potters.

[5] The classic study of urbanism in Morocco is Roger le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat: étude économique et sociale d'une ville de l'Occident musulman* (Casablanca: Société Marocaine de Librairie et d'Edition, 1949). For a summary account of urban geography, see Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), pp. 485–527

[6] Tetuán is derived from the Berber "Thittawin" meaning "eyes." Shawen is the local Arabic of the Berber "Ishshawen" meaning "horns," and refers to the peaks that tower above the town. In 1953 there were 47,000 Muslims in Tetuán, and 11,500 in Shawen. Tetuán also had 30,000 Spaniards and 4,000 Jews. Shawen had 2,500 Spaniards but only 15 Jews. *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 42.

[8] A. Joly, "L'industrie à Tétouan," *Archives Marocaines*, 8, 11, 18 (1906–1912).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

000 Physical form differs little from the largest to the smallest city. Shawen has a bewildering number of narrow alleys and dead ends—the same pattern of walls and gates found in Tetuán, Fez, and Marrakech, the same crowded houses and minute booths. The one distinctive feature of Shawen is its architecture. Sloping tile roofs and whitewashed walls betray Andalusian influence.

Shawen has a number of craft guilds and three tanneries, but their products are largely for local use. The presence of a ward of shoemakers suggests that the making of leather slippers was once an important industry. Today the Shawen shoemakers send their work to Tetuán for finishing. Silk and linen work used to be important, but neither is now practiced. The most important industry at present is textile weaving, which is unsurpassed in Morocco. Shawen is said to produce the finest cloaks in the northern zone.

In Morocco, as in most parts of the Muslim world, it is difficult to find intermediate stages in the settlement hierarchy. Indeed, there is no equivalent in Maghribi Arabic for the word "town." From *madina* (city) the Moroccan vocabulary turns to *dshar* (village), *douar* (hamlet), and *azib* (farmstead).

One reason for the absence of intermediate forms of urbanization is that the existing cities did not evolve as trading centers for the rural countryside. In rural Morocco the traditional foci of commerce are weekly markets (*aswaq*) held in the open air. Permanent markets are a recent development, and most of them are located in areas where European influence has been strong. In the more isolated and self-sufficient districts the successful functioning of the weekly markets has acted as a check against urbanization.*

The Moroccan city is an imposed entity, foreign to tribal life. Some cities trace their origin to Roman time, others began during the period of Arab conquest, and still others were founded by Europeans. No Moroccan city is truly native. It is not surprising, therefore, that cities should be found only in the lowlands where alien authority was easy to establish and maintain. In the highlands, Berber ideals of political independence and economic self-sufficiency had an arresting effect on urbanization.

The ports of Ceuta and Melilla were used by the Portuguese and Spanish as bases of colonial and military activity, and even today are governed as integral parts of Spain. Larache and Arcila also reflect Iberian influence. Tetuán began as a military post designed to protect the route from Tangier to Fez. In the sixteenth century it was a focus of immigration for Muslims and Jews who were being expelled from Spain. Shawen, established in 1471 as a base of operations for campaigns against the Portuguese, served also as a refuge for Andalusian Moors. Ksar al-Kebir had a similar function in the eleventh century. Tangier has been the headquarters of a whole series of foreign interests: Carthaginian, Roman, Portuguese, Spanish, English, and lately even international. Most of the Moroccan residents of Tangier are immigrants from the Rif, who do not wish to be identified with the Jbalan tribesmen of the nearby hills. Only two other settlements in the northern zone, Alhucemas and Nador, deserve to be called towns, and they owe their development to the Spanish.

Intimate relations between city and hinterland are difficult to establish when

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 69)

(113) * For a fuller discussion of this topic, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R
SUR
361
341
102

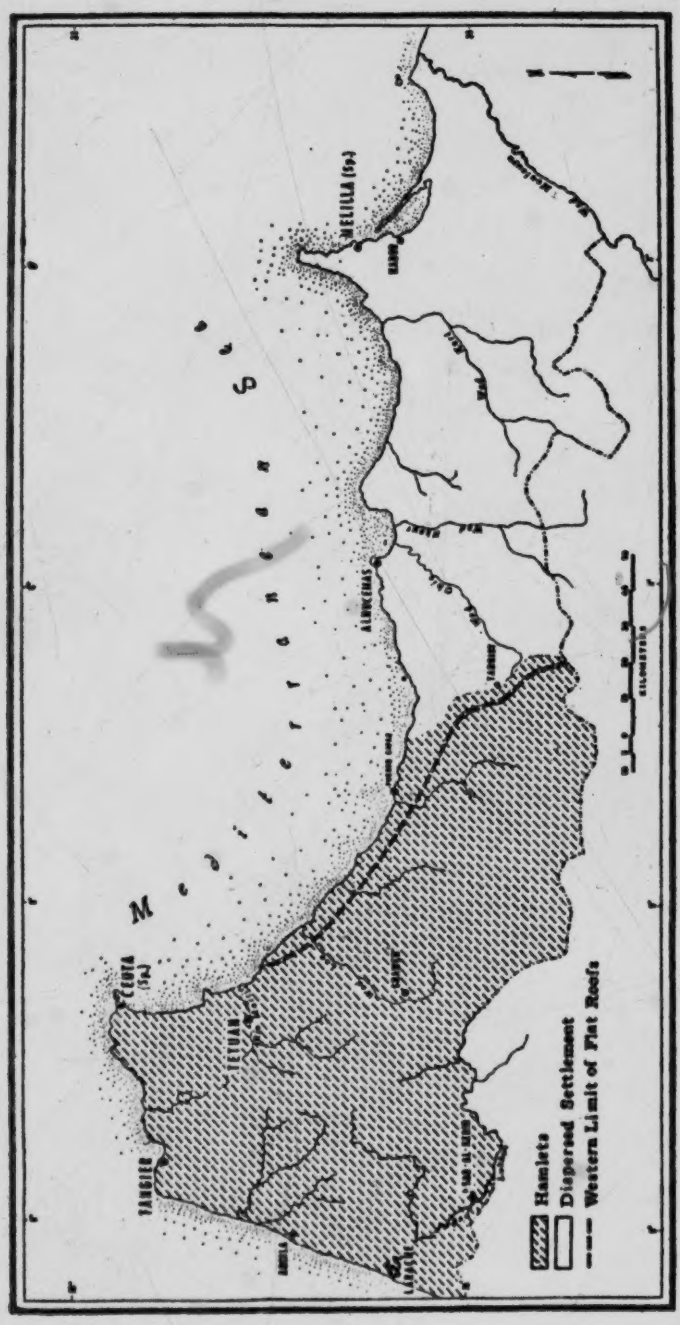


Fig. 15. Northern Morocco: settlement morphology.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

urban institutions are imposed by alien authorities. Such cities become parasites, drawing support from the rural countryside but offering little in exchange. The peasant population continues to look to its local markets for satisfaction of basic needs.

Hamlets versus Scattered Houses

Since they are walled, Moroccan cities begin and end abruptly. Pass through a gate and you are in the rural countryside. The type of landscape varies notably between the eastern and western parts of this zone. The basic distinction is between clustered settlements in the western areas and widely scattered houses in the Rif (fig. 15).

Clusters of ten to fifty houses make up the basic settlement pattern in Jbala, Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and along the Atlantic littoral. In these areas the

Fig. 16. Hamlet in Aith Seddath.

presence of an isolated house indicates that its owner has more than one place of residence; his first and most frequented home is generally with a cluster of several others. Isolated houses are usually of recent construction, and probably reflect the increased security introduced by the Spanish occupation. When it was no longer necessary to live close to trusted kinsmen, the more independent tribesmen settled on good land away from the ancestral hamlet.

The inhabitants of a hamlet are members of an extended family, formed of parents or grandparents, and the children of their sons. This unit does not break up unless the sons quarrel or the kin group becomes too large to be supported by the available land. Thus the basic unit of kinship, the biological family, is also the basic unit of settlement. Moroccans are averse to dividing up their land. When brothers inherit their father's land, they usually farm it jointly, and the eldest brother administers the property for all.

The growth of a hamlet follows the growth of a family. A newly married couple builds a new house, as close as possible to the husband's hamlet. Their first unit is a single hut, with a sunken area for domestic animals. As the livestock multiplies, another hut is erected to serve as a barn. When the sons of the pioneer couple marry, other huts are built adjoining the parent's home. The basic unit is extended into an L- or U- shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R
4
5
361
342
191
102
341

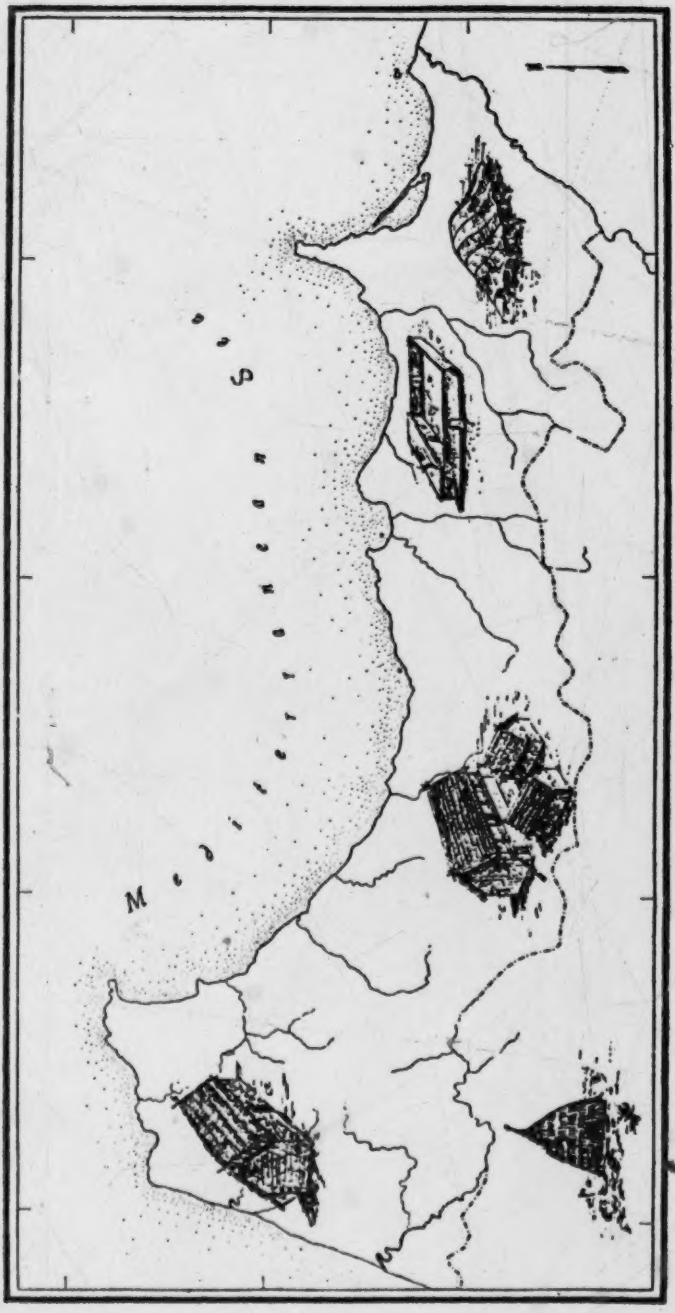


Fig. 17. Northern Morocco: principal types of houses.

/p. 70/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking.[1] The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers. Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred meters,[2] and in former generations each house had a corner tower used as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this use led to violent conflicts.

Types of Houses

In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common house is a crude conical structure (*nouala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

[1] See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

[2] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos historicos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951–52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif
Senhaja MX4

342
352
415
353

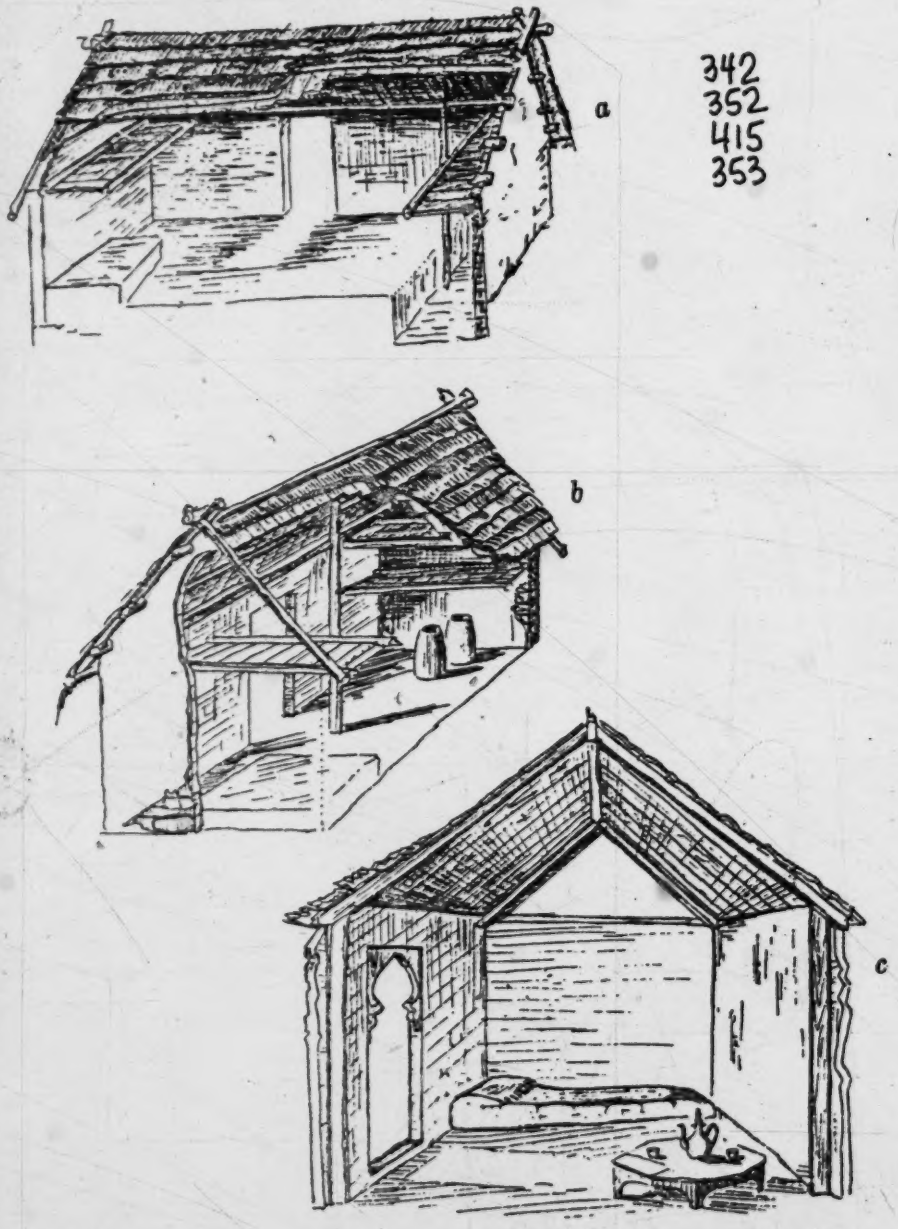


Fig. 18. Sanhajan houses: *a*, composite house with sunken area for cows; *b*, house with storage lofts; *c*, ornate guestroom.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

R 342 191 Rectangular houses, built about a courtyard, are common in the Rif and in the coastal zone from Mazagan to Agadir. The tribes of the Middle Atlas, who practice transhumance, spend the summer months in tents. Tents are seen also in the Gharb and in the lower Moulouya Valley. In the northwestern corner of Morocco one finds still another type of house, again rectangular in shape, but with a sloping roof of thatch.*

The sketches in figure 17 illustrate and roughly locate northern Morocco's main architectural styles. Two traditions are immediately discerned. In the eastern half of the zone the houses have flat roofs and the walls enclose an open courtyard; in the western area the houses have sloping roofs and there are no courtyards. Tents of woven goat hair appear only in the areas occupied by pastoral tribes—Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut. The division between flat and R 342 361 191 sloping roofs coincides almost exactly with the division between clustered and dispersed settlements. These distinct patterns of settlement in turn roughly coincide with the division between Rifian and Arabic or Sanhajan speech (cf. figs. 15 and 12). Targist, with clustered settlement and houses of both eastern and western style, is an area of transition. Settlement morphology reveals the heterogeneous character of this tribe.

J 342 191 Houses are built of mud brick in Jbala and along most of the Atlantic littoral. After the walls have been constructed, a ridgepole, usually the trunk of a slender riparian tree, is placed across the top of the structure, and smaller poles are set at right angles to the ridge. Thatching is applied, and the house is ready to be occupied. The distinguishing feature of houses in the Jbalan area is that the thatch is allowed to droop almost to the ground. Hipped roofs are seen in Anjra and the Fahs territory, but the more common form is a simple saddle or ridge. The Jbalan house is a small structure about five meters long and three meters wide. There is seldom any differentiation of floor levels or rooms, and furnishing is usually limited to a single mat or rug. Hamlets may be enclosed by a cluster of opuntia or a brush fence, but there is no attempt to build houses and walls to enclose a courtyard.

000 South of Wad Lukkus, in the Gharb, the Jbalan type of house is replaced by cruder structures of cane or reeds. One form is like the Jbalan house, except that its walls are made of wickerwork. Another and much cruder form consists of a conical or circular framework of cane covered with straw. This structure, which seems to be of Sudanese origin, has been adopted by settled tribes of bedawin origin as a substitute for tents. Conical huts are the dominant dwelling in the

R (113) * In the area of French influence, the literature on rural architecture is abundant, but for the Spanish zone there are only the accounts of E. Blanco Izaga, *La vivienda rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930); C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); and Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. On types of houses in French Morocco, see A. Bernard, "L'Afrique du Nord," in *L'Habitation indigène dans les possessions françaises* (Paris: Editions Maritimes et Coloniales, 1930); Robert Montagne, *Villages et kasbas berbères* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930); E. Laoust, "L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc central," *Hespéris*, 10, 14, 18 (1931-1944); M. Gaud and G. Sigault, "L'habitat indigène au Maroc," *Bull. de l'Institut d'Hygiène au Maroc*, 4 (1937), 4-102; André Adam, *La Maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas* (Paris: Larose, 1952); Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); E. Mauret, H. Pommeret, and R. Ringuelet, "Problèmes de l'habitat rural dans la région de Rabat," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 70 (1955), 15-71; and R. Aujard, "Problèmes de l'habitat rural dans la région d'Agadir," *ibid.*, 75 (1957), 275-288.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

coastal plains between Rabat and Ksar al-Kebir, but they have not yet penetrated the northern zone.

Ghmaran houses differ slightly from those farther to the west. Like the Jbalan houses they are rectangular and have thatch roofs. Ghmaran houses may, however, have two stories. Another distinguishing feature is that adjoining structures often have common roofs. Ghmaran hamlets, like those in Sanhaja as-Srair, tend to develop into units of L- or U-shape (pl. 2, *a*). When a second story is added, steps are cut into the adobe walls. (In Sanhaja as-Srair the second floor is reached by a notched log.)

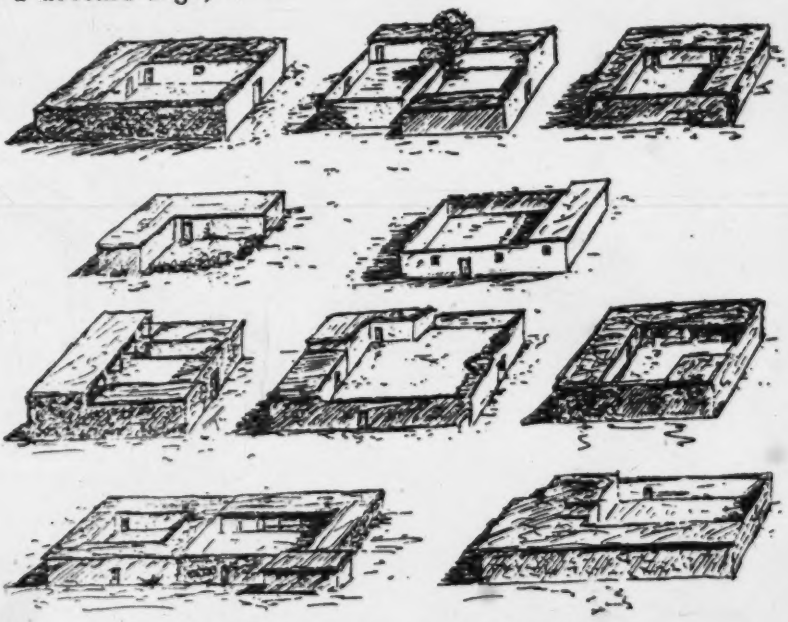


Fig. 19. Examples of Rifian courtyards, Aith Wariyaghar.

by a notched log.) Ghmara seems to be the only area in northern Morocco with special structures built to serve as granaries. Communal granaries (*agadir*) usually have the form of the prevalent houses.[10] Individual or family granaries are small structures of adobe brick and plaster set on wooden planks and supported by stone pedestals.[11]

At first glance, Sanhajan houses seem much like those in Ghmara and Jbala. The difference is in detail rather than in general outline. The foundation of the Sanhajan house is a rectangular shell of mud brick or stone with end sections constructed to form peaks about two meters above the walls. The two ends of

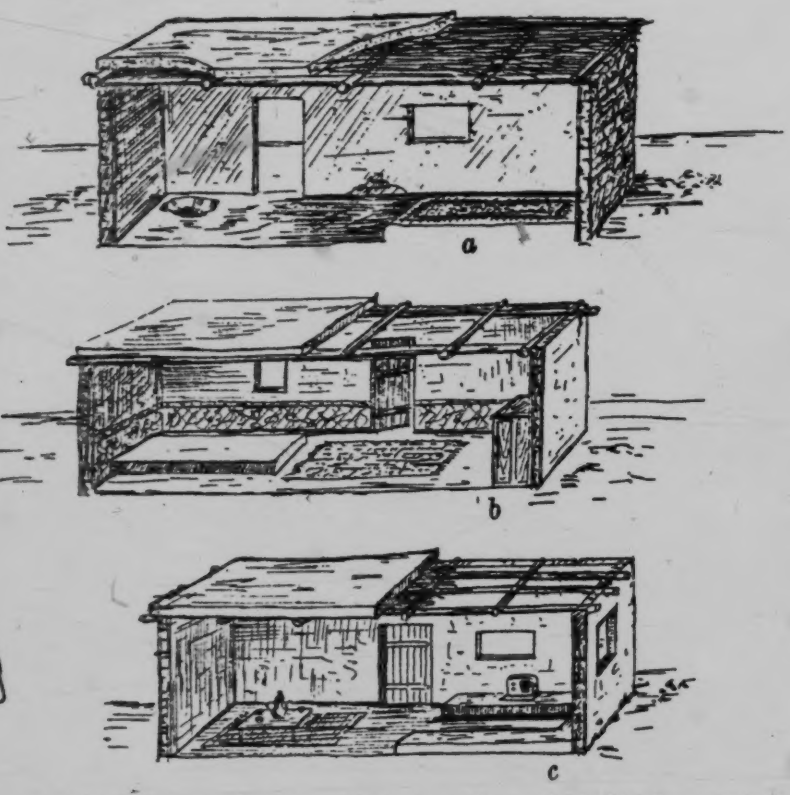
[10] In northern Morocco communal granaries are found only in the territory of the Bani Zejal. Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 64 and figs. 24, 25.

[11] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), p. 133.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 342 the shell are joined by a ridgepole, most often a young cedar or a riparian tree. Two or more other poles are added to a form a solid framework for the roof (fig. S [824] 18, *a* and *b*). Rye straw is the preferred material for thatch, and it is placed with great care (pl. 3, *a*). The ridgepole is set between two timbers, the ends of which [532] are carved in the shape of a crescent moon. The crescent ornament is sometimes

R 342 556 352



R [207] [415]

Fig. 20. Rifian houses: *a*, simple house with sleeping platform and fire pit; *b*, house of a moderately prosperous tribesman with wallpaper, cabinet, and mat; *c*, house of a tribal authority with padded benches, portable radio, mat, and table for tea service.

S 342 [532] [333] crowned with a carved model of a charcoal brazier and a teapot, thus uniting the symbols of hospitality and good luck (pl. 3, *a*). When stone is used, walls are usually covered with a thin layer of plaster. Wooden cribwork may be used to strengthen walls.

There are more two-story houses in Sanhaja as-Srair than in any other area of the northern zone. This preference for more elaborate structures reflects the more abundant supply of timber. When a two-story house is built, joists are cut

A. [See p. 127--Analyst]

S 342 a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them S [417] [513] [352] with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, *b*). A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions S [353] for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept S [574] in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the S [335] [341] [252] [354] [352] rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

R 342 [351] Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*), and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the R [351] [231] [171] [333] open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

R [171] [352] Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual R 342 556 progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

R 341 346 171 An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

A, [See p. 127--Analyst] B, [See p. 126--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

341 346 171 in the central highlands is that at the zawia of Tifah in Targist; the nearest minarets are in the territories of Aith Tuzin and L-Khmas, 60 and 75 kilometers away. Whitewashed domes or ornate corners decorate the shrines of some saints (pl. 9, *a*), but for every saint honored by such structures there are at least fifty others with shrines that are not fundamentally different from the common types of houses. Even granaries and grist mills are built in the one local style (fig. 22).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

CHAPTER VI

LIVELIHOOD

THE RURAL POPULATION of northern Morocco is composed mainly of sedentary farmers who enjoy some of the advantages of specialization and exchange. They are not peasants in the European sense of the word, but neither are they subsistence farmers comparable to some of the tropical African tribes. Differences in slope and exposure encourage a modest degree of crop specialization even among communities that strive to be self-sufficient in staple foods. The purpose of specialization is to produce crops that can be exchanged for others less well adapted to the available land. In the Sanhajan highlands there is a notable difference in land use on sunny and shady slopes; yet all Sanhajan communities try to produce an adequate amount of barley. Tea, sugar, salt, and kerosene constitute the only primary commodities that must be brought in from the outside. Since barter is common locally, currency has little value as a medium of exchange, except for a few hours on market days, for example, after the sale of eggs or walnuts but before the purchase of a week's supply of sugar or tea. Morocco's large food imports—more than half of the wheat flour consumed between 1946 and 1950 was imported[1]—are directed to cities and towns.

Another distinctive feature of rural economy is the meager development of craft specialization. The cumulative skills of any rural community do not greatly exceed the combined skills of a man and his wife. If necessary, any man can produce most of the tools he needs; and the combined knowledge of a hundred women does not greatly exceed the knowledge of any one woman of middle age.

Since technology does not vary greatly from place to place or even among individuals, prosperity or poverty is conditioned primarily by the quantity or quality of land. From the standpoint of precipitation alone, the most attractive parts of northern Morocco are the limestone highlands extending from Ceuta to Shawen, and the sandstone outliers on the western margins of the Rif chain. But the precipitation often has very little efficacy. The concentration of most of the annual rainfall during a few days emphasizes its torrential character and erosive power on steep slopes. Most of the calcareous zone is now devoid of soil, and a large part of the arenaceous highlands have been eroded down to sterile subsoil. There are great variations in fertility even in the lowlands. At one end of the scale are the poor dune soils south of Larache. The dark color of many of the heavier soils is indicative not of humus but of iron salts. Between these extremes of sand and clay is a wide range of loams, like the *hamri*, or terra rossa, which are better suited to cultivation and better adapted to irrigation. But the total area of such soils, indeed of all alluvial soils, amounts to less than 10 per cent of the northern zone.[2]

[1] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1955), p. 95.

[2] On edaphic conditions in the northern zone, see J. A. Jiménez Salas, "Suelos de la zona norte del protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Anales de Edafología y Fisiología Vegetal*, 5 (1946), 277–305; 8 (1949), 3–31.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

The Agricultural Calendar

Moroccan agriculture is conducted on the basis of the Julian almanac, and the Latin names for the months have passed with but slight changes into Arabic and Berber. In most of northern Morocco the agricultural cycle involves a combination of dry farming, horticulture, and the cultivation of small irrigated plots. Dry farming as practiced in the Mediterranean region is essentially a matter of farming the same land every other year and of tilling it during the fallow period. In this way as much moisture as possible is kept in the ground for the next year. Since few communities can produce enough grain during the alternate seasons to allow for the fallow years, dry farming requires constant clearing of new land.

In the hilly areas of Jbala and Ghmara the beginning of the agricultural year is marked by fires set to clear new fields, and the haze of smoke lingers until the arrival of the first rains. By the end of the summer drought, animals are weakened by the scarcity of feed; and wherever the soil is clayey the drought-hardened surface is difficult to plow. So the farmer waits for the first rains for plowing and the second for seeding. After the soil has been turned, cereals, usually barley or hard wheat, are broadcast. Then the soil is again worked with the plow and, since Moroccans do not use the harrow, clods are broken with clubs or hoes.

In the western half of the northern zone, plowing usually begins toward the end of September, and sowing is completed by the beginning of November. In the eastern sector the first heavy rains may not come until March or April. In this event, no further thought is given to barley or wheat, and a desperate effort is made to prepare the soil for a summer crop of sorghum. When cereals are sown, the feverish activity of autumn gives way to a period of virtual hibernation. Only the women keep busy, for there is always need for fodder and fuel.

In frost-free areas, February marks the beginning of the work of planting, pruning, grafting, and fertilizing the fruit and nut trees. This task continues through March and April. In the lower areas of the Rif the most common trees are the fig, pomegranate, almond, and olive. In the highlands walnuts are most important. Trees are cared for assiduously, for dried figs, raisins, and nuts constitute the principal food reserves after the cereals have been consumed. Since they do not have to be watered, figs and vines usually occupy the higher and steeper slopes. New olive trees are usually obtained by grafting on the oleaster. The olives are often left so long in heaps on the ground that they begin to ferment, and the oil is very rancid when the fruit is eventually pressed.

The arduous task of rebuilding terraces, dams, and ditches begins in March. This work is not yet finished when it is time to begin the harvest of the cereals. The shortage of manpower at this time is offset by the women, who reap the grain with sickles and carry it to threshing floors. There it remains until the men have completed the planting of the summer crops. Then all effort is devoted to threshing and winnowing. This work begins in July and in bountiful years it may still be in progress when the first rains fall. Threshing takes place on communal floors, which may or may not be paved. These are always in an exposed position, and when the mixture of grain and straw is thrown in the air, it is separated

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

by the wind. Cattle, mules, or donkeys tread the crop and separate the grain from the chaff. As the animals are driven in a circle, the men work with winnowing forks (pl. 5, *a*). After most of the chaff has been removed, the women take over and finish the winnowing by hand. The men then set to work piling up the straw to be used as fodder during the winter months. In Garet and Gal'aya, the usual form of strawstacks is oblong; in the Rif they have a circular form. Strawstacks are sometimes covered with a thin veneer of mud; sometimes they are held in shape by stones tied to ropes. In the wetter, western provinces straw must be stored inside.

In early September, maize is harvested and the almonds and figs are collected. The remaining trees, including the olive, do not bear fruit until November or December. Grape picking, usually in mid-September, marks the end of the agricultural year. After this has been done, the cereals reaped and threshed, and the strawstacks prepared, there is time for rejoicing. September is the usual month for weddings and also for festivals and pilgrimages. But it is already time to think of the new cereal crop, and smoke from fresh clearings marks the beginning of a new year.

The cycle just described is most applicable to Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and the western margins of the Rif. On the Atlantic littoral there is little danger of frost, and vegetables may be grown at any time of the year. The calendar of events in the drier and warmer parts of the northern zone is usually two or three weeks ahead of the cycle in the highlands. When autumn rains fall over the zone, cereals are ready for harvest in the warmer eastern sector in May, but as often as not the advantage of higher temperatures is offset by meager or tardy precipitation. In 1957 the first heavy rains did not reach Gal'aya until April.

The pattern of land use in the highlands reflects centuries of trial and error. The problem here is that it is virtually impossible to grow more than one crop on the same plot of land. Maize and hemp must be planted before the cereals are ripe, and there is also a conflict of time between the harvest of cereals and the planting of vegetables. Hence a division is made between land planted to summer and to winter crops. Since the former are dry-farmed and the latter irrigated, this division coincides with a break in slope. When there is abundant water for irrigation, cereals, figs, and vines are pushed to higher and more precipitous slopes. The Aith Arbi, who own valuable terraced land on the north slope of Adrar Tidighin (pl. 6), arranged a generation ago to purchase additional land at a lower elevation so that it would no longer be necessary to devote precious irrigable land to cereals. Similar divisions have been effected by many highland communities. The disadvantages of specialization are offset also by barter at the weekly markets. In Ktama, tribesmen from the deep valley of Abd al-Ghaya grow an abundance of grapes, figs, oranges, and vegetables, which can be exchanged for grain produced on higher and drier land.

Most highland communities are not so fortunate, and an attempt is made to allocate land for each season. Cultivation is usually spread over three distinct zones, which are worked at different times of the year. First, and lowest in a valley, is the zone of terraces reserved for the irrigated crops. The next zone, at a slightly higher elevation, is planted to cereals, figs, and vines. A still higher

[See pp. 129-130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R 241 171 zone may be used only for pasture. This arrangement seems orderly and rational, but its effect is to accelerate the deterioration of the land. Grain stubble (which is often grazed) and vines (which are often placed parallel to the slope) do not constitute an adequate protection for the soil. As population increases, the zones of dry farming and pasture are extended to higher slopes. First the forest is destroyed, then the scrub cover is removed, and eventually the zone of dry farming is stripped of soil.[3]

Crop Combinations

The basic crops of northern Morocco are well adapted to the Mediterranean climate, for cereals can be grown during the rainy season, and trees, by virtue of their large root systems, are suited to the long dry summers. When water is available for irrigation, diets are balanced and there is no danger of famine. This

R [243]

TABLE 4
Land under Cereals
(Hectares)

	1936–40	1951	1963	1963
Barley	75,729	193,600	164,129	174,905
Wheat	30,518	70,895	73,180	76,392
Sorghum	25,656	49,092	51,094	46,981
Maize	4,318	4,992	6,020	6,206
Rye	1,253	3,411	3,724	3,305
Totals	137,474	321,991	298,147	307,789

Source: *Anuario estadístico, 1962–63* (Madrid, 1965), p. 93.

happy combination of dry farming, horticulture, and gardening is realized only in the highlands and on the main river plains. Irrigated land probably accounts for less than 5 per cent of the surface of the northern zone. Most tribesmen depend on the unpredictable rains.

R 243 171 In the whole of Morocco about 90 per cent of the land under field crops is planted to cereals. Table 4 shows the amount of land used for growing cereals in the northern zone. Barley accounts for nearly half of the total cultivated area in the northern zone.[4] One advantage of barley is that it can be cut while green, thus making space for summer crops. When barley is cut green, it is toasted before it is milled, and then is mixed with butter to form a paste. Wheat is more highly prized, but is less successful on thin residual soils. In many areas wheat flour is used only as a flavoring and leavening agent. Rye is grown in the Sanhajan highlands, but is not generally regarded as an important food. No one would think of serving rye bread to a guest. At the approach of a visitor, an attempt may even be made to hide all rye bread. When land is abundant, rye may be grown for use as thatch, and the grain is not collected. In the Rif it used to be a

S [243] 262 [574]

R [113] [3] On the relationship of economic history and erosion, see Paul Vageler, "Zur Bodengeographie Algiers; Faktoren der Bodenbildung und -verteilung. Die Catena als bodengenetische Einheit," *Petermanns Mitt.*, Ergänzungsheft 258 (1955), 88–99.

R [113] [4] In 1950 there were 373,482 hectares of land under cultivation in Spanish Morocco. *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[1]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[2]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[1] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.
[2] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 316.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

J 241 171 the gradual decrease in the number of fruit and nut trees. The tribesmen of Jbala and the Atlantic littoral can count on adequate rainfall for a good cereal crop in most years. Moreover, since the summer weather is cooler and more humid than in the interior, crops do not suffer from excessive evaporation. Cereals in winter give way to summer crops of sorghum and chickpeas. The latter are not irrigated, and so there is no need for terracing. Slopes are covered with an irregular patchwork of cultivated plots without walls or ditches. Each hamlet is surrounded by cactus (*Opuntia Ficus-indica*), which is cultivated as a hedge and for its edible fruit.

Farm Implements

R 412 171 The implements used by Moroccan farmers are simple and few, for long-established habit opposes change. There are some general reasons for conservatism, such as the abundance and cheapness of manpower and the stagnation of industry. There are specific reasons as well: the prevalence of steep slopes, of small plots where only handwork is possible, and the difficulty of hauling heavy equipment through mountainous terrain. Implements are limited to mattocks, picks, hatchets, hoes, plows, grist mills, and equipment for pulping and pressing olives. Plowshares and other iron tools are made and repaired by local blacksmiths.

R 407 171 The Moroccan plow is a one-handled implement without wheels, colter, or moldboard. Wings are attached obliquely to either side of the share in order to widen the furrows, though not to reverse the sod. Since there is no harrow, clods are broken with hoes or clubs, and a second plowing is necessary to cover the seed. The share is made from a flat piece of iron hammered over at the edges to form a socket. The plow itself is much the same throughout the northern zone.

J [407] [492] The main regional difference is in the manner of yoking. In Jbala plows are fastened to the foreheads of cows or oxen (pl. 4, *b*); neck yoking is practiced elsewhere.[1] Mixed teams are common, combining donkeys, mules, or oxen, or one of these animals with a camel (pl. 4, *b*).

R 412 171 J [412] Figure 21 illustrates the main hand tools. The first four (*a–d*) are digging and weeding tools; the complex tool in the fourth sketch (*d*) seems to be restricted to Jbala, for the Sanhajans and Rifians are unable to give it a name. The fifth sketch (*e*) shows an all-purpose grubbing and cutting tool, which the women use to collect fuel and edible plants. Figure 20, *f*, is the hatchet used by woodcutters in Ktama; 20, *g*, is the ubiquitous sickle.

R 256 171 Milling is ordinarily accomplished with a rotary hand mill consisting of an upper stone, turned with a wooden handle, and a lower stone that remains stationary.[2] In areas of abundant runoff there are also vertical water mills, consisting of a turbine wheel attached to the upper of two millstones, a hopper mounted above the stone, and a feed slot jiggled by the upper stone to ensure an even flow (fig. 22). The lower stone is larger than the upper, and is rimmed with a slightly raised border, broken at one place to allow extraction of the flour.[3] Mills of this

R [113] [1] For other illustrations of Moroccan plows, see E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères: notes de linguistique et d'éthnographie* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1920), pp. 275–301.

R [113] [2] This type of mill is illustrated in Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958), plate LI.

R [113] [3] The origin and evolution of the rotary hand mill and the turbine mill are discussed at length in L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

Mills of this type are usually privately owned, and the owner collects one-tenth of the flour. When there is neither hand nor turbine mill, the women pound the grain with iron bars.

The implements used to press and pulp olives are similar to those used in Roman time.[10] The apparatus consists of a mill, a press, and a vat. The millstone lies against a centrally placed revolving post and is turned by means of a horizontal shaft with one end secured in the center post and the other projecting beyond the stone (fig. 23). Mills are used both for bruising the fruit before pressing and later to pulp the pressed fruit for use as cattle fodder. The larger mills are powered by animals, the smaller by hand. The essential part of the press is a large log, held in place by heavy wooden screws, which is forced down on baskets filled with olive mash.

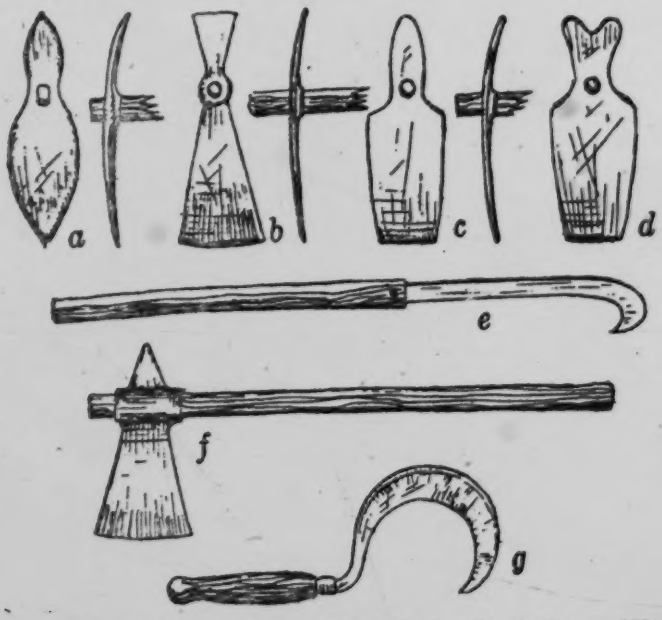


Fig. 21. Farm implements: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, digging and weeding tools; *e*, grubbing and cutting tool; *f*, hatchet used by woodcutters; *g*, sickle.

Role of Domestic Animals

In the statistical report of 1953 the number of domestic animals in Spanish Morocco is given as 1,104,000 goats, 661,000 sheep, 337,000 cattle, 55,000 donkeys, 22,000 mules, and 2,000 camels.[11] The number of goats nearly equals that of human beings. They are kept for their meat, milk, and hides. In many areas the number of goats is limited only by the amount of space available for storage of fodder and by the number of goatherds.

[10] H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953).

[11] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 131, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R
256
191

Fig. 22. Turbine grist mill.

R
245
407
191

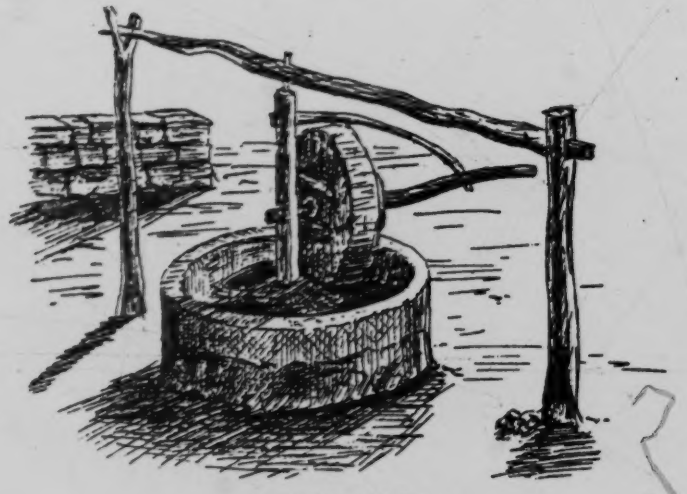


Fig. 23. Olive grinder.

000
S
231
061

and by the number of goatherds. The situation in Ktama is representative of the entire highland area. In 1934 this mountain tribe, with a population of 8,389 persons, maintained 20,259 goats in an area of 450 square kilometers.[13] Goats must be brought back to shelter each night; so the radius of their movement is small. The effects of browsing on vegetation will be examined in chapter viii.

R
231
191

The number of goats decreases toward the Atlantic lowlands and the plains

[13] Figures from an unpublished report of the Spanish *interventor* dated November, 1934.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

of Garet. In the Atlantic coastal zone most of the surface is cultivated, and little vegetation is left to serve as browse. In the eastern plains goats are replaced by sheep, which begin to outnumber them in the lower parts of the Rif. In the Middle Atlas the raising of sheep is associated with transhumance. This mode of pastoral life is still followed to some extent by the Ulad Stut, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ibdharsen, who spend the winter months near their cereal fields and the summer months in higher country with their sheep. The routes of migration run from the alluvial lowlands into nearby hills, especially the Kar-Kar range. In recent years the development of new irrigation projects has discouraged pastoral life, and the migration is now limited to a few of the young men and boys.

In the western provinces the main draft animals are cows or oxen. In the highlands and in the eastern lowlands the beasts of burden are donkeys and mules, which are used also for threshing and turning olive grinders. Mules are highly prized, for they can carry a heavier load than donkeys and are more agile and hardy than horses. Since there are few horses in the northern zone, most mules are imported from elsewhere in Morocco or from Spain. Moroccan donkeys are a small but hardy race, able to withstand long journeys with heavy loads. Horses have little value except as symbols of wealth and prestige, and are seldom used in the mountains. At the time of the Spanish conquest there were no horses at all in Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Seddath, and Aith Khannus.[10] Camels are restricted to the plains of Garet, where about 2,000 of them are used as milk, pack, and draft animals. Except for an occasional playful experiment, camels are not ridden.

The pack saddle for donkeys and mules is a heavy object made of cloth stuffed with straw. Panniers of twilled basketry, consisting of a double container connected by a strip of basketry, serve nearly all transport needs. Riders perch on top of the load and let their legs dangle to one side. There is little riding in the mountains, for a healthy man can make better time on foot.

Women are the most important burden bearers. Lines of women or girls bent under heavy loads are a common sight everywhere in Morocco. In Jbala they may be seen on any road carrying huge loads of wood and charcoal (pl. 8, *b*).[A]

The domestic animals in northern Morocco include ferrets used in hunting, dogs, cats, and chickens. The dogs are of two types, one a small cur and the other a larger sheep dog. Chickens are the exclusive property of women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands. Bees are kept in the mountains, but the average tribesman knows nothing of apiculture, and prefers to assign the task to paid specialists.

Irrigation and Water Rights

In Moroccan agricultural terminology the most important distinction is that between *bilad bour*, the land of dry farming, and *bilad saqiyah*, the land of irrigation. By far the greatest amount of irrigated land is watered by diversion of surface runoff (pl. 5, *b*).[B] Small dams (*mechra*) are used to divert water into ditches (*saqiyah*), which lead to the irrigable land. The ditches often follow tortuous contours, and may extend for several kilometers. The larger streams are flanked by several channels, sometimes five or six, each bringing water from a

[10] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 39, cited in note 5.

[A] [See p. 132--Analyst]

[B] [See p. 129--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

different dam. In deep valleys it is often necessary to move water back and forth across the natural drainage lines. For this purpose, wooden conduits are set on long tripods. Construction of irrigation works begins in the spring, and after a few months of use the water is redirected into its natural course. Since water is required only during the dry season, irrigation systems are designed for the minimum runoff. On steep slopes, water is carefully directed into a series of ponds; check dams are used to impound water from springs. Channels are constructed to lead water to grist mills, but the use of water for milling has a low priority, for most communities also have smaller mills turned by hand.

The construction and maintenance of dams and irrigation ditches require less effort than the construction and maintenance of terraces. With the exception of a few works in the coastal plains, terracing is necessary for irrigation. Since irrigation involves channeling rather than simple flooding, most terraces have a slight slope and are supported by stone walls (pl. 6, *b*). There is no rotation of crops on irrigated land. In areas of thin residual soil the land is gradually built up by the constant deposition of baskets of mud, another of the backbreaking tasks assigned to the women. Fertilizer, a mixture of sheep dung and ashes, is applied each year.

The regulation of water rights is a complicated matter.[14] The rights of preference pass from human beings to animals, crops, and industries. The two main rivers of the Rif, Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, illustrate the problems of management. Wad Ghis has only about a fourth of the flow of Wad Nkour, but its flow is more predictable. Those who irrigate with its waters know the quantity they can expect, and plan accordingly. In normal years Wad Nkour irrigates nearly ten times as much land as Wad Ghis, but in some years it remains little more than a muddy trickle. Hence there is frequent occasion for disputes, which in the past often led to prolonged feuds. In both basins the mountaineers have almost unlimited use of water, while the more numerous plainsmen must be satisfied with what is left. Most Rifian communities have secondary sources of water: wells, springs, and ponds. Each family is allowed a certain time at the water source, and the community as a whole works out the regulations and fines.

An elaborate series of agreements, usually verbal, deals with the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. The labor of construction as well as the necessary reconstruction after heavy rains is done by representatives of the families using the water. Infractions of agreement often lead to differences of opinion about these responsibilities or the period of time water is used. Serious disputes may arise over the outlines of ditches, and for this reason it is necessary to gain the consent of each property owner over whose land the water is to flow. The irrigation turns of the larger communities are regulated by days. Within such communities, individual families are allowed shorter periods of use, usually an hour. The mechanics of irrigation requires the use of the hoe to build up and then destroy a tiny diversion dam.

[14] In this section I have made use of J. M. Paniagua y Santos, "Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, 4 (1948), 1–44; D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, 2 (1954), 55–57; and D. A. Caponera, "Water Laws in the Moslem Countries," *FAO Development Paper 43* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1954).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Contracts and Coöperation

675 464 171 241 When tribesmen are unable or unwilling to work their own land, contracts are made between the wealthier and the poorer members of a community; those who have little land or equipment hire themselves out to those who have more. Farmers who have more animals than they or their sons can manage, make agreements with others to care for the herd. The hired shepherds, while the animals are in their hands, receive part of the milk and butter, some of the young that are born, and, if the animals are sold, a share of the profit. The shepherd receives part, sometimes half, of the wool. Full-time employment as a shepherd is considered rather degrading, and for this reason it is the common occupation of exiles and orphans.

Vegetable gardens, orchards, and fields may be cared for by hired laborers. If their job entails the difficult task of setting up terraces, they may get up to a third of the crop. If they perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, they receive a fifth of the crop. If the hired hand needs an assistant during the reaping, the latter is paid with a tenth of the harvest. Associations of this sort are not common; farm labor is ordinarily done by the landowner and his sons.

476 241 171 A second type of association takes place when two farmers own plots of about the same size but do not have enough animals or equipment to work their land independently. The two farmers join forces, each supplying his share, and the harvest is divided between them. This form of coöperation is common when a farmer has only one draft animal. In irrigated areas, one man may supply the land and part of the seed, and another the rest of the seed, the animals, and the plow. Since most communities are kinship groups, coöperation of this sort is usually among brothers or cousins."[113]

Inheritance

428 171 The inheritance of property[114] in most of Morocco follows standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. When a man dies his widow first receives one-eighth of his property and the remainder is divided among the sons and daughters. All sons inherit equally, as do all daughters. If a man dies leaving a widow and daughters only, the widow gets one-eighth and the remainder is divided into three parts, of which the daughters receive two and the father's brother one. If the father has no brothers, the rest (aside from the widow's share) goes to the daughters. If he does have brothers, and dies leaving only one daughter, she receives half of the property (minus the widow's share) and the brothers get the other half. If a man dies leaving no children, his widow receives a fourth of his property and the rest goes to the brothers. If a man with children dies prior to his father, the children have no right to the property and receive shares only if the grandfather agrees to such a division.

[423] Moroccans are very reluctant to divide up their land. When brothers inherit land they customarily work it jointly, the eldest brother acting as a substitute

[113] [113] [113] [113] [113]

[113] On contracts and coöperation, see also A. Sánchez Pérez, "Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en el Rif," *Selección de conferencias pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso 1950–51* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1951), pp. 95–104.

[114] This paragraph is based upon the remarks of D. M. Hart in *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 141–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

Hunting and Fishing

In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[11] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla*.

Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[12]

In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[13] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[11] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[12] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[13] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[90]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus, C. laurifolius, C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[91] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[90] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[91] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93)

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

JSR
102
443
131

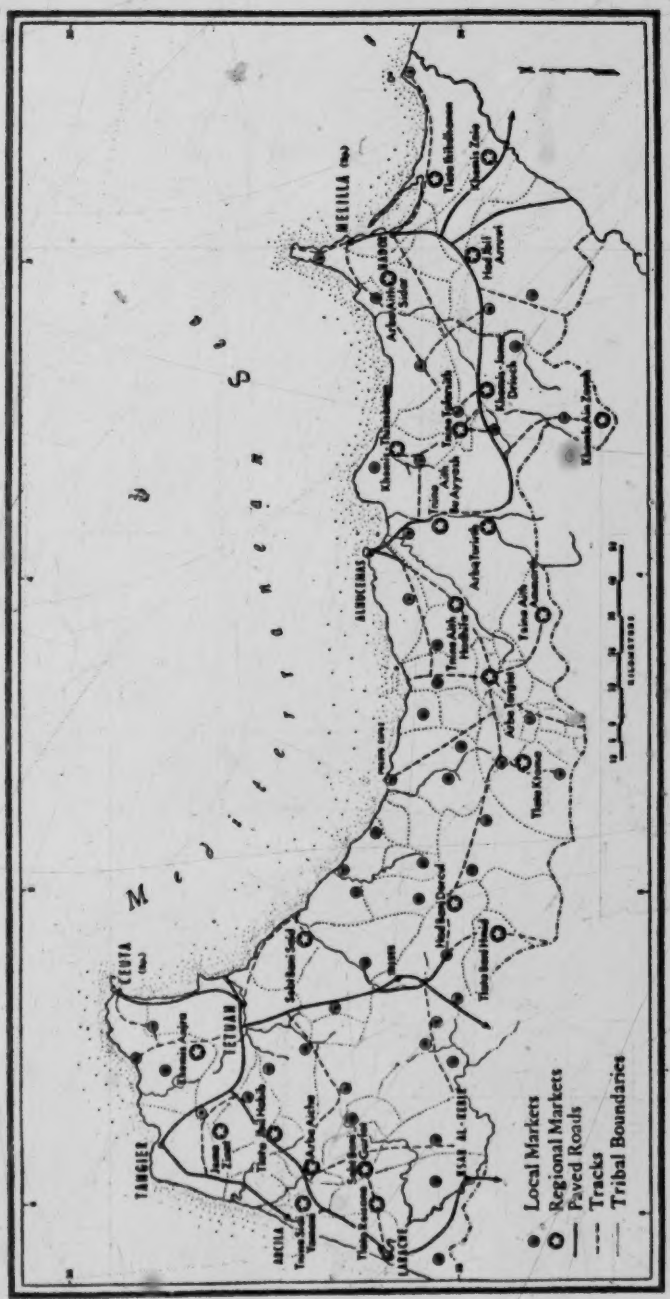


Fig. 24. Northern Morocco: tribal markets.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zōrah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Tnine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Cabello Alemras, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167-169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[34] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[35] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[34] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[35] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

161 221 464 The answer to this dilemma, if it may be called an answer, is emigration. In the decade preceding the current disorder, more than 30,000 Rifians went to Algeria each year to work on French farms. The main drift took place during the slack winter season, but smaller groups migrated at other times of the year. Few Morocans thought of emigration as a permanent change. They were hired by members of their own tribe appointed to serve as contractors, and messengers visited them regularly to collect money for the families left at home. Each tribe had its special place of employment. The Aith Warishik went to Sidi bel Abbes, the Aith Tuzin to Tlemcen, the Thimsaman to Blida and Ain Temouchent, and the Gal'ayan tribes to Oran.[112] The largest number of emigrants were recruited from the Aith Said, and it is not a coincidence that the territory of this tribe includes spectacular badlands. From the standpoint of the French farmer this movement was a blessing, for the Moroccans worked harder than the Algerians and were satisfied with less pay. The tribesmen of the western Rif did not join in the seasonal movement to Algeria, but many of them migrated to Tetuán and Tangier.[113]

161 167 171 These movements are manifestations of a general trend. The oasis dwellers of the Mzab have long practiced emigration as a solution to their problem of overpopulation. The Mozabite is a farmer in his youth and again in old age; during the middle years he may be a bus driver, a shopkeeper, or a mechanic.[114] The same tradition is found among the craftsmen of Taghzut and some of the Shluh tribesmen of the Anti Atlas. Emigration is not a new development, but in recent years it has been practiced on an unprecedented scale.[115]

[112] F. Benedicto Pérez, "Trabajadores rifeños en Argelia," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1948* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1949), pp. 5–17.

[113] D. M. Hart, "Notes on the Rifian Community of Tangier," *Middle East Jour.*, 11 (1957), 153–162.

[114] In the Mzab the tradition of emigration for men is combined with a tradition that women must not leave the oasis. See Karl Suter, "Die Ortsgebundenheit der Frau bei den Mozabiten," *Geographica Helvetica*, 12 (1957), 102–114.

[115] On emigration see also Günter Glauert, "Veränderungen in den Bevölkerungsstruktur Nordafrikas in den letzen Jahrzehnten," *Die Erde*, 88 (1957), 298–319; René Raynal, "Déplacements récents et actuels des populations du bassin de la Moulouya (Maroc oriental)," *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Lisbonne, 1949* (Lisbon, 1952), IV, 67–80; and J. C. Petit and Castet Barou, "Contribution à l'étude des mouvements de la population marocaine musulmane et de l'exode rural," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 68 (1955), 423–459.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter VII

EFFECTS OF SETTLEMENT ON THE LAND

121 311 Evidence of deforestation has already been considered briefly. In chapter ii the effects of burning and browsing were mentioned parenthetically in discussing the distribution of forest and scrub. Now that man's activities have been described, the discussion can be resumed.[1]

Historical Evidence

195 311 When the Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46, timber resources were nearly exhausted in the eastern Mediterranean basin. The cedars of Lebanon had been retreating since the time of King Solomon. Homer refers to "tall pines and spreading oaks" on the now virtually barren island of Sicily.[2] Plato, in the fifth century B.C., deplores the destruction of the forests in Greece,[3] and a century later Theophrastus complains that the supply of ship timber is limited.[4] In Pliny's time the thuya forests on Mount Ancorarius were already exhausted.[5] At the dawn of the Christian era, Roman ships were sailing as far away as the Caucasus ports to obtain timber, and Roman architecture eventually had to be modified to compensate for the scarcity and increasing price of wood. Large quantities of wood were needed to heat baths, and trees were cut everywhere for charcoal. Cork and tanners' bark were persistent items of trade. In both the Roman and the Carthaginian realms, perhaps the greatest wood-devouring industry was shipbuilding. As Miss Semple suggests, "A multitude of fishing smacks, naval vessels, merchant ships, and coastwise transportation boats kept up the demand for fir, pine, cedar, and minor woods which entered into their construction."[6] The coniferous forests were further depleted by the steady demand for pitch, resin, and tar. It would be rash to make sweeping generalizations on the basis of a few references after the lapse of centuries; yet it may be asserted that deforestation was evident in classical times, especially in the areas of Roman and Carthaginian influence, and that no forested area accessible to lumber merchants was ignored.[7]

In the time of Homer and Hesiod the Moroccan mountains were still confused with the peak of Tenerife, of which some indistinct knowledge had been gained from Phoenician sources.[8] The references to Atlas cedar in Latin literature usually refer to forests in the more familiar province of Numidia. According to Pliny,

195 [1] For additional illustrations, see M. W. Mikesell, "Deforestation in Northern Morocco," *Science*, 132 (1960), 441–448.

113 311 [2] *Odyssey*, IX; *Iliad*, XII, XVI, XX.

[3] *Critias*, 111 A–D, trans. A. J. Toynbee in *Greek Historical Thought* (New York: Mentor Books, 1952), p. 146.

[4] *Enquiry into Plants* . . . , IV, 5.

[5] *Natural History*, XIII, 15. Most authorities place Mount Ancorarius in the Ouarsenis Massif of Algeria. Paul Boudy, *Economie forestière nord-africaine* (Paris: Larose, 1948–1955), I, 223.

[6] E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), p. 282.

[7] H. C. Darby, "The Clearing of the Woodland in Europe," in W. L. Thomas, Jr., ed., *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 183–216.

[8] Cf. George Rawlinson's annotation of Herodotus, *History*, IV, 184 (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1910); and R. Thouvenot, "La connaissance de la montagne marocaine chez Pline l'Ancien," *Hespéris*, 26 (1939), 113–121.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 31: beams of Numidian cedar were used in the temple of Apollo at Utica.[9] Strabo describes Mount Abyla (Jbil Hacho) on the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees.[10] This specific reference is of major interest, for now only a few clusters of Aleppo pine appear on that promontory. The description of forest at Cape Cantin, near Safi, in the periplus of Hanno is significant, also, for no such description could be recorded today.[11] It is known that the African provinces contributed wood to the Roman baths, and it may be inferred that some of that wood came from Mauritania. Thuya beams were imported for the roofs of temples, palaces, and other fine buildings, and the same wood was preferred for cabinets and other furniture.[12] The pine and thuya of the Rif probably were exploited in shipbuilding, and there would have been a demand for fuel and lumber at each of the Tingitanian settlements.

The first Arab invasion of Morocco in A.D. 648 and the great immigration of bedawin tribes in the eleventh century mark the beginnings of two trends that have an important bearing on this discussion. The first Arab invaders were pious and learned men who sought to build an urban civilization comparable to that already established in the Muslim heartland. In each of the new cities wood was needed for building, for fuel, and for a hundred other domestic and industrial purposes. The great demand for tanbark at Marrakech, Fez, Salé, and Tetuán soon resulted in the destruction of large stands of holly oak and cork oak. Planks of cedar were needed for city gates, and beams of cedar or thuya were placed in mosques and palaces. Slender riparian trees were used in smaller structures, and charcoal braziers burned in every home. By the end of the tenth century the Moroccan cities had become "devourers of wood."[13]

Many authors, seeking a dramatic explanation of Moroccan deforestation, attribute most of the adverse change to the bedawin; at least one author refers to their "hatred of trees."[14] Ibn Khaldun noted the effects of the invasion of northern Africa by the Bani Hallal and Bani Soleim: "When the Arabs [i.e., bedawin] conquer a country, ruin quickly descends upon it"; after three hundred and fifty years of unrestricted nomadism in his native Tunisia, "ruin and devastation" still prevailed.[15]

Pastoral destruction accelerates very rapidly, for the havoc wrought by overgrazing lies not only in its destruction but also in its prevention of new growth. But it is seldom possible to distinguish one among the several causes of deforestation. There is something appealing in the thought that the Vandals or the bedawin "destroyed" the north African forest, just as there is in the notion that the Mesopotamian irrigation system was "ruined" by the hordes of Hulagu Khan.

175 311

[9] *Natural History*, XVI, 40.

[10] *Geography*, XVII, 3.

[11] For an English translation, see B. H. Warmington, *Carthage* (London: Robert Hale, 1960), pp. 62–64.

[12] Cf. Vitruvius, *Architecture*, II, 4; and Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI, 231, XXXIII, 146.

[13] Jean Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), p. 84.

[14] A. Bernard, *Afrique septentrionale et occidentale* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1937–1939), I, 65.

[15] Charles Issawi, trans., *An Arab Philosophy of History: Selections from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332–1406)* (London: John Murray, 1950), pp. 54–58. Cf. Boudy's comment, *op. cit.*, I, 228; cited in note 5: "C'est incontestablement de cette période que date la grande déforestation du pays, résultat inéluctable des incendies répétés et du pâturage sans mesure." In "Le déboisement de l'Afrique du Nord," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 79 (1941), 471–487, Paul Buffault also blames the bedawin, but his argument is weakened by use of discredited notions of climatic change.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175
311
Both of these alien invasions merely accelerated processes of destruction or decay that had been going on for a long time.

Several of the Arab chroniclers refer to woods in areas that are now deforested. The celebrated text of the seventh century in which northern Africa is described as a land of "continuous shade" is doubtless exaggerated,[1] for the Maghrib would appear to be lush and verdant even today after a long trip through the deserts of Egypt and Libya. Later accounts are more specific, and several of these refer to northern Morocco. In the latter half of the eleventh century Al-Bekri describes an "extensive forest" near Qasr al-Awwal (Ksar as-Srair).[2] Today this area is covered by a shrub formation, interrupted only by scattered clumps of cork oak. In the middle of the twelfth century Al-Idrisi describes Ghmara as a "mountainous and wooded" land.[3] A generation later another author refers to forest in the Ghmaran mountains, and indicates that wood from this forest is used in the construction of boats.[4] In the fifteenth century Al-Ansari found an "abundance of trees" near Ceuta, where forest is now limited to a few stands of cork oak and Aleppo pine.[5]

In the sixteenth century the forests on the Rifian coast began to attract the attention of the Spanish. Moorish pirates had been raiding the Andalusian coast and it was virtually impossible for an unarmed ship to sail through the Strait of Gibraltar. The distress of the Spanish resulted not only from the daring of the Moors but also from the fact that the latter's boats were astonishingly fast and maneuverable. Contemporary accounts praise the "alerce" wood used in the Moorish boats and rate it higher than Spanish oak or pine. Opinions differ as to the identification of this wood, but descriptions of its distribution and properties strongly suggest the Barbary thuya (*Callitris articulata*).[6] In 1505 an agent of Fernando el Católico suggested that an expedition should be directed against the Moroccan coast at Peñón de Vélez because large quantities of alerce were to be found there and not elsewhere on the coast.[7] The latter assertion is almost certainly an error, for thuyas are still scattered over most of the Rifian littoral. At this time the interest of the Spanish seems to have been defensive, but they may have been interested in alerce as a source of timber for their own fleet. In the days of the Armada, Spain looked as far away as the Baltic for suitable timber.[8]

175
311
113
[1] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Un nouveau récit de la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les arabes," *Arabica*, 1 (1954), 40.

[2] Al-Bekri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (Algiers: Adolphe Jourdan, 1919), p. 206.

[3] Al-Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1866), pp. 203–204.

[4] J. Vernet Ginés, "Marruecos en la geografía de Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi," *Tamuda*, 1 (1953), 255.

[5] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une description de Ceuta musulmane au XVe siècle," *Hespéris*, 12 (1931), 145–176.

[6] After initially labeling alerce as thuya, T. García Figueras, *Miscelánea de estudios históricos sobre Marruecos* (Larache: Editora Marroquí, 1949), pp. 143–148, suggests that this name is related to *ars* (Arabic for "cedar"), an opinion shared by J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Bern: Francke, 1954). But it is unlikely that the cedar ever grew on the Mediterranean coast. Actually, there is little to choose between *ars* (cedar) and *ar'ar* (thuya) as possible roots of "alerce." The Latin *Larix* (larch) seems more plausible, but there are no deciduous conifers in Morocco.

[7] The reference is to "madera de los alerces, que los hay en Vélez y muchos y no en otra parte de la costa." For the complete text, see M. Jiménez de la Espada, *La guerra del moro a fines del siglo XV* (Ceuta: Imprenta Africa, 1940), p. 16.

[8] R. G. Albion, *Forests and Sea-Power* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 183; Hellmuth Hopfner, "La evolución de los bosques de Castilla la Vieja en tiempos históricos," *Estudios Geográficos*, 15 (1954), 415–430.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175
311 A number of references to vegetation in northern Morocco appear in the journals of Leo Africanus.[26] In his introductory account of northern Africa the mountains of Barbary are described as "woody on all sides" and as being "replenished with woods and lofty trees."[27] But on the eastern frontier of Barbary, close to Libya, he found "certain barren hills destitute of trees, upon the lower parts whereof grow nothing but unprofitable thorns and shrubs."[28]

Leo's account of the "Kingdom of Fez" reveals his careful observation during extensive travels in northern Morocco.[29] "The Rif Mountains," he notes, are "replenished with most beautiful and straight trees." On the banks of Wad Lukkus he found "huge and solitary woods haunted with lions and other wild beasts." In 1562 a Portuguese attempt to supply the fort at La Graciosa was thwarted, according to Leo, when the Moors cut down "all the woods adjoining the river," causing it to be "choaked and stopped up with great trees." In this context it would seem that Leo refers to riparian forest, but he may be describing an extensive stand of cork oak. This forest did not extend over the entire Atlantic littoral, for he later notes that Arcila "sustaineth great want of wood" because it "standeth almost ten miles from the mountains." Then as now, the people of Arcila imported charcoal from the cork forests south of "Larais" (Larache).

Leo's description of Anjra shows an alertness to change. "In times past," he notes, the mountains of Anjra "greatly abounded with woods, which, being cut down by the inhabitants, were sent to Casar [Ksar as-Srair] for the building of ships, which at that time had a great fleet belonging thereunto." This passage seems to imply that ships were no longer being built or that shipbuilding had declined. A further implication might be that shipbuilding had declined because suitable timber had become scarce. If so, the depletion of the forest must have taken place between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.[30]

Proceeding eastward on the Mediterranean coast, Leo stopped at "Terga," a few kilometers beyond Wad Lao and noted "not far from this town" an "abundance of wood upon the ragged and cold mountains." A similar observation is recorded at "Velles de Gumera" (Vélez de la Ghmara): "Upon the mountains grow great store of wood, very commodious for the building of ships and of galleys"; and he adds that the inhabitants of these mountains "are almost wholly employed about carrying of the said wood from place to place."[31] The reference to lumber trade is not surprising, for the Sanhajans probably carried cedar planks from market to market long before the sixteenth century; but it is surprising to find a suggestion that the mountain tribes were "almost wholly employed" in this trade.

The next account refers to "Ielles," a village located on the coast between Vélez and the bay of Alhucemas. The mountains south of this place are described as being "full of pine trees," and Leo found "great store of wood" in the moun-

[26] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896).
[27] *Ibid.*, I, 168–169.
[28] *Ibid.*, I, 173.
[29] *Ibid.*, II, 494–539, Hakluyt edition. The quotations to follow are taken from Book 3 of the narrative.
[30] Vernet Ginés, *op. cit.*, in note 19.
[31] In regard to the same place, Mármol (who may have copied Leo) refers to "buen aparejo de madera en las sierras de alrededor, donde hay muchos árboles, alcornoques y alerces para hacer navíos." Luys del Mármol Carvajal, *Descripción general de Africa* (Granada and Málaga, 1573–1599), III, chap. 62.

[113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

tains of the upper Nkour. The same expression is applied to the mountains on the route between Vélez and Fez (probably the Sanhajan highlands), and to "Mount Seusaoen" (i.e., Shawen, probably Jbil Tisuka). Leo's account of the eastern sector of northern Morocco is very different. The plains of Garet are described as a desert, and the lower Moulouya Valley as being "unpleasant and dry," with "no water but that of the river Muluia."

Accounts of forest in the Rif highlands are to be expected, but it is surprising to find repeated references to forest on the Mediterranean coast. Similar accounts appear in the works of Arab writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Strabo describes the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees. The frequent mentions of trees near Ceuta suggest a profound modification of vegetation in subsequent years. Accounts of shipbuilding and lumber trade indicate some commercial logging; the retreat of the forest near Ksar as-Srair, Ceuta, and Vélez might have been a direct result of these activities. Leo's reference to "great want of wood" at Arcila suggests that the hills and marine terraces of the Tangier-Tetuán-Arcila triangle had been cleared before his time, but extensive woods still existed in the basin of Wad Lukkus. His evaluation of the Moulouya Valley may have been prejudiced by previous exposure to more verdant areas, but "desert" does not mean forest, or even a rich formation of scrub.

Agents and Processes of Change

In northern Morocco today, the most important agents of deforestation are: (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to "improve" pastures and to clear fields for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by sheep and goats. These processes are evident even to the casual observer, but it is difficult to determine their relative importance. Despois believes that the principal causes of deforestation have always been the need for fuel and new land to till.[11] Braun-Blanquet describes the Mediterranean garrigues as "zoöbiotically conditioned communities."[12] Kuhnholtz-Lordat is convinced that the greatest agent of deterioration has been fire.[13]

Each emphasis is supported by abundant evidence, but it may be doubted whether the several causes of deforestation can be treated independently. A series of fires, if not too closely spaced, may not result in deforestation, but burning followed by heavy pasturing inevitably does. Most of the broad-leaf trees in northern Morocco reproduce themselves from shoots after being burned or felled, but in areas overrun by goats the shoots are browsed down and forest degenerates to scrub. In tangled brush formations it is often difficult to tell whether the main destructive agent has been fire, domestic animals, or man.

Consumption of Wood

Although kerosene lamps burn in many Moroccan homes, charcoal and wood are the only important domestic fuels.[14] Butane and electrical appliances are

[11] Despois, *op. cit.*, p. 84, cited in note 12.

[12] J. Braun-Blanquet, *Pflanzensoziologie: Grundzüge der Vegetationskunde* (2d ed., Vienna: Springer, 1951), p. 371.

[13] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), *passim*.

[14] Anthracite of excellent quality has been mined at Djerada south of Oujda since 1931, but

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus, Rhus pentaphylla,* and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[a] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix, Alnus, Populus, Vitex,* and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander,* the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[b] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[c]

---

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al., Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[a] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[b] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies,* 9 (1931), 69.

[c] Coon, *loc. cit.*, traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

313 The great wooden gates that used to guard the openings of every city wall
648 demonstrate the importance of the lumber trade. Only fragments of these gates
171 still exist, but it is certain that most of them were made of cedar. Logging operations were greatly expanded by the Spanish after the Rifian tribes had been pacified. It is not an exaggeration to say that the mineral deposits and cedar forests of northern Morocco were the only compensations for Spain's investment in colonial prestige. Reliable estimates of the amount of timber cut since the beginning of the protectorate cannot be found, possibly because the Spanish claimed to be conserving and restoring the forests in their zone. With the backing of military force, the Spanish were able to exercise some control over cutting by the native population, but their own work proceeded without interruption or apparent regulation. Spanish officials point out that the forests being exploited were private property and that the forestry service was concerned only with public domain.

In 1956 sawmills operated throughout the year at Tetuán and Targist, and during the summer months trucks heavily loaded with cedar logs could be seen on every mountain road. The fir forests on Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab had not yet been heavily logged when Spanish "protection" came to an end, but the deciduous oaks on Jbil Buhashim had been cut in quantity for use as railroad ties. These operations may have been a brief chapter in the history of the Moroccan forest, but it is probable that the Spanish, with modern equipment, cut more trees in a decade than the local tribesmen could destroy in a century. The effects of Spanish logging are strikingly evident in the Sanhajan highlands, especially on Adrar Dahdoh, Adrar Tidighin, and Adrar Tizi Ifri.

313 This harsh judgment applies only to the exploitation of cedar and the decidu-
171 ous oaks. A modest amount of reforestation was undertaken. A plantation of
[185] *Eucalyptus* was established north of Larache; Aleppo pines were planted near Rincón, Alhucemas, Nador, and Melilla; and an effort was made to prevent premature stripping of the cork oak.[a]

Profiting from long experience in Algeria, the Service des Eaux et Forêts carried out an elaborate program in French Morocco. The system advocated and partly enforced was based upon periodic and progressive thinnings, which were intended to reconcile the interests of the tribesmen with good forestry practice. If effectively enforced, this method would have permitted the production of fuel without waiting for the normal age of exploitation, and would have improved pastoral conditions by facilitating the movement and supervision of livestock.[b]

314 Tannin is extracted from the roots and bark of all the Moroccan oaks, and
171 this operation frequently results in mutilation or death. The cork oak is espe-
311 cially vulnerable, for tannin is scraped from the delicate inner bark immediately after the corky tissue has been removed. Complete girdling destroys trees, and death may result if more than half of the circumference is damaged.[c] The tanners of Marrakech have been responsible for extensive deforestation in the

[a] The program planned by the Spanish forestry service is described in González Vázquez, [113] *op. cit.*, pp. 97–185, cited in note 34; and J. Ruiz de la Torre, *La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos y la elección de especies para su repoblación forestal* (Larache: Centro de Investigaciones Forestales, 1956).

[b] For a brief account of French management, see J. P. Challot, "L'homme et la forêt maro- [113] caine," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 84 (1946), 233–261.

[c] Boudy, *op. cit.*, II (fasc. 1), 47 ff., cited in note 5.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

314 High Atlas. Deforestation can be traced also to the tanners of Fez and Tetuán."
311 The tanners' guild in Fez goes back to the ninth century, when master tanners
191 gathered at this site from Córdoba, Qayrawan, and distant Iran. Fez leather was once exported as far away as Baghdad, and shoes went to Egypt until the present century. During the peak years of production. Fez craftsmen tanned about 500,000 skins a year. The descendants of the original immigrant craftsmen are still busy making handbags, slippers, and other articles for the tourist and export trade.

It is not surprising that *Quercus Ilex*, an important source of tannin, should now be rare in the hills near Fez and Tetuán. There is good reason to believe that the holly oak once covered these hills. One well-informed botanist asserts that the primordial cover of the limestone mountains south of Tetuán probably was a "climax" forest of holly oak.[a] In Gal'aya and the eastern Rif, careless stripping of the bark of *Rhus pentaphylla*, a source of red dye, destroys many trees; "Morocco leather," a trade name in bookbinding, is customarily made from goatskin tanned with sumac.

Effects of Burning

372 In the eastern Rif the plant cover is usually too sparse to maintain a fire, and
241 on the Atlantic littoral there is little land left to clear. But between these areas
191 is a large zone covered with forest or scrub that must be burned before the land
311 can be plowed. Some attempt is usually made to control the spread of fire, but conflagrations develop when tinder-dry shrubs are fanned by brisk winds. Fire is employed also for the "improvement" of pasture, for increased blossoming ("bee pasture"), and probably for the mere pleasure of burning or out of carelessness.[a]

233 The importance of pastoral fires has been emphasized by most students of the
372 Mediterranean landscape,[a] but in northern Morocco fires set to clear away nox-
191 ious shrubbery or to facilitate movement of stock are less important than agri-
241 cultural fires. Pastoral fires are neither necessary nor desirable where there are
311 goats, for these animals thrive on woody browse and can break through the thickest scrub. Sheep outnumber goats only in the drier eastern sector, where impenetrable formations are rare. For every fire set to "improve" pasture, probably more than ten are set to prepare new fields for plowing.

372 Whatever its cause, fire is a major agent of deforestation. The difficulty is
311 that there are many kinds of fires: quick fires that run over a thin mantle of vegetation, great conflagrations that consume thicker formations, fires that remain close to the ground, fires that extend to the crowns of trees. It makes a great deal of difference whether fires recur after five or after twenty-five years. Moreover, the important factor may be not the fire itself but what happens to an area after it has been burned.

---

[113] [a] R. le Tourneau, L. Paye, and R. Guyot, "La corporation des tanneurs et l'industrie de la tannerie à Fès," *Hespéris*, 21 (1935), 167–240; A. Joly, "L'industrie à Tétouan," *Archives Marocaines*, 8, 15, 18 (1906–1912).

[113] [a] J. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala (Marruecos español)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1955), pp. 26–27, and the map showing the "natural area" of *Quercus Ilex*.

[113] [a] H. Marc, *Notes sur les forêts de l'Algérie* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 396, lists the causes of serious forest fires from 1886 to 1915 as "accidents" (8 per cent), "imprudence" (32 per cent), "intentional" (23 per cent), "unknown" (37 per cent).

[113] [a] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, "Influence des feux pastoraux dans la région méditerranéenne," *Jour. d'Agriculture Tropicale et de Botanique Appliquée*, 3 (1956), 785–791.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

372 137 311 Plants that are somewhat resistant to fire or are stimulated to multiply and reproduce by fire have been called pyrophytes.[a] There are many kinds of pyrophytes, for resistance to or stimulation from fire may be achieved in several ways. The cork oak could be called a pyrophyte of passive resistance, for it is protected by thick insulating bark. Plants that send out new shoots after their aerial organs have been partly or completely destroyed might be described as pyrophytes of vegetative reaction. Budding may take place above ground, as in the thuya, or below ground, as in the kermes oak, palmetto, madrone, and numerous Mediterranean shrubs. Trees that cast deep shade (e.g., undisturbed holly oaks) could be termed pyrophytes of indirect resistance. Finally, some trees and shrubs that seed heavily and grow rapidly (e.g., Aleppo pine and species of *Cistus*) might be described as social pyrophytes.

372 114 139 311 This classification, derived from the pioneer work of Kuhnholtz-Lordat, has much to recommend it,[b] but, like all classifications, it has some faults. The passive resistance of the cork oak depends upon the lapse of time since the last stripping of the bark. Pyrophytes of vegetative reaction may be destroyed if fires recur in rapid succession. In northern Morocco it is hard to think of a good example of indirect resistance. Some stands of cork oak and holly oak have shaded floors and sparse underbrush, but during the dry season such formations may be inflammable. Again, although the Aleppo pine is an excellent pioneer, it may be exterminated if fires recur in rapid succession or if the young shoots are browsed.

372 137 311 Recurrent burning thus favors some plants and discourages others. Continuous repetition of brush fires produces communities rich in geophytes and therophytes. In much of northwestern Morocco, species of *Cistus* are the first shrubby pioneers.[c] They soon collect in extensive clumps, but die out after ten to fifteen years if not burned again. Large areas in Jbala and Ghmara, now covered with *Cistus monspeliensis*, *C. albidus*, and *C. ladaniferus*, probably were once covered with forests of cork oak or holly oak. Fires usually do not destroy the aerial organs of trees protected by thick bark, but the mortality rate rises sharply immediately after the bark has been stripped.[d]

When aerial organs are destroyed, both cork oak and holly oak reproduce from shoots. An occasional fire may even serve to regenerate a senile forest. But extreme care must be taken to prevent further destruction, for *Cistus*, *Erica*, and other heliophilous shrubs spread over the surface as soon as more light reaches the ground. Since the expanding secondary growth is highly inflammable, this process increases the danger of recurrent fires.[e] After several fires, the mesophytic plants are replaced by species more xerophytic as well as more heliophilous, indicating a change to drier soil conditions.[f]

---

[a] Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée*, *passim*, cited in note 32.

[b] *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

[c] Because of its rapid growth and abundant crop of seeds, *Cistus* has been used in California to protect denuded slopes. Gustaf Juhren, "The Use of *Cistus* in Erosion Control," *Lasca Leaves*, Spring, 1956, pp. 26–29. (113)

[d] See also Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 663 ff., cited in note 5; and A. Dugelay, "La remise en valeur des forêts de chênes-lièges incendiées." *Rev. Forestière Française*, November, 1951, pp. 687–694.

[e] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 649, describes *Erica arborea* as an "élément ignicole par excellence."

[f] On the effects of fire in similar environments, see A. W. Sampson, *Plant Succession on Burned Chaparral Lands in Northern California* (Berkeley: California Agricultural Experiment Station, 1944); R. S. Adamson, *The Vegetation of South Africa* (London: British Empire Vegetation Committee, 1938); W. B. Turrill, *The Plant Life of the Balkan Peninsula* (Oxford: (113)

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

372 139 311 The main difference between the effects of fire in broad-leaf forests and in coniferous forests is that the latter, with the exception of the Barbary thuya, do not reproduce by coppice shoots. The resinous bark of maritime and Aleppo pines is highly inflammable, and since neither tree reproduces from shoots, burning is usually fatal. Yet both species, especially the Aleppo pine, are pyrophytes. Indeed, the presence of a large number of pine seedlings is a sure indication of recent burning. Both species produce abundant seed, and proliferation is encouraged by the destruction of competitive growth. If fifteen or more years have elapsed since a fire, the seedlings reach maturity and the ground is again littered with seeds; but recovery is thwarted by more frequent fires.

Little is known of the effects of fire on the Moroccan fir, but it is probably unimportant as an agent of deforestation. The three main stands of fir grow on the highest slopes of limestone mountains, where there is little underbrush. Furthermore, these mountains do not have sufficient surface water to support permanent human settlement. Goats driven to the mountains from the lower slopes have destroyed many seedlings, but there is little evidence of destructive forest fires. Nor is there evidence of destructive fires in relatively undisturbed stands of cedar. Such forests have little underbrush to serve as kindling, and the cedar itself does not burn easily. But fires may be serious where cedar forests have been invaded by secondary growth. Most of the shrubs common in open stands of cedar—*Cistus, Daphne, Genista, Cystius, Thymus,* and *Halimum*—are highly inflammable. Occasional fires followed by long periods free of disturbance generally do not cause deforestation, but deforestation results when seedlings are destroyed before they can produce seed. The critical interval is disadvantageously long, for the Atlas cedar does not produce abundant seed until it is forty to fifty years old.

Destruction by Domestic Animals

233 311 It would be hard to overemphasize the destruction wrought by grazing and browsing. More than half a million sheep and over a million goats are maintained in this zone. These figures are impressive, but the striking fact is that so large a number of animals are maintained by sedentary farmers. No tribe in northern Morocco is nomadic, and only the Ulad Stut and Aith Bu Yihyi practice transhumance. The main types of pastoral disturbance are well described by Braun-Blanquet.[30] Heavy pasturing causes: (1) withdrawal of large quantities of plant matter, (2) mechanical damage to plants by grazing, browsing, and trampling, (3) selective destruction of desired plants, (4) introduction of nitrophilous communities, and (5) alteration of microrelief.

The few cattle and camels kept in northern Morocco probably are not important agents of deforestation. Both animals are used almost exclusively for draft purposes, and few villages can afford to maintain more than one team. Authorities disagree on whether sheep have been significant factors in the process of deforestation. Most of the sheep in northern Morocco are in the drier and warmer parts of the zone, i.e., Garet and the eastern Rif. Woody plants are too

[113] Clarendon Press, 1929); and B. O. Coventry, "Denudation of the Punjab Hills," *Indian Forest Records,* 14 (1929), 49–78.

[30] Braun-Blanquet, *op cit.*, pp. 367–368, cited in note 31.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

tough and massive to be adversely affected by grazing, but sheep can destroy shoots and seedlings, particularly those of the resinous trees.[a] The presence of monotonous formations of *Stipa tenacissima* in the lower Moulouya Valley and on the Algerian Hauts-Plateaux probably indicates overgrazing, for a history of excessive grazing may be inferred wherever hard tussock grasses have replaced more palatable growth.

Where goats are numerous, deforestation is accelerated, for no hillside is too steep to daunt this very agile creature, and few plants escape its voracious appetite (pl. 8, *a*). In Arcila, goats scale the nearly vertical Portuguese walls, and in the Sous Valley they climb into *Argania* trees. Not content with the grazing of grass, goats tear it up by the roots. When woody browse is exhausted, the soil itself is grazed in an attempt to get at the seeds of grasses and other plants. It is not surprising that the goat should be described as an "ecologic dominant,"[b] and that many naturalists would like to see it become extinct, except in zoos.[c]

The most serious deforestation occurs when heavy browsing follows burning. Premature browsing or grazing results in the destruction of seedlings before they can produce a new crop of seeds. The French forestry service has ruled that burned areas should be closed to pasture for at least six years. The recovery of cedar forests may be thwarted if excessive browsing takes place within twenty years.[d]

The best-known relict of the cedars of Lebanon, a stand of several hundred trees, is protected from vandalism by a church and from goats by a stone wall.[e] In open places in the Mamora forest, young cork oaks survive only within a protective cluster of palmetto. On the semiarid plains of northeastern Morocco, *Pistacia atlantica* rarely survives unless it is protected by a spiny hedge of zizyphus or sumac (*Rhus pentaphylla*), and in the Sous Valley the latter species plays an even more vital role as a protector of young *Argania* trees. In the mountains of northern Morocco, seedlings of cedar, pine, and fir are protected by the armature of the juniper. Elsewhere on the Mediterranean versant, young trees may be protected by *Genista, Calycotome, Ulex,* and other thorny Leguminosae.

Trees that reproduce by coppice shoots are seldom completely destroyed, but excessive browsing may reduce them to shrub form. In the geographic textbooks the scrub or dwarf state of the Mediterranean woodland is often described as a consequence of the Mediterranean precipitation regime. The error of this generalization is manifest in the holly oak. That the stunted and deformed appearance of this tree results from fire-induced sprouting and browsing is evident when stately trees growing on protected sites are compared with the prevalent forms. Neither climate nor any other element of the inanimate environment can explain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

[a] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 616, is more emphatic: "Il est d'observation courante au Maroc, comme en Algérie, que dans tous les massifs de résineux où le parcours des moutons est intense, il n'y a pas de régénération et que ces massifs sont condamnés à disparaître à plus ou moins longue échéance."

[b] Marston Bates, "Man as an Agent in the Spread of Organisms," in Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 798, cited in note 7.

[c] Raymond Furon, "The Gentle Little Goat: Arch Despoiler of the Earth," *The Unesco Courier*, January, 1958, pp. 30–32.

[d] Cf. Boudy's comment, *op. cit.*, II, 552: "Régénération de la cédraie et pâturage sont choses incompatibles." The prerequisites of recovery probably include at least three or four years of unusually heavy precipitation.

[e] W. C. Lowdermilk, "Lessons from the Old World to the Americas in Land Use," *Smithsonian Inst. Ann. Rept. 1943* (Washington, D.C., 1944), p. 416.

A, [See p. 132--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

S
798
139
311

A. Sidi al-Hajj Yacub (Aith Seddath)

J
798
139
311

B. Sidi Mahadri (near Tetuán)

J
R
798
139
311

C. Km. 194, Tetuán-Melilla route

J
798
139
311

D. Km. 55, Tangier-Larache route

000

E. Bani Dercul F. Sidi Loraichi (Bani Arus)

Fig. 25. Profiles of vegetation on sacred sites.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

the stunted form of this tree. The same remarks apply to dwarf forms of thuya and oleaster. On protected sites even the palmetto may become a tree and, when disturbance is manifest, dwarf forms of cedar develop.

Vegetation on Sacred Sites

Throughout Morocco and to some extent elsewhere in the Muslim world, cemeteries are regarded as sacred ground. Sanctity is ascribed also to the areas adjacent to tombs or shrines of saints (*murabitin*). The cult of saints has been an important factor in Moroccan history, and tombs or shrines are found in the territory of each tribe.[a]

Sacred sites often constitute islands of verdure. This correlation is not unique. In *The Golden Bough* Sir James Frazer describes sacred woods in many parts of the world.[b] The interesting feature of the Moroccan situation is that such groves are extraordinarily numerous and that the veneration relates to the ground in which plants grow and not to the plants themselves.[c] Protected growth is usually more dense than the growth on adjacent profane land, and the height and girth of individual plants exceed those of plants growing on unprotected land. Some species (e.g., *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*) rarely achieve arborescent forms on unprotected sites.

The nature of the protected growth varies from a single shrub or tree to thickets and groves. Figure 25 shows the silhouettes of vegetation on a few sacred sites. These examples, selected from hundreds, illustrate the general pattern (cf. pl. 9, *a* and *b*).

Figure 25, *a*, shows a few mature cedars surrounded by a dense growth of holly oak. The prevalent vegetation in this area is a shrub formation dominated by *Cistus laurifolius*. There are no other cedars within a radius of several hundred meters, and holly oaks, apart from those on sacred sites, are in scrub form. It is evident that succession has resulted in a retrogression from cedar to oak forest and then to a sparse cover of shrubs.

Figure 25, *b*, illustrates a protected formation dominated by oleasters (cf. pl. 9, *a*). *Pistacia lentiscus* becomes prominent where oleasters are widely spaced and light reaches the ground freely. Palmetto and thuya, even more heliophilous, are confined to the edges of the protected growth. In the surrounding area the vegetation is limited to shrubs. Numerous other examples of oleaster groves fringed with pistacia and palmetto could be described. A handsome grove appears at the tomb of Sidi Manari on Cape Malabata opposite Tangier. Five groves appear on one ridge between Tangier and Tetuán. Others appear on the marine terraces between Tangier and Arcila, and on the lower slopes of the limestone mountains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

[a] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Marabout," in H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 325–326; Emile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

[b] Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935). Part I of *The Golden Bough*.

[c] J. Cola Alberich, *Cultos primitivos de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954), refers to tree worship (*dendrolatría*), but the evidence he cites relates to popular ideas of the medicinal and magical qualities of plant material (leaves, seeds, acorns, etc.) and not to the sanctity of plants as such. It is possible, for example, to recognize magical qualities in pine cones and yet have no reluctance to destroy or mutilate pine trees. In Morocco the important consideration is not what qualities a plant may possess but *where* it grows.

[See p. 133--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102
137

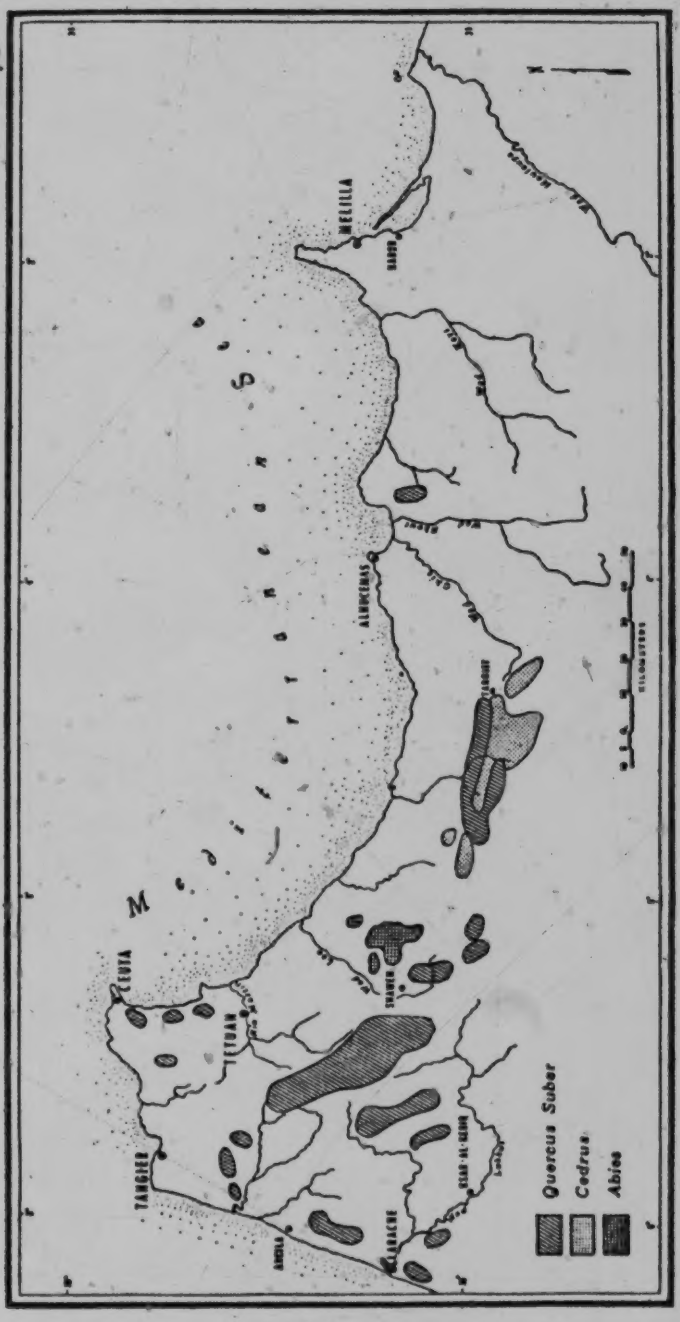


Fig. 26. Northern Morocco: present distribution of forest.

/p. 108/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102
133
139

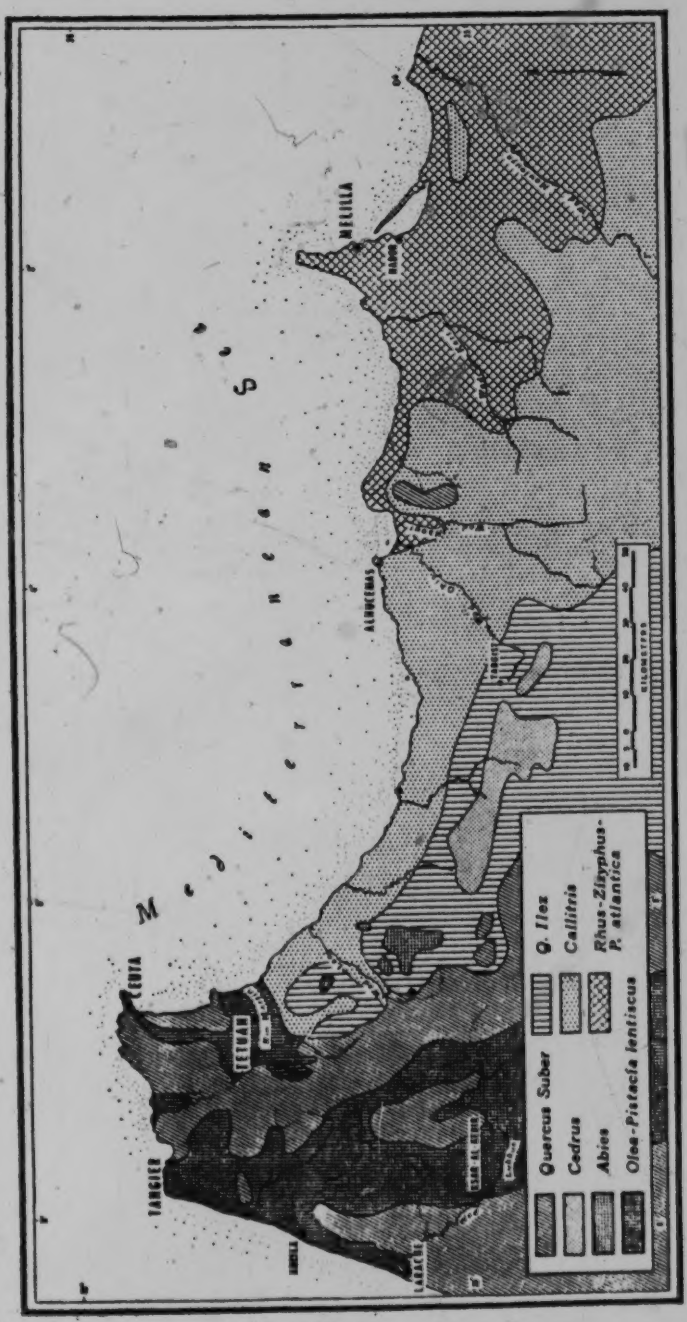


Fig. 27. Northern Morocco: inferred primordial distribution of forest.

/p. 109/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

south of Tetuán. There are at least a hundred oleaster groves in the area west of Ceuta and Ksar al-Kebir. In some areas oleasters mark every cemetery. Faced with this evidence, we can hardly avoid the inference that the primordial cover of the lowlands of northwestern Morocco was a woodland formation of oleaster and pistacia, and that the present cover of palmetto scrub represents degradation.

Figure 25, *c*, shows a protected stand of holly oak. The central part of the sacred grove consists of tall trees. *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Juniperus Oxycedrus* form a ring around the protected trees. Holly oaks are scattered throughout the central highlands (cf. fig. 8), but closed stands similar to the one depicted here are found only on sacred sites.

In figure 25, *d*, the evidence suggests, not a retrogression from forest species to scrub, but, rather, that two species which usually appear as shrubs, *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*, may have an arborescent form. The density of the protected formation and the height of its components differ markedly from the scrub cover of the surrounding land.

The cluster of cork oaks shown in figure 25, *e*, is preserved in an area of extensive clearing. Most of the nearby land has been burned during the last decade. The only conspicuous plants are *Cistus monspeliensis* in fallow fields and *Nerium oleander* along stream channels. This cluster of trees gives some indication of the plant cover of the area before it was cleared, and indicates the course of regeneration (cf. pl. 9, *b*).

In figure 25, *f*, a shrine is marked by two plants, an oleaster and a fig tree. This sketch illustrates on a small scale what the others show in greater detail. Most of the area surrounding the shrine is cultivated. Fallow fields are covered with *Asphodelus microcarpus*, *Urginea maritima*, and palmetto. The nearest oleaster, seven kilometers away, also grows on a sacred site.

Extent of Deforestation

Trends in plant ecology, viewed in the light of human relationships, take one of two courses, improvement or deterioration. The evidence examined thus far clearly indicates deterioration. What is the magnitude of change? This question cannot be answered in detail. Change is perceived through comparison, and the only reliable source of plant data is the visible pattern of today. Figure 26 gives a synoptic view of the distribution of forest. Figure 27, the basis for comparison, shows inferred primordial or potential forests. The first map is objective; it is a cartographic record of the distribution of forest in the sixth decade of the twentieth century. The second map is subjective, and its usefulness is conditioned by the quality of the evidence presented thus far.

The details of these maps are less important than their general outlines. The implication is clear that the present wooded area constitutes only a small part of the primordial forest. Many forest species, now stunted and widely spaced, may once have been taller and more closely spaced. Under undisturbed conditions the exceptionally xerophytic or heliophilous species would probably be confined to sunny slopes in the western sector or be limited to the semiarid eastern plains. Under optimum conditions the area covered by pyrophytic shrubs would be greatly reduced, and there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

would have included a large proportion of thorny plants. The exceptionally mesophytic species, *Abies pinsapo, Cedrus atlantica,* and *Quercus pyrenaica,* would presumably be restricted to the mountains even if all destructive activity came to an end. But moderately xerophytic and heliophilous trees, the oleaster and the evergreen oak, would occupy larger territories. Under favorable conditions the Barbary thuya would probably be taller and more closely spaced, and the formation described as thorn scrub would be a xerophytic woodland, dominated by *Pistacia atlantica* and *Rhus pentaphylla.*

If cutting, browsing, and burning ceased, most of the area now covered with palmetto scrub would eventually be clothed with forests of oleaster, cork oak, and holly oak. The primordial ranges of oleaster and cork oak would be determined by edaphic and climatic factors. The cork oak, which cannot grow on calcareous soils, would occupy the Pliocene terraces of the Atlantic littoral, the sandstone outliers of the Rif chain, and the slopes of intermediate elevation in the schistose highlands. Some connection may have existed between the cork forests of the central highlands and the small stand of *Quercus Suber* in the mountains immediately east of Wad Nkour. A solitary cork oak grows on a sacred site near the summit of Adrar Gurugú (885 meters). Recent dunes on the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts probably were once covered with *Juniperus phoenicea.*" In heavy clay soils the cork oak would give way to *Olea europaea* and *Pistacia lentiscus,* which would cover the lower slopes of the limestone mountains also. The sacred groves west of Ceuta and Shawen exemplify the natural state of this formation.

At higher elevations in the limestone mountains the natural forest was probably dominated by holly oak. It is necessary to postulate such a forest even though there is little evidence of it today. The agents responsible for the destruction and mutilation of *Quercus Ilex* have already been described. As we have noted, this tree is tolerant of most soils and has the widest range of any Moroccan tree (fig. 7).

The natural province of the Moroccan fir would be about the same as its present range, above 1,500 meters in the limestone mountains. At present this genus is restricted to the mountains east and southeast of Shawen. The only other peak in the calcareous chain high enough to support fir forests is Jbil Kelti (1,927 meters). Destructive processes, especially browsing by goats, have reduced the density of the remaining stands, but it is not likely that fir forests covered any lowland area in historic time.

Changes of greater magnitude appear to have taken place in the cedar forests. The lower limit of this tree overlaps the upper limit of cultivation (pl. 6, *a*). Retreat is especially evident on the northern slope of Adrar Taghsut (fig. 28). At present the lower limit of the forest on this slope is at about 1,800 meters, but a single majestic cedar grows on the site of a shrine (Sidi Abd al-Grifar) in the bottom of a deep valley, 600 meters below the main stand. In the valley of Wad Ouergha, protected cedars are found at even lower elevations. In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 113]

" The red juniper is still scattered over the dunes between Rabat and Larache, but has been replaced by herbaceous growth and the Aleppo pine on the Mediterranean coast. On dune vegetation, see J. Ruiz de la Torre, "La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos," *Notes Marocaines,* 9–10 (1957), 23–33; and Louis Emberger, *Notice phytogéographique sur une partie de la meseta marocaine septentrionale* (Montpellier: Causse, Graille, and Castelnau, 1931).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137
311
241

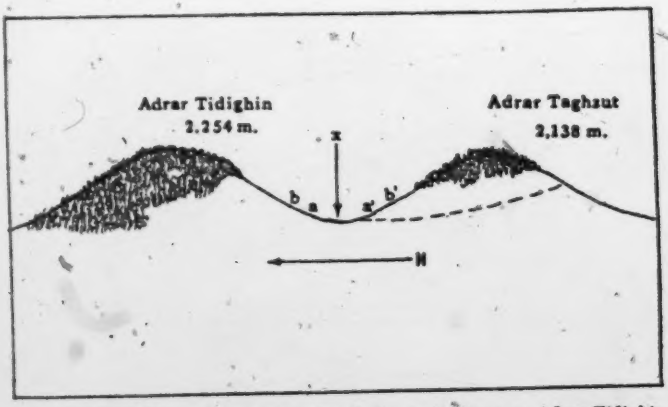


Fig. 28. Position of cedar forests in relation to land use on Adrar Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut: *a*, *a'*, zone of irrigated terraces; *b*, *b'*, zone of dry farming; *x*, location of protected cedar.

137
311

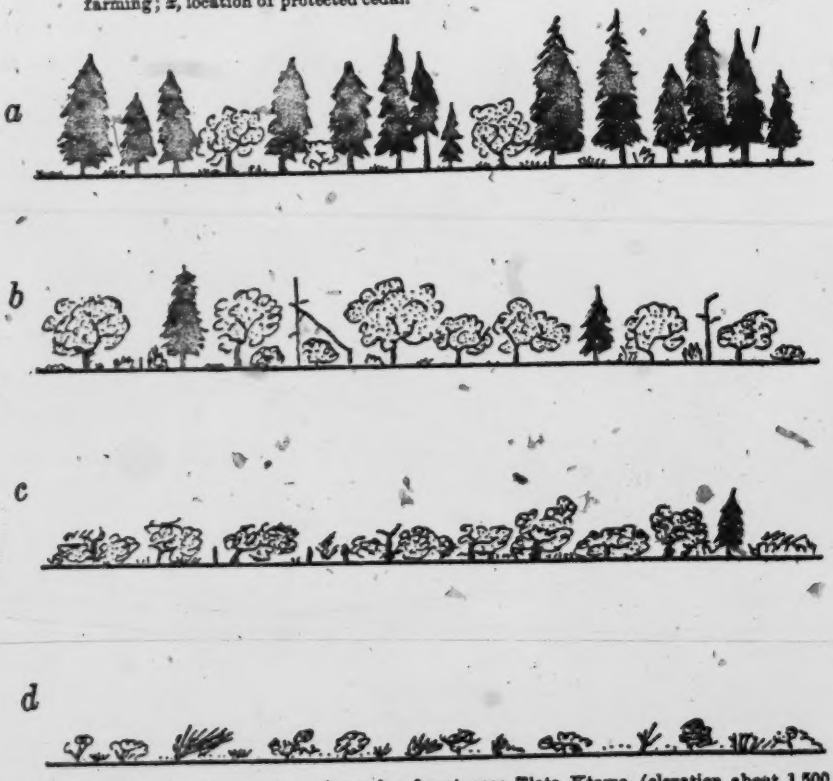


Fig. 29. Stages in retrogression of a cedar forest near Tlata Ktama (elevation about 1,500 meters): *a*, undisturbed forest; *b*, mixed stand of cedar and oak; *c*, secondary scrub oak formation; *d*, tertiary scrub formation without oak.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

bottoms of valleys, low nocturnal temperatures, caused by air drainage, probably favor the cedar; nevertheless, on many slopes the forest line appears to be 300–500 meters above its natural position.

Cedar forests do not regenerate unless pasturing is suppressed and there is an opportune cycle of wet years. Moreover, the subsoil and parent material must be loose enough to favor the development of seedlings and yet compact enough to retain moisture. A further prerequisite is that there must not be a thick cover of competitive shrubs. A single deforestation may drastically upset the natural equilibrium; if disturbance continues, recovery may be impossible. The mantle of cedars on relatively inaccessible slopes gives some indication of the appearance of the primordial forest (pl. 10, *a*). Figure 29 shows the trend of retrogression. On gentle slopes, undisturbed stands are dense, dark, and relatively free of underbrush. Steeper slopes, exposed to greater insolation, have an understory of shrubs and oaks. Burning or cutting followed by pasturing eliminates the cedar and reduces the oaks to scrub form. If disturbance continues, the plant cover degenerates to a sparse scrub of *Genista quadriflora, Juniperus Oxycedrus,* and *Cistus laurifolius.*

It is difficult to delimit the primordial pattern of the cedar forests. Forests probably existed on Jbil Kelti (1,927 meters), Jbil Sugna (1,600 meters), and Jbil Buhashim (1,681 meters), for a few cedars still grow on these peaks. The absence of cedars from Jbil Khsana (1,695 meters) is puzzling, since this peak receives abundant precipitation, and is composed of sandstone and schist, which weather into deep soils. At present no cedars appear east of Adrar Tizi Ifri, but they may once have clothed the highest peaks of the eastern Rif, including Adrar Hamam (1,930 meters) and Azru Akchar (2,011 meters). It cannot be proved that the cedar once grew beyond its present range, but the pattern of succession suggests that some stands may have been completely destroyed.*

The theory was presented, in chapter ii, that both the Aleppo and the maritime pine may be relicts which have been encouraged to advance by the destruction of competitive growth. If this notion is sound, the area originally covered with pines must have been even smaller than the present stands. This interpretation helps to explain the presence of pines in degraded forests of cedar and fir. However, human interference has probably caused a reduction of some stands of Aleppo pine, particularly on the Melilla peninsula and in the mountains southeast of Shawen. Disturbance might initially have encouraged expansion and then forced a new retreat. It is difficult to enlarge on this idea, for the existing stands of pine are too small and widely scattered to be placed accurately on the maps.

Prolonged disturbance and exploitation of the Barbary thuya have diminished the density of the remaining stands and reduced many trees to shrub form. The natural range of thuya in the western half of the zone can be traced without much difficulty. At higher altitudes on the Mediterranean versant, increased precipitation and lower winter temperatures favor cork oak and holly oak. On the Atlantic versant, climatic factors alone delimit the range. It is more difficult to trace a

* Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), (ref. to map), seems to regard the primordial range of the cedar as essentially the same as the present range. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala,* pp. 22–23, cited in note 41, suggests a natural extension to include the highest peaks of Ghmara and Jbala.

A. [See p. 134--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 311 limit in the area east of Wad Nkour. Emberger believes that most of the eastern lowlands were once covered with thuya.[a] According to another study, undertaken by an engineer of the Spanish forestry service, the natural range of the thuya extended to all areas of residual soil from the Nkour Valley to Wad Mou-
[114] louya.[b] These interpretations may be sound, but the evidence presented here suggests that the primordial cover of most of the eastern sector was a mixed formation of *Pistacia atlantica* and *Rhus pentaphylla* with scattered clumps of oleaster. The effect of prolonged disturbance has been to reduce the area covered by these species and to favor the expansion of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*), dwarf sage (*Artemisia Herba alba*), and camel thorn (*Zizyphus lotus*).

There has been no study of plant succession in the arid and semiarid parts of northern Africa comparable in scope to Aubréville's monumental treatise on the effects of burning, clearing, and pasturing in tropical Africa.[c] Deterioration of ranges and "xerophytism" have been reported for most of the pre-Saharan zone, but it is not yet possible to determine the extent of change. The American statesman-scholar George P. Marsh argued long ago "that forests would soon cover many parts of the Arabian and African deserts, if man and domestic animals, especially the goat and camel, were banished from them."[d] In recent years a number of French scholars have expressed doubts concerning the theory that the vast formations of alfa grass and dwarf sage on the Algerian plateaus developed as a result of the semiarid climate.[e] After careful study of scattered stands of *Acacia gummifera* on the arid littoral of Morocco, south of Agadir, Charles Sauvage questions whether the zone between Anti Atlas and Wad Dra should be described as asylvatic.[f] Basing his conclusions on the wide occurrence of acacias in the desert, one author speaks of the primordial forests of the Sahara.[g] Sixty years ago another naturalist discovered that many of the wadis in the Egyptian desert were named after trees that had since disappeared.[h] Thus we have evidence that the effects of human disturbance have been felt even in the Sahara, and that aridity does not prevent the growth of some trees.

778 137 311 In the semiarid sector of northern Morocco it is possible to reconstruct vegetational changes with the aid of relict formations preserved on sacred sites. At the shrine of Sidi Seddic, on the border of the territories of Ulad Stut and Aith Bu Yihyi, a majestic oleaster, surrounded by sumac, is in striking contrast to the prevalent cover of dwarf sage. *Pistacia atlantica*, one of the few trees of northern Africa that can grow on heavy alluvial soils, appears on several sacred sites in

137 311 113

[a] Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, pp. 71–78.

[b] J. Ruiz de la Torre, "La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos," *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 30–33.

[c] André Aubréville, *Climats, forêts et désertification de l'Afrique tropicale* (Paris: Editions Maritimes et Coloniales, 1949).

[d] George P. Marsh, *The Earth as Modified by Human Action: A Last Edition of "Man and Nature"* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1885), p. 149.

[e] According to Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 68, "Les prairies d'halfa peuvent représenter d'anciennes forêts de *Juniperus phoenicia*, parfois même de *Callitris* et même de *Quercus Ilex*." Buffault, "Le déboisement de l'Afrique du Nord," p. 481, cited in note 15, also accepts the notion of a primordial forest on the Hauts-Plateaux.

[f] Ch. Sauvage, "Les environs de Goulimine: carrefour botanique," in *Volume jubilaire de la Société des Sciences Naturelles du Maroc* (Rabat, 1948), pp. 107–146.

[g] L. Lavauden, "Les forêts du Sahara," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 65 (1927), 265–277.

[h] E. A. Floyer, "Disappearance of Desert Plants in Egypt," *Kew Bull. Miscell. Information*, 72 (1892).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

the valleys of Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert.[a] The Aleppo pines preserved on the Melilla peninsula tell a similar story of general destruction and rare survival. Elderly tribesmen of Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut remember a time when great thickets of sumac covered the plains of Garet.

The evidence examined in this chapter supports the thesis, now accepted by most students of Mediterranean vegetation, that the prevalent maqui and garrigue formations are produced and maintained by man. The pattern of succession in the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco depends upon ecologic processes that are not yet thoroughly understood. The theory that this area was once wooded may or may not be sound, but there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover included a high proportion of tussock grass, zizyphus, or other animal-resistant plants. Any projection of current trends, whether in the drier or the wetter areas, suggests a large degree of change. This introduces new problems, for the inevitable result of biotic disturbance is a modification of the soil.

Erosion

The steep slopes of northern Morocco favor rapid runoff and prevent the formation of deep residual soils. Moreover, torrential rains in winter and spring follow vigorous mechanical weathering during the dry summer months. It would be hard to imagine an area more vulnerable to destructive erosion. Few slopes have an adequate plant cover, and forest now covers only about a tenth of its primordial range. In view of these natural and artificial conditions, it is not surprising that soil forms a deep and continuous mantle only in the coastal plains, and that most of the highlands are bare.

A useful point of departure is to locate areas that are virtually without soil. This is the situation in the calcareous highlands. From Jbil Musa to Ibuqquyen the horizon is dominated by a wall of bare limestone. It is possible that soil never was formed on the steepest slopes. On moderate slopes there are small and discontinuous patches of clay, but most of the calcareous zone has been stripped of fine material and only cobbles remain. Here and there are tiny mounds of soil preserved by the roots of a palmetto (pl. 11, *b*). On some slopes, particularly in the range of Jbil Kelti, lines of stone have been built up when there was enough soil to justify clearing and cultivation.

The rate of erosion in any storm depends on the force with which raindrops stir up the soil and the amount and speed of the runoff. Deforestation, particularly on steep slopes, accelerates degradation, and the combination of cutting, burning, and browsing prevents any reëstablishment of protective cover. Although the calcareous highlands were probably once covered with forests of holly oak (cf. figs. 5 and 27), today, vast areas lack even herbaceous growth. In the karstic highlands the only conspicuous plants are palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

Erosion is not quite so serious in the highland areas formed of schist and sandstone. Protected stands of cedar, cork, and deciduous oaks are associated with abundant litter and about eighteen inches of clay or sandy loam. But in cleared areas there is abundant evidence of loss of topsoil (pl. 10, *b*). Since it is common

[a] *Pistacia atlantica* has been used to stabilize slopes in Israel. G. F. Gindel, "Afforestation of the Semi-arid and Arid Areas in Palestine," *Empire Forestry Rev.*, 25 (1946), 213–221.

7: Mikesell , K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

practice to allow sheep to graze on stubble, many slopes are completely bare when the first rains fall. Erosion is retarded during spring and summer when a part of the runoff is diverted into irrigation ditches, but the irrigation systems promptly disintegrate at the beginning of the rainy season, and runoff again follows the network of gullies (pl. 11, *a*).

Gullying is most severe in the hilly areas of the Rif. The basins of Wad Ghis, Wad Nkour, and Wad Kert show an intricate pattern of short, steep slopes. "Ghis" means "mud" in Arabic, and most of the mud comes from the denuded highlands. The lower course of each river is joined by deeply entrenched tributary streams cutting through old fans and terraces. In Targist, Thimsaman, and Tafarsith the best farms are on fragments of Pliocene conglomerate, isolated from one another by deep ravines. Badland topography covers most of the area between Wad Nkour and Wad Kert. This may be described as an erosion-induced hoe-culture, for slopes are so badly dissected that it is no longer possible to use plows. The desperate effort to produce grain is abandoned only when the harvest does not repay the investment in seed. Cereals are sown in gullies and on nearly vertical slopes. The Spanish learned to their dismay that hungry Rifians try to cultivate even the roadbeds. The plains of Garet and the lower Kert constitute islands of alluvium in a sea of denuded terrain. Serious erosion becomes evident as soon as one passes to older terrace and residual soils. The hills of Ikibdhanen and the volcanic eminence of Gurugú are as bare as the limestone peaks.

The pattern of gullies and rills continues into the hills of Jbala and Ghmara, but the most serious problem in these areas is sliding. The roads from Tetuán to Tangier and Shawen are blocked by slides every year. In Anjra and Fahs one is never out of sight of a slide scar. Gullying is less serious than in the eastern sector, but streams are slightly entrenched even in the rolling country south of Tangier, and the marine terraces between Arcila and Larache are cut by deep barrancas."[13]

[13] René Raynal, "Bodenerosion in Marokko," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, 5 (1956–1957), 885–894.

7:/Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter VIII

SUMMARY

105 From the standpoint of the cultural geographer, northern Morocco is perhaps best described as an area of modified Berber culture located within the realms of Mediterranean environment and Islamic civilization. The influence of the Mediterranean environment is most clearly seen in modes of livelihood, while Islamic influence predominates in religion, language, and social organization. The persistence of traits of truly indigenous (i.e., Berber) culture is explained in large part by the lack of direct communication with the Muslim heartland and the main centers of Western civilization. Berber traits have persisted also because of environmental conditions and social circumstances that discouraged economic development and political centralization. The cultural geography of northern Morocco is best studied in the light of contingencies that are peculiar to this corner of the Old World.

The dominant physical feature of the area is the Rif mountain chain, which marks the division between a zone of effective isolation and one of peripheral passageways. The diffusion of most innovations can be traced along a hook-shaped course with the point embedded in the Ghmaran hills. The main stream of Moroccan history flows through the Taza corridor and then north or south along the Atlantic littoral. The Moulouya Valley has never been more than a minor distributary. It was followed by bedawin during the final phase of the Arab invasions, but the semiarid plains of northeastern Morocco did not attract immigrants seeking opportunities for a settled life. In contrast, the Taza corridor leads to lands of reliable rainfall and fertile soil.

The first and most important breach of the mountain rampart occurred along the ridges leading from Shawen to Targist. It was along this route that Islam and Arabic advanced most rapidly into the highlands. The same route served the Spaniards as the sole link between the western and eastern parts of their protectorate. Invaders found it easy to move along the Atlantic littoral, and a few managed to penetrate the Jbalan hills, but no major force moved into the highlands from the east or south. It is not yet certain whether the famous "Unity Road" (Tariq at-Tauhid), built immediately after independence to link Alhucemas and Fez, will prove worthy of its name.

From 1912 until 1928 the area of effective Spanish occupation was about the same as the area occupied by the Romans. The extent of the *bilād al-makhzen* fluctuated from reign to reign; yet even the more ambitious sultans were not able to exercise enduring influence in the Rif. Roman Morocco was a land of plains. The Arabs managed to add a large area of foothills. After numerous setbacks the Europeans were able to subdue the highlands. The present government, profiting from the accomplishments of the protectorates, has tried to unify the Moroccan people and integrate the national economy. It is no longer reasonable to describe Morocco as a primitive country rent by the hostility of Arabs and Berbers or townsmen and tribesmen. The conquest of the lands of dissidence has eliminated or at least masked the major dichotomies. Nevertheless, one is still tempted to speak of Moroccos rather than a Morocco.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Many of the basic distinctions in the cultural geography of northern Morocco can be attributed to two main factors: the sense of collective identity that is felt by members of tribal confederations and some individual tribes, and the extent to which such groups have been exposed to alien influence. For example, Berber speech in the Rif has survived because it is an expression of fraternal unity, and because the traditions of political independence and economic self-sufficiency have enforced the isolation of the area from the main centers of Arab influence. Moreover, the preservation of Berber speech and many other aspects of Berber culture have been encouraged by the contempt of the Rifians for their Arab or Arabized neighbors. In the Rif, as elsewhere, an innovation may be accepted or rejected, not on the basis of its form and content or its compatibility with established custom but because of its affiliation with desirable or undesirable groups.

Consciously or unconsciously, tribal groups have selected material traits, such as distinctive clothing, settlement patterns, and types of houses, to serve as symbols of their identity. It is not by accident that the western limits of dispersed settlement and flat-roofed houses nearly coincide with the western limits of Rifian speech. Nor is it surprising that symbols of tribal identity are more conspicuous in the highlands than on the Atlantic littoral. This contrast is explained, or at least clarified, when the distribution of culture traits is compared with the physical division between refuge areas and passageways.

Other notable examples of refuge areas are found on the Ghmaran coast, especially the territory of the Bani Bu Zra, and in the less accessible parts of Sanhaja as-Srair. The most exposed areas of northern Morocco are the Fahs territory, south of Tangier, and the basin of Wad Lukkus. These territories are cultural melting pots in which heterogenous elements have been blended by the pervasive force of Islam. Moreover, these territories, unlike the rest of the northern zone, have been affected by social and economic influences emanating from towns.

For northern Morocco as a whole, subsistence farming is clearly the predominant mode of livelihood. With the exception of hemp, grown in the Sanhajan highlands, there is no large cash crop. At most markets barter is more important than cash transactions, and the essential imports from the urban centers are limited to sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene. Yet the rural economy of northern Morocco should not be described as one of simple subsistence with little or no specialization or exchange. In northern Morocco, as in many other areas of the non-Western world, self-sufficiency at the scale of the canton or tribe reflects the specialized or semispecialized production of individual hamlets and farmsteads.

The basic differences within the agricultural framework depend upon the opportunities for cultivation of crops to supplement the staple cereals. Maximum opportunity is found in the Sanhajan highlands, where perennial streams provide water for irrigation of vegetables and legumes. There are few perennial streams in the western lowlands, but the combination of gentle slopes, fertile soils, and dependable rains minimizes the risks of dry farming and makes possible a surplus yield of grain to be drawn upon during unproductive months. In the Rif, horticulture provides a safeguard against failure of the cereal crops, and when bread is scarce, raisins, nuts, and figs are staple foods. The number of orchards decreases

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

105 toward the eastern plains, and the tribesmen of Garet and Gal'aya stake their lives on the unpredictable rains. The seasonal emigration from these districts results from the serious imbalance between population and reliable food supply.

In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the natural vegetation has been substantially modified. The principal causes of disturbance have been cutting, burning, and browsing, which have changed northern Morocco from a land of forests to a land of scrub. Large areas now covered with palmetto or thorn scrub once supported forests of oleaster, oak, cedar, and thuya. At present the distribution of forests is approximately the obverse of the distribution of men and livestock. Most of the remaining cedar forests are located above the limits of cultivation, and the surviving stands of holly oak occur in karstic highlands rising above cultivated plains. In the western lowlands most of the native plant cover has been destroyed. Sacred groves of oleaster give some indication of primordial or potential conditions, but only palmetto and a few other shrubs of the secondary growth survive. The record of succession is more complete in the Jbalan hills, and all stages in the retrogression are present in the Sanhajan highlands. The natural vegetation of the eastern plains, like that of the Atlantic littoral, has been almost completely destroyed, but the repeated expansion and contraction of the area of cultivated land permits an extensive development of secondary scrub.

The processes that have produced these changes can be traced into prehistory. Cereals were cultivated and goats were raised before the Phoenicians arrived. Since clearing is, and probably was, accomplished by burning, the limitations of Stone Age technology probably did not inhibit some modifications of vegetation and soil. It is hazardous to generalize about variations in the intensity of disturbance, for there is no way to determine long-term trends in the growth of human and animal populations. Nevertheless, some parts of the historical record are sufficiently striking to command attention—for example, the indication that shipbuilding was once an important industry on the Mediterranean coast, and that gates of cedar used to stand in city walls.

121 105 Understanding in cultural geography is attained through analysis of processes initiated and carried forward by man. In this work an attempt has been made to account for the distribution of culture traits and the effects of man's activities on the land. In other words, this study has been concerned with patterns and imprints of culture. The evidence examined suggests that the landscape of northern Morocco has long been affected by two trends: a blurring of cultural patterns, and a deepening and extension of cultural imprints. It is reasonable to suppose that both trends will persist. Political centralization will encourage acculturation, and further increase in population will accelerate modification of the land.

/p. 120 is blank/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

APPENDIX

Variant Spellings of Place and Lineage Names

104 The first rendition of the following names is that of the present work. Subsequent renditions indicate variant spellings found on French (Fr.) and Spanish (Sp.) maps.

CITIES AND TOWNS

Arcila (Fr. Arzila)
Bab Barrad (Fr. Bab Berret; Sp. Bab Barret)
Dar Chaui (Fr. Dar Chaoui)
Fes (Fr. Fès)
Ishshawen. *See* Shawen
Izagan (Fr. Issagene; Sp. Isagan)
Ksar al-Kabir (Fr. Ksar el-Kebir; Sp. Alcazarquivir)
Segangan (Fr. Segangane)
Shawen (Fr. Chauen, Chechaouene; Sp. Chanen, Xauen)
Tabarrant (Fr. Taberrant)
Tangier (Fr. Tanger; Sp. Tanger)
Targist (Fr. Targuist; Sp. Targuist)
Tetuán (Fr. Tétouan, Tétouane)
Tistutin (Fr. Tistoutine)
Wezzan (Fr. Ouezzane)
Zeluán (Fr. Selouane)

DISTRICTS

Gharb (Fr. Rharb)
Ghmara (Fr. Ghomara, Rhomara; Sp. Gomara)
Jbala (Fr. Jebala; Sp. Yebala)
Sanhaja as-Srair (Fr. Senhaja es-Srair; Sp. Senhaya es-Serair)
Sanhaja Ghaddu (Fr. Senhaja Rheddou)
Sanhaja Musbah (Fr. Senhaja Mosbah)

TRIBES

Aith (Fr. Ait; Sp. Ait)
Aith Ammarth (Fr. Ammart; Sp. Ammart)
Aith Bashir (Fr. Becher; Sp. Bechir)
Aith Bu Gafar (Fr. Bou Gafar; Sp. Bugafar)
Aith Bu Ifrur (Fr. Bou Ifrour; Sp. Buifrur)
Aith Bu Nsar (Fr. Bou Nsar; Sp. Buensar)
Aith Bu Yihyi (Fr. Bou Yahi; Sp. Buiahi)
Aith Iznasen (Fr. Snassene; Sp. Snassen)
Aith Khannus (Fr. Khenhous; Sp. Jennus)
Aith Mazduwi (Fr. Mesdoui; Sp. Mesdui)
Aith Seddath (Fr. Seddat; Sp. Seddat)
Aith Shikar (Fr. Sicar; Sp. Chicar)
Aith Sidar (Fr. Sidel; Sp. Sidel)
Aith Tusin (Fr. Touxine)
Aith Warishik (Fr. Oulichek; Sp. Ulichec)
Aith Wariyaghar (Fr. Ouriaguel; Sp. Urriaguel)
Anjra (Fr. Anjera; Sp. Anyera)
Bani (Fr. Beni, Bni; Sp. Beni)
Bani Bu Frah (Fr. Bou Frah; Sp. Bufrah)
Bani Bu Shibat (Fr. Bou Chibet; Sp. Buchibet)
Bani Bu Zra (Fr. Bouchera; Sp. Busera)
Bani Gmil (Sp. Guemil)
Bani Grir (Fr. Guerir; Sp. Guerir)
Bani Gurfat (Fr. Gorfet; Sp. Gorfet)
Bani Hassan (Fr. Hassane; Sp. Hasan)
Bani Hmid (Fr. Ahmed; Sp. Iahamed)
Bani Hozmar (Fr. Hozmar; Sp. Hosmar)
Bani Khalid (Fr. Khaled; Sp. Jaled)
Bani Mansur (Fr. Mansour; Sp. Mansor)
Bani Musawwar (Fr. Mezaouar; Sp. Mesauar)
Bani Rzin (Fr. Ersine; Sp. Ersin)
Bani Silman (Fr. Selmane; Sp. Selman)
Bani Siyyat (Fr. Ziat; Sp. Siat)
Bani Smih (Fr. Esmih; Sp. Esmih)
Bani Yidar (Fr. Ider; Sp. Ider)
Bani Yisif (Fr. Issef; Sp. Isef)
Bani Yittuft (Fr. Iteft; Sp. Itteft)
Bani Zakkar (Fr. Skar; Sp. Scar)
Bani Zejal (Fr. Ezjjel; Sp. Seyyel)
Bdawa (Fr. Bedaua; Sp. Bedaua)
Ghzawa (Fr. Rhezaoua; Sp. Guesaua)
Haus (Fr. Haous; Sp. Haus)
Ibdharsen (Fr. Metalsa; Sp. Metalsa)
Ibuqquyen (Fr. Bokoia; Sp. Bokoia, Bocoia)
Igzinnayen (Fr. Gzennaia; Sp. Guernaia)
Ikibdhanen (Fr. Kebdana; Sp. Quebdana)
Imazujen (Fr. Mazouza; Sp. Masucha)
Jbil Habib (Fr. Jebel Hebib; Sp. Yebel Habib)
Khlut (Fr. Khlott; Sp. Jolot)
Khmas (Fr. Akhmas; Sp. Ajmas)
Ktama (Fr. Ketama; Sp. Quetama)
Mistasa (Fr. Mestasa; Sp. Mestasa)

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

TRIBES—*Continued*

104 Mtiwa (Fr. Metioua; Sp. Metiua)
Mzura (Fr. Mzora; Sp. Mzora)
Sahil (Fr. Sahel; Sp. Sahel)
Sumata (Fr. Soumata)
Tafarsith (Fr. Taferait; Sp. Tafersit)
Taghzut (Fr. Tarhzout; Sp. Tagzut)
Thimsaman (Fr. Temsamane; Sp. Tensamen)
Ulad Stut (Fr. Oulad Setout; Sp. Ulad Settut)
Wadras (Fr. Ouedras; Sp. Uadras)
Zarqat (Fr. Sarhat; Sp. Sarcat)

MOUNTAINS AND STREAMS

Adrar (Sp. Aderar)
Adrar Dahdoh (Fr. Dahdouh; Sp. Dehdoh)
Adrar Hamam (Fr. Hammane; Sp. Hammam)
Adrar Taghzut (Fr. Tarhzout; Sp. Tagzut)
Adrar Tidighin (Fr. Tidirhine; Sp. Tidiguin)
Jbil (Fr. Djebel, Jbel, Jebel; Sp. Yebel)
Jbil Alam (Sp. Aalam)
Jbil Buhashim (Fr. Bou Hachem; Sp. Buhachem)
Jbil Kelti (Sp. Quelti)
Jbil Khsana (Fr. Khesana; Sp. Jesana)
Jbil Leshab (Fr. Lechab)
Jbil Musa (Fr. Mousa)
Jbil Sugna (Fr. Sougna; Sp. Suna)
Jbil Tisuka (Fr. Tisouka; Sp. Tisuca)
Jbil Tisiran (Fr. Tisirene; Sp. Tisiran)
Kar-Kar (Fr. Kerker; Sp. Ker-Ker, Quer-Quer)
Wad (Fr. Oued; Sp. Uad)
Wad Ghis (Fr. Rhis; Sp. Guis)
Wad Kert (Sp. Quert)
Wad Lao (Sp. Lau)
Wad Martil (Sp. Rio Martin)
Wad Moulouya (Sp. Muluya)
Wad Nkour (Fr. Nekour; Sp. Necor)
Wad Ouergha (Fr. Ouerrha; Sp. Uarga)

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

000

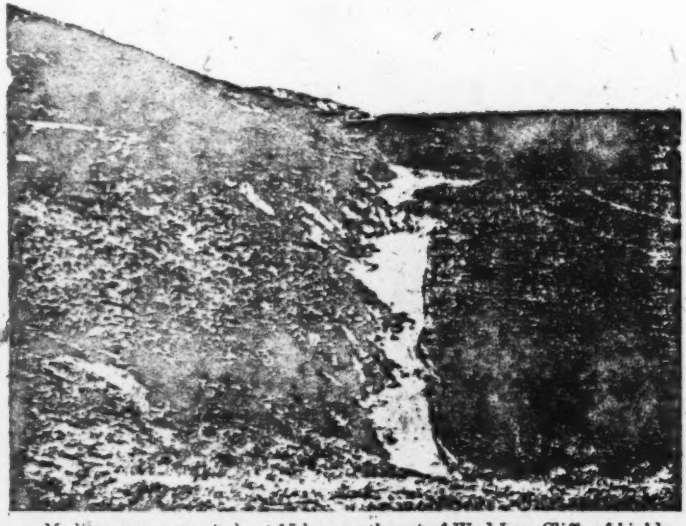
PLATES

/p. 123/

/p. 124 is blank/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

J
133



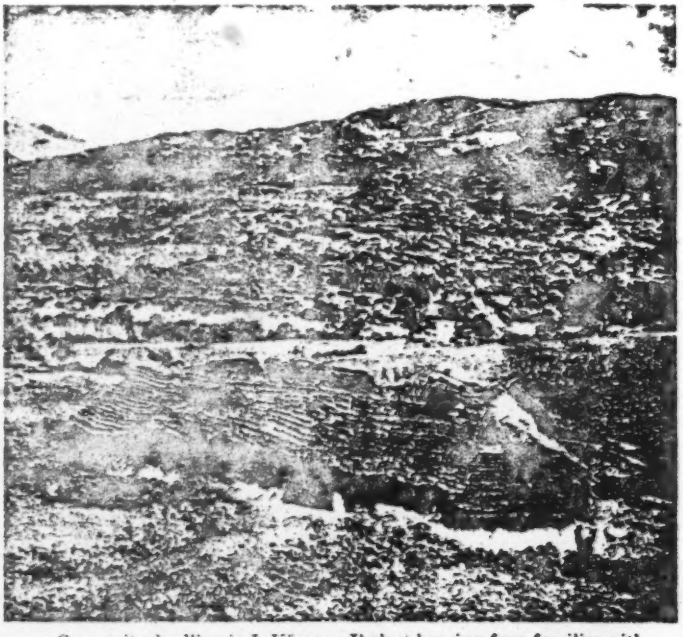
a. Mediterranean coast about 15 km. northwest of Wad Lao. Cliffs of highly resistant Paleozoic rock.

S
133
137

b. Cedars near summit of Adrar Tidighin (2,436 meters).

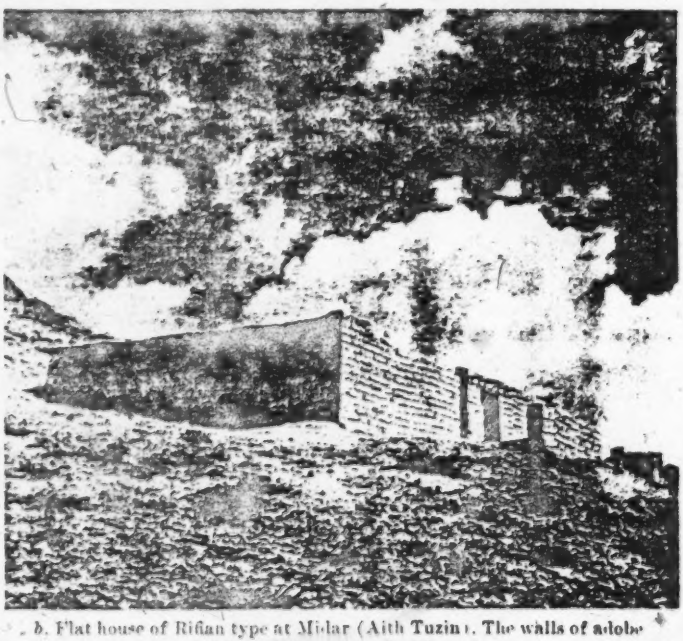
7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

J
133
342



a. Composite dwelling in L-Khmas (Jbala), housing four families with seven units joined to form an enclosure.

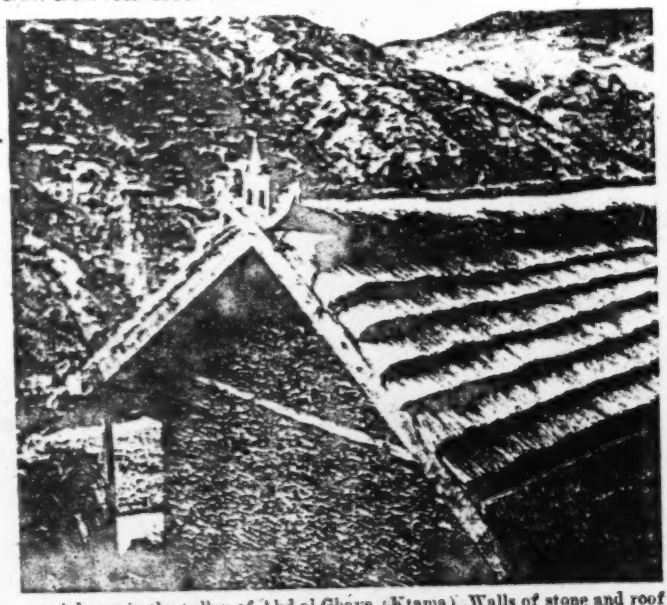
R
342



b. Flat house of Rifian type at Midar (Aith Tuzin). The walls of adobe brick are being covered with mud.

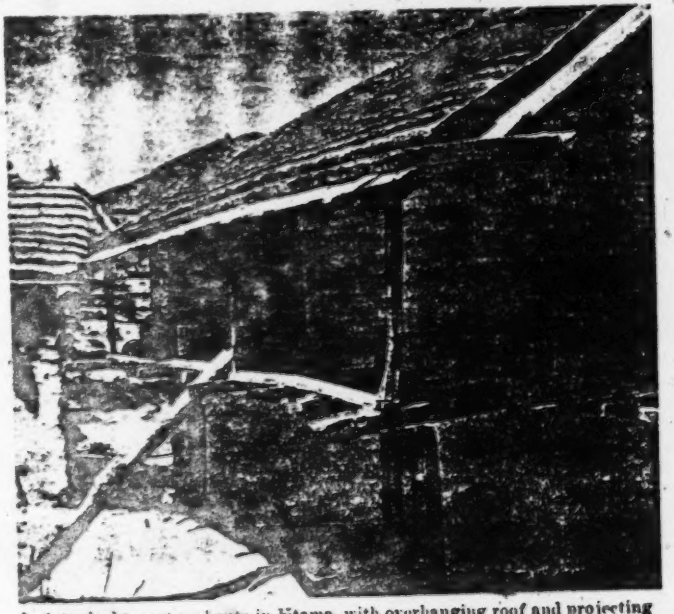
7: Mikesell -K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

342
824
532



a. A house in the valley of Abd al-Ghaya (Ktama). Walls of stone and roof of rye thatch. Ornamental figure represents crescent moon, a symbol of good luck; brazier and teapot are symbols of hospitality.

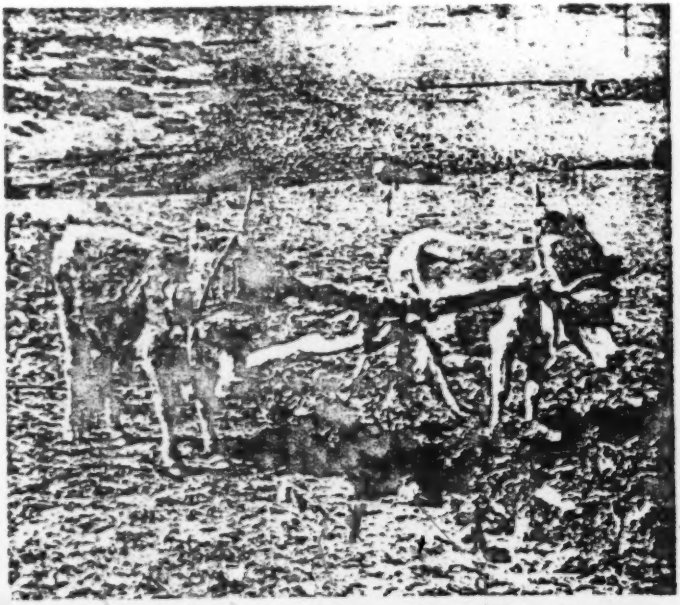
342



b. A typical two-story house in Ktama, with overhanging roof and projecting rafters. Lower floor serves as living quarters, upper for storage.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3 (
Jebala MX2

J
407
492



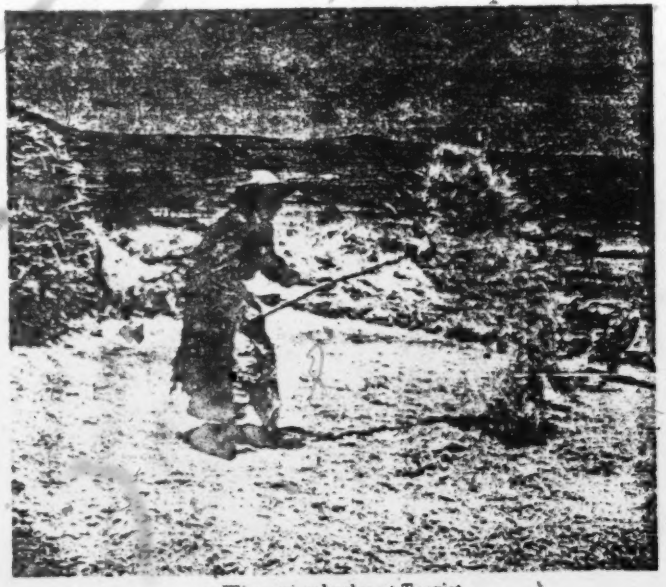
a. Plow of Jbalan type with high yoke set on foreheads of oxen.

R
291
407
492

b. Mixed team in Garet.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R
243



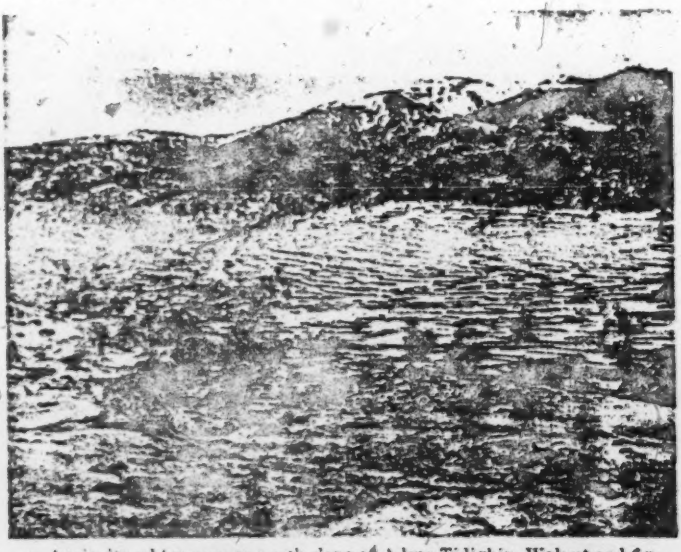
a. Winnowing barley at Targist.

S
312
133
139

b. Irrigation ditch near Tlata Ktama.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif
Senhaja MX4

133
311
245
241



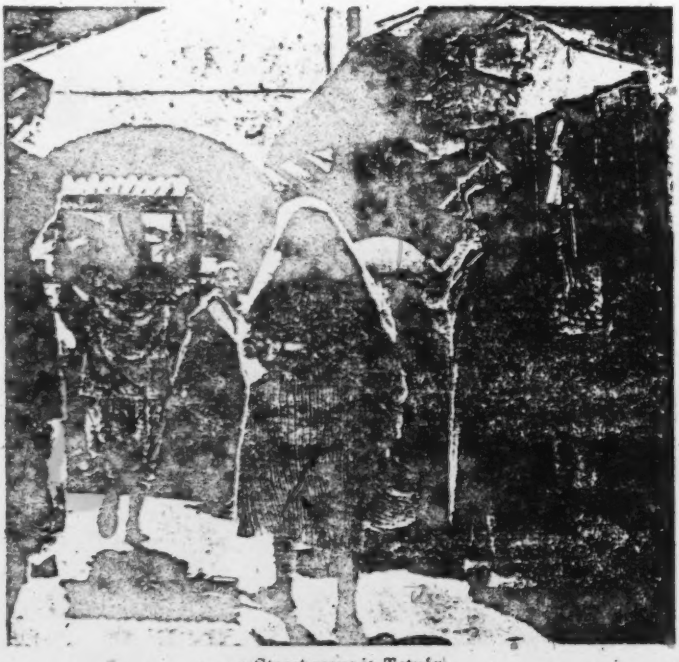
a. Agricultural terraces on north slope of Adrar Tidighin. Walnut and fig trees in cultivated area; remnants of cedar forest on higher slopes.

241
311
133
312

b. Close view of terraced area shown above. The terraces were constructed to facilitate irrigation of maize, beans, squash, and hemp.

7: Mikesell ,K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

J
291
482
363
443



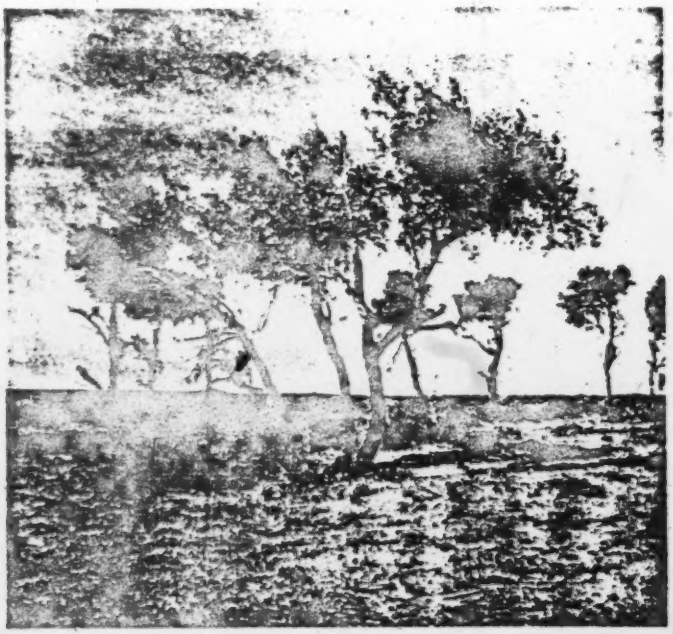
a. Street scene in Tetuán.

S
291
443
231

b. The Thursday market of the Aith Seddath.

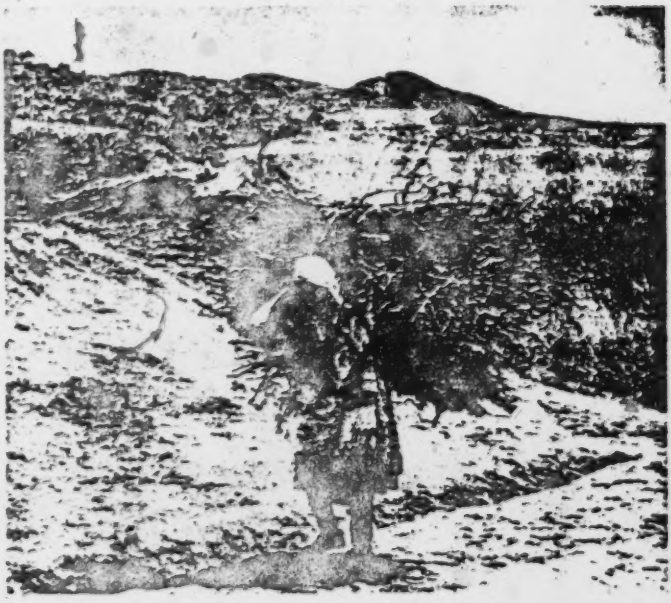
7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

R
137
311



a. Mutilated cork oaks in an area overrun with goats.

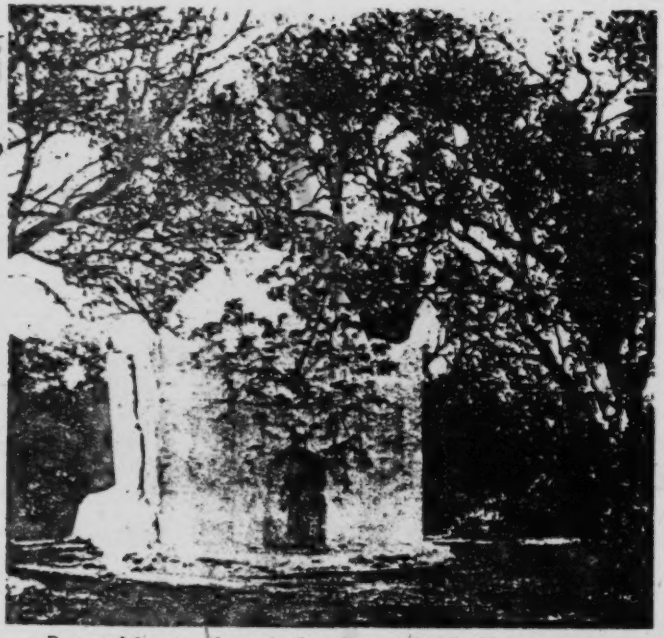
J
291
313
482



b. Jbalan woman with a load of firewood.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

778
139
311
346



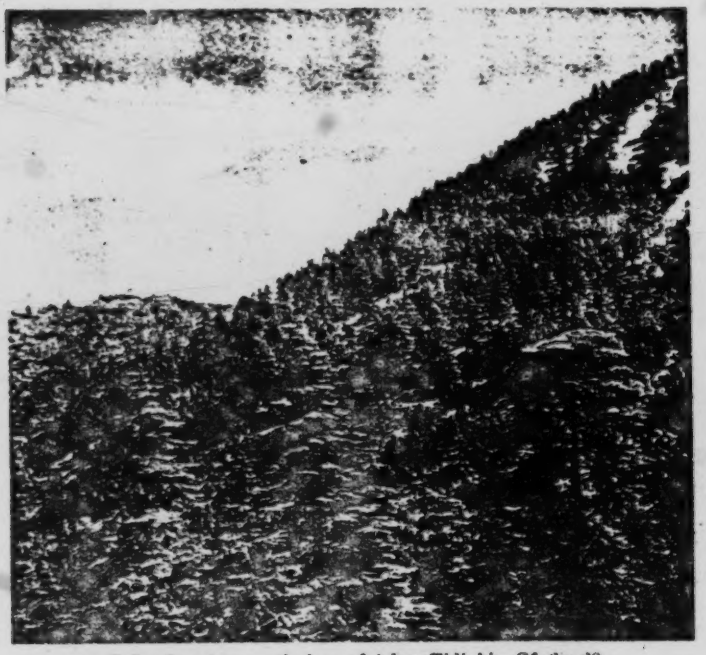
a. Protected forest at the tomb of a saint near Tetuán. Mature specimens of *Olea*, *Callitris*, and *Pistacia lentiscus*. Cf. fig. 25, *b*.

778
139
311

b. Sacred clump of cork oak on the site of a shrine near Shawen. *Cistus monspeliensis* appears in foreground.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif
Senhaja MX4

137
133



a. Cedar forest on north slope of Adrar Tidighin. Cf. fig. 28.

133
311
134

b. Gullies and slide scars on a cultivated slope in Sanhajan highlands.

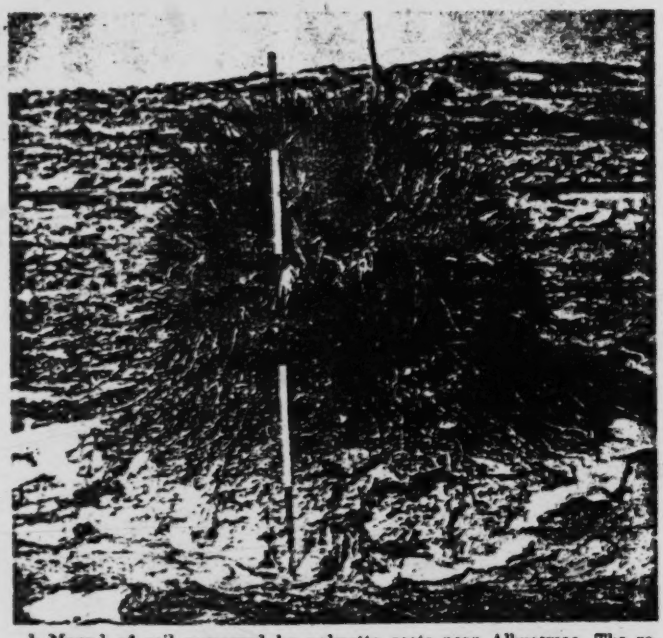
[134]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

133
134

a. An active gully in the eastern Rif (Aith Said).

134
137



b. Mound of soil preserved by palmetto roots near Alhucemas. The remainder of the slope has been eroded down to limestone bedrock. (Each unit of scale is equal to one foot.)

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

121 In collecting the data upon which this book is based, the chief concern of the investigators was to obtain a sufficiently large series of anthropometric records from each tribe in the Rif, northern Senhaja, and from the Ghomara, so that the distribution of somatological characteristics in these areas might be determined with some degree of accuracy. So much of the expedition's time was spent in this pursuit that it was impossible to secure as much data on the subjects of religion and magic as was desired. Other elements of culture, both material and social, were easier to observe and record.

128 In presenting the data so gathered an attempt has been made not only to describe but to analyze as well, and to reconstruct from the living material the natures and order of cultural and racial changes in the north of Morocco, especially in their relation to the Berber world as a whole.

114 During our travels in Morocco I have unfortunately not learned any one Berber dialect well enough to work directly in it, nor to record phonetic texts. Such fine work is the province of Westermarck, of Biarnay, and of Laoust, whose labors I hold in especial esteem. In wealth of detail, my cultural material falls short of Westermarck's and of Laoust's, especially in the fields of magico-religious practices and of agriculture. Fortunately for me I was able to work in a region which I believe neither of them has visited, and hence am able to supplement their monumental compilations with first-hand data from a fresh quarter of Barbary. The time at which the bulk of these researches were made fell just at the close of the Riffian war, after Abd el Krim's surrender and before all of the tribes had renounced their freedom. Coming at that time I was luckily able to see Riffian life still led according to the old style, for a few weeks at least, and to record by witnessing them practices and customs now forever discontinued.

000 The Spanish authorities, from the highest to the lowest in rank, received us most cordially and generously set the assistance of their military organisation at our service. I can never cease being grateful to them for a consideration and kindness which must have cost them considerable work and annoyance. So great was their hospitality that to prevent it from hindering work was sometimes a problem.

As to the Riffians themselves, it would be difficult for me to praise them too highly. Their keen comprehension, ready acceptance of the purpose of our inquiries, high degree of coöperation, and generous hospitality never failed to astonish us. Spain is indeed fortunate to possess such a protectorate. Its wealth of man power, the intelligence of its people, and the natural resources of the country will in time repay her amply for the deservedly con-

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

128 the Rifians are chiefly represented by the Aiṭ Wāryâġer and Ait Temsâmān; the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda by the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi; the Brâber by the Aiṭ Sáddĕn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḏēr, and Aiṭ Mjilḏ; the Shlōḥ by the Iglíwa in the Great Atlas south-east of Marráksh, the inhabitants of Demnat and Amzmiz, the Iḥaḥan on the northerly slopes of the most westerly portion of the Great Atlas, and the Amanūz and the people of Aglu (close to the Atlantic coast) in Sūs; the Arabs by the natives of the Ġarbîya to the south of Tangier, the Mnáṣăra and Beni Ăḥsen on the coast between Laraiche and Rabat, the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and Ulâd Fraj in Dukkâla to the south of Azemmur, and the people of the Ḥiáina in the neighbourhood of Fez; the Jbâla by the people of Andjra and Jbel Ḥbīb and the Bni 'Ăroṣ in the northern part, and the Tsūl in the southern part of their district; and the Arabic-speaking townsfolk by the inhabitants of Fez and Tangier. But reference is also made to many other tribes and places.

121 In the present work I am dealing with the popular religion and magic of the Moors, not, except casually, with the general tenets and rites of Islam or those of the Mālikī school of Muhammadans, to which the Moors belong. My chief object is to give a systematic account of what I have myself seen or heard from the lips of natives. I have to some extent made use of, or referred in footnotes to, facts stated by other writers on Morocco, but in such cases I have invariably mentioned the source of information. As for the collection of my materials, I have made it a stringent rule not to accept statements of others than natives of the country, because I have frequently found those of European residents lacking in accuracy. I have further made it a rule not to 121 use information given me about a tribe by members of other 124 tribes, without specially indicating its more or less unauthoritative character. I have also been in the habit of repeating to my informants their statements in full so as to avoid all misunderstanding; and I have occasionally tested their trustworthiness by deliberately misrepresenting their statements, but in such cases they have never failed to correct me. The accuracy of the natives even in the smallest details

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

is remarkable ; and the patience of many of my teachers has been beyond praise.

In my study of the various rites I have not been content

FIG. 5.—Berber from the Rif.

with ascertaining the bare external facts, but have, so far as possible, tried to discover the ideas underlying them The reader will find that the explanations given by the natives themselves are not always alike. The reason for this

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

[2] is probably that the real origin of the rite has been partly or wholly forgotten, and a new interpretation substituted for the idea from which it sprung. It is well known that rites are very apt to survive the ideas in which they have originated. This, however, should not make the field-ethnologist less eager to find out the present meaning attached to the facts he records; for whether or no it be the original meaning, it gives us in any case some insight into the ideas of existing people, and these are by themselves important subjects of inquiry. But I maintain that the aim of the field-ethnologist should not be only to observe and describe. Where the meaning of a custom is obscure or lost, his general knowledge of the native mind and its ways of thinking and feeling ought to enable him to make valuable conjectures. I thoroughly disagree with the principle which I once heard expressed by the reader of a paper on some savage tribes at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, that the field-ethnologist should only aim at collecting facts and leave it to the ethnologists at home to explain them. But he must, of course, take the utmost care to avoid mixing up his own interpretations of facts with the observed facts themselves. This is a rule which I have strictly followed. While all explanations given without any qualification are statements expressly made by my native informants, or are directly implied in their statements, those suggested by myself are invariably, in some way or other, marked as my own interpretations.

The difficulties in finding the ultimate psychological origins of rites are frequently increased by the obscurity of their historical origins. A custom may spring up spontaneously among a certain people or tribe, or it may be imported from some other people or community; and to be complete, the study of it must be concerned not only with its intrinsic meaning but also with the question whether it has a native origin or not, and, in the latter case, from where it has been introduced. This study of its history is often beset with difficulties, which indeed may be unsurmountable. It requires a profound knowledge not only of the customs of the ethnic group which is the subject of the investigation but of

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

those of other people with whom it has come in contact; and even with such a knowledge it may in many cases be impossible to decide with certainty whether we have to do with a loan or not. Considering how often absolutely identical customs are found among races living in very different parts of the world, in circumstances which seem to exclude all possibility of a common origin, we have to take account of the fact that such customs may also have grown up among peoples who are of the same stock or have come

FIG. 6.—Berbers from the Aṯ Ubáḫṯi.

into contact with one another. Indeed, the more similar two peoples are, the greater is the probability that new details in their culture may also resemble each other; from seeds of the same kind very similar plants spring up. I have been very conscious of these difficulties in my attempt to trace the historical origin of rites and beliefs recorded in the present work. In many cases it has been quite easy to accomplish, but in others it has only resulted in more or less plausible conjectures; and frequently I have been obliged to abstain from any such attempt, because I have found it a hopeless task.

The culture of the Berbers has been subject to influences

in 1908, the tribe which, in 'Abd al-Krim, produced both a reformer of Customary Law and a military near-genius who from 1921 to 1926 held both Spain and France at bay, the tribe which I myself studied in detail in the field, as an anthropologist, intermittently, from 1953 to 1955 and again from 1959, intermittently, to 1966; and the tribe which in 1958 to 1959 provided, through a traditional revolt championing modern objectives, the Royal Army of Independent Morocco with its first serious test of strength.

I assume that a good many anthropologists, in the course of their fieldwork, and in that of checking local libraries and archival materials about the tribal groups or societies that they have studied, have chanced across reports on these same tribes by previous colonial administrators of them which have been really meritorious in quality. If such is the case, many anthropologists may logically be supposed to have their "favorite" tribal administrators, district commissioners, or whatever. In my own case, Emilio Blanco Izaga, exasperating as certain facets of his writings are, is certainly the man.

This introduction to Blanco's work is divided into three sections: I) Biographical Data, II) The Spanish Protectorate Administration of Morocco And Blanco's Place In It, and III) A General Critique of Blanco's output as presented in this volume. This presentation is selective, not all-inclusive, because although much of Blanco's material dealt with Rifian sociopolitical institutions, not all of it did so, by any means. Hence, regarding my own initial acquaintance with Blanco's work, I can do not better to quote from my original article.[2]

2--Op. cit., p. 173.

121
114

"Emilio Blanco is not listed in the Spanish Dictionary of National Biography, and before I went on my first field trip into the Rif Mountains of what, until 1956, was the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, I had never heard of him. After my arrival in the then protectoral capital of Tetuan in February 1953, I stumbled across two of his works in the library of the Delegation of Native Affairs. I picked them up casually, and then began to read them with an avid and ever-increasing interest. Three months later, when I actually began my own researches in the Rif, I came to hear his name so often, from the lips of Spanish army officers and Rifians alike, and always coupled with the highest praise, that I began to wonder if an assessment of his contributions to the field of Berberology (i.e., Berber sociology) might not be worthwhile. After reading more of his writings, both published and unpublished, and finding out more about his policy as a tribal administrator, I became convinced that it was worthwhile, if only to rescue his name from the ethnographic oblivion into which it had fallen, and to give credit where credit was due."

121 I wrote these words in 1958, and since then I have not altered my opinion. After the publication of this preliminary article, however, I had entertained the idea of preparing for publication, with the kind permission of Col. Blanco's widow and family, all his unpublished manuscripts and notes having to do with Berbers, the Rif and Morocco generally; but during the month of March 1960 which I spent in Madrid going over his material, I became convinced that because of the fragmentary and disparate nature of much of this, it would be far [127] too unwieldy a project to undertake. I therefore decided at this time to concentrate only on those data which had, in the language of social anthropology, "structural relevance"; and a continual shifting of Blanco's data since then - plus a second month of further archival research in Madrid, at the Africa Section (the Garcia Figueras collection, inaugurated late in 1966) at the National Library there, in April 1970 - has fully confirmed me in this decision, particularly

121 as I have had to drop the revision of my original Blanco manuscript in order to prepare my own studies on the Aith Waryaghar[3] (or, in Arabic, Bni Waryaghal, and in bad Hispanicized and bad Gallicized transliterations, "Beni Urriaguel" and "Beni Ouriarhel") for publication, as well as because of further fieldwork elsewhere in Morocco and because of teaching and other duties. Hence a ten-year gap. In any
121 128 114 event, Blanco's copious unpublished papers on Rifian architecture and house styles[4], for example, good as they may be, have no place in a work of this kind; and the same holds true for his work on grave decorations[5] and for his excellent treatise on dance forms in the Rif[6]. His undeniable qualifications as an artist, whether in sketch or watercolor form, I am simply not competent to discuss, although his ideas about Spanish Colonial policy in Morocco[7] will receive some attention in Section II.

---

113 3--The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, and The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: A History, to be published simultaneously under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.

4--Emilio Blanco Izaga, La Vivienda Rifeña, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930, passim.

5--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Noticia sobre Arte Funerario Norteafricano", Africa, No. 52, Madrid, April 1946, pp. 19-21.

6--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas", Africa, Vol. V, No. 55, pp. 315-316; Nos. 56-57, pp. 414-419; and Nos. 59-60, pp. 547-551, Madrid 1946. The content of this important paper is discussed in detail in my preliminary study: cf. Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 220-237. Two of the drawings originally published in it are reproduced in the present monograph.

7--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Política Africana", Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos (pub. by Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Madrid), I, 1946, pp. 43-56.

114 As noted in my preliminary study (1958), the only article which has ever been published about Blanco is one by Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa[8]. It is devoted largely to Blanco's achievements during the late 1930s, when he was the regional administrator of the Territory of the Rif, both as an architect of administrative policy and as an architect per se, as well as touching briefly upon his artistic abilities. Of basic biographical information, as well as providing any assessment of Blanco as a military ethnologist and as a student of
● 121 Berber social life, however, it says nothing at all. My 1958 article and this present introduction will attempt to fill in these lacunae; and we begin with Section I, Blanco's biography.

Section I: Biographical Data[9]

114 Emilio Blanco Izaga was born on March 15, 1892, in Orduña, in the north Spanish province of Vizcaya, just west of the Basque country, and about 45 km. south of Bilbao. On August 30, 1910, he entered the Spanish Military Academy in Toledo where, on June 24, 1913, he was commissioned a second lieutenant of infantry, joining the 30th Regiment for garrison duty in Burgos. The following year he was sent to Morocco for the first time with the 6th Battalion of Figueras for duty in Larache, and the next two years saw him taking part in military

---

(113) 8--Alfonso de Sierra Ochoa, "Una Teoría de Arquitectura Politica y un Interventor Excepcional: El Coronel Don Emilio Blanco Izaga", in Selección de Conferencias Pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el Curso 1950-1951, Tetuan: Delegacion de Asuntos Indigenas, 1951, pp. 129-150.

9--This section is taken in extenso from Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 174-180. I am particularly indebted to Col. Blanco's son, Dr. Don Agustín Blanco Moro, of Madrid, and to Sr. Don Tomás García Figueras, of Jérez de la Frontera, who succeeded Blanco as Delegate of Native Affairs in Tetuan, for supplying me with the essential facts of Blanco's life.

121 In a Morocco which is undergoing rapid sociocultural change, there is still nonetheless a great deal to be learned, we think, at the tribal or "grass-roots" level. Bidonville or "shanty-town" sociology may, along with cité ouvrière sociology as well, be more "topical" or "fashionable" in North African studies at present, but the notion of the tribe, the qabila or taqbilt, with the segmentary depths and patterns of kinship which this embodies, along with other possibly cross-cutting factors, is still very powerful in parts of rural Morocco, even though the present (and largely unsuccessful) Moroccan administrative concept of the "rural commmes" has been designed to unseat it. Changes in forms of social structure tend [114] to lag well behind economic changes; and thus Blanco's contributions to the study of the sociopolitical structure of the Rif are far from untimely today, even though they date back to the 1930s. They are herewith presented, and may henceforth speak for themselves. Com- 128 ments in detail, as opposed to the general comments given in this section, may be found in the notes accompanying the translated text.

since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'umen), as did the Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. Sánchez Pérez, then, is essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of origin.

117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at 1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. With certain notable exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

This autonomy in the questions which were imposed by the number five[3] rendered necessary an arbitration and a management of resources, and a creation of functionaries, although generally these latter were unpaid. All this created such a solidarity and such benefits, lost today, that one might wonder if it would not be advantageous, in the undeveloped and rural stage in which the Rifians still exist, to resuscitate some of these practices or revitalize those of them whose survival is an indication of the need for them, through their codification in a jma'a statute (author's italics), the transcendency of which seems to us to be basic because it is a matter of foundations and not of retouches on roofs or walls, as we are tired of observing in the copious and unoriginal legislation of both zones of this torn land that is Morocco.

This neglect of the countryside (campo), of which these matters are yet another index, would not be admissible but might be excusable in an industrialized Morocco, but never in a land which, like this one, is essentially agrarian and maritime.[4] Contrary, then, to habitual writings on Morocco, we will venture once again on the humble but complicated paths of Rifian social structure, with a view to analyzing it, and intentionally putting aside that chorus of reciters with a more or less "sharifian" genealogy[5], and proceed to an analysis of the functions of the jma'th.

3--The reference to the number five in this connection is curious: is it supposed to refer, for instance, to the concept of "five fifths"?

4--Blanco reverses the order of these two adjectives in the original text, but we only need point out that Morocco's maritime vocation makes a very poor second, if that, to its agricultural one.

5--Why Blanco should manifest this evident prejudice against the holders of holy genealogies is not clear, though possibly because he held such genealogies to be more "Arab" than "Berber" or "Rifian".

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

PART II--THE RIFIAN QANUNS

Don EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA, Major of Infantry and Regional Administrator of the Rif:

EL RIF (2a. PARTE) (THE RIF-2nd PART)

LA LEY RIFEÑA (RIFIAN LAW)

II--LOS CANONES RIFEÑOS COMMENTADOS (II--THE RIFIAN QĀNŪNS, WITH COMMENTS)

Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos:
Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas:
Centro de Estudios Marroquíes

(Spanish High Commission in Morocco:
Delegation of Native Affairs:
Center of Moroccan Studies)

Imprenta IMPERIO, Ceuta 1939

Administrators:

From the shipwreck of official prose, try to save through publication whatever your tireless service and individual taste permits you to investigate and to serve toward a more exact knowledge of the country; for the best school is the real one; the only doctrine, the truth; and the most effective method, one's own effort.

The fortunate creation of the Center of Moroccan Studies offers you the means.

Rifians: 121

In the documents which follow, I try to reflect aspects of the Rif

121 of the old days which Arab and European writers have either neglected or toned down, if not falsified.

In the comments which the qanuns have suggested to me, I try to explain what they mean to the European reader, justifying the reason behind their precepts.

This, then, is a simple essay, a modest contribution toward a better knowledge of your preferences and virtues, so that those who live together with you in your land can understand you better[1].

114 In other studies in preparation, I shall continue the study of your fundamental institutions, economy and art, which are nonetheless interesting and worthy of publication even if they are modest.

124 My thanks are due to so many Rifians, over long and agreeable periods of time, who with courtesy and patience stimulated my curiosity and questions and tried to satisfy them, answer them and show me how they worked; and especially to Muhammad n Sh'aib Abuqquy, faithful interpreter of my thought.

The translations were done by the official interpreter D. Juan Gómez Jaén.

671 1. THE RIFIAN QANUNS, WITH COMMENTS:

The analysis of the Rifian qanuns, of these little pieces of paper which I give you to peruse, of these tiny sheets in which unaccustomed hands noted down, after bombastic introductions and flattering patronymics taking up three or four lines, offset by praises to the Divinity, a number of striking and rigorous precepts, the proclamation of which in the suq gave them the force and attributes of law; and it is these precepts which show us graphically and without any doubt that the Rif

671 554 Abundant in these ideas, we may observe how in the first lines of the qanun some names are adorned with the honorific titles of shaikh and even qa'id, titles which fit the members of this society as well as two pistols do a saint, for not only did they not realize nor did anyone admit the roles which in Arabic correspond to such titles, but, as can be appreciated, the nominal qa'id (i.e. Sayyid Bu Bakr bin Muhammad Ushshan) does not occupy the first place, which he not only had to yield to the opulent and considerable Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, but to crouch behind another, second shaikh, 'Ali Azarqan, and we finally discover him in third place modestly lost among the notables: the adults (author's italics), with this single, authentic and legitimate representation: that of his lineage (family group) or dharfiqth, and all the rest, of the social group or jma'th.

It may be observed that this is the only qanun in which the imaginary personage of the qa'id is expressly stated; his title and role are as unreal as all other Arab ones in the Rif, whether they be called bu mwarith, ukil l-ghuyab, shiyukh, mqaddimin and even qudat (pl. of qadi). These people did not look toward Fez nor toward the circumference of the Rif, but toward its center, toward the interior, toward their villages. There was no power other than the assembly, the agraw[75], the council of elders. For this reason Rifian society.... could have previously been considered concentric.[76]

181 614 121

We may also see the coincidence that this qanun, the only one in which the term qa'id appears, is also the only one which contains that of amghar among the last names (ninth to last) as well as that of ra'is[77], and it reveals to us how the tulba of the Aith Waryaghar, who

671 554 693

616
613 survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian
619 Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were sur-
182 rounded by powerful neighbors.

616 Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family,
182 the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616 I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or
• 121 the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616 It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

671 This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the
614 clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe.
619 Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring
644 clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the
648 border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Rituals and Relatives:

A Study of the Social Uses of Wealth in Morocco

by

Roger Joseph, Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 1967

Professor Pedro Carrasco, Chairman

121 556 In industrial society the use of wealth to meet the needs of relatives or rituals is marginal and secondary to total expenditures. By contrast, such expenditures in a nonindustrial society may be the most important manner in which wealth is allocated. 121 556 433 Production in such societies is aimed primarily at satisfying needs arising from the activities and responsibilities induced by social and religious obligations. Distribution seeks to maintain the continuation of these activities and of the social relationships that they establish.

This study is an examination of how wealth is distributed in the Berber society of the Rif Mountains in Morocco. The fundamental feature of the Rif economy is that it is based on status. [554] The economy is one in which the deployment of resources rests primarily, though not exclusively, on imperatives derived from social factors. Exchanges, transfers, or consumption not directly

121 related to subsistence are dictated by a different order of
556 practical considerations and ideological commitments than
433 obtain as the dominating factors in industrial society.

It has been an on-going dispute in anthropological
121 literature about whether such an economy as that of the Rif
114 is susceptible to the same sort of treatment that marks the
433 study of market-oriented, industrial society. Polanyi began the dispute by pointing out that the rules of choice upon which most economic theory rests are based on a particular social and economic model which has only limited applicability. He noted that the economic behavior of the participants of an industrial society was largely induced by the institution of the market. The difficulty in such economic analysis comes, of course, when we study societies in which the market is not the primary focal point of the economy.

121 In Rif society the marketplace is peripheral to the
433 economy. This condition is due in part to historical and
443 ecological factors which have influenced the evolution of a particular kind of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and economic resources. The Rif has, until recently, been part
121 of the bled-as-siba, or the land outside the administrative
433 control of the Moroccan government. Thus, one of the major
642 social factors in the history of the Rif was the absence of centralized political authority. This lack of a political factor in integrating the economy has directly influenced the

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

121
433
642 system by which resources are distributed. In the absence of such a factor, the economy developed as a reflection of the social organization wherein well-being depended on relatives, friends, the good-will of the spirits and God, all supporting one another.

121
[126] The data upon which this study is based were collected from two villages in adjoining tribes in the Central Rif. The economy of individual families within the villages was studied, as well as how these local communities articulate with each other and with the wider Moroccan social and economic structure. The principal foci of the investigation were the reciprocal relations between kinsmen and neighbors, the relation of property to prestige, ritual obligations and magical predilection, and the general effects of the indigenous system of social relations on the consumption and distribution of resources.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

INTRODUCTION

121 While few would disagree that systems of economics are different, the notion that economies might be propelled by sets of dynamics radically different from those that developed in Western economy is much less accepted. That this should be the case rests to a large degree on the development of economics as a science. Those people who accepted the calling to become economists were concerned with understanding and explaining the economic systems of which they were the most aware. Economic theory became synonymous with an analysis of industrial economies. Yet the majority of the human populace lived in societies that had been only marginally affected by the industrial revolution and there even were social enclaves which were still untouched by it. Only in recent years have a growing number of economists, anthropologists, and sociologists sought to understand the economic systems of these nonindustrial societies. The present work, as a description and analysis of how wealth is distributed in one such society, is intended to make a modest contribution to this understanding.

121 105 The society which we shall examine is that of the Berbers in the Central Rif of Morocco. The empire of Morocco itself has a lengthy history as a political unit. However, various mountain

121 and desert areas remained politically distinct from the Sultan's
105 regime. These areas, of which the Rif was one, were called the
bled-as-siba, or the land of insolence. In such areas there was
[571] no centralized political authority and whatever small degree of
security that existed came from a system of social relationships
whereby mutual assistance was expected and granted. The absence
of political integration at any higher than the local kin and
residence group was paralleled by an absence of extensive economic
121 integration. Not only political success but economic well-being
105 as well depended on relatives, friends and neighbors all support-
571 ing one another. Out of this developed an economic system based
602 on status. By "status" I mean an economy in which the deployment
433 of resources is based primarily, though not exclusively, on imper-
556 atives derived from social relationships and religious obligations.
In such societies wealth is expended on ceremonial activities, on
reciprocal obligations, on the gift and countergift. In an indus-
trial society there are analogous ceremonies and celebrations in
which wealth is spent on relatives and ritual. However, such
expenses are marginal to the amount of total outlay. Such expen-
ditures have proportionately little effect on the sum total of
wealth in comparison to expenditures connected with rational pro-
duction. By way of contrast, in a nonindustrial society social
expenditures of wealth can be the most important way in which
121 wealth is utilized. In a society heavily dependent on local ties,
105 on kin alliance, on neighborhood association, social activities
571 tend to be the essence and breadth of the group. Production is
602
433

121 105 571 602 433 aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation of these activities and the social relationships that they help establish.

121 128 The central problem I have set for myself is to describe and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

121 433 571 602 As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the conditions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was socially, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political conditions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

[178]

6: Joseph, E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

121 Production and distribution continue to be geared to a series of
433 goals arising out of the status economy. These goals involve
128 obligations attendant to life crises (Chapter 3), incumbent on the correct religious performer, or to placate the spiritual world (Chapter 4), to enhance status and/or acquire allies (Chapter 5). The relationship of the Riffian to the marketplace is described in the final chapter.

101 The field work upon which this study is based was carried
114 out in the Province of Alhucemas in northern Morocco between June of 1965 and November of 1966. The initial month and a half was spent in the port city of Alhucemas arranging necessary papers and working on the local Berber dialect. The following six months were spent among the Beni Wariyaghar in a location of scattered homesteads on the Wariyaghar-Igzinnayen border. The first quarter of 1966 was spent recovering from illness. May to October was spent in a compact village in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen. Field work was terminated in November.

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
183 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[791] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless,
433 impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
[191] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif, which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
435

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 3

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

121
437 The Riffian then is an agriculturalist, a fellah, who keeps small herds of livestock. Our problem is what does he do with his herd and his cereals once the subsistence needs of himself and his family have been met. If he followed Smith's dictum he would 'by instinct' seek out another individual with whom he could exchange his superfluous product in order to gain a profit. Such exchanges do, of course, take place. Ecological differentiation, for one factor, causes the exchange of special objects from one region to another. Occupational specialization requires the fellah to seek out opportunities for exchanging his produce in the most opportune way in order to acquire services and goods outside his range of competence. The question however is, are these forms of exchange the most frequent, do they account for the most significant amount of distribution, and are they culturally or ideologically the most valued types of exchange? If the answer is no, then we must seek out what sort of exchanges do fulfill the above functions. The study of the circulation of goods must proceed sui generis.

121
556 In order to derive the relative importance of the various uses of wealth in the Rif, I shall commence with an analysis of the distribution of wealth related to some of the life crises of the Berber.

121 [553] [585] [844] [852] [764] the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domestic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumcision and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.

844 The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives [602] may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon [782] (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed. [556] [574] While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assembled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so. However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is not uncommon among those who can afford it.

553 574 602 [114] Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially the second most important initiation ceremony in the society. On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during 553 574 602 which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to 431 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by previous obligations established by gifts that the giver has received from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money, 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

178 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was
411 that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quar-
602 rels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situ-
578 ations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matri-
lineal lines.

121 I think that the principle of unilineality is not as
611 important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindus-
[571] trial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated
to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this
makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the
structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its
parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform
to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many non-
584 industrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must
decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce
bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and
set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either
type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of
an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on
the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the
couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter
should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely con-
sulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic
as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely
chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 5

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: STATUS AND PRESTIGE

121
556

The use of wealth in order to maintain or increase prestige is a feature which may have universal applicability to economic action. However, the outward manifestation of such a use of wealth varies from society to society. In industrial society there is a motivation for using wealth based on prestige, but because of the heterogeneous character of its composition, its different ethnic strains, different religions, different social classes, each sub-social unit has its own code and for the society at large there are no well-fixed rules. In the small-scale non-industrial society with its greater homogeneity, the code tends to be fixed and universal for the society. Thus one has the rather formal Kula ring with its minimization of options, the ritualized display and consumption of goods by Northwest Coast Indians, or the measuring of all social ties by cattle among the Nuer.

The Berbers of the Rif display a pattern which is between the flexible standards of prestige evaluation encountered in industrial society and the rigid standards of many traditional societies. The absence of rigidity does not imply that there is not a code of behavior involved in status but merely that the code is flexible.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

IN THIS MONOGRAPH I attempt to explain some features of the cultural geography of the northern (formerly Spanish) zone of Morocco. The work has two related themes. I have sought, in the first place, to interpret the distribution of a selected number of culture traits. My second main effort has been to determine the effects of man's activities on the land. The cultural and physical geography of the area is introduced in chapters i and ii. It seemed desirable to reverse the usual order of geographic presentation and begin with culture rather than nature, for most of the processes described in this work have been initiated by man. The discussion of culture history in the next two chapters covers two millennia. It is my conviction that cultural geography is best studied in the light of origins and dispersals, which implies an unrestricted view of the past. The historical résumé in chapters iii and iv constitutes the foundation for interpretations of modern settlement and livelihood in chapters v–vii. The sum of these studies—cultural and natural, historical and modern—provides the background for an assessment of man's effect on vegetation and soil. In chapter viii the main findings of the entire work are summarized.

In a volume of modest size it is manifestly impossible to consider all elements of the landscape. By choice I have not stressed the areas of European influence and urbanization. The focus of my interest has been in rural areas where the most important goals of life are independence and self-sufficiency. The mountainous area of northern Morocco, like the High, Middle, and Anti Atlas, has suffered little from the obscuring effects of foreign influence. The Arabs, who first entered Morocco in the seventh century, had little interest in the highlands. European colonists, concerned primarily with mechanized agriculture, also preferred lands of gentle relief. All the mountain tribes have embraced Islam, some have learned to speak Arabic, and a few have adopted the Singer sewing machine. But subsistence farming and barter still govern tribal economy, and tradition arbitrates disputes.

When a Moroccan is close to home he identifies himself as an inhabitant of a certain village or hamlet. If further clarification is necessary, he may add that he is a member of a community or canton (*farqa*). He will announce his tribal affiliation (*qabīla*) only when he is away from home. For example, in Alhucemas one meets members of the tribes of Ibuqquyen, Aith Wariyaghar, and Thimsaman. It is only in Tetuán or some equally remote place that the same people identify themselves as Rifians. They are keenly aware of being Moroccans or North Africans only when they are abroad.

It follows that this study should begin with hamlets or cantons, and only later consider differences among tribes or confederations of tribes. Unfortunately, this procedure would be impractical. I have been compelled to limit my analysis to differences of large scale. Moreover, I have been obliged to focus my attention on variations in material culture. When a Moroccan is questioned about his neighbors, he seldom comments on the nature of their houses, clothing, or crops. His first thoughts are of personality traits, especially those he regards as objectionable. Here again, I have had to adopt a limited and somewhat distorted

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VII

EFFECTS OF SETTLEMENT ON THE LAND

121 311 EVIDENCE of deforestation has already been considered briefly. In chapter ii the effects of burning and browsing were mentioned parenthetically in discussing the distribution of forest and scrub. Now that man's activities have been described, the discussion can be resumed.[1]

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

195 311 When the Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46, timber resources were nearly exhausted in the eastern Mediterranean basin. The cedars of Lebanon had been retreating since the time of King Solomon. Homer refers to "tall pines and spreading oaks" on the now virtually barren island of Sicily.[2] Plato, in the fifth century B.C., deplores the destruction of the forests in Greece,[3] and a century later Theophrastus complains that the supply of ship timber is limited.[4] In Pliny's time the thuya forests on Mount Ancorarius were already exhausted.[5] At the dawn of the Christian era, Roman ships were sailing as far away as the Caucasus ports to obtain timber, and Roman architecture eventually had to be modified to compensate for the scarcity and increasing price of wood. Large quantities of wood were needed to heat baths, and trees were cut everywhere for charcoal. Cork and tanners' bark were persistent items of trade. In both the Roman and the Carthaginian realms, perhaps the greatest wood-devouring industry was shipbuilding. As Miss Semple suggests, "A multitude of fishing smacks, naval vessels, merchant ships, and coastwise transportation boats kept up the demand for fir, pine, cedar, and minor woods which entered into their construction."[6] The coniferous forests were further depleted by the steady demand for pitch, resin, and tar. It would be rash to make sweeping generalizations on the basis of a few references after the lapse of centuries; yet it may be asserted that deforestation was evident in classical times, especially in the areas of Roman and Carthaginian influence, and that no forested area accessible to lumber merchants was ignored.[7]

In the time of Homer and Hesiod the Moroccan mountains were still confused with the peak of Tenerife, of which some indistinct knowledge had been gained from Phoenician sources.[8] The references to Atlas cedar in Latin literature usually refer to forests in the more familiar province of Numidia. According to Pliny,

---

195 113 311 [1] For additional illustrations, see M. W. Mikesell, "Deforestation in Northern Morocco," *Science*, 132 (1960), 441–448.

[2] *Odyssey*, IX; *Iliad*, XII, XVI, XX.

[3] *Critias*, 111 A–D, trans. A. J. Toynbee in *Greek Historical Thought* (New York: Mentor Books, 1952), p. 146.

[4] *Enquiry into Plants* . . . , IV, 5.

[5] *Natural History*, XIII, 15. Most authorities place Mount Ancorarius in the Ouarsensis Massif of Algeria. Paul Boudy, *Economie forestière nord-africaine* (Paris: Larose, 1948–1955), I, 223.

[6] E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), p. 282.

[7] H. C. Darby, "The Clearing of the Woodland in Europe," in W. L. Thomas, Jr., ed., *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 183–216.

[8] Cf. George Rawlinson's annotation of Herodotus, *History*, IV, 184 (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1910); and R. Thouvenot, "La connaissance de la montagne marocaine chez Pline l'Ancien," *Hespéris*, 26 (1939), 113–121.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

105 toward the eastern plains, and the tribesmen of Garet and Gal'aya stake their lives on the unpredictable rains. The seasonal emigration from these districts results from the serious imbalance between population and reliable food supply.

In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the natural vegetation has been substantially modified. The principal causes of disturbance have been cutting, burning, and browsing, which have changed northern Morocco from a land of forests to a land of scrub. Large areas now covered with palmetto or thorn scrub once supported forests of oleaster, oak, cedar, and thuya. At present the distribution of forests is approximately the obverse of the distribution of men and livestock. Most of the remaining cedar forests are located above the limits of cultivation, and the surviving stands of holly oak occur in karstic highlands rising above cultivated plains. In the western lowlands most of the native plant cover has been destroyed. Sacred groves of oleaster give some indication of primordial or potential conditions, but only palmetto and a few other shrubs of the secondary growth survive. The record of succession is more complete in the Jbalan hills, and all stages in the retrogression are present in the Sanhajan highlands. The natural vegetation of the eastern plains, like that of the Atlantic littoral, has been almost completely destroyed, but the repeated expansion and contraction of the area of cultivated land permits an extensive development of secondary scrub.

The processes that have produced these changes can be traced into prehistory. Cereals were cultivated and goats were raised before the Phoenicians arrived. Since clearing is, and probably was, accomplished by burning, the limitations of Stone Age technology probably did not inhibit some modifications of vegetation and soil. It is hazardous to generalize about variations in the intensity of disturbance, for there is no way to determine long-term trends in the growth of human and animal populations. Nevertheless, some parts of the historical record are sufficiently striking to command attention—for example, the indication that shipbuilding was once an important industry on the Mediterranean coast, and that gates of cedar used to stand in city walls.

● 121 105 Understanding in cultural geography is attained through analysis of processes initiated and carried forward by man. In this work an attempt has been made to account for the distribution of culture traits and the effects of man's activities on the land. In other words, this study has been concerned with patterns and imprints of culture. The evidence examined suggests that the landscape of northern Morocco has long been affected by two trends: a blurring of cultural patterns, and a deepening and extension of cultural imprints. It is reasonable to suppose that both trends will persist. Political centralization will encourage acculturation, and further increase in population will accelerate modification of the land.

/p. 120 is blank/

/207 cont./

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units. Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand,
[619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of
[131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah, around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/ plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

• 121 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the
178 Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Mo-
616 rocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched
131 over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

/238 cont./

121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, 361 and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, 621 such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits 632 difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the [619] existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we 613 have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 114 It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according [171] to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

COD siderate and friendly attitude which, so soon after the end of fighting, she has already begun to show in the administration of this conquered people, whose virile spirit of independence has for the first time in history been effectively curbed.

For patronage, advice, and aid in the completion of my research and in the publication of this volume I owe thanks to many persons, more than I could possibly enumerate. Professor Hooton first suggested this work, obtained funds for me, advised me constantly while in the field, taught me how to work up the statistical material, and gave much constructive advice in the preparation of the manuscript. Mrs. Oric Bates has most generously financed its publication.

● 122 Funds for the field trip of 1926–27, and for some of the subsequent analysis, were provided by the Bureau of International Research. The head of this body, Professor George Grafton Wilson, showed a kindly interest in the work, as did the late Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge.

OOD In Morocco, the success of this expedition, as well as of that which took place in the summer of 1928, was due almost entirely to the coöperation of two persons, my wife and Mohammed Limnibhy. Travelling with me wherever I went, through the most difficult of conditions, despite poor health, recording without complaint for hours on end, while sitting on a dirt floor with a notebook on her knees, ministering to throngs of diseased persons, and helping the ethnological inquiry tremendously by observing and inquiring from women, my wife performed far more than her share of difficult work. Limnibhy, as interpreter, collector of ethnological data, anthropometric assistant, blood-letter, bodyguard, and diplomat supreme, showed himself to be a brilliant field worker on his own account. During the year which he later spent with us in America he was of incalculable assistance in helping put the first part of this volume into shape. Without the enthusiasm and unselfish assistance of these two persons this volume would have been a slim pamphlet indeed.

Among the American diplomatic and consular officers in Morocco I am especially grateful to the Honorable Maxwell Blake, our minister in Tangier, and to Mr. Russell, formerly consul in Casablanca. Both of these officials exerted themselves most cordially in our behalf, and secured our diplomatic standing with the Spanish officials.

A list of the Spanish officers to whom we are indebted for help and hospitality would be practically a roster of Spain's military staff in the Rif. Commandante Toneda of Melilla arranged our credentials for the entire Rif, and allowed me to measure in his office and in all of the markets of the eastern Rif, thus greatly facilitating the investigation. Colonel Paxtot of Tetwan allowed us to proceed to Sheshawen during a very trying period, and the officers at Sheshawen graciously entertained and assisted us for a week. In Beni Amart, Captain Sanchez Perez was likewise most hospitable and helpful. His ability to win over the respect and affection of a tribe which he had just been fighting marked him as a high type of colonial administrator.

Among the French officials, I received friendly advice and assistance from Dr. de

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

WHEN I was preparing my book *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* I thought that it might be useful for me to acquire first-hand knowledge of some forms of culture which differ from our own. As the University of Helsingfors had granted me a very handsome travelling scholarship, which enabled me to stay abroad for years, I contemplated going to the East to study both civilised and savage races. I sailed for Morocco in 1898 — and never went farther. I soon realised what a laborious undertaking it is to acquaint oneself sufficiently well even with the natives of a single country: it requires a prolonged stay among them and knowledge of their language. Even the best interpreter is apt to omit details which, though apparently trivial, may be of the greatest importance for a right understanding of the custom or belief in question, or to let his attention slacken for a moment, or to give an inaccurate meaning to expressions which baffle all direct translation. Morocco offered the double advantage of being little known and within easy reach of Europe. I went there time after time; and in the course of twenty-one journeys undertaken in the period between 1898 and 1926 I spent there altogether seven years.

I made it a point to visit towns and tribes in different parts of the country, and to employ as teachers natives of other tribes to which I could not go myself. Thus I spent half a year in Fez; the same length of time among the mountains of Andjra, and several weeks among the Jbâla of Jbel Ḥbīb and the Sáḥel; many months in the Faḥṣ and the Ġarbîya; nearly two months among the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz in Dukkâla, besides which I had daily intercourse with people of this tribe during my five months' stay in

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

B, No. 3; Helsingfors, 1914); and in my book *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), a French translation of which, made by Madame J. Arin, has been issued by L'École supérieure de Langue arabe et de Dialectes berbères de Rabat (Paris, 1921).

I beg to express my most sincere thanks to Miss Helena Hadley for kindly reading over both the manuscript and the proofs. To her suggestions I am indebted for the improvement of many phrases and expressions, as also to some references to books with which she has supplied me when I have been out of reach of an adequate library. I have to thank my friend Professor C. G. Seligman for stimulating discussions and for information on certain points.

I gratefully acknowledge the material support given me by the Rockefeller Research Fund Committee at the London School of Economics and Political Science by making liberal grants towards the expenses for my journeys to Morocco in the summers of 1924 and 1925.

My friend Carl Dahl, Consul-General of Sweden at Tangier, has much contributed to my comfort by his kindness in placing at my disposal his delightful country house for the many months I spent in Morocco in the course of the last two years.

E. W.

VILLA BALBINA, OUTSIDE TANGIER,
30*th March* 1926.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID MONTGOMERY HART

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE RIFFIAN TRIBE OF AITH WURYĀGHIL (*)

122 THIS paper, a result of six months of ethnographic field work in Spanish Morocco, was made possible by funds granted from the Ford Foundation. That foundation is not, however, the author owner, publisher or proprietor of the publication in which this paper appears, and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements made or views expressed herein.

* * *

101 Aith Wuryāghil is not only the biggest and most important tribe
[161] in the Rif, but the most heavily populated in the whole of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, totaling some 65.000 people at the present time. It is delimited on the north by the Bay of Alhucemas and by the Mediterranean Sea; on the west by the tribes of Buqqūya, Banī Yaṭṭuft and Targīst; on the east by the Nakūr River and the tribes of Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn; and on the south by Aith Mazdūwī, Aith 'Ammarth and Gizināya (the last mentioned being just over the
101 border in French Morocco). Although Targīst and most of Banī
197 Yaṭṭuft are Arabic-speaking, the other tribes all speak the Riffian dialect of Berber. Aith Wuryāghil, Aith 'Ammarth and northern Gizināya form, in particular, a Central Riffian linguistic bloc where Arabic is known only by a tiny literate minority. This dialect, called *Shilḥa* in Arabic and *Thamāzighth* in Riffian, is stronger in the Central Rif than in any other part of northern Morocco, which gives an indication of the conservatism of the people who speak it. The three
101 nuclear Riffian tribes have all retained in large measure many of

(*) Excepcionalmente se ha conservado el sistema de transcripción usado por el autor del artículo, aunque difiere del adoptado por esta Revista (N. de la R.).

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

114
128 I must express my very sincerest and most heartfelt thanks, first of all, to Sra. Da. Agustina Moro de Blanco, the widow of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga, who graciously allowed me to consult her late husband's private papers dealing with the Berbers of the Rif, in Madrid during February-March 1960. I must also express equal thanks to her son, Dr. D. Agustin Blanco Moro, with whom I initially corresponded in 1958 regarding his father's Rifian materials, and who kindly provided me with all the biographical data on his father; and to Sr. D. Tomas Garcia Figueras, the former Delegate of Native Affairs in Tetuan (in what until 1956 was Spanish Morocco), and subsequent mayor of Jérez de la Frontera, who, on hearing of my original interest in Col. Blanco's work, was good enough to put me in contact with his family. And, in this connection, I owe a very special debt of gratitude to Col. Blanco's charming and personable youngest daughter, Srta. Da. Emilia Blanco Moro, who went over the materials with me, and who helped me out when I was unable to read her father's handwriting, during the month I spent in Madrid. Finally, during the second, much later month of April 1970 which I again spent in Madrid, I must express my gratitude to Srta. Da. Concha Bragimo Fernandez, the head of the Africa Section at the National Library, for her assistance in that particular quarter.

● 122
128 I am also indebted both to the Ford Foundation, which sponsored my initial fieldwork in Morocco (1952-1955) and to the American Museum of Natural History, which sponsored my second (1959-1961) and third (1961-

1967) Moroccan trips; and I should add that neither of these New York institutions being the owner, editor or publisher of the series in which this monograph appears, they can assume no responsibility for its contents - for such is entirely my own.

I must also acknowledge the very great help of Capt. José Rodriguez Erola of the Spanish Army, for having made available to me two unpublished papers by Blanco (translated in the text) from the archives of the Ajdir Office in the Aith Waryaghar comarcal, of which he was the administrator or interventor, in 1955. Professor Carleton S. Coon, Emeritus, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania (who was largely responsible for my initial interest in the Rif as an area of fieldwork) and Professor Ernest Gellner, of the Department of Sociology at the London School of Economics, both gave me much advice and encouragement; and Professor Gellner was kind enough to read and comment upon the first draft (1962) of the manuscript. I hope that I have heeded his comments, as my footnotes needed much pruning. And to Mrs. Don Carl Steffen, who understandingly and uncomplainingly typed up the second draft, I owe a very great debt indeed. The present draft is the third one. I also wish to give credit to the late Dr. Lloyd Cabot Briggs for having thought of the title "Colonel in the Rif."

But, always barring Col. Blanco's own family and heirs, my greatest thanks of all must go to two persons: to 'Amar Azzugwagh of the Aith Turirth subclan of the highland Aith Waryaghar, my mentor, initiator and general factotum in Things Rifian, who checked over all the Blanco materials with me point by point by point, after my return to Morocco

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

122 The research resulting in this study was made possible through a predoctoral grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, as well as the generosity of Mr. Dean Cutchall and my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Roger Joseph, Sr. A grant from the Near Eastern Center at UCLA, arranged through the kind offices of Dr. Walter Goldschmidt and Dr. G. E. von Grunebaum, allowed me free time to complete this study.

000 Guidance and encouragement for my research were provided by many teachers at the University of California, Los Angeles, including Councill Taylor, Hilda Kuper, Jack Prost and M. G. Smith. To Joseph B. Birdsell a particular debt of gratitude is [122] owed. Of my colleagues in Moroccan studies, special thanks must be given David M. Hart who assisted me over many field work difficulties and Ernest Gellner who provided hospitality and guidance.

Two people most instrumental in the completion of this work were Pedro Carrasco and Terri Brint Joseph. Dr. Carrasco has served as a continuing source of advice and encouragement. I am indebted to him for his friendship and kindness as well as for his intellectual guidance and stimulation. Of my wife's contribution no less can be said than that the study would not have been possible without her participation: this was truly a joint intellectual effort for which she deserves full credit for the best parts.

R.J.

646 authority could obtain for himself by entreaty the representation of
646 popular sovereignty. This representation gives him social prestige,
554 a prestige which in the Rif can only be won through bravery, ability or wealth. Beside it, the religious power, also represented by virtuous men, served most of the time only to decorate by their persons, to legalize by their presence, and to preserve with their spiritual power the most solemn agreements. Once such prestige was acquired, it could even be consecrated, as it were, in a written title (such as the Qanun of Lower Thamasint), but this meant ultimately the beginning of personal power and the abandonment of a democratic organization[101].....Such representation won through the personal courage and effort of those who wanted it was given a measure of authority and permanence, a fact which obliges (1935) extraordinary prudence in Spanish nominations of tribal notables--for the original lack of prestige of most functionaries of the Makhzin follows them all their lives as a shadow follows a body.....In a tribe which I
[123] once administered there appeared a new qa'id. The news reached me,
[124] and I wanted to find out in a superficial manner how the nomination had been received; but wherever and whenever I mentioned the word "qa'id", the people I talked to called the man amzir, or "blacksmith"--the Rifian is a master when it comes to establishing social categories!.....Another typical case: among the Aith Waryaghar it was very common in an agrau or council meeting for one of those attending to get to his feet suddenly and express his own opinion at an opportune moment. The igrawn were popular assemblies and many people attended them, each man coming armed and gesticulating with his rifle,

829 their own dwellings, anticipating possible impertinences and discourtesies which, wounding their brittle and easily hurt amour propre, would not be able to reject their ways and customs; but if, at some time, and it would not often happen, their instinctive suspicion and simulated servility and docility are momentarily broken down, a single sentence or even a single word will reveal to you all the power and strength of their race, the pride in their ancestry and the consciousness of their superiority; for it is precisely the Rifian resistance to all innovations and to all submission which is one of their most fundamental characteristics![4] In support of this we may refer to the
177
829
152 case of a qa'id, of an old qa'id of a Rifian tribe, who in the company
● [125] of others had to attend an official meeting at which protocol compelled a special dress to be worn. The only indication that I gave him that he had to change his clothes for the officers was an outrage to him, which I noticed on seeing his cheeks turn red. The game was lost and an adequate answer was forthcoming: "Do you think I am a little boy?" The other quyad (pl. of qa'id) intervened, but he paid no attention to them; if they wished, he would do so, if not, he would retire; and that old and dignified mountaineer went out with his clothes unchanged, showing himself in the natural and logical manner of his own protocol and not in that of the others, a manner in which, also, he has all his excellence.

671 If we turn our attention to these qanuns, if, after putting aside our European criteria of judgment, we diligently examine their badly constructed phrases and sentences, if we analyze their meaning with all possible affection and if we really desire to penetrate into the spirit

laborer, especially as a migrant worker in Europe or Algeria, where salaries are high by Riffian standards.

On the other end of the spectrum are the landowners who regard the akhammas as the true beneficiary of the association. They argue that since they provide all the elements of production except labor, they are being exploited by the working class. The akhammas provides only his manual labor for a few weeks of ploughing and again for a few weeks at harvest time. Their contention is that although the work is arduous, it spans over a relatively short period of time for which the akhammas receives enough to meet his subsistence needs for the year. The remainder of the year the akhammas is free to contract for such labor as is available. The property owner, however, depends exclusively on his crop and thus does not have the additional revenues which the worker earns throughout the rest of the year. If the crop yield is low, the master will always see to it that the worker gets something, and besides the poor can apply for government relief while the rich can not. I suggested to several owners that they (123) engage a wage laborer for the short duration of actual work involved in performing the cultivation tasks but was met with only stony silence at the notion of such a scheme. I did not encounter and no one ever spoke of an instance in which agricultural labor was paid for in daily or weekly wages. Since the property class is in a position to change the system but does not, presumably the akhammas arrangement works to their benefit.

443 651 648 438 [123] Below is the official tax rate of the Spanish as given in Albéniz (1930:121-122). I have no schedule of my own because of a disinclination on the part of officials to give me such information.

Articles upon which a tax is paid entering the market:	
A load of fruit	0.75 Spanish pesetas
Basket of vegetables	0.75
Basket of fish	1.50
Kilo of honey or butter	0.40

Articles upon which a tax is paid upon leaving the market by the large-scale buyers:	
Wool	5% of total value
Straw mats	0.25 each
Dried cereal	0.50 quintal
Goat or lamb hide	0.20 each
Cattle hide	0.50 each

Articles upon which a tax is paid at the moment of exchange:	
Horses	5% of the value of the sale
Mules	5% of the value of the sale
Donkeys	5% of the value of the sale
Firewood, a quintal	5% of the value of the sale

Articles upon which a tax is charged when entering the market and again upon being sold:	
Basket of wool	.10 and .20
Chickens and wild fowl	.10 and .10
Eggs (dozen)	.10 and .10
Carbon (a sack)	.10 and .10

443 651 648 438 735 While Albéniz's list follows the general lines of present taxing policy, there have been some changes aimed at helping the poor. For example, small lots of fruit, vegetables, nuts and eggs can enter the market without paying a duty. Revenue is collected for

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

128 the Rifians are chiefly represented by the Aiṭ Wāryâġer and Ait Temsâmān; the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda by the Aṭ Ubáḫṭi; the Brâber by the Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḏēr, and Aiṭ Mjilḏ; the Shlōḥ by the Iglíwa in the Great Atlas south-east of Marráksh, the inhabitants of Demnat and Amzmiz, the Iḥaḥan on the northerly slopes of the most westerly portion of the Great Atlas, and the Amanūz and the people of Aglu (close to the Atlantic coast) in Sūs; the Arabs by the natives of the Ĝarbîya to the south of Tangier, the Mnáṣăra and Beni Âḥsen on the coast between Laraiche and Rabat, the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and Ulâd Frąj in Dukkâla to the south of Azemmur, and the people of the Ḥiáina in the neighbourhood of Fez; the Jbâla by the people of Andjra and Jbel Ḥbīb and the Bni 'Ăroṣ in the northern part, and the Tsūl in the southern part of their district; and the Arabic-speaking townsfolk by the inhabitants of Fez and Tangier. But reference is also made to many other tribes and places.

121 In the present work I am dealing with the popular religion and magic of the Moors, not, except casually, with the general tenets and rites of Islam or those of the Mālikī school of Muhammadans, to which the Moors belong. My chief object is to give a systematic account of what I have myself seen or heard from the lips of natives. I have to some extent made use of, or referred in footnotes to, facts stated by other writers on Morocco, but in such cases I have invariably mentioned the source of information. As for the collection of my materials, I have made it a stringent rule not to accept statements of others than natives of the country, because I have frequently found those of European residents lacking in accuracy. I have further made it a rule not to 121 use information given me about a tribe by members of other 124 tribes, without specially indicating its more or less unauthoritative character. I have also been in the habit of repeating to my informants their statements in full so as to avoid all misunderstanding; and I have occasionally tested their trustworthiness by deliberately misrepresenting their statements, but in such cases they have never failed to correct me. The accuracy of the natives even in the smallest details

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

is remarkable; and the patience of many of my teachers has been beyond praise. 121 [124]

In my study of the various rites I have not been content

FIG. 5.—Berber from the Rif.

with ascertaining the bare external facts, but have, so far as possible, tried to discover the ideas underlying them The reader will find that the explanations given by the natives themselves are not always alike. The reason for this

646 authority could obtain for himself by entreaty the representation of
646 popular sovereignty. This representation gives him social prestige,
554 a prestige which in the Rif can only be won through bravery, ability or wealth. Beside it, the religious power, also represented by virtuous men, served most of the time only to decorate by their persons, to legalize by their presence, and to preserve with their spiritual power the most solemn agreements. Once such prestige was acquired, it could even be consecrated, as it were, in a written title (such as the Qanun of Lower Thamasint), but this meant ultimately the beginning of personal power and the abandonment of a democratic organization[101].....Such representation won through the personal courage and effort of those who wanted it was given a measure of authority and permanence, a fact which obliges (1935) extraordinary prudence in Spanish nominations of tribal notables--for the original lack of prestige of most functionaries of the Makhzin follows them all their lives as a shadow follows a body.....In a tribe which I
[123] once administered there appeared a new qa'id. The news reached me,
[124] and I wanted to find out in a superficial manner how the nomination had been received; but wherever and whenever I mentioned the word "qa'id", the people I talked to called the man amzir, or "blacksmith"--the Rifian is a master when it comes to establishing social categories!.....Another typical case: among the Aith Waryaghar it was very common in an agrau or council meeting for one of those attending to get to his feet suddenly and express his own opinion at an opportune moment. The igrawn were popular assemblies and many people attended them, each man coming armed and gesticulating with his rifle,

although not all of them with the same degree of forcefulness. Anyone may speak, although the majority, as elsewhere, are silent. A spontaneous speaker caused the same sensation, stupor and curiosity as those like him in Spain do in the bull-ring, and the result was almost the same. An amqqran or councilmember interrupted him, saying "You here, you have just made the gesture of a stupid idiot," and the poor man, reddened and embarrassed, was silent amid general noise and quarreling, which the ingenious councilmember smilingly recalled in later years.....Another incident: once a man whom I did not know was proposed to me as a candidate for a position of tribal authority, and I wanted to find out about him. I began a series of questions and reflections regarding the virtues which anyone nominated would have to possess, such as honor, ability, etc. I was, however, surprised to find the person to whom I was talking interrupt me, saying quickly, "No, no, no! You think he is like So-and-so?" (And So-and-so was a very short-statured men, as I myself am.) "Not at all, he is thus!" With this the speaker, a big, fat fellow, raised his shoulders up with a graphic gesture, thumping his chest and laughing, saying that nobody could willingly argue about his own authority.

Among Rifians, then, names of tribal functionaries seem literally and faithfully to interpret the idea of the function involved, as amghar and amqqran both convey the idea of "big, adult, old". This is reflected in the qanuns when, in reference to those attending a meeting, prior to inscribing a list of the names of the notables present, those who drew up the qanun in question were very

423 the question have (interventors) had to abandon it unfinished, dis-
648 heartened to see the effort yielding so little result, and contemplating the manner in which the inventory of such properties had diminished.

423 Regarding these properties, I was recently told by some
648 Rifians about what happened in their tribal territory when, many years
● 124 ago, the protectorate authorities decided to plant a piece of communal
[203] land in the Eastern Rif with olive trees. The news spread through the tribe with the usual deformation, and its members became alarmed. Some of them, including my informant, decided to divide up all properties of this type which remained to them, for fear of being deprived of them. Did the Makhzin find out? Did it take any action? Is the news true? I do not know.

000 The above notwithstanding, a new revision and classification with every possible guarantee to allay alarm of this sort, and with the object of restoring to the rural estates the creation and classification of their patrimony, is possible. It is a task requiring effort, tenacity, urgency and desirability, because if the appeal (which is made) is not strong and healthy, neither will be the outcome. This patrimony, or at least a part of it, must be made inalienable, as is that of the habus. It should be made up of arable lands, fields and fruit trees at the limit or boundary of the jma'th, with no known owner, and should also include ghaba lands which are not regularly worked. All this land, when the seed has arrived, should then be parcelled out for plowing amonst the members of the jma'th; and some lands should be earmarked for common plowing in order to obtain the means to meet the obligations of hospitality, in this way removing the burden

000 2. LEGAL DECISION PROCEDURE:

(Most of this section is made up of the Introduction, in manuscript form and unpublished, to La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte--Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939)

671 A) Characteristics: (fragmentary):

1) Sources of Customary Law:

a) Voluntary Pacts: agreements or conventions which individuals or kin groups establish among themselves, in writing, toward the attainment of specific ends.

b) Qanuns: tariffs or enumerations of fines for various infractions established by the various social units.

c) Local Custom: in effect, the "national" feeling of equity which may ultimately become fused and intertwined with religious law.

B) Berber Justice, with a Hypothesis on the Survival of Custom: (fragmentary):

671 179 I think it ridiculous of the Spanish administration in Morocco not to have kept the Rif from contamination by the Shari'a (Muslim religious law), which the French in their zone of Morocco and in Algeria have been able to do, among Berber populations existing in these areas[1]. ...I think that Spain, ultimately, has Arabized the Rifians through an ignorance of customary law[2].

[124] In April 1939, the late Si Hammadi nd-Hajj Sh'aib, of the local community of Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, of the clan of the Imrabdhen in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, told me: "The Shari'a did not intervene

in or interfere with our qanuns" (which I have already published) "because this had been so agreed previously. At that time, during the 'Ripublik', it only had jurisdiction over matters pertaining to land, marriage and divorce. In the clan of Sidi Yusif (i.e. Imrabdhen), there was always a qadi; but he only had to do with matters relating to property, marriages, divorces and other related items."

In my opinion, the survival of custom is clear, and it continues to be so today; and not through any lack of knowledge of Muslim law, either. What I do wonder is whether the Shari'a in the Rif is becoming Berberized, or whether custom is becoming Arabized, which is not the same thing.[3]

C) The Survival of Custom: An Explanation:

The Rifians were not and are not in the least unaware of the existence of the Shari'a, but there are reasons why they have in so many ways become estranged from it and have applied customary or common law, transmitted by tradition and revealed in not a few cases by written documents, through which they have tried many times to establish and to codify it.

A major factor here was the material impossibility, in which the Rifians found themselves, of applying Koranic precepts, owing to the constant state of revolt of the area, even though (author's italics) these were reconcilable with custom...Also, we can by no means assume that throughout the recorded history of the Rif there were no men qualified to interpret the Shari'a, particularly in cities such as Badis and Nakur.[4]

To what, then, can we attribute the persistence of custom, to

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his
682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally
696 meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill
him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept
[182] this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the
presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was
eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only
after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he
682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on
443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum
[114] (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine
(called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder
on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other
offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market
itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the
ingharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market
path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no
question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in
the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually
meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise
the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the
ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum
which was prohibitively high), the ingharen descended on him in a body
and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re-
682 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the mur-
628 derer. The ingharen, however, could not touch his property as long as
he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's
family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion
of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that
he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's ag-
nates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the
ingharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen
of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted,
as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circum-
stances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to
have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 56--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for
682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of
commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely stan-
dard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] 57--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the
[114] Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is ex-
pressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading
to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants,
[124] however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is
immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is
[628] assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the
murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and
a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted
up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

000

65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since [648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, [656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being [124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says [114] above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi [988] r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide [593] remarks on inheritance of property by women). What Blanco does not say, [848] however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A, [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

616
[62]
602
114
sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation, make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at the matter in a slightly different way.

There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows: "Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr, pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even continuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were "external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the former more to higher ones.

[539]
616
614
619

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not continue ad infinitum.

616
614
619
The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big" liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or "smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe (in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chrin--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

[124]

another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top Segment I is labeled Aith Khattab, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari (plus Aith 'Ari) and Aith 'Abd Allah, while Top Segment II consists of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments of these top segments are aligned into their component liffs, as above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the problem, therefore, is the khums of Imrabdhen, the presence of which, in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above). The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top imgharen of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a khums, and their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqqiwen of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the dispensing of baraka (which, it might be added, could only be inherited by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent liff alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally, "fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary and liff systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative, as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance, between holy and adjudicating imrabdhen, the 10% minority, and lay and warrior imrabdhen, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrabdhen as a clan: whether they are shurfa or not--and here again, one runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say "no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are genuine shurfa, although it is possible that these are, at least in part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the sunduq or box

of the old days which Arab and European writers have either neglected or toned down, if not falsified.

In the comments which the qanuns have suggested to me, I try to explain what they mean to the European reader, justifying the reason behind their precepts.

This, then, is a simple essay, a modest contribution toward a better knowledge of your preferences and virtues, so that those who live together with you in your land can understand you better[1].

In other studies in preparation, I shall continue the study of your fundamental institutions, economy and art, which are nonetheless interesting and worthy of publication even if they are modest.

My thanks are due to so many Rifians, over long and agreeable periods of time, who with courtesy and patience stimulated my curiosity and questions and tried to satisfy them, answer them and show me how they worked; and especially to Muhammad n Sh'aib Abuqquy, faithful interpreter of my thought.

The translations were done by the official interpreter D. Juan Gómez Jaén.

1. THE RIFIAN QANUNS, WITH COMMENTS:

The analysis of the Rifian qanuns, of these little pieces of paper which I give you to peruse, of these tiny sheets in which unaccustomed hands noted down, after bombastic introductions and flattering patronymics taking up three or four lines, offset by praises to the Divinity, a number of striking and rigorous precepts, the proclamation of which in the suq gave them the force and attributes of law; and it is these precepts which show us graphically and without any doubt that the Rif

584 trousseau. The sdaq does not seem to be regarded as a purchase
583 sum which transfers rights in ownership from one family to another. Although such a transfer may be regarded as an attribute of this exchange, this is not the indigenous explanation. By furnishing the bride with new clothings and new furniture, a husband symbolizes that he is accepting the material responsibilities of her well-being. The bride, in turn, acknowledges that she is relinquishing her material interests in her father's household. Westermarck (1914:72) says that in some places in
[114] Morocco, including tribes in the Rif, the father keeps a portion
[124] of the sdaq for his own purposes. My own field questioning resulted in no example of a parent diverting any portion of the sdaq to his own use. While this may occur on occasion, my informants seemed shocked at the notion and voiced strong disapproval.

Since the bride brings no clothes purchased in her premarried days into her new home, the minimal item required for a marriage is a new wardrobe, including numerous idfina (typical female dress), belts, handkerchiefs, shawls, and slippers. Also required are a wooden chest, and a brass or copper tray and tea pot. All this is placed in the wedding chest which accompanies the bride to the wedding ceremony. It is also customary for the girl to give gifts to all close members of her family, taken from the sdaq (dress and shoes for mother, shoes for sisters, shirts for brothers).

The amount of sdaq varies considerably according to the social position of the families involved. There is considerable

792 794 575 brotherhood, Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi (1869-1934) broke off from the organization to form his own association which is now the largest in the Rif. According to informant estimate, this brotherhood holds about 50% of those Berbers in the Rif who belong to brotherhoods. Its annual meeting which I attended in 1965 consisted of several thousand brothers from all parts of the Rif and from neighboring Algeria where the mother lodge is located.

792 794 575 178 The importance of these fraternal orders declined to a certain extent during the struggle for Moroccan independence because of their anti-nationalistic behavior. When they are criticized in the Rif it is not on theological grounds but political. The brotherhoods have been accused of accepting [662] bribes in order to influence their membership on how to vote in local elections and to act as spies for the government. Their cogency has also been reduced by the increase in secular as opposed to Koranic education. Nonetheless, they have a powerful residual following, as attested by the vehemency with which they are attacked.

792 794 575 The fraternity supports itself on the annual contributions in kind extracted as membership fees from its adherents as well as the more or less regular visits to the key shrines and lodges where, again, donations are expected. The size of this contribution [124] is most difficult to estimate, and my inquiries of lodge officials met with only our mutual exasperation. The amount seems to vary with the avarice of the local lodge, where 10% of

792 794 575 [124] annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

788 484 [179] Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. [805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or [178] [509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. [435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in [671] getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, [554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have 788 484 626 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

IN THIS MONOGRAPH I attempt to explain some features of the cultural geography of the northern (formerly Spanish) zone of Morocco. The work has two related themes. I have sought, in the first place, to interpret the distribution of a selected number of culture traits. My second main effort has been to determine the effects of man's activities on the land. The cultural and physical geography of the area is introduced in chapters i and ii. It seemed desirable to reverse the usual order of geographic presentation and begin with culture rather than nature, for most of the processes described in this work have been initiated by man. The discussion of culture history in the next two chapters covers two millennia. It is my conviction that cultural geography is best studied in the light of origins and dispersals, which implies an unrestricted view of the past. The historical résumé in chapters iii and iv constitutes the foundation for interpretations of modern settlement and livelihood in chapters v–vii. The sum of these studies—cultural and natural, historical and modern—provides the background for an assessment of man's effect on vegetation and soil. In chapter viii the main findings of the entire work are summarized.

In a volume of modest size it is manifestly impossible to consider all elements of the landscape. By choice I have not stressed the areas of European influence and urbanization. The focus of my interest has been in rural areas where the most important goals of life are independence and self-sufficiency. The mountainous area of northern Morocco, like the High, Middle, and Anti Atlas, has suffered little from the obscuring effects of foreign influence. The Arabs, who first entered Morocco in the seventh century, had little interest in the highlands. European colonists, concerned primarily with mechanized agriculture, also preferred lands of gentle relief. All the mountain tribes have embraced Islam, some have learned to speak Arabic, and a few have adopted the Singer sewing machine. But subsistence farming and barter still govern tribal economy, and tradition arbitrates disputes.

When a Moroccan is close to home he identifies himself as an inhabitant of a certain village or hamlet. If further clarification is necessary, he may add that he is a member of a community or canton (*farqa*). He will announce his tribal affiliation (*qabila*) only when he is away from home. For example, in Alhucemas one meets members of the tribes of Ibuqquyen, Aith Wariyaghar, and Thimsaman. It is only in Tetuán or some equally remote place that the same people identify themselves as Rifians. They are keenly aware of being Moroccans or North Africans only when they are abroad.

It follows that this study should begin with hamlets or cantons, and only later consider differences among tribes or confederations of tribes. Unfortunately, this procedure would be impractical. I have been compelled to limit my analysis to differences of large scale. Moreover, I have been obliged to focus my attention on variations in material culture. When a Moroccan is questioned about his neighbors, he seldom comments on the nature of their houses, clothing, or crops. His first thoughts are of personality traits, especially those he regards as objectionable. Here again, I have had to adopt a limited and somewhat distorted

114 of the Rif in Villa Sanjurjo (today Alhucemas or El Hoceima: properly, al-Husaima) on the traditional segmentary tribe-clan-subclan-local community-lineage organization of the Aith Waryaghar entitled Las Yemáas Tradicionales de Los Ait Uariaguel - the traditional local communities, or jma'ath (sing. jma'th) of the tribe in question. In this report, and in conformity with his well-chosen illustrative examples of the complex segmentation of the tribe, he recommended that the Aith Waryaghar be divided, for the purpose of a more effective administration, into three qaidates, in accordance with the natural geographical divisions of the Ghis-Nkur watershed. The report in question is translated in extenso in Book I of the text of this volume: Blanco's recommendation was implemented by the authorities in Villa Sanjurjo, and his administrative brainchild persisted until the end of the protectorate. It is, furthermore, more than probable that his promotion to the rank of major at the end of 1935 was a direct result of the way in which he had convincingly solved this knotty administrative problem. [128]

In connection with this same report, Blanco drew up a series of five excellent tribal maps of the Aith Waryaghar, showing, first, the traditional territorial-segmentary organization, then two maps showing the changes - all with a view toward greater centralization - made successively by 'Abd al-Krim during his tenure, and, finally, two more showing those imposed by the Spanish Protectorate. All are reproduced, with my corrections where needed, both in this volume and in my own Aith Waryaghar Ethnography and History studies. No student of the [126] 128 ∞∞

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

121
433
642
system by which resources are distributed. In the absence of such a factor, the economy developed as a reflection of the social organization wherein well-being depended on relatives, friends, the good-will of the spirits and God, all supporting one another.

121
126
The data upon which this study is based were collected from two villages in adjoining tribes in the Central Rif. The economy of individual families within the villages was studied, as well as how these local communities articulate with each other and with the wider Moroccan social and economic structure. The principal foci of the investigation were the reciprocal relations between kinsmen and neighbors, the relation of property to prestige, ritual obligations and magical predilection, and the general effects of the indigenous system of social relations on the consumption and distribution of resources.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

perspective. Material traits do not include all of cultural geography, but they do constitute the core of things that the geographer can study systematically.

The thesis of my study of deforestation is that the extent of change can be roughly delimited by historical research and by observation of present trends. In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the principal agents of deforestation have been (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to clear land for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by livestock. There is evidence that each of these agents has been active for centuries. If allowance is made for probable variations in the rate of disturbance, tentative conclusions may be reached as to the extent of change.

For reasons that are painfully evident to all students of Moroccan languages or dialects, correct transliteration is difficult to achieve. Consider the word for "mountain." On French maps it apears as *jebel* or *djebel;* on Spanish maps it is *yebel*. The proper English transliteration of the classical Arabic is *jabal*. But most Moroccans know little of classical Arabic. The usual pronunciation is *jbil*, and this is the way I have written the word. I have tried to transliterate words so that they are intelligible to English-speaking readers. Thus the Maghribi Arabic word for "stream" appears as *wad*, not as *oued* or *uad*. Shawen is substituted for Chauen or Xauen, and Wezzan for Ouezzane. The variant spellings of French and Spanish cartographers are listed in the Appendix.

The field work for this study was carried out from November, 1955, to May, 1957, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to that institution for its support. I am grateful to many Moroccans who helped me to understand their land and culture. Special mention should be made of my frequent traveling companions, Muhammad Miqqi of Ktama and Muhammad ben Hmid l'Arbi of Aith Seddath. I am indebted also to Charles Sauvage of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien for assistance in the identification of plants.

Since returning to the United States, I have profited from correspondence with David M. Hart. Mr. Hart was engaged in ethnological field work in the Rif from 1953 to 1955 and has since returned to Morocco for more extensive research. I am indebted to him for notes on many aspects of Moroccan culture, and especially for his advice on transliteration. The reader with prior knowledge of the literature on northern Morocco will be aware that I have derived great profit from study of the pioneer work of Carleton S. Coon. The illustrations of clothing and house types for chapters i and v were made from my collection of photographs and field sketches by Iris Neff and Jacques Lemieux.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation for the encouragement given to this undertaking by my teachers at the University of California. A preliminary version of this study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in geography under the supervision of Professors Carl O. Sauer, Melvin M. Knight, and James J. Parsons. The present work has profited from the criticism of Professors John Leighly, Erhard Rostlund, and Clarence J. Glacken.

1967) Moroccan trips; and I should add that neither of these New York institutions being the owner, editor or publisher of the series in which this monograph appears, they can assume no responsibility for its contents - for such is entirely my own.

I must also acknowledge the very great help of Capt. José Rodriguez Erola of the Spanish Army, for having made available to me two unpublished papers by Blanco (translated in the text) from the archives of the Ajdir Office in the Aith Waryaghar comarcal, of which he was the administrator or interventor, in 1955. Professor Carleton S. Coon, Emeritus, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania (who was largely responsible for my initial interest in the Rif as an area of fieldwork) and Professor Ernest Gellner, of the Department of Sociology at the London School of Economics, both gave me much advice and encouragement; and Professor Gellner was kind enough to read and comment upon the first draft (1962) of the manuscript. I hope that I have heeded his comments, as my footnotes needed much pruning. And to Mrs. Don Carl Steffen, who understandingly and uncomplainingly typed up the second draft, I owe a very great debt indeed. The present draft is the third one. I also wish to give credit to the late Dr. Lloyd Cabot Briggs for having thought of the title "Colonel in the Rif."

But, always barring Col. Blanco's own family and heirs, my greatest thanks of all must go to two persons: to 'Amar Azzugwagh of the Aith Turirth subclan of the highland Aith Waryaghar, my mentor, initiator and general factotum in Things Rifian, who checked over all the Blanco materials with me point by point by point, after my return to Morocco

121
114

"Emilio Blanco is not listed in the Spanish Dictionary of National Biography, and before I went on my first field trip into the Rif Mountains of what, until 1956, was the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, I had never heard of him. After my arrival in the then protectoral capital of Tetuan in February 1953, I stumbled across two of his works in the library of the Delegation of Native Affairs. I picked them up casually, and then began to read them with an avid and ever-increasing interest. Three months later, when I actually began my own researches in the Rif, I came to hear his name so often, from the lips of Spanish army officers and Rifians alike, and always coupled with the highest praise, that I began to wonder if an assessment of his contributions to the field of Berberology (i.e., Berber sociology) might not be worthwhile. After reading more of his writings, both published and unpublished, and finding out more about his policy as a tribal administrator, I became convinced that it was worthwhile, if only to rescue his name from the ethnographic oblivion into which it had fallen, and to give credit where credit was due."

121 I wrote these words in 1958, and since then I have not altered my opinion. After the publication of this preliminary article, however, I had entertained the idea of preparing for publication, with the kind permission of Col. Blanco's widow and family, all his unpublished manuscripts and notes having to do with Berbers, the Rif and Morocco generally; but during the month of March 1960 which I spent in Madrid going over his material, I became convinced that because of the fragmentary and disparate nature of much of this, it would be far too unwieldy a project to undertake. I therefore decided at this time to concentrate only on those data which had, in the language of social anthropology, "structural relevance"; and a continual shifting of Blanco's data since then - plus a second month of further archival research in Madrid, at the Africa Section (the Garcia Figueras collection, inaugurated late in 1966) at the National Library there, in April 1970 - has fully confirmed me in this decision, particularly

[127]

127 No student of the subject could possibly fail to recognize the tremendous value of maps such as these, which the then administration kindly lent me as an aid in my own work.

114 Civil war had now already broken out in Spain, and Emilio Blanco, like most of his fellow members of the corps of tribal interventores, was solidly pro-Nationalist. In July 1936, General Franco, after a historic meeting at the Yellow Plain of Ktama, won all the tribal elements of Spanish Morocco to his cause (not the least of which were the Aith Waryaghar who had fought so hard, with 'Abd al-Krim, against Spain only ten years earlier), was ready to march into his homeland as the Commander of the Spanish Nationalist Forces, now augmented with a large Moroccan contingent, one which, indeed, amounted to nearly half of the total Nationalist troops. Hence the then regional interventor of the Rif, Juan Bautista Sanchez Gonzalez, left Villa Sanjurjo to join Franco. Sanchez Gonzalez was succeeded by Major Blanco, and it was largely through Blanco's efforts and experience that the Rifians never once wavered in their allegiance to Franco during the next three years while Spain was wracked with strife. We refer anyone interested 114 65 in Blanco's attempts to improve the lot of the Rifians economically, through public works and irrigation projects, and in his architectural projects (schools, mkhazni posts, market tribunals for qaids and qadis, and intervención offices - notably that of the "castle" at l-Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday Market of the Aith Turirth, on which depended the southeastern Aith Waryaghar highlanders) to Sierra Ochoa's article, cited above.

114 67 443 182 on the hillsides, bringing the cries of victims and the echo of rifle shots in its train" (LR, p. 19). Blanco's work is shot through with references to the clan (or, as he calls it, fraccion), with its market, as the basic Rifian patria - which of course applies better to large tribes like the Aith Waryaghar than to small ones like the Thafarsith, "Rifian Switzerlands" surrounded by more powerful neighbors.

114 607 [608] By 1960, some of the finer points of the Rifian qanuns or Customary Law documents had been forgotten even by members of the oldest living generation, e.g., such as how much is to be paid if one shoots at a man and misses him, or if one threatens him with a dagger, but does not stab him. Blanco, and to a lesser extent Carleton Coon[28], have both set down many of these common-law niceties; and Blanco's work has the additional merit (and we refer here primarily to LR) of being a translation and an analysis of primary documents, some dating as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. These are invaluable source materials for the long and unbroken period of the Rifian 'Ripublik' (as opposed to 'Abd al-Krim's Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya, or "Rifian Republican State", 1921-1926, although he only constituted it "officially" early in 1923), which is today only a memory and, according to some, a skeleton in the Rifian closet. However, old tribesmen and even some younger ones who are less sophisticated - and who therefore generally make better informants - still grudgingly admit to admiring it and to looking upon it with nostalgia.

---

[113] 28--Cf. Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, Vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931. Coon's data on customary law come primarily from the tribe of the Igzinnayen, whereas the bulk of Blanco's come from their northern neighbors, the Aith Waryaghar.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

perspective. Material traits do not include all of cultural geography, but they do constitute the core of things that the geographer can study systematically.

The thesis of my study of deforestation is that the extent of change can be roughly delimited by historical research and by observation of present trends. In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the principal agents of deforestation have been (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to clear land for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by livestock. There is evidence that each of these agents has been active for centuries. If allowance is made for probable variations in the rate of disturbance, tentative conclusions may be reached as to the extent of change.

For reasons that are painfully evident to all students of Moroccan languages or dialects, correct transliteration is difficult to achieve. Consider the word for "mountain." On French maps it apears as *jebel* or *djebel;* on Spanish maps it is *yebel*. The proper English transliteration of the classical Arabic is *jabal*. But most Moroccans know little of classical Arabic. The usual pronunciation is *jbil*, and this is the way I have written the word. I have tried to transliterate words so that they are intelligible to English-speaking readers. Thus the Maghribi Arabic word for "stream" appears as *wad*, not as *oued* or *uad*. Shawen is substituted for Chauen or Xauen, and Wezzan for Ouezzane. The variant spellings of French and Spanish cartographers are listed in the Appendix.

The field work for this study was carried out from November, 1955, to May, 1957, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to that institution for its support. I am grateful to many Moroccans who helped me to understand their land and culture. Special mention should be made of my frequent traveling companions, Muhammad Miqqi of Ktama and Muhammad ben Hmid l'Arbi of Aith Seddath. I am indebted also to Charles Sauvage of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien for assistance in the identification of plants.

Since returning to the United States, I have profited from correspondence with David M. Hart. Mr. Hart was engaged in ethnological field work in the Rif from 1953 to 1955 and has since returned to Morocco for more extensive research. I am indebted to him for notes on many aspects of Moroccan culture, and especially for his advice on transliteration. The reader with prior knowledge of the literature on northern Morocco will be aware that I have derived great profit from study of the pioneer work of Carleton S. Coon. The illustrations of clothing and house types for chapters i and v were made from my collection of photographs and field sketches by Iris Neff and Jacques Lemieux.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation for the encouragement given to this undertaking by my teachers at the University of California. A preliminary version of this study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in geography under the supervision of Professors Carl O. Sauer, Melvin M. Knight, and James J. Parsons. The present work has profited from the criticism of Professors John Leighly, Erhard Rostlund, and Clarence J. Glacken.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization, but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

Climate

The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude, irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[1]

Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[1] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

/208 cont./

619 131 °Alam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only [563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

• [127]

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The [616] [648] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

619 131 At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

121 In collecting the data upon which this book is based, the chief concern of the investigators was to obtain a sufficiently large series of anthropometric records from each tribe in the Rif, northern Senhaja, and from the Ghomara, so that the distribution of somatological characteristics in these areas might be determined with some degree of accuracy. So much of the expedition's time was spent in this pursuit that it was impossible to secure as much data on the subjects of religion and magic as was desired. Other elements of culture, both material and social, were easier to observe and record.

128 In presenting the data so gathered an attempt has been made not only to describe but to analyse as well, and to reconstruct from the living material the natures and order of cultural and racial changes in the north of Morocco, especially in their relation to the Berber world as a whole.

114 During our travels in Morocco I have unfortunately not learned any one Berber dialect well enough to work directly in it, nor to record phonetic texts. Such fine work is the province of Westermarck, of Biarnay, and of Laoust, whose labors I hold in especial esteem. In wealth of detail, my cultural material falls short of Westermarck's and of Laoust's, especially in the fields of magico-religious practices and of agriculture. Fortunately for me I was able to work in a region which I believe neither of them has visited, and hence am able to supplement their monumental compilations with first-hand data from a fresh quarter of Barbary. The time at which the bulk of these researches were made fell just at the close of the Riffian war, after Abd el Krim's surrender and before all of the tribes had renounced their freedom. Coming at that time I was luckily able to see Riffian life still led according to the old style, for a few weeks at least, and to record by witnessing them practices and customs now forever discontinued.

000 The Spanish authorities, from the highest to the lowest in rank, received us most cordially and generously set the assistance of their military organization at our service. I can never cease being grateful to them for a consideration and kindness which must have cost them considerable work and annoyance. So great was their hospitality that to prevent it from hindering work was sometimes a problem.

As to the Riffians themselves, it would be difficult for me to praise them too highly. Their keen comprehension, ready acceptance of the purpose of our inquiries, high degree of coöperation, and generous hospitality never failed to astonish us. Spain is indeed fortunate to possess such a protectorate. Its wealth of man power, the intelligence of its people, and the natural resources of the country will in time repay her amply for the deservedly con-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XI

CRISES IN THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

128 Sociologists commonly recognise three major crises in the life of each individual: birth, puberty, and death.[1] Besides these major or biological crises they recognize others which lack direct biological importance, but are nevertheless sociologically of interest: naming, circumcision, and marriage. In the Rif, the first haircut should be added to the list and puberty subtracted, since no recognizable rite of passage is used to conduct the adolescent into the state of manhood or of womanhood.

In discussing these crises, my object is not so much to present a detailed picture of the ceremonies which accompany them as to work out a thorough plan of distribution for the various elements in each rite, in order to determine, where possible, the origins and relative antiquity of the various factors.

BIRTH

844 When a woman is considered to be within three days of the expiration of her term of pregnancy, the other women of her household go to the cantonal mosque and there hire a student to make out a charm which will help facilitate the birth. This charm is written, and the writing, soaked off the paper in warm water, is given the mother to drink. Care is taken to see that no knots are tied in the mother's clothing, and she is not allowed to work nor take any strenuous exercise during the last few days of her pregnancy.

On the actual day of the delivery, two midwives take charge of the situation, expelling the men of the family from the room in which the birth is to take place. One of the midwives sits on the floor, and holds the mother in her lap, in a posture half way between sitting and lying, and the mother meanwhile pulls on a rope which has been suspended from the rafters. The woman underneath her grasps her about the abdomen with both hands, helping thus to expel the child.

The Riffians explain the presence of the midwife underneath the mother by saying that it is shameful for a woman to bear a child while lying on the floor, since that is the manner of cattle.

While the mother is hanging by the rope, and the midwife under her is compressing her abdomen, the second midwife busies herself with the details of the actual delivery. When the child has been born, this second midwife cuts its umbilical cord with a pair of scissors, and afterwards goes outside, taking care not to be seen, and buries the afterbirth, the umbilical cord, and the scissors in a hidden place, which she is bound never to reveal, lest some enemy find the remains and with them wreak baleful magic upon the child.

844 557 The midwife who delivers the child and cuts the umbilical cord, and to a lesser extent her assistant, who does the heavier if cruder part of the work, is held in especial esteem by the child in its later life. The child may later even address the midwife as "mother," and

[1] A. M. Tozzer, *Social Origins and Social Continuities*, pp. 86–89.

[P122]

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

The various groups of tribes, Berber and Arabic-speaking, have also more or less their peculiar customs and mode of life, but to what extent this is the case cannot, of course, be discussed in the present connection. At the same time there may also be a greater resemblance in customs between Arabs and Berbers living in the same neighbourhood than between tribes belonging to the same group. As the dwellings of the people will be frequently referred to in the descriptions of their rites or customs, it may be well to know that the Jbâla,

FIG. 4.—My travelling companions: a Rifian (left), Sîdi 'Abdsslam (mounted), and two Jbâla from Andjra.

the Rifians, and the Shlöḥ live in houses, that most of the Arabs and the Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Ujda live in tents, and that among the Brâber some tribes live in houses and others in tents or both in houses and tents. There were nomadic Berbers living in tents before the arrival of the Bedouins.[1]

I have during my journeys to Morocco studied the customs and beliefs of these various groups of people, with the exception of the Drâwa, as regards whom I have been unable to procure sufficiently trustworthy information. In this book

[1] Ibn Ḫaldûn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by Baron de Slane, i. (Alger, 1852), pp. 167, 177.

2: Westermarck E 5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

128 the Rifians are chiefly represented by the Aiṭ Wāryâġer and Ait Temsâmān; the Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda by the Aṭ Ubáḥṭi; the Brâber by the Aiṭ Sádděn, Aiṭ Yúsi, Ait Waráin, Aiṭ Nḍēr, and Aiṭ Mjilḍ; the Shlōḥ by the Iglíwa in the Great Atlas south-east of Marráksh, the inhabitants of Demnat and Amzmiz, the Iḥaḥan on the northerly slopes of the most westerly portion of the Great Atlas, and the Amanūz and the people of Aglu (close to the Atlantic coast) in Sūs; the Arabs by the natives of the Ġarbîya to the south of Tangier, the Mnáṣăra and Beni Ăḥsen on the coast between Laraiche and Rabat, the Ulâd Bû'ăzîz and Ulâd Frąj in Dukkâla to the south of Azemmur, and the people of the Ḥiáina in the neighbourhood of Fez; the Jbâla by the people of Andjra and Jbel Ḥbīb and the Bni 'Ăroṣ in the northern part, and the Tsūl in the southern part of their district; and the Arabic-speaking townsfolk by the inhabitants of Fez and Tangier. But reference is also made to many other tribes and places.

121 In the present work I am dealing with the popular religion and magic of the Moors, not, except casually, with the general tenets and rites of Islam or those of the Mālikī school of Muhammadans, to which the Moors belong. My chief object is to give a systematic account of what I have myself seen or heard from the lips of natives. I have to some extent made use of, or referred in footnotes to, facts stated by other writers on Morocco, but in such cases I have invariably mentioned the source of information. As for the collection of my materials, I have made it a stringent rule not to accept statements of others than natives of the country, because I have frequently found those of European residents lacking in accuracy. I have further made it a rule not to 121 use information given me about a tribe by members of other 124 tribes, without specially indicating its more or less unauthoritative character. I have also been in the habit of repeating to my informants their statements in full so as to avoid all misunderstanding; and I have occasionally tested their trustworthiness by deliberately misrepresenting their statements, but in such cases they have never failed to correct me. The accuracy of the natives even in the smallest details

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

114
128

I must express my very sincerest and most heartfelt thanks, first of all, to Sra. Da. Agustina Moro de Blanco, the widow of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga, who graciously allowed me to consult her late husband's private papers dealing with the Berbers of the Rif, in Madrid during February-March 1960. I must also express equal thanks to her son, Dr. D. Agustin Blanco Moro, with whom I initially corresponded in 1958 regarding his father's Rifian materials, and who kindly provided me with all the biographical data on his father; and to Sr. D. Tomas Garcia Figueras, the former Delegate of Native Affairs in Tetuan (in what until 1956 was Spanish Morocco), and subsequent mayor of Jérez de la Frontera, who, on hearing of my original interest in Col. Blanco's work, was good enough to put me in contact with his family. And, in this connection, I owe a very special debt of gratitude to Col. Blanco's charming and personable youngest daughter, Srta. Da. Emilia Blanco Moro, who went over the materials with me, and who helped me out when I was unable to read her father's handwriting, during the month I spent in Madrid. Finally, during the second, much later month of April 1970 which I again spent in Madrid, I must express my gratitude to Srta. Da. Concha Bragimo Fernandez, the head of the Africa Section at the National Library, for her assistance in that particular quarter.

122
128

I am also indebted both to the Ford Foundation, which sponsored my initial fieldwork in Morocco (1952-1955) and to the American Museum of Natural History, which sponsored my second (1959-1961) and third (1961-

122 1967) Moroccan trips; and I should add that neither of these New York
128 institutions being the owner, editor or publisher of the series in which this monograph appears, they can assume no responsibility for its contents - for such is entirely my own.

128 I must also acknowledge the very great help of Capt. José Rodriguez
[127] Erola of the Spanish Army, for having made available to me two unpublished papers by Blanco (translated in the text) from the archives of the Ajdir Office in the Aith Waryaghar comarcal, of which he was the administrator or interventor, in 1955. Professor Carleton S. Coon, Emeritus, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania (who was largely responsible for my initial interest in the Rif as an area of fieldwork) and Professor Ernest Gellner, of the Department of Sociology at the London School of Economics, both gave me much advice and encouragement; and Professor Gellner was kind enough to read and comment upon the first draft (1962) of the manuscript. I hope that I have heeded his comments, as my footnotes needed much pruning. And to Mrs. Don Carl Steffen, who understandingly and uncomplainingly typed up the second draft, I owe a very great debt indeed. The present draft is the third one. I also wish to give credit to the late Dr. Lloyd Cabot Briggs for having thought of the title "Colonel in the Rif."

But, always barring Col. Blanco's own family and heirs, my greatest thanks of all must go to two persons: to 'Amar Azzugwagh of the Aith Turirth subclan of the highland Aith Waryaghar, my mentor, initiator and general factotum in Things Rifian, who checked over all the Blanco materials with me point by point by point, after my return to Morocco

128 from Madrid late in March 1960, for errors of fact and even of interpretation. He did so with extreme patience, forbearance and humor. And last but by no means least, my thanks must go to my wife, Ursula Dorothy Kingsmill Hart, without whose constant help, suggestions and interruptions I should probably not have finished this monograph.

Although what follows represents only a by-product of my own Rifian studies, I only hope that Emilio Blanco Izaga himself would not have objected too violently to the manner, "scissors-and-paste" though it may be, in which I am presenting his work; and I dedicate, herewith, this edited and annotated translation of a particular segment of it to his memory.

Garrucha (Almeria), Spain

September 9, 1971

in 1908, the tribe which, in 'Abd al-Krim, produced both a reformer of Customary Law and a military near-genius who from 1921 to 1926 held both Spain and France at bay, the tribe which I myself studied in detail in the field, as an anthropologist, intermittently, from 1953 to 1955 and again from 1959, intermittently, to 1966; and the tribe which in 1958 to 1959 provided, through a traditional revolt championing modern objectives, the Royal Army of Independent Morocco with its first serious test of strength.

I assume that a good many anthropologists, in the course of their fieldwork, and in that of checking local libraries and archival materials about the tribal groups or societies that they have studied, have chanced across reports on these same tribes by previous colonial administrators of them which have been really meritorious in quality. If such is the case, many anthropologists may logically be supposed to have their "favorite" tribal administrators, district commissioners, or whatever. In my own case, Emilio Blanco Izaga, exasperating as certain facets of his writings are, is certainly the man.

This introduction to Blanco's work is divided into three sections: I) Biographical Data, II) The Spanish Protectorate Administration of Morocco And Blanco's Place In It, and III) A General Critique of Blanco's output as presented in this volume. This presentation is selective, not all-inclusive, because although much of Blanco's material dealt with Rifian sociopolitical institutions, not all of it did so, by any means. Hence, regarding my own initial acquaintance with Blanco's work, I can do not better to quote from my original article.[2]

2--Op. cit., p. 173.

121 as I have had to drop the revision of my original Blanco manuscript in order to prepare my own studies on the Aith Waryaghar[3] (or, in Arabic, Bni Waryaghal, and in bad Hispanicized and bad Gallicized transliterations, "Beni Urriaguel" and "Beni Ouriarhel") for publication, as well as because of further fieldwork elsewhere in Morocco and because of teaching and other duties. Hence a ten-year gap. In any
121 128 event, Blanco's copious unpublished papers on Rifian architecture and
114 house styles[4], for example, good as they may be, have no place in a work of this kind; and the same holds true for his work on grave decorations[5] and for his excellent treatise on dance forms in the Rif[6]. His undeniable qualifications as an artist, whether in sketch or watercolor form, I am simply not competent to discuss, although his ideas about Spanish Colonial policy in Morocco[7] will receive some attention in Section II.

---

113 3--The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, and The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: A History, to be published simultaneously under the auspices of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, New York.

4--Emilio Blanco Izaga, Ia Vivienda Rifeña, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930, passim.

5--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Noticia sobre Arte Funerario Norteafricano", Africa, No. 52, Madrid, April 1946, pp. 19-21.

6--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas", Africa, Vol. V, No. 55, pp. 315-316; Nos. 56-57, pp. 414-419; and Nos. 59-60, pp. 547-551, Madrid 1946. The content of this important paper is discussed in detail in my preliminary study: cf. Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 220-237. Two of the drawings originally published in it are reproduced in the present monograph.

7--Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Política Africana", Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos (pub. by Instituto de Estudios Políticos, Madrid), I, 1946, pp. 43-56.

114 of the Rif in Villa Sanjurjo (today Alhucemas or El Hoceima: properly, al-Husaima) on the traditional segmentary tribe-clan-subclan-local community-lineage organization of the Aith Waryaghar entitled Las Yemáas Tradicionales de Los Ait Uariaguel - the traditional local communities, or jma'ath (sing. jma'th) of the tribe in question. In this report, and in conformity with his well-chosen illustrative examples of the complex segmentation of the tribe, he recommended that the Aith Waryaghar be divided, for the purpose of a more effective administration, into three qaidates, in accordance with the natural geographical divisions of the Ghis-Nkur watershed. The report in question is translated in extenso in Book I of the text of this volume: Blanco's recommendation was implemented by the authorities in Villa Sanjurjo, and his administrative brainchild persisted until the end of the protectorate. It is, furthermore, more than probable that his promotion to the rank of major at the end of 1935 was a direct result of the way in which he had convincingly solved this knotty administrative problem.

[128]

[126] In connection with this same report, Blanco drew up a series of five excellent tribal maps of the Aith Waryaghar, showing, first, the traditional territorial-segmentary organization, then two maps showing the changes - all with a view toward greater centralization - made successively by 'Abd al-Krim during his tenure, and, finally, two more showing those imposed by the Spanish Protectorate. All are reproduced, with my corrections where needed, both in this volume and in my own Aith Waryaghar Ethnography and History studies. No student of the

128

114 Rifians led to my interest in Blanco.

On August 23, 1945, Blanco left Morocco, never to return. He was sent to the office of the Army Chief of Staff in Madrid, which was to be his final post.

The following year, 1946, his last three published articles saw the light, two in the Madrid monthly journal Africa and the third in the Cuadernos de Estudios Africanos organ of the Institute of Political Studies, again in Madrid. The first two were ethnological in character, as befitting the journal in which they appeared, and the third was political, again befitting the second journal. Of the first two, one was a short and well-illustrated essay entitled Notas sobre Arte Funerario Norteafricano, a study in comparative ethnology. In this, Blanco compares Rifian gravestone decorations with those of two Jewish cemeteries in Shawen and Tetuan, which, as Delegate of Native Affairs, he had an opportunity to visit. The second is a much longer essay, which appeared in three instalments, called Las Danzas Rifeñas. This treatise is a definitive work on Berber dance forms in Northern Morocco, and in it Blanco reaches his artistic peak as a master of the pen-and-ink sketch. The content of the third essay, which deals (128) in a fundamental way with the whole position of Spanish colonialist aims in Morocco, will be discussed in its proper place in the next section of this introduction.

On March 23, 1948, Blanco received his final promotion, to full colonel, but the stomach trouble he had contracted in Spanish Guinea was to prove too much for him. He died on April 29, 1949, in the Military Hospital in Madrid, at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven.

114 and 4) Noticia sobre la Yemáa Rifeña (Note on the Rifian Jma'th), which is undated but could have been written any time from about 1936 to 1940, probably closer to the latter date, and which is concerned largely with the perpetuation of the Rifian jma'th as an ongoing social unit in a modern administrative context[25].

There are many other papers in the Blanco collection which have some relevance to Rifian social structure, but most of these are copies of reports written by other tribal administrators which found their way into his possession. The remaining ones, the authorship of which was not indicated, were positively identified for me by Srta. Emilia Blanco Moro as not being the work of her father.

●128 As may be deduced from the foregoing, I have, in working up the Blanco materials for publication, had to resort to a "magpie" or "scissors-and-paste" technique, in order to combine and recombine published and unpublished data; and no one is more aware of the [114] shortcomings of such a method than I. But the point at issue here is that the unpublished MSS. materials and the published Ley Rifeña bear a very integral interrelationship to each other, and that each of them can best be understood intercontextually, each in the context of and in terms of the other. This point will become increasingly evident through a perusal of the main body of the work. Another perhaps even more cogent reason for including a translation of LR is that, to my knowledge, there is not a single copy of this work extant anywhere in the United States. It need be said at this point

25--This paper bears the catalogue no. M1/ñ, in the García Figueras collection of the Africa Section in the National Library, Madrid.

128 that the responsibility both for the translation and for the arrangement of the materials is entirely my own.

114 We come now to the overall content of this work. It will soon become evident to the reader that Col. Blanco labored under a number of anthropological handicaps: 1) he was a soldier, with strictly a military mind; 2) he was evidently not fluent in Arabic, as evinced by the fact that he refers to Juan Gomez Jaen as the real translator into Spanish of the qanuns in his LR; 3) he was probably not fluent in Rifian, as evinced by his transliteration of Rifian terms in the text (many of which I have had to retransliterate); 4) he continually tried to force Rifian categories of thought into European molds; and 5) he made numerous errors of fact, mostly small, but a very few, gigantic.

These may seem unnecessarily harsh judgments to some, and it is certainly not my intention to tread on any toes. But despite Blanco's frequent errors of fact and occasional errors of interpretation, despite his tendency to romanticize the subject, and despite the strong influence exercised upon him by the work of Robert Montagne[26] (with whom, nonetheless, he could frequently disagree, as shown by his "rejoinder" of 1946 to Montagne's 1939 paper on Spanish African policy in the previous section: for Montagne's influence on the sociological thinking of French Protectorate officialdom was enormous), there is one colossal point in Blanco's favor: without any question, and in a very sure way, his work, throughout, creates a thoroughly Rifian mood;

[113] 26--Cf. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Félix Alcan, 1930, and La Vie Sociale et la Vie Politique des Berbères, Paris: Editions du Comite de l'Afrique Française, 1931.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

121 In a Morocco which is undergoing rapid sociocultural change, there is still nonetheless a great deal to be learned, we think, at the tribal or "grass-roots" level. Bidonville or "shanty-town" sociology may, along with cité ouvrière sociology as well, be more "topical" or "fashionable" in North African studies at present, but the notion of the tribe, the qabila or taqbilt, with the segmentary depths and patterns of kinship which this embodies, along with other possibly cross-cutting factors, is still very powerful in parts of rural Morocco, even though the present (and largely unsuccessful) Moroccan administrative concept of the "rural communes" has been designed to unseat it. Changes in forms of social structure tend [114] to lag well behind economic changes; and thus Blanco's contributions to the study of the sociopolitical structure of the Rif are far from untimely today, even though they date back to the 1930s. They are herewith presented, and may henceforth speak for themselves. Com- 128 ments in detail, as opposed to the general comments given in this section, may be found in the notes accompanying the translated text.

arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes, even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons, never quite complete.

16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem more nearly to fit the context.

17--Imrabdhen, sing. amrabidh (from Arabic murabit) are saints, living or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused with shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed, perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is (or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult to fathom.

19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the blad as-siba, and Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be extended to cover the whole notion of siba. In another publication we have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of this term, which goes back to Montagne, of siba as "anarchy", a notion which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--cf. André Adam, La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect, concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term, but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words, this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind when writing of "organized anarchy".

000 10--Blanco does not, in fact, employ the terms "levirate" and "sororate", and here I confess to having taken liberties with the text; but his meaning is abundantly clear. To readers who want refresher definitions, levirate refers to the practice of a man marrying the widow of his brother (as Coon has pointed out, in the Rif this is usually a junior levirate, meaning that the brother who does the marrying is generally a younger brother), while sororate refers to the practice of a man marrying his deceased wife's sister.

[128]

[113] 11--This is indeed true, and the only published work thus far specifically dealing with any aspect or aspects of Rifian custom, aside from Blanco's own La Ley Rifeña, is José Maria Peniagua, "Notas Sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif", Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos, no. 4, Madrid 1948, pp. 7-44 and ditto, La Prescripción y el Retracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. Paniagua's work, particularly the last-mentioned monograph, deals with problems which seem to be almost entirely constructs of a European legal mind, and have no basis in social reality; and such work cannot be considered serious contributions to the study of Berber jural systems.

12--We cannot identify the work to which Blanco refers here.

13--The only work of Sidi Ahmad ar-Rhuni which we know is the Spanish translation of his Historia de Tetuan, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, and this contains no allusions whatever, even remote ones, to Rifian custom.

671 428 171 114 562 14--This is not so. Under Shari'a regulations, women receive one-half of what men receive, in inheritance, and this is the case for both movable and real property. Granted, of course, that the point in the Rif is largely theoretical and that women in fact, as Blanco points out, generally get nothing (particularly insofar as real property is concerned), it still seems appropriate to correct this error. In any case, we have never heard of any customary variation of normal Shari'a usage, which would allot to women one-third of movable property; and neither have any of my informants. It is one-half in theory, and, as a rule, nothing in practice.

671 428 171 562 Besides the current practice of a woman's father or brothers appropriating, in effect, her share of the patrimony on her marriage (in order to keep it in family hands and to keep in-laws out), there is a second institution which reinforces the notion that women do not inherit. If a man dies leaving only his widow and a daughter or daughters (no sons), his r-waratha (sing. awrith) or remaining agnates stand to inherit, which they would not do even if he had only one son. According to Shari'a regulations, the man's widow gets one-eighth, and then, if he has only one daughter, the rest of the property is divided in half, the daughter getting one-half and the r-waratha getting the other. If, on the other hand, he has more than one daughter, the rest of the property is divided up into three parts, the daughters getting one and the r-waratha getting one. However, even if there is a son or not, certain r-waratha (e.g. mmis n 'azizi, pl. dharwa n 'azizi, father's brother's son), but not others (e.g. uma, pl. aithma, brother, and

671 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

● [128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!"

648 Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

[181] [609]

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

[114]

000

[128] 9--Blanco terms this el pacto interfamiliar; I use "inter-lineage" in the interests of greater structural accuracy. The pact itself concerns certain lineages of the Aith Waryaghar. And, as we are dealing here with MSS., I employ standard transcription for classical Arabic.

10--This saint, as his name indicates, comes from the subsegment of Aith Zawith n Imrabdhen (Imrabdhen n Waddai), of the clan Imrabdhen.

[113] 11--In the conversion from Muslim to Christian dates, we have used H. G. Cattenoz, Tables de Concordance des Ères Chrétienne et Hégirienne, 3rd Ed., Rabat 1961, as the conversions themselves do not occur in the Spanish translation.

In this connecticut also, it is well to point out that all the qanuns begin with the phrase "Praise be to God", then get to the matter at hand, and terminate with a statement or statements by the notaries, of whom there are always two, admitting the validity of the testimony of all the witnesses present. If the qanun is signed at the end by the qadi as well, he merely confirms the document by literally putting his seal of approval upon it.

12--More often stated as Uddji wu r-haqq or yarrza r-haqq ("there is no reason" or "reason is broken"), which also alludes neatly to the fact that when a feud is on, the rhaqq fine for murder is not paid to the isgharen, who themselves, of course, have picked up their rifles to participate!

13--Haqq means "law, reason, right"; and in Rifian it has the additional special meaning of "fine".

14--In Spanish, Oficina de Asuntos Indigenas.

15--It is difficult to surmise why judges of Muslim law would be "refractory" in their attitude toward markets, as through them they received their bread and butter; for the Shari'a in the tribal areas of Morocco has always been administered (where it has been applicable) in tribal markets. It is interesting, however, that Blanco attributes [114] greater control of markets to the Rif in pre-Spanish times than he does after pacification!

16--e.g. among each other and with the provisions of the qanun about to be drawn up.

17--Not so much "mechanism" of Rifian law as the mechanics of Rifian jural procedure.

[184] 18--Among the smaller Rifian tribes, there are often tribal clans which lack their own markets; but Blanco's statement holds true for the Aith Waryaghar, which is obviously the tribe he had in mind.

19--The unpublished Conferencia sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, which forms Part II of this work.

20--Again, Blanco uses the term interfamiliar.

21--The name of this lineage is written Isaghwen in Arabic, but in all likelihood it refers to Izzugwaghen ("Sons of the red-head"), a branch of the Dharwa nj-Hajj 'Amar of the lineage of Aith Injin, of the Aith 'Aisa (r-Qman?) of Tazurakhth.

aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation of these activities and the social relationships that they help establish.

The central problem I have set for myself is to describe and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the conditions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was socially, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political conditions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

121 Production and distribution continue to be geared to a series of
433 goals arising out of the status economy. These goals involve
128 obligations attendant to life crises (Chapter 3), incumbent on the correct religious performer, or to placate the spiritual world (Chapter 4), to enhance status and/or acquire allies (Chapter 5). The relationship of the Riffian to the marketplace is described in the final chapter.

101 The field work upon which this study is based was carried
114 out in the Province of Alhucemas in northern Morocco between June of 1965 and November of 1966. The initial month and a half was spent in the port city of Alhucemas arranging necessary papers and working on the local Berber dialect. The following six months were spent among the Beni Wariyaghar in a location of scattered homesteads on the Wariyaghar-Igzinnayen border. The first quarter of 1966 was spent recovering from illness. May to October was spent in a compact village in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen. Field work was terminated in November.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents). 675 466 464 Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

556 554 182 183 (128) In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains significance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

Chapter 6

THE MARKETPLACE

128
443 While the preceding chapters have been devoted to distribution of wealth according to imperatives or bias arising from the social conditions of Berber life, this concluding section is devoted to exchanges which take place within the market. In it I describe the composition of the market and the interactions of its participants. I conclude with an analysis of the role of the local market in the economic and social life of the Riffian and in what ways the local Berber economy articulates with the national economy of Morocco. By doing this I hope to present a coherent picture of the integration between the indigenous exchange system and the larger national economy.

443 The characteristic form of the market, or suq, in the Rif is for buyers and sellers to come together once a week at a permanent location within each tribe or large tribal section. By holding their markets on separate days, the tribes have produced a system of staggering weekly markets all across the Rif. [196] Thus a merchant can travel to a different suq every day of the week except Friday, the Muslim sabbath. The fellah, however, rarely engage in any market activity except at the local suq. A study of the reasons behind this will divulge many of the

443 as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and
445 spices.

443 A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe
444 owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consump-
443 tion. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is
444 in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments
452 can be spread into the future. With all the other participants
[437] of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

443 These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I
571 shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within
[128] this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the
442 Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers
443 do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers.
571 This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

7: Mikesell - K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

PREFACE

In this monograph I attempt to explain some features of the cultural geography 121
of the northern (formerly Spanish) zone of Morocco. The work has two related
themes. I have sought, in the first place, to interpret the distribution of a selected
number of culture traits. My second main effort has been to determine the effects
of man's activities on the land. The cultural and physical geography of the area 121
is introduced in chapters i and ii. It seemed desirable to reverse the usual order 128
of geographic presentation and begin with culture rather than nature, for most
of the processes described in this work have been initiated by man. The discus-
sion of culture history in the next two chapters covers two millennia. It is my
conviction that cultural geography is best studied in the light of origins and
dispersals, which implies an unrestricted view of the past. The historical résumé
in chapters iii and iv constitutes the foundation for interpretations of modern
settlement and livelihood in chapters v–vii. The sum of these studies—cultural
and natural, historical and modern—provides the background for an assessment
of man's effect on vegetation and soil. In chapter viii the main findings of the
entire work are summarized.

In a volume of modest size it is manifestly impossible to consider all elements
of the landscape. By choice I have not stressed the areas of European influence
and urbanization. The focus of my interest has been in rural areas where the
most important goals of life are independence and self-sufficiency. The moun-
tainous area of northern Morocco, like the High, Middle, and Anti Atlas, has
suffered little from the obscuring effects of foreign influence. The Arabs, who
first entered Morocco in the seventh century, had little interest in the highlands.
European colonists, concerned primarily with mechanized agriculture, also pre-
ferred lands of gentle relief. All the mountain tribes have embraced Islam, some
have learned to speak Arabic, and a few have adopted the Singer sewing ma-
chine. But subsistence farming and barter still govern tribal economy, and tradi-
tion arbitrates disputes.

When a Moroccan is close to home he identifies himself as an inhabitant of a 101
certain village or hamlet. If further clarification is necessary, he may add that
he is a member of a community or canton (*farqa*). He will announce his tribal
affiliation (*qabila*) only when he is away from home. For example, in Alhucemas
one meets members of the tribes of Ibuqquyen, Aith Wariyaghar, and Thimsa-
man. It is only in Tetuán or some equally remote place that the same people
identify themselves as Rifians. They are keenly aware of being Moroccans or
North Africans only when they are abroad.

It follows that this study should begin with hamlets or cantons, and only later 121
consider differences among tribes or confederations of tribes. Unfortunately, this 128
procedure would be impractical. I have been compelled to limit my analysis to
differences of large scale. Moreover, I have been obliged to focus my attention
on variations in material culture. When a Moroccan is questioned about his [124]
neighbors, he seldom comments on the nature of their houses, clothing, or crops.
His first thoughts are of personality traits, especially those he regards as ob-
jectionable. Here again, I have had to adopt a limited and somewhat distorted

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

121 perspective. Material traits do not include all of cultural geography, but they
128 do constitute the core of things that the geographer can study systematically.

The thesis of my study of deforestation is that the extent of change can be
121 roughly delimited by historical research and by observation of present trends.
311 In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the principal agents of deforestation have been (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to clear land for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by livestock. There is evidence that each of these agents has been active for centuries. If allowance is made for probable variations in the rate of disturbance, tentative conclusions may be reached as to the extent of change.

104 For reasons that are painfully evident to all students of Moroccan languages or dialects, correct transliteration is difficult to achieve. Consider the word for "mountain." On French maps it apears as *jebel* or *djebel;* on Spanish maps it is *yebel*. The proper English transliteration of the classical Arabic is *jabal*. But most Moroccans know little of classical Arabic. The usual pronunciation is *jbil*, and this is the way I have written the word. I have tried to transliterate words so that they are intelligible to English-speaking readers. Thus the Maghribi Arabic word for "stream" appears as *wad*, not as *oued* or *uad*. Shawen is substituted for Chauen or Xauen, and Wezzan for Ouezzane. The variant spellings of French and Spanish cartographers are listed in the Appendix.

101 The field work for this study was carried out from November, 1955, to May,
114 1957, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my
122 gratitude to that institution for its support. I am grateful to many Moroccans
114 who helped me to understand their land and culture. Special mention should be made of my frequent traveling companions, Muhammad Miqqi of Ktama and
128 Muhammad ben Hmid l'Arbi of Aith Seddath. I am indebted also to Charles Sauvage of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien for assistance in the identification of plants.

[127] Since returning to the United States, I have profited from correspondence with David M. Hart. Mr. Hart was engaged in ethnological field work in the Rif from 1953 to 1955 and has since returned to Morocco for more extensive research. I am indebted to him for notes on many aspects of Moroccan culture, and especially for his advice on transliteration. The reader with prior knowledge of the literature on northern Morocco will be aware that I have derived great profit from
[126] study of the pioneer work of Carleton S. Coon. The illustrations of clothing and house types for chapters i and v were made from my collection of photographs and field sketches by Iris Neff and Jacques Lemieux.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation for the encouragement given to this undertaking by my teachers at the University of California. A preliminary version of this study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in geography under the supervision of Professors Carl O. Sauer, Melvin M. Knight, and James J. Parsons. The present work has profited from the criticism of Professors John Leighly, Erhard Rostlund, and Clarence J. Glacken.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

MOROCCANS refer to their country as al-Maghrib al-Aqsa: the "Far West" of the Muslim world (fig. 1). From 1912 until 1956 it was divided into three zones: French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and the International Zone of Tangier. In March, 1956, a joint declaration was signed by representatives of France and

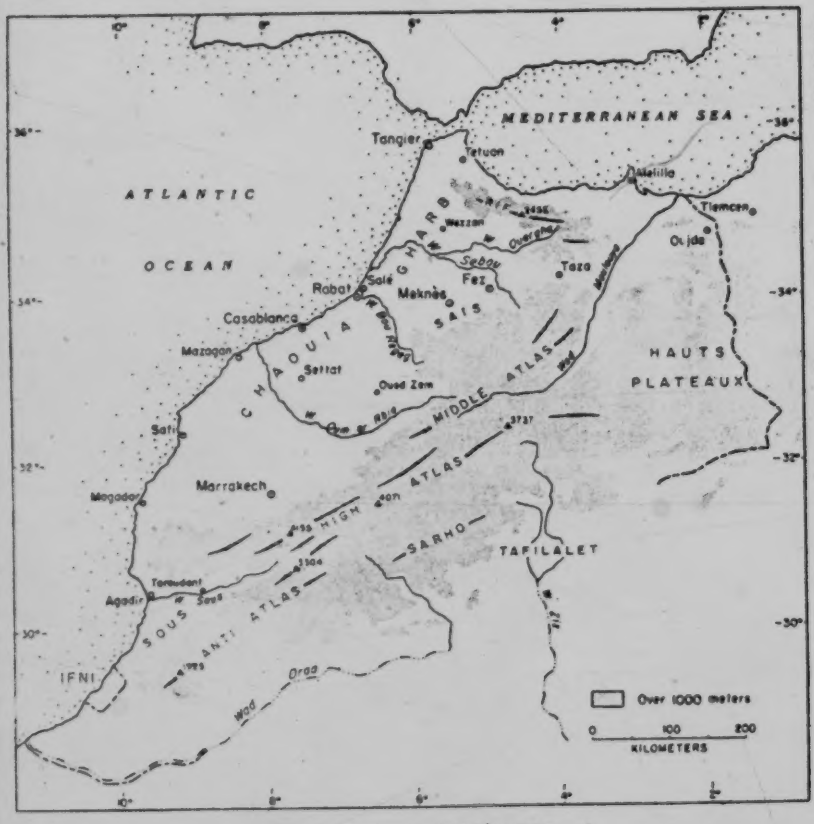


Fig. 1. Morocco: orientation map.

Morocco, restoring independence. Within a month Spain resigned its protectorate, and before the end of the year the international regime was abolished. Moroccan governors promptly replaced the European administrators. Spanish Morocco ceased to function as a separate political unit, although it continued to be recognized as the northern zone. In this study the expressions "northern Morocco" and "northern zone" refer to the area previously under Spanish and international control.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[5]

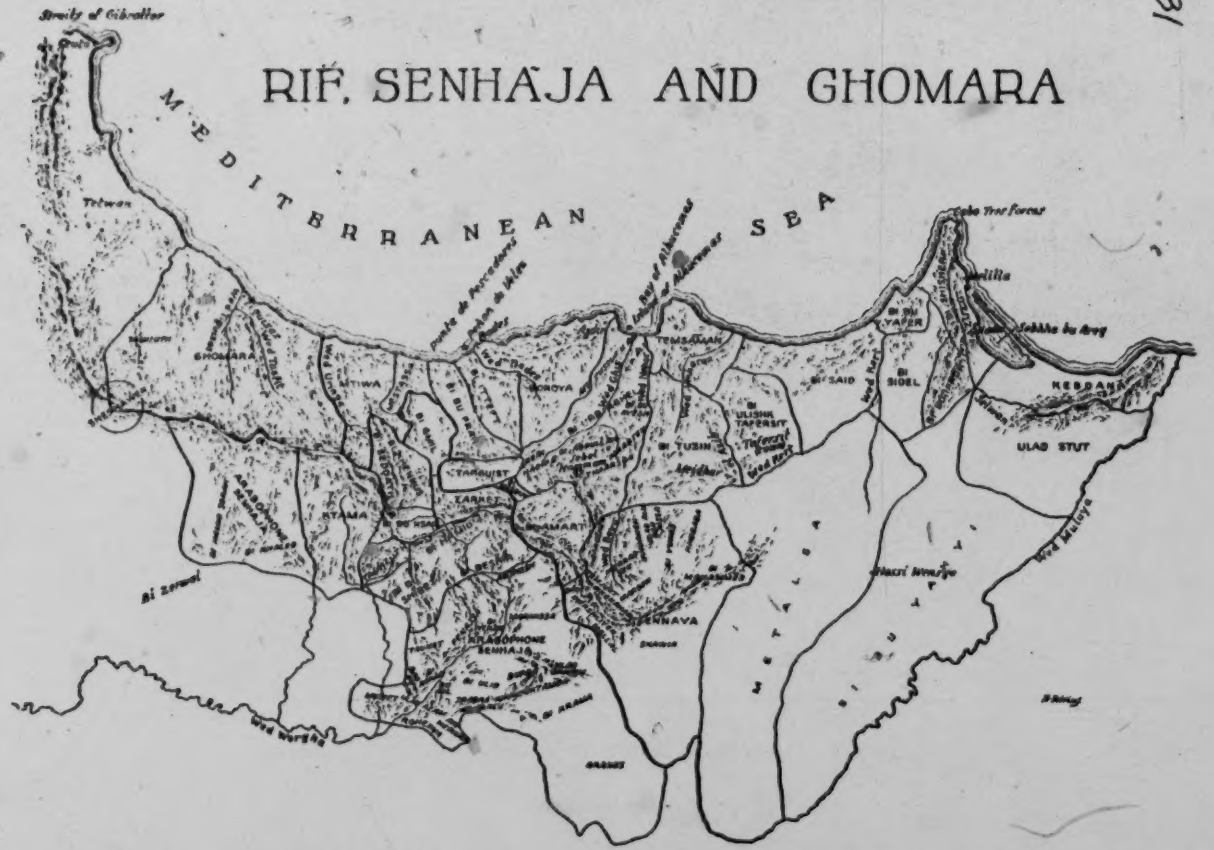
A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[6] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[7] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[5] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[7] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

131

RIF, SENHAJA AND GHOMARA



[p. 2]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

1: Coon E4-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE territory with which this book is concerned is of small area, despite the fact that it contains continental extremes of environment. It extends along the Mediterranean coast of Morocco from approximately one degree and twenty-six minutes west longitude to approximately one degree and twenty minutes east longitude, possessing about one hundred and forty-five miles of Mediterranean coast-line; its most northerly point is at approximately thirty-five degrees and twenty-nine minutes north latitude, and its most southerly at about thirty-four degrees and nineteen minutes north latitude. The greatest distance north and south in a vertical line in this area is approximately fifty-three miles. This territory, small as it is, includes three distinct provinces, or regions: the Rif, the Ghomara, and what may be called the Northern Senhaja.

131 ●

TRIBAL BOUNDARIES

Rif. The Rif occupies the eastern portion of this area and is greater in size than the Senhaja and Ghomara combined. Its westernmost border is the Wed Uringa, which separates it from the Ghomara, and its eastern the Wed Muluya, which separates it from the Zenatan tribe of Beni Znassen and from the Arabs who live to the southeast of that stream. Of these Arab tribes, one has already encroached on Riffian territory by locating permanently west of the river — the Ulad Stut, a nomadic tribe of Bedawin, much mixed with Riffian blood.

There are eighteen more or less distinct tribes in the Rif proper. These are Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Targuist, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, and Mtiwa.[1] The location of these tribes can be ascertained by a study of the map opposite page 3. It will be seen that the largest tribes geographically are Galiya (which includes Mazuza, Beni Shisher, Beni Sidel, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Bu Yafer), Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi. The largest in point of population is Beni Urriaghel, next comes Gzennaya, and Galiya is probably third. The Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, although they inhabit a relatively large territory, are not numerous; they are nomadic in habit and occupy a sparsely vegetated terrain.

131 619

One might divide the Rif geographically into three parts, eastern, central, and western. The eastern part would comprise Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit. The central portion would comprise Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Targuist, and Bokoya. The western part would be the maritime tribes, as they might be called — Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, and Mtiwa.

[1] In giving these tribal names I have used the common Arabic equivalents for the Berber originals, since to render the Berber names as they are actually pronounced would involve a confusing use of phonetic symbols and would, furthermore, prevent the use of a standard system, since pronunciations of these names vary from tribe to tribe and in some cases within tribes.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 619 **Senhaja.** To the west and southwest of the Rif, nowhere touching the Mediterranean seaboard, is the Northern Senhaja, which may be divided into the Senhaja Sghir, or Little Senhaja, and the Arabophone Senhaja, composed of tribes extending to either side of the nuclear group. The Little Senhaja contains eleven tribes: Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Naar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Bani Bu Shibet, Beni Berber, Taghzuth, and Ktama. To these may be added Beni Mesduy, a tribe of two villages compressed between Targuist, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and Zarket. Politically, Beni Mesduy is divided between Targuist and Zarket; geographically, it is thrust into the side of the Rif; linguistically, it is Senhajan. Since the Beni Mesduy speak the same Senhajan dialect as the people of Zarket, and consider themselves to be remotely descended from the same ancestors, they are usually classed as Senhajan by the Riffians living near them.

197 Although this is not a work on linguistics, some reference to language cannot be avoided. The Riffians speak a peculiar dialect of Berber called *thamazighth*, which seems to be most typically represented in the central region, and grades into the Zenatan idiom as one passes eastward toward the Muluya. The people of Targuist have lost their Berber speech, speaking Arabic domestically, and the same is true to a lesser extent of the Beni Bu Frah, many of whom are ignorant of Berber. The peoples of Mestassa and Mtiwa are losing it rapidly.

The dialect spoken in the Senhaja Sghir, although possessing local differences between tribes, is distinctly different from any dialect of the Rif, and cannot be understood without study by a Riffian. Riffian and Senhajan speakers of Berber are forced to employ Arabic as a means of communication.

The Senhajan tribes which speak only Arabic are divided into two groups, those to the east of the tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil (to be distinguished from the Riffian maritime tribe of Mtiwa, called, to avoid confusion, Mtiwa dial Bhar) and those to the west of it.

The Eastern Arabophone Senhaja contains nineteen units generally considered as tribes. These are Marnissa, Beni Krama, Branes, Amshesh, Beni Wenjin, Fenassa, Beni Ulid, Zrarka, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Muziet, Rgheiwa, Aghbalu, Khunduktamda, Ulad Brahim, and Beni Bu Slama. Amshesh and Beni Bu Slama are but single settlements, occupied by religious devotees, the former located on the border between Beni Amart and Marnissa, and the latter between Beni Hamid and Beni Wenjin. Both retain Berber speech of the Senhajan variety. Zwawa, a small village of the tribe of Fenassa, likewise preserves Berber speech. Taunat el Uta, a village politically affiliated with the non-Senhajan tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil, is said to be of Senhajan origin, and hence is included with the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

The Western Arabophone Senhaja, extending from the western border of Ktama to and beyond the city of Sheshawen, is perhaps not as purely Senhajan as the Eastern division. It includes the tribes of Beni Hamid Sorak, Ghazawa, and el Khmes, and two isolated villages separate from the rest — Taseghudra, in the midst of the non-Senhajan tribe of Beni Zerwal, and Taghzuth, in Beni Hassan of the Ghomara. The latter lays claim to being an offshoot of the tribe of Taghzuth and preserves Senhajan speech.

Beni Hozmar, a tribe to the northwest of Sheshawen, is said to be Senhajan, but data are difficult to obtain, owing to the fact that the Riffian army in their advance on Tetwan during the recent war utterly destroyed the village of these people, and whatever inhabitants survived scattered, leaving their home territory uninhabited.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 619 **Ghomara.** The third great region is the Ghomara, which extends along the Mediterranean coast from Wed Uringa to Wed Lao, and is separated from the Senhaja by the main mountain crest. It is divided into eight tribes, Beni Ziat, Beni Zejel, Beni Selman, Beni Bu Zra, Beni Mansur, Beni Grir, Beni Smih, and Beni Rezin.

197 Of these Beni Bu Zra retains Berber speech in fairly complete form, and all the others employ Berber words mixed with Arabic. This Ghomaran dialect has never been studied, but seems to resemble Riffian more closely than does Senhajan, in that Riffian and Ghomaran are mutually comprehensible.

131 619 **Other Berber Groups.** This work is confined to a consideration of the Riffians, Senhajans, and Ghomarans because my material covers these groups only, and not because they are the only recognizable Berbers of northern Morocco. In the peninsula which culminates at Tangier and Ceuta lives another group, the Anjera, which although Arab in speech is distinctly Berber in appearance, and which is said to be related to the Riffians; to the south and west of the Senhaja are other tribes, such as the Beni Zerwal, which are certainly not Arab in origin.

The term *Jebala*, from the Arabic word for mountain, is generally used to distinguish the Ghomara, the Arabophone Senhaja, and the other Berber tribes of the northwest from the Riffians and from the Arabs. This term is unfortunately inexact, and hence is not employed in this work to designate any specific area.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

133 The most important topographical feature of this region is the high mountain chain which bends southward from Tetwan into the heart of the Senhaja Sghir, and then resumes an eastward course through the Rif until it fades down into a series of hills in Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi to crop up again, thrusting northeastward, in Galiya, and carrying the land of that tribe out into the Mediterranean at the Cabo Tres Forcas. Although the crest of this range is in most places nearly thirty miles from the Mediterranean coast, the shore line itself is rough and craggy, since the mountains carry much of their height to the very water's edge, where they descend with a sharp drop. The mountains are higher in the west than in the east. Adhrar Tidighin, partly in Beni Khennus and partly in Beni Seddath, is the highest in the range, reaching an altitude of 2,549 meters [1] in one peak and 2,455 meters [1] in another; it is covered on the north side with a permanent layer of snow. Although Tidighin is the highest peak, it does not far surpass its neighbors. Between Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar, slightly southeast of Tidighin, is another mountain of great height and majesty, called the mountain of Taghzuth, 2,330 meters [1] high. In the Rif itself the highest points of the divide are Kuin, 1,883 meters,[1] and Tizi Uzli, 2,006 meters,[1] both in the Gsennaya. The Jebel Hammam, in Beni Urriaghel, attains about the same height, 1,948 meters, [1] but does not fall in the direct line of the watershed.

The divide itself runs between the Ghomara and the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; it separates Ktama from Mtiwa of the Rif, and Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus from Beni Bu Nsar (although in truth these three tribes might be said to perch on top of it); runs through Zarket, setting Targuist on one side and Beni Hamid on the other; and cuts through the middle of Beni Amart, along the range of Tizi Ifri, and across the top of Gsennaya, along

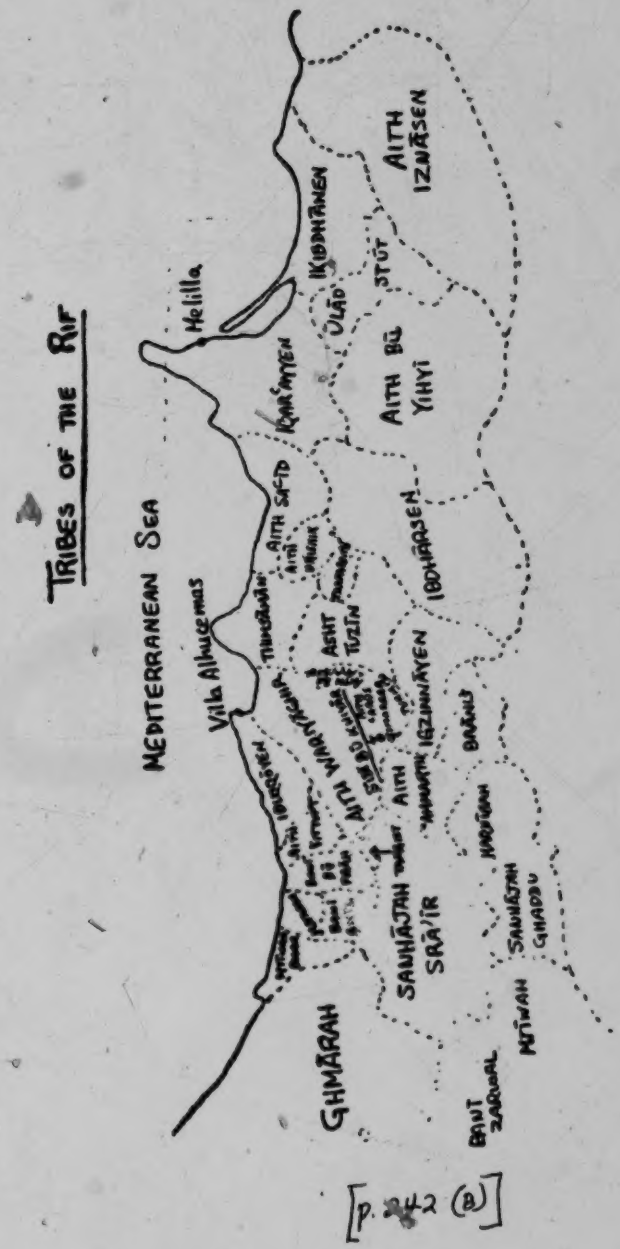
[1] Map issued by the Service Géographique du Maroc, Rabat, March, 1926. Scale, 1: 20,000.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MX3 Rif MX3

● 131
63

[Facing p. 64]

131


TRIBES OF THE RIF
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Vila Alhucemas
Melilla
GHMĀRAH
SAHĀJTH SRĀ'IR
AITH IZNĀSEN
AITH BŪ YIHYĪ
IBDHĀSEN
AITH IZZINNAYEN
AITH WARYAGHAR
AITH SA'ID
AITH TUZIN
KEBDĀNEN
KARĀMYEN
BAQQŪYA
BENI ZAROUAL
MTIWAH

[p. 242 (B)]

S: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

423 A curious feature of Rifian society is that the territorial limits of its social units are to a certain extent elastic. An individual or a family, for example, may acquire land in another tribe, and his or their own clan or tribe does not appropriate for itself the territory he occupied previously; this remains fixed. But when [628] the properties of an individual or a kin group which are modified are bordering each other, then the jma'th, clan or tribe, or rather, its area of extension or its areal jurisdiction, follows an analogous variation, improvement or cutting-off, increase or loss, advance or retreat, as the case may be; and such instances bring about not a few 423 quarrels and altercations. This happened in Ibuqquyen, whose people 619 saw their neighbors of Aith Waryaghar creeping into their territory through slowly buying up all the good land around the middle course of the Buhan River, at which point they opposed selling them any more terrain...This territorial elasticity, although it does not bring about great modifications because of the incessant watch which the tribes instinctively keep over their land, also derives, no doubt, from the ancient family concept of opposition to everything which could weaken it; and, as a result, such land returns most often to its tribe of origin through abandonment, new acquisition or exchange, if it has been alienated. Such elasticity tends to become lessened (with consequently greater rigidity of tribal boundaries) when it coincides [131] with natural boundaries, as, for example, in the middle and upper courses of the Nkur River, separating the tribes of Axt Tuzin and Aith Waryaghar; but even so, this play of property has nevertheless modified tribal frontiers as well delineated as this one.

621
631
[619] H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the [648] Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The [643] mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

621
631
131 1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari clan) is also

621 631 131 divided into two others of the same name, to which is added the geographical denomination of "mountain" or "plain", according to the location of each. Each one of these two divisions, like those of the Aith Mhand u Yihya, belongs to two different qa'idates: the mountain group, which is south of the women's market called Suq r-Had n-Tingharin (Sunday Women's Market")[117] at Iswiqen, to the Qa'idate of Nkur; and the plains group, in the vicinity of Imzuren, to the Qa'idate of l-Uta. The originating group is the mountain one.

3) Isrihan:--This jma'th (again of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), again, is divided into two others: the mountain part, in the folds of the Jbil Hamam[117a], belongs to the Qa'idate of Nkur, and the lowland part, in the Buham Plain and known as Isrihan n Buham, belongs to the Qa'idate of l-Uta[118].

4) Bu Minqadh:--This jma'th (of the clan of the Aith 'Ari) presents a further complication, that of a three-fold division: the founding and original section, in Sidi 'Abd Allah u Yusif, near the women's market at Iswiqen, is in the Qa'idate of Nkur; while of its two offshoots, both in the Qa'idate of l-Uta, one if near Thamasind and the other is found down in the plain near Imzuren. There is thus a Mountain Bu Minqadh, a Foothills Bu Minqadh, and a Plains Bu Minqadh.

5) Aith 'Aziz:--There are today two jma'ths (of the clan of the Imrabdhen) of this name, one in Thamasind and the other in Imzuren; and although both are located within the Qa'idate of l-Uta, this fact is purely coincidental.

621 6) Thamasind:--There are two jma'ths of this name: one is called Thamasind n Dara (Upper Thamasind), and the other, Thamasind n

621 typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the
646 Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have
182 depreciated and is now dormant.

621 The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign, [114] such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

131 Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order
631 listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of l-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur
614 watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a
631 geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (I-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid, May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--With varying degrees of success, most so in the Middle and Central Atlas, and least so in the Sus and Anti-Atlas. The inclusion of the Algerian Kabyles and Shawdya of the Auras in this connection invites other problems.

[114] 2--Blanco is mistaken here, for the Arabization of the Rif was the work not of Spain but of 'Abd al-Krim; and in view of this paramount fact, his plea for a return to a hypothetical state of "pure customary law", however eloquently expressed it may be, seems passe and academic.

3--Hardly. In any case, this is a more difficult and delicate problem than meets the eye, although even on an a priori basis it seems reasonably safe to assume that the Arabization of custom is the commoner of the two phenomena. However, for a documented example of Berberization of the Shari'a, see S. Biarnay, "Un Cas de Regression vers la Coutume Berbère chez une Tribu Arabe: Wadras", Archives Berbères, vol. I, no. 4, 1916, pp. 219-229. Wadras is an Arabic-speaking tribe, but one of indisputably Berber origin, in the Northwestern Jbala, between Tangier and Tetuan.

671 177 195 113 4--Most of the existing accounts of the political history of these cities, insofar as it is known, are based on Ibn Khaldun, Histoire des Berbères, translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris 1925-56. See E. Michaux-Bellaire, Le Rif, Paris 1925; Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 22-36; Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos Sobre Ciudades Rifeñas", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el curso de Interventores, 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47, and, for a synopsis account of Nakur only, Angelo Ghirelli, Pueblos Arabes y Pueblos Arabizados, vol. II--Pueblos Arabizados, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, pp. 142-45. These last accounts have little 175 to add to Ibn Khaldun, although Sánchez Pérez was correctly able to locate the now entirely buried ruins of the city of Nakur within the village limits of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya within the clan territory of Aith Bu 'Ayyash in the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, on the west bank of the Nakur River some 25 km. from Alhucemas. This is [113] confirmed by a subsequent report of Ahmed el Mekinasi, in Tamuda, Año VII, Semestre II, 1959, pp. 156-8.

The city of Nakur, in fact, has the distinction of housing the first Muslim dynasty (even though on a local level only) in Morocco, as it was founded in 726 A.D. by an Arab from the Yemen, Salih ibn Mansur al-Himyari. Despite being sacked on two separate occasions (once by Norman pirates in 859-60, and again in 929-30 by Musa ibn Abi l-'Afya), Salih's descendants continued to hold, govern and rebuild the city aided and abetted by the Umayyads in Spain, until a complete sacking by the Almoravid sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfint in 1084 ended its career forever. Between this point and the end of the 19th century, the history of the Rif is an almost complete blank, and the chances of any documentary material in Arabic turning up to bridge the gap in any way are remote.

● [131] Two points of general interest, however, emerge from ibn Khaldun's material (which dates from the 14th century and is in turn largely

taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably L. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hespéris, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is harim; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 1

SOCIAL HISTORY

133 The Rif is a chain of rugged mountains stretching along the Mediterranean coastline from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Moulouya River. Composed almost entirely of sedimentary and metamorphic rock, it is an extension of the Cordillera Penibotica of Spain. While the mountains are somewhat lower than those of the Atlas, they are just as steep. The invaders of Morocco invariably skirted the Rif and proceeded through the Taza Corridor. If the mountains are foreboding, the coastline is no less so. [504] The entire stretch from Río Martin to Melilla is devoid of ship shelter except for the break in the bay of Alhucemas, the small cove at Puerto Capaz, and the deltas of Wad Lao, Rhis, Nekor, and Bados.

133 131 The area which will be discussed is located in the center of this mountain chain in what is now called the Province of Alhucemas. The Tamazight-speakers of this region lived, until very recently, in a social and economic backwash. The presence of a rugged, inaccessible coast isolated them from Mediterranean contact except for the few points mentioned above. The mountain chain, on the other hand, served as an effective barrier to the interior of the country. The Rif was thus isolated from the rest of Morocco by natural boundaries. The social and political consequences of this shall be discussed below.

132 mean would be somewhat higher in the highlands, the range of
[243] variation would be as great. Since the economic backbone of the area is the dry farming of cereals, low rainfall or drought causes serious difficulties.

175 The history of the Rif presents us with the strange paradox that it is better documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries than for the nineteenth. We have several written chronicles of the Arab city states established along the Mediterranean, such as Nekor which drops out of history in the eleventh century, and Bades which was captured by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. Of the Berbers in the hinterland we have
[113] little material with the exception of el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif (French translation by Colin, 1926) dated 1311, and el-Bekri's Description de l'Afrique septentrionale from the eleventh century. El-Bekri notes that already in that time most
[131] of the present tribes of the Rif were located in their present sites (Michaux-Bellaire, 1925: 180-181). Between these accounts,
[648] fragmentary at best, and the uncritical chronicles of Spaniards leading punitive expeditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Riffian history is rather blank.

175 Geographical circumstances made the Central Rif peripheral
648 to most events going on in Morocco. Only with the insistence of the Spanish government did the Moroccan Sultan send an expedition into the Rif in the late nineteenth century to punish the Ibuqquyen for piracy. During the early years of the present

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

101

MOROCCANS refer to their country as al-Maghrib al-Aqsa: the "Far West" of the Muslim world (fig. 1). From 1912 until 1956 it was divided into three zones: 175 French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and the International Zone of Tangier. In 131 March, 1956, a joint declaration was signed by representatives of France and 648

102
131
133

Fig. 1. Morocco: orientation map.

Morocco, restoring independence. Within a month Spain resigned its protectorate, 131 and before the end of the year the international regime was abolished. Moroccan 648 governors promptly replaced the European administrators. Spanish Morocco ceased to function as a separate political unit, although it continued to be recognized as the northern zone. In this study the expressions "northern Morocco" 101 and "northern zone" refer to the area previously under Spanish and international 128 control.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R45
101
102
619
131
133

Fig. 2. Northern Morocco: tribal divisions.

/p. 2/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3 ●
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

● 1333 102 1333 USGR

Fig. 4. Northern Morocco: relief.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

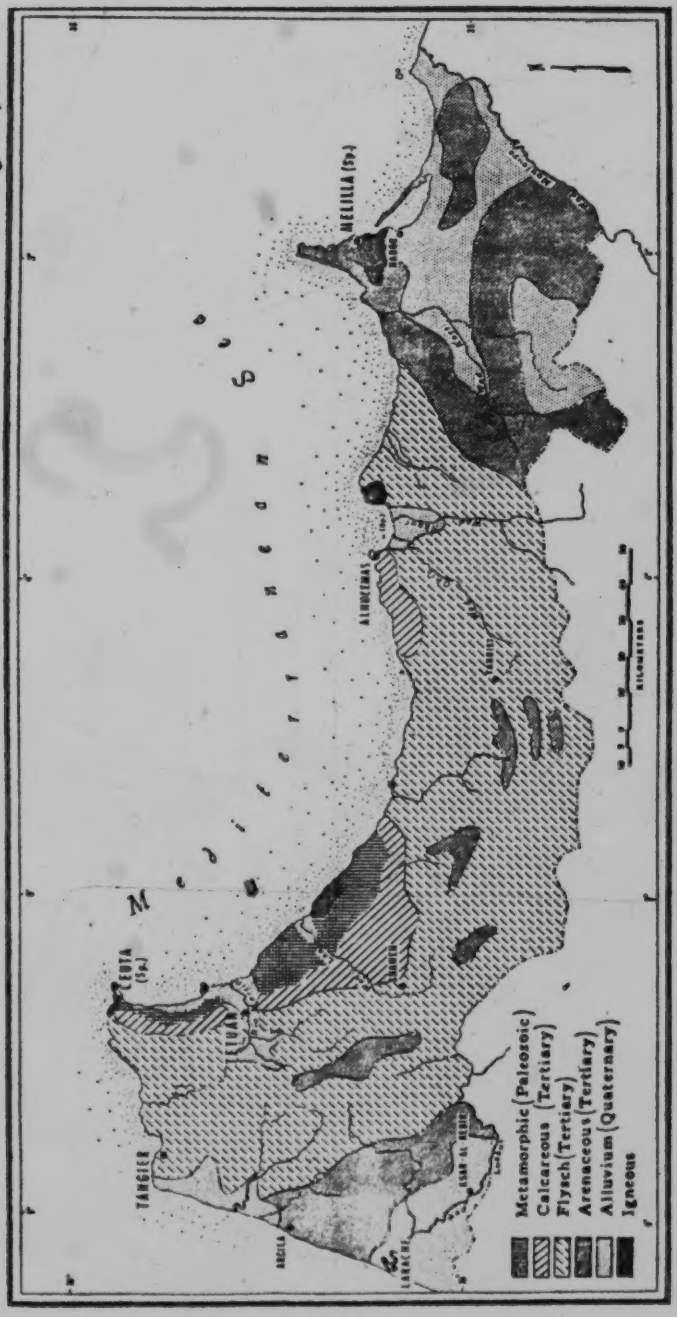


Fig. 5. Northern Morocco: surface geology.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102
131
132

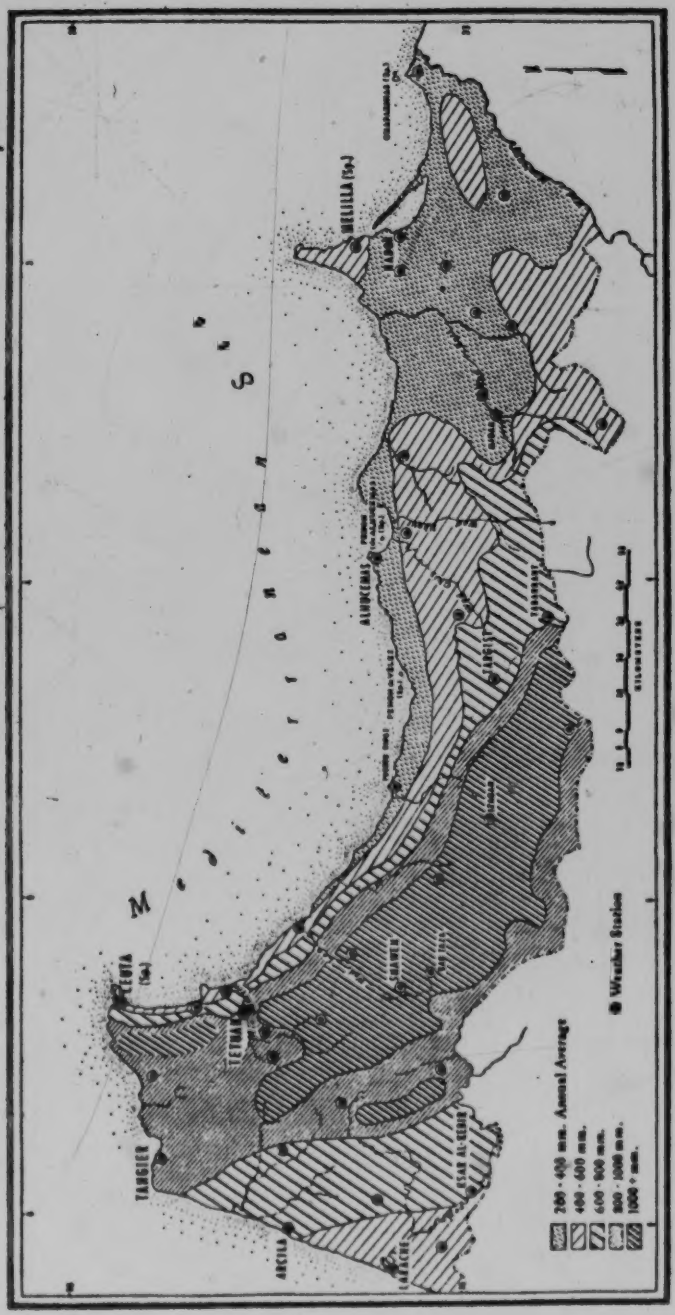


Fig. 6. Northern Morocco: precipitation, 1944–1955.

/p. 16/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3 ●
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

SWPR
102
131
139

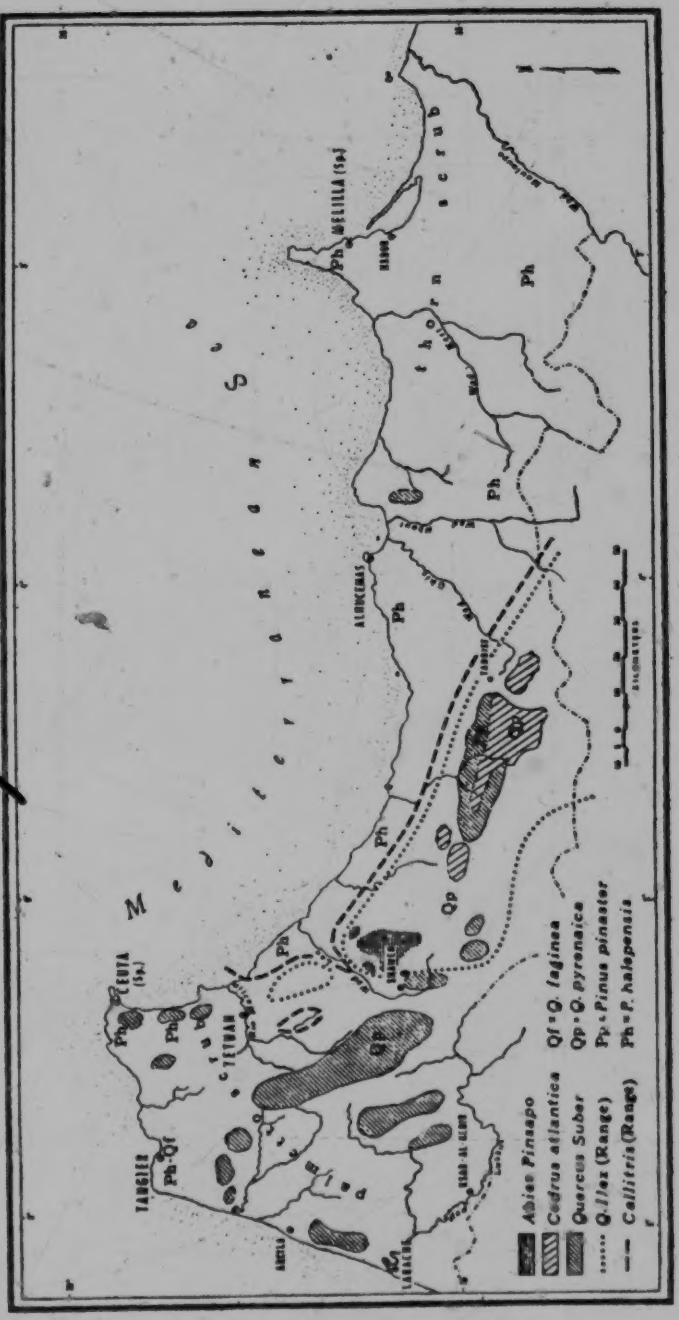


Fig. 8. Northern Morocco: distribution of forest and scrub.

102
190
648
131

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

/p. 341

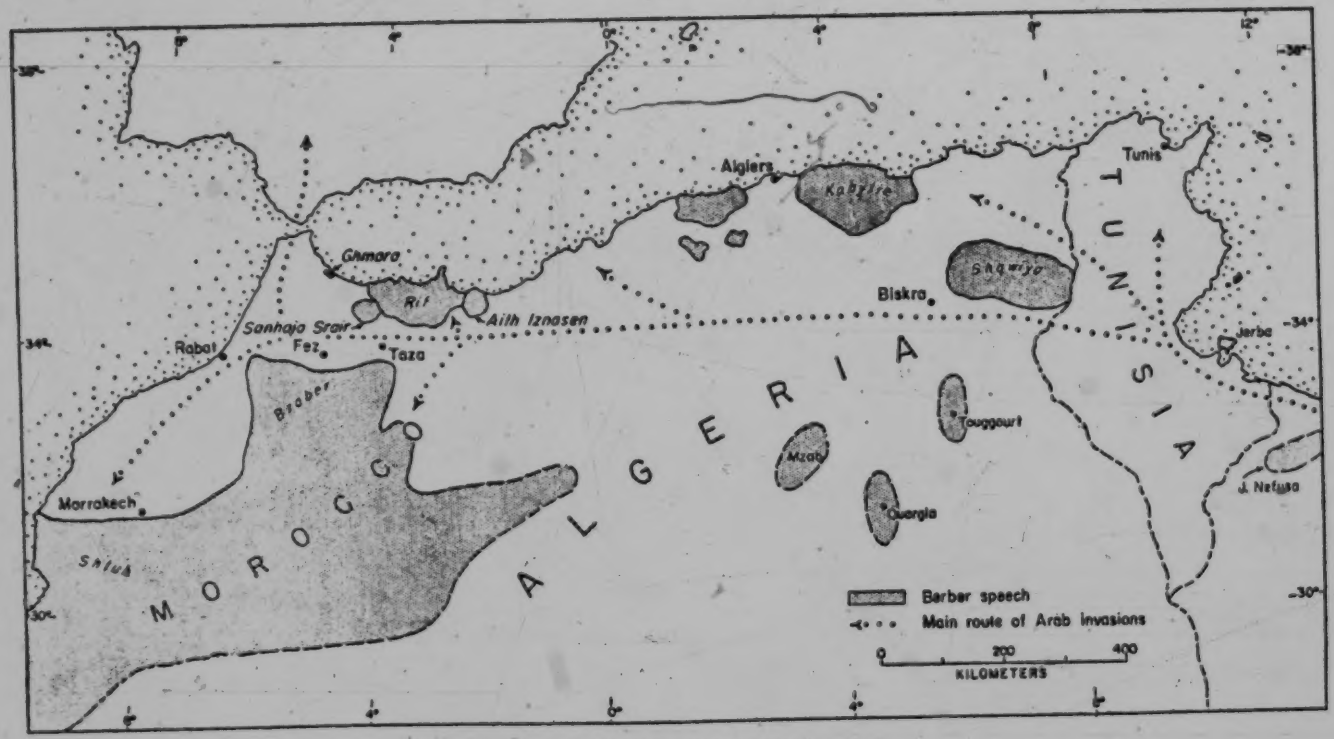


Fig. 9. North Africa: distribution of Berber speech.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3 ●
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

REF
102
443
● 131

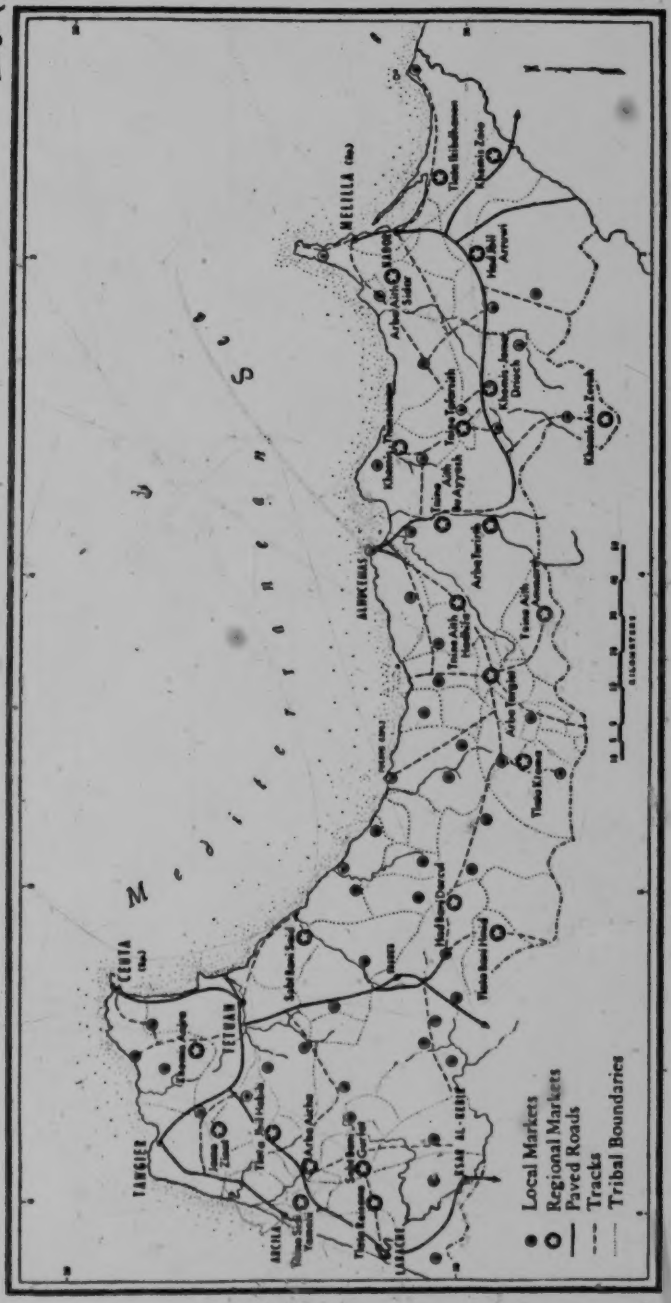


Fig. 24. Northern Morocco: tribal markets.

/175 cont./

631 619 634 In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still looser (2).

2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" [131] possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. More- [792] over, the marabouts form a supplementary "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

[578] In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^{c}," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

792 578 /176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the development of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

/207 cont./

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units. Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand, [619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of [131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah, around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/ plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

121 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the
178 Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Mo-
616 rocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched
131 over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

/208 cont./

619 °Alam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama,
•131 Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only
[563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

[127]

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The
[616] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the
[648] other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

619 At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of
131 Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

2: Montagne--280 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Left side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619

2: Montagne--281 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Center part of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619

The two Leffs of the North of Morocco in the 20th century
The territories of the Tribes of the Senhaja àlam are shaded; those of the Ghomara àlam are in white

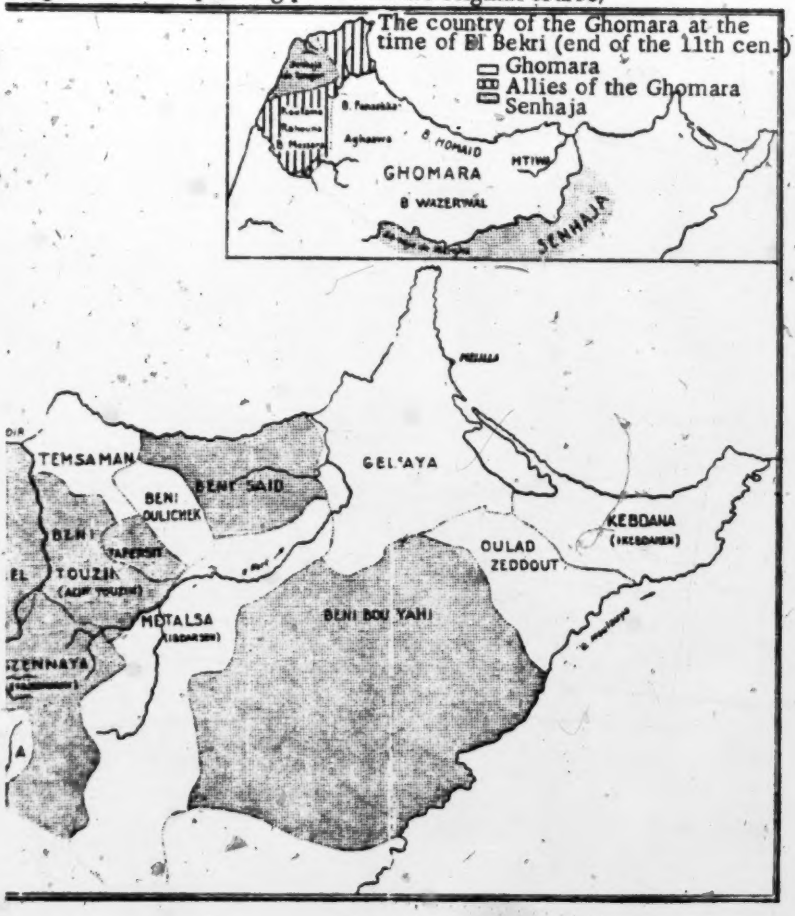
Scale 1/800,000

/"Sreir" is spelled "Srair" in the text./

2: Montagne--282 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Right side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619



/209 cont./

619 .131 territory of the Koutama and of Taghzout. Badès, according to Idrisi, was the eastern limit of the bloc of the Ghomara; the present Spanish name of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera would suffice to prove that it was their port.

To the East were still found, between Badès and Ghassasa, in the vicinity of the cape Tres Forcas, Senhajian and Ghomarian populations, which, in the first centuries of the Hejira, had constituted the kingdom of Nekor of the Banou Salih, before the destruction of the town of Nekor at the beginning of the eleventh century (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 139.

[648] Moreover it is not impossible that the internal wars that deeply disturbed the life of this small State were caused by the permanent hostility of the two races.

195 648 What were the historic causes of the attack led by the Senhaja against the country of the Ghomara? Already at the time of Idrisi in the twelfth century, the latter had suffered a serious check, since their territory had been reduced toward the South, to the advantage of the Senhaja, by a just punishment from God, "because of their numerous sins, the weakness of their Islam, their perseverance in practicing adultery with complete freedom," and all their other crimes (3).

[113] 3. El Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, text p. 170.

It is the succession of defeats that they suffered that is alluded to, as we have seen, in the classification of "Bou Tyour," /210/ in which the Ghomara are represented by animals "capable of being eaten."

But it is not possible to explain solely by the advance of Senhaja elements, who doubtless came originally from the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ for the acquisition of better lands,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

[137] *arijeri*, the oleander. This plant is important in the manufacture of magical concoctions.
[189] Laoust [1] and Justinard [2] support this identification.

tuzselt, a bush resembling a high-bush blueberry. It bears a red pod, like a rose-pod,
[262] which is eaten. Laoust [3] calls this *Fraxinus dimorpha*.

[314] *aghanim*, a reed, used extensively in basket making. Laoust supports this identification.[4]

tharugwith, a bush with a red flower, much frequented by bees.

[278] *zui*, a bush bearing a white flower, with peppery-tasting leaves. The latter are used as medicine for stomach-ache.

[365] *r-knuafer*, a bush or low tree which produces a bud resembling a clove. The buds are put into tea as a spice, and are used as a stomach-ache cure for children.

[278] *azir*, a bush the leaves of which are used in the brewing of a tea alleged to be beneficial in fever.

[151] *izarshi*, forsythia. Women cut pieces of its stem and tie them in their belts to prevent boils. This identification is purely personal and lacks confirmation.

[262] *thakhfa*, a wild rose, the pods of which are sometimes eaten in times of famine. Hanoteau and Letourneau [5] give *Rosa sempervirens* for the Kabyle *thaqfert*.

Luxurious forests of conifers are said by the inhabitants of the country to have once covered most of the region, but today they are confined to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar, Taghzuth, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarket, and the upland reaches of Mtiwa. Patches of this forest remain on Mt. Kuin in Gzennaya, in parts of Beni Amart, at Aswil, where the Nekor passes from the Gzennaya into Beni Urriaghel, and on the crests of Beni Tuzin. The *taidha* grows chiefly in the Senhajan tribes, but the *thuya* is found not only there but also farther to the east, in Gzennaya and Beni Tuzin.

After climbing from the hot barrenness of the eastern Rif, one finds the forests of the Senhaja Sghir most beautiful and satisfying. On the mountain between Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth, it is difficult to realise that one is in Morocco. The whole of this section reminds one of temperate forests, such as are found in the northern United States and Canada; especially is this true in the long, flat plateau-valley of Beni Seddath, where a lush meadow is variegated with frequent clumps of *taidha*. Even in midsummer this region retains an exhilarating chilliness of atmosphere. (See plate 1.)

CLIMATE

● 132 The slopes of the Mediterranean border of this region are rugged, mostly deforested, hillsides, with a climate similar to northern Mexico or our own Southwest. Farther to the east, in the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and parts of Galiya, the country becomes rolling and its slope relatively gentle, and grain is grown on it without terracing or irrigation. Farther south, however, stretches the arid expanse of the Garet, that waterless
137 waste whereon the Metalsa and Beni Yahyi shift about from camp to camp. This desert stretches into parts of Beni Said and Galiya, and oversteps the boundary of Beni Ulishk and Tafersit. Here in the Garet grows a sparse crop of grass, and quantities of that coarse grass called *halfa*, resembling our own marsh or beach grass, from which the nomadic peoples, and the Gzennaya and other Riffians as well, make sandals, pack-saddles, ropes, and all sorts

containers.

[1] Page 454.
[2] Page 136.
[3] Pages 493, 499.
[4] Page 453.
[5] Page 48.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

300 312 132

of containers. Water is so scarce in the Garet that the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi are accused by the other Riffians of giving their food-vessels to dogs to lick rather than washing them. (See plates 2 and 3.)

In the Garet during summertime the heat rises unmercifully, to such a temperature that it seems difficult to endure; in winter cold winds blow across it, and although the ground does not freeze and snow rarely falls, the inhabitants feel considerable discomfort in the flimsy shelter of their tents.

Winter snow falls regularly in Gzennaya, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, throughout the Senhaja Sghir, and in parts of the Ghomara, as well as in the Arabophone Senhaja. On Christmas day, 1926, several inches of snow fell at Ajdir, on the Bay of Alhucemas. In the valley of Beni Bu Nsar every winter the brook freezes over, and its course is obscured by several feet of snow, which smooths off the contours of the terraces; Taghzuth is almost as hard hit, and Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus are under snow for over four months of the year, while in Zarket the snowfall is so great that a whole column of Spanish troops perished in ten-foot drifts in November, 1926. The Spaniards occupying the posts in the Senhaja Sghir have organized a ski troop, composed of Riffians who, during the last two winters, have become adept in this new method of locomotion. (See plate 1.) Both the Riffians and the Senhajans seem perfectly acclimated to the snow, from a physical standpoint. They do not seem to mind the cold as much as do Europeans, and frequently walk for hours in the snow barefoot.

The Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath are as accustomed to snow as are we in New England, and endure a climate in no wise less rigorous.

FAUNA

136

As far as can be determined, no competent zoölogist has worked in the region discussed in this volume. Because of the inaccessibility of the country such a lacuna is not surprising. It is therefore with hesitation that one not versed in zoölogical classifications attempts to catalogue the animals found there. I have made a list of the mammals commonly known to the Riffians, with their Berber and Arabic names and their descriptions. By comparing these names with those given by Hanoteau and Letourneau for Kabylia and checking the descriptions with Dr. Glover Allen of the Zoölogy Department of Harvard University,[1] and by looking them up in Flower and Lydekker, I have arrived at tentative conclusions as to the identities of most of them. My guesses as to species should not be taken as premature and groundless identifications, but rather as suggestions intended to stimulate zoölogical interest in that area.

Mammalia

Ungulata

tighaidat u wazghar (Arabic *ghazal*), the gazelle. This animal is found in the flat arid regions west of the Muluya, in the tribes of Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Beni Tuzin, and in southeastern Gzennaya.

Gazella mhorr and *G. dorcas* are common in Morocco, also *G. isabella*.

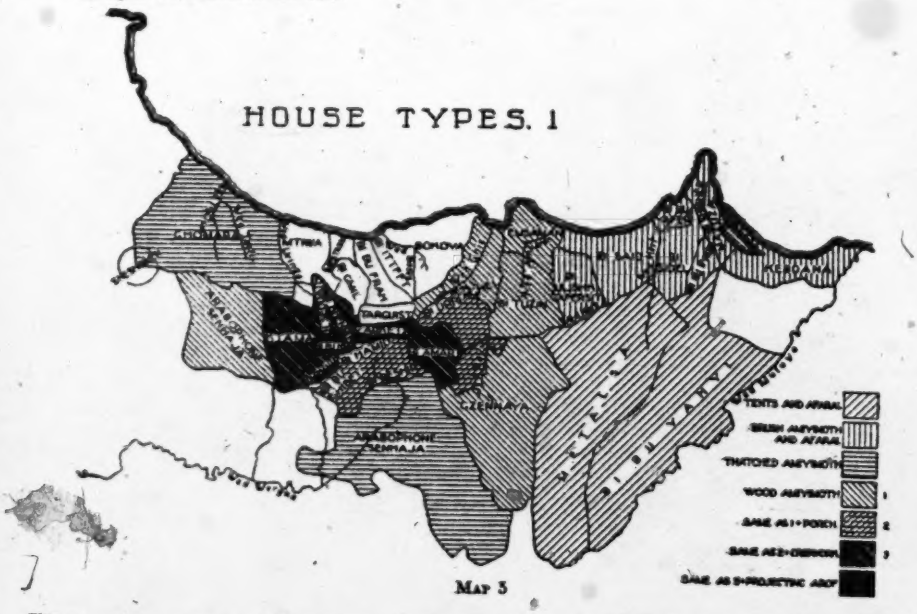
[1] Dr. Allen has kindly gone over this section in proof, making numerous additions and corrections.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 ben Aïssa, Mountain Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrassen, Zarket, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all the Senhaja but Branes, and the Ghomara.

alim (Senhajan dialect), thatching as applied to roofs. Thatched roofs are distributed through Branes, Beni Krama, Khunduktamda, Beni Koraa, Ulad Azam, Bu Adl, Bab Wendar, Muziet, Ain Mediuna, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Beni Gmil, Zarket, Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and the Ghomara.

er wakth (from the Arabic word meaning paper) are shingles split from cedar or pine logs and used for roofing. They are found in the Senhaja Sghir. When wood was more plentiful, shingles were used in the Rif.



MAP 5

adrim, cork, used for roofing. Cork roofs are found in the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Mesduy, in Western Arabophone Senhaja, Beni Krama, Khunduktamda, and Zrarka. The same peoples who use it for roofing often sleep on and under it, substituting it for blankets and mattress. Mud roofs are found throughout the Rif except among the tent-users, and in the Ghomara.

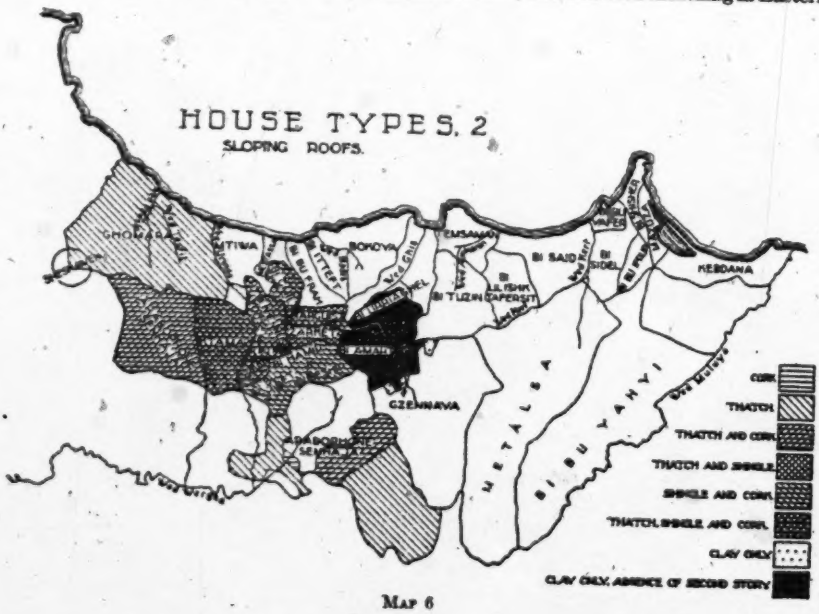
Cribwork of wood, or beams laid horizontally in the masonry. This construction strengthens the walls in regions where the snowfall is heavy enough to endanger them. (See plates 18 and 19.) It is found in Taghruth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarket, and Beni Amart.

342 ●132 *amiyimath*, or sheathing. A sheath is sometimes set under the eaves of houses, and sometimes on the sides, or on the ends in the case of flat-roofed houses, to protect the masonry

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342
[132]

against the *shurrĭhuth*, a desolating icy wind, accompanied by rain and sleet, which strikes the Rif, particularly the mountain tribes, in winter time. (See plate 19.) Without this sheath the wind and rain would weather out the mortar and the stones might fall. There are three kinds of sheathing: the wooden type, made of planks nailed over the masonry; the brush type, made of a peculiarly dense species of bush, tied to the exposed area; and a type made of thatch. Wooden sheathing is used in Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, Beni Amart, Senhaja Sghir, and Western Arabophone Senhaja; brush sheathing in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit; and thatched sheathing in Eastern



MAP 6

Arabophone Senhaja and the Ghomara. The Nomads and Bokoya, and the Maritime tribes, use no *amiyimoth*.

el asha (Arabic), a very flimsy, poorly constructed house used in the Ghomara, along with masonry houses. This structure is made of a pole frame tied together in rectangular shape, with a pitch roof; walls and roof are thatched with straw. The thatching is inferior to the Senhajan work.

Circular straw huts,[1] such as are so commonly seen along the roads in the French Zone of Morocco (see plate 22), are never used in the Rif, Senhaja, or Ghomara, excepting in Branes, where, since the war, several of them have been built as makeshift or temporary

[1] These are the *mapalia* referred to in ancient documents. See Oric Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, p. 167.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

101 their archaic Berber cultural patterns in the face of an ever-increasing Arabization. For this reason, I use the Berber term *Aith* (sons of) rather than its Arabic equivalent *Banī*, which has become current in the literature. Although a tribesman who does know Arabic will say *Banī* when speaking of his tribe to a stranger, he will employ *Aith* when in conversation with his own people. I have also singled out the tribe of Aith Wuryāghil as the object of this article not only because, at the time of writing, I know it much better than the other Riffian tribes, but because, as it is the largest and most powerful of all of them, it has always taken the leading role in the past history of the Rīf, and it has, on most occasions, called the turn to the other tribes when necessary. The presence of Aith Wuryāghil, with that of Iznāya, in the confederation of the Ṣinhāja during the great Ṣinhāja-Ghumāra war was what won that war for the former group; and in recent times the tribe produced ʿAbd al-Karīm, of whom we shall say more later on.

133 Running in a northeast-southwest direction, the tribal territory, 1028.5 square kilometers, consists, in the north, of an open alluvial plain bordered on the east by the mountains of Tamsamān; this plain overlooks the Mediterranean and forms the Bay of Alhucemas. Further south it gradually ascends into and merges with the brown, barren and eroded mountains which are such a characteristic feature of the Riffian landscape; these are bisected by arroyos and high valleys, and in Aith Wuryāghil they culminate in the rugged massif of Jabal Ḥammām (1948 meters), which is covered with snow in [137] January and February. Vegetation consists largely of scrub and 132 lentiscus bushes. Except in the highest altitudes, rain is infrequent even in the winter; the so-called «levante», coming from Spain, brings it suddenly and in the form of flash floods, which change the two sluggish rivers in the tribal territory, the Ghīs to the west and the Nakūr to the east, into raging, torrents. In the mountains the winters, although not long, are cold, but snowfall is much less than in Aith ʿAmmarth or in the Ṣinhāja Srair to the southwest, where the mountains are considerably higher. The rest of the year the climate is warm and usually so dry as to produce only a bare subsistence economy.

15. THE QANUN OF THE LOWER GHIS RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 [133] From this river, the longest of those which bathe the Central Rif (more than 70 km.), as with its companion and eastern neighbor the Nkur, only the surface waters are used, and very imperfectly, by the Rifians in the small meanders which its narrow basin forms. For the [648] Rifians there is too much water and not enough land. Up to the present, the Spanish protectors have not attempted the slightest modification nor the study of the Ghis basin and its regimen with utilitarian ends in mind. It is a wealth which, like so many others, is lost. There is too much water and nevertheless the Rif is thirsty. [132] The Rifian spends the whole year looking at the sky, an attitude which has become contagious to the protectors, imploring a few drops to fall in order to save his miserable <u>winter</u> (author's italics) harvest[125].....

In all the long basin of the Ghis one does not perceive the handiwork of man. Neither bridges nor acqueducts, neither dams nor any [487] installations to raise up its waters. Paths wind along its pebbly and steep banks to hide themselves in the dried-up stony bed. Small [402] and winding irrigation furrows timorously make haste to return suddenly the flow which they secretly absorbed, under the shelter of thickets, after (providing water to) move some small and rudimentary turbine mill. Only at the height of Targist, military techniques with their transportation of water give such a pessimistic sight a chance to change. 312 133 It is necessary to descend kilometers and kilometers down the steep bed of the river, to about some three kilometers from where it empties

671 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

633 [504] The area is administered today from the small port and provincial capital of Alhucemas. The growth of this urban center, fishing port, and tourist attraction is but a recent [175] phenomenon. The city, founded in 1925 with the invasion of a Spanish fleet, has been the focal point for whatever innovation that has occurred in the Central Rif in this century.

133 361 Directly behind the city of Alhucemas is a flat plain. Although the land here is rich it was uninhabited prior to the Spanish because the terrain was indefensible during times of feuds. The original population was situated in the foothills [712] and higher mountains. Here homesteads were scattered and since they also served as garrisons or fortresses they were located on hills or ridges which could be defended militarily.

133 The area is not well served by rivers, the principal ones being the Rhis and the Nekor. The former rises in the Sonhaja area and empties into the Mediterranean at Alhucemas. The latter starts in Igzinnayen territory to flow along the border of the Beni Wariyaghar and the Beni Tuzin, emptying into the bay at [312] Alhucemas. Both these rivers and their tributaries are used [161] for irrigation and the population density is higher along them. There are also a good many natural springs (generally regarded as holy sites) and wells have been successfully dug in some of the valleys.

132 Rainfall varies annually and at times disastrously. At the weather station in Alhucemas during the decade 1946-1955, rainfall ranged from 8.5 inches to 16.9 inches. Although the

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

132 mean would be somewhat higher in the highlands, the range of
[243] variation would be as great. Since the economic backbone of the area is the dry farming of cereals, low rainfall or drought causes serious difficulties.

175 The history of the Rif presents us with the strange paradox that it is better documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries than for the nineteenth. We have several written chronicles of the Arab city states established along the Mediterranean, such as Nekor which drops out of history in the eleventh century, and Bades which was captured by the Spanish in the
[113] sixteenth century. Of the Berbers in the hinterland we have little material with the exception of el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif (French translation by Colin, 1926) dated 1311, and el-Bekri's Description de l'Afrique septentrionale from the
[131] eleventh century. El-Bekri notes that already in that time most of the present tribes of the Rif were located in their present
[648] sites (Michaux-Bellaire, 1925: 180-181). Between these accounts, fragmentary at best, and the uncritical chronicles of Spaniards leading punitive expeditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Riffian history is rather blank.

175 Geographical circumstances made the Central Rif peripheral
648 to most events going on in Morocco. Only with the insistence of the Spanish government did the Moroccan Sultan send an expedition into the Rif in the late nineteenth century to punish the Ibuqquyen for piracy. During the early years of the present

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102
131
132

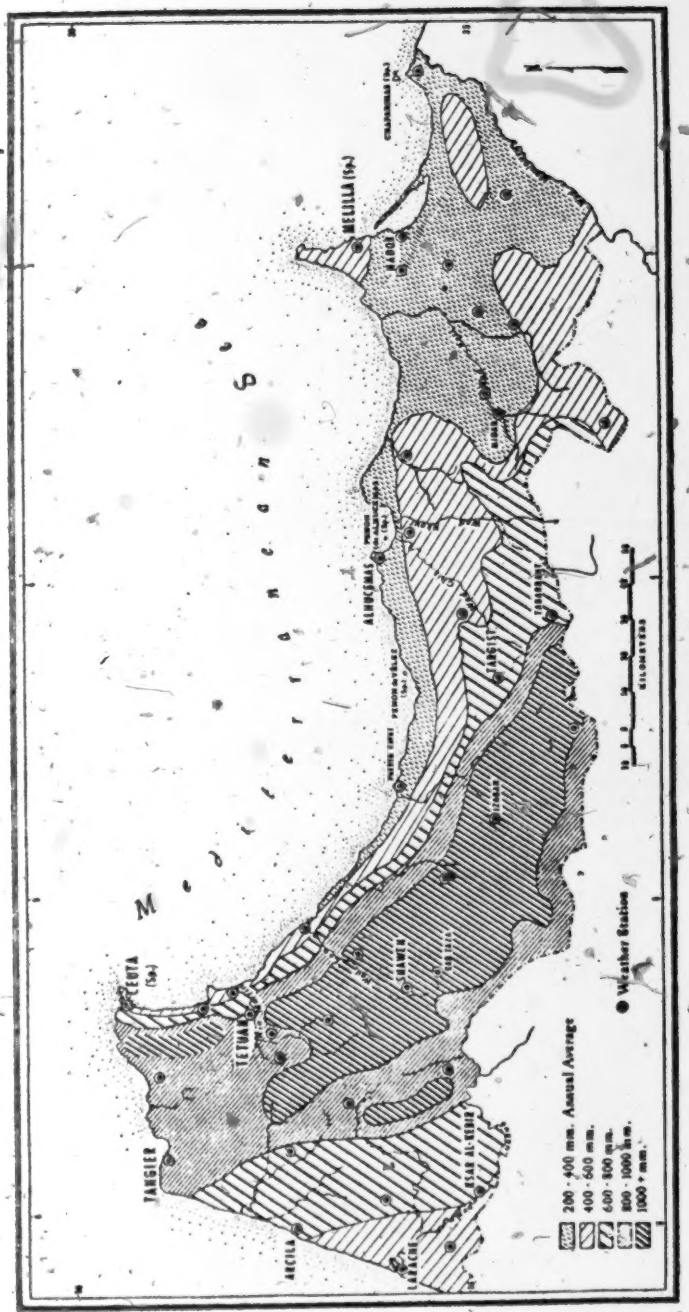


Fig. 6. Northern Morocco: precipitation, 1941-1955.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

133 Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one
133 of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked
175 the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

133 On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization,
[504] but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function
[487] is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail
[491] of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

Climate

132 The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude,
[243] [312] irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

[127] Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[1]

Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[113] [1] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

(12.9 in.), and Alhucemas with 315 mm. (12.4 in.). The area of heaviest precipitation runs along the line of the Rif chain. Because of the orographic mechanism, highland areas receive more precipitation than adjacent lowlands. No records exist for the highest altitudes, but annual rainfalls totaling more than 1,500 mm. (59 in.) may be surmised. The amount recorded at Bab Taza—1,315 mm. (51.7 in.)—suggests very heavy precipitation on Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab. In the Sanhajan highlands, Izagan, at an elevation of 1,500 meters, has 1,414 mm. (56.6 in.) and Tabarrant, at 1,140 meters, has 1,199 mm. (47.2 in.) of precipitation. On the highest peaks of the Sanhajan highlands the rainfall may average 2,000 mm. per year. In areas higher than 1,500 meters some snow falls during the winter months. Peaks above 2,000 meters are snow-capped from the middle of November to the end of May.

The rainy season begins at about the same time throughout northern Morocco, but the amount of precipitation varies notably. The meridian running through Targist marks the division between the wetter and drier parts of the northern zone. Targist receives 423 mm. (16.6 in.) of precipitation. At Midar, 65 km. farther to the east, the total is only 281 mm. (11 in.). At Melilla the precipitation is 414 mm. (16.2 in.), but no other station in the eastern lowlands regularly records more than 350 mm. (13.8 in.). The sharp decrease in amount of precipitation east of the Sanhajan highlands is one of the striking aspects of the geography of northern Morocco.

Annual variability in amount of precipitation is characteristic of all stations, regardless of whether the total is large or small. In the decade 1946–1955, precipitation at Arcila varied from 418 mm. (16.4 in.) to 850 mm. (33.5 in.); at Alhucemas the corresponding totals were 216 mm. (8.5 in.) and 430 mm. (16.9 in.). Variation of this magnitude is most noticeable in the drier eastern lowlands, where livelihood is based upon dry farming of cereals. During the same decade, annual precipitation at Midar varied from 105 mm. (4.1 in.) to 450 mm. (17.7 in.). The former year (1947) was one of great hardship, whereas the latter year (1955) was bountiful. The range of variation was just as large at Arcila, but the 1947 rainfall of 416 mm. (16.4 in.) did not mean failure of the cereal crop.

No part of this zone is more than 100 km. from the coast. Since marine temperatures tend to be relatively mild and to change but little from summer to winter, a corresponding mildness is characteristic of all areas into which sea air is regularly carried. Temperatures below freezing or above 35°C. (95°F.) are rare in the Atlantic coastal zone. The Mediterranean coast, because of the warmer water of the inland sea, is somewhat milder throughout the year than the Atlantic coast, which is affected by the cool Canaries Current. The highest summer temperatures are experienced in the Moulouya Valley, which is sheltered from marine air. In the mountains the highest summer temperatures occur on south-facing slopes, where temperatures may rise above 35°C. even at an altitude of 1,000 meters. Freezing temperatures are common at the same elevation during the winter months. It seems reasonable to suppose that winter temperatures may drop to –10°C. at an altitude of 2,000 meters.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Drainage

132 133 Drainage basins are small in this area, for the watershed is close to the sea. The seasonal rate of flow follows the seasonal rainfall, but with a lag in time that varies with the slope, the vegetation, and the permeability of the rock. Spate follows rainfall where impermeable rocks form the basin, more slowly where the basin is of permeable limestone. All the Mediterranean streams may be roaring torrents at some period from October to May; but most of them dry up during the long summer drought. The valleys of some of the larger streams, like the Ghis and Nkour, betray their Mediterranean regimen by a double bed: in summer a narrow channel is cut below the broad rocky shelf which is the winter bed. Wad Ouergha draws off most of the drainage from the Sanhajan highlands; it is the largest stream flowing from the Rif chain, and one of the sources of irrigation water in the Gharb coastal plain (fig. 1). The basin of Wad Lukkus includes most of the Atlantic drainage. Surface streams are rare in the calcareous zone. The only stream that flows through the limestone mountains is the Wad Lao, which follows an antecedent course; but Wad Hajara, Wad Khemis, and Río Martín (Wad Martil) are fed by springs issuing from the base of this range. The area between Wad Nkour and Wad Moulouya has only one large stream, Wad Kert, and it receives little nourishment after it leaves the highlands. Wad Moulouya, from the distant Ayache Mountains of the High Atlas, is northern Morocco's great exotic stream. This stream and Wad Lukkus constituted the only natural segments of the boundary between French Morocco and Spanish Morocco.

Plant Domains

137 The vegetation of North Africa can be divided into (1) a Mediterranean domain, where forest and shrubs predominate; (2) a domain of "steppe," where forest is confined to highland enclaves in the midst of a predominant cover of grass and herbs; and (3) a domain of highland vegetation, which includes a subalpine formation with some trees and, only in the Moroccan Atlas, an alpine formation [132] without trees. Saharan vegetation penetrates Barbary at only two points: in the Hodna basin of Algeria and on the plains extending inland from the Gulf of Gabès in Tunisia. Figuig, Ksar as-Suq, Zagora, and Goulimine, all within the political limits of Morocco, receive less than 200 mm. of precipitation per year, but the records of these stations do not show the variability indicative of true desert. The Moroccan territory south of the Atlas chains forms part of the "pre-Sahara" of French terminology.[1]

In terms of this classification, all but a small part of northern Morocco falls within the Mediterranean domain. No peak in the Rif Mountains rises above timberline, and only a small area can be called subalpine. Grassland is confined to one area on the eastern edge of the zone. This area, in the lower Moulouya Valley, is one of the driest parts of northern Morocco, but it is not certain that the presence of steppe vegetation can be attributed solely to meager precipitation. The dominant species is *Stipa tenacissima* (Arabic *alfa*). This hard tussock grass

[1] For a brief description of vegetation in all North Africa, see Jean Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), pp. 80–96; and Louis Emberger, "L'Afrique du Nord-Ouest," *Unesco Arid Zone Research*, VI, "Plant Ecology" (Reviews of Research) (Paris, 1955), pp. 219–249. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

has deep roots, forms strong clumps, and its awns stick to the coats of passing animals. More important, it is palatable only for a brief period in spring.[1] Alfa grass is scattered over most of Garet, but is conspicuous only in the area between the hills of Ikbdhanen and Kar-Kar.

Forest, Maqui, Garrigue

The climate that has prevailed during historic time is such that trees ought to dominate the vegetation of this zone. As figure 7 indicates, *Pistacia atlantica*,

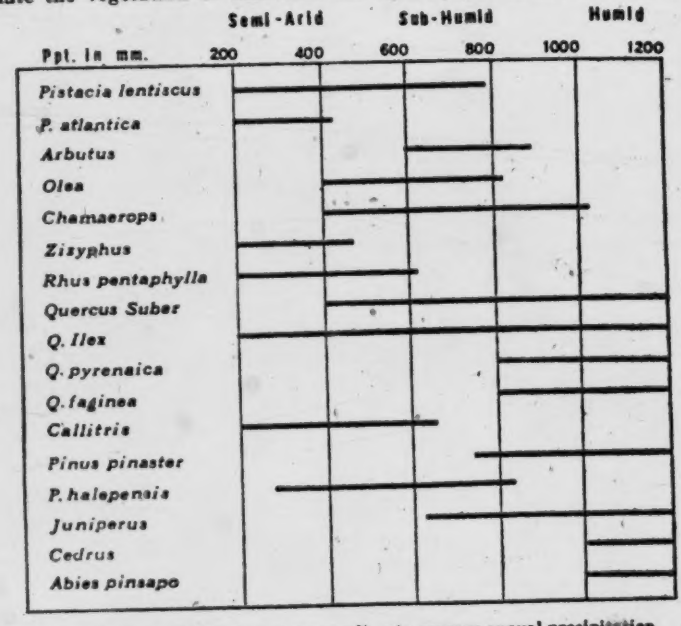


Fig. 7. Range of forest species according to average annual precipitation.

P. lentiscus, *Quercus Ilex*, *Pinus halepensis*, *Callitris articulata*, *Rhus pentaphylla*, and *Zizyphus lotus* can grow in the semiarid sector of northeastern Morocco. The altitudinal range of at least three and possibly eight trees extends above the highest peaks of the Rif chain (table 1). Edaphic factors impose some limitations. The cork oak will not grow on calcareous soils, and most forest species are excluded from poorly drained alluvium. Nevertheless, areas that are barren of trees as a result of natural causes constitute only a small part of this zone.

Most of the forest species common in northern Morocco are endemic to the Mediterranean region; a few belong more specifically to the western province of that region. *Quercus coccifera*, *Quercus Ilex*, *Pinus halepensis*, *Arbutus Unedo*, and a number of prominent Moroccan shrubs are spontaneous in most of the

[1] Charles Killian, "Plantes fourragères-types des hautes-plaines algériennes," *Annales de l'Amélioration des Plantes*, 4 (1954), 505–527.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 On protected sites, zizyphus and sumac (*Rhus pentaphylla*) form a thicket. In areas where zizyphus and sumac are mixed with *Pistacia atlantica*, the thorn scrub formation could be described as a thorn forest. Fields that have been fallow for several years are covered with *Asphodelus microcarpus*, *Marrubium alysson*, *Fagonia cretica*, and *Lycium intricatum* as well as the ubiquitous zizyphus. Alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*) covers part of the area between Ikibdhanen and Kar-Kar. Alluvial soils in the same general area are covered with esparto grass (*Lygeum spartum*) and dwarf sage (*Artemisia herba alba*). The areas occupied by these three species may be advanced colonies of the steppe formations of the upper Moulouya Valley and the Algerian Hauts-Plateaux.

Forest Formations

As figure 8 indicates, most of the forest species in northern Morocco belong to the families Pinaceae and Fagaceae. Two evergreen oaks dominate the latter group: the holly or holm oak (*Quercus Ilex*) and the cork oak (*Quercus Suber*). The wide range of the holly oak is indicative of its edaphic and climatic tolerance (fig. 7). In northern Morocco it is found from an elevation of about 500 meters up to the crest of the Rif chain. It is mixed with cedar and fir above 1,500 meters and with zizyphus in the semiarid region east of Alhucemas. *Quercus Ilex* may appear as a tall tree, but most specimens show the damaging effects of fire, cutting, and browsing. The holly oak is certainly a forest species, but it would be misleading to speak of forests of this tree. The area delimited in figure 8 merely indicates the zone in which specimens of this species are numerous. Many specimens are only two meters high. Emberger estimates that *Quercus Ilex* is spread over 700,000 hectares of Morocco, and that this territory may represent less than half of the primordial range.[a]

[132] The effective limit of the cork oak nearly coincides with the 400 mm. isohyet. *Quercus Suber* appears on schist in the highlands of Ghmara and Sanhaja, on sandstone in the mountains west of Tetuán and Shawen, and on Pliocene dunes south of Larache. Cork forests are not found on residual soils weathered from limestone, or on heavy alluvial soils. Most of the eastern half of northern Morocco is too dry for the cork oak. A single stand occurs in the highlands east of Wad [132] Nkour, where the orographic mechanism produces rainfall heavier than is observed in the neighboring lowlands.

The natural form of the cork oak is that of a large tree with a short trunk and spreading crown. Specimens of this form are rare today. Tall trees develop from seed regeneration, whereas most trees have a lateral growth that results from sprouting. The latter habit indicates a history of abuse, whether by cutting, burning, or browsing. Undisturbed forests usually have a shaded floor with little underbrush, but cork trees are more commonly accompanied by a number of shrubs. The faithful companion of *Quercus Suber* in northern Morocco is the woody briar *Erica arborea*, which also avoids calcareous soils. Under conditions of extreme degradation, the quick-seeding Cistaceae and the aggressive palmetto are more prominent than other undergrowth. Frequent disturbance, especially

[222] [113] l'ancien monde et l'utilisation de leurs fruits," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 27 (1947), 470–482.

[a] Emberger, *Les Arbres du Maroc*, p. 117.

A, B, [See pp. 24 & 20 respectively--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER III

CULTURE HISTORY PRIOR TO EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

FOR THE POPULATIONS and civilizations that reached it, Morocco was a cul-de-sac. Every movement came up against the Atlantic barrier and was retarded by the hostile environment of the Sahara. During the Pleistocene epoch and, indeed, during the first millennia of Recent geologic time, Morocco was a redoubt in which outmoded ways of life perfected themselves in isolation. The descendants of the Neolithic farmers remained dependent on stone tools three thousand years after the Egyptians, at the other end of the Mediterranean, had begun to use metal. Basically, the Stone Age cultures still persist, in spite of Phoenician, Roman, Arab, and European influence.

The historic accounts of the Canary Islands are of special interest. When the Norman and Spanish conquerors reached the Canaries a few generations before the discovery of America, the islanders spoke a Berber dialect and still retained their Neolithic culture. They used stone tools, and fashioned implements from wood, horn, and shell. They produced crude and underfired pottery in the Neolithic style, and their textiles were plaited matting and basketry. Their clothing was of cured goatskin, and their houses were made of stone, pine timbers, and earth. They raised pigs, dogs, sheep, and goats, and grew barley and wheat. They knew how to preserve meat by drying and milk by making cheese. Add metal, weaving, and the crops and animals introduced from southwestern Asia and the Americas, and this outline of material culture is little different from that of an isolated Moroccan village of today.[1]

THE PROBLEM OF CLIMATIC CHANGE

A mass of circumstantial evidence suggests that Barbary has become drier since the time of the Roman occupation. The impressive ruins of Thamugadi (Timgad) and the great amphitheater of Thysdrus (el-Jem) now stand on desolate plains. The ancient seaports of Leptis Magna and Sabratha were found buried under an immense drift of sand. Mosaics and historical records tell of the presence in Roman Africa of elephants, lions, and other wild animals now confined to the tropical zone. Further examples of change presumed to be a result of desiccation could be cited, but these suffice to illustrate the type of evidence that impresses the traveler.

It cannot be denied that the landscape of northern Africa has changed since classical time, but the thesis of a climatic explanation of this change is difficult to defend. Most of the evident deterioration can be traced to neglect or destruction by man. Aqueducts, dams, and cisterns made possible the building of the now dead cities. With the collapse of the Pax Romana, marginal land dependent on irrigation went out of cultivation. Burning, cutting, and overgrazing

[1] Leonardo Torriani, *Die kanarischen Inseln und ihre Urbewohner;* trans. from the MS of 1590 by D. J. Wölfel (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1940), Vol. VI of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde.* C. S. Coon, in *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1951), pp. 36–40, calls attention to the Canary Islanders as "Berbers" unaffected by foreign influence.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[4]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[5] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[6]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[7] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

[4] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[5] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[6] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[7] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 1

ENVIRONMENT 1

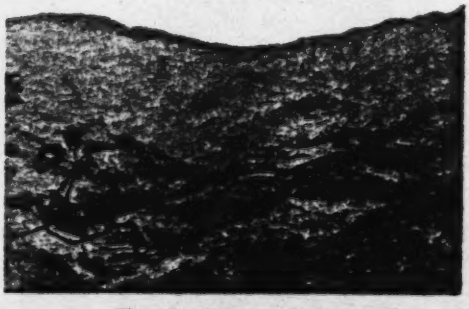
133

Mt. Megga, behind Sheshawen

On the pass between Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth

Member of Riffian Ski-Corps on duty in Beni Seddath

Looking down on to the village of el Kelaa, Taghzuth



The valley of the Beni Bu Nsar

[Facing p. 4]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 619 **Ghomara.** The third great region is the Ghomara, which extends along the Mediterranean coast from Wed Uringa to Wed Lao, and is separated from the Senhaja by the main mountain crest. It is divided into eight tribes, Beni Ziat, Beni Zejel, Beni Selman, Beni Bu Zra, Beni Mansur, Beni Grir, Beni Smih, and Beni Rezin.

197 Of these Beni Bu Zra retains Berber speech in fairly complete form, and all the others employ Berber words mixed with Arabic. This Ghomaran dialect has never been studied, but seems to resemble Riffian more closely than does Senhajan, in that Riffian and Ghomaran are mutually comprehensible.

131 619 **Other Berber Groups.** This work is confined to a consideration of the Riffians, Senhajans, and Ghomarans because my material covers these groups only, and not because they are the only recognizable Berbers of northern Morocco. In the peninsula which culminates at Tangier and Ceuta lives another group, the Anjera, which although Arab in speech is distinctly Berber in appearance, and which is said to be related to the Riffians; to the south and west of the Senhaja are other tribes, such as the Beni Zerwal, which are certainly not Arab in origin.

The term *Jebala*, from the Arabic word for mountain, is generally used to distinguish the Ghomara, the Arabophone Senhaja, and the other Berber tribes of the northwest from the Riffians and from the Arabs. This term is unfortunately inexact, and hence is not employed in this work to designate any specific area.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

● 133 The most important topographical feature of this region is the high mountain chain which bends southward from Tetwan into the heart of the Senhaja Sghir, and then resumes an eastward course through the Rif until it fades down into a series of hills in Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi to crop up again, thrusting northeastward, in Galiya, and carrying the land of that tribe out into the Mediterranean at the Cabo Tres Forcas. Although the crest of this range is in most places nearly thirty miles from the Mediterranean coast, the shore line itself is rough and craggy, since the mountains carry much of their height to the very water's edge, where they descend with a sharp drop. The mountains are higher in the west than in the east. Adhrar Tidighin, partly in Beni Khennus and partly in Beni Seddath, is the highest in the range, reaching an altitude of 2,549 meters [1] in one peak and 2,455 meters [1] in another; it is covered on the north side with a permanent layer of snow. Although Tidighin is the highest peak, it does not far surpass its neighbors. Between Taghsuth and Beni Bu Nsar, slightly southeast of Tidighin, is another mountain of great height and majesty, called the mountain of Taghsuth, 2,330 meters [1] high. In the Rif itself the highest points of the divide are Kuin, 1,883 meters,[1] and Tizi Uzli, 2,006 meters,[1] both in the Gzennaya. The Jebel Hammam, in Beni Urriaghel, attains about the same height, 1,948 meters, [1] but does not fall in the direct line of the watershed.

The divide itself runs between the Ghomara and the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; it separates Ktama from Mtiwa of the Rif, and Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus from Beni Bu Nsar (although in truth these three tribes might be said to perch on top of it); runs through Zarket, setting Targuist on one side and Beni Hamid on the other; and cuts through the middle of Beni Amart, along the range of Tizi Ifri, and across the top of Gzennaya, along

[1] Map issued by the Service Géographique du Maroc, Rabat, March, 1926. Scale, 1:20,000.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

133 Kuin, Akhfiligum, and the pass of Tisi Usli, thus placing a portion of Gsennaya in the Nekor drainage along with Beni Tusin and Beni Urriaghel. East of Gsennaya the ridge loses its great importance, and the country sinks down into a flat, arid plain, occupied by Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, while to the north of these tribes it springs up again, pointing northeast and separating the drainages of the two Mediterranean-flowing rivers, the Kert and the Muluya.

In the midst of Gsennaya, at Ihershliyen and Azru Ukshar, the range ceases to be the Atlantic–Mediterranean rainshed, for the ridge passing north and south through Azru and Mellal separates the drainages of the Wergha and the Muluya. Gsennaya is thus the apex of the crest: in it are found the beginnings of three drainage systems, and there the mountains reach their greatest height east of the Senhaja Sghir.

These mountains are said to be of Tertiary origin and to be an extension of the Cordillera Betica in Spain.[1] Marmol describes an active volcano in what must be today Beni Bu Shibet or Beni Beshir.[2] Since his book was written in 1573 and since no tradition survives of a volcano anywhere in northern Morocco, it is quite possible that he was mistaken, since the tradition of so impressive a natural feature would surely have endured three and a half centuries.

The region with which we deal, along with the strip which connects it with the Straits of Gibraltar, is said to have been a part of Europe as late as the Miocene [3] period, and to have been separated from the rest of Morocco by sea. Indeed, the unattractive plain of the Garet, occupied now by the Metalsa and the Beni Bu Yahyi, has every aspect of a withered sea-bottom, and fossils of ocean molluscs have been found in it.

The short distance from the ridge to the Mediterranean littoral is traversed by numerous small torrential streams, perennial only near the mountain tops, where the coat of forest has not yet been wholly hewn off. Another reason for their seasonal dryness is that except during the season of storms the farmers living along the upper reaches lead off all the water in irrigation ditches, leaving none for the people lower down.

The Wed Lao forms the western boundary of the Ghomara; next to the east flow the Wed Tiguisas and its branch the Wed Tasfit, forming the boundary between Beni Ziat and Beni Bu Zra: and between the Tasfit and the Uringa, which form the boundary of the Rif, flow two smaller streams. Wed Seba Zawiat and Wed Mthir.

The Wed Uringa, along three fourths of its course, demarcates Mtiwa of the Rif from the Ghomara, but in its upper section the boundary shifts to the ridge to the west of its drainage. The next important river to the east is the Wed Mestassa, which empties into the sea at Mestassa, skirts the western edge of Beni Gmil, and has its source in the lofty peaks of Beni Khennus. East of the Mestassa flows the Wed Ferrah, or Frah, through the middle of the tribe of Beni Bu Frah, commencing in the mountain north of Targuist. East of this stream runs the Wed Bades, originating between Beni Itteft and Targuist, traversing the area of the former tribe, and emptying at the ruins of Bades opposite the island of Peñon de Velez. Next comes the Wed Buhem, originating in the Beni Hadifa section of Beni Urriaghel and crossing the tribe of Bokoya.

Emptying into the bay of Alhucemas are the two most important rivers of the central Rif, the Ghis and the Nekor, their mouths lying side by side and combining to form a broad

[1] Louis Gentil, *Le Maroc Physique*, pp. 89–90.
[2] Caraval Luys del Marmol, *Descripcion d'Africa*, bk. iii, chap. 84.
[3] Gentil, p. 94.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

delta. The course of the Ghis slants southwestward from Targuist, while the Nekor flows directly northward through sharp canyons from the mountain of Kuin in Gzennaya, to separate, farther along, Temsaman and Beni Tuzin from Beni Urriaghel. On the other side of the promontory of Temsaman empties the Amkaran, or Wed el Kebir, which commences a short distance away in the mountains of Beni Tuzin. Next to the Amkaran lies an unimportant stream called the Tasagin, coming down from the Dhar O Baran in Beni Ulishk. Beyond this there are none but the important arteries of the Kert and the Muluya, the former of which originates in Gzennaya, the seeming umbilicus of the Rif, and the latter of which flows northward from distant Tafilelt, where its head lies near that of the Draa, a lengthy watercourse emptying into the Atlantic nearly opposite the Canary Islands.

Such is the catalogue of rivers, the waters of which are jealously guarded and conserved, and which have been the cause of many of the local wars in the Rif.

The mountains of the Rif are supposed to be fabulously rich in minerals, including coal, iron, gold, and petroleum. None of these, however, have been extracted by the present inhabitants of the country, and hence they do not concern us here. Suspicion engendered by the presence of the minerals does more to hamper travel and research in the Rif than all other factors combined.

VEGETATION

It is too early in the course of Riffian research to give a complete list of botanical species from that country; no systematic botanist, as far as I know, has published any description of its flora. It will therefore have to suffice in this volume to present merely a very fragmentary roster of some of the more noticeable wild trees and bushes, such as readily meet the eye of the traveler, with local names and tentative identifications, made by observation and by analogy with the rest of North Africa.

Conifers

taidha, a tall, straight-growing conifer, with a large globular cone. This tree is much prized for house-building material.

taidha temjda, a similar tree, relatively stunted, with thick, wide branches. The *taidha* is found on the upper slopes of mountains; the *taidha temjda* grows on the mountain-tops and in the passes, where it is exposed to the elements: hence both may belong to the same species. (Plate I shows examples of both.)

Justinard calls the *taidha* a pine.[1] Hanoteau and Letourneau list for Algeria four species of terebinths; *Pistacia terebinthus L.*, *P. Atlantica Desf.*, *P. Lentiscus L.*, and *Rhus pentaphylla Desf.*[2]

takka, another conifer, with a small, compact cone. The wood of this tree is used in making tar. (Perhaps its name is related to the Ntifa word for terebinth.[3]) Justinard calls this a juniper.[4]

afezaz, the scrub juniper (not to be confused with *afezas*). Laoust postulates that the Berber root *zz* indicates the idea of spines or thorns, and cites other words, in Berber dialects, which contain this root and mean juniper.[5]

[1] Commandant Justinard, *Manuel de Berbère Marocain* (*Dialecte Rifain*), p. 48.
[2] A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneau, *La Kabylie*, vol. 1, pp. 82-83.
[3] E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses Berbères*, p. 487. [4] Page 131. [5] Page 523.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 2

ENVIRONMENT 2

133

A terrace in the vale of Iberrusben, Gsennaya

The site of the Sunday Market at the confluence of the Bayu and the Tighza, Gsennaya

The Rock of the Ogress, Tiddest, Gsennaya

Olive trees growing at Sidi Misaud on the Beni Ulishk–Temsaman border

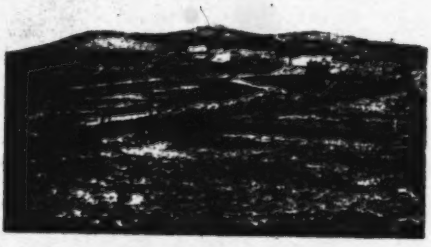
[facing p. 8]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931. MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 3

ENVIRONMENT 3

133



Relatively flat country, Beni Said

The plain of Beni Ulishk, with the mountains of Beni Tuzin behind

The country back of Ajdir, on the Beni Urriaghel-Bokoya border

The alluvial plain at the mouths of the Nekor and Ghis, Beni Urriaghel

[facing p. 18]

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

their archaic Berber cultural patterns in the face of an ever-increasing Arabization. For this reason, I use the Berber term *Aith* (sons of) rather than its Arabic equivalent *Banī*, which has become current in the literature. Although a tribesman who does know Arabic will say *Banī* when speaking of his tribe to a stranger, he will employ *Aith* when in conversation with his own people. I have also singled out the tribe of Aith Wuryāghil as the object of this article not only because, at the time of writing, I know it much better than the other Riffian tribes, but because, as it is the largest and most powerful of all of them, it has always taken the leading role in the past history of the Rīf, and it has, on most occasions, called the turn to the other tribes when necessary. The presence of Aith Wuryāghil, with that of Giznāya, in the confederation of the Ṣinhāja during the great Ṣinhāja-Ghumāra war was what won that war for the former group; and in recent times the tribe produced 'Abd al-Karīm, of whom we shall say more later on.

Running in a northeast-southwest direction, the tribal territory, 1028.5 square kilometers, consists, in the north, of an open alluvial plain bordered on the east by the mountains of Tamsamān; this plain overlooks the Mediterranean and forms the Bay of Alhucemas. Further south it gradually ascends into and merges with the brown, barren and eroded mountains which are such a characteristic feature of the Riffian landscape; these are bisected by arroyos and high valleys, and in Aith Wuryāghil they culminate in the rugged massif of Jabal Ḥammām (1948 meters), which is covered with snow in January and February. Vegetation consists largely of scrub and lentiscus bushes. Except in the highest altitudes, rain is infrequent even in the winter; the so-called «levante», coming from Spain, brings it suddenly and in the form of flash floods, which change the two sluggish rivers in the tribal territory, the Ghīs to the west and the Nakūr to the east, into raging, torrents. In the mountains the winters, although not long, are cold, but snowfall is much less than in Aith 'Ammarth or in the Ṣinhāja Srair to the southwest, where the mountains are considerably higher. The rest of the year the climate is warm and usually so dry as to produce only a bare subsistence economy.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

Sīdī Bū Khiyār («My Lord the Father of the Cucumber») was, according to tradition, an itinerant *murābiṭ* or holy man from the Sahara who reached the Central Rif completely destitute, without family, servants or possessions. Of when this event occurred, or from what part of the Sahara he originated, we have absolutely no indication. Rifians today say that he was not a *sharīf* (pl. *shurfā*), or descendant of the Prophet, and this is negatively and locally confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of him in the genealogies of the Imrabdhen section (*ar-rbaʿ* or *thakhammasth*, according to the context) of the tribe (*thaqbitsh*) of Aith Wariyāghir, who, despite their sobriquet, are shurfā descended from Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Aʿraj («My Lord Abraham the Lame»), whose own lineage ascends to Mūlāi Idrīs. We may note here, parenthetically, that although the Rifians make a genealogical and functional distinction between *shurfā* and *murābiṭīn* (pl. of *murābiṭ*), they do not differentiate between them terminologically; in the Rifian dialect of Berber, both are called *imrābdhen*, derived from Arabic *murābiṭīn*.

In any event, Sīdī Bū Khiyār was to become far more important in the religious aspects of tribal life than most of the Imrābdhen, for no organized visits have ever been made to any of the latters' tombs. After settling on the windswept and desolate mountain peak which bears his name, Sīdī Bū Khiyār became famous as a spellbinder who could attract crowds of lesser murābiṭīn from as far as ten to fifteen days' journey away. He never married, and he died without issue on his mountain top; but the name Bū Khiyār is one wich many mountain Rifians are given to this day.

The pilgrimage to Sīdī Bū Khiyār's grave is today a local festival entirely, albeit the most important and significant one in the Central Rif. The only religious brotherhood involved is that of the ʿAlawiyyīn, a recently formed order of Algerian origin, whose members bear no relationship to the saint other than the fact that some of them happen to live in the area, and whose litany is a far more toned-down and sedate affair than those of any of the orders mentioned above, as we shall see.

The tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is situated on the summit which overlooks the Turīrth-Timarzga-Aith ʿAmmarth Pass and dominates the massif of the Jbil Ḥamām, The Mountain of Doves, which, at

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 R11 MX

an altitude of 6500 feet, is the highest point in the whole tribe of Aith Wariyāghir. It is located above the village (*adshār*) of Bū Ma'dān, in the district (*r'ayyith*) of Timarzga. The tomb itself, a simple structure unadorned with the usual white cupola, was, in time, supplemented with a small mosque of mud and stone, today in a state of disrepair owing to the ravages of wind, snow, sleet and ice. The actual pinnacle of the massif is not the site of the tomb proper, but a point about 150 feet above it, called Tamrābiṭ. Upon ascending this point, after a spine-shattering journey by jeep up the tortuously winding *piste* from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turīrth (Spanish *Zoco de Arbaa Taurirt*), one realizes that one is at the top of the Central Rif. Almost all of Aith Wariyāghir is below one to the north, and only one or two of the Azru Uqshar peaks in the tribe of Igzinnāyen to the southeast, discernible in outline on a clear day, are higher. Just east of the tomb-mosque complex is a flat space measuring about 600 feet by 300 feet, used for prayer, and just above and north of this is a small grove of *ādhān* (from, by association, the Arabic for «prayer-call»?) trees; and between the mosque and the tomb itself is a small open area called the *Sūq al-Ṣāliḥin* the Market of the Righteous.

The pilgrimage takes place on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah, one day before the 'Aid al-Kabīr or Great Feast of Islam, called *r-'Aid Umqqran* by the Rifians. People come from all over the southern mountain districts of Aith Wariyāghir, as well as from the neighboring tribes of Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnāyen, to attend it. The greatest number are locals from Timarzga (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), after which come those from Aith 'Arūs (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), Aith 'Ammarth, Aith Bū 'Avyāsh (Aith Wariyāghir), Zāwīth n Sīdī 'Abd r-Qādir of the Imrābdhen of Aith Ḥadhīfah (Aith Wariyāghir), Mārruwī in Aith 'Abd Allāh (Aith Wariyāghir), Iṣrīḥan in Aith Yūsif w 'Arī (Aith Wariyāghir), and Igzinnāyen. In 1955, all the tribal authorities of the Nkūr qaidate of Aith Wariyāghir (Ait Bū 'Avvāsh and Jbil), as well as the Spanish *interventores* both of Aith Wariyāghir and Aith 'Ammarth, were also present.

By about 10:00 A. M., most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, have assembled on the mountain top, where their first act is to visit the shrine. Merchants are busy setting up their small

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without 369 urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 779 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'umen), as did the Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. Sánchez Pérez, then, is essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of origin.

000

117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at 1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. With certain notable exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

000 Ulad 'Abbu and J'auna) and in the Igzinnayen (or Gzinnaya: Bni 'Asim, Bni Yunis, Ulad 'Ali bin 'Aida, Bni Mhammad, Ulad l-Uta, and Imzdurar, of which only the last mentioned retains its Berber name, "mountaineers").

[114] [829] 147--The Branis tribe (Arabic branis, sing. barnus, "burnous") is very probably Berber by descent; but it is, as Blanco notes, entirely Arabic speaking today (as is Igzinnayen's other neighbor, Marnisa), and Rifians consider it "jabalan" rather than as one of their own.

[133] 148--Tizi Usli, "the pass of the bridegroom", is a tribal administration post in the northeastern Igzinnayen, while Azru Aqshar, "bald rock" or "bald mountain", is, at 2010 meters, the highest peak in the Central Rifian area, and is located just north of Tizi Usli, which nestles in its shadow.

[114] 149--Blanco is in error here, for all of Igzinnayen are Rifians, and of Berber origin. Even if they were not, there would in any case be little basis for a (largely artificial) contrast in physical type and/or language and/or institutions; and once again, Blanco is groping with outmoded anthropological theory.

150--As noted, the "Arab-Berber" dichotomy which Blanco draws within Igzinnayen is largely a figment of his imagination. The southern clans of Igzinnayen neither "obeyed" nor "resisted" the Makhzin in pre-Protectorate times, any more than the northern ones or any of the other Rifian tribes did. In fact, aside from Bushta al-Bahdadi's punitive expedition to Ibuqquyen in 1898, the Makhzin tended to leave the Rifians severely alone. Informants say that the sultans Mulay al-Hasan, Mulay 'Abd al-Aziz and Mulay Hafidh all appointed qa'ids and shaikhs in all the Rifian tribes, but such "appointments" were nothing but dahirs which ratified the already existing tribal and clan chiefs. In the Rif, therefore, the notion of "Republik" or siba was essentially characterized by a lack of contact between tribes and central government; and the above-mentioned dahirs merely preserved the status quo.

619 151--Like the Aith Waryaghar, the Igzinnayen are regarded as being divided into either two or five top segments, according to one's informants, although, unlike Aith Waryaghar, the problem of segment discontinuity within the tribe is (virtually) non-existent. The division into two top segments gives us the following: Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth. Asht Bu 'Amar is in turn segmented into Asht Yunis and Asht 'Asim; and the first of these, Asht Yunis, is again segmented into Asht Yunis Proper, Asht 'Aru 'Aisa and Asht Mhand, while the second Asht 'Asim, is divided into Asht 'Asim Proper and Asht Findish. Asht r-Manth is segmented into Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha.

The division into five top segments bypasses the level of the top to give us Asht 'Asim, Asht Yunis, Asht Mhand, Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha; and immediately we note a discrepancy between the two systems. In the first, Asht Mhand is given the status of a subsegment of Asht Yunis, while in the second it is a top-level segment or clan in its own right; and the Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (Aith Waryaghar), who was 'Abd al-Krim's top field commander in the Igzinnayen in 1925-26 and who provided us with the second set of data, told me

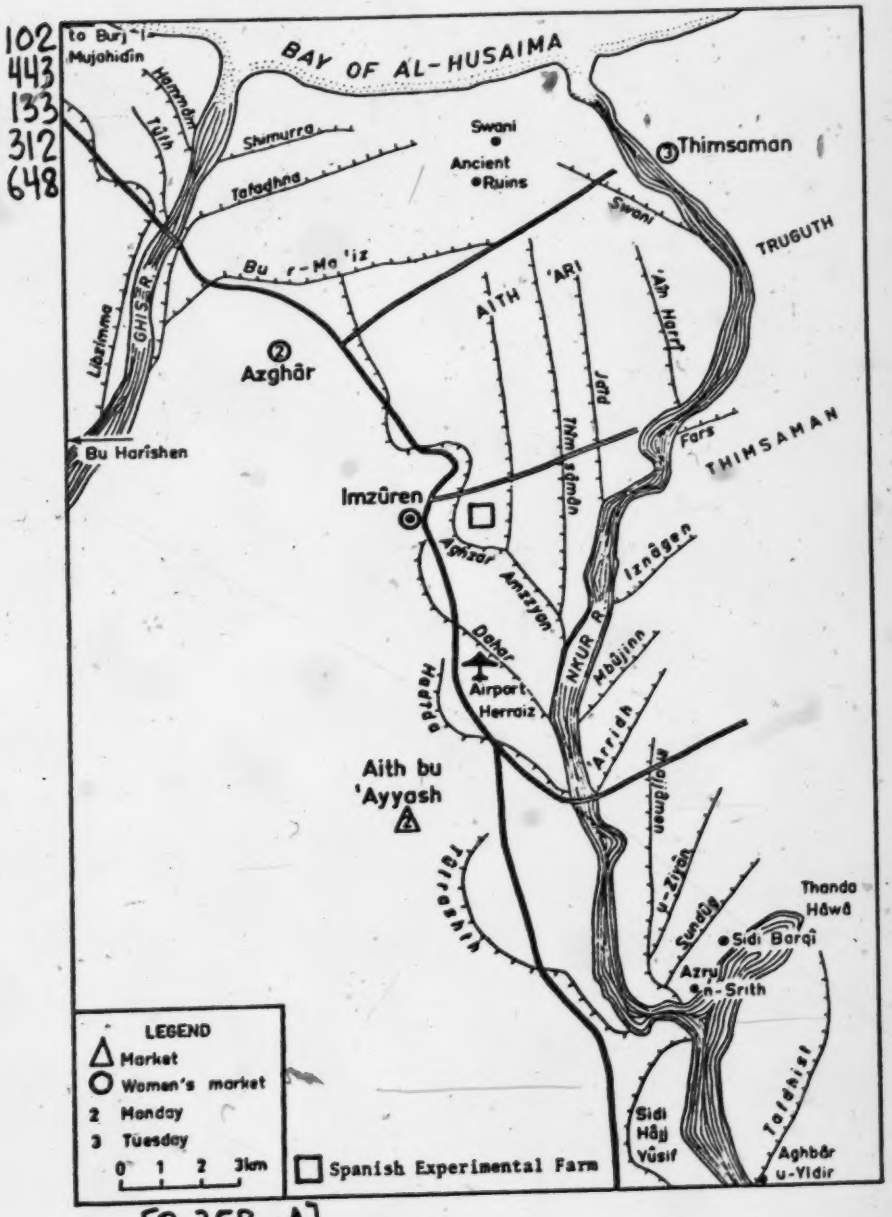
423 675 312 that this would have rendered useless all demands and threats voiced by downstream groupings for the transfer of even a minimal amount of flow, and in our time things have not varied; those upstream use all the water that they can, and those downstream, the overflow; and it would not occur to anybody to vary this procedure, followed since time 312 immemorial. To this procedure is very well adapted the regimen of the rivers in the Rif, in the dry beds of which water does not run on the surface, but rises up only in fixed points, each one of these forming, with the help of improvised dams, the sources or points of origin of successive irrigation ditches, making them seemingly independent.

133 241 [578] In addition, the narrow fissures which form the beds of such torrential rivers, their irregular flow, their devastating overflows and floods, in short, opposed nature and men so that the latter would have some motive for doing this and even need it for their small irrigable crop and the bare necessities of life; for it did not and would not occur to anyone to work or cultivate any more land than that necessary for his own subsistence, as anything else, overflow aside, would have attracted the envy of neighbors and strangers, and this in 675 turn would have led to blows. An association on such a large scale and for such modest objectives was, for this reason, impossible, inefficacious and unnecessary.

312 The river waters, in their upper courses, running between steep banks, scarcely need to be utilized even to a small degree on the minute riverain plots of land. In those beds, water, although actually slight in amount, is in fact overabundant, and land is lacking. Limited to the confines of the ditch by the topographical conditions

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

BLANCO MAP II (1939) - PLAIN OF AL-HUSAIMA



[P. 358-A]

15. THE QANUN OF THE LOWER GHIS RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 From this river, the longest of those which bathe the Central Rif
[135] (more than 70 km.), as with its companion and eastern neighbor the Nkur, only the surface waters are used, and very imperfectly, by the Rifians in the small meanders which its narrow basin forms. For the
[648] Rifians there is too much water and not enough land. Up to the present, the Spanish protectors have not attempted the slightest modification nor the study of the Ghis basin and its regimen with utilitarian ends in mind. It is a wealth which, like so many others, is lost. There is too much water and nevertheless the Rif is thirsty.
[132] The Rifian spends the whole year looking at the sky, an attitude which has become contagious to the protectors, imploring a few drops to fall in order to save his miserable <u>winter</u> (author's italics) harvest[125].....

In all the long basin of the Ghis one does not perceive the handi-
[487] work of man. Neither bridges nor acqueducts, neither dams nor any installations to raise up its waters. Paths wind along its pebbly and steep banks to hide themselves in the dried-up stony bed. Small
[402] and winding irrigation furrows timorously make haste to return suddenly the flow which they secretly absorbed, under the shelter of thickets, after (providing water to) move some small and rudimentary turbine mill. Only at the height of Targist, military techniques with their transportation of water give such a pessimistic sight a chance to change.
312 It is necessary to descend kilometers and kilometers down the steep bed
133 of the river, to about some three kilometers from where it empties

312 into the sea, in order to really listen and take notice at last of
133 the song of the Ghis, the activity and human ingenuity, the fertilizing mission of the water, the utility of the same, the gentleness of the countryside, the density of the population, the happiness (by comparison) of the orchards and gardens, the wealth and well-being, the convenience for (administrative) functionaries, the advantages of technology and the necessity of associating oneself with humans.[126]

312 In its long course the Ghis proyides the water to turn 55 Rifian
402 turbine mills (1935).[127]

312 In Bu Harishen, on the left bank of the Lower Ghis, upstream from
[103] the bridge over the river, is where this river begins its well-performed work, bored by its useless rambling, acquires freedom, jumping from its bed to spill itself over in equal parts into the three principal ditches, l-Bzimma, "the tied-up"[128], on its left bank, and Bulma'iz and Thafadhna on its right. The regimen of these ditches is indicated below and their mean longitude is some six kilometers.

[103] Sidd Dharga nl-Bzimma (l-Bzimma): "the tied-up", which takes its name from that of the ancient ruined city, al-Mazimma[129], on its left bank. Its flow is one-third of the permanent intake of the dam at
[212] Bu Harishen. There is a written document which regulates distribution of its water and proves its rights to property.[130] It empties (into the Mediterranean) at the height of the ruined castle of the Mujahidin[131] on the beach, in front of the old Peñón de Alhucemas (Isle of al-
[402] Husaima). It moves a mill belonging to the Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi and to Muhand Ushshan.[132]

432 (against this sale which was put into effect) after the sight, pleasure and knowledge of his capability as required.

Both parties concerned know the value of the present act, and, by virtue of this, the undersigned witnesses testify to the declarations of both, for both buyer and seller are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound mind and memory) to agree; and the witnesses know (805) them both by sight and by name. In the first part of Rabi' al-Thani of the year 1347 (August 19, 1928).

000 Servant of his God, 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen (signature). Servant of his God, 'Abd al-Karim bin 'Umar al-Khattabi, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (signature).

Stamp of approval of the qadi: Both 'udul have borne witness (with respect to the above), which he (i.e. the qadi) accepts and to which he gives faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Bu-Dhimmusi[178], may God be benevolent toward him. Amen. (Signature).

20. SUMMARY OF IRRIGATION:

312 133 In a few words we may show the present day importance and interest of irrigation in the Aith Waryaghar, as tourists from time to time cross this splendid Plain of al-Husaima....

This Plain, under rudimentary cultivation even today (1938), as no one has succeeded or even proposed to amplify it, is completely criss-crossed by an intricate net of tiny irrigation ditches which in general do not feel the touch of water more than every eight days, and some even every eighteen days; and this for winter cultivation.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

7

Chapter 1

SOCIAL HISTORY

133 The Rif is a chain of rugged mountains stretching along the Mediterranean coastline from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Moulouya River. Composed almost entirely of sedimentary and metamorphic rock, it is an extension of the Cordillera Penibotica of Spain. While the mountains are somewhat lower than those of the Atlas, they are just as steep. The invaders of Morocco invariably skirted the Rif and proceeded through the Taza Corridor. If the mountains are foreboding, the coastline is no less so. [504] The entire stretch from Río Martin to Melilla is devoid of ship shelter except for the break in the bay of Alhucemas, the small cove at Puerto Capaz, and the deltas of Wad Lao, Rhis, Nekor, and Bados.

133 131 The area which will be discussed is located in the center of this mountain chain in what is now called the Province of Alhucemas. The Tamazight-speakers of this region lived, until very recently, in a social and economic backwash. The presence of a rugged, inaccessible coast isolated them from Mediterranean contact except for the few points mentioned above. The mountain chain, on the other hand, served as an effective barrier to the interior of the country. The Rif was thus isolated from the rest of Morocco by natural boundaries. The social and political consequences of this shall be discussed below.

633 [504] The area is administered today from the small port and provincial capital of Alhucemas. The growth of this urban center, fishing port, and tourist attraction is but a recent [175] phenomenon. The city, founded in 1925 with the invasion of a Spanish fleet, has been the focal point for whatever innovation that has occurred in the Central Rif in this century.

133 361 Directly behind the city of Alhucemas is a flat plain. Although the land here is rich it was uninhabited prior to the Spanish because the terrain was indefensible during times of feuds. The original population was situated in the foothills [112] and higher mountains. Here homesteads were scattered and since they also served as garrisons or fortresses they were located on hills or ridges which could be defended militarily.

133 The area is not well served by rivers, the principal ones being the Rhis and the Nekor. The former rises in the Sonhaja area and empties into the Mediterranean at Alhucemas. The latter starts in Igzinnayen territory to flow along the border of the Beni Wariyaghar and the Beni Tuzin, emptying into the bay at [312] Alhucemas. Both these rivers and their tributaries are used [161] for irrigation and the population density is higher along them. There are also a good many natural springs (generally regarded as holy sites) and wells have been successfully dug in some of the valleys.

132 Rainfall varies annually and at times disastrously. At the weather station in Alhucemas during the decade 1946-1955, rainfall ranged from 8.5 inches to 16.9 inches. Although the

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

MOROCCANS refer to their country as al-Maghrib al-Aqsa: the "Far West" of the Muslim world (fig. 1). From 1912 until 1956 it was divided into three zones: French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and the International Zone of Tangier. In March, 1956, a joint declaration was signed by representatives of France and

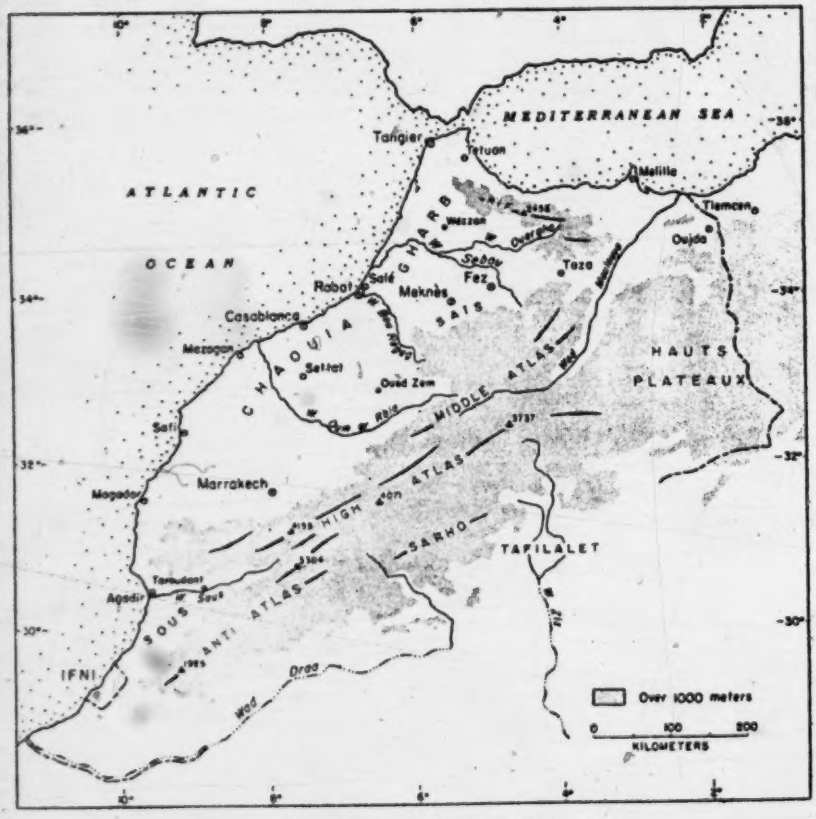


Fig. 1. Morocco: orientation map.

Morocco, restoring independence. Within a month Spain resigned its protectorate, and before the end of the year the international regime was abolished. Moroccan governors promptly replaced the European administrators. Spanish Morocco ceased to function as a separate political unit, although it continued to be recognized as the northern zone. In this study the expressions "northern Morocco" and "northern zone" refer to the area previously under Spanish and international control.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

RSH
S
101
102
619
131
133

Fig. 8. Northern Morocco: tribal divisions

/p. 2/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter II

ENVIRONMENT

133 Most of northern Morocco is mountainous. The dominant surface feature is the Rif mountain chain, which curves in a great arc from the Strait of Gibraltar to the hills of Aith Said.[1] The main artery of east-west traffic in Morocco is the Taza corridor, south of the Rif chain (fig. 1)[A]. The important north-south routes run along the Atlantic coast or follow the valley of Wad Moulouya. Innumerable ridges lead to the Mediterranean, but that coast has few beaches and little shelter. The exposed and straight Atlantic coast is even more hostile to maritime life. Enclosed within the bounds of a rugged mountain range and inhospitable coasts, most of northern Morocco is isolated. The narrow valleys and ridges of the Rif chain "form a secluded mountain region, difficult of access, which at all times enabled its Berber inhabitants to keep their necks free of foreign yoke."[2]

The Rif Chain

The Rif chain consists of a series of arcs, pierced by gorges trending at right angles to the main structural lines (fig. 4)[B]. The northern versants of these arcs have undergone extreme dissection. Streams fed by heavy rainfall have cut deep canyons, and most interfluves are narrow, knifelike ridges. The overlapping folds of this chain are similar to those of the alpine mountains in Europe, notably the Sierra Nevada, with which the Rif was joined in early Tertiary time.[3]

Geologists divide the Rif into three zones (fig. 5):[C]

1. A zone of metamorphic rocks, mainly of Paleozoic age, flanks the coast from Ceuta to Puerto Capaz. This zone constitutes the southern flank of the Betico-Rifian massif, which was broken into two segments when the Strait of Gibraltar was formed. Although countless navigators have viewed this coast, it is scientifically one of the least-known segments of the Mediterranean littoral.

2. A zone of calcareous rocks is mostly of Tertiary age. Its terminal point is Jbil Musa, one of the Pillars of Hercules. From Jbil Musa a high wall of limestone runs southeastward to Shawen, curves to the sea, and then reappears as the Karstic highland of Ibuqquyen. Several peaks exceed 1,000 meters in elevation, and Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab are slightly more than 2,000 meters high. The structural break at Tetuán is the only gap in the wall. The gorge cut by the antecedent Wad Lao is too narrow to be used as a trade route. Most of this range is a formidable barrier.

3. A broad zone of younger sedimentary rocks is schistose for the most part, but includes some strata of sandstone. The formation name "Flysch" has been

[1] "Rif" is used here in the popular sense to refer to the mountainous area of northern Morocco. In Maghribi Arabic *er-rif* means a fertile or cultivated zone on the banks of a river, along a coast, or on the edge of a desert. It can be translated also as "margin" or "fringe."

[2] Theobald Fischer, "Marokko: eine länderkundliche Skizze," *Geog. Zeitschr.*, 9 (1903), 67.

[113] [3] The best geological map of northern Morocco is the *Bosquejo geológico de la zona del protectorado español* (Madrid: Comisión de Estudios Geológicos, 1952). Brief accounts of the physical geography of the area appear in "Maroc septentrional," *Livret-guide des excursions A 31 et C 31, Congrès Géologique International* (Rabat, 1952); Horst Mensching, *Marokko: die Landschaften im Maghreb* (Heidelberg: Keysersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957), pp. 148–154; and G. Maurer, "Les pays rifains et prérifains," *L'Information Géographique*, 23 (1959), 164–171.

A, B, C. [See pp. 1, 14-15 respectively--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

applied to this zone, which includes northern Morocco's highest mountains and principal watershed.[4] Adrar[5] Tidighin, highest of the Sanhajan mountains, rises to 2,456 meters and is snow-capped during six months of the year (plate 1, *b*).

Margins of the Rif Chain

From Bab Taza northward the karstic mountains of Bani Hassan form the principal arc of the Rif chain. West of this range the highland complex consists of a series of outliers trending northwest to southeast. Several of these ridges are more than 1,000 meters in elevation, and the highest peaks, Jbil Sugna and Jbil Buhashim, exceed 1,500 meters. A line drawn from Tangier to a point about 30 kilometers east of Ksar al-Kebir marks the division between the Rif highlands and the hills and terraces of the Atlantic littoral.[6]

The eastern margin of the Rif highlands is difficult to delimit. The main arc extends to a point about halfway between Alhucemas and Melilla. Mountainous terrain is found farther to the east, but its structure and lithology are different. The Rif chain is composed almost entirely of sedimentary and metamorphic rocks. Volcanism is evident from the eastern edge of the Nkour Valley to the Algerian frontier. The largest volcanic feature is Adrar Gurugú (886 meters), a composite cone of basalt and andesite behind Melilla. A number of smaller cones dot the plains of Garet and Gal'aya, and the promontories at the bay of Alhucemas and the Melilla peninsula are formed of trachyte and andesite. A large part of Gal'aya and Garet was submerged in Tertiary time. This lowland area includes the flattish plains of recent alluvium extending inland from Nador, and hill sections formed by recent stream dissection of Tertiary and Pleistocene sediments. The small range of Ikibdhanen appears to be an anticline. This range and the Kar-Kar highland were formed prior to the period of Rifian orogeny.

The Three Coasts

Most of northern Morocco is isolated by the Rif mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. The Atlantic façade, even more hostile to maritime life, has been the country's best rampart. Since these two shores are of little value, the coast facing Gibraltar has played a preponderant role.

Straight and shelterless, the Atlantic façade is indented only by mediocre harbors and poor estuaries. A series of marine terraces, mostly of Pliocene or Miocene age, dominates the littoral from Arcila to Larache. Quaternary dunes line the coast from Larache to and beyond the old interzonal frontier. The plain of Wad Lukkus is the largest zone of alluvial soil on the Atlantic coast and the only area in northern Morocco where agriculture is almost entirely mechanized. The small coastal plain on the frontier between the former Spanish and international zones is poorly drained and swampy most of the year.

Cliffs of Cretaceous or Eocene sandstone line the Strait of Gibraltar from Cape

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

[4] The best description of this area appears in the log of the excursion sponsored by the Société de Géographie du Maroc in March, 1957; see *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 43–46.

[5] I use the Berber *adrar* rather than the Moroccan Arabic *jbil* because this peak is in an area of Berber speech.

[6] I am omitting the pre-Rifian foothill zone, immediately south of the area shown on the maps. For a description of that zone see Maurer, *op. cit.*, and Jean Dresch, *Essai sur l'évolution du relief dans la région prérifaine* (Paris: Larose, 1933).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

Fig. 4. Northern Morocco: relief.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102
131
133

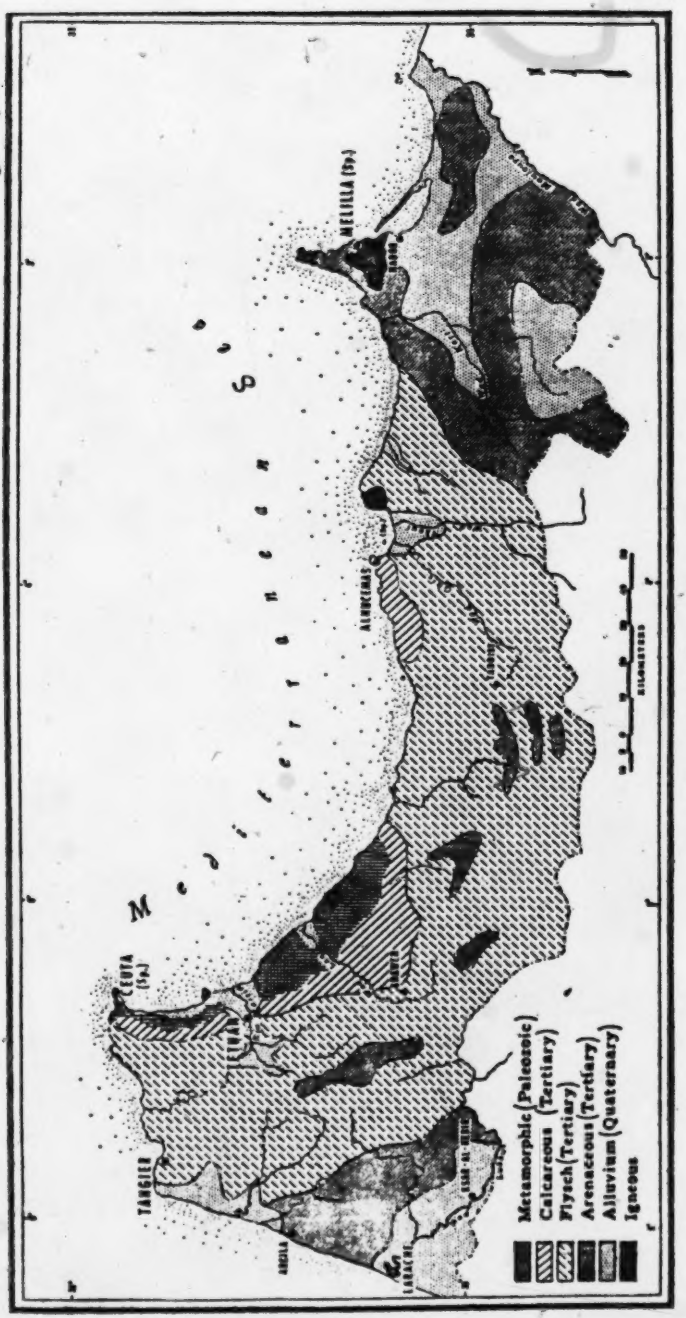


Fig. 6. Northern Morocco: surface geology.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization, but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

Climate

The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude, irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[1]

Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[1] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Drainage

132 Drainage basins are small in this area, for the watershed is close to the sea. The
133 seasonal rate of flow follows the seasonal rainfall, but with a lag in time that varies with the slope, the vegetation, and the permeability of the rock. Spate follows rainfall where impermeable rocks form the basin, more slowly where the basin is of permeable limestone. All the Mediterranean streams may be roaring torrents at some period from October to May; but most of them dry up during the long summer drought. The valleys of some of the larger streams, like the Ghis and Nkour, betray their Mediterranean regimen by a double bed: in summer a narrow channel is cut below the broad rocky shelf which is the winter bed. Wad Ouergha draws off most of the drainage from the Sanhajan highlands; it is the largest stream flowing from the Rif chain, and one of the sources of irrigation water in the Gharb coastal plain (fig. 1). The basin of Wad Lukkus includes most of the Atlantic drainage. Surface streams are rare in the calcareous zone. The only stream that flows through the limestone mountains is the Wad Lao, which follows an antecedent course; but Wad Hajara, Wad Khemis, and Río Martín (Wad Martil) are fed by springs issuing from the base of this range. The area between Wad Nkour and Wad Moulouya has only one large stream, Wad Kert, and it receives little nourishment after it leaves the highlands. Wad Moulouya, from the distant Ayache Mountains of the High Atlas, is northern Morocco's great exotic stream. This stream and Wad Lukkus constituted the only natural segments of the boundary between French Morocco and Spanish Morocco.

Plant Domains

137 The vegetation of North Africa can be divided into (1) a Mediterranean domain, where forest and shrubs predominate; (2) a domain of "steppe," where forest is confined to highland enclaves in the midst of a predominant cover of grass and herbs; and (3) a domain of highland vegetation, which includes a subalpine formation with some trees and, only in the Moroccan Atlas, an alpine formation
[132] without trees. Saharan vegetation penetrates Barbary at only two points: in the Hodna basin of Algeria and on the plains extending inland from the Gulf of Gabès in Tunisia. Figuig, Ksar as-Suq, Zagora, and Goulimine, all within the political limits of Morocco, receive less than 200 mm. of precipitation per year, but the records of these stations do not show the variability indicative of true desert. The Moroccan territory south of the Atlas chains forms part of the "pre-Sahara" of French terminology.[1]

In terms of this classification, all but a small part of northern Morocco falls within the Mediterranean domain. No peak in the Rif Mountains rises above timberline, and only a small area can be called subalpine. Grassland is confined to one area on the eastern edge of the zone. This area, in the lower Moulouya Valley, is one of the driest parts of northern Morocco, but it is not certain that the presence of steppe vegetation can be attributed solely to meager precipitation. The dominant species is *Stipa tenacissima* (Arabic *alfa*). This hard tussock grass

[1] For a brief description of vegetation in all North Africa, see Jean Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), pp. 80–96; and Louis Emberger, "L'Afrique du Nord-Ouest," *Unesco Arid Zone Research*, VI, "Plant Ecology" (Reviews of Research) (Paris, 1955), pp. 219–249.

[113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

delta, but it becomes progressively rarer toward the eastern semiarid sector of this zone. Pistacia wood is highly prized as a source of charcoal, and this fact alone may explain the plant's degraded appearance in the hills south of Tangier.

Pistacia rarely forms a pure stand. Several of the other plants found in palmetto scrub could be described as weeds, for they appear mainly in fallow fields. *Asphodelus microcarpus, Urginea maritima, Daphne Gnidium,* and one or more species of *Asparagus, Ononis,* and *Papaver* are prominent among them. In areas where most of the surface is cultivated, as in the Fahs territory south of Tangier, these plants, together with thistles and scattered clumps of palmetto, constitute all but a small part of the total inventory of vegetation. On rocky knolls and alluvial slopes too steep for cultivation, these plants grow among *Pistacia, Calycotome, Lavandula,* and the oleaster. The percentage of thorny plants is high. Besides *Calycotome* and thistles, *Carduus, Smilax,* and *Rosa* are found.

Dense shrub formations are rarely seen on the thickly settled Atlantic versant. One may walk unimpeded anywhere in the zone bounded by the Atlantic coast, Tangier, and Ksar al-Kebir. The thick shrub growth on the Mediterranean coast near Wad Lao contrasts sharply with the open formations on the Atlantic littoral. In the former area, *Cistus ladaniferus, C. albidus, Erica arborea, Pistacia lentiscus,* and *Arbutus Unedo* combine to form an impenetrable thicket. The limestone mountains of northern Morocco are almost bare of shrub or tree growth. From Ceuta to Wad Lao the eastern horizon is dominated by a great wall of limestone, almost completely devoid of soil. The prevalent whiteness is disturbed only by scattered clumps of palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

In the area covered by palmetto scrub the persistent riparian plant is the toxic *Nerium oleander.* It may be accompanied by *Crataegus, Myrtus,* and *Arbutus,* but in most of northwestern Morocco the oleander is the only plant on the banks of streams. The presence of *Alnus, Populus, Salix,* and *Vitex* along stream channels in the Sanhajan highlands may be explained by the persistence in that area of other trees, especially cedar, juniper, and oak, which have been adequate thus far as a source of fuel and building material.

In the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco, palmetto scrub grades into a thorn scrub dominated by *Zizyphus lotus,* a spiny and xerophytic member of the buckthorn family (Rhamnaceae). It is difficult to draw a line between these two formations. Isolated clumps of palmetto are found as far east as the Moulouya Valley, and zizyphus extends up the valley of Wad Ghis as far as Targist.

Well adapted to aridity and continentality, *Zizyphus lotus* has become the dominant plant of Morocco's semiarid plains. Clumps of zizyphus are conspicuous within most of the area mapped as thorn scrub. This plant may grow three meters high, but is most often seen as a shrub. It is deciduous; and, during the dormant winter season, gray and seemingly lifeless clumps of zizyphus are a characteristic feature of the landscape. Its branches are widely used as fence material, and this practice enhances the contrast between the semiarid sector of northern Morocco and the wetter western zone, where *Opuntia* is planted as a hedge. The fleshy drupe of zizyphus is collected wherever it grows; when cereal stocks are exhausted, "lotus bread" is an important food."

" *Zizyphus lotus* is occasionally planted in Andalusia, Portugal, and Sicily, but in northern Africa the fruit is collected from wild plants. Aug. Chevalier, "Les jujubiers ou zizyphus de

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102 133 139

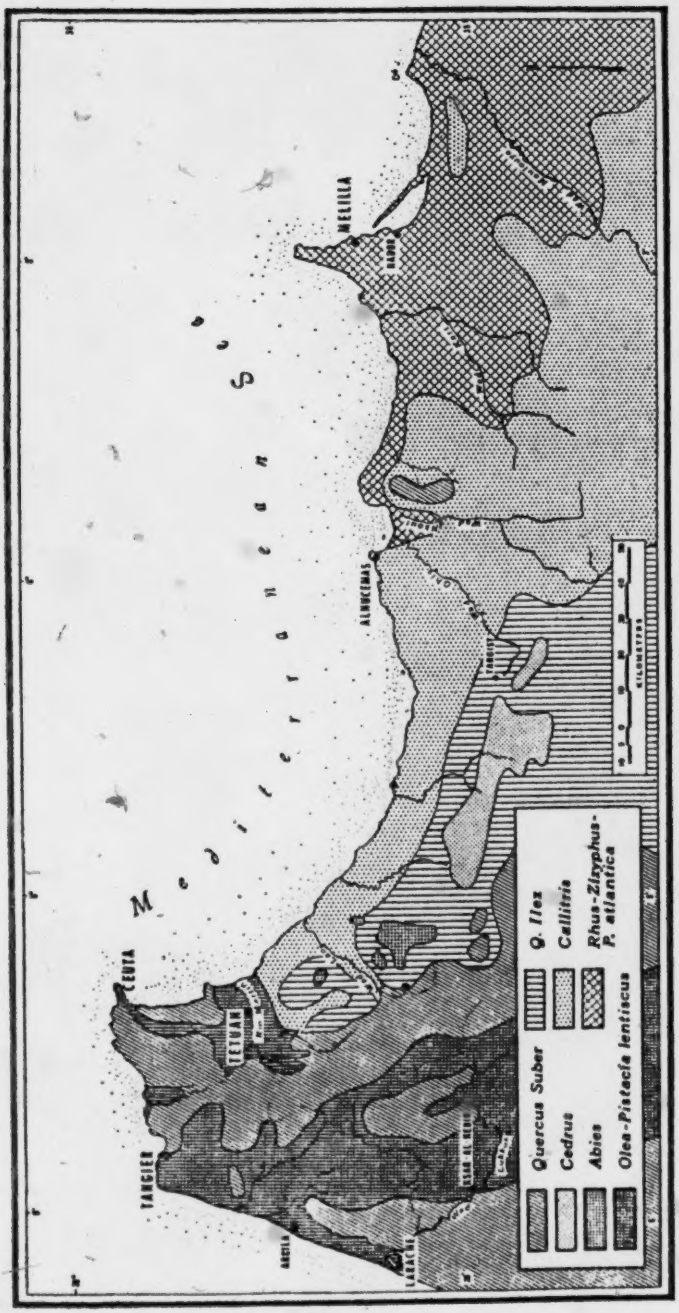


Fig. 27. Northern Morocco: inferred primordial distribution of forest.

/p. 109/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

south of Tetuán. There are at least a hundred oleaster groves in the area west of Ceuta and Ksar al-Kebir. In some areas oleasters mark every cemetery. Faced with this evidence, we can hardly avoid the inference that the primordial cover of the lowlands of northwestern Morocco was a woodland formation of oleaster and pistacia, and that the present cover of palmetto scrub represents degradation.

Figure 25, *c*, shows a protected stand of holly oak. The central part of the sacred grove consists of tall trees. *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Juniperus Oxycedrus* form a ring around the protected trees. Holly oaks are scattered throughout the central highlands (cf. fig. 8), but closed stands similar to the one depicted here are found only on sacred sites.

In figure 25, *d*, the evidence suggests, not a retrogression from forest species to scrub, but, rather, that two species which usually appear as shrubs, *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*, may have an arborescent form. The density of the protected formation and the height of its components differ markedly from the scrub cover of the surrounding land.

The cluster of cork oaks shown in figure 25, *e*, is preserved in an area of extensive clearing. Most of the nearby land has been burned during the last decade. The only conspicuous plants are *Cistus monspeliensis* in fallow fields and *Nerium oleander* along stream channels. This cluster of trees gives some indication of the plant cover of the area before it was cleared, and indicates the course of regeneration (cf. pl. 9, *b*).

In figure 25, *f*, a shrine is marked by two plants, an oleaster and a fig tree. This sketch illustrates on a small scale what the others show in greater detail. Most of the area surrounding the shrine is cultivated. Fallow fields are covered with *Asphodelus microcarpus*, *Urginea maritima*, and palmetto. The nearest oleaster, seven kilometers away, also grows on a sacred site.

Extent of Deforestation

Trends in plant ecology, viewed in the light of human relationships, take one of two courses, improvement or deterioration. The evidence examined thus far clearly indicates deterioration. What is the magnitude of change? This question cannot be answered in detail. Change is perceived through comparison, and the only reliable source of plant data is the visible pattern of today. Figure 26 gives a synoptic view of the distribution of forest. Figure 27, the basis for comparison, shows inferred primordial or potential forests. The first map is objective; it is a cartographic record of the distribution of forest in the sixth decade of the twentieth century. The second map is subjective, and its usefulness is conditioned by the quality of the evidence presented thus far.

The details of these maps are less important than their general outlines. The implication is clear that the present wooded area constitutes only a small part of the primordial forest. Many forest species, now stunted and widely spaced, may once have been taller and more closely spaced. Under undisturbed conditions the exceptionally xerophytic or heliophilous species would probably be confined to sunny slopes in the western sector or be limited to the semiarid eastern plains. Under optimum conditions the area covered by pyrophytic shrubs would be greatly reduced, and there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

would have included a large proportion of thorny plants. The exceptionally mesophytic species, *Abies pinsapo*, *Cedrus atlantica*, and *Quercus pyrenaica*, would presumably be restricted to the mountains even if all destructive activity came to an end. But moderately xerophytic and heliophilous trees, the oleaster and the evergreen oak, would occupy larger territories. Under favorable conditions the Barbary thuya would probably be taller and more closely spaced, and the formation described as thorn scrub would be a xerophytic woodland, dominated by *Pistacia atlantica* and *Rhus pentaphylla*.

If cutting, browsing, and burning ceased, most of the area now covered with palmetto scrub would eventually be clothed with forests of oleaster, cork oak, and holly oak. The primordial ranges of oleaster and cork oak would be determined by edaphic and climatic factors. The cork oak, which cannot grow on calcareous soils, would occupy the Pliocene terraces of the Atlantic littoral, the sandstone outliers of the Rif chain, and the slopes of intermediate elevation in the schistose highlands. Some connection may have existed between the cork forests of the central highlands and the small stand of *Quercus Suber* in the mountains immediately east of Wad Nkour. A solitary cork oak grows on a sacred site near the summit of Adrar Gurugú (885 meters). Recent dunes on the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts probably were once covered with *Juniperus phoenicea*.[*] In heavy clay soils the cork oak would give way to *Olea europaea* and *Pistacia lentiscus*, which would cover the lower slopes of the limestone mountains also. The sacred groves west of Ceuta and Shawen exemplify the natural state of this formation.

At higher elevations in the limestone mountains the natural forest was probably dominated by holly oak. It is necessary to postulate such a forest even though there is little evidence of it today. The agents responsible for the destruction and mutilation of *Quercus Ilex* have already been described. As we have noted, this tree is tolerant of most soils and has the widest range of any Moroccan tree (fig. 7).

The natural province of the Moroccan fir would be about the same as its present range, above 1,500 meters in the limestone mountains. At present this genus is restricted to the mountains east and southeast of Shawen. The only other peak in the calcareous chain high enough to support fir forests is Jbil Kelti (1,927 meters). Destructive processes, especially browsing by goats, have reduced the density of the remaining stands, but it is not likely that fir forests covered any lowland area in historic time.

Changes of greater magnitude appear to have taken place in the cedar forests. The lower limit of this tree overlaps the upper limit of cultivation (pl. 6, *a*). Retreat is especially evident on the northern slope of Adrar Taghzut (fig. 28). At present the lower limit of the forest on this slope is at about 1,800 meters, but a single majestic cedar grows on the site of a shrine (Sidi Abd al-Grifar) in the bottom of a deep valley, 600 meters below the main stand. In the valley of Wad Ouergha, protected cedars are found at even lower elevations. In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 113]

[*] The red juniper is still scattered over the dunes between Rabat and Larache, but has been replaced by herbaceous growth and the Aleppo pine on the Mediterranean coast. On dune vegetation, see J. Ruiz de la Torre, "La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos," *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1937), 23–33; and Louis Emberger, *Notice phytogéographique sur une partie de la meseta marocaine septentrionale* (Montpellier: Causse, Graille, and Castelnau, 1931).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

bottoms of valleys, low nocturnal temperatures, caused by air drainage, probably favor the cedar; nevertheless, on many slopes the forest line appears to be 300–500 meters above its natural position.

Cedar forests do not regenerate unless pasturing is suppressed and there is an opportune cycle of wet years. Moreover, the subsoil and parent material must be loose enough to favor the development of seedlings and yet compact enough to retain moisture. A further prerequisite is that there must not be a thick cover of competitive shrubs. A single deforestation may drastically upset the natural equilibrium; if disturbance continues, recovery may be impossible. The mantle of cedars on relatively inaccessible slopes gives some indication of the appearance of the primordial forest (pl. 10, *a*). Figure 29 shows the trend of retrogression. On gentle slopes, undisturbed stands are dense, dark, and relatively free of underbrush. Steeper slopes, exposed to greater insolation, have an understory of shrubs and oaks. Burning or cutting followed by pasturing eliminates the cedar and reduces the oaks to scrub form. If disturbance continues, the plant cover degenerates to a sparse scrub of *Genista quadriflora, Juniperus Oxycedrus,* and *Cistus laurifolius.*

It is difficult to delimit the primordial pattern of the cedar forests. Forests probably existed on Jbil Kelti (1,927 meters), Jbil Sugna (1,600 meters), and Jbil Buhashim (1,681 meters), for a few cedars still grow on these peaks. The absence of cedars from Jbil Khsana (1,695 meters) is puzzling, since this peak receives abundant precipitation, and is composed of sandstone and schist, which weather into deep soils. At present no cedars appear east of Adrar Tizi Ifri, but they may once have clothed the highest peaks of the eastern Rif, including Adrar Hamam (1,930 meters) and Azru Akchar (2,011 meters). It cannot be proved that the cedar once grew beyond its present range, but the pattern of succession suggests that some stands may have been completely destroyed.*

The theory was presented, in chapter ii, that both the Aleppo and the maritime pine may be relicts which have been encouraged to advance by the destruction of competitive growth. If this notion is sound, the area originally covered with pines must have been even smaller than the present stands. This interpretation helps to explain the presence of pines in degraded forests of cedar and fir. However, human interference has probably caused a reduction of some stands of Aleppo pine, particularly on the Melilla peninsula and in the mountains southeast of Shawen. Disturbance might initially have encouraged expansion and then forced a new retreat. It is difficult to enlarge on this idea, for the existing stands of pine are too small and widely scattered to be placed accurately on the maps.

Prolonged disturbance and exploitation of the Barbary thuya have diminished the density of the remaining stands and reduced many trees to shrub form. The natural range of thuya in the western half of the zone can be traced without much difficulty. At higher altitudes on the Mediterranean versant, increased precipitation and lower winter temperatures favor cork oak and holly oak. On the Atlantic versant, climatic factors alone delimit the range. It is more difficult to trace a

* Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), (ref. to map), seems to regard the primordial range of the cedar as essentially the same as the present range. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala,* pp. 22–23, cited in note 41, suggests a natural extension to include the highest peaks of Ghmara and Jbala.

A. [See p. 134--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

practice to allow sheep to graze on stubble, many slopes are completely bare when the first rains fall. Erosion is retarded during spring and summer when a part of the runoff is diverted into irrigation ditches, but the irrigation systems promptly disintegrate at the beginning of the rainy season, and runoff again follows the network of gullies (pl. 11, *a*).

Gullying is most severe in the hilly areas of the Rif. The basins of Wad Ghis, Wad Nkour, and Wad Kert show an intricate pattern of short, steep slopes. "Ghis" means "mud" in Arabic, and most of the mud comes from the denuded highlands. The lower course of each river is joined by deeply entrenched tributary streams cutting through old fans and terraces. In Targist, Thimsaman, and Tafarsith the best farms are on fragments of Pliocene conglomerate, isolated from one another by deep ravines. Badland topography covers most of the area between Wad Nkour and Wad Kert. This may be described as an erosion-induced hoe-culture, for slopes are so badly dissected that it is no longer possible to use plows. The desperate effort to produce grain is abandoned only when the harvest does not repay the investment in seed. Cereals are sown in gullies and on nearly vertical slopes. The Spanish learned to their dismay that hungry Rifians try to cultivate even the roadbeds. The plains of Garet and the lower Kert constitute islands of alluvium in a sea of denuded terrain. Serious erosion becomes evident as soon as one passes to older terrace and residual soils. The hills of Ikibdhanen and the volcanic eminence of Gurugú are as bare as the limestone peaks.

The pattern of gullies and rills continues into the hills of Jbala and Ghmara, but the most serious problem in these areas is sliding. The roads from Tetuán to Tangier and Shawen are blocked by slides every year. In Anjra and Fahs one is never out of sight of a slide scar. Gullying is less serious than in the eastern sector, but streams are slightly entrenched even in the rolling country south of Tangier, and the marine terraces between Arcila and Larache are cut by deep barrancas.[13]

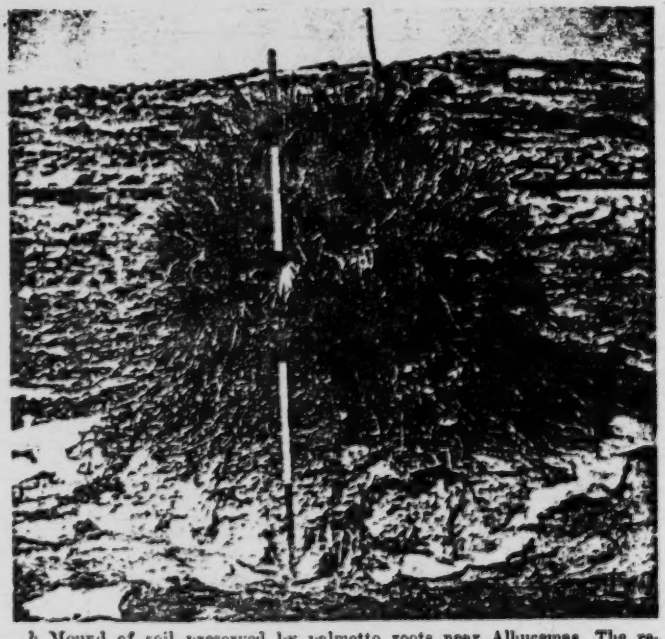
[13] René Raynal, "Bodenerosion in Marokko," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, 5 (1956–1957), 885–894.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

133
134

a. An active gully in the eastern Rif (Aith Said).

134
137



b. Mound of soil preserved by palmetto roots near Alhucemas. The remainder of the slope has been eroded down to limestone bedrock. (Each unit of scale is equal to one foot.)

Ref m2

[village of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin]

[278] soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part
813 of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it
361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along
621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

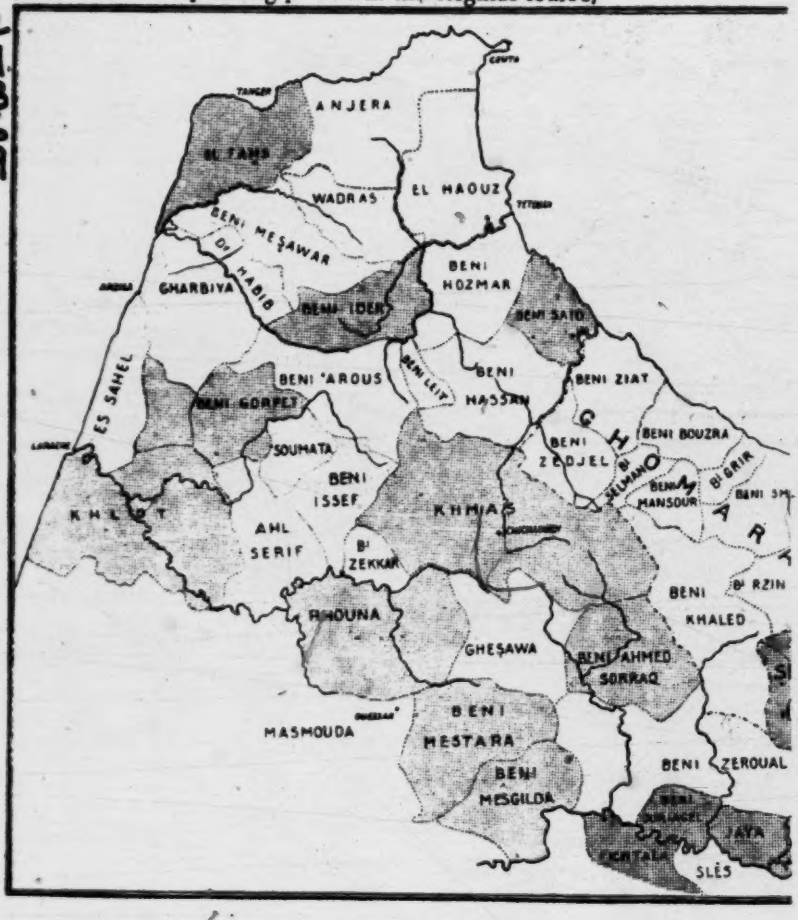
346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque.
368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro-
173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and
621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen
595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine of their [illegible]

2: Montagne--280 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Left side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619



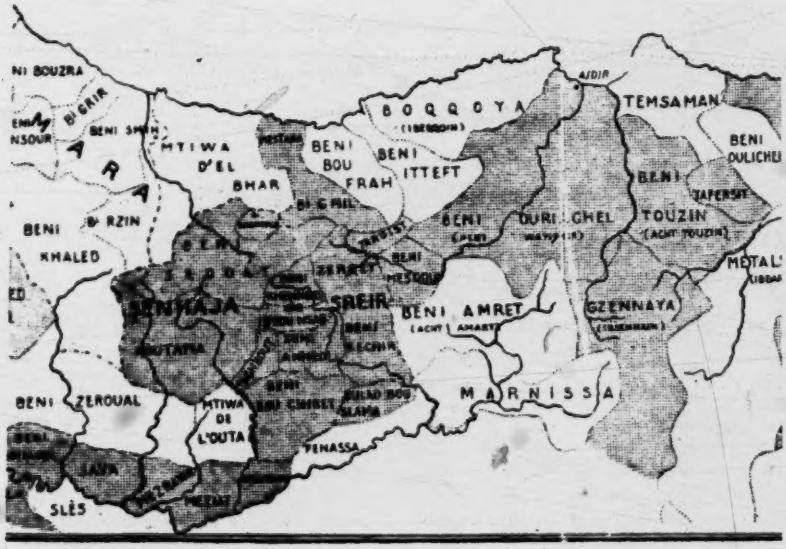
2: Montagne--281 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Center part of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
•133
616
619

The two Leffs of the North of Morocco in the 20th century
The territories of the Tribes of the Senhaja àlam are shaded; those of the Tribes of the Ghomara àlam are in white

Scale 1/800,000



/"Sreir" is spelled "Srair" in the text./

2: Montagne--282 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Right side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
•133
616
619

000

PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

369

648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 779 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

195
181
628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628
613
619
134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443
182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443
671
182
[648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443
671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

21. THE QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH):[179]

224 619 The data which follow have been gathered principally among hunters from the tribes of the Ibuqquyen, Aith Hadhifa (Aith Waryaghar), Zarqat, Targist, Aith 'Ammarth and Aith (or Bni) Mazduki; and they can be considered as general hunting qanuns for the region.

A) Significance:

224 182 Hunting in the Rif was neither a sport nor a profession in the European manner. It was a physiological necessity, and it is still considered so today. A poor soil, accidented and dry, rendered it 134 312 difficult for the tribesmen to utilize its scarce sources of water; 262 and the consumption of meat was limited, because of the scarcity of animals (i.e. both domestic and wild) to Fridays, feast days, days on which pacts were concluded, days of illness, etc., and to market 262 days. As the Rifian is by necessity a vegetarian[180], sacrifices of 782 animals acquire the status of a rite, and they form a fundamental ceremony in the most transcendental and important acts of his life. Peace and war, pacts, births and deaths, rogations, etc., have to be 224 sealed with meat for greater solemnity and efficacy. In hunting, 782 therefore, Rifian society finds a physiological compensation in no 182 way negligible to its sober life and ancestral appetite for meat, the sacrifice in common and equitable distribution of which is subject to strict rules[181], the object of the most rigorous tradition and fiscalization in order not to squander the slender reserves, which are 000 appraised in a manner unsuspected by European minds. The European visitor who is entertained in a Rifian household is not in a position to appreciate sufficiently the hospitality which is offered to him,

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

pplied to this zone, which includes northern Morocco's highest mountains and 133
rincipal watershed.[4] Adrar[5] Tidighin, highest of the Sanhajan mountains, rises o 2,456 meters and is snow-capped during six months of the year (plate 1, *b*).

Margins of the Rif Chain

From Bab Taza northward the karstic mountains of Bani Hassan form the principal arc of the Rif chain. West of this range the highland complex consists of a series of outliers trending northwest to southeast. Several of these ridges are more than 1,000 meters in elevation, and the highest peaks, Jbil Sugna and Jbil Buhashim, exceed 1,500 meters. A line drawn from Tangier to a point about 30 kilometers east of Ksar al-Kebir marks the division between the Rif highlands and the hills and terraces of the Atlantic littoral.[6]

The eastern margin of the Rif highlands is difficult to delimit. The main arc extends to a point about halfway between Alhucemas and Melilla. Mountainous terrain is found farther to the east, but its structure and lithology are different. The Rif chain is composed almost entirely of sedimentary and metamorphic rocks. Volcanism is evident from the eastern edge of the Nkour Valley to the Algerian frontier. The largest volcanic feature is Adrar Gurugú (886 meters), a composite cone of basalt and andesite behind Melilla. A number of smaller cones dot the plains of Garet and Gal'aya, and the promontories at the bay of Alhucemas and the Melilla peninsula are formed of trachyte and andesite. A large part of Gal'aya and Garet was submerged in Tertiary time. This lowland area includes the flattish plains of recent alluvium extending inland from Nador, and hill sections formed by recent stream dissection of Tertiary and Pleistocene sediments. The small range of Ikibdhanen appears to be an anticline. This range and the Kar-Kar highland were formed prior to the period of Rifian orogeny.

The Three Coasts

Most of northern Morocco is isolated by the Rif mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. The Atlantic façade, even more hostile to maritime life, has been the country's best rampart. Since these two shores are of little value, the coast facing Gibraltar has played a preponderant role.

Straight and shelterless, the Atlantic façade is indented only by mediocre harbors and poor estuaries. A series of marine terraces, mostly of Pliocene or Miocene age, dominates the littoral from Arcila to Larache. Quaternary dunes line the coast from Larache to and beyond the old interzonal frontier. The plain of Wad Lukkus is the largest zone of alluvial soil on the Atlantic coast and the only area in northern Morocco where agriculture is almost entirely mechanized. The small coastal plain on the frontier between the former Spanish and international zones is poorly drained and swampy most of the year.

Cliffs of Cretaceous or Eocene sandstone line the Strait of Gibraltar from Cape

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

[4] The best description of this area appears in the log of the excursion sponsored by the Société de Géographie du Maroc in March, 1957; see *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 43–46.

[5] I use the Berber *adrar* rather than the Moroccan Arabic *jbil* because this peak is in an area of Berber speech.

[6] I am omitting the pre-Rifian foothill zone, immediately south of the area shown on the maps. For a description of that zone see Maurer, *op. cit.*, and Jean Dresch, *Essai sur l'évolution du relief dans la région prérifaine* (Paris: Larose, 1933).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

the valleys of Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert.* The Aleppo pines preserved on the Melilla peninsula tell a similar story of general destruction and rare survival. Elderly tribesmen of Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut remember a time when great thickets of sumac covered the plains of Garet.

The evidence examined in this chapter supports the thesis, now accepted by most students of Mediterranean vegetation, that the prevalent maqui and garrigue formations are produced and maintained by man. The pattern of succession in the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco depends upon ecologic processes that are not yet thoroughly understood. The theory that this area was once wooded may or may not be sound, but there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover included a high proportion of tussock grass, zizyphus, or other animal-resistant plants. Any projection of current trends, whether in the drier or the wetter areas, suggests a large degree of change. This introduces new problems, for the inevitable result of biotic disturbance is a modification of the soil.

Erosion

The steep slopes of northern Morocco favor rapid runoff and prevent the formation of deep residual soils. Moreover, torrential rains in winter and spring follow vigorous mechanical weathering during the dry summer months. It would be hard to imagine an area more vulnerable to destructive erosion. Few slopes have an adequate plant cover, and forest now covers only about a tenth of its primordial range. In view of these natural and artificial conditions, it is not surprising that soil forms a deep and continuous mantle only in the coastal plains, and that most of the highlands are bare.

A useful point of departure is to locate areas that are virtually without soil. This is the situation in the calcareous highlands. From Jbil Musa to Ibuqquyen the horizon is dominated by a wall of bare limestone. It is possible that soil never was formed on the steepest slopes. On moderate slopes there are small and discontinuous patches of clay, but most of the calcareous zone has been stripped of fine material and only cobbles remain. Here and there are tiny mounds of soil preserved by the roots of a palmetto (pl. 11, *b*). On some slopes, particularly in the range of Jbil Kelti, lines of stone have been built up when there was enough soil to justify clearing and cultivation.

The rate of erosion in any storm depends on the force with which raindrops stir up the soil and the amount and speed of the runoff. Deforestation, particularly on steep slopes, accelerates degradation, and the combination of cutting, burning, and browsing prevents any reëstablishment of protective cover. Although the calcareous highlands were probably once covered with forests of holly oak (cf. figs. 5 and 27), today, vast areas lack even herbaceous growth. In the karstic highlands the only conspicuous plants are palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

Erosion is not quite so serious in the highland areas formed of schist and sandstone. Protected stands of cedar, cork, and deciduous oaks are associated with abundant litter and about eighteen inches of clay or sandy loam. But in cleared areas there is abundant evidence of loss of topsoil (pl. 10, *b*). Since it is common

* *Pistacia atlantica* has been used to stabilize slopes in Israel. G. F. Gindel, "Afforestation of the Semi-arid and Arid Areas in Palestine," *Empire Forestry Rev.*, 25 (1946), 213–221.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

practice to allow sheep to graze on stubble, many slopes are completely bare when the first rains fall. Erosion is retarded during spring and summer when a part of the runoff is diverted into irrigation ditches, but the irrigation systems promptly disintegrate at the beginning of the rainy season, and runoff again follows the network of gullies (pl. 11, *a*).

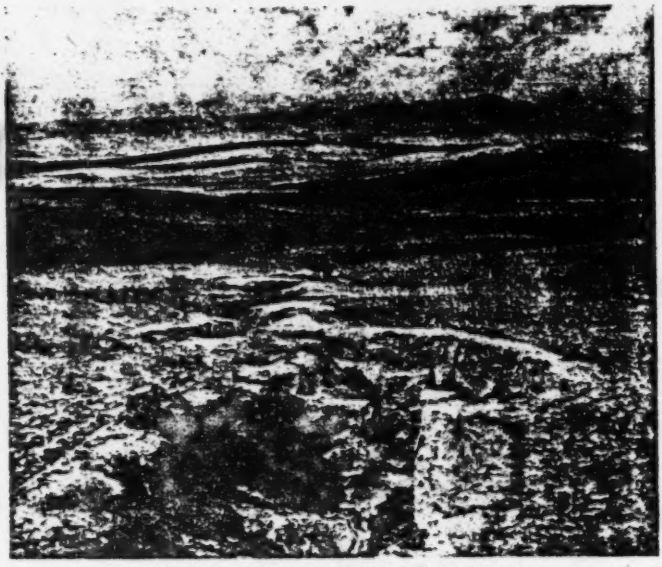
Gullying is most severe in the hilly areas of the Rif. The basins of Wad Ghis, Wad Nkour, and Wad Kert show an intricate pattern of short, steep slopes. "Ghis" means "mud" in Arabic, and most of the mud comes from the denuded highlands. The lower course of each river is joined by deeply entrenched tributary streams cutting through old fans and terraces. In Targist, Thimsaman, and Tafarsith the best farms are on fragments of Pliocene conglomerate, isolated from one another by deep ravines. Badland topography covers most of the area between Wad Nkour and Wad Kert. This may be described as an erosion-induced hoe-culture, for slopes are so badly dissected that it is no longer possible to use plows. The desperate effort to produce grain is abandoned only when the harvest does not repay the investment in seed. Cereals are sown in gullies and on nearly vertical slopes. The Spanish learned to their dismay that hungry Rifians try to cultivate even the roadbeds. The plains of Garet and the lower Kert constitute islands of alluvium in a sea of denuded terrain. Serious erosion becomes evident as soon as one passes to older terrace and residual soils. The hills of Ikibdhanen and the volcanic eminence of Gurugú are as bare as the limestone peaks.

The pattern of gullies and rills continues into the hills of Jbala and Ghmara, but the most serious problem in these areas is sliding. The roads from Tetuán to Tangier and Shawen are blocked by slides every year. In Anjra and Fahs one is never out of sight of a slide scar. Gullying is less serious than in the eastern sector, but streams are slightly entrenched even in the rolling country south of Tangier, and the marine terraces between Arcila and Larache are cut by deep barrancas.[113]

[113] René Raynal, "Bodenerosion in Marokko," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, 5 (1956–1957), 885–894.

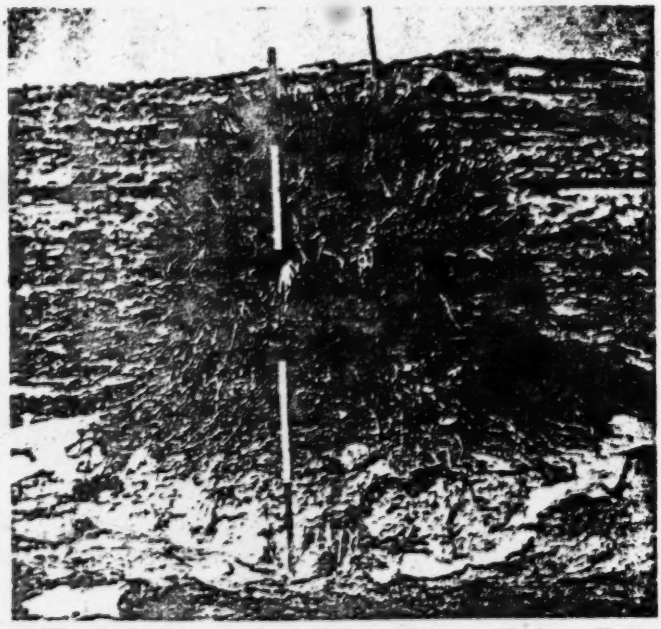
7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

133
134



a. An active gully in the eastern Rif (Aith Said).

134
137



b. Mound of soil preserved by palmetto roots near Alhucemas. The remainder of the slope has been eroded down to limestone bedrock. (Each unit of scale is equal to one foot.)

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

delta. The course of the Ghis slants southwestward from Targuist, while the Nekor flows directly northward through sharp canyons from the mountain of Kuin in Gzennaya, to separate, farther along, Temsaman and Beni Tuzin from Beni Urriaghel. On the other side of the promontory of Temsaman empties the Amkaran, or Wed el Kebir, which commences a short distance away in the mountains of Beni Tuzin. Next to the Amkaran lies an unimportant stream called the Tasagin, coming down from the Dhar O Baran in Beni Ulishk. Beyond this there are none but the important arteries of the Kert and the Muluya, the former of which originates in Gzennaya, the seeming umbilicus of the Rif, and the latter of which flows northward from distant Tafilelt, where its head lies near that of the Draa, a lengthy watercourse emptying into the Atlantic nearly opposite the Canary Islands.

Such is the catalogue of rivers, the waters of which are jealously guarded and conserved, and which have been the cause of many of the local wars in the Rif.

The mountains of the Rif are supposed to be fabulously rich in minerals, including coal, iron, gold, and petroleum. None of these, however, have been extracted by the present inhabitants of the country, and hence they do not concern us here. Suspicion engendered by the presence of the minerals does more to hamper travel and research in the Rif than all other factors combined.

VEGETATION

It is too early in the course of Riffian research to give a complete list of botanical species from that country; no systematic botanist, as far as I know, has published any description of its flora. It will therefore have to suffice in this volume to present merely a very fragmentary roster of some of the more noticeable wild trees and bushes, such as readily meet the eye of the traveler, with local names and tentative identifications, made by observation and by analogy with the rest of North Africa.

CONIFERS

taidha, a tall, straight-growing conifer, with a large globular cone. This tree is much prized for house-building material.

taidha temjda, a similar tree, relatively stunted, with thick, wide branches. The *taidha* is found on the upper slopes of mountains; the *taidha temjda* grows on the mountain-tops and in the passes, where it is exposed to the elements: hence both may belong to the same species. (Plate I shows examples of both.)

Justinard calls the *taidha* a pine.[1] Hanoteau and Letourneau list for Algeria four species of terebinths; *Pistacia terebinthus L.*, *P. Atlantica Desf.*, *P. Lentiscus L.*, and *Rhus pentaphylla Desf.*[2]

takka, another conifer, with a small, compact cone. The wood of this tree is used in making tar. (Perhaps its name is related to the Ntifa word for terebinth.[3]) Justinard calls this a juniper.[4]

afezaz, the scrub juniper (not to be confused with *afesas*). Laoust postulates that the Berber root *zz* indicates the idea of spines or thorns, and cites other words, in Berber dialects, which contain this root and mean juniper.[5]

[1] Commandant Justinard, *Manuel de Berbère Marocain (Dialecte Rifain)*, p. 48.
[2] A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneau, *La Kabylie*, vol. 1, pp. 82-83.
[3] E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses Berbères*, p. 487. [4] Page 131. [5] Page 323.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

of containers. Water is so scarce in the Garet that the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi are accused by the other Riffians of giving their food-vessels to dogs to lick rather than washing them. (See plates 2 and 3.)

In the Garet during summertime the heat rises unmercifully, to such a temperature that it seems difficult to endure; in winter cold winds blow across it, and although the ground does not freeze and snow rarely falls, the inhabitants feel considerable discomfort in the flimsy shelter of their tents.

Winter snow falls regularly in Gsennaya, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, throughout the Senhaja Sghir, and in parts of the Ghomara, as well as in the Arabophone Senhaja. On Christmas day, 1926, several inches of snow fell at Ajdir, on the Bay of Alhucemas. In the valley of Beni Bu Nsar every winter the brook freezes over, and its course is obscured by several feet of snow, which smooths off the contours of the terraces; Taghzuth is almost as hard hit, and Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus are under snow for over four months of the year, while in Zarket the snowfall is so great that a whole column of Spanish troops perished in ten-foot drifts in November, 1926. The Spaniards occupying the posts in the Senhaja Sghir have organized a ski troop, composed of Riffians who, during the last two winters, have become adept in this new method of locomotion. (See plate 1.) Both the Riffians and the Senhajans seem perfectly acclimated to the snow, from a physical standpoint. They do not seem to mind the cold as much as do Europeans, and frequently walk for hours in the snow barefoot.

The Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath are as accustomed to snow as are we in New England, and endure a climate in no wise less rigorous.

FAUNA

As far as can be determined, no competent zoölogist has worked in the region discussed in this volume. Because of the inaccessibility of the country such a lacuna is not surprising. It is therefore with hesitation that one not versed in zoölogical classifications attempts to catalogue the animals found there. I have made a list of the mammals commonly known to the Riffians, with their Berber and Arabic names and their descriptions. By comparing these names with those given by Hanoteau and Letourneau for Kabylia and checking the descriptions with Dr. Glover Allen of the Zoölogy Department of Harvard University,[1] and by looking them up in Flower and Lydekker, I have arrived at tentative conclusions as to the identities of most of them. My guesses as to species should not be taken as premature and groundless identifications, but rather as suggestions intended to stimulate zoölogical interest in that area.

Mammalia

Ungulata

tighaidat u wazghar (Arabic *ghazal*), the gaselle. This animal is found in the flat arid regions west of the Muluya, in the tribes of Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Beni Tuzin, and in southeastern Gsennaya.

Gazella mhorr and *G. dorcas* are common in Morocco, also *G. isabella*.

[1] Dr. Allen has kindly gone over this section in proof, making numerous additions and corrections.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

136

uthath, the aoudad. The Arabic word, here rendered in the French spelling, is derived from the Berber name and has been taken over into English. The aoudad is a mountain sheep of aberrant variety, the *Ovis tragelaphus*[1] (= *lervia*), which formerly was plentiful in the Rif but now is either extinct or nearly so. There are said to be individuals of this species surviving in Jebel Mulay Abd es Slam near Sheshawen. The aoudad, despite its classification, resembles superficially a goat rather than a sheep. Its horns, which are long, transversely grooved, and bent back, are still used as powder horns and as the ends of the *zammar*, a Riffian musical instrument.

afunes n jakhara, a species of wild cattle, smaller, more wiry, and more hairy than the domestic variety and with shorter horns. This creature survives in Jebel Bu Ma'awia, between Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, and was frequently shot for food by the Riffian soldiers in the recent war.

Suidae

irif (Arabic *halluf el ghaba*), the wild boar, found everywhere in the region. It is the same species as the European wild boar, and extends all over North Africa. Species: *Sus scrofa*.[2]

Rodentia

Muridae

azharbo (Arabic *jarbu'a*), the jerboa, found everywhere in the region. *Jaculus jaculus* is the Algerian species.[3]

aghartha (Arabic *far el kheil*), some sort of woodmouse (probably *Apodemus sylvaticus hayi*) or wild mouse. Several species are probably included. Hanoteau and Letourneau even list one *far el kheil* as the polecat; they also find three insectivores and six murids bearing the same Arabic name.[4] The Kabyle word *thader'ar'ats*, which means both "polecat" and "dormouse," in Riffian means "mongoose." In view of such confusion one could hardly suggest a species for *aghartha*.

aghartha (Arabic *far*), the house-mouse. Riffians say that this is the same species as the preceding, the difference being entirely one of habitat. The Algerian species is *Mus musculus*,[5] the ordinary house-mouse or its ally, *Mus algirus*.[6]

Leporidae

ayarrith (Arabic *arneb*), the hare. The distribution is general. *Lepus kabylicus* is the species found in northern Algeria.[6]

akaniny (Arabic *koniya*), the rabbit. The distribution is general. *Oryctolagus cuniculus algirus* is the Algerian form.[7]

Hystricides

arrui (Arabic *dhurban*), the porcupine, found in Europe and North Africa, with spines often reaching a length of over a foot and a half. It inhabits caves throughout the region. Species: *Hystrix cristata*.[8]

[1] William H. Flower and Richard Lydekker, *Mammals Living and Extinct*, p. 356.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 283; Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 143.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 144; Flower and Lydekker, p. 480.
[4] Hanoteau and Letourneau, pp. 143–144.
[5] Flower and Lydekker, p. 475.
[6] Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 145; Flower and Lydekker, pp. 492–494.
[7] Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 145.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 144; Flower and Lydekker, p. 486.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Insectivora

Erinaceidae

insi (Arabic *kanfud*), the hedgehog, found throughout the region. This animal makes itself useful by killing snakes. It is said that formerly the Riffians ate the hedgehog, but that once a woman of the Beni Amart, going out reaping, left her two babies in a brush shelter which she had constructed at the edge of the field. When she returned to them she found a cobra arching up in front of them, and a little hedgehog spitting at the cobra and keeping it at bay. In recognition of this favor the Riffians refrain from killing the hedgehog. This tradition may be recent, since the episode is supposed to have happened less than a generation ago. The *insi* belongs to the genus Erinaceus; the exact species is doubtful since, according to Flower and Lydekker,[1] there are about twenty different ones. Hanoteau and Letourneau [2] identify the animal bearing the same name in Algeria as *Erinaceus* (=*Aethechinus*) *algirus*.

Carnivora

Viveridae

thawartha, a large mongoose greater in size than the *mush abaran*. It kills snakes, is variegated in color, and has bristly hair and a long tail. It is found throughout the region, except in the more arid portions to the east. Hanoteau and Letourneau do not mention this animal as existing in Kabylia. Dr. Allen suggests that it may be *Herpestes ichneumon*,[3] which was sacred to the Egyptians.

sibsib (Arabic *zerdi*), a small species of mongooses. Hanoteau and Letourneau [4] identify an animal of the same name as *Mangusta numidica*. Dr. Allen thinks that the *sibsib* may be a *Calogale*.

isgith may be the *Genetta africana* mentioned by Hanoteau and Letourneau,[4] or the *Genetta vulgaris* of Flower and Lydekker.[5]

Mustelidae

nims (Arabic *nims*), a weasel or polecat, found throughout the region where any forest or moisture remains. Hanoteau and Letourneau [6] call the *nims* of Kabylia a polecat, giving it the name *Putoris bocamela*. Yet the Berber name which they give it, *thader'ar'ats*, in Thamazighth means "mongoose," being another word for *thawartha*. Dr. Allen suggests that the *nims* may be *Mustela africana*.[7]

akazin w aman, or *ar w aman* (Arabic *kelb el ma*), the otter, found wherever there are streams and irrigation ditches. The animal causes constant annoyance by making holes in the ditches and uprooting gardens, as well as by stealing poultry. The animal of the same name and description in Kabylia is called by Hanoteau and Letourneau *Lutra vulgaris*.[6,7]

Felidae

bu haru, anciently *izim* (Arabic *seba*, *asad*), the lion. Lions, which were common in the Rif in the seventeenth century [8] and were killed at intervals up to forty years ago,[9] are now believed to be extinct or nearly so. It is popularly believed by the natives of Gzennaya

[1] Page 630.
[2] Page 144.
[3] Flower and Lydekker, pp. 535–536.
[4] Page 142.
[5] Page 528.
[6] Page 143.
[7] Flower and Lydekker, pp. 589–590.
[8] Sieur Roland Frejus, *Relation of a Voyage into Mauretania*, p. 26.
[9] Otto C. Arthaurr, *Riffpiraten und Ihre Heimat*, p. 154.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that an old lion still lives in the bushes around the tomb of Sidi Mhend, near the village of Bured. The lion was pursued into these bushes about forty years ago by a large party of beaters, and is said to have been seen about once a year ever since. There is only one species, *Felis leo*.[1]

aghires (Arabic *nimr*), called by Hanoteau and Letourneau[2] the panther or leopard. This animal has been extinct in northern Morocco, by popular account, for over a hundred years. It is believed that there is no female of the *aghires*, and that it is reproduced in the following mythical manner. A lioness bears seven cubs in her first litter, six in her second, five in her third, four in her fourth, three in her fifth, two in her sixth; and in the seventh year (for she bears but one litter a year) she produces a single creature, the *aghires*, which is stunted but wiry, and stronger than a true lion; after bearing it the lioness becomes barren. The fact that such a legend can be believed warrants the assumption that the *aghires* has been extinct for a considerable period. In Kabylia the animal called *aghilas* (French transliteration *ar'ilas*) has been identified by Hanoteau and Letourneau[2] as *Felis pardus*. As in Morocco, the Arabic name is *nimr* (*gh* and *r'* are but two ways of transliterating the seventeenth character in the Arabic alphabet, and in Riffian dialects the normal Berber *l* becomes an *r*).

mush abaran (Arabic *ḥatt el khala*), a type of lynx or wild cat found throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, where any forest is left. Hanoteau and Letourneau[3] give for the *mush berran* of Algeria the specific name *Felis catus*, the wild cat. Dr. Allen suggests that the Riffian *mush abaran* may be *Lynx caracal*. This latter species is found in Algeria but is called *ursel*.[3] The fact that *mush abaran* has tufted ears tends to favor Dr. Allen's suggestion.

Canidae

oshun (Arabic *dib*). The Arabs use this word for all species.

oshun awithair (Arabic *dib*). The Riffians recognize two species of dog-like animal, one at least of which is the true jackal. The *oshun*, the larger of the two, is different in appearance from the *oshun awithair*, which I have shot. Four of the former, which I saw in one evening, about dusk, looked as large as wolves — gray, and with straighter, more erect ears than the common jackal. At the time I thought them wolves, but later learned that the latter are not found in this part of North Africa.[3] Hanoteau and Letourneau[4] list but one species of jackal in Algeria, *Lupulus* (=*Canis*) *aureus*.

ohar (Arabic *tha'leb*), the fox. The Riffians distinguish but one species, but Hanoteau and Letourneau[4] find two in Algeria, *Vulpes atlanticus* and *Vulpes niloticus*.

Hyaenidae

ifis aghiul (Arabic *dheba'*), the striped hyaena, found everywhere in the region. It does not attack man. The species is *Hyaena hyaena*.[5]

ifis (Arabic *dheba'*). Here again the Arabs use one word for two species. This is the spotted hyaena, likewise found throughout the region. Neither Flower and Lydekker nor Hanoteau and Letourneau mention its presence in North Africa. The Riffians distinguish it from the *ifis aghiul* by its spotted markings, and by its habit of attacking man. Its

[1] Flower and Lydekker, p. 504.
[2] Flower and Lydekker, p. 548.
[3] Page 142.
[4] Page 141.
[5] Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 142; Flower and Lydekker, pp. 541-543.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

method of attack, as described by the Riffians, is as follows. It stupefies men travelling at night with its odor, hypnotises the victim with its laughter until he falls down laughing, and then devours him. Despite the lurid nature of this portrayal, the accurate description of the animal's coat and the mention of its dangerous character imply that its existence is real. One of this species was run over and killed by an automobile owned by the Kaid Midboh of Gzennaya near Aknoul in March, 1928. Species: *Hyaena crocuta*, said to range south of the Sahara.[1]

Primates

rkird (Arabic *el. ḫird*), the Barbary ape. It was formerly distributed throughout the region, but is now limited to the mountain of Taghzuth, to Mt. Meggu behind Sheshawen, and to the pass of Bab el Ḥait in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Wenjin. The species is *Macacus inuus* according to Flower and Lydekker[2] and to Ghirelli;[3] *Pithecus inuus* Geoffroy according to Hanoteau and Letourneau[4] or *Macaca sylvanus* as currently used.

rkaramud (Arabic *el karamud*), a species of Cercopithecus, now extinct, said to have existed up until a hundred years ago. It was smaller than *rkird* and longer-tailed.

Chiroptera

thasrith ighathain (Arabic *ṭair el lil*), the bat. This animal lives chiefly in caves. Hanoteau and Letourneau[5] give two species for Kabylia, *Vespertilio murinus* and *Rhinolophus unihastatus*. Bats recorded by Thomas for Western Algeria are as follows: *Asellia tridens*, a leaf-nosed bat; *Plecotus christiei*, a long-eared bat; *Pipistrellus kuhle*, a small pipistrelle; *Myotis oxygnathus*, probably the brown bat called *v. murinus*.[6]

This list is not, of course, supposed to be complete. Among mammals unlisted are shrews and probably numerous species of wild mice.

Other Animals

It would be difficult to compile a list of the birds, and practically impossible, for other than a specialist, to enumerate the amphibia and reptiles, while the fishes are not well known to the Riffians themselves.

Mentioning but briefly a few of the birds, one might include a species of grouse or partridge, commonly hunted, and the wild pigeon. Varieties of hawks and eagles are abundant, and there is a strong tradition concerning a giant hawk-like bird, larger than a man and now extinct, which swooped down and carried off livestock and children. The last of these creatures, called *baran*, are supposed to have nested on the mountain beneath which took place the famous massacre of Spanish troops, at Dhar u Baran and Anual.

Among the reptiles one encounters species of land tortoise and several varieties of snakes, including such general Moroccan forms as the puff-adder, green python, cobra, and asp, all of which I have seen. Lizards abound and seem to represent numerous species, about one of which a curious legend has arisen. This creature is a small, laterally compressed

[1] Flower and Lydekker, pp. 541–543.
[2] Angelo Ghirelli, *El Norte de Marruecos*, p. 47.
[3] Page 143.
[4] Page 722.
[5] Page 141.
[6] Thomas, *Novitates Zoologicae*, vol. XX, p. 556; for central Western Sahara, *ibid.*, p. 23.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

reptile, green in color. When annoyed it puffs itself with air and exhales slowly, making an unpleasant noise. It is supposed to give birth to snakes, just as the lion is held responsible for the parentage of the panther.

Besides the snakes whose existence is unquestionable, one fabulous species is frequently mentioned. This creature is said to have a blunted tail, upon which it rises; using the tail as a lever it hurls itself through the air a great distance in the direction of its victim. The Riffians believe this firmly.

Fish are seldom seen in the smaller streams which empty into the Mediterranean; they are too swift, and, along their lower courses, too seasonal. In the Muluya, of course, fish are plentiful. What few there are in the mountain streams are eaten more by otters than by men, since the Riffians are not fond of fresh-water fish, although they preserve no definite tabu against them.

In the streams which empty into the Wergha on the Atlantic side of the watershed fish are more common, and are netted and eaten in Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar. Sea fishing, which has a special place under "Material Culture," [1] is carried on along practically all the coast.

[1] See below, p. 35.

000

124--This lineage bears no relationship whatsoever to the jma'th of the same name in the Plain of Alhucemas; the latter, in any case, belongs to another clan, the Aith 'Ari.

125--The following lineages of the Aith Waryaghar are considered to be "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin (and thus Zanatan) by descent:
In Aith 'Adhiya of Aith Bu 'Ayyash: Aith Tizi and Aith Fars in the jma'th of Ighmiren, Isi'arithen in that of Immudh, and Aith Busta in that of Tazurakhth.
In Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper of Aith Bu 'Ayyas: Aith Wuzghar in the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif.
In Isrihan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari: Ishshuyen in the jma'th of Upper Ixatshumen and Ijarayen in that of Lower Ixatshumen.
Whether they are in fact descended from the Marinids (a dynasty in Morocco, 1213-1465) is problematical. What is sure, however, is that the inhabitants of the City of Nkur, which was destroyed by the Almoravid Yusif ibn Tashfint in 1084, could not possibly have been Marinids.

[114] 126--According to our notes, not only is there no dharfiqth of this name in Tazurakhth, but none of the lineages there are autochthonous, their ancestors all having come from elsewhere.

[196] 127--The term yinn, "those of", is roughly synonymous with aith, "people of:, but Rifians tend to use it only when speaking of lower level segments.

128--The name ibaranen means "partridges" (sing. abaran); the names of all the other small lineages listed here refer to the lineage ancestors.

129--In the Berber dialect of the Central Atlas, aghwilas means "panther" (fem. taghwilast), and the Rifian thaghirasth is a cognate [136] form. There are panthers still to be found in parts of the Central Atlas today, though none in the Rif.

[114] 130--This lineage is not named by Blanco, and our field notes show no record of it.

[114] 131--It would indeed. The question really is: why should any attempt have been made by the administration to reunite two or more related lineage branches after scission had occurred and after they had not only become separated in space but incorporated into new jma'ths? One might almost think that Blanco is looking (in vain, it must be added) for an artificial neatness in the lineage structure of Aith Waryaghar which has no correspondence with any social reality.

132--Although he has obvious misgivings about it, Blanco appears to resign himself, in this passage, to an acceptance of the structural status quo!

[114] 133--"Tributaries" is the wrong word here; "offshoots" would be better.

134--Mutual rights of two related jma'ths certainly include participation in the collection of fines, and in certain cases (according to inheritance) reciprocal rights in property cultivation; but they do not include contributions to the fqih, as each jma'th has its own fiqh.

000

[114] [136] 196--This seems to indicate considerable confusion, both terminological and zoological, for the simple reason that there are no wolves proper in the Rif. A terminological confusion arises because Spanish dictionaries, both Rifian and Arabic, translate Rifian ushshan (pl. ushshannen) and Arabic dhi'b as "lobo, chacal", whereas properly it means only the latter: jackal. By the same token, uhar (pl. uharan) is a fox (not a jackal, as Blanco indicates); and thawardha probably corresponds to awardhyu (pl. iwardhiwen), listed by Ibáñez (op. cit., 1944, p. 439) as synonymous with uhar, "fox". We have never heard the word awardhyu in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, however.

197--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the carcass of a dead animal is used as jackal-bait, and traps are laid around it.

[184] 198--This is in contrast to the situation in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, where division of the game and of the fines incurred are shared equally by all the hunters.

199--We have substituted "system of beliefs" for Blanco's term supersticiones as being somewhat more appropriate anthropologically.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

delta. The course of the Ghis slants southwestward from Targuist, while the Nekor flows directly northward through sharp canyons from the mountain of Kuin in Gzennaya, to separate, farther along, Temsaman and Beni Tuzin from Beni Urriaghel. On the other side of the promontory of Temsaman empties the Amkaran, or Wed el Kebir, which commences a short distance away in the mountains of Beni Tuzin. Next to the Amkaran lies an unimportant stream called the Tasagin, coming down from the Dhar O Baran in Beni Ulishk. Beyond this there are none but the important arteries of the Kert and the Muluya, the former of which originates in Gzennaya, the seeming umbilicus of the Rif, and the latter of which flows northward from distant Tafilelt, where its head lies near that of the Draa, a lengthy watercourse emptying into the Atlantic nearly opposite the Canary Islands.

Such is the catalogue of rivers, the waters of which are jealously guarded and conserved, and which have been the cause of many of the local wars in the Rif.

The mountains of the Rif are supposed to be fabulously rich in minerals, including coal, iron, gold, and petroleum. None of these, however, have been extracted by the present inhabitants of the country, and hence they do not concern us here. Suspicion engendered by the presence of the minerals does more to hamper travel and research in the Rif than all other factors combined.

VEGETATION

It is too early in the course of Riffian research to give a complete list of botanical species from that country; no systematic botanist, as far as I know, has published any description of its flora. It will therefore have to suffice in this volume to present merely a very fragmentary roster of some of the more noticeable wild trees and bushes, such as readily meet the eye of the traveler, with local names and tentative identifications, made by observation and by analogy with the rest of North Africa.

Conifers

taidha, a tall, straight-growing conifer, with a large globular cone. This tree is much prized for house-building material.

taidha temjda, a similar tree, relatively stunted, with thick, wide branches. The *taidha* is found on the upper slopes of mountains; the *taidha temjda* grows on the mountain-tops and in the passes, where it is exposed to the elements: hence both may belong to the same species. (Plate I shows examples of both.)

Justinard calls the *taidha* a pine.[1] Hanoteau and Letourneau list for Algeria four species of terebinths; *Pistacia terebinthus L.*, *P. Atlantica Desf.*, *P. Lentiscus L.*, and *Rhus pentaphylla Desf.*[2]

takka, another conifer, with a small, compact cone. The wood of this tree is used in making tar. (Perhaps its name is related to the Ntifa word for terebinth.[3]) Justinard calls this a juniper.[4]

afezaz, the scrub juniper (not to be confused with *afesas*). Laoust postulates that the Berber root *zz* indicates the idea of spines or thorns, and cites other words, in Berber dialects, which contain this root and mean juniper.[5]

[1] Commandant Justinard, *Manuel de Berbère Marocain* (*Dialecte Rifain*), p. 48.
[2] A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneau, *La Kabylie*, vol. 1, pp. 82–83.
[3] E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses Berbères*, p. 487. [4] Page 131. [5] Page 523.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

riars, a cedar, growing very tall and straight. Its sweet-smelling wood is valued by carpenters and cabinet-makers.

amerzi, another cedar, with very volatile reddish wood. Its pitch and resin are used as medicine.

rkanus, a similar tree, considered by the Riffians to be the female of the *amerzi*.

The cedars, generally known under the name of *thuya*, or *arbor vitæ*, form the characteristic coniferous vegetation of North Africa.[1]

Other Trees

rbejuth, an evergreen oak, with edible acorns.

tashta, another species of oak, with inedible acorns.

rbejuth n yirif, the so-called pig-oak. Its acorns are eaten by wild boars, but not by men on account of their bitter taste. Justinard lists as oak *adren*, calling *abedjoud* the acorn.[2] The latter word is derived from the Arabic *el-bellut*, the difference in renderings being due, aside from different techniques in transcription, to my retention of the *r*, the berberization of the Arabic definite article, in the Riffian dialects. I have always heard it pronounced with the *r*. Hanoteau and Letourneau [3] identify five oaks in Algeria: *Quercus castaneæfolia C. A. Mey., Q. Mirbeckii Dr., Q. Ilex L., Q. Ilex var. Ballota*, and *Q. Suber L.*

adheman, the hawthorne. This tree is used as a base for grafting pear and apple shoots. Hanoteau and Letourneau give *Crataegus Oxyacantha* (three varieties), *Cr. Azarolus*, and *Cr. monogyna* for Algeria.[4] Laoust identifies *Cr. Oxyacantha* in Morocco.[5]

asanú, the arbute, or strawberry tree. Its fruit is eaten fresh, and also dried and put into bread; the wood is used in house construction. Laoust finds it in other parts of Morocco, and gives it the botanical name *Arbutus unedo*.[6]

fathis, a large tree bearing a small red fruit, which is eaten. The ashes of its wood are mixed with water, in which grapes are washed before being set out to dry. These ashes are also used as soap in washing cloth. Westermarck [7] calls this the lentisk, *Pistacia lentiscus*.

azemmur, the wild olive. Its fruit is not eaten, but its wood is used in making spoons, ploughs, and other objects.

thazemmurth, the female of the *azemmur*, smaller than the male. The male can be used for grafting domestic olives, but the female is never used for this purpose.

sa'aris, a large tree with perennial foliage. It bears a seed containing a red liquid. The wood of this tree was formerly used for gunstocks.

thaghieshth n wushun, a species of wild walnut, called jackal-walnut.

afesas, perhaps a spurge-flax, or broom. It is a bush with a red flower, growing in valley bottoms. Laoust gives *Daphne Gnidium L.* for *walesas*.[8] Hanoteau and Letourneau name three species, *Daphne oleoides Schreb., D. Gnidium L.*, and *D. Laureola L.*, for Algeria.[9] This plant has been mistaken by other botanists for an osier, on account of its extensive use in basketry.[10]

thabgha, a wild blackberry. Justinard affirms this designation.[11]

[1] Justinard, p. 180; Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 60; el Bekri (tr. Macguckin de Slane), p. 15 n.
[2] Page 117. [3] Page 119. [4] Pages 48, 99. [5] Page 509.
[6] Pages 483–484, 519. [7] Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. II, p. 185.
[8] Pages 515–516. [9] Page 116. [10] Laoust, pp. 515–516. [11] Page 142.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

ariyeri, the oleander. This plant is important in the manufacture of magical concoctions. Laoust [1] and Justinard [2] support this identification.

tuzzelt, a bush resembling a high-bush blueberry. It bears a red pod, like a rose-pod, which is eaten. Laoust [3] calls this *Fraxinus dimorpha*.

aghanim, a reed, used extensively in basket making. Laoust supports this identification.[4]

tharugwith, a bush with a red flower, much frequented by bees.

sus, a bush bearing a white flower, with peppery-tasting leaves. The latter are used as medicine for stomach-ache.

i-knuafer, a bush or low tree which produces a bud resembling a clove. The buds are put into tea as a spice, and are used as a stomach-ache cure for children.

azir, a bush the leaves of which are used in the brewing of a tea alleged to be beneficial in fever.

izarshi, forsythia. Women cut pieces of its stem and tie them in their belts to prevent boils. This identification is purely personal and lacks confirmation.

thakhfa, a wild rose, the pods of which are sometimes eaten in times of famine. Hanoteau and Letourneau [5] give *Rosa sempervirens* for the Kabyle *thaafert*.

Luxurious forests of conifers are said by the inhabitants of the country to have once covered most of the region, but today they are confined to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar, Taghzuth, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarket, and the upland reaches of Mtiwa. Patches of this forest remain on Mt. Kuin in Gzennaya, in parts of Beni Amart, at Aswil, where the Nekor passes from the Gzennaya into Beni Urriaghel, and on the crests of Beni Tuzin. The *taidha* grows chiefly in the Senhajan tribes, but the *thuya* is found not only there but also farther to the east, in Gzennaya and Beni Tuzin.

After climbing from the hot barrenness of the eastern Rif, one finds the forests of the Senhaja Sghir most beautiful and satisfying. On the mountain between Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth, it is difficult to realise that one is in Morocco. The whole of this section reminds one of temperate forests, such as are found in the Northern United States and Canada; especially is this true in the long, flat plateau-valley of Beni Seddath, where a lush meadow is variegated with frequent clumps of *taidha*. Even in midsummer this region retains an exhilarating chilliness of atmosphere. (See plate 1.)

CLIMATE

The slopes of the Mediterranean border of this region are rugged, mostly deforested, hillsides, with a climate similar to northern Mexico or our own Southwest. Farther to the east, in the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and parts of Galiya, the country becomes rolling and its slope relatively gentle, and grain is grown on it without terracing or irrigation. Farther south, however, stretches the arid expanse of the Garet, that waterless waste whereon the Metalsa and Beni Yahyi shift about from camp to camp. This desert stretches into parts of Beni Said and Galiya, and oversteps the boundary of Beni Ulishk and Tafersit. Here in the Garet grows a sparse crop of grass, and quantities of that coarse grass called *halfa*, resembling our own marsh or beach grass, from which the nomadic peoples, and the Gzennaya and other Riffians as well, make sandals, pack-saddles, ropes, and all sorts

[1] Page 484. [2] Page 135. [3] Pages 493, 490.
[4] Page 453. [5] Page 48.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 Riffian acquisition of vegetable food may be divided into four processes, some of which may be developmental stages, and all of which are in contemporaneous use.

1. The gathering of edible wild plants.
2. The care of fruit and nut-bearing trees and of vineyards.
3. The care of gardens.
4. The cultivation of grains and leguminous plants.

The following subjects also pertain to agriculture and vegetable food-getting.

1. A calendric cycle of agricultural events.
2. Tools and machinery.
3. Communism in agriculture.

222 137 **Collecting and Gathering.** There are certain wild products growing on mountains, in valleys, in springs, and on refuse heaps, which are of food value and are collected and eaten, either from choice or as emergency rations in time of famine, although no attempt is made to cultivate them. So far as can be determined, they are as follows.

azemmur,[1] the wild olive.

erbejuth,[1] the oak. Both acorns and the tree upon which they grow are called by the same name.

adheman,[1] the hawthorne. The haws, called *saaror*, are gathered and eaten.

larnej,[2] a wild lemon tree, probably escaped from cultivation.

tuth,[2] the mulberry, at present wild. It was probably introduced earlier and then abandoned.

[245] *habb ul muluk*,[2] the wild cherry, with probably the same history as the mulberry. Both trees are now cultivated by the Senhaja.

sasanu,[1] the arbute, or strawberry-tree. Its fruit is eaten fresh, also dried and put into bread.

thabgha,[1] wild blackberries.

tuzzelt,[1] a bush the pod of which is eaten.

thakhfar,[1] a wild rose, the pod of which is eaten.

askum, wild asparagus.

ma'isha, the wild tomato, found in old refuse heaps. Its cultivation has been abandoned.

thebiseth,[3] a plant growing in the mountains, eaten as a green.

yanush, watercress, or a very similar plant.

thezhiuma, another water plant, growing in springs.

thafa ikshuth, a wild plant resembling celery.

thighigheshth,[4] a wild plant the roots of which are boiled and used for washing wool. Its leaves are cut up, boiled, and eaten.

benaaman, a wild poppy. Women eat its leaves, and children its buds.

imzwar, a plant resembling shamrock or clover. Its leaves, slightly sour in taste, are eaten.

iuasrin, mushrooms.

[1] See Introduction, p. 8.

[2] The wild lemon, cherry, and mulberry were not mentioned in the Introduction because they are not indigenous.

[3] This is perhaps related to the root given by Laoust (p. 506) for mallow. *Tibidas*, in the Zemmour dialect, is the cloare.

[4] Laoust (p. 39) suggests that this may be *Saponaria rucaria*.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

101 their archaic Berber cultural patterns in the face of an ever-increasing Arabization. For this reason, I use the Berber term *Aith* (sons of) rather than its Arabic equivalent *Banī*, which has become current in the literature. Although a tribesman who does know Arabic will say *Banī* when speaking of his tribe to a stranger, he will employ *Aith* when in conversation with his own people. I have also singled out the tribe of Aith Wuryāghil as the object of this article not only because, at the time of writing, I know it much better than the other Riffian tribes, but because, as it is the largest and most powerful of all of them, it has always taken the leading role in the past history of the Rīf, and it has, on most occasions, called the turn to the other tribes when necessary. The presence of Aith Wuryāghil, with that of Gizināya, in the confederation of the Ṣinhāja during the great Ṣinhāja-Ghumāra war was what won that war for the former group; and in recent times the tribe produced 'Abd al-Karīm, of whom we shall say more later on.

133 Running in a northeast-southwest direction, the tribal territory, 1028.5 square kilometers, consists, in the north, of an open alluvial plain bordered on the east by the mountains of Tamsamān; this plain overlooks the Mediterranean and forms the Bay of Alhucemas. Further south it gradually ascends into and merges with the brown, barren and eroded mountains which are such a characteristic feature of the Riffian landscape; these are bisected by arroyos and high valleys, and in Aith Wuryāghil they culminate in the rugged massif of Jabal Ḥammām (1948 meters), which is covered with snow in [137] January and February. Vegetation consists largely of scrub and 132 lentiscus bushes. Except in the highest altitudes, rain is infrequent even in the winter; the so-called «levante», coming from Spain, brings it suddenly and in the form of flash floods, which change the two sluggish rivers in the tribal territory, the Ghīs to the west and the Nakūr to the east, into raging, torrents. In the mountains the winters, although not long, are cold, but snowfall is much less than in Aith 'Ammarth or in the Ṣinhāja Srair to the southwest, where the mountains are considerably higher. The rest of the year the climate is warm and usually so dry as to produce only a bare subsistence economy.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Drainage

132 133 Drainage basins are small in this area, for the watershed is close to the sea. The seasonal rate of flow follows the seasonal rainfall, but with a lag in time that varies with the slope, the vegetation, and the permeability of the rock. Spate follows rainfall where impermeable rocks form the basin, more slowly where the basin is of permeable limestone. All the Mediterranean streams may be roaring torrents at some period from October to May; but most of them dry up during the long summer drought. The valleys of some of the larger streams, like the Ghis and Nkour, betray their Mediterranean regimen by a double bed: in summer a narrow channel is cut below the broad rocky shelf which is the winter bed. Wad Ouergha draws off most of the drainage from the Sanhajan highlands; it is the largest stream flowing from the Rif chain, and one of the sources of irrigation water in the Gharb coastal plain (fig. 1). The basin of Wad Lukkus includes most of the Atlantic drainage. Surface streams are rare in the calcareous zone. The only stream that flows through the limestone mountains is the Wad Lao, which follows an antecedent course; but Wad Hajara, Wad Khemis, and Río Martín (Wad Martil) are fed by springs issuing from the base of this range. The area between Wad Nkour and Wad Moulouya has only one large stream, Wad Kert, and it receives little nourishment after it leaves the highlands. Wad Moulouya, from the distant Ayache Mountains of the High Atlas, is northern Morocco's great exotic stream. This stream and Wad Lukkus constituted the only natural segments of the boundary between French Morocco and Spanish Morocco.

Plant Domains

137 The vegetation of North Africa can be divided into (1) a Mediterranean domain, where forest and shrubs predominate; (2) a domain of "steppe," where forest is confined to highland enclaves in the midst of a predominant cover of grass and herbs; and (3) a domain of highland vegetation, which includes a subalpine formation with some trees and, only in the Moroccan Atlas, an alpine formation [132] without trees. Saharan vegetation penetrates Barbary at only two points: in the Hodna basin of Algeria and on the plains extending inland from the Gulf of Gabès in Tunisia. Figuig, Ksar as-Suq, Zagora, and Goulimine, all within the political limits of Morocco, receive less than 200 mm. of precipitation per year, but the records of these stations do not show the variability indicative of true desert. The Moroccan territory south of the Atlas chains forms part of the "pre-Sahara" of French terminology.[1]

In terms of this classification, all but a small part of northern Morocco falls within the Mediterranean domain. No peak in the Rif Mountains rises above timberline, and only a small area can be called subalpine. Grassland is confined to one area on the eastern edge of the zone. This area, in the lower Moulouya Valley, is one of the driest parts of northern Morocco, but it is not certain that the presence of steppe vegetation can be attributed solely to meager precipitation. The dominant species is *Stipa tenacissima* (Arabic *alfa*). This hard tussock grass

[1] For a brief description of vegetation in all North Africa, see Jean Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), pp. 80–96; and Louis Emberger, "L'Afrique du Nord-Ouest," *Unesco Arid Zone Research*, VI, "Plant Ecology" (Reviews of Research) (Paris, 1955), pp. 219–249.

[113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

has deep roots, forms strong clumps, and its awns stick to the coats of passing animals. More important, it is palatable only for a brief period in spring.[9] Alfa grass is scattered over most of Garet, but is conspicuous only in the area between the hills of Ikbdhanen and Kar-Kar.

Forest, Maqui, Garrigue

The climate that has prevailed during historic time is such that trees ought to dominate the vegetation of this zone. As figure 7 indicates, *Pistacia atlantica*,

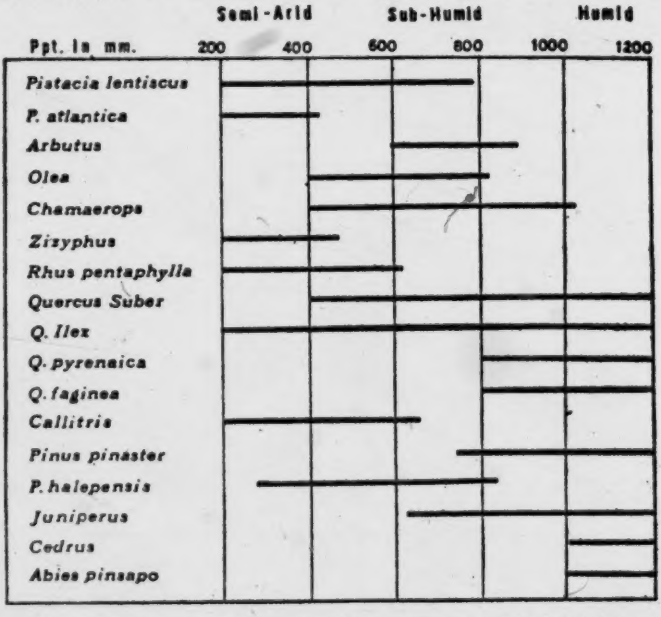


Fig. 7. Range of forest species according to average annual precipitation.

P. lentiscus, Quercus Ilex, Pinus halepensis, Callitris articulata, Rhus pentaphylla, and *Zizyphus lotus* can grow in the semiarid sector of northeastern Morocco. The altitudinal range of at least three and possibly eight trees extends above the highest peaks of the Rif chain (table 1). Edaphic factors impose some limitations. The cork oak will not grow on calcareous soils, and most forest species are excluded from poorly drained alluvium. Nevertheless, areas that are barren of trees as a result of natural causes constitute only a small part of this zone.

Most of the forest species common in northern Morocco are endemic to the Mediterranean region; a few belong more specifically to the western province of that region. *Quercus coccifera, Quercus Ilex, Pinus halepensis, Arbutus Unedo,* and a number of prominent Moroccan shrubs are spontaneous in most of the

[9] Charles Killian, "Plantes fourragères-types des hautes-plaines algériennes," *Annales de l'Amélioration des Plantes,* 4 (1954), 505–527.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 Mediterranean lands. The natural range of *Pinus pinaster, Chamaerops humilis,* and *Quercus Suber* extends to Sicily and the western versant of Italy, but not to Greece, Turkey, or Lebanon.[9] As typical elements of Mediterranean vegetation, these plants are provided with mechanisms of defense against excessive transpiration during the long summer drought. The trunks of most trees are incased in a thick, deeply fissured bark; leaves are thick and leathery, and have hard, shiny surfaces. Under normal conditions few of the Moroccan trees cast deep shade; so the understory is usually well developed.

This shrubby undergrowth of bushes and small trees may form a dense thicket,

TABLE 1

ALTITUDINAL LIMITS OF SOME MOROCCAN TREES

Species	Elevation (meters)	Location
Rhus pentaphylla	1,000?	Rif?
Zizyphus lotus	1,000?	Middle Atlas?
Pistacia lentiscus	1,600	High Atlas
Olea europaea	1,650	High Atlas
Callitris articulata	1,800	High Atlas
Arbutus Unedo	1,900	Anti Atlas
Pistacia atlantica	2,000	High Atlas
Quercus Suber	2,000	Rif
Quercus pyrenaica	2,000	Rif
Quercus faginea	2,200	Middle Atlas
Chamaerops humilis	2,200	High Atlas
Pinus halepensis	2,200	High Atlas
Pinus pinaster	2,200	Rif
Abies pinsapo	2,200	Rif
Cedrus atlantica	2,700	High Atlas
Quercus Ilex	2,800	High Atlas
Juniperus Oxycedrus	3,150	High Atlas

SOURCE: Personal observations and Louis Emberger, *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938).

but is more often degraded by burning, cutting, or browsing. There are many names for it: in Greek *longos,* in Spanish *monte bajo* or *matorral,* in Italian *macchia,* while we have adopted the Corsican—and French—*maqui(s).* It is a mixed association of evergreen plants, with tough and twisted wood, brilliant and often scented flowers, and shiny or glaucous foliage. Where degradation has been severe, the maqui ceases to form a closed canopy. This type of rather stunted and open vegetation, known in France as *garrigue*—from *garoulia,* the Provençal name for *Quercus coccifera*—is marked by a wealth of aromatic Labiatae, Cistaceae, and Rutaceae, which sprout and germinate quickly after fires. All these plants, whether maqui or garrigue, are heliophilous and many of them are thorny. In chapter vii it will be demonstrated that garrigue constitutes a degraded form of maqui, and maqui a degraded type of forest.

[113] [9] M. Rikli, *Das Pflanzenkleid der Mittelmeerländer* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1943–1948), traces the natural range of most of the plants considered here. See also the "Notice explicative" accompanying Planche 19 a, "Forêts et ressources végétales," *Atlas du Maroc,* cited in note 7.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Relict Species

137 The vegetation of northern Morocco has not only been modified by man, but has also undergone progressive natural change. In the varied Moroccan flora, European, Asiatic, and tropical elements are found along with species endemic to the Mediterranean region. During the Pleistocene, the southward movement of a colder and wetter climate brought corresponding southward migrations of European and Euro-Siberian plants. Europe and Barbary were no longer linked by land bridges, but seeds could easily blow or float across the narrow Strait of Gibraltar. Relicts of these invasions are found today in the mountains of northern Morocco in growths of fir (*Abies pinsapo, A. tazaotana*) and deciduous oaks (*Quercus pyrenaica, Q. faginea*) that seem strangely out of place in northern Africa.[11] Other Pleistocene relicts include birch (*Betula alba*), two species of maple (*Acer monspessulanum, A. Opalus*), alder (*Alnus glutinosa*), and the mountain ash, or service tree (*Sorbus torminalis*).[12]

Enigma of the Oleaster

The olive tree (*Olea europaea*) has long been regarded as a symbol of the Mediterranean landscape. Since classical antiquity it has been recognized that not all olive trees are alike, that some grow without cultivation and produce small and bitter fruit. The "wild" olive, or oleaster, was long thought to be an endemic element of the Mediterranean flora and the ancestor of the cultivated tree. Victor [114] Hehn may have been the first to challenge this view on historical and philological grounds.[13] Today this problem is the subject of vigorous debate. Most authorities consider the oleaster to be a natural element of maqui, but some scholars, including August Chevalier, describe it as a "subspontaneous race," escaped from cultivation in ancient time.[14]

[245] In contrast to the common cultivated olive, the oleaster has four-angled thorny branches, broader leaves, and smaller fruit. Moreover, the oleaster, obviously, grows without cultivation or apparent care. None of these points proves that it is an ancestral wild race. As De Candolle remarks, "In a woody species which lives so long and shoots again from the same stock when cut off by accident, it is impossible to know the origin of the individuals observed."[15] To make matters worse, [245] it is a common practice in northern Morocco to graft scions of the cultivated olive to oleaster stock.[16]

The oleaster is best developed in the area covered by palmetto scrub, where the winters are too cold and wet for the cultivated race, but a few oleasters are seen

---

[11] Changes of climate also have been invoked to explain the presence of wild olive (*Olea Laperrini*) and cypress (*Cupressus Dupresiana*) in the mountains of the central Sahara. L. Lavauden, "Les Forêts du Sahara," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 65 (1927), 265–277. 113 137

[12] The adaptation of "Nordic" species to the Mediterranean environment is considered by Andrea Giacobbe in "Les effets écologiques de l'aridité du climat sur la végétation méditerranéenne: héliophilie et configuration morphologique des forêts," *Unesco Arid Zone Research*, V, "Plant Ecology" (Proceedings of the Montpellier Symposium) (Paris, 1955), pp. 64–66.

[13] Victor Hehn, *The Wanderings of Plants and Animals from Their First Home* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1888), pp. 88–101.

[14] Aug. Chevalier, "L'origine de l'olivier cultivé et ses variations," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 28 (1948), 1–25.

[15] Alphonse de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (New York: Appleton, 1885), p. 280.

[16] Pliny (*Natural History*, XVII, 30) thought that this practice was limited to Africa.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

in the semiarid region south of Melilla. Both varieties sprout vigorously, and both are polymorphic. The latter fact is of major significance, for if the oleaster were a wild species it should be monomorphic, at least in a given area. Chevalier's argument is based upon this point. The seemingly primitive oleasters may be escaped and neglected variants of races that were once cultivated." The longevity of the olive is lengendary; some sprouts in Algeria and Tunisia are almost certainly derived from Roman trees." The fact that some trees have spines and small fruit may not be distinctive. Both varieties probably evolved from *Olea chrysophylla*, the true wild olive of southwestern Asia." The oleaster may be no more difficult to explain than the "wild" pears and apples in the forests of France. It is not unusual for a neglected cultivated plant to become naturalized. Subspontaneous varieties of the cultivated carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*) are common in the Mediterranean region. In northern Morocco this tree, cultivated for its edible pods, is widely scattered in the area covered by palmetto scrub. Like the oleaster, it often appears to be a natural element of the maqui.

Shrub Formations

In most of the Mediterranean basin, shrub formations now cover much more territory than do forests (fig. 8). In northern Morocco, shrub vegetation is dominated by dwarf palm or palmetto (*Chamaerops humilis*) and the xerophytic camel thorn (*Zizyphus lotus*). The range of these two species delimits two shrub formations, palmetto scrub and thorn scrub. The first formation is the *Oleo-Lentiscetum* (i.e., *Olea europaea—Pistacia lentiscus*) of most authors, but in northern Morocco neither of these plants is as conspicuous as the palmetto.

The palmetto (Arabic *doum*) is best developed on argillaceous soils in areas of mild temperature and moderate to heavy precipitation (fig. 7). These preferences explain the absence of palmetto in the cool highlands and its rare occurrence in semiarid areas. Dwarf palm may be seen on rocky knolls near Wad Moulouya, but most of the eastern half of northern Morocco is too dry for the species. In the western half of the zone the altitudinal limits of palmetto rise from west to east according to the lessening amount of precipitation.

The popular names "dwarf palm" and "palmetto" as well as the Linnaean binomial (*Chamaerops humilis*), derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "dwarf or stunted bush," do not suggest that this plant may grow five to ten meters high. Excellent specimens of this height are preserved, however, at the cemeteries of Chella near Rabat and at Asni south of Marrakech. In northern Morocco I have seen tall palmettos on several sacred sites. Palmetto is exploited

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 25]

[9] H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953), p. 11, states that charcoal from a midden near Tébessa in eastern Algeria "a révélé d'une manière certaine l'existence de l'oléastre en Afrique au Paléolithique Supérieur." But in the study to which she refers—R. le Du and L. Saccardy, "Etude de quelques charbons préhistoriques de la région de Tébessa," *Rev. Africaine*, 88 (1949), 111–119—there is no mention of oleaster. Charcoal of *Phillyrea*, another genus of the olive family, is mentioned, but this adds nothing to the history of *Olea europaea*.

[10] L. Joleaud, "L'ancienneté de la fabrication de l'huile en Afrique du Nord," *Rev. Africaine*, 70 (1929), 19–36.

[11] If this be correct, the present range of the cultivated olive is almost completely separated from that of its ancestor. I. H. Burkill, "Habits of Man and the Origins of the Cultivated Plants of the Old World," *Proc. Linnean Soc. London*, 164 (1951–1952), 12–42, ref. to fig. 2, p. 16.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3 ●
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4
102 SR
131
130

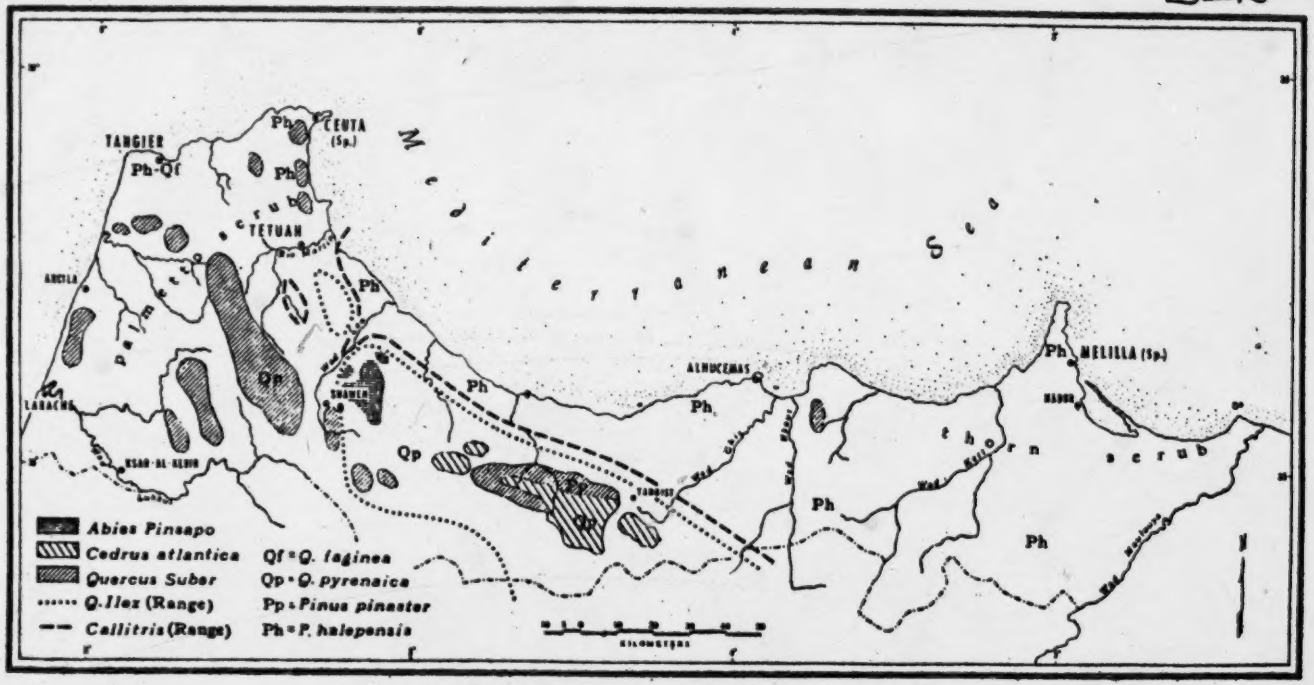


Fig. 8. Northern Morocco: distribution of forest and scrub.

/p. 241

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[20] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[21] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[22] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wad Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

[20] *Marruecos, zona jalifana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[21] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognized by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* . . . , II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est determinée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[22] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of *doum*.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

delta, but it becomes progressively rarer toward the eastern semiarid sector of this zone. Pistacia wood is highly prized as a source of charcoal, and this fact alone may explain the plant's degraded appearance in the hills south of Tangier.

Pistacia rarely forms a pure stand. Several of the other plants found in palmetto scrub could be described as weeds, for they appear mainly in fallow fields. *Asphodelus microcarpus, Urginea maritima, Daphne Gnidium,* and one or more species of *Asparagus, Ononis,* and *Papaver* are prominent among them. In areas where most of the surface is cultivated, as in the Fahs territory south of Tangier, these plants, together with thistles and scattered clumps of palmetto, constitute all but a small part of the total inventory of vegetation. On rocky knolls and alluvial slopes too steep for cultivation, these plants grow among *Pistacia, Calycotome, Lavandula,* and the oleaster. The percentage of thorny plants is high. Besides *Calycotome* and thistles, *Carduus, Smilax,* and *Rosa* are found.

Dense shrub formations are rarely seen on the thickly settled Atlantic versant. One may walk unimpeded anywhere in the zone bounded by the Atlantic coast, Tangier, and Ksar al-Kebir. The thick shrub growth on the Mediterranean coast near Wad Lao contrasts sharply with the open formations on the Atlantic littoral. In the former area, *Cistus ladaniferus, C. albidus, Erica arborea, Pistacia lentiscus,* and *Arbutus Unedo* combine to form an impenetrable thicket. The limestone mountains of northern Morocco are almost bare of shrub or tree growth. From Ceuta to Wad Lao the eastern horizon is dominated by a great wall of limestone, almost completely devoid of soil. The prevalent whiteness is disturbed only by scattered clumps of palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

In the area covered by palmetto scrub the persistent riparian plant is the toxic *Nerium oleander*. It may be accompanied by *Crataegus, Myrtus,* and *Arbutus,* but in most of northwestern Morocco the oleander is the only plant on the banks of streams. The presence of *Alnus, Populus, Salix,* and *Vitex* along stream channels in the Sanhajan highlands may be explained by the persistence in that area of other trees, especially cedar, juniper, and oak, which have been adequate thus far as a source of fuel and building material.

In the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco, palmetto scrub grades into a thorn scrub dominated by *Zizyphus lotus,* a spiny and xerophytic member of the buckthorn family (Rhamnaceae). It is difficult to draw a line between these two formations. Isolated clumps of palmetto are found as far east as the Moulouya Valley, and zizyphus extends up the valley of Wad Ghis as far as Targist.

Well adapted to aridity and continentality, *Zizyphus lotus* has become the dominant plant of Morocco's semiarid plains. Clumps of zizyphus are conspicuous within most of the area mapped as thorn scrub. This plant may grow three meters high, but is most often seen as a shrub. It is deciduous; and, during the dormant winter season, gray and seemingly lifeless clumps of zizyphus are a characteristic feature of the landscape. Its branches are widely used as fence material, and this practice enhances the contrast between the semiarid sector of northern Morocco and the wetter western zone, where *Opuntia* is planted as a hedge. The fleshy drupe of zizyphus is collected wherever it grows; when cereal stocks are exhausted, "lotus bread" is an important food."

" *Zizyphus lotus* is occasionally planted in Andalusia, Portugal, and Sicily, but in northern Africa the fruit is collected from wild plants. Aug. Chevalier, "Les jujubiers ou zizyphus de

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 On protected sites, zizyphus and sumac (*Rhus pentaphylla*) form a thicket. In areas where zizyphus and sumac are mixed with *Pistacia atlantica*, the thorn scrub formation could be described as a thorn forest. Fields that have been fallow for several years are covered with *Asphodelus microcarpus*, *Marrubium alysson*, *Fagonia cretica*, and *Lycium intricatum* as well as the ubiquitous zizyphus. Alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*) covers part of the area between Ikibdhanen and Kar-Kar. Alluvial soils in the same general area are covered with esparto grass (*Lygeum spartum*) and dwarf sage (*Artemisia herba alba*). The areas occupied by these three species may be advanced colonies of the steppe formations of the upper Moulouya Valley and the Algerian Hauts-Plateaux.

Forest Formations

As figure 8 indicates, most of the forest species in northern Morocco belong to the families Pinaceae and Fagaceae. Two evergreen oaks dominate the latter group: the holly or holm oak (*Quercus Ilex*) and the cork oak (*Quercus Suber*). The wide range of the holly oak is indicative of its edaphic and climatic tolerance (fig. 7). In northern Morocco it is found from an elevation of about 500 meters up to the crest of the Rif chain. It is mixed with cedar and fir above 1,500 meters and with zizyphus in the semiarid region east of Alhucemas. *Quercus Ilex* may appear as a tall tree, but most specimens show the damaging effects of fire, cutting, and browsing. The holly oak is certainly a forest species, but it would be misleading to speak of forests of this tree. The area delimited in figure 8 merely indicates the zone in which specimens of this species are numerous. Many specimens are only two meters high. Emberger estimates that *Quercus Ilex* is spread over 700,000 hectares of Morocco, and that this territory may represent less than half of the primordial range."

[132] The effective limit of the cork oak nearly coincides with the 400 mm. isohyet. *Quercus Suber* appears on schist in the highlands of Ghmara and Sanhaja, on sandstone in the mountains west of Tetuán and Shawen, and on Pliocene dunes south of Larache. Cork forests are not found on residual soils weathered from limestone, or on heavy alluvial soils. Most of the eastern half of northern Morocco is too dry for the cork oak. A single stand occurs in the highlands east of Wad [132] Nkour, where the orographic mechanism produces rainfall heavier than is observed in the neighboring lowlands.

The natural form of the cork oak is that of a large tree with a short trunk and spreading crown. Specimens of this form are rare today. Tall trees develop from seed regeneration, whereas most trees have a lateral growth that results from sprouting. The latter habit indicates a history of abuse, whether by cutting, burning, or browsing. Undisturbed forests usually have a shaded floor with little underbrush, but cork trees are more commonly accompanied by a number of shrubs. The faithful companion of *Quercus Suber* in northern Morocco is the woody briar *Erica arborea*, which also avoids calcareous soils. Under conditions of extreme degradation, the quick-seeding Cistaceae and the aggressive palmetto are more prominent than other undergrowth. Frequent disturbance, especially

[222] [113] l'ancien monde et l'utilisation de leurs fruits," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 27 (1947), 470–482.

" Emberger, *Les Arbres du Maroc*, p. 117.

A, B, [See pp. 24 & 20 respectively--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

by burning, may completely destroy the oaks. The Mamora cork forest north of Rabat (137,000 hectares) is the largest in the world.[11] Cork oak covers about 100,000 hectares in the northern zone.[12]

Much of the economic activity in northern Morocco is concerned with the collection and shipment of cork. The bark of the trunk and the larger branches is utilized. Cork is first removed when trees are about twenty years old, with subsequent stripping every seven to ten years. The first yield (*liège mâle*) is very rough and coarse and of little value. Cork of subsequent stripping (*liège de reproduction*) is more homogeneous and of higher commercial value. In northern Morocco, cork is collected by Spanish concerns with native labor, and also by small independent operators who collect cork from isolated villages and carry it to places of deposit on the main roads. Most of the cork from northern Morocco is shipped in bulk to Spain.

Deciduous oaks cover about 7,000 hectares in northern Morocco. Two species are represented, and they have the scattered distribution characteristic of relicts. The larger stand of deciduous oaks grows at an elevation of about 1,000 meters in the mountains west of Shawen and southwest of Bab Taza—Jbil Buhashim, Jbil Sugna, and Jbil Hazana. *Quercus pyrenaica* = *Q. Tozae* is the species in this area; it appears also at elevations of 1,200–2,000 meters on Jbil Tiziran and, as the binomial indicates, in the Pyrenees. The second species, *Q. faginea* = *Q. lusitanica*, is scattered over the Sanhajan highlands. The largest stands are on the slopes between Jbil Tiziran and Jbil Leshab. Other stands appear on the slopes of Adrar Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut, and there are a few trees mixed with *Erica arborea*, *Cistus ladaniferus*, and *Pistacia lentiscus* in the maqui near Tangier.

It is difficult to explain the scattered distribution of the deciduous oaks. They are abundant in the largest forested area (fig. 8), that of the mountains west of Shawen, but many of the trees in this forest were cut by the Spanish for use as railroad ties. Both species seem to be calcifuge, and it is unlikely that either will be found in the drier parts of the zone. The scattered and mountainous distribution suggests that the deciduous oaks are Pleistocene relicts now restricted to the coolest and wettest parts of northern Morocco. The extreme polymorphism of *Quercus faginea*, with its great number of subspecies and races, seems to support this view.

The highest peaks in northern Morocco are clothed with forests of fir and cedar. The former genus is confined to the calcareous mountains east of Shawen. Two species are present: *Abies tazaotana* occurs at elevations of 1,500–1,854 meters on Jbil Tazaot, and *A. pinsapo* appears on Jbil Maggo, Jbil Tisuka, and Jbil Leshab, as well as in the mountains near Ronda in southern Spain. This restricted highland distribution again suggests that these species are relicts. On Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab, forests of fir begin at an elevation of 1,600

[11] Estimate of Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 101. For an excellent description of the Mamora forest see A. Métro and Ch. Sauvage, *Flore des végétaux ligneux de la Mamora* (Rabat: Société des Sciences Naturelles et Physiques du Maroc, 1955).

[12] This figure and the estimates of forested surface in later paragraphs are taken from S. Sánchez Cózar, "Montes," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948), pp. 5–25. Earlier estimates appear in E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 meters and persist up to the summits at slightly above 2,000 meters. Fir forests are never pure. Deciduous oaks replace fir in moist canyons, and the maritime pine is found on drier, south-facing slopes. Cedar is scattered through most stands of fir, but is conspicuous only on the highest peaks. There are about 6,000 hectares of fir forest in northern Morocco.

The Atlas cedar (*Cedrus atlantica*) is North Africa's most valuable source of timber.[*] Cedar forests are found in the Rif and the Middle and High Atlas in Morocco, and on some of the highest peaks in Algeria. In northern Morocco cedar forests extend from the calcareous range east of Shawen to the schistose mountains south of Targist. A single isolated stand appears on Jbil Kelti, in the karstic mountains of Bani Hassan. The best forests are found on siliceous soils in the Sanhajan mountains, where the cedar is prominent from an altitude of 1,600 meters to the summits of the highest peaks (pl. 1, *b;* pl. 10, *a*). In the valley of Wad Ouergha some cedars may be seen as low as 1,000 meters, and a small stand of very large trees appears at Tlata Ktama at 1,300 meters. In the High Atlas, cedar forests give way to *Juniperus thurifera* at about 3,700 meters. There is no natural timberline in northern Morocco, but trees are stunted on the highest peaks (pl. 1, *b*). Distortion caused by strong winds is especially evident on the summit of Adrar Tidighin. Stumps a meter in diameter have about a hundred rings, but it is difficult to generalize about the age and size of trees, for edaphic and microclimatic factors are highly varied in mountainous terrain.

In the few areas where cedar forests are undisturbed, closely spaced trees shade out shrubs, and undergrowth consists mainly of ferns (*Pteris apulina*). On steep slopes and on the edge of clearings, cedars are mixed with *Juniperus Oxycedrus* and cork oak or holly oak. When cedar forests are cut or burned, the oaks become dominant. When the latter also are destroyed, forest degenerates to scrub. Badly degraded slopes are covered with scrub oaks (i.e., sprouts from the damaged trunks of holly oak or cork oak), *Genista quadriflora, Cistus laurifolius, Halimium lasiocalycinum, Cytisus megalanthus, Daphne Gnidium,* and *Thymus riatarum.* Where destruction of the forest is accompanied by severe erosion, slopes may be covered only by widely spaced clusters of *Genista* and occasional junipers. In areas of sparse human population, stream channels are lined with *Alnus glutinosa, Salix purpurea, Populus nigra, Crataegus laciniata, Rosa canina, Betula alba,* and *Vitex Agnus-castus.*

The distribution of the Moroccan pines is difficult to explain. Two species are identified in figure 8. The maritime pine (*Pinus pinaster*) is scattered in the Rif highlands from Shawen to the Nkour Valley, and the Aleppo pine (*P. halepensis*) appears in the foothills of the Rif chain and at several places on the Mediterranean coast. There are a few stands of maritime pine in the Sanhajan highlands, all on the Mediterranean versant and all at an elevation of about 1,500

[*] Taxonomists usually distinguish four species of *Cedrus:* the Atlas cedar (*C. atlantica*), the Cyprus cedar (*C. brevifolia*), the cedar of Lebanon and southwestern Turkey (*C. Libani*), and the Himalayan deodar (*C. deodara*). Actually, the distinction among these forms is trivial, and some authors prefer to regard them as geographical variants of a single species. René Marie, in his monumental *Flore de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Lechevalier, 1952), lists the Atlas cedar as *Cedrus libanotica ssp. atlantica.* The best general description of the ecology of the several "species" is Louis Emberger's "Contribution à la connaissance des Cèdres," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale,* 18 (1938), 77–92.

113

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 meters. Near Izagan the maritime pine appears to have colonized areas previously occupied by the cedar.

On the lower slopes of Jbil Leshab a dense cluster of Aleppo pine has been preserved on the site of a cemetery. In this area it is probable that *Pinus halepensis* once occupied an intermediate position, above forests of cork oak but below the zone occupied by cedar and fir. Another small stand of Aleppo pine, consisting of a few hundred trees, is visible from the Tetuán-Shawen route, a few kilometers north of Arba Bani Hassan. A few pines appear on the dunes between Rincón and Ceuta, and there is a small population on the Ceuta promontory. Aleppo pines appear also at Cape Malabata, opposite Tangier, and a few are scattered in the foothills between Wad Lao and Puerto Capaz. In the drier sector of northern Morocco the Aleppo pine is found on the Melilla peninsula and in the hills between the Moulouya Valley and Wad Nkour.

This distribution would be a severe challenge to the most imaginative plant geographer. In the areas in which the Aleppo pine grows, precipitation varies from 1,000 mm. to less than 400 mm. The Aleppo pine appears on Recent dunes south of Ceuta, and on consolidated Pliocene dunes north of Melilla. It grows on sandstone in the Tangier area, and on gneiss at the Ceuta promontory. The scattered pines between Wad Lao and Puerto Capaz grow on a variety of soils, weathered from schist and metasediments. Other trees appear on calcareous soils, and an excellent plantation has been established near Nador on andesite and basalt. It may be necessary to describe the Aleppo pine as a relict now in process of expanding. This explanation is tenable. Relict populations may become centers of dispersal if competitive vegetation is destroyed.[*] Fire, browsing, and other processes that discourage oaks and cedar favor the Aleppo pine, which is remarkably xerophytic and will thrive on thin mineral soils.[*]

The Barbary thuya, or sandarac tree (*Callitris articulata* = *Tetraclinis articulata*), is even more xerophytic than the Aleppo pine, but is less tolerant of cold. Apart from a few specimens on Malta, and in Cyrenaica and southern Spain, the thuya is restricted to northwestern Africa.[*] Thuya formations appear in the highlands of Tunisia and over a large part of Oran province in Algeria; but Morocco is the principal domain of this tree. On protected sites, thuyas may grow to a height of ten meters, but in most of the area outlined in figure 8 they are shrubs. In the northern zone their range can be delimited by the 1,000-meter contour and the 400 mm. isohyet. This concentration indicates a preference for mild temperatures and semiaridity. The presence of thuyas in more humid areas is explained by calcareous soils and rain shadows.

It would be hard to find a species better adapted to survive disturbance. The thuya is one of the few resinous trees that will sprout vigorously if damaged

[*] In reference to the cedar forests of the High Atlas, Emberger, in *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 95, remarks that "la dégradation de la végétation dominante actuelle favorise l'extension du Pin d'Alep dans les régions où l'état antérieur de la végétation ne lui permettait pas de prendre pied."

[*] Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *op. cit.*, p. 121, cited in note 22: "Autour de la région méditerranéenne, on assiste depuis longtemps au mécanisme de la régression de la sylve originelle. C'est le Pin d'Alep qui y joue le rôle le plus important dans les paysages de substitution en raison de son aptitude à coloniser les terres dénudées, cultures abandonées, terrains incendiés."

[*] Not to be confused with the genus *Thuja* (arborvitae), another member of the cypress family.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 by cutting, browsing, or fire. This ability explains the presence of scrub thuya in deforested areas. But it grows slowly and is sensitive to disturbance in its early years. In the area delimited on the map, thuyas are widely scattered and for the most part badly mutilated. Large formations have been completely destroyed. More than half of the houses in the eastern part of the Rif have rafters of thuya, which is used, wherever it grows, as a source of charcoal. The Barbary thuya has been used for centuries in making cabinets and other furniture, and was esteemed by the Romans for roofing temples.[a] Damaged trunks sometimes develop giant burls, which have been used since classical time as table tops. A hard resin, sandarac, exudes from the trunks, and a modest quantity of it is shipped to Britain, where it is used in the manufacture of varnish.[b]

[a] Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI. 231, XXXIII, 146.
[b] W. Dallimore and A. Bruce Jackson, *A Handbook of Coniferae* (London: Edward Arnold, 1948), p. 610.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

226 171 more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

S 226 824 171 Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[a]

Utilization of Wild Plants

R 757 824 171 The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

R 222 262 171 (139) Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus, C. laurifolius, C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

R 484 171 It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

R 438 439 171 A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[b] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

R (113)

[a] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[b] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus, Rhus pentaphylla,* and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[34] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix, Alnus, Populus, Vitex,* and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander,* the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[35] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[36]

---

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al., Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[34] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[35] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies,* 9 (1931), 69.

[36] Coon, *loc. cit.*, traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Plants that are somewhat resistant to fire or are stimulated to multiply and reproduce by fire have been called pyrophytes.[a] There are many kinds of pyrophytes, for resistance to or stimulation from fire may be achieved in several ways. The cork oak could be called a pyrophyte of passive resistance, for it is protected by thick insulating bark. Plants that send out new shoots after their aerial organs have been partly or completely destroyed might be described as pyrophytes of vegetative reaction. Budding may take place above ground, as in the thuya, or below ground, as in the kermes oak, palmetto, madrone, and numerous Mediterranean shrubs. Trees that cast deep shade (e.g., undisturbed holly oaks) could be termed pyrophytes of indirect resistance. Finally, some trees and shrubs that seed heavily and grow rapidly (e.g., Aleppo pine and species of *Cistus*) might be described as social pyrophytes.

This classification, derived from the pioneer work of Kuhnholtz-Lordat, has much to recommend it,[b] but, like all classifications, it has some faults. The passive resistance of the cork oak depends upon the lapse of time since the last stripping of the bark. Pyrophytes of vegetative reaction may be destroyed if fires recur in rapid succession. In northern Morocco it is hard to think of a good example of indirect resistance. Some stands of cork oak and holly oak have shaded floors and sparse underbrush, but during the dry season such formations may be inflammable. Again, although the Aleppo pine is an excellent pioneer, it may be exterminated if fires recur in rapid succession or if the young shoots are browsed.

Recurrent burning thus favors some plants and discourages others. Continuous repetition of brush fires produces communities rich in geophytes and therophytes. In much of northwestern Morocco, species of *Cistus* are the first shrubby pioneers.[c] They soon collect in extensive clumps, but die out after ten to fifteen years if not burned again. Large areas in Jbala and Ghmara, now covered with *Cistus monspeliensis*, *C. albidus*, and *C. ladaniferus*, probably were once covered with forests of cork oak or holly oak. Fires usually do not destroy the aerial organs of trees protected by thick bark, but the mortality rate rises sharply immediately after the bark has been stripped.[d]

When aerial organs are destroyed, both cork oak and holly oak reproduce from shoots. An occasional fire may even serve to regenerate a senile forest. But extreme care must be taken to prevent further destruction, for *Cistus*, *Erica*, and other heliophilous shrubs spread over the surface as soon as more light reaches the ground. Since the expanding secondary growth is highly inflammable, this process increases the danger of recurrent fires.[e] After several fires, the mesophytic plants are replaced by species more xerophytic as well as more heliophilous, indicating a change to drier soil conditions.[f]

---

[a] Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée*, *passim*, cited in note 32.

[b] *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

[c] Because of its rapid growth and abundant crop of seeds, *Cistus* has been used in California to protect denuded slopes. Gustaf Juhren, "The Use of *Cistus* in Erosion Control," *Lasca Leaves*, Spring, 1956, pp. 26–29.

[d] See also Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 663 ff., cited in note 5; and A. Dugelay, "La remise en valeur des forêts de chênes-lièges incendiées." *Rev. Forestière Française*, November, 1951, pp. 687–694.

[e] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 649, describes *Erica arborea* as an "élément ignicole par excellence."

[f] On the effects of fire in similar environments, see A. W. Sampson, *Plant Succession on Burned Chaparral Lands in Northern California* (Berkeley: California Agricultural Experiment Station, 1944); R. S. Adamson, *The Vegetation of South Africa* (London: British Empire Vegetation Committee, 1938); W. B. Turrill, *The Plant Life of the Balkan Peninsula* (Oxford:

7:, Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

372 The main difference between the effects of fire in broad-leaf forests and in
137 coniferous forests is that the latter, with the exception of the Barbary thuya,
311 do not reproduce by coppice shoots. The resinous bark of maritime and Aleppo pines is highly inflammable, and since neither tree reproduces from shoots, burning is usually fatal. Yet both species, especially the Aleppo pine, are pyrophytes. Indeed, the presence of a large number of pine seedlings is a sure indication of recent burning. Both species produce abundant seed, and proliferation is encouraged by the destruction of competitive growth. If fifteen or more years have elapsed since a fire, the seedlings reach maturity and the ground is again littered with seeds; but recovery is thwarted by more frequent fires.

Little is known of the effects of fire on the Moroccan fir, but it is probably unimportant as an agent of deforestation. The three main stands of fir grow on the highest slopes of limestone mountains, where there is little underbrush. Furthermore, these mountains do not have sufficient surface water to support permanent human settlement. Goats driven to the mountains from the lower slopes have destroyed many seedlings, but there is little evidence of destructive forest fires. Nor is there evidence of destructive fires in relatively undisturbed stands of cedar. Such forests have little underbrush to serve as kindling, and the cedar itself does not burn easily. But fires may be serious where cedar forests have been invaded by secondary growth. Most of the shrubs common in open stands of cedar—*Cistus, Daphne, Genista, Cystius, Thymus,* and *Halimium*—are highly inflammable. Occasional fires followed by long periods free of disturbance generally do not cause deforestation, but deforestation results when seedlings are destroyed before they can produce seed. The critical interval is disadvantageously long, for the Atlas cedar does not produce abundant seed until it is forty to fifty years old.

Destruction by Domestic Animals

233 It would be hard to overemphasize the destruction wrought by grazing and
311 browsing. More than half a million sheep and over a million goats are maintained in this zone. These figures are impressive, but the striking fact is that so large a number of animals are maintained by sedentary farmers. No tribe in northern Morocco is nomadic, and only the Ulad Stut and Aith Bu Yihyi practice transhumance. The main types of pastoral disturbance are well described by Braun-Blanquet.[*] Heavy pasturing causes: (1) withdrawal of large quantities of plant matter, (2) mechanical damage to plants by grazing, browsing, and trampling, (3) selective destruction of desired plants, (4) introduction of nitrophilous communities, and (5) alteration of micorelief.

The few cattle and camels kept in northern Morocco probably are not important agents of deforestation. Both animals are used almost exclusively for draft purposes, and few villages can afford to maintain more than one team. Authorities disagree on whether sheep have been significant factors in the process of deforestation. Most of the sheep in northern M[illegible] are in the drier and warmer parts of the zone, i.e., Garet and the eastern [illegible] Woody plants are too

(113) Clarendon Press, 1929); and B. O. Coventry, "Denudation of the Punjab Hills," *Indian Forest Records,* 14 (1929), 49–78.

[*] Braun-Blanquet, *op cit.*, pp. 367–368, cited in note 31.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

233 311 tough and massive to be adversely affected by grazing, but sheep can destroy shoots and seedlings, particularly those of the resinous trees.[a] The presence of monotonous formations of *Stipa tenacissima* in the lower Moulouya Valley and on the Algerian Hauts-Plateaux probably indicates overgrazing, for a history of excessive grazing may be inferred wherever hard tussock grasses have replaced more palatable growth.

Where goats are numerous, deforestation is accelerated, for no hillside is too steep to daunt this very agile creature, and few plants escape its voracious appetite (pl. 8, *a*). In Arcila, goats scale the nearly vertical Portuguese walls, and in the Sous Valley they climb into *Argania* trees. Not content with the grazing of grass, goats tear it up by the roots. When woody browse is exhausted, the soil itself is grazed in an attempt to get at the seeds of grasses and other plants. It is not surprising that the goat should be described as an "ecologic dominant,"[b] and that many naturalists would like to see it become extinct, except in zoos.[c]

[372] The most serious deforestation occurs when heavy browsing follows burning. Premature browsing or grazing results in the destruction of seedlings before they can produce a new crop of seeds. The French forestry service has ruled that burned areas should be closed to pasture for at least six years. The recovery of cedar forests may be thwarted if excessive browsing takes place within twenty years.[d] The best-known relict of the cedars of Lebanon, a stand of several hundred trees, is protected from vandalism by a church and from goats by a stone wall.[e] In open places in the Mamora forest, young cork oaks survive only within a protective cluster of palmetto. On the semiarid plains of northeastern Morocco, *Pistacia atlantica* rarely survives unless it is protected by a spiny hedge of zizyphus or sumac (*Rhus pentaphylla*), and in the Sous Valley the latter species plays an even more vital role as a protector of young *Argania* trees. In the mountains of northern Morocco, seedlings of cedar, pine, and fir are protected by the armature of the juniper. Elsewhere on the Mediterranean versant, young trees may be protected by *Genista, Calycotome, Ulex,* and other thorny Leguminosae.

311 233 372 139 Trees that reproduce by coppice shoots are seldom completely destroyed, but excessive browsing may reduce them to shrub form. In the geographic textbooks the scrub or dwarf state of the Mediterranean woodland is often described as a consequence of the Mediterranean precipitation regime. The error of this generalization is manifest in the holly oak. That the stunted and deformed appearance of this tree results from fire-induced sprouting and browsing is evident when stately trees growing on protected sites are compared with the prevalent forms. Neither climate nor any other element of the inanimate environment can explain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

[a] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 616, is more emphatic: "Il est d'observation courante au Maroc, comme en Algérie, que dans tous les massifs de résineux où le parcours des moutons est intense, il n'y a pas de régénération et que ces massifs sont condamnés à disparaître à plus ou moins longue échéance."

[113] [b] Marston Bates, "Man as an Agent in the Spread of Organisms," in Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 798, cited in note 7.

[113] [c] Raymond Furon, "The Gentle Little Goat: Arch Despoiler of the Earth," *The Unesco Courier*, January, 1958, pp. 30–32.

[d] Cf. Boudy's comment, *op. cit.*, II, 532: "Régénération de la cédraie et pâturage sont choses incompatibles." The prerequisites of recovery probably include at least three or four years of unusually heavy precipitation.

[113] [e] W. C. Lowdermilk, "Lessons from the Old World to the Americas in Land Use," *Smithsonian Inst. Ann. Rept. 1943* (Washington, D.C., 1944), p. 416.

A, [See p. 132--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

S
798
139
311

A. Sidi al-Hajj Yacub (Aith Seddath)

J
798
139
311

B. Sidi Mahadri (near Tetuán)

J
R
798
139
311

C. Km. 194, Tetuán–Melilla route

J
798
139
311

D. Km. 55, Tangier–Larache route

000

E. Bani Dercul F. Sidi Loraichi (Bani Arus)

Fig. 25. Profiles of vegetation on sacred sites.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

the stunted form of this tree. The same remarks apply to dwarf forms of thuya and oleaster. On protected sites even the palmetto may become a tree and, when disturbance is manifest, dwarf forms of cedar develop.

Vegetation on Sacred Sites

Throughout Morocco and to some extent elsewhere in the Muslim world, cemeteries are regarded as sacred ground. Sanctity is ascribed also to the areas adjacent to tombs or shrines of saints (*murabitin*). The cult of saints has been an important factor in Moroccan history, and tombs or shrines are found in the territory of each tribe.[a]

Sacred sites often constitute islands of verdure. This correlation is not unique. In *The Golden Bough* Sir James Frazer describes sacred woods in many parts of the world.[b] The interesting feature of the Moroccan situation is that such groves are extraordinarily numerous and that the veneration relates to the ground in which plants grow and not to the plants themselves.[c] Protected growth is usually more dense than the growth on adjacent profane land, and the height and girth of individual plants exceed those of plants growing on unprotected land. Some species (e.g., *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*) rarely achieve arborescent forms on unprotected sites.

The nature of the protected growth varies from a single shrub or tree to thickets and groves. Figure 25 shows the silhouettes of vegetation on a few sacred sites. These examples, selected from hundreds, illustrate the general pattern (cf. pl. 9, *a* and *b*).

Figure 25, *a*, shows a few mature cedars surrounded by a dense growth of holly oak. The prevalent vegetation in this area is a shrub formation dominated by *Cistus laurifolius*. There are no other cedars within a radius of several hundred meters, and holly oaks, apart from those on sacred sites, are in scrub form. It is evident that succession has resulted in a retrogression from cedar to oak forest and then to a sparse cover of shrubs.

Figure 25, *b*, illustrates a protected formation dominated by oleasters (cf. pl. 9, *a*). *Pistacia lentiscus* becomes prominent where oleasters are widely spaced and light reaches the ground freely. Palmetto and thuya, even more heliophilous, are confined to the edges of the protected growth. In the surrounding area the vegetation is limited to shrubs. Numerous other examples of oleaster groves fringed with pistacia and palmetto could be described. A handsome grove appears at the tomb of Sidi Manari on Cape Malabata opposite Tangier. Five groves appear on one ridge between Tangier and Tetuán. Others appear on the marine terraces between Tangier and Arcila, and on the lower slopes of the limestone mountains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

[a] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Marabout," in H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 325–326; Emile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

[b] Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935). Part I of *The Golden Bough*.

[c] J. Cola Alberich, *Cultos primitivos de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954), refers to tree worship (*dendrolatría*), but the evidence he cites relates to popular ideas of the medicinal and magical qualities of plant material (leaves, seeds, acorns, etc.) and not to the sanctity of plants as such. It is possible, for example, to recognize magical qualities in pine cones and yet have no reluctance to destroy or mutilate pine trees. In Morocco the important consideration is not what qualities a plant may possess but *where* it grows.

[See p. 133--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 196I

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102
139

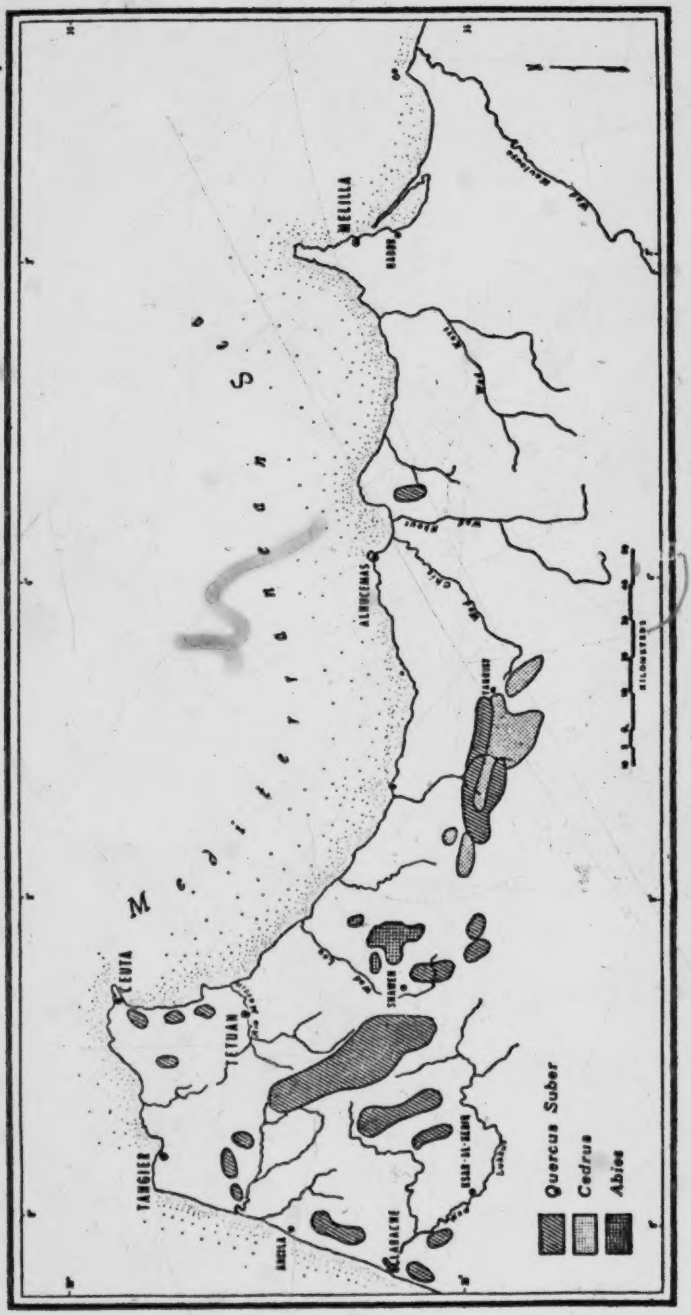


Fig. 20. Northern Morocco: present distribution of forest.

/p. 108/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

102
133
139

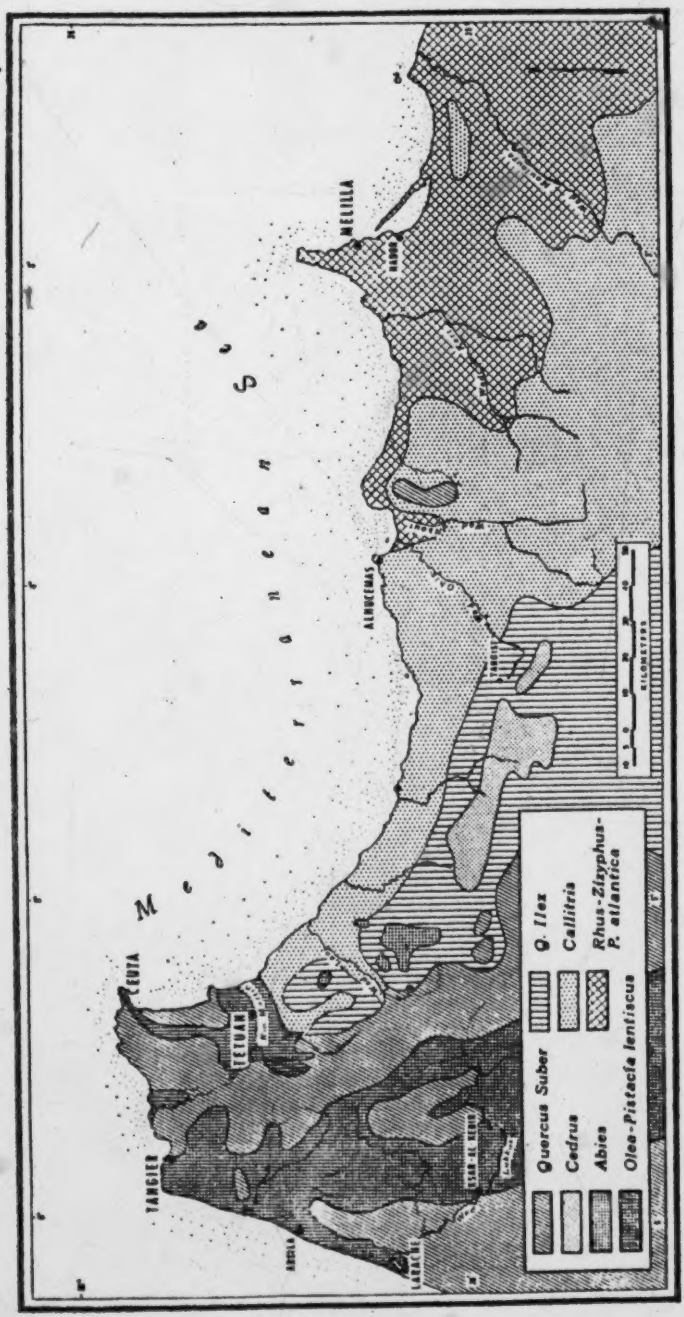


Fig. 27. Northern Morocco: inferred primordial distribution of forest.

/p. 109/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

south of Tetuán. There are at least a hundred oleaster groves in the area west of Ceuta and Ksar al-Kebir. In some areas oleasters mark every cemetery. Faced with this evidence, we can hardly avoid the inference that the primordial cover of the lowlands of northwestern Morocco was a woodland formation of oleaster and pistacia, and that the present cover of palmetto scrub represents degradation.

Figure 25, *c*, shows a protected stand of holly oak. The central part of the sacred grove consists of tall trees. *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Juniperus Oxycedrus* form a ring around the protected trees. Holly oaks are scattered throughout the central highlands (cf. fig. 8), but closed stands similar to the one depicted here are found only on sacred sites.

In figure 25, *d*, the evidence suggests, not a retrogression from forest species to scrub, but, rather, that two species which usually appear as shrubs, *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*, may have an arborescent form. The density of the protected formation and the height of its components differ markedly from the scrub cover of the surrounding land.

The cluster of cork oaks shown in figure 25, *e*, is preserved in an area of extensive clearing. Most of the nearby land has been burned during the last decade. The only conspicuous plants are *Cistus monspeliensis* in fallow fields and *Nerium oleander* along stream channels. This cluster of trees gives some indication of the plant cover of the area before it was cleared, and indicates the course of regeneration (cf. pl. 9, *b*).

In figure 25, *f*, a shrine is marked by two plants, an oleaster and a fig tree. This sketch illustrates on a small scale what the others show in greater detail. Most of the area surrounding the shrine is cultivated. Fallow fields are covered with *Asphodelus microcarpus*, *Urginea maritima*, and palmetto. The nearest oleaster, seven kilometers away, also grows on a sacred site.

Extent of Deforestation

Trends in plant ecology, viewed in the light of human relationships, take one of two courses, improvement or deterioration. The evidence examined thus far clearly indicates deterioration. What is the magnitude of change? This question cannot be answered in detail. Change is perceived through comparison, and the only reliable source of plant data is the visible pattern of today. Figure 26 gives a synoptic view of the distribution of forest. Figure 27, the basis for comparison, shows inferred primordial or potential forests. The first map is objective; it is a cartographic record of the distribution of forest in the sixth decade of the twentieth century. The second map is subjective, and its usefulness is conditioned by the quality of the evidence presented thus far.

The details of these maps are less important than their general outlines. The implication is clear that the present wooded area constitutes only a small part of the primordial forest. Many forest species, now stunted and widely spaced, may once have been taller and more closely spaced. Under undisturbed conditions the exceptionally xerophytic or heliophilous species would probably be confined to sunny slopes in the western sector or be limited to the semiarid eastern plains. Under optimum conditions the area covered by pyrophytic shrubs would be greatly reduced, and there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137
311
241

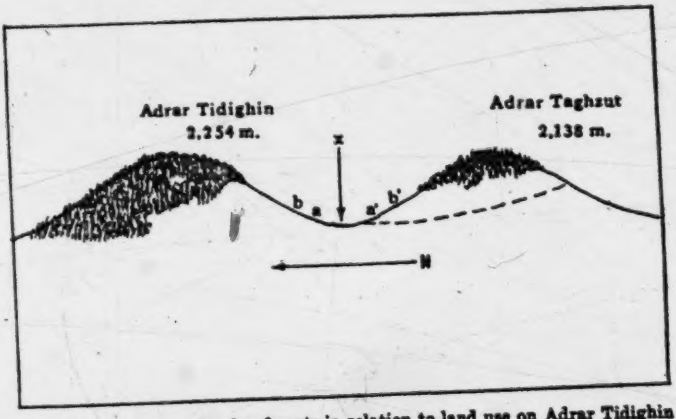


Fig. 28. Position of cedar forests in relation to land use on Adrar Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut: *a*, *a'*, zone of irrigated terraces; *b*, *b'*, zone of dry farming; *x*, location of protected cedar.

137
311

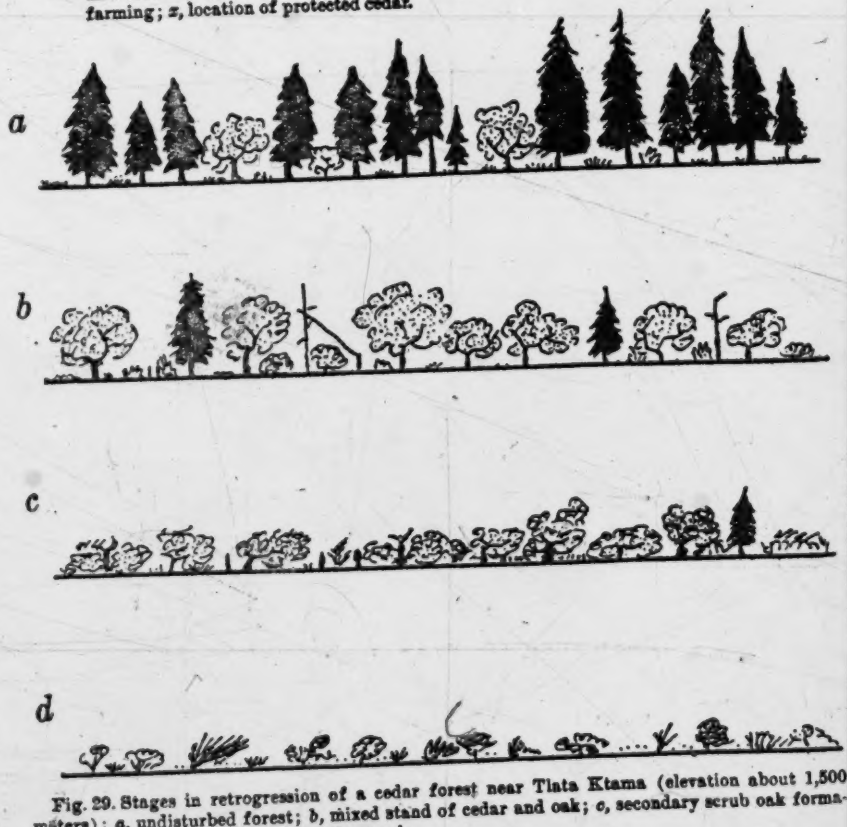


Fig. 29. Stages in retrogression of a cedar forest near Tlata Ktama (elevation about 1,500 meters): *a*, undisturbed forest; *b*, mixed stand of cedar and oak; *c*, secondary scrub oak formation; *d*, tertiary scrub formation without oak.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

bottoms of valleys, low nocturnal temperatures, caused by air drainage, probably favor the cedar; nevertheless, on many slopes the forest line appears to be 300–500 meters above its natural position.

Cedar forests do not regenerate unless pasturing is suppressed and there is an opportune cycle of wet years. Moreover, the subsoil and parent material must be loose enough to favor the development of seedlings and yet compact enough to retain moisture. A further prerequisite is that there must not be a thick cover of competitive shrubs. A single deforestation may drastically upset the natural equilibrium; if disturbance continues, recovery may be impossible. The mantle of cedars on relatively inaccessible slopes gives some indication of the appearance of the primordial forest (pl. 10, *a*). Figure 29 shows the trend of retrogression. On gentle slopes, undisturbed stands are dense, dark, and relatively free of underbrush. Steeper slopes, exposed to greater insolation, have an understory of shrubs and oaks. Burning or cutting followed by pasturing eliminates the cedar and reduces the oaks to scrub form. If disturbance continues, the plant cover degenerates to a sparse scrub of *Genista quadriflora, Juniperus Oxycedrus,* and *Cistus laurifolius.*

It is difficult to delimit the primordial pattern of the cedar forests. Forests probably existed on Jbil Kelti (1,927 meters), Jbil Sugna (1,600 meters), and Jbil Buhashim (1,681 meters), for a few cedars still grow on these peaks. The absence of cedars from Jbil Khsana (1,695 meters) is puzzling, since this peak receives abundant precipitation, and is composed of sandstone and schist, which weather into deep soils. At present no cedars appear east of Adrar Tizi Ifri, but they may once have clothed the highest peaks of the eastern Rif, including Adrar Hamam (1,930 meters) and Azru Akchar (2,011 meters). It cannot be proved that the cedar once grew beyond its present range, but the pattern of succession suggests that some stands may have been completely destroyed.[*]

The theory was presented, in chapter ii, that both the Aleppo and the maritime pine may be relicts which have been encouraged to advance by the destruction of competitive growth. If this notion is sound, the area originally covered with pines must have been even smaller than the present stands. This interpretation helps to explain the presence of pines in degraded forests of cedar and fir. However, human interference has probably caused a reduction of some stands of Aleppo pine, particularly on the Melilla peninsula and in the mountains southeast of Shawen. Disturbance might initially have encouraged expansion and then forced a new retreat. It is difficult to enlarge on this idea, for the existing stands of pine are too small and widely scattered to be placed accurately on the maps.

Prolonged disturbance and exploitation of the Barbary thuya have diminished the density of the remaining stands and reduced many trees to shrub form. The natural range of thuya in the western half of the zone can be traced without much difficulty. At higher altitudes on the Mediterranean versant, increased precipitation and lower winter temperatures favor cork oak and holly oak. On the Atlantic versant, climatic factors alone delimit the range. It is more difficult to trace a

[*] Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), (ref. to map), seems to regard the primordial range of the cedar as essentially the same as the present range. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala,* pp. 22–23, cited in note 41, suggests a natural extension to include the highest peaks of Ghmara and Jbala.

[See p. 134--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

limit in the area east of Wad Nkour. Emberger believes that most of the eastern lowlands were once covered with thuya.[111] According to another study, undertaken by an engineer of the Spanish forestry service, the natural range of the thuya extended to all areas of residual soil from the Nkour Valley to Wad Moulouya.[112] These interpretations may be sound, but the evidence presented here suggests that the primordial cover of most of the eastern sector was a mixed formation of *Pistacia atlantica* and *Rhus pentaphylla* with scattered clumps of oleaster. The effect of prolonged disturbance has been to reduce the area covered by these species and to favor the expansion of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*), dwarf sage (*Artemisia Herba alba*), and camel thorn (*Zizyphus lotus*).

There has been no study of plant succession in the arid and semiarid parts of northern Africa comparable in scope to Aubréville's monumental treatise on the effects of burning, clearing, and pasturing in tropical Africa.[113] Deterioration of ranges and "xerophytism" have been reported for most of the pre-Saharan zone, but it is not yet possible to determine the extent of change. The American statesman-scholar George P. Marsh argued long ago "that forests would soon cover many parts of the Arabian and African deserts, if man and domestic animals, especially the goat and camel, were banished from them."[114] In recent years a number of French scholars have expressed doubts concerning the theory that the vast formations of alfa grass and dwarf sage on the Algerian plateaus developed as a result of the semiarid climate.[115] After careful study of scattered stands of *Acacia gummifera* on the arid littoral of Morocco, south of Agadir, Charles Sauvage questions whether the zone between Anti Atlas and Wad Dra should be described as asylvatic.[116] Basing his conclusions on the wide occurrence of acacias in the desert, one author speaks of the primordial forests of the Sahara.[117] Sixty years ago another naturalist discovered that many of the wadis in the Egyptian desert were named after trees that had since disappeared.[118] Thus we have evidence that the effects of human disturbance have been felt even in the Sahara, and that aridity does not prevent the growth of some trees.

In the semiarid sector of northern Morocco it is possible to reconstruct vegetational changes with the aid of relict formations preserved on sacred sites. At the shrine of Sidi Seddic, on the border of the territories of Ulad Stut and Aith Bu Yihyi, a majestic oleaster, surrounded by sumac, is in striking contrast to the prevalent cover of dwarf sage. *Pistacia atlantica*, one of the few trees of northern Africa that can grow on heavy alluvial soils, appears on several sacred sites in

[111] Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, pp. 71–78.

[112] J. Ruiz de la Torre, "La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos," *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 30–33.

[113] André Aubréville, *Climats, forêts et désertification de l'Afrique tropicale* (Paris: Editions Maritimes et Coloniales, 1949).

[114] George P. Marsh, *The Earth as Modified by Human Action: A Last Edition of "Man and Nature"* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1885), p. 149.

[115] According to Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 68, "Les prairies d'halfa peuvent représenter d'anciennes forêts de *Juniperus phoenicia*, parfois même de *Callitris* et même de *Quercus Ilex*." Buffault, "Le déboisement de l'Afrique du Nord," p. 481, cited in note 15, also accepts the notion of a primordial forest on the Hauts-Plateaux.

[116] Ch. Sauvage, "Les environs de Goulimine: carrefour botanique," in *Volume jubilaire de la Société des Sciences Naturelles du Maroc* (Rabat, 1948), pp. 107–146.

[117] L. Lavauden, "Les forêts du Sahara," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 65 (1927), 263–277.

[118] E. A. Floyer, "Disappearance of Desert Plants in Egypt," *Kew Bull. Miscell. Information*, 72 (1892).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

the valleys of Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert.[*] The Aleppo pines preserved on the Melilla peninsula tell a similar story of general destruction and rare survival. Elderly tribesmen of Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut remember a time when great thickets of sumac covered the plains of Garet.

The evidence examined in this chapter supports the thesis, now accepted by most students of Mediterranean vegetation, that the prevalent maqui and garrigue formations are produced and maintained by man. The pattern of succession in the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco depends upon ecologic processes that are not yet thoroughly understood. The theory that this area was once wooded may or may not be sound, but there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover included a high proportion of tussock grass, zizyphus, or other animal-resistant plants. Any projection of current trends, whether in the drier or the wetter areas, suggests a large degree of change. This introduces new problems, for the inevitable result of biotic disturbance is a modification of the soil.

Erosion

The steep slopes of northern Morocco favor rapid runoff and prevent the formation of deep residual soils. Moreover, torrential rains in winter and spring follow vigorous mechanical weathering during the dry summer months. It would be hard to imagine an area more vulnerable to destructive erosion. Few slopes have an adequate plant cover, and forest now covers only about a tenth of its primordial range. In view of these natural and artificial conditions, it is not surprising that soil forms a deep and continuous mantle only in the coastal plains, and that most of the highlands are bare.

A useful point of departure is to locate areas that are virtually without soil. This is the situation in the calcareous highlands. From Jbil Musa to Ibuqquyen the horizon is dominated by a wall of bare limestone. It is possible that soil never was formed on the steepest slopes. On moderate slopes there are small and discontinuous patches of clay, but most of the calcareous zone has been stripped of fine material and only cobbles remain. Here and there are tiny mounds of soil preserved by the roots of a palmetto (pl. 11, *b*). On some slopes, particularly in the range of Jbil Kelti, lines of stone have been built up when there was enough soil to justify clearing and cultivation.

The rate of erosion in any storm depends on the force with which raindrops stir up the soil and the amount and speed of the runoff. Deforestation, particularly on steep slopes, accelerates degradation, and the combination of cutting, burning, and browsing prevents any reëstablishment of protective cover. Although the calcareous highlands were probably once covered with forests of holly oak (cf. figs. 5 and 27), today, vast areas lack even herbaceous growth. In the karstic highlands the only conspicuous plants are palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

Erosion is not quite so serious in the highland areas formed of schist and sandstone. Protected stands of cedar, cork, and deciduous oaks are associated with abundant litter and about eighteen inches of clay or sandy loam. But in cleared areas there is abundant evidence of loss of topsoil (pl. 10, *b*). Since it is common

[*] *Pistacia atlantica* has been used to stabilize slopes in Israel. G. F. Gindel, "Afforestation of the Semi-arid and Arid Areas in Palestine," *Empire Forestry Rev.*, 25 (1946), 213–221.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

R
139
311

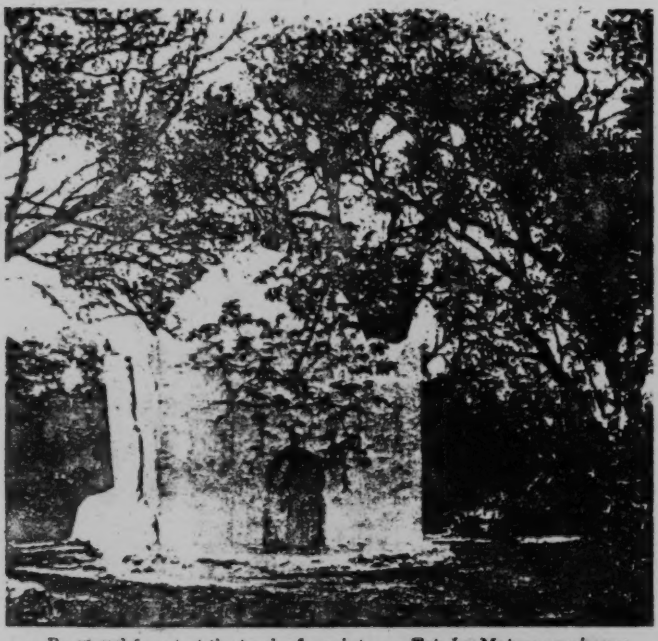
a. Mutilated cork oaks in an area overrun with goats.

J
291
313
482

b. Jbalan woman with a load of firewood.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

778
137
311
346



a. Protected forest at the tomb of a saint near Tetuán. Mature specimens of *Olea, Callitris,* and *Pistacia lentiscus.* Cf. fig. 25, *b.*

778
137
311

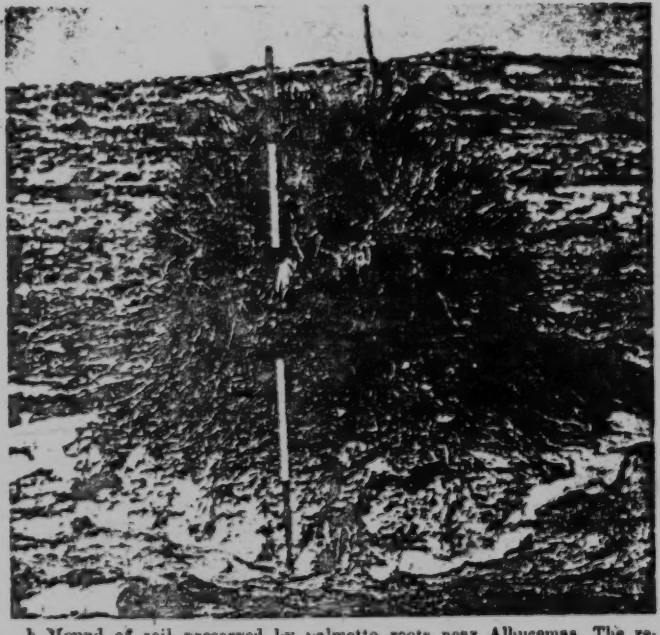
b. Sacred clump of cork oak on the site of a shrine near Shawen. *Cistus monspeliensis* appears in foreground.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

133
134

a. An active gully in the eastern Rif (Aith Said).

134
137



b. Mound of soil preserved by palmetto roots near Alhucemas. The remainder of the slope has been eroded down to limestone bedrock. (Each unit of scale is equal to one foot.)

1;Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif 1003
[Village of Ubd 'Abd al-Mumin]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[1]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[2] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[3]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[4] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

[1] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[2] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[3] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[4] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291
142
492

MOHAMMED LIMNIBHY

[frontispiece]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CLOTHING 2

Ghomaran woman with haik and leggings

Ghomaran girls, wearing haiks and broad cloth belts

291
142
301

Taghsuthi woman wearing *thearthat* with brooches

Taghsuthi woman with *thearthat*, showing attachment

[facing p. 84]

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

to the contact of peoples or to a common descent. The Berbers are generally considered to belong to a northern branch of the Hamitic stock, though the opinion has been expressed [1] that they are not Hamites by race but conquerors of the Hamitic aborigines of North Africa who adopted the language of the conquered. In any case it seems difficult to doubt that a very large portion or the bulk of the Berbers are members of a race which was once spread over the Mediterranean basin, and which has been called the Mediterranean race, whatever the origin of this race may be. It is

FIG. 8.—Among the Aiṯ Yúsi.

characterised by black hair and brown eyes ; but among the Berbers there is also an appreciable element of blondness. In Morocco blond people are in fact very frequent among the Rifians [2] and by no means rare among the Brâber [3] and the Shlöḥ of the Great Atlas ; and there are such people in the

[1] Lissauer, 'Archäologische und anthropologische Studien über die Kabylen', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xl. (Berlin, 1908), p. 527.

[2] See also Mrs. Brooks, *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay* (London, 1896), p. 153 ; de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc* (*1899–1901*) (Paris, 1903), p. 47 ; de la Martinière, *Morocco : Journeys in the Kingdom of Fez and to the Court of Mulai Hassan* (London, 1889), p. 69.

[3] See also de Segonzac, *op. cit.* pp. 137, 166, 229. According to Harris (*Tafilet* [Edinburgh & London, 1895], p. 159), there are some blue-eyed persons among the Drâwa.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

142 mountains of Algeria as well.[1] This blondness among the Berbers has been explained in different ways.[2] It has been attributed to immigration from Europe. The invasion of the Vandals would of course be quite insufficient to account for it, since blond people are known to have existed in North Africa long before their arrival;[3] but it is supposed that at a much earlier time an immigration took place from the north of Europe, the land of the blonds, across the Straits of Gibraltar.[4] This hypothesis is based partly on the fact that a large agglomeration of blonds is only found in that region of the world, and partly on the occurrence of dolmens in a continuous line from the shore of the Baltic to Tunis which are considered to mark the path of the migration. According to another theory, the blondness is, largely at least, indigenous to Africa, being due to the influence of external conditions, more particularly to that of altitude,[5] or to spontaneous variation of unknown origin.[6] The problem cannot be regarded as definitely solved; but I believe that most students of racial biology would nowadays favour the idea of the infusion of foreign blood as the cause of the blondness.

[1] Randall-Maciver and Wilkin, *Libyan Notes* (London, 1901), pp. 29, 30, 97 *sq.*; Lissauer, *loc. cit.* pp. 518, 525; Steensby, 'Nogle etnografiske Iakttagelser fra en Rejse i Algier og Tunis 1908', in *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, xx. (Kjøbenhavn, 1909–10), p. 68; Hilton-Simpson, 'The Influence of its Geography on the People of the Aures massif, Algeria', in *The Geographical Journal*, lix. (London, 1922), p. 23.

[2] See also Topinard, 'Instructions sur l'anthropologie de l'Algérie. Deuxième partie: Instructions particulières', in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, ser. ii. vol. viii. (1873), p. 645 *sq.*; Ripley, *The Races of Europe* (London, 1900), p. 279.

[3] Bates, *op. cit.* p. 39 *sqq.*; Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, v. (Berlin, 1917), p. 622 n. 1.

[4] Faidherbe, 'Instructions sur l'anthropologie de l'Algérie. Première partie: Considérations générales', in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, ser. ii. vol. viii. (1873), p. 605 *sq.*; Lissauer, *loc. cit.* p. 526 *sq.*; Mehlis, 'Die Berberfrage', in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, new ser. vol. viii. (Braunschweig, 1909), p. 285; Schrader, 'Le Maghreb', in *Revue anthropologique*, xxiii. (Paris, 1913), p. 83.

[5] Sergi, *The Mediterranean Race* (London, 1901), p. 74 *sq.*; Ripley, *op. cit.* p. 280.

[6] Steensby, *loc. cit.* p. 68.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

771 saints' tombs (23). Ṣūfi brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'Alāwīyīn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, Tijānīyīn and Naṣirīyīn have each gained a number of aherents the first-mentioned predominates at the presen time and the second was the most popular before the Riffian War.

778 Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descendend from *shurfā*, it has completely lost its *baraka* (a wonderwoking power not unlike the Melanesian *mana*) through participation in feuds. Both these families, as well as the rest of Imrābdhen, lebong to distant ramifications of the *Shurfā* Idrīsīyīn. The *shurfā* alone and not even all of them possess the quality of *baraka*, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

796 The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, *Maulid*), 'Īd aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Īd al-Kabīr (called 'Aid th-Amzyān and 'Aid th-Amqrān in the Rīf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or *'ām al-fillāḥ*: the 'Anṣra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Ḥagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is [788] the annual one to the tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, in Bū Mā'dhin, Thimārzgha, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-Kabīr. There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

142 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Riffians, about 40% of the Aith Wuryāghil are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Riffians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas),

(23) Rodríguez Padilla, Isaías: **Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios.**, Ceuta 1930, p. 24.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

and to mixture with an older strain (24), which is strongest in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and in the Jabal (Turīrth-Thimārzgha-Aith 'Arūs), as well as in eastern Aith 'Ammarth and northern Giznāya. This strain, which has probably survived from pre-agricultural times, is without question a very old one and shows a market resemblance to the Afalou crania and skeletal material from Constantine in Algeria and, to a lesser degree, to the Cro-Magnon people of Upper Palaeolithic Europe. The modern representatives of this strain look like Irishmen, with stocky body builds, wide faces (but long heads), snub noses, big teeth, reddish hair, green or light gray eyes, and freckles. I can personally attest that the presence of people of this physical type in the Central Rīf is far too frequent to be ignored, and strongly believe that these «Upper Palaeolithic survivors» are far too firmly rooted in their mountain habitat to be accounted for by any invasion within historic times, whether it be factual or fictional. That the Moroccan Berbers are descendants of Goths or Vandals is a myth that is, unfortunately, taking a long time to die; even more unfortunately, I have met Riffians who have come to believe in it themselves.

If you ask an Arab in Tangier or Tetuan what he thinks of Riffians in general and of Wuryāghlīs in particular, he will tell you that they, especially the latter, are ferocious, treacherous and that for a peseta they would be more than happy to out your throat. In all fairness to the people of Aith Wuryāghil, this seems a very harsh dictum indeed. But at the same time it must be remembered that in the past Wuryāghlī children were conditioned very early in their infancy to violence and murder; they were constantly reminded that a slur on the family honor had to be wiped off the record in blood. There is also the additional factor of mountain air and a more balanced if simpler diet which makes the Wuryāghlī physically stronger and tougher than the city or plains Arab; this is why he can stay out and plow his fields all day in a blistering August sun during Ramaḍān without bothering to stop for a siesta, and it is why he often landed a job as a construction worker or as a porter at the docks when he came to Tangier to find work after the drought of 1945. He is sober,

(24) Coon, 1951, p. 157.

114 619 unfounded argument which is insufficient for making up any definitive listing, for it excludes other criteria. The famous historian from Sevilla (read "Tunis"), Ibn Khaldun, who also never visited Morocco, places them among the descendants of the Sinhajat al-Litham, or "Veiled Sinhaja", who emigrated over all North Africa after having 619 left their original home in southern Algeria. My own humble opinion is that in the Igzinnayen we are confronted with a tribe of purely Berber origin, around which many diversified elements came to establish themselves.

142 157 The Arab, in general, is a man of deliberate movements, thin, long-faced and giving the impression that a certain spiritual elegance emanates from him; the Berber, in general, is much more brusque and abrupt, with a short neck and a round face, and, in speaking, he gesticulates in such a way as to give the impression that he is talking with his eyes rather than with his mouth. Whether Arab, Arabo-619 Berber or pure Berber, the origins of the Igzinnayen are very obscure.[153]

The founders of the tribe originated from the Ulad Akthir (unidentifiable), who, in Tamjund and Buridh (of the Asht 'Asim clan) gave rise to the Asht Bu Zkri (or Izkrithen), Ibaqriyen and Iharrasen; in Azru (of the Asht Yunis), to the Farzugu (unidentifiable), Asht Ishaq and Asht 'Aisa (unidentifiable); in Aqwir (of the Imzdwar) to the Asht Tirmamin and the Asht Tighda 'Ali.

The Jbarna (of the Asht r-Udha clan) have their origin in Imzdurar; they reached their present territory at a time which is impossible to determine. A large number of their families own land

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[3]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[4] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[5]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[6] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

[3] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[4] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[5] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[6] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619
144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first, is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
648
[186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
619
648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] [233] [859] 42--Dhwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] [196] [651] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] [671] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] [171] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

000
[114] 135--Although he does not couch them in anthropological language, Blanco here elucidates certain principles which are so common to most segmentary systems as to have become anthropological platitudes, since Evans-Pritchard's work among the Nuer. They were not, however, platitudes in 1935, and Blanco's perspicacity in stating them (even if obliquely) should be commended.

[113] 136--For competent discussions on the racial affiliations of the Rifians, see Carleton S. Coon, The Races of Europe, New York: Macmillan, 1939, and Coon, 1951, op. cit., pp. 156-7.

[144] But why should the Rifians be aware of their own racial affiliations well enough to "forget" them? They know they are whites, and they know they are Berbers (the latter example of self-knowledge is particularly well developed at the present day, since the independence of Morocco, and contains definite political overtones); and these facts, to them, are sufficient, genealogies and traditions explaining all the others.

137--Ghis, in Moroccan Arabic, means "mud", and a better name for the river in question could not be found.

138--The sixth "clan" of the Jbil is in reality made up of three subclans which are "brothers" of the members of two of the other five "ancient" clans which Blanco mentions above: Aith Turirth are "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Timarzga are "brothers" of Aith 'Ari (Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari in turn form the two top segments of one major clan, that of Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari--it has no proper name, on this level, of its own), and Aith 'Arus are "brothers" of Aith Hadhifa. These three subclans, being contiguous to each other in the mountain massif of the Jbil Hamam and discontiguous to their larger "clan brothers" mentioned above, formed a single administrative unit under a shaikh during Spanish times.

139--Blanco's recommendation to do away with the khalifa or representative of the qa'id in order to make for greater administrative simplicity was not acted upon by the Spanish authorities.

[622] 140--The office of jari or village headman is one which exists only
[184] among the Aith Waryaghar. In all other tribes, the village headman is the mqaddim, who in Aith Waryaghar became the head of the administratively created "sub-fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh. The creation and insertion by the Spaniards of another tribal
[648] office-holder on a level between that of village and clan (where no such office-holder had existed previously) was their answer to the greater segmentary intricacy, larger territorial units and greater population of the Aith Waryaghar. And last, but not least, Blanco's division of the total tribal territory into three blocs, each under its own qa'id, and each perforce following territorial rather than segmentary lines (owing to the frequent geographical discontinuity of subsegments), was, in the last analysis, the best and indeed the only way to make for an effective tribal administration.

141--This phrase comes from Hanoteau and Letourneux' famous reference to the Thajm 'aith of Kabylia as "la pierre angulaire de l'edifice berbère".

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[1]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[2] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[3]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[4] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

[1] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[2] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[3] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[4] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

and to mixture with an older strain (24), which is strongest in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and in the Jabal (Turīrth-Thimārzgha-Aith 'Arūs), as well as in eastern Aith 'Ammarth and northern Giznāya. This strain, which has probably survived from pre-agricultural times, is without question a very old one and shows a market resemblance to the Afalou crania and skeletal material from Constantine in Algeria and, to a lesser degree, to the Cro-Magnon people of Upper Palaeolithic Europe. The modern representatives of this strain look like Irishmen, with stocky body builds, wide faces (but long heads), snub noses, big teeth, reddish hair, green or light gray eyes, and freckles. I can personally attest that the presence of people of this physical type in the Central Rīf is far too frequent to be ignored, and strongly believe that these «Upper Palaeolithic survivors» are far too firmly rooted in their mountain habitat to be accounted for by any invasion within historic times, whether it be factual or fictional. That the Moroccan Berbers are descendants of Goths or Vandals is a myth that is, unfortunately, taking a long time to die; even more unfortunately, I have met Riffians who have come to believe in it themselves.

If you ask an Arab in Tangier or Tetuan what he thinks of Riffiians in general and of Wuryāghlīs in particular, he will tell you that they, especially the latter, are ferocious, treacherous and that for a peseta they would be more than happy to out your throat. In all fairness to the people of Aith Wuryāghil, this seems a very harsh dictum indeed. But at the same time it must be remembered that in the past Wuryāghlī children were conditioned very early in their infancy to violence and murder; they were constantly reminded that a slur on the family honor had to be wiped off the record in blood. There is also the additional factor of mountain air and a more balanced if simpler diet which makes the Wuryāghlī physically stronger and tougher than the city or plains Arab; this is why he can stay out and plow his fields all day in a blistering August sun during Ramaḍān without bothering to stop for a siesta, and it is why he often landed a job as a construction worker or as a porter at the docks when he came to Tangier to find work after the drought of 1945. He is sober,

(24) Coon, 1951, p. 157.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

and to mixture with an older strain (24), which is strongest in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and in the Jabal (Turīrth-Thimāragha-Aith 'Arūs), as well as in eastern Aith 'Ammarth and northern Giznāya. This strain, which has probably survived from pre-agricultural times, is without question a very old one and shows a market resemblance to the Afalou crania and skeletal material from Constantine in Algeria and, to a lesser degree, to the Cro-Magnon people of Upper Palaeolithic Europe. The modern representatives of this strain look like Irishmen, with stocky body builds, wide faces (but long heads), snub noses, big teeth, reddish hair, green or light gray eyes, and freckles. I can personally attest that the presence of people of this physical type in the Central Rīf is far too frequent to be ignored, and strongly believe that these «Upper Palaeolithic survivors» are far too firmly rooted in their mountain habitat to be accounted for by any invasion within historic times, whether it be factual or fictional. That the Moroccan Berbers are descendants of Goths or Vandals is a myth that is, unfortunately, taking a long time to die; even more unfortunately, I have met Riffians who have come to believe in it themselves.

If you ask an Arab in Tangier or Tetuan what he thinks of Riffians in general and of Wuryāghlīs in particular, he will tell you that they, especially the latter, are ferocious, treacherous and that for a peseta they would be more than happy to out your throat. In all fairness to the people of Aith Wuryāghil, this seems a very harsh dictum indeed. But at the same time it must be remembered that in the past Wuryāghlī children were conditioned very early in their infancy to violence and murder; they were constantly reminded that a slur on the family honor had to be wiped off the record in blood. There is also the additional factor of mountain air and a more balanced if simpler diet which makes the Wuryāghlī physically stronger and tougher than the city or plains Arab; this is why he can stay out and plow his fields all day in a blistering August sun during Ramaḍān without bothering to stop for a siesta, and it is why he often landed a job as a construction worker or as a porter at the docks when he came to Tangier to find work after the drought of 1945. He is sober,

(24) Coon, 1951, p. 157.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 rated from the tent proper by long ropes, purposely designed so that the edge of the fabric composing the tent will remain about two feet from the ground. The space under the tent is sometimes walled off with matting set up as sides, and sometimes left open.

351 About the tent or group of tents the Nomads place thick hedges of cut, dried brush, of a particularly thorny and impenetrable variety, called *afarai*. This forms a serviceable en-
417 closure to protect the livestock against animals and the whole encampment against invaders, since anyone stumbling into it would arouse the dogs (if the latter had not already become aware of his approach).

In Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit, the sedentary peoples have adopted the *afarai*, but for a different purpose: they set it around their courtyards and onion patches to keep out wild animals. (See plate 21.)

342 Among the tent-dwellers of Braber extraction and the Arabs, every tent contains a *thaghirtch*, a cloth curtain dividing the area into two rooms, one of which is intended as a chamber of seclusion to which the women may retire when guests arrive. Among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa such an arrangement is not found, since all sleep and live together under the one undivided cloth. Among the sedentary peoples, when a family living in a one-room house wishes to insure privacy for the womenfolk, the *thaghirtch* is hung up across the room in such a way that the part open to the guests includes the door, the women being virtually imprisoned until the guests depart. It seems strange that in the Rif only the sedentary peoples should use what is elsewhere a nomadic means of obtaining privacy.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

352 Household furniture in the European sense is for the most part lacking. What there is consists of mats, skins, mortars and pestles, wooden bowls, pottery containers, baskets, basketry trays, and little else.

Stools are found only in the nuclear area. The Riffian stool, called *thiminjarth*, is a low affair, adzed from a single block of wood, with a long gouge parallel to the edges scooped out beneath to form a cleavage between the two sides. The top is concave and built for
● [152] comfort. The Riffians who use these stools are very much ashamed of them and hide them when guests from outside the nuclear area are expected. The stools are found in Beni Amart, among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Temjunt, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen.

The Taghzuthis use a sort of low stool made from several pieces nailed together, with four legs and a concave top. This seat is used by leatherworkers, who get down and sit on the ground when not working. These Taghzuthi craftsmen also possess low round tables on which they cut leather, and others, built like butchers' blocks, on which they pound it. Both these types of table and the local chair form are definitely associated with the leather industry, which is a recent one in Taghzuth; indicating that these articles of furniture are of no great antiquity at Taghzuth. Other objects which adorn the house are pottery, basketry, cloth, and blankets, described elsewhere.

Pegs along the wall serve to support clothing, firearms, leather bags, earthen plates, bottles of European manufacture (highly prized and hung up in places of honor), and strings of peppers and onions, which likewise festoon the rafters. Sausages sometimes hang clustered from these capacious rafters, which likewise furnish a resting-place for the family distaff, wool cards, and wool. The upright women's loom is set up in the rooms least likely to be used in the entertainment of masculine guests.

000

last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels, and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Montagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent it, they hardly succeeded!

[114]
[113]

27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be reactivated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactivation would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside it.

[152]
[628]

28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

619
616
114

30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams khmās (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition indicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu 'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith 'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

619
616
614

829 their own dwellings, anticipating possible impertinences and discourtesies which, wounding their brittle and easily hurt amour propre, would not be able to reject their ways and customs; but if, at some time, and it would not often happen, their instinctive suspicion and simulated servility and docility are momentarily broken down, a single sentence or even a single word will reveal to you all the power and strength of their race, the pride in their ancestry and the consciousness of their superiority; for it is precisely the Rifian resistance to all innovations and to all submission which is one of their most fundamental characteristics![4] In support of this we may refer to the
177
829
152 case of a qa'id, of an old qa'id of a Rifian tribe, who in the company
[123] of others had to attend an official meeting at which protocol compelled a special dress to be worn. The only indication that I gave him that he had to change his clothes for the officers was an outrage to him, which I noticed on seeing his cheeks turn red. The game was lost and an adequate answer was forthcoming: "Do you think I am a little boy?" The other quyad (pl. of qa'id) intervened, but he paid no attention to them; if they wished, he would do so, if not, he would retire; and that old and dignified mountaineer went out with his clothes unchanged, showing himself in the natural and logical manner of his own protocol and not in that of the others, a manner in which, also, he has all his excellence.

671 If we turn our attention to these qanuns, if, after putting aside our European criteria of judgment, we diligently examine their badly constructed phrases and sentences, if we analyze their meaning with all possible affection and if we really desire to penetrate into the spirit

671 628 613 728 Things went well, while the violators of the past were humble figures among the allied groups, incapacitated by their slight strength and the fact that they had few friends to abuse the pact by opposing themselves to other groups concerned; but when the equilibrium was upset or broken by the hatreds of the more distinguished lineage members, dragging their powerful lineages into the fray, the pact was wrecked and peace disappeared anew.

671 628 728 Observe in note 1 the guarantee of peace. In note 2, the formality of the agreement obtained. In note 3, the punishment. In note 4, the violation of the agreement. In note 5, the executive organ, the mass of the population. In note 6, the procedure. In note 7, the reason for the punishment, because it is a voluntary law. In notes 8 and 9, the fulfillment. In notes 10 and 11, the notables, the really significant personages, the Aitharbi'in. In notes 12 and and 13, with economic details, the democratic sensation of defective practice. In note 14, the Rifian illusion.

671 628 152 Notes 3 and 4 seem to show that Rifian custom is not designed to punish the loyal combatant, who, in an inflamed dispute, comes impulsively to make use of arms, incapable of dominating his instincts and always quick to defend his rights, but also to avoid treachery, cunning and hatred, or rather, vengeance, reprisal, from which the Rifians did not know how to free themselves, and which used up men and [572] [828] families. This is a notion which renders honors to manhood and stigmatizes the coward.

554 671 In notes 2, 10 and 11 it may be seen who the Rifians of significance are and that only these men, and not the ordinary tribesmen, are the executives and legislators. This proves what has been said

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
437
556
152 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628
197 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613
623 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that somebody had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
687 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus public

585 571 431 182 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 574 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors 585 574 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's • 152 family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's [292] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women [291] of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

585 of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes. A
574 feeling of intense competition seems to surround this ceremony
152 with the women of the bride's family appearing lofty and superior vis-à-vis the groom's family. Perhaps it is embodied in the compensatory feeling that one family has permanently lost a member to another family.

585 The seven days prior to this celebration are regarded as a 'honeymoon' during which the bride is still special. With the passing of this ceremony she is no longer tislith (bride) but timrath (wife) and must assume the ordinary business of household activities. Westermarck (1914:309) mentions a further ceremony
585 on the fortieth day after the wedding, in which a goat is
431 slaughtered by the groom and the meat taken to the wife's father's house. There countergifts, in the form of a cow or some goats, are given by the girl's father. This ceremony may
[114] have lapsed by the time I worked in the Rif. At least I have
[178] no data in my notes regarding rituals of marriage following the seventh day ceremony.

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
57] anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result [152] from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major 556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as 152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the djnoun [753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of [716] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The djnoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent. [578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye, amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective [793] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who [435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105 43 182 [152] is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption, etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies. These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources" (1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unimportant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest, respectively, appearing only as different instances of price according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most predominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the complete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic

105 443 182 [181]

[114]

114 unfounded argument which is insufficient for making up any definitive
619 listing, for it excludes other criteria. The famous historian from Sevilla (read "Tunis"), Ibn Khaldun, who also never visited Morocco, places them among the descendants of the Sinhajat al-Litham, or "Veiled Sinhaja", who emigrated over all North Africa after having
619 left their original home in southern Algeria. My own humble opinion is that in the Igzinnayen we are confronted with a tribe of purely Berber origin, around which many diversified elements came to establish themselves.

142
157 The Arab, in general, is a man of deliberate movements, thin, long-faced and giving the impression that a certain spiritual elegance emanates from him; the Berber, in general, is much more brusque and abrupt, with a short neck and a round face, and, in speaking, he gesticulates in such a way as to give the impression that he is talking with his eyes rather than with his mouth. Whether Arab, Arabo-
619 Berber or pure Berber, the origins of the Igzinnayen are very obscure.[153]

The founders of the tribe originated from the Ulad Akthir (unidentifiable), who, in Tamjund and Buridh (of the Asht 'Asim clan) gave rise to the Asht Bu Zkri (or Izkrithen), Ibaqriyen and Iharrasen; in Azru (of the Asht Yunis), to the Farzugu (unidentifiable), Asht Ishaq and Asht 'Aisa (unidentifiable); in Aqwir (of the Imzdwar), to the Asht Tirmamin and the Asht Tighda 'Ali.

The Jbarna (of the Asht r-Udha clan) have their origin in Imzdurar; they reached their present territory at a time which is impossible to determine. A large number of their families own land

695 829 [181] the individual, in most cases. It therefore seems natural that the group rather than the individual (contrary to Islamic Law) proclaims its innocence[39].

695 212 (685) Although written proofs are admitted, they are not common, and are always submitted previously to a fqih for his consultation. Also, certain tulba were known to take advantage of their essentially notary function in order to falsify documents (one man even wrote up false Sultan's dahirs, or imperial decrees, and was jailed in Tangier!); and this did not make for any great respect of written proofs in Arabic, a language which in any case the Rifians did not understand. [157] Even today (1935) a Rifian who possesses a document is always looking for people to translate it for him, as he is never satisfied with one man's word and always suspects that the man who drew it up for him either misrepresented him or lied to him. I have known Rifians who went to the French Zone and even to Spain in order to obtain proper interpretations of their personal papers! Only death will separate a Rifian from his r-kwaghadh![40]

695 Conciliation and arbitration are the preferential jural processes in this society, where victory is difficult and defeat is hard; and one is drawn to the idea that what actually takes place is more akin to "horse trading" than to justice, in the European sense of the word.

It seems to me that the collective oath is the Rifian equivalent of the European "word of honor", in its unadulterated sense[41]. It has [619] a social rather than a religious significance, and, in practice, very little ritual; it is carried out in the mosque under the eye of the rival or plaintiff, and of those who were in on the secret, a sufficient action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]

695 [784] It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-[184] appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if [191] one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 [114] 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] [181] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

[191] [577] [114] 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an amghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

175 century a pretender to the Sultan's throne, Bow Hamara, seeking
648 to consolidate his position in the north, invaded the Rif. He was halted in 1908 on the shores of the Nekor by the Beni Wariyaghar (Maldonado, n.d.:486) who united not to save a crown but to preserve their own autonomy.

175 What we do know of the early history of the Rif is not so much definite historical material whereby one can discuss the contents of an event and its eventual repercussions, but rather the sociocultural background of the tribes.

174 Regarding the original populating of the Rif there is no
16 definite information. The people who live there today may have lived there prior to the Arabic invasion of the seventh century and certainly did live there by the second invasion of the eleventh century according to el-Bekri's account. They may have been pushed into this area by the first Arabic invasion or by other Berber tribes at earlier dates. The ruggedness of the terrain and the difficulty of earning even a subsistence suggests that migration to the Rif was not voluntary. The Rif mountains hardly constitute a promised land. Though it is only conjecture, I suspect that the Rif was first populated by small groups of kinsmen living in the lowlands of the Taza Province who were forced because of the blood feuds to leave their original homestead and take up residence in these inaccessible areas. There is a certain justification for this belief since the present population distribution in the Rif is due mainly to small segments of original lineages fleeing the consequences of the blood feud.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID MONTGOMERY HART

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE RIFFIAN TRIBE OF AITH WURYĀGHIL (*)

122 THIS paper, a result of six months of ethnographic field work in Spanish Morocco, was made possible by funds granted from the Ford Foundation. That foundation is not, however, the author owner, publisher or proprietor of the publication in which this paper appears, and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements made or views expressed herein.

* * *

101 Aith Wuryāghil is not only the biggest and most important tribe
•[161] in the Rīf, but the most heavily populated in the whole of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, totaling some 65.000 people at the present time. It is delimited on the north by the Bay of Alhucemas and by the Mediterranean Sea; on the west by the tribes of Buqqūya, Banī Yaṭṭuft and Targīst; on the east by the Nakūr River and the tribes of Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn; and on the south by Aith Mazdūwī, Aith 'Ammarth and Gizināya (the last mentioned being just over the
101 border in French Morocco). Although Targīst and most of Banī
197 Yaṭṭuft are Arabic-speaking, the other tribes all speak the Riffian dialect of Berber. Aith Wuryāghil, Aith 'Amnlarth and northern Gizināya form, in particular, a Central Riffian linguistic bloc where Arabic is known only by a tiny literate minority. This dialect, called *Shilha* in Arabic and *Thamāzighth* in Riffian, is stronger in the Central Rīf than in any other part of northern Morocco, which gives an indication of the conservatism of the people who speak it. The three
101 nuclear Riffian tribes have all retained in large measure many of

(*) Excepcionalmente se ha conservado el sistema de transcripción usado por el autor del artículo, aunque difiere del adoptado por esta Revista (N. de la R.)

[P. 51]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The population density, 65 individuals per sq. km., although not the highest in Spanish Morocco, is a greater number of people than the land, which is one of the most infertile in the Protectorate, can effectively support. In the last century the Aith Wuryāghil found blood-feuding a sure outlet to reduce their overpopulation, but, at the present time, as they are no longer allowed to carry firearms, the population problem is met by a large annual exodus of ablebodied tribesmen to the plains of western Algeria, where they help out with the barley, wheat, olive and grape harvests on the farms of French colons. The terrible drought in the Rīf in 1945 precipitated emigration to a previously unheard of degree, and today the number of people from Aith Wuryāghil who are living and working outside the Rīf is greater than ever before.

Those who stay at home follow an annual agricultural cycle in which cereal cultivation is extensively practiced, particularly that of barley. They plow and sow their fields in the autumn and winter, and reap and thresh the grain the following summer. The straw is piled up into circular, conical silos (*athmūn*, pl. *ithmūnen*) to be used in the winter as fodder for the animals, of which cattle and goats are the most important, sheep less so. Mules and donkeys are employed as beasts of burden, while horses, owing to the extreme poverty of the people and the mountainous configuration of the terrain, are virtually non-existent. All, without exception, keep chickens and, inevitably, dogs, while in certain favored areas apiculture is practiced; the bees of Jabal Ḥammām produce the finest honey which it has ever been my good fortune to sample.

Although barley is the most important cash crop (the barley harvest of 1953 was the best on record), the Aith Wuryāghil spend comparatively little time working their grain fields, not more than three or four months a year, all told; it is their trees which receive the bulk of their attention. The most common trees are fig, pomegranate and almond in the Bay of Alhucemas, with olive substituted for pomegranate in the mountains; they are all pruned, watered, grafted and fertilized with great assiduousness, for dried figs and almonds constitute the principal food reserves during the winters, after the grains have been eaten. The same is true of raisins, and the cultivation of grape vines is extensively practiced in the mountains near Sūq al-Arbaʿ of Taurirt.

175 (Sanchez Perez
161 mentions the population density of the Aith Waryaghar, in the mid-
114 1940s, as being 65 individuals per sq. km., a figure which would be outrageously high for much of the Atlas Mountains today, but which by the time of the 1960 census had in Waryagharland - or at least in the Plain of al-Husaima - doubled, virtually, to 120...[16])

000 Such facts indeed reflect the density of the local tribal population in the North Zone, but they also reflect the density of the local administration - and nothing has been said about urban administration, at that. The total population of the North Zone, in the 1950s, was just under a million; and even so, the thickness at ground level of administrative personnel would argue for a very direct form of administration. In actual fact, this was not quite so.

Each of the five territories of the zone had its Interventor Territorial, usually a lieutenant-colonel who reported directly to the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas in Tetuan. Below him, in the administrative hierarchy, were several Interventores Comarcales, usually majors, and then Interventores de Primera Clase, usually captains, who were often seconded by lieutenant Interventores de Segunda who were the neophytes of the service, young men sent out to learn.

The real point about the intervencion system in the tribal areas, however, is that the Spanish interventor de primera, usually a captain, and the qaid or chief of the tribe which he administered were opposite numbers, each in his own separate hierarchy. For the interventor de

---

[113] 16--Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Históricos sobre Ciudades Rifeños", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados Durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-1952, Tetuan: Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos, 1952, pp. 29-47 (my ref. to p. 31).

633 [504] The area is administered today from the small port and provincial capital of Alhucemas. The growth of this urban center, fishing port, and tourist attraction is but a recent [175] phenomenon. The city, founded in 1925 with the invasion of a Spanish fleet, has been the focal point for whatever innovation that has occurred in the Central Rif in this century.

133 361 Directly behind the city of Alhucemas is a flat plain. Although the land here is rich it was uninhabited prior to the Spanish because the terrain was indefensible during times of feuds. The original population was situated in the foothills [712] and higher mountains. Here homesteads were scattered and since they also served as garrisons or fortresses they were located on hills or ridges which could be defended militarily.

133 The area is not well served by rivers, the principal ones being the Rhis and the Nekor. The former rises in the Sonhaja area and empties into the Mediterranean at Alhucemas. The latter starts in Igzinnayen territory to flow along the border of the Beni Wariyaghar and the Beni Tuzin, emptying into the bay at Alhucemas. Both these rivers and their tributaries are used [312] [161] for irrigation and the population density is higher along them. There are also a good many natural springs (generally regarded as holy sites) and wells have been successfully dug in some of the valleys.

132 Rainfall varies annually and at times disastrously. At the weather station in Alhucemas during the decade 1946-1955, rainfall ranged from 8.5 inches to 16.9 inches. Although the

J:Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories. In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[1] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebíes* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. [illegible].

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93)

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Tnine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Cabello Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167–169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[a] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[b] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[a] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[b] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The answer to this dilemma, if it may be called an answer, is emigration. In the decade preceding the current disorder, more than 30,000 Rifians went to Algeria each year to work on French farms. The main drift took place during the slack winter season, but smaller groups migrated at other times of the year. Few Moroccans thought of emigration as a permanent change. They were hired by members of their own tribe appointed to serve as contractors, and messengers visited them regularly to collect money for the families left at home. Each tribe had its special place of employment. The Aith Warishik went to Sidi bel Abbes, the Aith Tuzin to Tlemcen, the Thimsaman to Blida and Ain Temouchent, and the Gal'ayan tribes to Oran.[111] The largest number of emigrants were recruited from the Aith Said, and it is not a coincidence that the territory of this tribe includes spectacular badlands. From the standpoint of the French farmer this movement was a blessing, for the Moroccans worked harder than the Algerians and were satisfied with less pay. The tribesmen of the western Rif did not join in the seasonal movement to Algeria, but many of them migrated to Tetuán and Tangier.[112]

These movements are manifestations of a general trend. The oasis dwellers of the Mzab have long practiced emigration as a solution to their problem of overpopulation. The Mozabite is a farmer in his youth and again in old age; during the middle years he may be a bus driver, a shopkeeper, or a mechanic.[113] The same tradition is found among the craftsmen of Taghzut and some of the Shluh tribesmen of the Anti Atlas. Emigration is not a new development, but in recent years it has been practiced on an unprecedented scale.[114]

[111] F. Benedicto Pérez, "Trabajadores rifeños en Argelia," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1948* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1949), pp. 5–17.

[112] D. M. Hart, "Notes on the Rifian Community of Tangier," *Middle East Jour.*, 11 (1957), 153–162.

[113] In the Mzab the tradition of emigration for men is combined with a tradition that women must not leave the oasis. See Karl Suter, "Die Ortsgebundenheit der Frau bei den Mozabiten," *Geographica Helvetica*, 12 (1957), 102–114.

[114] On emigration see also Günter Glauert, "Veränderungen in den Bevölkerungsstruktur Nordafrikas in den letzen Jahrzehnten," *Die Erde*, 88 (1957), 298–319; René Raynal, "Déplacements récents et actuels des populations du bassin de la Moulouya (Maroc oriental)," *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Lisbonne, 1949* (Lisbon, 1952), IV, 67–80; and J. C. Petit and Castet Barou, "Contribution à l'étude des mouvements de la population marocaine musulmane et de l'exode rural," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 68 (1955), 423–459.

616 It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe
619 participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always
726 remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in
(614) some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral,
though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that
Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two
(728) liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well.
(563) Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and
000 expected to do.

(114) 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humil-
(729) ity, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

(114) 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

(682) 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith
619 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Am-
(162) marth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their
(614) liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'unen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

000 44--Which is unwritten in any case.

45--The Aith 'Abdallah are at once a clan and a "fifth" of the Aith Waryaghar.

46--In Rifian, Dhara n Tihrariyin, "the spring of the pure women(?)". The Tuesday Market once located there has not been functioning since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate, or earlier. The people of Aith 'Abdallah at present share a market, held on Mondays, with those of Aith Hadhifa; this market is located on the border of the two clan territories.

[614] 47--Sidi 'Amran is buried in the jma'th of Aith S'aid, in the subclan territory of Aith 'Aru Musa, one of two subclans of Aith 'Abdallah (the other being Aith Tmajurth).

[114] 48--Presumably with eleven of his agnates as cojurors, for twelve must swear in cases of suspected homicide; but there is no mention of this in the text and Blanco, whose knowledge of collective oaths in the Rif was sketchy, does not comment upon it.

[114] 49--Blanco's notions of Rifian segmentary lineage organization are somewhat deficient; for although the notion of a confederation of tribes might once have existed in the Rif (vide the liffs of Ghumara and Sinhaja), but during the "Republik" as described both by Blanco and myself, it most emphatically did not exist, nor does it exist today.

50--"Autonomous" would perhaps be a better word in this connection, for any segmentary system presupposes an interdependence of its component segments, upward, downward and laterally; and within the framework of such a system, maintained as it is by the principles of balance, oscillation and opposition, there is always some (and often very considerable) latitude for a (virtually or largely) autonomous existence on the part of individual segments, irrespective of the segmental level under consideration.

[619] 51--Because the Aith Waryaghar, in point of population, are the biggest tribe by far in the entire Rif (with the Igzinnayen following, at some distance), its clans may be functionally equated, in certain respects but not in others, with whole tribes elsewhere.

671 614 52--The Aith 'Adhiya are one of two subclans of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (the other being "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash), of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar. We have referred to it as Bani 'Adhiya rather than Aith 'Adhiya in the text itself, as this is how it appears in Arabic.

614 162 Although the Aith 'Adhiya are strictly speaking a subclan rather than a clan proper, as the Aith 'Abdallah are (see Chap. VI), they are nonetheless about the same size as the latter in point of population; and the whole clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with both subclans considered, is the biggest in the tribe, and by a rather wide margin (population 22,000 in 1960). This fact helps explain two things: 1) why the Aith 'Adhiya and the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash are in opposite liffs, and 2) why the qanun of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya deals with almost exactly the same matters as that of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah. Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash form one "fifth".

614 616 671 619

591 Neolocality is
178 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization. [613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijuiga [596] traditional social obligations are still extant. [602]

The final social unit in the Rif is the local community
621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

1. [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebíes* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 563 polygamy, which is still practiced by some of the native Jews. Keen businessmen, organizers of remarkable ability, and excellent linguists, the Sephardim played an important role as middlemen in the initial contacts between Europeans and Moroccans. European protection brought a distinct improvement in their social and economic status. They were particularly active in banking, since the Qur'an enjoins believers from engaging in usury. In Tangier, Jewish bankers attained remarkable privilege and affluence. On the other hand, none of the Moroccan Jews enjoyed true citizenship, and in the days before European protection they were subject to Qur'anic law, which does not recognize the oath of a Jew.

As a consequence of European protection, the Sephardim became more Spanish or French than Moroccan. Differences in dress and speech still distinguish this group from the older and more backward Jews. Only the more conservative Jews cling to the traditional black skullcap. The Sephardim use Maghribi Arabic for commercial purposes, but prefer to speak Spanish or French among themselves. The original Jews speak Berber or Arabic, depending upon the location of their homes and the circumstances of their livelihood. Among them, as among the Sephardim, Hebrew is only a ritual language. Neither the Sephardim nor the more conservative group is prominent in the rural districts of the northern zone. [162] The latest census of Spanish Morocco lists 8,062 Jews, of whom only 180 are described as rural."

[113] " *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1955), p. 40.

passers-by may slake their thirst. This also reflects the fact that the retention of surplus water is considered an act of bad faith by a person's neighbors; and the latter fact in part makes it necessary for irrigation water upstream to be properly carried out and led off, and thus that holdings under irrigation be leveled and conveniently prepared.

B) Usage of Water in General:

Utilization of water in the Rif presents three facets which are common to all societies: utilization by animate beings, by (or for) lands, and by (or for) industries. Rights of preference are also the same, and in the same order: first, animate objects, the surplus for lands, and what remains, for industry, which in the Rif is represented by turbine water mills (dhasirth w aman, pl. dhisira w aman), which in times of excessive dryness or drought do not have the right to utilize water from those irrigation channels which divert or subtract the flow from the principal ditch.

C) Water Points for Men and Animals:

Water points in Rifian villages whose liquid content is destined for human and animal consumption are not regulated by any by-laws other than that of designation of the hours in which men may go to them; the rest are reserved for women, for whom it is also customary to reserve, beforehand, and whenever possible, fixed points for washing and bathing. For this reason, if the village contains diverse water points, one is used by the women and another by the men; and the surplus water is channeled toward a pond (agirman, pl. igirmamen), which forms the common watering place for the animals as well as a malarial focus from which it is difficult to extinguish the mosquitoes.[118] The

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
796 the djnoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The djnoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a djnoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the djnoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 djnoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the djnoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Any oil remaining over the three or four cups so given is the property of the man who has pressed it, unless a poor man without trees comes to the press and asks for some. Such demands cannot be refused and each suppliant must be given a cup.

Besides charitable assistance and work done in anticipation of remunerative charity, there are two types of definite agricultural contract by which one man who has not enough land to support himself and his family may acquire sufficient provender to last his household through the winter. The first is that by which a poor man binds himself to assist a richer farmer in all agricultural tasks in which he may engage. In return for this he receives a fifth of the total grain crop, a fourth of the leguminous plants and vegetables harvested, a third of the product of the fruit, olive, and nut trees, and a third of the grapes.

The rich farmer hires these share-laborers (who are called *akhemes*,[1] plural *ikhemesen* or "fifths," because of their return in grain) because he is not able to care for all of his land himself, owing to its extensive size. If the property of a rich farmer is so extensive that he is unable to cultivate it with the aid of one share-laborer, he will hire two, and these will split a fifth, a fourth, and a third of the various types of produce. No matter how many men a farmer employs he never gives more than the stipulated fractions, which are equally divided among the workers.

When a man owns property which he has no intention of working himself, he can rent it out in return for one half of the produce. This type of contract is used by the Beni Bu Yahyi in renting out the northerly portions of their territory to farmers who come down from Galiya to work the land, the Beni Bu Yahyi not being as interested in agriculture.

The share-laborer is often a stranger in the village of his employment, having left his home through shame of having his poverty advertised in his own village, or more often through fear of punishment for some crime. The migrations of these share-laborers has done more to cause infiltrations of blood from tribe to tribe than any other factor, since the immigrant usually marries into the group of his adoption.

Wealth is not a stable thing in the Rif, any more than it is in more modern types of society. Despite charitable practices and opportunities for outside work, many families find themselves on the verge of starvation in or near January and February, and are willing to sell anything within reason to obtain enough food to last them until the next harvest. Others, more industrious, who have worked their land to its limit and spent the rest of their time helping others for pay, may have more food than they require and be willing to sell some of it, at a premium. They generally demand land in payment. Working this land to its limit the following year, they may pile up an even greater surplus than before, and thus before many years may become large landowners and relatively rich men, ready, in their turn, to hire as share-laborers the people from whom they bought the land.

Thus the retention of property depends upon whether or not it is worked diligently, and positions of wealth may be reversed in less than a generation.

FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

The different types of food, including their methods of preparation, may be classified as follows: (1) cereal preparations antedating bread, (2) bread and breadmaking, (3) preparation of vegetable products alone, (4) dishes containing meat, (5) fish, (6) eggs, (7) milk and

[1] The feminine form of this word signifies a political division. See p. 92.

619 A large number of their families own land
[423] in the region immediately north of Jbil 'Ain 'Uqqa. They are bi-
[191] lingual, but they prefer to speak Rifian, which they learn as children.

The l-'Atamna (of the Asht r-Udha) say that they are descended from the Hawwara, which does not seem probable, considering that they all show "Berber" characteristics and that the Hawwara were "Arabs".

The Dharwa Haddu consider themselves to be descended from the Ulad 'Assu bin 'Abd Allah (Rifian Asht 'Assu 'Abd Allah) and from the Eastern Rifian tribe of Aith Bu Yihyi[154].....The ancestors of Hamza bin 'Abd Allah are buried in the latter area, near the Angad.

A large number of Igzinnayen, some 1500 families, mostly from
[166] Asht 'Asim, left their own land to move to l-Mta, just north of Fez. Various reasons have been given for this, the most probable being that of poverty[155].

The Asht r-Udha, Ishawiyen, Bu Isri and Izimmuren (of the Asht r-Udha) are descendants of Abu 'Amama, whose grandfather Talib ibn Isma'il ibn Hamza ibn 'Abd Allah of Rashida was appointed basha of Igzinnayen by the Sultan 'Abd Allah Hamrini Tamrin in the 7th century A.H. On the other hand, there is still a group of Asht Hamza in the area around Aknul.

The Asht Mhand (or Bni Mhammad), in the earliest times of which the Arab chroniclers have any record, resided in the Jbil Sidi S'aid, in the area at present occupied by the shurfa of Aith Sidi S'aid in
[578] Mtalsa. Due to a dispute which rose up among them, they became divided.
[166] Some went to the Bni Bu Ya'la in the Branis and the rest formed the Asht Mhand of the Igzinnayen, where they are today.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

but there are few *bones* without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The *bone* which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another *fifth*, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses being caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council.

A *bone* may thus be expelled from a tribe, permanently or temporarily. A *bone* which is continually making trouble and causing feuds may be the subject of a special meeting of the tribal council, which decides to exile it from the tribe either permanently or for a given number of years. Killing people on Mohammedan feast days or during the month of Ramadan is one of the strongest reasons for the expulsion of a *bone*.

This habit of exiling *bones* has been going on for so long that there are today numerous colonies of exiled Riffians living outside the Rif. Such are colonies of Beni Urriaghel in Oran and in Tangier; of Beni Amart in Ain Leuh, on the Wergha, of Beni Amart and Beni Hadifa at Armeila, on Wed Teheris; of Beni Tuzin at Zerhoun; of Temjunt of Gzennaya in Ain Mediuna (Beni Gzin); of Beni Yunes of Gzennaya at el Kob, in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Ulid; and the Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iberrushen of Gzennaya at el Mta outside of Fez. Most of these exiles could now go back if they so wished, but they have been away for so long, in many cases for generations, that they no longer have any desire to return.

Sometimes a murder spreads into a feud and from a feud into a war so rapidly that before a tribal council can come together to deliberate the councillors find themselves fighting on one side or another, in a tribal war.

Murder often leads to immediate revenge, and immediate revenge to a feud between *bones*. The feud may be a bitter one, in fact a pitched battle, in which may join other *bones* allied of old to one or other of the principal combatants. Most allies, however, are made anew on the occasion of each war. An alliance is called *liff*; it belongs more properly under the heading of magic than under that of political organization, but must be discussed at this point if the complexities of Riffian warfare are to be understood.

A *liff* is a shame-compulsion laid by one *bone* on another, a magical act which forces the second *bone* into alliance with, or at least toleration of, the other. By making *liff* with a number of other *bones*, a *bone* may increase its fighting force many times, and by both sides industriously making *liff* with others, a general war starts, in which there may not remain enough of the tribal council to make its convening worth while.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The population density, 65 individuals per sq. km., although not [16]
the highest in Spanish Morocco, is a greater number of people than 167
the land, which is one of the most infertile in the Protectorate, can effectively support. In the last century the Aith Wuryāghil found blood-feuding a sure outlet to reduce their overpopulation, but, at, the present time, as they are no longer allowed to carry firearms, the population problem is met by a large annual exodus of ablebodied tribesmen to the plains of western Algeria, where they help out with the barley, wheat, olive and grape harvests on the farms of French colons. The terrible drought in the Rīf in 1945 precipitated emigration to a previously unheard of degree, and today the number of people from Aith Wuryāghil who are living and working outside the Rīf is greater than ever before.

Those who stay at home follow an annual agricultural cycle in 241
which cereal cultivation is extensively practiced, particularly that of barley. They plow and sow their fields in the autumn and winter, and reap and thresh the grain the following summer. The straw is piled up into circular, conical silos (*athmūn*, pl. *ithmūnen*) to be used in the winter as fodder for the animals, of which cattle and goats are the most important, sheep less so. Mules and donkeys are employed as 231
beasts of burden, while horses, owing to the extreme poverty of the [492]
people and the mountainous configuration of the terrain, are virtually non-existent. All, without exception, keep chickens and, inevitably, dogs, while in certain favored areas apiculture is practiced; the bees of Jabal Ḥammām produce the finest honey which it has ever been my good fortune to sample.

Although barley is the most important cash crop (the barley 241
harvest of 1953 was the best on record), the Aith Wuryāghil spend comparatively little time working their grain fields, not more than three or four months a year, all told; it is their trees which receive the bulk of their attention. The most common trees are fig, pomegranate and almond in the Bay of Alhucemas, with olive substituted for pomegranate in the mountains; they are all pruned, watered, grafted and fertilized with great assiduousness, for dried figs and [251]
almonds constitute the principal food reserves during the winters, after the grains have been eaten. The same is true of raisins, and the cultivation of grape vines is extensively practiced in the mountains near Sūq al-Arbaʿ of Taurirt.

000 latter's kinsmen before he can get away. Even in this case, the killer could generally get off if he were able to pay a 2000-duro fine (rhaqq) to the imgharen on the spot, if he was lucky enough to be caught by them and not by his victim's agnates.

[114] [464] [167] 52--Why should the Rifians have been acquainted with the qanuns of the Algerian Kabyles? Granted that Rifian labor migration to Algeria, prior to 1955, was very extensive, it must be remembered that Rifians went to the plains and vineyards of western Algeria (not to Kabylia) to work and send remittances to their families, not to compare notes with their fellow Berbers in Kabylia!

53--This is entirely true, though we know of one case in which, in 1926, after 'Abd al-Krim's defeat, a man from one of the mountain clans of Aith Waryaghar was beaten to death, by order of a lowland qaid from the same tribe, for refusing to hand two rifles in his possession over to the Spaniards.

[171] 54--In the Central Atlas, half ddiyit (blood money to victim's agnates) is paid by a man for shooting at someone else and missing him, but full ddiyit for taking aim and not shooting (E. Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship", Philosophy of Science, vol. 27, no. 2, 1960, pp. 187-204.) In other words, what is punished is the intent to kill, and on this subject Blanco has some interesting remarks to make in the chapter on the qanuns of Dhmasind and of Aith 'Abd Allah in La Ley Rifeña (pp. 41-3, 47, 50). In the Rif, however, this is manifested in a different way under different circumstances: ddiyith is paid to the victim's family, under normal conditions, by the killer, who must also pay rqisas to the victim himself in case of wounding. The amount of the ddiyith is anything up to 1200 duros, while that of the rqisas, depends on the nature of the wound. However, there is no question at all of either ddiyith or rqisas being paid if the intended victim has not been harmed. This is the case if the attempted murder has taken place outside the market; but if it has taken place on market day and within the market (even though there is again an exemption from ddiyith and rqisas) the rhaqq or market fine must be paid in full (2000 duros) to the imgharen, because the would-be assassin is an amsasar (pl. imsasaren) or trouble-maker who has knowingly tried to "break" the market by flouting its regulations.

681 682 696 55--In case of murder, only the murderer himself went into exile. He did so immediately after the crime, so that he would not be killed in turn by his victim's agnates. Exile meant that he sought refuge, as an adhrib (pl. idhriben), (derived from Arabic talib, "enemy") in the territory of another tribe, whose members sheltered and protected him until such time (if ever) that he could go home. On occasion, as [613] Blanco suggests, whole lineages have been forced into exile; Coon, in Flesh of the Wild Ox (pp. 74-108), gives an example from the Igzinnayen. However, this particular instance was the result of a decree of the Aitharba'in after a long and bitter feud; and as such, it was exceptional. The rule was that only the murderer fled; he was not accompanied by nine of his agnates, as in the Central Atlas (even though these latter returned after three days in order to start making overtures for payment of ddiyit to the dead man's agnates).

181
167 They were too good and honorable to see themselves die out, with no fear other than that of the market announcement and without guards of any sort, on a most miserable land, which their way of life made habitable only through emigration[92] and epidemics taking care of the surplus population.

Clearly, bound to necessity, it incited the envy of more than one individual, considering the very slight severity of the punishment, the possibility of concealing the offense and the difficulty of proof, for which reason the people took refuge in traveling to places unknown to them on days which were not market days, without taking natural precautions.

671
685 The qanun of the Aith Siddat shows us, in notation (c), the offense of house-breaking, with a concise and admirable clarity; it recognizes for the owner of the house the right of violent opposition, a previous guarantee to the society that neither a difference of opinion nor known resentment shall mediate between them.

671
682 By the same token, notation (b) indicates and punishes the accomplice with the same penalty in offenses in which blood is drawn as does notation (k) with 50 mithqals in the rest of the cases.

And finally, in notation (d), the right of legitimate defense is established without the slightest doubt.

671
562 If in each one of the qanuns in this volume it is easy to discover its characteristics and, knowing the region, to find out what each one conceals, to explain what it says and the reasons which it gives for doing so, we must point out, in the present qanun, the interest which the Aith Siddat maintained in enforcing public respect

92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

161 221 464 The answer to this dilemma, if it may be called an answer, is emigration. In the decade preceding the current disorder, more than 30,000 Rifians went to Algeria each year to work on French farms. The main drift took place during the slack winter season, but smaller groups migrated at other times of the year. Few Morocans thought of emigration as a permanent change. They were hired by members of their own tribe appointed to serve as contractors, and messengers visited them regularly to collect money for the families left at home. Each tribe had its special place of employment. The Aith Warishik went to Sidi bel Abbes, the Aith Tuzin to Tlemcen, the Thimsaman to Blida and Ain Temouchent, and the Gal'ayan tribes to Oran.[113] The largest number of emigrants were recruited from the Aith Said, and it is not a coincidence that the territory of this tribe includes spectacular badlands. From the standpoint of the French farmer this movement was a blessing, for the Moroccans worked harder than the Algerians and were satisfied with less pay. The tribesmen of the western Rif did not join [167] in the seasonal movement to Algeria, but many of them migrated to Tetuán and Tangier.[113]

161 167 171 These movements are manifestations of a general trend. The oasis dwellers of the Mzab have long practiced emigration as a solution to their problem of overpopulation. The Mozabite is a farmer in his youth and again in old age; during the middle years he may be a bus driver, a shopkeeper, or a mechanic.[113] The same tradition is found among the craftsmen of Taghzut and some of the Shluh tribesmen of the Anti Atlas. Emigration is not a new development, but in recent years it has been practiced on an unprecedented scale.[113]

---

[113] [113] F. Benedicto Pérez, "Trabajadores rifeños en Argelia," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1948* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1949), pp. 5–17.

[113] [113] D. M. Hart, "Notes on the Rifian Community of Tangier," *Middle East Jour.*, 11 (1957), 153–162.

[113] [113] In the Mzab the tradition of emigration for men is combined with a tradition that women must not leave the oasis. See Karl Suter, "Die Ortsgebundenheit der Frau bei den Mozabiten," *Geographica Helvetica*, 12 (1957), 102–114.

[113] [113] On emigration see also Günter Glauert, "Veränderungen in den Bevölkerungsstruktur Nordafrikas in den letzen Jahrzehnten," *Die Erde*, 88 (1957), 298–319; René Raynal, "Déplacements récents et actuels des populations du bassin de la Moulouya (Maroc oriental)," *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Lisbonne, 1949* (Lisbon, 1952), IV, 67–80; and J. C. Petit and Castet Barou, "Contribution à l'étude des mouvements de la population marocaine musulmane et de l'exode rural," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 68 (1953), 423–459.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

325 412 mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of [171] the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

325 531 Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern [171] is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

[326] 411 The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibshen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

326 492 231 The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

326 563 The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

286 spun from black goat hair is put in as a weft by hand, without a shuttle, as in the case of the *azta*. The result of this process, a heavy, hybrid fabric, half textile and half matting, is used for tents.

Rug-making has not reached the high development among the Riffians which it has attained among the Shluh and Braber. Riffian rugs, woven on the *azta*, are coarse, harsh, and unattractive. The hooked-rug method, employed so effectively by the Beni Mgil and Beni Mtir of the Braber, is unknown. In fact, few rugs are made by the Riffians, who prefer to purchase them at Melilla and Fez.

386 All wool intended to be used in garments other than turbans and belts is thrown into a vat of dye before being carded or spun. The dyes used for coloring this raw wool are as 314 follows:

brown, made from boiled apple-leaves.
red, made from the bark of almond-tree roots, boiled.
yellow, made from pomegranate husks.
green, made from the water boiled out of *thaghigheshth* roots or cedar cones.
black, made from an imported mineral called *zaj*.

386 These natural vegetable products are boiled in water, in which the wool is immersed and soaked. When it is taken out the colors are fast. Turbans and belts are dyed after they have been finished; when taken out of the dye they are rubbed with ashes, a process not considered necessary in the case of raw wool. Leather is dyed by exactly the same process as wool.

Tie-dyeing, called *thisfarsth*, is in some regions applied to cloth intended for use as turbans. The distribution is as follows: all Senhaja and Ghomara, and all tribes between them and Tangier.

CLOTHING

291 Riffian clothing was formerly made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven.
177 At present many garments are made of imported cotton cloth, and others of silk. In this compilation of garment-types most attention will be paid to the older elements of Riffian dress, the distribution of which alone is significant.

Masculine Attire. *ajjab*, the jellaba, is a woolen cloak with short sleeves and a hood. [171] The jellaba is found all over North Africa and is not a distinctive Riffian garment, except as it differs in minor details from jellabas worn by other Berber or Arab groups. The Riffian jellaba is notably shorter than the average, reaching only to the knees, and its hood less broad than the hoods of the Ghomara and other western groups. The Riffian jellaba has definite shoulders; in the western type the transition from hood to sleeve is lacking. The Riffian jellaba is always either dark brown or black, but in other areas white, striped, or other colored types are worn. Furthermore, the Riffian jellaba can be readily distinguished by its embroidery, which will be treated separately. The jellaba is exclusivley a masculine garment. (See plates 25 and 27.)

er serham, the silham, is a cloak resembling the jellaba, but lacks sleeves and is generally much longer and more flowing. The silham is typical of the Braber and Shluh of the Atlas, [171] and is likewise worn by the nomadic peoples south of the Atlas. In the Rif its use is limited to the nomadic tribes of the Garet. Until recently the silham was worn by both the Metalsa

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 *Type 4.* This is called Zenatan, and is characteristic of the Beni Znassen. In the Rif it is employed in Kebdana and Beni Bu Yafer. It has likewise been used in Targuist in recent years as a partial imitation of the central Riffian technique. In Targuist its identity with the Zenatan type is purely a coincidence.

Type 5. The single cross on the left side of the nose is employed by men in the same area as that covered by the occurrence of Type 3 among women, but extends its distribution farther than the corresponding female decoration. It is found in Khebaba and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya, sometimes in Shawia of the same tribe, in Mazuza, Ait Shisher, and Kebdana. Throughout this area it is optional, except in Khebaba, where all the men use it.

Type 6. This is the modern rendering of Type 2, the modification being in the use of a cross instead of a hatched line on the forehead. Type 6 has come in during the present generation, totally displacing its predecessor, but losing ground in Galiya, where it is gradually being replaced by Type 3.

Where the tattooing on the face is of Type 1, 3, or 4, the rest of the body remains without permanent decoration; but where the facial tattooing is of Type 2 or 6, that is of central Riffian pattern, the body is likewise tattooed. Number 7 shows the design on the abdomen, thorax, and neck, number 8 on the legs, — a stripe up each side and a cross over the ankle, — and number 9 on the forearm. As a variant of number 9, and considered very stylish, are forked antennae coming off the corners of both the distal and proximal terminal bars. The tattooing on the neck reaches up to the chin, where it joins with the tattooing of the face in one continuous design reaching from the center of the lower lip almost to the navel. Care is taken in tattooing the upper of the two hatched single lines just below the breasts not to have the design encroach upon the actual skin of the breasts.

USE OF HENNA

302 Henna, that universal cosmetic stain, is used throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, as well as by all other peoples of Morocco. On each day of the wedding feast, the bride thrusts both hands and both feet up to the wrists and ankles into a bowl of stewed henna leaves. The groom similarly stains his hands, but not his feet. The Riffians make no geometric lines with this henna, as do the Arabs and Atlas Jews, but simply daub it on until the whole extremity is colored a consistent reddish-brown.

It is said that in the Rif henna was not used in former times, but that apple leaves and green walnut shells were employed in place of the henna leaves, which even today are entirely imported, the chief source of supply being the tribe of Dukkala, on the Atlantic seaboard of French Morocco.

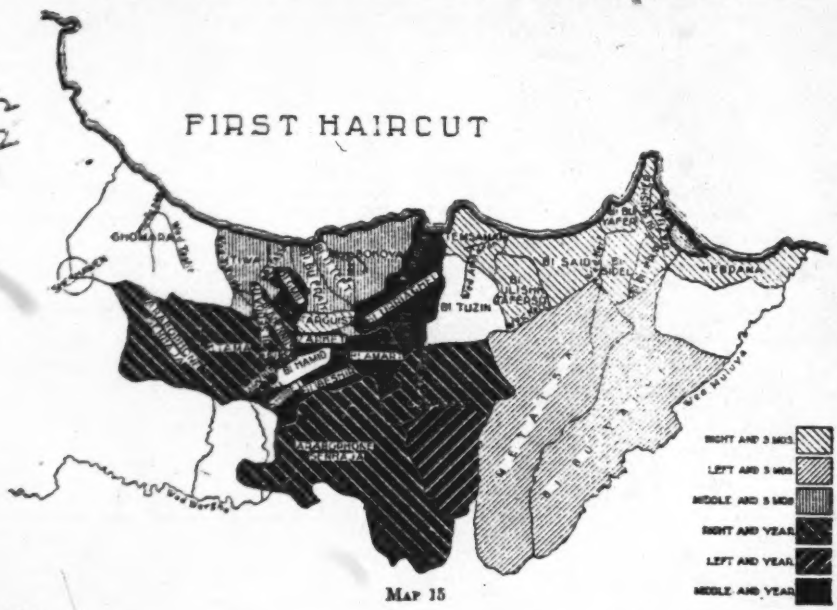
[171] Although henna is today distributed throughout North Africa, the presence of this definite tradition would indicate that its diffusion into the Rif took place in fairly recent times, and that in the remoter sections its use was preceded by an imitative employment of other materials.

626 Another use of henna distinct from all ideas of beautification is as follows: when a man has shown himself cowardly in war, the women of the village seize him, rip off his shirt, and smear his back with the stain.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Tribes which shave the head: Beni Tuzin, some in Targuist, and most of those in the Ghomara.

In most of Morocco, the scalp lock is worn by the boys up until puberty or marriage, when it is removed and the head shaved thereafter. In the Rif and Senhaja it is worn not only by boys but by grown men. In Beni Tuzin, and among most of the families of Targuist



MAP 15

and the Ghomara, the head is shaved at the time of the first haircut, and kept shaved thereafter. In Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrushen and Ikhuanen the men shave their faces; in other regions beards are usually worn.

By decree of Abd el Krim, who perhaps wanted to make his followers appear more civilized, the scalp lock was ordered removed in 1924. All Riffians and Senhajans within reach of Abd el Krim's punishing arm shaved them off, for the most part with considerable reluctance, with the exception of the exiled Riffians living in Fez and other places, who retained them. After Abd el Krim's surrender in 1926, many of the Riffians let them grow again, and now wear long scalp locks as before; others let their hair grow in the European style, and still others continue shaving their heads.

The Berber scalp lock dates back to Libyan antiquity; representations of it are frequent on Egyptian monuments.[1] A median occipital lock is also worn today in Northern Albania.

[1] O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 133-137.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

764 get through the whole Koran in time. The family supplies them with food which they eat when tired of chanting.

When the corpse is ready for burial, be it on the day of decease or the next day, the whole village comes out to attend the procession and funeral. The women are represented only by the older married women.

The corpse, resting on the door of the village mosque, is carried by four men, constantly changing, so that everyone in the village may be said to have borne it part of the way. Each man runs up and takes a corner of the door for a few feet, when he is replaced by another. In this way the corpse is carried to the cemetery. If, as often happens, the mosque door comes apart on the way (for it is but loosely tied together), the corpse must be set on the ground while the door is being repaired. In each place where the corpse is thus laid a stone must be set up.

Arrived at the place of burial, some of the men busy themselves with digging the grave. [804] It consists of two holes, one inside the other. The upper hole must be twelve foot-measures long, a leg-straddle wide, and navel deep. The inner hole must be one span wide, the length of the corpse, measured with a rope, and knee deep. The corpse is put in the inner hole on its left side, its feet to the east. If the corpse is too thick to fit into the span-wide hole, it must be forced into it, since it is considered very bad for a corpse to be given a wider grave. When necessary, however, the ditch is widened, but at the expense of the soul of the deceased. Seven flat slabs of slate or other sedimentary stone are brought, having been shaped when necessary. They are laid over the inner grave crosswise, and dirt is piled in above them and the outer grave filled. While the corpse is resting on the bank, just before being set into the grave, the students chant the burial ritual from the Koran. As soon as the body is in the grave the women go away, and the men collect together in a circle and pray.

The pre-Islamic graves in the cemetery at Beni Hosmar, on the road between Sheshawen and Tetuan, can be distinguished from the later ones in the same cemetery by the fact that the former are orientated north and south. The graves at Aswil, on the border between the Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel, are similarly orientated. These graves are said to be pre-Islamic. I witnessed a funeral at Taghsuth, at which the grave was dug north and south, and the corpse buried with its head to the south. Three Riffians who were with me objected to this orientation, but their objection was not heeded. The men taking part in the interment argued that the direction was east and west, obviously an evasion, since at that moment the sun was about to set directly at right angles to the axis of the grave. Since this burial took place during the week of the summer solstice, the orientation must have been almost due north and south. On account of the sensitiveness of the Taghsuthis on this point I was unable to obtain any but visual information concerning the persistence of this custom.

A flat stone, usually artifically shaped, is erected at head and feet; in the case of a man the stones are parallel to each other, and at right angles to the axis of the body; in the case of a woman, the headstone is set in the axis line and at right angles to the footstone.

764 The type of burial described above is typical of the central regions of the Rif. In the east, and among the maritime tribes, the custom in use is that employed in the Arabised ● 171 section of Morocco in general. The body is buried at any time desired, no hesitation being felt at burying it in the night, or at leaving it alone and in the dark. It is carried to the grave on a rug by four paid pall-bearers, accompanied by two paid grave-diggers carrying hoes. The immediate family may attend the burial, but the village as a whole does not.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

764. 171

There are no students and no food is served in the house of the deceased afterwards, as is the case in the central Rif. According to the second method the grave is not measured by the navel, straddle, span, knee, and rope, but by rope alone. The first hole is estimated and the second is measured with a rope to fit the corpse. No compunction is felt at making the hole too large or small. The stones put at head and feet are round and the same for men and women. The body is not set down en route, since it is carried on a rug, hence there is no occasion for planting stones along the way. Under this system there is no prayer at the grave.

A third usage is that of the Beni Bu Yahyi, who carry their dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey, and bury it in a shallow hole with the surrounding dirt scraped over it into a mound. No stones are used, probably because stones are very rare in that country. The central Riffian type is found in Beni Bu Ifrur; Beni Sidel; Beni Said; that portion of Beni Ulishk lying near Temsaman; all of Beni Tuzin except the village of el Azib of Meidhar; Beni Urriaghel; Temsaman; Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Al Fars, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Iherrassen, Ikaroen, Ihershliyen, Temjunt, Bured, Inhanahan, Beni Yunes, and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya; Beni Amart; and all the Senhaja and Ghomara.

The second type is found in Kebdana; Mazuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer; Metalsa; that part of Beni Ulishk near Dar Driush; el Azib of Meidhar of Beni Tuzin; Tafersit; Shawia, Imsdurar, and Khebaba of Gzennaya; Beni Mesduy; Targuist; Bokoya; Beni Itteft; Beni Bu Frah; Mestassa; and Mtiwa.

The type in which the corpse is carried on a mule is practiced among the Riffians only by the Beni Bu Yahyi; the nearby Arabs of the Ulad Bu Rima, however, use that method.

Although all the factors connected with death and burial which have been described seem to fit together as opposing complexes without overlapping, there is one other trait which has a different distribution. All of the men in the *bone* must sleep in the house for seven days after the death. Any stranger who is in the house at the actual time of the death must sleep there with them. During the seven days, members of neighboring *bones* which are well disposed towards that of the deceased must visit the house to express their condolences to the family.

The women express their grief by weeping and sometimes by scratching their faces and disarranging their hair, but do not put on any costume which marks them as widows. Among the Beni Amart the widows frequently entertain visitors with long recitations of the virtues of their husbands.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XIV

ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL FACTORS

171
174

We have seen in studying the culture of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara that there are three types of factors involved: those located in the center of the Rif and apparently basic there; those held in common with the other peoples of Morocco and representing the modern North African civilization, and those neither basically Riffian nor a part of the usual North African culture. In all parts of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, the prevailing stages of culture, both material and social, are about equally advanced, with certain notable exceptions, as at Taghzuth, where industries are well developed, and in the regions of the Garet and of Ktama and the Western Arabophone Senhaja, where rigorous extremes of environment have stunted the development of certain kinds of material culture. One cannot divide the region into zones of high or low culture; one may merely distinguish between the kinds of culture in different places.

I have chosen twenty-eight features of material culture and thirty-three of social culture which I believe to be nuclear or central Riffian. By this I mean that they represent the most fundamental pattern in the area, and show less evidence of introduction from outside in any but remotely ancient times than features which may replace them in other tribes, or which may exist on the margins without parallels in the center. The lists of these features follow:

Central Riffian Material Culture

(Twenty-Eight Traits)

1. Roasted grains
2. Bake-oven
3. Absence of skillet
4. *Kodid* and *themarik* (dried meats and purées)
5. Sausages
6. *Sammet* (grape jelly)
7. Tar
8. Porch
9. Projecting *arof* (loft over the cow-pit)
10. Absence of second story
11. Sloping roof
12. Shingles
13. Possession of *amiyimoth* (eave-sheathing)
14. *Amiyimoth* made of wood
15. Cribwork
16. Stools
17. Hand-made pottery
18. Riffian design on pottery
19. Wickerwork
20. Absence of horisontal loom
21. Buskins
22. Clogs
23. Stilts
24. Retention of median occipital lock
25. Shaving of face
26. Tattooing, type 2
27. Absence of kohl as regards groom
28. Total absence of kohl

Central Riffian Social Institutions

(Thirty-Three Traits)

1. Tabu against the Shameless Ones
2. Political office tabu
3. Two or three councillors in market
4. Council of the great
5. Village council
6. Freedom from shorfa
7. Sex restriction forty days after birth
8. Naming on seventh day
9. First haircut at one year of age
10. Circumcision early

[p.166]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

11. Itinerant preceptor performing circumcision
12. Local preceptor performing circumcision
13. Wedding feast seven days
14. Hospitality all days of wedding feast
15. One or two *iseiren*
16. Many *iseiren*
17. Wedding in September
18. Zummar-playing at Wedding
19. *Sahḥein ar-rutḥ*
20. Cutting of reed
21. Stick headdress
22. Brother mounts behind bride
23. Difference in treatment of divorcee
24. Ring type of dancing
25. Funeral hospitality
26. Definite time for burial
27. Whole village attends funeral
28. Corpse carried on door
29. Bearers changed frequently
30. Grave measured with finger-span
31. Flat stones, differentiated, as markers
32. Stones placed where corpse set down on way
33. No one in house at time of death may leave for seven days after burial

171
174

Under material culture, I have purposely omitted agriculture and the care of domestic animals because these complexes seem so dependent upon environment for their distribution that to include them would unduly weight the classification. Other traits included admittedly depend upon environment, but to a lesser degree and in a less direct way. House types, for example, which I have called central Riffian are today found in more complete form in the Senhaja Sghir than in the Rif. The environment which permits the construction of these forms includes an abundance of coniferous timber which formerly grew in the Rif but which today is found in large quantity only in the Senhaja Sghir.

Deforestation has prevented the perpetuation of the more difficult features of this house-type complex in the Rif, but the essentials still remain, although poorly executed. In other ways the Senhaja, living in an environment which formerly typified the central Rif, have been able to preserve the Riffian material culture as far as the continuation of an abundance of wood and of rainfall permits. In the bulk of their material culture, however, the central Riffians still maintain to the greater conservatism.

In the list of social institutions I have included a number of traits involving the connection of official religious personages with the crises in the life of the individual, crises with which only laymen are involved in other parts of our distributional area. This employment of religious personages is not unique, since it is found in Fes, and among other Arabs who preserve the old Moorish traditions in this time of ritualistic decadence. I personally attribute the presence of these traits in the central Rif to the influence of the old kingdom of Nekor, and to a lesser extent to other media of the diffusion of Arab culture in the days before the invasion of the Beni Hillal. So integral and necessary a part of central Riffian culture have they become that to separate them from the other traits would defeat the purpose of this analysis. The social institutions of the central Rif must be considered a stable blend of old local factors and early Arab ingredients.

In order to present the distribution of the varying intensity of these criteria it is necessary to decide what sub-areas shall be treated as units. I have so treated each sub-area no smaller than a *canton* which has a different cultural pattern in either of the two classes of criteria than any of its contiguous neighbors. Identical sub-areas which are contiguous are treated as one, no matter how large the combination of them may be.

Each sub-area so determined has been given two scores, one in material culture and the other in social institutions. These scores represent the number of traits in each category which the sub-area possesses. Thus the possible range in the case of material culture is 0-28, and in social institutions 0-33. The actual ranges are in material culture 0-26, and in social institutions 2-33.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

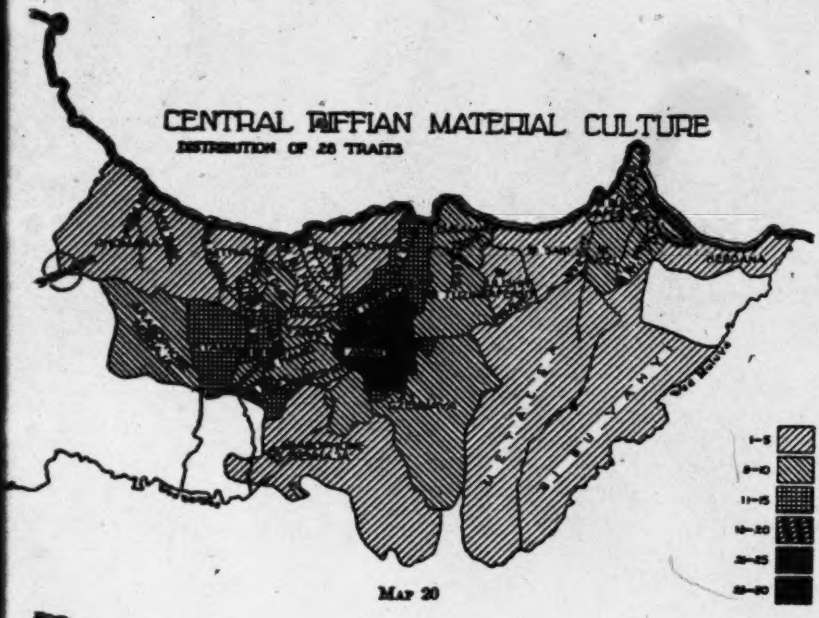
● 171
174

SEVENTY SUB-AREAS AND THE CULTURAL SCORES OF EACH

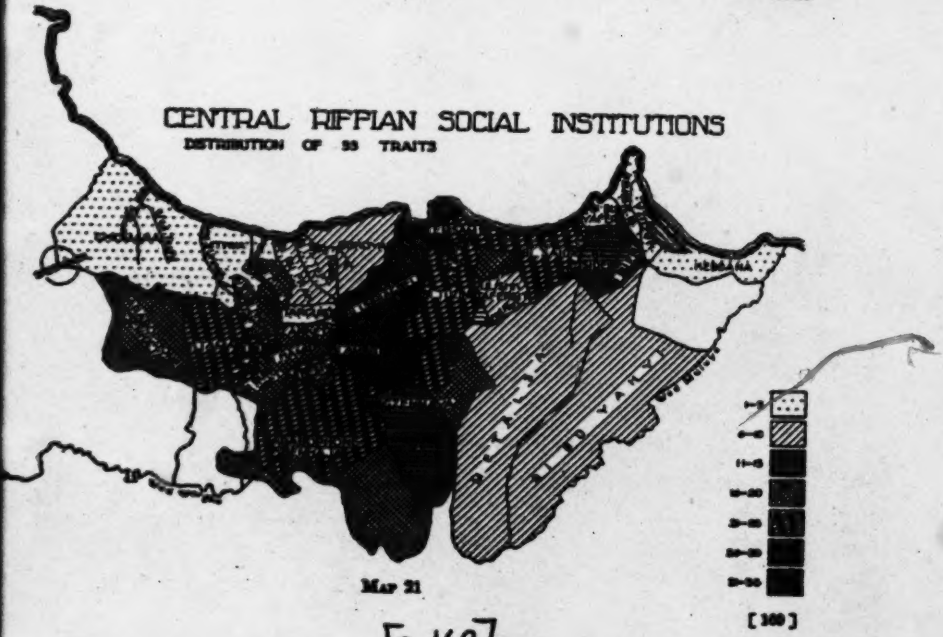
	Material	Social
1. Kebdana	5	2
2. Masuna and Ait Shisher	6	2
3. Beni Bu Ifrur and Beni Sidel	6	12
4. Beni Bu Yafer	5	2
5. Beni Said	5	22
6. Tamasaman bordering Ulishk	7	24
7. Tamasaman bordering Urriaghel	7	26
8. Northern Beni Ulishk	5	20
9. Southern Beni Ulishk and Taferuk	4	9
10. Beni Bu Yahyi	0	6
11. Eastern Metalsa	1	6
12. Western Metalsa	1	9
13. El Asib of Meidhar, Beni Tusin	6	13
14. Western Mountain Beni Tusin	8	22
15. Rest of Beni Tusin	7	23
16. Ajdir	12	27
17. Beni Hadifa	13	26
18. Southern Mountain Urriaghel	25	22
19. Rest of Beni Urriaghel	13	27
20. Shawia	6	11
21. Beni Mohammed	8	17
22. Khebaba	8	14
23. Beni Yunes	7	24
24. Ulad Alu ben Aissa	11	26
25. Ikaroen	9	22
26. Iherrassen	13	28
27. Mellal, Ihershliyen	7	12
28. Inhanahan	10	14
29. Bured	11	22
30. Temjunt	18	31
31. Iherrushen	22	33
32. Ikbuanen	21	33
33. Southern Beni Amart	26	31
34. Northern Beni Amart	26	30
35. Beni Mesduy facing Targuist	10	3
36. Beni Mesduy facing Zarket	10	6
37. Targuist	4	3
38. Bokoya	5	8
39. Beni Ittaft and Beni Bu Frah	3	6
40. Mestasa and Mtiwa	3	2
41. Zarket	12	20
42. Beni Gmil	7	19
43. Beni Bu Nsar	12	21
44. Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus	11	20
45. Hamid	9	20
46. Beni Bushir	10	21
47. Beni Bu Shibet	11	19
48. Taghauth	10	21
49. Ktama	11	21
50. Zrarka	5	21
51. Muniet	5	18
52. Ain Medjuna	6	23
53. Bu Adl	6	24
54. Rgheiwa	5	17
55. Beni Ulid	5	20
56. Khunduktamda	5	22
57. Beni Korsa	6	23
58. Tamsat and Beh Wendar	5	21
59. Fenasa	5	23
60. Beni Wenjin	5	24
61. Amahuk	5	20
62. Ulad Asam	3	22
63. Beni Krama	5	23
64. Marnissa	6	23
65. Branes	5	17
66. Ulad Brahim	5	21
67. Burda	5	23
68. Aghbalu	5	18
69. Western Arabophone Senhaja	6	18
70. Ghomara	4	5

The maps which accompany this discussion will help to visualize the distributions. Both are clearly centered in the tribes of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the northern part of Gaennaya. The material culture trails out to the east along the mountain divide, through Zarket to Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, and Ktama, as well as Beni Bu Shibet. In the places where invasions have taken place, except in the Senhaja, and in the Maritime tribes (for whose members contact with the outside world has been relatively easy), the paucity of the central Riffian material culture is noticeable. It does not necessarily follow that the basic traits of central Riffian material culture ever extended to the margins of what is today the Rif, but that many of them once extended somewhat beyond their present boundaries is probable. Perhaps if one were to work out the distribution of material culture among all Berber groups similar states of affairs might elsewhere be found. Without such check material worked out in a comparable manner it is impossible to determine accurately whether or not the material complex surviving in the central Rif is a local phenomenon or one of several such peaks of older culture thrust through the surface of a more modern accumulation.

171
174



MAP 20



MAP 21

[p. 169]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

171
174

The social features appear more widespread than the material, which is but natural, since they are not so subject to the limitations of environment. They extend along the coast to the east far beyond the eastward range of the bulk of the material factors, and southward into the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, which is separated from a parallel intensity in the tribes of Taghsuth, Beni Bu Nsar, and Ktama by a surprising weakness in the Senhajan tribes which are of greater strength in material culture. This would indicate that the Senhaja, in the strongest points of their invasion, did not take over Riffian social traits as enthusiastically as they did the coincident

MAP 22

material culture, and that the outlying Senhajan tribes, out of the main path of the invasion, retain or have adopted Riffian social traits in greater intensity. The paths of invasion from the southeast and of diffusion from the northwest are more clearly shown in the map of social institutions than in that of material culture.

In order to compare the two types of culture more clearly, let us resort to a slight exercise of statistics, finding the mean number of traits of each kind possessed by the seventy sub-areas, and the mathematical expression of their coincidence.

Material Culture, 28 traits.
Mean = 8.22 ± .45 $\quad \frac{M \times 100}{N} = 29.36$
σ = 5.50 ± .32
Social Institutions, 33 traits.
Mean = 18.40 ± .66 $\quad \frac{M \times 100}{N} = 55.76$
σ = 5.50 ± .32

Correlation between social and material scores in the sub-areas, + .61 ± .03

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Multiplying the mean by 100 and dividing the result by the total number of traits counted in each case gives a pair of comparable figures which show the much greater relative extent of the sociological compilation. The correlation between the numbers of social and material traits found in each sub-area expresses the degree of relationship between the two divisions of the complex. The relationship is significant far beyond question, but by no means approaches identity.

The third map of the series, on which are stippled only those sub-areas possessing more traits of each class than does the mean of that class, expresses this relationship clearly.

The cultural traits which are not central Riffian and which present unusual features marking them as different from the ordinary Moroccan pattern are found more strongly rooted in the southeast and the west than elsewhere. The eastern elements may be divided into those reputed to be of Zenatan origin and those to which only the title Nomadic may be safely applied, since they are adapted to a nomadic life and some of them are used by Bedawin, Braber, and other unassociated nomadic groups.

The following lists indicate the criteria which, without division into material and social traits, I have chosen to identify with the combination of Zenatan and generalised Nomadic culture. To separate them into Zenatan and Nomadic would perhaps render finer results, at the same time exposing the general thesis to a greater possibility of error. Hence I have chosen to keep them combined in one relatively convenient and safe, if generalised, category.

Nomadic and Zenatan Traits

1. The sloughi (reputed to be of Zenatan introduction)
2. Tents
3. *Afawai*
4. Brush conjunctiva
5. Cheese
6. Skin and iron containers only
7. Stake-loom for manufacture of goat-hair and *haïk* cloth
8. Cross-strap sandals
9. *Silham*
10. Men's *haïk*
11. Zenatan type of tattooing
12. Tattooing with cross designs
13. Same type of tattooing on men
14. Scalplock hanging from left side of occiput (Zenatan only)
15. Groom sleeps in bride's father's tent during all but the last night of the wedding week
16. Mixed singing with flute-playing at wedding
17. Burial without stones
18. Burial without stones with the employment of a mule

By including the sloughi I have broken the rule established with Riffian traits of excluding domestic animals from the count. I have done this because the sloughi is not dependent upon environment, and because it bears so definite a tradition of Zenatan origin. Since there are two different tattooing types included in this combined roster, one Zenatan and the other perhaps related to the Braber, the complex might be split into two if we could determine which was responsible for other features. Possession of the *haïk*, tents, and *afawai* may be accredited to both; either each has brought them in, or one may have used them there for a long time and the other brought them in as well.

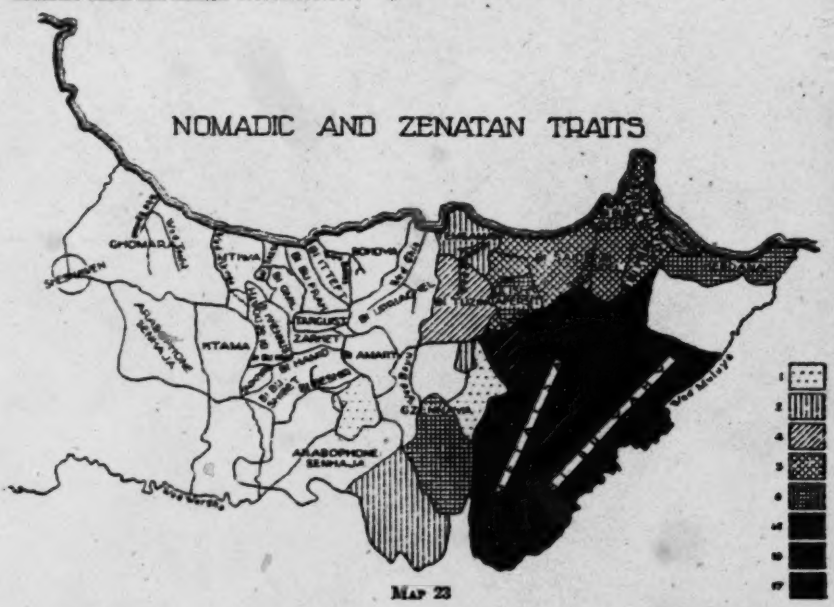
On the following page is a list of scores for sub-areas.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

171
174

SCORE OF COMBINED NOMADIC AND ZENATAN TRAITS

Beni Bu Yahyi	17	Northern Ulishk	5
Eastern Metalsa	16	El Asib of Meidhar	5
Western Metalsa	14	Rest of Tuzin	4
Kebdana	6	Shawia	6
Beni Bu Yafer	6	Khebaba	2
Rest of Galiya	5	Bi Mohammed	1
Said	5	Branes	2
Temsaman	2	Marnissa	
Southern Ulishk and Tafersit	6		



MAP 23

The distribution of these scores is heavily centered among the nomads, and very lightly diffused among the sedentary tribes in contact with them. It is curious that Marnissa and Branes, located in the Senhaja, possess some of these traits. In the case of Marnissa, it is perhaps a reflection of the easterly position which el Bekri gave it.[1]

In the west there are again two groups of alien factors, which might well be lumped into one to avoid mistake in identifications. The Senhajan cultural elements which do not coincide with central Riffian usage are:

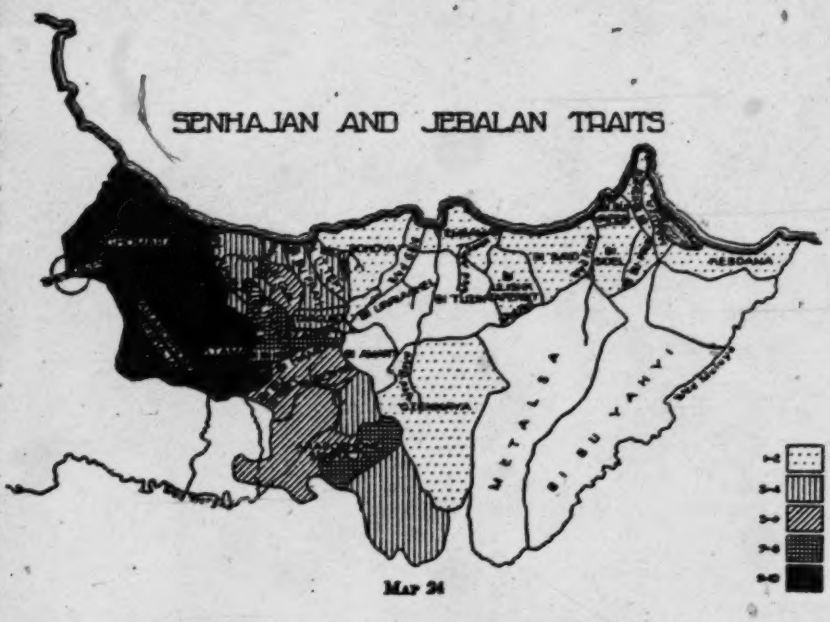
1. Tattooing, Senhajan type
2. Scalplock hanging from right side of occiput
3. Thatched *awiyimath*
4. Thatched roofs
5. Cork used as roofing and as bedding
6. Absence of pottery

[1] Page 151.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Those which may be Senhajan, but may rather be Ghomaran, or, on account of their wider diffusion, Jebalan, are:

1. Rectangular brush house
2. Use of hemp as a drug
3. Toe-strap sandals
4. Leggings for women
5. Tie-dyeing
6. Use of rheta and drum at weddings
7. Boy-markets



MAP 24

SCORE OF COMBINED SENHAJAN AND JEBALAN CULTURE

Ghomara	10	Rest of Eastern Arabophone Senhaja	5
Taghouth	9	Branes, Marnissa	4
Ktama	9	Targuist	4
Western Arabophone Senhaja	9	Beni Mesdey	3
Beni Bu Nsar, Khemsa, Seddath	8	Meritimas	3
Zarkat	7	Bokoya	2
Khemlaktamda, Beni Krama	7	All Gommaya excepting Shawia and Iberrahen	2
Beni Gmil	6	Shawia and Iberrahen	1
Beni Hamid, Bashir, Bu Shibet	6	Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulichk, Tafersit	1
Ain Medjena, Zerzka, Beni Kerza, Ulad Azzun, Bu Adl, Beb Wender, Mzaiet	6		

This combination of traits extends much farther to the east than the eastern culture did to the west, since it is not so dependent on a specialised environment for the diffusion

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

171
174

and maintenance of many of its traits as is the latter. The traits which spread farthest are Senhajan rather than Jebalan.

If we were to give scores on Senhajan features alone, Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar would take the lead, which in the merger belongs to the Ghomara. As is the case with the eastern culture, however, it will be safer to refrain from any separation.

The areas in which distinctive cultures have been partly replaced by traits common throughout Morocco do not deserve special treatment, since they are those which have figured in the background in the discussion of all three combinations of complexes. Such are notably the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, southern Gzennaya, and the eastern tribes of the Rif.

It is curious that language has so little correlation with culture in Northern Morocco. In Galiya and Kebdana, where Riffian culture is very diffuse, Berber is spoken with no signs of an impending transition to Arabic. If any linguistic influence is becoming serious in the east, it is that of Spanish. In the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, where Riffian culture is still quite strong, Berber has almost entirely died out. On the other hand, the adoption of Arabic has followed and is following the adoption of Arab cultural traits among the Maritime tribes and in Targuist.

Summary. A compilation of the traits of material and social culture which are characteristically Riffian shows that these traits are definitely concentrated in what may be called the Central Riffian Nuclear Culture Area, comprising northern Gzennaya, southern Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Amart. This area may be regarded as the stronghold of archaic culture in Northern Morocco.

The Riffian type of material culture extends westward through the Senhaja Sghir, being retained in this region by the survival of an abundant coniferous vegitation; the social pattern, on the other hand, stretches eastward through the true Rif, in which changes of environment have altered certain factors of material culture, while old social factors have been retained in greater intensity.

Cultural elements of Zenatan and Nomadic origins are concentrated in Beni Bu Yahyi, and become diffuse the further one goes into the Rif from that tribe. In the Central Riffian Culture Area these traits are entirely absent.

Cultural elements of Senhajan, Ghomaran, or Jebalan origin are concentrated in the Ghomara and in Ktama and Taghzuth. The rest of the Senhajan tribes show them in reduced degree, and some of the Riffian tribes have adopted a few of them. The Eastern Arabophone Senhaja shows itself more Riffian than Senhajan in culture.

There is but slight correlation between the retention of Berber speech and the retention of older cultural patterns: in the east the language is maintained undiminished despite profound cultural changes; in the west and southwest the opposite is the case.

This analysis indicates a certain degree of cultural stratification in the general area comprising the Rif, northern Senhaja, and Ghomara. The older complex, surviving in greatest strength in the central Rif, may represent a culture which was once widespread over the Berber world; or it may be uniquely Riffian. Further compilations in other parts of North Africa are needed before this question can be answered.

Z: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

177 of Christian slaves, who are supposed to have left some impress on the native population.[1] But the conjectured survivals of a Christian influence are anyhow exceedingly scanty. The supposition that the cross in modern Berber tattooing and ornamentation is a relic of this kind is the more unwarranted since the cross is also seen as an ornament in the ancient Egyptian representations of Libyans;[2] but the case is different with the Sunday rest observed by the women of some Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Fez.[3] According to Leo Africanus it was the custom in Fez to eat certain dainties on Christmas eve;[4] but I was told that no such custom exists there at present.

Ancient Roman influence is conspicuous in certain rites;[5] and in one or two cases I think I have identified traces of the religion of Carthage, due to the Punic colonisation.[6] Resemblances have been found between the religion of the ancient Egyptians and that of the Libyans, including the Berbers of the West, but there have been different opinions as to their explanation.[7] Such likenesses are not necessarily due to Egyptian influence. Mr. Bates suggests that, just as a definite Libyan element is knit into the Egyptian language, so there are, in all probability, Libyan elements in the Egyptian religion.[8]

171 Finally it should be noticed that a very large number of rites and beliefs in Morocco are identical with, or very similar to, rites and beliefs found on the other side of the Mediterranean. Many such cases will be mentioned in the present work, but its scope does not allow an adequate discussion of this vast and difficult subject. The similarities may be partly due to "the like working of men's minds under like conditions" (as Tylor put it[9]), but largely also

[1] Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 309 *sq.*
[2] *Infra*, i. 451 *sq.* [3] *Infra*, i. 134, 226.
[4] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* p. 452 *sq.* *Cf.* Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. (Paris, 1899), p. 519; Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 373 *sq.*
[5] *Infra*, ii. 153 *sqq.* [6] *Infra*, i. 395 *sq.*
[7] *Infra*, i. 100 *sq.* *Cf.* ii. 86, 253.
[8] Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 207.
[9] Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (London, 1878), p. 5.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

to the contact of peoples or to a common descent. The Berbers are generally considered to belong to a northern branch of the Hamitic stock, though the opinion has been expressed [1] that they are not Hamites by race but conquerors of the Hamitic aborigines of North Africa who adopted the language of the conquered. In any case it seems difficult to doubt that a very large portion or the bulk of the Berbers are members of a race which was once spread over the Mediterranean basin, and which has been called the Mediterranean race, whatever the origin of this race may be. It is

FIG. 8.—Among the Aiṯ Yúsi.

characterised by black hair and brown eyes; but among the Berbers there is also an appreciable element of blondness. In Morocco blond people are in fact very frequent among the Rifians [2] and by no means rare among the Brâber [3] and the Shlōḥ of the Great Atlas; and there are such people in the

[1] Lissauer, 'Archäologische und anthropologische Studien über die Kabylen', in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xl. (Berlin, 1908), p. 527.

[2] See also Mrs. Brooks, *A Memoir of Sir John Drummond Hay* (London, 1896), p. 153; de Segonzac, *Voyages au Maroc (1899–1901)* (Paris, 1903), p. 47; de la Martinière, *Morocco: Journeys in the Kingdom of Fez and to the Court of Mulai Hassan* (London, 1889), p. 69.

[3] See also de Segonzac, *op. cit.* pp. 137, 166, 229. According to Harris (*Tafilet* [Edinburgh & London, 1895], p. 159), there are some blue-eyed persons among the Drâwa.

696
778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
362 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Igliwa], tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager], tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[172] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have baraka.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

708
778
171

This is all that happens at the shrine of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, and no more. There is a complete lack of the «sensational» aspects of certain other Moroccan pilgrimages, and even the behavior of the 'Alawiyyīn is fully under control. The whole thing is carried off with a maximum of correctness and decorum: the tribesmen gravely pay their respects to the memory of their saint by placing a *ziyārah* in money, which is later distributed among the ṭulbā as charity, in the box beside his tomb; and then they pray. Nevertheless, the fact that they do so haltingly and imperfectly, in a language which is foreign to them, is, in a sense, a reflection of the Berber outlook on Islam as a whole: although they have taken to it unanimously and unquestioningly, their acceptance of it has, in the long run, been very largely, if not entirely, on their own terms and conditioned by their own culture.

[735]

114 and we feel that it merits translation and interpretation if only for this reason. This is so totally aside from the invaluable insights - some of which are occasional flashes of real brilliance - which it gives us into Rifian social structure and customary law, insights which all become evident in the main body of the work.

114 There is, too, another, wider reason for the translation of
671 Emilio Blanco which is presented here. Berber social structure may
● 171 be regarded in Morocco as an unfashionable field of study, and this is particularly true of Berber jural procedure, for, since the country became independent in 1956, its whole population, Arabs and Berbers alike, has come under the sway of Islamic Law. The net result of this, we venture to predict, is that the memory of Berber Common Law
114 will die out entirely with the oldest surviving generation. The
671 details of such law are still clearer among the Berbers of the Central Atlas than among Berbers elsewhere in Morocco, because the French administration was rigorous in its underwriting of such law until 1956 - despite storms of Arab protest over the 1930 "Berber Dahir". Present-day Rifians, even the oldest ones, on the other hand, only tend to remember primary jural principles, such as the number of co-jurors required in a case of suspected murder in the days of the 'Ripublik' - a term which Rifians use retrospectively to refer to the long period of violence, bloodfeud and what we have elsewhere labelled "organized acephaly"[27] which preceded the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim, and in no way to be confused with the latter's "Rifian Republic" -

27--Cf. D.M. Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, to be published.

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s,
614 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is
623 an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each other.[63]

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jajgu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, reception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the jma'th.

D) Position of Women:

562 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her
182 a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the can-
171 cellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains regards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance[64], when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look for friends to reinforce it.

562 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly
627 revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as
628 their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

684 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed,
• 171 while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their
562 houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads[65]. Women do not inherit
428 in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in
171 lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much (1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce
586 them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single
582 nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage.
[171] A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and
562 is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of <u>insurrection</u>
586 (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a <u>zawiya</u>
708 (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated
623 with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain
[171] to the <u>jma'th</u>, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather
627 through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration
171 of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslin <u>ukil</u> (legal
562

representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman) who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] 42--Dhwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in
[233] error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither
[851] a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant con-
[196] tributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The
[651] most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time
[691] provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for
[171] either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

000 [613] 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own, but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[191] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence [113] on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts [668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that 'Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 428 114 423 [794] 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religious endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion [113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

huge tribe like the Aith Waryaghar possessed its own qanun, whereas a small tribe like the Aith Siddat in the Sanhaja Srir had only one qanun for the lot of them.

[114] 85--The idea which Blanco conveys here, i.e. that the whole Rif is in the last analysis split into two opposed liffs, is completely exaggerated. It is certainly true that each Rifian tribe is split more or less down the middle and contains two hostile factions, which are not always equal in size; but, on the outside, each of these tends to be allied only with that combination of clans in the next tribe which is politically favorable to it. The system thus tends to appear like a series of interlocking concentric circles rather than like a chessboard, as in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, if Montagne, op. cit., 1930, is correct. (More recently, however, some reservations [113] have been recorded by Jacques Berque on the overall validity of Montagne's liff theory: vide J. Berque, Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, pp. 42 sq.) A further difference is the size factor: in the Rif, far larger blocs of man-units are involved in each alliance than in the Western Atlas, though the territory encompassed may in fact be much smaller.

[171] 86--This is true among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, who have a very complex system of election of chiefs, but not for those of the Rif, where headmanship and chieftainship have always been a "dog-eat-dog" proposition, and where a councilmember attended council meetings until he was murdered.

[114] 87--This kind of legal terminology has always been in vogue in French and Spanish monographs and administrative reports about Berbers. To be sure, it describes the situation with reasonable accuracy, but in our view tends to put it far too neatly into a Western conceptual straitjacket.

[114] [194] 88--The fqih has nothing to do with habus property, which was looked after by the mqaddim n-tmzidha or caretaker of the mosque, and ultimately still is, on the local level, although at the provincial level the ndzir l-ahbas or habus administrator, has fulfilled this function since protectorate times.

89--The functions of a talib and those of a fqih are, in the Rif, almost interchangeable; indeed, the plural form of fqih, to most Rifians, is tulba. Technically speaking, a fqih is a teacher in a mosque, while a talib is a sort of post-graduate student, a "seeker after (Koranic) knowledge"; but the experience and abilities of the two are just about the same. Both are called upon to write out charms of all kinds, etc., and both are always addressed by the term Si ("Mr."), followed by their names, e.g. Si Muhammad, Si Mhand, Si 'Ammar, Si Hmid, in recognition of their (relative) literacy in Arabic.

[114] [346] 90--To our knowledge, each man who had them kept his own arms and ammunition in his house. A mosque, after all, is a house of peace, not an arsenal!

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

[646] The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the [648] Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés
562 Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid,
[113] May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are for- [171] bidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. 443 Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the 562 Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, 114 they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the
562 men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

671 the Muslim ruling on inheritance by women), he finds it more convenient
[177] to bypass the Shari'a and invoke custom; for he will always find the means to allay any spiritual lack of scruples he might feel through coating his action with a veneer of pious intent (such as what is in effect a habus in favor of men) or of humanitarianism (such as asylum to divorced women, widow inheritance or sororate[10]), at the same time while he satisfies atavistic impulses.

671 It is very difficult to make any sort of rigorous comparison
114 between the Shari'a and Rifian custom, owing to the great lack of data and documents dealing with the latter.[11] I might cite a few notes collected by del Nido[12], and some material of Sidi Ahmad bin Muhammad ar-Rhuni, former Minister of Justice and Chief Qadi of the Spanish Zone; but, then again, I am very doubtful that ar-Rhuni's material refers to the tribes of the Rif--certainly none of his documents are Rifian[13].

671 In matters of inheritance, Rifian custom elevates the condition
428 of women more than the Shari'a does, by matching them with men and
562 therefore by distributing the inheritance in equal parts instead of
171 giving women only one-third (sic); but this is only in theory, and has to do with movable property[14]; in houses and in land, women, in fact,
671 get nothing. The basis of this distinction is not at all a capricious
428 one, but obeys to the letter the strong Rifian idea which conceptualizes
562 women as minors in age. For this reason they are given, within the house, such work and responsibility as do not require masculine effort or personnel, a fact which becomes apparent if one studies family organization. Work in the fields is a masculine occupation, as is

695 F) Oaths (fragmentary):[35]

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pretensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has [562] no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a women against her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter[36], where does one find more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and 695 839 the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape[36a] A, etc., which, if not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

695 [671] [191] Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are 695 623 previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants [613] to[37]. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members of his dharfiqth[38].

695 829 181 Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to

A, [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end ^ of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49A], and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[443] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The
[574] Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

A. [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

000 [128] 10--Blanco does not, in fact, employ the terms "levirate" and "sororate", and here I confess to having taken liberties with the text; but his meaning is abundantly clear. To readers who want refresher definitions, levirate refers to the practice of a man marrying the widow of his brother (as Coon has pointed out, in the Rif this is usually a junior levirate, meaning that the brother who does the marrying is genereally a younger brother), while sororate refers to the practice of a man marrying his deceased wife's sister.

[113] 11--This is indeed true, and the only published work thus far specifically dealing with any aspect or aspects of Rifian custom, aside from Blanco's own La Ley Rifeña, is José Maria Peniagua, "Notas Sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif", Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos, no. 4, Madrid 1948, pp. 7-44 and ditto, La Prescripción y el Retracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. Paniagua's work, particularly the last-mentioned monograph, deals with problems which seem to be almost entirely constructs of a European legal mind, and have no basis in social reality; and such work cannot be considered serious contributions to the study of Berber jural systems.

12--We cannot identify the work to which Blanco refers here.

13--The only work of Sidi Ahmad ar-Rhuni which we know is the Spanish translation of his Historia de Tetuan, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, and this contains no allusions whatever, even remote ones, to Rifian custom.

671 428 • 171 114 562 14--This is not so. Under Shari'a regulations, women receive one-half of what men receive, in inheritance, and this is the case for both movable and real property. Granted, of course, that the point in the Rif is largely theoretical and that women in fact, as Blanco points out, generally get nothing (particularly insofar as real property is concerned), it still seems appropriate to correct this error. In any case, we have never heard of any customary variation of normal Shari'a usage, which would allot to women one-third of movable property; and neither have any of my informants. It is one-half in theory, and, as a rule, nothing in practice.

671 428 171 562 Besides the current practice of a woman's father or brothers appropriating, in effect, her share of the patrimony on her marriage (in order to keep it in family hands and to keep in-laws out), there is a second institution which reinforces the notion that women do not inherit. If a man dies leaving only his widow and a daughter or daughters (no sons), his r-waratha (sing. awrith) or remaining agnates stand to inherit, which they would not do even if he had only one son. According to Shari'a regulations, the man's widow gets one-eighth, and then, if he has only one daughter, the rest of the property is divided in half, the daughter getting one-half and the r-waratha getting the other. If, on the other hand, he has more than one daughter, the rest of the property is divided up into three parts, the daughters getting one and the r-waratha getting one. However, even if there is a son or not, certain r-waratha (e.g. mmis n 'azizi, pl. dharwa n 'azizi, father's brother's son), but not others (e.g. uma, pl. aithma, brother, and

671 'azizi, pl. aith 'azizi, father's brother), marry the daughter or
428 daughters in question. The result is, of course, that if they do so,
• 171 they wind up with the daughters' share in any case. However, although
father's brother's daughter marriage does occur in the Rif, it is not
562 the rule, and this is because the institution of shuf 'ath (called
shafa'a by Berbers in the Central Atlas, and referring to agnates prior-
ity rights over both land and women, especially fathers' brothers'
daughters) in the Rif applies to land only and not to women. Indeed,
(582) there is no single form of preferential marriage, and most people be-
lieve in marrying "further away" than their parallel cousins. As, on
the other hand, parallel cousin marriage is the norm in the Central
Atlas, the same institution there (where r-waratha are termed imkusa)
is more effective in depriving women of their share than it is in the
Rif, where conditions per se in the latter area are considerably less
favorable to such deprivation. The crux of the matter, perhaps, is
this: that the property of a man who leaves no sons, despite what
other heirs or offspring he may have, is always divided up among these
heirs (and here, in practice, is where daughters tend to be left in
the cold, even though informants invariably say that they get their
part), while on the other hand, if there is a single surviving son,
no matter if he is a tiny baby, the patrimony stays pro indiviso.

000 15--What Blanco seems to be getting at here is that men rather than
women inherit and purchase property, or acquire it by right of con-
quest, and that therefore property and its administration rests ex-
clusively in male hands. The contrast is effective, because such
movable property which is involved in the work and everyday tasks of
women (i.e. pottery, chickens, eggs, etc.) does belong to them, and
is not touched by men. Men, for example, may perfectly easily sell
chickens or eggs in the market, and they often do so; but they in-
variably turn the proceeds over to their wives, who have stayed away
from the market as good women should (although they may go to the
women's market two days later) and because of this have asked their
husbands to do these things for them.

16--From his name, a Berber himself, possibly from the Sus (as his
final sobriquet would suggest), but more likely from the Ilimshan
subclan of the southern Ait 'Atta, the so-called 'Iqibliyen" of the
southern slope of the Central Atlas. These facts are indicated in the
first and second point-of-origin designations Aqibli Amshali, the
last mentioned probably being a metathesis of Alimshi, an Arabized
singular form of Ilimshan.

17--The 'ashura refers to the 10th day of the first month of the Muslim
year, Muharram (itself called l-'Ashur in Morocco), and commemorates
the martyrdom of the Prophet's two grandsons, Hasan and Husayn. It is
also, in Morocco, the day when almsgiving (zakah or 'ashur) to the poor
is legally enjoined; this act is, indeed, along with the profession of
faith (Ashhadu an la ilaha illa 'llah wa Muhammad al-rasuluY'llah,
"I testify that there is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger
of God"), prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan,
and the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five arkan al-din, "pillars of
religion", or qawa'id al-Islam, "customs of Islam".

695 tribal one). To be able to swear, a cojuror had to be old enough to fast during Ramadan (i.e. to have attained puberty); and women did not swear.

The plaintiff had to be present at the mosque (and each tribe or clan generally had at least one mosque at which it was customary to take oath) when the accused and his cojurors arrived. When the latter arrived, they removed their footgear and weapons, as the plaintiff had done before them. Then the fqih of the mosque asked them what they [793] were going to swear; they told him; and he made each one of them repeat it on the mushaf (Koran) after saying the oath formula "Bi-llahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa!" (With God, of whom there is none other than He), the accused swearing first. The accused placed his right hand on the mushaf while taking oath, and each of his cojurors, in turn, did the same.

There were, however, instances in which the mushaf was not employed as a vehicle for swearing; and some say that these instances were more the rule than the exception, and that in them the oath formula was restricted to "Bi-llah" (With God) only. Others deride the practice and 695 say that it was followed only by "ignorant people"; but, even so, the 184 mere fact of its existence tends to place Rifian oaths at more or less of a midpoint between those in the Sus and Western Atlas, where the ● 171 mushaf was always, without exception, employed, and those of the Middle and Central Atlases, where it was completely unheard of. It is in the latter areas that Berber oaths in Morocco reached their greatest purity and complexity. However, it should be said that in the Rif, unlike the Central Atlas region, the fqih, if the need demanded, repeated the oath as many times as was necessary for all the cojurors to understand it and say it after him; whereas in the Central Atlas, a different official, the anahkam, only repeated it once (the formula there was, in addition, more complicated than the Rifian one), and if any cojuror tripped up over it or got it wrong, the oath was broken; and the same applied if any of a group of assembled bystanders, whose function it was, in effect, to heckle the cojurors, succeeded in making him falter or stumble over the words, by yelling "'Auh! 'Auh! 'Auh!" (In the Rif, there was no such heckling, even though oaths, for obvious reasons, had to be taken publicly.) A further distinction was that in the Central Atlas, all important oaths were taken not at mosques, but at saints' tombs. There were many other differences in detail as well, such as number of cojurors required for various offenses and in the ramifications of the question of who pays in the event that some cojurors were either recusant or missing; but finally, and perhaps most relevant of all, the oath system in the Rif, encompassing fewer tribes and far less territory than in the Atlas, showed a far greater tribe-to-tribe uniformity.

To return now to the oath itself: after it was taken, the fqih, 695 who had witnessed it, drew up a document (tibriyith, "letter") in 793 Arabic certifying that the defendant, whom he named, had sworn on such 212 and such a date to the effect that he had not committed such and such a crime: he (the fqih) then appended the names of the latter's cojurors, as well as that of the plaintiff. Finally, he gave this document to the defendant so that the latter could produce written evidence of his innocence.

695 [784] It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if [184] one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; [191] unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 [114] 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] [181] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

[191] [577] [114] 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an amghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

000 latter's kinsmen before he can get away. Even in this case, the killer could generally get off if he were able to pay a 2000-duro fine (rhaqq) to the ingharen on the spot, if he was lucky enough to be caught by them and not by his victim's agnates.

[114] [464] [467] 52--Why should the Rifians have been acquainted with the qanuns of the Algerian Kabyles? Granted that Rifian labor migration to Algeria, prior to 1955, was very extensive, it must be remembered that Rifians went to the plains and vineyards of western Algeria (not to Kabylia) to work and send remittances to their families, not to compare notes with their fellow Berbers in Kabylia!

53--This is entirely true, though we know of one case in which, in 1926, after 'Abd al-Krim's defeat, a man from one of the mountain clans of Aith Waryaghar was beaten to death, by order of a lowland qaid from the same tribe, for refusing to hand two rifles in his possession over to the Spaniards.

[171] 54--In the Central Atlas, half ddiyit (blood money to victim's agnates) is paid by a man for shooting at someone else and missing him, but full ddiyit for taking aim and not shooting (E. Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship", Philosophy of Science, vol. 27, no. 2, 1960, pp. 187-204.) In other words, what is punished is the intent to kill, and on this subject Blanco has some interesting remarks to make in the chapter on the qanuns of Dhmasind and of Aith 'Abd Allah in La Ley Rifeña (pp. 41-3, 47, 50). In the Rif, however, this is manifested in a different way under different circumstances: ddiyith is paid to the victim's family, under normal conditions, by the killer, who must also pay rqisas to the victim himself in case of wounding. The amount of the ddiyith is anything up to 1200 duros, while that of the rqisas, depends on the nature of the wound. However, there is no question at all of either ddiyith or rqisas being paid if the intended victim has not been harmed. This is the case if the attempted murder has taken place outside the market; but if it has taken place on market day and within the market (even though there is again an exemption from ddiyith and rqisas) the rhaqq or market fine must be paid in full (2000 duros) to the ingharen, because the would-be assassin is an amsasar (pl. imsasaren) or trouble-maker who has knowingly tried to "break" the market by flouting its regulations.

681 682 696 55--In case of murder, only the murderer himself went into exile. He did so immediately after the crime, so that he would not be killed in turn by his victim's agnates. Exile meant that he sought refuge, as an adhrib (pl. idhriben), (derived from Arabic talib, "enemy") in the territory of another tribe, whose members sheltered and protected him until such time (if ever) that he could go home. On occasion, as [613] Blanco suggests, whole lineages have been forced into exile; Coon, in Flesh of the Wild Ox (pp. 74-108), gives an example from the Igzinnayen. However, this particular instance was the result of a decree of the Aitharba'in after a long and bitter feud; and as such, it was exceptional. The rule was that only the murderer fled; he was not accompanied by nine of his agnates, as in the Central Atlas (even though these latter returned after three days in order to start making overtures for payment of ddiyit to the dead man's agnates).

villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

D) Political Organization:

1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?[19]....I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances[20].

616
[182] Individual liffs bind together individuals or families, persons and possessions, and make for solidarity in the payment of fines, in both defense and attack[21].

2) General Liff:--I think the raison d'etre of the general liff to be purely defensive. These large-scale liffs are real military [619] alliances brought about in order to maintain territorial integrity, and it is they which have permitted the coexistence of minuscule tribes alongside of large and powerful ones. The situation in this respect is analogous to that of Switzerland in Europe; and among the most typical Switzerlands in the Rif are the Thafarsith and the Aith 'Ammarth[22].....In a general liff, it is not individual or kin group interests which are in opposition to each other and come into play, but rather the jurisdictional limits and the autonomy of the social [613] groupings (i.e. clans) which integrate them. The general liff obligates with the same end and binds together with the same strength the individuals belonging to rival dharfiqin. There is thus, I think, [171] a notable difference in the two classes of liffs, although the end result or defensive spirit is the same[23]; analogously, there are alliances between European nations which are destined to preserve their independence, as well as friendships of more of an individual or economic character between their members....The national liff, to call it [562] thus, cannot be confused with the social forms which have already been considered above, for while the latter place mutual obligations upon and bind together individuals and lands, the general liff usually applies only to men and binds together only warriors[24].

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [171] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [171] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[114] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 [2] 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

628 to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the
628 verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine
554 and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the
671 same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and
692 finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting them-
[115] selves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this
628 qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen
554 is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

227 The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analo-
[171] gous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the
[177] Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly
501 the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

000 223 224 627 578 671 [171] at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

671 223 224 411 4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 223 5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it [577] [695] must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 224 6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs [201] to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "1-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[771] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless,
433 impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
[171] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif, which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
435

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Nash's remark about property among the Maya
423 Indians of Guatemala has a certain degree of applicability in
191 the Rif. ". . . Since land is what parents leave children to start their adult lives, the idea of heirloom or patrimony is closer to the definition of land than is commodity or factor of production" (1966:39).

556 Those Riffians who have enhanced their prestige by
576 acquiring greater wealth have certain incumbent social res-
574 ponsibilities which are not placed on the less fortunate. It is expected of all Riffians to offer a meal to anyone who comes asking. This form of hospitality is by tacit agreement, however, generally beholden on only the more prosperous. The majority of such travelers are religious men or Koranic students who travel about from community to community consulting with their own kind or making pilgrimages to local holy shrines. Since they are apparently universally poor, they depend for their livelihood on the hospitality of members of the local community. It is considered extremely bad manners not to provide for them in the way of food and lodging should they request such. (Actually, the proper etiquette is for the host to offer.) As an isolated incident such hospitality would appear to be only a slight inconvenience. However, the more prominent a man the more frequently such calls on hospitality take place. In one home where I lived, such visits during the summer and fall months occurred on an average of twice a week. Coon relates that hospitality can be pressed to the point where the host will act unseemly and even refuse entrance (1931:116). Within the limits of reasonable

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman.[1] Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[2] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[3] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[1] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[2] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 526. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two." Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar."

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order." The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency." The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family." The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

" Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

" Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

" The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

" I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

" With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[10]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[10] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[10] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

urban institutions are imposed by alien authorities. Such cities become parasites, drawing support from the rural countryside but offering little in exchange. The peasant population continues to look to its local markets for satisfaction of basic needs.

Hamlets versus Scattered Houses

Since they are walled, Moroccan cities begin and end abruptly. Pass through a gate and you are in the rural countryside. The type of landscape varies notably between the eastern and western parts of this zone. The basic distinction is between clustered settlements in the western areas and widely scattered houses in the Rif (fig. 15).

Clusters of ten to fifty houses make up the basic settlement pattern in Jbala, Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and along the Atlantic littoral. In these areas the

Fig. 16. Hamlet in Aith Seddath.

presence of an isolated house indicates that its owner has more than one place of residence; his first and most frequented home is generally with a cluster of several others. Isolated houses are usually of recent construction, and probably reflect the increased security introduced by the Spanish occupation. When it was no longer necessary to live close to trusted kinsmen, the more independent tribesmen settled on good land away from the ancestral hamlet.

The inhabitants of a hamlet are members of an extended family, formed of parents or grandparents, and the children of their sons. This unit does not break up unless the sons quarrel or the kin group becomes too large to be supported by the available land. Thus the basic unit of kinship, the biological family, is also the basic unit of settlement. Moroccans are averse to dividing up their land. When brothers inherit their father's land, they usually farm it jointly, and the eldest brother administers the property for all.

The growth of a hamlet follows the growth of a family. A newly married couple builds a new house, as close as possible to the husband's hamlet. Their first unit is a single hut, with a sunken area for domestic animals. As the livestock multiplies, another hut is erected to serve as a barn. When the sons of the pioneer couple marry, other huts are built adjoining the parent's home. The basic unit is extended into an L- or U- shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3 ●
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R
4
5
361
342
● 171
102
341

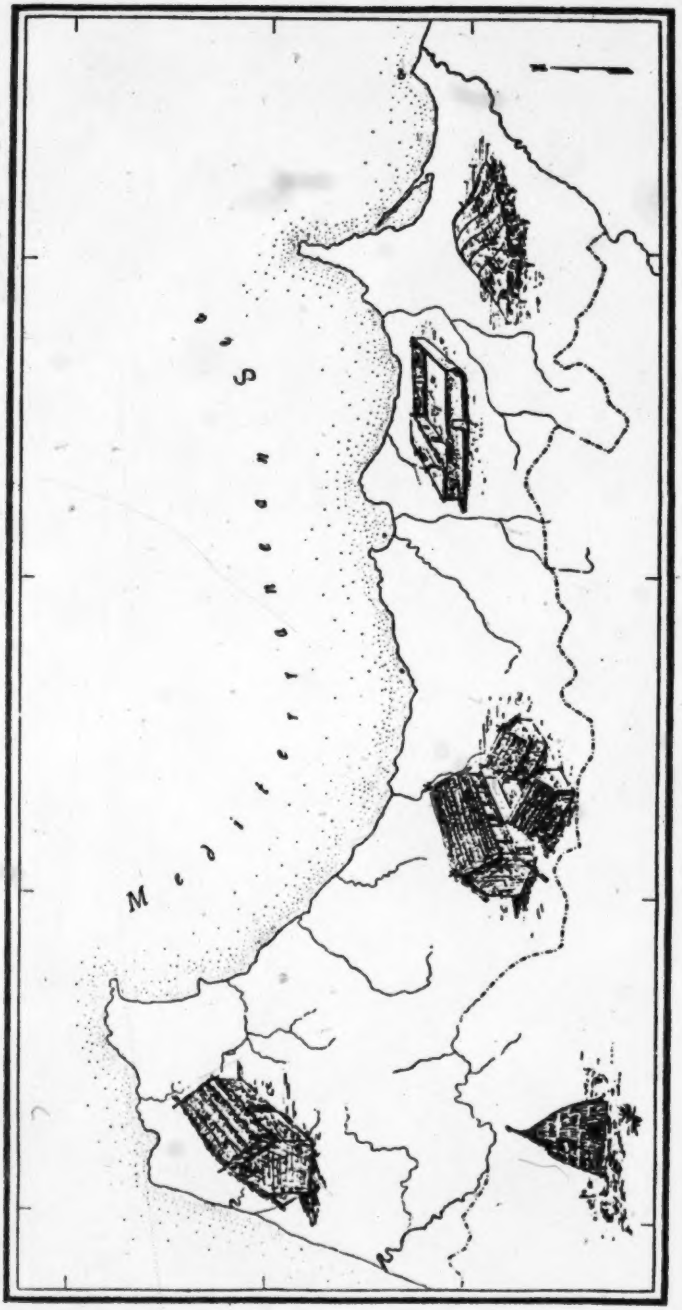


Fig. 17. Northern Morocco: principal types of houses.

/p. 70/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking.[1] The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers. Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred meters,[2] and in former generations each house had a corner tower used as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this use led to violent conflicts.

Types of Houses

In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common house is a crude conical structure (*nouala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

[1] See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

[2] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos historicos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951–52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

R 342 191 Rectangular houses, built about a courtyard, are common in the Rif and in the coastal zone from Mazagan to Agadir. The tribes of the Middle Atlas, who practice transhumance, spend the summer months in tents. Tents are seen also in the Gharb and in the lower Moulouya Valley. In the northwestern corner of Morocco one finds still another type of house, again rectangular in shape, but with a sloping roof of thatch.*

The sketches in figure 17 illustrate and roughly locate northern Morocco's main architectural styles. Two traditions are immediately discerned. In the eastern half of the zone the houses have flat roofs and the walls enclose an open courtyard; in the western area the houses have sloping roofs and there are no courtyards. Tents of woven goat hair appear only in the areas occupied by pastoral tribes—Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut. The division between flat and sloping roofs coincides almost exactly with the division between clustered and dispersed settlements. These distinct patterns of settlement in turn roughly coincide with the division between Rifian and Arabic or Sanhajan speech (cf. figs. 15 and 12). Targist, with clustered settlement and houses of both eastern and western style, is an area of transition. Settlement morphology reveals the heterogeneous character of this tribe.

R 342 361 191

J 342 191 Houses are built of mud brick in Jbala and along most of the Atlantic littoral. After the walls have been constructed, a ridgepole, usually the trunk of a slender riparian tree, is placed across the top of the structure, and smaller poles are set at right angles to the ridge. Thatching is applied, and the house is ready to be occupied. The distinguishing feature of houses in the Jbalan area is that the thatch is allowed to droop almost to the ground. Hipped roofs are seen in Anjra and the Fahs territory, but the more common form is a simple saddle or ridge. The Jbalan house is a small structure about five meters long and three meters wide. There is seldom any differentiation of floor levels or rooms, and furnishing is usually limited to a single mat or rug. Hamlets may be enclosed by a cluster of opuntia or a brush fence, but there is no attempt to build houses and walls to enclose a courtyard.

000 South of Wad Lukkus, in the Gharb, the Jbalan type of house is replaced by cruder structures of cane or reeds. One form is like the Jbalan house, except that its walls are made of wickerwork. Another and much cruder form consists of a conical or circular framework of cane covered with straw. This structure, which seems to be of Sudanese origin, has been adopted by settled tribes of bedawin origin as a substitute for tents. Conical huts are the dominant dwelling in the

R (113)

* In the area of French influence, the literature on rural architecture is abundant, but for the Spanish zone there are only the accounts of E. Blanco Izaga, *La vivienda rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930); C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); and Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. On types of houses in French Morocco, see A. Bernard, "L'Afrique du Nord," in *L'Habitation indigène dans les possessions françaises* (Paris: Editions Maritimes et Coloniales, 1930); Robert Montagne, *Villages et kasbas berbères* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930); E. Laoust, "L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc central," *Hespéris*, 10, 14, 18 (1931-1944); M. Gaud and G. Sigault, "L'habitat indigène au Maroc," *Bull. de l'Institut d'Hygiène au Maroc*, 4 (1937), 4–102; André Adam, *La Maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas* (Paris: Larose, 1952); Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); E. Mauret, H. Pommeret, and R. Ringuelet, "Problèmes de l'habitat rural dans la région de Rabat," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 70 (1955), 15–71; and R. Aujard, "Problèmes de l'habitat rural dans la région d'Agadir," *ibid.*, 75 (1957), 275–288.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

coastal plains between Rabat and Ksar al-Kebir, but they have not yet penetrated the northern zone.

Ghmaran houses differ slightly from those farther to the west. Like the Jbalan houses they are rectangular and have thatch roofs. Ghmaran houses may, however, have two stories. Another distinguishing feature is that adjoining structures often have common roofs. Ghmaran hamlets, like those in Sanhaja as-Srair, tend to develop into units of L- or U-shape (pl. 2, *a*). When a second story is added, steps are cut into the adobe walls. (In Sanhaja as-Srair the second floor is reached by a notched log.)

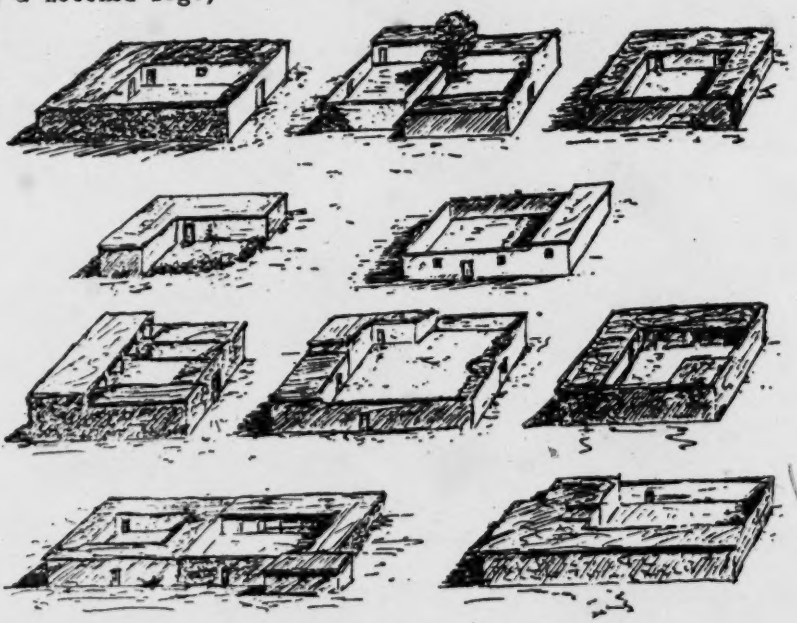


Fig. 19. Examples of Rifian courtyards, Aith Wariyaghar.

by a notched log.) Ghmara seems to be the only area in northern Morocco with special structures built to serve as granaries. Communal granaries (*agadir*) usually have the form of the prevalent houses.[10] Individual or family granaries are small structures of adobe brick and plaster set on wooden planks and supported by stone pedestals.[11]

At first glance, Sanhajan houses seem much like those in Ghmara and Jbala. The difference is in detail rather than in general outline. The foundation of the Sanhajan house is a rectangular shell of mud brick or stone with end sections constructed to form peaks about two meters above the walls. The two ends of

[10] In northern Morocco communal granaries are found only in the territory of the Bani Zejal. Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 64 and figs. 24, 25.

[11] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebíes* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), p. 133.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, *b*). A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*),[B] and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

A, [See p. 127--Analyst] B, [See p. 126--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

341 346 191 in the central highlands is that at the zawia of Tifah in Targist; the nearest minarets are in the territories of Aith Tuzin and L-Khmas, 60 and 75 kilometers away. Whitewashed domes or ornate corners decorate the shrines of some saints (pl. 9, *a*), but for every saint honored by such structures there are at least fifty others with shrines that are not fundamentally different from the common types of houses. Even granaries and grist mills are built in the one local style (fig. 22).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

The Agricultural Calendar

Moroccan agriculture is conducted on the basis of the Julian almanac, and the Latin names for the months have passed with but slight changes into Arabic and Berber. In most of northern Morocco the agricultural cycle involves a combination of dry farming, horticulture, and the cultivation of small irrigated plots. Dry farming as practiced in the Mediterranean region is essentially a matter of farming the same land every other year and of tilling it during the fallow period. In this way as much moisture as possible is kept in the ground for the next year. Since few communities can produce enough grain during the alternate seasons to allow for the fallow years, dry farming requires constant clearing of new land.

In the hilly areas of Jbala and Ghmara the beginning of the agricultural year is marked by fires set to clear new fields, and the haze of smoke lingers until the arrival of the first rains. By the end of the summer drought, animals are weakened by the scarcity of feed; and wherever the soil is clayey the drought-hardened surface is difficult to plow. So the farmer waits for the first rains for plowing and the second for seeding. After the soil has been turned, cereals, usually barley or hard wheat, are broadcast. Then the soil is again worked with the plow and, since Moroccans do not use the harrow, clods are broken with clubs or hoes.

In the western half of the northern zone, plowing usually begins toward the end of September, and sowing is completed by the beginning of November. In the eastern sector the first heavy rains may not come until March or April. In this event, no further thought is given to barley or wheat, and a desperate effort is made to prepare the soil for a summer crop of sorghum. When cereals are sown, the feverish activity of autumn gives way to a period of virtual hibernation. Only the women keep busy, for there is always need for fodder and fuel.

In frost-free areas, February marks the beginning of the work of planting, pruning, grafting, and fertilizing the fruit and nut trees. This task continues through March and April. In the lower areas of the Rif the most common trees are the fig, pomegranate, almond, and olive. In the highlands walnuts are most important. Trees are cared for assiduously, for dried figs, raisins, and nuts constitute the principal food reserves after the cereals have been consumed. Since they do not have to be watered, figs and vines usually occupy the higher and steeper slopes. New olive trees are usually obtained by grafting on the oleaster. The olives are often left so long in heaps on the ground that they begin to ferment, and the oil is very rancid when the fruit is eventually pressed.

The arduous task of rebuilding terraces, dams, and ditches begins in March. This work is not yet finished when it is time to begin the harvest of the cereals. The shortage of manpower at this time is offset by the women, who reap the grain with sickles and carry it to threshing floors. There it remains until the men have completed the planting of the summer crops. Then all effort is devoted to threshing and winnowing. This work begins in July and in bountiful years it may still be in progress when the first rains fall. Threshing takes place on communal floors, which may or may not be paved. These are always in an exposed position, and when the mixture of grain and straw is thrown in the air, it is separated

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

by the wind. Cattle, mules, or donkeys tread the crop and separate the grain from the chaff. As the animals are driven in a circle, the men work with winnowing forks (pl. 5, *a*). After most of the chaff has been removed, the women take over and finish the winnowing by hand. The men then set to work piling up the straw to be used as fodder during the winter months. In Garet and Gal'aya, the usual form of strawstacks is oblong; in the Rif they have a circular form. Strawstacks are sometimes covered with a thin veneer of mud; sometimes they are held in shape by stones tied to ropes. In the wetter, western provinces straw must be stored inside.

In early September, maize is harvested and the almonds and figs are collected. The remaining trees, including the olive, do not bear fruit until November or December. Grape picking, usually in mid-September, marks the end of the agricultural year. After this has been done, the cereals reaped and threshed, and the strawstacks prepared, there is time for rejoicing. September is the usual month for weddings and also for festivals and pilgrimages. But it is already time to think of the new cereal crop, and smoke from fresh clearings marks the beginning of a new year.

The cycle just described is most applicable to Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and the western margins of the Rif. On the Atlantic littoral there is little danger of frost, and vegetables may be grown at any time of the year. The calendar of events in the drier and warmer parts of the northern zone is usually two or three weeks ahead of the cycle in the highlands. When autumn rains fall over the zone, cereals are ready for harvest in the warmer eastern sector in May, but as often as not the advantage of higher temperatures is offset by meager or tardy precipitation. In 1957 the first heavy rains did not reach Gal'aya until April.

The pattern of land use in the highlands reflects centuries of trial and error. The problem here is that it is virtually impossible to grow more than one crop on the same plot of land. Maize and hemp must be planted before the cereals are ripe, and there is also a conflict of time between the harvest of cereals and the planting of vegetables. Hence a division is made between land planted to summer and to winter crops. Since the former are dry-farmed and the latter irrigated, this division coincides with a break in slope. When there is abundant water for irrigation, cereals, figs, and vines are pushed to higher and more precipitous slopes. The Aith Arbi, who own valuable terraced land on the north slope of Adrar Tidighin (pl. 6), arranged a generation ago to purchase additional land at a lower elevation so that it would no longer be necessary to devote precious irrigable land to cereals. Similar divisions have been effected by many highland communities. The disadvantages of specialization are offset also by barter at the weekly markets. In Ktama, tribesmen from the deep valley of Abd al-Ghaya grow an abundance of grapes, figs, oranges, and vegetables, which can be exchanged for grain produced on higher and drier land.

Most highland communities are not so fortunate, and an attempt is made to allocate land for each season. Cultivation is usually spread over three distinct zones, which are worked at different times of the year. First, and lowest in a valley, is the zone of terraces reserved for the irrigated crops. The next zone, at a slightly higher elevation, is planted to cereals, figs, and vines. A still higher

[See pp. 129-130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R 241 171

zone may be used only for pasture. This arrangement seems orderly and rational, but its effect is to accelerate the deterioration of the land. Grain stubble (which is often grazed) and vines (which are often placed parallel to the slope) do not constitute an adequate protection for the soil. As population increases, the zones of dry farming and pasture are extended to higher slopes. First the forest is destroyed, then the scrub cover is removed, and eventually the zone of dry farming is stripped of soil.[5]

Crop Combinations

The basic crops of northern Morocco are well adapted to the Mediterranean climate, for cereals can be grown during the rainy season, and trees, by virtue of their large root systems, are suited to the long dry summers. When water is available for irrigation, diets are balanced and there is no danger of famine. This happy combination of dry farming, horticulture, and gardening is realized only in the highlands and on the main river plains. Irrigated land probably accounts for less than 5 per cent of the surface of the northern zone. Most tribesmen depend on the unpredictable rains.

R [243]

TABLE 4

Land under Cereals
(Hectares)

	1936-40	1951	1953	1963
Barley	75,729	193,600	164,129	174,905
Wheat	30,518	70,895	73,180	76,392
Sorghum	25,656	49,092	51,094	46,981
Maize	4,318	4,992	6,020	6,206
Rye	1,253	3,411	3,724	3,305
Totals	137,474	321,991	298,147	307,789

Source: *Anuario estadistico, 1953-53* (Madrid, 1955), p. 93.

R 243 171

In the whole of Morocco about 90 per cent of the land under field crops is planted to cereals. Table 4 shows the amount of land used for growing cereals in the northern zone. Barley accounts for nearly half of the total cultivated area in the northern zone.[6] One advantage of barley is that it can be cut while green, thus making space for summer crops. When barley is cut green, it is toasted before it is milled, and then is mixed with butter to form a paste. Wheat is more highly prized, but is less successful on thin residual soils. In many areas wheat flour is used only as a flavoring and leavening agent. Rye is grown in the Sanhajan highlands, but is not generally regarded as an important food. No one would think of serving rye bread to a guest. At the approach of a visitor, an attempt may even be made to hide all rye bread. When land is abundant, rye may be grown for use as thatch, and the grain is not collected. In the Rif it used to be a

S [243] [262] [574]

R [113]

[5] On the relationship of economic history and erosion, see Paul Vageler, "Zur Bodengeographie Algiers; Faktoren der Bodenbildung und -verteilung. Die Catena als bodengenetische Einheit," *Petermanns Mitt.*, Ergänzungsheft 258 (1955), 88–99.

R [113]

[6] In 1950 there were 373,482 hectares of land under cultivation in Spanish Morocco. *Anuario estadistico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell * K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[1]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[2]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[1] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.

[2] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

J 241 191 the gradual decrease in the number of fruit and nut trees. The tribesmen of Jbala and the Atlantic littoral can count on adequate rainfall for a good cereal crop in most years. Moreover, since the summer weather is cooler and more humid than in the interior, crops do not suffer from excessive evaporation. Cereals in winter give way to summer crops of sorghum and chickpeas. The latter are not irrigated, and so there is no need for terracing. Slopes are covered with an irregular patchwork of cultivated plots without walls or ditches. Each hamlet is surrounded by cactus (*Opuntia Ficus-indica*), which is cultivated as a hedge and for its edible fruit.

Farm Implements

R 412 191 The implements used by Moroccan farmers are simple and few, for long-established habit opposes change. There are some general reasons for conservatism, such as the abundance and cheapness of manpower and the stagnation of industry. There are specific reasons as well: the prevalence of steep slopes, of small plots where only handwork is possible, and the difficulty of hauling heavy equipment through mountainous terrain. Implements are limited to mattocks, picks, hatchets, hoes, plows, grist mills, and equipment for pulping and pressing olives. Plowshares and other iron tools are made and repaired by local blacksmiths.

R 407 191 The Moroccan plow is a one-handled implement without wheels, coltez, or moldboard. Wings are attached obliquely to either side of the share in order to widen the furrows, though not to reverse the sod. Since there is no harrow, clods are broken with hoes or clubs, and a second plowing is necessary to cover the seed. The share is made from a flat piece of iron hammered over at the edges to form a socket. The plow itself is much the same throughout the northern zone. J [407] [492] The main regional difference is in the manner of yoking. In Jbala plows are fastened to the foreheads of cows or oxen (pl. 4, *b*); neck yoking is practiced elsewhere.[1] Mixed teams are common, combining donkeys, mules, or oxen, or one of these animals with a camel (pl. 4, *b*).

R 412 191 J [412] Figure 21 illustrates the main hand tools. The first four (*a–d*) are digging and weeding tools; the complex tool in the fourth sketch (*d*) seems to be restricted to Jbala, for the Sanhajans and Rifians are unable to give it a name. The fifth sketch (*e*) shows an all-purpose grubbing and cutting tool, which the women use to collect fuel and edible plants. Figure 20, *f*, is the hatchet used by woodcutters in Ktama; 20, *g*, is the ubiquitous sickle.

R 256 191 Milling is ordinarily accomplished with a rotary hand mill consisting of an upper stone, turned with a wooden handle, and a lower stone that remains stationary.[2] In areas of abundant runoff there are also vertical water mills, consisting of a turbine wheel attached to the upper of two millstones, a hopper mounted above the stone, and a feed slot jiggled by the upper stone to ensure an even flow (fig. 22). The lower stone is larger than the upper, and is rimmed with a slightly raised border, broken at one place to allow extraction of the flour.[3] Mills of this

R [113] [1] For other illustrations of Moroccan plows, see E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères: notes de linguistique et d'éthnographie* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1920), pp. 275–301.

R [113] [2] This type of mill is illustrated in Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958), plate 14.

R [113] [3] The origin and evolution of the rotary hand mill and the turbine mill are discussed at length in L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

Mills of this type are usually privately owned, and the owner collects one-tenth of the flour. When there is neither hand nor turbine mill, the women pound the grain with iron bars.

The implements used to press and pulp olives are similar to those used in Roman time.[10] The apparatus consists of a mill, a press, and a vat. The millstone lies against a centrally placed revolving post and is turned by means of a horizontal shaft with one end secured in the center post and the other projecting beyond the stone (fig. 23). Mills are used both for bruising the fruit before pressing and later to pulp the pressed fruit for use as cattle fodder. The larger mills are powered by animals, the smaller by hand. The essential part of the press is a large log, held in place by heavy wooden screws, which is forced down on baskets filled with olive mash.

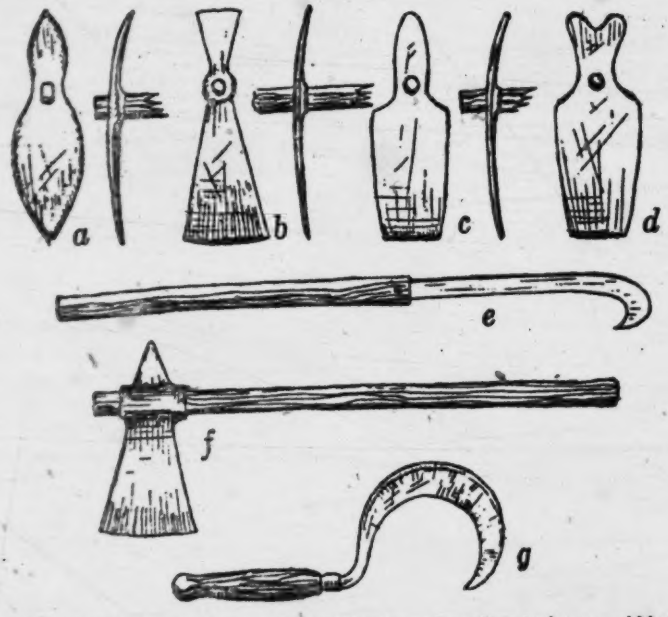


Fig. 21. Farm implements: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, digging and weeding tools; *e*, grubbing and cutting tool; *f*, hatchet used by woodcutters; *g*, sickle.

Role of Domestic Animals

In the statistical report of 1953 the number of domestic animals in Spanish Morocco is given as 1,104,000 goats, 661,000 sheep, 337,000 cattle, 55,000 donkeys, 22,000 mules, and 2,000 camels.[11] The number of goats nearly equals that of human beings. They are kept for their meat, milk, and hides. In many areas the number of goats is limited only by the amount of space available for storage of fodder and by the number of goatherds.

[10] H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953).

[11] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 131, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R
256
191

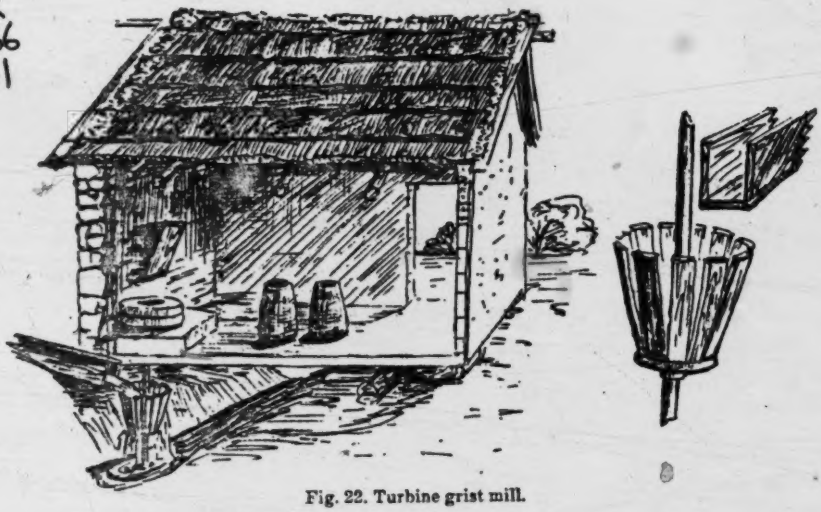


Fig. 22. Turbine grist mill.

R
245
409
171

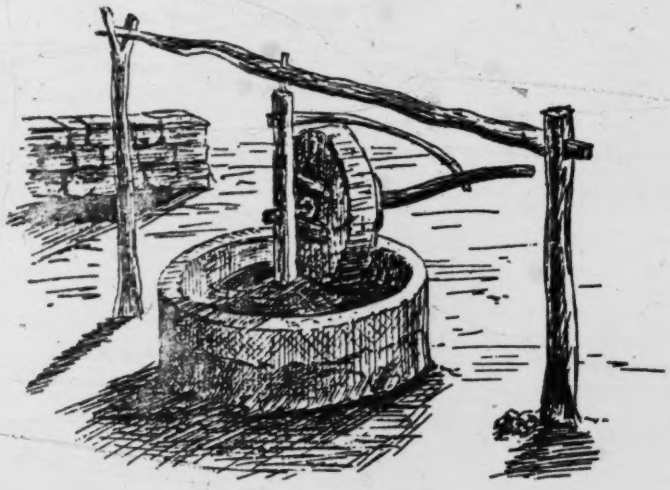


Fig. 23. Olive grinder.

000
S
231
061

and by the number of goatherds. The situation in Ktama is representative of the entire highland area. In 1934 this mountain tribe, with a population of 8,389 persons, maintained 20,259 goats in an area of 450 square kilometers.[13] Goats must be brought back to shelter each night; so the radius of their movement is small. The effects of browsing on vegetation will be examined in chapter viii.

R
231
191

The number of goats decreases toward the Atlantic lowlands and the plains

[13] Figures from an unpublished report of the Spanish *interventor* dated November, 1934.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

of Garet. In the Atlantic coastal zone most of the surface is cultivated, and little vegetation is left to serve as browse. In the eastern plains goats are replaced by sheep, which begin to outnumber them in the lower parts of the Rif. In the Middle Atlas the raising of sheep is associated with transhumance. This mode of pastoral life is still followed to some extent by the Ulad Stut, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ibdharsen, who spend the winter months near their cereal fields and the summer months in higher country with their sheep. The routes of migration run from the alluvial lowlands into nearby hills, especially the Kar-Kar range. In recent years the development of new irrigation projects has discouraged pastoral life, and the migration is now limited to a few of the young men and boys.

In the western provinces the main draft animals are cows or oxen. In the highlands and in the eastern lowlands the beasts of burden are donkeys and mules, which are used also for threshing and turning olive grinders. Mules are highly prized, for they can carry a heavier load than donkeys and are more agile and hardy than horses. Since there are few horses in the northern zone, most mules are imported from elsewhere in Morocco or from Spain. Moroccan donkeys are a small but hardy race, able to withstand long journeys with heavy loads. Horses have little value except as symbols of wealth and prestige, and are seldom used in the mountains. At the time of the Spanish conquest there were no horses at all in Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Seddath, and Aith Khannus.[18] Camels are restricted to the plains of Garet, where about 2,000 of them are used as milk, pack, and draft animals. Except for an occasional playful experiment, camels are not ridden.

The pack saddle for donkeys and mules is a heavy object made of cloth stuffed with straw. Panniers of twilled basketry, consisting of a double container connected by a strip of basketry, serve nearly all transport needs. Riders perch on top of the load and let their legs dangle to one side. There is little riding in the mountains, for a healthy man can make better time on foot.

Women are the most important burden bearers. Lines of women or girls bent under heavy loads are a common sight everywhere in Morocco. In Jbala they may be seen on any road carrying huge loads of wood and charcoal (pl. 8, *b*).

The domestic animals in northern Morocco include ferrets used in hunting, dogs, cats, and chickens. The dogs are of two types, one a small cur and the other a larger sheep dog. Chickens are the exclusive property of women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands. Bees are kept in the mountains, but the average tribesman knows nothing of apiculture, and prefers to assign the task to paid specialists.

Irrigation and Water Rights

In Moroccan agricultural terminology the most important distinction is that between *bilad bour*, the land of dry farming, and *bilad saqiyah*, the land of irrigation. By far the greatest amount of irrigated land is watered by diversion of surface runoff (pl. 5, *b*). Small dams (*mechra*) are used to divert water into ditches (*saqiyah*), which lead to the irrigable land. The ditches often follow tortuous contours, and may extend for several kilometers. The larger streams are flanked by several channels, sometimes five or six, each bringing water from a

[18] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 39, cited in note 5.

A, [See p. 132--Analyst]

B, [See p. 129--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

different dam. In deep valleys it is often necessary to move water back and forth across the natural drainage lines. For this purpose, wooden conduits are set on long tripods. Construction of irrigation works begins in the spring, and after a few months of use the water is redirected into its natural course. Since water is required only during the dry season, irrigation systems are designed for the minimum runoff. On steep slopes, water is carefully directed into a series of ponds; check dams are used to impound water from springs. Channels are constructed to lead water to grist mills, but the use of water for milling has a low priority, for most communities also have smaller mills turned by hand.

The construction and maintenance of dams and irrigation ditches require less effort than the construction and maintenance of terraces. With the exception of a few works in the coastal plains, terracing is necessary for irrigation. Since irrigation involves channeling rather than simple flooding, most terraces have a slight slope and are supported by stone walls (pl. 6, *b*). There is no rotation of crops on irrigated land. In areas of thin residual soil the land is gradually built up by the constant deposition of baskets of mud, another of the backbreaking tasks assigned to the women. Fertilizer, a mixture of sheep dung and ashes, is applied each year.

The regulation of water rights is a complicated matter.[1] The rights of preference pass from human beings to animals, crops, and industries. The two main rivers of the Rif, Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, illustrate the problems of management. Wad Ghis has only about a fourth of the flow of Wad Nkour, but its flow is more predictable. Those who irrigate with its waters know the quantity they can expect, and plan accordingly. In normal years Wad Nkour irrigates nearly ten times as much land as Wad Ghis, but in some years it remains little more than a muddy trickle. Hence there is frequent occasion for disputes, which in the past often led to prolonged feuds. In both basins the mountaineers have almost unlimited use of water, while the more numerous plainsmen must be satisfied with what is left. Most Rifian communities have secondary sources of water: wells, springs, and ponds. Each family is allowed a certain time at the water source, and the community as a whole works out the regulations and fines.

An elaborate series of agreements, usually verbal, deals with the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. The labor of construction as well as the necessary reconstruction after heavy rains is done by representatives of the families using the water. Infractions of agreement often lead to differences of opinion about these responsibilities or the period of time water is used. Serious disputes may arise over the outlines of ditches, and for this reason it is necessary to gain the consent of each property owner over whose land the water is to flow. The irrigation turns of the larger communities are regulated by days. Within such communities, individual families are allowed shorter periods of use, usually an hour. The mechanics of irrigation requires the use of the hoe to build up and then destroy a tiny diversion dam.

[1] In this section I have made use of J. M. Paniagua y Santos, "Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, 4 (1948), 1–44; D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, 2 (1954), 55–57; and D. A. Caponera, "Water Laws in the Moslem Countries," *FAO Development Paper 43* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1954).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Contracts and Coöperation

When tribesmen are unable or unwilling to work their own land, contracts are made between the wealthier and the poorer members of a community; those who have little land or equipment hire themselves out to those who have more. Farmers who have more animals than they or their sons can manage, make agreements with others to care for the herd. The hired shepherds, while the animals are in their hands, receive part of the milk and butter, some of the young that are born, and, if the animals are sold, a share of the profit. The shepherd receives part, sometimes half, of the wool. Full-time employment as a shepherd is considered rather degrading, and for this reason it is the common occupation of exiles and orphans.

Vegetable gardens, orchards, and fields may be cared for by hired laborers. If their job entails the difficult task of setting up terraces, they may get up to a third of the crop. If they perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, they receive a fifth of the crop. If the hired hand needs an assistant during the reaping, the latter is paid with a tenth of the harvest. Associations of this sort are not common; farm labor is ordinarily done by the landowner and his sons.

A second type of association takes place when two farmers own plots of about the same size but do not have enough animals or equipment to work their land independently. The two farmers join forces, each supplying his share, and the harvest is divided between them. This form of coöperation is common when a farmer has only one draft animal. In irrigated areas, one man may supply the land and part of the seed, and another the rest of the seed, the animals, and the plow. Since most communities are kinship groups, coöperation of this sort is usually among brothers or cousins.[14]

Inheritance

The inheritance of property[15] in most of Morocco follows standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. When a man dies his widow first receives one-eighth of his property and the remainder is divided among the sons and daughters. All sons inherit equally, as do all daughters. If a man dies leaving a widow and daughters only, the widow gets one-eighth and the remainder is divided into three parts, of which the daughters receive two and the father's brother one. If the father has no brothers, the rest (aside from the widow's share) goes to the daughters. If he does have brothers, and dies leaving only one daughter, she receives half of the property (minus the widow's share) and the brothers get the other half. If a man dies leaving no children, his widow receives a fourth of his property and the rest goes to the brothers. If a man with children dies prior to his father, the children have no right to the property and receive shares only if the grandfather agrees to such a division.

Moroccans are very reluctant to divide up their land. When brothers inherit land they customarily work it jointly, the eldest brother acting as a substitute

[14] On contracts and coöperation, see also A. Sánchez Pérez, "Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en el Rif," *Selección de conferencias pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso 1950–51* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1951), pp. 95–104.

[15] This paragraph is based upon the remarks of D. M. Hart in *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 141–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

Hunting and Fishing

In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[11] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla*.

Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[12]

In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[13] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[11] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[12] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[13] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[m]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus, C. laurifolius, C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[n] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[m] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.

[n] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93)

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Tnine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Cabello Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167–169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[34] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[35] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[34] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[35] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

161 221 464 The answer to this dilemma, if it may be called an answer, is emigration. In the decade preceding the current disorder, more than 30,000 Rifians went to Algeria each year to work on French farms. The main drift took place during the slack winter season, but smaller groups migrated at other times of the year. Few Morocans thought of emigration as a permanent change. They were hired by members of their own tribe appointed to serve as contractors, and messengers visited them regularly to collect money for the families left at home. Each tribe had its special place of employment. The Aith Warishik went to Sidi bel Abbes, the Aith Tuzin to Tlemcen, the Thimsaman to Blida and Ain Temouchent, and the Gal'ayan tribes to Oran.[9] The largest number of emigrants were recruited from the Aith Said, and it is not a coincidence that the territory of this tribe includes spectacular badlands. From the standpoint of the French farmer this movement was a blessing, for the Moroccans worked harder than the Algerians and were satisfied with less pay. The tribesmen of the western Rif did not join in the seasonal movement to Algeria, but many of them migrated to Tetuán and Tangier.[10]

161 167 191 These movements are manifestations of a general trend. The oasis dwellers of the Mzab have long practiced emigration as a solution to their problem of overpopulation. The Mozabite is a farmer in his youth and again in old age; during the middle years he may be a bus driver, a shopkeeper, or a mechanic.[11] The same tradition is found among the craftsmen of Taghzut and some of the Shluh tribesmen of the Anti Atlas. Emigration is not a new development, but in recent years it has been practiced on an unprecedented scale.[12]

[9] F. Benedicto Pérez, "Trabajadores rifeños en Argelia," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1948* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1949), pp. 5–17.

[10] D. M. Hart, "Notes on the Rifian Community of Tangier," *Middle East Jour.*, 11 (1957), 153–162.

[11] In the Mzab the tradition of emigration for men is combined with a tradition that women must not leave the oasis. See Karl Suter, "Die Ortsgebundenheit der Frau bei den Mozabiten," *Geographica Helvetica*, 12 (1957), 102–114.

[12] On emigration see also Günter Glauert, "Veränderungen in den Bevölkerungsstruktur Nordafrikas in den letzen Jahrzehnten," *Die Erde*, 88 (1957), 298–319; René Raynal, "Déplacements récents et actuels des populations du bassin de la Moulouya (Maroc oriental)," *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Lisbonne, 1949* (Lisbon, 1952), IV, 67–80; and J. C. Petit and Castet Barou, "Contribution à l'étude des mouvements de la population marocaine musulmane et de l'exode rural," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 68 (1955), 423–459.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

tains of the upper Nkour. The same expression is applied to the mountains on the route between Vélez and Fez (probably the Sanhajan highlands), and to "Mount Seusaoen" (i.e., Shawen, probably Jbil Tisuka). Leo's account of the eastern sector of northern Morocco is very different. The plains of Garet are described as a desert, and the lower Moulouya Valley as being "unpleasant and dry," with "no water but that of the river Muluia."

Accounts of forest in the Rif highlands are to be expected, but it is surprising to find repeated references to forest on the Mediterranean coast. Similar accounts appear in the works of Arab writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Strabo describes the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees. The frequent mentions of trees near Ceuta suggest a profound modification of vegetation in subsequent years. Accounts of shipbuilding and lumber trade indicate some commercial logging; the retreat of the forest near Ksar as-Srair, Ceuta, and Vélez might have been a direct result of these activities. Leo's reference to "great want of wood" at Arcila suggests that the hills and marine terraces of the Tangier-Tetuán-Arcila triangle had been cleared before his time, but extensive woods still existed in the basin of Wad Lukkus. His evaluation of the Moulouya Valley may have been prejudiced by previous exposure to more verdant areas, but "desert" does not mean forest, or even a rich formation of scrub.

Agents and Processes of Change

In northern Morocco today, the most important agents of deforestation are: (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to "improve" pastures and to clear fields for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by sheep and goats. These processes are evident even to the casual observer, but it is difficult to determine their relative importance. Despois believes that the principal causes of deforestation have always been the need for fuel and new land to till.[111] Braun-Blanquet describes the Mediterranean garrigues as "zoöbiotically conditioned communities."[112] Kuhnholtz-Lordat is convinced that the greatest agent of deterioration has been fire.[113]

Each emphasis is supported by abundant evidence, but it may be doubted whether the several causes of deforestation can be treated independently. A series of fires, if not too closely spaced, may not result in deforestation, but burning followed by heavy pasturing inevitably does. Most of the broad-leaf trees in northern Morocco reproduce themselves from shoots after being burned or felled, but in areas overrun by goats the shoots are browsed down and forest degenerates to scrub. In tangled brush formations it is often difficult to tell whether the main destructive agent has been fire, domestic animals, or man.

Consumption of Wood

Although kerosene lamps burn in many Moroccan homes, charcoal and wood are the only important domestic fuels.[114] Butane and electrical appliances are

[111] Despois, *op. cit.*, p. 84, cited in note 13.

[112] J. Braun-Blanquet, *Pflanzensoziologie: Grundzüge der Vegetationskunde* (2d ed., Vienna: Springer, 1951), p. 371.

[113] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), *passim*.

[114] Anthracite of excellent quality has been mined at Djerada south of Oujda since 1931, but

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus, Rhus pentaphylla,* and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[a] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix, Alnus, Populus, Vitex,* and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander,* the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[b] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[c]

---

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al., Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[a] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[b] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies,* 9 (1931), 69.

[c] Coon, *loc. cit.,* traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

313 The great wooden gates that used to guard the openings of every city wall
648 demonstrate the importance of the lumber trade. Only fragments of these gates
still exist, but it is certain that most of them were made of cedar. Logging op-
171 erations were greatly expanded by the Spanish after the Rifian tribes had been pacified. It is not an exaggeration to say that the mineral deposits and cedar forests of northern Morocco were the only compensations for Spain's investment in colonial prestige. Reliable estimates of the amount of timber cut since the beginning of the protectorate cannot be found, possibly because the Spanish claimed to be conserving and restoring the forests in their zone. With the backing of military force, the Spanish were able to exercise some control over cutting by the native population, but their own work proceeded without interruption or apparent regulation. Spanish officials point out that the forests being exploited were private property and that the forestry service was concerned only with public domain.

In 1956 sawmills operated throughout the year at Tetuán and Targist, and during the summer months trucks heavily loaded with cedar logs could be seen on every mountain road. The fir forests on Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab had not yet been heavily logged when Spanish "protection" came to an end, but the deciduous oaks on Jbil Buhashim had been cut in quantity for use as railroad ties. These operations may have been a brief chapter in the history of the Moroccan forest, but it is probable that the Spanish, with modern equipment, cut more trees in a decade than the local tribesmen could destroy in a century. The effects of Spanish logging are strikingly evident in the Sanhajan highlands, especially on Adrar Dahdoh, Adrar Tidighin, and Adrar Tizi Ifri.

313 This harsh judgment applies only to the exploitation of cedar and the decidu-
171 ous oaks. A modest amount of reforestation was undertaken. A plantation of
[185] *Eucalyptus* was established north of Larache; Aleppo pines were planted near Rincón, Alhucemas, Nador, and Melilla; and an effort was made to prevent premature stripping of the cork oak.[*]

Profiting from long experience in Algeria, the Service des Eaux et Forêts carried out an elaborate program in French Morocco. The system advocated and partly enforced was based upon periodic and progressive thinnings, which were intended to reconcile the interests of the tribesmen with good forestry practice. If effectively enforced, this method would have permitted the production of fuel without waiting for the normal age of exploitation, and would have improved pastoral conditions by facilitating the movement and supervision of livestock.[**]

314 Tannin is extracted from the roots and bark of all the Moroccan oaks, and
171 this operation frequently results in mutilation or death. The cork oak is espe-
311 cially vulnerable, for tannin is scraped from the delicate inner bark immediately after the corky tissue has been removed. Complete girdling destroys trees, and death may result if more than half of the circumference is damaged.[***] The tanners of Marrakech have been responsible for extensive deforestation in the

[113] [*] The program planned by the Spanish forestry service is described in González Vázquez, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–185, cited in note 34; and J. Ruiz de la Torre, *La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos y la elección de especies para su repoblación forestal* (Larache: Centro de Investigaciones Forestales, 1956).

[113] [**] For a brief account of French management, see J. P. Challot, "L'homme et la forêt marocaine," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 84 (1946), 233–261.

[***] Boudy, *op. cit.*, II (fasc. 1), 47 ff., cited in note 5.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

High Atlas. Deforestation can be traced also to the tanners of Fez and Tetuán."[113] The tanners' guild in Fez goes back to the ninth century, when master tanners gathered at this site from Córdoba, Qayrawan, and distant Iran. Fez leather was once exported as far away as Baghdad, and shoes went to Egypt until the present century. During the peak years of production. Fez craftsmen tanned about 500,000 skins a year. The descendants of the original immigrant craftsmen are still busy making handbags, slippers, and other articles for the tourist and export trade.

It is not surprising that *Quercus Ilex*, an important source of tannin, should now be rare in the hills near Fez and Tetuán. There is good reason to believe that the holly oak once covered these hills. One well-informed botanist asserts that the primordial cover of the limestone mountains south of Tetuán probably was a "climax" forest of holly oak.[113] In Gal'aya and the eastern Rif, careless stripping of the bark of *Rhus pentaphylla*, a source of red dye, destroys many trees; "Morocco leather," a trade name in bookbinding, is customarily made from goatskin tanned with sumac.

Effects of Burning

In the eastern Rif the plant cover is usually too sparse to maintain a fire, and on the Atlantic littoral there is little land left to clear. But between these areas is a large zone covered with forest or scrub that must be burned before the land can be plowed. Some attempt is usually made to control the spread of fire, but conflagrations develop when tinder-dry shrubs are fanned by brisk winds. Fire is employed also for the "improvement" of pasture, for increased blossoming ("bee pasture"), and probably for the mere pleasure of burning or out of carelessness.[114]

The importance of pastoral fires has been emphasized by most students of the Mediterranean landscape,[115] but in northern Morocco fires set to clear away noxious shrubbery or to facilitate movement of stock are less important than agricultural fires. Pastoral fires are neither necessary nor desirable where there are goats, for these animals thrive on woody browse and can break through the thickest scrub. Sheep outnumber goats only in the drier eastern sector, where impenetrable formations are rare. For every fire set to "improve" pasture, probably more than ten are set to prepare new fields for plowing.

Whatever its cause, fire is a major agent of deforestation. The difficulty is that there are many kinds of fires: quick fires that run over a thin mantle of vegetation, great conflagrations that consume thicker formations, fires that remain close to the ground, fires that extend to the crowns of trees. It makes a great deal of difference whether fires recur after five or after twenty-five years. Moreover, the important factor may be not the fire itself but what happens to an area after it has been burned.

[113] [113] [113] [113]

[113] R. le Tourneau, L. Paye, and R. Guyot, "La corporation des tanneurs et l'industrie de la tannerie à Fès," *Hespéris*, 21 (1935), 167–240; A. Joly, "L'industrie à Tétouan," *Archives Marocaines*, 8, 15, 18 (1906–1912).

[113] J. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala (Marruecos español)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1955), pp. 26–27, and the map showing the "natural area" of *Quercus Ilex*.

[113] H. Mare, *Notes sur les forêts de l'Algérie* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 396, lists the causes of serious forest fires from 1886 to 1915 as "accidents" (8 per cent), "imprudence" (32 per cent), "intentional" (23 per cent), "unknown" (37 per cent).

[113] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, "Influence des feux pastoraux dans la région méditerranéenne," *Jour. d'Agriculture Tropicale et de Botanique Appliquée*, 3 (1956), 785–791.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

the stunted form of this tree. The same remarks apply to dwarf forms of thuya and oleaster. On protected sites even the palmetto may become a tree and, when disturbance is manifest, dwarf forms of cedar develop.

Vegetation on Sacred Sites

Throughout Morocco and to some extent elsewhere in the Muslim world, cemeteries are regarded as sacred ground. Sanctity is ascribed also to the areas adjacent to tombs or shrines of saints (*murabitin*). The cult of saints has been an important factor in Moroccan history, and tombs or shrines are found in the territory of each tribe.[a]

Sacred sites often constitute islands of verdure. This correlation is not unique. In *The Golden Bough* Sir James Frazer describes sacred woods in many parts of the world.[b] The interesting feature of the Moroccan situation is that such groves are extraordinarily numerous and that the veneration relates to the ground in which plants grow and not to the plants themselves.[c] Protected growth is usually more dense than the growth on adjacent profane land, and the height and girth of individual plants exceed those of plants growing on unprotected land. Some species (e.g., *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*) rarely achieve arborescent forms on unprotected sites.

The nature of the protected growth varies from a single shrub or tree to thickets and groves. Figure 25 shows the silhouettes of vegetation on a few sacred sites. These examples, selected from hundreds, illustrate the general pattern (cf. pl. 9, *a* and *b*).

Figure 25, *a*, shows a few mature cedars surrounded by a dense growth of holly oak. The prevalent vegetation in this area is a shrub formation dominated by *Cistus laurifolius*. There are no other cedars within a radius of several hundred meters, and holly oaks, apart from those on sacred sites, are in scrub form. It is evident that succession has resulted in a retrogression from cedar to oak forest and then to a sparse cover of shrubs.

Figure 25, *b*, illustrates a protected formation dominated by oleasters (cf. pl. 9, *a*). *Pistacia lentiscus* becomes prominent where oleasters are widely spaced and light reaches the ground freely. Palmetto and thuya, even more heliophilous, are confined to the edges of the protected growth. In the surrounding area the vegetation is limited to shrubs. Numerous other examples of oleaster groves fringed with pistacia and palmetto could be described. A handsome grove appears at the tomb of Sidi Manari on Cape Malabata opposite Tangier. Five groves appear on one ridge between Tangier and Tetuán. Others appear on the marine terraces between Tangier and Arcila, and on the lower slopes of the limestone mountains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

[a] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Marabout," in H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 325–326; Emile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

[b] Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935). Part I of *The Golden Bough*.

[c] J. Cola Alberich, *Cultos primitivos de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954), refers to tree worship (*dendrolatría*), but the evidence he cites relates to popular ideas of the medicinal and magical qualities of plant material (leaves, seeds, acorns, etc.) and not to the sanctity of plants as such. It is possible, for example, to recognize magical qualities in pine cones and yet have no reluctance to destroy or mutilate pine trees. In Morocco the important consideration is not what qualities a plant may possess but *where* it grows.

A, [See p. 133--Analyst]

631
619
•[171]

/176 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ The tribes forming the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair have not, to our knowledge at least, any common institution. These two groups have partially submitted to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and sometimes received leaders who commanded nominally at least the totality of the tribes.

It seems that here again the confederations exist /177/ like empty cadres, in which the tribes and khoms live as they like and conclude alliances in complete independence, as if in the relative calm of our time, which succeeds the furious wars of the past, the weakest units were being constituted little by little and becoming conscious of their particular interests and their needs.

000 XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "ᶜarch." -- One of the most singular characteristics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/ is the existence of a population whose density is often greater than that of the French territory. Most often one does not find little hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda, but rather large villages of 100 to 150 houses, which have maintained a surprising internal activity up to our day. Republican institutions are more developed there than in the South of Morocco, and the customary law has resisted, after 80 years of conquest, the political and economic transformation of the country (1).

1. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun [kanoun, see p. 492]/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

In former times the villages were grouped, three or four in number, to form a tribe, "ᶜarch." The "ᶜarch" entered into an arrangement to constitute confederations to which the name of "qbila" was given.

2: Montagne--274 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11
Rif MX3

S
616
174
[167
648]

/205 cont./
produced, more noticeable in the plains than in the mountains, in such a way that the leff of the "Aoggwa" would in our day be penetrated more by Arab influences.

Later the progressive settlement of the tribes on their territory, the natural mixing of the small social groups, and the indefinite repetition of the quarrels of the tribal fractions must have led to the breaking up of the large leffs in the east of the Anti-Atlas, at the junction point with the territory of the Aït Waouzgit; the same phenomenon would have been produced toward the Atlantic plains and at the edge of the desert. Thus little by little there would be constituted the political chessboard of the Far South, whose irregular aspect is still far from presenting the balanced state of division of the leffs of the Masmouda, more ancient, fragmented into equal parts, the parts of which are constituted by cantons.

R
616
•171

XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- The institution of the leffs /206/ assumes, among the sedentary peoples of the north of Morocco, an aspect that differs both from that of the Masmouda and from the tribes of the Anti-Atlas.

From the Atlantic versant of the chain of the North and as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, which forms the eastern boundary of the Rif, people designate, by the name of "Senhaja" and of "Ghomara," at the same time two large confederations and alliances of tribes comparable to the ones of the south of Morocco (1).

1. Cf. on the Ghomara and Senhaja: M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 4-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah /A List of Popular Surnames of the Jebala Tribes/" (Archives berbères, 1918). -- Our friend M. G.-S. Colin has kindly consented to communicate to us an unpublished study that he

/206 cont./

616
.171

/footnote 1 continued/ carried out on the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and the Senhaja. The precise identification that he has made of a large number of points or of tribes mentioned by El Bekri /al-Bakri/ and Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ permits finding again the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and measuring the importance of their enemies' progress in the course of the centuries. We have used his valuable information in the pages that follow and have given, according to his research, the outline of the ancient peopling of the Moroccan North in the map of the Senhaja and Ghomara tribes appended to this study.

In the region of the Habt, and in a more general way among all the tribes of the western Jbel, "Senhaja" and "Ghomara" are "ʿalam," "flags," behind which are ranged the small independent political units of the Moroccan North in order to confront one another. As in the Anti-Atlas, entire tribes enter into each of the leagues; it is rare that two small states belonging to the same "ʿalam" come to blows, whereas war is almost always breaking out between "Senhaja" and "Ghomara." As in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ also, neighbors side with their brothers, and the fight spreads over vast regions following a local conflict. The

616
619
171

leffs are very stable, as is proved by the existence of a curious classification attributed to a personage unknown elsewhere, called "Bou Tyour," the "bird man." In the list of "Bou Tyour," each tribe is designated by an animal -- bird, mammal, or insect -- or even by an object, and some simple rules should permit one, it is said, to find the leff of origin by remembering the surname. Sometimes the names of animals whose consumption is licit are applied to the "Ghomara," while those that are forbidden by religious law are "Senhaja"; or else "everything that

/206 cont./

616 619 .171 can be eaten" would be "Ghomara," with the exception of fish (Jaña) or crabs (Beni Ahmed), the "Ghomara" having been "eaten," according to tradition, and conquered by the Senhaja foreigners, veiled with the litham /veil/ and coming from Lamtouna (2);

2. Lévi-Provençal, loc. cit.

yet again, the "Ghomara" would be /207/ designated by birds (1),

1. The Ghomara have for an emblem, in the list of Bou Tyour, a small bird that is called "aqouj." Perhaps it is possible to compare these bird surnames, of totemic appearance, with the ancient custom that the Ghomara would have had of picturing God in the aspects of a bird (From the qasida /kasida/ of Ibn ᶜArdoun). This information has been given to us by M. G.-S. Colin.

the "Senhaja" by other animals (2).

2. There is also the custom of designating tribes by the name of an animal or object in the South of Morocco, but these sobriquets have nothing to do with the classification of the leffs. We have thus turned up the following surnames in the central Anti-Atlas: Aït Tisgi : Id bi Igherdaïn (the rats); Aït Wagrou : Iougra (the frogs); Ida Ou Martiyn : Tikida (the carob tree); Ida Ou Finis : Id bou leqchour (pomegranate rind); Ida Ou Kensous : Id Bouilamen (the sound /Fr. le son, "the sound" or "the bran"/); Ind Ou Nadif : Id Warseba (the bearers of bad luck); Aït Tagmout : Id bou Maghous (the bitterness); Aït Ousa : Id

/207 cont./

616
619
171

/footnote 2 continued/ Biqousasen (the green figs); Aït Oughgoummi : Ibougha (the foxes); Aït Tikiwit : Anziden (the argan-tree rats); Aït Tiyout : Id bou Ifedam (the palm fiber); Irasen : Ifkharen (the potters); Aït Tmighat : Tighitten (the goats); Aït Mrait : Tatten (the ewes), etc. ... These appellations are most often considered insulting.

000 Among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the center, in the region of the Beni Zerwal and the Senhaja of Srair, the hostility between the two parties appears less passionate than among the tribes in the vicinity of the Ocean, and it is transformed into a mere antipathy preserved as a memory of the furious fights of the past (3).

3. Among the Jbala of the East, such as Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja of Gheddo.

The two large leffs no longer play their role in the recent wars, and they have not been seen to oppose each other since the end of the last century. Still more to the East, between the Nkor and the Moulouya, the list of "Bou Tyour" is unknown; nevertheless the tribes still range themselves in one or the other of the two parties. The leffs are no more than a mere historical memory there.

616
648
174

In spite of the slight activity shown in our day by the leffs of the north of Morocco, it is nevertheless certain that the hostility of the Senhaja and the Ghomara in the past was very passionate. Beyond the historical evidence, we have proof of it in the fact that everyone still knows for a great distance the name of the tribes allied to his own. It is therefore much easier than in the Atlas of the Masmouda to reconstruct the general arrangement of the alliances, although each informant is scarcely acquainted with any territory except that of his own tribe.

/238 cont./

121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 361 the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, 621 632 [619] such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 613 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 114 [191] It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

/239 cont./

621
613
614
114
171

/footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11. Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse origins there. On the other hand, the bond of blood exists among the households of the same Riffian jemaᶜa.

621
613
it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and becomes a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq" heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers" resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of extermination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

621
628
613
726

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, following the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ᶜadoul; if the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

[722]
[435]

S
443 /252 cont./
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
[681]

R
S
443
171

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

/295 cont./
619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-[171] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by [681] the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all [434] when they have sölidly established their power. In the cantons [614] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by [581] marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

R
S
443
.171

/253 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

S
343

V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

S
[144]

S
343
*634

Among most of the independent "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

S
[192]

2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of villages established in a spot easy to defend among the Haha and the Ida

S
*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
S ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
[121] families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organization and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-Atlas may present.

R XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
634 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
631 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
•171 sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen /makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton republican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states, the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

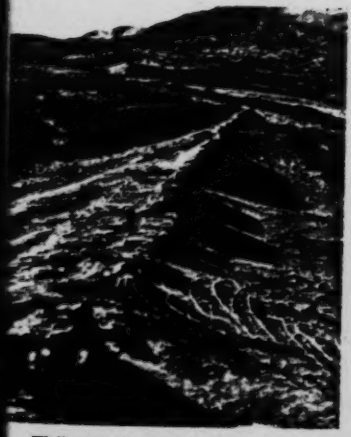
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

172

Remains of an ancient wall, Jama el Mujahidin, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Roman remains, Volubilis

Potsherds from the wall at Ajdir



Wall of the Jama el Mujahidin, Ajdir

Green-glazed tile, Ajdir

[facing p. 26]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

in the semiarid region south of Melilla. Both varieties sprout vigorously, and both are polymorphic. The latter fact is of major significance, for if the oleaster were a wild species it should be monomorphic, at least in a given area. Chevalier's argument is based upon this point. The seemingly primitive oleasters may be escaped and neglected variants of races that were once cultivated." The longevity of the olive is lengendary; some sprouts in Algeria and Tunisia are almost certainly derived from Roman trees." The fact that some trees have spines and small fruit may not be distinctive. Both varieties probably evolved from *Olea chrysophylla*, the true wild olive of southwestern Asia." The oleaster may be no more difficult to explain than the "wild" pears and apples in the forests of France. It is not unusual for a neglected cultivated plant to become naturalized. Subspontaneous varieties of the cultivated carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*) are common in the Mediterranean region. In northern Morocco this tree, cultivated for its edible pods, is widely scattered in the area covered by palmetto scrub. Like the oleaster, it often appears to be a natural element of the maqui.

Shrub Formations

In most of the Mediterranean basin, shrub formations now cover much more territory than do forests (fig. 8). In northern Morocco, shrub vegetation is dominated by dwarf palm or palmetto (*Chamaerops humilis*) and the xerophytic camel thorn (*Zizyphus lotus*). The range of these two species delimits two shrub formations, palmetto scrub and thorn scrub. The first formation is the *Oleo-Lentiscetum* (i.e., *Olea europaea—Pistacia lentiscus*) of most authors, but in northern Morocco neither of these plants is as conspicuous as the palmetto.

The palmetto (Arabic *doum*) is best developed on argillaceous soils in areas of mild temperature and moderate to heavy precipitation (fig. 7). These preferences explain the absence of palmetto in the cool highlands and its rare occurrence in semiarid areas. Dwarf palm may be seen on rocky knolls near Wad Moulouya, but most of the eastern half of northern Morocco is too dry for the species. In the western half of the zone the altitudinal limits of palmetto rise from west to east according to the lessening amount of precipitation.

The popular names "dwarf palm" and "palmetto" as well as the Linnaean binomial (*Chamaerops humilis*), derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "dwarf or stunted bush," do not suggest that this plant may grow five to ten meters high. Excellent specimens of this height are preserved, however, at the cemeteries of Chella near Rabat and at Asni south of Marrakech. In northern Morocco I have seen tall palmettos on several sacred sites. Palmetto is exploited

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 25]

[12] H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953), p. 11, states that charcoal from a midden near Tébessa in eastern Algeria "a révélé d'une manière certaine l'existence de l'oléastre en Afrique au Paléolithique Supérieur." But in the study to which she refers—R. le Du and L. Saccardy, "Etude de quelques charbons préhistoriques de la région de Tébessa," *Rev. Africaine*, 88 (1949), 111–119—there is no mention of oleaster. Charcoal of *Phillyrea*, another genus of the olive family, is mentioned, but this adds nothing to the history of *Olea europaea*.

[13] L. Joleaud, "L'ancienneté de la fabrication de l'huile en Afrique du Nord," *Rev. Africaine*, 70 (1929), 19–38.

[14] If this be correct, the present range of the cultivated olive is almost completely separated from that of its ancestor. I. H. Burkill, "Habits of Man and the Origins of the Cultivated Plants of the Old World," *Proc. Linnean Soc. London*, 164 (1951–1952), 12–42, ref. to fig. 2, p. 16.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter III

CULTURE HISTORY PRIOR TO EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

For the populations and civilizations that reached it, Morocco was a cul-de-sac. Every movement came up against the Atlantic barrier and was retarded by the hostile environment of the Sahara. During the Pleistocene epoch and, indeed, during the first millennia of Recent geologic time, Morocco was a redoubt in which outmoded ways of life perfected themselves in isolation. The descendants of the Neolithic farmers remained dependent on stone tools three thousand years after the Egyptians, at the other end of the Mediterranean, had begun to use metal. Basically, the Stone Age cultures still persist, in spite of Phoenician, Roman, Arab, and European influence.

The historic accounts of the Canary Islands are of special interest. When the Norman and Spanish conquerors reached the Canaries a few generations before the discovery of America, the islanders spoke a Berber dialect and still retained their Neolithic culture. They used stone tools, and fashioned implements from wood, horn, and shell. They produced crude and underfired pottery in the Neolithic style, and their textiles were plaited matting and basketry. Their clothing was of cured goatskin, and their houses were made of stone, pine timbers, and earth. They raised pigs, dogs, sheep, and goats, and grew barley and wheat. They knew how to preserve meat by drying and milk by making cheese. Add metal, weaving, and the crops and animals introduced from southwestern Asia and the Americas, and this outline of material culture is little different from that of an isolated Moroccan village of today.[1]

The Problem of Climatic Change

A mass of circumstantial evidence suggests that Barbary has become drier since the time of the Roman occupation. The impressive ruins of Thamugadi (Timgad) and the great amphitheater of Thysdrus (el-Jem) now stand on desolate plains. The ancient seaports of Leptis Magna and Sabratha were found buried under an immense drift of sand. Mosaics and historical records tell of the presence in Roman Africa of elephants, lions, and other wild animals now confined to the tropical zone. Further examples of change presumed to be a result of desiccation could be cited, but these suffice to illustrate the type of evidence that impresses the traveler.

It cannot be denied that the landscape of northern Africa has changed since classical time, but the thesis of a climatic explanation of this change is difficult to defend. Most of the evident deterioration can be traced to neglect or destruction by man. Aqueducts, dams, and cisterns made possible the building of the now dead cities. With the collapse of the Pax Romana, marginal land dependent on irrigation went out of cultivation. Burning, cutting, and overgrazing

[1] Leonardo Torriani, *Die kanarischen Inseln und ihre Urbewohner;* trans. from the MS of 1590 by D. J. Wölfel (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1940), Vol. VI of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde.* C. S. Coon, in *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1951), pp. 36–40, calls attention to the Canary Islanders as "Berbers" unaffected by foreign influence.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927), 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER II

TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN: GHOMARA, SENHAJA, AND RIF

● 173 Before attempting to study the history, culture, and racial composition of a people it is frequently worth while to see what the people themselves have to say about these things. Native traditions concerning such matters may in places be hopelessly muddled and obscure, but in other places they may be surprisingly lucid and correct. At any rate, it is worth while to give them a trial to see how far they accord with the facts of history and of cultural and racial distribution.

There are three major Berber groups in the region which we are studying: the Ghomara the Senhaja, and the Rif. Each of them has a different story as to origin, but the stories are interrelated.

GHOMARA

The Ghomara claim that in the country which they now occupy there formerly lived a people resembling Suwasa, or men of the River Sus south of the Atlas. The Ghomarans are not positive that these people were Suwasa, but think it likely. At any rate, there came seven years of foul wind accompanied by mosquitoes, which killed off all the inhabitants. After this the Ghomara, who had wandered up from Segguia el Hamra, or Red Irrigation Ditch, a watercourse in what is now Rio de Oro south of the Draa, entered the country and settled in it. After they had been there a while the Portuguese came in and commenced to rule over them, but the Ghomara rose and expelled their masters. All these things took place in heathen times. After this two Riffians wandered in and established the families of Harthanen and Aduz, Harthanen's ancestor being from Beni Bu Frah, and Aduz's from Bokoya. The rest of the name-ancestors came from Segguia el Hamara. Here we have definite tradition of an invasion from the south, with a slight infiltration of Riffian ancestors afterward.

SENHAJA

In the Senhaja Sghir the legends are equally explicit. The various tribes are supposed to have been settled in the following ways and order. First were the Beni Bu Nsar. A certain heathen king sent a Christian prisoner in exile to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar. This region was at the time uninhabited, and its forests were filled with wild animals. The soldiers of the king took him there with his wife and left them, thinking that they would die there. They had progeny and flourished, felling trees, building villages, and erecting terraces. Years later messengers were sent by the king to see whether or not the exiles had died and found a large village.

The ancestor of the Beni Bu Nsar had a brother who was sent or went to the region even higher up the mountain crest, and became the ancestor of the Beni Khennus. Of the same family are the Beni Seddath, who live in the same place as the Beni Khennus — that is, their villages are intermixed, and neither of them has a territory distinct from the other.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Next Taghzuth was settled. Originally there had been only Suwasa in Taghzuth, and a castle belonging to them is said to remain. A superficial examination of the so-called ruins show them to resemble a natural group of stones rather than the work of man. Besides this "castle," there is a similar site which is said to have belonged to Rum, meaning Rome, or Christians in general. At any rate, the Suwasa who inhabited Taghzuth were heathen and died off before the ancestors of Taghzuth came in. The ancestors of the families or villages came from the following places.

Ulad Ikhalif	Sidi Ikhalif from the Beni Ukil (Arabs near Ujda); his tomb is at Aiun.	Ulad Abekar	Segguia el Hamra
		Ulad el Wartith ..	Segguia el Hamra
el Kelaa	Beni Bu Yahyi	Targamzith	Segguia el Hamra
Tesarin	Metalsa	Terirn	Segguia el Hamra

The next tribe to be settled was Beni Hamid, whose ancestors were heathen from the western tribe of Beni Hamid, lying near Ghazawa.

After this came the ancestor of the Beni Bu Shibet. He was a Christian, related to the ancestor of the Beni Bu Nsar, but his descendants have lived in close contact with the Beni Hamid and have intermarried and made alliances with them, so that they are to-day closer to the Beni Hamid than to the Beni Bu Nsar.

Next came the ancestors of the Zarket tribesmen and of the Beni Gmil, who are supposed to be related. Information as to the point of origin of their ancestors or ancestor I was unable to obtain.

Last of all came the ancestors of Ktama, from Segguia el Hamara. Ktama, the last place to be settled, is the least desirable territory in all the Senhaja Sghir, and the inhabitants are looked down upon as yokels by the rest of the Senhajans.

Here again, as in the case of the Ghomara, three factors appear: the original Suwasa, who are said to have disappeared, the ancestors from the Segguia el Hamara, and the infiltration of other ancestors. The disappearance of the Suwasa seems to be a convenient excuse for the disposal of unvaunted ancestors. If none of them were alive at the time the Ghomaran and Senhajan ancestors came, and the countries were both uninhabited, how did they know that the people, of whom they presumably found traces, had been Suwasa? Or how did they know the history of the seven bad years? Ask a Ghomaran or Senhajan greybeard these questions and he will look embarassed and change the conversation. The very look suggests his knowledge or suspicion that the natives were absorbed by the newcomers.

Far more important than the coming of the Senhaja and the Ghomara, in popular tradition and imagination, was the war between them. This conflict took place in pre-Islamic times, according to the descendants of the main participants, or in very early times, according to Riffians who will not admit that Islam has not always existed.

It seemed that the whole world joined in, every tribe of the Rif belonged to one side or the other, and now even inanimate objects are sometimes divided into Senhaja and Ghomara. I was asked in Taghzuth which side the Americans had been allied with.

The cataclysm is supposed to have originated as follows. The son of the ancestor of the Beni Bu Nsar found in his father's documents a paper establishing his rights to Imasinen, a village in the Galiya, which was at the time uninhabited. The Ghomara also claimed the land in question, and so the two disputants took their claims before the Great Council. (Tradition is hazy concerning the composition of this body.) The Great Council decided

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

● 173 that the two rivals should start walking at once, and that he who arrived at Imasinen first should own the land. The Senhajan won, and when the Ghomaran arrived he became angry, whereupon the war commenced. On the way home the two rivals collected allies in all the Riffian tribes they passed, as follows:

Senhaja	*Ghomara*
Mazuza of Galiya	Beni Shisher of Galiya
Beni Sidel of Galiya	Beni Bu Yafer of Galiya
Metalsa	Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya
Gzennaya	Beni Bu Yahyi
Beni Urriaghel	Beni Said
Beni Bu Frah	Beni Tusin
Mestasa	Beni Ulishk
	Tafersit
	Beni Amart
	Bokoya
	Targuist
	Beni Itteft
	Mtiwa

The forces of the Ghomara, judging by names alone, should have outweighed those of the Senhaja. But Beni Urriaghel and Gzennaya have always far overshadowed the other tribes numerically and in military power, so that their presence on the Senhajan side is supposed to have turned the scale, especially since they had as allies all the tribes on the Wergha here called Arabophone Senhaja. The Senhaja won, and the Ghomara have remained huddled on their seacoast ever since. To this day bitterness remains between the peoples, although the allies of the two have long since been drawn into fresh feuds and new alignments.

173 264 574 One cultural difference between the Senhaja and Ghomara has led to an *ex post facto* explanation for the enmity. It is said that there are two kinds of men: those who when they eat together leave a little food in the bottom of the bowl through shame of taking the last bit, and likewise keep the *baraka* [1] of the food in the house; and those who gobble it all to the last morsel. Furthermore the first kind are hospitable, and the second not. The Black Sultan (a common figure in Moroccan folklore) decreed that those who have shame in this matter should be called Senhaja and those who have none Ghomara. To this day all the Senhaja leave food in the bowl, and the Ghomara leave none; the Senhaja are hospitable and the Ghomara cold to strangers.

173 In this seemingly simple story of the Senhaja and the Ghomara, recorded as it came from the lips of the old men of these peoples, we have an exceedingly lucid account of happenings that occurred at least a thousand years ago and probably considerably earlier. Certain factors in the tale have been crystallized and handed down as entities, whether or not they are strictly accurate. At any rate, both the Ghomara and the Senhaja invaded from the south, the Ghomara first. Each found traces of previous occupants, each absorbed a certain amount of Riffian blood, and each sought allies among the Riffians when they fought off their old grudges, which they may well have brought with them from the south.

[1] See p. 157.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

RIF

●173 In the Rif we have no such clarity of tradition, a fact which in itself indicates antiquity. The Riffian families claim various types of people as ancestors. Some state that their forebears were autochthonous heathen; others that their lines were founded by strangers coming in from the Senhaja; others that their eponymous ancestors were of Zenatan stock, having come in with the Zenatan invasion of the eastern Rif about six hundred years ago; and others, mostly located in the eastern tribes, that their ancestors were *igharbiyen* or westerners, hence foreigners. The following list will make this clearer.

Tribe	*Smaller Group*	*Traditional Ancestry*
Gzennaya	Ulad Abd el Mumen, Beni Tadmut, Ikaroen, Ulad Fars	Brothers from the east, through the Beni Bu Yahyi
	Beni Yunes	Recent entry from Beni Snus, a Zenatan tribe
	Tarosht	Agheir el Hamid, in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja
	Ikhuanen	Khunduktamda, in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja
	Jebarna	Branes, very recent entry
	Teliwin	Beni Abdullah of the Beni Urriaghel
	Telmest, Mukudem	Beni Amart
	Imsdurar, Khebaba, Beni Mohammed, Ulad Alu ben Aissa	Autochthonous heathen. The ancestors of Imsdurar were called Irumiyen, implying a profession of Christianity.
Beni Urriaghel	Aith Yusuf u Ali	One of the *sohabs* of Mohammed. This claim was not advanced until the accession of Abd el Krim to power, and may well be false. Formerly the Aith Yusuf u Ali were reckoned the descendants of heathen.
	Imrabten	Sidi Hamid el Kroni, an Arab saint, probably living at Nekor during the dynasty of Saleh
	Aith Ali, Aith Abdullah, Beni Bu Ayesh	Autochthonous heathen
Beni Amart	Buhut, Agheir n Vandu	Vandu, a local heathen
	Beni Maita	Senhaja
	In Amar u Said	Said, a recently arrived saint
	Ibuyibughen	Buyibugh, a famous heathen of old, who had many children. The Ibuyibughen are said to have formerly worn cowhide clothing in ignorance of cloth. Even to-day they are considered heathen and said to possess magical powers.
	Tasaroth, Ijaonen, Aahth er Hasein	Autochthonous heathen
Beni Tuzin	Asht Medjur, Thasinin, Thesera n Jakhatha, Ifaani, Taghsuth n Tasaa, Bu Hfora, el Azib of Meidhar	Zenata
	Meidhar, Asht Reiri, Zawia Sidi Bu Jiddain, Taurirt n Wushun, Ijaonen	Igharbiyen
	Asht Taaban, Ibutuyen, Ibarthan, Asht Aziman, Teisera Imziren	Heathen

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

173

Temsaman	Ait Daud	Zenata from Beni Tuzin
	Tisi Azza	Igharbiyen
	Sidi Bu Daud, Bu Thinar, Amzaaru, Truguth, Sidi Shaib u Ftah	Heathen
	Oshannen	This group, as well as the family of the same name in Beni Said, is descended from the Ulad Alu Faro of the Gzennaya.
Beni Ulishk	Beni Tyeb	Zenata
	Sidi Misaud	Igharbiyen
	Anual, Dhar u Baran	Heathen
Tafersit	Tafersit town	Zenata
Beni Said		Data lacking, except for family of Oshannen
Galiya	Tisidelt, Beni Bu Ifrur, Beni Bu Yafer	Autochthonous heathen
	Ait Shisber, Masuza, Iferkhanen	Christians
Kebdana	Entire tribe	First heathen, then Christian
Targuist	Entire tribe	Formerly there were heathen in Targuist who died out and were replaced by despised ironworkers coming from outside to found el Malimin, and by the Ikbemrijen shorfa and their families.
Bokoya	Sidi Mersh, Athuz, Izefzafen, Tafensa	Heathen
Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Hadifa, Mestasa		Data incomplete, most families said to be heathen
Mtiwa of the Rif		Both heathen and Arab

From this compilation, incomplete as it is, one may see that Senhajan influence penetrated the tribes of Gzennaya and Beni Amart, to the extent of giving certain families in these tribes eponymous ancestors; and that the Zenatan infusion was mostly confined to the nomadic tribes, Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and to border groups of Temsaman and Gzennaya. The tribes both to east and west of those just mentioned were left comparatively free of Zenatan influence so far as ancestors were concerned. Other foreigners, the *igharbiyen*, followed the same path as the Zenata, but extended more to the east as well. The tribes in which the majority of ancestral name-givers were autochthonous seem to be concentrated in the central and coastal Rif: Gzennaya, Beni Amart, the western maritime tribes, Bokoya, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Galiya, and Kebdana. Beni Said, a tribe from which we have little information, may in this respect form a link connecting Temsaman with Galiya. The tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit are considered by the Riffians themselves to be of recent origin and are consequently called *ikharajien*, a *thamazighth* word of Arabic origin meaning "false promisers" or "newcomers."

Regarding those heathen reputed to have been the ancestors of most of the central Riffians and of some of those to the east, there are few traditions obtainable directly as such, although an intensive study of Riffian folklore would without doubt shed a great deal of light on this problem.

There is supposed to have been a people living in Wed Iherrushen of Gzennaya named Imdiwen, who made use of bronze tools, some of the remains of which have been picked up recently by the inhabitants of that valley and thrown away as worthless. The Imdiwen are

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

said to have fought among themselves until few were left; then there came hunger, and later plague, so that what few weak ones were left from the ravages of warfare succumbed utterly to the natural forces which beset them. There is said to have been a heathen king named Azzi, whose fortress was perched on the pass of the Noisy Mountain (Taurirt n Dghujidh) who stretched a rope between two sharp crags on either side of the Nekor, saying that whoever would marry his daughter must first pass over this rope from crag to crag. Many tried and fell down hundreds of feet on the rocks to die, until one day a Jew climbed the easier of the mountains with a load of withes, and wove himself a basket around the rope, got in, and drew himself across. Azzi gave his daughter to the Jew. On another occasion Azzi ordered all the people in Tiddest to bring him bowls of kuskus, stating that if any bowl were cold by the time it reached the top of the mountain its bearer would have his head cut off. The people of Tiddest took counsel and finally decided to cover their bowls with vegetable marrow, which retains the heat a long while, and doing this they all brought their kuskus to Azzi piping hot. The king, thrusting his hand into the first bowl to feel it, burnt his hand.

Tradition does not state which came first, the bronze-age Imdiwen or the ordinary ancestral heathen — but at any rate the bronze-age tradition confines the presence of the former to a definite limited area, while the heathen ancestors were found everywhere else in the Rif. Of the ancestral heathen one is told most emphatically that they were autochthonous, despite the fact that some of them are reputed to have adopted Christianity.

Summary. Traditions from this area, then, show several things clearly: that there dwelt originally in the territory a native pagan group which became the ancestors of the Riffians, especially of those now occupying the central tribes; that subsequently two invasions came from the southwest, first the Ghomara and then the Senhaja; that these Ghomara and Senhaja displaced whatever people had originally been in their territories, and subsequently received a slight infusion of Riffian blood; that the Senhaja and Ghomara fought a great war together, in which each of the Riffian tribes allied itself with one side or the other; that the Senhaja won this war; that long afterwards Zenatan peoples from the southeast filtered in, giving rise to a mixed or alien population in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Tafersit, and Beni Ulishk; and that in these same areas and also reaching farther to the east came an infusion of outsiders, called "westerners," who further reduced the purity of the ancestral stock in the eastern Rif.

The significance of these traditions will be manifest when the facts of history, cultural distribution, and racial distribution are dealt with.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

and to mixture with an older strain (24), which is strongest in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and in the Jabal (Turīrth-Thimārzgha-Aith 'Arūs), as well as in eastern Aith 'Ammarth and northern Giznāya. This strain, which has probably survived from pre-agricultural times, is without question a very old one and shows a market resemblance to the Afalou crania and skeletal material from Constantine in Algeria and, to a lesser degree, to the Cro-Magnon people of Upper Palaeolithic Europe. The modern representatives of this strain look like Irishmen, with stocky body builds, wide faces (but long heads), snub noses, big teeth, reddish hair, green or light gray eyes, and freckles. I can personally attest that the presence of people of this physical type in the Central Rīf is far too frequent to be ignored, and strongly believe that these «Upper Palaeolithic survivors» are far too firmly rooted in their mountain habitat to be accounted for by any invasion within historic times, whether it be factual or fictional. That the Moroccan Berbers are descendants of Goths or Vandals is a myth that is, unfortunately, taking a long time to die; even more unfortunately, I have met Riffians who have come to believe in it themselves.

If you ask an Arab in Tangier or Tetuan what he thinks of Riffians in general and of Wuryāghlīs in particular, he will tell you that they, especially the latter, are ferocious, treacherous and that for a peseta they would be more than happy to out your throat. In all fairness to the people of Aith Wuryāghil, this seems a very harsh dictum indeed. But at the same time it must be remembered that in the past Wuryāghlī children were conditioned very early in their infancy to violence and murder; they were constantly reminded that a slur on the family honor had to be wiped off the record in blood. There is also the additional factor of mountain air and a more balanced if simpler diet which makes the Wuryāghlī physically stronger and tougher than the city or plains Arab; this is why he can stay out and plow his fields all day in a blistering August sun during Ramaḍān without bothering to stop for a siesta, and it is why he often landed a job as a construction worker or as a porter at the docks when he came to Tangier to find work after the drought of 1945. He is sober,

(24) Coon, 1951, p. 157.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

Sīdī Bū Khiyār («My Lord the Father of the Cucumber») was, according to tradition, an itinerant *murābiṭ* or holy man from the Sahara who reached the Central Rif completely destitute, without family, servants or possessions. Of when this event occurred, or from what part of the Sahara he originated, we have absolutely no indication. Rifians today say that he was not a *sharīf* (pl. *shurfā*), or descendant of the Prophet, and this is negatively and locally confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of him in the genealogies of the Imrabdhen section (*ar-rba'* or *thakhammasth*, according to the context) of the tribe (*thaqbīsh*) of Aith Wariyāghir, who, despite their sobriquet, are shurfā descended from Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-A'raj («My Lord Abraham the Lame»), whose own lineage ascends to Mūlāi Idrīs. We may note here, parenthetically, that although the Rifians make a genealogical and functional distinction between *shurfā* and *murābiṭīn* (pl. of *murābiṭ*), they do not differentiate between them terminologically; in the Rifian dialect of Berber, both are called *imrābdhen*, derived from Arabic *murābiṭīn*.

In any event, Sīdī Bū Khiyār was to become far more important in the religious aspects of tribal life than most of the Imrābdhen, for no organized visits have ever been made to any of the latters' tombs. After settling on the windswept and desolate mountain peak which bears his name, Sīdī Bū Khiyār became famous as a spellbinder who could attract crowds of lesser murābiṭīn from as far as ten to fifteen days' journey away. He never married, and he died without issue on his mountain top; but the name Bū Khiyār is one wich many mountain Rifians are given to this day.

The pilgrimage to Sīdī Bū Khiyār's grave is today a local festival entirely, albeit the most important and significant one in the Central Rif. The only religious brotherhood involved is that of the 'Alawiyyīn, a recently formed order of Algerian origin, whose members bear no relationship to the saint other than the fact that some of them happen to live in the area, and whose litany is a far more toned-down and sedate affair than those of any of the orders mentioned above, as we shall see.

The tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is situated on the summit which overlooks the Turīrth-Timarzga-Aith 'Ammarth Pass and dominates the massif of the Jbil Ḥamām, The Mountain of Doves, which, at

619 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the
616 defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor
their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or in-
[181] stitution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and
security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10]
administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for
coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of
619 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with
616 its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or
182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and
dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13],
markets and qanum), could never have been justified alone, because the
Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances,
which they would do until another more powerful force from outside,
such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in re-
ducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups
when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of in-
dividual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threaten-
616 ing its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries
619 between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some
[614] instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself
616 over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja
619 and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent
648 confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also
• 173 bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

616 619 648 173 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of 616 619 182 disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East

Ref mm2

[278] soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part
813 of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it
361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along
621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque.
368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro-
●173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and
621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen
595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine of their [illegible]

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif n.t3

173
628

Over two generations ago, the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin were exiled from their valley, but some of them returned. It is a long story;[8] a summary will suffice here.

It all started one chilly night when Amar the Scabhead shot a neighbor by mistake. Now the 'Abd el-Mumin had and still have neighbors, twenty-six families who call themselves Beni Tadmut, after their ancestress who was one of old 'Abd el-Mumin's daughters. It seems that the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had contracted an alliance by marriage with another clan over the ridge in the next tribe, the great and powerful Beni Urriaghel (later to produce the world-famous and still very much alive 'Abd el-Krīm). This Urriaghli clan was in trouble. Sorely pressed, it was besieged by a coalition of its neighbors, and hence sent a messenger with a goat over the ridge. This messenger sacrificed the goat on the sill of the mosque, so that blood spattered on its door, and this was a great shame compulsion, which no man of honor could refuse. Hence both the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmut, who shared the ancient mosque, went to the rescue.

They lifted the siege, but the enemy did not depart. One of the Tadmutis, creeping out on a reconnaissance by dim moonlight, was spotted by the aforementioned Amar the Scabhead, who shot him dead. At this a rumpus arose. Shots were exchanged, and with four parties involved it was hard to know who was shooting at whom. Sī 'Alī, the venerable and highly respected village schoolmaster, who served both clans as imām, was obviously the man to intervene, and he set forth from the huddled group of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin in the direction of the Beni Tadmut, only a score of yards away. Unable to control their wrath, the Tadmutis shot him. At this point a hush fell over the scene, and by daybreak the two squadrons of kinsmen had gone home separately, carrying their dead. The Urriaghlis, over whom this trouble had arisen in the first place, fearing to stay at home, went along with the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin who, outnumbered two to one, were glad of their company.

When the dead had been buried, the combatants found a half a hundred men gathered solemnly in council beneath their olive trees. These were the members of the *Asht Arba'in*, the councilors from all the villages up and down the valley, who had heard of trouble and hastened to the spot to keep it from spreading (while enjoying

[8] Told at length in Carleton S. Coon, *Flesh of the Wild Ox* (New York, 1932).

1;Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 MI Middle East
Ref MX3

in anticipation the meat of the fines which they hoped to collect). 173
The moderator of the council was M'allim Muḥammad, the wealth- 628
iest and most venerable of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin, whose position placed his newly made enemies at a disadvantage. This they pointed out immediately.

It was clear that the Beni Tadmut were the greater offenders. The council decided that both sides should pay blood money to each other, but the sum paid by the Tadmutis would be the greater. Both should pay a fine to the council for having made it necessary to call them together. The Tadmutis, however, demanded also that the Urriaghlis should be forced to leave. The amghar of the next valley, one Ḥajj Bukkeish (later to become an unsuccessful rival of 'Abd el-Krīm's in the war against Spain) agreed with the Tadmutis and swung the council to this opinion. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin, however, refused, pointing out that their kinsmen whom they were protecting had already had their houses burnt down and their trees felled, and might starve should they go home—if they were not shot first.

The meeting broke up without decision and without the collection of a fine. However, Bukkeish and the other leaders resolved to call together a greater meeting, a council of all five sections of the tribal confederation, each consisting of several valleys; thus three levels of deliberative bodies would be involved. The guests whom the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin refused to eject were members of another and even more powerful confederation, and large-scale intertribal trouble might easily arise. Meanwhile, the day before the holy feast of el 'Aid el-Kabīr (when despite the trouble everyone was bustling around as we do on the day before Christmas) the schoolmaster of the Beni Tadmut appeared, unarmed, with a goat and two other unarmed men. Approaching the M'allim Muḥammad's house, he declared that he had come to make a truce, and invited the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin to come to the mosque and swear an oath.

After much deliberation and with some misgivings, the M'allim Muḥammad agreed, and set out with two of his sons. The Tadmutis, as feared, had led them into an ambush. First the Tadmutis killed Amar the Scabhead, then the M'allim Muḥammad shot two of them and was shot in turn, through the head. One son, the Ḥajj Muḥammad, escaped, wounded in the foot. He crawled up on the mountain and hid behind a rock. The next day, as the Beni Tadmut left their houses all dressed in their new clothes, to go to the big mosque up

316 [village of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin] Caravan

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

said to have fought among themselves until few were left; then there came hunger, and later plague, so that what few weak ones were left from the ravages of warfare succumbed utterly to the natural forces which beset them. There is said to have been a heathen king named Azzi, whose fortress was perched on the pass of the Noisy Mountain (Taurirt n Dghujidh) who stretched a rope between two sharp crags on either side of the Nekor, saying that whoever would marry his daughter must first pass over this rope from crag to crag. Many tried and fell down hundreds of feet on the rocks to die, until one day a Jew climbed the easier of the mountains with a load of withes, and wove himself a basket around the rope, got in, and drew himself across. Azzi gave his daughter to the Jew. On another occasion Azzi ordered all the people in Tiddest to bring him bowls of kuskus, stating that if any bowl were cold by the time it reached the top of the mountain its bearer would have his head cut off. The people of Tiddest took counsel and finally decided to cover their bowls with vegetable marrow, which retains the heat a long while, and doing this they all brought their kuskus to Azzi piping hot. The king, thrusting his hand into the first bowl to feel it, burnt his hand.

Tradition does not state which came first, the bronze-age Imdiwen or the ordinary ancestral heathen — but at any rate the bronze-age tradition confines the presence of the former to a definite limited area, while the heathen ancestors were found everywhere else in the Rif. Of the ancestral heathen one is told most emphatically that they were autochthonous, despite the fact that some of them are reputed to have adopted Christianity.

Summary. Traditions from this area, then, show several things clearly: that there dwelt originally in the territory a native pagan group which became the ancestors of the Riffians, especially of those now occupying the central tribes; that subsequently two invasions came from the southwest, first the Ghomara and then the Senhaja; that these Ghomara and Senhaja displaced whatever people had originally been in their territories, and subsequently received a slight infusion of Riffian blood; that the Senhaja and Ghomara fought a great war together, in which each of the Riffian tribes allied itself with one side or the other; that the Senhaja won this war; that long afterwards Zenatan peoples from the southeast filtered in, giving rise to a mixed or alien population in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Tafersit, and Beni Ulishk; and that in these same areas and also reaching farther to the east came an infusion of outsiders, called "westerners," who further reduced the purity of the ancestral stock in the eastern Rif.

The significance of these traditions will be manifest when the facts of history, cultural distribution, and racial distribution are dealt with.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XIV

ANALYSIS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL FACTORS

171
174

We have seen in studying the culture of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara that there are three types of factors involved: those located in the center of the Rif and apparently basic there; those held in common with the other peoples of Morocco and representing the modern North African civilization, and those neither basically Riffian nor a part of the usual North African culture. In all parts of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, the prevailing stages of culture, both material and social, are about equally advanced, with certain notable exceptions, as at Taghzuth, where industries are well developed, and in the regions of the Garet and of Ktama and the Western Arabophone Senhaja, where rigorous extremes of environment have stunted the development of certain kinds of material culture. One cannot divide the region into zones of high or low culture; one may merely distinguish between the kinds of culture in different places.

I have chosen twenty-eight features of material culture and thirty-three of social culture which I believe to be nuclear or central Riffian. By this I mean that they represent the most fundamental pattern in the area, and show less evidence of introduction from outside in any but remotely ancient times than features which may replace them in other tribes, or which may exist on the margins without parallels in the center. The lists of these features follow:

Central Riffian Material Culture

(Twenty-Eight Traits)

1. Roasted grains
2. Bake-oven
3. Absence of skillet
4. *Kadid* and *thamarik* (dried meats and purées)
5. Sausages
6. *Sammet* (grape jelly)
7. Tar
8. Porch
9. Projecting *arof* (loft over the cow-pit)
10. Absence of second story
11. Sloping roof
12. Shingles
13. Possession of *amiyimath* (eave-sheathing)
14. *Amiyimath* made of wood
15. Cribwork
16. Stools
17. Hand-made pottery
18. Riffian design on pottery
19. Wickerwork
20. Absence of horisontal loom
21. Buskins
22. Clogs
23. Stilts
24. Retention of median occipital lock
25. Shaving of face
26. Tattooing, type 2
27. Absence of kohl as regards groom
28. Total absence of kohl

Central Riffian Social Institutions

(Thirty-Three Traits)

1. Tabu against the Shameless Ones
2. Political office tabu
3. Two or three councillors in market
4. Council of the great
5. Village council
6. Freedom from shorfa
7. Sex restriction forty days after birth
8. Naming on seventh day
9. First haircut at one year of age
10. Circumcision early

[p. 166]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

11. Itinerant preceptor performing circumcision
12. Local preceptor performing circumcision
13. Wedding feast seven days
14. Hospitality all days of wedding feast
15. One or two iuriven
16. Many iuriven
17. Wedding in September
18. *Zemmer*-playing at Wedding
19. *Sabbain n-rasli*
20. Cutting of reed
21. Stick headdress
22. Brother mounts behind bride
23. Difference in treatment of divorcee
24. Ring type of dancing
25. Funeral hospitality
26. Definite time for burial
27. Whole village attends funeral
28. Corpse carried on door
29. Bearers changed frequently
30. Grave measured with finger-span
31. Flat stones, differentiated, as markers
32. Stones placed where corpse set down on way
33. No one in house at time of death may leave for seven days after burial

171
174

Under material culture, I have purposely omitted agriculture and the care of domestic animals because these complexes seem so dependent upon environment for their distribution that to include them would unduly weight the classification. Other traits included admittedly depend upon environment, but to a lesser degree and in a less direct way. House types, for example, which I have called central Riffian are today found in more complete form in the Senhaja Sghir than in the Rif. The environment which permits the construction of these forms includes an abundance of coniferous timber which formerly grew in the Rif but which today is found in large quantity only in the Senhaja Sghir.

Deforestation has prevented the perpetuation of the more difficult features of this house-type complex in the Rif, but the essentials still remain, although poorly executed. In other ways the Senhaja, living in an environment which formerly typified the central Rif, have been able to preserve the Riffian material culture as far as the continuation of an abundance of wood and of rainfall permits. In the bulk of their material culture, however, the central Riffians still maintain to the greater conservatism.

In the list of social institutions I have included a number of traits involving the connection of official religious personages with the crises in the life of the individual, crises with which only laymen are involved in other parts of our distributional area. This employment of religious personages is not unique, since it is found in Fez, and among other Arabs who preserve the old Moorish traditions in this time of ritualistic decadence. I personally attribute the presence of these traits in the central Rif to the influence of the old kingdom of Nekor, and to a lesser extent to other media of the diffusion of Arab cuture in the days before the invasion of the Beni Hillal. So integral and necessary a part of central Riffian culture have they become that to separate them from the other traits would defeat the purpose of this analysis. The social institutions of the central Rif must be considered a stable blend of old local factors and early Arab ingredients.

In order to present the distribution of the varying intensity of these criteria it is necessary to decide what sub-areas shall be treated as units. I have so treated each sub-area no smaller than a *canton* which has a different cultural pattern in either of the two classes of criteria than any of its contiguous neighbors. Identical sub-areas which are contiguous are treated as one, no matter how large the combination of them may be.

Each sub-area so determined has been given two scores, one in material culture and the other in social institutions. These scores represent the number of traits in each category which the sub-area possesses. Thus the possible range in the case of material culture is 0–28, and in social institutions 0–33. The actual ranges are in material culture 0–26, and in social institutions 2–33.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

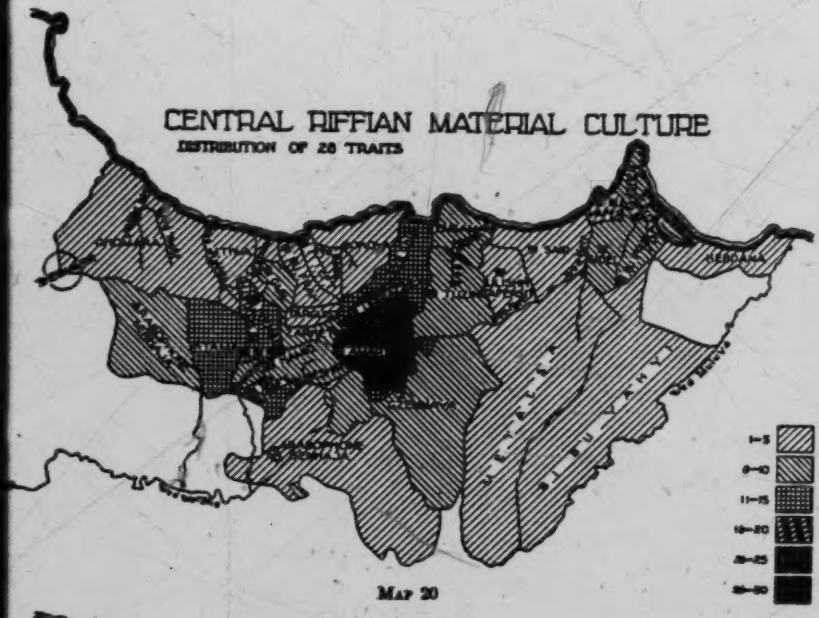
171
174

SEVENTY SUB-AREAS AND THE CULTURAL SCORES OF EACH

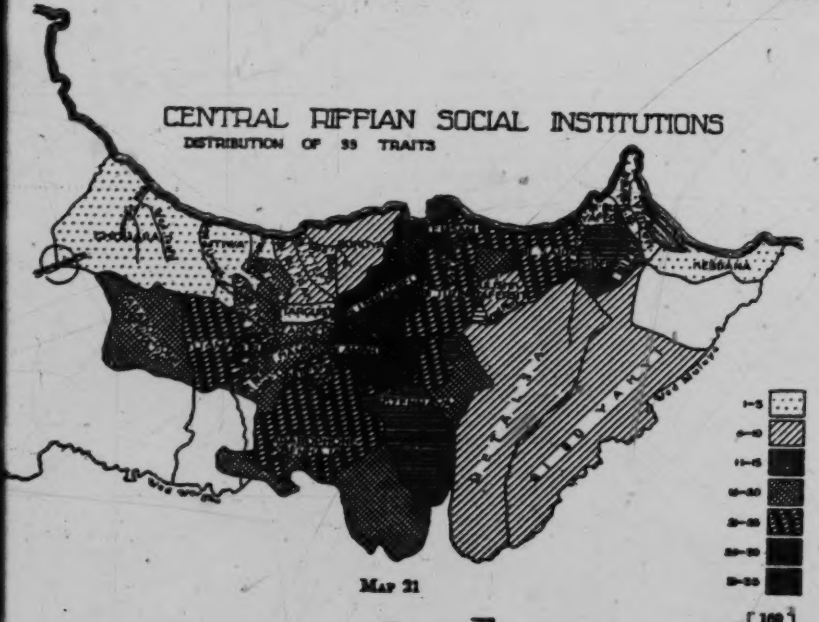
	Material	Social
1. Kabdana	5	2
2. Mazuza and Ait Shisher	6	2
3. Beni Bu Ifrur and Beni Sidel	6	12
4. Beni Bu Yafer	5	2
5. Beni Said	5	22
6. Temsaman bordering Ulishk	7	24
7. Temsaman bordering Urriaghel	7	26
8. Northern Beni Ulishk	5	20
9. Southern Beni Ulishk and Taferst	4	9
10. Beni Bu Yahyi	0	6
11. Eastern Metalsa	1	6
12. Western Metalsa	1	9
13. El Azib of Meidhar, Beni Tuzin	6	13
14. Western Mountain Beni Tuzin	8	23
15. Rest of Beni Tuzin	7	23
16. Ajdir	12	27
17. Beni Hadifa	13	26
18. Southern Mountain Urriaghel	25	32
19. Rest of Beni Urriaghel	13	27
20. Shawia	6	11
21. Beni Mohammed	8	17
22. Khebaba	8	14
23. Beni Yunes	7	24
24. Ulad Alu ben Aissa	11	26
25. Ikaroen	9	22
26. Iherrasen	13	28
27. Mellal, Iherahliyen	7	12
28. Inhanahan	10	14
29. Bured	11	22
30. Temjunt	18	31
31. Iherruahen	22	33
32. Ikhuanen	21	33
33. Southern Beni Amart	26	31
34. Northern Beni Amart	26	30
35. Beni Mesduy facing Targuist	10	8
36. Beni Mesduy facing Zarket	10	6
37. Targuist	4	3
38. Bokoya	5	8
39. Beni Ittaft and Beni Bu Frah	3	6
40. Mestasa and Mtiwa	3	2
41. Zarkat	12	20
42. Beni Gmil	7	19
43. Beni Bu Nsar	12	21
44. Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus	11	20
45. Hamid	9	20
46. Beni Beshir	10	21
47. Beni Bu Shibet	11	19
48. Taghsuth	10	21
49. Ktama	11	21
50. Zrarka	5	21
51. Muziet	5	18
52. Ain Mediuna	6	23
53. Bu Adl	6	24
54. Rgheiwa	5	17
55. Beni Ulid	5	20
56. Khunduktamda	5	22
57. Beni Korsa	6	23
58. Taunat and Bab Wendar	5	21
59. Fenasa	5	23
60. Beni Wenjin	5	24
61. Amaboh	5	20
62. Ulad Asam	3	22
63. Beni Krama	5	23
64. Marniua	6	23
65. Branes	5	17
66. Ulad Brahim	5	21
67. Burda	5	23
68. Aghbalu	5	18
69. Western Arabophone Senhaja	6	18
70. Ghomara	4	5

The maps which accompany this discussion will help to visualize the distributions. Both are clearly centered in the tribes of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the northern part of Gsennaya. The material culture trails out to the east along the mountain divide, through Zarket to Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, and Ktama, as well as Beni Bu Shibet. In the places where invasions have taken place, except in the Senhaja, and in the Maritime tribes (for whose members contact with the outside world has been relatively easy), the paucity of the central Riffian material culture is noticeable. It does not necessarily follow that the basic traits of central Riffian material culture ever extended to the margins of what is today the Rif, but that many of them once extended somewhat beyond their present boundaries is probable. Perhaps if one were to work out the distribution of material culture among all Berber groups similar states of affairs might elsewhere be found. Without such check material worked out in a comparable manner it is impossible to determine accurately whether or not the material complex surviving in the central Rif is a local phenomenon or one of several such peaks of older culture thrust through the surface of a more modern accumulation.

171
174



MAP 20



MAP 21

[p. 169]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

171
174

The social features appear more widespread than the material, which is but natural, since they are not so subject to the limitations of environment. They extend along the coast to the east far beyond the eastward range of the bulk of the material factors, and southward into the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, which is separated from a parallel intensity in the tribes of Taghsuth, Beni Bu Nsar, and Ktama by a surprising weakness in the Senhajan tribes which are of greater strength in material culture. This would indicate that the Senhaja, in the strongest points of their invasion, did not take over Riffian social traits as enthusiastically as they did the coincident

MAP 22

material culture, and that the outlying Senhajan tribes, out of the main path of the invasion, retain or have adopted Riffian social traits in greater intensity. The paths of invasion from the southeast and of diffusion from the northwest are more clearly shown in the map of social institutions than in that of material culture.

In order to compare the two types of culture more clearly, let us resort to a slight exercise of statistics, finding the mean number of traits of each kind possessed by the seventy sub-areas, and the mathematical expression of their coincidence.

Material Culture, 28 traits.
Mean $= 8.22 \pm .45$ $\quad \frac{M \times 100}{N} = 29.36$
$\sigma = 5.50 \pm .32$
Social Institutions, 33 traits.
Mean $= 18.40 \pm .66$ $\quad \frac{M \times 100}{N} = 55.76$
$\sigma = 5.50 \pm .22$

Correlation between social and material scores in the sub-areas, $+.61 \pm .03$

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Multiplying the mean by 100 and dividing the result by the total number of traits counted in each case gives a pair of comparable figures which show the much greater relative extent of the sociological compilation. The correlation between the numbers of social and material traits found in each sub-area expresses the degree of relationship between the two divisions of the complex. The relationship is significant far beyond question, but by no means approaches identity.

The third map of the series, on which are stippled only those sub-areas possessing more traits of each class than does the mean of that class, expresses this relationship clearly.

The cultural traits which are not central Riffian and which present unusual features marking them as different from the ordinary Moroccan pattern are found more strongly rooted in the southeast and the west than elsewhere. The eastern elements may be divided into those reputed to be of Zenatan origin and those to which only the title Nomadic may be safely applied, since they are adapted to a nomadic life and some of them are used by Bedawin, Braber, and other unassociated nomadic groups.

The following lists indicate the criteria which, without division into material and social traits, I have chosen to identify with the combination of Zenatan and generalised Nomadic culture. To separate them into Zenatan and Nomadic would perhaps render finer results, at the same time exposing the general thesis to a greater possibility of error. Hence I have chosen to keep them combined in one relatively convenient and safe, if generalized, category.

Nomadic and Zenatan Traits

1. The sloughi (reputed to be of Zenatan introduction)
2. Tents
3. *Afarai*
4. Brush *amsiyimath*
5. Cheese
6. Skin and iron containers only
7. Stake-loom for manufacture of goat-hair and *halfa* cloth
8. Cross-strap sandals
9. *Silham*
10. Men's *haik*
11. Zenatan type of tattooing
12. Tattooing with cross designs
13. Same type of tattooing on men
14. Scalplock hanging from left side of occiput (Zenatan only)
15. Groom sleeps in bride's father's tent during all but the last night of the wedding week
16. Mixed singing with flute-playing at wedding
17. Burial without stones
18. Burial without stones with the employment of a mule

By including the sloughi I have broken the rule established with Riffian traits of excluding domestic animals from the count. I have done this because the sloughi is not dependent upon environment, and because it bears so definite a tradition of Zenatan origin. Since there are two different tattooing types included in this combined roster, one Zenatan and the other perhaps related to the Braber, the complex might be split into two if we could determine which was responsible for other features. Possession of the *haik*, tents, and *afarai* may be accredited to both; either each has brought them in, or one may have used them there for a long time and the other brought them in as well.

On the following page is a list of scores for sub-areas.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

171
174

SCORE OF COMBINED NOMADIC AND ZENATAN TRAITS

Beni Bu Yahyi	17	Northern Ulishk	5
Eastern Metalsa	16	El Azib of Meidhar	5
Western Metalsa	14	Rest of Tuxin	4
Kebdana	6	Shawia	6
Beni Bu Yafer	6	Khebaba	2
Rest of Galiya	5	Bi Mohammed	1
Said	5	Branes	2
Temsaman	2	Marnissa	
Southern Ulishk and Tafersit	6		

MAP 23

The distribution of these scores is heavily centered among the nomads, and very lightly diffused among the sedentary tribes in contact with them. It is curious that Marnissa and Branes, located in the Senhaja, possess some of these traits. In the case of Marnissa, it is perhaps a reflection of the easterly position which el Bekri gave it.[1]

In the west there are again two groups of alien factors, which might well be lumped into one to avoid mistake in identifications. The Senhajan cultural elements which do not coincide with central Riffian usage are:

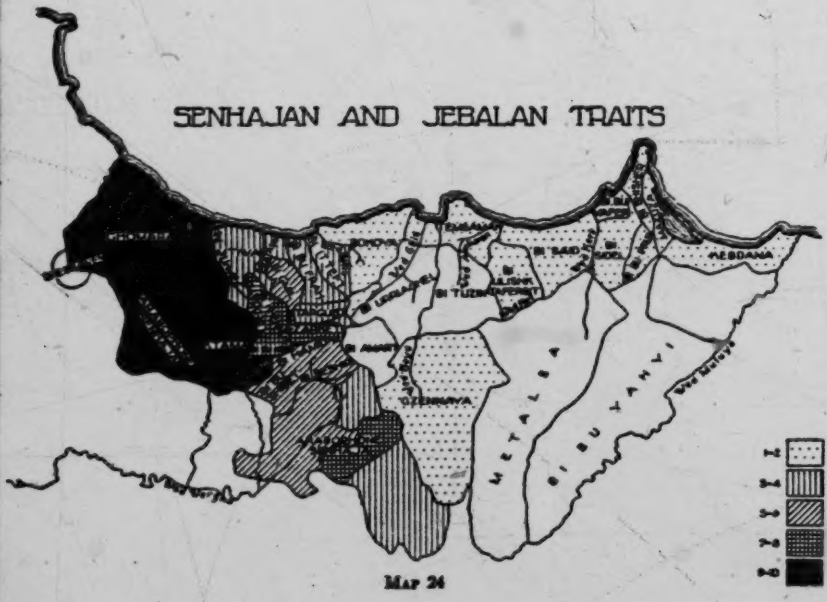
1. Tattooing, Senhajan type
2. Scalplock hanging from right side of occiput
3. Thatched *amiyrmoth*
4. Thatched roofs
5. Cork used as roofing and as bedding
6. Absence of pottery

[1] Page 181

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Those which may be Senhajan, but may rather be Ghomaran, or, on account of their wider diffusion, Jebalan, are:

1. Rectangular brush house
2. Use of hemp as a drug
3. Toe-strap sandals
4. Leggings for women
5. Tie-dyeing
6. Use of rheta and drum at weddings
7. Boy-markets



Map 24

Score of Combined Senhajan and Jebalan Culture

Ghomara	10	Rest of Eastern Arabophone Senhaja	5
Taghauth	9	Branes, Marnissa	4
Ktama	9	Targuist	4
Western Arabophone Senhaja	9	Beni Mesdey	3
Beni Bu Nsar, Khemmas, Seddath	8	Maritimes	3
Zarkat	7	Bokoya	2
Khandouktamda, Beni Krama	7	All Gassasya excepting Shawia and Iberrushen	2
Beni Gmil	6	Shawia and Iberrushen	1
Beni Hamid, Bashir, Bu Shibet	6	Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tefersit	1
Ain Mediuna, Zrarira, Beni Koras, Ulad Azam, Bu Adl, Bab Wender, Musiet	6		

This combination of traits extends much farther to the east than the eastern culture did to the west, since it is not as dependent on a specialised environment for the diffusion

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and maintenance of many of its traits as is the latter. The traits which spread farthest are Senhajan rather than Jebalan.

If we were to give scores on Senhajan features alone, Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar would take the lead, which in the merger belongs to the Ghomara. As is the case with the eastern culture, however, it will be safer to refrain from any separation.

The areas in which distinctive cultures have been partly replaced by traits common throughout Morocco do not deserve special treatment, since they are those which have figured in the background in the discussion of all three combinations of complexes. Such are notably the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, southern Gzennaya, and the eastern tribes of the Rif.

It is curious that language has so little correlation with culture in Northern Morocco. In Galiya and Kebdana, where Riffian culture is very diffuse, Berber is spoken with no signs of an impending transition to Arabic. If any linguistic influence is becoming serious in the east, it is that of Spanish. In the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, where Riffian culture is still quite strong, Berber has almost entirely died out. On the other hand, the adoption of Arabic has followed and is following the adoption of Arab cultural traits among the Maritime tribes and in Targuist.

Summary. A compilation of the traits of material and social culture which are characteristically Riffian shows that these traits are definitely concentrated in what may be called the Central Riffian Nuclear Culture Area, comprising northern Gzennaya, southern Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Amart. This area may be regarded as the stronghold of archaic culture in Northern Morocco.

The Riffian type of material culture extends westward through the Senhaja Sghir, being retained in this region by the survival of an abundant coniferous vegitation; the social pattern, on the other hand, stretches eastward through the true Rif, in which changes of environment have altered certain factors of material culture, while old social factors have been retained in greater intensity.

Cultural elements of Zenatan and Nomadic origins are concentrated in Beni Bu Yahyi, and become diffuse the furtber one goes into the Rif from that tribe. In the Central Riffian Culture Area these traits are entirely absent.

Cultural elements of Senhajan, Ghomaran, or Jebalan origin are concentrated in the Ghomara and in Ktama and Taghzuth. The rest of the Senhajan tribes show them in reduced degree, and some of the Riffian tribes have adopted a few of them. The Eastern Arabophone Senhaja shows itself more Riffian than Senhajan in culture.

There is but slight correlation between the retention of Berber speech and the retention of older cultural patterns: in the east the language is maintained undiminished despite profound cultural changes; in the west and southwest the opposite is the case.

This analysis indicates a certain degree of cultural stratification in the general area comprising the Rif, northern Senhaja, and Ghomara. The older complex, surviving in greatest strength in the central Rif, may represent a culture which was once widespread over the Berber world; or it may be uniquely Riffian. Further compilations in other parts of North Africa are needed before this question can be answered.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XXV

CULTURE, TRADITION, AND RACE. CONCLUSIONS REGARDING BERBER ORIGINS

CULTURE AND RACE

174 The distribution of cultural traits in northern Morocco shows us that the earliest pattern survives in the mountainous nucleus of the Rif, with Beni Amart as the chief center, and Beni Urriaghel and the northwestern fringe of Gzennaya included within the concentrated area. Old social institutions, having no direct association with changes in environment, stretch out eastward across Beni Said to form a secondary and less intense nucleus in Galiya. Material culture of archaic pattern has the same center as the social institutions, but being partly dependent upon an abundance of coniferous timber it has abandoned the east, which is deforested, and extends westward in survival across the still heavily forested mountains of the Senhaja Sghir.

The northern arm of the Sahara which culminates in the Garet has served as the diffusion route for cultural influences of nomadic inspiration, and has tended to bisect the original pattern of social distribution. In the west, the valley of the Wergha has served as a much-used highroad over which alien institutions have been carried; and others have crept across the Jebala through the western tribes, which speak Arabic, and through the Ghomara. In the northwestern Rif commercial navigation and the establishment of a religious center have tended to minimise Riffian culture in the tribes of Mtiwa, Mestasa, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Itteft, and Targuist.

Such in brief is the cultural picture. On the whole, racial differentiation within the fairly homogenous group which characterizes this area tends to follow the same geographical tendencies as culture. Owing to the incomparability of the types of data, and the differences in designation of sub-areas, statistical comparison is impossible; nevertheless such is the general agreement that a cursory comparison can be made.

The area in which the older social pattern is retained is precisely that in which the blond, North European racial type survives in greatest purity. Although in general it is hazardous to associate race with culture, in the present area each owes its survival to its geographical inaccessibility. One cannot say that the Nordic type originated this culture, or brought it with it; probably of the two the racial type is far the older; all that one can say is that of recognizable racial and cultural types these two are the oldest and survive in the same place for the same reason.

The region to the south and east of this center of refuge is occupied by a taller, heavier boned, and darker haired type, obviously secondary chronologically to the blonder type. It is improbable that that type was wholly or even largely responsible for the diminution of Riffian cultural elements in the east, since it is found in the Gzennaya associated with a high degree of Central Riffian culture, both social and material. Most of the Gzennaya measured came from that northwestern part of the tribe. Another element which seems so old that its effects upon Central Riffian culture are likewise imperceptible is a diffuse Negroid or

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Mediterranean, which avoids the very center of the old culture area, although being located in other parts of it. This type seems to have had no perceptible effect upon the strongly preserved forest culture of the Senhaja, where the negroid element is most in evidence. 174

One can trace the Saharan or Hamitic racial type in the regions in which intrusive cultural elements seem concentrated, and this type is responsible in part at least for the diffusion of nomadic cultural traits into the eastern Rif. Either it or a Negroid type, or both, brought the Senhajan peculiarities into Taghsuth, Ktama, and the surrounding region. The Ghomaran elements may have been brought by either the mesocephalous broad jawed type, by this latter, or by both.

Thus we can make but two definite associations between culture and race in northern Morocco: that of the earliest racial type with the oldest surviving cultural pattern, and that of the most recent racial type with the most recent cultural diffusions, excluding of course the European. On the whole, racial analysis shows earlier conditions and movements more clearly than does cultural analysis, since naturally the heredity of racial characteristics is more exact in its operation and more conservative than that which must be taught and learned. The cultural analysis is nevertheless of invaluable service in demarcating refuge areas and diffusion routes, thus helping to interpret the fuller evidence of race.

TRADITION AND RACE

Tradition attributes autochthonous ancestry to the people living in the area typified by the greatest concentration of the blond North European type, thus supporting the contribution of cultural evidence. In the east, ancestry is often attributed to Zenatan and Arab sources. Here, however, the eponymous forebears of the various family groups represent an infusion of the Saharan type not yet strong enough to have changed the general characteristics of the group. The Eastern type must have come in so long ago that it cannot be explained away by tradition. In the Senhaja, tradition attributes old Christian ancestry to the tribes least unlike the Riffians, and to Taghsuth and Ktama, ancestors from Segguia el Hamra, who came into a region formerly inhabited by people "like Shluh," in the case of Taghsuth, and by no one, in the case of Ktama. After having visited Ktama one finds it remarkable that human beings inhabit it even today. These Shluh-like people probably represent an older negroid population whom the Senhajan ancestors, probably of the general Saharan type, assimilated. In Ghomara the same nebulous "Shluh" were found and traditionally dislodged. The Ghomaran ancestors came from Segguia el Hamra earlier than did the Senhajan ancestors, and hence the similarity of the Ghomaran lighter type to the "Guanche" element in the Canary Islands may represent a real connection. The similarity of the name Ghomara to Gomera, the island on which this type was especially strong, may possibly indicate this relationship, although such tenuous philological connections should not be stressed. A Saharan element either accompanied or followed the mesocephalous Ghomaran type into the Ghomara.

On the whole, these traditions indicate rather well the general succession of racial positions and movements in northern Morocco, in so far as we have been able to reconstruct them. If the racial elements had been more different from each other skeletally our task would have been easier. As it is, cumulative tendencies within a slightly varied group have of necessity served as criteria.

Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif, MX3

174 The general trend which these tendencies have revealed bears a connection not only with the local traditions, but also with the traditions concerning the early origins of the whole Berber group.

According to Ibn Khaldun all Berbers are descended from two individuals each named Berr, who were not related, and both of whom the Arab historian naturally enough descends from Semitic characters.[1] These two Berrs are supposed to have come into North Africa, and their descendants to have have subdivided into many of the present Berber groups. Notable among these are the Senhaja, Ghomara, Masmuda, Huara, and Zenata. Some writers postulate an invasion of Africa shortly before the Christian era by one Ifrikos, who came from Arabia, bringing with him the Senhaja and Ketama families.[2]

It is not profitable to dwell too long upon these theories, which are not proper Berber traditions but garbled Arab versions of them. The significant points about them are two: that the Senhaja, Ghomara, and Zenata are pictured as invaders and are classed as desert nomads; and that there is no traditional group held responsible for the parentage of the families of the central Rif. According to Marmol (who follows Ibn er-Rakik) there were two kinds of Berbers. "African Berbers," and "Shluh."[3] The African Berbers were nomadic and considered themselves aristocrats. The Shluh were the lowly inhabitants of the mountains, the farmers and house-dwellers. From time to time, according to Marmol, certain branches of the illustrious families would be defeated by their enemies and forced to take to the hills, where they would be assimilated by the mountaineers. In this way they would give their names to the groups adopting them, as their local progeny increased. They would also perhaps cause slight changes culturally and racially.

The Senhaja, using the name in its entire designation and not as we have been employing it locally, is a widespread group of peoples, including the Tuareg, the Braber, and our own Northern Senhaja, who form a tiny part of the whole and an erratic excrescence of the main stock. Most of the Senhaja are nomadic, and they cover a large part of the Sahara. Even the Braber, who live in the Middle Atlas, retain nomadic habits despite their present environment, living in houses only in the winter. It is said that the Braber tribes have been pushing each other northward over the Middle Atlas and up the Muluya; in the memory of living men tribal locations have shifted in this direction. It would be logical to consider the Northern Senhaja the pre-Islamic peak of this movement, later bisected by the Arab invasions. On the other hand, their tradition connecting them with Rio d'Oro would imply an older movement.

The Ghomara are located, according to early writers, along the Atlantic coast, in regions which they do not now inhabit. This traditional or historic location would serve to connect them with the coastal region opposite the Canary Islands. The present day Ghomara are again only a dislocated section of a widespread family. According to Marmol,[4] the only true ones of the Ghomara are the Beni Grir, the others being really what he calls "Shluh," in other words, indigenous agriculturalists.

The main body of the Zenata lies outside of Morocco to the south and east, but a definite sequence of them extends up the Muluya watercourse to the main nucleus.

[1] Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berbères* (tr. Mac Guckin de Slane), vol. I, p. 167 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 185.
[3] Marmol, *Description d'Africa*, Book III, chap. 24.
[4] *Ibid.*, Book III, chap. 67.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

174

These traditions, muddled as they are, and especially Marmol's interpretation of them, do, I believe, indicate something of value. They suggest the conclusions which we have so tediously extracted from the present material, that the Berbers are divided racially as well as culturally into two sections: the sedentary, agricultural, historically recessive type, European in racial affiliations; and the dominant nomadic group which comes from the south and east, and is Saharan or Hamitic in racial origin. Considering the linguistic evidence from the Canary Islands,[1] and the rôle the desert type has played in cultural diffusion, one is inclined to ascribe to this group the Hamitic element in Berber languages. One may also suppose an earlier linguistic as well as cultural pattern to have existed along the northwestern Mediterranean littoral, one more truly allied in pre-Indo-European times to the countries across the sea than is the case today. Racially the connections extend farther afield to the north of Europe, but whether the connecting thread ran across the Straits of Gibraltar or around the Mediterranean cannot be answered. If the pre-Berber or at least pre-Saharan cultural affiliations of the northern littoral were Bronze Age or Neolithic, its racial affiliations must go back even farther. In the light of the present evidence I do not see how it would be possible more recently to derive from Europe the North African blonds, scattered remnants as they are, perched in mountain refuges and stony islands, in the latter of which they were living in the Neolithic when discovered.

Summary: Of the pre-Hamitic or pre-Saharan inhabitants of northern Africa there were probably several racial types, a blond North European; a round headed type which Bertholon and Chantre [2] found in oases, along the Tunisian coast, and in the island of Jerba, and which probably produced in mixture the disharmonic "Guanche" type,[3] our own "Eastern" type, and the mesocephalous Ghomara; and a classical Mediterranean type. Personally I believe that the importance of the third has been greatly exaggerated. It may exist and flourish in other parts of North Africa, but in the part intimately covered by the present investigation it is of nebulous character if it is present at all.

It is impossible to say which of these types is the oldest. Some appear older in some regions, others in other regions. In the Rif the blond type seems to have stratigraphic priority, and its presence in Kabylia, the Aures, and the Canary Islands surely does not imply that it was recent in any of those regions.

The chief difference between the conclusions which automatically derive themselves from this study and those of Hooton's careful analysis of the Canary Island problem, is that in the Rif the Nordic type is older than the sub-brachycephalic mixed blonds, whereas in the Canaries the element bearing the round headed tendencies is as old as if not older than the blond.[4] Our Egyptian evidence also indicates that the blond strain was western. Probably the African Nordic type had its early focus in the north of Morocco, and the element which produced the round headed and disharmonic Berber types, which brought the broad jaw into Africa, followed the Atlas from northeast to southwest, from Tunis to the Canary Islands, working northward from this diagonal route in various waves, one of which brought the Ghomara.

Hooton finds a Negroid Mediterranean strain oldest in the Canaries.[5] These islands must have been slower to change both racially and culturally than our corner of the con-

[1] Hooton, *The Ancient Inhabitants of the Canary Islands*, pp. 16–19.
[2] *La Berberie Orientale*, pp. 641, 645, and maps.
[3] Hooton, *Canary Islands*, p. 218 seq. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 299. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 298.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

174 tinent. Such a type, scattered in the Rif, is unquestionably old there, but it cannot truthfully be called older than the Nordic, while the technique of this investigation indicates it to be younger.

The history of North Africa has been a succession of cultural and racial whitewashings from the south and east. A people Hamitic or Saharan, call them what you will, swept over it at some early period and brought Berber speech, desert culture, and a refined brunet racial type. Arabs have swept over it, bringing in Islam and the concurrent pattern of culture. Saharan peoples have continued their northward drive well into modern times; the Zenata are a relatively late branch of them. Negroes have come or been brought in, broadening the noses, darkening the skins, forging iron, and brutalizing the lower religious sects of the people. Finally, the French and Spanish have entered, bringing modern civilization which will inevitably stir and ferment the racial and cultural orders, causing changes; destruction, growth, the breakdown of regional isolation, and so great an eventual homogeneity that the curious facts recorded in this volume will become legends, and finally linger in the attic of distorted human memories.

Searching beneath the Berber and Arab blankets, beneath the Negroid seepings and the European scaldings, it is still possible to discern the relics of a long bygone age, a time when northern Morocco was nearer to Europe culturally, and a still dimmer time when the races of North Africa and of Europe were the same. The old elements, a Nordic, an early pre-Alpine brachycephal, and a diffuse Negroid which evolved into the Mediterranean, disharmonic mixtures of several of these; the roster of old North African races reminds one of the Europe of the late Palaeolithic and early Neolithic, and especially of the periods in between. Had this welter of early types been allowed to work out its destiny undisturbed, our work would have been easier; as it is, early North African skeletal material is needed before our problem may be solved.

By chance this corner of North Africa in which we have chosen first to work is the asylum of the first of these types, an African Nordic. In determining that this race is at the bottom of the Riffian physical composition we wish to avoid the critical fire which is poured in these days on all so brave or foolhardy as to use the word "Nordic"; let it be understood that the word here means a race and not a frame of mind; head, hair, eyes, and nose, and not an Olympian psychology. That the Riffians are brave and honorable men, and most pleasant companions, is neither here nor there.

175 century a pretender to the Sultan's throne, Bow Hamara, seeking
648 to consolidate his position in the north, invaded the Rif. He was halted in 1908 on the shores of the Nekor by the Beni Wariyaghar (Maldonado, n.d.:486) who united not to save a crown but to preserve their own autonomy.

175 What we do know of the early history of the Rif is not so much definite historical material whereby one can discuss the contents of an event and its eventual repercussions, but rather the sociocultural background of the tribes.

174 Regarding the original populating of the Rif there is no
16 definite information. The people who live there today may have lived there prior to the Arabic invasion of the seventh century and certainly did live there by the second invasion of the eleventh century according to el-Bekri's account. They may have been pushed into this area by the first Arabic invasion or by other Berber tribes at earlier dates. The ruggedness of the terrain and the difficulty of earning even a subsistence suggests that migration to the Rif was not voluntary. The Rif mountains hardly constitute a promised land. Though it is only conjecture, I suspect that the Rif was first populated by small groups of kinsmen living in the lowlands of the Taza Province who were forced because of the blood feuds to leave their original homestead and take up residence in these inaccessible areas. There is a certain justification for this belief since the present population distribution in the Rif is due mainly to small segments of original lineages fleeing the consequences of the blood feud.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER III

CULTURE HISTORY PRIOR TO EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

FOR THE POPULATIONS and civilizations that reached it, Morocco was a cul-de-sac. Every movement came up against the Atlantic barrier and was retarded by the hostile environment of the Sahara. During the Pleistocene epoch and, indeed, during the first millennia of Recent geologic time, Morocco was a redoubt in which outmoded ways of life perfected themselves in isolation. The descendants of the Neolithic farmers remained dependent on stone tools three thousand years after the Egyptians, at the other end of the Mediterranean, had begun to use metal. Basically, the Stone Age cultures still persist, in spite of Phoenician, Roman, Arab, and European influence.

The historic accounts of the Canary Islands are of special interest. When the Norman and Spanish conquerors reached the Canaries a few generations before the discovery of America, the islanders spoke a Berber dialect and still retained their Neolithic culture. They used stone tools, and fashioned implements from wood, horn, and shell. They produced crude and underfired pottery in the Neolithic style, and their textiles were plaited matting and basketry. Their clothing was of cured goatskin, and their houses were made of stone, pine timbers, and earth. They raised pigs, dogs, sheep, and goats, and grew barley and wheat. They knew how to preserve meat by drying and milk by making cheese. Add metal, weaving, and the crops and animals introduced from southwestern Asia and the Americas, and this outline of material culture is little different from that of an isolated Moroccan village of today.[1]

THE PROBLEM OF CLIMATIC CHANGE

A mass of circumstantial evidence suggests that Barbary has become drier since the time of the Roman occupation. The impressive ruins of Thamugadi (Timgad) and the great amphitheater of Thysdrus (el-Jem) now stand on desolate plains. The ancient seaports of Leptis Magna and Sabratha were found buried under an immense drift of sand. Mosaics and historical records tell of the presence in Roman Africa of elephants, lions, and other wild animals now confined to the tropical zone. Further examples of change presumed to be a result of desiccation could be cited, but these suffice to illustrate the type of evidence that impresses the traveler.

It cannot be denied that the landscape of northern Africa has changed since classical time, but the thesis of a climatic explanation of this change is difficult to defend. Most of the evident deterioration can be traced to neglect or destruction by man. Aqueducts, dams, and cisterns made possible the building of the now dead cities. With the collapse of the Pax Romana, marginal land dependent on irrigation went out of cultivation. Burning, cutting, and overgrazing

[1] Leonardo Torriani, *Die kanarischen Inseln und ihre Urbewohner;* trans. from the MS of 1590 by D. J. Wölfel (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1940), Vol. VI of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde.* C. S. Coon, in *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1951), pp. 36–40, calls attention to the Canary Islanders as "Berbers" unaffected by foreign influence.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[3]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[4] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[5]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[6] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

[3] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[4] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[5] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[6] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus*, *Rhus pentaphylla*, and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[a] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix*, *Alnus*, *Populus*, *Vitex*, and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander*, the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[b] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[c]

---

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al.*, *Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[a] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[b] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 69.

[c] Coon, *loc. cit.*, traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

/207 cont./

616
619
171

/footnote 2 continued/ Biqousasen (the green figs); Aït Oughgoummi : Ibougha (the foxes); Aït Tikiwit : Anziden (the argan-tree rats); Aït Tiyout : Id bou Ifedam (the palm fiber); Irasen : Ifkharen (the potters); Aït Tmighat : Tighitten (the goats); Aït Mrait : Tatten (the ewes), etc. ... These appellations are most often considered insulting.

000 Among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the center, in the region of the Beni Zerwal and the Senhaja of Srair, the hostility between the two parties appears less passionate than among the tribes in the vicinity of the Ocean, and it is transformed into a mere antipathy preserved as a memory of the furious fights of the past (3).

3. Among the Jbala of the East, such as Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja of Gheddo.

The two large leffs no longer play their role in the recent wars, and they have not been seen to oppose each other since the end of the last century. Still more to the East, between the Nkor and the Moulouya, the list of "Bou Tyour" is unknown; nevertheless the tribes still range themselves in one or the other of the two parties. The leffs are no more than a mere historical memory there.

616
648
•174 In spite of the slight activity shown in our day by the leffs of the north of Morocco, it is nevertheless certain that the hostility of the Senhaja and the Ghomara in the past was very passionate. Beyond the historical evidence, we have proof of it in the fact that everyone still knows for a great distance the name of the tribes allied to his own. It is therefore much easier than in the Atlas of the Masmouda to reconstruct the general arrangement of the alliances, although each informant is scarcely acquainted with any territory except that of his own tribe.

1: Coon E45 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER III

RECORDED HISTORY OF THE RIF

175 THE isolation and impregnability of the Rif, due to the ruggedness inherent in both its landscape and its people, while advantageous to the anthropologist in preserving to this day ancient racial strains and cultural complexes, impede and almost totally prevent the work of the historian. The history of the Rif, so far as we can glean it, is a succession of invasions for the most part thwarted, of streams of conquest and colonization which have often rushed by but seldom through.

PRE-ISLAMIC HISTORY

The earliest reference in written history which may possibly concern the Rif is an inscription in an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb [1] referring to an invasion of Egypt in that period by a group of Libyans called the Mashausha. These people, a part of or affiliated with the Rebu, had conquered the Tehennu, the only Libyans with whom the Egyptians had previously been familiar,[2] and had enlisted the Tehennu under their command to invade Egypt. The Mashausha were said to have been westerners, and blonds. This reference may have some distant connection with the name of the Mazuza, a part of the present tribe of Galiya, but it is equally possible that there was at that time more than one group bearing the name of Mazuza.

Later on Herodotus [3] mentions the Maxyes as occupying the territory to the west of Lake Moeris and being different culturally from the nomadic Libyans to the east. The name may have some connection with that which the Riffians give themselves today, Imazighen, but this would not designate them alone, since other Berber groups use the same term.

The Phoenicians are believed to have first established their trading posts along the North African coast as early as the twelfth century before Christ,[4] and are thought to have traded very early through the Pillars of Hercules and along the Atlantic coast of Morocco, founding colonies as they went.[5] Hanno the Carthaginian, several centuries after the first Phoenician contacts along this coast,[6] led an expedition of colonists to the coast extending from the region of Mogador down to and beyond the Draa,[7] and continued to some point south of the Senegal,[8] almost to the equator.

[1] Orie Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 211 *sqq.*
[2] Gaston Maspero, *The Struggle of Nations*, p. 431.
[3] Vol. IV, p. 180
[4] S. Gsell, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, vol. I, p. 366.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 415, 507.
[6] It is impossible to date this exactly. See Gsell, pp. 510-519.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 483. Vivien de St. Martin, *Le Nord de l'Afrique dans l'Antiquité*, p. 367; Raymond Roget (ed.), *Le Maroc chez les Auteurs Anciens*, p. 18; R. Bosworth Smith, *Carthage and the Carthaginians*, pp. 40-41; Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 4. Gsell thinks that Garicon Teichos, the first of the five colonies was located at Mogador. Others differ. Meakin stating that it is impossible to locate them.
[8] Gsell, p. 507; Meakin, p. 544.

[D. 22]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The Classical geographers name several of the harbors and landmarks along the Riffian coast; but only one, Russaddir, the modern Melilla, appears to have been a city.[1] This Chenier[2] believed to have been founded by the Carthaginians. A few years ago Spanish engineers building a road outside the city uncovered several ancient graves, containing, in conjunction with badly decomposed skeletons, several pieces of wheel-made pottery, and gold and silver ornaments. Among the latter were two gold earrings of fine workmanship, realistically shaped in the form of doves. Phoenician writing on the pots gave the clue to the identity of these remains.[3]

At Ajdir there is a ruin, in the shape of a quadrangle, on the beach directly opposite the island of Alhucemas. This site, unexcavated and filled with sand, consists, on the surface, of several ancient rubble walls enclosing a square. In the walls are to be found potsherds, made on the wheel and well baked, totally different from the hand-made poorly fired modern product. With these potsherds there are also pieces of green-glazed tiling. (See plate 4.)

This ruin is called the "Jema'a el Mujahidin," or Mosque of the Holy Warriors. It is locally supposed to have been built by the first Mohammedan missionaries in the Rif. Whoever built it apparently used as wall-metal the remains of an earlier settlement with a highly developed ceramic culture. An investigation of this site and an archaeological survey of the whole Riffian littoral would be an interesting enterprise.

This stretch of coast was the least-known portion, in ancient times, of the whole Moroccan seaboard, if we may judge by the relative rarity of sites mentioned in the literature of that time. The same means of comparison indicates that it was the region least affected by Punic culture.

Hamilcar, when he invaded Spain in 237 B.C., took his army to Europe by sea, skirting the coast to the Pillars of Hercules, and then sailing across.[4] This may well have been the usual means of travel between Carthage and Spain employed by a maritime people. Movements of troops which may have occurred by land would probably have followed the Trik es-Sultan, the usual east-west artery through what are now Ujda, Guerçif, Taza, and Fez—the normal and topographically easiest route.

The Carthaginians drew their soldiery from all over North Africa and from parts of Europe as well.[5] It is not unlikely that some of the young men of what is now the Rif, finding themselves out of the hills on some errand, enlisted, just as many enlisted in the French forces during the World War, without compulsion. Soldiers coming home from Carthaginian wars may have brought with them new ideas, manners, and styles of living. More probably, however, they felt it expedient to drop new habits at the portals of their land. I have watched returned soldiers come home to the Rif; usually they shed, on the way, any new elements of dress with which they started, — garters, shoes, stockings, kerchiefs, fezzes, one after the other, — and when the adventurer arrives at the place of his ancestors he is attired in practically the same costume which he wore upon leaving. He converses very seldom about his experiences, and tries to smother himself back again into the old ways.

This, at least, is the modern technique of the returning soldier in the central and more archaic regions of the Rif. He feels that he would not be tolerated if he suggested any change, and if he told tales of things the others did not understand he would be branded a

[1] Itinerary of Antoninus (Roget, p. 40); Ptolemy (Roget, p. 36); Meakin, p. 557.
[2] L. S. de Chenier, *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures*, p. 32.
[3] These objects are at present deposited in the City Hall at Melilla.
[4] Smith, p. 157. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 30; see also his reference to Plutarch's *Timoleon*, p. 20.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

boaster and liar. Such is the conservatism of the Rif, the mental inertia which makes a man look with distrust and intolerance upon any action or device not known to and accepted by his grandfather. If the same conservatism held true in Classical times, the distant presence of Carthage, and later of Roman cities, cannot have affected the Riffian tribes as profoundly as it did other Berber peoples better known in antiquity.

After the fall of Carthage, the Romans concerned themselves with the subjugation of North Africa, and after the Jugurthan war took Tangier.[1] During this period they laid claim to all the territory between the Atlantic and the Red Sea,[2] without much real authority over the outlying parts of their dominions. Along the Moroccan coast they are said to have had no authority more than eight leagues from the coast,[3] which is probably an exaggeration; it is doubtful whether they had any except at strategic points such as Ceuta.

The lands wherewith we are concerned came under the designation of Mauretania Tingitania, and east of the Muluya the country was called Mauretania Caesarea.[4] The part of Tingitania which was actually settled and administered by the Romans consisted of a right triangle, with Volubulis, near the modern Zerhun, as its right angle. (See plate 4.) Ceuta and Salé formed the two acute angles.[5]

This province was considered administratively a part of Spain,[6] and was generally reached by sea or through Spain. The portion of Caesarea lying between the rivers Muluya and Tafna was believed to be a trackless desert inhabited by wild beasts,[7] and the Roman road going westward from Carthage ended at the city of Caesarea, where the traveler still desirous of proceeding westward was forced to put to sea, and could find no road nearer than Ceuta, the point of debarkation.[8]

This negative evidence, although it strongly indicates the relative inaccessibility of the Rif in Roman times, does not mean, of course, that no Roman ever set foot in it, but merely that not enough of them did so to win fame in Classical literature. As will be seen later, the Christian elements in Riffian religion, especially in the region of the Senhaja Sghir, tend to indicate some sort of contact with the Romans, although there is no record of any bishoprics having been established in any part of the territory in question. The episcopal lists later on in the time of the Vandals show only one bishop in Morocco, at the city of Opinon, on the distant Lixus.[9]

It is interesting that perhaps the only positive reference to the Riffians in this period shows them not only unsubjugated by Rome, but actually, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, attacking the Romans and carrying the war into Spain.[10]

In A.D. 429, what little claim the Romans had to the western Mauretania disappeared forever with the incoming of the Vandals.[11] Boniface, the governor of Roman Africa, invited them to share his domain and help him with his personal wars.[12] The army, which

[1] Chenier, p. 109.

[2] William S. Davis, *An Outline History of the Roman Empire*, p. 77; Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, bk. iii, chap. 1, ll. 12-13.

[3] Louis Marcus, *L'Histoire des Wandales*, p. 143. Wherever possible I have examined Marcus's sources, since he used Victor Cartennis as eighteenth-century forgery. I have not used those statements of Marcus which are based on Victor Cartennis, except where other sources are quoted.

[4] Chenier, p. 112. [5] Meakin, p. 13; de Saint Martin, p. 346.

[6] Marcus, p. 286 (from Itinerary of Antoninus); see Roget, p. 39.

[7] Marcus, p. 292 (from Optatus, Hist. Donatist., edition Dupin, Introduction, p. lxxxix).

[8] Meakin, p. 7 (from Spartian, Hadrian, xxii, p. 194).

[9] For date, see Meakin, p. 17. [10] Procopius, bk. iii, chap. 3, l. 25.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

numbered between fifty and eighty thousand,[1] was commanded by Genseric, bastard son of the king Godigisclus.[2] 175

The route which this army took is not clearly known. Procopius says that "the Vandals crossed the strait at Gadira [Cadiz]" and came into Libya— ' adding no details concerning the route. Evidence has been offered to prove that Genseric transferred his army by sea as far as the site of the modern Algiers.[3]

Whether or not they traversed Morocco, one year after their departure from Cadiz " the Vandals were besieging Hippone,[7] the modern Bone,[8] far to the east of the Rif, and thence marched on Carthage, which they captured in 439.[9]

By 457 those Vandals who had not left Spain with Genseric had probably joined his forces.[10] Marjorien, representing Roman authority in Spain, marched in pursuit of them, but with little success.[11]

The Vandals themselves lived almost exclusively in the territory neighboring Carthage, and both the Vandals and the Romans considered Tingitania a barren area, suitable only to serve as a natural barrier of defence.[12] In 460 Genseric sent men back to burn and devastate the two Mauretanias, poisoning the wells and springs, so as to prevent further attack from Spain by land.[13]

Soon after the arrival of the Vandals in Africa, the native rulers took back the territory previously belonging to them west of the Tafna,[14] and it was only on such destructive expeditions as the two above named that the Vandals came near them at all.

One of the few ways in which the Vandals may have influenced the Riffians was by their periodic habit of exiling the Tunisian Catholics. During periods of special bitterness church officials were sent to live among the Moors, a punishment which was then considered the severest imaginable.[15] Tingitania is not mentioned among the destinations of these unfortunates. If any did go to northern Morocco, however, their advent may have given rise to the tradition-origins of the Beni Bu Nsar and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, whose phylonymic forebears may on the other hand have wandered in independently or have been sent by the Romans.

After the surrender of Gelimer, the last Vandal king, to the Byzantine forces,[16] he and most of the Vandals with him were removed from Africa.[17] Some, including the royal family, were taken to the capital to adorn a triumph,[17] while most of the men were forced into the eastern army of the Empire. Four hundred of the latter escaped and returned to Africa.[18] In 540 Solomon sent to Byzantium what few Vandals, including their women, remained in Africa.[19]

[1] *Ibid.* (ed. Dewing), vol. II, p. 189 n.
[2] *Ibid.* (ed. Dewing), vol. II, p. 5 n.
[3] B. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A.D. 461*, vol. III, p. 344.
[7] Procopius, bk. iii, chap. 3, ll. 31–34.
[8] Marcus, p. 156 (from Prosper, p. 195; Idatius, p. 23).
[9] *Ibid.* (from Possidius).
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 293–294 (from Itinerary of Antoninus).
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 266 (after Idatius, p. 27; Marius Aventimus, in *Chronica apud Duchesne, scriptores histor. francor. coetanei*, vol. I, p. 210; Procopius; and Victor Cartensis). Procopius differs from the others in this, Victor having presumably copied Idatius and Marius.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 293 (based on Procopius).
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 181 (from Victor Vitensis, I, 5, as well as Victor Cartensis).
[14] Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 7, l. 12
[15] *Ibid.*, bk. iv, chap. 14, ll. 17-19.
[16] *Ibid.*, bk. iii, chap. 3, l. 23.
[17] Bk. iii, chap. 3, l. 26 (Dewing's translation).
[18] For date, see Marcus, p. 145.
[19] *Ibid.* (ed. Dewing), vol. II, p. 23 n.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 137 (a personal deduction).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 The disappearance of the Vandals from North Africa may thus be explained historically. There was probably a minimum of race-mixture between this people and the mountain Berber stock; the Berbers hated the Vandals heartily and the Vandals, softened by luxury and excesses out of all moral semblance to their ancestors, looked upon the life of the hardy mountain tribes with delicate horror. The emasculated invaders preferred slavery to a life among a people the hardships of whose manner of living they could not endure.[1] Procopius describes a light-skinned fair-haired people far to the west of the territory with which he was familiar, a people contemporary with the Vandals and incapable of historical derivation from them.[2] The popular theory of a Vandal origin of blondism in North Africa is historically unsupportable.

During the half century which remained between the expulsion of the Vandals from North Africa and the first onrush of Arab invasion, the Romans did not attempt to retake the Mauretanias. The Goths had crossed over and taken possession of Ceuta, as well, perhaps, as of ports along the Ghomaran coast.[3] As related in a previous chapter,[4] the Ghomara retain traditions of a temporary subjugation to a people whom they call Portuguese, and point out decrepit castles on promontories of the seacoast as evidence of their statements. These towers, again, might advantageously be made the object of archaeological research.

Don Julian, the lord of Ceuta, who invited the Arabs to invade Spain, was called the ruler of the Ghomara,[5] which he may well have been. The Goths, for whom little has been claimed, may have possessed more power along the Riffian shore line than the much-vaunted Vandals ever aspired to.

It is during this little-known period between the downfall of the Vandals and the entrance of the Arabs that a Jewish kingdom of the Rif has been postulated by certain Moroccan Jews anxious to exploit deeds traditionally attributed to their ancestors. The claim is that at this time there was a Jewish kingdom in the Rif with a Jacob Pariente as king. This Pariente is said to have warred on the constituted authorities in Spain.[6]

Michaux-Bellaire, who brought this claim to light and has thoroughly exposed most of its details, feels nevertheless that the period of history specified in the tradition may have been one of strong Jewish influence in the Rif.[6] Ritualistic action in a modern Riffian religious ceremony [7] and dramatic representations in the annual carnival [8] seem to support his idea.[9]

FIRST ARAB INVASIONS

In A.D. 648 the Arabs invaded North Africa.[10] This event marks a turning point not only in religion and in certain elements of culture but also in the extent of human knowledge, since the Arabs left far better records of historical events than any of the invaders who had

[1] *Ibid.*, bk. iv, chap. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, bk. iv, chap. 8, l. 29.
[3] Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berbères*, vol. i, pp. 212, 287; vol. ii, p. 135.
[4] Chapter 1.
[5] Meakin, p. 26 and n. 1, referring to Ibn Khaldun, vol. i, pp. 212, 287, vol. ii, p. 135, and to En Naziri, vol. i, p. 31.
[6] Michaux-Bellaire, *Au Propos du Rif*, pp. 3–7.
[7] See below, p. 151.
[8] See below, pp. 152 *sqq.*
[9] Horovitz, *Marokko*, pp. 47, 48; Sidney Mendelssohn, *The Jews of Africa*, pp. 142–145. Both Horovitz and Mendelssohn feel that Jews may have been in this region since before the Babylonian captivity. Slouschz also (*Une Voyage des Etudes Juives en Afrique*, Memoire Inst. Française, 1re Série, Tome 12e, pp. 482, 507–508, 550–551, 555) finds pre-Talmudic practices employed by North African Jews, indicating that their ancestors left Palestine before the second destruction of the temple.
[10] Meakin, p. 21.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 preceded them. In 688, under Okba, they reached the Atlantic,[1] and shortly afterward the invasion of Spain took place. These Arabs who came as the first Islamic invaders of Morocco were men of good family and of high culture. The Arabic which they spoke was of Classical type, and their standards of literacy and Koranic learning were high. It was this type of Arab culture, brought by the first wave of invaders (who were not Bedawin), that became the foundation of the high civilizations of Fez, Tetwan, and the cities of Andalusia.[2]

Explorers and missionaries rather than colonists, they travelled for the most part without women, and did not hesitate to marry into the families of the Berbers among whom they found themselves. Thus their offspring were as much Berber as Arab; and before many generations one may well imagine that the Berber blood dominated, although the Arab culture was maintained in the cities with little diminution.[3] Thus their descendants were less Arab in blood than the Bedawin who came after them, but more Arab than they in the sense that they were more deeply steeped in Islamic culture. The effect of this early group on the Berbers was not unfavorable. The Berbers took over Islam, but kept to their old language and to a great extent to their old manner of living, incorporating the new and the old into a firm blend which has in several areas survived until today, although in other parts of Morocco the advent of Bedawin [2] in later times has broken it up.

THE KINGDOM OF NEKOR

Such influences came to the Rif largely through the agency of one man and his descendants, and a study of the history of this family may be found useful when the time comes to attempt to unravel the cultural problems of the present-day Rif.

In narrating this history I can do no better than paraphrase the account given by el Bekri,[3] an historian writing in the eleventh century, since all subsequent accounts are based on his.[4]

Saleh ibn Mansur, a Himyarite, established himself in the central region of the Rif in the reign of the Khalifa el Welid ibn Abd el-Melek, about the year 710. He made his home at the port of Temsaman, near Bedkun, situated on the Wed el-Bakar. He converted to Islam the Berbers of the surrounding tribes, but these new converts, soon tiring of the restrictions imposed upon them by their new religion, renounced it and drove Saleh from the country. They then took as their chief one er-Rondi, a Berber of the tribe of Nefza, who had been in Spain, and who relapsed with them into heathenism. Tiring of him, however, they decided to reënter Islam, and called Saleh back to them. Saleh remained in the region until his death, and was buried at Agta, a village on the Temsaman coast.

Saleh married, among others, a Senhajan woman, and had by her two sons, el-Motasem and Idris. Abd es-Samed, his third son, was borne by another wife. El Motasem succeeded Saleh by popular acclaim, and, dying shortly after his accession, was succeeded by his nephew, Said ibn Idris.

This Said, the grandson of Saleh, built the city of Nekor five miles from the sea on the western bank of the River Nekor, on top of a hill which offered facilities for defence. This city became the capital of the kingdom of Nekor, which the descendants of the family were

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[2] Pages 193–196.
[3] E. F. Gautier, *Les Siècles Obscurs du Maghreb*, pp. 385–389.
[4] Introduction, p. 5.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 destined to rule for three centuries more. An important market, which had been established nearby by Saleh, was moved to the town, and gave it promise of commercial prosperity.

In 858–859 Nekor was invaded by a piratical band of Normans, who sacked and destroyed the town, and after eight days departed, taking with them those of the inhabitants who had not fled. Among the prisoners were Ama t-er-Rahman and Khanula, two granddaughters of el Motasem ibn Saleh, who were ransomed and sent home by the Imam Mohammed ibn Abd er-Rahman, the fifth Omeiyad sovereign of Spain.

Said ibn Idris, in whose reign this misfortune occurred, did not die without further troubles. The Branes tribe of Berbers, perhaps the same Branes who today consider themselves part of the Senhaja, revolted, electing a certain Segguen as chief. Segguen won over other tribes, and the rebels attacked the city of Nekor itself; but at this juncture Said organized a sally and defeated them so badly that they entered into submission once more without further trouble.

When Said died he was succeeded by his son Saleh II, who no sooner than in power had to fight his brother Idris, who had stirred Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel into revolt. The two armies met on Mt. Kuin, in Gzennaya, and Idris was completely victorious, except that Saleh escaped. Idris marched on to Nekor and demanded admittance as king. The officer whom Saleh had left in charge defended the place vigorously and refused to let Idris in until he should bring proof that Saleh was dead. During the night Saleh entered by stealth, and in the morning the governor let Idris in, saying that he was now sure of Saleh's death. No sooner had Idris entered, however, than he was seized and locked up in the palace. Saleh was unwilling to put him to death, but at length acceded to the entreaties of his ally, Kasem the Lord of Za, and had him killed by a page, since no one else was willing to do it.

Saleh's next difficulty was with the Meknassa, perhaps the ancestors of the inhabitants of the villages of Meknassa Fokania, and Meknassa Takhtania, today situated directly south of the Gzennaya. The Meknassa having refused to pay taxes, Saleh had let loose in their country an ass bearing a letter in the feed bag on its back. The Meknassa found the letter and read it, discovering it to be full of threats. Fearing Saleh's punishment, they put the amount of overdue taxes on the ass's back, along with a load of fine cloth from Merv, and led the ass back to Saleh, who forgave them.

When Saleh died his son Said II succeeded to the kingdom and to the troubles which usually beset its rulers. Hardly had he taken up office when the slaves of his family, led by his brother Obeid Allah and his uncle Abu Ali er-Rida, revolted and attacked him in his palace. With the help of his wives and attendants he drove them out, and later put down the rebellion, killing all the leaders but his brother and uncle, whom he imprisoned, later sending Obeid Allah to Mekka for life.

Among those he killed was his cousin el Aghleb, whereupon another cousin, a certain Sedeat-Allah ibn Harun, became angry and in return started a revolt among the Beni Isliten of Temsaman, without Said's knowing of his participation. When Said heard of the revolt, he set out with Sedeat-Allah to crush it, but Sedeat Allah betrayed him, going over to the rebels with all his men. Said fled to Nekor and was besieged there. Finally, however, Said won, and Sedeat-Allah remained in hiding in Temsaman. Said killed Sedeat-Allah's brother and burned his houses, in true Riffian style, and later pardoned Sedeat-Allah and let him return to court. Sedeat-Allah then entered the country of the Botouia and Beni

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Urtedi. From these peoples he obtained possession of the Garet fortress of Kolwé-Jara, whence he made raids on the territory of the Marnissa and Zenata. Later he came back to Nekor and remained as a faithful retainer of Said. During this time the sister of Said married a sherif of lengthy pedigree, who came to live in the country and established his progeny there.

Up to this time, and indeed throughout the reign of their dynasty, the family of Saleh had been orthodox Mohammedans of the old school, following literally the precepts of the Malekite rite. Through this adherence to orthodoxy they had remained in the good graces of the Omeiyad khalifas of Spain, one of whom, as has been related, ransomed the princesses of Nekor after the disastrous raid by the Normans in the time of the first Said.

Although their orthodoxy kept the kings of Nekor in the good graces of Spain, it aroused against them the ire of the heretical Fatemid khalifas of Kairwan. Obeid Allah esh-Shiai, the khalifa, sent Said a poem in which he threatened to destroy his kingdom if he should not submit to Fatemid doctrine and power. Said called in an able poet, who wrote a pungent reply which offended the khalifa so much that he sent out Messala ibn Habbus, the governor of Tehert, to invade the domain of Nekor and attack Said. In 917 Messala advanced on Nekor and took up his position at a place called Nesaft, a day's march from Nekor.

Said marched out against him and fought three days without being defeated. Then Hamd ibn el Ayesh, a valiant Riffian in his forces, a native of the tribe of Ituweft, which may have been the same as the present Beni Itteft, attempted to break through the enemy's lines and assassinate Messala. His plan failed, and he was taken prisoner. When Messala was about to kill him, he offered to support Messala in return for his life, and led the Fatemid army through a weak side of Said's line, whereupon Said's troops fled. Said sent his family out to the Isle of Alhucemas, and with a few of his retainers fought until he was killed. Nekor was sacked, and the women and children taken prisoners. Said's head, and the heads of those of his family who had been killed, were taken to the Fatemid khalifa's court and exhibited.

His children and the other members of his family who had escaped went to Spain, where they were well received by the Omeiyad sovereign Abd er-Rahman en-Nasr, who provided them with what they required and let them remain in Malaga, awaiting an opportunity to return home.

Messala spent six months overrunning the territory of Nekor and then he departed, leaving one of his officers named Delul in charge. Before long the Fatemid soldiers stationed with Delul began to leave, until soon he had but a small group at his command. Said's three sons, Idris, el Motasem, and Saleh, heard this and prepared to return. Each set sail at the same time in a different boat, with the agreement that whoever should land first would be king. Saleh, the youngest one, landed first, on the roadstead of Temsaman and was acclaimed king. His brothers when they landed acknowledged him without controversy. He marched on Delul, captured him and his men, and crucified them all along the banks of the Nekor. Abd er-Rahman ibn Mohammed of Cordova sent Saleh gifts of jewels, clothing, and arms, and had the news of the victory announced throughout Spain.

Saleh III died after a twenty years' reign and was succeeded by his grandson el-Mowayed, who was attacked by Musa ibn Abu 'l Afiya and was killed. In 929-930 Nekor was again destroyed, and this time permanently.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175

Later Abu Ayub Ismail, the great-grandson of the first Said through another line, took over the command and rebuilt Nekor, establishing in it a new population, and restoring the market-day. In 935 Sandal, the Negro leader of the Fatemid forces, seeking another force which under Meisur, another Negro, had been lost, approached Nekor and wrote to Ismail demanding his submission. Ismail shut himself up in the castle of Agri and wrote Sandal that he was willing to submit. Sandal sent messengers asking Ismail to come to his camp, but when he learned that Ismail had put these messengers to death he advanced and occupied the fortress of Naseft, the place in which Messala had killed Said ibn Saleh. After eight days of fighting Sandal took Agri, killing Ismail and most of those with him.

Sandal set up a Ketaman Berber named Mermazu as governor of Nekor, and departed for Fez, which city he had heard that Meisur, whom he had originally set out to find, was besieging.

The inhabitants of Nekor then returned, having chosen a member of the family of Saleh as their ruler. He was Musa ibn er-Rumi, who had previously lived among the Beni Isliten of Temsaman. Musa ibn er-Rumi took back Nekor, killed Mermazu, and sent his head to the emir of Cordova.

Two years after the coming of Sandal, Musa ibn er-Rumi was expelled from Nekor by another member of the royal family, Abd es-Semia, and went, with his brother and other relations, to Spain, where members of the family, survivors from previous expulsions, were already living in Pechina. His cousin Jorthem ibn Ahmed at the same time went to Malaga. In 947–948 Jorthem was recalled to Nekor as king, and retained his office until 971. The rule passed successively to several of his descendants, until in 1019–20 the Azdaja conquered them and forced them to reëmbark to Malaga. After the Azdaja had left, the descendants of Jorthem returned to Nekor, or rather to el Mezemma, its seaport. Later Yala ibn Fotuh the Azdaji drove from the country all the members of this family. In the year in which el Bekri wrote, A.D. 1067–68, Nekor still belonged to the descendants of Yala ibn Fotuh.

This is all that we know of the history of the kingdom of Nekor. Ibn Khaldun, writing several centuries later, merely copied el Bekri,[1] and did not state what events occurred there after the year in which el Bekri wrote.[2]

About six hundred years later a Frenchman, Sieur Roland Frejus, landed at Alhucemas and crossed the Rif by way of the River Nekor, Beni Tuzin, Tafersit, and the Garet. He afterwards returned to Alhucemas and spent some time there.[3] Frejus says that a certain Sheikh Amar commanded part of the Boutoya, the rest of which region, as well as Temsaman, was under the suzerainty of Sheikh Arras of "Albouzema," his brother-in-law and enemy.[4] Sheikh Arras lived in "Albouzema," otherwise known as El Mezemma, the port of Nekor, situated on the beach somewhat to the eastward of the present Ajdir.[5] On his ride into the interior Frejus stopped at Nekor, three leagues from the sea,[6] but does not say whether it was then a flourishing town or a ruin, as it is today. At any rate, El Mezemma must have been more important than Nekor, for when the Filali Sultan Mulay er-Rashid punished Sheikh Arras, his father-in-law, for not assisting him personally in the siege of Fez, he destroyed el Mezemma,[7] but no mention is made of his destroying Nekor, which must therefore have been already demolished, since no one in history had ever before passed by an opportunity to knock it down.

[1] Vol. II, p. 137, n. 4.
[2] Pages 2, 16.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[4] Pages 22–23.
[5] Frejus (itinerary abstracted from entire book).
[6] Page 22.
[7] Page 7.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

This event took place in 1666;[1] therefore the most that we know concerning the final abandonment of Nekor is that it occurred probably between 1068 and 1666. 175

The extent of the territory included in the kingdom of Nekor and the names of the tribes which bounded it are clearly stated in el Bekri. On the east he places the country of the Zuagha, about five days' journey from Nekor and neighboring the Jerawa of el Hasan ibn Abi 'l Aish. Near by are the Matmata, people of Kebdana, the Marnissa of the White Hill, the Ghassasa, who inhabit Mt. Herek, and the Beni Urtedi of Kolwé Jara. On the west the territory of Nekor extended to the country of the Beni Merwan, a people who made up part of the Ghomara, and touched on another Ghomaran tribe, the Beni Homeid, famous for its horses, and also on the Mestassa and the Senhaja. Behind these peoples he placed the Aureba and the Band of Ferhun, the Beni Ulid, the Zenata of Taberida, the Beni Irnian, and the Beni Merasen of the band of Kasem lord of Za and of the "hill called Taurirt."[2] The list of these outlying peoples, as well as those on the borders of the kingdom, includes many known today.

The Zuagha are now considered purely Algerian, but may in the days of Nekor have reached as far west as the Muluya. The Kebdana, of course, are still in their place; the Marnissa are now farther west than their order in the list would indicate; the Ghassasa were probably a group of what are now called the Galiya, and the Beni Urtedi, nomadic Berbers, in the Garet. Kolwé Jara, their stronghold, is said to have been one day's journey beyond the River Kert, and a day's journey likewise from the Muluya.[3] Therefore Kolwé Jara can be roughly located by finding a place where the two rivers are two days' march apart, and locating the middle of that distance. A line from the Kert to the Muluya, passing through the wells of Hassi Wensga, in the Beni Bu Yahyi, constitutes a two days' march, and Hassi Wensga is exactly one day's march from either river. At Hassi Wensga there are said to be the ruins of an ancient fortress. The wells of Hassi Wensga furnish the only water for many miles around in the arid waste in which it is located; a castle in that place would have the advantage over its besiegers through its control of the water supply.

El Bekri places the Ghomara to the west of, but not under the sway of, the kingdom of Nekor. Mestassa likewise was on the border, and the Senhaja lay to the west of it. Today the Senhajan tribe of Beni Gmil touches the tribe of Mestassa, thus presenting an unbroken line of Senhaja and Mestassa from the Wergha country to the Mediterranean. If, then, the Ghomara bordered on the kingdom of Nekor,[4] there must have been a gap between the Senhaja and Mestassa; but el Bekri may not have meant it literally, since it is really but a short distance from the junction of the Beni Gmil and Mestassa to the Ghomara.

Of the tribes said to be beyond the border tribes, the Beni Ulid, today forming part of the Senhaja of the Wergha, are still to be reckoned with. We know little of the Aureba, a name usually associated with Algeria, or of the Band of Ferhun, although in the Werghan tribe of Beni Wenjin today is a mountain cave of great size known as the *ifri n Ferhun*, or cave of Ferhun. Neither Beni Irnian nor Beni Merasen are names familiar today, although Za is now the name of a village of Beni Zerwal of the Jebala and the "hill called Taurirt" might be any hill, since in Berber *taurirt* means hill. The most important place today called Taurirt is the French fortress and wireless station on the road from Guercif to Ujda, and this may also be the hill mentioned in Sallust's *Jugurtha*.[4] If Kasem, lord of Za, held sway

[1] Date on Frejus's title-page.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[3] El Bekri, pp. 180–181.
[4] Gordon's translation, p. 253.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

●175 all the way from Taurirt beyond the Muluya to Beni Zerwal, he must have been a potentate indeed. As a matter of fact, his influence on the court of Nekor was great enough to persuade the second Saleh to put to death his brother Idris. The Zenata are listed as occupying the territory to the south of the Garet.[1]

The tribes which I have so far mentioned were border tribes of the kingdom of Nekor, and tribes beyond the borders. The tribes which figure most prominently as subject to the kings were Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gzennaya. Mekñassa, Branes, and Beni Itteft have likewise been mentioned as tributary.

El Bekri lists as the harbors dependent upon Nekor, Muluya, Herek, Garet, Marsa 'd Dar Auktis, Wed el Bakar, and el Mezemma. Muluya was apparently at the mouth of that river; Herek, bearing the same name as a mountain before mentioned, was apparently somewhere along the shoreline of the Galiya; Garet was no doubt at the mouth of the Kert; Marsa 'd Dar Auktis, according to el Bekri, was near the Mountain of Temsaman; Wed el Bakar, now Marsa Sidi Hasein, was at the mouth of the river bearing that name; and el Mezemma, the actual port of Nekor, was on the Bay of Alhucemas.[1] It is interesting that in this early account the important harbor and city of Melilla is not mentioned, wherefore one must conclude its Islamic settlement to have been of later date; Carthaginians and Romans may well have occupied it earlier.

Three other ports are mentioned, but not as belonging to Nekor. These were Bades, Bakuia, and Balish, the last-named belonging to the Senhaja.[2] Today Bokoya is a tribe and Bades a ruin, nor have the Senhaja any outlet upon the sea.

El Bekri has mapped out a Rif not radically different in tribal designations from what it is today, the chief difference being in the eastern and Garet section. Beni Tuzin, Tafersit, and Beni Ulishk had not yet taken on their present appellations; Melilla had not been built, nor were the Galiya known as such; Beni Said was called Butuia, a term sometimes expanded to include a much larger region than that of the present Beni Said, and the nomads of the Garet, dominated then by Kolwé Jaña, had not adopted their modern names. The Senhaja and Ghomara to the west seem to have occupied much the same territory they hold today, although the tribes now lumped together as Senhaja el Ghuddu, Werghan Senhaja, or, in this volume, Western Arabophone Senhaja, are not designated as Senhajan in origin or affiliation.

The civilization of Nekor seems to have been a counterpart of that of Omeiyad Spain rather than of anything in the Moghreb. The reigning sovereigns were learned in the Malekite rite and led the prayer publicly in the mosque of the city.[3] Koranic learning must have been highly developed and its influence on the three nuclear tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman strong. Said ibn Saleh built on the banks of the Ghis a mosque rivalling that of Alexandria, and today, on the same site or nearby, stands the sanctuary of Sidi Yussuf, in which before the Riffian war three hundred or more students applied themselves to the Koran and magical lore.

Although the descendants of Saleh carried on the traditions of their ancestor in religious and intellectual matters, they could not have avoided becoming more and more Riffian in blood and in general manner of life, for there is but one record of a fresh infusion of Arab blood into a line which was half Berber to begin with, and the contacts with the rest of the

[1] El Bekri, p. 181.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 182.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 193–194.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Arab world were few and, except those with Spain, bloody and unsought. We see them quarrelling among themselves and facing constant uprisings; we see the facile shiftings of loyalties and alliances, the high premium placed upon strategy and trickery, the practice of burning the houses of foemen defeated or driven off in a feud. These habits are distinctly Riffian in character.

OTHER EARLY CENTERS

Nekor, although the chief source of Arab influence on the Rif during this early period, was by no means the only such city in the Rif. Bades,[1] the ruins of which now confront the Peñon de Velez, and Melilla [2] were important in their time, and there were a number of smaller towns along the coast.

Unlike Nekor, Bades antedated the Moslem invasions, having been built, as Marmol suggests,[3] by the Goths. Bades was a city of some seven hundred houses, occupied by fishermen and shipbuilders. The lord of Velez (Bades) kept a navy of thirty galleys, wherewith to resist attack and to raid the coast of Spain. He likewise held sway over the mountain Berbers behind the town, who came down to defend it in time of need. Marmol cites many battles between the men of Bades and the Spaniards, and Spanish raids on the stronghold itself.[3]

In 1508 Bades fell to the Spaniards, and in 1522 the Turks took it away from them, keeping it until 1564, when the Spaniards seem to have regained control of it.[4] The Spaniards did not occupy the city, which fell into ruins at some subsequent date. During recent times the Spanish government has maintained a prison camp and trading post on Peñon de Velez, a small stony island just off the site of Bades, and this post has been one of the three prime gates of entry for articles of European manufacture into the Rif, the others being the Isle of Alhucemas and Melilla.

The nature of Bades' population is left somewhat in doubt, although from Marmol's description of it one would judge it to have been Berber, excepting for a *mellah* containing one hundred houses of Jews, which he does not fail to mention.[5] Even the identity of the Lord of Velez is left in doubt. Bades may well have exerted an Arabizing influence on the surrounding tribes through its extensive trading contacts with the outside world.

Melilla was the last of the three great centres from which trade influences may have been diffused. It is a very old city, having, as we have seen,[6] probably been built by the Phoenicians. It was occupied by a family called Beni Urtedi, who although the nominal inhabitants of the place were not always in command.[7] In 926–927 Abd er Rahman, the Omeyyad ruler of Spain, captured it, and fortified it to serve as a stronghold for his ally Musa ibn Abi 'l Afia.[7] A century and a half later, however, the original Beni Urtedi seem to have come back into control of their own city, for at that time they invited Mohammed ibn Idris, a member of the Idrisite family, to come over from Spain and be their ruler, which he did.[8] After many serious battles the Spaniards finally captured Melilla in 1497, and have kept it ever since.[9]

[1] El Bekri, p. 151.
[2] Chap. 62.
[3] See below, p. 23.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 178–179; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, vol. II, p. 311.
[5] Moskin, p. 110; Marmol, chap. 92.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 178.
[7] Moskin, p. 111.
[8] El Bekri, p. 258.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 Two smaller cities near Melilla, Cacaca [1] and Tezota,[2] were dependent upon her, and seem to correspond more or less in position to the modern Selwan and Nador, although Tezota, having been built upon rock and having served as a natural fortress, can hardly be the same as Nador, which is built on flat ground. To both these cities as well as to Melilla came Venetian galleys, thus exposing this region to an additional source of trade influence.[3]

Tezota was destroyed by the second Merinid king of Fez, Yusuf ben Yakub, and was not rebuilt until the capture of Melilla by the Spaniards. It then became the refuge of Moors exiled from Granada.[3]

There were other cities in the region, but they seem to have been relatively unimportant and to have had little opportunity of influencing the local population, either in blood or in culture. The region around Melilla was submitted to the kingdom of Fez at the time when these events took place,[3] and so could hardly have escaped Arab influence in culture and perhaps in race.

Nekor, as we have seen, was the greatest centre in the Rif of the higher and earlier Arabic culture; Bades, although not necessarily of Arab foundation or inspiration, possessed an opportunity of bringing in outside factors, as, in a minor degree, did other smaller ports along the coast; Melilla, and to lesser extent Cacaca and Tezota, may have been instrumental in introducing both Zenatan and Arab influences (though not necessarily the same sort of Arab influence as at Nekor) to the eastern region.

ARRIVAL OF THE BEDAWIN

There were two other great events, besides the establishment of Nekor and the activities of Bades and Melilla, which brought external cultures and peoples into contact with the Rif. These were the second Arab invasion of the Moghreb and the northward push of the Zenata under the Beni Merin.

This second wave of Arabs entered Morocco in the eleventh century.[3] It numbered, according to the historians, between 150,000 and 200,000 persons,[4] including women and children,[5] whom, unlike the earlier invaders, they had not neglected to bring with them. The families included in this great migration were Beni Hashem, Beni Ma'awia ben Bakr, Beni Hillal ben Amr ben Ṣaṣa, and Beni Soleim ben Mansur.[6] These various groups are generally united, for the sake of simplicity if not of accuracy, under the name of Beni Hillal. The invaders were nomadic Bedawin,[7] profoundly different from the aristocratic adventurers who three centuries before had conquered the country under the leadership of Okba. They were not there to propagate religion or to erect universities; their task was to find new pasturage for their flocks and new camping grounds; in short, they were immigrants numerous enough and primitive enough seriously to compete with the plains-dwelling Berbers for their land. Being Bedawin, they were ill-adapted to dislodging or even greatly influencing the Berbers of the mountains, who led by necessity a type of existence utterly opposed to

[1] Marmol, chap. 92.
[2] *Ibid.*, chap. 93.
[3] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, Introduction, pp. xxix, 28–51.
[4] Meakin, p. 32 (from Mercier, *Etablissement des Arabes*, p. 143).
[5] Gautier, p. 367 (from Ibn Khaldun, vol. III, p. 433).
[6] Meakin, p. 32 (from en Nasiri, vol. II, p. 77).
[7] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, pp. 28–29; Gautier, pp. 385–389.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 their own. The only logical place in the present Rif, northern Senhaja, and Ghomara which might have interested them was the plain of the Garet, and the lands immediately adjacent to it. This territory was easily reached, since travelers had but to follow downstream from the headwaters of the Muluya, a region to this day occupied by the Beni Hillal.[1] Bodies of them pressed along the eastern bank of the Muluya, while some of those who crossed this stream were powerful enough to remain, although mixed with Riffian blood. These were the Ulad Stut, "the children of the ogress," whose territory now lies between the tribes of Galiya, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Kebdana. The Ababda, today a family of nomads ranging in the northern Metalsa and counted as Metalsa but speaking only Arabic, may be another relic of a sporadic Hillali invasion.

These Hillali Arabs, although doubtless as worthy as their more acclaimed predecessors, were distinctly less cultured. Where they came into contact with the Berbers their influence could be none other than to destroy or weaken not only cultural factors of Berber origin but also Islamic rites and manners requiring a relatively high religious knowledge and degree of koranic literacy, both of which the Riffians had to a certain extent acquired from the dynasty of Saleh ibn Mansur and from other early Arab contacts.

The question of the invasions and influences of the Zenata is a much more difficult one than that of the Hillali Arabs, whose entrance can be definitely dated.

THE ZENATAN INVASION

The Zenata, one of the great Berber families, according to the genealogists,[2] were native to the northern borders of the Sahara, between Zab and Tafilelt.[3] This territory seems to have been their early habitat and is occupied by members of their group today. They likewise extended, however, northward along the arm of the Sahara, which reaches up past Figuig and Tafilelt along the Muluya bed, reaching the sea in the arid expanse of the Garet.[4]

How early the Zenata, nomads by instinct, wandered up the Muluya into the territory now called the Rif is difficult to determine. Before the invasion of the Beni Merin — the classic and official entry of the Zenata — various tribes and families of them must have been working their way northward for a long while. El Bekri establishes the presence of Zenata two days' march north of Tafilelt.[5] Zenatan groups called the Zenata of Taberida[6] ranged on the outskirts of the territory of Nekor, and the Beni Yala (reigning in Tlemcen from 1002 to 1080) whose armies raided the Riffian kingdom, were of Zenatan origin.[7] Furthermore, the Beni Znassen, a Zenatan tribe now living between the Muluya and Ujda, were noticed in that territory in the thirteenth century.[8]

Whatever the contacts between the Riffians and the Zenata may previously have been, opportunity for their increase arose when the Beni Merin, the leading family of the Zenata, crossed the Atlas and attacked the Muwahaddi empire, centred in Fez.[9] The Beni Merin entered the Rif, presumably through the Garet and across Beni Tuzin, and defeated

[1] Arabs, presumably dating from this period, now occupy the land immediately south of the Gsennaya, in the neighborhood of Msun.

[2] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, p. 175.

[3] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, p. 195.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[5] Ibn Khaldun, vol. I, p. 121.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. I, Introduction, p. xxxiii, also vol. II, p. 288.

[7] Meakin, p. 89 (from Raod el Kartas, p. 400).

[8] El Bekri, p. 281.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

175 the Muwahaddi army in 1216 in a great battle on the banks of the Nekor,[1] a contest the reputation of which remains in oral tradition to this day.

Abd el Hakk, the Merinid ruler, married a woman of the Ulad Mahalla of Tafersit, according to Ibn Khaldun,[2] or of the Beni Tuzin, according to Marmol.[3] This Riffian woman became the mother of Yakub ibn Abd el Hakk, the third Merinid ruler of Fez, who, through his relationship with them, released the Beni Tuzin from all necessity of paying taxes or tribute of any kind.[3] In 1666, four centuries later, the evidence of Frejus indicates,[4] this privilege was withdrawn.

According to Marmol the Beni Tuzin are of Zenatan origin,[5] as are the Metalsa, whom one can recognize under his name of *Batalisa*,[6] especially as the *b* is retained to this day in the name which the Gzennaya call them, *Ibdarsen*. Marmol states definitely that the *Batalisa* were relatives of the Beni Merin and were sent into the territory of the Garet by them.[6]

The names Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit do not occur until after the invasion of the Beni Merin. The Beni Said are mentioned by Marmol,[6] who distinctly states that they were of the house of Ghomara. Although Marmol mistook a traditional alliance for a blood relationship, his statement indicates that elements in these two tribes were old enough to have participated in the war of the Senhaja and Ghomara, or at least old enough to have been assigned a part in this conflict by the *horror vacui* of tradition. The name *Beni Tuzin*, in its Berber original, *Asht Uzin*, means "the children of the half," thus perhaps implying a mixed origin.[7]

The path of the inroads of the Beni Merin may be clearly traced in the list of tribal ancestors given in the preceding chapter. Although we can thus date a definite Zenatan invasion of the Rif, we must not deduce from it that Zenatan influences had not been at work in the region earlier. El Bekri's mention of Zenata to the south of the Garet indicates that the Zenata were in his time neighbors, if not invaders. The Beni Merin may be said to have organised and intensified the Zenatan influence on the Rif, but not to have commenced it.

With the coming of the Zenata, the fifth and last of the great invasions of or diffusions into the Rif in history and in clear tradition took place. These five were the traditional invasions of the Ghomara and of the Senhaja, the first Arab invasion and the establishment of the kingdom of Nekor, the invasion of the Beni Hillal into Morocco, and the invasion of the Zenata. The three Berber and two Arab contacts described have had more recognizable influence upon the present racial and cultural composition of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara than have the hypothetical influences of classical civilizations and of the Vandals. After the fall of the Merinid empire the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara assumed their modern character, becoming increasingly jealous of outside interference and less and less known.

[1] Meakin, p. 90 (from Raod el Kartas, p. 406, and En Nasiri, vol. II, p. 4).
[2] Vol. II, p. 123. [3] Chap. 98. [4] Pages 37–38.
[5] Chap. 92. [6] Chap. 96.
[7] Ghirelli, following Schefer, the editor of Leo Africanus, claims that *Tuzin* is derived from *Tudyin*, or, following our own principles of transliteration, *Tujin*, the name of an important sub-group of the Zenatan stock. The only apparent basis for this is the similarity of the names, and the fact that Zenata invaded that region immediately before the name *Tuzin* first appeared. Schefer takes it for granted that in calling them *Tuzin* Moulieras was making a mistake, or was perpetuating the so-called mistake of Leo Africanus. Schefer's error is pardonable in view of the ignorance of Riffian geography in the time in which he wrote. See Ghirelli, *La Kabila de Beni Tuzin*, pp. 51–52; Leo Africanus, vol. II, p. 322, n. 1; Auguste Moulieras, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, vol. I, p. 113.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926), 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

them of being brutal and filthy in their habits, and call them *izakārn* (Iglíwa) or *izākdrĕn* (Tazĕrwalt[1]), meaning "ropes"; the Aiṭ Sádděn call them *iḥššóḍĕn*, or "logs", and other Brâber give them a similar epithet. Nor are the Jbâla fond of the 'Arab. In Andjra I was told that they have no religion, neglect the fast of Ramaḍān, and have illicit

FIG. 3.—College student in Fez.

intercourse with their sisters; and at the weddings there the married men, who in every conceivable way molest the bridegroom and his bachelor friends, are characteristically enough called "the 'Arab". I was assured that the Rifians are a much better race.

It should be noticed, however, that the term 'Arab is only an indication of language, not of race. There can be no doubt that the large majority of Arabic-speaking tribes in

[1] Stumme, *op. cit.* p. 190.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

175
[191]

Morocco are purely or essentially Berber by origin. The number of Arab immigrants from the East can only have been comparatively small. Those who came there as conquerors at the end of the seventh and at the beginning of the eighth century were only a handful of people. The chief invasion took place in the eleventh century, when several Bedouin tribes settled down in Barbary. Ibn ar-Raqīq estimated the number of these invaders at more than a million persons of both sexes and the number of combatants at fifty thousand;[1] but it seems that his estimates are considerably exaggerated.[2] In any case the invaders were spread over a large area, from Tripoli to the Atlantic Ocean, and we may presume that only a minority of them reached Morocco.[3] An anthropological investigation of over eight thousand natives of Eastern Barbary has led Messrs. Bertholon and Chantre to the conclusion that the number of Arab immigrants has always been insufficient to impress their type on the mass of the people, and that "the so-called Arab tribes of North Africa present the same somatic characteristics as other tribes which are incontestably Berbers".[4] It seems that among the tribes of Morocco north of the Great Atlas range a fair quantity of Arab blood may be found chiefly in those living between Alcazar and Laraiche and between the rivers Bū Ragrág and Ůmm r-Rbē' and a little farther south, whereas the other Arabic-speaking tribes mostly consist of Arabised Berbers who have changed their language.[5] I desire to emphasise that in speaking of "Arabs" in Morocco I simply make use of a term by which the people themselves denote the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the plains, while by "Berbers" I mean Berber-speaking people.

[1] Ibn ar-Raqīq, quoted by Marmol Caravajal, *L'Afrique*, i. (Paris, 1677), p. 275; and by Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, trans. by J. Pory (London, 1896), p. 139.

[2] G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIe au XIVe siècle* (Constantine & Paris, 1913), pp. 113, 733.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 515 *sq.*

[4] Bertholon and Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale* (Lyon, 1913), pp. 347, 358.

[5] See Marçais, *op. cit.* map.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3)

631 the *liff* mechanism was an absolute necessity, for if it did not exist they would have been swallowed up long ago.

619 The entrance of the Pretender Bū Ḥimāra into the Rīf in 1908
175 and the short war with Spain in 1909 brought about a disruption of
178 some of the traditional alliances and the constitution of new ones. This had a particularly important effect upon Aith Wuryāghil because, for the first time, the tribe became truly united. Reinforced by contingents from Aith 'Ammarth, the warriors of Aith Wuryāghil banded together to resist the Rūghī and his *ḥarka* of Rifians from the east. They defeated him at the Battle of Imzūren and managed very effectively to check his progress in the Central Rīf.

619 We can thus see that tribal unity, dormant under normal conditions, is manifested when outside forces threaten to upset group equilibrium. The strongest allegiances are family and *thārfiqth* ties, but, in opposition to neighboring tribes, tribal allegiance is undivided. This has its reflection in tribal nomenclature: a man from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh is called Bū 'Ayyāshī only in the tribal territory of Aith Wuryāghīl. Outside it he is called Wuryāghlī, and if he is outside the Rīf entirely he is usually just referred to as ar-Rīfī. This is how the Riffian really defines his tribe, by inferred comparison to and in opposition to other tribes. Writing about another tribal society, the Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard has defined a tribe as having: 1) a common and distinct name; 2) a common sentiment; 3) a common and distinct territory; 4) a moral obligation to unite in war, and 5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. It is precisely upon these criteria that the Aith Wuryāghil base their own concept of their tribe, as do all the other tribal groups as well. When menaced by Bū Ḥimāra, the Aith Wuryāghil were welded together by their common «we-feeling», and stopped him.

631 The ultimate result of Bū Ḥimāra's campaign in the Rīf was the
175 rise to personal power of a number of petty *imghāren* who became
178 absolute masters in their own bailiwicks. Such men were the Ḥājj Buqqaish in northern Giznāya, Muḥammad 'Abdallāh of Aith ar-Ḥāsain in Aith 'Ammarth, and, in Aith Wuryāghil itself, Muḥand Ḥaddū of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, Sī Ziyān of Ajdīr (Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī), Ḥājj Ḥaddū of Aith 'Alī, Sīdī 'Amar of Imrābdhen, Muḥand n Sī 'Amar of Aith

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Ḥadīfa, and 'Amar n Ṭāhir of Aịth 'Abdallāh.[2] This situation, with its concomitant *liff* alliances and wars between «fifths», prevailed until 1920, when Muḥammad n 'Abd al-Karīm made his first appearance upon the Riffian scene. The story of 'Abd al-Karīm, whose relatively obscure beginnings (his father was a *qāḍī* of Ajdīr and not the *qā'id* of Aith Wuryāghil, as is generally supposed) and sudden ascendancy first over his own tribe and then over the whole Rif, the «Sultan» of which he then became, is too well known to students of Moroccan history to need recounting here. It is highly significant, however, in accounting, at least in part, for the Arabized type of governmental organization which exists among the tribes of the Rīf at the present day.

After 'Abd al-Karīm took the reins of the jihād against Spain, it was necessary for him to start to consolidate his authority by installing individuals whom he could trust at all points, from the highest to the lowest, from «fifth» to village, in the political structure of his own and of the other nuclear Riffian tribes. The inner circle of men who made up his cabinet was composed almost entirely of his relatives and friends from Ajdīr, which became his capital: his brother Muḥammad was his khalīfa and the Commander of the Regular Riffian Army; his paternal uncle 'Abd as-Salām was the Minister of Finance; his brother-in-law Muḥ Azarqan was the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Aḥmad Būdra, now the *qā'id* of the caidato of Nakūr, was the Minister of War. This move brought about considerable objection on the part of *imghāren* of some of the nearby tribes, who, by and large, considered 'Abd al-Karīm to be a parvenu. He had, in fact, for some time previously been working for the Spanish Government in Melilla.

The separatist and explosive temperament of the central Riffians themselves had long fostered the maintenance of a decentralized type of government in which impetuous and trigger-happy council members were responsible as much for starting blood feuds as for stopping them. Feuding and the mechanism which served to maintain it, the inbred rivalry engendered by the *liff* alliance system, had to be silenced if the Riffians were to put up a united front against Spain. Tribal wars could only be abolished if the structure of political authority in the tribes themselves became more centralized. The traditional Berber political organization does not easily lend itself to administration from above, whereas the Arab type does. 'Abd al-Karīm forced the

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

newer system on all the tribes in his domain if they did not have it already. Although the *imghāren* loomed large in the early battles of Ighrīben and Anwāl in 1921, their status had become reduced to that of *quyād al-miya* or *quyād al-miyatain* (*qā'ids* of 100 or 200 men) by the time the *Jumhūrīya Rīfīya* or Riffian State was officially created in 1924. Almost all the men in key position in the new government were from Aith Wuryāghīl but *quyād*, *shiyūkh* and *muqaddamīn* took the place of the old *imghāren*; some of the latter fell in with the new regime and became prominent military commanders, while others, like those of the Ghumāra, jealous of 'Abd al-Karīm's success, staged a revolt against him in 1924 and were quietly poisoned or taken off to die in the jails of Ajdīr and Thamāsīnd. By the time 'Abd al-Karīm had conquered the Jibāla and captured his rival Raisūlī in 1925, he was master of all northern Morocco.

The natural supplement to this Arabization of the old Riffian political system was the substitution of the Sharī'a for the earlier customary law. Before 1920, custom, or *'urf*, had been king. If a case had arisen which had previously been unprovided for in Riffian law, the *imghāren* met to discuss it. When they agreed upon a solution, which was usually expressed in terms of payment of such and such a fine, the local *sharīf* or any man whose piety and good sense was known and respected by all was called in to give his testimony and sanction to the law in question, if it did not run counter to the Sharī'a. After the law was passed it was registered by the *ṭulbā* or students in the Friday mosque, and proclaimed in the market by the *barrāḥ* (18). These were the only steps necessary to integrate that law into the corpus of tribal custom. It was, in all but the most serious offenses, as we have seen, the «fifth» or the *farīqath* or even the village rather than tribe collectively which made the law and carried it out.

As has been implied above, 'Abd al-Karīm greatly weakened the power of the *imghāren* by centralizing the political authority in himself as head of a new Muslim state. This state was set up to conform to an orthodox Islamic pattern, and therefore the old customary law had to go. It went, and the result was that the Sharī'a was administered according to the Mālikī rite by a *qāḍī* in each «fifth» of the tribe. The weekly markets, in addition to their earlier functions as

(18) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 20.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

commercial and governmental centers, became legal temples as well, when separate tribunals were also set up for the *qāḍīs*, their *khalīfas* and their *'adūl*. In the old days there had been *qāḍīs* too, but they operated on a far more informal basis; they held court in their own houses, and, in actual practice, they acted more as arbiters of Berber custom than as administrators of Islamic Law, while, as Blanco remarks (19), the *'adūl* limited themselves to registering acts passed by the customary tribunal. The *imghāren* were the people who counted, and, until 'Abd al-Karīm's time *qā'ids*, *qāḍīs*, *muqaddams* and other functionaries with Arab titles were largely negative concepts in Aith Wuryāghil and in the other tribes of the Central Rīf. Today, of course, the situation has been reversed; there are no more *imghāren*, while customary law operates on the village level alone, and plays second fiddle to the Sharī'a even there.

A political reorientation toward an Arab governmental prototype thus became a mechanism for the preservation of Riffian freedom. But 'Abd al-Karīm's carefully constructed Jumhūrīya Rīfīya was short-lived; it collapsed like a house of cards in 1926, two years after its foundation, when the tribal fastness of Aith Wuryāghil was itself invaded from the north by Spain and from the south by France, at which time the Wuryāghlī commanders in the Jībāla and on the Wargha River rushed back to defend their own homes. Nevertheless, in the framework of 'Abd al-Karīm's Riffian State the Spaniards found a ready-made administrative set-up which has continued, with only minor alterations, to the present day. When the Riffian leader first came to power, he installed *qā'ids* in the *rubū'* of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and in the «fifths» of Imrābdhen, Ait Ḥadīfa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh. Later on, when the French Army began to push up into the Central Rīf from the south, he added two more caidatos, Turīrth-Thimārzgha and Aith 'Arūs, to tighten up his control over the unruly mountaineers in the southeast part of the tribe. After the war the Spanish administration maintained this chain of command, setting up tribal «intervención» posts in Ajdīr, Thamāsīnd, Aith Ḥadīfa (Sūq ath-Thnain), Aith 'Amar u Sa'īd (Aith Ḥadīfa), Turīrth (Sūq al-Arba'), and Imnūdh (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh). In 1934, however, they subdivided the tribe into the three aforementioned

(19) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 26.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables, fruits, eggs, butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (babuches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

INTRODUCTION 1:

EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA AND THE SPANISH PROTECTORATE OF MOROCCO

114 Emilio Blanco Izaga (1892-1949), whose work, both unpublished and published, on the social structures and political systems of the Berber-speaking tribes in the Rif Mountains of Northern Morocco we have tried, in the pages that follow, to render into reasonably acceptable English prose, was a colonel in the Spanish Army who, before his untimely death, had nearly twenty years' administrative experience amongst the people whereof he wrote.

A preliminary assessment, by the present author, of Emilio Blanco and of his published work, has already appeared elsewhere[1]; but although much of the material presented in it need not be restated here, in the light of further and later knowledge on my own part, some recapitulation, especially that dealing with Blanco's biography, is certainly necessary.

101 175 Blanco had much of extreme interest to say about the social structure and indeed about the everyday life of the Rifian tribesmen of what was then the Spanish, and now the North, Zone of Morocco, and especially about these same features, with particular attention to sociopolitical institutions, among the Aith Waryaghar: the key tribe, and the largest one, of the Central Rif, the tribe which always "commanded" in the region, the tribe which smashed the Pretender Bu Hmara

[113] 1--David Montgomery Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquies, VI, 2, Tetuan 1958, pp. 171-237.

in 1908, the tribe which, in 'Abd al-Krim, produced both a reformer of Customary Law and a military near-genius who from 1921 to 1926 held both Spain and France at bay, the tribe which I myself studied in detail in the field, as an anthropologist, intermittently, from 1953 to 1955 and again from 1959, intermittently, to 1966; and the tribe which in 1958 to 1959 provided, through a traditional revolt championing modern objectives, the Royal Army of Independent Morocco with its first serious test of streng

I assume that a good many anthropologists, in the course of their fieldwork, and in that of checking local libraries and archival materials about the tribal groups or societies that they have studied, have chanced across reports on these same tribes by previous colonial administrators of them which have been really meritorious in quality. If such is the case, many anthropologists may logically be supposed to have their "favorite" tribal administrators, district commissioners, or whatever. In my own case, Emilio Blanco Izaga, exasperating as certain facets of his writings are, is certainly the man.

This introduction to Blanco's work is divided into three sections: I) Biographical Data, II) The Spanish Protectorate Administration of Morocco And Blanco's Place In It, and III) A General Critique of Blanco's output as presented in this volume. This presentation is selective, not all-inclusive, because although much of Blanco's material dealt with Rifian sociopolitical institutions, not all of it did so, by any means. Hence, regarding my own initial acquaintance with Blanco's work, I can do not better to quote from my original article.[2]

2--Op. cit., p. 173.

114 substance of each ganum. It is the concise, meticulous and exact nature of these comments which betray Blanco's mastery of the intricacies of Rifian Customary Law. And a second, undated report on Noticia sobre la Yemáa Rifeña (Notes on the Rifian jma'th, the local community), which stems from the same period, and which I discovered in the African Section of the National Library in Madrid, adds further touches of value to Las Yemáas Tradicionales de los Ait Uariaguel and to La Ley Rifeña: for indeed the published book and these various unpublished papers form an organic whole.

In 1940, Blanco wrote another long memorandum (again in the African Section of the Madrid National Library) on the tribe of the Igzinnayen, a nuclear Rifian tribe (bordering the Aith Waryaghar and the Aith 'Ammarth on the south), but at the time under French administrative control across the zonal border. By virtue of the original treaty of the protectorate, Spain should have had control of this tribe rather than France, Blanco cogently argues (in the colonialistic idiom of the time), because its mountains, higher than those of the Aith Waryaghar and the Aith 'Ammarth, dominate both of them militarily. [175] What had happened was that France had moved up from the south to occupy the Igzinnayen in 1926, effectively, as a result of the war against 'Abd al-Krim and the pincer movement waged against him by both the European powers concerned; and that this fact was resented by Spain emerges clearly in Blanco's report. However, this same report, entitled La Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia, although not the result of on-the-spot investigation, is based both on unpublished French documents and on

holders in the new protectorate administrations were given different titles in each zone, one is nonetheless tempted to imagine that their "job descriptions" must have resembled each other closely.

There was, however, one very important difference: the French administration was only partially military in character, while the Spanish one (except during the civilian years of the Spanish Republic, 1931-1936) was, to all intents and purposes, totally so. Indeed, one of the major roles of Spanish Morocco, one which was always assumed but seldom explicitly mentioned, was that of acting as a training ground for the Spanish Army. Hence the history of the protectorate and its up-and-down support and opposition in the Iberian Peninsula, which is not our concern here, is more closely linked to that of Spain itself than that of French Morocco is to metropolitan France.

Only the initial blueprints for the administration of the Spanish Zone were laid down in 1912-1913, however, because the pacification of the protectorate had to be taken care of before any ground rules could be made to apply in a positive manner. In grossly simplified terms, this involved first the subjugation (on a back-and-forth basis) of the notorious holy man-cum-bandit Raisuni and his cohorts in the Jbala region in 1913-1920; then the far more serious task of putting down (with French help) 'Abd al-Krim and the Rifians in 1921-1926; and finally, the mopping-up of the last pockets of resistance in the Sinhaja Srir and Ghmara areas, in the center of the zone, and between the Jbala and the Rif, in 1926-1927. Hence full-scale implementation of the new administrative structure could not begin until total tribal disarmament had been completed, in July 1927.

[648]
[175]

175 161 114 (Sanchez Perez mentions the population density of the Aith Waryaghar, in the mid-1940s, as being 65 individuals per sq. km., a figure which would be outrageously high for much of the Atlas Mountains today, but which by the time of the 1960 census had in Waryagharland - or at least in the Plain of al-Husaima - doubled, virtually, to 120...[16])

000 Such facts indeed reflect the density of the local tribal population in the North Zone, but they also reflect the density of the local administration - and nothing has been said about urban administration, at that. The total population of the North Zone, in the 1950s, was just under a million; and even so, the thickness at ground level of administrative personnel would argue for a very direct form of administration. In actual fact, this was not quite so.

Each of the five territories of the zone had its Interventor Territorial, usually a lieutenant-colonel who reported directly to the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas in Tetuan. Below him, in the administrative hierarchy, were several Interventores Comarcales, usually majors, and then Interventores de Primera Clase, usually captains, who were often seconded by lieutenant Interventores de Segunda who were the neophytes of the service, young men sent out to learn.

The real point about the intervencion system in the tribal areas, however, is that the Spanish interventor de primera, usually a captain, and the qaid or chief of the tribe which he administered were opposite numbers, each in his own separate hierarchy. For the interventor de

---

[113] 16--Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Históricos sobre Ciudades Rifeños", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados Durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-1952, Tetuan: Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos, 1952, pp. 29-47 (my ref. to p. 31).

000 primera was low man, generally, on an administrative totem pole which went back through the interventor comarcal, then through the interventor regional, and finally back to the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas in Tetuan - and, ultimately, up to the High Commissioner. [631] Yet this same interventor was on a par with the tribal qaid, usually a man nearly twice his own age, who himself happened to be at the top of his own particular pyramid, consisting (administratively) of village or community mqaddim, clan or "fractional" shaikh, and, finally, qaid of the tribe, the ceiling administrative unit (except in the case of the Aith Waryaghar, who, until Emilio Blanco appeared, were rather too large for effective administration along normal lines...). But the break in the system occurred just at the qaid-interventor point, at the point, precisely, of foreign administrator and local strongman - and in theory, the latter could only pipeline messages back to the capital through the former - though in fact, if he were wise and should the situation require it, he generally had other methods of communication as well. (And since Independence, although the qaid is often a non-local civil servant, and although his local shaikhs and mqaddmin, of clans and villages respectively, depend, as he himself does, on the Ministry of Interior, their own particular abilities at "break-through" even to the local provincial authorities depend on the number of friends they have "at court", and on the local patronage-clientage network. Rifians, at least, state categorically that in Spanish times the qaid, whatever his shortcomings, was one of themselves, and, in retrospect, that the Spanish Intervención usually tended to choose the right man for the job.)

631
175

619 Thirmamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyuririn.
614 Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.
621

d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyan, Tibza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waunkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

175 8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara. It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal (628) (616) struggles between lfuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

175 554 When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

175 554 unwillingly brought the rest of the tribe into Bu Hmara's camp.

Bu Hmara, leaving the tribal organization as he found it, limited himself to transforming the existing shiyukh into qa'ids. The names of some of these men have been preserved: Muhammad wuld 'Allal, Midbuh, Muhush Kahwi, Buhut r-'Asimi and 'Allal n Dahu. Divide in order to rule; such was Bu Hmara's idea, severe and brutal. Under his command the Igzinnayen came to swell up his contingents to fight in Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman; and they were finally put in check in front of Silwan.

After Bu Hmara was taken prisoner, brought to Fez and executed by Sultan Mulay Hafidh, in 1327 A.H. (1909 A.D.), he continued to weigh on the tribe, which did not want him....Then anarchy returned.[172] We now see the appearance of Sidi Hmid Midbuh, son and grandson of the Qa'id Midbuh, and also a qa'id himself, in the Jibarna. Faithful to the Rogi Bu Hmara, he defended himself against the Hajj Hammada, who, far from enjoying the favors of Bu Hmara, had been executive after what happened at Silwan. The two families, already divided, came to show an increase in the number of their partisans.

Evil instincts now had free rein. The agreeable life of pillage, theft and murder began anew, with its concomitant of the exclusive satisfaction of the strong. 'Abd al'Malik found the tribe in this situation in 1333 (1915). He got the best group on his side, 175 648 554 because of the fact that aside from the facilities of command which he was given, he received important subsidies from Germany; and he did not hesitate for a moment to utilize the ancient quarrels in order to make his authority more secure. At this point, French forces had begun to penetrate the Sharifian Empire.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3 Igzinnayen

175
648
554

The French advance in eastern Morocco hardly attracted the attention of the Igzinnayen in the beginning. The infidel was still far away, and, as for the rest, "God would provide." On their arrival at Minada, the events embroidered upon by market story-tellers increased their curiosity. One of their notables, the Hajj Hammada, presented himself to the French authorities. On their arrival at Msun, the Qa'id Midbuh, the Hajj Hammada, his nephew Muhand u Haddu, and all the rest of the notables of the southern Igzinnayen all went to look for them. Nevertheless, the French advance was a direct threat, and the Igzinnayen began to turn up as members of the harkas which fought against them. Importance was attributed to the numbers of these harkas, insofar as they came near the French, even without a definite order of battle.

At this point, 'Abd al-Malik, coming from Tetuan, entered the scene; thrown out by the Ghiyata, he succeeded in enlisting the cause of the Igzinnayen, especially those of Asht Yunis through his good relations with Si Hmid Ubarshan[173] and with Shaikh Hmid n 'Amar. He was spoken of throughout the mountains thanks to his open-handed palm-greasing, and thanks also to his tireless activity. He convoked the Igzinnayen in successive igrawn, the first at the Monday Market of Azru[174] and the second, a little later, along the banks of the Msun River, about 2 km. from the present gates of Kifan. The Qa'id Midbuh was frightened at this move, and after hiding by night with some fifteen of his agnates, he gained the French lines, while the Hajj Hammada, definitely conquered, received large compensations.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

175
648
554

'Abd al-Malik, aided by his German collaborator Hermann, sought friendships through money, and spread his propaganda among the Dharwa Haddu through the Hajj Hammada and his son 'Abdssram. Dedicated to their desires, they swelled up the harkas and suffered heavy losses; but the Igzinnayen did not hesitate to abandon and betray 'Abd al-Malik on the day that fortune went against him. His favorite, the Hajj Biqqish, who had sung his praises louder than anyone else, was the very first to rob him when he came to seek refuge amonst the Asht 'Asim.

The Hajj Muhand Biqqish, a notable of Thiddas in Ikhuwanen of Asht 'Asim, takes up all the internal history of Igzinnayen before the French occupation and the domination of 'Abd al-Krim. Having risen to the top through his indisputable merits as a warchief, he extended his power over all of Igzinnayen and a part of the Aith Waryaghar[175]. In 1913 and 1914, we find him in the Jbil Shaushau (?) of Bu Nakris (?) at the head of a harka which fought the French in Msun, in Taza, and in bil-Qasim in the country of the Miknasa. In 1915 he put himself at the disposition of the Hajj Mamun ash-Shangiti.

An excellent administrator, and having on the other hand a constant care about his own person and a great deal of knowledge of tribal politics, the exercise of justice was a considerable source of income to him thanks to certain rights toward discounts which he claimed and pocketed, and other ways of assuaging his conscience; and he thus increased his resources very considerably. He got rich and acquired lands and fields. He inherited the family house from his father in Tighza (Ikhuwanen), and another in Thiddas, as well as land formerly belonging to the subclan of Thimarzga of Aith Waryaghar,

175 on the mountain of Afuzar. In the latter place he built a large house
648 with a huge wall around it, according to the locals; this house is
554 known as Dhaddarth n Biqqish[176]. With 'Amar Hamidu, the qa'id of
Marnisa, he helped 'Abd al-Malik against the French. When the French
648 routed 'Abd al-Malik at Kifan on 13 Safar 1336 A.H. (November 28, 1917),
554 the latter took refuge in Biqqish's house. 'Amar Hamidu became hostile to Biqqish over the possession of the Wednesday Market at Buridh, but when 'Abd al-Malik appeared at Sidi 'Ari n Dawud[177], they patched up their differences in order to help him, until the day that he took refuge in Thafarsith. This friendship between the two chiefs of Marnisa and Igzinnayen lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim. In 1921, Biqqish, advised by 'Amar Hamidu, refused to join the Rifians of 'Abd al-Krim in their struggle against Spain. In 1922, 'Abd al-Krim attacked him and, abandoned by more and more of his followers, Biqqish, vacillating, had almost decided to place himself under Spanish protection; but afterward he reconsidered and submitted to 'Abd al-Krim. His son Si Hmid then was given a qa'idship.

By 1924 the importance of the younger Biqqish, Si Hmid, had notably decreased. Finally, in 1925, at the time of the all-out attack on the French front, the elder Biqqish and his son were detained by 'Abd al-Krim for questioning. After three months, in order to ascertain the feelings of the taciturn and mysterious Biqqish, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to the region of Branis to inspect the front and to keep inciting the war against the Christians.

Sick and irreductible, the old man set himself up in the Friday Market of Branis and did nothing. He was denounced and brought

671 in or interfere with our qanuns" (which I have already published) "be-
177 cause this had been so agreed previously. At that time, during the
124 'Ripublik', it only had jurisdiction over matters pertaining to land, marriage and divorce. In the clan of Sidi Yusif (i.e. Imrabdhen), there was always a qadi; but he only had to do with matters relating to property, marriages, divorces and other related items."

671 In my opinion, the survival of custom is clear, and it con-
177 tinues to be so today; and not through any lack of knowledge of Muslim law, either. What I do wonder is whether the Shari'a in the Rif is becoming Berberized, or whether custom is becoming Arabized, which is not the same thing.[3]

C) The Survival of Custom: An Explanation:

The Rifians were not and are not in the least unaware of the existence of the Shari'a, but there are reasons why they have in so many ways become estranged from it and have applied customary or common law, transmitted by tradition and revealed in not a few cases by written documents, through which they have tried many times to establish and to codify it.

A major factor here was the material impossibility, in which the Rifians found themselves, of applying Koranic precepts, owing to the constant state of revolt of the area, even though (author's italics) these were reconcilable with custom...Also, we can by no means assume that throughout the recorded history of the Rif there were no men qualified to interpret the Shari'a, particularly in cities such as Badis and Nakur.[4]

[175]

671 To what, then, can we attribute the persistence of custom, to

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--With varying degrees of success, most so in the Middle and Central Atlas, and least so in the Sus and Anti-Atlas. The inclusion of the Algerian Kabyles and Shawdya of the Auras in this connection invites other problems.

[114] 2--Blanco is mistaken here, for the Arabization of the Rif was the work not of Spain but of 'Abd al-Krim; and in view of this paramount fact, his plea for a return to a hypothetical state of "pure customary law", however eloquently expressed it may be, seems passe and academic.

3--Hardly. In any case, this is a more difficult and delicate problem than meets the eye, although even on an a priori basis it seems reasonably safe to assume that the Arabization of custom is the commoner of the two phenomena. However, for a documented example of Berberization of the Shari'a, see S. Biarnay, "Un Cas de Regression vers la Coutume Berbère chez une Tribu Arabe: Wadras", Archives Berbères, vol. I, no. 4, 1916, pp. 219-229. Wadras is an Arabic-speaking tribe, but one of indisputably Berber origin, in the Northwestern Jbala, between Tangier and Tetuan.

[113]

691 4--Most of the existing accounts of the political history of these cities, insofar as it is known, are based on Ibn Khaldun, Histoire des Berbères, translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris 1925-56. See E. Michaux-Bellaire, Le Rif, Paris 1925; Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 22-36; Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos Sobre Ciudades Rifeñas", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el curso de Interventores, 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47, and, for a synopsis account of Nakur only, Angelo Ghirelli, Pueblos Arabes y Pueblos Arabizados, vol. II--Pueblos Arabizados, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, pp. 142-45. These last accounts have little to add to Ibn Khaldun, although Sánchez Pérez was correctly able to locate the now entirely buried ruins of the city of Nakur within the village limits of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya within the clan territory of Aith Bu 'Ayyash in the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, on the west bank of the Nakur River some 25 km. from Alhucemas. This is confirmed by a subsequent report of Ahmed el Mekinasi, in Tamuda, Año VII, Semestre II, 1959, pp. 156-8.

199
195
113
195
[113]

The city of Nakur, in fact, has the distinction of housing the first Muslim dynasty (even though on a local level only) in Morocco, as it was founded in 726 A.D. by an Arab from the Yemen, Salih ibn Mansur al-Himyari. Despite being sacked on two separate occasions (once by Norman pirates in 859-60, and again in 929-30 by Musa ibn Abi l-'Afya), Salih's descendants continued to hold, govern and rebuild the city aided and abetted by the Umayyads in Spain, until a complete sacking by the Almoravid sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfint in 1084 ended its career forever. Between this point and the end of the 19th century, the history of the Rif is an almost complete blank, and the chances of any documentary material in Arabic turning up to bridge the gap in any way are remote.

[131] Two points of general interest, however, emerge from ibn Khaldun's material (which dates from the 14th century and is in turn largely

taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably L. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hesperis, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is harim; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.

brake or check upon the expanding hunger of neighbors as well as upon the hegemony of some determined individual.

But with the threat of the Rogi, Bu Hmara[31], expressed in the form of the mhalla or military expedition under the command of Jilali Mul al-Wudhu[32] (Muludu), we see the Aith Waryaghar reacting violently and uniting, for the first time in their history, as the result of an agraw at Imzuren, nominating their war chief, mounting guard on the line of resistance parallel to the Nkur River, from Imnudh (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) to the Mediterranean, and joyfully accepting the hard task, magnificently performed, of smashing Bu Hmara's army to bits and sending it back in headlong retreat to Qasba Silwan.

In the same way, we also see the khums of Aith 'Abd Allah, in liff with the Ibuqquyen, joining the other khmas of Aith Waryaghar to fight against that tribe, as auxiliaries in the punitive expedition of Bushta al-Baghdadi[33]; and thus we see that tribal interests were always superior to clan ones[34].

For this reason, the mechanism of the liff is simply conservative and not disintegrative, as might seem the case from other points of view. If in the jma'th it equalizes the forces which are feuding, it does the same in the tribe with the rival clans, and in the overall Rifian area with hostile tribes, everywhere balancing the inferiority of weak groups with the strength of its own men. It may be possible to explain in this fashion why in spite of the feverish, ephemeral and unlucky vicissitudes of such minuscule states, they never came to the point of disappearing altogether, while at the same time and by the same token they never permitted the duration of empires

616 619 114 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian. Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are notoften those of the next!)

616 728 184 982 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 [175] 49--Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts, Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Ammarth contingents who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

000

[175] 129--Al-Mazimma was the port, in the 8th century A.D., for the City of Nakur. Modern Rifians do not confuse it with al-Husaima which, they say, aside from the present city and provincial capital of that name, covered the whole area from Badis in Bni Bu Frah to Ras Sidi Sh'aib in Thimsaman. It should also be noted that Sidd, in Arabic, means "dam".

[423] [432] 130--A translation of this document is given in Chapter XVII. It should be noted, in any case, that if a foreigner or anyone whose family does not traditionally irrigate in the area comes to buy land (and to build a house, etc.) in the Lower Ghis region, he has no right to irrigation water until he buys an irrigation turn. He must, furthermore, have a document proving that he bought his turn.

[712] [648] [175] [113] 131--The Jami' al-Mujahidin, or "mosque of the fighters of the faith", where the Aith Waryaghar mounted a permanent and perpetual guard against Spanish invasion, from 1673, when Spain occupied the Isle of al-Husaima, until 1926, when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas, Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47.

[175] [648] [631] 132--Both these men were of Ajdir, subclan of Aith Ughir Iyizan, clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi, a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim who during the Rifian War was pensioned by the Spaniards and in 1926 made qa'id of all Aith Waryaghar by them, died in 1936.

133--This statement needs some qualification. The four names under consideration here, although two of them (Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan) certainly correspond to lineage names, are in effect names of irrigation turns, for, on the other hand, Bu Mqathir and Zawith (the latter refers to the area around the Monday Women's Market, at Azghar, and not, as far as we know, to any particular zawiya) are both place names, and in both these instances, as indicated in the notation of participants in the Zawith turn, it is the lineages who form local groups in the area under consideration who have right to irrigation water, irrespective of their clan affiliations. In the Zawith turn, again, one of the participating ijujga is that of the Andrusen: this lineage, whose name means "Andalusians", has become a member segment of the subclan of Lower Imrabdhen, in the clan of the Imrabdhen; we say "has become" rather than "is", because, as in fact its name shows, it is made up of the descendants of "foreign shurfa" rather than of those of local ones. Another participating jajgu, the Thaddallahan, is a lineage branch of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif of Ajdir, of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan in the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; while the Ushshannen are a branch of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, also of Ajdir. We have unfortunately been unable to establish the lineage affiliations of the Fisra and Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi; and, like Blanco's, our own notes on irrigation in the Lower Ghis (made in Imzuren in the autumn of 1953) have nothing to say regarding the lineage participating in the Bu Mqathir turn on the fifth day.

However, one point is very clear: that with the rotation over the first four days between Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan, and the additional fact that at least two lineages of Ajdir participate in the Zawith turn,

633 [504] The area is administered today from the small port and provincial capital of Alhucemas. The growth of this urban center, fishing port, and tourist attraction is but a recent [175] phenomenon. The city, founded in 1925 with the invasion of a Spanish fleet, has been the focal point for whatever innovation that has occurred in the Central Rif in this century.

133 361 Directly behind the city of Alhucemas is a flat plain. Although the land here is rich it was uninhabited prior to the Spanish because the terrain was indefensible during times of feuds. The original population was situated in the foothills [712] and higher mountains. Here homesteads were scattered and since they also served as garrisons or fortresses they were located on hills or ridges which could be defended militarily.

133 The area is not well served by rivers, the principal ones being the Rhis and the Nekor. The former rises in the Sonhaja area and empties into the Mediterranean at Alhucemas. The latter starts in Igzinnayen territory to flow along the border of the Beni Wariyaghar and the Beni Tuzin, emptying into the bay at [312] Alhucemas. Both these rivers and their tributaries are used [161] for irrigation and the population density is higher along them. There are also a good many natural springs (generally regarded as holy sites) and wells have been successfully dug in some of the valleys.

132 Rainfall varies annually and at times disastrously. At the weather station in Alhucemas during the decade 1946-1955, rainfall ranged from 8.5 inches to 16.9 inches. Although the

132 mean would be somewhat higher in the highlands, the range of
[243] variation would be as great. Since the economic backbone of the area is the dry farming of cereals, low rainfall or drought causes serious difficulties.

175 The history of the Rif presents us with the strange paradox that it is better documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries than for the nineteenth. We have several written chronicles of the Arab city states established along the Mediterranean, such as Nekor which drops out of history in the eleventh century, and Bades which was captured by the Spanish in the
[113] sixteenth century. Of the Berbers in the hinterland we have little material with the exception of el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif (French translation by Colin, 1926) dated 1311, and el-Bekri's Description de l'Afrique septentrionale from the
[131] eleventh century. El-Bekri notes that already in that time most of the present tribes of the Rif were located in their present
[648] sites (Michaux-Bellaire, 1925: 180-181). Between these accounts, fragmentary at best, and the uncritical chronicles of Spaniards leading punitive expeditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Riffian history is rather blank.

175 Geographical circumstances made the Central Rif peripheral
648 to most events going on in Morocco. Only with the insistence of the Spanish government did the Moroccan Sultan send an expedition into the Rif in the late nineteenth century to punish the Ibuqquyen for piracy. During the early years of the present

175 century a pretender to the Sultan's throne, Bow Hamara, seeking
648 to consolidate his position in the north, invaded the Rif. He was halted in 1908 on the shores of the Nekor by the Beni Wariyaghar (Maldonado, n.d.:486) who united not to save a crown but to preserve their own autonomy.

175 What we do know of the early history of the Rif is not so much definite historical material whereby one can discuss the contents of an event and its eventual repercussions, but rather the sociocultural background of the tribes.

174 Regarding the original populating of the Rif there is no
16 definite information. The people who live there today may have lived there prior to the Arabic invasion of the seventh century and certainly did live there by the second invasion of the eleventh century according to el-Bekri's account. They may have been pushed into this area by the first Arabic invasion or by other Berber tribes at earlier dates. The ruggedness of the terrain and the difficulty of earning even a subsistence suggests that migration to the Rif was not voluntary. The Rif mountains hardly constitute a promised land. Though it is only conjecture, I suspect that the Rif was first populated by small groups of kinsmen living in the lowlands of the Taza Province who were forced because of the blood feuds to leave their original homestead and take up residence in these inaccessible areas. There is a certain justification for this belief since the present population distribution in the Rif is due mainly to small segments of original lineages fleeing the consequences of the blood feud.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

175 The social facts are, however, somewhat clearer. The
648 Berber tribes of the Central Rif were a part of the bled-as-siba,
651 or that area in which the central Moroccan government (bled-al-makhzen) failed to exercise effective control. The boundary between the one and the other was determined by whether within the area in question the makhzen could or could not collect taxes. If a tribe had voluntarily or involuntarily submitted to the payment of tribute, there would be a royal intermediary, a qaid, to collect revenue. In the Rif such dominancy was not present until the Spanish, or in the case of the Igzinnayen, the French, were able to assert supremacy.

619 A complimentary feature of the bled-as-siba, at least as
(648) it obtained in the Central Rif, was that not only were the tribes independent of the makhzen but within any particular tribe itself, the internal segments of which it consisted were independent in most instances from one another. There was no tradition of centralization in this region. Each tribe (taqbitch) was divided into segments of varying degrees of inclusiveness. The maximal
619 lineages or ar-rba agreed that they belonged to a common social
613 group which was socially, geographically, and to some extent linguistically distinct from other taqbitch. This social entity was evoked more in terms of space than of time. If one lived within the spacial limits of the tribe one was a member of that group. However, rights and duties within the taqbitch were nebulous and a Riffian would only use his tribal identity to someone who was unacquainted with local political sub-divisions. As a

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

MOROCCANS refer to their country as al-Maghrib al-Aqsa: the "Far West" of the Muslim world (fig. 1). From 1912 until 1956 it was divided into three zones: French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and the International Zone of Tangier. In March, 1956, a joint declaration was signed by representatives of France and

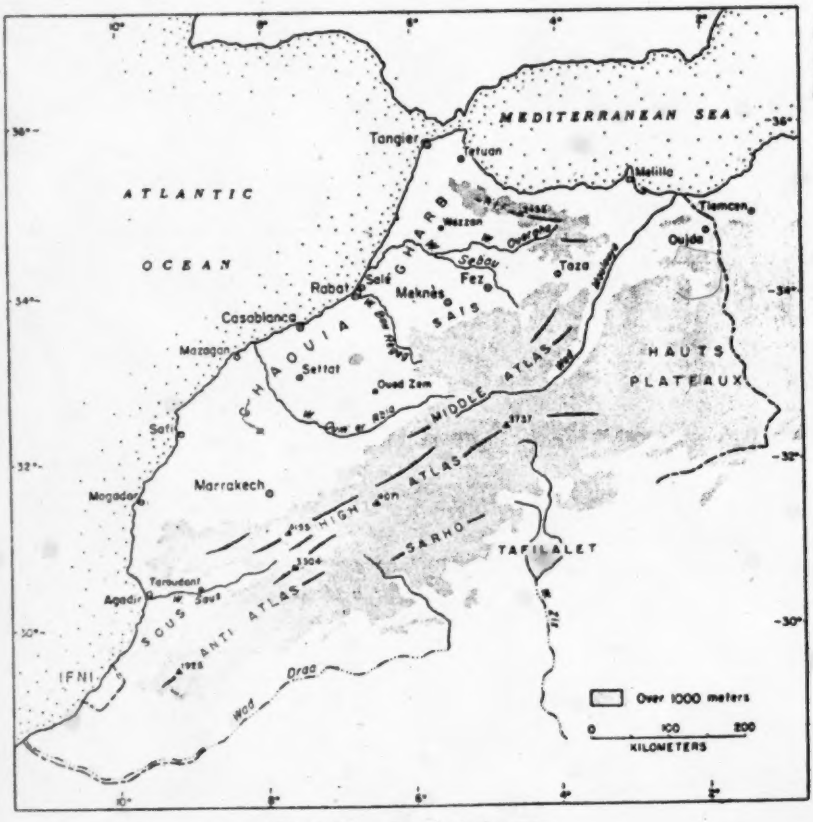


Fig. 1. Morocco: orientation map.

Morocco, restoring independence. Within a month Spain resigned its protectorate, and before the end of the year the international regime was abolished. Moroccan governors promptly replaced the European administrators. Spanish Morocco ceased to function as a separate political unit, although it continued to be recognized as the northern zone. In this study the expressions "northern Morocco" and "northern zone" refer to the area previously under Spanish and international control.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[6]

The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air. One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[7] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[8] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[6] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[7] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

[8] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman.[1] Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[2] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[3] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[1] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[2] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 526. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization, but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

Climate

The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude, irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[1]

Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[1] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[20]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[19] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[20] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 established at Rusaddir (Melilla), Tingi (Tangier), and one or more intermediate points, but the regular chain of trading stations did not extend west of Cartennae (Ténès).[21] The strong strategic position of Carthage and the comparable one of Gades enabled the Carthaginians, who were uncompromisingly intolerant of interlopers, to prevent any interference with their trade by foreigners. There was no need to occupy a continuous stretch of the north African coast.

Active interest in the Atlantic coast of Morocco seems to have been delayed until after Tartessos had been destroyed and the Carthaginians had gained control of the Spanish silver mines. Even then the commercial importance of Carthage continued to be based upon its privileged situation at the contact of the two Mediterranean basins. The evidence, both historical and archaeological, suggests that Punic merchants did not develop a serious interest in the open sea until after the commercial possibilities of Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, and western Iberia had been thoroughly explored.[22] In classical time, Mare Altum was thought to be a domain of "demons, eerie darkness, mudflats, and immense fields of seaweed" from which no ship could free itself. But, as Paul Hermann suggests, these tales may have been deliberately spread by the various powers in control of the Strait to discourage competition.[23]

The periplus of the Carthaginian admiral Hanno, who between 475 and 450 B.C. led an expedition of discovery and colonization to the Atlantic coast of Africa, still gives rise to long arguments.[24] It is not necessary to review the arguments for and against the notion that he sailed as far as the Gulf of Guinea. The important point is that this expedition was commissioned to found colonies on the Moroccan coast. Six colonies are named in the periplus, but no two scholars agree on their location. Punic remains have been unearthed only at Tingi (Tangier), at Lixus (near Larache), and on a rocky islet off Mogador,[25] but other settlements are mentioned in inscriptions or on coins.

Carthage itself rapidly became a great metropolis, but the Carthaginian land empire was never large. In the third century B.C. it seems to have included nearly all northern Tunisia but very little of Algeria, apart from a narrow zone along the coast. Much of eastern Algeria became Punic in language and culture, but the more remote trading stations were separated by large areas under barbarian control. "The power of Carthage," as Miss Semple suggests, "was based on its overseas trade and the land beneath its feet, not on the big continent at its back."[26]

The Carthaginians were so successful in concealing their secrets that we can draw only tentative inferences about the nature of their trade. It is likely that

175
113

[21] Ch.-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord* (2d ed., Paris: Payot, 1956), I, 65, and fig. 4.

[22] On the chronology of Phoenician expansion, see Rhys Carpenter, "Phoenicians in the West," *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, 62 (1958), 35–53.

[23] Paul Hermann, *Conquest by Man* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1954), p. 36. The Carthaginians sought to prevent other powers from gaining access to the tin of Cornwall and Brittany. The exclusion of the Greeks and Romans from the coastal waters of the western Mediterranean is reflected also in the paucity of information given by the classical authors about the African trade.

[24] For an English translation of the periplus, see B. H. Warmington, *Carthage* (London: Robert Hale, 1960), pp. 62–64.

[25] For discussion of the probable range of Punic settlement in Morocco see Pierre Cintas, *Contribution à l'étude de l'expansion carthaginoise au Maroc* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1954).

[26] E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), p. 141.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

most of the Punic trade was of an entrepot nature, with goods carried from one country to another or raw materials exchanged for finished products. The Carthaginians were not dependent on Africa itself for the support of their trade. Indeed, the Berber tribes of the littoral were probably too primitive to be able to make any great contribution to it. Wool, skins, timber, purple dye, ivory, and ostrich feathers were the principal local products that found their way into foreign ports. It is not known whether the Carthaginians imported gold or slaves from across the Sahara, but it is reasonable to suppose that Hanno's expedition was intended to establish an easier route for such a trade.[a]

It follows that cultural changes during this period should be described largely in terms of diffusion or drift, not as a direct exchange. The Carthaginian merchants carried not only the objects of their trade but also customs and techniques, ideas and beliefs. Elements of Punic culture, both material and nonmaterial, seem to have spread far beyond the coastal towns. Some of these innovations were obscured in later centuries by Roman and Arab influence, but a Punic substratum can still be discerned in Berber culture.

When the first Thalassic traders reached Barbary, the native peoples were growing barley and wheat, and used all the domestic animals (except the dromedary) now found in the area. The vine, pomegranate, almond, walnut, and olive may have been introduced to Barbary by the Phoenicians. Each of these trees is grown by cuttings, a technique previously unknown in northern Africa. A pre-Roman introduction of the oleaster is a necessary part of the thesis that this tree is not really a wild race, for in Roman time a clear distinction was made between cultivated and "wild" trees. As a result of all or part of these introductions, northern Africa began to shift from cereal farming and transhumance to a Thalassic agriculture of terraced orchards and gardens. Barley and wheat remained the staples, but the diet probably came to include a greater variety of vegetables and salad plants. The Carthaginians may have introduced refinements of irrigation technique also.

Another result of Punic influence is that tools tipped with iron replaced implements of wood, stone, and bronze.[b] Although evidence is lacking, it may be presumed that stone architecture was adopted in some areas in place of cruder construction with mud bricks, straw, and hides. The family crafts of the Berbers probably were not greatly altered, for the Carthaginians were indifferent craftsmen, and in northern Africa even today there is an almost complete separation between the arts of the countryside and those of the towns. But the rural tribesmen must have had ample opportunity to observe and test new ideas and new techniques. In each tribe there would have been several men who had served the Carthaginians as mercenary soldiers, and many tribal areas were attached, at least partly, to native kingdoms that were under Punic control. Evidence of Punic influence has been recovered at several Roman sites. At Lixus, some megalithic tombs, anterior to the Roman tradition, are clearly Punic. Subterranean tombs

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 41]

[a] For discussion of this possibility see E. W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 22 ff.

[b] It used to be said that northern Africa moved from the Stone Age to the Iron Age without passing through an intermediate era of bronze. It is now known that bronze implements were used in many parts of Barbary at the time of the Phoenician invasion. G. Camps, "Les traces d'un âge du bronze en Afrique du Nord," *Rev. Africaine*, 104 (1960), 31–55.

102
175

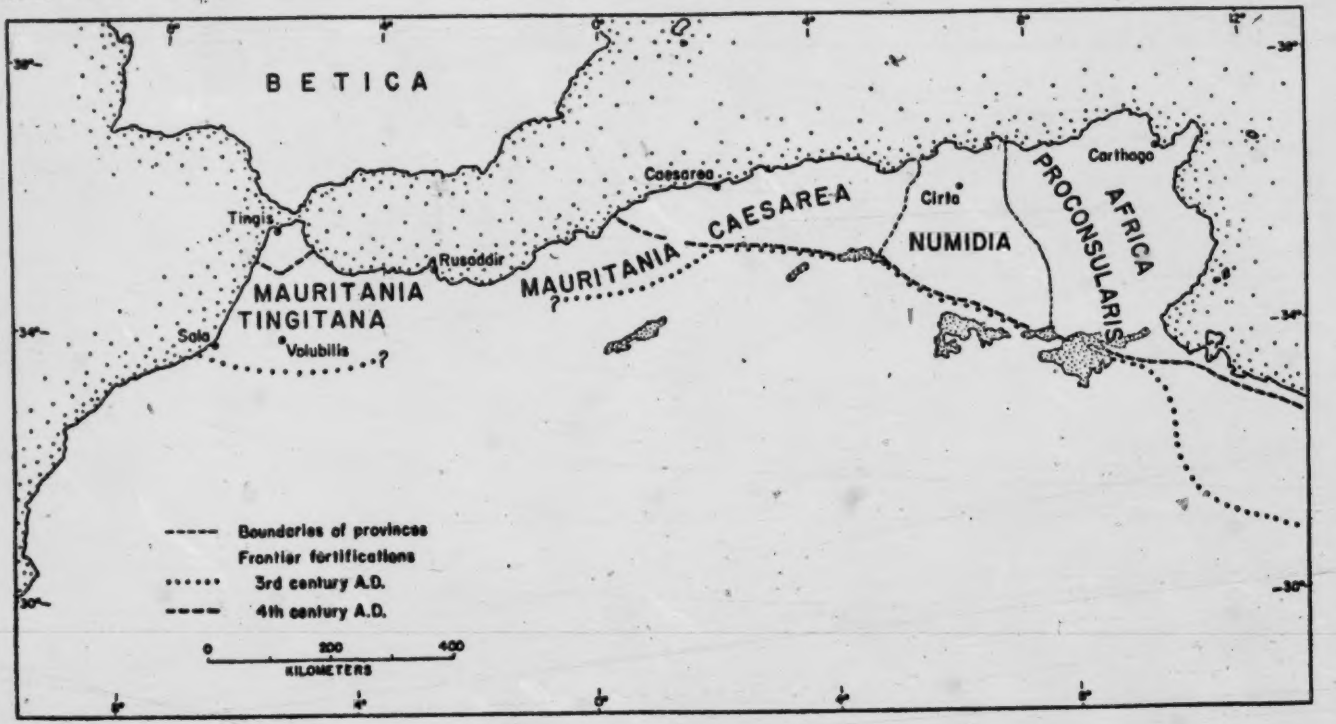


Fig. 10. North Africa: Roman provinces and fortifications.

/p. 40/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

102
175

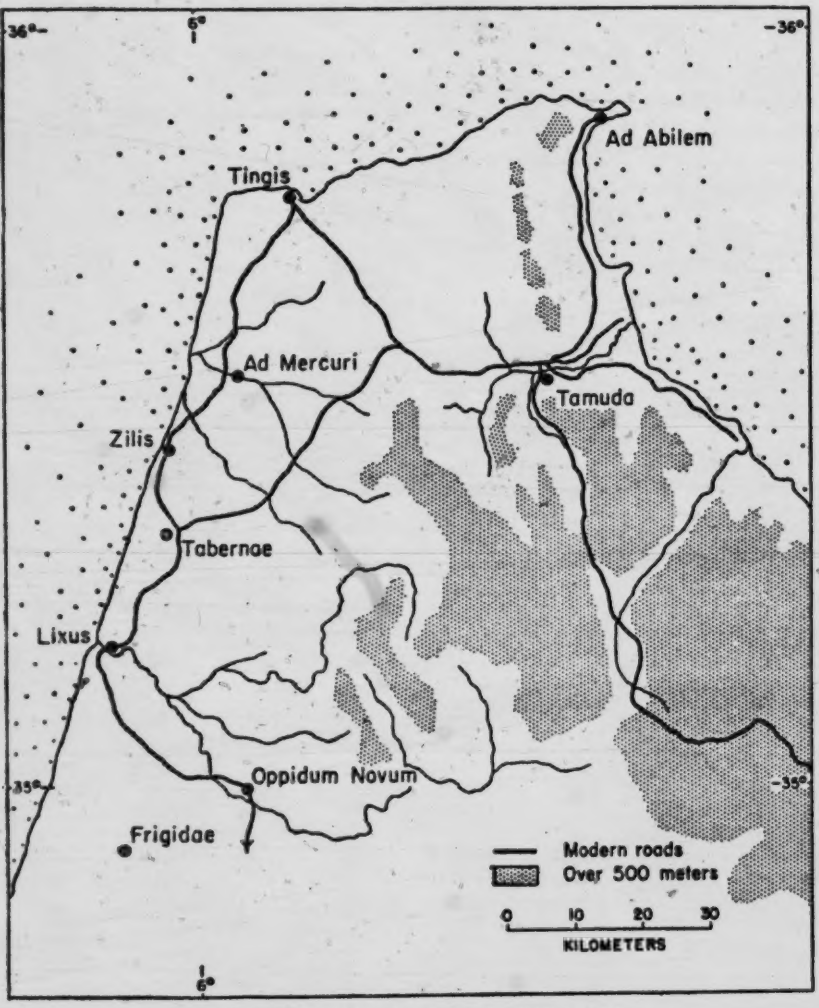


Fig. 11. Mauritania Tingitana, fourth century.

175 of the same tradition have been discovered at Taza, and neo-Punic inscriptions appear at several sites. Indeed, at Volubilis the two officials who were in charge of the municipal government at the time of Roman annexation had the Carthaginian title of *suffete* (magistrate).[20]

The effect of Carthaginian influence was to draw northern Africa into the Mediterranean world. Morocco was the last area to be attracted, and the impact of

[20] For other examples of neo-Punic influence in Roman times see Terrasse, *op. cit.*, I, 47, cited in note 20.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

• 175 Punic civilization was certainly stronger in the littoral zone than in the highlands. Nevertheless, the pattern of life must have changed, even in the more remote areas, between the time of Hanno's voyage and the arrival of the Romans.

After the third Punic war, which ended in 146 B.C., the area directly controlled by Carthage became a Roman province, the Provincia Africa. Long experience in administering conquered territories had taught the Romans that it is difficult to control an expanding frontier. They resolved, therefore, to restrict their occupation to Carthage and its hinterland.[a] At first this resolution was accepted, but in time the hostility of the native tribes and the ambition of the Roman commanders led to wider conquest. Numidia, roughly eastern Algeria, was occupied in 45 B.C., and in A.D. 46 the Emperor Claudius created two new provinces, known as Mauritania Caesariensis and Mauritania Tingitana from their capitals Caesarea (Cherchell) and Tingis (Tangier). With these annexations the whole of the north African littoral came under Roman rule.

The extent of Roman control can be roughly delimited by the remains of an elaborate system of frontier defenses (fig. 10). The word for such a system—*limes*—denoted not only material barriers but also forts, camps, and roads behind the line and outposts and watchtowers in advance of it.[b] This system of defense in depth was designed to delay attackers until reserves could be brought to the frontier zone. In Tunisia and eastern Algeria the defensive system was intended to prevent raids by nomads from the pre-Saharan zone—a problem the Romans helped to create by introducing the dromedary.[c] In Mauritania and the western sector of Numidia the system was apparently designed to protect the fertile plains from attacks by the unsubdued mountain tribes. Responsibility for the defense of much of the frontier was relegated to retired legionaries or peasant soldiers (*limitanei*), who established semimilitary colonies, comparable to the *kibbutzim* of modern Israel. When they were first organized, most of the *limitanei* were probably recruited from troops already on the frontier. Later, land was given to Latinized barbarians.[d]

In Tingitana at the end of the second century, the fortified frontier started on the Atlantic coast, a few kilometers south of Rabat, and then continued eastward between the Rif chain and the Middle Atlas. The easternmost outpost yet discovered is at Bou Hellou, between Fez and Taza. Although archaeological evidence is lacking, there is reason to believe that Tingitana and Mauritania Caesariensis were linked by a military road.

The part of Morocco directly controlled by the Romans was a triangular area bounded by Tingis and Ad Abilem (Ceuta) on the north and by Sala (Rabat)

[a] As Terrasse notes, *ibid.*, p. 48, "Rome ne s'était installée en Afrique que pour garder la tombe de Carthage."

[b] *Limes* means the whole defensive system, while *fossatum* refers to an artificial barrier consisting of a ditch and wall. Only slight traces of the *fossatum* were known until recently. These were on the frontier of Tingitana near Fez and to the southwest of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria. Air photography has revealed other sections of considerable length. J. Baradez, *Fossatum Africae: vue-aérienne de l'organisation romaine dans le sud-algérien* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1949). [113]

[c] For evidence of the probable date of this introduction, see M. W. Mikesell, "Notes on the Dispersal of the Dromedary," *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 11 (1955), 231–245, reprinted in *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire*, Série A, 18 (1956), 895–912. [113]

[d] B. H. Warmington, *The North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954). [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 and some point near Fez on the south. After the reform of Diocletian in A.D. 285, Tingitana was attached to the diocese of Betica. This transfer doubtless was made because of the difficulty of communication between Tingitana and the rest of Roman Africa. The road going westward from Carthage ended at Caesarea, where the traveler desirous of proceeding farther was forced to put to sea; and he could find no road nearer than Tingis or Ad Abilem, the points of debarkation."

From the standpoint of political geography, the main function of Tingitana was to guard the southern flank of Betica. Volubilis was a city of impressive size, and there must have been extensive colonization in the fertile plains of the Gharb. Nevertheless, when it was no longer easy to control the southern base of the triangle, Volubilis was abandoned, and the southern boundary of Tingitana was withdrawn to the line of Wad Lukkus and Wad Lao. This withdrawal, effected toward the end of the third century, reduced Tingitana to one-tenth of its original size."

The part of Morocco that remained under Roman control consisted of little more than the coast opposite Gibraltar and a small part of the Atlantic lowland (fig. 10). The principal settlements were confined to the plains and terraces of the littoral zone. There is no evidence as yet of Roman towns or outposts in the highlands, although there may have been scattered colonies on the Rifian coast." In northern Morocco the number of suitable urban sites was and is limited. Tingis, Ad Abilem, Zilis, and Oppidum Novum occupied the same sites as the modern towns of Tangier, Ceuta, Arcila, and Ksar al-Kebir. Tamuda and Lixus were only a few kilometers from modern Tetuán and Larache. The close relationship of ancient and contemporary patterns is revealed also by the alignment of Roman settlements along the routes of the modern roads (fig. 11).

The principal functions of the Roman towns probably were similar to those of their modern counterparts. Tingis and Ad Abilem were the great ports of Tingitana and the termini of the roads. Tamuda was a focus of land transportation and the head of navigation for the Río Martín." Lixus, at the mouth of Wad Lukkus, must have enjoyed a lively trade, for a long stretch of this river was still navigable in the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese arrived." Ad Mercuri, Zilis, Tabernae, and Oppidum Novum served as military posts on the road from Tingis to Sala and Volubilis. There is archaeological evidence of other posts on the roads from Tingis to Tamuda and Ad Abilem."

Most of the highland zone was evidently beyond the limits of effective Roman control; the colonies on the Mediterranean coast, with the possible exception of Rusaddir, functioned as ports of call and not as trading outlets for the interior.

175 " Raymond Roget, *Le Maroc chez les auteurs anciens* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1924), p. 39.
" The causes and consequences of this change are described by Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, pp. 70 ff.; and M. Tarradell, "La crisis del siglo III de J. C. en Marruecos," *Tamuda*, 3 (1955), 75–105.
113 " For the names of settlements as yet undiscovered, see P. César Morán and G. Guastavino Gallent, *Vías y poblaciones romanas en el norte de Marruecos* (Madrid: Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos, 1948).
" For further information on Tamuda, see M. Tarradell, "Las excavaciones de Tamuda de 1949 a 1955," *Tamuda*, 4 (1956), 71–85.
" T. García Figueras, *Expedición de los Portugueses al Río de Larache y fundación de la fortaleza de "La Graciosa" en el Lukus* (Larache: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe, 1941).
" For a preliminary report of the excavation of one such post, see M. Tarradell, "El Benian: Castellum Romano entre Tetuán y Tanger," *Tamuda*, 1 (1953), 303–309.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 Roman territorial organization seems to have been strikingly similar to the pattern of European occupation during the protectorates. Roman influence, like Spanish influence, must have been considerable in the lowlands, but it is unlikely that many of the mountain tribes were subdued. In Roman time, as in recent years, the principal agents of cultural change would have been tribesmen who had served as mercenary soldiers.

The Roman occupation probably did not have an important influence on the racial composition of the Moroccan tribes. There was no large immigration from Italy during the period of conquest, and after the new provinces were occupied a large part of the Roman army was recruited locally. Even in the cities of Proconsular Africa, where Roman influence was strongest, many names found on inscriptions are merely Latin translations of Berber names.[a] Native preponderance in Numidia and Mauritania, where the cities were fewer in number and the proportion of Italian immigrants smaller, must have been even greater. In Roman time, as today, the Rif and Atlas mountains were the areas least affected by foreign influence. Yet it must be remembered that cultural change does not depend on face-to-face relationships. Roman goods and ideas penetrated far beyond the imperial frontiers.[b] The extent of Roman influence in northern Africa is illustrated by the presence of coins and implements of the second and third centuries at the tomb of the Tuareg queen Tin Hanan in the heart of the Sahara.[c] The Romans' concept of defense in depth and their willingness to recruit barbarians facilitated acculturation.

If it is reasonable to suggest that the basic patterns of cereal farming and pastoral life are anterior to Punic influence, and that horticulture was introduced by the Carthaginians, few agricultural innovations can be ascribed to the Romans. Perhaps their greatest contribution was the perfection of dry farming and irrigation. But most of the crops cultivated by the Romans were already known in northern Africa, and it is safe to infer that the date palm was cultivated in that region before the Romans arrived.[d] The Romans probably introduced the dromedary, but the first camels may not have reached northern Morocco until after the Arab invasions.

Roman contributions in metallurgy, architecture, and urban planning are more readily discerned. The *qsar* of the oases, according to Terrasse, retains the outline and often the orientation of the Roman *castrum*, and the *tighremt* with its four towers is nothing but a *castellum* transposed into Berber architecture.[e] The general aspect of the fortified hamlets in southern Morocco suggests Egyptian or east African influence, but Terrasse is probably correct when he assumes that many of the details of the *qsar* represent ancient attempts to emulate Roman style.

It is not known when Christianity came to Morocco, but this faith apparently

175 113

[a] For evidence in support of this point, see Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, pp. 69–75, cited in note 33.

[b] For evidence of the extent of Roman penetration, see Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (Harmondsworth and Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955).

[c] E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[d] This inference is supported by Herodotus' reference (*History*, IV, 183) to "palms of the fruitful kind" in the Fezzan.

[e] Terrasse, *op. cit.*, I, 70 ff., cited in note 20

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 persisted long after the termination of Roman control. At Volubilis, epitaphs dated A.D. 599, 605, and 655 prove the survival of Latin and Christian order up to the eve of the Muslim invasion.[a] The extent of Christian expansion beyond the *limes* is difficult to trace, but the rapid expansion of Islam, which raced ahead of most of the Arab innovations, suggests that Christianity may have spread beyond the Roman military and economic frontiers. Arabic writers point to the presence in the eighth century of a Christian community at the foot of the High Atlas,[b] and several tribes in the mountains of northern Morocco still retain notions of Christian ancestry.[c] Most of the Berber tribes still use the Julian almanac, and the Latin names for the months have passed with but slight changes into the Berber tongues; these facts suggest Christian influence, for the association of religion and agriculture is a fundamental aspect of Berber culture. Unconsciously, Moroccans still associate Christianity with Rome, for in Maghribi Arabic the term usually applied to an infidel is "Roumi" (Roman).

In A.D. 429 what was left of Roman authority in northern Africa was challenged by the Vandals. The route of their invasion is unknown. Procopius says only that they "crossed the strait at Gadira (Cádiz) and came to Libya."[d] Some scholars believe that the army was transferred by sea as far as the site of modern Algiers;[e] others trace the invasion through the Taza corridor.[f] In any event, a year after their departure from Spain the Vandals were besieging Hippone (Bone), and within ten years they were masters of Carthage. Once victorious, the Vandals limited their activity to Proconsular Africa, roughly northern Tunisia. Except for occasional contacts during the conquest, it is unlikely that they exerted any influence on the Berber tribes. As Coon remarks, "the popular theory of a Vandal origin of blondism in north Africa is historically unsupportable."[g]

In A.D. 533 a Byzantine army landed on the Syrtic coast. It soon disposed of the Vandals, and within three months the Byzantine commander reported that Africa was "Roman" again. Tangier and Ceuta became Byzantine outposts, but their only function was to guard the Strait of Gibraltar. Little is known of Moroccan history during the half century that remained before the beginning of the Arab invasion. During this interval the Visigoths crossed over from Spain and took possession of Ceuta and part of Ghmara, but their influence probably did not extend beyond the coast.[h]

Arabization

Forays into Cyrenaica and Tripolitania followed soon after the Muslim conquest of Egypt in 640. The conquest of Barbary began thirty years later when Uqbah ibn-Nafi invaded Tunisia, founded Qayrawan, and undertook an expedition toward the west. This expedition had no durable result. Later, when the Byzantines had

175 113

[a] The evidence of Christian survival is examined in Warmington, *The North African Provinces*, pp. 76 ff.
[b] Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, I, 64.
[c] This tradition seems to be especially strong among the tribes of Sanhaja as-Srair. See Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 16 ff., cited in note 4.
[d] Procopius, *De Bello Vandalico*, III, 3.
[e] B. J. Kidd, *A History of the Church to A. D. 461* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), III, 344.
[f] C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1955).
[g] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 26.
[h] Ibn Khaldun comments on the Visigoths, but does not mention the Vandals.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 been eliminated, Berber resistance was broken, and Musa ibn-Nusayr was able, from 703 to 711, to resume the conquest. In Morocco he followed the route of Uqbah, through the Taza corridor, and eventually the Atlantic plains were brought under Umayyad rule. But the progress of Islam was slow. At the end of the eighth century, Christians still lived on the plains, and pagans controlled the highlands.[44]

It is useful to think of Arabization as a process carried forward in three overlapping stages. The first stage was the initial contact between the Arab invaders and the native Christians and pagans. The second stage began with the arrival of Arab bedawin in the eleventh century. During the third stage, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, Arabization was accelerated by the arrival of Andalusian refugees.

It is unlikely that the first Arabs had much contact with the rural tribes. The men who marched with Uqbah and Musa were soldiers, explorers, and missionaries, not rural colonists looking for new land. Arabic triumphed in each administrative center, but the towns of Morocco remained islands of Arabic language and foreign civilization in a sea of Berber tribes.[45]

The early restriction of Arabic to the cities is not hard to explain. Between city and country in Morocco there is a chasm without counterpart in the Western world. The Moroccan towns did not grow gradually from small beginnings; they were built by decree. The tribesmen living around such artificial creations could not regard them with any feeling of pride. The new cities, like the Roman settlements, reminded them of the master or even of the foe.[46] Prior to the European occupation, all cities were protected by high walls and gates that were closed at night. After the bedawin invasions, Arab tribes were sometimes given land and pasture around the larger cities, with the intention that they would form a defensive ring.[47]

If the cities of northern Africa had remained the only centers of diffusion for Arabic, it probably would not have diffused at all. The most effective teachers were the bedawin, who began to move into northern Africa in the seventh century. This movement was headed by the Bani Hillal and Bani Soleim, who had been ejected from the Syrian desert for plundering pilgrim caravans. About 1050 the caliphs in Cairo, enraged at the disobedience of the Sanhajan emirs in Qayrawan, sought to chastise their rebel vassals by launching the bedawin against them. After having conquered southern Tunisia, these rough and illiterate nomads passed through the Saharan Atlas, spread over the Algerian plateaus, and entered Morocco through the Taza corridor. By the end of the fourteenth century they were camped on the Atlantic littoral.[48]

The bedawin differed profoundly from the aristocratic adventurers who had conquered the country three centuries earlier. They had no desire to propagate religion or to found cities; their task was to find new pastures for their flocks

175 113

[44] W. Marçais, "Comment l'Afrique du Nord a été arabisée," *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, 4 (1938), 1–32; "L'arabisation des campagnes," *ibid*, 14 (1956), 5–17.

[45] Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale* (2d ed., Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925–1934), I, *passim*.

[46] E.-F. Gautier, "Native Life in French North Africa," *Geog. Rev.*, 13 (1923), 27–39.

[47] Robert Montagne, *La Civilisation du désert: nomades d'Orient et d'Afrique* (Paris: Hachette, 1947), pp. 262–264.

[48] For a detailed study of their migrations, see G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIe au XIVe siècle* (Paris: Leroux, 1913).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

and new camping grounds. They were numerous enough to compete with the plains-dwelling Berbers for their land, but as bedawin they were unable to dislodge or greatly influence the mountain tribes.

Wherever pastoral Arabs and sedentary Berbers came together, the economic conflict was accompanied by a clash of agrarian democracy with the authoritarian order of pastoral society. The importance of this conflict is suggested by the fact that Arab dialects are confined, even today, to lowland or plateau areas well suited to urbanization and pastoral life. In the highland zones, particularly in the irrigable areas, Berber society was not seriously disturbed. The only important exception to this generalization is the Jbalan sector of northern Morocco, which is well adapted to sedentary life but nevertheless was Arabized at an early date. It must be remembered that Jbala is a passageway between Morocco and Spain, and that many of the troops that took part in the Spanish campaigns were recruited there.[a]

The coincidence of Arabic speech and gentle relief should not be viewed as a simple relation of cause and effect. The plains were better suited to bedawin life, and the bedawin were chiefly responsible for the spread of Arabic speech. During most of Moroccan history the areas of gentle relief coincided with the effective limit of the central government (*bilad al-makhzen*). In many areas the advance of governmental control and Qur'anic law favored the adoption of Arabic speech. In contrast, the rugged terrain of the Moroccan mountains helped to maintain Berber independence.

Some writers have asserted that the Berber-speaking tribes were *driven* to the highlands, and that the dominance of Arabic in the lowlands represents displacement rather than assimilation.[b] From the time of Uqbah and Musa, the Arabians in the army of conquest and among the colonists must have been comparatively few, limited to those in command and in high office. The number of women accompanying the army and the first immigrants was necessarily small. Disease and fighting took their toll. After the fourth generation the Arabian "blood" would have been greatly diluted by intermarriage with native women. Many if not most of the troops that took part in the Spanish campaigns were Berbers from Jbala, Ghmara, and the Rif. In the opinion of one scholar, the veins of the Caliph Abd al-Rahman III (912–961) contained less than a hundredth part of Arabian blood.[c]

The bedawin were more numerous than the first invaders, and moved with their families, but Gautier thinks that they could hardly have numbered more than 200,000, probably less than 2 per cent of the population of northern Africa at that time.[d] After centuries of mingling with Berbers in Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria, it is doubtful that the bedawin who reached the Moroccan coastal plains retained more than a nominal amount of Arab blood. Montagne believes that no more than 10 per cent of the Moroccan population can claim to be of Arabian

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 49)

[a] On the Arabization of Jbala, see also A. Bernard and P. Mousard, "Arabophones et berbérophones au Maroc," *Annales de Géographie*, 33 (1924), 267–282.

[b] Cf. Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," p. 33, cited in note 8: "The once-powerful Berbers of North Africa are now principally a marginal, conservative people living in mountain refuge areas, driven there by successive waves of Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans."

[c] J. Ribera y Tarragó, *Disertaciones y opúsculos* (Madrid: Imprenta de E. Maestre, 1928), I, 12–35, 109–112.

[d] E.-F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs* (Paris: Payot, 1952), p. 429.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

descent." The Andalusian Muslims could hardly have displaced any large group of Berbers, for they settled, almost to a man, in cities and towns. It is reasonable to conclude that the Moroccan highlands remained Berber not because they were a place of retreat but because the drift of Arab influence went around the mountains rather than through or over them. The horticultural skills of the highland Berbers and their intricate social organization suggest stability, not the culture of a refugee population driven to new and unfamiliar environments."

The Christian reconquest of Spain, led by Castile and Aragón, began in 1225. Córdoba fell in 1236, and Sevilla in 1249. Soon Spanish Islam was reduced to the small kingdom of Granada, which had accepted Castile as an overlord. In 1492 Granada itself was taken, and Spanish Islam ceased to exist. Even before the conquest of Granada, many Muslims sought refuge in Morocco. These refugees repeopled most of the Moroccan towns, and provided the Saadians with technical experts and soldiers. Northern Morocco became a center of Andalusian civilization. Some families in Tetuán, Shawen, and Fez still retain keys to their ancestral homes in al-Andalus.

The Andalusian refugees brought a richer and more classical form of Arabic speech. Since most of the immigrants settled in towns, the distinction between urban and rural dialects was intensified. This distinction is still strong. The more elegant city speech is spoken not only in Fez (the great center of Andalusian culture) but also in Rabat-Salé (settled by Andalusians in the seventeenth century) and in Tetuán (most of whose inhabitants came from Ronda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Taza, Ksar al-Kebir, and Azemmour also have somewhat urbanized dialects, while Tangier and Wezzan show the influence of neighoring tribes. Meknès and Marrakech, perhaps the most extreme examples of country speech, are accordingly looked down upon by their bourgeois neighbors. Thus there is, besides the Arab-Berber distinction, a strong contrast even among Moroccans who are Arabized. No one familiar with the sounds and rhythms of Maghribi Arabic could fail to distinguish between the dialect of Old Fez and the quasi-bedawin speech of the rural tribes."

Several of the tribes shown as Berber-speakers in figure 12 are described as Arabophones in previous work. Disagreement arises from the fact that many tribes are bilingual. When questioned about their language preference, many Berbers reply that they speak only Arabic, but if questioned further they will add that their women and children speak Berber, and that boys do not begin to learn Arabic until they are old enough to attend a Qur'anic school. This is the situation among the Aith Seddath, a tribe often described as bilingual or Arabophone." It is important to note whether merchants or the educated members of a tribe use more than one language, but the linguistic attainments of the elite should not be allowed to obscure the basic pattern of domestic speech. The fact that one Rifian in ten speaks some Spanish or Arabic does not mean that the Rif

" Montagne, *La Civilisation du désert*, p. 265, cited in note 56.

" René Raynal, in "Quelques aperçus géographiques sur l'évolution des régions humanes du Maroc," *Hespéris*, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, 39 (1952), 1–16, refers to the Berber mountains as "vieilles régions humaines."

" G. S. Colin, "L'Arabe," in *Initiation au Maroc* (3d ed., Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1945), pp. 208 ff.

" A. Renisio, *Etude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair* (Paris: Leroux, 1932).

7: Mikesell - K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

should be described as a bilingual zone. Probably not one Rifian woman in a hundred understands Arabic or Spanish, and few Rifian men speak either language correctly.

In northern Morocco the Berber language is represented by three dialects: Rifian, Sanhajan, and Ghmara. Rifian is by far the most important. It varies somewhat from tribe to tribe, but this variation does not hinder communication. The differences in pronunciation are evident as one moves from the Nkour Valley toward Wad Moulouya, particularly in Ikibdhanen. Rifians can understand the dialect of the Aith Iznasen, but they are obliged to use interpreters when they deal with the Sanhajans. The Ghmaran dialect is nearly extinct. Today it is spoken only in Bani Bu Zra and in a few hamlets of Bani Mansur and Bani Grir. The relationship between Ghmaran and the other dialects is not yet clear, but Ghmaran seems to be a distinct dialect, not a variant of Rifian or Sanhajan.[a] Differences in pronunciation may be considerable, even among speakers of the same dialect. The speech of Ktama and Taghzut, for example, is barely intelligible to the Aith Seddath. The degree of difference between Rifian and Sanhajan is probably as great as that between Spanish and Italian. Nevertheless, philologists prefer to recognize only one Berber language, and attribute differences of this magnitude to isolation and the absence of literature.[b]

Berber speech has completely disappeared from the area west of Bani Siyyat, Bani Silman, and Bani Khalid. The progress of Arabization was more rapid in the interior than along the Mediterranean coast. Even today the route from Tetuán to Melilla follows the ridges of the Rifian chain, whereas no road follows the coast east of Wad Lao. The Ghmaran dialect is preserved in an area crossed by deep canyons, and bounded by high mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. In Sanhaja as-Srair most of the Arabophones occupy land south of the mountain chain. The Bani Bu Shibat and Bani Hmid find it much easier to visit the markets of Marnisa, where Arabic is spoken, than to climb the mountains to reach the main area of Sanhajan speech. In the eastern part of the Rif, Arabic is spoken only along the Moulouya Valley, the route of advance for bedawin tribes moving northward from the Algerian plateaus. The Ulad Stut not only speak Arabic but are of Arabian (i.e., bedawin) descent.[c] This claim can also be made by the Khlut, who moved into the Atlantic lowland during the fourteenth century.[d]

The first to abandon Berber (or Latin) speech were the peoples of the Tingitanian peninsula and the plains near Fez. After the collapse of Muslim Spain the same areas became havens for Andalusian refugees. From these two centers Arabic speech and Islamic culture gradually moved into the highlands. This movement is still in progress. In fact, Moroccan independence will cause an acceleration, for the language of the Prophet now has political as well as religious sanction. The Ghmaran dialect will become extinct in a generation, and in another generation or two the Sanhajan dialect may also disappear. In Ktama, Sanhajan speech is retained only in the inaccessible valley of Abd al-Ghaya, between Adrar

[a] G. S. Colin, "Le parler berbère des Gmara," *Hespéris*, 9 (1929), 43–58.
[b] Basset, *op. cit.*, in note 9.
[c] Marçais, *op. cit.*, in note 57.
[d] According to D. M. Hart (personal communication), only 9 out of 171 place and lineage names in the Khlut area are indisputably Berber.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 197 Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut." The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

R S 197 In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

R 175 771 Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

R 175 771 Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

R 177 175 771 [788] Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[19] The Sanhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dahdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[11] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[12]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[13] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[14] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[15] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[16] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[11] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[12] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[13] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[14] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[15] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[16] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 177 241 when the Arabs arrived. But the Arabs introduced a number of additional crops: rice (Sp. *arroz;* Ar. *al-aruzz*), the apricot (Sp. *albaricoque;* Ar. *al-barquq*), and cotton (Old Sp. *coton;* Ar. *al-qutn*).[11] The Arabs brought the bitter or Seville orange, but the sweet or common orange was introduced by the Portuguese from India.[12] The Arabs also brought the artichoke (from the eastern Mediterranean), spinach (from Persia), sugar cane (probably from India), the mulberry (originally from China), pepper, ginger, saffron, and parsley. Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), the great cash crop of the Sanhajan highlands and the object of a lively contraband trade between Spanish and French Morocco, may also have been carried to Barbary by the Arabs. In an indirect sense the Arabs may be credited with the introduction of a number of New World plants, for many of the Spanish Muslims did not leave al-Andalus until after the final order of expulsion in 1609. By that time Europeans were familiar with the agave, opuntia, tomato, and the great American crop combination of maize, beans, and squash.

Moroccan Jews

175 563 Of the Hebrew people in Morocco, the largest and most prosperous group are the Sephardic Jews who were driven out of Spain after the reconquest of Andalusia. A second, quite different group was already settled in the country when their co-religionists arrived.

The Arab chroniclers state that Jews were in Morocco at the time of the first Muslim invasion. They may have arrived with the Phoenicians or the Romans, for Hebrew scholars believe that some of their religious practices are pre-Talmudic.[13] 563 Today most of the original Jews inhabit ghettos (*mellah*)[14] in the cities, but a few are scattered among the rural tribes. The latter usually pay tribute to the tribesmen with whom they live. Many are caravan men who travel with mule and donkey trains into the less accessible parts of the country. Others are tinkers and petty traders, while many of the prosperous urban Jews are moneylenders, jewelers, and tailors. A small but interesting group cultivates small plots in the High Atlas, and speaks Berber domestically. These "Berber" Jews, like the peasant Jews of Yemen, the Jewish highlanders of the Caucasus, the Falasha of Ethiopia, and the Turkish-speaking Jews of the Crimea, present a difficult problem for historical research.[15] They may be descendants of ancient immigrants, but it seems more likely that they are descendants of indigenous peoples who were converted to Judaism at some remote time.

175 563 When the Sephardim arrived in Morocco they negotiated an ordinance as to their status, which also contained rules laid down for the guidance of their own conduct, no doubt out of fear that contact with the more primitive Moroccan Jews might compromise their tenets. The Sephardim had already abandoned

[11] Names from P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 528.

[12] "Orange" comes from the Spanish *naranja* through the Arabic *naranj* and the Persian *narang*. "Lemon" is the Arabic *laymun* and the Persian *limun*. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

[13] For clarification of this point, see Hahum Blouschz, *Hebraeo-phéniciens et Judeo-berbères* (Paris: Leroux, 1908); and André Chouraqui, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).

[14] *Mellah* is the Arabic word for "salt." The usual explanation for this association is that Jews were once assigned the task of preserving the heads of the sultan's enemies so that they could be put on display.

[15] A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), II, 257, 402–412.

7: Mikesell K-4, (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 563 polygamy, which is still practiced by some of the native Jews. Keen businessmen, organizers of remarkable ability, and excellent linguists, the Sephardim played an important role as middlemen in the initial contacts between Europeans and Moroccans. European protection brought a distinct improvement in their social and economic status. They were particularly active in banking, since the Qur'an enjoins believers from engaging in usury. In Tangier, Jewish bankers attained remarkable privilege and affluence. On the other hand, none of the Moroccan Jews enjoyed true citizenship, and in the days before European protection they were subject to Qur'anic law, which does not recognize the oath of a Jew.

As a consequence of European protection, the Sephardim became more Spanish or French than Moroccan. Differences in dress and speech still distinguish this group from the older and more backward Jews. Only the more conservative Jews cling to the traditional black skullcap. The Sephardim use Maghribi Arabic for commercial purposes, but prefer to speak Spanish or French among themselves. The original Jews speak Berber or Arabic, depending upon the location of their homes and the circumstances of their livelihood. Among them, as among the Sephardim, Hebrew is only a ritual language. Neither the Sephardim nor the more conservative group is prominent in the rural districts of the northern zone. The latest census of Spanish Morocco lists 8,062 Jews, of whom only 180 are described as rural.[a]

[162] [113] [a] *Anuario estadistico, 1952–53* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, 1953), p. 40.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter IV

EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

175 Attempts to gain control of the Moroccan littoral began in the fifteenth century, at the dawn of the great age of European expansion. The first expeditions to the Moroccan shores were Spanish, but later, as a result of treaties between the two nations, the coast to the west of Peñon de Vélez was reserved for the Portuguese.

Portuguese Activity

At a time when their ships were skirting the coasts of Africa, the Portuguese would naturally be tempted to set foot in a country so near.[1] During the fifteenth century they established forts at Ceuta (1415), Ksar as-Srair (1458), and Arcila and Tangier (1471); but the strong resistance of the Jbalan tribesmen made it impossible for them to move inland. So they made their greatest effort farther south, on the Atlantic coast. In 1469 a fortress—which came to be known as Casa Branca (whence the modern Casablanca)—was built at Anafe. In 1489 the Portuguese established the fort of Graciosa on the banks of Wad Lukkus, and in 1505 built the fortress of Santa Cruz de Aguer (Agadir). Castello Real (Mogador) was founded in 1506, and two years later another stronghold was established at Safi. In 1513 and 1514 Azemmour and Mazagão (Mazagan) were fortified. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese controlled a long strip of the Atlantic coast, and had made raids as far as Marrakech.

The Portuguese occupation, however, was threatened in 1541, when the Moroccans captured Santa Cruz. The Portuguese abandoned Safi, Azemmour, and Ksar as-Srair soon thereafter, and in 1580 evacuated Arcila. At the turn of the century they retained only Mazagan, Tangier, and Ceuta. The brevity of their occupation can be attributed to the restricted nature of their operations and the hostility of the Moroccans. The Portuguese, like the Carthaginians (but unlike the Romans), made no attempt to establish a system of defense in depth.[2] Even before the Moroccan counterattacks, Portuguese settlement was confined to the littoral zone (fig. 13). The disastrous defeat of the Portuguese at Ksar al-Kebir in 1578 marked the downfall of the last crusade of Mediterranean Christianity, and the beginning of a Moroccan recovery consolidated by ransom money and then by victories in the Sudan.[3] For a time Morocco seemed to be a great power, and the countries of western Europe were reluctant to plan new aggressions. The net effect of the Portuguese adventure was to raise still higher the wall between Europe and Barbary. The Moroccans, previously at war among themselves, united to repel the infidels. The consequence of this struggle was that no enduring economic or social contact could be made between Moroccans and Europeans. Morocco with-

175 113 [1] The motives of the Portuguese adventure are considered by Marcel Bataillon, "Le rêve de la conquête de Fès et le sentiment impérial portugais au XVIe siècle," in *Mélanges d'études luso-marocaines dédiées à la mémoire de David Lopes et Pierre de Cenival* (Lisbon: Portugalia Editora, 1945).

[2] For an interesting study of Portuguese defenses, see A. L. Guevara, *Arcila durante la ocupación portuguesa (1471–1549)* (Tangier: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe, 1940).

[3] On the causes and consequences of the battle, see E. W. Bovill, *The Battle of Alcazar* (London: Batchworth Press, 1952).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

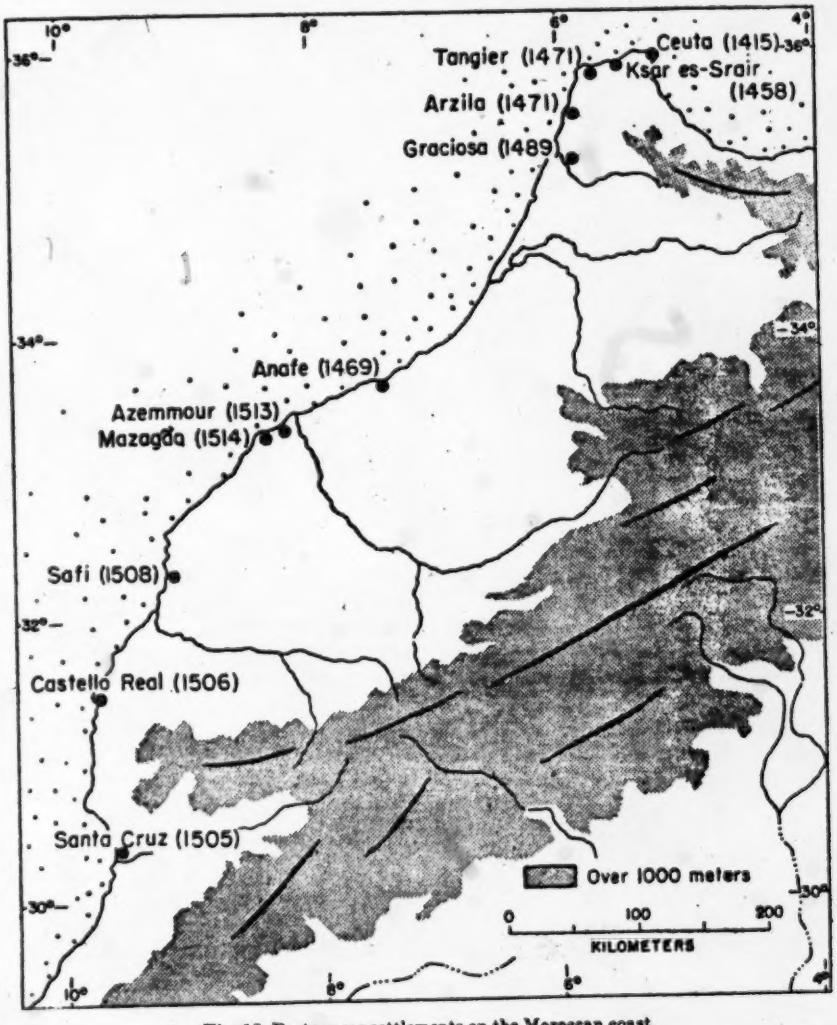


Fig. 13. Portuguese settlements on the Moroccan coast.

drew into an isolation within which fermented a religious revival based on a violent and intractable xenophobia.

Spanish Activity

While the Portuguese were settling on the Atlantic coast, the Spanish were attacking the remaining shores of Barbary. At the beginning of the sixteenth century they captured Mers al-Kebir, Oran, and Bougie, and established themselves at the Peñón of Algiers, with the town under their cannons. But the Spanish soon

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 became involved in more important adventures in the New World, and the Ottoman Turks, then in the midst of their last burst of offensive power, captured the presidios east of Oran. The Spanish never relinquished control of their outposts on the Moroccan coast. Melilla, annexed in 1471, and Ceuta, ceded by Portugal in 1668, are still governed as integral parts of Spain (*plazas de soberanía*).[4]

From the sixteenth to the twentieth century, the Spanish garrisons were under siege.[5] The positions held by the Spanish show an abiding concern for defense. Ceuta and Melilla are on rocky promontories forming natural strongholds. Peñón de Vélez and Peñón de Alhucemas are rocky islets, easy to defend but poor positions from which to launch an attack.[6] At the beginning of the present century the garrisons of the two islets were forced to obtain food and drinking water from Málaga.[7] During the nineteenth century the Spanish made several efforts to enlarge their holdings, but none had enduring success. In 1859 it took an army of Spaniards six months to reach Tetuán from nearby Ceuta.[8] The siege of Melilla was not broken until 1909. Seven years after the proclamation of Spanish protection, it was not safe to travel from Tetuán to Tangier. Shawen remained closed to infidels until 1920. Ifni, ceded to Spain in 1860, was not permanently occupied until 1934.

Partition and "Pacification"

The secret Franco-Spanish agreement of 1904, the Algeciras agreement of 1906, and the Franco-Moroccan treaty of 1912 divided Morocco into areas of French and of Spanish custody,[9] but neither power was able to exercise complete control of its zone. In French Morocco early occupation was restricted to the most accessible regions—the Moroccan continuation of the Algerian steppe, and the Atlantic coastal plains. In 1914 the Taza corridor was occupied, and tracks were laid for a railroad to link Morocco with Algeria and Tunisia. But the First World War curtailed French activity, and at the end of the war French control was still restricted to the eastern plateaus and the Atlantic coastal plains.[10] Occupation of the High Atlas and the pre-Saharan zone was not completed until 1934, and within six years of that date French authority in Morocco was seriously compromised by the German conquest of the motherland. Order was reëstablished after the war, but a new and final rebellion began in 1955, when most of the Rif and Atlas mountains were again described as "zones of insecurity."

[4] Ceuta is administered as a part of Cádiz province, while Melilla is controlled from Málaga. During the protectorate both cities were separated from Spanish Morocco by customs barriers. Peñón de Vélez, Peñón de Alhucemas, and the Chafarinas are also governed as integral parts of Spain.

[5] For an account of one siege of Melilla, see F. Sebastián de Miranda, *El sitio de Melilla de 1774 a 1775* (Tangier: Instituto General Franco para la Investigación Hispano-Arabe, 1939). 175 113

[6] The standard history of the two islets is by Rafael Pezzi, *Los presidios menores de Africa y la influencia española en el Rif* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico Fortanet, 1893). See also D. Bacaicoa Arnaiz, "El Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera en 1791," *Tamuda*, 3 (1955), 197–230.

[7] *Instructions nautiques sur le Maroc, l'Algérie et la Tunisie*, Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Publ. 801 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1899), pp. 53, 58.

[8] W. B. Harris and W. Cozens-Hardy, *Modern Morocco: A Report on Trade Prospects, with Some Geographical and Historical Notes* (London: Bank of British West Africa, 1919), p. 28.

[9] The different delimitations of the two protectorates are shown in *Atlas histórico y geográfico de Africa española* (Madrid: Dirección General de Marruecos y Colonias and Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1955). See also George F. Deasy, "Spanish Territorial Boundary Changes in Northwest Africa," *Geog. Rev.*, 32 (1942), 303–306.

[10] *Carte des étapes de l'occupation française* (Rabat: Institut Géographique National, Annexe du Maroc, 1934).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The Spanish experienced even greater difficulty in their zone. The area between Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert was occupied in 1919, ten years after the siege had been lifted at Melilla. But at this time the Rifian highlands were still under tribal rule and most of Jbala was controlled by the brigand Raisuli.[11] When it seemed that the Spanish would at last be able to begin large-scale offensive action, they were defeated by the Rifian forces of Abd al-Krim.[12] Thanks to French intervention, the Rifian rebellion was suppressed in 1926, but the impoverished Spaniards were unable to bring their protectorate under effective control. The northern zone was completely neglected during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Efforts to organize and develop the zone began in earnest only after the end of the Second World War, and these efforts were frustrated when Morocco regained its freedom in 1956.

These remarks are necessary to provide a proper focus for any image evoked by the expressions "French" or "Spanish" Morocco. Yet economic and cultural influence do not depend upon military occupation and the exercise of formal power. A decade before the Spanish gained control of Jbala, tribesmen of this province were wearing undergarments and waistcoats made of cotton spun at Manchester and Roubaix. When Sidi Muhammad ben Abdullah founded Mogador in 1765, he hoped that the new town would serve as a center for European traders and consuls. At the beginning of the twentieth century, eight ports—Tetuán (Río Martín), Tangier, Larache, Salé, Casablanca, Mazagan, Mogador, and Agadir—were open to foreign trade, and each received commodities destined to become important in Moroccan life. Tea, the foundation of Moroccan hospitality, was introduced by the English in the eighteenth century.[13] Tobacco came later, also as an article of European trade.[14] Spanish currency was widely circulated long before the Spanish themselves gained power. In his account of Peñón de Vélez, Leo Africanus relates that "Venetian galleys used to resort unto this isle, and to exchange their wares for the wares of the inhabitants, and sometimes to buy for ready cash."[15] Perhaps the best indication of the extent of European influence in northern Africa is the use by native peoples of a large number of European words.[16] The technical vocabulary of the fishermen on the Tunisian coast includes terms derived from Spanish, Catalan, various Italian dialects, and Maltese.[17]

[11] On Spain's difficulties with Raisuli, see W. B. Harris, *Morocco That Was* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1921).

[12] The Rifian uprising became a major revolutionary war on July 21–22, 1921, when a large force under General Silvestre was defeated at Anual. For a full account of the war, see W. B. Harris, *France, Spain and the Rif* (London: Edward Arnold, 1927).

[13] A. Leriche, "De l'origine du thé au Maroc et au Sahara," *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire*, Série A, 15 (1952), 731–735; J.-L. Miège, "Origine et développement de la consommation du thé au Maroc," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 71 (1956), 377–398.

[14] Berthold Laufer *et al.*, "Tobacco and Its Use in Africa," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthro. Leaflets*, 29 (1930).

[15] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 519.

[16] Muhammad ibn Azrus Hakim, *Glosario de mil quinientas voces españolas usadas entre los Marroquíes en el arabe vulgar* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1933); Mohammed Hadj-Sadok, "Dialectes arabes et francisation linguistique de l'Algérie," *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, 13 (1955), 61–97.

[17] A. Gateau, "Introduction à l'étude du vocabulaire maritime en Tunisie," *Rev. Africaine*, 87 (1946), 140–183.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

428 423 171 for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

Hunting and Fishing

224 171 In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[111] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a [576] few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. [411] To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla*.

226 171 Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[112]

[175] In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[113] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[113] [111] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[113] [112] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[113] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VII

EFFECTS OF SETTLEMENT ON THE LAND

121 311 EVIDENCE of deforestation has already been considered briefly. In chapter ii the effects of burning and browsing were mentioned parenthetically in discussing the distribution of forest and scrub. Now that man's activities have been described, the discussion can be resumed.[1]

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

175 311 When the Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46, timber resources were nearly exhausted in the eastern Mediterranean basin. The cedars of Lebanon had been retreating since the time of King Solomon. Homer refers to "tall pines and spreading oaks" on the now virtually barren island of Sicily.[2] Plato, in the fifth century B.C., deplores the destruction of the forests in Greece,[3] and a century later Theophrastus complains that the supply of ship timber is limited.[4] In Pliny's time the thuya forests on Mount Ancorarius were already exhausted.[5] At the dawn of the Christian era, Roman ships were sailing as far away as the Caucasus ports to obtain timber, and Roman architecture eventually had to be modified to compensate for the scarcity and increasing price of wood. Large quantities of wood were needed to heat baths, and trees were cut everywhere for charcoal. Cork and tanners' bark were persistent items of trade. In both the Roman and the Carthaginian realms, perhaps the greatest wood-devouring industry was shipbuilding. As Miss Semple suggests, "A multitude of fishing smacks, naval vessels, merchant ships, and coastwise transportation boats kept up the demand for fir, pine, cedar, and minor woods which entered into their construction."[6] The coniferous forests were further depleted by the steady demand for pitch, resin, and tar. It would be rash to make sweeping generalizations on the basis of a few references after the lapse of centuries; yet it may be asserted that deforestation was evident in classical times, especially in the areas of Roman and Carthaginian influence, and that no forested area accessible to lumber merchants was ignored.[7]

In the time of Homer and Hesiod the Moroccan mountains were still confused with the peak of Tenerife, of which some indistinct knowledge had been gained from Phoenician sources.[8] The references to Atlas cedar in Latin literature usually refer to forests in the more familiar province of Numidia. According to Pliny,

175 113 311

[1] For additional illustrations, see M. W. Mikesell, "Deforestation in Northern Morocco," *Science*, 132 (1960), 441–448.

[2] *Odyssey*, IX; *Iliad*, XII, XVI, XX.

[3] *Critias*, 111 A–D, trans. A. J. Toynbee in *Greek Historical Thought* (New York: Mentor Books, 1952), p. 146.

[4] *Enquiry into Plants* . . . , IV, 5.

[5] *Natural History*, XIII, 15. Most authorities place Mount Ancorarius in the Ouarsensis Massif of Algeria. Paul Boudy, *Économie forestière nord-africaine* (Paris: Larose, 1948–1955), I, 223.

[6] E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), p. 282.

[7] H. C. Darby, "The Clearing of the Woodland in Europe," in W. L. Thomas, Jr., ed., *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 183–216.

[8] Cf. George Rawlinson's annotation of Herodotus, *History*, IV, 184 (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1910); and R. Thouvenot, "La connaissance de la montagne marocaine chez Pline l'Ancien," *Hespéris*, 26 (1939), 113–121.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 311

beams of Numidian cedar were used in the temple of Apollo at Utica.[9] Strabo describes Mount Abyla (Jbil Hacho) on the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees.[10] This specific reference is of major interest, for now only a few clusters of Aleppo pine appear on that promontory. The description of forest at Cape Cantin, near Safi, in the periplus of Hanno is significant, also, for no such description could be recorded today.[11] It is known that the African provinces contributed wood to the Roman baths, and it may be inferred that some of that wood came from Mauritania. Thuya beams were imported for the roofs of temples, palaces, and other fine buildings, and the same wood was preferred for cabinets and other furniture.[12] The pine and thuya of the Rif probably were exploited in shipbuilding, and there would have been a demand for fuel and lumber at each of the Tingitanian settlements.

The first Arab invasion of Morocco in A.D. 648 and the great immigration of bedawin tribes in the eleventh century mark the beginnings of two trends that have an important bearing on this discussion. The first Arab invaders were pious and learned men who sought to build an urban civilization comparable to that already established in the Muslim heartland. In each of the new cities wood was needed for building, for fuel, and for a hundred other domestic and industrial purposes. The great demand for tanbark at Marrakech, Fez, Salé, and Tetuán soon resulted in the destruction of large stands of holly oak and cork oak. Planks of cedar were needed for city gates, and beams of cedar or thuya were placed in mosques and palaces. Slender riparian trees were used in smaller structures, and charcoal braziers burned in every home. By the end of the tenth century the Moroccan cities had become "devourers of wood."[13]

Many authors, seeking a dramatic explanation of Moroccan deforestation, attribute most of the adverse change to the bedawin; at least one author refers to their "hatred of trees."[14] Ibn Khaldun noted the effects of the invasion of northern Africa by the Bani Hallal and Bani Soleim: "When the Arabs [i.e., bedawin] conquer a country, ruin quickly descends upon it"; after three hundred and fifty years of unrestricted nomadism in his native Tunisia, "ruin and devastation" still prevailed.[15]

Pastoral destruction accelerates very rapidly, for the havoc wrought by overgrazing lies not only in its destruction but also in its prevention of new growth. But it is seldom possible to distinguish one among the several causes of deforestation. There is something appealing in the thought that the Vandals or the bedawin "destroyed" the north African forest, just as there is in the notion that the Mesopotamian irrigation system was "ruined" by the hordes of Hulagu Khan.

175 311

[9] *Natural History*, XVI, 40.
[10] *Geography*, XVII, 3.
[11] For an English translation, see B. H. Warmington, *Carthage* (London: Robert Hale, 1960), pp. 62–64.
[12] Cf. Vitruvius, *Architecture*, II, 4; and Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI, 231, XXXIII, 146.
[13] Jean Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), p. 84.
[14] A. Bernard, *Afrique septentrionale et occidentale* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1937–1939), I, 65.
[15] Charles Issawi, trans., *An Arab Philosophy of History: Selections from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332–1406)* (London: John Murray, 1950), pp. 54–58. Cf. Boudy's comment, *op. cit.*, I, 228; cited in note 5: "C'est incontestablement de cette période que date la grande déforestation du pays, résultat inéluctable des incendies répétés et du pâturage sans mesure." In "Le déboisement de l'Afrique du Nord," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 79 (1941), 471–487, Paul Buffault also blames the bedawin, but his argument is weakened by use of discredited notions of climatic change.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Both of these alien invasions merely accelerated processes of destruction or decay that had been going on for a long time.

Several of the Arab chroniclers refer to woods in areas that are now deforested. The celebrated text of the seventh century in which northern Africa is described as a land of "continuous shade" is doubtless exaggerated,[1] for the Maghrib would appear to be lush and verdant even today after a long trip through the deserts of Egypt and Libya. Later accounts are more specific, and several of these refer to northern Morocco. In the latter half of the eleventh century Al-Bekri describes an "extensive forest" near Qasr al-Awwal (Ksar as-Srair).[2] Today this area is covered by a shrub formation, interrupted only by scattered clumps of cork oak. In the middle of the twelfth century Al-Idrisi describes Ghmara as a "mountainous and wooded" land.[3] A generation later another author refers to forest in the Ghmaran mountains, and indicates that wood from this forest is used in the construction of boats.[4] In the fifteenth century Al-Ansari found an "abundance of trees" near Ceuta, where forest is now limited to a few stands of cork oak and Aleppo pine.[5]

In the sixteenth century the forests on the Rifian coast began to attract the attention of the Spanish. Moorish pirates had been raiding the Andalusian coast and it was virtually impossible for an unarmed ship to sail through the Strait of Gibraltar. The distress of the Spanish resulted not only from the daring of the Moors but also from the fact that the latter's boats were astonishingly fast and maneuverable. Contemporary accounts praise the "alerce" wood used in the Moorish boats and rate it higher than Spanish oak or pine. Opinions differ as to the identification of this wood, but descriptions of its distribution and properties strongly suggest the Barbary thuya (*Callitris articulata*).[6] In 1505 an agent of Fernando el Católico suggested that an expedition should be directed against the Moroccan coast at Peñón de Vélez because large quantities of alerce were to be found there and not elsewhere on the coast.[7] The latter assertion is almost certainly an error, for thuyas are still scattered over most of the Rifian littoral. At this time the interest of the Spanish seems to have been defensive, but they may have been interested in alerce as a source of timber for their own fleet. In the days of the Armada, Spain looked as far away as the Baltic for suitable timber.[8]

[1] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Un nouveau récit de la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les arabes," *Arabica*, 1 (1954), 40.

[2] Al-Bekri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (Algiers: Adolphe Jourdan, 1919), p. 206.

[3] Al-Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1866), pp. 203–204.

[4] J. Vernet Ginés, "Marruecos en la geografía de Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi," *Tamuda*, 1 (1953), 255.

[5] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une description de Ceuta musulmane au XVe siècle," *Hespéris*, 12 (1931), 145–176.

[6] After initially labeling alerce as thuya, T. García Figueras, *Miscelánea de estudios históricos sobre Marruecos* (Larache: Editora Marroquí, 1949), pp. 143–148, suggests that this name is related to *ars* (Arabic for "cedar"), an opinion shared by J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Bern: Francke, 1954). But it is unlikely that the cedar ever grew on the Mediterranean coast. Actually, there is little to choose between *ars* (cedar) and *ar'ar* (thuya) as possible roots of "alerce." The Latin *Larix* (larch) seems more plausible, but there are no deciduous conifers in Morocco.

[7] The reference is to "madera de los alerces, que los hay en Vélez y muchos y no en otra parte de la costa." For the complete text, see M. Jiménez de la Espada, *La guerra del moro a fines del siglo XV* (Ceuta: Imprenta Africa, 1940), p. 16.

[8] R. G. Albion, *Forests and Sea-Power* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 183; Hellmuth Hopfner, "La evolución de los bosques de Castilla la Vieja en tiempos históricos," *Estudios Geográficos*, 15 (1954), 415–430.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175
311

A number of references to vegetation in northern Morocco appear in the journals of Leo Africanus.[26] In his introductory account of northern Africa the mountains of Barbary are described as "woody on all sides" and as being "replenished with woods and lofty trees."[27] But on the eastern frontier of Barbary, close to Libya, he found "certain barren hills destitute of trees, upon the lower parts whereof grow nothing but unprofitable thorns and shrubs."[28]

Leo's account of the "Kingdom of Fez" reveals his careful observation during extensive travels in northern Morocco.[29] "The Rif Mountains," he notes, are "replenished with most beautiful and straight trees." On the banks of Wad Lukkus he found "huge and solitary woods haunted with lions and other wild beasts." In 1562 a Portuguese attempt to supply the fort at La Graciosa was thwarted, according to Leo, when the Moors cut down "all the woods adjoining the river," causing it to be "choaked and stopped up with great trees." In this context it would seem that Leo refers to riparian forest, but he may be describing an extensive stand of cork oak. This forest did not extend over the entire Atlantic littoral, for he later notes that Arcila "sustaineth great want of wood" because it "standeth almost ten miles from the mountains." Then as now, the people of Arcila imported charcoal from the cork forests south of "Larais" (Larache).

Leo's description of Anjra shows an alertness to change. "In times past," he notes, the mountains of Anjra "greatly abounded with woods, which, being cut down by the inhabitants, were sent to Casar [Ksar as-Srair] for the building of ships, which at that time had a great fleet belonging thereunto." This passage seems to imply that ships were no longer being built or that shipbuilding had declined. A further implication might be that shipbuilding had declined because suitable timber had become scarce. If so, the depletion of the forest must have taken place between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.[30]

Proceeding eastward on the Mediterranean coast, Leo stopped at "Terga," a few kilometers beyond Wad Lao and noted "not far from this town" an "abundance of wood upon the ragged and cold mountains." A similar observation is recorded at "Velles de Gumera" (Vélez de la Ghmara): "Upon the mountains grow great store of wood, very commodious for the building of ships and of galleys"; and he adds that the inhabitants of these mountains "are almost wholly employed about carrying of the said wood from place to place."[31] The reference to lumber trade is not surprising, for the Sanhajans probably carried cedar planks from market to market long before the sixteenth century; but it is surprising to find a suggestion that the mountain tribes were "almost wholly employed" in this trade.

The next account refers to "Ielles," a village located on the coast between Vélez and the bay of Alhucemas. The mountains south of this place are described as being "full of pine trees," and Leo found "great store of wood" in the moun-

[26] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896).
[27] *Ibid.*, I, 168–169.
[28] *Ibid.*, I, 173.
[29] *Ibid.*, II, 494–539, Hakluyt edition. The quotations to follow are taken from Book 3 of the narrative.
[30] Vernet Ginés, *op. cit.*, in note 19.
[31] In regard to the same place, Mármol (who may have copied Leo) refers to "buen aparejo de madera en las sierras de alrededor, donde hay muchos árboles, alcornoques y alerces para hacer navios." Luys del Mármol Carvajal, *Descripción general de Africa* (Granada and Málaga, 1573–1599), III, chap. 62.

[113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

tains of the upper Nkour. The same expression is applied to the mountains on the route between Vélez and Fez (probably the Sanhajan highlands), and to "Mount Seusaoen" (i.e., Shawen, probably Jbil Tisuka). Leo's account of the eastern sector of northern Morocco is very different. The plains of Garet are described as a desert, and the lower Moulouya Valley as being "unpleasant and dry," with "no water but that of the river Muluia."

Accounts of forest in the Rif highlands are to be expected, but it is surprising to find repeated references to forest on the Mediterranean coast. Similar accounts appear in the works of Arab writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Strabo describes the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees. The frequent mentions of trees near Ceuta suggest a profound modification of vegetation in subsequent years. Accounts of shipbuilding and lumber trade indicate some commercial logging; the retreat of the forest near Ksar as-Srair, Ceuta, and Vélez might have been a direct result of these activities. Leo's reference to "great want of wood" at Arcila suggests that the hills and marine terraces of the Tangier-Tetuán-Arcila triangle had been cleared before his time, but extensive woods still existed in the basin of Wad Lukkus. His evaluation of the Moulouya Valley may have been prejudiced by previous exposure to more verdant areas, but "desert" does not mean forest, or even a rich formation of scrub.

Agents and Processes of Change

In northern Morocco today, the most important agents of deforestation are: (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to "improve" pastures and to clear fields for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by sheep and goats. These processes are evident even to the casual observer, but it is difficult to determine their relative importance. Despois believes that the principal causes of deforestation have always been the need for fuel and new land to till.[11] Braun-Blanquet describes the Mediterranean garrigues as "zoöbiotically conditioned communities."[12] Kuhnholtz-Lordat is convinced that the greatest agent of deterioration has been fire.[13]

Each emphasis is supported by abundant evidence, but it may be doubted whether the several causes of deforestation can be treated independently. A series of fires, if not too closely spaced, may not result in deforestation, but burning followed by heavy pasturing inevitably does. Most of the broad-leaf trees in northern Morocco reproduce themselves from shoots after being burned or felled, but in areas overrun by goats the shoots are browsed down and forest degenerates to scrub. In tangled brush formations it is often difficult to tell whether the main destructive agent has been fire, domestic animals, or man.

Consumption of Wood

Although kerosene lamps burn in many Moroccan homes, charcoal and wood are the only important domestic fuels.[14] Butane and electrical appliances are

[11] Despois, *op. cit.*, p. 84, cited in note 13.

[12] J. Braun-Blanquet, *Pflanzensoziologie: Grundzüge der Vegetationskunde* (2d ed., Vienna: Springer, 1951), p. 371.

[13] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), *passim*.

[14] Anthracite of excellent quality has been mined at Djerada south of Oujda since 1931, but

2: Montagne--283 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/209 cont./

619 131 territory of the Koutama and of Taghzout. Badès, according to Idrisi, was the eastern limit of the bloc of the Ghomara; the present Spanish name of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera would suffice to prove that it was their port.

To the East were still found, between Badès and Ghassasa, in the vicinity of the cape Tres Forcas, Senhajian and Ghomarian populations, which, in the first centuries of the Hejira, had constituted the kingdom of Nekor of the Banou Salih, before the destruction of the town of Nekor at the beginning of the eleventh century (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 139.

[648] Moreover it is not impossible that the internal wars that deeply disturbed the life of this small State were caused by the permanent hostility of the two races.

•195 648 What were the historic causes of the attack led by the Senhaja against the country of the Ghomara? Already at the time of Idrisi in the twelfth century, the latter had suffered a serious check, since their territory had been reduced toward the South, to the advantage of the Senhaja, by a just punishment from God, "because of their numerous sins, the weakness of their Islam, their perseverance in practicing adultery with complete freedom," and all their other crimes (3).

[113] 3. El Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, text p. 170.

It is the succession of defeats that they suffered that is alluded to, as we have seen, in the classification of "Bou Tyour," /210/ in which the Ghomara are represented by animals "capable of being eaten."

But it is not possible to explain solely by the advance of Senhaja elements, who doubtless came originally from the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ for the acquisition of better lands,

/210 cont./

•175 648 the present equilibrium of the tribes of the two leffs in the western part of the Jbala. First of all, elements foreign to the two races took part for one or the other of the adversaries, according to historical circumstances. Already in the eleventh century the Koutama were counting themselves with the Masmouda of the Habt; Nefzawa elements, such as the Soumata and the Ghessassa, small tribes of the group of the Aureba, such as the Jaya, Mezziat, Reghiwa, the group of the Branès, later some Zénète invaders, such as the Metalsa, had to choose a side and join one or the other of the alliances. Other groups, in submitting to the conqueror of the moment, even abandoned their leff of origin; thus it is that at present the Rhouna pass themselves off as Senhaja, whereas they belong to the other race. Koutama fractions were absorbed into the Senhaja of Srair; they are now part of their confederation; by contrast, the Boqqoya, Senhaja in origin, according to Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, count themselves today in the "ʿalam" of the Ghomara. The Khlot, Arabs settled on the territory of the Beni Hassan, naturally attached themselves to the leff hostile to those whose place they were taking.

648 [174] It is easy, moreover, to imagine how, through the effect of internal divisions and local wars, the weakest groups were to detach themselves from the homogeneous mass of the tribes of their race and find themselves carried along little by little into new alliances more congenial to their inclinations or to their habitual interests. Still today, observes M. Michaux-Bellaire: "the small mountain tribes, incapable of defending themselves and preserving their independence, live under the protection and under the domination of a nearby large tribe to which they pay tribute ... [619] Two large tribes often dispute with arms the superiority over one of these little tribes and the little tribe at issue successively becomes Senhadjian or Ghomarian ..." (1).

1. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," p. 6.

/295 cont./

619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

•175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-[171] [681] [434] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] [581] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

/296 cont./

175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
554 succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
182 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
578 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ʿAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

/401 cont./

000 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

• 175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him [578] first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe; [619] after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert, Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of 175 631 the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of 669 Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus 648 ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and

175 /402 cont./
631 of the tribes of the vicinity, ᶜAbd el Kerim can easily tame the
669 revolts of the Rif fomented by the minor amghars of the Ghomara,
/403/ jealous of the development of his power; soon he completes
648 his successes by the conquest of the Jbel and makes his rival
Raisouli perish in prison.

175 Four years sufficed to make of the son of the cadi of Ajdir the
631 independent Sultan of the north of Morocco, who keeps the
554 armies of Spain at bay; carried away by his ambition, by the en-
[648] thusiasm and cupidity of his entourage, ᶜAbd el Kerim then
dreams for an instant of conquering the towns of the Maghreb and
becoming master of all the Mussulmans of Morocco, whose eyes
turn toward him with growing admiration. Indeed, each day that
passes increases his prestige; he becomes, in the eyes of western
Islam, a new Moustapha /Mustafa/ Kemal; his name is known
from the Indies to America, and people follow his victories and
projects with a passionate interest; the large countries of Europe
are stirred up by the importance that he is acquiring and, ac-
cording to their interests, secretly desire his success or hope for
his ruin.

175 A few weeks of well-directed military efforts moreover suffice
631 to get rid of the "Riffian State." But the conditions under which
182 this Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, so rapidly built up and at the same
648 time so fragile, suddenly collapses enable us to see its internal
structure clearly.

During the first phase of the war, the struggle between the Rif,
France, and Spain was carried on to the boundary of the tribes
conquered and governed by the Beni Ouriaghel; so the efforts of
two large modern armies remained in vain because the members
of the Riffian Makhzen /makhzan/ always succeeded in constrain-
ing all the populations of the mountains of the north of Morocco
to continue the holy war, the "jihad," without sparing their forces;
but when the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel itself is threatened,
the warriors of ᶜAbd el Kerim's tribe all abandon at the same time
their external commands in the tribes of the Jbala and the Wergha
in order to come to defend their own homes; the grip exerted by
the tribal brothers of the "Sultan of the Rif" on all the small

R
•175 /403 cont./
631 mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances
182 that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the
648 heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
121 IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From
171 the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of
*631 the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter
554 of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral
182 kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1956-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

105 Many of the basic distinctions in the cultural geography of northern Morocco can be attributed to two main factors: the sense of collective identity that is felt by members of tribal confederations and some individual tribes, and the extent to which such groups have been exposed to alien influence. For example, Berber speech in the Rif has survived because it is an expression of fraternal unity, and because the traditions of political independence and economic self-sufficiency have enforced the isolation of the area from the main centers of Arab influence. [186] Moreover, the preservation of Berber speech and many other aspects of Berber culture have been encouraged by the contempt of the Rifians for their Arab or [176 178] Arabized neighbors. In the Rif, as elsewhere, an innovation may be accepted or rejected, not on the basis of its form and content or its compatibility with established custom but because of its affiliation with desirable or undesirable groups.

Consciously or unconsciously, tribal groups have selected material traits, such as distinctive clothing, settlement patterns, and types of houses, to serve as symbols of their identity. It is not by accident that the western limits of dispersed settlement and flat-roofed houses nearly coincide with the western limits of Rifian speech. Nor is it surprising that symbols of tribal identity are more conspicuous in the highlands than on the Atlantic littoral. This contrast is explained, or at least clarified, when the distribution of culture traits is compared with the physical division between refuge areas and passageways.

Other notable examples of refuge areas are found on the Ghmaran coast, especially the territory of the Bani Bu Zra, and in the less accessible parts of Sanhaja as-Srair. The most exposed areas of northern Morocco are the Fahs territory, south of Tangier, and the basin of Wad Lukkus. These territories are cultural melting pots in which heterogenous elements have been blended by the pervasive force of Islam. Moreover, these territories, unlike the rest of the northern zone, have been affected by social and economic influences emanating from towns.

For northern Morocco as a whole, subsistence farming is clearly the predominant mode of livelihood. With the exception of hemp, grown in the Sanhajan highlands, there is no large cash crop. At most markets barter is more important than cash transactions, and the essential imports from the urban centers are limited to sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene. Yet the rural economy of northern Morocco should not be described as one of simple subsistence with little or no specialization or exchange. In northern Morocco, as in many other areas of the non-Western world, self-sufficiency at the scale of the canton or tribe reflects the specialized or semispecialized production of individual hamlets and farmsteads.

The basic differences within the agricultural framework depend upon the opportunities for cultivation of crops to supplement the staple cereals. Maximum opportunity is found in the Sanhajan highlands, where perennial streams provide water for irrigation of vegetables and legumes. There are few perennial streams in the western lowlands, but the combination of gentle slopes, fertile soils, and dependable rains minimizes the risks of dry farming and makes possible a surplus yield of grain to be drawn upon during unproductive months. In the Rif, horticulture provides a safeguard against failure of the cereal crops, and when bread is scarce, raisins, nuts, and figs are staple foods. The number of orchards decreases

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

contain meat. The vegetable *guaz* consists of vegetable marrow, potatoes, onions, and peppers casseroled in a pot with oil. Meat *guaz* consists of the same combination of vegetables, or of as many of them as can be obtained, plus gobbets of any kind of meat — goat, sheep, or beef — or whole chickens. *Guaz* is the dish commonly given to guests, especially Europeans and Arabs.

The *kebab*, a recent innovation, is a series of chunks of meat, preferably mutton or goat, spitted on a length of wire, stick, or on a specially constructed spit. Pieces of fat alternate with the meat, and chopped-up onions and peppers are rubbed into the meat lavishly. The whole is broiled over a charcoal brazier and eaten as soon as it leaves the fire. (See plate 19.) The *kebab* forms an easily prepared and tasty dish, especially convenient for people on the march, who cannot carry pots or other utensils. Although introduced only recently it has had a rapid diffusion throughout the area, and is now known everywhere. An especially prized type of *kebab* is that made from bits of liver wrapped in sweetbreads.

Meat may be preserved for later consumption by two methods, drying in the sun and the manufacture of sausages.

er kadidth, from the Arabic *el kadid*, may be made of any meat commonly eaten, except chicken. Mutton, goat, and beef kadids are common, but the meat most suitable for this form of preservation is the flesh of the wild boar. Until recently pork kadids, resembling in taste ham, shoulder, and bacon, were made throughout the Rif, but through an increasing wave of religious feeling this article of diet is fast disappearing. In the Rif it is found only occasionally, and even then is made and consumed secretly through fear of ridicule. The people of Temjunt and Inhanahan of Gzennaya, as well as the Beni Amart, probably make and consume more of it than any other groups in the Rif. In the Senhaja Sghir it is still manufactured and eaten openly, especially in Ktama, Beni Seddath, Beni Bu Nsar, and Beni Khennus. In Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth it is called by another name when Arabs or Riffians are present. The kadid may be eaten dry, like chipped beef, or in a *guaz*. It is made and eaten by everyone in the area excepting the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi.

thimhagzin, sausages, are made from goat meat, beef, and pork. The latter meat is rarely used at present, but was formerly the common sausage material. The meat is chopped up, mixed with fat, salt, peppers, and onions, and packed into intestines, bladders, and stomachs. Sausages are eaten only on the feast of *Ashor*, and occasionally on the *Haggus*. For the former celebration, one sausage is made for each member of the family, its size varying with the size of the person who will eat it. These delicacies are hung in a cluster on a rafter. Sausages are found in the Beni Amart and among the Mountain Urriaghlis.

Fish. This is eaten very rarely in the mountain interior, although it forms a common enough article of diet along the coast. When eaten fresh, there is but one method of preparation — by frying in a skillet, with olive oil or some other fat. Sardines are more commonly eaten than any other kind of fish, and when prepared in this way, with olive oil, are very tasty.

There are two methods of preserving fish, by salting and by baking. Salting is done as soon as the fish are brought up on shore. The product so prepared is carried inland in baskets and sold in markets. (See plate 32.) Sometimes sardines are put in a bake-oven without being cleaned. When baked to a crisp they are set aside for winter consumption. Salted fish are sold inland, but baked fish are intended for the use of fishermen and their families.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER V

MATERIAL CULTURE (CONTINUED)

METAL WORK

326 METAL workers may be divided into three classes: ironworkers or blacksmiths, who are subjected to social restrictions, Jews, and gunsmiths.

325 None of these metal workers know the art of extracting metals from their ores — all the raw material used in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara in recent times has been brought in from outside.[1] Thus, using smelting as the criterion, one might say that these people are not in an age of metal, despite the fact that they use metal tools exclusively. This observation is doubly true when one considers that all the metal workers, except the gunsmiths, are counted as outsiders and immigrants.

The blacksmiths use double bellows of goat-skin bags, which they work up and down with sticks. These bellows, called *tahanut*, must not be confused with the *arrabos*, the bellows of European fireplace type now made in Taghruth and copied from those made in Meknes and Fez. The blacksmith works over a charcoal fire, quickened by means of these bellows: he heats his metal until it is red hot and then forges it on an anvil, called *er minsbuth*, which consists merely of an iron stake driven into the ground (unless he has had the good fortune to buy a European anvil). All iron is forged, none is cast; in fact, the only 325 metal melted and cast is lead, used for bullets. The Riffian smiths are, however, able to perform one feat of considerable difficulty; they weld steel edges into soft iron implements, ●177 an art unknown, I believe, to the Negroes of Central Africa, from whom, judging by tradition, the physical type of the smiths, and the types of implements, modern North African metallurgy was borrowed. The Vandals, according to Procopius,[2] are supposed to have shown the North Africans the secret of steel-working, whence the smiths may have obtained this technique, if they did not obtain it later from Jews or Arabs.

326 412 439 The blacksmiths make hoes, sickles, ploughshares, pruning knives, knives, shears, scissors, axes, adzes, chisels, hammers, and horseshoes. Such tools as files, vises, saws, planes, awls, needles, and pincers they import.

325 412 Hoes, sickles, adzes, and axes were formerly so made that they could be hafted only to shafts which bent at right angles; in other words, the hafting superficially resembled a Bronze Age technique, especially since the end of such a tool away from the cutting edge was equipped with a socket for the reception of the end of the hafting. In order to make this socket, the implement was constructed as follows: a flat square sheet of iron was ham-

[1] Marmol (chaps. 41, 43, 46) states that iron was extracted in the neighborhood of Melilla and of Megeo, as well as in Beni Said. The first two sites were probably worked, or at least directed, by townspeople, who were not, according to Marmol's own accounts, native Berbers in blood. In Beni Said the mining operations were well organized, and merchants came from as far as Fez to buy iron balls, from which the tools Berbers use were made.

The excellence of the organization of this extinct industry in Beni Said may have been due to Arab or some other non-Riffian inspiration. At the time Marmol wrote the eastern Rif was much more open to outside influences than it has been in later centuries.

[2] Marcus, p. 217 (from Cassiod. Variar. v. 1, Victor Vitensis I, 10).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

356 The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too
358 are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

341 **Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques.** *The Moorish arch* in doors and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an
●177 innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

341 *Domes* are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni
764 Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since
177 domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

341 *Tiled roofs* are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of
177 the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

341 Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat
346 of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

342 **Tents.** The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa*
[286] braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhashen*, sepa-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CENTRAL RIFFIAN POTTERY-BASKETRY

Bottom of unusual water-jug, showing entrance of cone through which pot is filled when lowered into a well. Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Side view of the same

Bowl showing eastern influence in design. Temsaman

Making a wicker basket for raisins. Ulad Abd el Munen, Iberrusben, Gzennaya

415
323
531

[285]

[177]

[facing p. 78]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

spun from black goat hair is put in as a weft by hand, without a shuttle, as in the case of the *azta*. The result of this process, a heavy, hybrid fabric, half textile and half matting, is used for tents.

Rug-making has not reached the high development among the Riffians which it has attained among the Shluh and Braber. Riffian rugs, woven on the *azta*, are coarse, harsh, and unattractive. The hooked-rug method, employed so effectively by the Beni Mgil and Beni Mtir of the Braber, is unknown. In fact, few rugs are made by the Riffians, who prefer to purchase them at Melilla and Fez.

All wool intended to be used in garments other than turbans and belts is thrown into a vat of dye before being carded or spun. The dyes used for coloring this raw wool are as follows:

brown, made from boiled apple-leaves.
red, made from the bark of almond-tree roots, boiled.
yellow, made from pomegranate husks.
green, made from the water boiled out of *thaghigheshth* roots or cedar cones.
black, made from an imported mineral called *zaj*.

These natural vegetable products are boiled in water, in which the wool is immersed and soaked. When it is taken out the colors are fast. Turbans and belts are dyed after they have been finished; when taken out of the dye they are rubbed with ashes, a process not considered necessary in the case of raw wool. Leather is dyed by exactly the same process as wool.

Tie-dyeing, called *thisfarsth*, is in some regions applied to cloth intended for use as turbans. The distribution is as follows: all Senhaja and Ghomara, and all tribes between them and Tangier.

CLOTHING

Riffian clothing was formerly made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven. At present many garments are made of imported cotton cloth, and others of silk. In this compilation of garment-types most attention will be paid to the older elements of Riffian dress, the distribution of which alone is significant.

Masculine Attire. *ajjab*, the jellaba, is a woolen cloak with short sleeves and a hood. The jellaba is found all over North Africa and is not a distinctive Riffian garment, except as it differs in minor details from jellabas worn by other Berber or Arab groups. The Riffian jellaba is notably shorter than the average, reaching only to the knees, and its hood less broad than the hoods of the Ghomara and other western groups. The Riffian jellaba has definite shoulders; in the western type the transition from hood to sleeve is lacking. The Riffian jellaba is always either dark brown or black, but in other areas white, striped, or other colored types are worn. Furthermore, the Riffian jellaba can be readily distinguished by its embroidery, which will be treated separately. The jellaba is exclusivley a masculine garment. (See plates 25 and 27.)

er serham, the silham, is a cloak resembling the jellaba, but lacks sleeves and is generally much longer and more flowing. The silham is typical of the Braber and Shluh of the Atlas, and is likewise worn by the nomadic peoples south of the Atlas. In the Rif its use is limited to the nomadic tribes of the Garet. Until recently the silham was worn by both the Metalsa

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291 and Beni Bu Yahyi. At present the Metalsa have entirely discarded it, and the Beni Bu Yahyi wear it only on festive occasions. (See plate 25.)

ṯakhidusth. Three generations ago all Riffians wore a garment resembling a silham, but reaching only to the waist. This garment had a hood, lacked sleeves, and was heavily embroidered. It was worn over the jellaba and was considered highly decorative. The *ṯakhidusth* was woven on the woman's loom, as was the silham; jellaba cloth is always woven on the newer horizontal or man's loom.

ṯhashbiar, a woolen shirt. The sleeves of this garment reach to mid-forearm, its collar opens on one side, and entrance for the head is permitted by a slit reaching along one side of the shoulder from the opening in the neck to the top of the sleeve. (See plate 25.) The collar is fastened by a looped string. This type of shirt is made of white wool, is very heavy, and is elaborately embroidered with colored silk. The lower edge, called *ṯhimuar*, is ornamented by a row of heavy silken tassels called *thikhemesin*. This shirt is nearly as long as the jellaba, and is never tucked into the trousers. Over the *ṯhashbiar* the Riffian men sometimes wear another shirt, called by the same name and identical in form, except that the neck of the over-shirt is cut low enough for easy insertion of the head. At present woolen shirts of this type are difficult to find, since manufactured cotton cloth has been adopted almost universally in place of the heavier woolen material. The style and design have, however, remained the same.

saarwair (Arabic *serwal*), trousers, entered the Rif at the same time as American cotton cloth, called *melikan*, about a generation ago. The trousers made from this cloth are very broad and baggy, and reach to a point just below the knee. The front and back are indistinguishable, except for a reënforcement patch at the rear, put on when the trousers are made. The tailor uses several yards of cloth and does not waste a scrap of material. Embroidery is confined to the narrow cuffs; the trousers are held up by a string like pyjamas. (See plate 25.) Another distinct type of trouser is found in the Ghomara, very short, open, and wide, reaching only to mid-thigh and exposing the lower part of the abdomen. The Riffians ridicule the Ghomarans when they see them thus attired. The Riffian type is found throughout the Rif and Senhaja Sghir except among the Nomads, Ktama, and Beni Hamid. The Ghomaran type appears in Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja.

The garments just described were, with the exception of headgear and footgear, the only ones worn by the Riffians before the advent of Abd el Krim. During the early stages of the conflict with Spain, the Riffians, become in some cases affluent, went to Fez as tourists and brought home new and strange articles of clothing, notably the *bida'ia*, a woolen or felt vest of loud color, buttoning to the neck by means of many knotted tassels, and the *ferrajia*, a similar garment, reaching below the knees and equipped with broad, flowing sleeves. This latter garment resembles closely the familiar *ḳaftan*.

There are four principal types of masculine headgear, which will be described in the order of their antiquity.

1. *thaghareft*, a long narrow strip of stiff woolen cloth, with one end tapering and the other flat and broad. The flat, broad end is stuck up behind on the back of the head, and the tapering end tucked in when the turban has been wrapped around the head. This *thaghareft* forms a narrow turban which leaves the top of the head bare, and gives the appearance of a crown with an eminence behind. It is covered with heavy embroidery. The *thaghareft* is at present rare and difficult to obtain, partly because it has gone out of style,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291 and partly because it was part of Abd el Krim's uniform and would therefore throw suspicion upon the wearer as a rebel sympathiser. It is still worn, curiously enough, by many of the native *mokhamiya*, gendarmes in the employ of the Spanish military authorities.

2. *furu*. This is a collection of strings of camel's-hair yarn, roughly parallel, and crosstied just often enough to keep the whole combination together. The *furu* is twisted about the head as a turban just as is the *thaphareft*, leaving the top of the head similarly bare. The camel's hair comes from the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is dyed brown for ordinary wear and red for weddings. The *furu* came in after the *thaphareft*, and like it was worn by individuals here and there in every tribe, according to personal taste.

[177] 3. *thaamanth*, a yellow kerchief, silk embroidered, worn as a turban. This is of European manufacture and introduction.

[177] 4. *aririth*, a white cotton turban (see plate 25), likewise of European manufacture. In adopting the white turban the Riffians have reached the final step of imitating the Arabs. All the previous types of headgear mentioned were distinctively if not uniquely Riffian, but the *rezza*, as the Arabs call it, in no way distinguishes them from the rest of Moroccans. It has not yet attained universal distribution, being worn only by the least conservative elements in each tribe. The fez, or *sheshia*, as it is called in Morocco, has not yet appeared except in the tribes of Galiya and Kebdana.

291 The Riffians in the Spanish zone will probably become Europeanised in dress before
177 they submit completely to Arab notions of sartorial accoutrement, since the Riffians have fewer inhibitions against European civilization than against that of the Arabs. However, European dress among them is at present confined to the very few who have become officers in the Spanish army and to chauffeurs, mechanics, and the like in Melilla.

291 Riffians never appear in public without some form of belt and a scrip, or bag.

thaghuqat is the generalized term for men's belts, which are always made of leather. The
[293] ordinary type is about two inches broad, undecorated, and fastened by a buckle in front. *thaghuqat n tayish* is a special belt worn at weddings, much broader, covered with silken embroidery, and frequently embellished with tassels. *thaghuqat er kneith* is a leather cartridge
293 belt, with pockets for the clips of cartridges which fit into the ordinary Mauser, or Spanish army rifle. *thazabutch*, the scrip or leathern bag, does not hang from the belt, but is supported by a separate strap, called *iyarusith*, passing over the shoulder opposite to the side on which the bag is worn. The old style bags used in the days of the flintlock rifle were very large and contained many pockets, in which were kept powder, lead balls, emergency rations, knives, papers, and other small objects which among us would be carried in pockets. These bags were ornamented with silk embroidery and long leather fringes and tassels. (See plate 27.) The designs were both rectilinear and curvilinear, the curvilinear designs usually being floral. The bags were also decorated by great areas of inlaid colored leather, a technique which had died out but which is now being revived by Taghzuthi workmen in French shops at Rabat.

Accompanying the large bag of former times, a powder horn made from the horn of the aoudad, called the *ish n wuthath*, depended from the belt. The use of these horns has died out, owing to the advent of cartridges and the scarcity or possible extinction of the aoudad.

281 The bags and belts which typified the Rif of a hundred years ago were made exclusively at a village called Iyarusith in the tribe of Temsaman. The craft has long been extinct there, however, and now the belts and bags used in the Rif are made locally or are imported

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

2. *thashumbushth*, a cotton headcloth, tied over the bunched-up hair, is a more recent type of headdress which came in with the introduction of American cotton cloth. (See plate 26.) This cloth is generally white, although red and yellow are occasionally used. In the region where tie-dyeing is practiced a headcloth decorated in this manner is worn.

The garments just described, the *thawthat* and *ifiran*, were formerly the only garments worn by women, in winter as well as in summer. On exceptionally cold days women might occasionally put on a second *thawthat*, bringing it up over the head like a shawl.

el ḥaik is the Arab ḥaik, or woman's shawl. There is no word for this in the Riffian dialects. It is simply a square piece of cloth worn as a shawl. (See plate 26.) It is to be found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all Eastern Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Branes. *ḥash*, the men's ḥaik, has been given a Riffian name. This is a light thinly-woven woolen scarf worn around the neck and back of the head, and generally tucked into the neck of the jellaba in front. It is considered of Arab origin, and is distributed through Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Shawia and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya.

Since cotton cloth has come in, women's garments are losing their simple form and becoming tailored. Sleeved shirts, open at the neck and embroidered, are worn with wide trousers like those of the men and the red belts of Malaga. The result is a costume entirely different from that of a few years ago, but more decorative. This type of garment has not yet supplanted the *thawthat*, however, since the old style is still maintained by the older women and by many of the younger ones as well. As with other factors of material culture which depend on European introduction for their diffusion, the pattern of their dissemination seems to be sporadic and voluntary, and without cultural significance.

The garments of men are tailor-made by *ṭolba*, or students in the mosque, and women's garments must be made by the women themselves, although often men who have been students and have learned the art of embroidery make and embroider their wives' garments for them.

The silk with which embroidery is done is now largely European, and its dyes are not fast. Formerly all the silk used came from Tetwan, and often was not dyed until it arrived in the Rif; hence the dyes, the same as employed on wool and leather, were always fast. The Tetwan silk is still considered superior, but is increasingly difficult to obtain. There is no reason to believe that this native silk was not imported into the Rif in very early times, or since the inception of silk-worm cultivation in Morocco after the advent of the Arabs. El Bekri says that the Meknassa, a group just south of Gzennaya, paid tribute to the king of Nekor in cloth from Merv.[1]

The designs, the same as those formerly put on the bags and belts of Temsaman, are both curvilinear and rectilinear, the triangular or saw-toothed design predominating. A favorite design is a square capsule, decorated on the inside with sawteeth, and surmounted on the small ends with curved lines reminiscent of the ancient Libyan ostrich plumes. Designs found by Bates to be characteristic of the ancient Libyans are still recognizable in Riffian embroidery.[2] A favorite design employed on the hoods of jellabas and on the cuffs

[1] El Bekri, p. 157.

[2] Bates (*The Eastern Libyans*, Pl. III, and pp. 137, 139, 140) gives drawings of similar Libyan designs, mainly in the form of tattoo marks.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

177 the culture of the Berbers has been subject to influences

from various quarters. The latest, and from the point of view of religion greatest, wave of this kind came with the Arabic invasions, which brought to them Islam. And hand in hand with the rites and doctrines of their religion the Arabs introduced other customs and beliefs, even such as were actually forbidden by it; a rite of this kind is presumably the irreligious lamentations and self-lacerations of the female mourners which are practised by some of the Berbers, as well as by the Arabs.[1] The Bedouins who settled down on the plains of Morocco in the eleventh century were themselves very imperfectly Islamised, and their impiety and cynicism sometimes scandalised even the native inhabitants of the country;[2] yet they may have influenced the latter's customs and beliefs. The resemblances in these respects between the Berbers, as well as Arabs of Morocco, and the Arabs of the East, many of which will be pointed out on subsequent pages, are so manifold, even in little details, that we may assume a considerable Arab influence falling outside the pale of Islam. But on the other hand it is certain that many of these resemblances are *not* due to such influence; various forms of nature-worship may serve as an instance of this. Owing to our very deficient knowledge of the ancient Berbers, however, it is frequently impossible to say what is Arab by origin and what is Berber, and it may be futile even to make a conjecture on this point. We have, moreover, to take note of the fact that some similarities between the natives of Morocco and Arabic-speaking people of the East may have been caused by a common participation in an ancient Mediterranean culture. Instances of this will, for example, be found in the chapters on the evil eye, the agricultural rites, and the funeral and mourning ceremonies.

There has also been a Negro influence, which among the Berbers of the South no doubt commenced at a very early period when the southern border of their territory was more northerly than it is now,[3] and which has been maintained in later times through the influx of Negro slaves. This influence

[1] *Infra*, ii. 494 *sq.* [2] Marçais, *op. cit.* p. 713 *sq.*

[3] R. Basset, *Mission au Sénégal*, quoted by van Gennep, *L'état actuel du problème totémique* (Paris, 1920), p. 257 *sq.*

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

is very conspicuous in the rites of the Gnâwa,[1] and will probably prove to have had a considerably larger scope than is known at present.[2]

Several writers have perceived in certain Berber customs traces of Christian beliefs.[3] Christianity entered North Africa at an early date, and in the time of the Arab invasions there were a number of Christianised Berber tribes.[4] In Morocco Christian Berbers are said to have existed more than a century after the appearance of Islam, when Mûlâi Idrîs

FIG. 7.—Among the Aiṭ Yúsi.

subdued the last Berbers in that country who still remained "Christians, Jews, or idolaters".[5] It does not seem, however, that Christianity ever gained any considerable hold of the Berbers. In more recent times there were settlements

[1] *Infra*, i. 379 *sqq.* See also *infra*, i. 381 *sq.*

[2] On this subject *cf.* van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 257 *sqq.*

[3] See Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire* (London, 1899), p. 309 *sq.*; *Idem*, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 395.

[4] Joannes Abbas, 'Chronicon', in Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, lxxii. (Parisiis, 1849), col. 866; Abû 'l-Ḥasan 'Alî, *Annales regum Mauritaniae*, ed. and trans. by Tornberg (Upsaliae, 1843), p. 15; Ibn Ḫaldûn, *op. cit.* i. 177, 207, 209; Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* i. 163.

[5] *Raôḍ al-Qarṭâs*, trans. by Beaumier (Paris, 1860), p. 16.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

177 of Christian slaves, who are supposed to have left some impress on the native population.[1] But the conjectured survivals of a Christian influence are anyhow exceedingly scanty. The supposition that the cross in modern Berber tattooing and ornamentation is a relic of this kind is the more unwarranted since the cross is also seen as an ornament in the ancient Egyptian representations of Libyans;[2] but the case is different with the Sunday rest observed by the women of some Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Fez.[3] According to Leo Africanus it was the custom in Fez to eat certain dainties on Christmas eve;[4] but I was told that no such custom exists there at present.

Ancient Roman influence is conspicuous in certain rites;[5] and in one or two cases I think I have identified traces of the religion of Carthage, due to the Punic colonisation.[6] Resemblances have been found between the religion of the ancient Egyptians and that of the Libyans, including the Berbers of the West, but there have been different opinions as to their explanation.[7] Such likenesses are not necessarily due to Egyptian influence. Mr. Bates suggests that, just as a definite Libyan element is knit into the Egyptian language, so there are, in all probability, Libyan elements in the Egyptian religion.[8]

171 Finally it should be noticed that a very large number of rites and beliefs in Morocco are identical with, or very similar to, rites and beliefs found on the other side of the Mediterranean. Many such cases will be mentioned in the present work, but its scope does not allow an adequate discussion of this vast and difficult subject. The similarities may be partly due to "the like working of men's minds under like conditions" (as Tylor put it[9]), but largely also

[1] Budgett Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, p. 309 *sq.*
[2] *Infra*, i. 451 *sq.* [3] *Infra*, i. 134, 226.
[4] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* p. 452 *sq.* *Cf.* Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii. (Paris, 1899), p. 519; Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 373 *sq.*
[5] *Infra*, ii. 153 *sqq.* [6] *Infra*, i. 395 *sq.*
[7] *Infra*, i. 100 *sq.* *Cf.* ii. 86, 253.
[8] Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), p. 207.
[9] Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (London, 1878), p. 5.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000

PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: C"LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without 369 urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 779 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

177 671 779 Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are complimentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

181 5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

602 571 1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe, from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in 613 621 619 "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

571 (602) 2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

000 al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations 671 about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber 114 sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

177 5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of 67 any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, 279 why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

[554] 6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, (273) in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber- [114] speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

181 7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart 113 and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

000 8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational [596] depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral [193] root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

000

[465] 97--The fqih is paid by each nuclear family of the jma'th in barley every year, but he receives absolutely nothing from property in habus.

[251] 98--The office of amarras is nonexistent in the Central Rif, where storehouses, either individual or collective, are unknown, and each man keeps his grain reserves in an underground deposit (thasrafth) in the patio of his house.

[804] [114] 99--In the days of the Republik, a mudd was reckoned at 48 kilos; in Spanish times, 50; and since independence, 56. This puts some doubt on the accuracy of Blanco's figures.

[114] 100--Blanco erroneously thought that collective storehouses once existed in the Rif, and he cites Ajdir and an unnamed place in the Sanhajan tribe of the Bni Hmid as examples; and he also thought that the institution should be revived, as a sort of bank or treasury or center of credit.

101--What Blanco no doubt means to say here is that the notables whose names are written down in this qanun are ipso facto no longer anonymous, and that the first step on the rise to personal power is the shedding off of anonymity.

[114] [562] 102--In Rifian, imqqranen dh-imzzyanen, and in the Arabic of qanuns, "al-kibar wa al-sighar": the terms refer to all the men and youths (or boys) of a given locality. Perhaps this is the root of Blanco's interesting, if in some ways rather questionable, notion of women, who do not have the same status as their menfolk, as minors.

103--The notion of qa'id came in with 'Abd al-Krim, but no Rifian living can remember the day when there was no qadi, even if only matters pertaining to marriage, divorce and land fell under his jurisdiction.

[114] [199] 104--What Blanco probably means to say here is "Arabization" rather than "Islamization"; there is much more than just a subtle distinction between the two, and even during the period of the "Republik", a Rifian would have been mortally offended if anyone did not consider him a good Muslim.

105--Bu-mwarith: an official who takes over in the name of the government the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs.

106--Ukil l-ghuyab: inheritance or property representative for absentees; the man's function is a literal translation of his title.

107--This traditionally given etymology seems highly doubtful, for the Rif at least, and the term should rather read aitarba'in or aitharba'in (sing. utharba'in), which changes the meaning to the far more plausible one of "people of the people".

[114] 108--This seems to be purely an ex post facto explanation on Blanco's part and has no relation to reality. The notion of Ait-arba'in as people of the forty, in which there literally were 40 councilmembers, d o e s e x i s t in some areas (i.e. the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara), but it is unknown in the Rif.

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

423 794 interested in doing field research may see. What happened was that the jma'ath, given their natural lack of confidence and their fear of our innocent decrees, disclosed to us a part (of what had happened), reserving for themselves exactly what was needed in order to assure themselves, in the worst cases, of the maintenance of worship and the dhamzyidha, the social and religious link.

621 423 794 With this estate, with this "bank", the poor jma'ath, in their hazardous existence, were able to save themselves in hard times, either in times of famine or drought, with advances of grain, or in times of violence, with advances of fines, muna-s (food) to harka-s in transit, acquisition of arms and ammunition, etc.

423 794 With the new centralizing system of a shocking and unanimous complaint, there is no rural mosque which is looked after; the fiscalization of accounts does not have that (degree of) efficiency; and, outside of its bureaucracy, the profits may only be revealed in the ostentatious and less accommodating urban mosques, given that if the latter were nests of preachers, and loafers, and rebels, the former acted as places of asylum, banks, storehouses, councils, clubs and schools. But the worst is that such a procedure mocks the will of the donor and falsifies management of the donation, for the property which the devout and rustic tribesman turned over were destined for lay administration and for the profit of his humble dhamzyidha, and with it for his family and for the small social nucleus within which his life developed. It was not in order to cover up the leaks of the mosque, whether large or small, nor to enlighten any urban mulay, whose surplus resources, religiosity and the prodigality of whose adherents could

such urgent needs: it disorbitized the simple problems of fiscalization, strengthening and (re)orientation of Rifian popular institutions in order to create a cold and foreign bureaucracy and/or, at the very least, to improve the cities by putting up sumptuous buildings or repairing beautiful minarets.[17]

From a communal administrative organization and an essentially lay and effective position--like that of the ahabbas--a complicated religious problem and political weapon has been forged, i.e. the forms and modes have changed completely, to the detriment of the need which they tried to remedy. The administration has passed into the hands of the tulba; the inspection into those of the qudat (pl. of qadi); and the orders for payments into those of nothing less than a Ministry.[18]

In these dazzling reports it is easy to find science per se and the origin, finality and means of acquiring and utilizing these jma'ath properties in the different tribal areas of our (Spanish) zone in its "anarchical" (sic) existence.

I believe, then, that it is not in ways foreign to the Zone nor to those of the Arab authors of treatises where we must look for the light which will illuminate our path, but rather in what we know (empirically) through investigation of Rifian society itself, whose most durable facets are not very different from old Spanish

---

17--The situation which Blanco hints at here, of local community resources in the Rif disappearing in order to add luster to urban mosque-cum-habus situations, is not one which has ever come up in our own experience.

18--Here Blanco complains again about what can only be labeled as "Creeping Arabism", after his earlier remarks about the pernicious influence of "the city" on the Rifian.

000 2. LEGAL DECISION PROCEDURE:

(Most of this section is made up of the Introduction, in manuscript form and unpublished, to La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte--Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939)

671 A) Characteristics: (fragmentary):

1) Sources of Customary Law:

a) Voluntary Pacts: agreements or conventions which individuals or kin groups establish among themselves, in writing, toward the attainment of specific ends.

b) Qanuns: tariffs or enumerations of fines for various infractions established by the various social units.

c) Local Custom: in effect, the "national" feeling of equity which may ultimately become fused and intertwined with religious law.

B) Berber Justice, with a Hypothesis on the Survival of Custom: (fragmentary):

671 177 I think it ridiculous of the Spanish administration in Morocco not to have kept the Rif from contamination by the Shari'a (Muslim religious law), which the French in their zone of Morocco and in Algeria have been able to do, among Berber populations existing in these areas[1]. ...I think that Spain, ultimately, has Arabized the Rifians through an ignorance of customary law[2].

[124] In April 1939, the late Si Hammadi nd-Hajj Sh'aib, of the local community of Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, of the clan of the Imrabdhen in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, told me: "The Shari'a did not intervene

671 in or interfere with our qanuns" (which I have already published) "be-
179 cause this had been so agreed previously. At that time, during the
124 'Ripublik', it only had jurisdiction over matters pertaining to land, marriage and divorce. In the clan of Sidi Yusif (i.e. Imrabdhen), there was always a qadi; but he only had to do with matters relating to property, marriages, divorces and other related items."

671 In my opinion, the survival of custom is clear, and it con-
179 tinues to be so today; and not through any lack of knowledge of Muslim law, either. What I do wonder is whether the Shari'a in the Rif is becoming Berberized, or whether custom is becoming Arabized, which is not the same thing.[3]

C) The Survival of Custom: An Explanation:

The Rifians were not and are not in the least unaware of the existence of the Shari'a, but there are reasons why they have in so many ways become estranged from it and have applied customary or common law, transmitted by tradition and revealed in not a few cases by written documents, through which they have tried many times to establish and to codify it.

A major factor here was the material impossibility, in which the Rifians found themselves, of applying Koranic precepts, owing to the constant state of revolt of the area, even though (author's italics)
[195] these were reconcilable with custom...Also, we can by no means assume that throughout the recorded history of the Rif there were no men qualified to interpret the Shari'a, particularly in cities such as Badis and Nakur.[4]

671 To what, then, can we attribute the persistence of custom, to

671 which the Rifians are deeply attached, and their attempts to codify it,
[797] in spite of Islamic law?...We are faced with the hypothesis that in
[177] times past their conversion to Islam was not complete, a situation
analogous to that prevailing in other Berber-speaking regions. Louis
671 Milliot in 1926 pointed to the survival of Kabyle qanuns in Algeria[5],
648 but in the Rif this is neither the only nor the principal factor, as
there was no long period of peace in the Rif, and the lack of this
experience gave the Spanish administration the option of recognizing
an "area of custom", which in the French Zone was the main reason for
the Berber Dahir of 1930.[6]

671 In the Rif, the main reason for the non-application of Islamic
177 law would seem to lie not so much in the degree of Rifian Islamization
but rather in the constant state of revolt of the area, which would
have rendered regular and dilatory (sic!) Muslim legal procedure in-
efficient or inefficacious. The basic question was far more one of the
impotence of the Rifians themselves in the face of this problem, rather
793 than one of their incompetence. Under these circumstances, we may
794 imagine that fqih-s, tulba and other religious personnel were forced,
177 in order not to die of hunger, to limit themselves to making amulets and
charms for women and to writing up and registering the decisions of the
671 imqqranen, "the Big Ones", the ones who counted. For the same reason,
177 shurfa and imrabdhen were unable to do anything else except resolve
conflicts and dictate sentences, which were up to the parties concerned
000 to accept or not, as they wanted. Where, then, could one have found a
qadi who, conscious of his duty and a disinterested judge of Muslim law,

was capable of facing the wrath of the members of a dharfiqth who thought themselves to have been wronged in a legal decision and who were now blocking his path?

628 443 [671] The Rif is an area of warrior tulba; and the "poetry" of the Rifian Maghrib would have dealt with the firing of shots during the course of a feud or raqba[7] and the blood of victims whose bodies fall into canyons and gorges after sunset; for the qanun of the Tuesday market (now defunct) of the Aith 'Abd Allah clan establishes the validity of the agreement in question from the hours of dawn until dusk, on market day, after which time everyone shelters himself and his animals inside his house as fast as he can; and a guard is mounted with a rifle. The daily and weekly truce is over[7a]. And even in Spanish times, after 628 692 671 [648] the pacification, there is the story of the qadi who did not dare to return home unless accompanied by a pair of armed mkhazni-s[8], who represented the protection of the Makhzin in its most elementary form. And in the mahkama (tribunal building of qa'id or qadi), more than one qadi has been intimidated by exasperated litigants! If such things have happened during Spanish times, threats made during the "Republik" must have been far worse--"I'll hang you from a tree, mmis nj-haram!" or "I wonder what you'd look like without a head, mmis n-dhit!"[9]

671 177 As I see it, the Rifian follows the Shari'a in all instances in which customary law cannot help him, either because it has been forgotten or because in such and such a case it is no longer applied. As he is both a practical man and a believer, there is no reason for the Rifian to deny himself the advantages of the Shari'a, but when, instead of these, he encounters a situation which is prejudicial to him (such as

671 [177] the Muslim ruling on inheritance by women), he finds it more convenient to bypass the Shari'a and invoke custom; for he will always find the means to allay any spiritual lack of scruples he might feel through coating his action with a veneer of pious intent (such as what is in effect a habus in favor of men) or of humanitarianism (such as asylum to divorced women, widow inheritance or sororate[10]), at the same time while he satisfies atavistic impulses.

671 114 It is very difficult to make any sort of rigorous comparison between the Shari'a and Rifian custom, owing to the great lack of data and documents dealing with the latter.[11] I might cite a few notes collected by del Nido[12], and some material of Sidi Ahmad bin Muhammad ar-Rhuni, former Minister of Justice and Chief Qadi of the Spanish Zone; but, then again, I am very doubtful that ar-Rhuni's material refers to the tribes of the Rif--certainly none of his documents are Rifian[13].

671 428 562 171 In matters of inheritance, Rifian custom elevates the condition of women more than the Shari'a does, by matching them with men and therefore by distributing the inheritance in equal parts instead of giving women only one-third (sic); but this is only in theory, and has to do with movable property[14]; in houses and in land, women, in fact, get nothing. The basis of this distinction is not at all a capricious one, but obeys to the letter the strong Rifian idea which conceptualizes women as minors in age. For this reason they are given, within the house, such work and responsibility as do not require masculine effort or personnel, a fact which becomes apparent if one studies family organization. Work in the fields is a masculine occupation, as is

681 Berber criminal law admits the death penalty, pecuniary sanctions (i.e. fines), reprisal (i.e. vengeance), despoliation, confiscation and the taking of hostages; but not maltreatment, confinement, talion[50], Koranic capital punishment[51] or mutilation. I should classify Berber sanctions or penalties as follows:

1) Pecuniary or Monetary Sanctions (fines, despoliation, confiscation of property)
2) Corporal Sanctions (death, plunder, taking of strangers as hostages)
3) Afflicting Moral Sanctions (banishment, adverse publicity)

[778] It is very probable (sic) that the Rifians knew of other such sanctions reflected in the Kabyle qanuns of Algeria (such as the enforced shaving of beards and mustaches, a hirsute face being considered a manly attribute), but the memory of them has not remained [779] sufficiently clear[52]. It is very doubtful that they would ever have admitted whippings or beatings, or the cutting off of hands and feet for theft, as prescribed in the Koran[53]; for no dharfiqth would ever have allowed one of its members to submit to anything of the sort. Berber custom rejects punishment of this type.

The graded scale of fines is worked up according to the external manifestation of the crime, from its beginnings through its commission, and the coefficient of this scale is both the act and the consequences of the crime in question. But it turns out to be infantile (sic), for the manner in which the crime is committed is sanctioned rather than the basis, or the act itself. Thus, for example, from the time a man threatens to shoot a gun at someone, there is a penalty which increases until the bullet hits his adversary[54].

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--With varying degrees of success, most so in the Middle and Central Atlas, and least so in the Sus and Anti-Atlas. The inclusion of the Algerian Kabyles and Shawdya of the Auras in this connection invites other problems.

[114] 2--Blanco is mistaken here, for the Arabization of the Rif was the work not of Spain but of 'Abd al-Krim; and in view of this paramount fact, his plea for a return to a hypothetical state of "pure customary law", however eloquently expressed it may be, seems passe and academic.

[113] 3--Hardly. In any case, this is a more difficult and delicate problem than meets the eye, although even on an a priori basis it seems reasonably safe to assume that the Arabization of custom is the commoner of the two phenomena. However, for a documented example of Berberization of the Shari'a, see S. Biarnay, "Un Cas de Regression vers la Coutume Berbère chez une Tribu Arabe: Wadras", Archives Berbères, vol. I, no. 4, 1916, pp. 219-229. Wadras is an Arabic-speaking tribe, but one of indisputably Berber origin, in the Northwestern Jbala, between Tangier and Tetuan.

671 199 195 113 4--Most of the existing accounts of the political history of these cities, insofar as it is known, are based on Ibn Khaldun, Histoire des Berbères, translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris 1925-56. See E. Michaux-Bellaire, Le Rif, Paris 1925; Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 22-36; Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos Sobre Ciudades Rifeñas", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el curso de Interventores, 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47, and, for a synopsis account of Nakur only, Angelo Ghirelli, Pueblos Arabes y Pueblos Arabizados, vol. II--Pueblos Arabizados, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, pp. 142-45. These last accounts have little 195 to add to Ibn Khaldun, although Sánchez Pérez was correctly able to locate the now entirely buried ruins of the city of Nakur within the village limits of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya within the clan territory of Aith Bu 'Ayyash in the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, on the west bank of the Nakur River some 25 km. from Alhucemas. This is [113] confirmed by a subsequent report of Ahmed el Mekinasi, in Tamuda, Año VII, Semestre II, 1959, pp. 156-8.

The city of Nakur, in fact, has the distinction of housing the first Muslim dynasty (even though on a local level only) in Morocco, as it was founded in 726 A.D. by an Arab from the Yemen, Salih ibn Mansur al-Himyari. Despite being sacked on two separate occasions (once by Norman pirates in 859-60, and again in 929-30 by Musa ibn Abi l-'Afya), Salih's descendants continued to hold, govern and rebuild the city aided and abetted by the Umayyads in Spain, until a complete sacking by the Almoravid sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfint in 1084 ended its career forever. Between this point and the end of the 19th century, the history of the Rif is an almost complete blank, and the chances of any documentary material in Arabic turning up to bridge the gap in any way are remote.

[131] Two points of general interest, however, emerge from ibn Khaldun's material (which dates from the 14th century and is in turn largely

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by iziddjifen or imgharen".

(682) 2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for instance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clans in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an agraw, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97, and Coon, Flesh of the Wild Ox, New York: Morrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igzinnayen, who pronounce the word ayraw.

(628) (114) 4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why: because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

5--The term harka did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a tabur), each one of which was under a qa'id designated by the number of men under his command--qa'id at-tn'ash (of 12), qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin (of 25), qa'id l-khamsin (of 50), qa'id l-Miya (of 100), and qa'id attabur (of a tabur, or 300). However, the idea of the harka had been there previously, even if the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

(171)

6--In actual fact, those imgharen already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

(602) 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native harkas in Spanish service.

(114) 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, todo el mundillo rifeño, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

616 619 642 114 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic", "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though

829 their own dwellings, anticipating possible impertinences and discourtesies which, wounding their brittle and easily hurt amour propre, would not be able to reject their ways and customs; but if, at some time, and it would not often happen, their instinctive suspicion and simulated servility and docility are momentarily broken down, a single sentence or even a single word will reveal to you all the power and strength of their race, the pride in their ancestry and the consciousness of their superiority; for it is precisely the Rifian resistance to all innovations and to all submission which is one of their most fundamental characteristics![4] In support of this we may refer to the
177 829 152 case of a qa'id, of an old qa'id of a Rifian tribe, who in the company of others had to attend an official meeting at which protocol compelled [123] a special dress to be worn. The only indication that I gave him that he had to change his clothes for the officers was an outrage to him, which I noticed on seeing his cheeks turn red. The game was lost and an adequate answer was forthcoming: "Do you think I am a little boy?" The other quyad (pl. of qa'id) intervened, but he paid no attention to them; if they wished, he would do so, if not, he would retire; and that old and dignified mountaineer went out with his clothes unchanged, showing himself in the natural and logical manner of his own protocol and not in that of the others, a manner in which, also, he has all his excellence.

671 If we turn our attention to these qanuns, if, after putting aside our European criteria of judgment, we diligently examine their badly constructed phrases and sentences, if we analyze their meaning with all possible affection and if we really desire to penetrate into the spirit

671 clarify to us the efforts of one of the freest peoples to handle their own affairs and, jealous of their rights in an authentic democracy, to impose notions of conduct upon themselves voluntarily.

671 What could the Aith Waryaghar, as Rifians in that stage of society, 177 have done with a law code on a European style? Just what many of them did: to refuse to understand it, to cry out against seeing themselves obliged to suffer it, to place themselves in Divine hands so as not to awaken involvements in its powerful and intricate meshes and so as not to empty their money bags to fill it with official papers. This would not have been worth anything to them, and a good proof of this is the slight service which their religious code can offer them for their convenience when they see themselves obliged to have recourse to persisting in such improvisations.

671 Here the Rifian qanuns remain, unknown or ignored by investigators, so that up to the present (1939), as far as I know, they have not had the honor of seeing themselves reproduced integrally and faithfully; and it does not seem that they have attracted men of laws, whose criticism and science is of another and higher order than the impassioned observations and common and individual interpretation of a [648] tribal administrator, to them. They would not fail to reap many benefits for us, and the greatest ambition for Spain: the respect and esteem which the efforts of her sons creates by their contribution to the development and improvement of humanity and by the scrupulousness in the fulfillment of her international duties.[8]

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
437 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of
556
152 some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628
179 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613
623 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that somebody had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
689 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus public

623 the imposition of minimal social obligations (education and hospitality), the equal division of duties and work, and, finally, nomination of a man to represent the jma'th and to see that local law is enforced.

This jma'th and its representative were legitimate organs of the people, an authentic and faithful reflection of the feeling and convenience of its members, live and efficient organisms. Today a 623 177 182 rigid Arab framework and its imposed and despotic representatives has submerged the jma'th, without any alternative other than the hatred or scorn of its members, according to whether the chief is a tyrant, or a slave to his needs or whims.

436 681 For an analysis of the proportioning of the punishment, it is well to know the equivalents of the Rifian monetary system, as follows:[41]

Mithqal--2 Spanish pesetas

Rsita--0.60 Spanish pesetas

Rbi'a--0.50 Spanish pesetas

Uqiyya or Spanish onza, "ounce"--0.20 Spanish pesetas

Ujjhain (two muzunas)--0.10 Spanish pesetas

Muzuna or Spanish blanquillo, "little target"--0.05 Spanish pesetas.

681 673 With these data to hand, we may now establish the framework of fines which occur in the qanun commented upon, in the following order:

Theft by day, of cereals or fruits (figs, etc.)--100 pesetas

Theft by night, in the orchards or gardens--20 pesetas

Threats with firearms--20 pesetas

Thefts by day, in the orchards--10 pesetas

Threats with knives or daggers--5 pesetas

Damages to dams--5 pesetas

000 sought to remedy them.

671 This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences
691 from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the
181 Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization,
[177] how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society.

181 In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from
369 the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means
554 of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes,
177 in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthen-
369 ing his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers
554 himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although
291 his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

369 The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders
829 on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

369 Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting themselves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analogous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!"

648 Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

[181] [609]

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

[114]

452 on a quite different system with its own ideology than that which obtains in an industrial society or even among urban Moroccans. In an industrial society credit is based on tangibles, on some form of material good which has roughly an equivalent value to the loan. In the Rif the majority of transactions involving the 452 554 extension of credit are guaranteed by a personal and intangible factor, one's social status and prestige. A man's reputation, the social credits he has accumulated, the ones his father and grandfather established, are his most valuable assets. A man who has established such social credit can draw on financial resources much broader than those available to the man without it. Because he supports the integrity of the community, he can draw on the community reserve with no greater guarantee than his word. One man, a quite humble fellah, financed his son's wedding with three loans, of $150 apiece, from a brother, the son of a deceased brother, and a friend. He was able in this manner to hold a wedding ceremony of considerable elegance with over five hundred guests. In another case, in which a young man wished to marry against his father's wishes, he could find almost no financing within the community except from returning migrant labor youths. Among this latter class the traditional ideology has [177] [464] been diluted by the industrial experience. These migrants have introduced a certain amount of novelty, especially in the material culture. Whether they shall also exert an influence in traditional social relationships and modes of social organization remains to be seen.

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the [177] only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nador where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 • MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bŭga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Rifian women present a different picture (fig. 3, *g*). They never wear leggings and are almost always barefoot. Sneakers may be worn on special occasions, but one never sees slippers. In recent years the Rifian markets have been flooded with inexpensive rubber shoes, usually green in color, which some of the younger women have adopted.

Brilliant colors characterize the Rifian woman's outer robe, which is usually of red or yellow silk, worn over an inner robe of white cotton. Rifian women have recently begun to wear baggy trousers, usually blue. Unmarried girls wear a wide cotton headband with brightly colored embroidery, which is partly covered by a head towel. Married women in the mountains of Aith Tuzin and Aith Wariyaghar, and both married and single women in Sanhaja as-Srair, wear strands of black yarn around the crown of the head (fig. 3, *f*). One of the distinctive features of Rifian dress is a red woolen belt introduced about a generation ago from Melilla. It is worn by most Rifian women, but has not been adopted in Ghmara or Sanhaja as-Srair. In summer many Rifian women wear straw hats, but they do not approximate the huge size of the Jbalan "sombreros."

In general, there is a distinct difference in the pattern of women's dress in the Rif and in the western provinces. The brilliant yellow and red robes of the Rifian women are in striking contrast to the somber garments of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. These differences coincide with other cultural frontiers. The human geography of northern Morocco is a complicated pattern of areal succession and overlap; yet many lines coincide, and it is possible to speak of "culture areas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

101 114 thetic to Moroccan or "Arab" nationalism, refer to a "Berber myth" and refuse to recognize any ethnic division in the country.[9] The *politique berbère* may have had its faults, but this fact does not mean that we should rewrite Moroccan history.

197 Berber dialects are still spoken by six to seven million people, including about 45 per cent of the population in Morocco, about 30 per cent in Algeria, and about 2 per cent in Tunisia.[10] Berber dialects are spoken also in the Jabal Nefusa and the Siwa oasis in Libya,[11] and on the southern fringe of the Sahara. The Berber language once extended to the Canary Islands.

The Berber-speaking peoples of northern Africa are now concentrated in five groups: Rifians, Braber, Shluh, Kabylies, and Shawiya (fig. 9). They are chiefly mountaineers, and all but the Braber, who practice transhumance, are sedentary farmers. The other groups include the Ghmara, who are almost completely Arab-[177] ized, the tribesmen of Sanhaja as-Srair, a small colony on the island of Jerba, the Tuareg of the central and southern Sahara, and the inhabitants of the oases of Mzab, Touggourt, Ouargla, Ghardaia, Figuig, Gourara, and Touat.[12]

The original home of the Berber language is unknown, but scholars believe that it is most nearly related to Ancient Egyptian, Cushite, and certain of the Chad languages, which are traditionally but perhaps improperly called Hamitic.[13] This relationship reinforces the theory advanced by archaeologists that the Neolithic of northern Africa shows Egyptian influence.[14] In spite of a bewildering number of dialects, which is normal for an ancient language without literature, Berber can be divided into three groups: Masmuda, Sanhaja, and Zenata.[15] Masmuda was the language of the majority of the sedentary farmers before the Arab invasion. The Shluh and the Ghmara speak it today; Rifian is thought to be a mixed form. The Sanhajan dialect was the speech of the transhumants and nomads. It is now spoken in northern Morocco (Sanhaja as-Srair), in the Middle Atlas, and by the Kabylies, Shawiya, and Tuareg. Zenatiya, formerly confined to the high plateaus of Algeria and the Oujda region, has spread to many of the Saharan oases, including distant Siwa. Because of natural population growth the number of Berber speakers has increased, but the area of Berber speech has lost ground to Arabic. In fact, since the Muslim conquest Berber has gained ground only in Negro Africa, where some tribes in the Niger Territory and the French Sudan have adopted the Tuareg dialect. Without fixed grammar or an effective system [212] of writing, Berber could not compete with the language of the Prophet.[16]

[9] Marvine Howe, "The Birth of the Moroccan Nation," *Middle East Jour.*, 10 (1956), 1–16.

[113] [10] G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France [collection "Que Sais-Je?"], 1957), pp. 16 ff.

[113] [11] Louis Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," *Middle East Jour.*, 12 (1958), 33–44.

[113] [12] On the distribution of Berber speech, see also André Basset, *La langue berbère* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

[113] [13] J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Co., 1955). First published in *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 5, 6, 10 (1949–1954).

[113] [14] Egyptian influence on north African rock art is examined in Raymond Vaufrey, "L'art rupestre nord-africain," *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine*, Mémoire 20 (1939). The most striking evidence of direct influence is the presence in Algeria of rock drawings of rams wearing the solar disk associated with the worship of Re. When worn by the ram, which was sacred to Amon of Thebes, it indicates Amon-Re, the composite god of Egypt during the New Kingdom (1600–1100 B.C.).

[15] These are the major genealogical divisions of Ibn Khaldun. Strictly speaking, it is not correct to use this division in linguistic classification.

[16] The only system of writing at the time of the Arab conquest was the Libyco-Berber alphabet used in rock art. This alphabet was probably developed from ideas borrowed from the Phoeni-

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[9]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[9] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[9] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 197 Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut.[*] The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

R S 197 In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

R 175 777 Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

R 175 177 Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

R 177 175 779 [788] Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[*] The Senhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dahdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca." The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues."

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique." It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain." It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time." The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila." The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

" D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

" Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

" The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

" G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

" Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

" André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

when the Arabs arrived. But the Arabs introduced a number of additional crops: rice (Sp. *arroz;* Ar. *al-aruzz*), the apricot (Sp. *albaricoque;* Ar. *al-barquq*), and cotton (Old Sp. *coton;* Ar. *al-qutn*).[77] The Arabs brought the bitter or Seville orange, but the sweet or common orange was introduced by the Portuguese from India.[78] The Arabs also brought the artichoke (from the eastern Mediterranean), spinach (from Persia), sugar cane (probably from India), the mulberry (originally from China), pepper, ginger, saffron, and parsley. Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), the great cash crop of the Sanhajan highlands and the object of a lively contraband trade between Spanish and French Morocco, may also have been carried to Barbary by the Arabs. In an indirect sense the Arabs may be credited with the introduction of a number of New World plants, for many of the Spanish Muslims did not leave al-Andalus until after the final order of expulsion in 1609. By that time Europeans were familiar with the agave, opuntia, tomato, and the great American crop combination of maize, beans, and squash.

Moroccan Jews

Of the Hebrew people in Morocco, the largest and most prosperous group are the Sephardic Jews who were driven out of Spain after the reconquest of Andalusia. A second, quite different group was already settled in the country when their co-religionists arrived.

The Arab chroniclers state that Jews were in Morocco at the time of the first Muslim invasion. They may have arrived with the Phoenicians or the Romans, for Hebrew scholars believe that some of their religious practices are pre-Talmudic.[79] Today most of the original Jews inhabit ghettos (*mellah*)[80] in the cities, but a few are scattered among the rural tribes. The latter usually pay tribute to the tribesmen with whom they live. Many are caravan men who travel with mule and donkey trains into the less accessible parts of the country. Others are tinkers and petty traders, while many of the prosperous urban Jews are moneylenders, jewelers, and tailors. A small but interesting group cultivates small plots in the High Atlas, and speaks Berber domestically. These "Berber" Jews, like the peasant Jews of Yemen, the Jewish highlanders of the Caucasus, the Falasha of Ethiopia, and the Turkish-speaking Jews of the Crimea, present a difficult problem for historical research.[81] They may be descendants of ancient immigrants, but it seems more likely that they are descendants of indigenous peoples who were converted to Judaism at some remote time.

When the Sephardim arrived in Morocco they negotiated an ordinance as to their status, which also contained rules laid down for the guidance of their own conduct, no doubt out of fear that contact with the more primitive Moroccan Jews might compromise their tenets. The Sephardim had already abandoned

[77] Names from P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 528.

[78] "Orange" comes from the Spanish *naranja* through the Arabic *naranj* and the Persian *narang*. "Lemon" is the Arabic *laymun* and the Persian *limun*. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

[79] For clarification of this point, see Hahum Slouschz, *Hebraeo-phéniciens et Judeo-berbères* (Paris: Leroux, 1908); and André Chouraqui, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).

[80] *Mellah* is the Arabic word for "salt." The usual explanation for this association is that Jews were once assigned the task of preserving the heads of the sultan's enemies so that they could be put on display.

[81] A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), II, 257, 402-412.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The pattern of colonization was different in the French zone.[7] Drawn by the classic motivations of the time—trade, new land, promise of quick profits, adventure, and dissatisfaction with conditions at home—French colonists poured into Morocco by the thousands. In each of the main areas of *colon* activity—i.e., the plains of the lower Sebou, the Gharb, and the area around Oujda—European colonization necessitated displacement of native farmers and pastoralists. The resulting confusion and conflict were important factors in the development of Moroccan nationalism.[8] In 1955 French settlers owned about 7 per cent of Morocco's productive land, but this land was exceptionally fertile and accounted for 40 per cent of the national income from agriculture.[9] In comparison, the extent of agricultural development in Spanish Morocco seems negligible.

If rural colonization was negligible in Spanish Morocco, the military occupation was not. Since its inception, the Spanish protectorate functioned as a military training ground. During most of the period of effective Spanish occupation, at least 200,000 troops were stationed in the northern zone. This force included the *mehalla*, or Khalifian army, of about 10,000 native troops, and large concentrations of the Spanish army. The more accessible rural areas were patrolled by the *makhzaniya*, or rural police, a force patterned after the Spanish *guardia civil*. Rifians, especially the Aith Wariyaghar, were eager to serve in one of the military forces, and the Spanish, who valued their obedience and hardiness, were just as eager to enlist them. Rifian troops formed a substantial part of Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War. Military service under Spanish officers or "instructors" led to acceptance of some aspects of Iberian culture. The most striking evidence of such acceptance is the widespread use of Spanish as a second language in the Rif.

Contact between Spaniards and the rural population took place also at the scattered outposts of the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas. At the head of each outpost was an army officer called an *interventor*. His function was to act as overseer of tribal government. Most *intervenciones* had a school, with a Spanish teacher, and a few had doctors and veterinarians. The Spaniards led a rather sedentary life, and did not attempt to intervene in the routine events of tribal life. But they could impose fines or make arrests if necessary, and the tribal authorities were obliged to implement Spanish directives if they wished to remain in power.

In Morocco, as in most colonial areas, the extent of road building and improvement in communications is a reliable measure of European influence. In Spanish Morocco the first roads were constructed to facilitate pacification and administration. Once this network was established, little effort was made to add tributary lines for more efficient movement of goods. In 1956 Spanish Morocco had about 1,000 kilometers of primary roads, but only half of this distance was surfaced. The track from Bab Taza to Alhucemas was the only durable link between the western and the eastern sector of the zone, and it was blocked for days or even

[7] M. M. Knight, *Morocco as a French Economic Venture: A Study of Open Door Imperialism* (New York: Appleton, 1937).

[8] Comité d'Action Marocaine, *Plan de réformes marocaines* (Paris: privately published, 1934).

[9] On European holdings in French Morocco, see Planche 33 *b*, "Exploitations rurales européennes," *Atlas du Maroc* (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

of land under cultivation which he possesses; it also assures the collection of the market tax, a small tariff paid by each man to the market *amīn* on the animals and produce which he brings into the market to sell. The money is destined for «fractional» use entirely: upkeep of the market, digging a new well, or for any purpose which pertains to or is of interest to the «fraction» in general. The *shaikh* of the «fraction» is responsible to the *qā'id* for the assessment and collection of this money, while the *qā'id* himself takes direct charge of matters which involve the caidato as a whole. In another building in the market place, the *qāḍī*, also assisted by a *khalīfa*, administers the Sharī'ā, which at the present time has largely supplanted the old Riffian *'urf* or customary law.

This form of government, based entirely on the Arab system, has completely superseded the old regime of the *Aiṯ Arba'īn*, of the *imghāren* (sing. *amghār*), the family and village headmen who, in each «fifth», used to make up its governing body in the days before 'Abd al-Karīm. The powers of the *imghāren*, who also used to meet in the market, were much more extensive than those of the modern «fractional» junta, and included assessment and collection of fines for theft of livestock, for talking to women in the market, for suspected but unproven adultery, and the collection of blood money (*dīyath*). These duties and the unwritten customary law which governed them have all been substantially assimilated by the legal jurisdiction of the Makhzin and by the Sharī'a.

Although in the old days there was no higher body politic than the *imghāren* of the «fifth», those of all five «fifths» used to meet together at a place called *aghrau* (p. *ighrāwen)*, the location of of which had previously been announced in the market by the *barrāḥ* or market crier, in case a crisis arose which assumed tribal proportions. In case of adultery caught *in flagrante delicto*, the injured husband had, and still has, the traditional privilege of killing his wife and her lover with exemption from payment of blood money. In case of murder committed on profane ground, the murderer had to pay a fine *(ḥaqq)* of 5.000 pesetas to the *imghāren*, and blood money amounting to 6.000 pesetas to his victim's family, provided the latter chose to accept it. If they did not, as was usually the case, a feud was in full swing inmediately, and the council members, lea-

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 the *liff* mechanism was an absolute necessity, for if it did not exist they would have been swallowed up long ago.

619 175 178 The entrance of the Pretender Bū Ḥimāra into the Rīf in 1908 and the short war with Spain in 1909 brought about a disruption of some of the traditional alliances and the constitution of new ones. This had a particularly important effect upon Aith Wuryāghil because, for the first time, the tribe became truly united. Reinforced by contingents from Aith ʿAmmarth, the warriors of Aith Wuryāghil banded together to resist the Rūghī and his *ḥarka* of Riffians from the east. They defeated him at the Battle of Imzūren and managed very effectively to check his progress in the Central Rīf.

619 We can thus see that tribal unity, dormant under normal conditions, is manifested when outside forces threaten to upset group equilibrium. The strongest allegiances are family and *thārfiqth* ties, but, in opposition to neighboring tribes, tribal allegiance is undivided. This has its reflection in tribal nomenclature: a man from Aith Bū ʿAyyāsh is called Bū ʿAyyāshī only in the tribal territory of Aith Wuryāghīl. Outside it he is called Wuryāghlī, and if he is outside the Rīf entirely he is usually just referred to as ar-Rīfī. This is how the Riffian really defines his tribe, by inferred comparison to and in opposition to other tribes. Writing about another tribal society, the Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard has defined a tribe as having: 1) a common and distinct name; 2) a common sentiment; 3) a common and distinct territory; 4) a moral obligation to unite in war, and 5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. It is precisely upon these criteria that the Aith Wuryāghil base their own concept of their tribe, as do all the other tribal groups as well. When menaced by Bū Ḥimāra, the Aith Wuryāghil were welded together by their common «we-feeling», and stopped him.

631 175 178 The ultimate result of Bū Ḥimāra's campaign in the Rīf was the rise to personal power of a number of petty *imghāren* who became absolute masters in their own bailiwicks. Such men were the Ḥājj Buqqaish in northern Giznāya, Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh of Aith ar-Ḥāsain in Aith ʿAmmarth, and, in Aith Wuryāghil itself, Muḥand Ḥaddū of Aith Bū ʿAyyāsh, Sī Ziyān of Ajdīr (Aith Yūsuf u ʿAlī), Ḥājj Ḥaddū of Aith ʿAlī, Sīdī ʿAmar of Imrābdhen, Muḥand n Sī ʿAmar of Aith

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Ḥadīfa, and 'Amar n Ṭāhir of Aith 'Abdallāh. This situation, with its concomitant *liff* alliances and wars between «fifths», prevailed until 1920, when Muḥammad n 'Abd al-Karīm made his first appearance upon the Riffian scene. The story of 'Abd al-Karīm, whose relatively obscure beginnings (his father was a *qāḍī* of Ajdīr and not the *qā'id* of Aith Wuryāghil, as is generally supposed) and sudden ascendancy first over his own tribe and then over the whole Rīf, the «Sultan» of which he then became, is too well known to students of Moroccan history to need recounting here. It is highly significant, however, in accounting, at least in part, for the Arabized type of governmental organization which exists among the tribes of the Rīf at the present day.

After 'Abd al-Karīm took the reins of the jihād against Spain, it was necessary for him to start to consolidate his authority by installing individuals whom he could trust at all points, from the highest to the lowest, from «fifth» to village, in the political structure of his own and of the other nuclear Riffian tribes. The inner circle of men who made up his cabinet was composed almost entirely of his relatives and friends from Ajdīr, which became his capital: his brother Muḥammad was his khalīfa and the Commander of the Regular Riffian Army; his paternal uncle 'Abd as-Salām was the Minister of Finance; his brother-in-law Muḥ Azarqan was the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Aḥmad Būdra, now the *qā'id* of the caidato of Nakūr, was the Minister of War. This move brought about considerable objection on the part of *imghāren* of some of the nearby tribes, who, by and large, considered 'Abd al-Karīm to be a parvenu. He had, in fact, for some time previously been working for the Spanish Government in Melilla.

The separatist and explosive temperament of the central Riffians themselves had long fostered the maintenance of a decentralized type of government in which impetuous and trigger-happy council members were responsible as much for starting blood feuds as for stopping them. Feuding and the mechanism which served to maintain it, the inbred rivalry engendered by the *liff* alliance system, had to be silenced if the Riffians were to put up a united front against Spain. Tribal wars could only be abolished if the structure of political authority in the tribes themselves became more centralized. The traditional Berber political organization does not easily lend itself to administration from above, whereas the Arab type does. 'Abd al-Karīm forced the

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

newer system on all the tribes in his domain if they did not have it already. Although the *imghāren* loomed large in the early battles of Ighrīben and Anwāl in 1921, their status had become reduced to that of *quyād al-miya* or *quyād al-miyatain* (*qā'ids* of 100 or 200 men) by the time the *Jumhūrīya Rīfīya* or Riffian State was officially created in 1924. Almost all the men in key position in the new government were from Aith Wuryāghīl but *quyād*, *shiyūkh* and *muqaddamīn* took the place of the old *imghāren*; some of the latter fell in with the new regime and became prominent military commanders, while others, like those of the Ghumāra, jealous of 'Abd al-Karīm's success, staged a revolt against him in 1924 and were quietly poisoned or taken off to die in the jails of Ajdīr and Thamāsīnd. By the time 'Abd al-Karīm had conquered the Jibāla and captured his rival Raisūlī in 1925, he was master of all northern Morocco.

The natural supplement to this Arabization of the old Riffian political system was the substitution of the Sharī'a for the earlier customary law. Before 1920, custom, or *'urf*, had been king. If a case had arisen which had previously been unprovided for in Riffian law, the *imghāren* met to discuss it. When they agreed upon a solution, which was usually expressed in terms of payment of such and such a fine, the local *sharīf* or any man whose piety and good sense was known and respected by all was called in to give his testimony and sanction to the law in question, if it did not run counter to the Sharī'a. After the law was passed it was registered by the *ṭulbā* or students in the Friday mosque, and proclaimed in the market by the *barrāḥ* (18). These were the only steps necessary to integrate that law into the corpus of tribal custom. It was, in all but the most serious offenses, as we have seen, the «fifth» or the *farīqath* or even the village rather than tribe collectively which made the law and carried it out.

As has been implied above, 'Abd al-Karīm greatly weakened the power of the *imghāren* by centralizing the political authority in himself as head of a new Muslim state. This state was set up to conform to an orthodox Islamic pattern, and therefore the old customary law had to go. It went, and the result was that the Sharī'a was administered according to the Mālikī rite by a *qāḍī* in each «fifth» of the tribe. The weekly markets, in addition to their earlier functions as

(18) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 20.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

commercial and governmental centers, became legal temples as well, when separate tribunals were also set up for the *qāḍīs*, their *khalīfas* and their *'adūl*. In the old days there had been *qāḍīs* too, but they operated on a far more informal basis; they held court in their own houses, and, in actual practice, they acted more as arbiters of Berber custom than as administrators of Islamic Law, while, as Blanco remarks (19), the *'adūl* limited themselves to registering acts passed by the customary tribunal. The *imghāren* were the people who counted, and, until 'Abd al-Karīm's time *qā'ids*, *qāḍīs*, *muqaddams* and other functionaries with Arab titles were largely negative concepts in Aith Wuryāghil and in the other tribes of the Central Rīf. Today, of course, the situation has been reversed; there are no more *imghāren*, while customary law operates on the village level alone, and plays second fiddle to the Sharī'a even there.

A political reorientation toward an Arab governmental prototype thus became a mechanism for the preservation of Riffian freedom. But 'Abd al-Karīm's carefully constructed Jumhūrīya Rifīya was short-lived; it collapsed like a house of cards in 1926, two years after its foundation, when the tribal fastness of Aith Wuryāghil was itself invaded from the north by Spain and from the south by France, at which time the Wuryāghlī commanders in the Jibāla and on the Wargha River rushed back to defend their own homes. Nevertheless, in the framework of 'Abd al-Karīm's Riffian State the Spaniards found a ready-made administrative set-up which has continued, with only minor alterations, to the present day. When the Riffian leader first came to power, he installed *qā'ids* in the *rubū'* of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and in the «fifths» of Imrābdhen, Ait Ḥadīfa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh. Later on, when the French Army began to push up into the Central Rīf from the south, he added two more caidatos, Turīrth-Thimārzgha and Aith 'Arūs, to tighten up his control over the unruly mountaineers in the southeast part of the tribe. After the war the Spanish administration maintained this chain of command, setting up tribal «intervención» posts in Ajdīr, Thamāsīnd, Aith Ḥadīfa (Sūq ath-Thnain), Aith 'Amar u Sa'īd (Aith Ḥadīfa), Turīrth (Sūq al-Arba'), and Imnūdh (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh). In 1934, however, they subdivided the tribe into the three aforementioned

(19) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 26.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

175 caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the
178 one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād*
631 *as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective
443 *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain
438 of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables, fruits, eggs, butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as
443 clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (ba-
439 buches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk, who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segregated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud, which was once the dominant political institution of the society, were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until 1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration, while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Government in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic indication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apartness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

59 i) Summary:--The Rifian family is patriarchal and patrilineal, agnatic and polygamous (i.e. polygynous). It needs to be large because of possible loss through feuds or lack of hygiene. Although 562 428 legally a woman inherits one-half of what a man does (i.e. sons inherit twice as much as daughters), Rifians interpret Muslim inheritance laws in their own way, through customs such as "men's habus"[49], or the return to her house of a divorced woman, whether this be Koranically sanctioned or not. A woman does not inherit but is, in effect, inherited[50]; she bears children but cannot give them her name. She works, but cannot buy or sell; she exists to give pleasure to her husband, and is maltreated in return; but she is probably happier 000 than many of her European counterparts.....In my own opinion, the (Spanish) Protectorate has improved the status of women...and I think that if the Rifians consider men to be the superior of the sexes, this is so undoubtedly because men had to protect their womenfolk constantly, with rifle in hand. They saw in them a cause of weakness, but recognized them as being necessary to group survival (sic!). The Rifian family needed a headman with unquestioned authority, rigorous discipline without sentimentality, and an automatic ability 562 to heal breaches. Women were exempt from feuding and had at their disposition their own markets, reserved for them exclusively; in a sense, they formed a society which was semi-independent from that of [926] men. In battle, they incited men to combat. The shift today (1935) [178] toward Koranic norms is more apparent than real, and is taking place at the cost of parallel diminution, at the same time, of the sociopolitical importance of the group.[51]

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done [241] by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

792 794 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 178 794 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 621 794 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th, for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits [574] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

423 648 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

---

15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

such urgent needs: it disorbitized the simple problems of fiscalization, strengthening and (re)orientation of Rifian popular institutions in order to create a cold and foreign bureaucracy and/or, at the very least, to improve the cities by putting up sumptuous buildings or repairing beautiful minarets.[17]

From a communal administrative organization and an essentially lay and effective position--like that of the ahabbas--a complicated religious problem and political weapon has been forged, i.e. the forms and modes have changed completely, to the detriment of the need which they tried to remedy. The administration has passed into the hands of the tulba; the inspection into those of the qudat (pl. of qadi); and the orders for payments into those of nothing less than a Ministry.[18]

In these dazzling reports it is easy to find science per se and the origin, finality and means of acquiring and utilizing these jma'ath properties in the different tribal areas of our (Spanish) zone in its "anarchical" (sic) existence.

I believe, then, that it is not in ways foreign to the Zone nor to those of the Arab authors of treatises where we must look for the light which will illuminate our path, but rather in what we know (empirically) through investigation of Rifian society itself, whose most durable facets are not very different from old Spanish

---

17--The situation which Blanco hints at here, of local community resources in the Rif disappearing in order to add luster to urban mosque-cum-habus situations, is not one which has ever come up in our own experience.

18--Here Blanco complains again about what can only be labeled as "Creeping Arabism", after his earlier remarks about the pernicious influence of "the city" on the Rifian.

000 26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event, as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish administration, people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the last 30 years or more.

27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala, the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first. As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator, it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch belonging to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanun in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan administration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.

000

[114] 43--There are several errors here. First of all, the oath formula is not as Blanco gives it at all, but Billahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa, as discussed in note 50. Secondly, this is the recognized formula for oaths as given in the Shari'a, and as such, the Arab formula as well. Thirdly, although it is quite true that oaths are as important among Arabs as they are among Berbers, the Prophet Muhammad, in effect, "decollectivized" them among his Hijazi constituents much as 'Abd al-Krim did among Rifians--for the collective oath, far from being an exclusively "Berber" institution, was current in pre-Islamic Arabia. Blanco fails to distinguish between the singular character of the Shari'a oath and the plural character of the oaths of certain nominally Muslim societies whom the Shari'a, in some respects, has not quite reached.

44--This is in no way remarkable, for it is up to the plaintiff not only to demand that the accused take oath, but to stipulate when, where and with how many of his agnates.

45--Men certainly swear during the day, in fact on Fridays just before noon; but women did not swear during the 'Ripublik', although today they may do so. However, they must do so not at night but during the day, and at home, not in the mosque, although their oaths, like those of men, must be made on the mushaf.

[463] 46--A Jew accused of a crime against a Muslim or against a coreligionist was, indeed, forced to walk around the market with a packsaddle on his back, and to swear in this fashion, for packsaddle-making and silversmithing are the two traditional occupations of Jews in northern Morocco; but he took the oath itself in the synagogue.

47--There were no jails in the Rif until 'Abd al-Krim introduced them; he had three, at Ajdir, at Aith Qamra and at Thmasind, all in the Aith Waryaghar.

48--The Koranic sirat al-mustaqim, as given in the Surat al-Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Muslim Book.

[178] 49--This is true, but not quite for the reasons given. Women in the Aith Waryaghar have their own markets in order to keep them secluded from strange men and because it is shameful for them, and indeed forbidden (although this is beginning to break down today) for them to enter ordinary markets. The same goes for their "feasts": they visit saints' tombs and cemeteries on Sundays, as a rule, when they know no men will be there.

[165]

[114] 50--This is a contradiction in terms. If Berber law admits bloodvengeance (which is in any case excessively common in the Rif), why does it not admit talion?

[114] 51--Again, a contradiction in terms. If the death penalty is admitted, as Blanco says, why not capital punishment? In actual fact, although murder and feuding were the rule, the death penalty per se was rare: the only instance I can think of (outside of cases in which it was inflicted by 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War, and administered by his huffadh or personal bodyguard, who tied the offender backwards on a donkey, paraded him around the market three times while the crier made his crime public, and then stood him up against the wall and shot him) is that in which a man kills another in a market and is caught by the

771 [671] Paragraph h shows us the guarantee of keeping the principal religious services (funera's, etc.) and of keeping their sons educated in the faith. Today, under a different pretext, it is not uncommon 771 178 to observe someone pretending to reject with disdain such a traditional [793] obligation, for which he must not claim protection. The reason for this, rather than being rooted in irreligiosity, must be sought in possible antagonisms with the fqih.

623 671 Paragraph i conditions the obligation of fulfilling the agreements with certain legalities: that so many individuals be present at the meeting, and that they be useful and not prejudicial. They are, thus, the colegislators, working freely and without limitation, without dependence on anyone. It urges obedience.

671 [554] Paragraph j recommends obedience to the shaikh.

In summation: this beautiful qanun of a jma'th establishes who 671 623 are the iziddifen or council-members, and what their attributes are: to establish statutes regarding damages to crops, education and hospitality, but not to concern themselves with murder, woundings and homicide, an affair of the clan, nor with personal status, a religious 623 matter. In the internal struggle within the jma'th, if, indeed, the 554 iziddifen consent and delegate the execution of their decisions to a representative (the shaikh) to whom they accord circumstantial rewards, at the same time, jealous of their prerogatives, they free themselves very easily from authorizing him to contrive misdemeanors and penalties for these.

554 Thus the shaikh, in reality, is only the guardian of the community.

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
691 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

691 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

562 671 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 183 794 443 689 178 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's

562 443 178 183 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of

[184] [681] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the fundamentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

224 Another agreement which is also apt to be made previously, if the hunting is not in shirka, is the case of l-'adaw[184], which is indicated further on, in order to find out if measurements must be taken from above or below.

Regarding the personnel of the hunt, these are generally organized into two groups: the hunters, who go along the lower areas, tracking and flushing game; and the beaters, located in the dominating area and indicating paths taken by the animals to the hunters. Any hunter who gets an animal must change places with a beater, to equalize the possibilities and give the members of the latter group a chance.

The hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) walk in groups or in a line. In the first instance, the dogs go ahead of the groups and in a line, at the ends, but always with the larger group in order to cut the road better for the game and to preserve it, insofar as possible, from accidents. The disposition which the Aith Hadhifa adopt while 224 628 hunting in shirka, for example, is in two bands: the local communities of Thizimmurin, Ihadduthen, Iharumen, Mishkur and Bihban from one, and those of Aith 'Amar u S'aid[185], Imrabdhen and Bashkra, the other[186]; and the meeting between both bands takes place in Aghir Inibdar, below Thizimmurin.

D) Arms:

224 411 [178] In the days of the Republik, Rifians hunted with firearms, ferrets, sticks, traps and net. Today they do not use firearms[187]; but practice and necessity have converted them into experts in the use of throwing sticks (r-mitrag). Each man carries two or three

224
619
689
114 182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

224
671
[114]
[178] We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

224
628
613
614 186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.A1

A1 [No appendix is given--Analyst]

121 aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise
105 from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation
571
602 of these activities and the social relationships that they help
433 establish.

The central problem I have set for myself is to describe
121 and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in
128 the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the condi-
121
433 tions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that
571 the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was soci-
602 ally, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political condi-
[178] tions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

591 Neolocality is
178 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization.
[613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijuiga
[596] traditional social obligations are still extant.
[602] The final social unit in the Rif is the local community
621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

1. [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is 621 622 appointed by the national government. While the appointment 657 is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem 622 may and usually does have administrative responsibility over 631 more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example 619 we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

623 Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to [554] have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, 623 before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political 178 power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed [657] by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated 178 and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of 621 the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with 595 multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The 369 urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the 593 man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

584 The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society 571 was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- 602 ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is 178 guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy 571 overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 792 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

178 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was
611 that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quar-
602 rels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situ-
578 ations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matri-
lineal lines.

121 I think that the principle of unilineality is not as
611 important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindus-
[571] trial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated
to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this
makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the
structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its
parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform
to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many non-
584 industrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must
decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce
bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and
set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either
type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of
an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on
the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the
couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter
should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely con-
sulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic
as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely
chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

585 The father of the groom provides meals and tea for all
574 the guests at his home as well as at the house of the bride.
262 The meal for the guests in even the humblest of homes consists of a course of cous-cous and a meat tajin. In most ceremonies there is also a poultry course. Enormous quantities of bread and tea are also served. The most accepted casual factor for
[178] reducing the days of the wedding ceremony from seven as they were before Abdel Krim to two or three days as they are today was that the expenses of providing hospitality over such an extended period of time was ruinous to all but the most prosperous families.

585 Guests are likewise expected to incur various expenses.
574 At this moment we need only note the recurrent support of a
571 public ceremony which is expected throughout Berber society. All mature guests are expected to provide a quantity of barley, loaves of freshly baked bread, fresh fruit and vegetables, or a monetary equivalent. This tends to discourage, among the poor fellah, the presence of nonrelatives, because it represents an outlay which is not part of their residual social obligations. In addition, such attendance by a nonrelative imposes future obligations which, in only rare circumstances, they are willing to accept. By attending the wedding and taking part in the joining in matrimony of the couple, one gratuitously assumes the duty of attending the naming ceremonies for the infants of this union. Such acceptance of future responsibility is not normally accepted unless there is social advantage thereby.

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the [533] groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the professional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 574 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

585 of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes. A
574 feeling of intense competition seems to surround this ceremony
152 with the women of the bride's family appearing lofty and superior vis-à-vis the groom's family. Perhaps it is embodied in the compensatory feeling that one family has permanently lost a member to another family.

585 The seven days prior to this celebration are regarded as a 'honeymoon' during which the bride is still special. With the passing of this ceremony she is no longer tislith (bride) but timrath (wife) and must assume the ordinary business of household
585 activities. Westermarck (1914:309) mentions a further ceremony
431 on the fortieth day after the wedding, in which a goat is slaughtered by the groom and the meat taken to the wife's father's house. There countergifts, in the form of a cow or some goats, are given by the girl's father. This ceremony may
[114] have lapsed by the time I worked in the Rif. At least I have
[178] no data in my notes regarding rituals of marriage following the seventh day ceremony.

792 794 575 brotherhood, Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi (1869-1934) broke off from the organization to form his own association which is now the largest in the Rif. According to informant estimate, this brotherhood holds about 50% of those Berbers in the Rif who belong to brotherhoods. Its annual meeting which I attended in 1965 consisted of several thousand brothers from all parts of the Rif and from neighboring Algeria where the mother lodge is located.

792 794 575 178 The importance of these fraternal orders declined to a certain extent during the struggle for Moroccan independence because of their anti-nationalistic behavior. When they are criticized in the Rif it is not on theological grounds but [662] political. The brotherhoods have been accused of accepting bribes in order to influence their membership on how to vote in local elections and to act as spies for the government. Their cogency has also been reduced by the increase in secular as opposed to Koranic education. Nonetheless, they have a powerful residual following, as attested by the vehemency with which they are attacked.

792 794 575 [124] The fraternity supports itself on the annual contributions in kind extracted as membership fees from its adherents as well as the more or less regular visits to the key shrines and lodges where, again, donations are expected. The size of this contribution is most difficult to estimate, and my inquiries of lodge officials met with only our mutual exasperation. The amount seems to vary with the avarice of the local lodge, where 10% of

annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools (658) [178] which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by (425) some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. [782] Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet [241] some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who [212] has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. [794] He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.

Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation, while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men, in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the poor.

Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105 The economic system of the bled-as-siba reflected this preoccupa-
631 tion, each sub-unit incorporating both its economic activity and its social activity in a manner so that the two could rarely be separated.

105 The Rif, however, is no longer bled-as-siba. Since 1926
648 it has been integrated into political systems with centralized
[631] authority. Yet most of the elements of the traditional economic
[198] system continue to persist. Why? I think that along with geographical isolation a poverty in natural resources has helped to maintain the Rif free from outside interferences. Sultans were hesitant to send a sizable army into the Rif because it was questionable whether the army could live off the land. Spain was interested less for economic reasons than as an effort to recoup some of the colonial glory she had but recently lost in a war with the United States. Once Spain established her protectorate she only selectively exploited the country in such items as minerals and lumber. On the whole this had no effect on the indigenous economic system. Nor has the Rif fared better since independence. "By comparison, the inhabitants of the old Spanish zone, largely Riffian, are poor relations when contrasted with their compatriots to the south. Extremely limited agricultural possibilities and poor communication in rugged terrain combine to produce this situation" (Steward 1964:170). The Moroccan government has found that the incorporation of the north constitutes a drain on national resources, contributing little to the national economy while at the same time extracting

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman.[1] Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[2] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[3] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[1] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[2] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 526. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a, d*). The leather slippers (*bŭlga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

the stunted form of this tree. The same remarks apply to dwarf forms of thuya and oleaster. On protected sites even the palmetto may become a tree and, when disturbance is manifest, dwarf forms of cedar develop.

Vegetation on Sacred Sites

Throughout Morocco and to some extent elsewhere in the Muslim world, cemeteries are regarded as sacred ground. Sanctity is ascribed also to the areas adjacent to tombs or shrines of saints (*murabitin*). The cult of saints has been an important factor in Moroccan history, and tombs or shrines are found in the territory of each tribe.[a]

Sacred sites often constitute islands of verdure. This correlation is not unique. In *The Golden Bough* Sir James Frazer describes sacred woods in many parts of the world.[b] The interesting feature of the Moroccan situation is that such groves are extraordinarily numerous and that the veneration relates to the ground in which plants grow and not to the plants themselves.[c] Protected growth is usually more dense than the growth on adjacent profane land, and the height and girth of individual plants exceed those of plants growing on unprotected land. Some species (e.g., *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*) rarely achieve arborescent forms on unprotected sites.

The nature of the protected growth varies from a single shrub or tree to thickets and groves. Figure 25 shows the silhouettes of vegetation on a few sacred sites. These examples, selected from hundreds, illustrate the general pattern (cf. pl. 9, *a* and *b*).

Figure 25, *a*, shows a few mature cedars surrounded by a dense growth of holly oak. The prevalent vegetation in this area is a shrub formation dominated by *Cistus laurifolius*. There are no other cedars within a radius of several hundred meters, and holly oaks, apart from those on sacred sites, are in scrub form. It is evident that succession has resulted in a retrogression from cedar to oak forest and then to a sparse cover of shrubs.

Figure 25, *b*, illustrates a protected formation dominated by oleasters (cf. pl. 9, *a*). *Pistacia lentiscus* becomes prominent where oleasters are widely spaced and light reaches the ground freely. Palmetto and thuya, even more heliophilous, are confined to the edges of the protected growth. In the surrounding area the vegetation is limited to shrubs. Numerous other examples of oleaster groves fringed with pistacia and palmetto could be described. A handsome grove appears at the tomb of Sidi Manari on Cape Malabata opposite Tangier. Five groves appear on one ridge between Tangier and Tetuán. Others appear on the marine terraces between Tangier and Arcila, and on the lower slopes of the limestone mountains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

[a] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Marabout," in H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 325–326; Emile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

[b] Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935). Part I of *The Golden Bough*.

[c] J. Cola Alberich, *Cultos primitivos de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954), refers to tree worship (*dendrolatría*), but the evidence he cites relates to popular ideas of the medicinal and magical qualities of plant material (leaves, seeds, acorns, etc.) and not to the sanctity of plants as such. It is possible, for example, to recognize magical qualities in pine cones and yet have no reluctance to destroy or mutilate pine trees. In Morocco the important consideration is not what qualities a plant may possess but *where* it grows.

A, [See p. 133--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

105 Many of the basic distinctions in the cultural geography of northern Morocco can be attributed to two main factors: the sense of collective identity that is felt by members of tribal confederations and some individual tribes, and the extent to which such groups have been exposed to alien influence. For example, Berber speech in the Rif has survived because it is an expression of fraternal unity, and because the traditions of political independence and economic self-sufficiency have enforced the isolation of the area from the main centers of Arab influence. [186] Moreover, the preservation of Berber speech and many other aspects of Berber culture have been encouraged by the contempt of the Rifians for their Arab or [176] Arabized neighbors. In the Rif, as elsewhere, an innovation may be accepted [178] or rejected, not on the basis of its form and content or its compatibility with established custom but because of its affiliation with desirable or undesirable groups.

Consciously or unconsciously, tribal groups have selected material traits, such as distinctive clothing, settlement patterns, and types of houses, to serve as symbols of their identity. It is not by accident that the western limits of dispersed settlement and flat-roofed houses nearly coincide with the western limits of Rifian speech. Nor is it surprising that symbols of tribal identity are more conspicuous in the highlands than on the Atlantic littoral. This contrast is explained, or at least clarified, when the distribution of culture traits is compared with the physical division between refuge areas and passageways.

Other notable examples of refuge areas are found on the Ghmaran coast, especially the territory of the Bani Bu Zra, and in the less accessible parts of Sanhaja as-Srair. The most exposed areas of northern Morocco are the Fahs territory, south of Tangier, and the basin of Wad Lukkus. These territories are cultural melting pots in which heterogenous elements have been blended by the pervasive force of Islam. Moreover, these territories, unlike the rest of the northern zone, have been affected by social and economic influences emanating from towns.

For northern Morocco as a whole, subsistence farming is clearly the predominant mode of livelihood. With the exception of hemp, grown in the Sanhajan highlands, there is no large cash crop. At most markets barter is more important than cash transactions, and the essential imports from the urban centers are limited to sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene. Yet the rural economy of northern Morocco should not be described as one of simple subsistence with little or no specialization or exchange. In northern Morocco, as in many other areas of the non-Western world, self-sufficiency at the scale of the canton or tribe reflects the specialized or semispecialized production of individual hamlets and farmsteads.

The basic differences within the agricultural framework depend upon the opportunities for cultivation of crops to supplement the staple cereals. Maximum opportunity is found in the Sanhajan highlands, where perennial streams provide water for irrigation of vegetables and legumes. There are few perennial streams in the western lowlands, but the combination of gentle slopes, fertile soils, and dependable rains minimizes the risks of dry farming and makes possible a surplus yield of grain to be drawn upon during unproductive months. In the Rif, horticulture provides a safeguard against failure of the cereal crops, and when bread is scarce, raisins, nuts, and figs are staple foods. The number of orchards decreases

/207 cont./

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units. Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand,
[619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of
[131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah, around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/ plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

121 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the
•178 Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Mo-
616 rocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched
131 over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

and to mixture with an older strain (24), which is strongest in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and in the Jabal (Turirth-Thimārzgha-Aith 'Arūs), as well as in eastern Aith 'Ammarth and northern Giznāya. This strain, which has probably survived from pre-agricultural times, is without question a very old one and shows a market resemblance to the Afalou crania and skeletal material from Constantine in Algeria and, to a lesser degree, to the Cro-Magnon people of Upper Palaeolithic Europe. The modern representatives of this strain look like Irishmen, with stocky body builds, wide faces (but long heads), snub noses, big teeth, reddish hair, green or light gray eyes, and freckles. I can personally attest that the presence of people of this physical type in the Central Rif is far too frequent to be ignored, and strongly believe that these «Upper Palaeolithic survivors» are far too firmly rooted in their mountain habitat to be accounted for by any invasion within historic times, whether it be factual or fictional. That the Moroccan Berbers are descendants of Goths or Vandals is a myth that is, unfortunately, taking a long time to die; even more unfortunately, I have met Riffians who have come to believe in it themselves.

If you ask an Arab in Tangier or Tetuan what he thinks of Riffiians in general and of Wuryāghlīs in particular, he will tell you that they, especially the latter, are ferocious, treacherous and that for a peseta they would be more than happy to out your throat. In all fairness to the people of Aith Wuryāghil, this seems a very harsh dictum indeed. But at the same time it must be remembered that in the past Wuryāghlī children were conditioned very early in their infancy to violence and murder; they were constantly reminded that a slur on the family honor had to be wiped off the record in blood. There is also the additional factor of mountain air and a more balanced if simpler diet which makes the Wuryāghlī physically stronger and tougher than the city or plains Arab; this is why he can stay out and plow his fields all day in a blistering August sun during Ramaḍān without bothering to stop for a siesta, and it is why he often landed a job as a construction worker or as a porter at the docks when he came to Tangier to find work after the drought of 1945. He is sober,

(24) Coon, 1951, p. 157.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

industrious, and an excellent farmer who has, with the primitive tools at his disposal, managed to raise the maximun possible number of crops on a very rocky and infertile soil.

It seems therefore possible that the city Arab's reaction to the tribesman from Aith Wuryāghil is born partly out of fear; the Wuryāghlī, in turn, has a low opinion of most Moroccan Arabs despite the fact that they gave him his religion. The most lasting impression which he makes on the outside observer is one of sturdy self-reliance and complete individualism coupled with extreme pugnacity. He follows the dictates of his culture to the letter, and, in the last analysis, it is only within the context of the patterns of that culture that he can be accurately judged.

181 Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the
178 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of
that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim
[42] in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on
[562] what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk,
who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segre-
[423] gated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one
[628] else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with
[554] the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud,
[464] which was once the dominant political institution of the society,
were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the
old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his
[464] mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until
1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons
in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration,
while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

181 The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Govern-
669 ment in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army
in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic in-
dication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apart-
ness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant
to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself
was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And
these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's
621 time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life
671 among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000

PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without 369 urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 779 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

179 Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when
671 Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are compli-
779 mentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is
custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without
question.[6]

181 5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

602 1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of
571 the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe,
613 from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in
621 "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which
619 units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

571 2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted
(602) by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

571 and orient a Rifian's activities and maintain...the safeguard of the interests which the community of his constituents does not guarantee him. While his social units are of a patriarchal, democratic and lay type, his political groupings are of a "military" type, true [562] alliances which join men together and not territories. While the social unit, minuscule as it is, has its proper jurisdiction over a territory and the people who live in it, whether men, women or children, linking together lands and families, the political unit only links individuals together, and these individuals are men only (author's italics)[15].

776 792 3) The "religious group"[16] satisfies the small (sic) spiritual needs of the rest of the Rifians and at the same time utilizes these needs for benefiting the tribe: they are the imrabdhen[17], who want to keep out of the Rifian's quarrels so that they can be effective mediators and arbitrators for him--and it satisfies the Rifian cult for the individual himself, and lends some distinction to his society, to which he never shows himself averse.

44 4) The "economic group"....is characterized in the Rif by markets, Jews[18], the twiza, wuzi's and dhwara, all of which suffice to fulfill the Rifian's principal needs, as much in terms of personal interests as in beneficial or humanitarian ones.

• 181 C) Family Organization:

1) Rifian society is an organized anarchy, with all the antagonisms and contradictions which are inherent in such a concept; and these may essentially be reduced to the "instinct of defense" and its derivative, the "spirit of association"[19].

602
571
613
619
596

2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton[21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594
596
613

Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594

3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a

594
595
183
[554]

conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced

595
182
[181]

the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

562 anyone, not even their families, nor can they leave their house to work, visit or travel, attend feasts, markets[39] or saints' tombs, without previous authorization from their husbands, who tell them how long [593] [684] they may stay away from home. A man may correct his wife's faults in any way he wishes, and if she is guilty of adultery, he may kill her[40]. If he has more than one wife, he sleeps with each in turn.

571 e) Concept of Turns:—(The notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" is a cardinal one in Rifian society.) There are "turns" of gift-giving (r-ghramth) at weddings, of the allocation of power (political hegemonies of families and even of tribes), of (usage of irrigation) water, or corvees (twiza), of theft (dhukkardha), of vengeance or reprisal (ar-raqba[41]), for (taking barley to) the fqih, or harkas (war-parties or punitive expeditions), of pasturage (dhwara)[42], and even of plows and animals during plowing time (if, as often was the case during the "Republik", there was only one pair of animals in the community). Rifian society is, thus, a turn-based society, and the term nubth (pl. nubath), in Rifianized Arabic, is so widespread as to include the inhabitants of a village.[43]

571 559 The case may be cited of a restless ex-qa'id (tribal chief under the Spanish administration) who, desirous of returning to power, constantly pestered the administration with suggestions that he be [181] readmitted to office. As is logical and as a good Rifian, he wanted to be able to make a resounding exit, with his head held high, if he did not get the job. He wanted a responsible position in the regional government of the Territorio del Rif (in al-Husaima, then Villa Sanjurjo), and when he finally realized that his accusations

FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the 'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

181 tion of French corvee), which underscores its mandatory character.
104 Wuzi'a, in Arabic, refers to distribution on a prorata basis; but its Rifian derivative, r-uzi'ath, refers only to the dividing up of the meat of a ritually edible and ritually slaughtered animal, which has just died, and those who share in the division are expected to pay the owner of the animal back at a later date. Dhwara, a purely Rifian word which Blanco mistakenly gives as twala, thinking it, no doubt, an Arabic derivative, is synonymous with Arabic nuba and its Rifian derivative nubth, means "turn" in its widest sense: use of irrigation water in turn by each user; taking of barley to the fiqh or schoolmaster in the local mosque by each nuclear family within the scattered hamlet type of community, so much the Rifian norm in settlement morphology, in turn, etc. etc. (cf. Blanco's own very interesting and elucidating remarks on the Rifian conceptualization of turns in the chapter on Family Organization). And liff is a crucially important intra- or inter-tribal pattern of alliances.

181 3--All words which are rendered in quotations are Blanco's, and in
114 no case does he define what he means by them. It should be noted here that Blanco, as well as the great majority of tribal administrators in French Morocco at the time, was heavily influenced by the thinking of the late Robert Montagne, Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930--to such an extent, in fact, that many of the "value judgments" which Blanco makes are indirectly those of Montagne. In all fairness to Blanco, however, it should be noted that he takes sharp exception to certain of Montagne's interpretations of Rifian political sociology; and these exceptions are for the most part fully justified.

608 4--Although the famous "Berber Dahir" of 1930 was enforced, of course,
607 by the French up until the very end of their protectorate in Morocco
608 in 1956, it never even had a chance in the Spanish Zone. This state of affairs was due not to any special decision-making on the part of the Spanish Protectorate administration (for much of the corps of tribal interventores was in favor of the dahir), but to the Rifian reformer 'Abd al-Krim, who had vigorously suppressed what he considered the most objectionable features of Customary Law in the Rif as early as 1921 or 1922. This was one of the ways, indeed, in which he was able to consolidate his position as leader of the Rifian war effort and as "President of the Rifian Republic", whereas, perhaps paradoxically, it is the pre-'Abd al-Krim era of "organized acephaly", of councillors and bloodfeuds, which is known, perhaps in retrospect as the 'Ripublik', and which is referred to elsewhere in Berber Morocco, and as a permanent condition, as siba. By the term "most objectionable features" we mean to say that he effectively stamped out any and all aspects of Rifian customary law (collective or plural oaths, in particular) which could in any outwardly discernible way be construed as being opposed to "bonafide" Muslim law. Thus, in short, what happened was at the end of the Rifian War in 1926, the Spaniards found that because of 'Abd al-Krim, orthodox Maliki law (for of the four Sunni, or "Orthodox", Islamic legal schools, it is the Maliki which predominates in North Africa) was already functioning in the Rif, even it overlay a solidly Berber jural base; and during their protectorate, though with some misgivings, they merely preserved 'Abd al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

5--The umbrella (Rifian rndhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber-speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Iẓzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes, even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons, never quite complete.

16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem more nearly to fit the context.

17--Imrabdhen, sing. amrabidh (from Arabic murabit) are saints, living or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused with shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed, perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is (or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult to fathom.

19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the blad as-siba, and Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be extended to cover the whole notion of siba. In another publication we have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of this term, which goes back to Montagne, of siba as "anarchy", a notion which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--cf. André Adam, La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, Vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect, concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term, but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words, this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind when writing of "organized anarchy".

181
114 However, we would still take a somewhat more charitable viewpoint, and question the somewhat ethnocentric notion that a tribal society is any more "anarchical", even in an "organized" sense, than that of a nation-state. In any event, all this terminology is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930).

000 20--Blanco uses the term ramo ascendiente, which, in the sense that a jajgu is conceived of as a branch (ramo)--the Rifians employ the term azwar, pl. izuran, "vein", in this connection--of a dharfiqth or or lineage group, is very apt. The use of a term such as "ascending", however, depends entirely on which way one looks at Rifian tribal segmentation: from the bottom up (nuclear family to tribe) or from the top down (tribe to family).

We have found, however, that, except in the single instance of the recitation of their own personal antecedents in unilinear progression to the ancestor who forms the "apex" of the lineage, Moroccan tribesmen invariably tend to give the segmentation of their own tribes starting from the top and working downwards. In the Rif, [631] indeed, this approach to the segmentary system is greatly reinforced [681] by the method of dividing up the fines (r-haqq) imposed upon murderers by the members of the tribal council. The division of such fines follows traditional segmentary lines as closely as possible; in such instances where this is not possible (and they are very few, only occurring in cases of territorial discontinuity among the larger lineages), it follows the next best thing, the territorial system, which is in essence nothing but the lineage system spread out spatially on the ground.

21--The term "canton" is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930), and is [634] also employed by Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African [114] Studies, vol. IX, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 91. It [113] is a valid enough designation for the watershed canyon, ravine and gorge-studded districts of the higher mountains in the Rif (Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen", in Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1956-1956, Vienna 1957, pp. 485-527, also employs the term Talschaften for similar districts in the Western Atlas), but loses its force if one attempts to apply it to the Plain of Alhusaima or the open rolling country of the Eastern Rif.

22--Khums (Rifian dhakhammasth) means "fifth", and is used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments, such as the Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen (among whom, in fact, this alignment seems to have little functional significance), Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith Wurishik and Aith Sa'id. Furthermore, when it is said of any tribe that it "has five 'fifths'", this is an implicit admission that the tribe in question is a strong one. For a structural-functional analysis of the "fifth" among the Aith Waryaghar and elsewhere, see David M. Hart, "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65-95.

Far more common in Rifian parlance, however, is ar-rba', pl. [114] rurbu', literally "fourth" or "quarter", which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 91) has equated with "canton", and in doing so, has noted that,

695 F) Oaths (fragmentary):[35]

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pretensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has [562] no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a women against her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter[36], where does one find more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and 695 839 the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape[36a], etc., which, if not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

695 [671] [191] Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are 695 623 previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants [613] to[37]. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members of his dharfiqth[38].

695 829 181 Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to A, [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

695 the individual, in most cases. It therefore seems natural that the
829 group rather than the individual (contrary to Islamic Law) proclaims
[181] its innocence[39].

695 Although written proofs are admitted, they are not common, and
212 are always submitted previously to a fqih for his consultation. Also,
[685] certain tulba were known to take advantage of their essentially notary function in order to falsify documents (one man even wrote up false Sultan's dahirs, or imperial decrees, and was jailed in Tangier!); and this did not make for any great respect of written proofs in Arabic, a language which in any case the Rifians did not understand.
[157] Even today (1935) a Rifian who possesses a document is always looking for people to translate it for him, as he is never satisfied with one man's word and always suspects that the man who drew it up for him either misrepresented him or lied to him. I have known Rifians who went to the French Zone and even to Spain in order to obtain proper interpretations of their personal papers! Only death will separate a Rifian from his r-kwaghadh![40]

695 Conciliation and arbitration are the preferential jural processes in this society, where victory is difficult and defeat is hard; and one is drawn to the idea that what actually takes place is more akin to "horse trading" than to justice, in the European sense of the word.

It seems to me that the collective oath is the Rifian equivalent of the European "word of honor", in its unadulterated sense[41]. It has
[619] a social rather than a religious significance, and, in practice, very little ritual; it is carried out in the mosque under the eye of the rival or plaintiff, and of those who were in on the secret, a sufficient action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]

695 [784] It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if [184] [191] one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 [114] 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] [181] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

[171] [577] [114] 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an anghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

619 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the
616 defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or in-
[181] stitution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10] administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of
619 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with
616 its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or
182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13], markets and qanun), could never have been justified alone, because the Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances, which they would do until another more powerful force from outside, such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in reducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of individual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threatening its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

616 616 619 [614] 616 619 648 173

villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

D) Political Organization:

1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?[19]....I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances[20].

195 181 628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 613 619 134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 671 182 [648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613
554 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
[182] presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its representatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
792
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692
554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692
212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
671 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting as subject for all the commentaries
521
571 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

671 Paragraph e: This paragraph distinguishes principals from accomplices or auxiliaries.

671 181 Paragraph f: A virile and rural society distrusts the veracity of the so-called humanitarian sentiments, closing its doors to the intrigues which, under such a mask, provoke influential individuals to save their allies and other interested aspirations which mock the objectives that the law, to which they freely gave themselves, pursues.

671 609 628 Paragraph g: We have here a precise and exact detail, an excellent delimitation of a truce, a recognition of Rifian public law (i.e. jural procedure) and interest protecting the stranger, to whom this law guarantees a wide and sufficient time of commercial activity and a prudent warning that he leave an open field to the fierce internal bloodfeuding. We have here a manifestation of the social unit, the clan, which shows us its reality and consistency, which recognizes a common interest and one superior to its own intestinal vendettas; and this permits it to guarantee to the neutral, to the stranger, a free passage and activity throughout its whole territory (author's italics).

671 695 Paragraph h: Two important additions are made here to the hurried first draft. It is necessary, first, to guarantee the person of the accused against the passions of the moment, the outward appearances, the ill-will and the outright suspicions, by means of evident proof (author's italics), offering him the means of avoiding such passions by taking oath. And in the second addendum (Paragraph i) they list, furthermore, and completing it, the duration of the truce or time of peace.

sought to remedy them.

This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization, how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society. In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes, in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthening his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

671 554 Abundant in these ideas, we may observe how in the first lines of the qanun some names are adorned with the honorific titles of shaikh and even qa'id, titles which fit the members of this society as well as two pistols do a saint, for not only did they not realize nor did anyone admit the roles which in Arabic correspond to such titles, but, as can be appreciated, the nominal qa'id (i.e. Sayyid Bu Bakr bin Muhammad Ushshan) does not occupy the first place, which he not only had to yield to the opulent and considerable Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, but to crouch behind another, second shaikh, 'Ali Azarqan, and we finally discover him in third place modestly lost among the notables: the adults (author's italics), with this single, authentic and legitimate representation: that of his lineage (family group) or dharfidth, and all the rest of the social group or jma'th.

It may be observed that this is the only qanun in which the imaginary personage of the qa'id is expressly stated; his title and role are as unreal as all other Arab ones in the Rif, whether they be called bu mwarith, ukil l-ghuyab, shiyukh, mqaddimin and even qudat (pl. of qadi). These people did not look toward Fez nor toward the circumference of the Rif, but toward its center, toward the interior, toward their villages. There was no power other than the assembly, the agraw[75], the council of elders. For this reason Rifian society.... could have previously been considered concentric.[76]

181 614 121

671 554 693 We may also see the coincidence that this qanun, the only one in which the term qa'id appears, is also the only one which contains that of amghar among the last names (ninth to last) as well as that of ra'is[77], and it reveals to us how the tulba of the Aith Waryaghar, who

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these kin groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

691 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any in-
vader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed im-
potence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organiza-
tion and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

have just said, a personage who does not show up in any qanun as discharging his office or as even providing the most minimal and non-transcendent representation, for in the one qanun in which we finally discover him (the qanun commented upon here) we have already shown that he hides himself modestly and even effacingly behind the camouflage of two other shiyukh. The result is that not even in the big list, in the listing of "the fat ones" (i.e. the enumeration of the clan brothers of each of the imagharen of importance), does this ambitious man gain first prize, the individual who seizes this being an opulent and lay tribesman whose preeminence clearly gives a clue to the psychology of the talib who drafted the qanun as well as to that of his constituents.

And, reflecting upon bases like these, it is well to ask what reasons or exigencies the first protectorate functionaries felt, discounting both imitative and ignorant ones in order to orient their policies toward big qa'ids who, even if their stature has been diminished, are no longer to be seen for sure anywhere.

To impose upon the tribes more or less significant personalities, representatives of concentrated power, when, subdivided ad infinitum, they unite in their opposition to all types of personal power, is always an ungrateful undertaking and one full of surprises, as practice has shown us....when power is imposed from above.[84]

In the Rif, where all are personalities, only a mass-oriented political system, and not one oriented toward individuals, can bear fruit.[85] The enforced utilization of one or even several dozen persons of some importance serves no purpose if this does not benefit the mass, taking up its aspirations and satisfying its needs, anxious for freedom

181
167 They were too good and honorable to see themselves die out, with no fear other than that of the market announcement and without guards of any sort, on a most miserable land, which their way of life made habitable only through emigration[92] and epidemics taking care of the surplus population.

Clearly, bound to necessity, it incited the envy of more than one individual, considering the very slight severity of the punishment, the possibility of concealing the offense and the difficulty of proof, for which reason the people took refuge in traveling to places unknown to them on days which were not market days, without taking natural precautions.

671
685 The qanun of the Aith Siddat shows us, in notation (c), the offense of house-breaking, with a concise and admirable clarity; it recognizes for the owner of the house the right of violent opposition, a previous guarantee to the society that neither a difference of opinion nor known resentment shall mediate between them.

671
682 By the same token, notation (b) indicates and punishes the accomplice with the same penalty in offenses in which blood is drawn as does notation (k) with 50 mithqals in the rest of the cases.

And finally, in notation (d), the right of legitimate defense is established without the slightest doubt.

671
562 If in each one of the qanuns in this volume it is easy to discover its characteristics and, knowing the region, to find out what each one conceals, to explain what it says and the reasons which it gives for doing so, we must point out, in the present qanun, the interest which the Aith Siddat maintained in enforcing public respect

92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

312
571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

312
675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of riverain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work
• [181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for
[648] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

423
675 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the
312 essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which we are studying it, in which tribe, its clans and smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

181 423 The Rifian admits anything which constitutes instruction or improvement; but naturally he wants no part of any division of his 312 648 holdings with strangers. This blessing of water which the official organ (i.e. the Spanish administration) as well as individuals receive, although the latter do so only to a limited degree, is not a product of technique, profitable or exemplary work as new developments would be, possible economic outlets or improvements in the present distributive net, but utilization of native labor in the style of some early-day amghar.

312 675 685 [427] Rare are the days of the Makhzin irrigation turn in which the Mkhazniya does not present us (i.e. the administration) with some miserable akhammas[123] accused of the terrible crime of having been surprised at night attempting to lead up a thread of water into his tiny, dried-up holding, a crystalline fiber which, if it even arrives there to irrigate, only God knows; and the nubth which the Europeans derive from it, dispute from it and gain from it, did not cost them the least effort to lead up nor did they do anything other than wait sitting down while the Makhzin appropriated it. And in such a case neither the Makhzin nor the European stands to gain anything; to the contrary, they have much to lose.

F) Irrigation in the Plain of Al-Husaima:

312 675 The usage of irrigation water from the Lower Ghis and Nkur Rivers has been, since time immemorial, the object of individual agreements among the irrigators, agreements which are usually put down in writing, for the flow of water, although variable, permits a regular distribution through permanent ditches, a distribution known

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!" Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained 648 apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on [181] [609] the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get [114] away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105 is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or
43 reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to
182 meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption,
[152] etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies. These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic
105 system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself
443 is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan
182 and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with
[181] peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources" (1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unimportant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest, respectively, appearing only as different instances of price according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most predominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the com-
[114] plete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic

114 671 and, most important of all, what happened if a murder occurred in a market (a place of peaceful commercial exchange, as Blanco points out) 114 443 182 on market day (a day of peace, as Blanco again points out). For the clan market, as Blanco makes very clear, set the tone for the relative autonomy of the clan within the framework of the tribe of which it was part; and this was particularly the case amongst the Aith Waryaghar, a fact which Blanco, once again, did not miss. Hence, in his 114 671 682 fine analysis of the 'Qanun of the 'Fraction' of the Aith 'Adhiya' (in LR, pp. 10, 55), Blanco notes, regarding anyone who should commit a murder in the market, that "...all the above-mentioned communities of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his agnates; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as a fine".

114 671 443 182 In his comments on the qanuns of the clans of the Aith Khattab, Aith 'Abdallah and Aith 'Adhiya (all of the Aith Waryaghar), Blanco clearly brings out the fact of the market as the "preferential institution", both economic and social, and as the "temple of tribal law", where the clan councillors or imgharen convened in regular weekly meetings (called agraw) to settle disputes. Thus the jural aspect of the traditional Rifian market. Market day, in the Rif, absolutely had to be the one day of peace during the week, for if the market was "broken" through fighting and murder, the cry went up: "Now there is no law!" (Ur iddji shi r-haqq!) And this phrase, as Blanco graphically says, was "repeated in the humble dwellings perched on the mountain slopes; and soon the Rifian mountains returned to their harsh, restless and agitated life, as the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance reappeared

114 on the hillsides, bringing the cries of victims and the echo of rifle
671 shots in its train" (LR, p. 19). Blanco's work is shot through with
443 references to the clan (or, as he calls it, fraccion), with its mar-
•182 ket, as the basic Rifian patria - which of course applies better to large tribes like the Aith Waryaghar than to small ones like the Thafarsith, "Rifian Switzerlands" surrounded by more powerful neighbors.

114 By 1960, some of the finer points of the Rifian qanuns or Cus-
671 tomary Law documents had been forgotten even by members of the oldest
[681] living generation, e.g., such as how much is to be paid if one shoots at a man and misses him, or if one threatens him with a dagger, but
114 does not stab him. Blanco, and to a lesser extent Carleton Coon[28],
127 have both set down many of these common-law niceties; and Blanco's
[671] work has the additional merit (and we refer here primarily to LR) of being a translation and an analysis of primary documents, some dating as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. These are invaluable source materials for the long and unbroken period of the Rifian 'Ripublik' (as opposed to 'Abd al-Krim's Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya, or "Rifian Republican State", 1921-1926, although he only constituted it "officially" early in 1923), which is today only a memory and, according to some, a skeleton in the Rifian closet. However, old tribesmen and even some younger ones who are less sophisticated - and who therefore generally make better informants - still grudgingly admit to admiring it and to looking upon it with nostalgia.

---

[113] 28--Cf. Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, Vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931. Coon's data on customary law come primarily from the tribe of the Igzinnayen, whereas the bulk of Blanco's come from their northern neighbors, the Aith Waryaghar.

602
571
613
619
596

2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton [21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594
596
613

Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594

3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a

594
595
183
[554]

conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny

595
182
[181]

is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s.
614
623 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each other.[63]

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jajgu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, reception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the jma'th.

D) Position of Women:

562 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her
182 a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the can-
171 cellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains regards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance[64], when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look for friends to reinforce it.

562 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly
627 revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as
628 their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

623 immaterial; for a jma'th which formerly contained only two dharfiqin
613 may now have three, four or five, and tomorrow even more, with a
621 proportionate increase in houses and rifles. What the jma'th is not, however, is a family group united by blood ties--it is not a dharfiqth.

623 .....The jma'th came into being because of the necessity of common
182 usufruct of elements essential to sustain life, such as water, pasture
621 lands, brushwood, etc., and because of the necessity of regulating relations, both material and spiritual, with one's neighbors (hence mosques, which come into being after such an association has been effected). The result was that when a group for any reason abandoned its original jma'th in order to establish itself elsewhere--insofar as its growth and development made it do so, it cut off relationships with its parent group and its point of origin to constitute a new and independent nucleus[71].

621 Many Rifians confuse dharfiqth with jma'th, and proof of this
623 is that when one asks the members of a given group where they are
613 from, it is the same to them to answer "From such and such a jma'th"
[829] or "From such and such a dharfiqth", because the dharfiqth in question forms part of the jma'th whence they originated. Jma'th has a geographical connotation, while dharfiqth smells of nomadism (sic)[72]. This also explains why in different places one may find jma'th-s having the same name but formed by different dharfiqin, because over the course of time other splinter-groups from other jma'th-s became associated with the initial splinter-group from the first jma'th.....

621 I am dubious about the value of the number of households as a cri-
623 terion in definition; but I think that the best single datum available
501

latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are its customary law, its qanuns and its market (as in the qanum of the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

4) Tribe or Dhaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors, faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes, while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

535
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

These jma'ths, the internal lives of which were regulated by the custom governing the original mountain jma'th, continued as tributaries of the latter[133], enjoying the benefits of such a status (participation in the collection of fines, contributions to the fqih)[134] until, as we have seen, the new nucleus, beginning to stand out more and more as a result of its growth, importance and distance from the parent jma'th, succeeded in emancipating itself from the latter through its own discords and ambitions.[135]

But it is difficult to determine at precisely what moment the new jma'th came of age, as it is to determining everything else, even including finding out the designations in nomenclature of its representatives. This designation is not that of amin, as among the Kabyles of Algeria, a word which, taken over from Arabic, is one which does not permit a confusion of its administrative significance, an individual function, with that of the jma'th, which has a collective mqaddim, a term also adopted from Arabic and employed by certain Berber groups in the Western Atlas, for the personage of the mqaddim also has that function as well as the inadmission of that of the shaikh, which more than one person in Aith Waryaghar attributes to himself and which figures even in documents. These terms, however, do not demonstrate any more than the anarchy which the people have attained, and the forgetting of their own racial (sic!) characteristics[136]; as such words among Rifians can have no meaning nor can they be given any importance greater than those of "colonel" and "doctor" in the South American republics. These are strange nicknames (sic), for to the Rifian, as to any Berber, they say nothing if they are to be considered

typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have depreciated and is now dormant.

The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign, such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of l-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of ingharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

---

10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

721 621 613 was imposed by the tribe or the clan: it was based on distribution amongst the several dharfiqin comprising the jma'th in question, while the place and date where and when they had to present themselves was communicated to them by the leader of the expedition, who also examined cases of exemption and desertion.

Thus, both in theory and in reality, all the operations of recruitment of our European municipalities were incumbent upon the jma'th; while relief and provisions, the personal and complementary obligation of the dharfiqth, were sometimes assumed by the jma'th when the earlier operations failed, as a kind of advance.

721 182 This natural system, alleviating the principal one of a number of onerous chores which are discharged by (military) services in European bureaucracies, permitted the Rifians to give their full attention both to military operations and to politics. It bound all of them together, the front and the rearguard, in a common interest, principally economic, which in lieu of discipline was what reinforced local spirit. The economic interest (the saving of ammunition in combat and sobriety in eating--for the individual had to pay for both out of his own pocket), apart from avoiding not a little dissatisfaction and worry, afforded the harka a high degree of addiction to rapine, given the fact that its members had to live on their own account in enemy territory in order to compensate for the woebegone consignments of the wretched rearguard, justifying through its well-known raids its desire to fill its stomach, the clearest of all its bellicose undertakings. Such that, once the booty was obtained, the harka was dissolved on more than one occasion.

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Riians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

619 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the
616 defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor
their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or in-
[181] stitution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and
security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10]
administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for
coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of
619 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with
616 its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or
● 182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and
dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13],
markets and qanun), could never have been justified alone, because the
Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances,
which they would do until another more powerful force from outside,
such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in re-
ducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups
when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of in-
dividual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threaten-
616 ing its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries
619 between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some
[614] instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself
616 over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja
619 and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent
648 confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also
173 bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

616 619 648 173 616 619 182 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

616
[182] Individual liffs bind together individuals or families, persons and possessions, and make for solidarity in the payment of fines, in both defense and attack[21].

2) General Liff:--I think the raison d'etre of the general liff to be purely defensive. These large-scale liffs are real military [619] alliances brought about in order to maintain territorial integrity, and it is they which have permitted the coexistence of minuscule tribes alongside of large and powerful ones. The situation in this respect is analogous to that of Switzerland in Europe; and among the most typical Switzerlands in the Rif are the Thafarsith and the Aith 'Ammarth[22].....In a general liff, it is not individual or kin group interests which are in opposition to each other and come into play, but rather the jurisdictional limits and the autonomy of the social [613] groupings (i.e. clans) which integrate them. The general liff obligates with the same end and binds together with the same strength [171] the individuals belonging to rival dharfiqin. There is thus, I think, a notable difference in the two classes of liffs, although the end result or defensive spirit is the same[23]; analogously, there are alliances between European nations which are destined to preserve their independence, as well as friendships of more of an individual or econ- [562] omic character between their members....The national liff, to call it thus, cannot be confused with the social forms which have already been considered above, for while the latter place mutual obligations upon and bind together individuals and lands, the general liff usually applies only to men and binds together only warriors[24].

616 The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping
614 their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members,
619 are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion
[621] on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known pre-
616 viously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these
182 two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary
628 feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

648 As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protec-
692 torate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes
616 up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights
182 to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

616 Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

619 brake or check upon the expanding hunger of neighbors as well as upon the hegemony of some determined individual.

175 But with the threat of the Rogi, Bu Hmara[31], expressed in
619 the form of the mhalla or military expedition under the command of Jilali Mul al-Wudhu[32] (Muludu), we see the Aith Waryaghar reacting violently and uniting, for the first time in their history, as the result of an agraw at Imzuren, nominating their war chief, mounting guard on the line of resistance parallel to the Nkur River, from Imnudh (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) to the Mediterranean, and joyfully accepting the hard task, magnificently performed, of smashing Bu Hmara's army to bits and sending it back in headlong retreat to Qasba Silwan.

619 In the same way, we also see the khums of Aith 'Abd Allah,
616 in liff with the Ibuqquyen, joining the other khmas of Aith Waryaghar
175 to fight against that tribe, as auxiliaries in the punitive expedition of Bushta al-Baghdadi[33]; and thus we see that tribal interests were always superior to clan ones[34].

616 For this reason, the mechanism of the liff is simply con-
● 182 servative and not disintegrative, as might seem the case from other points of view. If in the jma'th it equalizes the forces which are
[621] feuding, it does the same in the tribe with the rival clans, and in
[619] the overall Rifian area with hostile tribes, everywhere balancing the
[614] inferiority of weak groups with the strength of its own men. It may be possible to explain in this fashion why in spite of the feverish, ephemeral and unlucky vicissitudes of such minuscule states, they never came to the point of disappearing altogether, while at the same time and by the same token they never permitted the duration of empires

or similar agglomerates. This might also perhaps explain the persistence in disorder up to exhaustion point, for thanks to an obscure family feud, a chain reaction would unleash violence throughout the whole region as fast as a burning cigarette can produce a forest fire[35].

There is no doubt that through their origins the tribes can be classified into two great groups, Sanhaja and Ghumara, which formed the two great Rifian alliances of the same names, and between which the Rifian tribes were distributed in an apparent equilibrium, as follows[36]:

Ghumara: Ibuqquyen, Aith Yittuft, Aith 'Ammarth, Mtiwa dyal Bhar (Mtiwa of the Sea), Ghmara Proper (Bni Rzin, Bni Khalid, Bni Silman, Bni Zjil, Bni Buzra, Bni Mansur, Bni Grir, Bni Smih and Bni Ziyat), Bni S'aid (of the Jbala, not the Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid), Bni Zarwal, Bni Zarwal, Bni Winjil, Slas, Hiyaina, Branis, Igzinnayen[37], Marnisa, Mtiwa dyal Uta (Mtiwa of the Plain), Bni Mstara and Ghzawa.

Sanhaja: Bni Bu Frah, Bni Gmil, Mistasa[38], Aith Waryaghar, I-Khmas, Bni Waryagil[39], Jaya, Mzzyat, Rgiwa, Dsul, Khuna, and Sanhaja Srir (Ktama, Aith Siddat, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Aith Bu Nsar and Bni Bu Shibt).

However, it seems somewhat limited to attribute the basis of Rifian political preferences and the reason for alliances in the region to this dim and garbled tradition of the very distant past[40]. If, on the other hand, the form of government or religion were in dispute, it would be easier to explain its affinities to the European type[44]. Furthermore, if we discard as vaguely traditional such causes of union

[This should read "41" not "44"--Analyst]

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [191] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [191] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[614] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 621 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

616 another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two
619 top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the
khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh
[124] Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top Segment I is labeled Aith Khattab, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari (plus Aith 'Ari) and Aith 'Abd Allah, while Top Segment II consists of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments of these top segments are aligned into their component liffs, as above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the problem, therefore, is the khums of Imrabdhen, the presence of which,
616 in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above).
619 The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element
614 in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition
792 has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand
u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top imgharen of the Aith Yusif
[613] w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a khums, and their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among
[613] themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqqiwen of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the dispensing of baraka (which, it might be added, could only be inherited
614 by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent
616 liff alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver
182 in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with
792 the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally, "fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary and liff systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative, as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance, between holy and adjudicating imrabdhen, the 10% minority, and lay and warrior imrabdhen, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrab-
614 dhen as a clan: whether they are shurfa or not--and here again, one
792 runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say "no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are genuine shurfa, although it is possible that these are, at least in part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the sunduq or box

B) Commentary:

671 •182 We have here a curious (sic) type of qanun, which, as we read it, reveals the decomposition which Rifian society had reached, the atomism to which its tribal anarchy led, the imperfection, or rather, the inefficacy, of its laws, the irregular coexistence, the demonstration of its independence.

628 613 728 The disputes between two lineages of the Aith Waryaghar threaten to exterminate them through the chain of blood-vengeance in the face of the indifferent attitude of their constituents, who are habituated to taking justice into their own hands in order to defend their own interests. Two rival groups of equal size attain, in their ferocious and persistent struggle, an equal number of losses, and they reach a stage of weariness, a moment of lassitude happily exploited in order to initiate a treaty of peace (author's italics), which will permit them to build up their resources; and this fact leads them to establish this agreement for one year. Those who will [686] see to it that the truce is kept are the shiyukh, to whose protection they submit and who are interested in the affair because of the inducement of the fine which the group must pay, if within this minimal space of time it contravenes what has been agreed upon in any way (author's italics).

671 613 628 728 554 This society lacks a strong executive power; it looked instinctively toward the web of lineages represented through its shiyukh or old chiefs (sic) (no one should believe that this title represented a step in any framework of governmental or judicial power) for a force which was neutral to its feuds and more powerful than itself, to which

671 613 628 728 554 by such a simple and voluntary act it was converted at the same time to an arbiter of incidents and an executor of decisions. The function is not gratuitous as in modern states, for if in the latter the contributor pays indirectly, he does so directly in the Rif. Their covetousness thus awakened, they evidently insured temporarily against feud renewal, but they also stipulated that it would revive the embers of their hatred.

671 613 628 182 [183] These agreements or inter-lineage truces obeyed a double mechanism originating from the vicious circle in which they were debated. On the one hand they originated a series of regulatory norms of coexistence which, gaining in amplitude of concept and extending their jurisdiction to the generalizing of their advantages and the persistence of their exemplarity, painfully came to gain the adhesion of other nearby and related lineages until they were adopted by larger social and territorial units, including districts or entire tribes; and this situation gave rise to some of those qanums upon which we will comment further on. On the other hand, they represented the ultimate [728] step to which anarchy led, responding to those most curious periods of [195] their history in which one powerful group, having recourse to violence, broke the truce in defense of its own interests, the official recognition of this fact being given by the imgharen in the suq in the face of general consternation, with the tragic phrase War dha bu r-haqq.[12]

628 602 182 195 "Now there is no law"[13]: such was the official form of declaring the state of anarchy into which the Rifians so frequently fell, a phrase which obliged them to strengthen their kin group, without dismay and by all means in their power; for a man's kinsmen were his last refuge in case of social accident.

195 181 628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 613 619 134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 671 182 [648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

property in that belonging to him, in conformance with traditional law.[25]

Those who attended the present (act) brought their testimony to the above according to the requirements of the interested parties. --In the middle of Jumad al-Awwal of the year 1336 (February 27, 1918). --The 'adl, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hajj al-Warnuri.--Another, whose name is not known.--Another, Muhammad bin Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghamri.

B) Commentary:

The social disintegration which Rifian society has reached is proven by these individual agreements between dharfiqin (Blanco: note 1, corresponding to text of qanun). In the face of helplessness or irregular functioning of higher-level associations, the poor tribesmen, before falling into complete anarchy, hastened to conclude an agreement with a neighboring group in order to attenuate that anarchy, succeeding in the hard struggle for life on a poor soil. These agreements thus formed true islets of irregular and variable peace, anchored in functional (sic) anarchy.

The necessity of agreements between lower-level lineages, who were abandoned by the rudimentary organization, obeyed, according to my understanding, those most curious periods which followed the public declaration of anarchy in the suq, when one powerful group managed by force to sustain the punishment, breaking the truce.

As the dispute was generalized between two preponderant rivals, the unaffected groups, before falling into anarchy, and with that notable instinct of self-defense, worked to bring about these agreements,

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

628 "There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
616 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
[195] inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[203] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alliances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater efficacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

671 These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
628 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
728 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14) for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
721 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613
554 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
[182] presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its repre-
792 sentatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692
554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692
212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
671 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
521
571 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
697 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that
695 the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good, natural and admirable feeling.

182 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
671 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
626 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
681
613

691 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

000 671 182 628 681 nor a bastardization of his office. It creates guarantees for the accused, protecting him from bloodfeuds; it indemnifies the social unit, the subclan of Imhauren, from injuries caused by some of its members, so that when the fine is donated to the habus of the village mosque, through the particular conceptualization and application of these funds in the Rif, a part of the money always came back to the jma'th in kind; and the eagerness for a reward, as among participating European functionaries, who multiply the fines by increasing their investigations and denunciations in proportion to their needs, was discarded.

671 It has--and why not?--among its other defects one which is certainly a simple defect in editing, although the frequency with which 681 it is repeated makes this doubtful in several cases. The intention (author's italics) (Blanco: note f, in text) is punished, but how can 627 it be proven? According only to the prudent arbitration of the popular tribunal formed by the two aforementioned individuals. A bad business.

671 621 623 614 182 Curious and noteworthy is the palpable demonstration of this municipal letter, of this qanun of a jma'th, which is careful not to overstep the bounds of adjacent institutions, such as those of personal status law (inheritance, etc.) or of those handled by the immediately superior social unit, the clan, with its qanun approved and drawn up in the markets (murders and woundings, etc.), a fact which reveals the interrelationship and interdependence of the different social units, and even their institutions and how they function.

671 627 182 This qanun is limited, logically, to neighborhood questions, among which there figures in first place that of public security (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property.

000 (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property. It A A says nothing regarding
671 the question of irrigation, because within the territory of this subclan
312 there is not a single point of communal water available or usable only
614 by this jma'th, as happens in Thamasind (see Qanun of Tamasint); on the other hand, it forms part of a group of irrigating jma'ths subjected to the same norms which are described in detail in Chapter XIV, and, if it does not touch other points of coexistence and if it is observed in other qanuns, this is simply because such questions did not give rise to any disagreements, for all members of the subclan accepted the old and very well-known customs of their jma'th in good spirit.

000 And rough, practical men cannot lose time inventing or making things up, even though they may be capable of doing so.

671 This qanun, like almost all others, brings into relief the sweat, efforts and oversights of those who drew it up, in order to validate the precepts agreed upon and in order to satisfy, for those attending to them[37]; for, attentive to his individual interests, a man would wish to make an addendum if a mishap had occurred in his orchard
[623] the previous night, as in note i in the text. Amplifications or corrections were required, for, fearing that they were not understood by the hard-headed councilmembers, the plaintiff was accredited before the legislative assembly as proof of his presence at the legislative meeting even if only to legislate egotistically for his orchard.

623 With this, they accredited that under a severe and formalized
182 appearance, there was no more than childishness (sic) and incapacity to govern (sic): lost in small details, strongly addicted to minutiae, passionately influenced by the latest incident, working anarchically (sic), each person obsessed with his own problems, attentive to his

A A [i.e., the qanun--Analyst] -296-

623 own circumstantial interest, their councils and the agreements fallen
182 back upon in them lacked that breadth and generality which would have been needed for a longer duration in any jural operation. In a short time, new, unspecified cases or prejudice among the influential men brought their usefulness to an end and necessitated their being redrafted, in which previous experience, the analysis of which was discarded in order to resolve the question of the moment, did not play a part.

671 For this reason written laws in the Rif are rare, of only
212 relative value and minimal jural operation, which did not go beyond the time it took the minors (author's italics), the small ones, to forget the announcement of the majors (author's italics) by the criers in the markets to reach their hands.

671 They do not have the severity of European law which, even though drafted in moments of emotion, gathers up and encloses in itself principles of general usefulness, a usefulness which does not necessarily exist at the time of codification but which comes into play with possible and presumable variations which later times can introduce, by which, with the prolongation of their legal operation, their disclosure and exemplarity increase, resulting in the slow but sure advance of society.

5. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF TAMASINT (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 A) Qanun:
695
621 (Blanco: paragraph a) Praise be to God.--Copy.--In front of
623 both witnesses testifying at the present act, those of the jama'a of Tamasint as-Sifli, Lower Thamasind, appeared for judgment, including:

623 the imposition of minimal social obligations (education and hospitality), the equal division of duties and work, and, finally, nomination of a man to represent the jma'th and to see that local law is enforced.

This jma'th and its representative were legitimate organs of the people, an authentic and faithful reflection of the feeling and convenience of its members, live and efficient organisms. Today a 623 177 182 rigid Arab framework and its imposed and despotic representatives has submerged the jma'th, without any alternative other than the hatred or scorn of its members, according to whether the chief is a tyrant, or a slave to his needs or whims.

436 681 For an analysis of the proportioning of the punishment, it is well to know the equivalents of the Rifian monetary system, as follows:[41]

Mithqal--2 Spanish pesetas

Bsita--0.60 Spanish pesetas

Rbi'a--0.50 Spanish pesetas

Uqiyya or Spanish onza, "ounce"--0.20 Spanish pesetas

Ujjhain (two muzunas)--0.10 Spanish pesetas,

Muzuna or Spanish blanquillo, "little target"--0.05 Spanish pesetas.

681 673 With these data to hand, we may now establish the framework of fines which occur in the qanun commented upon, in the following order:

Theft by day, of cereals or fruits (figs, etc.)--100 pesetas

Theft by night, in the orchards or gardens--20 pesetas

Threats with firearms--20 pesetas

Thefts by day, in the orchards--10 pesetas

Threats with knives or daggers--5 pesetas

Damages to dams--5 pesetas

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
62] social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623
443 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
671 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan, an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in
• [182] principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
614
796

671 443 614 776 was drawn up, as the names of those who inspired it disappear into a convenient anonymity as the generic "those of the clan", under the otherworldly tutelage of Sidi 'Amran. As for being alive and present, 671 614 776 I consider that the jealous and rivalrous constituents of this saint would neither have consented, however great his sanctity might be, to figure expressly in this qanun; for such was the independent or anarchical spirit of this clan, that, having iziddifen or imgharen like all other clans, nobody wanted to see himself deferred or ordered around, 554 even in name only. There is no master nor, by the same token, are there servants, titles or honors. Only men and rifles, and only reality and harshness.

614 671 Nevertheless, the common good succeeds in putting the clan's ideas into effect (author's italics--i.e. "the common good makes them agree"), according to the expression of the first paragraph of the qanun, which reveals to us the amount of discussion and work that this would cost.

671 Rifian law grows, pacifying the minds of those who live by it, staisfying a need, not an ideal; and doing so as naturally as the waters of 'Ain Tihalalin, beside which it was made, slake the thirst of the wayfarer and even the clarity of both: the wayfarer and the law. For the function of the water and the function of the Rifian [182] legal system was analogous: to cure, even though the cure was not always successful.

671 443 Rifian society, as this qanun proves, establishes a place of peace, a place which is not (translator's italics) the temple of God, the place of prayer and that selected by almost all other peoples, but the market and its environs, the temple of the merchants. This proves

671 This proves
182 that Rifian law tended to satisfy a need and not an ideal, as we have
443 just said; for further on, the qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah points out
796 a truce to be held on a given day, on Tuesday, the market day, and not on Friday, the religious day and the day of attendance at the noon prayer in the mosque. The day of peace is thus a layman's day.....

671 The law is simple. And hard. And sufficient to be encrusted with obligatory relief in the most refractory cranium of a believer, an objective impossible to obtain among modern societies. Nobody pretended ignorance, as all are wont to do or swear today.

There are neither aggravators nor attenuators, only consummate (and consummated) acts.

Paragraph a: They discount intentions, so difficult to prove
[681] and needing so much patience to investigate. They attain results more easy to prove and more quick to sanction (i.e. castigate) and be sanctioned, in conformance with their rudimentary law.

671 Paragraph b: A hard punishment; the liquidation of the mur-
682 derer, with the loophole that after his flight, the law may fatten on him. But it does not give a heavy punishment to his agnates, although it avoids impunity. It does not cease to be more humanitarian than other analogous qanuns, if indeed this custom is followed in reality.
[681] The gradation of fines is simple and even attempted murder is penalized.

671 Paragraph c: A typical example of the fact that Rifian law is only concerned with the external manifestation of the crime.

[681] Paragraph d: And so that the gradation of the punishment follows that manifestation as a shadow does a body, from the time that it is initiated.

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanuns, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

671 [62] [623] [614] We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing influence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the undersigned notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya) made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros. This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55] or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

616
613 While relationships with one's own and neighboring lineages, regulated by tradition, were maintained, the liff did not plead permanence as a hope of reward, but whenever injustice or violence, ripping up their pact or norm of coexistence, left an individual or his lineage-mates helpless, these latter attained in the liff a final support for their rights and in all cases a secure material refuge for their persons and possessions.

616
999 The liff must not be compared to European political parties (author's italics), for these are activated under a religious aegis or under a governmental form, both things being ones which did not enter into the preoccupations of the Rifians, for whom republics and Islam were points which did not admit controversy even in the slightest degree. Destined to a rude struggle for existence in a harsh and miserable environment, the speculations of the spirit had neither place nor occasion to make themselves felt in the fact of the other, primordial and undeferable.

616
182 To any presumed victims the liff was the best guarantee and forewarning, as through it individuals and social units were forced to bring about the alliances (author's italics) which they deemed necessary in order to oppose adverse forces; and thus they insured their own existence.

616
613 The mechanism of the liff worked the miracle, in the anarchical (sic) state of Rifian society, of permitting the coexistence of the
619 family or kin group or social unit (i.e. the lineage, on whatever level),
182 as small as it might be, among others more numerous in point of population with no diminution of its integrity; and this fact permitted the

616
613 survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian
619 Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were sur-
182 rounded by powerful neighbors.

616 Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family,
182 the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616 I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or
121 the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616 It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

671 This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the
614 clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe.
619 Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring
644 clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the
648 border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

312 of the beds, the Rifians were unable to think in terms of large irrigation developments to lead the ditch to some small and dried-up meseta; for the minimal amount of these in the interior of the country and the longitude of the ditch which they would have needed did not compensate for the effort and expense they would have had nor the loa[illegible] they would have incurred (i.e. from neighboring segments of the tribes) in order to maintain the ditch as such. Nature has in no [182] way favored the Rifians, who must gain everything they own through their own efforts. The men, the new men, the protectors (i.e. the 648 312 Spanish administration) can and must do something to help them, and thus they wait for it and trust them, although up to the present time (1935), and in this connection, nothing other than prejudices and injuries have occurred, as happens with the turn of water which they have been made to cede to the Granja Agricola (i.e. model farm) of Imzuren and to a half-dozen Europeans, who, placing their minute holdings in dry rather than irrigable lands, have by virtue of more modern methods converted them into irrigated terrain; and these appear today like minute green islets among the calcinated holdings of the natives, whose ill-will and adverse commentaries are just, logical and in no way flattering.[122] "Nubth nj-Makhzin", the "turn of the Government", as they say, which means that in order to sustain it a group of mkhaznis is necessary; and the salaries of these men added to those of the directors and work force are certainly far higher than the four bushels of vegetables which they manage to obtain and the unknown profits of other kinds which they do their best to make.

312
571
613
596

2nd Day (24 hours): Dhifirasin: Aith Mhand u Yihya
Im'aruwen[136]

3rd Day (24 hours): r-Hujjaj: Aith r-'Arbi
Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
I'arhuthen[137]

312
571
182
613
[596]

We thus have, in the regimen of the ditch with which we are dealing, an excellent example of Rifian solidarity, observable in the turn of the Imhauren, as in times of dryness or drought, when they need more themselves, they hasten to aid their neighbors of Aith Bu Dhimmus (who are ordinarily limited to their own turn of hours of irrigation in another ditch, that of Thafadhna, as we shall see later), although by this the other three lineage branches or ijujga only harm themselves, because they defer one of their own turns by nine more days, and even if the turn is a small one in itself, they only receive it once every nine days.

312
571

For a better understanding of the mechanics of irrigation among Rifians, we shall study in greater detail the order which is followed in this ditch[138], for it is curious to observe how they have simplified it, in spite of the modifications which are introduced in the case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus, for example, with its intermittent (author's italics) rights, so as not to interrupt the turn in general; but, at the same time, how can we explain the miracle of how the thousands of Rifian irrigators and the labyrinth of ditches which traverse the Plain of al-Husaima do not produce any disturbances nor give rise to any incidents other than those occasioned by ignorance on the part of the Europeans, of which the Rifians of importance sometimes try to take advantage or the avarice of the fortunately few and ill-named "colons"?

312 20th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
571 21st Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)
613 22nd Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn

23rd Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)

24th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru

25th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith Muhand u Hmid

26th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

27th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)

28th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)

29th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

30th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

And so on.[140] To attempt to vary this unending chain which the [182] irrigation turns of the Rifians make up in those ditches with permanent flow is to promote major altercations and to upset the equilibrium of the whole of the Plain of al-Husaima.

312 The simple attempt by a Rifian miller to divert for a few
571 seconds the water of Bufma'iz so that it would flow to his turbine mill,
402 I recall, provided the motive for a sudden and vehement protest by the
578 users of this ditch, en masse, to the authorities; the whole Plain of al-Husaima took alarm to such an extent that no procedure nor influence (on the part of the authorities) could be brought to bear toward the peaceful possibility that the people might acknowledge the man's alleged right; and, nevertheless, this Plain needs more than a concerted arrangement and ordination, an improvement and rectification of the principal ditches;[141] and above all it needs a possible increase of flow for the outlet of subterranean or subalveal waters.

21. THE QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH):[179]

224 619 The data which follow have been gathered principally among hunters from the tribes of the Ibuqquyen, Aith Hadhifa (Aith Waryaghar), Zarqat, Targist, Aith 'Ammarth and Aith (or Bni) Mazduki; and they can be considered as general hunting qanuns for the region.

A) Significance:

224 182 Hunting in the Rif was neither a sport nor a profession in the European manner. It was a physiological necessity, and it is still 134 considered so today. A poor soil, accidented and dry, rendered it 312 difficult for the tribesmen to utilize its scarce sources of water; 262 and the consumption of meat was limited, because of the scarcity of animals (i.e. both domestic and wild) to Fridays, feast days, days on which pacts were concluded, days of illness, etc., and to market 262 days. As the Rifian is by necessity a vegetarian[180], sacrifices of 782 animals acquire the status of a rite, and they form a fundamental ceremony in the most transcendental and important acts of his life. Peace and war, pacts, births and deaths, rogations, etc., have to be 224 sealed with meat for greater solemnity and efficacy. In hunting, 782 therefore, Rifian society finds a physiological compensation in no 182 way negligible to its sober life and ancestral appetite for meat, the sacrifice in common and equitable distribution of which is subject to strict rules[181], the object of the most rigorous tradition and fiscalization in order not to squander the slender reserves, which are 000 appraised in a manner unsuspected by European minds. The European visitor who is entertained in a Rifian household is not in a position to appreciate sufficiently the hospitality which is offered to him,

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[771] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless,
433 impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
[191] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif, which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
435

585 571 431 182 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 574 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors 585 574 152 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's [292] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women [291] of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

423 Property going to females, either to widows or daughters,
428 tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inher-
562 itance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the
[587] practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562
428 The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more dis-
[768] ruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428
431 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the
578 inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and
182 his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B,
607 B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on
562 the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exercise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

562
428 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister
431 and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal
578 equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land
182
607 claims are mutually balanced off.

428 Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their
423 inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their
607 property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct
562 on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

423 The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheri-
428 tance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differ-
423 entiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there
183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The
556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which
425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents). 675 Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men 466 of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on 464 another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the 556 social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects 554 the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians 182 wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains signifi- 183 cance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does [128] not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

556
554
182
183

the fact that the society disapproves of any action which disrupts the solidarity of the community.

443 182 571 los indígenas, por si mismos, van señalando, con su ausencia e inhibición, cuáles son los que deben desaparecer" (1930:122). Or as Mikesell argues, improved communications and the bus favor the growth of large regional markets over the local one. "The simple charms of the local suq lose their appeal when larger markets with a wider range of goods are accessible" (Mikesell 1958:509).

443 182 114 Aside from the fact that market appeal is not based on "simple charms," I think both Albéniz and Mikesell have founded their conclusions on a false evaluation of the purposes of the market. When an institution serves multiple purposes it cannot easily be replaced by another institution which serves a single purpose. The large, impersonal regional market does not fulfill the social function of the local suq. Even as a source for supplying the fellah, the regional market has only a marginal value since most purchases are of articles (kerosene, tea, tobacco, etc.) whose value does not appreciably alter from market to market. Indeed, Mikesell elsewhere recognizes that from a buying standpoint one market is as good as another. "Everyone has a turn with the itinerant peddlers, but few purchase anything; for in this area of subsistence economy each family guards its currency for a marriage or some other special event" (1958:503).

443 182 571 But it is especially the social functions of the market which reinforce the fellah's loyality to his local suq. It is here that he can maximize his advantages of being part of a status economy. Here he can seek out local notables to assist him.

He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all sugs of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific sug. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturallement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

443 pertinent features of the marketplace and its importance in the economy of the Rif.

443 182 571 The market in the Rif does not function simply to facilitate exchange but serves a whole series of social needs of the fellah. By looking at the noneconomic functions of the market we can better understand why a man will ride a mule or walk for two hours to market, yet make only a single purchase. We will understand why a seller would prefer to deal in a familiar market although other markets may have higher prevailing prices for his goods. The market has both an economic and a social function and it is difficult to say which has primacy over the other. As Montagne points out, "Le montagnard ne se rend pas au 'souq' uniquement pour acheter ou vendre, il y vient souvent aussi pour rencontrer ses amis, régler des contestations de terrain ou de pâturage, ou plus simplement encore pour connaître les nouvelles du jour" (1930:249). And Bourrilly has noted the importance "non seulement économique mais encore politique, de ces souks ruraux. Ces rendez-vous périodiques, que des liens d'hospitalité, tels que la zettata [a promise of safe passage], rendent plus forts, aboutissent forcément à une fusion plus ou moins complète des groupes qui fréquentent les marchés voisins" (1932:216).

Only by observing the noneconomic significance can we avoid the type of thinking that led Albéniz to conclude that ". . . poco a poco van disminuyendo el número de zocos en el territorio, como consecuencia de la bondad de las vías de comunicación. Los zocos de escasa vida se ven absorbidos por los de auge más intenso, y

443 434 is too low for the large-scale merchants to intrude in competition. The type of commodity (clothes, kerosene, and so on) cannot be increased in value through combination and transportation, while at the same time the volume of trade is so sporadic and low that only the one-man operation can derive a living from it. We might assume that wherever there exists an adequate margin of profit through combination and increase in scale, the large-scale firm will preempt this position. The leftovers, so to speak, go to the small middleman operation. On the other hand, these small-scale merchants are performing services which have a low cultural value among the local population. Thus the small-scale seller of goods and services fills a vacuum. He cannot be displaced by the large firms, since it would not be profitable for them to compete with him. At the same time, he serves the local community by providing necessary but socially disapproved of services.

Finally, the tribesmen interact amongst themselves--producers selling to household consumers. Since the fellah's trade is always in small lots (with the exception of livestock), most transactions in this sector are on a very small scale. Lack of capital and limited interest in the market characterize this group. Sellers seek to dispose of their product at whatever the prevailing price as quickly as possible. Buyers choose mainly in terms of quality of the commodity rather than price, which tends to be even--each seller listening to his neighbor seller and selling accordingly. There is very little differential in this group in product or price. The cause behind this lies,

townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local *suq* because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the merchants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market. Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best price based on multiple competition, the larger the market, the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the *fellah* is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local *suq*, he must return the animal home or be entirely

443 dependent on the prices existing in the market for that day.
438 On the other hand, if he is dissatisfied with the price in the
435 local market he can easily transport the beast home again, to
await a more propitious occasion.

443 I think that the major element which emerges from this
182 schematic presentation of the composition of the market and the
571 interaction of its various actors is that each fellah, as an
individual, plays a relatively minor role in the workings of
the market. The market brings together buyers and sellers,
but the fellah have a different orientation than the other
443 buyers and sellers. Stemming from this difference in orienta-
182 tion is a basic difference in the form of economic activity.
The primary concern of the professional merchant is to dispose
of his products on the market, hopefully at a profit. The pri-
mary concern of the fellah is to meet subsistence and social
needs. If he can do this by disposing of his crops or livestock
on the market, all the better. But the market as such does not
provide the dynamics of the Rif economy; the dynamics are pro-
vided by the impulses activated by the status economy.

105 a disproportionate share of the national income towards support-
648 ing the region. "On balance, the ex-Spanish zone brings little other than problems to the Moroccan administration and economy" (Ibid.:170).[1] Since it cannot be profitably exploited, the Rif is allowed to follow its own form of economic integration. This integration is based on an adaptation to the prevailing ecological and social conditions of the Rif. That the adaptation is successful is testified by its persistence.

105 In summary I shall sketch what seem to me the basic features of this economic system. I do not pretend that this is an exhaustive summation of all elements of the system nor is it adequate as a treatment of the new forms of economic organization which are emerging in the Rif (expanding wage labor, tourism, etc.). It does, however, serve as a guide towards understanding the major elements of this status economy and, it is hoped, deepens our perception of the economic life of nonindustrial society.

105 We may start with the element in the system which marks
43 the greatest point of departure from the economy of an industrial
182 society. Those resources of the fellah which are not devoted to subsistence are predominantly tied up in meeting needs arising from a combination of social and religious factors. Production

---

[1] The same is said about the Kabylia in Algeria. Yet it is unlikely that independence in either country could have been achieved as quickly as it came without the assistance of these dissentient Berber groups. Unfortunately, once independence is achieved they become a burden to the urban-oriented leaders.

105 is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or
43 reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to
182 meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption,
[152] etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies. These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic
105 system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself
443 is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan
182 and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with
[181] peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources" (1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unimportant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest, respectively, appearing only as different instances of price according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most predominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the com-
[114] plete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic

105 443 182 114 blindness that led Benet to conclude: "Everything that is not domestically produced has, therefore, to be obtained from the market, through market transactions, and no exchange or commercial activities of any kind are attempted outside of these times and places. The market place has a monopoly on exchange transactions [amongst Berbers]" (1957:196).

105 443 441 182 434 438 The market itself is not the area of primary concern for the fellah. Professional merchants, of course, fall into another category. But there is little impetus for the growth of an indigenous merchant class. The merchant entrepreneur is, by definition, acting in a way which runs counter to the status economy. He is primarily concerned with devoting his capital to profit or income-producing investments. While the peasant comes to the market with commodities to exchange for money to buy other commodities, the merchant seeks to convert money into commodities which he can resell in order to acquire more money. Social and religious imperatives only interfere with the merchant's freedom of action.[1] Unlike transactions in the social sphere which perpetuate themselves into the future as part of a web of reciprocal obligations, the merchant seeks transactions which are impersonal and terminal at the moment of exchange. He is most at home in the suq, where these conditions are nearest to being achieved.

---

[1] I do not mean to draw too close a parallel between the Protestant merchant and his Muslim counterpart. The Islamic business ethic still awaits its Weber.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105
443
441
182 Yet at the same time, the merchant becomes increasingly isolated from the culture of the Rif and increasingly involved in the ideology of industrial society.

105
182 Outside the marketplace, resources continue to be circumscribed by social strictures, credit is based on reputation, prestige is evoked through ceremony, while honor and shame guarantee each transaction. Bulls are killed to bring on rain, witches paid to remove evil eyes, and man continues an intensive dialogue with his external environment based on a cultural evaluation which provides a measure of both social and physical comfort.

7: Mikesell K-4,S (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith-Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[5]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[6] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[7] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[5] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[6] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[7] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER III

CULTURE HISTORY PRIOR TO EUROPEAN INTERVENTION

FOR THE POPULATIONS and civilizations that reached it, Morocco was a cul-de-sac. Every movement came up against the Atlantic barrier and was retarded by the hostile environment of the Sahara. During the Pleistocene epoch and, indeed, during the first millennia of Recent geologic time, Morocco was a redoubt in which outmoded ways of life perfected themselves in isolation. The descendants of the Neolithic farmers remained dependent on stone tools three thousand years after the Egyptians, at the other end of the Mediterranean, had begun to use metal. Basically, the Stone Age cultures still persist, in spite of Phoenician, Roman, Arab, and European influence.

The historic accounts of the Canary Islands are of special interest. When the Norman and Spanish conquerors reached the Canaries a few generations before the discovery of America, the islanders spoke a Berber dialect and still retained their Neolithic culture. They used stone tools, and fashioned implements from wood, horn, and shell. They produced crude and underfired pottery in the Neolithic style, and their textiles were plaited matting and basketry. Their clothing was of cured goatskin, and their houses were made of stone, pine timbers, and earth. They raised pigs, dogs, sheep, and goats, and grew barley and wheat. They knew how to preserve meat by drying and milk by making cheese. Add metal, weaving, and the crops and animals introduced from southwestern Asia and the Americas, and this outline of material culture is little different from that of an isolated Moroccan village of today.[1]

THE PROBLEM OF CLIMATIC CHANGE

A mass of circumstantial evidence suggests that Barbary has become drier since the time of the Roman occupation. The impressive ruins of Thamugadi (Timgad) and the great amphitheater of Thysdrus (el-Jem) now stand on desolate plains. The ancient seaports of Leptis Magna and Sabratha were found buried under an immense drift of sand. Mosaics and historical records tell of the presence in Roman Africa of elephants, lions, and other wild animals now confined to the tropical zone. Further examples of change presumed to be a result of desiccation could be cited, but these suffice to illustrate the type of evidence that impresses the traveler.

It cannot be denied that the landscape of northern Africa has changed since classical time, but the thesis of a climatic explanation of this change is difficult to defend. Most of the evident deterioration can be traced to neglect or destruction by man. Aqueducts, dams, and cisterns made possible the building of the now dead cities. With the collapse of the Pax Romana, marginal land dependent on irrigation went out of cultivation. Burning, cutting, and overgrazing

[1] Leonardo Torriani, *Die kanarischen Inseln und ihre Urbewohner;* trans. from the MS of 1590 by D. J. Wölfel (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1940), Vol. VI of *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde.* C. S. Coon, in *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1951), pp. 36–40, calls attention to the Canary Islanders as "Berbers" unaffected by foreign influence.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[1]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[2] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[3]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[4] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

[1] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[2] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[3] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[4] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

/240 cont./

628 But in these less wild regions, the periods of calm are never-
•182 theless short and do not leave these rudimentary institutions
642 /241/ time to perfect themselves. Anarchy and fights by families infuriated by vengeances have never permitted the Riffians to know a government by regularly elected leaders, changed in
628 turn, or the use of common funds. Only the holy-war treasuries,
652 organized by pious establishments, existed at all times. Hate
721 for the Christian can indeed dominate the strongest feelings;
798 whatever may be the violence of the disputes that divide them,
182 the notables always agree enough to go shares in small sums of money intended for the purchase of bullets in order to go to aim at the detested soldiers of the "Peñon" /Rock/ of Alhucemas or Badès (1).

[113] 1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 89 and sqq.

000 XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- It is above all between the social organization of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the French conquest and that of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ that it is possible to multiply the comparisons in order to find profound analogies under the apparent differences. It is easy, as a matter of fact, to see that the small republics of the Tichka or of the Jbel Kest, sequestered in the high valleys of the South of Morocco, and the ones that have grown and prospered on the summits of the Djurjura live with similar institutions, share the same positive and limited ideal, suffer from identical ills, and are subject to the same rules of existence, to the same laws of development.

The territory of the "ᶜarch" is, as we have seen, equivalent to that of a small "taqbilt" of the Sous; both form, in the free state, autonomous and often even independent political units. But in one of the regions the slight density of the population of a country where human life is difficult, in the other the

/294 cont./

634 This expansion of the religious forces smothers the free
792 political life of the mountain populations, and even when a
182 family head succeeds in dominating the neighboring villages and becoming amghar of an entire khoms, he remains the respectful servant of the holy personages who maintain in the tribes the tradition of Islam, hate of the Christian, and direct, without ever appearing, the debates of the little assemblies.

/295/ It is only where the grip of the marabouts and shorfa relaxes for a time and in the regions that are not entirely given over to private wars that the ambition of the minor amghars can be given free rein for some years. Indeed, we see them appear on the north versant of the chain of the Rif, out of the reach of the zaouias established on the summits, in the tribes of the Ghomara, among the Beni Bou Frah, the Beni Gmil, the Mestasa, and to the south of the Jbel Hammam, in the country of the Gzennaya at the sources of the Nkor, or in the tribe of the Beni Amret.

634 Although the internal life of these tribes at the end of the
619 nineteenth century is less well known to us than that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it is nevertheless possible to find again the conditions in which the amghars of the western Rif grew important, up to the moment when the effort attempted by ᶜAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ to constitute a Riffian State made them disappear at a single blow.

619 The anarchy in the country and disturbances that occurred in
648 the tribe of the Boqqoya had made necessary, at the beginning of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the sending of a strong harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the organization of the tribes was entrusted to the kaid Boucheta el Baghdadi, of the guich /gish/ of the Sultan, who in our day has become Pasha of Fès /Fez/. The garrisons billeted in the old casbahs of Tafersit and Snada, supported by a small steamer of the sherifian fleet in the bay of Alhucémas, sufficed at this time to restore order. The
[614] command of the tribal "khoms" was then entrusted to the chiefs of the most powerful clans, named sheiks for the occasion. The dissensions of the mountain "khoms," which had previously ended

/296 cont./

175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
554 succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
182 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
578 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ᶜAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

175 /402 cont./
631 of the tribes of the vicinity. ᶜAbd el Kerim can easily tame the
669 revolts of the Rif fomented by the minor amghars of the Ghomara,
648 /403/ jealous of the development of his power; soon he completes his successes by the conquest of the Jbel and makes his rival Raisouli perish in prison.

175 Four years sufficed to make of the son of the cadi of Ajdir the
631 independent Sultan of the north of Morocco, who keeps the
554 armies of Spain at bay; carried away by his ambition, by the en-
[648] thusiasm and cupidity of his entourage, ᶜAbd el Kerim then dreams for an instant of conquering the towns of the Maghreb and becoming master of all the Mussulmans of Morocco, whose eyes turn toward him with growing admiration. Indeed, each day that passes increases his prestige; he becomes, in the eyes of western Islam, a new Moustapha /Mustafa/ Kemal; his name is known from the Indies to America, and people follow his victories and projects with a passionate interest; the large countries of Europe are stirred up by the importance that he is acquiring and, according to their interests, secretly desire his success or hope for his ruin.

175 A few weeks of well-directed military efforts moreover suffice
631 to get rid of the "Riffian State." But the conditions under which
•182 this Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, so rapidly built up and at the same
648 time so fragile, suddenly collapses enable us to see its internal structure clearly.

During the first phase of the war, the struggle between the Rif, France, and Spain was carried on to the boundary of the tribes conquered and governed by the Beni Ouriaghel; so the efforts of two large modern armies remained in vain because the members of the Riffian Makhzen /makhzan/ always succeeded in constraining all the populations of the mountains of the north of Morocco to continue the holy war, the "jihad," without sparing their forces; but when the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel itself is threatened, the warriors of ᶜAbd el Kerim's tribe all abandon at the same time their external commands in the tribes of the Jbala and the Wergha in order to come to defend their own homes; the grip exerted by the tribal brothers of the "Sultan of the Rif" on all the small

R
175
631
182
648

/403 cont./ mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ʿAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ʿAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaʿin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
121
171
*631
554
182

IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral kingdom of ʿAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

OLD WOMEN'S MAGIC

789 This type of magic, known as *sohor*, does not involve the use of writing, and is not performed by students. It is the exclusive property of women. The following will serve as examples:

1. When rain falls during a wedding, old women take a bit of the bride's headcloth and stick seven needles into it. They then fasten it to a pole and set it on the roof. This is supposed to stop the rain immediately.

2. When, on the other hand, rain is desired, old women take a *thefeira*, or wooden bread-shovel, and dress it as a bride in the clothes of a bride who has recently been married for the first time. The unmarried girls carry the shovel around to all the houses, and to the mosque and saint's tomb, if there is one, shouting a request for God to send rain. When they have taken it to all the houses in the village they set it up in a grain field, preferably a field of barley. Although they do not expressly say so in the formula which they chant, their idea is to induce the rain to take its bride.[1]

3. When women of one family are jealous of the women of another at a wedding, and wish to exceed them in skill at singing and dancing, an old woman of the first family chews up a mouthful of salt and oil and spits this into the drum-warming fire. This will cause the rival women to fight together and leave the wedding.

4. When a young couple are in love and the boy changes his affection and marries another girl, the mother of the slighted girl invites the boy to enter her house. She sits in a corner holding two wool-cards with unwashed wool between them. She calls out the boy's name, and as he answers takes a stroke with the cards. She does this three times, and if he has answered each time she locks the cards together and puts them up in the rafters. As long as the cards remain there he will be unable to have an erection. In this case the wool serves as a symbol of softness.

SHAME-COMPULSIONS

183 The shame-compulsion, called *or*, is claimed by the Riffians to have no sorcery in it, but to be based on the use of shame as an effective agent. Its principle lies in one man's doing something ceremonially which will shame another into doing something against his will. The shame-compulsion is connected with hospitality. Just as it is unthinkable to refuse to give food to a guest who enters your house, or to refuse food offered in the house of another, so it is unthinkable to refuse to comply to a shame-compulsion.

If a man should refuse a shame-compulsion some great calamity would befall him; he or one of his family would die, and all mankind would cease to respect him. He would lose his entire social standing. Examples of the shame-compulsion follow:

1. A *bone* hard pressed in a feud, wishing to ally itself to another *bone*, passes *in toto* men, women, and children, to the village mosque of the other *bone*, leading with them a bull if possible, otherwise a cow or a goat. The schoolmaster of the first *bone*, or one of its members who is a student at the cantonal mosque, slaughters the animal sacrificially in front of the mosque, in such a way that the blood will spurt out and hit the door. If this fails to

[1] S. Biarnay (*Etude sur les Dialectes Berbères du Rif*, pp. 174–178), in a text written in the dialect of the Bokoya, gives a complete account of this ceremony. My account is from the Gzennaya in particular, although this rite is practiced in many tribes of the Rif.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

183

happen, however, the shame-compulsion still holds. The *bone* upon which it has been worked is forced to ally itself with the supplicating group, forming *liff* [1] with it.

2. A man condemned to pay a fine in consequence of a murder goes to each house in the *canton* with an open knife held in his teeth and knocks on the door. Those within must make him a present. When he has in this way collected the amount or residue of his fine he pays it, and he does not have to pay back the money he has taken. This type of shame-compulsion is called *er fiheith*.

3. A man fined for murder who has property to sell, but insufficient time in which to do so, leads a goat to the house of a man whom he knows to have ready cash, and sacrifices it in front of the door. The man thus appealed to is compelled to loan the money immediately. After the murderer has sold his own property he must repay his acquaintance.

4. When a family is besieged in its house in a feud, and sees no prospect of getting out, the women and children depart, being immune from harm, go to another *bone*, sometimes even to another tribe, and enter the house of the most important person in that place. This action constitutes a shame-compulsion upon the inhabitants to ally themselves with the worsted party.

5. A has had a feud with B. This has been patched up by payment, and the two have been living tranquilly for some time. Suddenly A again becomes angry with B and takes a shot at him, while he is unarmed, but misses. B runs to a woman of A's *sein* and touches her nipple with his mouth, drawing out milk if she has any. This prevents A from killing B, since it places the two in the position of foster-brothers, by extension.

6. When a family is besieged as in (4), and the besiegers, contrary to custom, will not let the women and children out, the besieged send out students or saints to pick up their dead and carry them to the village mosque of another *bone*. The latter set these corpses down in the mosque, and the *bone* which owns the mosque is bound to ally itself with the besieged and relieve them.

7. When a tribal council has burned the house or houses of a *sein* or *bone*, the members of which flee or are exiled, the victims in passing through another tribe are attacked. They go to the village or cantonal mosque of the attacking group, sacrifice a cow there, if they have saved one, and enter the mosque. The inhabitants give the victims a house and food, and their tribal council goes to the councillors of the victims' tribe to demand their reinstatement. If this is refused the two groups fight, since a powerful shame-compulsion has been effected.

8. When a *bone* is hard pressed in a war and all others in the neighborhood have allied against it, the *bone* dresses an attractive girl in the costume of a bride, hennas and tattoos her, mounts her on a mule, leads her to a neutral *bone*, and gives her to a councillor as wife. He is forced by shame-compulsion to marry her, and his *bone* must ally itself with hers.

OATHS

The *'ahd*, or oath, is an agreement for mutual protection or mutual peace sworn to between two persons or two groups over the grave of a saint. In the case of two persons, one stands at either side of the grave, and the two clasp hands so that their fingers interlock. In this position they recite, in *thamazighth*, the formula "Let the *'ahd* of the Lord God be

[1] See above, p. 105.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

183 between us." If there are two groups of people "making *'ahd*" together, as many of each group as there is room for face each other across the grave. When these have made *'ahd* others fill their places, until all have taken part. An *'ahd* cannot be broken without retribution falling afterwards in some unforeseen way. The following list covers some of the situations which call for the making of *'ahd*.

1. Two men wish to make a covenant not to harm one another.

2. A man fears that a friend will deceive him with his wife, and asks the friend to make *'ahd* with him. This is done at times by men about to start on journeys.

3. One man hires another to commit murder; the two may confirm the agreement by making *'ahd*.

4. A man makes *'ahd* with his wife so that they will have confidence in each other.

5. Adulteresses make *'ahd* together to insure mutual secrecy.

6. *Bones* which have been allied in *liff* and which begin to mistrust each other make *'ahd* as groups. This involves breaking bread at the tomb and exchanging the pieces.

7. *Fifths* allied in *liff* make *'ahd* to continue that condition, under the agreement that the first *bone* to break it will be punished by the destruction of its property and by exile. This punishment, of course, implies the consent of the tribal council. In making this type of *'ahd* the councillors of the two *fifths* meet in a saint's tomb, and not only break and exchange bread but also sacrifice a bull.

Besides the serious *'ahd*-making of grown-ups, children build toy graves of pebbles or small stones and play at making *'ahd* over them.

THE EVIL EYE

154 The evil eye is thought to exert its baleful influence mainly against vegetable gardens and women and children. An old soot-blackened pot, a mule's skull, or a black cloth is put up on a pole in the garden, and acts as a prophylactic. In red-pepper patches goat droppings are tied up when the peppers are in flower.

Pairs of goat horns are tied on pomegranate trees to keep the flowers from falling when a person with the evil eye looks at them.

To keep the evil eye from harming a child, a boar's tooth may be hung about its neck on a string. Women protect themselves by tying cowrie-shells into their belts.

INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS

781 In the Rif it is thought that dreams dreamed in the summer will come true, while those dreamed in winter will not, since the world is turned around at that time. Dreams of an ominous nature are mostly symbolical. The following are a few examples:

1. If you dream that you see a man naked, poverty will befall him. If you dream that you yourself are naked, no harm will result.

2. If you dream that you see a wedding company disporting themselves in the house of one of your relatives, then one of your relatives, not necessarily the same one, will soon die.

3. If you dream that you or someone else falls into a stream or a stream-bed, the government will shortly make trouble for you.

602 571 613 619 596 2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton [21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613 Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594 3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a 594 595 183 [554] conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny 595 182 [181] is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

600 them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

such urgent needs: it disorbitized the simple problems of fiscalization, strengthening and (re)orientation of Rifian popular institutions in order to create a cold and foreign bureaucracy and/or, at the very least, to improve the cities by putting up sumptuous buildings or repairing beautiful minarets.[17]

From a communal administrative organization and an essentially lay and effective position--like that of the ahabbas--a complicated religious problem and political weapon has been forged, i.e. the forms and modes have changed completely, to the detriment of the need which they tried to remedy. The administration has passed into the hands of the tulba; the inspection into those of the qudat (pl. of qadi); and the orders for payments into those of nothing less than a Ministry.[18]

In these dazzling reports it is easy to find science per se and the origin, finality and means of acquiring and utilizing these jma'ath properties in the different tribal areas of our (Spanish) zone in its "anarchical" (sic) existence.

I believe, then, that it is not in ways foreign to the Zone nor to those of the Arab authors of treatises where we must look for the light which will illuminate our path, but rather in what we know (empirically) through investigation of Rifian society itself, whose most durable facets are not very different from old Spanish

---

17--The situation which Blanco hints at here, of local community resources in the Rif disappearing in order to add luster to urban mosque-cum-habus situations, is not one which has ever come up in our own experience.

18--Here Blanco complains again about what can only be labeled as "Creeping Arabism", after his earlier remarks about the pernicious influence of "the city" on the Rifian.

671 613 628 728 554 by such a simple and voluntary act it was converted at the same time to an arbiter of incidents and an executor of decisions. The function is not gratuitous as in modern states, for if in the latter the contributor pays indirectly, he does so directly in the Rif. Their covetousness thus awakened, they evidently insured temporarily against feud renewal, but they also stipulated that it would revive the embers of their hatred.

671 613 628 182 [183] These agreements or inter-lineage truces obeyed a double mechanism originating from the vicious circle in which they were debated. On the one hand they originated a series of regulatory norms of coexistence which, gaining in amplitude of concept and extending their jurisdiction to the generalizing of their advantages and the persistence of their exemplarity, painfully came to gain the adhesion of other nearby and related lineages until they were adopted by larger social and territorial units, including districts or entire tribes; and this situation gave rise to some of those qanuns upon which we will comment further on. On the other hand, they represented the ultimate [728] step to which anarchy led, responding to those most curious periods of [195] their history in which one powerful group, having recourse to violence, broke the truce in defense of its own interests, the official recognition of this fact being given by the imgharen in the suq in the face of general consternation, with the tragic phrase War dha bu r-haqq.[12]

628 602 182 195 "Now there is no law"[13]: such was the official form of declaring the state of anarchy into which the Rifians so frequently fell, a phrase which obliged them to strengthen their kin group, without dismay and by all means in their power; for a man's kinsmen were his last refuge in case of social accident.

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanuns, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

671 [62] [623] [614] We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 • 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

562 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among
671 the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed
183 today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only
794 one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon
443 discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering
689 the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him
178 over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at
562 the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's
443 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they
178 were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very
183 attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of
[184] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the fundá-
[681] mentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

312 uggugen) for the source or origin of irrigation ditches and as partitions of the waters on both banks. After a dam has been set up, built to hold as much water as possible, it is converted into a ditch-head, in which the necessary outlets are made, and it thus acts as the point of origin of the principal or primary ditches which have a permanent flow of water; these are usually two or three in number. Although [183] these outlets are irregular, the Rifians say that a half or a third of the water is utilized in distribution; and although this is what happens in practice, in theory the distribution is far from perfect, as the tribesmen do not take into account the width nor the depth of the outlets; and these are improvised, if not actually variable. The primary ditches are distributed and divided in this way into secondary branches, if these are necessary, in which the irrigation turns proper are initiated, which means that they only take up water for twenty-four hours; therefore, if there are four secondary ditches, each one will take up water every four days. These secondary ditches are [805] subdivided in turn into other tertiary branches, also of periodic or intermittent flow, which do not take up water other than during the day or at night; and these originate the irrigation furrows of individuals which do not take up any water other than at certain hours, which are determined by those of the principal daily prayers.

312 591 613 596 This distribution of irrigation water is intimately linked to the Rifian lineage system, to the dharfiqth (which tends to have a 24-hour turn) and its component ijujga, and it is completed with one order of turns begun in the tertiary ditches through which if one of these ditches, during its turn, takes up water during the daytime,

224 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the
672 fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during
685 the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the dis-
224 position of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the
672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another
183 Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

224 L) Taboos:
782 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to
784 make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh,
[951] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated
411 by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

562
428 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister
431 and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal
578 equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land
182
607 claims are mutually balanced off.

428 Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their
423 inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their
607 property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct
562 on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

423 The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheri-
428 tance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differ-
423 entiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there
183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The
556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which
425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

425
423
183
556
(131)

given to one's sons. However, in times of extended drought and famine as in the mid 'forties and again in the late 'fifties, selling of land and migration to the urban centers have taken place on a fairly wide scale. In such a situation the property owner can sell to a stranger but he must give relatives first option and, if they are unwilling to exercise their right, he should give the option to someone inside the community. To buy land under such conditions is considered not only honorable but a community service in that it maintains the integrity of the community by preventing outsiders from becoming members. However, neither the buyer nor the community regards such a purchase as speculation for economic profit. Rather, they see it as community service and a socially approved method of advancing one's children. The acquisition of land under such circumstances is not a part of the motivation system based on profit but part of the same complex which includes social duty and community solidarity.

Land is, of course, one of the factors of production. But whether the Riffian regards this aspect as being the primary attribute of land can be questioned. A man of my acquaintance whose grandfather and father had made sizable land purchases held at the time more land than he could profitably cultivate and manage. Yet he was quite ashamed that he had not been able to buy more land so as to increase the legacy for his own children. To him the economic value of the land was secondary to its prestige function. Nash's remark about property among the Maya

556 472 183 It is possible, of course, for a single individual to incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylia Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, ". . . only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' . . ." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remmerative but of negative value in terms of social interrelations. Those men who are motivated by profit often find the 556 472 183 571 369 186 atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate to Alhucemas or Targuist. While Riffians who live in the rural areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

556 472 501 577 There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is manifested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents). 675 466 464 Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the 556 554 182 183 [128] social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains significance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

556
554
182
183 the fact that the society disapproves of any action which disrupts the solidarity of the community.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

The various groups of tribes, Berber and Arabic-speaking, have also more or less their peculiar customs and mode of life, but to what extent this is the case cannot, of course, be discussed in the present connection. At the same time there may also be a greater resemblance in customs between Arabs and Berbers living in the same neighbourhood than between tribes belonging to the same group. As the dwellings of the people will be frequently referred to in the descriptions of their rites or customs, it may be well to know that the Jbâla,

FIG. 4.—My travelling companions: a Rifian (left), Sîdi 'Abdsslam (mounted), and two Jbâla from Andjra.

the Rifians, and the Shlöḥ live in houses, that most of the Arabs and the Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Ujda live in tents, and that among the Brâber some tribes live in houses and others in tents or both in houses and tents. There were nomadic Berbers living in tents before the arrival of the Bedouins.[1]

I have during my journeys to Morocco studied the customs and beliefs of these various groups of people, with the exception of the Drâwa, as regards whom I have been unable to procure sufficiently trustworthy information. In this book

[1] Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by Baron de Slane, i. (Alger, 1852), pp. 167, 177.

623
621
571
793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of
623
184
343
624 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

646
614
[623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619
144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first, is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
648
[186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
619
648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

443 562 since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

[184] Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'unen), as did the Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have [114] disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. Sánchez Pérez, then, is essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of origin.

000

[103] [133] 117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at 1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. With certain notable [823] exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now [121] in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

135--Although he does not couch them in anthropological language, Blanco here elucidates certain principles which are so common to most segmentary systems as to have become anthropological platitudes, since Evans-Pritchard's work among the Nuer. They were not, however, platitudes in 1935, and Blanco's perspicacity in stating them (even if obliquely) should be commended.

136--For competent discussions on the racial affiliations of the Rifians, see Carleton S. Coon, The Races of Europe, New York: Macmillan, 1939, and Coon, 1951, op. cit., pp. 156-7.

But why should the Rifians be aware of their own racial affiliations well enough to "forget" them? They know they are whites, and they know they are Berbers (the latter example of self-knowledge is particularly well developed at the present day, since the independence of Morocco, and contains definite political overtones); and these facts, to them, are sufficient, genealogies and traditions explaining all the others.

137--Ghis, in Moroccan Arabic, means "mud", and a better name for the river in question could not be found.

138--The sixth "clan" of the Jbil is in reality made up of three subclans which are "brothers" of the members of two of the other five "ancient" clans which Blanco mentions above: Aith Turirth are "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Timarzga are "brothers" of Aith 'Ari (Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari in turn form the two top segments of one major clan, that of Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari--it has no proper name, on this level, of its own), and Aith 'Arus are "brothers" of Aith Hadhifa. These three subclans, being contiguous to each other in the mountain massif of the Jbil Hamam and discontiguous to their larger "clan brothers" mentioned above, formed a single administrative unit under a shaikh during Spanish times.

139--Blanco's recommendation to do away with the khalifa or representative of the qa'id in order to make for greater administrative simplicity was not acted upon by the Spanish authorities.

140--The office of jari or village headman is one which exists only among the Aith Waryaghar. In all other tribes, the village headman is the mqaddim, who in Aith Waryaghar became the head of the administratively created "sub-fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh. The creation and insertion by the Spaniards of another tribal office-holder on a level between that of village and clan (where no such office-holder had existed previously) was their answer to the greater segmentary intricacy, larger territorial units and greater population of the Aith Waryaghar. And last, but not least, Blanco's division of the total tribal territory into three blocs, each under its own qa'id, and each perforce following territorial rather than segmentary lines (owing to the frequent geographical discontinuity of subsegments), was, in the last analysis, the best and indeed the only way to make for an effective tribal administration.

141--This phrase comes from Hanoteau and Letourneux' famous reference to the Thajm 'aith of Kabylia as "la pierre angulaire de l'edifice berbère".

695 tribal one). To be able to swear, a cojuror had to be old enough to fast during Ramadan (i.e. to have attained puberty); and women did not swear.

The plaintiff had to be present at the mosque (and each tribe or clan generally had at least one mosque at which it was customary to take oath) when the accused and his cojurors arrived. When the latter arrived, they removed their footgear and weapons, as the plaintiff had done before them. Then the fqih of the mosque asked them what they were going to swear; they told him; and he made each one of them repeat it on the mushaf (Koran) after saying the oath formula "Bi-llahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa!" (With God, of whom there is none other than He), the accused swearing first. The accused placed his right hand on the mushaf while taking oath, and each of his cojurors, in turn, did the same.

[793]

There were, however, instances in which the mushaf was not employed as a vehicle for swearing; and some say that these instances were more the rule than the exception, and that in them the oath formula was restricted to "Bi-llah" (With God) only. Others deride the practice and say that it was followed only by "ignorant people"; but, even so, the mere fact of its existence tends to place Rifian oaths at more or less of a midpoint between those in the Sus and Western Atlas, where the mushaf was always, without exception, employed, and those of the Middle and Central Atlases, where it was completely unheard of. It is in the latter areas that Berber oaths in Morocco reached their greatest purity and complexity. However, it should be said that in the Rif, unlike the Central Atlas region, the fqih, if the need demanded, repeated the oath as many times as was necessary for all the cojurors to understand it and say it after him; whereas in the Central Atlas, a different official, the anahkam, only repeated it once (the formula there was, in addition, more complicated than the Rifian one), and if any cojuror tripped up over it or got it wrong, the oath was broken; and the same applied if any of a group of assembled bystanders, whose function it was, in effect, to heckle the cojurors, succeeded in making him falter or stumble over the words, by yelling "'Auh! 'Auh! 'Auh!" (In the Rif, there was no such heckling, even though oaths, for obvious reasons, had to be taken publicly.) A further distinction was that in the Central Atlas, all important oaths were taken not at mosques, but at saints' tombs. There were many other differences in detail as well, such as number of cojurors required for various offenses and in the ramifications of the question of who pays in the event that some cojurors were either recusant or missing; but finally, and perhaps most relevant of all, the oath system in the Rif, encompassing fewer tribes and far less territory than in the Atlas, showed a far greater tribe-to-tribe uniformity.

695 184 171

To return now to the oath itself: after it was taken, the fqih, who had witnessed it, drew up a document (tibriyith, "letter") in Arabic certifying that the defendant, whom he named, had sworn on such and such a date to the effect that he had not committed such and such a crime: he (the fqih) then appended the names of the latter's cojurors, as well as that of the plaintiff. Finally, he gave this document to the defendant so that the latter could produce written evidence of his innocence.

695 793 212

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

695 [784] It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if [184] one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; [191] unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 [114] 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] [181] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

[191] [577] [114] 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an amghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

616 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the
619 Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because
114 tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian. Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are notoften those of the next!)

616 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side
728 which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it
184 involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality
782 is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 49--Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to
[175] be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts, Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Ammarth contingents who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

671 771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [514] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 681 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

671
628
681
184
443
1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in certain qanuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

681
619
443
In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681
For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is

681
628
682
614
619
443
613
therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

562 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among
671 the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed
183 today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only
794 one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon
443 discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering
689 the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him
178 over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at
562 the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's
443 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they
178 were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very
183 attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of
[184] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the funda-
[681] mentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these kin groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

671 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any in-
vader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed im-
potence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organiza-
tion and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

226 tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not
[619] frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast
823 which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from
184 the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are after-
443 wards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed
492 over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another
685 boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

223 If partridges are being hunted, the net has a truncated conical form. The smaller end is placed in front of the nest and the larger tied to the ground with string or rope. The more the partridge tries to move forward, the more imprisoned it is.

685 671 Theft of nets is generally punished by a fine in accordance with the written qanuns of the tribes.

224 K) Hunting of Jackals (Uhar), Wolves (Ushshan) and Foxes (Dhawardha):[196]

This is effected with an iron trap (dhakhshifth), with various strategems employed because of the cunning of the animals in question. Frequently one of these animals attacks the goats furthest away, and tears them into pieces before the goatherd can arrive. The remains of the goat are tied to a branch, and below them, hidden in the ground, the traps are placed in a circle. They are usually left there for a long time, for if their positions are changed, the animal or animals are apt to become wary. The jackal, after conscientious study and with maximum caution, succeeds most of the time in getting within the circle without harming himself, but the repeated jumps, each time with greater impulse, which he is obliged to make in order to get at the goat, end up with his getting caught in one of the traps (Zarqat).

224 184 825 In the Ibuqquyen, the bait is usually a reed tube full of horse-flies and covered with very rancid butter; this is hidden in the ground, and the traps are placed around it. The wary jackal usually gets inside the circle, attracted by the smell of the butter; but as the cautious animal scratches and bites, he is frightened by the flies, loses his head, and in one of his disorderly leaps, he lands on one of

224
184
825

the traps and is stuck. In other tribes, instead of a reed tube, dried figs with flies are tied to the traps.[197]

224
231

L) Ferrets:

In hunting with ferrets, these sometimes stay in the burrows of the game for several days and eat the game. In order to get a ferret out of the hole, its owner usually takes a chicken to the mouth of the den and makes it squawk; and the ferret is attracted by the noise. If he does not succeed through using this technique, the owner puts the chicken in a leather bag, in which it is kept, with the bag open, beside the entrance. When the ferret comes out, it enters the bag or stays crouched beside it.

Ferrets are also employed in hunting jackals and wolves (sic). The hunters prepare snares at the entrance of the animal's lair. They put the ferret there, and it is held down by its testicles. Aside from the snare already prepared, the hunters are then ready to finish the jackal off with blows from their sticks as it comes out.

M) Damages:

A hunting party is not responsible for damages which the individual hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) might inflict in garden, orchards, or beehives, etc., but the latter are. The injured party, if he does not accuse a specific person through not knowing who did the damage, can demand that the hunting party denounce the guilty individual, and if it does not wish to do this, it must declare, by name, those who passed closest to the site of the damage occasioned.[198]

[681]
[695]

If the latter confess, they pay a fine, and in case of denial, they are obliged to swear that they have not done the damage and that they do not know the man or men who did.

000

[128] 9--Blanco terms this *ex pacto interfamiliar*; I use "inter-lineage" in the interests of greater structural accuracy. The pact itself concerns certain lineages of the Aith Waryaghar. And, as we are dealing here with MSS., I employ standard transcription for classical Arabic.

10--This saint, as his name indicates, comes from the subsegment of Aith Zawith n Imrabdhen (Imrabdhen n Waddai), of the clan Imrabdhen.

[113] 11--In the conversion from Muslim to Christian dates, we have used H. G. Cattenoz, *Tables de Concordance des Ères Chrétienne et Hégirienne*, 3rd Ed., Rabat 1961, as the conversions themselves do not occur in the Spanish translation.

In this connecticut also, it is well to point out that all the qanuns begin with the phrase "Praise be to God", then get to the matter at hand, and terminate with a statement or statements by the notaries, of whom there are always two, admitting the validity of the testimony of all the witnesses present. If the qanun is signed at the end by the qadi as well, he merely confirms the document by literally putting his seal of approval upon it.

12--More often stated as *Uddji wu r-haqq* or *yarrza r-haqq* ("there is no reason" or "reason is broken"), which also alludes neatly to the fact that when a feud is on, the *rhaqq* fine for murder is not paid to the *imgharen*, who themselves, of course, have picked up their rifles to participate!

13--*Haqq* means "law, reason, right"; and in Rifian it has the additional special meaning of "fine".

14--In Spanish, *Oficina de Asuntos Indigenas*.

15--It is difficult to surmise why judges of Muslim law would be "refractory" in their attitude toward markets, as through them they received their bread and butter; for the Shari'a in the tribal areas of Morocco has always been administered (where it has been applicable) in tribal markets. [114] It is interesting, however, that Blanco attributes greater control of markets to the Rif in pre-Spanish times than he does after pacification!

16--e.g. among each other and with the provisions of the *qanun* about to be drawn up.

17--Not so much "mechanism" of Rifian law as the mechanics of Rifian jural procedure.

[184] 18--Among the smaller Rifian tribes, there are often tribal clans which lack their own markets; but Blanco's statement holds true for the Aith Waryaghar, which is obviously the tribe he had in mind.

19--The unpublished *Conferencia sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño*, which forms Part II of this work.

20--Again, Blanco uses the term *interfamiliar*.

21--The name of this lineage is written *Isaghwen* in Arabic, but in all likelihood it refers to *Izzugwaghen* ("Sons of the red-head"), a branch of the Dharwa nj-Hajj 'Amar of the 'ineage of Aith Injin, of the Aith 'Aisa (r-Qman?) of Tazurakhth.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

800 102--Whether by this Blanco is referring to the two rival bands within a tri[illegible] (i.e. the Rifian liff system as described in successive notes in Book 2) or to the rival bands of Ghmara and Sinhaja he does not specify; but we suspect the reference is to the latter, and we have already put our own view on this subject forward elsewhere.

103--As they could also, no doubt, for the theory of whether liffs start wars or stop them.

[613] 104--An examination of the segmentation of the Bni Bu Frah shows us that lineages from all four of the tribal clans are in fact parties to the border defense agreement.

105--It is not clear from the original mss. whether by "least clear or tangible" Blanco refers to the tribe of the Bni Bu Frah or to the aspects of Rifian political organization under consideration.

106--Once again: for ddiyith, read rhaqq. This consistent howler becomes tiresome!

107--A somewhat similar situation, although born of quite different circumstances, is revealed in a tripartite qanun dated 1909 and translated and commented upon by Manuel Llord O'Lawlor ("Un Canon Bereber Tripartito", Tamuda, IV, 2, 1957, pp. 305-309), which involves an agreement between two Ghmaran tribes, Bni Smih and Bni Grir, and one "Rifian" (by default, as it is entirely arabic-speaking) tribe, Mtiwa, to establish a ribat in the harim or sacred territory surrounding the tomb of Sidi Yahya al-Wardani in Mtiwa; for Sidi Yahya is regularly visited every year, in mid-August, by all the surrounding tribes.

108--The punishment for whoever does not obey the order in question is not stated.

109--Literally, "big man of the military expedition"; under 'Abd al-Krim it referred to a top commander of tribal levies, rather than Rifian Army regular.

110--'Abd a-Krim Haddu n Si Ziyan, of Ajdir, and 'Abd al-Krim's cousin (and therefore a member of the lineage of Aith Zar'a), was the latter's qa'id al-mishwar (a term which might be translated as "privy counselor"). He took over all of Raisuli's money, after the latter was jailed in Thamasind[illegible]ly in 1925, and handed it over to 'Abd al-Krim.

111--Of this document, we have only the Spanish translation; there is no photocopy of the Arabic original in La Ley Rifeña.

[226] [184] 112--There is, in actual fact, very little fishing among the Aith Waryaghar, who possess only a very small strip of beach where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the sea, at Swani. The Ibuqquyen and Thimsaman, their neighbors to the west and east respectively, are more active fishermen.

113--The agharrabu is the standard Rifian fishing-boat. Made of pine-wood and caulked with tar, it measures 6 m. x 2 m. x 1 m., and in 1954, cost about 7000-8000 pesetas. It is a rowboat, with oarlocks beside each of its three or four benches such that if one bench has an oarlock on its right side, the one in front of it or behind it will have one on the left side, etc. Oars measure 3 m. in length. Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 43) speaks of the existence of sailboats on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, but says they are less common than the agharrabu described

000

[114] [136]

196--This seems to indicate considerable confusion, both terminological and zoological, for the simple reason that there are no wolves proper in the Rif. A terminological confusion arises because Spanish dictionaries, both Rifian and Arabic, translate Rifian ushshan (pl. ushshannen) and Arabic dhi'b as "lobo, chacal", whereas properly it means only the latter: jackal. By the same token, uhar (pl. uharan) is a fox (not a jackal, as Blanco indicates); and thawardha probably corresponds to awardhyu (pl. iwardhiwen), listed by Ibáñez (op. cit., 1944, p. 439) as synonymous with uhar, "fox". We have never heard the word awardhyu in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, however.

197--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the carcass of a dead animal is used as jackal-bait, and traps are laid around it.

[184]

198--This is in contrast to the situation in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, where division of the game and of the fines incurred are shared equally by all the hunters.

199--We have substituted "system of beliefs" for Blanco's term supersticiones as being somewhat more appropriate anthropologically.

584 depending on the hour, return to their respective homes or stay
583 overnight as guests of the bride's father.

584 Once the financial arrangement has been settled, the rep-
583 resentatives of both families go to the religious judge (qadi)
692 in Alhucemas or Targuist and present him with the list of obli-
gations the groom's family has accepted. The young couple are
also supposed to attend this meeting, and in the urban centers
it is obligatory. However, judges who serve tribal areas are
rather relaxed about such attendance and are satisfied if the
fathers are in agreement. It is a rule of thumb that judges
(671) who serve rural Berber areas allow customary procedures to pre-
vail over civil law if the matter does not infringe upon the
security of the state.

584 At this point the groom's family begins to collect the
583 necessary goods for the wedding celebration. This process may
369 take some time, and over a year may pass between the initial
184 agreement and the completion of the stipulated requirements
of the groom. This is, however, quite rare and seems more
584 associated with Berbers living in the city. Among the fellah
585 the marriage has been contracted for good reason and it is
thought best to consummate it as rapidly as possible. Often
the marriage ceremony takes place less than a month after the
meeting to determine the expenses.

585 When all the money and goods have been collected, both
583 parties meet with the qadi again, two or three days before the
692 wedding ceremony. The qadi checks off all the items to make sure

585 that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement.
[583] Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs
[692] the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are
[184] legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In
[369] the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until the wedding ceremony is held.

585 By now, the groom's family has incurred several different
583 types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price'
431 or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss. The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 - - The wedding celebration or thamagra is held in the late
[221] summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and
585 while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the
574 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar. Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[1]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[2] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[3] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[1] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[3] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[6]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443]

One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

195 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[7] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[8] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[6] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443. [113]

[7] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

[8] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley riseña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman. Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[13] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[14] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[13] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[14] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 526. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Rifian women present a different picture (fig. 3, *g*). They never wear leggings and are almost always barefoot. Sneakers may be worn on special occasions, but one never sees slippers. In recent years the Rifian markets have been flooded with inexpensive rubber shoes, usually green in color, which some of the younger women have adopted.

Brilliant colors characterize the Rifian woman's outer robe, which is usually of red or yellow silk, worn over an inner robe of white cotton. Rifian women have recently begun to wear baggy trousers, usually blue. Unmarried girls wear a wide cotton headband with brightly colored embroidery, which is partly covered by a head towel. Married women in the mountains of Aith Tuzin and Aith Wariyaghar, and both married and single women in Sanhaja as-Srair, wear strands of black yarn around the crown of the head (fig. 3, *f*). One of the distinctive features of Rifian dress is a red woolen belt introduced about a generation ago from Melilla. It is worn by most Rifian women, but has not been adopted in Ghmara or Sanhaja as-Srair. In summer many Rifian women wear straw hats, but they do not approximate the huge size of the Jbalan "sombreros."

In general, there is a distinct difference in the pattern of women's dress in the Rif and in the western provinces. The brilliant yellow and red robes of the Rifian women are in striking contrast to the somber garments of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. These differences coincide with other cultural frontiers. The human geography of northern Morocco is a complicated pattern of areal succession and overlap; yet many lines coincide, and it is possible to speak of "culture areas."

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes,
[681] large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living grouped in hamlets. The "mouda[illegible]" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to delibe-
621 rate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

313 The great wooden gates that used to guard the openings of every city wall
648 demonstrate the importance of the lumber trade. Only fragments of these gates
171 still exist, but it is certain that most of them were made of cedar. Logging operations were greatly expanded by the Spanish after the Rifian tribes had been pacified. It is not an exaggeration to say that the mineral deposits and cedar forests of northern Morocco were the only compensations for Spain's investment in colonial prestige. Reliable estimates of the amount of timber cut since the beginning of the protectorate cannot be found, possibly because the Spanish claimed to be conserving and restoring the forests in their zone. With the backing of military force, the Spanish were able to exercise some control over cutting by the native population, but their own work proceeded without interruption or apparent regulation. Spanish officials point out that the forests being exploited were private property and that the forestry service was concerned only with public domain.

In 1956 sawmills operated throughout the year at Tetuán and Targist, and during the summer months trucks heavily loaded with cedar logs could be seen on every mountain road. The fir forests on Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab had not yet been heavily logged when Spanish "protection" came to an end, but the deciduous oaks on Jbil Buhashim had been cut in quantity for use as railroad ties. These operations may have been a brief chapter in the history of the Moroccan forest, but it is probable that the Spanish, with modern equipment, cut more trees in a decade than the local tribesmen could destroy in a century. The effects of Spanish logging are strikingly evident in the Sanhajan highlands, especially on Adrar Dahdoh, Adrar Tidighin, and Adrar Tizi Ifri.

313 This harsh judgment applies only to the exploitation of cedar and the decidu-
171 ous oaks. A modest amount of reforestation was undertaken. A plantation of
● [185] *Eucalyptus* was established north of Larache; Aleppo pines were planted near Rincón, Alhucemas, Nador, and Melilla; and an effort was made to prevent premature stripping of the cork oak.[112]

Profiting from long experience in Algeria, the Service des Eaux et Forêts carried out an elaborate program in French Morocco. The system advocated and partly enforced was based upon periodic and progressive thinnings, which were intended to reconcile the interests of the tribesmen with good forestry practice. If effectively enforced, this method would have permitted the production of fuel without waiting for the normal age of exploitation, and would have improved pastoral conditions by facilitating the movement and supervision of livestock.[113]

314 Tannin is extracted from the roots and bark of all the Moroccan oaks, and
171 this operation frequently results in mutilation or death. The cork oak is espe-
311 cially vulnerable, for tannin is scraped from the delicate inner bark immediately after the corky tissue has been removed. Complete girdling destroys trees, and death may result if more than half of the circumference is damaged.[114] The tanners of Marrakech have been responsible for extensive deforestation in the

[113] [112] The program planned by the Spanish forestry service is described in González Vázquez, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–185, cited in note 34; and J. Ruiz de la Torre, *La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos y la elección de especies para su repoblación forestal* (Larache: Centro de Investigaciones Forestales, 1956).

[113] [113] For a brief account of French management, see J. P. Challot, "L'homme et la forêt marocaine," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 84 (1946), 233–261.

[114] Boudy, *op. cit.*, II (fasc. 1), 47 ff., cited in note 5.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

them[1] of being brutal and filthy in their habits, and call them *izakārn* (Iglíwa) or *izākārĕn* (Tazĕrwalt[1]), meaning "ropes"; the Aiṭ Sádděn call them *iḫššóḍĕn*, or "logs", and other Brâber give them a similar epithet. Nor are the Jbâla fond of the 'Arab. In Andjra I was told that they have no religion, neglect the fast of Ramaḍān, and have illicit

FIG. 3.—College student in Fez.

intercourse with their sisters; and at the weddings there the married men, who in every conceivable way molest the bridegroom and his bachelor friends, are characteristically enough called "the 'Arab". I was assured that the Rifians are a much better race.

It should be noticed, however, that the term 'Arab is only an indication of language, not of race. There can be no doubt that the large majority of Arabic-speaking tribes in

[1] Stumme, *op. cit.* p. 190.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

industrious, and an excellent farmer who has, with the primitive tools at his disposal, managed to raise the maximun possible number of crops on a very rocky and infertile soil.

It seems therefore possible that the city Arab's reaction to the tribesman from Aith Wuryāghil is born partly out of fear; the Wuryāghlī, in turn, has a low opinion of most Moroccan Arabs despite the fact that they gave him his religion. The most lasting impression which he makes on the outside observer is one of sturdy self-reliance and complete individualism coupled with extreme pugnacity. He follows the dictates of his culture to the letter, and, in the last analysis, it is only within the context of the patterns of that culture that he can be accurately judged.

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

• 186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619
144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first,
648 is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
[186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
619
648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

000 50--The fact of whether or not women inherit (informants invariably say that they do, according to the Shari'a, but they tend, by their actions, to prove the contrary) is a crucial question in Berber [114] social organization. This has been nicely perceived by Blanco, whose opinions on the subject will be treated in their proper place.

[114] [669] 51--This prognostication made by Blanco has yet to come true, as the revolt in late 1958 and early 1959 staged by the Aith Waryaghar against the Moroccan government has abundantly proven. Tribal [186] "we-feeling" and "the sociopolitical importance of the group"--at whatever level of segmentation--seems to us to be as strong as ever.

[829] 52--This is a most interesting notion, and one which is never expressed as such by Rifians but implied in most of their actions, behavior and conversation.

[114] 53--Blanco is in effect trying to define each of the Rifian social units in a state of isolation, as it were, from the others, and trying to take them out of context. In so doing, he advocates, in effect, rigid definitions when what is called for is fluid ones. Small wonder, therefore, that he admits his task to be difficult!

54--In the original, ramas familiares--and, as I have stated earlier, what the jajgu is in fact is a lineage branch of the dharfiqth, and can only be adequately discussed in the light of the latter--or, in anthropological terms, in the light of a total system of segmentary lineage organization.

55--Blanco's argument, when boiled down, is as follows: the jajgu or azwar is a social unit which is essentially the result of polygyny, and if a man has descendants reckoned agnatically from three wives, each of these three sets of descendants form the nucleus of a jajgu which takes a uterine descent from the wife in question as its point of departure.

This, of course, is preposterous. Given a perfectly genuine situation, Blanco has drawn conclusions which are entirely erroneous. He would have us believe, in effect, that matrilineal descent may exist, under certain conditions, in a patrilineal society! Hardly. The fact of the matter is that 1) even though ijujga may originate from the descendants of different wives of the same man; and 2) even though one or more of these wives may come from a clan or tribe other than that of her or their husband--in which case the name of the jajgu may reflect her origin or even her name, although even so it is invariably preceded by that of her son; even in instances of this kind, descent is always reckoned through the male line, and the patrilineal principle obtains throughout. Polygyny is in no way a function of uterine descent, even though there may be evidences of matronymy; and the only mitigating factor in Blanco's hypothesis is that from an overall standpoint, he himself still entertains some doubts about its validity.

56--This is a very good and well-taken point indeed, and goes a considerable way toward explaining why, particularly with respect to issues of wider scope than those within, say, the clan, the statements of different informants (often) tend to vary so greatly. We would go even further: we believe that such ambiguity is absolutely inherent

556 472 183 It is possible, of course, for a single individual to incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylia Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, ". . . only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' . . ." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remunerative but of negative value in terms of social interrelations. 556 472 183 571 369 186 Those men who are motivated by profit often find the atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate to Alhucemas or Targuist. While Riffians who live in the rural areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

556 472 571 577 There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is manifested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

105 Many of the basic distinctions in the cultural geography of northern Morocco can be attributed to two main factors: the sense of collective identity that is felt by members of tribal confederations and some individual tribes, and the extent to which such groups have been exposed to alien influence. For example, Berber speech in the Rif has survived because it is an expression of fraternal unity, and because the traditions of political independence and economic self-sufficiency have enforced the isolation of the area from the main centers of Arab influence. [186] Moreover, the preservation of Berber speech and many other aspects of Berber culture have been encouraged by the contempt of the Rifians for their Arab or [176] [178] Arabized neighbors. In the Rif, as elsewhere, an innovation may be accepted or rejected, not on the basis of its form and content or its compatibility with established custom but because of its affiliation with desirable or undesirable groups.

Consciously or unconsciously, tribal groups have selected material traits, such as distinctive clothing, settlement patterns, and types of houses, to serve as symbols of their identity. It is not by accident that the western limits of dispersed settlement and flat-roofed houses nearly coincide with the western limits of Rifian speech. Nor is it surprising that symbols of tribal identity are more conspicuous in the highlands than on the Atlantic littoral. This contrast is explained, or at least clarified, when the distribution of culture traits is compared with the physical division between refuge areas and passageways.

Other notable examples of refuge areas are found on the Ghmaran coast, especially the territory of the Bani Bu Zra, and in the less accessible parts of Sanhaja as-Srair. The most exposed areas of northern Morocco are the Fahs territory, south of Tangier, and the basin of Wad Lukkus. These territories are cultural melting pots in which heterogenous elements have been blended by the pervasive force of Islam. Moreover, these territories, unlike the rest of the northern zone, have been affected by social and economic influences emanating from towns.

For northern Morocco as a whole, subsistence farming is clearly the predominant mode of livelihood. With the exception of hemp, grown in the Sanhajan highlands, there is no large cash crop. At most markets barter is more important than cash transactions, and the essential imports from the urban centers are limited to sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene. Yet the rural economy of northern Morocco should not be described as one of simple subsistence with little or no specialization or exchange. In northern Morocco, as in many other areas of the non-Western world, self-sufficiency at the scale of the canton or tribe reflects the specialized or semispecialized production of individual hamlets and farmsteads.

The basic differences within the agricultural framework depend upon the opportunities for cultivation of crops to supplement the staple cereals. Maximum opportunity is found in the Sanhajan highlands, where perennial streams provide water for irrigation of vegetables and legumes. There are few perennial streams in the western lowlands, but the combination of gentle slopes, fertile soils, and dependable rains minimizes the risks of dry farming and makes possible a surplus yield of grain to be drawn upon during unproductive months. In the Rif, horticulture provides a safeguard against failure of the cereal crops, and when bread is scarce, raisins, nuts, and figs are staple foods. The number of orchards decreases

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

INTRODUCTION

THE Muhammadan natives of Morocco are chiefly of Berber race, although the Berber language, which before the arrival of the Arabs was spread over the whole country, has in a large part of it been superseded by the tongue of the invaders. The Berber-speaking tribes, to whom alone the term "Berber" is popularly applied, may be divided into several groups. There are the Berbers of the Rīf, called by themselves Irifīyẹn and in Arabic Ruâfa, whose country extends along the Mediterranean coast between a line about forty miles south-east of Tetuan and the neighbourhood of the Algerian frontier; the Brâber, who inhabit the mountain regions of Central Morocco and the eastern portion of the Great Atlas range; the Shlöḥ, or Išelḥīn as they call themselves, who inhabit the western part of the Great Atlas and the province of Sūs, situated to the south of it—a territory the eastern frontier of which may be roughly indicated by a line drawn from the neighbourhood of Demnat in a south-easterly direction, and the northern frontier by a slightly curved line uniting Demnat with Mogador on the Atlantic coast and following the foot of the mountains or, in some places, intercepting a strip of the plain; and the Drâwa, who inhabit the valley of the Wăd Drā in the extreme south of Morocco. A fifth group consists of various tribes living in the neighbourhood of Ujda, in the north-eastern corner of the country. All the Berber-speaking people are called by a Berber name Imazīġĕn.

This division into groups is based not only on geographical but also on linguistic considerations. The dialects of the tribes belonging to the same group have greater

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

197 lies partly in the complete absence of a written standard, and partly in the vastness of the territory inhabited by the Berbers and the lack of contact between the different groups or even sections of the same group.[1]

The Arabic-speaking people of Morocco consist of the 'Arab (" Arabs "), who inhabit most of the plains; the Jbâla (" mountaineers ") who inhabit the mountain region extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the neighbourhood of Fez and to the west and south of the Rîf; and the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the towns, who are often referred to as " Moors ", although this name may be more conveniently applied to the Muhammadan population of Morocco in general. The dialectic differences of the Arabic of Morocco are infinitely smaller than those of the Berber idioms. The pronunciation of ت and ث as *ts* (*tˢ*) in Northern Morocco and of ق (Moorish ڤ) as *g* among the 'Arab is particularly conspicuous.

191 Although Arabic is spoken over a much smaller area of the country than Berber, it is nevertheless the dominant language, being that of the Government and administration, the religious creed, and the higher culture. Berber is despised as a barbarous jargon. There is an Arabic saying, *Lá-'sel ma hûwa iḍam, l-bĕšna ma hîya ṭă'âm, š-šĕlḥa ma hîya klam*, " Honey is not grease, durra is not food, Shelḥa is not a language ". The Berbers themselves look upon their language as much inferior to Arabic, and those who have learned Arabic—many of them are bilingual—are often ashamed of speaking their mother-tongue. More than once I noticed the glad surprise shown by my Berber teachers at the interest I took in it, and their answers were in the beginning not infrequently accompanied with a friendly smile.[2] But although the Berbers respect the Arabic language, they do not like the 'Arab. The Shlōḥ accuse

[1] For the classification and mutual relations of the Berber dialects of Morocco *cf.* Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 3 *sq.*; Laoust, ' Coup d'œil sur les Études dialectales berbères au Maroc ', in *Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, i. (Paris, 1920), p. 117 *sqq.*; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* (Alger, 1920), p. 51 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Basset, *op. cit.* p. 34 *sq.*

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

them of being brutal and filthy in their habits, and call them *izakārn* (Iglíwa) or *izākârĕn* (Tazĕrwalt[1]), meaning "ropes"; the Aiṭ Sádděn call them *iḫššóǧĕn*, or "logs", and other Brâber give them a similar epithet. Nor are the Jbâla fond of the 'Arab. In Andjra I was told that they have no religion, neglect the fast of Ramaḍān, and have illicit

FIG. 3.—College student in Fez.

intercourse with their sisters; and at the weddings there the married men, who in every conceivable way molest the bridegroom and his bachelor friends, are characteristically enough called "the 'Arab". I was assured that the Rifians are a much better race.

It should be noticed, however, that the term 'Arab is only an indication of language, not of race. There can be no doubt that the large majority of Arabic-speaking tribes in

[1] Stumme, *op. cit.* p. 190.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

175
[191]

Morocco are purely or essentially Berber by origin. The number of Arab immigrants from the East can only have been comparatively small. Those who came there as conquerors at the end of the seventh and at the beginning of the eighth century were only a handful of people. The chief invasion took place in the eleventh century, when several Bedouin tribes settled down in Barbary. Ibn ar-Raqīq estimated the number of these invaders at more than a million persons of both sexes and the number of combatants at fifty thousand;[1] but it seems that his estimates are considerably exaggerated.[2] In any case the invaders were spread over a large area, from Tripoli to the Atlantic Ocean, and we may presume that only a minority of them reached Morocco.[3] An anthropological investigation of over eight thousand natives of Eastern Barbary has led Messrs. Bertholon and Chantre to the conclusion that the number of Arab immigrants has always been insufficient to impress their type on the mass of the people, and that "the so-called Arab tribes of North Africa present the same somatic characteristics as other tribes which are incontestably Berbers".[4] It seems that among the tribes of Morocco north of the Great Atlas range a fair quantity of Arab blood may be found chiefly in those living between Alcazar and Laraiche and between the rivers Bū Ragrág and Ůmm r-Rbē' and a little farther south, whereas the other Arabic-speaking tribes mostly consist of Arabised Berbers who have changed their language.[5] I desire to emphasise that in speaking of "Arabs" in Morocco I simply make use of a term by which the people themselves denote the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the plains, while by "Berbers" I mean Berber-speaking people.

[1] Ibn ar-Raqīq, quoted by Marmol Caravajal, *L'Afrique*, i. (Paris, 1677), p. 275; and by Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, trans. by J. Pory (London, 1896), p. 139.

[2] G. Marçais, *Les Arabes en Berbérie du XIe au XIVe siècle* (Constantine & Paris, 1913), pp. 113, 733.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 515 *sq.*

[4] Bertholon and Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale* (Lyon, 1913), pp. 347, 358.

[5] See Marçais, *op. cit.* map.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

788 a *fqih*, a schoolmaster from the cantonal mosque of Timarzga, who
778 stands at the northeast corner of the prayer site, between the site
782 itself and a cistern a few yards away. The men about to pray form long parallel lines, of over a hundred to each line, all the way back to the tomb.

The act of prayer in this particular place and on this particular occasion was one which, in my opinion, was unparalleled in simple dignity. The reverence which overcame the worshippers was something very personal and something very startling in its intensity. Here the Rifian was as close to and as intimate with his God as he would ever be, probably, during his life on earth.

The words of the prayer-call, familiar to all who have studied Arabic, became, on this occasion, as I heard them from the ādhān grove, blurred into a monotonous sea of vocalisms, rising and falling as the call was relayed back from line to line. Each line of men has its *musammi'*, who repeats to the men in his row what the fqīh has said, so they will hear it more distinctly. They all come through loud and clear on the *takbīr* (*Allāhu Akbar*, «God is Most Great»), but the rest of it tends to degenerate into a jumble, for, outside
[191] the fqīh, there is only about one man in five hundred who speaks, writes or understands Arabic with any fluency at all; and the rest must perforce try to catch the words of the very, very few who comprehend what is being said. There are always, also, a few old women and widows who pray, but they do so apart from the men entirely, on the other side of the grove; and it is doubtful whether they can hear the fqīh at all.

Although some pilgrims bring food with them which they eat either before or after praying, the prayer is the last item on the agenda. After it is over, everyone goes home, to kill his sheep in the bosom of his family the next day. By mid-afternoon, most people have saddled up their donkeys and departed, and the peak of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is as bare and desolate as it was before.

788 If the 'imārah falls at the end of summer, at the time that the
778 grapes in the mountains begin to ripen, grape-picking may begin
[222] immediately after the 'Aid al-Kabīr, with no signal given by the village headmen.

augmentation to the "building" or "house" of Rifian society (of which the traditional jma'th is the "cornerstone").[141]

Aith Waryaghar, then, could be organized in the following way:

I) QA'IDATE OF L-UTA: Shaikhate of Aith Yusif w 'Ari --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Imrabdhen --15 jma'ths

II) QA'IDATE OF NKUR: Shaikhate of Bni Bu 'Ayyash --16 jma'ths
Shaikhate of l-Jbil --16 jma'ths

III) QA'IDATE OF UPPER GHIS: Shaikhate of Bni Hadifa --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Bni 'Abd Allah --16 jma'ths

Total----87 jma'ths

If this organization is applied to the other tribes[142], the patron must be remembered in salary gradation, so that salaries do not turn out to be prejudiced as the Aith Waryaghar have been, up to now, both in salary and category of their office-holders and tribal authorities.

Ajdir, August 27, 1935.

I) Notes on the Igzinnayen:

1) Etymology and Language:--The word Gzinnaya (Rifian Igzinnayen) is derived from Berber gizna, meaning "libertine"[143]. The tribesmen of Igzinnayen are bilingual, although even so, Rifian speech has a far greater predominance over Arabic. Their men of letters (fqihs, etc.), although they know how to read and write Arabic, express themselves very poorly in that language, and their grammatical construction tends to be bad. Knowledge of French is extremely slight,

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619
144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first,
648 is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
[186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
619
648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

619 [423] [191] A large number of their families own land in the region immediately north of Jbil 'Ain 'Uqqa. They are bilingual, but they prefer to speak Rifian, which they learn as children.

The 1-'Atamna (of the Asht r-Udha) say that they are descended from the Huwwara, which does not seem probable, considering that they all show "Berber" characteristics and that the Hawwara were "Arabs".

The Dharwa Haddu consider themselves to be descended from the Ulad 'Assu bin 'Abd Allah (Rifian Asht 'Assu 'Abd Allah) and from the Eastern Rifian tribe of Aith Bu Yihyi[154].....The ancestors of Hamza bin 'Abd Allah are buried in the latter area, near the Angad.

[166] A large number of Igzinnayen, some 1500 families, mostly from Asht 'Asim, left their own land to move to l-Mta, just north of Fez. Various reasons have been given for this, the most probable being that of poverty[155].

The Asht r-Udha, Ishawiyen, Bu Isri and Izimmuren (of the Asht r-Udha) are descendants of Abu 'Amama, whose grandfather Talib ibn Isma'il ibn Hamza ibn 'Abd Allah of Rashida was appointed basha of Igzinnayen by the Sultan 'Abd Allah Hamrini Tamrin in the 7th century A.H. On the other hand, there is still a group of Asht Hamza in the area around Aknul.

The Asht Mhand (or Bni Mhammad), in the earliest times of which the Arab chroniclers have any record, resided in the Jbil Sidi S'aid, in the area at present occupied by the shurfa of Aith Sidi S'aid in Mtalsa. Due to a dispute which rose up among them, they became divided. [578] [166] Some went to the Bni Bu Ya'la in the Branis and the rest formed the Asht Mhand of the Igzinnayen, where they are today.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

195 descent." The Andalusian Muslims could hardly have displaced any large group of Berbers, for they settled, almost to a man, in cities and towns. It is reasonable to conclude that the Moroccan highlands remained Berber not because they were a place of retreat but because the drift of Arab influence went around the mountains rather than through or over them. The horticultural skills of the highland Berbers and their intricate social organization suggest stability, not the culture of a refugee population driven to new and unfamiliar environments."

The Christian reconquest of Spain, led by Castile and Aragón, began in 1225. Córdoba fell in 1236, and Sevilla in 1249. Soon Spanish Islam was reduced to the small kingdom of Granada, which had accepted Castile as an overlord. In 1492 Granada itself was taken, and Spanish Islam ceased to exist. Even before the conquest of Granada, many Muslims sought refuge in Morocco. These refugees repeopled most of the Moroccan towns, and provided the Saadians with technical experts and soldiers. Northern Morocco became a center of Andalusian civilization. Some families in Tetuán, Shawen, and Fez still retain keys to their ancestral homes in al-Andalus.

The Andalusian refugees brought a richer and more classical form of Arabic speech. Since most of the immigrants settled in towns, the distinction between urban and rural dialects was intensified. This distinction is still strong. The more elegant city speech is spoken not only in Fez (the great center of Andalusian culture) but also in Rabat-Salé (settled by Andalusians in the seventeenth century) and in Tetuán (most of whose inhabitants came from Ronda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Taza, Ksar al-Kebir, and Azemmour also have somewhat urbanized dialects, while Tangier and Wezzan show the influence of neighoring tribes. Meknès and Marrakech, perhaps the most extreme examples of country speech, are accordingly looked down upon by their bourgeois neighbors. Thus there is, besides the Arab-Berber distinction, a strong contrast even among Moroccans who are Arabized. No one familiar with the sounds and rhythms of Maghribi Arabic could fail to distinguish between the dialect of Old Fez and the quasi-bedawin speech of the rural tribes."

197 Several of the tribes shown as Berber-speakers in figure 12 are described as
• 191 Arabophones in previous work. Disagreement arises from the fact that many tribes are bilingual. When questioned about their language preference, many Berbers reply that they speak only Arabic, but if questioned further they will add that their women and children speak Berber, and that boys do not begin to learn Arabic until they are old enough to attend a Qur'anic school. This is the situation among the Aith Seddath, a tribe often described as bilingual or Arabophone." It is important to note whether merchants or the educated members of a tribe use more than one language, but the linguistic attainments of the elite should not be allowed to obscure the basic pattern of domestic speech. The fact that one Rifian in ten speaks some Spanish or Arabic does not mean that the Rif

" Montagne, *La Civilisation du désert*, p. 265, cited in note 56.

[113] " René Raynal, in "Quelques aperçus géographiques sur l'évolution des régions humanes du Maroc," *Hespéris*, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, 39 (1952), 1–16, refers to the Berber mountains as "vieilles régions humaines."

[113] " G. S. Colin, "L'Arabe," in *Initiation au Maroc* (3d ed., Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1945), pp. 208 ff.

[113] " A. Renisio, *Etude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair* (Paris: Leroux, 1932).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

should be described as a bilingual zone. Probably not one Rifian woman in a hundred understands Arabic or Spanish, and few Rifian men speak either language correctly.

In northern Morocco the Berber language is represented by three dialects: Rifian, Sanhajan, and Ghmara. Rifian is by far the most important. It varies somewhat from tribe to tribe, but this variation does not hinder communication. The differences in pronunciation are evident as one moves from the Nkour Valley toward Wad Moulouya, particularly in Ikibdhanen. Rifians can understand the dialect of the Aith Iznasen, but they are obliged to use interpreters when they deal with the Sanhajans. The Ghmaran dialect is nearly extinct. Today it is spoken only in Bani Bu Zra and in a few hamlets of Bani Mansur and Bani Grir. The relationship between Ghmaran and the other dialects is not yet clear, but Ghmaran seems to be a distinct dialect, not a variant of Rifian or Sanhajan.[a] Differences in pronunciation may be considerable, even among speakers of the same dialect. The speech of Ktama and Taghzut, for example, is barely intelligible to the Aith Seddath. The degree of difference between Rifian and Sanhajan is probably as great as that between Spanish and Italian. Nevertheless, philologists prefer to recognize only one Berber language, and attribute differences of this magnitude to isolation and the absence of literature.[b]

Berber speech has completely disappeared from the area west of Bani Siyyat, Bani Silman, and Bani Khalid. The progress of Arabization was more rapid in the interior than along the Mediterranean coast. Even today the route from Tetuán to Melilla follows the ridges of the Rifian chain, whereas no road follows the coast east of Wad Lao. The Ghmaran dialect is preserved in an area crossed by deep canyons, and bounded by high mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. In Sanhaja as-Srair most of the Arabophones occupy land south of the mountain chain. The Bani Bu Shibat and Bani Hmid find it much easier to visit the markets of Marnisa, where Arabic is spoken, than to climb the mountains to reach the main area of Sanhajan speech. In the eastern part of the Rif, Arabic is spoken only along the Moulouya Valley, the route of advance for bedawin tribes moving northward from the Algerian plateaus. The Ulad Stut not only speak Arabic but are of Arabian (i.e., bedawin) descent.[c] This claim can also be made by the Khlut, who moved into the Atlantic lowland during the fourteenth century.[d]

The first to abandon Berber (or Latin) speech were the peoples of the Tingitanian peninsula and the plains near Fez. After the collapse of Muslim Spain the same areas became havens for Andalusian refugees. From these two centers Arabic speech and Islamic culture gradually moved into the highlands. This movement is still in progress. In fact, Moroccan independence will cause an acceleration, for the language of the Prophet now has political as well as religious sanction. The Ghmaran dialect will become extinct in a generation, and in another generation or two the Sanhajan dialect may also disappear. In Ktama, Sanhajan speech is retained only in the inaccessible valley of Abd al-Ghaya, between Adrar

[a] G. S. Colin, "Le parler berbère des Gmara," *Hespéris*, 9 (1929), 43–58.
[b] Basset, *op. cit.*, in note 9.
[c] Marçais, *op. cit.*, in note 57.
[d] According to D. M. Hart (personal communication), only 9 out of 171 place and lineage names in the Khlut area are indisputably Berber.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The pattern of colonization was different in the French zone.[23] Drawn by the classic motivations of the time—trade, new land, promise of quick profits, adventure, and dissatisfaction with conditions at home—French colonists poured into Morocco by the thousands. In each of the main areas of *colon* activity—i.e., the plains of the lower Sebou, the Gharb, and the area around Oujda—European colonization necessitated displacement of native farmers and pastoralists. The resulting confusion and conflict were important factors in the development of Moroccan nationalism.[24] In 1955 French settlers owned about 7 per cent of Morocco's productive land, but this land was exceptionally fertile and accounted for 40 per cent of the national income from agriculture.[25] In comparison, the extent of agricultural development in Spanish Morocco seems negligible.

If rural colonization was negligible in Spanish Morocco, the military occupation was not. Since its inception, the Spanish protectorate functioned as a military training ground. During most of the period of effective Spanish occupation, at least 200,000 troops were stationed in the northern zone. This force included the *mehalla*, or Khalifian army, of about 10,000 native troops, and large concentrations of the Spanish army. The more accessible rural areas were patrolled by the *makhzaniya*, or rural police, a force patterned after the Spanish *guardia civil*. Rifians, especially the Aith Wariyaghar, were eager to serve in one of the military forces, and the Spanish, who valued their obedience and hardiness, were just as eager to enlist them. Rifian troops formed a substantial part of Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War. Military service under Spanish officers or "instructors" led to acceptance of some aspects of Iberian culture. The most striking evidence of such acceptance is the widespread use of Spanish as a second language in the Rif.

Contact between Spaniards and the rural population took place also at the scattered outposts of the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas. At the head of each outpost was an army officer called an *interventor*. His function was to act as overseer of tribal government. Most *intervenciones* had a school, with a Spanish teacher, and a few had doctors and veterinarians. The Spaniards led a rather sedentary life, and did not attempt to intervene in the routine events of tribal life. But they could impose fines or make arrests if necessary, and the tribal authorities were obliged to implement Spanish directives if they wished to remain in power.

In Morocco, as in most colonial areas, the extent of road building and improvement in communications is a reliable measure of European influence. In Spanish Morocco the first roads were constructed to facilitate pacification and administration. Once this network was established, little effort was made to add tributary lines for more efficient movement of goods. In 1956 Spanish Morocco had about 1,000 kilometers of primary roads, but only half of this distance was surfaced. The track from Bab Taza to Alhucemas was the only durable link between the western and the eastern sector of the zone, and it was blocked for days or even

[23] M. M. Knight, *Morocco as a French Economic Venture: A Study of Open Door Imperialism* (New York: Appleton, 1937).

[24] Comité d'Action Marocaine, *Plan de réformes marocaines* (Paris: privately published, 1934).

[25] On European holdings in French Morocco, see Planche 33 b, "Exploitations rurales européennes," *Atlas du Maroc* (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1938), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

316 [village of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin] Caravan

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murābiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

625 [27] Among the Ait Waryager a fox is styled si Ali, as though it were a scribe, other persons of that name being called 'Allus. They say that the fox was once a scribe, which is indicated by its Arabic name t a'leb—a confusion between t a'leb and taleb.

777 [30] There are auspicious words as well as inauspicious ones. It is
787 a good omen for a person who sets out on a journey in the morning to
192 hear the words mbarak, "blessed", or mes'ud, "lucky"; and if persons who are intent on robbery at night hear either of these words, which are also used as names for people, cried out, they are encouraged by it to carry out their evil intentions (Dukkala). The Ait Waryager regard it as good fal for one who starts on a journey in the morning to hear the names 'Absram ('Abdsslam) or Moh (Muhammed), but as bad fal to hear 'Esa or Musa. In other cases omens are drawn from words or statements which are by themselves neither lucky nor unlucky, but may become good or bad fal in accordance with the circumstances in which they are heard. If a person is speaking of something which he intends to do, and a stranger is at the same moment heard saying something which might be applied to the object of the conversation, then that which is said is regarded as fal. For example, if he says that he is going to travel or to marry, and somebody is heard saying "No", he should refrain from doing it (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [32] If a person starts on a journey or goes to the market and finds that he has left something behind or is called back, he should not turn back, or if he does he should not make another start on that day (Shawia, Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager) or he should eat a little flour before he sets out afresh (At Ubahti); otherwise he will have some misfortune. Hence if some one at home notices the thing left behind he should not ask the other one to return, but call out to make him stop and then take the thing to him.

To do something which is contrary to custom, and therefore improper, is followed by misfortune and, as we have noticed above, is often associated with the activity of [33] jnun or the devil. It is bad fal to light a candle or a lamp in the daytime (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[292] It is likewise bad to wear a garment with the inside out—such a
[784] thing is only done by Jews. Of him who does it people say that "his religion is reversed" (Ait Waryager).

It is bad to walk with one slipper only (Igliwa); it is said that he who does so is like the devil, who has only one foot (Andjra), or like a one-eyed person (Ait Waryager).

These jma'ths, the internal lives of which were regulated by the custom governing the original mountain jma'th, continued as tributaries of the latter[133], enjoying the benefits of such a status (participation in the collection of fines, contributions to the fqih)[134] until, as we have seen, the new nucleus, beginning to stand out more and more as a result of its growth, importance and distance from the parent jma'th, succeeded in emancipating itself from the latter through its own discords and ambitions.[135]

But it is difficult to determine at precisely what moment the new jma'th came of age, as it is to determining everything else, even including finding out the designations in nomenclature of its representatives. This designation is not that of amin, as among the Kabyles of Algeria, a word which, taken over from Arabic, is one which does not permit a confusion of its administrative significance, an individual function, with that of the jma'th, which has a collective mqaddim, a term also adopted from Arabic and employed by certain Berber groups in the Western Atlas, for the personage of the mqaddim also has that function as well as the inadmission of that of the shaikh, which more than one person in Aith Waryaghar attributes to himself and which figures even in documents. These terms, however, do not demonstrate any more than the anarchy which the people have attained, and the forgetting of their own racial (sic!) characteristics[136]; as such words among Rifians can have no meaning nor can they be given any importance greater than those of "colonel" and "doctor" in the South American republics. These are strange nicknames (sic), for to the Rifian, as to any Berber, they say nothing if they are to be considered

000 al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

671 114 Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berberes et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

177 67 119 5--The umbrella (Rifian rudhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

[554] [293] [114] 6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber-speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

181 113 7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

000 8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth. [596]

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may [193]

671 613 628 728 554 by such a simple and voluntary act it was converted at the same time to an arbiter of incidents and an executor of decisions. The function is not gratuitous as in modern states, for if in the latter the contributor pays indirectly, he does so directly in the Rif. Their covetousness thus awakened, they evidently insured temporarily against feud renewal, but they also stipulated that it would revive the embers of their hatred.

671 613 628 182 [183] These agreements or inter-lineage truces obeyed a double mechanism originating from the vicious circle in which they were debated. On the one hand they originated a series of regulatory norms of coexistence which, gaining in amplitude of concept and extending their jurisdiction to the generalizing of their advantages and the persistence of their exemplarity, painfully came to gain the adhesion of other nearby and related lineages until they were adopted by larger social and territorial units, including districts or entire tribes; and this situation gave rise to some of those qanuns upon which we will comment further on. On the other hand, they represented the ultimate [728] step to which anarchy led, responding to those most curious periods of [195] their history in which one powerful group, having recourse to violence, broke the truce in defense of its own interests, the official recognition of this fact being given by the imgharen in the suq in the face of general consternation, with the tragic phrase War dha bu r-haqq.[12]

628 602 182 195 "Now there is no law"[13]: such was the official form of declaring the state of anarchy into which the Rifians so frequently fell, a phrase which obliged them to strengthen their kin group, without dismay and by all means in their power; for a man's kinsmen were his last refuge in case of social accident.

195 181 628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 613 619 134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 671 182 [648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728
614 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

628 "There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
616 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
[195] inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[203] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alliances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater efficacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

671 These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
628 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
728 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14) for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
721 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

2: Westermarck--17 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[35]

CHAPTER I

THE BARAKA (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS PREVALENCE

770 792 196 The Arabic word baraka means "blessing". In Morocco it is used to denote a mysterious wonder-working force which is looked upon as a blessing from God, a "blessed virtue". It may be conveniently translated into English by the word "holiness".

A person who possesses baraka in an exceptional degree is called by a term corresponding to our "saint".

[36] The Berbers have berberised forms of the Arabic terms, such as ssiyid, ssaleh, and lwali; but among many of them the usual or exclusive name for a saint is amrabad or amrabd (plur. imrabden; Ait Waryager, Temsaman, At Ubahti, Ait Sadden), derived from the Arabic mrabat or mrabt, which, as we shall soon see, is not used in Morocco as a general term for saints, but only for a certain class of saints and their descendants.

[62] It is interesting to notice that certain terms for saints are also used to denote places connected with them; this shows how intimate the connection between them really is. Thus the word siyid is applied to a place where a saint is [63] buried, whether it be indicated by a qobba or bit or haus or in any other way, and some people use the same term for a place which is venerated because a saint has prayed or rested there; in Fez, however, the latter would be called the mzara or halwa of the siyid So-and-so. Other words which are used both for saints and their sanctuaries are fqer (Dukkala), agurram (Shloh), and amrabd or amrabad (Ait Sadden, Temsaman, Ait Waryager).

[64] The sanctity of a saint is communicated not only to the building in which he is buried and the objects contained in it, but to everything inside his horm or harm, that is, the sacred domain of the saint. The horm may be restricted to the building over his grave, but it may also extend far beyond it.

[65] A still more comprehensive term than horm is zawia (Berb. zzawit [Shloh], zzawit [Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager], zzaust [Temsaman]), in one of the senses in which this word is used. The town or village round the shrine of some great saint is often called his zawia.

FOOTNOTES:

101 691 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] 42--Dhwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in
[233] error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither
[851] a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect
[196] to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The
[651] most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time
[691] provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for
[171] either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

000 in the social organization of the area as a whole.

57--Blanco mistakenly transcribes this as islifen. In Rifian, this has an entirely different meaning, for isrif (pl. isrifen) is an affinal kinship term signifying "wife's sister's husband". Thus, two men who marry sisters are isrifen to each other.

[196] [114] [113] 58--Jma'ath does not, except in official Spanish parlance, properly mean council. The term for council is Aitharba'in or Aitarba'in (sing. utharb'in), literally "people (e.g. representatives) of the people" and not "sons of (or people of) the forty", as numerous other authorities (including Coon, op. cit., p. 96, and José Martos de Castro, "Lo Bereber en Marruecos y Sus Relaciones con lo Ibero", Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos: Labor de España en Africa, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333, have indicated. Lionel Galand, however, favors on linguistic grounds the "people of the forty" etymology for the Berbers of the Sus, however (personal communication).

59--What a Rifian generally says is Nish zi dharwa n Iran, "I am from the sons of so and so", mentioning the name of his dharfiqth rather than the word dharfiqth itself, when the question of lineage identity, within the clan, comes up.

60--Definitions of this kind were very much the rule, it might be added, among both the French and Spanish tribal administrators, most of whom were military men.

[114] 61--This is an instance of Blanco's constant inclination to divorce what he considers "social units" from those he considers "political units". The distinction, of course, is very largely an artificial one, for the higher up the purely "social" units go in the scale, the more "political" they tend to become, and vice versa. It is, once again, a classic example of European rigidity in classification (and the ever-present desire to put abstractions such as sociopolitical units into neat pigeonholes) as opposed to the essential fluidity (and consequent tendency to elude neat pigeonholing) which, we feel, is so basic to an understanding of these units, not only as they exist in Rifians' minds but as models structurally conceived by the anthropologist. And this means, above all, that each unit can only be understood in relation to all the others, not only on the same level of segmentation, but on those above and below it as well.

It is quite true that in some individual jma'ath-s, lack of kinship between component dharfiqin is an overriding factor in group composition; but this is by no means the case for all of them, and is really the exception rather than the rule.

62--This latter may be the correct derivation; Rifians who know enough Arabic to be conscious of the metathesis (and they are few) sometimes consciously pronounce the word dhafriqth. But the first possibility seems equally valid, that the word is derived from the root r-f-q, "to accompany" and that it refers hence to "men who march and fight together". Cf. Jacques Dumaine (probably a pseudonym for Robert Montagne), "Les Eléments du Problème du Rif", Renseignements Coloniaux et Documents Publiés par le Comité Algérie-Tunisie-Maroc, No. 2, bis, 1926, pp. 89-99. [115]

000

124--This lineage bears no relationship whatsoever to the jma'th of the same name in the Plain of Alhucemas; the latter, in any case, belongs to another clan, the Aith 'Ari.

125--The following lineages of the Aith Waryaghar are considered to be "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin (and thus Zanatan) by descent:
In Aith 'Adhiya of Aith Bu 'Ayyash: Aith Tizi and Aith Fars in the jma'th of Ighmiren, Isi'arithen in that of Imudh, and Aith Busta in that of Tazurakhth.
In Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper of Aith Bu 'Ayyas: Aith Muzghar in the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif.
In Isrihan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari: Ishshuyen in the jma'th of Upper Ixatshumen and Ijarayen in that of Lower Ixatshumen.

Whether they are in fact descended from the Marinids (a dynasty in Morocco, 1213-1465) is problematical. What is sure, however, is that the inhabitants of the City of Nkur, which was destroyed by the Almoravid Yusif ibn Tashfint in 1084, could not possibly have been Marinids.

[114] 126--According to our notes, not only is there no dharfiqth of this name in Tazurakhth, but none of the lineages there are autochthonous, their ancestors all having come from elsewhere.

[196] 127--The term yinn, "those of", is roughly synonymous with aith, "people of:, but Rifians tend to use it only when speaking of lower level segments.

128--The name ibaranen means "partridges" (sing. abaran); the names of all the other small lineages listed here refer to the lineage ancestors.

129--In the Berber dialect of the Central Atlas, aghwilas means "panther" (fem. taghwilast); and the Rifian thaghirasth is a cognate form. There are panthers still to be found in parts of the Central Atlas today, though none in the Rif.

[114] 130--This lineage is not named by Blanco, and our field notes show no record of it.

[114] 131--It would indeed. The question really is: why should any attempt have been made by the administration to reunite two or more related lineage branches after scission had occurred and after they had not only become separated in space but incorporated into new jma'ths? One might almost think that Blanco is looking (in vain, it must be added) for an artificial neatness in the lineage structure of Aith Waryaghar which has no correspondence with any social reality.

132--Although he has obvious misgivings about it, Blanco appears to resign himself, in this passage, to an acceptance of the structural status quo!

[114] 133--"Tributaries" is the wrong word here; "offshoots" would be better.

134--Mutual rights of two related jma'ths certainly include participation in the collection of fines, and in certain cases (according to inheritance) reciprocal rights in property cultivation; but they do not include contributions to the fqih, as each jma'th has its own fiqh.

175 [131] taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that 192 their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

000 [113] 5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably L. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hespéris, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in [114] the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. [196] The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

[784] 7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is [682] haram; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

[196] 9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 619 **Senhaja.** To the west and southwest of the Rif, nowhere touching the Mediterranean seaboard, is the Northern Senhaja, which may be divided into the Senhaja Sghir, or Little Senhaja, and the Arabophone Senhaja, composed of tribes extending to either side of the nuclear group. The Little Senhaja contains eleven tribes. Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Berber, Taghruth, and Ktama. To these may be added Beni Mesduy, a tribe of two villages compressed between Targuist, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and Zarket. Politically, Beni Mesduy is divided between Targuist and Zarket; geographically, it is thrust into the side of the Rif; linguistically, it is Senhajan. Since the Beni Mesduy speak the same Senhajan dialect as the people of Zarket, and consider themselves to be remotely descended from the same ancestors, they are usually classed as Senhajan by the Riffians living near them.

●197 Although this is not a work on linguistics, some reference to language cannot be avoided. The Riffians speak a peculiar dialect of Berber called *thamazighth*, which seems to be most typically represented in the central region, and grades into the Zenatan idiom as one passes eastward toward the Muluya. The people of Targuist have lost their Berber speech, speaking Arabic domestically, and the same is true to a lesser extent of the Beni Bu Frah, many of whom are ignorant of Berber. The peoples of Mestassa and Mtiwa are losing it rapidly.

The dialect spoken in the Senhaja Sghir, although possessing local differences between tribes, is distinctly different from any dialect of the Rif, and cannot be understood without study by a Riffian. Riffian and Senhajan speakers of Berber are forced to employ Arabic as a means of communication.

The Senhajan tribes which speak only Arabic are divided into two groups, those to the east of the tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil (to be distinguished from the Riffian maritime tribe of Mtiwa, called, to avoid confusion, Mtiwa dial Bhar) and those to the west of it.

The Eastern Arabophone Senhaja contains nineteen units generally considered as tribes. These are Marnissa, Beni Krama, Branes, Amshesh, Beni Wenjin, Fenassa, Beni Ulid, Zrarka, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Muniet, Rgheiwa, Aghbalu, Khunduktamda, Ulad Brahim, and Beni Bu Slama. Amshesh and Beni Bu Slama are but single settlements, occupied by religious devotees, the former located on the border between Beni Amart and Marnissa, and the latter between Beni Hamid and Beni Wenjin. Both retain Berber speech of the Senhajan variety. Zwawa, a small village of the tribe of Fenassa, likewise preserves Berber speech. Taunat el Uta, a village politically affiliated with the non-Senhajan tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil, is said to be of Senhajan origin, and hence is included with the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

The Western Arabophone Senhaja, extending from the western border of Ktama to and beyond the city of Sheshawen, is perhaps not as purely Senhajan as the Eastern division. It includes the tribes of Beni Hamid Sorak, Ghazawa, and el Khmes, and two isolated villages separate from the rest — Taseghudra, in the midst of the non-Senhajan tribe of Beni Zerwal, and Taghzuth, in Beni Hassan of the Ghomara. The latter lays claim to being an offshoot of the tribe of Taghzuth and preserves Senhajan speech.

Beni Hozmar, a tribe to the northwest of Sheshawen, is said to be Senhajan, but data are difficult to obtain, owing to the fact that the Riffian army in their advance on Tetwan during the recent war utterly destroyed the village of these people, and whatever inhabitants survived scattered, leaving their home territory uninhabited.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 619 **Ghomara.** The third great region is the Ghomara, which extends along the Mediterranean coast from Wed Uringa to Wed Lao, and is separated from the Senhaja by the main mountain crest. It is divided into eight tribes, Beni Ziat, Beni Zejel, Beni Selman, Beni Bu Zra, Beni Mansur, Beni Grir, Beni Smih, and Beni Rezin.

197 Of these Beni Bu Zra retains Berber speech in fairly complete form, and all the others employ Berber words mixed with Arabic. This Ghomaran dialect has never been studied, but seems to resemble Riffian more closely than does Senhajan, in that Riffian and Ghomaran are mutually comprehensible.

131 619 **Other Berber Groups.** This work is confined to a consideration of the Riffians, Senhajans, and Ghomarans because my material covers these groups only, and not because they are the only recognizable Berbers of northern Morocco. In the peninsula which culminates at Tangier and Ceuta lives another group, the Anjera, which although Arab in speech is distinctly Berber in appearance, and which is said to be related to the Riffians; to the south and west of the Senhaja are other tribes, such as the Beni Zerwal, which are certainly not Arab in origin.

The term *Jebala*, from the Arabic word for mountain, is generally used to distinguish the Ghomara, the Arabophone Senhaja, and the other Berber tribes of the northwest from the Riffians and from the Arabs. This term is unfortunately inexact, and hence is not employed in this work to designate any specific area.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

133 The most important topographical feature of this region is the high mountain chain which bends southward from Tetwan into the heart of the Senhaja Sghir, and then resumes an eastward course through the Rif until it fades down into a series of hills in Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi to crop up again, thrusting northeastward, in Galiya, and carrying the land of that tribe out into the Mediterranean at the Cabo Tres Forcas. Although the crest of this range is in most places nearly thirty miles from the Mediterranean coast, the shore line itself is rough and craggy, since the mountains carry much of their height to the very water's edge, where they descend with a sharp drop. The mountains are higher in the west than in the east. Adhrar Tidighin, partly in Beni Khennus and partly in Beni Seddath, is the highest in the range, reaching an altitude of 2,549 meters [1] in one peak and 2,455 meters [1] in another; it is covered on the north side with a permanent layer of snow. Although Tidighin is the highest peak, it does not far surpass its neighbors. Between Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar, slightly southeast of Tidighin, is another mountain of great height and majesty, called the mountain of Taghzuth, 2,330 meters [1] high. In the Rif itself the highest points of the divide are Kuin, 1,883 meters,[1] and Tizi Uzli, 2,006 meters,[1] both in the Gzennaya. The Jebel Hammam, in Beni Urriaghel, attains about the same height, 1,948 meters, [1] but does not fall in the direct line of the watershed.

The divide itself runs between the Ghomara and the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; it separates Ktama from Mtiwa of the Rif, and Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus from Beni Bu Nsar (although in truth these three tribes might be said to perch on top of it); runs through Zarket, setting Targuist on one side and Beni Hamid on the other; and cuts through the middle of Beni Amart, along the range of Tizi Ifri, and across the top of Gzennaya, along

[1] Map issued by the Service Géographique du Maroc, Rabat, March, 1926. Scale, 1: 20,000.

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

INTRODUCTION

THE Muhammadan natives of Morocco are chiefly of Berber race, although the Berber language, which before the arrival of the Arabs was spread over the whole country, has in a large part of it been superseded by the tongue of the invaders. The Berber-speaking tribes, to whom alone the term "Berber" is popularly applied, may be divided into several groups. There are the Berbers of the Rīf, called by themselves Irifiyen and in Arabic Ruâfa, whose country extends along the Mediterranean coast between a line about forty miles south-east of Tetuan and the neighbourhood of the Algerian frontier; the Brâber, who inhabit the mountain regions of Central Morocco and the eastern portion of the Great Atlas range; the Shlöḥ, or Išelḥīn as they call themselves, who inhabit the western part of the Great Atlas and the province of Sūs, situated to the south of it—a territory the eastern frontier of which may be roughly indicated by a line drawn from the neighbourhood of Demnat in a south-easterly direction, and the northern frontier by a slightly curved line uniting Demnat with Mogador on the Atlantic coast and following the foot of the mountains or, in some places, intercepting a strip of the plain; and the Drâwa, who inhabit the valley of the Wād Drā in the extreme south of Morocco. A fifth group consists of various tribes living in the neighbourhood of Ujda, in the north-eastern corner of the country. All the Berber-speaking people are called by a Berber name Imaziğĕn.

This division into groups is based not only on geographical but also on linguistic considerations. The dialects of the tribes belonging to the same group have greater

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

197 resemblance than those spoken within different groups, which may differ greatly both in their words and sounds. A Rifian told me that when he heard the talk of Brâber or Shlöḥ he could only recognise a few of the words, while a Berber from

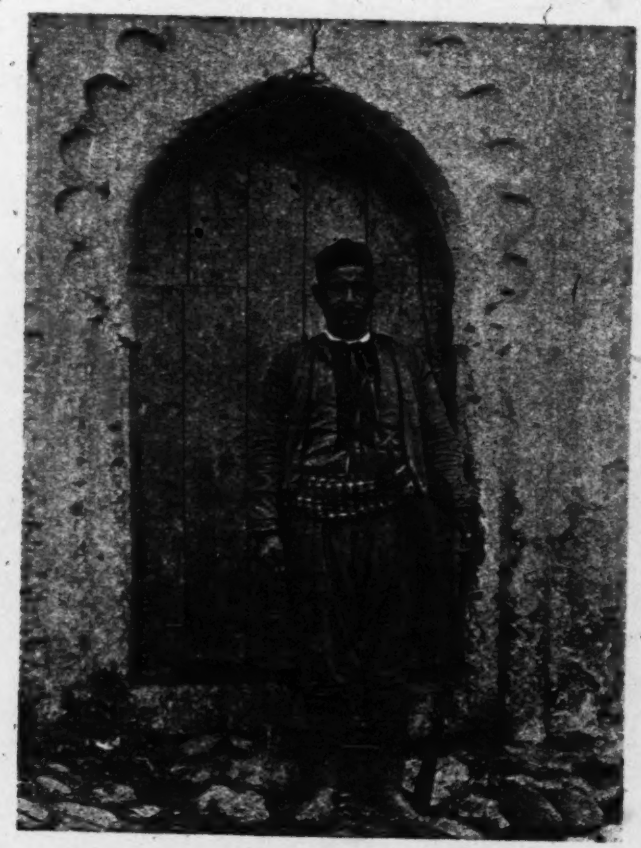


FIG. 1.—Sîdi 'Abdsslam l-Bâqqâli in Andjra.

the south, who had travelled much, said that he could understand the Brâber with difficulty, but the Rifians not at all. There is, however, no sharp line of demarcation between the dialects of the southern and central Berbers, as there is no very definite geographical border between those people; whereas the dialectic differences inside the latter group may

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

be quite considerable. The language even of neighbouring tribes, like the Aiṭ Sádděn and the Ait Waráin, may differ so much in its vocabulary and phonetics that a member of the one tribe sometimes finds it difficult to understand a member of the other, and, as I have tested myself, is unable to imitate certain sounds of his dialect. The dialects of the Rīf [1] also

FIG. 2.—Scribe from Fez (my secretary).

present more dissimilarities than the Shelha, the language of the Shlöh, which is comparatively homogeneous, phonetically as well as otherwise. Yet in every Berber tribe there are linguistic peculiarities, which may be quite notable even inside the same tribe. The explanation of the remarkable differentiation of the Berber language is not far to seek. It

[1] See Biarnay, *Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif* (Paris, 1917).

2: Westermarck E-5 (1898-1926) 1926
MX3 Rif MX3

lies partly in the complete absence of a written standard, and partly in the vastness of the territory inhabited by the Berbers and the lack of contact between the different groups or even sections of the same group.[1]

The Arabic-speaking people of Morocco consist of the 'Arab ("Arabs"), who inhabit most of the plains; the Jbâla ("mountaineers") who inhabit the mountain region extending from the Straits of Gibraltar to the neighbourhood of Fez and to the west and south of the Rîf; and the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the towns, who are often referred to as "Moors", although this name may be more conveniently applied to the Muhammadan population of Morocco in general. The dialectic differences of the Arabic of Morocco are infinitely smaller than those of the Berber idioms. The pronunciation of ت and ث as *ts* (*tˢ*) in Northern Morocco and of ڤ (Moorish ق) as *g* among the 'Arab is particularly conspicuous.

Although Arabic is spoken over a much smaller area of the country than Berber, it is nevertheless the dominant language, being that of the Government and administration, the religious creed, and the higher culture. Berber is despised as a barbarous jargon. There is an Arabic saying, *Lá-'sel ma hûwa iḍam, l-bêšna ma hîya ṭa'âm, š-šêlḥa ma hîya klam*, "Honey is not grease, durra is not food, Shelha is not a language". The Berbers themselves look upon their language as much inferior to Arabic, and those who have learned Arabic—many of them are bilingual—are often ashamed of speaking their mother-tongue. More than once I noticed the glad surprise shown by my Berber teachers at the interest I took in it, and their answers were in the beginning not infrequently accompanied with a friendly smile.[2] But although the Berbers respect the Arabic language, they do not like the 'Arab. The Shlöh accuse

[1] For the classification and mutual relations of the Berber dialects of Morocco *cf.* Stumme, *Handbuch des Schilhischen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 3 *sq.*; Laoust, 'Coup d'œil sur les Études dialectales berbères au Maroc', in *Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines*, i. (Paris, 1920), p. 117 *sqq.*; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères* (Alger, 1920), p. 51 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Basset, *op. cit.* p. 34 *sq.*

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID MONTGOMERY HART

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF THE RIFFIAN TRIBE OF AITH WURYĀGHIL (*)

122 THIS paper, a result of six months of ethnographic field work in Spanish Morocco, was made possible by funds granted from the Ford Foundation. That foundation is not, however, the author owner, publisher or proprietor of the publication in which this paper appears, and is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements made or views expressed herein.

• • •

101 Aith Wuryāghil is not only the biggest and most important tribe
[161] in the Rif, but the most heavily populated in the whole of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, totaling some 65.000 people at the present time. It is delimited on the north by the Bay of Alhucemas and by the Mediterranean Sea; on the west by the tribes of Buqqūya, Banī Yaṭṭuft and Targīst; on the east by the Nakūr River and the tribes of Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn; and on the south by Aith Mazdūwī, Aith 'Ammarth and Gizināya (the last mentioned being just over the
101 border in French Morocco). Although Targīst and most of Banī
197 Yaṭṭuft are Arabic-speaking, the other tribes all speak the Riffian dialect of Berber. Aith Wuryāghil, Aith 'Ammarth and northern Gizināya form, in particular, a Central Riffian linguistic bloc where Arabic is known only by a tiny literate minority. This dialect, called *Shilḥa* in Arabic and *Thamāzighth* in Riffian, is stronger in the Central Rīf than in any other part of northern Morocco, which gives an indication of the conservatism of the people who speak it. The three
101 nuclear Riffian tribes have all retained in large measure many of

(*) Excepcionalmente se ha conservado el sistema de transcripción usado por el autor del artículo, aunque difiere del adoptado por esta Revista (N. de la R.)

[P. 51]

5:- Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

114 It seems that from almost the beginning of his Moroccan experience it was the Rifian region which made the deepest impression on Blanco. Of the five regions into which the Spanish Moroccan Protectorate was divided, the Rif was always Blanco's first choice. He fell in love with its barren peaks and its austere and vendetta-minded inhabitants at once, and for over fifteen years he devoted almost all his time away from administrative duties to as systematic a collection of ethnographic data as he was capable. Although he found it politically expedient to use a native interpreter, the value of his investigations was materially augmented by the fact that he spoke Rifian fairly fluently, though not always correctly, and with a marked Spanish accent. When one considers that Rifian is generally recognized to be [197] the most difficult to learn (probably because it is the least pure) of the three major Berber languages spoken in Morocco, and particularly in view of the fact that the number of Spaniards who speak it is very small indeed, this is no mean achievement.

In 1930, after becoming interventor of the Aith 'Ammarth, Blanco published his first book. This, a pamphlet entitled La Vivienda Rifeña, is an informal treatise on Rifian house types, profusely illustrated with pen and ink sketches by its author, who not only showed himself a keen observer of Rifian housebuilding techniques, but an artist of no mean talents as well. He had a fine eye for artistic detail, and his sketches pulsate with life.

During his tenure as interventor comarcal at Ajdir, Blanco signed and sent in, on August 27, 1935, a report to the regional administration

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

102
197
648
131

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

p. 341

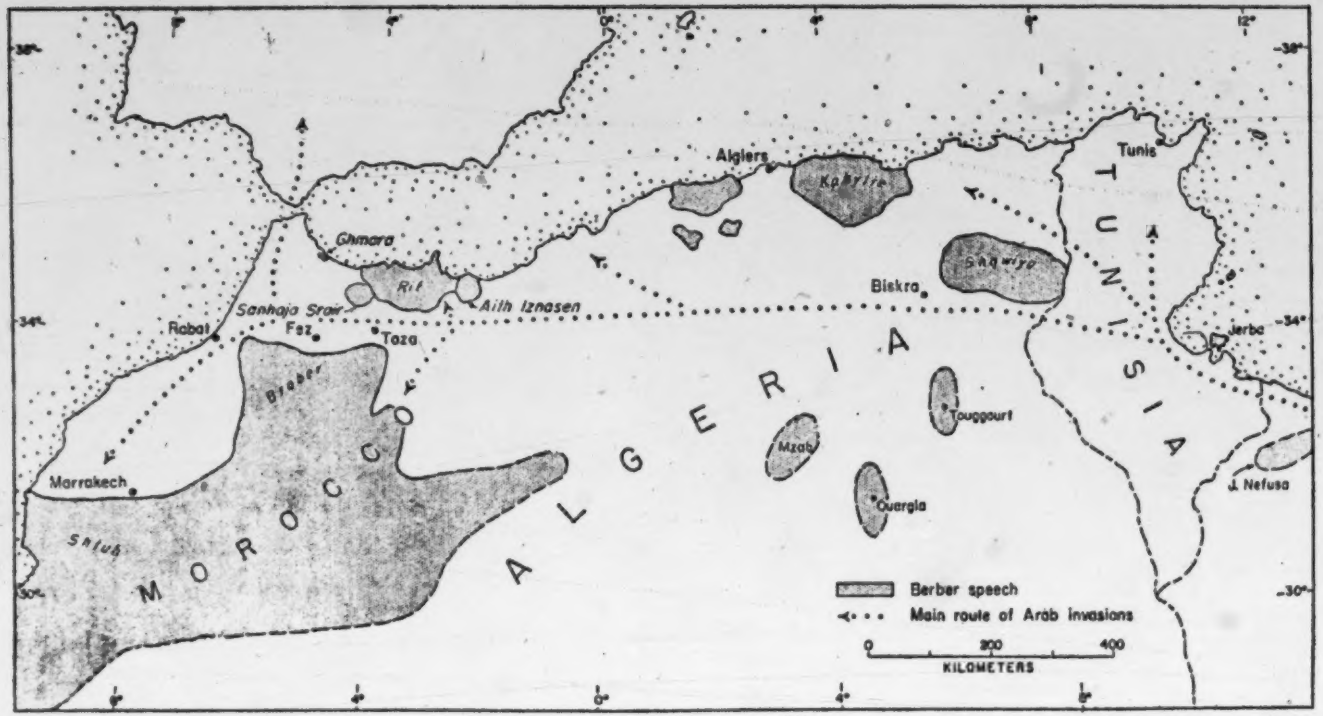


Fig. 9. North Africa: distribution of Berber speech.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

thetic to Moroccan or "Arab" nationalism, refer to a "Berber myth" and refuse to recognize any ethnic division in the country.[8] The *politique berbère* may have had its faults, but this fact does not mean that we should rewrite Moroccan history.

Berber dialects are still spoken by six to seven million people, including about 45 per cent of the population in Morocco, about 30 per cent in Algeria, and about 2 per cent in Tunisia.[9] Berber dialects are spoken also in the Jabal Nefusa and the Siwa oasis in Libya,[10] and on the southern fringe of the Sahara. The Berber language once extended to the Canary Islands.

The Berber-speaking peoples of northern Africa are now concentrated in five groups: Rifians, Braber, Shluh, Kabylies, and Shawiya (fig. 9). They are chiefly mountaineers, and all but the Braber, who practice transhumance, are sedentary farmers. The other groups include the Ghmara, who are almost completely Arabized, the tribesmen of Sanhaja as-Srair, a small colony on the island of Jerba, the Tuareg of the central and southern Sahara, and the inhabitants of the oases of Mzab, Touggourt, Ouargla, Ghardaia, Figuig, Gourara, and Touat.[8]

The original home of the Berber language is unknown, but scholars believe that it is most nearly related to Ancient Egyptian, Cushite, and certain of the Chad languages, which are traditionally but perhaps improperly called Hamitic.[11] This relationship reinforces the theory advanced by archaeologists that the Neolithic of northern Africa shows Egyptian influence.[12] In spite of a bewildering number of dialects, which is normal for an ancient language without literature, Berber can be divided into three groups: Masmuda, Sanhaja, and Zenata.[13] Masmuda was the language of the majority of the sedentary farmers before the Arab invasion. The Shluh and the Ghmara speak it today; Rifian is thought to be a mixed form. The Sanhajan dialect was the speech of the transhumants and nomads. It is now spoken in northern Morocco (Sanhaja as-Srair), in the Middle Atlas, and by the Kabylies, Shawiya, and Tuareg. Zenatiya, formerly confined to the high plateaus of Algeria and the Oujda region, has spread to many of the Saharan oases, including distant Siwa. Because of natural population growth the number of Berber speakers has increased, but the area of Berber speech has lost ground to Arabic. In fact, since the Muslim conquest Berber has gained ground only in Negro Africa, where some tribes in the Niger Territory and the French Sudan have adopted the Tuareg dialect. Without fixed grammar or an effective system of writing, Berber could not compete with the language of the Prophet.[14]

[8] Marvine Howe, "The Birth of the Moroccan Nation," *Middle East Jour.*, 10 (1956), 1–16. G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France [collection "Que Sais-Je?"], 1957), pp. 16 ff.

[9] Louis Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," *Middle East Jour.*, 12 (1958), 33–44.

[10] On the distribution of Berber speech, see also André Basset, *La langue berbère* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

[11] J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Co., 1955). First published in *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 5, 6, 10 (1949–1954).

[12] Egyptian influence on north African rock art is examined in Raymond Vaufrey, "L'art rupestre nord africain," *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine*, Mémoire 20 (1939). The most striking evidence of direct influence is the presence in Algeria of rock drawings of rams wearing the solar disk associated with the worship of Re. When worn by the ram, which was sacred to Amon of Thebes, it indicates Amon-Re, the composite god of Egypt during the New Kingdom (1600–1100 B.C.).

[13] These are the major genealogical divisions of Ibn Khaldun. Strictly speaking, it is not correct to use this division in linguistic classification.

[14] The only system of writing at the time of the Arab conquest was the Libyco-Berber alphabet used in rock art. This alphabet was probably developed from ideas borrowed from the Phoeni-

7: Mikes611 K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

195 descent."[112] The Andalusian Muslims could hardly have displaced any large group of Berbers, for they settled, almost to a man, in cities and towns. It is reasonable to conclude that the Moroccan highlands remained Berber not because they were a place of retreat but because the drift of Arab influence went around the mountains rather than through or over them. The horticultural skills of the highland Berbers and their intricate social organization suggest stability, not the culture of a refugee population driven to new and unfamiliar environments."

The Christian reconquest of Spain, led by Castile and Aragón, began in 1225. Córdoba fell in 1236, and Sevilla in 1249. Soon Spanish Islam was reduced to the small kingdom of Granada, which had accepted Castile as an overlord. In 1492 Granada itself was taken, and Spanish Islam ceased to exist. Even before the conquest of Granada, many Muslims sought refuge in Morocco. These refugees repeopled most of the Moroccan towns, and provided the Saadians with technical experts and soldiers. Northern Morocco became a center of Andalusian civilization. Some families in Tetuán, Shawen, and Fez still retain keys to their ancestral homes in al-Andalus.

The Andalusian refugees brought a richer and more classical form of Arabic speech. Since most of the immigrants settled in towns, the distinction between urban and rural dialects was intensified. This distinction is still strong. The more elegant city speech is spoken not only in Fez (the great center of Andalusian culture) but also in Rabat-Salé (settled by Andalusians in the seventeenth century) and in Tetuán (most of whose inhabitants came from Ronda in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Taza, Ksar al-Kebir, and Azemmour also have somewhat urbanized dialects, while Tangier and Wezzan show the influence of neighoring tribes. Meknès and Marrakech, perhaps the most extreme examples of country speech, are accordingly looked down upon by their bourgeois neighbors. Thus there is, besides the Arab-Berber distinction, a strong contrast even among Moroccans who are Arabized. No one familiar with the sounds and rhythms of Maghribi Arabic could fail to distinguish between the dialect of Old Fez and the quasi-bedawin speech of the rural tribes."

• 197 191 Several of the tribes shown as Berber-speakers in figure 12 are described as Arabophones in previous work. Disagreement arises from the fact that many tribes are bilingual. When questioned about their language preference, many Berbers reply that they speak only Arabic, but if questioned further they will add that their women and children speak Berber, and that boys do not begin to learn Arabic until they are old enough to attend a Qur'anic school. This is the situation among the Aith Seddath, a tribe often described as bilingual or Arabophone."[113] It is important to note whether merchants or the educated members of a tribe use more than one language, but the linguistic attainments of the elite should not be allowed to obscure the basic pattern of domestic speech. The fact that one Rifian in ten speaks some Spanish or Arabic does not mean that the Rif

[112] Montagne, *La Civilisation du désert*, p. 265, cited in note 56.

[113] René Raynal, in "Quelques aperçus géographiques sur l'évolution des régions humaines du Maroc," *Hespéris*, Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, 39 (1952), 1–16, refers to the Berber mountains as "vieilles régions humaines."

[113] G. S. Colin, "L'Arabe," in *Initiation au Maroc* (3d ed., Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1943), pp. 208 ff.

[113] A. Renisio, *Etude sur les dialectes berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Senhaja de Srair* (Paris: Leroux, 1932).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

should be described as a bilingual zone. Probably not one Rifian woman in a hundred understands Arabic or Spanish, and few Rifian men speak either language correctly

In northern Morocco the Berber language is represented by three dialects: Rifian, Sanhajan, and Ghmara. Rifian is by far the most important. It varies somewhat from tribe to tribe, but this variation does not hinder communication. The differences in pronunciation are evident as one moves from the Nkour Valley toward Wad Moulouya, particularly in Ikibdhanen. Rifians can understand the dialect of the Aith Iznasen, but they are obliged to use interpreters when they deal with the Sanhajans. The Ghmaran dialect is nearly extinct. Today it is spoken only in Bani Bu Zra and in a few hamlets of Bani Mansur and Bani Grir. The relationship between Ghmaran and the other dialects is not yet clear, but Ghmaran seems to be a distinct dialect, not a variant of Rifian or Sanhajan.[a] Differences in pronunciation may be considerable, even among speakers of the same dialect. The speech of Ktama and Taghzut, for example, is barely intelligible to the Aith Seddath. The degree of difference between Rifian and Sanhajan is probably as great as that between Spanish and Italian. Nevertheless, philologists prefer to recognize only one Berber language, and attribute differences of this magnitude to isolation and the absence of literature.[b]

Berber speech has completely disappeared from the area west of Bani Siyyat, Bani Silman, and Bani Khalid. The progress of Arabization was more rapid in the interior than along the Mediterranean coast. Even today the route from Tetuán to Melilla follows the ridges of the Rifian chain, whereas no road follows the coast east of Wad Lao. The Ghmaran dialect is preserved in an area crossed by deep canyons, and bounded by high mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. In Sanhaja as-Srair most of the Arabophones occupy land south of the mountain chain. The Bani Bu Shibat and Bani Hmid find it much easier to visit the markets of Marnisa, where Arabic is spoken, than to climb the mountains to reach the main area of Sanhajan speech. In the eastern part of the Rif, Arabic is spoken only along the Moulouya Valley, the route of advance for bedawin tribes moving northward from the Algerian plateaus. The Ulad Stut not only speak Arabic but are of Arabian (i.e., bedawin) descent.[c] This claim can also be made by the Khlut, who moved into the Atlantic lowland during the fourteenth century.[d]

The first to abandon Berber (or Latin) speech were the peoples of the Tingitanian peninsula and the plains near Fez. After the collapse of Muslim Spain the same areas became havens for Andalusian refugees. From these two centers Arabic speech and Islamic culture gradually moved into the highlands. This movement is still in progress. In fact, Moroccan independence will cause an acceleration, for the language of the Prophet now has political as well as religious sanction. The Ghmaran dialect will become extinct in a generation, and in another generation or two the Sanhajan dialect may also disappear. In Ktama, Sanhajan speech is retained only in the inaccessible valley of Abd al-Ghaya, between Adrar

[a] G. S. Colin, "Le parler berbère des Gmara," *Hespéris*, 9 (1929), 43–58.
[b] Basset, *op. cit.*, in note 9.
[c] Marçais, *op. cit.*, in note 57.
[d] According to D. M. Hart (personal communication), only 9 out of 171 place and lineage names in the Khlut area are indisputably Berber.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut.[*] The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[*] The Sanhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dahdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One of the principal occupations of the students consists in copying the books of the preceptor, since it is impossible to buy books, and the only way to accumulate a library is to copy it off by hand. In order to get a greater variety of books students often travel from *canton* to *canton* through many tribes.

Some of the books are in Arabic and some in Berber, not necessarily of Riffian dialect. Many are in the dialect of the Sous. Most of the books deal with magic and religious problems, but a few of them deal with history and geography. There are also books written in a numerical code, called *el ughabari*, which the students use as a secret means of communication. There are many different kinds of *el ughabari*, and many different codes, but all are based on numbers. Another system is to use a set word for each letter in the alphabet, and to spell out the message, a word for a letter. This system is used in speech as well as in writing, and has the disadvantage of being very lengthy and tedious. It is called *er unsas*; students use it when they want to say something uncomplimentary about someone present.

Students travel from mosque to mosque in order to absorb the learning of different preceptors who have specialized in different subjects. To obtain what is considered a well-rounded education a student must thus fulfill a considerable itinerary. Some preceptors are popular and draw crowds of students from all over the Rif; others teach the local students only.

Wandering or visiting students are fed by the people of the *canton* in which the mosque is situated. Families send food every day to the mosque. Goats are often sacrificed in cantonal mosques containing saintly remains, and the students and their preceptor take half the meat, giving the warden the other half.

There is no fixed time for the completion of studies in the cantonal mosque. When a student is satisfied with his state of erudition, feels that his share of labor is needed by his family, or wishes to marry, he simply stops going to the mosque and spends his time farming instead. Most students stop when they get married; those who continue after marriage do so with the intention of adopting a professional career. Some prefer the indolent, wandering life of the student to the restrictions imposed upon them by marriage, and roam about, living off the land, until they are old. In most cases the latter type of student goes sooner or later to the Jebala and affiliates himself with some religious brotherhood.

Besides being fed by the *canton* in which they study, the students earn money by tailoring and embroidering jellabas, shirts, trousers, and other garments. Ex-students usually embroider their wives' garments for them. They also earn money by chanting from the Koran at funerals and weddings. They are immune from physical violence, and can pass from tribe to tribe with impunity, no matter what the state of affairs may be, except during those periods when the tribal council fails to meet and all law has gone from the land.

A student who aspires to become a *kadhi*, or "judge," must attend either the mosque of Sidi Bu Daud in Temsaman, that of the Beni Mejrau in Beni Zerwal, the university at Tangier, or the Kairawiin university at Fez. At the Kairawiin the student enters the secular, not the religious, college.

Whichever of these institutions the student attends, he studies law and related subjects until he has qualified himself as a judge and has obtained a certicate to that effect from the head of the institution. Formerly very few Riffians studied in Fez, but in recent years the number has been increasing.

000 223 224 629 578 671 [191] at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

671 223 224 411 4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 223 5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir). [572] [695]

671 223 224 6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "1-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar). [201]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One of the principal occupations of the students consists in copying the books of the preceptor, since it is impossible to buy books, and the only way to accumulate a library is to copy it off by hand. In order to get a greater variety of books students often travel from *canton* to *canton* through many tribes.

Some of the books are in Arabic and some in Berber, not necessarily of Riffian dialect. Many are in the dialect of the Sous. Most of the books deal with magic and religious problems, but a few of them deal with history and geography. There are also books written in a numerical code, called *el ughabari*, which the students use as a secret means of communication. There are many different kinds of *el ughabari*, and many different codes, but all are based on numbers. Another system is to use a set word for each letter in the alphabet, and to spell out the message, a word for a letter. This system is used in speech as well as in writing, and has the disadvantage of being very lengthy and tedious. It is called *er unsas*; students use it when they want to say something uncomplimentary about someone present.

Students travel from mosque to mosque in order to absorb the learning of different preceptors who have specialized in different subjects. To obtain what is considered a well-rounded education a student must thus fulfill a considerable itinerary. Some preceptors are popular and draw crowds of students from all over the Rif, others teach the local students only.

Wandering or visiting students are fed by the people of the *canton* in which the mosque is situated. Families send food every day to the mosque. Goats are often sacrificed in cantonal mosques containing saintly remains, and the students and their preceptor take half the meat, giving the warden the other half.

There is no fixed time for the completion of studies in the cantonal mosque. When a student is satisfied with his state of erudition, feels that his share of labor is needed by his family, or wishes to marry, he simply stops going to the mosque and spends his time farming instead. Most students stop when they get married; those who continue after marriage do so with the intention of adopting a professional career. Some prefer the indolent, wandering life of the student to the restrictions imposed upon them by marriage, and roam about, living off the land, until they are old. In most cases the latter type of student goes sooner or later to the Jebala and affiliates himself with some religious brotherhood.

Besides being fed by the *canton* in which they study, the students earn money by tailoring and embroidering jellabas, shirts, trousers, and other garments. Ex-students usually embroider their wives' garments for them. They also earn money by chanting from the Koran at funerals and weddings. They are immune from physical violence, and can pass from tribe to tribe with impunity, no matter what the state of affairs may be, except during those periods when the tribal council fails to meet and all law has gone from the land.

A student who aspires to become a *kadhi*, or "judge," must attend either the mosque of Sidi Bu Daud in Temsaman, that of the Beni Mejrau in Beni Zerwal, the university at Tangier, or the Kairawiin university at Fez. At the Kairawiin the student enters the secular, not the religious, college.

Whichever of these institutions the student attends, he studies law and related subjects until he has qualified himself as a judge and has obtained a certicate to that effect from the head of the institution. Formerly very few Riffians studied in Fez, but in recent years the number has been increasing.

3. COUNCILS, WARFARE AND ALLIANCES

614
619
623
634

A) The Agraw:

The agraw is a meeting or convening of all the adult Rifian males in a clan or tribe who are capable of supporting their opinions by force of arms. It is an assembly of all men who carry rifles, and it has almost unlimited attributes, among which the major ones are:

a) Declaration of war and of all that this embodies (organization of attack and defense, organization of harka-s or war-parties, contingents which are levied up for distant expeditions, and establishment of agreements of friendship or alliance with neighboring tribes).

b) Guarding the security and honor of its component family and kin groups (making common cause with them, supporting them with force if necessary, and acting as mediators); thus, when the interests of any individual or of his kinsmen are harmed, and he is incapable of defending his rights, the councilmembers claim the resulting damages in his name, and, in order to obtain them, they either very soon have to take up arms, or wait and work out an alliance with other igrawn, or convoke the agraw of the group one step up the ladder.

The agraw may be on a village (or hamlet), "fractional" (or clan), or tribal level, and the only difference between these three levels lies in the number of councillors who attend the meeting on each one....The agraw is convoked by mqaddimin or shiyukh[1]; by word of mouth, by arqqas or messenger (gunshots by day or bonfires--thafgirth, pl. thifgirin--at night, in case of alarm, and in both instances by cries transmitted from hilltop to hilltop, from village to village, and from mountain to plain).

[202]

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith Tuzīn, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jibāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

423 the question have (interventors) had to abandon it unfinished, dis-
648 heartened to see the effort yielding so little result, and contemplating the manner in which the inventory of such properties had diminished.

423 Regarding these properties, I was recently told by some
648 Rifians about what happened in their tribal territory when, many years
124 ago, the protectorate authorities decided to plant a piece of communal land in the Eastern Rif with olive trees. The news spread through the
[203] tribe with the usual deformation, and its members became alarmed. Some of them, including my informant, decided to divide up all properties of this type which remained to them, for fear of being deprived of them. Did the Makhzin find out? Did it take any action? Is the news true? I do not know.

000 The above notwithstanding, a new revision and classification with every possible guarantee to allay alarm of this sort, and with the object of restoring to the rural estates the creation and classification of their patrimony, is possible. It is a task requiring effort, tenacity, urgency and desirability, because if the appeal (which is made) is not strong and healthy, neither will be the outcome. This patrimony, or at least a part of it, must be made inalienable, as is that of the habus. It should be made up of arable lands, fields and fruit trees at the limit or boundary of the jma'th, with no known owner, and should also include ghaba lands which are not regularly worked. All this land, when the seed has arrived, should then be parcelled out for plowing amonst the members of the jma'th; and some lands should be earmarked for common plowing in order to obtain the means to meet the obligations of hospitality, in this way removing the burden

684 554 203 626

74--In the Aith Waryaghar, anyone who indulged in bestiality became the object of extreme derision; and as a market crier himself is a person of very low social standing, this in itself would have rubbed more salt in the wound.

000 75--Marriages with parallel cousins occur, but they are uncommon. In this particular instance, there was a good reason for it, as Blanco points out.

76--These cousins, again as indicated in note 17, were the boy's r-waratha, who could normally have inherited only if the boy's father had either died without issue or if he had left a daughter or daughters only. It is un-Qur'anic enough for the r-waratha to appropriate, as [671] they often try to do, a daughter's share of the inheritance as well as their own, but for them to take over a son's share is expressly forbidden by the Shari'a, and may be regarded, in this instance, as the purest personal aggrandizement.

[114] 77--This should probably read "to one's tribe", as the notion of other tribes hardly enters the picture here. Except under an 'Abd al-Krim, how would it have been, or be, possible for a man of the Igzinnayen, for example, to feel any responsibility for a man from the Aith Waryaghar? This error may be due to a typographical error in the original text.

[682] 78--One could hardly label a sanction of 2000 duros for murder committed in a market as indicative of "lack of repressive organs". It is state- [114] ments of this kind, which continually crop up, that, in conjunction with numerous factual errors, cast a small but ever-present cloud over Blanco's work, and mark him as an amateur ethnologist.

79--See La Ley Rifeña, pp. 47, 50.

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

628 "There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
616 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
[195] inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[203] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alliances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater efficacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

671 These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
628 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
728 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14) for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
921 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

S
443
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
[681]

R
S
443
171

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

the shell are joined by a ridgepole, most often a young cedar or a riparian tree. Two or more other poles are added to a form a solid framework for the roof (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). Rye straw is the preferred material for thatch, and it is placed with great care (pl. 3, *a*). The ridgepole is set between two timbers, the ends of which are carved in the shape of a crescent moon. The crescent ornament is sometimes

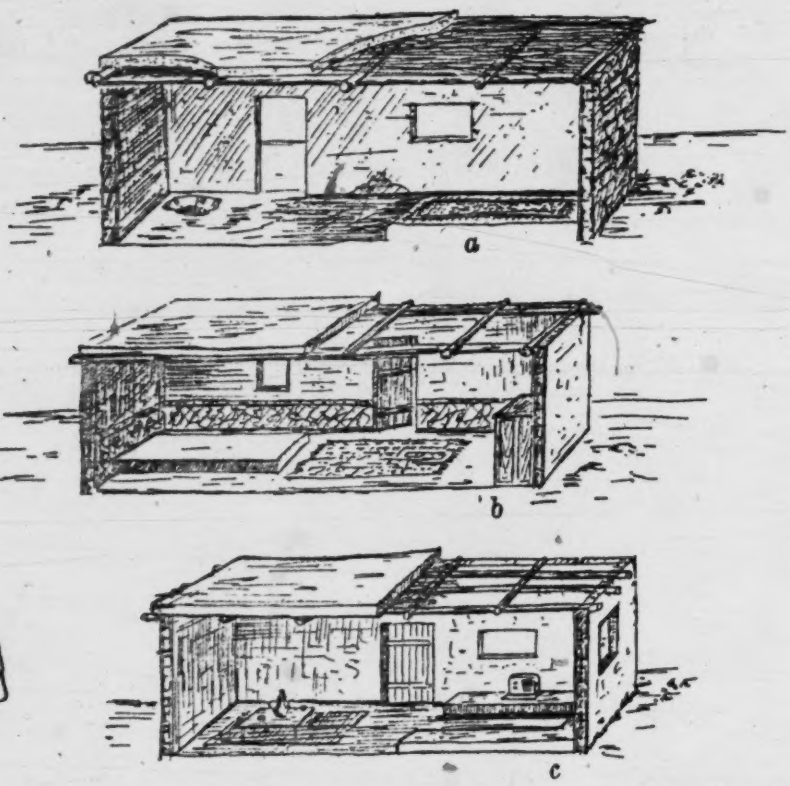


Fig. 20. Rifian houses: *a*, simple house with sleeping platform and fire pit; *b*, house of a moderately prosperous tribesman with wallpaper, cabinet, and mat; *c*, house of a tribal authority with padded benches, portable radio, mat, and table for tea service.

crowned with a carved model of a charcoal brazier and a teapot, thus uniting the symbols of hospitality and good luck (pl. 3, *a*). When stone is used, walls are usually covered with a thin layer of plaster. Wooden cribwork may be used to strengthen walls.

There are more two-story houses in Sanhaja as-Srair than in any other area of the northern zone. This preference for more elaborate structures reflects the more abundant supply of timber. When a two-story house is built, joists are cut

[See p. 127--Analyst]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER X

JUDICIAL AND CLERICAL OFFICERS; LAWS GOVERNING INHERITANCE

THERE are in the Rif two classes of officials who concern themselves with judicial and clerical functions: the "clerk," or *adl* (plural *adul*[1]), and the "judge," or *kedhi*. The former is something between a town clerk and minor judge, and the latter a supreme court of appeal. Both concern themselves only with civil, never with criminal, disputes.

The clerk is a former student who specialized in the cantonal mosque in the study of law, rather than in the usual study of magic and religion: some clerks, however, indulge in magical practices on the side as an additional source of income. The clerk takes pains to keep this second profession secret, lest he be expelled from office. Most clerks spend longer than the average period at study, and attend several different mosques in the course of their preparation.

There is at least one clerk in every *bone*. Any person who is qualified by his training may set up as a clerk, but must receive the consensus of local approval before he is entrusted with enough business to make this occupation profitable. A clerk must be dignified and pious.

The clerk is often the schoolmaster of the *bone* as well. In smaller *bones* it is usually an economic necessity for one man to fulfill these two offices, consequently the terms "schoolmaster" and "clerk" have become somewhat confused. A clerk is often called schoolmaster, but a schoolmaster who is not a clerk is never called clerk.

The duties of the clerk include writing and reading letters for illiterate persons, settling controversies as to ownership of property, making out and administering wills, and drawing up documents of sale for landed property and documents of marriage and divorce. He is also called upon to slaughter animals upon ceremonial occasions.

In making out a document of marriage, the clerk writes out the names of the bride and groom, and the amount paid for the bride. He gives the paper to the bride and makes a duplicate, which he keeps. His signature renders the document valid. He similarly makes out divorce papers, which he gives to the woman, who can thus prove that she is no longer under obligation to her husband.

When the clerk makes out the document for a land sale, he takes the old document from the seller, and gives both old and new papers to the purchaser. Each time a piece of land changes hands a new paper is made out, and the present owner has in his possession all of the extant bills of sale for that piece of land. When a piece is subdivided the heir of the owner of the original piece at the time of its subdivision keeps the papers recording transfers prior to this subdivision.

When a man wishes to sell some of the land which has been in his family since time immemorial, and for which there is no paper, he informs the clerk, who advertises for any other claim to this land, either written or oral, and finding none makes a bill of sale.

[1] The usual Arab notary.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 872 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 794 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 574 431 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *ḥaiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[212 789] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolbe*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One of the principal occupations of the students consists in copying the books of the preceptor, since it is impossible to buy books, and the only way to accumulate a library is to copy it off by hand. In order to get a greater variety of books students often travel from *canton* to *canton* through many tribes.

Some of the books are in Arabic and some in Berber, not necessarily of Riffian dialect. Many are in the dialect of the Sous. Most of the books deal with magic and religious problems, but a few of them deal with history and geography. There are also books written in a numerical code, called *el ughabari*, which the students use as a secret means of communication. There are many different kinds of *el ughabari*, and many different codes, but all are based on numbers. Another system is to use a set word for each letter in the alphabet, and to spell out the message, a word for a letter. This system is used in speech as well as in writing, and has the disadvantage of being very lengthy and tedious. It is called *er unsas*; students use it when they want to say something uncomplimentary about someone present.

Students travel from mosque to mosque in order to absorb the learning of different preceptors who have specialized in different subjects. To obtain what is considered a well-rounded education a student must thus fulfill a considerable itinerary. Some preceptors are popular and draw crowds of students from all over the Rif; others teach the local students only.

Wandering or visiting students are fed by the people of the *canton* in which the mosque is situated. Families send food every day to the mosque. Goats are often sacrificed in cantonal mosques containing saintly remains, and the students and their preceptor take half the meat, giving the warden the other half.

There is no fixed time for the completion of studies in the cantonal mosque. When a student is satisfied with his state of erudition, feels that his share of labor is needed by his family, or wishes to marry, he simply stops going to the mosque and spends his time farming instead. Most students stop when they get married; those who continue after marriage do so with the intention of adopting a professional career. Some prefer the indolent, wandering life of the student to the restrictions imposed upon them by marriage, and roam about, living off the land, until they are old. In most cases the latter type of student goes sooner or later to the Jebala and affiliates himself with some religious brotherhood.

Besides being fed by the *canton* in which they study, the students earn money by tailoring and embroidering jellabas, shirts, trousers, and other garments. Ex-students usually embroider their wives' garments for them. They also earn money by chanting from the Koran at funerals and weddings. They are immune from physical violence, and can pass from tribe to tribe with impunity, no matter what the state of affairs may be, except during those periods when the tribal council fails to meet and all law has gone from the land.

A student who aspires to become a *kadhi*, or "judge," must attend either the mosque of Sidi Bu Daud in Temsaman, that of the Beni Mejrau in Beni Zerwal, the university at Tangier, or the Kairawiin university at Fez. At the Kairawiin the student enters the secular, not the religious, college.

Whichever of these institutions the student attends, he studies law and related subjects until he has qualified himself as a judge and has obtained a certicate to that effect from the bead of the institution. Formerly very few Riffians studied in Fez, but in recent years the number has been increasing.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

583 The foundation of the nuclear family is through marriage,
584 which in the Rif is a "contract of buying and selling"[27], for, as the result of an amount (i.e. of money) stipulated by her father, a woman becomes her husband's absolute property[28]. A petition is made by the father or legal representatives of the woman; he, or
583 they, fix the bride-price (ssdhāq) and the manner of payment. This
584 contract, until very recent times, was unwritten[29], and the fact
212 that the jma'ath knew of the agreement was sufficient (to make it binding). Even today (1935), most old men do not have paper (i.e.
583 documents--r-knwaghadh, sing. r-kinghadh.)[30] By virtue of this
584 contract, a woman, who is never her own mistress, changes owners
562 and becomes the property of her husband, who uses and abuses her as
593 such, always for his own benefit, either improving her lot or
586 abandoning her[31].

583 Of all the acts which must be performed prior to marriage, none is as important as (payment of) the bride-price; and the day that the boy's father and the girl's father are together in the latter's house, accounts are settled and the former hands the bride-price over to the latter. From this sum, the bride's father buys his daughter's trousseau, with an advance on account from the groom; the latter's representatives, some friends and a fqih are also in attendance. Part of the bride-price is given to the father (immediately) so that he can buy clothing for his daughter; the rest of this clothing is bought by the groom; and the remainder of the bride-price is paid in money[32].

623 5) Councils and Tribesmen of Authority: All units under consideration up to now (the three "family" ones and the three "social" ones) have their relationships regulated by councils, which, although bearing different names, have similar and analogous functions. The council of the jma'th must undergo no formality in order to convene, and it has no president, although at times the agreements which it comes to are drawn up in writing. Any male (above the age of puberty) [885] [613] may attend and take part in its deliberations; but the personification of it is embodied in the iziddjifen or headmen of each dharfiqth, and these men together form an authentic and permanent council. This council above all legislates what the jma'th deems necessary, in conformance with custom and its agreements. The assembly itself or its representatives chosen for each particular case[86] make and execute all decisions. It is thus a legislative, consultative and executive body[87]. Its attributes, nonetheless, are constantly limited on the [614] one hand by family law, in the form of reprisals, and on the other by the power of the clan, which tries to keep it from prejudicing neighboring jma'th-s or the clan itself in its external politics. Thus, what it has is an administrative autonomy.

623 This council(s) elects its functionaries, the best defined of 793 which is the fqih of the mosque, who is in charge of leading the ● 212 prayer and of burial services; he is administrator of mosque property (habus)[88], as well as jural notary and council clerk and secretary. In large councils, however, these jobs may be handled by more or less ignorant tulba (sing. talib)[89], who pompously attribute to themselves 600 the qualifications of qadis. The fqih attended to the resources of the

631 augmentation to the "building" or "house" of Rifian society (of which
621 the traditional jma'th is the "cornerstone").[141]

631 Aith Waryaghar, then, could be organized in the following way:

619 I) QA'IDATE OF L-UTA: Shaikhate of Aith Yusif w 'Ari --12 jma'ths
621 Shaikhate of Imrabdhen --15 jma'ths

II) QA'IDATE OF NKUR: Shaikhate of Bni Bu 'Ayyash --16 jma'ths
Shaikhate of l-Jbil --16 jma'ths

III) QA'IDATE OF UPPER GHIS: Shaikhate of Bni Hadifa --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Bni 'Abd Allah --16 jma'ths

Total----87 jma'ths

000 If this organization is applied to the other tribes[142], the patron must be remembered in salary gradation, so that salaries do not turn out to be prejudiced as the Aith Waryaghar have been, up to now, both in salary and category of their office-holders and tribal authorities.

Ajdir, August 27, 1935.

I) Notes on the Igzinnayen:

101 1) Etymology and Language:--The word Gzinnaya (Rifian Igzinnayen) is derived from Berber gizna, meaning "libertine"[143]. The
191 tribesmen of Igzinnayen are bilingual, although even so, Rifian speech has a far greater predominance over Arabic. Their men of letters
● [212] (fqihs, etc.), although they know how to read and write Arabic, express themselves very poorly in that language, and their grammatical construction tends to be bad. Knowledge of French is extremely slight,

∞∞ [114] 71--Blanco assigns the jma'th a predominants geographical or territorial role, while the dharfiqth is given a genealogical one. So far, so good; but, at the risk of adding to the confusion, I think that Blanco mistakes jma'th in this context with dshar, "village, hamlet, community", for jma'th invariably embodies the idea of "people". However, it does not embody any notion of genealogical relationships, and thus Blanco's error is minor, and thoroughly understandable.

[114] 72--Not, obviously, in a literal sense; but even though Blanco no doubt employed it to bolster his ideas on lineage and segment shifts, the word was badly chosen.

[411] [648] 73--Rifles turned in to the Spanish authorities (often with grave reluctance on their owners' part) after pacification of the Rif in 1926 often formed an index, in administrative reports, to a tribe's fighting strength.

74--We know of no mosque in the Rif which only serves a single family, well-to-do or not.

[212] 75--Qanun, pl. qawanin, is, in Rifian parlance, a document drawn up in Arabic which records decisions of the village or tribal council on matters of local interest; or, more often, it merely refers to such decisions themselves, without benefit of documentary evidence.

[619] 76--By this Blanco means that an offshoot of jma'th A which through the process of lineage scission has moved physically to tribe B will have property in tribe B. This stands to reason; but the only ties which the new jma'th retains with its "brother" in its former home are those of memory and sentiment. For all practical and functional purposes, it is now a naturalized subsegment of another tribe, and it must conform to the custom of that tribe.

[114] 77--Blanco's theory of clan autonomy is most interesting and challenging, and is discussed at some length in La Ley Rifeña. It has, however, one grave shortcoming: its omission of the fact that such clan autonomy is always relative to the tribe. Vide our article "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, p.194.

[648] 78--Blanco does not say, but it is possible that such sites may be attributed to the "Portuguese", whom Rifians say once occupied the Rif until "our ancestors rose up against them and drove them out, brandishing sickles in their hands".

[114] 79--This is an error of fact, at least in part. Today, the Aith 'Ammarth and the Ibuqquyen have only one market apiece, the former on Mondays and the latter, at Ruwadi, on Sundays; and to my knowledge, except for one women's market which is now defunct, Aith 'Ammarth has always had only one market. Blanco's own market listing, furthermore, brings out this fact: I) Aith Waryaghar--Mondays at Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa; Tuesdays at Dharan n-Dhihlaliyin in the clan of Aith 'Abd Allah (this market no longer functions, having been superseded by the Monday market at Aith Hadhifa); Wednesday at Sidi Bu 'Afif in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ali (also no longer functioning and superseded by a newer market on Saturdays at Imzuren which was set up by the Spanish administration) and at Turirth for the three mountain subclans of Aith Turirth, Aith Timarzga and Aith 'Arus; Thursdays at Imrabdhen;

695 623 participants speak, and from time to time, whoever wants to (there is no single judge, and all present have the right to question the litigants) barks out a question or a sentence at them, and another, and another, until, when the contestants get tired, fed up, angry or have no more to say, things get excited, as a result of the loaded questions and confused answers; a certainty pervades the air which further emphasizes the responsibility and even the judging members of the jma'th, for some abandon the defense of the man fromtheir dharfiqth or liff as impossible, while others affirm their suspicions. The first judgment is not long in being pronounced, one of the most outstanding persons of the casually organized assembly (or jury) giving it as his opinion on the matter, and the rest adhering to it. In most instances, on seeing his case unanimously judged (in his disfavor), the individual responsible yields. If he does not, new people come into play and voice their opinions. If the matter is important enough to be a case which smacks of jurisprudence,[31] the meeting held the following Friday (in the mosque, prior to the noon prayer) is devoted in part to going over it again and adding up the greatest number of opinions (pro and con)--but not votes--in order to give wider publicity to the agreement and even to take it down in writing if necessary, if so stipulated.

[212] [794] If there is written proof, any talib hesitatingly deciphers the documentary evidence, but the members of the jma'th do not let him take a tr'ick (thus showing the power of the layman over the judge??) other than in a very discreet and impartial manner. Sometimes they agree to submit the matter to an arbiter outside the jma'th, for greater impartiality in the decision. At other times they decide to submit the

695 829 [181] the individual, in most cases. It therefore seems natural that the group rather than the individual (contrary to Islamic Law) proclaims its innocence[39].

695 212 [685] Although written proofs are admitted, they are not common, and are always submitted previously to a fqih for his consultation. Also, certain tulba were known to take advantage of their essentially notary function in order to falsify documents (one man even wrote up false Sultan's dahirs, or imperial decrees, and was jailed in Tangier!); and this did not make for any great respect of written proofs in Arabic, a language which in any case the Rifians did not understand. [157] Even today (1935) a Rifian who possesses a document is always looking for people to translate it for him, as he is never satisfied with one man's word and always suspects that the man who drew it up for him either misrepresented him or lied to him. I have known Rifians who went to the French Zone and even to Spain in order to obtain proper interpretations of their personal papers! Only death will separate a Rifian from his r-kwaghadh![40]

695 Conciliation and arbitration are the preferential jural processes in this society, where victory is difficult and defeat is hard; and one is drawn to the idea that what actually takes place is more akin to "horse trading" than to justice, in the European sense of the word.

It seems to me that the collective oath is the Rifian equivalent of the European "word of honor", in its unadulterated sense[41]. It has [619] a social rather than a religious significance, and, in practice, very little ritual; it is carried out in the mosque under the eye of the rival or plaintiff, and of those who were in on the secret, a sufficient action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]

695 tribal one). To be able to swear, a cojuror had to be old enough to fast during Ramadan (i.e. to have attained puberty); and women did not swear.

The plaintiff had to be present at the mosque (and each tribe or clan generally had at least one mosque at which it was customary to take oath) when the accused and his cojurors arrived. When the latter arrived, they removed their footgear and weapons, as the plaintiff had done before them. Then the fqih of the mosque asked them what they were going to swear; they told him; and he made each one of them repeat it on the mushaf (Koran) after saying the oath formula "Bi-llahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa!" (With God, of whom there is none other than He), the accused swearing first. The accused placed his right hand on the mushaf while taking oath, and each of his cojurors, in turn, did the same.

There were, however, instances in which the mushaf was not employed as a vehicle for swearing; and some say that these instances were more the rule than the exception, and that in them the oath formula was restricted to "Bi-llah" (With God) only. Others deride the practice and say that it was followed only by "ignorant people"; but, even so, the mere fact of its existence tends to place Rifian oaths at more or less of a midpoint between those in the Sus and Western Atlas, where the mushaf was always, without exception, employed, and those of the Middle and Central Atlases, where it was completely unheard of. It is in the latter areas that Berber oaths in Morocco reached their greatest purity and complexity. However, it should be said that in the Rif, unlike the Central Atlas region, the fqih, if the need demanded, repeated the oath as many times as was necessary for all the cojurors to understand it and say it after him; whereas in the Central Atlas, a different official, the anahkam, only repeated it once (the formula there was, in addition, more complicated than the Rifian one), and if any cojuror tripped up over it or got it wrong, the oath was broken; and the same applied if any of a group of assembled bystanders, whose function it was, in effect, to heckle the cojurors, succeeded in making him falter or stumble over the words, by yelling "'Auh! 'Auh! 'Auh!" (In the Rif, there was no such heckling, even though oaths, for obvious reasons, had to be taken publicly.) A further distinction was that in the Central Atlas, all important oaths were taken not at mosques, but at saints' tombs. There were many other differences in detail as well, such as number of cojurors required for various offenses and in the ramifications of the question of who pays in the event that some cojurors were either recusant or missing; but finally, and perhaps most relevant of all, the oath system in the Rif, encompassing fewer tribes and far less territory than in the Atlas, showed a far greater tribe-to-tribe uniformity.

695 To return now to the oath itself: after it was taken, the fqih, 793 who had witnessed it, drew up a document (tibriyith, "letter") in Arabic certifying that the defendant, whom he named, had sworn on such and such a date to the effect that he had not committed such and such 212 a crime: he (the fqih) then appended the names of the latter's cojurors, as well as that of the plaintiff. Finally, he gave this document to the defendant so that the latter could produce written evidence of his innocence.

pick up his rifle in defense of justice (a few days of visiting, free food, participation in the sharing of the fines, and even a raid, if this be the case). In the latter instance, everyone was (translator's italics) interested and desired to see justice done (with concomitant benefits of a meal and collecting one's own share of the fine).

Rifian law, according to note 7, is definitely superior (sic) to European law, because it obliges anyone who submits to it only to accept it and to agree to its fulfillment, accepting beforehand the sanctions which it establishes.

It is in these qanuns that Rifians may see sharply reflected who exactly are the men of prestige in the group to which they attach themselves and even the order of preference, by means of the names which figure in them; but we must not lose sight of the fact that they are edited by tulba of childish mentality (sic), a mentality deformed by their Islamic education; and that these tulba do not even translate Berber conceptualizations into their Arabic writing, as may be observed in other qanuns, thus altering the natural order in favor of their religious inclinations.[26]

Nobody believes, then, that such individuals cited in the first place figure in the documents for reasons of religiosity, but for the convenience of the ingharen who, jealous of their prestige, would have promoted interminable altercations in order to be first, in their jealous egalitarianism, and the necessity, which they saw themselves in order to avoid it, of putting above their disputes and petty jealousies individuals of neutral appearance, such as tulba, to officiate as the pacifying presidents of their stormy council-meetings (igrawn).

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613
554 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
[182] presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its repre-
792 sentatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692
554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692
212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
671 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
521
571 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

623 182 own circumstantial interest, their councils and the agreements fallen back upon in them lacked that breadth and generality which would have been needed for a longer duration in any jural operation. In a short time, new, unspecified cases or prejudice among the influential men brought their usefulness to an end and necessitated their being redrafted, in which previous experience, the analysis of which was discarded in order to resolve the question of the moment, did not play a part.

671 212 For this reason written laws in the Rif are rare, of only relative value and minimal jural operation, which did not go beyond the time it took the minors (author's italics), the small ones, to forget the announcement of the majors (author's italics) by the criers in the markets to reach their hands.

671 They do not have the severity of European law which, even though drafted in moments of emotion, gathers up and encloses in itself principles of general usefulness, a usefulness which does not necessarily exist at the time of codification but which comes into play with possible and presumable variations which later times can introduce, by which, with the prolongation of their legal operation, their disclosure and exemplarity increase, resulting in the slow but sure advance of society.

5. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF TAMASINT (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 695 621 623 A) Qanun:

(Blanco: paragraph a) Praise be to God.--Copy.--In front of both witnesses testifying at the present act, those of the jama'a of Tamasint as-Sifli, Lower Thamasind, appeared for judgment, including:

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanuns, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

671 [621] [623] [614] We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

knows how to listen to, attentively and curiously, with a composure, artfulness and incomprehension which is charming, so that he may interpret it later on according to his whim, and with such freedom that no one could recognize it if there were anyone in this happy land to whom the idea of losing time through research might occur.

The memory of Rifians is of a shocking fragility for whatever does not interest them or is lacking in precise outline.....

693 671 212 How many disputes and fights the talib-editor might have avoided if he had had the least idea of the transcendence of his writing and of his notarial function, and if he had listed, instead of his dull litany of names, that by which "they established a qanun for all in general", from which he shows no more than four examples (author's italics), and these very entangled!

693 212 Undoubtedly the first man to be convinced of his uselessness and transitoriness as a legal recorder was the neglected talib-editor himself. He would not judge it opportune to bother about this, knowing the slight value which Rifian society attached to proof written down by the cunning tulba, to whom it only apportioned snares and delusions. Perhaps intentionally in order to convert himself into the sacred repository of all the juridical sciences of the Aith Khattab, a pre-eminent post, he saw himself as an obligatory consultant for all the disputes among his forgetful constituents, for these would require his testimony and assure him of a certain measure of preponderance, especially sacerdotally, aside from an obligatory invitation to a final meal. All conjectures fit, from that of ignorance to that of gluttony. What is certain and unpardonable is that this voluntary omission deprives us today of tasting the needs which they felt and the form in which they sought to remedy them. -322-

Fines to be imposed:

Harka members: for each day of absence, two (days to be served) in the harka, and a fine of 2 duros.

Qa'ids of 25 men: the same, with a fine of 3 duros.

Qa'ids of 50 men: the same, with a fine of 4 duros.

Qa'ids of 100 men: the same, with a fine of 5 duros.

Qa'ids of 200 men: the same, with a fine of 6 duros.

This is an order emanating from the fortunate Makhzin (i.e. of 'Abd al-Krim). May God protect it. In Taghzut on Ramadan 23, 1344 (March 8, 1926). By order of 'Abd al-Karim bin Ziyan.[110]

12. DOCUMENT OF EXEMPTION FROM PAYMENT OF TAXES[111]:

Praise be to the one God. The blessings of God be upon our (lord) Muhammad, his family and friends.

It shall be known through the present document that we, taking into consideration the services rendered to the Makhzin and the taxes which because of hospitable attentions with warlike objectives (holy war) weigh upon the bearers, the sons of the late Si Ahmad bin Si 'Ali al-Tawti are exempted by us from the contributions concerned....The 'amil, in virtue of this, orders that they not be asked of them....And the peace.

Safar 18 of the year 1341 (October 10, 1922). Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, may God be with him, amen. (Signed and sealed).

13. QANUN OF THE SEA--AITH WARYAGHAR[112]:

A) The Boat Owner:

He owns the boat (agharrabu, pl. igharruba)[113], acquired by transfer, sale, already used or repaired by carpenters on the beach, of whom there are still a few[114].

The jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agreements are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2) differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled

312 into the sea, in order to really listen and take notice at last of
133 the song of the Ghis, the activity and human ingenuity, the fertilizing mission of the water, the utility of the same, the gentleness of the countryside, the density of the population, the happiness (by comparison) of the orchards and gardens, the wealth and well-being, the convenience for (administrative) functionaries, the advantages of technology and the necessity of associating oneself with humans.[126]

312 In its long course the Ghis provides the water to turn 55 Rifian
402 turbine mills (1935).[127]

312 In Bu Harishen, on the left bank of the Lower Ghis, upstream from
[103] the bridge over the river, is where this river begins its well-performed work, bored by its useless rambling, acquires freedom, jumping from its bed to spill itself over in equal parts into the three principal ditches, l-Bzimma, "the tied-up"[128], on its left bank, and Bulma'iz and Thafadhna on its right. The regimen of these ditches is indicated below and their mean longitude is some six kilometers.

[103] Sidd Dharga nl-Bzimma (l-Bzimma): "the tied-up", which takes its name from that of the ancient ruined city, al-Mazimma[129], on its left bank. Its flow is one-third of the permanent intake of the dam at
[212] Bu Harishen. There is a written document which regulates distribution of its water and proves its rights to property.[130] It empties (into the Mediterranean) at the height of the ruined castle of the Mujahidin[131] on the beach, in front of the old Peñón de Alhucemas (Isle of al-
[402] Husaima). It moves a mill belonging to the Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi and to Muhand Ushshan.[132]

haggling over the price, with each side naturally hoping to achieve the best terms. Negotiations can break off at this point but it is considered extremely bad form and every effort is made by representatives of both sides to arrive at an equitable sum. I knew of no sdaq which was less than 500 dirhams ($100) and the average seemed to fall between 500 and 1,000 dirhams with some payments going up to 3,000. Hart (1956:170) puts the average at between $50 and $125. The divergence of our figures no doubt stems from monetary changes over the past ten years. Hart's figures were based on the Spanish peseta, which was the form of currency up until 1958 in the Rif. My own figures are based on Moroccan dirhams established on a parity with French francs. With the incorporation of the Spanish zone into the more prosperous French zone, prices for all goods have drastically spiraled upward in the northern zone over the past ten years. Hart is in agreement with my notion that these sums represent a considerable expense to the Berbers.

During the negotiations a fqih is present to write down the ultimate agreement over each item, whether it be ceremonial expense or sdaq. He also acts as a mediator, being presumably the only disinterested party present. When the final sum is determined, and this may take many hours and last till dawn of the next day, the fqih draws up a marriage contract. Cash for the sdaq is supposed to be turned over then, but on occasion only a part is exchanged. All the men shake hands and,

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools (658) [178] which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by (425) some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. [782] Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet [241] some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who (212) has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. (794) He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

thetic to Moroccan or "Arab" nationalism, refer to a "Berber myth" and refuse to recognize any ethnic division in the country.[8] The *politique berbère* may have had its faults, but this fact does not mean that we should rewrite Moroccan history.

Berber dialects are still spoken by six to seven million people, including about 45 per cent of the population in Morocco, about 30 per cent in Algeria, and about 2 per cent in Tunisia.[9] Berber dialects are spoken also in the Jabal Nefusa and the Siwa oasis in Libya,[10] and on the southern fringe of the Sahara. The Berber language once extended to the Canary Islands.

The Berber-speaking peoples of northern Africa are now concentrated in five groups: Rifians, Braber, Shluh, Kabylies, and Shawiya (fig. 9). They are chiefly mountaineers, and all but the Braber, who practice transhumance, are sedentary farmers. The other groups include the Ghmara, who are almost completely Arabized, the tribesmen of Sanhaja as-Srair, a small colony on the island of Jerba, the Tuareg of the central and southern Sahara, and the inhabitants of the oases of Mzab, Touggourt, Ouargla, Ghardaia, Figuig, Gourara, and Touat.[11]

The original home of the Berber language is unknown, but scholars believe that it is most nearly related to Ancient Egyptian, Cushite, and certain of the Chad languages, which are traditionally but perhaps improperly called Hamitic.[12] This relationship reinforces the theory advanced by archaeologists that the Neolithic of northern Africa shows Egyptian influence.[13] In spite of a bewildering number of dialects, which is normal for an ancient language without literature, Berber can be divided into three groups: Masmuda, Sanhaja, and Zenata.[14] Masmuda was the language of the majority of the sedentary farmers before the Arab invasion. The Shluh and the Ghmara speak it today; Rifian is thought to be a mixed form. The Sanhajan dialect was the speech of the transhumants and nomads. It is now spoken in northern Morocco (Sanhaja as-Srair), in the Middle Atlas, and by the Kabylies, Shawiya, and Tuareg. Zenatiya, formerly confined to the high plateaus of Algeria and the Oujda region, has spread to many of the Saharan oases, including distant Siwa. Because of natural population growth the number of Berber speakers has increased, but the area of Berber speech has lost ground to Arabic. In fact, since the Muslim conquest Berber has gained ground only in Negro Africa, where some tribes in the Niger Territory and the French Sudan have adopted the Tuareg dialect. Without fixed grammar or an effective system of writing, Berber could not compete with the language of the Prophet.[15]

[8] Marvine Howe, "The Birth of the Moroccan Nation," *Middle East Jour.*, 10 (1956), 1–16.

[9] G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France [collection "Que Sais-Je?"], 1957), pp. 16 ff.

[10] Louis Dupree, "The Non-Arab Ethnic Groups of Libya," *Middle East Jour.*, 12 (1958), 33–44.

[11] On the distribution of Berber speech, see also André Basset, *La langue berbère* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

[12] J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (New Haven: Compass Publishing Co., 1955). First published in *Southwestern Jour. Anthro.*, 5, 6, 10 (1949–1954).

[13] Egyptian influence on north African rock art is examined in Raymond Vaufrey, "L'art rupestre nord-africain," *Archives de l'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine*, Mémoire 20 (1939). The most striking evidence of direct influence is the presence in Algeria of rock drawings of rams wearing the solar disk associated with the worship of Re. When worn by the ram, which was sacred to Amon of Thebes, it indicates Amon-Re, the composite god of Egypt during the New Kingdom (1600–1100 B.C.).

[14] These are the major genealogical divisions of Ibn Khaldun. Strictly speaking, it is not correct to use this division in linguistic classification.

[15] The only system of writing at the time of the Arab conquest was the Libyco-Berber alphabet used in rock art. This alphabet was probably developed from ideas borrowed from the Phoeni-

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[9] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[10]

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[11] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency.[12] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family.[13] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[9] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[10] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co.; Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[11] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[12] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[13] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Ref MX3

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
● 212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or sofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

312 Dharga n Tmsaman: This ditch in May 1938 had a flow of 256 liters per second. It is located on the same bank of the river, and down-
[402] stream from the Aghzar Amzzyan ditch. It moves two mills (one belonging to the Muhammad nd-Hajj Ussar, and the other to Muhammad n Tahir), and it has three turns, one for the tribe of the Thimsaman[156] and two for that of the Aith Waryaghar (lineage of Aith Musa w 'Amar, subclan of the Aith r-'Abbas, clan of the Aith 'Ari), as follows:[157]

1st Day: Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

2nd Day: Thimsaman

3rd Day: Ihankuren (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

The three other ditches on this bank, Sidd Jdid, Sidd 'Ain Harri and Sidd Swani, only have water in times of abundance:

Sidd Jdid: At the end of May 1938 this ditch had a flow of 40 liters per second. It originates one kilometer below Dharga n Tmsaman, in the crossroad from Bu Srama[158] and the (Spanish-built) airport to the Thimsaman.[159]

Sidd 'Ain Harri: Born near the road leading from the Granja of Imzuren to Truguth (Thimsaman).

Sidd Swani: The last ditch on the west bank of the Nkur, some two kilometers from the mouth of the river.

East Bank:

312 Dharga n Tufdhisth (???--"ditch of the hammer"??): At the point
619 called Aghbar u Yidir, in front of the mkhazniya post of Imudh, up-
675 stream from the Thanda Hawa pond, a division of waters is originated
217 between the tribes of the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Waryaghar in equal
[103] parts, according to a document in the archives of the Bureau at Ajdir,[160] which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975, MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 2

LIVELIHOOD

243 The primary economic activity in the Central Rif is the cultivation of barley. The agricultural cycle is marked by the [221] planting and harvesting of this crop. Ploughing begins during the months between October and January depending on the occurrence of the first rain which is necessary to soften the soil. [407] Breaking the soil is done by wooden ploughs though the blades are made of metal. The terrain is first weeded and cleared of small rocks by the children of the family. Then the father, an 243 492 older son or a hired man commences the ploughing. Two animals, one on each side of the plough, are used. Mules are preferred, but rarely does a man have two. Thus, there is a bizarre mixture of animals including combinations of donkeys, cows and mules. The value of animals on the market is at its highest in this season since everyone needs them for ploughing.

243 After the land has been ploughed by the animals it is [412] broken even finer by the use of a hand hoe. When the land has been sufficiently prepared, the seed is sown by hand. Once the barley has been planted there is no further care of the fields. The crop is dry farmed and its yield depends entirely on the amount of rainfall it receives during the winter.

243 While barley is the predominant crop, maize is an important secondary one. Wheat and rye are also grown but the latter is held in low esteem as a food product[1] and the former does not grow successfully on the thin residual soil of the region. In 241 [312] those areas where there are rivers or streams, small gardens are maintained by irrigation canals. In these are cultivated potatoes, tomatoes, onions, garlic, squash, turnips, green peppers and mint.

245 In addition to the grains, maize, and small vegetable gardens, many households also have orchards of fruit and nut trees. Fig, lemon, orange, pomegranate, walnut, almond, and olive trees are common. In some areas grapes are also cultivated. Around each house is a grove of prickly pears which serves not only as a means of preserving privacy, but also as a source of food. These products not only supplement and add variety to the regular diet but in the case of oranges, almonds [258] and grapes serve as cash crops. The olives are pressed by the [262] women to provide crude cooking oil. Nuts, dried grapes and figs are an important winter food reserve. The work of pruning and [221] grafting goes on during the months of February-March-April.

243 In early summer harvesting begins. Both men and women engage in this activity, the men doing the reaping with hand

---

[829] [1]Coon (1931:47-48) states that rye is highly praised by the Riffian but that since the Arabs scorn it as a foodstuff the Berbers are ashamed to admit its worth.

243 sickles and the women carrying the grain stalks to the threshing areas. The threshing floors are generally merely a circle of dirt ground, although in some areas they are paved. The stalks [231] are placed on this circular floor and mules, donkeys, or cattle are driven about inside the circle, trampling the grain and separating it from the chaff. The grain is further refined by hand-winnowing done by the women. The straw is accumulated in circu- [231] lar stacks to be preserved as food for the animals during the winter months. When relatives have worked a common piece of land 243 465 the yield is divided by measuring off the appropriate amount of grain in straw baskets. If the division is on a one-for-one basis, each alternate basket will go to one of the parties. If the division is at some other ratio, the number of baskets will accordingly be at that ratio. If the land was ploughed, planted [427] and harvested by a akharmas, a sharecropping laborer, the owner of the land will receive four bushels out of every five, the remaining fifth going to the akharmas.

241 Throughout the summer the vegetables, fruits and nuts are harvested as they come ripe. In late summer and early autumn the [465] maize and grapes are harvested. Once again, if the labor of several families or of akharmas has been involved, straw baskets are used to allot out to each man his appropriate portion. It is 585 during this period, in the months of August and September, that 221 [241] weddings are held. The agricultural cycle has been completed and there is spare time to arrange the necessary items for a wedding. Also this is the period in which the optimum amount of food is

585 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the
221 giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the
241 first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop.
[461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and
continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too
[777] enfeebled to do the work. Perhaps it is this unending sameness
which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the
tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also
[262] have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is
[556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of
[554] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which
[471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps
231 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is
796 vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

585 that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement.
[583] Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs
[692] the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are
[184] legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In
[369] the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until the wedding ceremony is held.

585 By now, the groom's family has incurred several different
583 types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price'
431 or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss. The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 The wedding celebration or thamagra is held in the late
[221] summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the
585 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group
574 of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar. Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[a] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[b] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[c] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wad Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

[a] *Marruecos, zona jalifiana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[b] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognized by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* . . . , II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est déterminée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), coneurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[c] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of *doum*.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

The Agricultural Calendar

Moroccan agriculture is conducted on the basis of the Julian almanac, and the Latin names for the months have passed with but slight changes into Arabic and Berber. In most of northern Morocco the agricultural cycle involves a combination of dry farming, horticulture, and the cultivation of small irrigated plots. Dry farming as practiced in the Mediterranean region is essentially a matter of farming the same land every other year and of tilling it during the fallow period. In this way as much moisture as possible is kept in the ground for the next year. Since few communities can produce enough grain during the alternate seasons to allow for the fallow years, dry farming requires constant clearing of new land.

In the hilly areas of Jbala and Ghmara the beginning of the agricultural year is marked by fires set to clear new fields, and the haze of smoke lingers until the arrival of the first rains. By the end of the summer drought, animals are weakened by the scarcity of feed; and wherever the soil is clayey the drought-hardened surface is difficult to plow. So the farmer waits for the first rains for plowing and the second for seeding. After the soil has been turned, cereals, usually barley or hard wheat, are broadcast. Then the soil is again worked with the plow and, since Moroccans do not use the harrow, clods are broken with clubs or hoes.

In the western half of the northern zone, plowing usually begins toward the end of September, and sowing is completed by the beginning of November. In the eastern sector the first heavy rains may not come until March or April. In this event, no further thought is given to barley or wheat, and a desperate effort is made to prepare the soil for a summer crop of sorghum. When cereals are sown, the feverish activity of autumn gives way to a period of virtual hibernation. Only the women keep busy, for there is always need for fodder and fuel.

In frost-free areas, February marks the beginning of the work of planting, pruning, grafting, and fertilizing the fruit and nut trees. This task continues through March and April. In the lower areas of the Rif the most common trees are the fig, pomegranate, almond, and olive. In the highlands walnuts are most important. Trees are cared for assiduously, for dried figs, raisins, and nuts constitute the principal food reserves after the cereals have been consumed. Since they do not have to be watered, figs and vines usually occupy the higher and steeper slopes. New olive trees are usually obtained by grafting on the oleaster. The olives are often left so long in heaps on the ground that they begin to ferment, and the oil is very rancid when the fruit is eventually pressed.

The arduous task of rebuilding terraces, dams, and ditches begins in March. This work is not yet finished when it is time to begin the harvest of the cereals. The shortage of manpower at this time is offset by the women, who reap the grain with sickles and carry it to threshing floors. There it remains until the men have completed the planting of the summer crops. Then all effort is devoted to threshing and winnowing. This work begins in July and in bountiful years it may still be in progress when the first rains fall. Threshing takes place on communal floors, which may or may not be paved. These are always in an exposed position, and when the mixture of grain and straw is thrown in the air, it is separated

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

by the wind. Cattle, mules, or donkeys tread the crop and separate the grain from the chaff. As the animals are driven in a circle, the men work with winnowing forks (pl. 5, *a*). After most of the chaff has been removed, the women take over and finish the winnowing by hand. The men then set to work piling up the straw to be used as fodder during the winter months. In Garet and Gal'aya, the usual form of strawstacks is oblong; in the Rif they have a circular form. Strawstacks are sometimes covered with a thin veneer of mud; sometimes they are held in shape by stones tied to ropes. In the wetter, western provinces straw must be stored inside.

In early September, maize is harvested and the almonds and figs are collected. The remaining trees, including the olive, do not bear fruit until November or December. Grape picking, usually in mid-September, marks the end of the agricultural year. After this has been done, the cereals reaped and threshed, and the strawstacks prepared, there is time for rejoicing. September is the usual month for weddings and also for festivals and pilgrimages. But it is already time to think of the new cereal crop, and smoke from fresh clearings marks the beginning of a new year.

The cycle just described is most applicable to Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and the western margins of the Rif. On the Atlantic littoral there is little danger of frost, and vegetables may be grown at any time of the year. The calendar of events in the drier and warmer parts of the northern zone is usually two or three weeks ahead of the cycle in the highlands. When autumn rains fall over the zone, cereals are ready for harvest in the warmer eastern sector in May, but as often as not the advantage of higher temperatures is offset by meager or tardy precipitation. In 1957 the first heavy rains did not reach Gal'aya until April.

The pattern of land use in the highlands reflects centuries of trial and error. The problem here is that it is virtually impossible to grow more than one crop on the same plot of land. Maize and hemp must be planted before the cereals are ripe, and there is also a conflict of time between the harvest of cereals and the planting of vegetables. Hence a division is made between land planted to summer and to winter crops. Since the former are dry-farmed and the latter irrigated, this division coincides with a break in slope. When there is abundant water for irrigation, cereals, figs, and vines are pushed to higher and more precipitous slopes. The Aith Arbi, who own valuable terraced land on the north slope of Adrar Tidighin (pl. 6), arranged a generation ago to purchase additional land at a lower elevation so that it would no longer be necessary to devote precious irrigable land to cereals. Similar divisions have been effected by many highland communities. The disadvantages of specialization are offset also by barter at the weekly markets. In Ktama, tribesmen from the deep valley of Abd al-Ghaya grow an abundance of grapes, figs, oranges, and vegetables, which can be exchanged for grain produced on higher and drier land.

Most highland communities are not so fortunate, and an attempt is made to allocate land for each season. Cultivation is usually spread over three distinct zones, which are worked at different times of the year. First, and lowest in a valley, is the zone of terraces reserved for the irrigated crops. The next zone, at a slightly higher elevation, is planted to cereals, figs, and vines. A still higher

[See pp. 129-130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

of Garet. In the Atlantic coastal zone most of the surface is cultivated, and little vegetation is left to serve as browse. In the eastern plains goats are replaced by sheep, which begin to outnumber them in the lower parts of the Rif. In the Middle Atlas the raising of sheep is associated with transhumance. This mode of pastoral life is still followed to some extent by the Ulad Stut, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ibdharsen, who spend the winter months near their cereal fields and the summer months in higher country with their sheep. The routes of migration run from the alluvial lowlands into nearby hills, especially the Kar-Kar range. In recent years the development of new irrigation projects has discouraged pastoral life, and the migration is now limited to a few of the young men and boys.

In the western provinces the main draft animals are cows or oxen. In the highlands and in the eastern lowlands the beasts of burden are donkeys and mules, which are used also for threshing and turning olive grinders. Mules are highly prized, for they can carry a heavier load than donkeys and are more agile and hardy than horses. Since there are few horses in the northern zone, most mules are imported from elsewhere in Morocco or from Spain. Moroccan donkeys are a small but hardy race, able to withstand long journeys with heavy loads. Horses have little value except as symbols of wealth and prestige, and are seldom used in the mountains. At the time of the Spanish conquest there were no horses at all in Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Seddath, and Aith Khannus.[a] Camels are restricted to the plains of Garet, where about 2,000 of them are used as milk, pack, and draft animals. Except for an occasional playful experiment, camels are not ridden.

The pack saddle for donkeys and mules is a heavy object made of cloth stuffed with straw. Panniers of twilled basketry, consisting of a double container connected by a strip of basketry, serve nearly all transport needs. Riders perch on top of the load and let their legs dangle to one side. There is little riding in the mountains, for a healthy man can make better time on foot.

Women are the most important burden bearers. Lines of women or girls bent under heavy loads are a common sight everywhere in Morocco. In Jbala they may be seen on any road carrying huge loads of wood and charcoal (pl. 8, *b*).

The domestic animals in northern Morocco include ferrets used in hunting, dogs, cats, and chickens. The dogs are of two types, one a small cur and the other a larger sheep dog. Chickens are the exclusive property of women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands. Bees are kept in the mountains, but the average tribesman knows nothing of apiculture, and prefers to assign the task to paid specialists.

Irrigation and Water Rights

In Moroccan agricultural terminology the most important distinction is that between *bilad bour*, the land of dry farming, and *bilad saqiyah*, the land of irrigation. By far the greatest amount of irrigated land is watered by diversion of surface runoff (pl. 5, *b*). Small dams (*mechra*) are used to divert water into ditches (*saqiyah*), which lead to the irrigable land. The ditches often follow tortuous contours, and may extend for several kilometers. The larger streams are flanked by several channels, sometimes five or six, each bringing water from a

[a] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 39, cited in note 5.

A, [See p. 132--Analyst] B, [See p. 129--Analyst]

7:. Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The answer to this dilemma, if it may be called an answer, is emigration. In the decade preceding the current disorder, more than 30,000 Rifians went to Algeria each year to work on French farms. The main drift took place during the slack winter season, but smaller groups migrated at other times of the year. Few Morocans thought of emigration as a permanent change. They were hired by members of their own tribe appointed to serve as contractors, and messengers visited them regularly to collect money for the families left at home. Each tribe had its special place of employment. The Aith Warishik went to Sidi bel Abbes, the Aith Tuzin to Tlemcen, the Thimsaman to Blida and Ain Temouchent, and the Gal'ayan tribes to Oran.[112] The largest number of emigrants were recruited from the Aith Said, and it is not a coincidence that the territory of this tribe includes spectacular badlands. From the standpoint of the French farmer this movement was a blessing, for the Moroccans worked harder than the Algerians and were satisfied with less pay. The tribesmen of the western Rif did not join in the seasonal movement to Algeria, but many of them migrated to Tetuán and Tangier.[113]

These movements are manifestations of a general trend. The oasis dwellers of the Mzab have long practiced emigration as a solution to their problem of overpopulation. The Mozabite is a farmer in his youth and again in old age; during the middle years he may be a bus driver, a shopkeeper, or a mechanic.[114] The same tradition is found among the craftsmen of Taghzut and some of the Shluh tribesmen of the Anti Atlas. Emigration is not a new development, but in recent years it has been practiced on an unprecedented scale.[115]

[112] F. Benedicto Pérez, "Trabajadores rifeños en Argelia," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1948* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1949), pp. 5–17.

[113] D. M. Hart, "Notes on the Rifian Community of Tangier," *Middle East Jour.*, 11 (1957), 153–162.

[114] In the Mzab the tradition of emigration for men is combined with a tradition that women must not leave the oasis. See Karl Suter, "Die Ortsgebundenheit der Frau bei den Mozabiten," *Geographica Helvetica*, 12 (1957), 102–114.

[115] On emigration see also Günter Glauert, "Veränderungen in den Bevölkerungsstruktur Nordafrikas in den letzen Jahrzehnten," *Die Erde*, 88 (1957), 298–319; René Raynal, "Déplacements récents et actuels des populations du bassin de la Moulouya (Maroc oriental)," *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Lisbonne, 1949* (Lisbon, 1952), IV, 67–80; and J. C. Petit and Castet Barou, "Contribution à l'étude des mouvements de la population marocaine musulmane et de l'exode rural," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 68 (1955), 423–459.

1sCoon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Ref 1113
[Village of Ulad 'Abd al-Nour]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 Riffian acquisition of vegetable food may be divided into four processes, some of which may be developmental stages, and all of which are in contemporaneous use.

1. The gathering of edible wild plants.
2. The care of fruit and nut-bearing trees and of vineyards.
3. The care of gardens.
4. The cultivation of grains and leguminous plants.

The following subjects also pertain to agriculture and vegetable food-getting.

1. A calendric cycle of agricultural events.
2. Tools and machinery.
3. Communism in agriculture.

222 137 **Collecting and Gathering.** There are certain wild products growing on mountains, in valleys, in springs, and on refuse heaps, which are of food value and are collected and eaten, either from choice or as emergency rations in time of famine, although no attempt is made to cultivate them. So far as can be determined, they are as follows.

azemmur,[1] the wild olive.

erbejuth,[1] the oak. Both acorns and the tree upon which they grow are called by the same name.

adheman,[1] the hawthorne. The haws, called *zaaror*, are gathered and eaten.

larnej,[2] a wild lemon tree, probably escaped from cultivation.

tuth,[2] the mulberry, at present wild. It was probably introduced earlier and then abandoned.

[245] *habb ul muluk*,[2] the wild cherry, with probably the same history as the mulberry. Both trees are now cultivated by the Senhaja.

sasanu,[2] the arbute, or strawberry-tree. Its fruit is eaten fresh, also dried and put into bread.

thabgha,[1] wild blackberries.

tuzzelt,[1] a bush the pod of which is eaten.

thakhfar,[1] a wild rose, the pod of which is eaten.

askum, wild asparagus.

ma'isha, the wild tomato, found in old refuse heaps. Its cultivation has been abandoned.

thebisesth,[3] a plant growing in the mountains, eaten as a green.

yanush, watercress, or a very similar plant.

thezhiuma, another water plant, growing in springs.

thafa ikshuth, a wild plant resembling celery.

thighigheshth,[4] a wild plant the roots of which are boiled and used for washing wool. Its leaves are cut up, boiled, and eaten.

benaaman, a wild poppy. Women eat its leaves, and children its buds.

imzwar, a plant resembling shamrock or clover. Its leaves, slightly sour in taste, are eaten.

iuasrin, mushrooms.

[1] See Introduction, p. 8.

[2] The wild lemon, cherry, and mulberry were not mentioned in the Introduction because they are not indigenous.

[3] This is perhaps related to the root given by Laoust (p. 508) for mallow. *Tibidas*, in the Zemmour dialect, is the chicory.

[4] Laoust (p. 39) suggests that this may be *Saponaria vaccaria*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The gathering of wild vegetable products is traditionally considered to antedate agriculture. Tales are told of the times when the Riffians subsisted on these products and game alone. In Ktama, where agriculture is difficult, the gathering of wild plants, especially *tuzzelt*, forms an important occupation. At the end of winter, when the dried fruit is gone and when the larders are low, many Riffian families would die of hunger if their womenfolk did not go out on the mountain slopes and up the watercourses looking for these natural foods.

The green plants, such as watercress and asparagus, are subject to a dietary sex tabu. Woman only may eat them. The reason given for this distinction is that they produce blood, fat, and soft flesh, desirable in women but not in men.

Mulberries and cherries were probably introduced by the Arabs and later abandoned. Mulberries are not considered good food and are seldom eaten except through necessity. Tomatoes were probably introduced from Spain and then given up.

Cultivation of Fruit and Nut Trees and of Vineyards. *zitun* (male), *misala* (female), the domestic olive tree. The male tree produces large olives low in oil content, which are preserved in lemon juice and eaten as a relish. The fruit of the female tree is pressed into oil. As a rule all the male trees in an olive yard are cut down with the exception of one, which is left to fertilise the female trees. The olives are called by the names of the trees which bear them.

arman, the pomegranate tree. The Riffians recognize sex differences in pomegranates, considering that the fruit with a thick skin and large, hard seeds in the granules is produced by the male tree, whereas the better fruit is produced by females. As a rule, the male trees are all cut down but one, which is left for fertilizing the others. Sometimes male trees are left, so that the fruit may be sold in markets frequented by people unacquainted with the difference. The fruit and tree bear the same name.

er ghas, the fig tree. There are four varieties of fig trees, *aseiri*, *aghudani*, *awar n aksi*, and *abaran*. The fruit borne by the *aseiri* is round, with longitudinal purple and green lines; that of the *aghudani* is long, pear-shaped, and purple: that of the *awar n aksi* is round and light green. There are two varieties of *abaran*, one of which is round and green and the other long with black or purple lines. The three first varieties bear twice a year, in June and in September. The June figs, called *er bashor*, are eaten but not dried, except for use as medicine, since they contain but little sugar. The September figs, called *thezath*, are dried. The *abaran* varieties bear only in September. The Riffians say that the *abaran* types are the only indigenous strains, and that the *aseiri* and *awar n aksi* came originally from the Arabs, whereas the *aghudani* is derived from the Negroes.

shukwar, a wild fig. Planted, it is said, by birds that have eaten cultivated figs, this fruit is useless for eating, but is employed for magical purposes. Each year the women and children go out and gather the wild figs when ripe, tie them together in pairs with grass, and hang them on the branches of the domesticated fig trees. There are said to be insects in the wild figs which come out and touch the buds of the domestic figs. It is thought that if these wild figs were not so hung and if the insects from them did not touch the buds, the cultivated figs would not bear.[1]

[1] Westermarck (p. 190) states that the Riffians hang male figs in female trees, in order to fertilize their fruit. A small insect, *Blastophaga grossorum*, bores in and out of the figs, fertilizing them. Westermarck refers to Elfving's *De Viktigaste Kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1895), p. 74.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

788 778 782 a *fqīh*, a schoolmaster from the cantonal mosque of Timarzga, who stands at the northeast corner of the prayer site, between the site itself and a cistern a few yards away. The men about to pray form long parallel lines, of over a hundred to each line, all the way back to the tomb.

The act of prayer in this particular place and on this particular occasion was one which, in my opinion, was unparalleled in simple dignity. The reverence which overcame the worshippers was something very personal and something very startling in its intensity. Here the Rifian was as close to and as intimate with his God as he would ever be, probably, during his life on earth.

The words of the prayer-call, familiar to all who have studied Arabic, became, on this occasion, as I heard them from the ādhān grove, blurred into a monotonous sea of vocalisms, rising and falling as the call was relayed back from line to line. Each line of men has its *musammi'*, who repeats to the men in his row what the fqīh has said, so they will hear it more distinctly. They all come through loud and clear on the *takbīr* (*Allāhu Akbar*, «God is Most Great»), but the rest of it tends to degenerate into a jumble, for, outside [191] the fqīh, there is only about one man in five hundred who speaks, writes or understands Arabic with any fluency at all; and the rest must perforce try to catch the words of the very, very few who comprehend what is being said. There are always, also, a few old women and widows who pray, but they do so apart from the men entirely, on the other side of the grove; and it is doubtful whether they can hear the fqīh at all.

Although some pilgrims bring food with them which they eat either before or after praying, the prayer is the last item on the agenda. After it is over, everyone goes home, to kill his sheep in the bosom of his family the next day. By mid-afternoon, most people have saddled up their donkeys and departed, and the peak of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is as bare and desolate as it was before.

788 778 If the 'imārah falls at the end of summer, at the time that the grapes in the mountains begin to ripen, grape-picking may begin immediately after the 'Aid al-Kabīr, with no signal given by the [222] village headmen.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

[137] delta, but it becomes progressively rarer toward the eastern semiarid sector of
[314] this zone. Pistacia wood is highly prized as a source of charcoal, and this fact alone may explain the plant's degraded appearance in the hills south of Tangier.

Pistacia rarely forms a pure stand. Several of the other plants found in palmetto scrub could be described as weeds, for they appear mainly in fallow fields. *Asphodelus microcarpus, Urginea maritima, Daphne Gnidium,* and one or more species of *Asparagus, Ononis,* and *Papaver* are prominent among them. In areas where most of the surface is cultivated, as in the Fahs territory south of Tangier, these plants, together with thistles and scattered clumps of palmetto, constitute all but a small part of the total inventory of vegetation. On rocky knolls and alluvial slopes too steep for cultivation, these plants grow among *Pistacia, Calycotome, Lavandula,* and the oleaster. The percentage of thorny plants is high. Besides *Calycotome* and thistles, *Carduus, Smilax,* and *Rosa* are found.

Dense shrub formations are rarely seen on the thickly settled Atlantic versant. One may walk unimpeded anywhere in the zone bounded by the Atlantic coast, Tangier, and Ksar al-Kebir. The thick shrub growth on the Mediterranean coast near Wad Lao contrasts sharply with the open formations on the Atlantic littoral. In the former area, *Cistus ladaniferus, C. albidus, Erica arborea, Pistacia lentiscus,* and *Arbutus Unedo* combine to form an impenetrable thicket. The limestone mountains of northern Morocco are almost bare of shrub or tree growth.
[133] From Ceuta to Wad Lao the eastern horizon is dominated by a great wall of limestone, almost completely devoid of soil. The prevalent whiteness is disturbed only by scattered clumps of palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

In the area covered by palmetto scrub the persistent riparian plant is the toxic *Nerium oleander.* It may be accompanied by *Crataegus, Myrtus,* and *Arbutus,* but in most of northwestern Morocco the oleander is the only plant on the banks of streams. The presence of *Alnus, Populus, Salix,* and *Vitex* along stream channels in the Sanhajan highlands may be explained by the persistence in that area of other trees, especially cedar, juniper, and oak, which have been adequate thus far as a source of fuel and building material.

In the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco, palmetto scrub grades into a thorn scrub dominated by *Zizyphus lotus,* a spiny and xerophytic member of the buckthorn family (Rhamnaceae). It is difficult to draw a line between these two formations. Isolated clumps of palmetto are found as far east as the Moulouya Valley, and zizyphus extends up the valley of Wad Ghis as far as Targist.

Well adapted to aridity and continentality, *Zizyphus lotus* has become the dominant plant of Morocco's semiarid plains. Clumps of zizyphus are conspicuous within most of the area mapped as thorn scrub. This plant may grow three meters high, but is most often seen as a shrub. It is deciduous; and, during the dormant winter season, gray and seemingly lifeless clumps of zizyphus are a characteristic feature of the landscape. Its branches are widely used as fence material, and this practice enhances the contrast between the semiarid sector of northern Morocco and the wetter western zone, where *Opuntia* is planted as a hedge. The fleshy
[262] drupe of zizyphus is collected wherever it grows; when cereal stocks are exhausted, "lotus bread" is an important food.[a]

[222] [a] *Zizyphus lotus* is occasionally planted in Andalusia, Portugal, and Sicily, but in northern
[113] Africa the fruit is collected from wild plants. Aug. Chevalier, "Les jujubiers ou zizyphus de

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 On protected sites, zizyphus and sumac (*Rhus pentaphylla*) form a thicket. In areas where zizyphus and sumac are mixed with *Pistacia atlantica*, the thorn scrub formation could be described as a thorn forest. Fields that have been fallow for several years are covered with *Asphodelus microcarpus*, *Marrubium alysson*, *Fagonia cretica*, and *Lycium intricatum* as well as the ubiquitous zizyphus. Alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*) covers part of the area between Ikibdhanen and Kar-Kar. Alluvial soils in the same general area are covered with esparto grass (*Lygeum spartum*) and dwarf sage (*Artemisia herba alba*). The areas occupied by these three species may be advanced colonies of the steppe formations of the upper Moulouya Valley and the Algerian Hauts-Plateaux.

Forest Formations

As figure 8 indicates, most of the forest species in northern Morocco belong to the families Pinaceae and Fagaceae. Two evergreen oaks dominate the latter group: the holly or holm oak (*Quercus Ilex*) and the cork oak (*Quercus Suber*). The wide range of the holly oak is indicative of its edaphic and climatic tolerance (fig. 7). In northern Morocco it is found from an elevation of about 500 meters up to the crest of the Rif chain. It is mixed with cedar and fir above 1,500 meters and with zizyphus in the semiarid region east of Alhucemas. *Quercus Ilex* may appear as a tall tree, but most specimens show the damaging effects of fire, cutting, and browsing. The holly oak is certainly a forest species, but it would be misleading to speak of forests of this tree. The area delimited in figure 8 merely indicates the zone in which specimens of this species are numerous. Many specimens are only two meters high. Emberger estimates that *Quercus Ilex* is spread over 700,000 hectares of Morocco, and that this territory may represent less than half of the primordial range.[14]

[132] The effective limit of the cork oak nearly coincides with the 400 mm. isohyet. *Quercus Suber* appears on schist in the highlands of Ghmara and Sanhaja, on sandstone in the mountains west of Tetuán and Shawen, and on Pliocene dunes south of Larache. Cork forests are not found on residual soils weathered from limestone, or on heavy alluvial soils. Most of the eastern half of northern Morocco is too dry for the cork oak. A single stand occurs in the highlands east of Wad [132] Nkour, where the orographic mechanism produces rainfall heavier than is observed in the neighboring lowlands.

The natural form of the cork oak is that of a large tree with a short trunk and spreading crown. Specimens of this form are rare today. Tall trees develop from seed regeneration, whereas most trees have a lateral growth that results from sprouting. The latter habit indicates a history of abuse, whether by cutting, burning, or browsing. Undisturbed forests usually have a shaded floor with little underbrush, but cork trees are more commonly accompanied by a number of shrubs. The faithful companion of *Quercus Suber* in northern Morocco is the woody briar *Erica arborea*, which also avoids calcareous soils. Under conditions of extreme degradation, the quick-seeding Cistaceae and the aggressive palmetto are more prominent than other undergrowth. Frequent disturbance, especially

[222] [113] l'ancien monde et l'utilisation de leurs fruits," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 27 (1947), 470–482.

[14] Emberger, *Les Arbres du Maroc*, p. 117.

A, B, [See pp. 24 & 20 respectively--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[n]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus, C. laurifolius, C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[n] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[n] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[n] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of action of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 684 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 695 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 793 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 231 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

671 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

000
223
224
627
578
671
[171]

at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

671
223
224
411

4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

671
223

5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it
[577]
[695]
must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir).

671
223
224

6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs
[201]
to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "l-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

671 224 [804] If, however, the animal should flee and be killed by another hunter, it (still) belongs to the one who discovered it, although he may not have shot or thrown at it, provided that the distance from the point where it fell to that where it was discovered can be covered by a stone's throw, done either by him himself or by another hunter designated by him, with, furthermore, the choice of either point as that of the stone-throw being open to him (either where the animal fell or where it got up). This is done in order to utilize the slope, if.....this distance had not been previously established.

671 223 224 8) An animal or bird flushed up by a hunter is his if he does not pass beyond a distance of forty feet counted from the point at which it was flushed, and even though the shot may have missed it or if it was overtaken by a dog (Sanhaja Srir).

[681] 9) If an animal or bird wounded by one hunting party is finished off and collected by another one, it belongs to the first party, to which it must be returned even though it may already be cooked; and if it has been eaten, the second party must pay the first 25 pesetas as compensation (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 623 10) Nests belong to whoever discovers them, and in the event that they are saved as bait in order to hunt the mother with a trap or net, the site must be shown to the jma'th, in order to insure priority rights.

G) Dogs:[191]

671 223 224 231 1) Animals or birds picked up by dogs are not for the owner of the dog, but for whoever takes them out of his mouth (Aith 'Ammarth). This is based upon the fact that if the dogs are not trained, they will

671 223 224 231 eat the birds or animals instead of taking them to their masters. However, from another point of view, it is probably not a bad thing to let them taste meat once in their lives, for not everything in their diet must be bones!

[411] 2) If, at the moment it is flushed, an animal or bird is wounded with a gun or stick and then immediately caught by a dog, so that the result of the blow cannot be determined, it is for the hunter and not for the owner of the dog (Ibuqquyen).

[804] 3) Also for the hunter is any animal or bird which, wounded by him, continues to run and is overtaken by a dog within a radius of fourteen stick-lengths (dhigharya or dhigharyin, sing. dhaghrith, "stick"), counted from the site where the animal was wounded, provided that it shows a fracture. If it does not show a fracture or if it passes this radius, it belongs to the owner of the dog or to whoever picks it up (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

4) An animal pursued by a saluki which succeeds in hiding itself in a thicket or burrow belongs to the first man (i.e. the owner of the saluki), even though another hunter may come to get it (Ibuqquyen).

5) An animal or bird pursued by a saluki and brought to earth by a hunter is for the latter if it drops within the aforementioned radius of fourteen dhigharya (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

H) Aid During the Hunt:

671 224 Whoever discovers an animal in hiding can solicit aid in getting it or can get others to help him spontaneously, without losing his property (i.e. the animal) in either case; but he is obliged, if the

671 224 423 627 681 be known that one of the parties involved obliged the other one to swear, even knowing that the latter was right, the first party is fined 25 pesetas over and above the value of the animal (Aith Waryaghar).[193]

671 224 4) Animals found on someone's plot of land belong to the man who catches them and not to the owner of the land (Aith 'Ammarth).[194]

J) Nets and Snares:

● 223 After threshing has been completed in the late summer, threshing floors somewhat distant from the villages are used in order to hunt partridges with nets.[195] The threshing floor is prepared for this purpose, with straw and grains wasted as fodder. It is then surrounded with a semi-circular fence, a sign that it is prepared for birds.

671 223 (685) On a threshing floor, the preferential right to any game caught is that of the owner of the floor. In a floor marked out as indicated above, only the indiviual who prepared it may hunt. Any other person who tries to do so is considered a thief, and the fine he must pay is calculated on the basis of the number of partridges in the net. This right is based upon the patient preparation and expense of fodder, as bait.

223 224 After the den of a rabbit or hare or the nest of a partridge has been discovered, the hunters sprinkle the path to it with the grain residues of threshing in order to gain the animal's confidence; and when they consider it gained, they put the trap hidden between the earth and the remains of the threshed straw.

223 If partridges are being hunted, the net has a truncated conical form. The smaller end is placed in front of the nest and the larger tied to the ground with string or rope. The more the partridge tries to move forward, the more imprisoned it is.

685 671 Theft of nets is generally punished by a fine in accordance with the written qanuns of the tribes.

224 K) Hunting of Jackals (Uhar), Wolves (Ushshan) and Foxes (Dhawardha):[196]

This is effected with an iron trap (dhakhshifth), with various strategems employed because of the cunning of the animals in question. Frequently one of these animals attacks the goats furthest away, and tears them into pieces before the goatherd can arrive. The remains of the goat are tied to a branch, and below them, hidden in the ground, the traps are placed in a circle. They are usually left there for a long time, for if their positions are changed, the animal or animals are apt to become wary. The jackal, after conscientious study and with maximum caution, succeeds most of the time in getting within the circle without harming himself, but the repeated jumps, each time with greater impulse, which he is obliged to make in order to get at the goat, end up with his getting caught in one of the traps (Zarqat).

224 184 825 In the Ibuqquyen, the bait is usually a reed tube full of horse-flies and covered with very rancid butter; this is hidden in the ground, and the traps are placed around it. The wary jackal usually gets inside the circle, attracted by the smell of the butter; but as the cautious animal scratches and bites, he is frightened by the flies, loses his head, and in one of his disorderly leaps, he lands on one of

CHAPTER IV

MATERIAL CULTURE

HUNTING

224 HUNTING is carried on in three ways in the Rif, by means of the rifle, the net, and the trap. In the fall and winter the Riffians, and especially the mountaineers of the Senhaja, spend as much of their time as they can spare climbing about the mountain sides in search of game.

[411] The weapons with which they hunt are confined to rifles of European manufacture and Taghzuthi flintlocks. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, hares, pigeons, partridges, wild [262] boar, and, where there are any, the aoudad, wild ox, and gazelle. Since before any animal may be eaten by Mohammedans it is necessary that its throat be cut ceremonially, — the butcher pronouncing the formula "*bism illah, ullahu akbar*," — the Riffians have devised several means of counteracting the consequences of the game's dying before this has been done. The hunter when loading his gun may kiss the lead ball, pronouncing the formula of *hallala*, or the sacrament, over it, and any animal shot by that ball will be clean and edible. Another and more convenient method is to have a gunsmith chase the words of the formula in silver wire upon the stock or barrel, and thereafter any game shot by that rifle will be sacramentally edible. In the case of the wild boar, the hunter does not worry about giving it the *hallala*, since it is forbidden food in any event.

Nets are set up across a path or entrance to a clearing on the side of a hill, and long palisades of brush are erected like wings on either side of the net, slightly wedge-shaped, and at an angle of less than 180 degrees to each other. Beaters start at the foot of the hill and work up, converging until they reach the ends of the palisade, and thus drive into the net whatever small game they may have intercepted. In this way they catch rabbits, hares, [262] partridges, foxes, jackals, and other animals. Although they kill the foxes and jackals, they never eat them.[1]

[231] Ferrets are used in winter time to unearth rabbits. They are completely tamed and well trained.

224 Traps are made by local blacksmiths and are based on the same mechanical principle as 326 the type with which the reader is familiar. The differences are: (1) The base of the trap is a frame, rectangular in shape, instead of a plate. The jaws are hinged into the sides of this. (2) Each jaw is bent in two right angles instead of in an arc. (3) The spring, attached to one arm of the frame, operates at right angles to the axis of the jaws instead of parallel to it. Thus it actually touches but one side of each jaw, instead of both sides, as in modern traps. (4) There is no trigger or bait-holder. The traps are set by means of two sticks, one put under the end of the frame and over one open jaw, and the other under both sides of the frame and over the end of the first stick. The second stick thus is caught in the jaws when the trap is sprung.

224 The trap is buried in the path or in front of the hole of any small animal, the top being covered with leaves and dust. The two sticks are so arranged that the slightest motion will

[1] I have seen tribesmen of the Zaer, near Rabat, eat a jackal.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

224 separate them and release the jaws. No bait is used, nor is any attempt made to smoke or otherwise deodorise the trap.

Wild animals which are shot, netted, or trapped are not flayed by inflation, as is the case with domestic animals. (See plate 32.) The skins must be taken off laboriously with a knife, otherwise, it is thought, bad luck will befall the hunter and he will never catch any more of that species.[1]

When a Riffian has the good fortune to kill a wild ox, he takes particular pains to eat a portion of its head, thinking that in this way he will be lucky in hunting these animals in the future.

In the days when lions were common in the Rif, they were seldom hunted. The Riffians regarded the lion as a beast on a plane of importance little below that of man. It is said that a lion would never touch a man passing him unless the man made some aggressive motion, in which case the lion generally won. People passing lions used to intone formulae entreating the "father of the heart," as he was called, not to molest them. It is said that lions became rare or extinct not through the device of men, but through the increasing scarcity of wild boar, which formed their principal diet.

FISHING

226 Fishing is carried on all along the coast from the mouth of the Muluya to the western borders of the Ghomara. There are two principal methods, seining small fish near shore and catching larger fish on hooks in deep water.

The seine, called *tharrasha*, is made of hemp and is attached at either end to two long ropes. A boat takes the net out, with one rope on shore in the hands of a number of men. When the boat has reached the end of the rope, the net is let out in a semicircle, and the boat is then rowed back to shore, where the other rope is handed out as far from the first as possible. The two groups then pull on the ropes, gradually lessening the distance between them as they do so. The boat goes out again and is rowed in behind the net, to be on the spot in case of trouble. When the net is finally beached the crowd rushes in and scoops up the still leaping fish in baskets; the fish are put in a common pile on the sand, and are then divided equally among the families assisting in the catch. (See plates 5 and 6.)

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 The domestic animals kept by the Riffians are the horse, ass, mule, camel, cow, sheep, goat, dog, cat, ferret, and pig. Of fowl, the hen is the only one domesticated. Bees are also kept.

Horses are kept exclusively for riding; they are for the most part of the barb type, a strong, heavy, cart-horse breed; Arab horses, of pure or mixed blood, are ridden by the nomads of the Garet. Horses are found in greatest numbers in the east, among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa primarily, and to a lesser extent among the Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, and Beni Ulishk, and in Tafersit.

In the rest of the Rif, and in the Senhaja and Ghomara, the character of the country is such as to preclude the common use of the horse. In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart,

[1] This identical belief is found among the Passamoquoddy Indians of Maine, who feel that such an inflation is an insult to the animal.

778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts
●[224] of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
[153] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
834 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

776 [409] Among the Ait Waryager, if a party of hunters are in vain
789 hunting for hares and rabbits, they all simultaneously throw the sticks
224 made of olive branches which they habitually use on such occasions on the ground, saying, Allah in'al ssitan rharami, "God damn Satan the villain", and spit; they thus flog the devil, who is evidently looked upon as the cause of their ill-luck, and spit on him so as to drive him away.

754 [414] Besides the jnun the evil eye is a very frequent cause of misfortune. It is said that "the evil eye owns two-thirds of the graveyard"—L-'ain 'anda t ult ayin fe l-mqabar; or that "one half of mankind dies from the evil eye"—N-nuss fe bnadem kaimut be l-'ain; or or that at any rate one-third of all living beings are killed by the same enemy. There is another saying, that "the evil eye empties the castles (or 'houses') and fills the graves"—L-'ain t uhli l-qosor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Fez), or L-'ain t hli d-duyor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Tangier). So firmly is the evil eye believed in, that if some accident happens at a wedding or any other feast where a person reputed to have an evil eye is present, it is attributed to him and he may have to pay damages; and if such a person looks at another's animal and it shortly afterwards dies, he is likewise held responsible for the loss.

[421] I have heard some people say that the eyes of Christians are not dangerous to Muhammadans (Andjra, Ulad Bu 'aziz) and vice versa (Andjra), but there are others who have expressed different views (Fez, Ait Waryager). It is believed that dogs and cats can injure a person who is eating by covetously looking at him. This is quite in accordance with a saying attributed to the Prophet himself.

[423] A person who is reputed to have an evil eye is generally shunned, and is not allowed to take part in feasts or gatherings. Among the Ulad Bu'aziz he must not pitch his tent near the tents of others. Among the Igliwa his neighbours sometimes move from the place; and among the Ait Waryager he may himself have to leave the village if he is only a poor man. Attempts are also made to escape the [424] danger by curing the evil-doer. For this purpose the bridle of a mule is put into his mouth and then pulled by somebody. At Fez I was told that three pulls will cure him. In Andjra it is believed that if he makes a noise he will get worse, whereas silence on his part is taken as a sign that he will no longer have the evil eye.

262 "In the name of God, God is most great". This may be said before
[264] the breaking of the first egg only (Andjra), or before the breaking of each egg (Ait [363] Waryager).

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz unmarried men and girls refrain from eating the nose of any animal, lest they should have rain at their wedding. Among the same tribe scribes and boys who are studying the Koran must not eat an animal's throat, because the eating of it would make their voices hoarse. Among the Ait Waryager the same part is for a similar reason not given to children to eat. They also prohibit their women from eating the testicles of any male animal, which are eaten by the men; and they believe that if a child ate the kidney of an animal it would come out as lumps on the face and body of the child.

[364] A man who has killed an edible wild animal or bird eats its head in order to be successful in hunting (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he eats, for the same reason, both the head and the heart, though he may share them with his wife and children.

224 [365] Various customs relating to hunting, target-practice, and
689 guns have been mentioned in earlier chapters, but others may be added.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz in Dukkala, if one of the hunters misbehaves, the others draw round him a circle, a so-called gart r-rma, and he has to remain inside it until he pays a fine (haqq or d'aira), after which the hunters surround him and make fatha. An offence which makes a hunter subject to this treatment on the evening after the hunt is the shooting or killing of a hare which is asleep, in which case he will have to give a feast to his companions; for both in Dukkala and elsewhere (Ait Waryager) a hunter must not kill a sleeping hare because it deprives his companions and the grayhounds of the pleasure of hunting it.

[369] Among the Ait Waryager, if one of the rrma has misbehaved, the others punish him when they are shooting at targets by filling the hood of his cloak with stones and compelling him to sit at a distance from them; and they do not remove the stones and admit him to their company until he has repeated the prayer for the Prophet a certain number of times, fifty or a hundred or more, according to their discretion.

844 [370] When a woman is going to give birth to a child, or if her delivery proves difficult, certain practices are often resorted to in order to facilitate it.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, [241] the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men [114] are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

685 3) theft, with corresponding fines, and even one of the thief's kinsmen putting out his eyes[61].

673 671 If there are certain crimes, known to all and carrying with them sanctions also known to all, which do not (translator's italics) appear in the qanums (such as bestiality[52A], etc.), they are kept out purposely because of the shame, the hashuma, of those who formulate the decrees. In other instances (such as certain misdemeanors having to do with agriculture and fields), they are kept out because their inclusion is difficult and they are also sufficiently well known to and by all concerned so that they do not need to be put in. In still other cases, they are kept out because they are questions of custom which require consultation with men of laws or arbiters. Finally, these are all misdemeanors the nature of which, in one way or another, is inadequate to be put before the public in special announcements by market criers.

I) Miscellaneous Data on Fines for Lesser Offenses:

1) Among the Ibuqquyen:

• 224 a) Hunting[63]: Saturday is the day for hunting (rayāh or [689] thingimarth)[64]. Whoever does not attend pays a 5-peseta fine[65], and altercations during hunting are punished by a fine or by giving a meal to the other hunters. Animals killed do not belong to the man who kills [685] them but to the man who finds them[66]. Damages to cultivated lands are paid for by those who caused them. If it is not known who was responsible, the fine is divided up among all the hunters[67]. Any birds or eggs which are found by one of the hunters during the hunt are divided up [425] amongst them all. Any other objects found which are obviously lost articles of a third party are returned to their owners.

A, [This should read "62" not "52"--Analyst]

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of [illegible]ion of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 684 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 695 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 793 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 231 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
691 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

671 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

21. THE QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH):[179]

224 619 The data which follow have been gathered principally among hunters from the tribes of the Ibuqquyen, Aith Hadhifa (Aith Waryaghar), Zarqat, Targist, Aith 'Ammarth and Aith (or Bni) Mazduci; and they can be considered as general hunting qanuns for the region.

A) Significance:

224 182 Hunting in the Rif was neither a sport nor a profession in the European manner. It was a physiological necessity, and it is still considered so today. A poor soil, accidented and dry, rendered it 134 312 difficult for the tribesmen to utilize its scarce sources of water; 262 and the consumption of meat was limited, because of the scarcity of animals (i.e. both domestic and wild) to Fridays, feast days, days on which pacts were concluded, days of illness, etc., and to market 262 days. As the Rifian is by necessity a vegetarian[180], sacrifices of 782 animals acquire the status of a rite, and they form a fundamental ceremony in the most transcendental and important acts of his life. Peace and war, pacts, births and deaths, rogations, etc., have to be 224 sealed with meat for greater solemnity and efficacy. In hunting, 782 therefore, Rifian society finds a physiological compensation in no 182 way negligible to its sober life and ancestral appetite for meat, the sacrifice in common and equitable distribution of which is subject to strict rules[181], the object of the most rigorous tradition and fiscalization in order not to squander the slender reserves, which are 000 appraised in a manner unsuspected by European minds. The European visitor who is entertained in a Rifian household is not in a position to appreciate sufficiently the hospitality which is offered to him,

and he acquires a false idea of the environment in which he finds himself.

B) Days and Sites:

For this reason, all the tribes had fixed days for hunting during the week; it was obligatory for all able-bodied men, and those who eluded such an obligation were penalized.[182]

This obligation, like all those which this society imposed upon its members, was not capricious, but served a utilitarian end and responded to a basic need. When the number of the line of beaters was greater, so were the probabilities of yield in the hunt, insuring with good practical sense the flushing of a greater amount of game, the consumption of which was the hunt's object most of the time. In most cases, as today, the meat was to be eaten in common, and never sold; for the Rifian, outside of the times of prohibition, the hunt must be free of all bonds and impositions, for today (1939), it if were not for the understandable tolerance of the Spanish tribal administration, the law would become a privilege for the European hunter, reserving for him a distraction or gain at the cost of the need of the tribesmen.

Even today, the Rifians still continue to hunt on fixed days, ordinarily on Saturdays, but never on Fridays (day of rest) nor on market days; even so hunting is not obligatory in most villages. In the clan of the Izimmuren, in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen, people hunt on Saturdays or Mondays; in the Aith 'Ammarth, on Wednesdays, Saturdays or Sundays; in the Aith Hadhifa clan (Aith Waryaghar), on Thursdays or Saturdays; etc.

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their [821] tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

5

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

224 Another agreement which is also apt to be made previously, if the hunting is not in shirka, is the case of I-'adaw[184], which is indicated further on, in order to find out if measurements must be taken from above or below.

Regarding the personnel of the hunt, these are generally organized into two groups: the hunters, who go along the lower areas, tracking and flushing game; and the beaters, located in the dominating area and indicating paths taken by the animals to the hunters. Any hunter who gets an animal must change places with a beater, to equalize the possibilities and give the members of the latter group a chance.

The hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) walk in groups or in a line. In the first instance, the dogs go ahead of the groups, and in a line, at the ends, but always with the larger group in order to cut the road better for the game and to preserve it, insofar as possible, from accidents. The disposition which the Aith Hadhifa adopt while 224 628 hunting in shirka, for example, is in two bands: the local communities of Thizimmurin, Ihadduthen, Iharumen, Mishkur and Bihban from one, and those of Aith 'Amar u S'aid[185], Imrabdhen and Bashkra, the other[186]; and the meeting between both bands takes place in Aghir Inibdar, below Thizimmurin.

D) Arms:

224 41) [178] In the days of the Republik, Rifians hunted with firearms, ferrets, sticks, traps and net. Today they do not use firearms[187]; but practice and necessity have converted them into experts in the use of throwing sticks (r-mitrag). Each man carries two or three

224 411 of these, and any Rifian worthy of his salt can knock down a partridge in full flight with noteworthy dexterity, and at a distance of fifteen to twenty-five meters.

(824) The sticks which they use are usually of wild olive wood, in the form of shepherds' crooks, backed by a few turns of copper wiring at each end and the upper third; and this at the same time increases resistence to breakage, facilitates throwing by its greater accuracy.... The net result is that the Rifian is as dangerous, or even more so, to game animals or birds than is the average European hunter with a double-barreled shotgun.

224 At the hour agreed upon, when every participant is provided with his corresponding weapon or dog, they all leave their houses and go toward the hunting site, crying "Haw-haw! Haw-haw!", which is the signal of hunting and reunion.

E) Ownership of Game Caught:[188]

Ownership of game which is caught follows certain rules which are based on a general principle attributing the game first to whoever discovers it; second, to whoever kills it; and finally, to whoever (578) collects it. In different (or individual) cases, disputes may take place, and these and the way they are resolved will be discussed (411) further on. The principal elements of judgment are the range of vision of the hunters, and the range of accuracy of the weapons, some fourteen stick-lengths, or forty feet in a stone's throw.

671 224 692 The customary law of Rifian society minutely anticipates how many cases may arise, and as, furthermore, it is inspired by reality, it is simple and useful, requiring of the judges, first, competence,

671 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

000
223
224
627
578
671
[191]

at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

671
223
224
411

4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

671
223

5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir).

[572]
[695]

671
223
224

6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

[201]

7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "l-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

671 224 [804] If, however, the animal should flee and be killed by another hunter, it (still) belongs to the one who discovered it, although he may not have shot or thrown at it, provided that the distance from the point where it fell to that where it was discovered can be covered by a stone's throw, done either by him himself or by another hunter designated by him, with, furthermore, the choice of either point as that of the stone-throw being open to him (either where the animal fell or where it got up). This is done in order to utilize the slope, if.....this distance had not been previously established.

671 223 224 8) An animal or bird flushed up by a hunter is his if he does not pass beyond a distance of forty feet counted from the point at which it was flushed, and even though the shot may have missed it or if it was overtaken by a dog (Sanhaja Srir).

[681] 9) If an animal or bird wounded by one hunting party is finished off and collected by another one, it belongs to the first party, to which it must be returned even though it may already be cooked; and if it has been eaten, the second party must pay the first 25 pesetas as compensation (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 623 10) Nests belong to whoever discovers them, and in the event that they are saved as bait in order to hunt the mother with a trap or net, the site must be shown to the jma'th, in order to insure priority rights.

G) Dogs:[191]

671 223 224 231 1) Animals or birds picked up by dogs are not for the owner of the dog, but for whoever takes them out of his mouth (Aith 'Ammarth). This is based upon the fact that if the dogs are not trained, they will

671 223 224 231 eat the birds or animals instead of taking them to their masters. However, from another point of view, it is probably not a bad thing to let them taste meat once in their lives, for not everything in their diet must be bones!

[411] 2) If, at the moment it is flushed, an animal or bird is wounded with a gun or stick and then immediately caught by a dog, so that the result of the blow cannot be determined, it is for the hunter and not for the owner of the dog (Ibuqquyen).

[804] 3) Also for the hunter is any animal or bird which, wounded by him, continues to run and is overtaken by a dog within a radius of fourteen stick-lengths (dhigharya or dhigharyin, sing. dhaghrith, "stick"), counted from the site where the animal was wounded, provided that it shows a fracture. If it does not show a fracture or if it passes this radius, it belongs to the owner of the dog or to whoever picks it up (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

4) An animal pursued by a saluki which succeeds in hiding itself in a thicket or burrow belongs to the first man (i.e. the owner of the saluki), even though another hunter may come to get it (Ibuqquyen).

5) An animal or bird pursued by a saluki and brought to earth by a hunter is for the latter if it drops within the aforementioned radius of fourteen dhigharya (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

H) Aid During the Hunt:

671 224 Whoever discovers an animal in hiding can solicit aid in getting it or can get others to help him spontaneously, without losing his property (i.e. the animal) in either case; but he is obliged, if the

224 671 aid was rendered with firearms, to pay a cartridge, and if rendered with a ferret, to surrender half of the animal taken, for the maintenance of ferrets, based on milk, eggs and bread with olive oil, is costly. The same holds true if he is lent a net; he must pay half of the animals he catches (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 689 Anyone who, if help is required of him, denies it and deliberately frightens the game away with shouts and gestures, in order to hunt it later on his own, is obliged to pay a fine of 25 pesetas for his selfishness.[192]

671 224 I) Snow:

The tracks of animals (largely hares and rabbits) and the footprints of hunters give rise to the following cases:

1) The animals are for whoever discovers them and follows their tracks from the point where these begin or further; this is thus a recognition of the greatest effort (Aith 'Ammarth).

2) This right may be yielded by the pursuer, for reasons of weariness, etc., to anyone whom he meets on the way; and in case he abandons the search, he loses his rights (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 423 3) After the den of an animal is discovered, the hunter makes a circle in the snow around it. This circle is a sign of priority rights to the animal within it, and it permits the hunter to follow new tracks even though he may not kill the animal within the burrow. 671 224 423 627 In case another man takes the animal from its den, the claim is examined in front of the mulu' by the first hunter taking oath to having made the circle in order to locate the animal first.

[681] If through lack of other proof and if afterward it comes to

671 224 423 627 681 be known that one of the parties involved obliged the other one to swear, even knowing that the latter was right, the first party is fined 25 pesetas over and above the value of the animal (Aith Waryaghar).[193]

671 224 4) Animals found on someone's plot of land belong to the man who catches them and not to the owner of the land (Aith 'Ammarth).[194]

J) Nets and Snares:

223 After threshing has been completed in the late summer, threshing floors somewhat distant from the villages are used in order to hunt partridges with nets.[195] The threshing floor is prepared for this purpose, with straw and grains wasted as fodder. It is then surrounded with a semi-circular fence, a sign that it is prepared for birds.

671 223 (685) On a threshing floor, the preferential right to any game caught is that of the owner of the floor. In a floor marked out as indicated above, only the indiviual who prepared it may hunt. Any other person who tries to do so is considered a thief, and the fine he must pay is calculated on the basis of the number of partridges in the net. This right is based upon the patient preparation and expense of fodder, as bait.

223 224 After the den of a rabbit or hare or the nest of a partridge has been discovered, the hunters sprinkle the path to it with the grain residues of threshing in order to gain the animal's confidence; and when they consider it gained, they put the trap hidden between the earth and the remains of the threshed straw.

223 If partridges are being hunted, the net has a truncated conical form. The smaller end is placed in front of the nest and the larger tied to the ground with string or rope. The more the partridge tries to move forward, the more imprisoned it is.

685 671 Theft of nets is generally punished by a fine in accordance with the written qanums of the tribes.

224 K) Hunting of Jackals (Uhar), Wolves (Ushshan) and Foxes (Dhawardha):[196]

This is effected with an iron trap (dhakhshifth), with various strategems employed because of the cunning of the animals in question. Frequently one of these animals attacks the goats furthest away, and tears them into pieces before the goatherd can arrive. The remains of the goat are tied to a branch, and below them, hidden in the ground, the traps are placed in a circle. They are usually left there for a long time, for if their positions are changed, the animal or animals are apt to become wary. The jackal, after conscientious study and with maximum caution, succeeds most of the time in getting within the circle without harming himself, but the repeated jumps, each time with greater impulse, which he is obliged to make in order to get at the goat, end up with his getting caught in one of the traps (Zarqat).

224 184 825 In the Ibuqquyen, the bait is usually a reed tube full of horse-flies and covered with very rancid butter; this is hidden in the ground, and the traps are placed around it. The wary jackal usually gets inside the circle, attracted by the smell of the butter; but as the cautious animal scratches and bites, he is frightened by the flies, loses his head, and in one of his disorderly leaps, he lands on one of

224
184
825

the traps and is stuck. In other tribes, instead of a reed tube, dried figs with flies are tied to the traps.[197]

224
231

L) Ferrets:

In hunting with ferrets, these sometimes stay in the burrows of the game for several days and eat the game. In order to get a ferret out of the hole, its owner usually takes a chicken to the mouth of the den and makes it squawk; and the ferret is attracted by the noise. If he does not succeed through using this technique, the owner puts the chicken in a leather bag, in which it is kept, with the bag open, beside the entrance. When the ferret comes out, it enters the bag or stays crouched beside it.

Ferrets are also employed in hunting jackals and wolves (sic). The hunters prepare snares at the entrance of the animal's lair. They put the ferret there, and it is held down by its testicles. Aside from the snare already prepared, the hunters are then ready to finish the jackal off with blows from their sticks as it comes out.

M) Damages:

A hunting party is not responsible for damages which the individual hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) might inflict in garden, orchards, or beehives, etc., but the latter are. The injured party, if he does not accuse a specific person through not knowing who did the damage, can demand that the hunting party denounce the guilty individual, and if it does not wish to do this, it must declare, by name, those who passed closest to the site of the damage occasioned.[198]

[681]
[695]

If the latter confess, they pay a fine, and in case of denial, they are obliged to swear that they have not done the damage and that they do not know the man or men who did.

224 672 685 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the disposition of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the 224 672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 183 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

L) Taboos:

224 782 784 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh, [751] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 411 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

Animals

224 262 782 783 caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah invocation must be eaten; but as, unfortunately, a mouse or some other ritually unclean animal might fall in, and as the owner of the trap would have to eat it, hunters prefer not to pronounce the invocation. They would prefer to wait until the next morning, trusting to luck to find the animal alive, if indeed it has not escaped from the trap.

The hunters must see the animals alive and pronounce the invocation in order to be able to eat them.

[231] For this reason, an animal caught by a dog, as well as one captured by a ferret, must be seen by the hunters in order that it be ritually permissible for them to eat. In the case of the ferret, if the animal turns up dead in its burrow and has not been seen previously by the ferret, it is also rejected, since death might have taken place earlier.

104 M) Vocabulary:

1) hunt, hunting--Arabic rayah, Rifian dhagimmarth, dhingimarth or dhingmarth
2) hunters--Arabic mruyah, Rifian igimmaren (sing. agimmar), or ingmarn (sing. angmar)
3) signal of game--Haw-haw-haw! (repeated)
4) hunting in company--shirka, shurka
5) signal for attention and flushing of game--L-'adaw!; and if the game in question is partridge--Birraw!
6) sticks--dhigharya (Iqar'qyen dhigharyin), sing. dhaghrith, in the Ibuqquyen and in all the Aith Waryaghar save the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil, where a hunting stick is called r-mitrag and a walking stick dhqabut.

by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

224
619
689
114

182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

224
671
[114]
[178]

We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Republik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000

183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114]

185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

224
628
613
614

186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.

A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[4]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[5] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[6] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[4] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[6] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

Hunting and Fishing

In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[112] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla.*

Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[113]

In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[114] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitanta were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[112] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

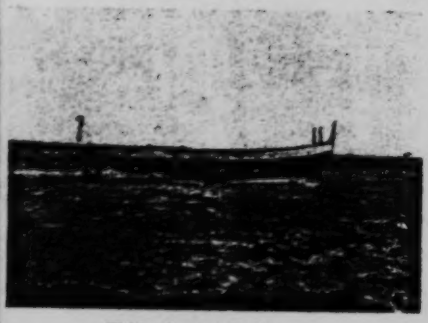
[113] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[114] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

NAVIGATION AND FISHING 1

501
226



Fishing boat of the Masuza

Repairing a seine, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Hauling a net ashore, Tiguisas

Fishing scene showing Ghomaran boat type

[facing p. 34]

NAVIGATION AND FISHING 2

Beaching the catch, Tiguisas, Ghomara

[facing p. 36]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Ref MX3

226
291

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

224 separate them and release the jaws. No bait is used, nor is any attempt made to smoke or otherwise deodorise the trap.

Wild animals which are shot, netted, or trapped are not flayed by inflation, as is the case with domestic animals. (See plate 32.) The skins must be taken off laboriously with a knife, otherwise, it is thought, bad luck will befall the hunter and he will never catch any more of that species.[1]

When a Riffian has the good fortune to kill a wild ox, he takes particular pains to eat a portion of its head, thinking that in this way he will be lucky in hunting these animals in the future.

In the days when lions were common in the Rif, they were seldom hunted. The Riffians regarded the lion as a beast on a plane of importance little below that of man. It is said that a lion would never touch a man passing him unless the man made some aggressive motion, in which case the lion generally won. People passing lions used to intone formulae entreating the "father of the heart," as he was called, not to molest them. It is said that lions became rare or extinct not through the device of men, but through the increasing scarcity of wild boar, which formed their principal diet.

FISHING

226 Fishing is carried on all along the coast from the mouth of the Muluya to the western borders of the Ghomara. There are two principal methods, seining small fish near shore and catching larger fish on hooks in deep water.

The seine, called *tharrasha*, is made of hemp and is attached at either end to two long ropes. A boat takes the net out, with one rope on shore in the hands of a number of men. When the boat has reached the end of the rope, the net is let out in a semicircle, and the boat is then rowed back to shore, where the other rope is handed out as far from the first as possible. The two groups then pull on the ropes, gradually lessening the distance between them as they do so. The boat goes out again and is rowed in behind the net, to be on the spot in case of trouble. When the net is finally beached the crowd rushes in and scoops up the still leaping fish in baskets; the fish are put in a common pile on the sand, and are then divided equally among the families assisting in the catch. (See plates 5 and 6.)

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 The domestic animals kept by the Riffians are the horse, ass, mule, camel, cow, sheep, goat, dog, cat, ferret, and pig. Of fowl, the hen is the only one domesticated. Bees are also kept.

Horses are kept exclusively for riding; they are for the most part of the barb type, a strong, heavy, cart-horse breed; Arab horses, of pure or mixed blood, are ridden by the nomads of the Garet. Horses are found in greatest numbers in the east, among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa primarily, and to a lesser extent among the Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, and Beni Ulishk, and in Tafersit.

In the rest of the Rif, and in the Senhaja and Ghomara, the character of the country is such as to preclude the common use of the horse. In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart,

[1] This identical belief is found among the Passamoquoddy Indians of Maine, who feel that such an inflation is an insult to the animal.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

NAVIGATION

The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thagharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thagharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *izhizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkathafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in felucca rig.

Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks. The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara, where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Wafi, of the Beni Urriaghel.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, [241] the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

[565] 36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [463] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

of whom there are still a few[114]. In the business, he represents the industrial member and as such he has a right to part of the profits[115], because of the fact that the fishing equipment is also ordinarily his property; and he has the right to appoint a master, the technical director of the business, whose obligations are limited to the maintenance and renovation of the equipment and to fishing. He may transfer the business voluntarily, taking back the equipment, either to sell it or simply to leave it grounded, even though the season may not be over. The construction of a covered shelter for the boats on the beach is his responsibility.

B) The Crew:

The master (ra'is) of the boat, appointed by the owner[116]...., is the technical director of the business and he is therefore responsible for any property damages or injuries which can be justified, if they can be imputed to his unskillfulness or ill-will. He is given a free hand to select, appoint and discharge the individuals who have to make up his crew, of which he is the head, without the necessity of the consent of the owner; he is in charge of the selection of points of putting down the nets, fishing, embarkation and disembarkation, admission of merchandise and passengers, selection of shelters, collection of money, auctions and the responsibility for settlement of accounts; and while on board he is authorized to impose discipline by any means in extreme and necessary cases, and he must show the owner any necessary repairs or acquisitions which fall under his inspection. He is principally in charge of the working of the boat, and it is he who sets the course of direction. He appoints a second-in-command.

501 The crew must obey the master in the working of the boat, as
4do their job includes all operations, including loading and unloading. They can transfer at will (to another boat) whenever they like, in which case they are reimbursed with the gross value of their part of the profits, and in justifiable absences, such as short illnesses, the death of some relative, etc., there is no discount from their wages, if they are co-participants in the business; but this requires justification in front of the master and the consent of the rest of the crew, as well as previous warning.....

226 In fishing boats, they are accountable for the maintenance;
501 in boats of transport, they have charge of the profits.

226 C) Profits:
434

1) Fishing in a boat with net: the gross value of the sale is divided into two equal parts, one for the master and one for the crew. In addition to this, the master also receives one-seventh of the owner's share.

2) Fishing in a boat with hook: the gross value of the catch is divided into three equal parts; one for the owner of the appartus (net, lines, hooks....), another (not listed, probably a typographical error) and the last for the crew. Those who haul the nets on shore receive a few kilos of fish.

3) Fishing with explosives: three equal parts, two for the owner of the explosives and the third for the swimmer.

505 4) Transport of Travelers and Merchandise: the profits of the
434 trip, after maintenance expenses and port duties have been discounted, i.e. the true profit, are analogously divided into two parts, in the same proportion as in the case of fishing boats.

505 With respect to merchandise, if because of a storm they lose all or part of it, the rest, once on land, is sold and the proceeds divided into equal parts by all the owners whose merchandise made up the boat's cargo, although the sales may not be from it (this is a kind of insurance); on the other hand, objects lost by the traveler have no indemnity at all. This favored and gave security to the business.

Once at the point of destination, the crew is in charge of unloading and storage on the beach or in the port, as well as custody of the cargo for three days, after which they are not responsible for loss or damages, and at the end of which they collect the proceeds of the freight from the consignee.

• 226 F) The Profession of Fishing:

The masters are chosen from among men known by everybody for their maritime knowledge and practice, and these in turn choose their crews.

The profession of fishing in jurisdictional waters, i.e. those which bathe the coast of the tribe (of Aith Waryaghar), was free, without subjection to taxes or any other obstacle, having no limitations other than that of not entering at the same time any area where another individual has his net spread, and of not entering certain others, such as the Cala del Quemado and Cala de Bonita, which because of the difficulties of their depths, a boat must not enter until the one inside has left. If two boats are waiting, the one which has first arrived in [607] the area enters first. Also, it is ordinarily permissible to fish in front of the coast of another tribe, provided that relations with this

226 [619] tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 823 184 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 443 492 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are afterwards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 685 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

226 389 Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

425 G) Recovery:

Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped (517) to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

H) Arbiters:

628 554 Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

628 648 554 697 692 115 Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

600 102--Whether by this Blanco is referring to the two rival bands within a tribe (i.e. the Rifian liff system as described in successive notes in Book 2) or to the rival bands of Ghmara and Sinhaja he does not specify; but we suspect the reference is to the latter, and we have already put our own view on this subject forward elsewhere.

103--As they could also, no doubt, for the theory of whether liffs start wars or stop them.

[C13] 104--An examination of the segmentation of the Bni Bu Frah shows us that lineages from all four of the tribal clans are in fact parties to the border defense agreement.

105--It is not clear from the original mss. whether by "least clear or tangible" Blanco refers to the tribe of the Bni Bu Frah or to the aspects of Rifian political organization under consideration.

106--Once again: for ddiyith, read rhaqq. This consistent howler becomes tiresome!

107--A somewhat similar situation, although born of quite different circumstances, is revealed in a tripartite qanun dated 1909 and translated and commented upon by Manuel Llord O'Lawlor ("Un Canon Bereber Tripartito", Tamuda, IV, 2, 1957, pp. 305-309), which involves an agreement between two Ghmaran tribes, Bni Smih and Bni Grir, and one "Rifian" (by default, as it is entirely arabic-speaking) tribe, Mtiwa, to establish a ribat in the harim or sacred territory surrounding the tomb of Sidi Yahya al-Wardani in Mtiwa; for Sidi Yahya is regularly visited every year, in mid-August, by all the surrounding tribes.

108--The punishment for whoever does not obey the order in question is not stated.

109--Literally, "big man of the military expedition"; under 'Abd al-Krim it referred to a top commander of tribal levies, rather than Rifian Army regular.

110--'Abd a-Krim Haddu n Si Ziyan, of Ajdir, and 'Abd al-Krim's cousin (and therefore a member of the lineage of Aith Zar'a), was the latter's qa'id al-mishwar (a term which might be translated as "privy counselor"). He took over all of Raisuli's money, after the latter was jailed in Thamasind early in 1925, and handed it over to 'Abd al-Krim.

111--Of this document, we have only the Spanish translation; there is no photocopy of the Arabic original in La Ley Rifeña.

[226] [184] 112--There is, in actual fact, very little fishing among the Aith Waryaghar, who possess only a very small strip of beach where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the sea, at Swani. The Ibuqquyen and Thimsaman, their neighbors to the west and east respectively, are more active fishermen.

113--The agharrabu is the standard Rifian fishing-boat. Made of pine-wood and caulked with tar, it measures 6 m. x 2 m. x 1 m., and in 1954, cost about 7000-8000 pesetas. It is a rowboat, with oarlocks beside each of its three or four benches such that if one bench has an oarlock on its right side, the one in front of it or behind it will have one on the left side, etc. Oars measure 3 m. in length. Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 43) speaks of the existence of sailboats on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, but says they are less common than the agharrabu described

here. We have never seen or heard of them.

114--There was a master boatbuilder who lived on the beach of Aith Bu Dawud in the Thimsaman, none in the Aith Waryaghar. He had no helpers in 1954, and got 500 pesetas and his food from future boat owners for building a boat.

115--The usual arrangement in this case is that the profits are split in half, one-half for the owner of the boat and the other half for the ra'is and the crew.

116--Each boat has a ra'is and a crew of four or five men. Sometimes, though rarely, the owner of the boat will be a different individual altogether; more often, however, the ra'is himself is the owner. It is also common for three or four fishermen to go shares on the price of an agharrabu or moruna (another common fishing boat of the same type, but smaller and of Spanish make), and they elect the most capable among them to be ra'is. If, for instance, there is a ra'is and a crew of four, the money from the sale of the catch is split six ways, the ra'is getting two parts. Before any division is made, however, 15-25 pesetas are given to the mule and donkey men who transport the fish to the tribal markets, while small boys who help pull the nets ashore receive one or two kilos of the catch.

The mouth of the Nkur River, emptying into the Mediterranean on the eastern side of the Plain of Al-Husaima, is an ideal place to fish, particularly in the area around Swani (Thimsaman). A boat takes the net (dhrarsha) out, leaving one of two ropes on the beach in the hands of a number of men or boys. When it has reached the end of the rope length, the net is let out in a semi-circle, with curled up ends, resembling a snail. The boat is then rowed back to shore, and the other rope then handed out to a second group of men and boys, as far away from the first rope as possible. When fish begin to collect in any quantity, each group starts pulling in on the ropes, lessening the distance between them as they do so. If the catch promises to be big, the agharrabu goes out again, to be rowed in behind the net in case of trouble. The site of the net is determined by the crew, who know where the fish are by watching places where birds dive into the water. After the net is hauled up on the beach, the crowd rushes out to scoop up the still leaping fish into baskets. They are put on a common pile in the sand, and the division of the catch begins. During the season, boats go out twice a day, in mornings and afternoons. Late summer is the heaviest season, and the ra'is and crew sleep and eat on the beach. They always have to be on the lookout for breaks in the nets and for fish which enter. At other times of year, after laying the nets out to dry, all go home and return in the morning; but with morunas, one person is always there, day or night, as a guard.

117--Capt. Gardiner was an English adventurer who ran guns to 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War; and Si l-Hadi n Dadi, of the lineage of Thighanimin, subclan of Izimurren, clan of Izimmuren, tribe of Ibuqquyen, still lives in Alhucemas (1961). During the Rifian War, in 1924, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to Paris with Si Muhand Uzarqan, the Rifian Foreign Minister, to try to preserve good relations with the French (which were broken when 'Abd al-Krim invaded the French Zone of Morocco the following year). After the war, Si l-Hadi eventually became, under the Spaniards, khalifa to the pasha of Al-Husaima, then known as Villa Sanjurjo.

442 Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and
443 we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.
472 Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade
[262] has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though
cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas
226 has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently
[504] rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation,
[178] while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several
[648] centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish
protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards
but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered
442 into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market
443 their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the
472 catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men,
438 in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the
appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually
carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy
a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building
of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by
entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present
[262] the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets
two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest
fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the
poor.

443 Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local
442 <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer
438

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

428 423 171 for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

Hunting and Fishing

224 171 In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[11] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla.*

226 171 Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[12]

In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[13] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[11] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[12] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 3.

[13] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[a]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus*, *C. laurifolius*, *C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[b] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[a] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[b] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

D) Repairs:

227 The expense of the periodic tarring of the net is borne equally by all those who are concerned in the business, the master and the owner hiring two more crewmen. This operation is usually performed every month and a half. The same happens with repairs to the net (thread, etc.).

The acquisition of new gear or repairs to the existing equipment are held to the account of the owner, always if, through use, it has been damaged by the sea; but if the damage has been intentional, then the gross value is demanded of the individual who caused it in front of an arbiter (theft, boarding the boat, etc.).

Each crew member must acquire annually, for the fishing gear, three pieces of cord, each one some 15 meters in length. The rest, up to the necessary length of the net, is taken care of by the owner. The master does nothing.

The straps are improvised with left-over pieces of rope earlier, and in the latter case they are cut from this. When a crew member transfers, leaves or is discharged, he cannot take the piece of rope which he originally supplied.

505 E) Travelers and Merchandise:

When the trip is contracted by the master and the hour of departure fixed by him, the sails are hoisted a short distance off shore, and by this time, if a traveler changes his mind and wants to go back to shore, he is taken ashore at the first opportunity, but he must pay for the trip already contracted.

628 to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the
648 verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine
554 and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the
671 same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and
692 finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting them-
[115] selves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this
628 qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen
554 is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

227 The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analo-
[171] gous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the
[177] Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly
501 the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

231

231 DOMESTICATED ANIMALS--captive and tamed animals; domesticated insects (e.g., silkworms, bees); pets (e.g., dogs, cats); domestic animals; special treatment and uses of each; taming and training; care and feeding; grooming; slaughtering; associated beliefs and rituals; economic and social importance of animal husbandry; diseases; etc. See also:

Work in furs, hides, and skins 281
Work in bone and horn 321
Animal shelters 343
Use of animals in transportation 492
Names of animals 552
Animals as wealth 556
Ethnozoology 825

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IV

MATERIAL CULTURE

HUNTING

224 HUNTING is carried on in three ways in the Rif, by means of the rifle, the net, and the trap. In the fall and winter the Riffians, and especially the mountaineers of the Senhaja, spend as much of their time as they can spare climbing about the mountain sides in search of game.

[411] The weapons with which they hunt are confined to rifles of European manufacture and Taghzuthi flintlocks. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, hares, pigeons, partridges, wild boar, and, where there are any, the aoudad, wild ox, and gazelle. Since before any animal [262] may be eaten by Mohammedans it is necessary that its throat be cut ceremonially, — the butcher pronouncing the formula "*bism illah, ullahu akbar*," — the Riffians have devised several means of counteracting the consequences of the game's dying before this has been done. The hunter when loading his gun may kiss the lead ball, pronouncing the formula of *hallala*, or the sacrament, over it, and any animal shot by that ball will be clean and edible. Another and more convenient method is to have a gunsmith chase the words of the formula in silver wire upon the stock or barrel, and thereafter any game shot by that rifle will be sacramentally edible. In the case of the wild boar, the hunter does not worry about giving it the *hallala*, since it is forbidden food in any event.

Nets are set up across a path or entrance to a clearing on the side of a hill, and long palisades of brush are erected like wings on either side of the net, slightly wedge-shaped, and at an angle of less than 180 degrees to each other. Beaters start at the foot of the hill and work up, converging until they reach the ends of the palisade, and thus drive into the net whatever small game they may have intercepted. In this way they catch rabbits, hares, [262] partridges, foxes, jackals, and other animals. Although they kill the foxes and jackals, they never eat them.[1]

● [231] Ferrets are used in winter time to unearth rabbits. They are completely tamed and well trained.

224 Traps are made by local blacksmiths and are based on the same mechanical principle as 326 the type with which the reader is familiar. The differences are: (1) The base of the trap is a frame, rectangular in shape, instead of a plate. The jaws are hinged into the sides of this. (2) Each jaw is bent in two right angles instead of in an arc. (3) The spring, attached to one arm of the frame, operates at right angles to the axis of the jaws instead of parallel to it. Thus it actually touches but one side of each jaw, instead of both sides, as in modern traps. (4) There is no trigger or bait-holder. The traps are set by means of two sticks, one put under the end of the frame and over one open jaw, and the other under both sides of the frame and over the end of the first stick. The second stick thus is caught in the jaws when the trap is sprung.

224 The trap is buried in the path or in front of the hole of any small animal, the top being covered with leaves and dust. The two sticks are so arranged that the slightest motion will

[1] I have seen tribesmen of the Zaer, near Rabat, eat a jackal.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

224 separate them and release the jaws. No bait is used, nor is any attempt made to smoke or otherwise deodorise the trap.

Wild animals which are shot, netted, or trapped are not flayed by inflation, as is the case with domestic animals. (See plate 32.) The skins must be taken off laboriously with a knife, otherwise, it is thought, bad luck will befall the hunter and he will never catch any more of that species.[1]

When a Riffian has the good fortune to kill a wild ox, he takes particular pains to eat a portion of its head, thinking that in this way he will be lucky in hunting these animals in the future.

In the days when lions were common in the Rif, they were seldom hunted. The Riffians regarded the lion as a beast on a plane of importance little below that of man. It is said that a lion would never touch a man passing him unless the man made some aggressive motion, in which case the lion generally won. People passing lions used to intone formulae entreating the "father of the heart," as he was called, not to molest them. It is said that lions became rare or extinct not through the device of men, but through the increasing scarcity of wild boar, which formed their principal diet.

FISHING

226 Fishing is carried on all along the coast from the mouth of the Muluya to the western borders of the Ghomara. There are two principal methods, seining small fish near shore and catching larger fish on hooks in deep water.

The seine, called *tharrasha*, is made of hemp and is attached at either end to two long ropes. A boat takes the net out, with one rope on shore in the hands of a number of men. When the boat has reached the end of the rope, the net is let out in a semicircle, and the boat is then rowed back to shore, where the other rope is handed out as far from the first as possible. The two groups then pull on the ropes, gradually lessening the distance between them as they do so. The boat goes out again and is rowed in behind the net, to be on the spot in case of trouble. When the net is finally beached the crowd rushes in and scoops up the still leaping fish in baskets; the fish are put in a common pile on the sand, and are then divided equally among the families assisting in the catch. (See plates 5 and 6.)

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 The domestic animals kept by the Riffians are the horse, ass, mule, camel, cow, sheep, goat, dog, cat, ferret, and pig. Of fowl, the hen is the only one domesticated. Bees are also kept.

Horses are kept exclusively for riding; they are for the most part of the barb type, a strong, heavy, cart-horse breed; Arab horses, of pure or mixed blood, are ridden by the nomads of the Garet. Horses are found in greatest numbers in the east, among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa primarily, and to a lesser extent among the Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, and Beni Ulishk, and in Tafersit.

In the rest of the Rif and in the Senhaja and Ghomara, the character of the country is such as to preclude the common use of the horse. In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart,

[1] This identical belief is found among the Passamoquoddy Indians of Maine, who feel that such an inflation is an insult to the animal.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart, 231
Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Targuist, and Bokoya, and in the western maritime tribes, [556]
horses are owned only by very wealthy and influential men, who buy them in the lowlands, keeping them more for display than for any other purpose. In the Senhaja Sghir and the Ghomara horses are very seldom encountered; in fact none were owned in Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, or Ktama at the time of the Spanish conquest. The sedentary peoples who own horses keep them in the courtyards of their houses and take excellent care of them; without exception the animals are fat, well fed, and not overworked.

Donkeys are found throughout the region, more particularly in the lowlands. They are of a small hardy breed. During the war the Riffians stole many large Spanish jackasses from the military encampments to increase the size of their own animals. In the high mountains of the central Rif and Senhaja, even donkeys are none too frequently encountered. They are used for transport, riding, threshing, and the operation of olive-grinders. They also are kept in the courtyards of the houses at night and are fed on barley and straw.

Mules are more common than either horses or donkeys. For the most part, the breeding of horses, donkeys, and mules is carried on in the lowlands, where the animals are bought by the mountain people. Mules are more highly prized than either of their parental stocks, since they can carry a much heavier load than donkeys and can navigate the steep trails and passes of the mountains better than horses. They are also used for threshing and for the operation of olive-grinders.

Camels are owned only by the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. Of the usual dromedary type, they are used wholly for the transport of goods and are only exceptionally ridden.

Sheep are kept principally by the nomadic tribes, and to a lesser extent by the lowland tribes of the eastern Rif. They are found only in the southern part of Gzennaya and are seldom raised in the northern section of that tribe. They are likewise absent from the southern Beni Urriaghel area and are rare in the mountains of the western Beni Tusin. In Beni Amart and Targuist, on account of the flat plateau-like nature of the territory, sheep are fairly numerous. Throughout the Senhaja Sghir and Ghomara they are practically unknown, and of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja tribes only those on the southwestern extremity own them in any quantity.

Goats, on the other hand, have an opposite distribution. Although they are known and kept everywhere, their numbers increase with the altitude. On the lowlands the sheep are more numerous. In tribes on higher levels, such as Temsaman, the numbers are about even, and in the mountain nucleus at the headwaters of the Nekor and in the Senhaja Sghir the goats hold undisputed sway, for they are better able to withstand cold and to climb about mountain crags. The breeding of sheep, on the other hand, where feasible, is more lucrative than that of goats. This distribution does not, however, indicate the priority of goats over sheep in the Rif (even though this may well be the case), since the environmental factor is, in this particular instance, the governing one.

Sheep and goats are pastured by small boys, usually the sons of the owners, who amuse [857]
themselves by shooting with flintlock guns at pigeons, grouse, and small quadrupeds. Sheepfolds consisting of rough stone enclosures are used at night in stormy weather, and in winter the flocks are usually kept in the courtyard when the weather forbids their presence outside. The purchasing or raising of sheep or goats among the sedentary tribes depends largely upon the presence of sons of proper age to tend them, and the animals are usually sold when the sons have grown too old. In Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa this restriction does

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

●231 not hold, since sheep-herding is done by grown men, especially old men whose age of usefulness in other pursuits has passed.

Dogs. Three breeds of dog are found in the Rif. The most common is the ordinary small yellow cur, with lop ears like a jackal and a bristly mane, which serves as a sentry during the night, is seldom fed, and keeps up a terrific racket, yipping at all hours. These dogs, which frequently breed with jackals and can with difficulty be distinguished from them, are half wild, back away snarling and yelping when approached, and are usually ignorant of human affection. When kept, however, by people kindly disposed to them, as is sometimes though rarely the case, they develop into quite tractable and intelligent pets and companions.

The second variety is a large shepherd dog, resembling a Scotch shepherd, with broad head and shaggy coat. Such dogs are treated with greater respect and are fed regularly. They go out with the boys tending the sheep, and show great intelligence in assisting them. The boys tending the sheep throw stones at them with plaited *halfa* slings, while the dogs snap at the heels of the more distant members of the flock; and between the efforts of the slingers and those of their dogs, the sheep seldom stray. Despite the care of the boys, both sheep and goats sometimes fall prey to the larger variety of *oshun*.[1]

The third type of dog, the aristocrat of canine society in Morocco, is the *sloughi*, the well-known North African greyhound, a smooth-haired variety, covering every possible range of color. The *sloughi*, kept exclusively for hunting, is confined in the Rif to the tribes of Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi. It is likewise kept by the Beni Znassen, a purely Zenatan tribe outside the Rif; it is considered by the Riffians a Zenatan introduction.

Cats are rare and serve as house pets, as elsewhere.

Ferrets are kept in cages in the houses and are used in hunting.[2]

Cattle occupy the first place among Riffian domestic animals. They belong to a short, shaggy-haired, stocky breed, generally red in color and long-horned. Although small, they are very hardy and well adapted to mountain life. They are kept by every family. No house which contains a woman lacks a cow, from the highest mountains to the desert of the Garet. While the weather is favorable, they are pastured in fields or on the less rugged mountain slopes and tended by women or girls; during the winter, and while the storms of October and November are raging, they are kept in the house. To conduct them to pasture is often a difficult feat, on account of the narrowness and steepness of the paths; often four or more women, pulling on ropes, horns, and tail, are required to guide a cow over a dangerous place. Despite this care, many fall and break their legs or necks.

Cows are kept in the house during the night, in the same room in which the family cooks, eats, and sleeps. The cow is given the lower fourth of the chamber, which is sunk below the level of the habitation floor. She is fed on straw, grass, and the stalks of maise. During the late winter, before the green shoots have appeared on the mountain sides, women often spend all their time in a search for weeds and grass to feed the family cow.

Bulls are owned in every village and are put to stud for hire. The mating of cattle is, curiously enough, the task of women. The owner of the bull and the owner of the cow each sends his wife to conduct his animal to a secluded place previously agreed upon, and the husbands take care not to approach the spot. For any man to witness the mating of cattle would be a shameful experience, although women may look upon it with impunity. [831]

[1] See Introduction, p. 12.

[2] See below, p. 37.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

231 [782] Cattle are used for meat, milk, hides, and traction. Bulls are kept for sacrificial purposes, since several forms of ritual require the sacrifice of a bull. They are never castrated, the same being true of horses and all other domestic animals.

Swine. The problem of the domestication of swine opens up the most difficult aspect of Riffian culture with which one has to deal. Riffians have kept and probably still do keep swine, but they are extraordinarily secretive about it. For some strange reason, they are as ashamed to discuss the matter with a Christian as with an Arab. The practice is as wrapped in secrecy as the witches' sabbat of the Middle Ages. Families which keep swine never bring them to market, never admit that they keep them, and take them out of the house before guests arrive.

Swine were formerly raised in most of the nuclear mountain area of the Rif — in Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the Senhaja Sghir. A generation ago the people of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen of northern Gzennaya discontinued the practice, as the result of a pilgrimage to Mekka performed by one of their prominent men. Within the last six years swine have been kept at Inhanahan, in Gzennaya.

Whether swine are still owned anywhere in the Rif or Senhaja I cannot say, but I suspect that they are. They are not the descendants of any long-domesticated breed, but are bred from individuals caught in traps on the mountains: seldom does a litter have a domestic history of more than two or three generations. When all have been killed off, more are caught and bred. Thus swine domestication is, or was, either in an incipient stage or in the last stage of decadence. The animals are kept in the house, but are confined in a separate room, the door of which is closed at night. In the daytime they are taken out on the mountain slopes to feed on acorns and roots. When they are slaughtered, no *hallala* is performed.

Hens, happily, are kept openly, and present no such difficulties to the investigator as do swine. Their presence is manifest throughout the house and the courtyard, and especially on and about the refuse pile, which is located at some distance. They are the exclusive property of the women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands; they keep the money thus earned, but husbands have the right to demand a hen or two on the occasion of a guest's arrival. Widows who live alone often support themselves entirely by keeping hens, since persons charitably inclined buy them from widows by preference.

Bees provide an important article of local diet. The Riffians are expert in the art of caring for bees, building hives of basketry, wood, and cork. Sometimes hollow logs are used, and the scooped-out bases of yucca plants. The hives are usually kept in caves or in crannies in the cliffs above the villages. In the spring the bee farmer transports his swarm to new hives and removes what honey is left from the winter, since he does not take it out in the fall. Honey is separated from the wax and is kept in jars. Apiculture is most commonly practised in Gzennaya. In many parts of the Senhaja Sghir bees are not kept on account of the cold.

[463] Individual owners of bees do not as a rule care for their own hives, but put them in charge of a bee expert, who takes a previously agreed portion of the honey as his payment. There is generally but one such bee farmer in the village, although most of the families own at least one hive apiece.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibshen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

824 718 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit [Igliwa], zzest [Temsaman]) may be so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan- [842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power [843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall be good-looking (Tangier).

[109] Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 755 718 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

[110] At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura (Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura, sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case [231] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or, on the 17th of May (mut l-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame. A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines, [842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the morning on an empty stomach.

[841] [111] Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro; Berb. fadis [Temsaman] or fadis [Ait Waryager]) is eaten by women suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

718 824 696 [112] The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand) as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow. Some soribes recite over it something from the [113] Koran, knot seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

776 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] [304] Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

[305] For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[184] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[307] The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

[308] The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] [309] Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

777 356 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 291 789 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion. If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 576 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember [261] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth [272] (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-871 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a 754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events 857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect" — alam n-nbi waqaf, — that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

796 Great Feast", and the Berber-speaking tribes by names such as l'id mqqorn (Amanuz), l'id amqqran (Ait Warain), l'id amqqoran (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), or r'id amqqran (Temsaman), meaning the same. In this case, as in the case of the 'asur, the mulud, and the 'id s-sger, the name of the feast is popularly given to the whole month in which it is celebrated.

796 302 789 [107] An important preparation for the feast is the use of henna, which I have found among all the country people of whose customs I have obtained information, with the exception of the Rifians of Temsaman; and, as has been said above, henna is used not merely as a cosmetic but as a means of protection against evil influences.

Grown-up or married men abstain from it altogether (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Sadden, Aglu), or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers (At Ubahti), or dip the little finger of their right hand (Dukkala) or its nail (Ait Waryager) into it.

796 [231] [108] Greyhounds have henna applied to their foreheads (Ait Yusi), or to their chests and feet as well (Hiaina, Ait Sadden); while the Ait Waryager, who are great hunters, smear it on the feet of the greyhounds only, and on no other animal, on account of its being scarce among them.

[110] Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make seksu, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish damreqt, a kind of porridge made of dried beans.

[112] Among the Ait Waryager the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

796 783 [116] Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly subjected to certain forms of purification or sanctification.

[117] The At Ubahti put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal; the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman some yeast. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and henna is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Hiaina told me that it takes away the bas from the house.

412 231 On the other hand, the sieve is also used as a fertility charm. Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought some sheep or goats, he puts a sieve at the entrance to the yard and makes the animals walk over it with a view to rendering them very fertile; and he then sprinkles the sieve with water to expel any evil influences which may cling to them.

244 [251] There are, moreover, certain superstitions and ceremonies connected with the vegetable garden.

The Ait Waryager believe that [252] a woman's presence in a vegetable garden would make it dry.

[254]

RITES PRACTISED FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCING THE WEATHER

789 In Morocco the failure of the crops is mostly due not to the lack of sunshine or too much rain, but to drought, and to avert this danger many different methods are resorted to.

The orthodox method is to perform the so-called salat al-istisqa in the morning at the musalla, or public place of prayer outside the town or village. This ceremony consists of two rek'at, or ordinary forms of prayer, two hotbat, or sermons, and one du'a, or supplication in which God is asked to send rain. In the prayer, however, the formula of takbir (allahu akbar, "God is most great") is replaced by the phrase istagfir allah, "implore the pardon of God", in accordance with the saying of the Koran, "Ask God's pardon, for he is merciful and will give you abundant rain; he has placed the rain as a reward for him who begs forgiveness for his faults". After the first hotba the preacher changes his mantle from the right to the left shoulder and vice versa, and the same is done by the congregation. That this is intrinsically a magical act calculated to bring about a change in the weather is apparent from the statement of the commentators that it is meant to show God the desire of the [255] faithful to see the threatening famine "turned" into abundance.

[257] Among the Ait Waryager the people go to the mosque of the village or a shrine, walk three times round it, sacrifice a sheep or goat, and make fatha. If this does not produce the desired effect the more religious members of the community, after they have said their

789 evening prayer in the mosque, pray there a thousand times for the Prophet, each of them keeping count of his prayers by placing a pebble in front of him after the completion of every hundred.

/266/ The custom of using a ladle as a rain-charm is common among the various Berber groups. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif the women dress up a wooden ladle (aganja) in women's clothes and walk with it to the village mosque or some shrine, praying for rain.

[372] /276/ As water extinguishes fire, so fire is also supposed to destroy the rain. Among the Ait Waryager rain is stopped by a man whose name is 'Esa boiling some rain-water in an earthenware pan (anahadam) ordinarily used for the baking of bread, and then discharging a loaded gun in the air.

/279/ Among the Ait Waryager, if there is too much rain, scribes write on a board the names of either ninety-nine or one hundred and one saints, and place the board on the roof of the village mosque.

/282/ The Ait Waryager, again, stop a westerly gale by girdling a dog with a woollen belt, which is left on it as long as the gale lasts.

/283/ BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS RELATION TO ANIMALS

231 /284/ In some tribes it is the custom for a man who buys a stallion to kill a sheep or goat and invite the men of the village to a meal; after they have eaten they make fatha, calling down blessings on the host and his animal (Ait Yusi, Ait Waryager).

/285/ Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a horse, mule, donkey, bullock, or cow, or some sheep or goats at the market, he treats those who accompanied him there with grapes, raisins, figs, or other eatables, and they in return call down blessings on him and the animal or animals he bought.

Among the Ait Waryager a person who has bought a mare or some other female animal puts a silver bracelet (damqayyast) or a pair of silver brooches (dibzimin, sing. dabzind), such as women wear over their breast, at the entrance to the yard (azqaq) and makes the animal walk over it, in order that it shall be fertile and good and not run away.

[177] /287/ Among the Ait Waryager donkeys, as also horses and mules, with black spots in their mouths are not bought by anybody, and a white spot on the forehead of a donkey or a mule, but not on that of a horse, is likewise considered bad fal.

231 755 [288] The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (dmaggit; Ait Waryager); and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Ait Waryager). It is also used as a remedy [859] for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (ibid.).

231 639 [289] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Ait Waryager); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Ait Waryager, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn.

231 777 [292] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion.

262 [295] The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic hlib or halib; and in Berber akfai (Amanuz), takfit (Igliwa), aggu akffa (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi (At Ubahti), asaffai (Ait Waryager), asffai (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Buttermilk is called in Arabic lben; and in Berber agu (Amanuz, Igliwa), aggu anddu (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi asemmam (At Ubahti), agiy (Ait Waryager), agi (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Curded milk is called in Arabic rayib or raib; and in Berber ikkil (Ait Sadden), ekkir (Ait Yusi), aklil (Ait Warain), attsil (At Ubahti), assir (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[297] Fresh butter is called in Arabic zebda; and in Berber tudit (Amanuz), tamudit (Igliwa), udi (Ait Warain), tlussi (At Ubahti), drussi (Ait Waryager), trussi (Temsaman). Salt butter is called in Arabic smen; and in Berber udi (Amanuz, Igliwa, Aglu, Ait Warain), ddhen (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

252 [298] The Ait Waryager hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the aqasror, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before.

231 [300] Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a considerable number of sheep or goats he slaughters one of them so that there shall be much baraka in the animals and they shall be very fertile.

[303] Among the Ait Waryager whooping-cough is cured with the [755] milk of a perfectly black she-goat, which is taken in the morning on an empty stomach warm as it comes from the udder.

[304] If a dog eats from a vessel or licks it the vessel will break, unless it is washed seven times with hot water (Andjra); or it must be washed with water into which seven stones have been put in order to make it clean (Ait Waryager).

[305] If a dog or a cat steals food belonging to the scribes of the mosque it will have the itch (Ait Waryager). If the dog eats the flesh or blood of a camel it will become blind or die (Ulad Bu'aziz); and if it eats the blood of a person it will lose its hair (Andjra) or it is bad for the person (Ait Waryager). If a bitch is addicted to stealing food, its owner puts its pups on the road leading to the market-place so that passers-by shall take them up and teach them how to behave; then their mother will cease to steal (ibid.).

[308] Unlike other dogs the greyhound is regarded, not as unclean, but as possessed of baraka.

The cat, also, has some baraka. It is good to eat food of which [755] a cat has eaten before. This is a cure for nervousness (Andjra); and so it is to wash oneself with water from which a cat has drunk (Tangier), or to eat the flesh of a cat (Ait Waryager).

[309] A cat has seven lives; hence to kill one is as bad as to kill seven men (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[310] A person who eats the liver of a fowl is supposed to become a coward (Igliwa, etc.); hence it is not eaten by men and boys (Aglu, Ait Warain) or is not given to young boys to eat (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

A person, or at least a child (Ait Waryager), who eats the head of a fowl will become night-blind, because the fowl is unable to see [311] in the dark.

If a hen does not lay eggs, it is hung in a tree with the head downwards while it is raining (ibid.), or oil is put into its mouth and genitals (Ait Waryager).

[312] We have seen that baraka is ascribed to the bee and to honey, and noticed many observances connected with the idea of their holiness.

825 787 [335] The Ait Waryager maintain that the hooting of an owl outside a house indicates that somebody in that or a neighbouring house will die, and they drive the bird away by throwing at it a sooty piece of a broken old earthenware pan or fire at it with a gun.

825 [337] A wild-dove once saved the life of the Prophet when he was persecuted by Christians, by telling them that he had gone one way although he had gone another, and for this reason the faithful were forbidden to kill any bird of its species.

[777] 825 755 The Ait Waryager consider it unlucky if doves are living in a house, because they want to make it empty. In the same tribe, if a person suffers from fever, the dried dung of pigeons is burned, the smoke is made to pass underneath his clothes, and he inhales it as it comes through.

[751] [340] A person keeps his eyes in a good condition by [341] touching the inside of the eyelid with a raw and unbroken egg of a swallow or with a young bird newly hatched (Ait Waryager).

[342] A tortoise is never killed except for medicinal or magical purposes, and water tortoises, I believe, are not killed in any circumstances. People are afraid of them, as they are frequently supposed to be jnun; but when living in a spring or pond connected with a saint-shrine they are regarded as the servants of the saint and help to cure patients visiting the place.

Among the Ait Waryager the boiled flesh of a tortoise, prepared with salt, is eaten by sick people.

825 [343] A tortoise may have an evil effect on cows, sheep, and goats. [231] Among the Ait Waryager, if the owner of a cow which has calved does not give the cowherd the usual meal of bread and salt butter, the latter takes revenge by throwing a tortoise at the cow, which in consequence will never again give birth to a calf.

[344] There is a general fear of killing a frog or toad. At Aglu a man killed one with a stone, and his arm became paralysed. Among the Igliwa a person who killed a frog had fever for a year, and elsewhere also fever is supposed to be the consequence of such an act (Ait Waryager, &c.).

[348] The Ulad Bu'aziz believe that a snake which appears at the place where people are pitching a tent may be mul le-mkan, "the master of the place". They ask it politely to go away, and if it does not do so they kill it; but if they dream of the snake in their sleep they

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The population density, 65 individuals per sq. km., although not the highest in Spanish Morocco, is a greater number of people than the land, which is one of the most infertile in the Protectorate, can effectively support. In the last century the Aith Wuryāghil found blood-feuding a sure outlet to reduce their overpopulation, but, at, the present time, as they are no longer allowed to carry firearms, the population problem is met by a large annual exodus of ablebodied tribesmen to the plains of western Algeria, where they help out with the barley, wheat, olive and grape harvests on the farms of French colons. The terrible drought in the Rīf in 1945 precipitated emigration to a previously unheard of degree, and today the number of people from Aith Wuryāghil who are living and working outside the Rīf is greater than ever before.

Those who stay at home follow an annual agricultural cycle in which cereal cultivation is extensively practiced, particularly that of barley. They plow and sow their fields in the autumn and winter, and reap and thresh the grain the following summer. The straw is piled up into circular, conical silos (*athmūn*, pl. *ithmūncn*) to be used in the winter as fodder for the animals, of which cattle and goats are the most important, sheep less so. Mules and donkeys are employed as beasts of burden, while horses, owing to the extreme poverty of the people and the mountainous configuration of the terrain, are virtually non-existent. All, without exception, keep chickens and, inevitably, dogs, while in certain favored areas apiculture is practiced; the bees of Jabal Ḥammām produce the finest honey which it has ever been my good fortune to sample.

Although barley is the most important cash crop (the barley harvest of 1953 was the best on record), the Aith Wuryāghil spend comparatively little time working their grain fields, not more than three or four months a year, all told; it is their trees which receive the bulk of their attention. The most common trees are fig, pomegranate and almond in the Bay of Alhucemas, with olive substituted for pomegranate in the mountains; they are all pruned, watered, grafted and fertilized with great assiduousness, for dried figs and almonds constitute the principal food reserves during the winters, after the grains have been eaten. The same is true of raisins, and the cultivation of grape vines is extensively practiced in the mountains near Sūq al-Arbaʿ of Taurirt.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] [241] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] [231] [224] [226] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

[565] [463] 36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[108] [294] [286] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of action of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 684 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 695 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 793 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 231 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
671 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

671 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

671 224 [804] If, however, the animal should flee and be killed by another hunter, it (still) belongs to the one who discovered it, although he may not have shot or thrown at it, provided that the distance from the point where it fell to that where it was discovered can be covered by a stone's throw, done either by him himself or by another hunter designated by him, with, furthermore, the choice of either point as that of the stone-throw being open to him (either where the animal fell or where it got up). This is done in order to utilize the slope, if.....this distance had not been previously established.

671 223 224 8) An animal or bird flushed up by a hunter is his if he does not pass beyond a distance of forty feet counted from the point at which it was flushed, and even though the shot may have missed it or if it was overtaken by a dog (Sanhaja Srir).

[681] 9) If an animal or bird wounded by one hunting party is finished off and collected by another one, it belongs to the first party, to which it must be returned even though it may already be cooked; and if it has been eaten, the second party must pay the first 25 pesetas as compensation (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 623 10) Nests belong to whoever discovers them, and in the event that they are saved as bait in order to hunt the mother with a trap or net, the site must be shown to the jma'th, in order to insure priority rights.

G) Dogs:[191]

671 223 224 231 1) Animals or birds picked up by dogs are not for the owner of the dog, but for whoever takes them out of his mouth (Aith 'Ammarth). This is based upon the fact that if the dogs are not trained, they will

671 223 224 231 eat the birds or animals instead of taking them to their masters. However, from another point of view, it is probably not a bad thing to let them taste meat once in their lives, for not everything in their diet must be bones!

[411] 2) If, at the moment it is flushed, an animal or bird is wounded with a gun or stick and then immediately caught by a dog, so that the result of the blow cannot be determined, it is for the hunter and not for the owner of the dog (Ibuqquyen).

[804] 3) Also for the hunter is any animal or bird which, wounded by him, continues to run and is overtaken by a dog within a radius of fourteen stick-lengths (dhigharya or dhigharyin, sing. dhaghrith, "stick"), counted from the site where the animal was wounded, provided that it shows a fracture. If it does not show a fracture or if it passes this radius, it belongs to the owner of the dog or to whoever picks it up (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

4) An animal pursued by a saluki which succeeds in hiding itself in a thicket or burrow belongs to the first man (i.e. the owner of the saluki), even though another hunter may come to get it (Ibuqquyen).

5) An animal or bird pursued by a saluki and brought to earth by a hunter is for the latter if it drops within the aforementioned radius of fourteen dhigharya (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

H) Aid During the Hunt:

671 224 Whoever discovers an animal in hiding can solicit aid in getting it or can get others to help him spontaneously, without losing his property (i.e. the animal) in either case; but he is obliged, if the

224
184
825

the traps and is stuck. In other tribes, instead of a reed tube, dried figs with flies are tied to the traps.[197]

L) Ferrets:

224
231

In hunting with ferrets, these sometimes stay in the burrows of the game for several days and eat the game. In order to get a ferret out of the hole, its owner usually takes a chicken to the mouth of the den and makes it squawk; and the ferret is attracted by the noise. If he does not succeed through using this technique, the owner puts the chicken in a leather bag, in which it is kept, with the bag open, beside the entrance. When the ferret comes out, it enters the bag or stays crouched beside it.

Ferrets are also employed in hunting jackals and wolves (sic). The hunters prepare snares at the entrance of the animal's lair. They put the ferret there, and it is held down by its testicles. Aside from the snare already prepared, the hunters are then ready to finish the jackal off with blows from their sticks as it comes out.

M) Damages:

A hunting party is not responsible for damages which the individual hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) might inflict in garden, orchards, or beehives, etc., but the latter are. The injured party, if he does not accuse a specific person through not knowing who did the damage, can demand that the hunting party denounce the guilty individual, and if it does not wish to do this, it must declare, by name, those who passed closest to the site of the damage occasioned.[198]

[681]
[695]

If the latter confess, they pay a fine, and in case of denial, they are obliged to swear that they have not done the damage and that they do not know the man or men who did.

Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah invocation must be eaten; but as, unfortunately, a mouse or some other ritually unclean animal might fall in, and as the owner of the trap would have to eat it, hunters prefer not to pronounce the invocation. They would prefer to wait until the next morning, trusting to luck to find the animal alive, if indeed it has not escaped from the trap.

The hunters must see the animals alive and pronounce the invocation in order to be able to eat them.

[231] For this reason, an animal caught by a dog, as well as one captured by a ferret, must be seen by the hunters in order that it be ritually permissible for them to eat. In the case of the ferret, if the animal turns up dead in its burrow and has not been seen previously by the ferret, it is also rejected, since death might have taken place earlier.

M) Vocabulary:

1) hunt, hunting--Arabic rayah, Rifian dhagimmarth, dhingimarth or dhingmarth
2) hunters--Arabic mruyah, Rifian igimmaren (sing. agimmar), or ingmarn (sing. angmar)
3) signal of game--Haw-haw-haw! (repeated)
4) hunting in company--shirka, shurka
5) signal for attention and flushing of game--L-'adaw!; and if the game in question is partridge--Birraw!
6) sticks--dhigharya (Iqar'qyen dhigharyin), sing. dhaghrith, in the Ibuqquyen and in all the Aith Waryaghar save the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil, where a hunting stick is called r-mitrag and a walking stick dhqabut.

243 sickles and the women carrying the grain stalks to the threshing areas. The threshing floors are generally merely a circle of dirt ground, although in some areas they are paved. The stalks [231] are placed on this circular floor and mules, donkeys, or cattle are driven about inside the circle, trampling the grain and separating it from the chaff. The grain is further refined by hand-winnowing done by the women. The straw is accumulated in circu- [231] lar stacks to be preserved as food for the animals during the winter months. When relatives have worked a common piece of land 243 465 the yield is divided by measuring off the appropriate amount of grain in straw baskets. If the division is on a one-for-one basis, each alternate basket will go to one of the parties. If the division is at some other ratio, the number of baskets will accordingly be at that ratio. If the land was ploughed, planted [427] and harvested by a akhammas, a sharecropping laborer, the owner of the land will receive four bushels out of every five, the remaining fifth going to the akhammas.

241 Throughout the summer the vegetables, fruits and nuts are harvested as they come ripe. In late summer and early autumn the [465] maize and grapes are harvested. Once again, if the labor of several families or of akhammas has been involved, straw baskets are used to allot out to each man his appropriate portion. It is 585 during this period, in the months of August and September, that 221 weddings are held. The agricultural cycle has been completed and [241] there is spare time to arrange the necessary items for a wedding. Also this is the period in which the optimum amount of food is

585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. [999] Perhaps it is this unending sameness which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is [262] not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [551] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [491] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is 796 vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[771] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless, impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
433 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
435 Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif,
[191] which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
435

231 435 of livestock during normal market conditions show a mule to be worth $100 or more, a donkey between $40 and $60. Cows range from $50 to $70, and bulls upward to $100. Rams sell for $20 [454] to $30, and goats for $10. Given the resources of the Riffian, expenditures of this magnitude represent expensive investments.

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community.
If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif
and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him
to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically
the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held
all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must
sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing
Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
571 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals
upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its
climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a
subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more
time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt
to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
571 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by
577 both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the
556 community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
30 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
454 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.
[422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

454 Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect. Thus, an extra mule or an ox can raise the level of productivity of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

231 454 433 554

256 435 472 [376] Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [177] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social
occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides
the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of
Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is pro-
hibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren,
or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary,
are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought
to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are
wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since
loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is
plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 342 S [417] [513] [352]

a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, *b*). A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

S [353]

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

S [574] S [335] [341] [252] [354] [352]

R 342 [351]

Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*), and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

R [351] [231] [171] [333]

R [171] [352]

Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

R 342 556

R 341 346 171

An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

A, [See p. 127--Analyst] B, [See p. 126--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R
256
191

Fig. 22. Turbine grist mill.

R
245
407
191

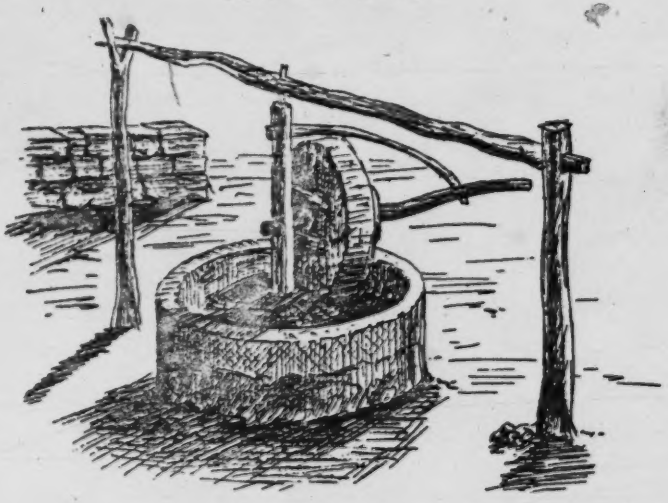


Fig. 23. Olive grinder.

000
S
231
061

and by the number of goatherds. The situation in Ktama is representative of the entire highland area. In 1934 this mountain tribe, with a population of 8,389 persons, maintained 20,259 goats in an area of 450 square kilometers.[13] Goats must be brought back to shelter each night; so the radius of their movement is small. The effects of browsing on vegetation will be examined in chapter viii.

R
231
191

The number of goats decreases toward the Atlantic lowlands and the plains

[13] Figures from an unpublished report of the Spanish *interventor* dated November, 1934.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

of Garet. In the Atlantic coastal zone most of the surface is cultivated, and little vegetation is left to serve as browse. In the eastern plains goats are replaced by sheep, which begin to outnumber them in the lower parts of the Rif. In the Middle Atlas the raising of sheep is associated with transhumance. This mode of pastoral life is still followed to some extent by the Ulad Stut, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ibdharsen, who spend the winter months near their cereal fields and the summer months in higher country with their sheep. The routes of migration run from the alluvial lowlands into nearby hills, especially the Kar-Kar range. In recent years the development of new irrigation projects has discouraged pastoral life, and the migration is now limited to a few of the young men and boys.

In the western provinces the main draft animals are cows or oxen. In the highlands and in the eastern lowlands the beasts of burden are donkeys and mules, which are used also for threshing and turning olive grinders. Mules are highly prized, for they can carry a heavier load than donkeys and are more agile and hardy than horses. Since there are few horses in the northern zone, most mules are imported from elsewhere in Morocco or from Spain. Moroccan donkeys are a small but hardy race, able to withstand long journeys with heavy loads. Horses have little value except as symbols of wealth and prestige, and are seldom used in the mountains. At the time of the Spanish conquest there were no horses at all in Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Seddath, and Aith Khannus.[13] Camels are restricted to the plains of Garet, where about 2,000 of them are used as milk, pack, and draft animals. Except for an occasional playful experiment, camels are not ridden.

The pack saddle for donkeys and mules is a heavy object made of cloth stuffed with straw. Panniers of twilled basketry, consisting of a double container connected by a strip of basketry, serve nearly all transport needs. Riders perch on top of the load and let their legs dangle to one side. There is little riding in the mountains, for a healthy man can make better time on foot.

Women are the most important burden bearers. Lines of women or girls bent under heavy loads are a common sight everywhere in Morocco. In Jbala they may be seen on any road carrying huge loads of wood and charcoal (pl. 8, *b*).

The domestic animals in northern Morocco include ferrets used in hunting, dogs, cats, and chickens. The dogs are of two types, one a small cur and the other a larger sheep dog. Chickens are the exclusive property of women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands. Bees are kept in the mountains, but the average tribesman knows nothing of apiculture, and prefers to assign the task to paid specialists.

Irrigation and Water Rights

In Moroccan agricultural terminology the most important distinction is that between *bilad bour*, the land of dry farming, and *bilad saqiyah*, the land of irrigation. By far the greatest amount of irrigated land is watered by diversion of surface runoff (pl. 5, *b*). Small dams (*mechra*) are used to divert water into ditches (*saqiyah*), which lead to the irrigable land. The ditches often follow tortuous contours, and may extend for several kilometers. The larger streams are flanked by several channels, sometimes five or six, each bringing water from a

[13] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 39, cited in note 3.

A [See p. 132--Analyst] B [See p. 129--Analyst]

:Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Ref NK3
[Village of Ubd 'Abd al-Mumin]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.

595 possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage; it is
732 significant that the bride puts on the didli on the morning after her first intercourse withher husband.

787 [586] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person gets a sty some
755 woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

787 An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic in-
843 fluences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Warain). At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (sfarjel) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere, is found the belief that if a pregnant woman [587] (Hiaina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Ait Waryager), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birthmark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Ait Sadden).

787 [590] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the
777 sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [593] Rezq (razq, rezq) means all sorts of good things contributing
356 to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a per-
[312] son cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own rezq (Fez).

You may also sweep away your rezq. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Hiaina, Dukkala, Tangier, Andjra, Tsul, Ait Waryager), or even after 'asar (At Ubahti); and the Rifians of Temsaman consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon.

[595] Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. settaba; Berb. tasttabt [Ait Warain], tastta [Temsaman], disagwust [Ait Waryager]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Ait Waryager).

778
821 by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

784 [258] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the
233 wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasror, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti).
[252] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

776 [262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] 42--Thwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither
● [233] a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or
[857] girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant con-
[196] tributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The
[651] most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time
[691] provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old
[171] enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

464 Although the akhammas association is the most prevalent,
465 it is only one of several such arrangements. Another sort of laborer is the amkari, who is hired for sowing and odd jobs about the house. His salary is not fixed and he is apparently paid in cash and clothing (Hart 1956:75). Another type of traditional
[233] work association is the amikhan, who is a youth employed to herd a man's goats and sheep. He ". . . is hired for a fixed period . . . [and] gets a non-stipulated sum at the end of his contract" (Hart, ibid.:75). Such an arrangement is graphically portrayed in Bowles' translation of Charhadi's autobiographical novel, A Life Full of Holes. Another form of association is the arabba' who cultivates household gardens, orchards, and trees. He is given a fourth of the fruit and vegetable crops; if the terrain is difficult to terrace, his portion is adjusted (Hart 1956:75).
[256] Most mill owners employ an assistant to do the grinding, and from the mill owner's portion the worker receives a fourth of the grain.

The common element of this sort of association seems to be that the salary the laborer earns is determined by customary regulations rather than by the supply and demand of workers. It
[571] is an association between the elite and the poor which is based
[565] on a fixed compensation and outside of any regulation by the market economy.

675 A correlate of this situation in which commercial arrangements are based on social factors is the irrelevance of written contracts. Whereas contractual agreement forms the basis of most

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

of Garet. In the Atlantic coastal zone most of the surface is cultivated, and little vegetation is left to serve as browse. In the eastern plains goats are replaced by sheep, which begin to outnumber them in the lower parts of the Rif. In the Middle Atlas the raising of sheep is associated with transhumance. This mode of pastoral life is still followed to some extent by the Ulad Stut, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ibdharsen, who spend the winter months near their cereal fields and the summer months in higher country with their sheep. The routes of migration run from the alluvial lowlands into nearby hills, especially the Kar-Kar range. In recent years the development of new irrigation projects has discouraged pastoral life, and the migration is now limited to a few of the young men and boys.

In the western provinces the main draft animals are cows or oxen. In the highlands and in the eastern lowlands the beasts of burden are donkeys and mules, which are used also for threshing and turning olive grinders. Mules are highly prized, for they can carry a heavier load than donkeys and are more agile and hardy than horses. Since there are few horses in the northern zone, most mules are imported from elsewhere in Morocco or from Spain. Moroccan donkeys are a small but hardy race, able to withstand long journeys with heavy loads. Horses have little value except as symbols of wealth and prestige, and are seldom used in the mountains. At the time of the Spanish conquest there were no horses at all in Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Seddath, and Aith Khannus.[12] Camels are restricted to the plains of Garet, where about 2,000 of them are used as milk, pack, and draft animals. Except for an occasional playful experiment, camels are not ridden.

The pack saddle for donkeys and mules is a heavy object made of cloth stuffed with straw. Panniers of twilled basketry, consisting of a double container connected by a strip of basketry, serve nearly all transport needs. Riders perch on top of the load and let their legs dangle to one side. There is little riding in the mountains, for a healthy man can make better time on foot.

Women are the most important burden bearers. Lines of women or girls bent under heavy loads are a common sight everywhere in Morocco. In Jbala they may be seen on any road carrying huge loads of wood and charcoal (pl. 8, *b*).[A] The domestic animals in northern Morocco include ferrets used in hunting, dogs, cats, and chickens. The dogs are of two types, one a small cur and the other a larger sheep dog. Chickens are the exclusive property of women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands. Bees are kept in the mountains, but the average tribesman knows nothing of apiculture, and prefers to assign the task to paid specialists.

Irrigation and Water Rights

In Moroccan agricultural terminology the most important distinction is that between *bilad bour*, the land of dry farming, and *bilad saqiyah*, the land of irrigation. By far the greatest amount of irrigated land is watered by diversion of surface runoff (pl. 5, *b*).[B] Small dams (*mechra*) are used to divert water into ditches (*saqiyah*), which lead to the irrigable land. The ditches often follow tortuous contours, and may extend for several kilometers. The larger streams are flanked by several channels, sometimes five or six, each bringing water from a

[12] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 39, cited in note 5.

A, [See p. 132--Analyst]

B, [See p. 129--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

High Atlas. Deforestation can be traced also to the tanners of Fez and Tetuán.[a] The tanners' guild in Fez goes back to the ninth century, when master tanners gathered at this site from Córdoba, Qayrawan, and distant Iran. Fez leather was once exported as far away as Baghdad, and shoes went to Egypt until the present century. During the peak years of production. Fez craftsmen tanned about 500,000 skins a year. The descendants of the original immigrant craftsmen are still busy making handbags, slippers, and other articles for the tourist and export trade.

It is not surprising that *Quercus Ilex*, an important source of tannin, should now be rare in the hills near Fez and Tetuán. There is good reason to believe that the holly oak once covered these hills. One well-informed botanist asserts that the primordial cover of the limestone mountains south of Tetuán probably was a "climax" forest of holly oak.[b] In Gal'aya and the eastern Rif, careless stripping of the bark of *Rhus pentaphylla*, a source of red dye, destroys many trees; "Morocco leather," a trade name in bookbinding, is customarily made from goatskin tanned with sumac.

Effects of Burning

In the eastern Rif the plant cover is usually too sparse to maintain a fire, and on the Atlantic littoral there is little land left to clear. But between these areas is a large zone covered with forest or scrub that must be burned before the land can be plowed. Some attempt is usually made to control the spread of fire, but conflagrations develop when tinder-dry shrubs are fanned by brisk winds. Fire is employed also for the "improvement" of pasture, for increased blossoming ("bee pasture"), and probably for the mere pleasure of burning or out of carelessness.[c]

The importance of pastoral fires has been emphasized by most students of the Mediterranean landscape,[d] but in northern Morocco fires set to clear away noxious shrubbery or to facilitate movement of stock are less important than agricultural fires. Pastoral fires are neither necessary nor desirable where there are goats, for these animals thrive on woody browse and can break through the thickest scrub. Sheep outnumber goats only in the drier eastern sector, where impenetrable formations are rare. For every fire set to "improve" pasture, probably more than ten are set to prepare new fields for plowing.

Whatever its cause, fire is a major agent of deforestation. The difficulty is that there are many kinds of fires: quick fires that run over a thin mantle of vegetation, great conflagrations that consume thicker formations, fires that remain close to the ground, fires that extend to the crowns of trees. It makes a great deal of difference whether fires recur after five or after twenty-five years. Moreover, the important factor may be not the fire itself but what happens to an area after it has been burned.

---

[a] R. le Tourneau, L. Paye, and R. Guyot, "La corporation des tanneurs et l'industrie de la tannerie à Fès," *Hespéris*, 21 (1935), 167–240; A. Joly, "L'industrie à Tétouan," *Archives Marocaines*, 8, 15, 18 (1906–1912).

[b] J. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala (Marruecos español)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1955), pp. 26–27, and the map showing the "natural area" of *Quercus Ilex*.

[c] H. Marc, *Notes sur les forêts de l'Algérie* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 396, lists the causes of serious forest fires from 1886 to 1915 as "accidents" (8 per cent), "imprudence" (32 per cent), "intentional" (23 per cent), "unknown" (37 per cent).

[d] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, "Influence des feux pastoraux dans la région méditerranéenne," *Jour. d'Agriculture Tropicale et de Botanique Appliquée*, 3 (1956), 785–791.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

372 139 311 The main difference between the effects of fire in broad-leaf forests and in coniferous forests is that the latter, with the exception of the Barbary thuya, do not reproduce by coppice shoots. The resinous bark of maritime and Aleppo pines is highly inflammable, and since neither tree reproduces from shoots, burning is usually fatal. Yet both species, especially the Aleppo pine, are pyrophytes. Indeed, the presence of a large number of pine seedlings is a sure indication of recent burning. Both species produce abundant seed, and proliferation is encouraged by the destruction of competitive growth. If fifteen or more years have elapsed since a fire, the seedlings reach maturity and the ground is again littered with seeds; but recovery is thwarted by more frequent fires.

Little is known of the effects of fire on the Moroccan fir, but it is probably unimportant as an agent of deforestation. The three main stands of fir grow on the highest slopes of limestone mountains, where there is little underbrush. Furthermore, these mountains do not have sufficient surface water to support permanent human settlement. Goats driven to the mountains from the lower slopes have destroyed many seedlings, but there is little evidence of destructive forest fires. Nor is there evidence of destructive fires in relatively undisturbed stands of cedar. Such forests have little underbrush to serve as kindling, and the cedar itself does not burn easily. But fires may be serious where cedar forests have been invaded by secondary growth. Most of the shrubs common in open stands of cedar—*Cistus, Daphne, Genista, Cystius, Thymus,* and *Halimium*—are highly inflammable. Occasional fires followed by long periods free of disturbance generally do not cause deforestation, but deforestation results when seedlings are destroyed before they can produce seed. The critical interval is disadvantageously long, for the Atlas cedar does not produce abundant seed until it is forty to fifty years old.

Destruction by Domestic Animals

233 311 It would be hard to overemphasize the destruction wrought by grazing and browsing. More than half a million sheep and over a million goats are maintained in this zone. These figures are impressive, but the striking fact is that so large a number of animals are maintained by sedentary farmers. No tribe in northern Morocco is nomadic, and only the Ulad Stut and Aith Bu Yihyi practice transhumance. The main types of pastoral disturbance are well described by Braun-Blanquet.[30] Heavy pasturing causes: (1) withdrawal of large quantities of plant matter, (2) mechanical damage to plants by grazing, browsing, and trampling, (3) selective destruction of desired plants, (4) introduction of nitrophilous communities, and (5) alteration of microrelief.

The few cattle and camels kept in northern Morocco probably are not important agents of deforestation. Both animals are used almost exclusively for draft purposes, and few villages can afford to maintain more than one team. Authorities disagree on whether sheep have been significant factors in the process of deforestation. Most of the sheep in northern Morocco are in the drier and warmer parts of the zone, i.e., Garet and the eastern Rif. Woody plants are too

[113] Clarendon Press, 1929); and B. O. Coventry, "Denudation of the Punjab Hills," *Indian Forest Records*, 14 (1929), 49–78.

[30] Braun-Blanquet, *op cit.*, pp. 367–368, cited in note 31.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

233 tough and massive to be adversely affected by grazing, but sheep can destroy
311 shoots and seedlings, particularly those of the resinous trees.[71] The presence of monotonous formations of *Stipa tenacissima* in the lower Moulouya Valley and on the Algerian Hauts-Plateaux probably indicates overgrazing, for a history of excessive grazing may be inferred wherever hard tussock grasses have replaced more palatable growth.

Where goats are numerous, deforestation is accelerated, for no hillside is too steep to daunt this very agile creature, and few plants escape its voracious appetite (pl. 8, *a*). In Arcila, goats scale the nearly vertical Portuguese walls, and in the Sous Valley they climb into *Argania* trees. Not content with the grazing of grass, goats tear it up by the roots. When woody browse is exhausted, the soil itself is grazed in an attempt to get at the seeds of grasses and other plants. It is not surprising that the goat should be described as an "ecologic dominant,"[72] and that many naturalists would like to see it become extinct, except in zoos.[73]

[392] The most serious deforestation occurs when heavy browsing follows burning. Premature browsing or grazing results in the destruction of seedlings before they can produce a new crop of seeds. The French forestry service has ruled that burned areas should be closed to pasture for at least six years. The recovery of cedar forests may be thwarted if excessive browsing takes place within twenty years.[74]

311 The best-known relict of the cedars of Lebanon, a stand of several hundred
137 trees, is protected from vandalism by a church and from goats by a stone wall.[75] In open places in the Mamora forest, young cork oaks survive only within a protective cluster of palmetto. On the semiarid plains of northeastern Morocco, *Pistacia atlantica* rarely survives unless it is protected by a spiny hedge of zizyphus or sumac (*Rhus pentaphylla*), and in the Sous Valley the latter species plays an even more vital role as a protector of young *Argania* trees. In the mountains of northern Morocco, seedlings of cedar, pine, and fir are protected by the armature of the juniper. Elsewhere on the Mediterranean versant, young trees may be protected by *Genista, Calycotome, Ulex,* and other thorny Leguminosae.

311 Trees that reproduce by coppice shoots are seldom completely destroyed, but
233 excessive browsing may reduce them to shrub form. In the geographic textbooks
392 the scrub or dwarf state of the Mediterranean woodland is often described as a
137 consequence of the Mediterranean precipitation regime. The error of this generalization is manifest in the holly oak. That the stunted and deformed appearance of this tree results from fire-induced sprouting and browsing is evident when stately trees growing on protected sites are compared with the prevalent forms. Neither climate nor any other element of the inanimate environment can explain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

[71] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 616, is more emphatic: "Il est d'observation courante au Maroc, comme en Algérie, que dans tous les massifs de résineux où le parcours des moutons est intense, il n'y a pas de régénération et que ces massifs sont condamnés à disparaître à plus ou moins longue échéance."

[113] [72] Marston Bates, "Man as an Agent in the Spread of Organisms," in Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 798, cited in note 7.

[73] Raymond Furon, "The Gentle Little Goat: Arch Despoiler of the Earth," *The Unesco Courier*, January, 1958, pp. 30–32.

[113] [74] Cf. Boudy's comment, *op. cit.*, II, 532: "Régénération de la cédraie et pâturage sont choses incompatibles." The prerequisites of recovery probably include at least three or four years of unusually heavy precipitation.

[75] W. C. Lowdermilk, "Lessons from the Old World to the Americas in Land Use," *Smithsonian Inst. Ann. Rept. 1943* (Washington, D.C., 1944), p. 416.

A, [See p. 132--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

the stunted form of this tree. The same remarks apply to dwarf forms of thuya and oleaster. On protected sites even the palmetto may become a tree and, when disturbance is manifest, dwarf forms of cedar develop.

Vegetation on Sacred Sites

Throughout Morocco and to some extent elsewhere in the Muslim world, cemeteries are regarded as sacred ground. Sanctity is ascribed also to the areas adjacent to tombs or shrines of saints (*murabitin*). The cult of saints has been an important factor in Moroccan history, and tombs or shrines are found in the territory of each tribe.[a]

Sacred sites often constitute islands of verdure. This correlation is not unique. In *The Golden Bough* Sir James Frazer describes sacred woods in many parts of the world.[b] The interesting feature of the Moroccan situation is that such groves are extraordinarily numerous and that the veneration relates to the ground in which plants grow and not to the plants themselves.[c] Protected growth is usually more dense than the growth on adjacent profane land, and the height and girth of individual plants exceed those of plants growing on unprotected land. Some species (e.g., *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*) rarely achieve arborescent forms on unprotected sites.

The nature of the protected growth varies from a single shrub or tree to thickets and groves. Figure 25 shows the silhouettes of vegetation on a few sacred sites. These examples, selected from hundreds, illustrate the general pattern (cf. pl. 9, *a* and *b*).

Figure 25, *a*, shows a few mature cedars surrounded by a dense growth of holly oak. The prevalent vegetation in this area is a shrub formation dominated by *Cistus laurifolius*. There are no other cedars within a radius of several hundred meters, and holly oaks, apart from those on sacred sites, are in scrub form. It is evident that succession has resulted in a retrogression from cedar to oak forest and then to a sparse cover of shrubs.

Figure 25, *b*, illustrates a protected formation dominated by oleasters (cf. pl. 9, *a*). *Pistacia lentiscus* becomes prominent where oleasters are widely spaced and light reaches the ground freely. Palmetto and thuya, even more heliophilous, are confined to the edges of the protected growth. In the surrounding area the vegetation is limited to shrubs. Numerous other examples of oleaster groves fringed with pistacia and palmetto could be described. A handsome grove appears at the tomb of Sidi Manari on Cape Malabata opposite Tangier. Five groves appear on one ridge between Tangier and Tetuán. Others appear on the marine terraces between Tangier and Arcila, and on the lower slopes of the limestone mountains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

[a] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Marabout," in H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 325–326; Emile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

[b] Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935). Part I of *The Golden Bough*.

[c] J. Cola Alberich, *Cultos primitivos de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954), refers to tree worship (*dendrolatria*), but the evidence he cites relates to popular ideas of the medicinal and magical qualities of plant material (leaves, seeds, acorns, etc.) and not to the sanctity of plants as such. It is possible, for example, to recognize magical qualities in pine cones and yet have no reluctance to destroy or mutilate pine trees. In Morocco the important consideration is not what qualities a plant may possess but *where* it grows.

A, [See p. 133--Analyst]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Fish is never boiled or prepared in any way other than those above named. It is never
262 eaten during a meal at which milk is drunk.

Eggs. These are most commonly eaten hard boiled, a number of them in a bowl of melted butter constituting a common dish. They are also made into omelettes, but this latter method is rare and is probably of recent introduction. They are never mixed in bread or in any other composite dish.

262 **Milk and Milk Products.** Milk is consumed in a number of different ways. It may
●234 be drunk fresh, as it commonly is, especially among the mountain peoples, or may be left to

MAP 4

curdle. The curds, called *aghin*, are drunk out of a communal pot. Butter, called *adhen*, is made by two methods: (1) In the Rif, except in the region of nomadism, cream is put into an earthen pot with a narrow neck and a spout and two handles. Leather lids are tied over the neck and spout, and the pot tied to the rafters by the handles. Here it is swung back and forth until the butter is ready. (2) Among the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi the cream is put into a goatskin, which is tied tight and swung from a wooden tripod until churning is completed.

el kleila (Arabic), cheese, is made only by the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is commonly produced in the form of flat, hard cakes. Being cheese makers, the nomads naturally know the properties of rennet, which they cut from the stomachs of calves; with this and fresh milk they make junket, *jeben*, which they feed to children. The sedentary peoples,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeezed from the ends of fig branches. They claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammet*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammet* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it.

Wine-making, which Marmol [1] attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khamr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.[2] On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organized which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

kif, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghzuth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammet* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

Riffian Table Manners. When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

[1] Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86–88.

[2] Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 184, 207 *sqq.*, 316, 386, 423, 431, 467, 473, 488 *sqq.*, 507 n., 570, 601.

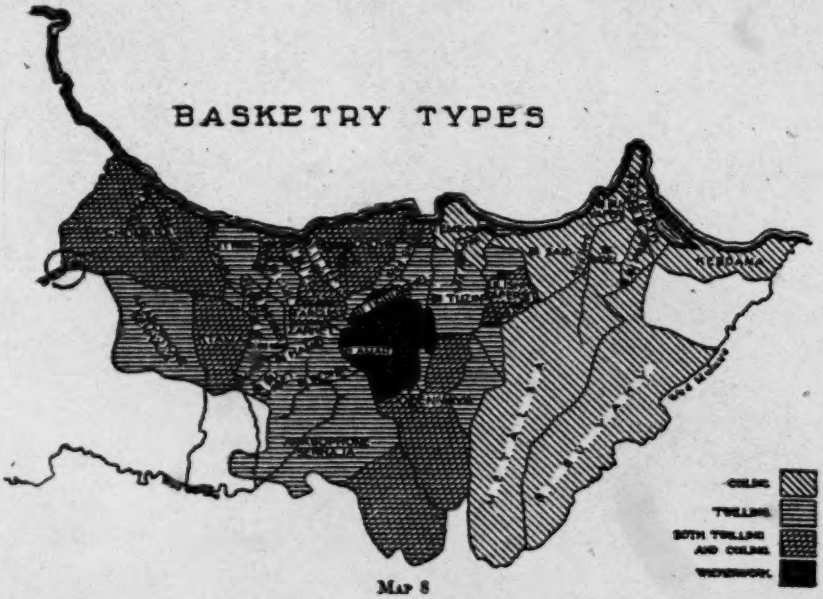
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

415 for the most part containers of iron and of skin, materials which are not apt to break in the course of a nomadic existence. Skins are used to hold all liquids, and likewise as churns for [234] butter.

BASKETRY

285 There are three types of basket-making employed in the Rif; coiling, twilling, and 415 wickerwork.

Coil-baskets are made with a bundle of *azref*, a grass, circular in section, as rod, and with [314] palmetto leaves for wrapper. Coiled baskets, generally in the form of shallow trays, called



Map 8

tubbuk, are supposed to have been introduced by the Arabs. They are found in Ghomara, Mestasa, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Itteft, Bokoya, Ajdir, Branes, Ktama, Targuist; Khebaba, Shawia, and Beni Yunes of Gsennaya; Temsaman, except for the villages near the sea; Beni Said, with the same exception; Galiya, Kebdana, el Azib of Meidhar, Tafersit, lowland Beni Ulishk, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi.

Twilling, called *iji*, is employed in the manufacture of the *shwari*, or pack-saddle panier, and of the *endu* or flat basket with two handles used as a container of dried figs and raisins, [314] also as a table upon which bowls are set and upon which bread rests during repasts. These articles are made from either *halfa* or palmetto, whichever is available. They are distributed through Beni Mohammed, Shawia, Ulad Alu Fars, Khebaba, Iharshliyen, and Ain el

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[1]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[2] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[3] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[1] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[3] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

NAVIGATION

The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thagharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thagharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *ishizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkathafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in felucca rig.

Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks. The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara, where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Wafi, of the Beni Urriaghel.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 Riffian acquisition of vegetable food may be divided into four processes, some of which may be developmental stages, and all of which are in contemporaneous use.

1. The gathering of edible wild plants.
2. The care of fruit and nut-bearing trees and of vineyards.
3. The care of gardens.
4. The cultivation of grains and leguminous plants.

The following subjects also pertain to agriculture and vegetable food-getting.

1. A calendric cycle of agricultural events.
2. Tools and machinery.
3. Communism in agriculture.

222 137 **Collecting and Gathering.** There are certain wild products growing on mountains, in valleys, in springs, and on refuse heaps, which are of food value and are collected and eaten, either from choice or as emergency rations in time of famine, although no attempt is made to cultivate them. So far as can be determined, they are as follows.

azemmur,[1] the wild olive.

erbejuth,[1] the oak. Both acorns and the tree upon which they grow are called by the same name.

adheman,[1] the hawthorne. The haws, called *saaror*, are gathered and eaten.

larnej,[2] a wild lemon tree, probably escaped from cultivation.

tuth,[2] the mulberry, at present wild. It was probably introduced earlier and then abandoned.

[245] *habb ul muluk*,[2] the wild cherry, with probably the same history as the mulberry. Both trees are now cultivated by the Senhaja.

sasanu,[1] the arbutc, or strawberry-tree. Its fruit is eaten fresh, also dried and put into bread.

thabgha,[1] wild blackberries.

tuzzelt,[1] a bush the pod of which is eaten.

thakhfar,[1] a wild rose, the pod of which is eaten.

askum, wild asparagus.

ma'iisha, the wild tomato, found in old refuse heaps. Its cultivation has been abandoned.

thebisesth,[3] a plant growing in the mountains, eaten as a green.

yanush, watercress, or a very similar plant.

theshiuma, another water plant, growing in springs.

thafa ikshuth, a wild plant resembling celery.

thighigheshth,[4] a wild plant the roots of which are boiled and used for washing wool. Its leaves are cut up, boiled, and eaten.

benaaman, a wild poppy. Women eat its leaves, and children its buds.

imzwar, a plant resembling shamrock or clover. Its leaves, slightly sour in taste, are eaten.

tuasrin, mushrooms.

[1] See Introduction, p. 8.

[2] The wild lemon, cherry, and mulberry were not mentioned in the Introduction because they are not indigenous.

[3] This is perhaps related to the root given by Laoust (p. 506) for mallow. *Tibidas*, in the Zemmour dialect, is the closest.

[4] Laoust (p. 30) suggests that this may be *Saponaria rucaria*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 [252]

for several weeks. At the end of this time the poison is supposed to be washed out, and the product is dried and eaten.

thinifn, peas, *ibauen*, broad beans, and *er athis*, lentils, like *shasana*, are grown as grains.

241 805 793

The Calendric Cycle of Agricultural Events. Agriculture in the Rif and in the Senhaja country is conducted on the basis of the old Roman calendar, the names of the months surviving in a form very little altered from its original character. I was unable to transcribe these names exactly since I could find no one who knew them accurately and was willing to reveal them. Knowledge of them is confined to the *fkih*, the preceptor or religious head of each group of villages, and to his students. The *fkih*, while delivering sermons at the mosque on Fridays, reveals the agricultural program for the following week and tells the farmers just what activities the season merits. To reveal this calendar system and the agricultural annotations which go with it would be to relinquish a portion of the awe in which the religious leader is held.

The preceptor likewise knows the Arabic lunar calendar and is the only one able to tell when religious feasts of Arab origin are due. The farmers reckon only by the four seasons, a solar conception which may well antedate either the Roman or the Arabic system. They know, however, about when each activity is due, since they are in the habit of repeating the program every year. and could probably get along as well without the learned assistance of the *fkih* as with it.

241 805

A rough outline of the year's activities follows.

January. In this month the farmers plough their land. (See plate 9.) When this has been finished they sow barley and *shasana*, and later broad beans and lentils.

February. If the bean and lentil sowing has not been finished in January, it continues over into early February. Sometimes it continues until the end of the month.

March. About the first of March the farmers hoe the mountain slopes and sow rye and peas.

April. On the first of April they commence planting the vegetable gardens with potatoes, beans, carrots, turnips, onions, and peppers.

May. This is the month for trees. The farmers dig around the roots, fertilize them with manure, and water them. After the trees have been cared for in this way and pruned, the soil about the grapevines is loosened and fertilized with manure, without water. At this time the grapevines are also pruned.

June. Toward the beginning of June, or sometimes during the last week of May, the farmers reap the *shasana*, lentils, barley, and peas, in the order named. The barley is cut with sickles; the others are pulled up by the roots and laid aside for threshing. After this has been done the farmers irrigate the terraces in which the *shasana*, lentils, peas, and barley have been growing (see plate 9) and plant them with maize. The plants previously reaped are then threshed, first the *shasana*, which is the most susceptible to insect pests and cannot wait, then the lentils and peas, and finally the barley. All this threshing is done with cattle, donkeys, or mules, which are forced to trot around a circular threshing floor. (See plates 10 and 11.) Toward the last of June the rye is cut, and the women thresh it by hitting the heads of the sheaves against sticks held in the hand. It is tabu to thresh rye with cattle, just as rye is never planted by means of domestic animals or the plough. The whole rye complex seems to antedate or at least to be negatively associated with the cattle and plough complex.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241
805

July. In July, forty-five days after having planted the maize, the farmers reap it, fertilize and water the terraces, and set out the second crop. This second maize is a different variety from the first, and grows more rapidly. After it has ripened it is left in the ground until December or January, when it is removed in time for the next season's ploughing. Towards the end of July the almonds and walnuts are picked and stored away.

August. About the first of August, after the second crop of maize has been planted and the almonds and walnuts picked, the farmers gather the turnips, potatoes, and small beans, planting in their stead more potatoes, more turnips, and black beans. They likewise set the onion seed out in beds, and after the shoots arrive cover them with manure and branches to keep them warm during the winter. Toward the last of August the late figs are picked, split, and set to dry. Figs intended for sale rather than for local consumption are not split, but are spitted on sticks of wood. At this time the farmers also pick pomegranates and carob beans.

September. September is the grape season. Whole families repair to the precipitous vineyards with baskets to pick, sleeping in the vineyards at night, and feasting and playing games. This is the season of festival, and likewise the time when weddings take place. At this time, when the families are sleeping in the vineyards, raw garlic is eaten plentifully, since this is the only time of year in which people do not live in the house, and it is considered shameful to have an odor of garlic about the house. After the grapes have been picked the women gather the root called *fathis*, which they burn. The ashes, mixed with water, are used to wash the grapes before these are set out to dry. Grapes washed in this way are said to dry more rapidly, not to rot, and to form better raisins.

October. Toward the end of October the olives are picked and stored away packed in salt until the farmers find leisure in which to grind them. Olives can be kept two years in storage without detriment.

November. In November the farmers graft trees, using beeswax in the process just as it is used among modern farmers. They tie the waxed joints with cloths, which they leave on until the following spring. In October and November the men cut wood and brush for their fires, enough to last them through the winter. The women and children help them to bring this wood in on their backs.

December. Toward the end of this month and in early January, those farmers who possess orange trees pick the fruit. Some of it is eaten, but much is sent to Fez to be sold. During the winter months, when it is stormy outside and farming is ended, the men sit inside the house working with wood, fashioning spoons, hoe-handles, and ploughs, and do what repairing is necessary upon their houses.

This calendar of events keeps the Riffian farmers very busy most of the time, and as a rule they are most industrious and energetic workers.

In the regions where there is no terraced irrigation (left white upon map 2[1]) only one crop of maize is grown, and but one crop of vegetables. This is compensated for by the relatively greater abundance of arable land in the east and other low-lying districts. The mountain people depend to a great extent upon vegetables, especially the leguminous varieties, and dried fruits and nuts, while the lowlanders go in more extensively for wheat and barley.

[1] See p. 52.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241

Tools and Machinery Employed in Agriculture. *ariyzim*, the hoe, or mattock, is the fundamental Riffian agricultural implement. It is made by local blacksmiths and resembles the hoe used all over North Africa and far into the Negro country. The present hoes are hafted in the normal European fashion, but there is some reason to believe that they formerly were socketed. The only difference between a hoe and an adze is that the adze is smaller, more delicate, and has a steel blade welded into the cutting edge. The distribution of the hoe is universal.

amzhar, the sickle, is of ordinary European shape and type, and is made locally by smiths. It is hafted by a tang. The distribution is universal.

er hathitha, the reaping hook, is a short sturdy knifeblade, hooked around to form a right angle about two inches from the end. It is tanged and hafted into a wooden handle.

asghar, the plough, is typical and almost as widespread as the hoe; this is a composite implement, made, except for the iron share, wholly by means of the adze, and by the farmers themselves rather than by carpenters. Any farmer who shows himself proficient in this art may be called upon to make ploughs for his neighbors, but he cannot or does not accept money for this, on account of the sacred quality of the plough. The parts comprising this implement are as follows:

zegru, the body of the yoke, a double curved piece of wood which sets across the necks of the two oxen drawing the plough.

thighenayin, the hames, two U-shaped pins, one at either side of the *zegru*, passing under the necks of the oxen and fastened through holes in the *zegru*.

ashbiu, a piece of leather nailed onto the centre of the *zegru* to hold the hooked end of the plough-pole in place and keep it from slipping.

thazhbat, the wooden peg set in the end of the pole of the plough itself. This peg fits over the middle of the yoke and is held in place by the leather *ashbiu*.

athemun, the long pole of the plough at its rear end set into the body of the plough and at its front end hooked onto the yoke by means of the *thazhbat*.

siri n wusghar, the main body of the plough, a thick curved piece of wood, so hewn that its back rises to form a handle and its front is the part to which the share is attached. The *athemun* is set into the middle of the *siri*.

thafarot n wusghar, a stout wooden peg running vertically, mortised into the *siri* and running entirely through the *athemun*. This prop serves to keep the *athemun* and the *siri* tightly in position.

imzoghen n wusghar, the ears of the plough, two triangular pieces of wood set into the sides of the *siri* just back of the share.

thayasa, the iron ploughshare, made by local blacksmiths. This share is made from a flat piece of iron hammered over at the edges so as to form a socket, which fits over the pointed end of the *siri*.

The *siri* and *thazhbat* must be made of oak; the *athemun* may be made of oak or of cedar; the *thafarot* may be made either of oak or of almond wood; and the *imzoghen*, which need not be very strong, may be made of any available kind of wood.

These are the indispensable elements of the plough.[1] The type just described is found with no important variations all over the area in question, with two exceptions: the sterile

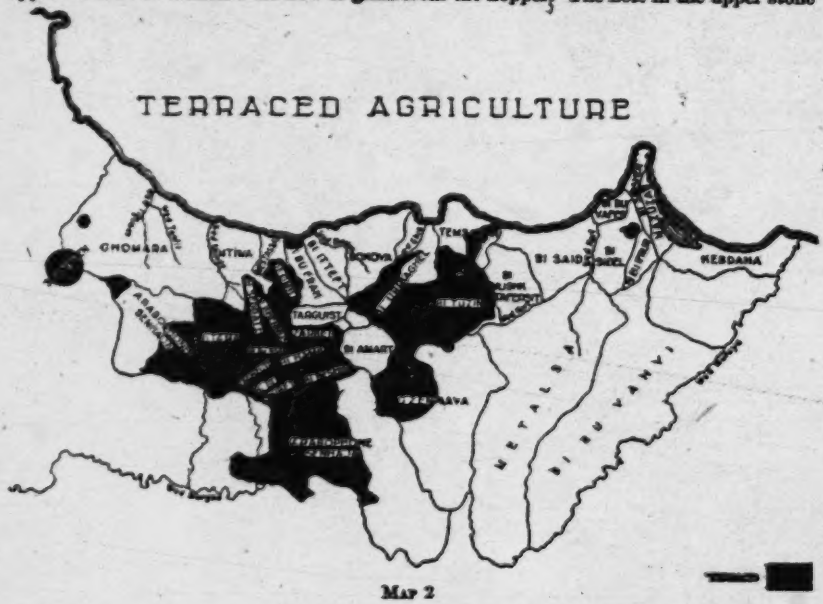
[1] An excellent and exhaustive treatise on Moroccan plough types will be found in Laoust, pp. 275-290.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 portion of Beni Bu Yahyi, where no agriculture is practised, and parts of Ktama, where wheat and barley are not or cannot be grown.

252 [376] *Ihasath n seman*, the turbine grain mill. This type of mill, a complicated mechanical invention, consists of a small house built over a dam or over the end of a high-flowing irrigation ditch, a turbine wheel with tilted paddle-shaped blades set into a thick terminal hub, a circular stone attached to the upper end of the turbine shaft inside of the house and resting on the nether stone, and a hopper hanging above the stone with a feed-slot jiggled by the upper stone so as to insure the flow of grain from the hopper. The hole in the upper stone

241



MAP 2

into which the shaft is set is off-centre, and the upper part of the shaft is bent to allow for this, so that the upper stone turns fairly evenly on its axis, while a second hole, drilled through the exact centre of the upper stone, does not deviate from the centre and allows the grain falling from the hopper to be ground between the two stones. The lower stone is larger than the upper and is rimmed with a slightly raised border, broken only in one place, so that the flour may be extracted from the gap in the rim. This type of mill seems to be concentrated at Taghruth, where many of them are in constant use. There are several in Beni Bu Nsar and five or six in Beni Aissi of Ktama; there was formerly one in Wed Iherrushen of the Gsennaya; and there are about ten at Ajdir. At Fez many of these mills are in use, and they are also found in the Atlas, particularly at Zerekten.[1]

[1] For a detailed description of this type of mill consult Laoust, pp. 36–43, and Baron Nopsa's *Boutes, Tsuhine, Gerste Nordafrikanisma*, pp. 131–134.

241

Threshing with mules, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Winnowing, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Husking grain in a mortar, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Winnowing out the husks, Tiguisas, Ghomara

[facing p. 52]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 RF MX3

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

312 construction requires a great amount of skill. Where the sides of the valley are precipitous and rocky, the ditches are led around through olive logs hollowed out with the adze and supported by long wooden props; at times ditches are led even from one side of the valley to the other by means of these olive-wood troughs. The distribution of the *targa* coincides with that of *tikerathin*, or terraces, except in the lowland alluvial plains of Ajdir, Tiguisas, and other Mediterranean deltas, where irrigation is carried on without terraces. Irrigation is locally supposed to have been invented by the men of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen in the northern Gzennaya, and expert *targa* makers from these places are sent for to construct and repair ditches all over the Rif.

[463 465] *hassi*, the well. Wells are constructed by itinerant craftsmen from the region of the Draa, who wander about throughout the Rif seeking employment. They are never molested, since they are considered benefactors of mankind, and are paid well for their work. These men generally earn as much as twenty dollars for the construction of an average well, and find employment chiefly in flat arid country where there are no springs and where wells are a necessity.

241 735 476 **Communism in Agriculture.** The Riffians, living as they do close to the soil and often not distantly removed from the prospect of starvation, have developed several social devices whereby the poor may be prevented from perishing and the rich compelled partially to support them. These charitable practices are so ingrained that no one able to act as a benefactor to the poor would venture to criticize them in public or refuse to take part in them. They concern the three vegetable products which seem most deeply entwined with Riffian life: rye, grapes, and olives.

When a man wishes to sow rye on a mountain slope, he invites as many men as wish to do so to help him. Most men who have nothing else of importance to do accept the offer, and no one refuses without an adequate excuse. In this way a man of moderate means is assured of a plentiful crop of rye, to make up for his lack of other foodstuffs.

The crew works diligently from sunrise to sunset, after which they climb downhill to the house of the owner of the rye. The latter's womenfolk have meanwhile busied themselves preparing as ample a meal for the workers as the family's means will allow, and all eat and spend the evening together. If the family cannot provide very abundant rations, the workers seldom complain, since they consider their participation in the work as a form of charity, and their partaking of the food as a social gratification to the providers of it.

Similarly, in reaping season, anyone who wishes may come unbidden and help gather in the grain, whether it be rye, barley, or wheat, and is assured of an adequate meal at the end of the day in payment. In this way people who have finished their own work may be fed without drawing on their own supplies. Gleaning is left to the poor of the village.

241 476 If two farmers who own adjoining fields or terraces possess each but a single cow, they yoke these together and plough their land in common. No family is without a cow, and since ploughs are constructed by the farmers themselves, or by neighbors especially adept at the art, without payment, the situation of a man with land and no cow or plough does not arise.

241 312 Irrigation ditches which water the tillage of more than one man are subject to communal care. Each farmer is assigned a definite amount of water during each season when it is required, the amount depending on the amount of land requiring irrigation. The water is measured by days and half-days. Each season the farmer must send out a man for every

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 312 day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

241 735 476 At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathis* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

241 735 All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

252 471 Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he 252 is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

794

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.

[872] 3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.

[878] 4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Any oil remaining over the three or four cups so given is the property of the man who
[735] has pressed it, unless a poor man without trees comes to the press and asks for some. Such demands cannot be refused and each suppliant must be given a cup.

● 241 Besides charitable assistance and work done in anticipation of remunerative charity,
465 there are two types of definite agricultural contract by which one man who has not enough land to support himself and his family may acquire sufficient provender to last his household through the winter. The first is that by which a poor man binds himself to assist a richer farmer in all agricultural tasks in which he may engage. In return for this he receives a fifth of the total grain crop, a fourth of the leguminous plants and vegetables harvested, a third of the product of the fruit, olive, and nut trees, and a third of the grapes.

The rich farmer hires these share-laborers (who are called *akhemes*,[1] plural *ikhemesen* or "fifths," because of their return in grain) because he is not able to care for all of his land himself, owing to its extensive size. If the property of a rich farmer is so extensive that he is unable to cultivate it with the aid of one share-laborer, he will hire two, and these will split a fifth, a fourth, and a third of the various types of produce. No matter how many men a farmer employs he never gives more than the stipulated fractions, which are equally divided among the workers.

241 When a man owns property which he has no intention of working himself, he can rent it
427 out in return for one half of the produce. This type of contract is used by the Beni Bu Yahyi in renting out the northerly portions of their territory to farmers who come down from Galiya to work the land, the Beni Bu Yahyi not being as interested in agriculture.

241 The share-laborer is often a stranger in the village of his employment, having left his
166 home through shame of having his poverty advertised in his own village, or more often through fear of punishment for some crime. The migrations of these share-laborers has done more to cause infiltrations of blood from tribe to tribe than any other factor, since the immigrant usually marries into the group of his adoption.

241 Wealth is not a stable thing in the Rif, any more than it is in more modern types of
556 society. Despite charitable practices and opportunities for outside work, many families find themselves on the verge of starvation in or near January and February, and are willing to sell anything within reason to obtain enough food to last them until the next harvest. Others, more industrious, who have worked their land to its limit and spent the rest of their time helping others for pay, may have more food than they require and be willing to sell some of it, at a premium. They generally demand land in payment. Working this land to its limit the following year, they may pile up an even greater surplus than before, and thus before many years may become large landowners and relatively rich men, ready, in their turn, to hire as share-laborers the people from whom they bought the land.

[558] Thus the retention of property depends upon whether or not it is worked diligently, and positions of wealth may be reversed in less than a generation.

FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

252 The different types of food, including their methods of preparation, may be classified as follows: (1) cereal preparations antedating bread, (2) bread and breadmaking, (3) preparation of vegetable products alone, (4) dishes containing meat, (5) fish, (6) eggs, (7) milk and

[1] The feminine form of this word signifies a political division. See p. 92.

789 [95] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Igliwa); among the Ait Waryager he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger—among the Ait Waryager the forefinger of the right hand—with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz).

825 776 778 [97] The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much baraka in it; it is of high blood (d-demm l-kbir); it is like a shereef. It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; l-hail u l-hair wahed, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulad Bu'aziz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Ait Waryager). The sayatin, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Ait Waryager). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager); it says, L-haer liya u l sidi, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Hiaina).

[103] Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean, a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of baraka. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by jnun (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

824 778 241 [105] As certain animal species so also certain species of the [106] vegetable kingdom are possessed of baraka. This is above all the case with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and seksu. The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Ait Waryager). It is the baraka of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.

824 778 Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber idea, since the date-palm (Arab. nahla; Berb. ainiu or tainiut [Igliwa], tini [Temsaman]) has been known to the Berbers from a very ancient period; but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia. Another holy tree, like- [107] wise held sacred in the East, is the olive (Arab. s-sejara de z-zeit un; Berb. tazzitunt [Igliwa], zzeitun [Temsaman]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times. It is said that it has one of the names

796 In many parts of Morocco certain eating ceremonies take place on Midsummer day.

[193] The Ait Waryager make imsihan (the Arabic siyoha) by boiling wheat which has been soaked over night, and adding to it salt, as also butter if they have any.

796 787 821 [206] The forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive (Old Style) form the period of s-smaim, or "the great heat". It is a time of omens. Thunder in the smaim is supposed to indicate sickness or death among men or domestic animals (Fez, Hiaina, Tsul, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager).

In Andjra continual east wind in the smaim is taken for a sign of much rain in the earlier ploughing season, whilst the Ait Waryager expect a wet ploughing season if there is much west wind in the smaim.

[208]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH AGRICULTURE

241 The first ploughing season nominally commences on 17th October (Old Style), but the ploughing may begin earlier or later depending on the autumn rains, which must first soak the ground. It is called in Arabic hart l-bekri, l-hart de l-bekri, or simply l-bekri; and in Berber dayarza damanzuit (Ait Waryager), tayaza tamanzust (Temsaman), taharratt umenzu (Ait Nder), amenzu (Ait Yusi), amenzui (Amanuz). During this season wheat,(1) barley (2), beans (3),

1. In Arabic gemah or gmah, and, in Northern Morocco, by preference zra', a word which farther south denotes both wheat and barley; in Berber irden (Shloh), erden (Ait Yusi), erden (Ait Waryager). On the wide extension of this Berber term see Laoust, op. cit. p. 265 sq.

2. In Arabic s'er; in Berber timzin (Shloh), tumzin (Amanuz), timzin (Ait Yusi), a term which is very widely used in North Africa (Laoust, op. cit. p. 264). I have not, however, found it in the dialects of the Rif, where the word for barley is imendi.

241

3. In Arabic ful; in Berber ibaun (Shloh, Ait Yusi, Rif dialects), ibawen (Ait Waryager). See also Laoust, op. cit. p. 268.

peas (4), and lentils (5) are sown; but where irrigation prevails

4. In Arabic jelban; in Berber tinifin (Shloh), tinaffin (Amanuz), dinifin (Ait Waryager), jjilban (Ait Yusi). See also Laoust, op. cit. p. 269 sq.

5. In Arabic 'ades; in Berber tiniltit (Amanuz), l'ads (Ait Yusi), ra'des (Ait Waryager). See also Laoust, op. cit. p. 269.

[209] beans may be sown before the rains, a sowing which in Fez is called t-t aqser and among the Ait Yusi ibaun imenza, "the early beans". There is a later ploughing season—called in Arabic l-mazozi or l-hart de l-mazuzi, and in Berber dayarza damazuzt (Ait Waryager), tayaza tamazust (Temsaman), amazuz (Ait Yusi), tigira (Amanuz)—when the same kinds of cereals or pulse are sown.

[210] On the day when the ploughing commences certain rites are performed in all parts of Morocco.

[215] Among the Ait Waryager, immediately before the ploughing begins, the owner of the field has a dish of seksu and fowl prepared in his house. Part of it is eaten by him, his family, and the ploughman (if he does not plough himself), while the rest is sent to the village mosque to be eaten by those who happen to be there. When they have finished the meal they make fatha and invoke blessings on the future crops.

Among the Ait Waryager the ploughman, when he puts the ploughpoint (dagarsa) into the ground, curses the devil by saying, Allah ina'lek ya ssitan raharami, "May God curse you, O Satan the villain"; or, still better, expels him with the phrase, Misbillah arrahmani arrahemi, arrahemi, a'udu bi llahi mina assitani arrajemi, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, I take refuge with God from Satan the stoned one".

[218] Among the Ait Waryager, if a bull, cow, or mule is not good at ploughing, it is taken three times round a saint's shrine, after

241 which a little bag containing some earth from the shrine is hung on it, and the farmer promises to give a present to the saint if the animal improves.

The ploughman, who is called in Arabic l-harrat or l-hammas and in Berber aharrat (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi) or ahammas (Ait Warain, Ait Waryager), is subject to certain rules the transgression of which is supposed to injure the crops. It is considered necessary that he shall be sexually clean; if he has had intercourse he must wash himself before he commences his work, since otherwise there would be [219] no baraka, or holiness, in the seed or there would grow mostly grass and weeds on the field.

[220] In Andjra the seed is likewise kept carefully apart from other grain; and both there and elsewhere (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Yusi) it is believed that if a child or unmarried person passes ahead of the sower so that some of the cast seed touches him or her, that person will never marry—"the bas will remain in him till his death".

243 [227] When the reaping is finished, or also every afternoon successively as long as it lasts, the reaped corn is carried to the place in the open where it is going to be threshed. This threshing-floor of earth is called in Andjra nwader, in the Hiaina nader, in the Garbiya and among the Ulad Bu'aziz, as also among other Arabs of the plains, ga'a; and among the Berbers anrar (Aglu, Amanuz, Demnat, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder), anrar (Ait Warain), andra (Temsaman), annar (Ait Waryager), arnan (At Ubahti), rrhabt (Ait Sadden). Two stacks are made there, one of barley and another of wheat, unless indeed there happen to be different kinds of wheat which the owner wishes to keep separate.

[229] The corn is generally trodden out on the threshing-floor by animals—horses, mules, donkeys, or in some tribes, e.g. the Ait Nder, by oxen. The wheat is commonly subjected to this process a second time, if there is any considerable quantity of it, in order to be cleared of the husks which may still cling to it; but the barley is threshed first so as to supply the animals with fodder.

[232] The heap of ready threshed corn—which is called in Arabic saba, and in Berber tirrit (Igliwa), tirst (ibid., Amanuz, Aglu), tirrst (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), tirrejt (Ait Warain), dirrest (Ait Waryager), tiarrest (Temsaman)—is protected against jnun by salt (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Igliwa), tar

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The population density, 65 individuals per sq. km., although not the highest in Spanish Morocco, is a greater number of people than the land, which is one of the most infertile in the Protectorate, can effectively support. In the last century the Aith Wuryāghil found blood-feuding a sure outlet to reduce their overpopulation, but, at, the present time, as they are no longer allowed to carry firearms, the population problem is met by a large annual exodus of ablebodied tribesmen to the plains of western Algeria, where they help out with the barley, wheat, olive and grape harvests on the farms of French colons. The terrible drought in the Rīf in 1945 precipitated emigration to a previously unheard of degree, and today the number of people from Aith Wuryāghil who are living and working outside the Rīf is greater than ever before.

Those who stay at home follow an annual agricultural cycle in which cereal cultivation is extensively practiced, particularly that of barley. They plow and sow their fields in the autumn and winter, and reap and thresh the grain the following summer. The straw is piled up into circular, conical silos (*athmūn*, pl. *ithmūnen*) to be used in the winter as fodder for the animals, of which cattle and goats are the most important, sheep less so. Mules and donkeys are employed as beasts of burden, while horses, owing to the extreme poverty of the people and the mountainous configuration of the terrain, are virtually non-existent. All, without exception, keep chickens and, inevitably, dogs, while in certain favored areas apiculture is practiced; the bees of Jabal Ḥammām produce the finest honey which it has ever been my good fortune to sample.

Although barley is the most important cash crop (the barley harvest of 1953 was the best on record), the Aith Wuryāghil spend comparatively little time working their grain fields, not more than three or four months a year, all told; it is their trees which receive the bulk of their attention. The most common trees are fig, pomegranate and almond in the Bay of Alhucemas, with olive substituted for pomegranate in the mountains; they are all pruned, watered, grafted and fertilized with great assiduousness, for dried figs and almonds constitute the principal food reserves during the winters, after the grains have been eaten. The same is true of raisins, and the cultivation of grape vines is extensively practiced in the mountains near Sūq al-Arbaʿ of Taurirt.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

near Sūq al-Arba' of Taurīrt. Olive oil, extracted from a communally owned olive grinder and oil press, is the essential fat (1).

The fields, orchards and vegetable gardens (the latter producing broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers and carrots, to mention only a few) of the Aith Wuryāghil are usually terraced near the houses, along the slopes of the mountains. The vineyards, whither the families repair in September to pick grapes, are further up; and along the crests are the communal goat pastures and the *ghāba* patches, where the women go to cut brushwood for their ovens and for the local mosque. Grape picking is the only important activity in September, which marks the end of the agricultural year; after this is done and after the barley has been reaped and threshed and the silos piled up, people make merry and get married before the first rains begin again and the time to plow and sow has started up once more.

Herding and agricultural contracts of a verbal nature are made between the wealthier and the poorer men of the community, those who have little hiring themselves out to those who have more (2). Individuals who own more animals than they can pasture themselves hire herders who, while the beasts are in their charge, receive all the milk and butter and half the young ones born, and, when the animals are sold, half the profits; if the contract concerns sheep, they receive half the wool as well. Vegetable gardens and orchards are cared for by hired gardeners *(rabbā')* who receive one-fourth of the fruit and vegetable crop; as their job entails setting up terraces, they sometimes get one-third of the vegetables if the land is difficult to work. These same men, if they also perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, are called *ikhammāsen* and receive one-fifth of the barley and wheat crop. The owner of the field supplies the seed, the animals (usually cows) and the plow as well in this type of contract, while the *akhammās* (sing. of *ikhammāsen*) provides only his muscles and a switch to keep the cattle moving while they are under the yoke. The *akhammās* contract is the most

(1) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Caravan, The Story of the Middle East**, New York 1951, p. 313.

(2) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: **Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en las yemaas del Rif, Africa**, Madrid, Noviembre 1947, pp. 75-77.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] [241] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] [723] [224] [226] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

[565] [463] 36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] [294] [286] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

621
423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794
793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The [423] resources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income.

794
[429] The administration of these properties was the job of a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he [251] had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

427
241
621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

[See p. 183--Analyst]

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muna) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

312 The
562 jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions
[623] of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of
[681] women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

312 The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly
615 among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agree-
[212] ments are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

[466] The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions
[333] on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

312 Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone
689 of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2)
241 differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled
242
627

amicably by irrigation specialists (aquawam, pl. iquawamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

423 675 312 that this would have rendered useless all demands and threats voiced by downstream groupings for the transfer of even a minimal amount of flow, and in our time things have not varied; those upstream use all the water that they can, and those downstream, the overflow; and it would not occur to anybody to vary this procedure, followed since time 312 immemorial. To this procedure is very well adapted the regimen of the rivers in the Rif, in the dry beds of which water does not run on the surface, but rises up only in fixed points, each one of these forming, with the help of improvised dams, the sources or points of origin of successive irrigation ditches, making them seemingly independent.

133 241 [578] In addition, the narrow fissures which form the beds of such torrential rivers, their irregular flow, their devastating overflows and floods, in short, opposed nature and men so that the latter would have some motive for doing this and even need it for their small irrigable crop and the bare necessities of life; for it did not and would not occur to anyone to work or cultivate any more land than that necessary for his own subsistence, as anything else, overflow aside, would have attracted the envy of neighbors and strangers, and this in 675 turn would have led to blows. An association on such a large scale and for such modest objectives was, for this reason, impossible, inefficacious and unnecessary.

312 The river waters, in their upper courses, running between steep banks, scarcely need to be utilized even to a small degree on the minute riverain plots of land. In those beds, water, although actually slight in amount, is in fact overabundant, and land is lacking. Limited to the confines of the ditch by the topographical conditions

312 lead the water to which he has a right in any of the main ditches into
591 these three smaller ones. The ditch of Tuth, when it has water, moves
613 the mill of Dharwa nd-Hajj Mis'aud. The irrigators of the Tafadhna
[402] ditch, whether the turn is interrupted or not, have the right to use that of Shimurra, but giving first choice to those who use it regularly.

16. QANUN OF THE NKUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 The Nkur River has an irrigation regimen which is less exact than
675 that of the Ghis, and the written agreements on the distribution of its waters are few and recent. One of them refers to the division of waters between the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intervention of the Bureau of the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir).[146] In any case, the establishment of such agreements is based upon the same notions and the same norms as in those pertaining to the Ghis.A

312 In the Middle and Upper Nkur, there is more than enough water to
[621] irrigate the meanders which the river has created, through which it is easy to affix by-laws to the 'azibs[147] of the neighboring jma'ths which own land on its banks, given the small amount of land under irrigation.
[241] There is even freedom and waste, and it is not uncommon to see, during harvest time, the formation of tiny threshing floors with capricious irrigation-furrows of 300 and 500 meters in the middle of the river bed.

[619] There are meanders like Dhaghzwith n Dasa (upstream, in the territory of Axt Tuzin, and near the bridge on the right bank) and Dhazur-akhth (downstream, in the territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also right beside the same bridge, but on the left bank), which are of relatively large dimension and which have already stabilized turns; but the real difficulties and concomitant near-perfect solutions are

A, [See pp. 361-369--Analyst]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 In my humble opinion there is more than enough water for the surface area which can be irrigated; and so much more, in fact, that the amount which is lost is greater than that which is put to use.

312 (494) Calculating grosso modo an irrigable area of 5000 hectars, bounded by the main road on the west, as well as a subalveal flow of over 1 cubic meter per second from the Nkur River, according to the approximate calculations made when the supports of the new bridge (i.e. crossing the river at Km. 20 to the Axt Tuzin and Melilla) were set up, it would not be far off the mark to estimate the flow in both rivers, plus that of Thifarwin (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) at some 3 cubic meters per second, or 10,000 cubic meters per hour; and this would give daily 48 cubic meters per hectar under permanent irrigation.

Most of this water is now lost in the sea....and represents several millions of pesetas lost while technicians, policy makers and businessmen show no iterest.

(571) (435) (241) It should be remembered that a single turn of irrigation water every eight days costs 500 to 600 duros in the Plain of al-Husaima, and continually produces two harvests a year.

Ghis:

Ditch of Bufna'iz -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 131 liters per second

Ditch of r-Bzimma -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 46 liters per second

Nkur:

Ditch of Aghzar Amzyan -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Thimsaman -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Sidd Jdid -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of 'Ain Harri -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of Swani -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

243 While barley is the predominant crop, maize is an important secondary one. Wheat and rye are also grown but the latter is held in low esteem as a food product[1] and the former does not grow successfully on the thin residual soil of the region. In
241 [312] those areas where there are rivers or streams, small gardens are maintained by irrigation canals. In these are cultivated potatoes, tomatoes, onions, garlic, squash, turnips, green peppers and mint.

245 In addition to the grains, maize, and small vegetable gardens, many households also have orchards of fruit and nut trees. Fig, lemon, orange, pomegranate, walnut, almond, and olive trees are common. In some areas grapes are also cultivated. Around each house is a grove of prickly pears which serves not only as a means of preserving privacy, but also as a source of food. These products not only supplement and add variety to the regular diet but in the case of oranges, almonds
[258] and grapes serve as cash crops. The olives are pressed by the
[262] women to provide crude cooking oil. Nuts, dried grapes and figs
[221] are an important winter food reserve. The work of pruning and grafting goes on during the months of February-March-April.

243 In early summer harvesting begins. Both men and women engage in this activity, the men doing the reaping with hand

---

[829] [1]Coon (1931:47-48) states that rye is highly praised by the Riffian but that since the Arabs scorn it as a foodstuff the Berbers are ashamed to admit its worth.

243 sickles and the women carrying the grain stalks to the threshing areas. The threshing floors are generally merely a circle of dirt ground, although in some areas they are paved. The stalks [231] are placed on this circular floor and mules, donkeys, or cattle are driven about inside the circle, trampling the grain and separating it from the chaff. The grain is further refined by hand-winnowing done by the women. The straw is accumulated in circu- [231] lar stacks to be preserved as food for the animals during the winter months. When relatives have worked a common piece of land 243 465 the yield is divided by measuring off the appropriate amount of grain in straw baskets. If the division is on a one-for-one basis, each alternate basket will go to one of the parties. If the division is at some other ratio, the number of baskets will accordingly be at that ratio. If the land was ploughed, planted [427] and harvested by a akhammas, a sharecropping laborer, the owner of the land will receive four bushels out of every five, the remaining fifth going to the akhammas.

241 Throughout the summer the vegetables, fruits and nuts are harvested as they come ripe. In late summer and early autumn the [465] maize and grapes are harvested. Once again, if the labor of several families or of akhammas has been involved, straw baskets are used to allot out to each man his appropriate portion. It is 585 221 during this period, in the months of August and September, that [241] weddings are held. The agricultural cycle has been completed and there is spare time to arrange the necessary items for a wedding. Also this is the period in which the optimum amount of food is

585 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the
221 giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the
241 first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop.
[461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too
[777] enfeebled to do the work. Perhaps it is this unending sameness which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is
[262] not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is
[556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of
[591] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which
[471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps
231 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is
796 vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools [658] [178] which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by [425] some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. [782] Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet [241] some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who [212] has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. [794] He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

751 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams.
435 Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

796 One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic
241 directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed,
789 the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain
821 received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins
[533] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community,
[539] singing the refrain,

s-reeth-nis-la
arabe ya-sidi
stawah- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food.
[782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[1]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows 241 433 cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern [439] rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air. [443] One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[1] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[2] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one [571] of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for [616] defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. [712] In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[1] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed [113] than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[2] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous [113] with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

[3] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: [113] Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[20] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[21] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[22] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wad Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

[20] *Marruecos, zona jalifana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[21] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognized by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* . . . , II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est déterminée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgest . . . ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[22] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of *doum*.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[11] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[12]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[13] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[14] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[15] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[16] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[11] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[12] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[13] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[14] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[15] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[16] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

when the Arabs arrived. But the Arabs introduced a number of additional crops: rice (Sp. *arroz;* Ar. *al-aruzz*), the apricot (Sp. *albaricoque;* Ar. *al-barquq*), and cotton (Old Sp. *coton;* Ar. *al-qutn*).[71] The Arabs brought the bitter or Seville orange, but the sweet or common orange was introduced by the Portuguese from India.[72] The Arabs also brought the artichoke (from the eastern Mediterranean), spinach (from Persia), sugar cane (probably from India), the mulberry (originally from China), pepper, ginger, saffron, and parsley. Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), the great cash crop of the Sanhajan highlands and the object of a lively contraband trade between Spanish and French Morocco, may also have been carried to Barbary by the Arabs. In an indirect sense the Arabs may be credited with the introduction of a number of New World plants, for many of the Spanish Muslims did not leave al-Andalus until after the final order of expulsion in 1609. By that time Europeans were familiar with the agave, opuntia, tomato, and the great American crop combination of maize, beans, and squash.

Moroccan Jews

Of the Hebrew people in Morocco, the largest and most prosperous group are the Sephardic Jews who were driven out of Spain after the reconquest of Andalusia. A second, quite different group was already settled in the country when their co-religionists arrived.

The Arab chroniclers state that Jews were in Morocco at the time of the first Muslim invasion. They may have arrived with the Phoenicians or the Romans, for Hebrew scholars believe that some of their religious practices are pre-Talmudic.[73] Today most of the original Jews inhabit ghettos (*mellah*)[74] in the cities, but a few are scattered among the rural tribes. The latter usually pay tribute to the tribesmen with whom they live. Many are caravan men who travel with mule and donkey trains into the less accessible parts of the country. Others are tinkers and petty traders, while many of the prosperous urban Jews are moneylenders, jewelers, and tailors. A small but interesting group cultivates small plots in the High Atlas, and speaks Berber domestically. These "Berber" Jews, like the peasant Jews of Yemen, the Jewish highlanders of the Caucasus, the Falasha of Ethiopia, and the Turkish-speaking Jews of the Crimea, present a difficult problem for historical research.[75] They may be descendants of ancient immigrants, but it seems more likely that they are descendants of indigenous peoples who were converted to Judaism at some remote time.

When the Sephardim arrived in Morocco they negotiated an ordinance as to their status, which also contained rules laid down for the guidance of their own conduct, no doubt out of fear that contact with the more primitive Moroccan Jews might compromise their tenets. The Sephardim had already abandoned

[71] Names from P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 528.

[72] "Orange" comes from the Spanish *naranja* through the Arabic *naranj* and the Persian *narang*. "Lemon" is the Arabic *laymun* and the Persian *limun*. *Ibid.*, p. 351.

[73] For clarification of this point, see Hahum Slouschz, *Hebraeo-phéniciens et Judeo-berbères* (Paris: Leroux, 1908); and André Chouraqui, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).

[74] *Mellah* is the Arabic word for "salt." The usual explanation for this association is that Jews were once assigned the task of preserving the heads of the sultan's enemies so that they could be put on display.

[75] A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), II, 257, 402–412.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

The Agricultural Calendar

Moroccan agriculture is conducted on the basis of the Julian almanac, and the Latin names for the months have passed with but slight changes into Arabic and Berber. In most of northern Morocco the agricultural cycle involves a combination of dry farming, horticulture, and the cultivation of small irrigated plots. Dry farming as practiced in the Mediterranean region is essentially a matter of farming the same land every other year and of tilling it during the fallow period. In this way as much moisture as possible is kept in the ground for the next year. Since few communities can produce enough grain during the alternate seasons to allow for the fallow years, dry farming requires constant clearing of new land.

In the hilly areas of Jbala and Ghmara the beginning of the agricultural year is marked by fires set to clear new fields, and the haze of smoke lingers until the arrival of the first rains. By the end of the summer drought, animals are weakened by the scarcity of feed; and wherever the soil is clayey the drought-hardened surface is difficult to plow. So the farmer waits for the first rains for plowing and the second for seeding. After the soil has been turned, cereals, usually barley or hard wheat, are broadcast. Then the soil is again worked with the plow and, since Moroccans do not use the harrow, clods are broken with clubs or hoes.

In the western half of the northern zone, plowing usually begins toward the end of September, and sowing is completed by the beginning of November. In the eastern sector the first heavy rains may not come until March or April. In this event, no further thought is given to barley or wheat, and a desperate effort is made to prepare the soil for a summer crop of sorghum. When cereals are sown, the feverish activity of autumn gives way to a period of virtual hibernation. Only the women keep busy, for there is always need for fodder and fuel.

In frost-free areas, February marks the beginning of the work of planting, pruning, grafting, and fertilizing the fruit and nut trees. This task continues through March and April. In the lower areas of the Rif the most common trees are the fig, pomegranate, almond, and olive. In the highlands walnuts are most important. Trees are cared for assiduously, for dried figs, raisins, and nuts constitute the principal food reserves after the cereals have been consumed. Since they do not have to be watered, figs and vines usually occupy the higher and steeper slopes. New olive trees are usually obtained by grafting on the oleaster. The olives are often left so long in heaps on the ground that they begin to ferment, and the oil is very rancid when the fruit is eventually pressed.

The arduous task of rebuilding terraces, dams, and ditches begins in March. This work is not yet finished when it is time to begin the harvest of the cereals. The shortage of manpower at this time is offset by the women, who reap the grain with sickles and carry it to threshing floors. There it remains until the men have completed the planting of the summer crops. Then all effort is devoted to threshing and winnowing. This work begins in July and in bountiful years it may still be in progress when the first rains fall. Threshing takes place on communal floors, which may or may not be paved. These are always in an exposed position, and when the mixture of grain and straw is thrown in the air, it is separated

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

by the wind. Cattle, mules, or donkeys tread the crop and separate the grain from the chaff. As the animals are driven in a circle, the men work with winnowing forks (pl. 5, *a*). After most of the chaff has been removed, the women take over and finish the winnowing by hand. The men then set to work piling up the straw to be used as fodder during the winter months. In Garet and Gal'aya, the usual form of strawstacks is oblong; in the Rif they have a circular form. Strawstacks are sometimes covered with a thin veneer of mud; sometimes they are held in shape by stones tied to ropes. In the wetter, western provinces straw must be stored inside.

In early September, maize is harvested and the almonds and figs are collected. The remaining trees, including the olive, do not bear fruit until November or December. Grape picking, usually in mid-September, marks the end of the agricultural year. After this has been done, the cereals reaped and threshed, and the strawstacks prepared, there is time for rejoicing. September is the usual month for weddings and also for festivals and pilgrimages. But it is already time to think of the new cereal crop, and smoke from fresh clearings marks the beginning of a new year.

The cycle just described is most applicable to Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and the western margins of the Rif. On the Atlantic littoral there is little danger of frost, and vegetables may be grown at any time of the year. The calendar of events in the drier and warmer parts of the northern zone is usually two or three weeks ahead of the cycle in the highlands. When autumn rains fall over the zone, cereals are ready for harvest in the warmer eastern sector in May, but as often as not the advantage of higher temperatures is offset by meager or tardy precipitation. In 1957 the first heavy rains did not reach Gal'aya until April.

The pattern of land use in the highlands reflects centuries of trial and error. The problem here is that it is virtually impossible to grow more than one crop on the same plot of land. Maize and hemp must be planted before the cereals are ripe, and there is also a conflict of time between the harvest of cereals and the planting of vegetables. Hence a division is made between land planted to summer and to winter crops. Since the former are dry-farmed and the latter irrigated, this division coincides with a break in slope. When there is abundant water for irrigation, cereals, figs, and vines are pushed to higher and more precipitous slopes. The Aith Arbi, who own valuable terraced land on the north slope of Adrar Tidighin (pl. 6), arranged a generation ago to purchase additional land at a lower elevation so that it would no longer be necessary to devote precious irrigable land to cereals. Similar divisions have been effected by many highland communities. The disadvantages of specialization are offset also by barter at the weekly markets. In Ktama, tribesmen from the deep valley of Abd al-Ghaya grow an abundance of grapes, figs, oranges, and vegetables, which can be exchanged for grain produced on higher and drier land.

Most highland communities are not so fortunate, and an attempt is made to allocate land for each season. Cultivation is usually spread over three distinct zones, which are worked at different times of the year. First, and lowest in a valley, is the zone of terraces reserved for the irrigated crops. The next zone, at a slightly higher elevation, is planted to cereals, figs, and vines. A still higher

[See pp. 129-130--Analyst]

7:/Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

zone may be used only for pasture. This arrangement seems orderly and rational, but its effect is to accelerate the deterioration of the land. Grain stubble (which is often grazed) and vines (which are often placed parallel to the slope) do not constitute an adequate protection for the soil. As population increases, the zones of dry farming and pasture are extended to higher slopes. First the forest is destroyed, then the scrub cover is removed, and eventually the zone of dry farming is stripped of soil.[1]

Crop Combinations

The basic crops of northern Morocco are well adapted to the Mediterranean climate, for cereals can be grown during the rainy season, and trees, by virtue of their large root systems, are suited to the long dry summers. When water is available for irrigation, diets are balanced and there is no danger of famine. This happy combination of dry farming, horticulture, and gardening is realized only in the highlands and on the main river plains. Irrigated land probably accounts for less than 5 per cent of the surface of the northern zone. Most tribesmen depend on the unpredictable rains.

TABLE 4
Land under Cereals
(Hectares)

	1938-40	1951	1953	1955
Barley	75,729	193,600	164,129	174,905
Wheat	30,518	70,895	73,180	76,392
Sorghum	25,656	49,092	51,094	46,981
Maize	4,318	4,992	6,020	6,206
Rye	1,253	3,411	3,724	3,305
Totals	137,474	321,991	298,147	307,789

Source: *Anuario estadístico, 1953-53* (Madrid, 1955), p. 93.

In the whole of Morocco about 90 per cent of the land under field crops is planted to cereals. Table 4 shows the amount of land used for growing cereals in the northern zone. Barley accounts for nearly half of the total cultivated area in the northern zone.[2] One advantage of barley is that it can be cut while green, thus making space for summer crops. When barley is cut green, it is toasted before it is milled, and then is mixed with butter to form a paste. Wheat is more highly prized, but is less successful on thin residual soils. In many areas wheat flour is used only as a flavoring and leavening agent. Rye is grown in the Sanhajan highlands, but is not generally regarded as an important food. No one would think of serving rye bread to a guest. At the approach of a visitor, an attempt may even be made to hide all rye bread. When land is abundant, rye may be grown for use as thatch, and the grain is not collected. In the Rif it used to be a

[1] On the relationship of economic history and erosion, see Paul Vageler, "Zur Bodengeographie Algiers: Faktoren der Bodenbildung und -verteilung. Die Catena als bodengenetische Einheit," *Petermanns Mitt.*, Ergänzungsheft 258 (1955), 88–99.

[2] In 1950 there were 373,482 hectares of land under cultivation in Spanish Morocco. *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[4]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[5]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[4] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.

[5] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

of Garet. In the Atlantic coastal zone most of the surface is cultivated, and little vegetation is left to serve as browse. In the eastern plains goats are replaced by sheep, which begin to outnumber them in the lower parts of the Rif. In the Middle Atlas the raising of sheep is associated with transhumance. This mode of pastoral life is still followed to some extent by the Ulad Stut, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ibdharsen, who spend the winter months near their cereal fields and the summer months in higher country with their sheep. The routes of migration run from the alluvial lowlands into nearby hills, especially the Kar-Kar range. In recent years the development of new irrigation projects has discouraged pastoral life, and the migration is now limited to a few of the young men and boys.

In the western provinces the main draft animals are cows or oxen. In the highlands and in the eastern lowlands the beasts of burden are donkeys and mules, which are used also for threshing and turning olive grinders. Mules are highly prized, for they can carry a heavier load than donkeys and are more agile and hardy than horses. Since there are few horses in the northern zone, most mules are imported from elsewhere in Morocco or from Spain. Moroccan donkeys are a small but hardy race, able to withstand long journeys with heavy loads. Horses have little value except as symbols of wealth and prestige, and are seldom used in the mountains. At the time of the Spanish conquest there were no horses at all in Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Seddath, and Aith Khannus.[18] Camels are restricted to the plains of Garet, where about 2,000 of them are used as milk, pack, and draft animals. Except for an occasional playful experiment, camels are not ridden.

The pack saddle for donkeys and mules is a heavy object made of cloth stuffed with straw. Panniers of twilled basketry, consisting of a double container connected by a strip of basketry, serve nearly all transport needs. Riders perch on top of the load and let their legs dangle to one side. There is little riding in the mountains, for a healthy man can make better time on foot.

Women are the most important burden bearers. Lines of women or girls bent under heavy loads are a common sight everywhere in Morocco. In Jbala they may be seen on any road carrying huge loads of wood and charcoal (pl. 8, *b*).

The domestic animals in northern Morocco include ferrets used in hunting, dogs, cats, and chickens. The dogs are of two types, one a small cur and the other a larger sheep dog. Chickens are the exclusive property of women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands. Bees are kept in the mountains, but the average tribesman knows nothing of apiculture, and prefers to assign the task to paid specialists.

Irrigation and Water Rights

In Moroccan agricultural terminology the most important distinction is that between *bilad bour*, the land of dry farming, and *bilad saqiyah*, the land of irrigation. By far the greatest amount of irrigated land is watered by diversion of surface runoff (pl. 5, *b*). Small dams (*mechra*) are used to divert water into ditches (*saqiyah*), which lead to the irrigable land. The ditches often follow tortuous contours, and may extend for several kilometers. The larger streams are flanked by several channels, sometimes five or six, each bringing water from a

[18] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 89, cited in note 5.

A, [See p. 132--Analyst]

B, [See p. 129--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

different dam. In deep valleys it is often necessary to move water back and forth across the natural drainage lines. For this purpose, wooden conduits are set on long tripods. Construction of irrigation works begins in the spring, and after a few months of use the water is redirected into its natural course. Since water is required only during the dry season, irrigation systems are designed for the minimum runoff. On steep slopes, water is carefully directed into a series of ponds; check dams are used to impound water from springs. Channels are constructed to lead water to grist mills, but the use of water for milling has a low priority, for most communities also have smaller mills turned by hand.

The construction and maintenance of dams and irrigation ditches require less effort than the construction and maintenance of terraces. With the exception of a few works in the coastal plains, terracing is necessary for irrigation. Since irrigation involves channeling rather than simple flooding, most terraces have a slight slope and are supported by stone walls (pl. 6, *b*). There is no rotation of crops on irrigated land. In areas of thin residual soil the land is gradually built up by the constant deposition of baskets of mud, another of the backbreaking tasks assigned to the women. Fertilizer, a mixture of sheep dung and ashes, is applied each year.

The regulation of water rights is a complicated matter.[114] The rights of preference pass from human beings to animals, crops, and industries. The two main rivers of the Rif, Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, illustrate the problems of management. Wad Ghis has only about a fourth of the flow of Wad Nkour, but its flow is more predictable. Those who irrigate with its waters know the quantity they can expect, and plan accordingly. In normal years Wad Nkour irrigates nearly ten times as much land as Wad Ghis, but in some years it remains little more than a muddy trickle. Hence there is frequent occasion for disputes, which in the past often led to prolonged feuds. In both basins the mountaineers have almost unlimited use of water, while the more numerous plainsmen must be satisfied with what is left. Most Rifian communities have secondary sources of water: wells, springs, and ponds. Each family is allowed a certain time at the water source, and the community as a whole works out the regulations and fines.

An elaborate series of agreements, usually verbal, deals with the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. The labor of construction as well as the necessary reconstruction after heavy rains is done by representatives of the families using the water. Infractions of agreement often lead to differences of opinion about these responsibilities or the period of time water is used. Serious disputes may arise over the outlines of ditches, and for this reason it is necessary to gain the consent of each property owner over whose land the water is to flow. The irrigation turns of the larger communities are regulated by days. Within such communities, individual families are allowed shorter periods of use, usually an hour. The mechanics of irrigation requires the use of the hoe to build up and then destroy a tiny diversion dam.

[114] In this section I have made use of J. M. Paniagua y Santos, "Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, 4 (1948), 7–44; D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, 2 (1954), 55–67; and D. A. Caponera, "Water Laws in the Moslem Countries," *FAO Development Paper 43* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1954).

[See p. 130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Contracts and Coöperation

675 469 171 241 When tribesmen are unable or unwilling to work their own land, contracts are made between the wealthier and the poorer members of a community; those who have little land or equipment hire themselves out to those who have more. Farmers who have more animals than they or their sons can manage, make agreements with others to care for the herd. The hired shepherds, while the animals are in their hands, receive part of the milk and butter, some of the young that are born, and, if the animals are sold, a share of the profit. The shepherd receives part, sometimes half, of the wool. Full-time employment as a shepherd is considered rather degrading, and for this reason it is the common occupation of exiles and orphans.

Vegetable gardens, orchards, and fields may be cared for by hired laborers. If their job entails the difficult task of setting up terraces, they may get up to a third of the crop. If they perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, they receive a fifth of the crop. If the hired hand needs an assistant during the reaping, the latter is paid with a tenth of the harvest. Associations of this sort are not common; farm labor is ordinarily done by the landowner and his sons.

476 241 171 A second type of association takes place when two farmers own plots of about the same size but do not have enough animals or equipment to work their land independently. The two farmers join forces, each supplying his share, and the harvest is divided between them. This form of coöperation is common when a farmer has only one draft animal. In irrigated areas, one man may supply the land and part of the seed, and another the rest of the seed, the animals, and the plow. Since most communities are kinship groups, coöperation of this sort is usually among brothers or cousins."

Inheritance

428 171 The inheritance of property[114] in most of Morocco follows standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. When a man dies his widow first receives one-eighth of his property and the remainder is divided among the sons and daughters. All sons inherit equally, as do all daughters. If a man dies leaving a widow and daughters only, the widow gets one-eighth and the remainder is divided into three parts, of which the daughters receive two and the father's brother one. If the father has no brothers, the rest (aside from the widow's share) goes to the daughters. If he does have brothers, and dies leaving only one daughter, she receives half of the property (minus the widow's share) and the brothers get the other half. If a man dies leaving no children, his widow receives a fourth of his property and the rest goes to the brothers. If a man with children dies prior to his father, the children have no right to the property and receive shares only if the grandfather agrees to such a division.

[423] Moroccans are very reluctant to divide up their land. When brothers inherit land they customarily work it jointly, the eldest brother acting as a substitute

[113] [114] On contracts and coöperation, see also A. Sánchez Pérez, "Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en el Rif," *Selección de conferencias pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso 1950–51* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1951), pp. 95–104.

[113] [114] This paragraph is based upon the remarks of D. M. Hart in *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 141–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93]

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Qaret—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Tnine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Caballo Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167-169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[a] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[b] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[a] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.
[b] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

High Atlas. Deforestation can be traced also to the tanners of Fez and Tetuán.[112] The tanners' guild in Fez goes back to the ninth century, when master tanners gathered at this site from Córdoba, Qayrawan, and distant Iran. Fez leather was once exported as far away as Baghdad, and shoes went to Egypt until the present century. During the peak years of production, Fez craftsmen tanned about 500,000 skins a year. The descendants of the original immigrant craftsmen are still busy making handbags, slippers, and other articles for the tourist and export trade.

It is not surprising that *Quercus Ilex*, an important source of tannin, should now be rare in the hills near Fez and Tetuán. There is good reason to believe that the holly oak once covered these hills. One well-informed botanist asserts that the primordial cover of the limestone mountains south of Tetuán probably was a "climax" forest of holly oak.[113] In Gal'aya and the eastern Rif, careless stripping of the bark of *Rhus pentaphylla*, a source of red dye, destroys many trees; "Morocco leather," a trade name in bookbinding, is customarily made from goatskin tanned with sumac.

Effects of Burning

In the eastern Rif the plant cover is usually too sparse to maintain a fire, and on the Atlantic littoral there is little land left to clear. But between these areas is a large zone covered with forest or scrub that must be burned before the land can be plowed. Some attempt is usually made to control the spread of fire, but conflagrations develop when tinder-dry shrubs are fanned by brisk winds. Fire is employed also for the "improvement" of pasture, for increased blossoming ("bee pasture"), and probably for the mere pleasure of burning or out of carelessness.[114]

The importance of pastoral fires has been emphasized by most students of the Mediterranean landscape,[115] but in northern Morocco fires set to clear away noxious shrubbery or to facilitate movement of stock are less important than agricultural fires. Pastoral fires are neither necessary nor desirable where there are goats, for these animals thrive on woody browse and can break through the thickest scrub. Sheep outnumber goats only in the drier eastern sector, where impenetrable formations are rare. For every fire set to "improve" pasture, probably more than ten are set to prepare new fields for plowing.

Whatever its cause, fire is a major agent of deforestation. The difficulty is that there are many kinds of fires: quick fires that run over a thin mantle of vegetation, great conflagrations that consume thicker formations, fires that remain close to the ground, fires that extend to the crowns of trees. It makes a great deal of difference whether fires recur after five or after twenty-five years. Moreover, the important factor may be not the fire itself but what happens to an area after it has been burned.

---

[113] [112] R. le Tourneau, L. Paye, and R. Guyot, "La corporation des tanneurs et l'industrie de la tannerie à Fès," *Hespéris*, 21 (1935), 167–240; A. Joly, "L'industrie à Tétouan," *Archives Marocaines*, 8, 15, 18 (1906–1912).

[113] [113] J. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala (Marruecos español)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1955), pp. 26–27, and the map showing the "natural area" of *Quercus Ilex*.

[113] [114] H. Marc, *Notes sur les forêts de l'Algérie* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 396, lists the causes of serious forest fires from 1886 to 1915 as "accidents" (8 per cent), "imprudence" (32 per cent), "intentional" (23 per cent), "unknown" (37 per cent).

[113] [115] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, "Influence des feux pastoraux dans la région méditerranéenne," *Jour. d'Agriculture Tropicale et de Botanique Appliquée*, 3 (1956), 785–791.

137
311
241

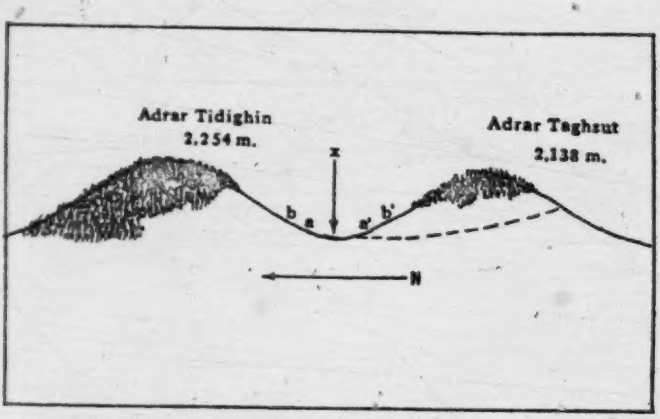


Fig. 28. Position of cedar forests in relation to land use on Adrar Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut: *a*, *a'*, zone of irrigated terraces; *b*, *b'*, zone of dry farming; *x*, location of protected cedar.

137
311

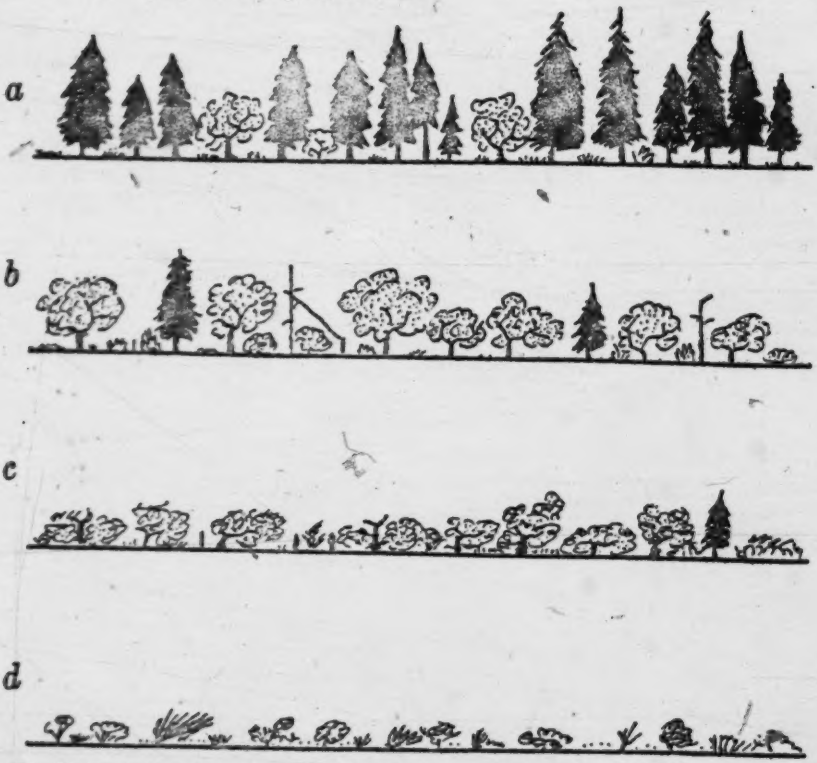


Fig. 29. Stages in retrogression of a cedar forest near Tlata Ktama (elevation about 1,500 meters): *a*, undisturbed forest; *b*, mixed stand of cedar and oak; *c*, secondary scrub oak formation; *d*, tertiary scrub formation without oak.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

practice to allow sheep to graze on stubble, many slopes are completely bare when the first rains fall. Erosion is retarded during spring and summer when a part of the runoff is diverted into irrigation ditches, but the irrigation systems promptly disintegrate at the beginning of the rainy season, and runoff again follows the network of gullies (pl. 11, *a*).

Gullying is most severe in the hilly areas of the Rif. The basins of Wad Ghis, Wad Nkour, and Wad Kert show an intricate pattern of short, steep slopes. "Ghis" means "mud" in Arabic, and most of the mud comes from the denuded highlands. The lower course of each river is joined by deeply entrenched tributary streams cutting through old fans and terraces. In Targist, Thimsaman, and Tafarsith the best farms are on fragments of Pliocene conglomerate, isolated from one another by deep ravines. Badland topography covers most of the area between Wad Nkour and Wad Kert. This may be described as an erosion-induced hoe-culture, for slopes are so badly dissected that it is no longer possible to use plows. The desperate effort to produce grain is abandoned only when the harvest does not repay the investment in seed. Cereals are sown in gullies and on nearly vertical slopes. The Spanish learned to their dismay that hungry Rifians try to cultivate even the roadbeds. The plains of Garet and the lower Kert constitute islands of alluvium in a sea of denuded terrain. Serious erosion becomes evident as soon as one passes to older terrace and residual soils. The hills of Ikibdhanen and the volcanic eminence of Gurugú are as bare as the limestone peaks.

The pattern of gullies and rills continues into the hills of Jbala and Ghmara, but the most serious problem in these areas is sliding. The roads from Tetuán to Tangier and Shawen are blocked by slides every year. In Anjra and Fahs one is never out of sight of a slide scar. Gullying is less serious than in the eastern sector, but streams are slightly entrenched even in the rolling country south of Tangier, and the marine terraces between Arcila and Larache are cut by deep barrancas.[13]

[13] René Raynal, "Bodenerosion in Marokko," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, 5 (1956–1957), 885–894.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The gathering of wild vegetable products is traditionally considered to antedate agriculture. Tales are told of the times when the Riffians subsisted on these products and game alone. In Ktama, where agriculture is difficult, the gathering of wild plants, especially *tuzzelt*, forms an important occupation. At the end of winter, when the dried fruit is gone and when the larders are low, many Riffian families would die of hunger if their womenfolk did not go out on the mountain slopes and up the watercourses looking for these natural foods.

The green plants, such as watercress and asparagus, are subject to a dietary sex tabu. Woman only may eat them. The reason given for this distinction is that they produce blood, fat, and soft flesh, desirable in women but not in men.

Mulberries and cherries were probably introduced by the Arabs and later abandoned. Mulberries are not considered good food and are seldom eaten except through necessity. Tomatoes were probably introduced from Spain and then given up.

Cultivation of Fruit and Nut Trees and of Vineyards. *zilon* (male), *misala* (female), the domestic olive tree. The male tree produces large olives low in oil content, which are preserved in lemon juice and eaten as a relish. The fruit of the female tree is pressed into oil. As a rule all the male trees in an olive yard are cut down with the exception of one, which is left to fertilize the female trees. The olives are called by the names of the trees which bear them.

arman, the pomegranate tree. The Riffians recognize sex differences in pomegranates, considering that the fruit with a thick skin and large, hard seeds in the granules is produced by the male tree, whereas the better fruit is produced by females. As a rule, the male trees are all cut down but one, which is left for fertilising the others. Sometimes male trees are left, so that the fruit may be sold in markets frequented by people unacquainted with the difference. The fruit and tree bear the same name.

er ghas, the fig tree. There are four varieties of fig trees, *aseiri*, *aghudani*, *awar n aksi*, and *abaran*. The fruit borne by the *aseiri* is round, with longitudinal purple and green lines; that of the *aghudani* is long, pear-shaped, and purple; that of the *awar n aksi* is round and light green. There are two varieties of *abaran*, one of which is round and green and the other long with black or purple lines. The three first varieties bear twice a year, in June and in September. The June figs, called *er bashor*, are eaten but not dried, except for use as medicine, since they contain but little sugar. The September figs, called *thezath*, are dried. The *abaran* varieties bear only in September. The Riffians say that the *abaran* types are the only indigenous strains, and that the *aseiri* and *awar n aksi* came originally from the Arabs, whereas the *aghudani* is derived from the Negroes.

shukwar, a wild fig. Planted, it is said, by birds that have eaten cultivated figs, this fruit is useless for eating, but is employed for magical purposes. Each year the women and children go out and gather the wild figs when ripe, tie them together in pairs with grass, and hang them on the branches of the domesticated fig trees. There are said to be insects in the wild figs which come out and touch the buds of the domestic figs. It is thought that if these wild figs were not so hung and if the insects from them did not touch the buds, the cultivated figs would not bear.[1]

[1] Westermarck (p. 190) states that the Riffians hang male figs in female trees, in order to fertilize their fruit. A small insect, *Blastophaga grossorum*, bores in and out of the figs, fertilising them. Westermarck refers to Elfving's *De Viktigaste Kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1895), p. 74.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 242 *lishin*, the orange tree. Riffian oranges are of the common North African variety. Tangerines are not grown in the Rif. It is said that the fruit of the male orange tree is elongated, while that of the female tree is round. Orange shoots are grafted to wild lemon trees without distinction of sex.

limon, the cultivated lemon tree, as distinguished from the wild variety.

tifah, the apple tree. Riffian apples are small and stunted, and not very palatable. They are not commonly grown except in the highest mountain tribes. The apple shoots are frequently grafted onto hawthornes. A sex distinction is made between the apples: the male ones are said to be large and white, and the females red.

firas, the pear tree. It is said that the male pear is white, while the female is reddish. Grafting onto hawthorne is common.

thaghieshth, the walnut tree. Walnuts are called *nuc n thaghieshth*. The Riffians distinguish male from female walnut trees as follows: The male tree bears a hard-shelled nut with little meat; the female's nut is thinner shelled and meatier. Usually the males are cut down to make room for others. No grafting is attempted with walnuts.

juz, the almond tree. The nuts from this tree are called *nuc*, the same word which is applied to walnuts. It is said that the male almond bears a nut with a single meat, while the meat of the female is double. Almonds, like walnuts, are not grafted.

er mishmesh, a species of plum tree. The sex of plums is distinguished by breaking the stone and tasting the meat inside. If it is bitter the tree bearing it is supposed to be male. Plums, like apples and pears, are grafted to the hawthorne.

er barkok, the apricot tree. Males are said to have thick skins, and females thin ones. Males are preferred for export, and females for drying.

er khok, the peach tree. The Riffians do not distinguish sex in the peaches, and do not attempt to graft them.

[262] The Riffian prizes his fruit and nut trees highly, perhaps even more than his grain and vegetables, since on the dried fruit of these trees and upon raisins his family is often forced to subsist for months at a time during the winter. He digs around and manures the roots of the trees every spring, and leads irrigation ditches to their trunks. He keeps them carefully pruned and trimmed, and diligently removes insect parasites from leaves and branches.

262 831 [585] Not only does the Riffian take great pains to distinguish between the sexes of the trees, but he also imposes a sex tabu upon the eating of the fruit of two of them, walnuts and almonds. Walnuts may be eaten only by women, and almonds only by men. The reason for this is symbolically sexual, since walnuts, on account of their wrinkled appearance, are supposed to produce a drying and shrinking, whereas almonds are supposed to produce fluidity and potency in men. Both walnuts and almonds consequently play a prominent part in the wedding diet.

Vineyards. Grapes are as important to the Riffians as fruits and nuts. Those grown in the Rif are a large reddish-purple variety, resembling Malaga grapes in form and in taste. They are grown on vines set out on high mountain slopes too steep and too barren for the cultivation of anything else. The vines are kept trimmed, and in spring the soil about their roots is loosened. It is seldom possible to irrigate them, although fertilizer is brought laboriously uphill when possible.

Among the Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, and Beni Khennus, and in Taghruth, another variety of grapes is grown, smaller and bluish-purple in color. These grapes are hardier

623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.[92]

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this,
[555] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his
623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.
623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

312 562 [623] [681] The jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

312 695 The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agreements [212] are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

[466] The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work [333] done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

312 689 241 242 627 Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2) differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled

312 689 [24] [312 621] [624] amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

312 675 423 The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

312 571 [805] Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 than the Riffian variety. They are grown on trellises outside of and trailing onto the houses, and along the village paths. Since they are trained to climb up trellises, they are not cut back like the Riffian grapes, but are allowed to grow as long as they will, for purposes of shade.

Cactus. The one species of cactus found in the Rif, the prickly pear variety, is called by its Arabic name, *karamus en Nsara*, or the Christian fig. It is found along the seacoast, in the eastern tribes up to Beni Tuzin and Gzennaya, and in the southern part of Gzennaya. It is absent in northern Gzennaya, in southern Beni Urriaghel, in Beni Amart, and in the Senhaja Sghir. Where it is grown it serves as a convenient fence about the house, and as a [438] supply of mediocre food in time of famine. Women and young girls pick its fruit, remove the needles, and sell it in market at a low price.

244 **Garden Plants and Care of Gardens.** *batata*, the potato. This vegetable is obviously of American origin, although it has been grown for a long time in the Senhaja and central Rif and has become an integral part of the local culture. It is divided into two varieties: the reddish type, the more frequent, and the white type, found chiefly in Beni Amart. The white is considered the older. Potatoes are grown only where there is irrigation, and then usually in terraces.

er khizzu, the carrot. This vegetable, considered to be of Arab introduction, is not favored and is rarely grown.

er baer, the onion. This is planted in the following manner: in March onions are cut in two or more pieces lengthwise and planted; these pieces are allowed to grow big and go to seed, and the seeds are collected and sown in a starting-bed in August: the next year the stalks are cut off and the plants are separated and transplanted.

jifth, the white turnip.

er firfir, the pepper. Peppers are specially treated, being fertilized with goat manure when they begin to flower.

jubshth, a species of small bean.

ibauen ibershanen, black beans.

thakhseshth, a type of vegetable marrow or squash.

thakhseshth n yieri, the gourd, raised for bottles only and not eaten.

243 **Cultivation of Grains and Leguminous Plants.** *dra thesdat*, durra, is considered by the Riffians to be of recent introduction from the Negro country. It is grown only by men who have no terraces whereon to grow maize (*dra*), since it can be grown dry. It is not greatly valued and is not commonly grown.

shinti, rye,[1] is grown without irrigation on the mountain slopes where the land, too steep for ploughing, may be worked with the hoe. It may be grown on land which does not belong to the farmer, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture, and hence is an important source [262] of food supply for families owning insufficient arable land. The Riffians prize rye highly, considering it rich in food value and a strength producer. Since the Arabs ridicule them for eating it, the Riffians seldom discuss the subject with strangers, or produce food made from

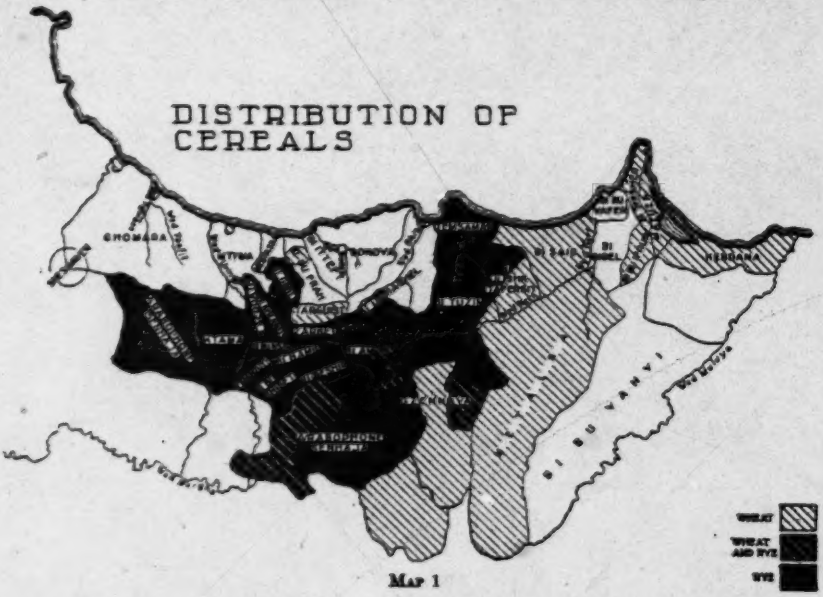
[1] Samples of *shinti* from Gzennaya, now in the Harvard Botanical Museum, have been identified by F. Tracy Hubbard of the Harvard Botany Department as rye. Moulieras mentions *shinti* in his description of the Beni Bu Nsar, calling it "une sorte de blé blanc." Procopius ascribes the cultivation of a grain called ὅρυζα to the mountain Berbers of his time. This grain, identified with the Latin *oriza*, was perhaps rye. Moulieras, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, vol. i, p. 55: Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 6, l. 13; Freund, Latin-English Lexicon; Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, unabridged, 1882 edition: Vavilov, *The Origin of Cultivated Plants*, p. 266.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 it when guests are present. It is another of the innocuous things of which they are curiously ashamed.

imindhi, barley, is the universal grain, being grown everywhere except in Taghsuth. It is grown on irrigable plough-land, in the regions where irrigation is practised.

erden, wheat, is found only in the east, in the lowlands, and in flat plateau country, notably at Bured and Targuist, where it has recently been introduced. The mountain [262] farmers consider wheat extravagant and low in food value, while the lowlanders think it the only aristocratic cereal. The distribution map for rye and wheat shows clearly the relative



Map 1

ranges of these cereals, both being largely regulated by environmental zones. I have not depicted the range of barley, since it is found wherever grain is grown except in Taghsuth.

er kortar, oats, are not cultivated in the Rif, but grow wild, and are sometimes gathered and eaten.

243 252 *shasana* is a leguminous plant resembling vetch, the English name of which, if any exists, I do not know.[1] It is grown in the same manner as peas and lentils. These leguminous plants are considered by the Riffians to belong with grains rather than with vegetables, hence I have followed the native usage in considering them in this place. *Shasana* is said to be poisonous when eaten without treatment. Like acorns, the *shasana* is placed in a basketry container and allowed to rest in the bottom of a stream, weighted down with stones,

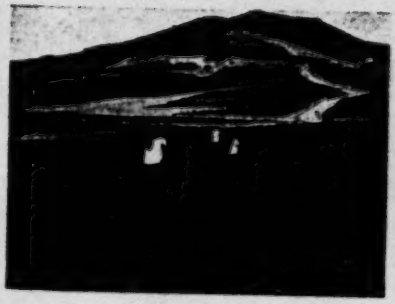
[1] Specimens brought to the Harvard Botany Department are being studied.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243

Reaping, Targuist

Tying the sheaves, Beni Said



Gleaners, Beni Said

Threshing with mules, Targuist

[facing p. 48]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 [252]

for several weeks. At the end of this time the poison is supposed to be washed out, and the product is dried and eaten.

thinifin, peas, *ibauen*, broad beans, and *er athis*, lentils, like *shasana*, are grown as grains.

241 805 T93

The Calendric Cycle of Agricultural Events. Agriculture in the Rif and in the Senhaja country is conducted on the basis of the old Roman calendar, the names of the months surviving in a form very little altered from its original character. I was unable to transcribe these names exactly since I could find no one who knew them accurately and was willing to reveal them. Knowledge of them is confined to the *fkih*, the preceptor or religious head of each group of villages, and to his students. The *fkih*, while delivering sermons at the mosque on Fridays, reveals the agricultural program for the following week and tells the farmers just what activities the season merits. To reveal this calendar system and the agricultural annotations which go with it woud be to relinquish a portion of the awe in which the religious leader is held.

The preceptor likewise knows the Arabic lunar calendar and is the only one able to tell when religious feasts of Arab origin are due. The farmers reckon only by the four seasons, a solar conception which may well antedate either the Roman or the Arabic system. They know, however, about when each activity is due, since they are in the habit of repeating the program every year. and could probably get along as well without the learned assistance of the *fkih* as with it.

241 805

A rough outline of the year's activities follows.

January. In this month the farmers plough their land. (See plate 9.) When this has been finished they sow barley and *shasana*, and later broad beans and lentils.

February. If the bean and lentil sowing has not been finished in January, it continues over into early February. Sometimes it continues until the end of the month.

March. About the first of March the farmers hoe the mountain slopes and sow rye and peas.

April. On the first of April they commence planting the vegetable gardens with potatoes, beans, carrots, turnips, onions, and peppers.

May. This is the month for trees. The farmers dig around the roots, fertilize them with manure, and water them. After the trees have been cared for in this way and pruned, the soil about the grapevines is loosened and fertilized with manure, without water. At this time the grapevines are also pruned.

June. Toward the beginning of June, or sometimes during the last week of May, the farmers reap the *shasana*, lentils, barley, and peas, in the order named. The barley is cut with sickles; the others are pulled up by the roots and laid aside for threshing. After this has been done the farmers irrigate the terraces in which the *shasana*, lentils, peas, and barley have been growing (see plate 9) and plant them with maize. The plants previously reaped are then threshed, first the *shasana*, which is the most susceptible to insect pests and cannot wait, then the lentils and peas, and finally the barley. All this threshing is done with cattle, donkeys, or mules, which are forced to trot around a circular threshing floor. (See plates 10 and 11.) Toward the last of June the rye is cut, and the women thresh it by hitting the heads of the sheaves against sticks held in the hand. It is tabu to thresh rye with cattle, just as rye is never planted by means of domestic animals or the plough. The whole rye complex seems to antedate or at least to be negatively associated with the cattle and plough complex.

241 which a little bag containing some earth from the shrine is hung on it, and the farmer promises to give a present to the saint if the animal improves.

The ploughman, who is called in Arabic l-harrat or l-hammas and in Berber aharrat (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi) or ahammas (Ait Warain, Ait Waryager), is subject to certain rules the transgression of which is supposed to injure the crops. It is considered necessary that he shall be sexually clean; if he has had intercourse he must wash himself before he commences his work, since otherwise there would be [219] no baraka, or holiness, in the seed or there would grow mostly grass and weeds on the field.

[220] In Andjra the seed is likewise kept carefully apart from other grain; and both there and elsewhere (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Yusi) it is believed that if a child or unmarried person passes ahead of the sower so that some of the cast seed touches him or her, that person will never marry—"the bas will remain in him till his death".

243 [227] When the reaping is finished, or also every afternoon successively as long as it lasts, the reaped corn is carried to the place in the open where it is going to be threshed. This threshing-floor of earth is called in Andjra nwader, in the Hiaina nader, in the Garbiya and among the Ulad Bu'aziz, as also among other Arabs of the plains, ga'a; and among the Berbers anrar (Aglu, Amanuz, Demnat, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder), anrar (Ait Warain), andra (Temsaman), annar (Ait Waryager), arnan (At Ubahti), rrhabt (Ait Sadden). Two stacks are made there, one of barley and another of wheat, unless indeed there happen to be different kinds of wheat which the owner wishes to keep separate.

[229] The corn is generally trodden out on the threshing-floor by animals—horses, mules, donkeys, or in some tribes, e.g. the Ait Nder, by oxen. The wheat is commonly subjected to this process a second time, if there is any considerable quantity of it, in order to be cleared of the husks which may still cling to it; but the barley is threshed first so as to supply the animals with fodder.

[232] The heap of ready threshed corn—which is called in Arabic saba, and in Berber tirrit (Igliwa), tirst (ibid., Amanuz, Aglu), tirrst (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), tirrejt (Ait Warain), dirrest (Ait Waryager), tiarrest (Temsaman)—is protected against jnun by salt (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Igliwa), tar

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

251 [242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

251 778 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

776 778 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried—tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid [783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

4/2 The sieve—called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)—which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

132 mean would be somewhat higher in the highlands, the range of
[243] variation would be as great. Since the economic backbone of the area is the dry farming of cereals, low rainfall or drought causes serious difficulties.

175 The history of the Rif presents us with the strange paradox that it is better documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries than for the nineteenth. We have several written chronicles of the Arab city states established along the Mediterranean, such as Nekor which drops out of history in the eleventh century, and Bades which was captured by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. Of the Berbers in the hinterland we have
[113] little material with the exception of el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif (French translation by Colin, 1926) dated 1311, and el-Bekri's Description de l'Afrique septentrionale from the eleventh century. El-Bekri notes that already in that time most
[131] of the present tribes of the Rif were located in their present
[648] sites (Michaux-Bellaire, 1925: 180-181). Between these accounts, fragmentary at best, and the uncritical chronicles of Spaniards leading punitive expeditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Riffian history is rather blank.

175 Geographical circumstances made the Central Rif peripheral
648 to most events going on in Morocco. Only with the insistence of the Spanish government did the Moroccan Sultan send an expedition into the Rif in the late nineteenth century to punish the Ibuqquyen for piracy. During the early years of the present

Chapter 2

LIVELIHOOD

243 The primary economic activity in the Central Rif is the cultivation of barley. The agricultural cycle is marked by the [221] planting and harvesting of this crop. Ploughing begins during the months between October and January depending on the occurrence of the first rain which is necessary to soften the soil. [407] Breaking the soil is done by wooden ploughs though the blades are made of metal. The terrain is first weeded and cleared of small rocks by the children of the family. Then the father, an 243 492 older son or a hired man commences the ploughing. Two animals, one on each side of the plough, are used. Mules are preferred, but rarely does a man have two. Thus, there is a bizarre mixture of animals including combinations of donkeys, cows and mules. The value of animals on the market is at its highest in this season since everyone needs them for ploughing.

243 After the land has been ploughed by the animals it is [412] broken even finer by the use of a hand hoe. When the land has been sufficiently prepared, the seed is sown by hand. Once the barley has been planted there is no further care of the fields. The crop is dry farmed and its yield depends entirely on the amount of rainfall it receives during the winter.

243 While barley is the predominant crop, maize is an important secondary one. Wheat and rye are also grown but the latter is held in low esteem as a food product[1] and the former does not grow successfully on the thin residual soil of the region. In those areas where there are rivers or streams, small gardens are maintained by irrigation canals. In these are cultivated potatoes, tomatoes, onions, garlic, squash, turnips, green peppers and mint.

241 [312]

245 In addition to the grains, maize, and small vegetable gardens, many households also have orchards of fruit and nut trees. Fig, lemon, orange, pomegranate, walnut, almond, and olive trees are common. In some areas grapes are also cultivated. Around each house is a grove of prickly pears which serves not only as a means of preserving privacy, but also as a source of food. These products not only supplement and add variety to the regular diet but in the case of oranges, almonds and grapes serve as cash crops. The olives are pressed by the women to provide crude cooking oil. Nuts, dried grapes and figs are an important winter food reserve. The work of pruning and grafting goes on during the months of February-March-April.

[258] [262] [221]

243 In early summer harvesting begins. Both men and women engage in this activity, the men doing the reaping with hand

---

[829] [1]Coon (1931:47-48) states that rye is highly praised by the Riffian but that since the Arabs scorn it as a foodstuff the Berbers are ashamed to admit its worth.

243 sickles and the women carrying the grain stalks to the threshing areas. The threshing floors are generally merely a circle of dirt ground, although in some areas they are paved. The stalks [231] are placed on this circular floor and mules, donkeys, or cattle are driven about inside the circle, trampling the grain and separating it from the chaff. The grain is further refined by hand-winnowing done by the women. The straw is accumulated in circu- [231] lar stacks to be preserved as food for the animals during the winter months. When relatives have worked a common piece of land 243 465 the yield is divided by measuring off the appropriate amount of grain in straw baskets. If the division is on a one-for-one basis, each alternate basket will go to one of the parties. If the division is at some other ratio, the number of baskets will accordingly be at that ratio. If the land was ploughed, planted [427] and harvested by a akhammas, a sharecropping laborer, the owner of the land will receive four bushels out of every five, the remaining fifth going to the akhammas.

241 Throughout the summer the vegetables, fruits and nuts are harvested as they come ripe. In late summer and early autumn the [465] maize and grapes are harvested. Once again, if the labor of several families or of akhammas has been involved, straw baskets are used to allot out to each man his appropriate portion. It is 585 221 during this period, in the months of August and September, that [241] weddings are held. The agricultural cycle has been completed and there is spare time to arrange the necessary items for a wedding. Also this is the period in which the optimum amount of food is

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization, but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

Climate

The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude, irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[1]

Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[1] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

zone may be used only for pasture. This arrangement seems orderly and rational, but its effect is to accelerate the deterioration of the land. Grain stubble (which is often grazed) and vines (which are often placed parallel to the slope) do not constitute an adequate protection for the soil. As population increases, the zones of dry farming and pasture are extended to higher slopes. First the forest is destroyed, then the scrub cover is removed, and eventually the zone of dry farming is stripped of soil.[1]

Crop Combinations

The basic crops of northern Morocco are well adapted to the Mediterranean climate, for cereals can be grown during the rainy season, and trees, by virtue of their large root systems, are suited to the long dry summers. When water is available for irrigation, diets are balanced and there is no danger of famine. This

TABLE 4
Land under Cereals
(Hectares)

	1938-40	1951	1952	1953
Barley	75,729	193,600	164,129	174,905
Wheat	30,518	70,895	73,180	76,392
Sorghum	25,656	49,092	51,094	46,981
Maize	4,318	4,992	6,020	6,206
Rye	1,253	3,411	3,724	3,305
Totals	137,474	321,991	298,147	307,789

Source: *Anuario estadistico, 1953-53* (Madrid, 1955), p. 93.

happy combination of dry farming, horticulture, and gardening is realized only in the highlands and on the main river plains. Irrigated land probably accounts for less than 5 per cent of the surface of the northern zone. Most tribesmen depend on the unpredictable rains.

In the whole of Morocco about 90 per cent of the land under field crops is planted to cereals. Table 4 shows the amount of land used for growing cereals in the northern zone. Barley accounts for nearly half of the total cultivated area in the northern zone.[2] One advantage of barley is that it can be cut while green, thus making space for summer crops. When barley is cut green, it is toasted before it is milled, and then is mixed with butter to form a paste. Wheat is more highly prized, but is less successful on thin residual soils. In many areas wheat flour is used only as a flavoring and leavening agent. Rye is grown in the Sanhajan highlands, but is not generally regarded as an important food. No one would think of serving rye bread to a guest. At the approach of a visitor, an attempt may even be made to hide all rye bread. When land is abundant, rye may be grown for use as thatch, and the grain is not collected. In the Rif it used to be a

[1] On the relationship of economic history and erosion, see Paul Vageler, "Zur Bodengeographie Algiers: Faktoren der Bodenbildung und -verteilung. Die Catena als bodengenetische Einheit," *Petermanns Mitt.*, Ergänzungsheft 258 (1955), 88–99.

[2] In 1950 there were 373,482 hectares of land under cultivation in Spanish Morocco. *Anuario estadistico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[5]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[6]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

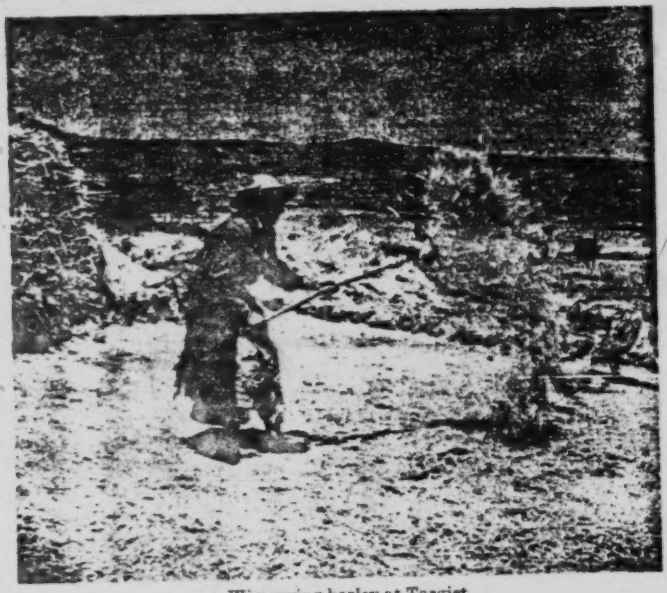
Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[5] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.

[6] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R
243



a. Winnowing barley at Targist.

S
312
133
139

b. Irrigation ditch near Tlata Ktama.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 than the Riffian variety. They are grown on trellises outside of and trailing onto the houses, and along the village paths. Since they are trained to climb up trellises, they are not cut back like the Riffian grapes, but are allowed to grow as long as they will, for purposes of shade.

Cactus. The one species of cactus found in the Rif, the prickly pear variety, is called by its Arabic name, *karamus en Nsara*, or the Christian fig. It is found along the seacoast, in the eastern tribes up to Beni Tuzin and Gzennaya, and in the southern part of Gzennaya. It is absent in northern Gzennaya, in southern Beni Urriaghel, in Beni Amart, and in the Senhaja Sghir. Where it is grown it serves as a convenient fence about the house, and as a [438] supply of mediocre food in time of famine. Women and young girls pick its fruit, remove the needles, and sell it in market at a low price.

● 244 **Garden Plants and Care of Gardens.** *batata*, the potato. This vegetable is obviously of American origin, although it has been grown for a long time in the Senhaja and central Rif and has become an integral part of the local culture. It is divided into two varieties: the reddish type, the more frequent, and the white type, found chiefly in Beni Amart. The white is considered the older. Potatoes are grown only where there is irrigation, and then usually in terraces.

er khizzu, the carrot. This vegetable, considered to be of Arab introduction, is not favored and is rarely grown.

er baer, the onion. This is planted in the following manner: in March onions are cut in two or more pieces lengthwise and planted; these pieces are allowed to grow big and go to seed, and the seeds are collected and sown in a starting-bed in August: the next year the stalks are cut off and the plants are separated and transplanted.

jifth, the white turnip.

er firfir, the pepper. Peppers are specially treated, being fertilized with goat manure when they begin to flower.

jubshth, a species of small bean.

ibauen ibershanen, black beans.

thakhseshth, a type of vegetable marrow or squash.

thakhseshth n yieri, the gourd, raised for bottles only and not eaten.

243 **Cultivation of Grains and Leguminous Plants.** *dra thesdat*, durra, is considered by the Riffians to be of recent introduction from the Negro country. It is grown only by men who have no terraces whereon to grow maize (*dra*), since it can be grown dry. It is not greatly valued and is not commonly grown.

shinti, rye,[1] is grown without irrigation on the mountain slopes where the land, too steep for ploughing, may be worked with the hoe. It may be grown on land which does not belong to the farmer, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture, and hence is an important source [262] of food supply for families owning insufficient arable land. The Riffians prize rye highly, considering it rich in food value and a strength producer. Since the Arabs ridicule them for eating it, the Riffians seldom discuss the subject with strangers, or produce food made from

[1] Samples of *shinti* from Gzennaya, now in the Harvard Botanical Museum, have been identified by F. Tracy Hubbard of the Harvard Botany Department as rye. Moulieras mentions *shinti* in his description of the Beni Bu Nsar, calling it "une sorte de blé blanc." Procopius ascribes the cultivation of a grain called Ωσα to the mountain Berbers of his time. This grain, identified with the Latin *arinca*, was perhaps rye. Moulieras, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, vol. i, p. 53; Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 6, l. 13; Freund, Latin-English Lexicon; Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, unabridged, 1882 edition; Vavilov, *The Origin of Cultivated Plants*, p. 266.

412 231 On the other hand, the sieve is also used as a fertility charm. Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought some sheep or goats, he puts a sieve at the entrance to the yard and makes the animals walk over it with a view to rendering them very fertile; and he then sprinkles the sieve with water to expel any evil influences which may cling to them.

244 [251] There are, moreover, certain superstitions and ceremonies connected with the vegetable garden.

The Ait Waryager believe that [252] a woman's presence in a vegetable garden would make it dry.

[254]

RITES PRACTISED FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCING THE WEATHER

789 In Morocco the failure of the crops is mostly due not to the lack of sunshine or too much rain, but to drought, and to avert this danger many different methods are resorted to.

The orthodox method is to perform the so-called salat al-istisqa in the morning at the musalla, or public place of prayer outside the town or village. This ceremony consists of two rek'at, or ordinary forms of prayer, two hotbat, or sermons, and one du'a, or supplication in which God is asked to send rain. In the prayer, however, the formula of takbir (allahu akbar, "God is most great") is replaced by the phrase istagfir allah, "implore the pardon of God", in accordance with the saying of the Koran, "Ask God's pardon, for he is merciful and will give you abundant rain; he has placed the rain as a reward for him who begs forgiveness for his faults". After the first hotba the preacher changes his mantle from the right to the left shoulder and vice versa, and the same is done by the congregation. That this is intrinsically a magical act calculated to bring about a change in the weather is apparent from the statement of the commentators that it is meant to show God the desire of the [255] faithful to see the threatening famine "turned" into abundance.

[257] Among the Ait Waryager the people go to the mosque of the village or a shrine, walk three times round it, sacrifice a sheep or goat, and make fatha. If this does not produce the desired effect the more religious members of the community, after they have said their

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[4]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[5]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[4] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.
[5] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

137 *riarz*, a cedar, growing very tall and straight. Its sweet-smelling wood is valued by carpenters and cabinet-makers.

[314] *amerzi*, another cedar, with very volatile reddish wood. Its pitch and resin are used as medicine.

rkanus, a similar tree, considered by the Riffians to be the female of the *amerzi*.

The cedars, generally known under the name of *thuya*, or *arbor vitae*, form the characteristic coniferous vegetation of North Africa.[1]

Other Trees

[262] *rbejuth*, an evergreen oak, with edible acorns.

tashta, another species of oak, with inedible acorns.

rbejuth n yirif, the so-called pig-oak. Its acorns are eaten by wild boars, but not by men on account of their bitter taste. Justinard lists as oak *adren*, calling *abedjoud* the acorn.[2] The latter word is derived from the Arabic *el-bellut*, the difference in renderings being due, aside from different techniques in transcription, to my retention of the *r*, the berberization of the Arabic definite article, in the Riffian dialects. I have always heard it pronounced with the *r*. Hanoteau and Letourneau [3] identify five oaks in Algeria: *Quercus castaneaefolia C. A. Mey.*, *Q. Mirbeckii Dr.*, *Q. Ilex L.*, *Q. Ilex var. Ballota*, and *Q. Suber L.*

[245] *adheman*, the hawthorne. This tree is used as a base for grafting pear and apple shoots. Hanoteau and Letourneau give *Crataegus Oxyacantha* (three varieties), *Cr. Azarolus*, and *Cr. monogyna* for Algeria.[4] Laoust identifies *Cr. Oxyacantha* in Morocco.[5]

[262] *asanu*, the arbute, or strawberry tree. Its fruit is eaten fresh, and also dried and put into bread; the wood is used in house construction. Laoust finds it in other parts of Morocco, and gives it the botanical name *Arbutus unedo*.[6]

[262 388] *fathis*, a large tree bearing a small red fruit, which is eaten. The ashes of its wood are mixed with water, in which grapes are washed before being set out to dry. These ashes are also used as soap in washing cloth. Westermarck [7] calls this the lentisk, *Pistacia lentiscus*.

azemmur, the wild olive. Its fruit is not eaten, but its wood is used in making spoons, ploughs, and other objects.

[245] *thazemmurth*, the female of the *azemmur*, smaller than the male. The male can be used for grafting domestic olives, but the female is never used for this purpose.

za'arur, a large tree with perennial foliage. It bears a seed containing a red liquid. The wood of this tree was formerly used for gunstocks.

thaghieshth n wushun, a species of wild walnut, called jackal-walnut.

afesas, perhaps a spurge-flax, or broom. It is a bush with a red flower, growing in valley bottoms. Laoust gives *Daphne Gnidium L.* for *walesas*.[8] Hanoteau and Letourneau name three species, *Daphne oleoides Schreb.*, *D. Gnidium L.*, and *D. Laureola L.*, for Algeria.[9] This plant has been mistaken by other botanists for an osier, on account of its extensive use in basketry.[10]

thabgha, a wild blackberry. Justinard affirms this designation.[11]

[1] Justinard, p. 159; Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 69; el Bekri (tr. Macguckin de Slane), p. 15 n.
[2] Page 117. [3] Page 119. [4] Pages 48, 89. [5] Page 309.
[6] Pages 483–484, 519. [7] Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. II, p. 185.
[8] Pages 515–516. [9] Page 116. [10] Laoust, pp. 515–516. [11] Page 142.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 Riffian acquisition of vegetable food may be divided into four processes, some of which may be developmental stages, and all of which are in contemporaneous use.

1. The gathering of edible wild plants.
2. The care of fruit and nut-bearing trees and of vineyards.
3. The care of gardens.
4. The cultivation of grains and leguminous plants.

The following subjects also pertain to agriculture and vegetable food-getting.

1. A calendric cycle of agricultural events.
2. Tools and machinery.
3. Communism in agriculture.

222 137 **Collecting and Gathering.** There are certain wild products growing on mountains, in valleys, in springs, and on refuse heaps, which are of food value and are collected and eaten, either from choice or as emergency rations in time of famine, although no attempt is made to cultivate them. So far as can be determined, they are as follows.

azemmur,[1] the wild olive.

erbejuth,[1] the oak. Both acorns and the tree upon which they grow are called by the same name.

adheman,[1] the hawthorne. The haws, called *saaror*, are gathered and eaten.

larnej,[2] a wild lemon tree, probably escaped from cultivation.

tuth,[2] the mulberry, at present wild. It was probably introduced earlier and then abandoned.

[245] *habb ul muluk*,[2] the wild cherry, with probably the same history as the mulberry. Both trees are now cultivated by the Senhaja.

sasanu,[1] the arbute, or strawberry-tree. Its fruit is eaten fresh, also dried and put into bread.

thabgha,[1] wild blackberries.

tuzzelt,[1] a bush the pod of which is eaten.

thakhfar,[1] a wild rose, the pod of which is eaten.

askum, wild asparagus.

ma'ishk, the wild tomato, found in old refuse heaps. Its cultivation has been abandoned.

thehiseth,[3] a plant growing in the mountains; eaten as a green.

yanush, watercress, or a very similar plant.

thezhiuma, another water plant, growing in springs.

thafa ikshuth, a wild plant resembling celery.

thighigheshth,[4] a wild plant the roots of which are boiled and used for washing wool. Its leaves are cut up, boiled, and eaten.

benaaman, a wild poppy. Women eat its leaves, and children its buds.

imzwar, a plant resembling shamrock or clover. Its leaves, slightly sour in taste, are eaten.

tuasrin, mushrooms.

[1] See Introduction, p. 8.

[2] The wild lemon, cherry, and mulberry were not mentioned in the Introduction because they are not indigenous.

[3] This is perhaps related to the root given by Laoust (p. 506) for mallow. *Tibidus*, in the Zemmour dialect, is the closest.

[4] Laoust (p. 39) suggests that this may be *Saponaria rubra*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The gathering of wild vegetable products is traditionally considered to antedate agriculture. Tales are told of the times when the Riffians subsisted on these products and game alone. In Ktama, where agriculture is difficult, the gathering of wild plants, especially *tuzzelt*, forms an important occupation. At the end of winter, when the dried fruit is gone and when the larders are low, many Riffian families would die of hunger if their womenfolk did not go out on the mountain slopes and up the watercourses looking for these natural foods.

The green plants, such as watercress and asparagus, are subject to a dietary sex tabu. Woman only may eat them. The reason given for this distinction is that they produce blood, fat, and soft flesh, desirable in women but not in men.

Mulberries and cherries were probably introduced by the Arabs and later abandoned. Mulberries are not considered good food and are seldom eaten except through necessity. Tomatoes were probably introduced from Spain and then given up.

Cultivation of Fruit and Nut Trees and of Vineyards. *zilon* (male), *misola* (female), the domestic olive tree. The male tree produces large olives low in oil content, which are preserved in lemon juice and eaten as a relish. The fruit of the female tree is pressed into oil. As a rule all the male trees in an olive yard are cut down with the exception of one, which is left to fertilise the female trees. The olives are called by the names of the trees which bear them.

arman, the pomegranate tree. The Riffians recognize sex differences in pomegranates, considering that the fruit with a thick skin and large, hard seeds in the granules is produced by the male tree, whereas the better fruit is produced by females. As a rule, the male trees are all cut down but one, which is left for fertilising the others. Sometimes male trees are left, so that the fruit may be sold in markets frequented by people unacquainted with the difference. The fruit and tree bear the same name.

er ghas, the fig tree. There are four varieties of fig trees, *aseiri*, *aghudani*, *awar n aksi*, and *abaran*. The fruit borne by the *aseiri* is round, with longitudinal purple and green lines; that of the *aghudani* is long, pear-shaped, and purple; that of the *awar n aksi* is round and light green. There are two varieties of *abaran*, one of which is round and green and the other long with black or purple lines. The three first varieties bear twice a year, in June and in September. The June figs, called *er bashor*, are eaten but not dried, except for use as medicine, since they contain but little sugar. The September figs, called *thezath*, are dried. The *abaran* varieties bear only in September. The Riffians say that the *abaran* types are the only indigenous strains, and that the *aseiri* and *awar n aksi* came originally from the Arabs, whereas the *aghudani* is derived from the Negroes.

shukwar, a wild fig. Planted, it is said, by birds that have eaten cultivated figs, this fruit is useless for eating, but is employed for magical purposes. Each year the women and children go out and gather the wild figs when ripe, tie them together in pairs with grass, and hang them on the branches of the domesticated fig trees. There are said to be insects in the wild figs which come out and touch the buds of the domestic figs. It is thought that if these wild figs were not so hung and if the insects from them did not touch the buds, the cultivated figs would not bear.[1]

[1] Westermarck (p. 190) states that the Riffians hang male figs in female trees, in order to fertilise their fruit. A small insect, *Blastophaga grossorum*, bores in and out of the figs, fertilising them. Westermarck refers to Elfving's *De Viktigaste Kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1895), p. 74.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 242 *lishin*, the orange tree. Riffian oranges are of the common North African variety. Tangerines are not grown in the Rif. It is said that the fruit of the male orange tree is elongated, while that of the female tree is round. Orange shoots are grafted to wild lemon trees without distinction of sex.

limon, the cultivated lemon tree, as distinguished from the wild variety.

tifah, the apple tree. Riffian apples are small and stunted, and not very palatable. They are not commonly grown except in the highest mountain tribes. The apple shoots are frequently grafted onto hawthornes. A sex distinction is made between the apples: the male ones are said to be large and white, and the females red.

firas, the pear tree. It is said that the male pear is white, while the female is reddish. Grafting onto hawthorne is common.

thaghieshth, the walnut tree. Walnuts are called *nue n thaghieshth*. The Riffians distinguish male from female walnut trees as follows: The male tree bears a hard-shelled nut with little meat; the female's nut is thinner shelled and meatier. Usually the males are cut down to make room for others. No grafting is attempted with walnuts.

juz, the almond tree. The nuts from this tree are called *nue*, the same word which is applied to walnuts. It is said that the male almond bears a nut with a single meat, while the meat of the female is double. Almonds, like walnuts, are not grafted.

er mishmesh, a species of plum tree. The sex of plums is distinguished by breaking the stone and tasting the meat inside. If it is bitter the tree bearing it is supposed to be male. Plums, like apples and pears, are grafted to the hawthorne.

er barkok, the apricot tree. Males are said to have thick skins, and females thin ones. Males are preferred for export, and females for drying.

er khok, the peach tree. The Riffians do not distinguish sex in the peaches, and do not attempt to graft them.

[262] The Riffian prizes his fruit and nut trees highly, perhaps even more than his grain and vegetables, since on the dried fruit of these trees and upon raisins his family is often forced to subsist for months at a time during the winter. He digs around and manures the roots of the trees every spring, and leads irrigation ditches to their trunks. He keeps them carefully pruned and trimmed, and diligently removes insect parasites from leaves and branches.

262 831 [585] Not only does the Riffian take great pains to distinguish between the sexes of the trees, but he also imposes a sex tabu upon the eating of the fruit of two of them, walnuts and almonds. Walnuts may be eaten only by women, and almonds only by men. The reason for this is symbolically sexual, since walnuts, on account of their wrinkled appearance, are supposed to produce a drying and shrinking, whereas almonds are supposed to produce fluidity and potency in men. Both walnuts and almonds consequently play a prominent part in the wedding diet.

Vineyards. Grapes are as important to the Riffians as fruits and nuts. Those grown in the Rif are a large reddish-purple variety, resembling Malaga grapes in form and in taste. They are grown on vines set out on high mountain slopes too steep and too barren for the cultivation of anything else. The vines are kept trimmed, and in spring the soil about their roots is loosened. It is seldom possible to irrigate them, although fertilizer is brought laboriously uphill when possible.

Among the Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, and Beni Khennus, and in Taghzuth, another variety of grapes is grown, smaller and bluish-purple in color. These grapes are hardier

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 than the Riffian variety. They are grown on trellises outside of and trailing onto the houses, and along the village paths. Since they are trained to climb up trellises, they are not cut back like the Riffian grapes, but are allowed to grow as long as they will, for purposes of shade.

Cactus. The one species of cactus found in the Rif, the prickly pear variety, is called by its Arabic name, *karamus en Nsara*, or the Christian fig. It is found along the seacoast, in the eastern tribes up to Beni Tuzin and Gzennaya, and in the southern part of Gzennaya. It is absent in northern Gzennaya, in southern Beni Urriaghel, in Beni Amart, and in the Senhaja Sghir. Where it is grown it serves as a convenient fence about the house, and as a [438] supply of mediocre food in time of famine. Women and young girls pick its fruit, remove the needles, and sell it in market at a low price.

244 **Garden Plants and Care of Gardens.** *batata*, the potato. This vegetable is obviously of American origin, although it has been grown for a long time in the Senhaja and central Rif and has become an integral part of the local culture. It is divided into two varieties: the reddish type, the more frequent, and the white type, found chiefly in Beni Amart. The white is considered the older. Potatoes are grown only where there is irrigation, and then usually in terraces.

er khizzu, the carrot. This vegetable, considered to be of Arab introduction, is not favored and is rarely grown.

er bser, the onion. This is planted in the following manner: in March onions are cut in two or more pieces lengthwise and planted; these pieces are allowed to grow big and go to seed, and the seeds are collected and sown in a starting-bed in August: the next year the stalks are cut off and the plants are separated and transplanted.

jifth, the white turnip.

er firfir, the pepper. Peppers are specially treated, being fertilized with goat manure when they begin to flower.

jubahth, a species of small bean.

ibauen ibershanen, black beans.

thakhseshth, a type of vegetable marrow or squash.

thakhseshth n yieri, the gourd, raised for bottles only and not eaten.

243 **Cultivation of Grains and Leguminous Plants.** *dra thesdat*, durra, is considered by the Riffians to be of recent introduction from the Negro country. It is grown only by men who have no terraces whereon to grow maize (*dra*), since it can be grown dry. It is not greatly valued and is not commonly grown.

shinti, rye,[1] is grown without irrigation on the mountain slopes where the land, too steep for ploughing, may be worked with the hoe. It may be grown on land which does not belong to the farmer, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture, and hence is an important source [262] of food supply for families owning insufficient arable land. The Riffians prize rye highly, considering it rich in food value and a strength producer. Since the Arabs ridicule them for eating it, the Riffians seldom discuss the subject with strangers, or produce food made from

[1] Samples of *shinti* from Gzennaya, now in the Harvard Botanical Museum, have been identified by F. Tracy Hubbard of the Harvard Botany Department as rye. Moulieras mentions *shinth* in his description of the Beni Bu Nsar, calling it "une sorte de blé blanc." Procopius ascribes the cultivation of a grain called Dopa to the mountain Berbers of his time. This grain, identified with the Latin *arinca*, was perhaps rye. Moulieras, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, vol. I, p. 55: Procopius, bk. IV, chap. 6, l. 13; Freund, Latin-English Lexicon; Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, unabridged, 1882 edition: Vavilov, *The Origin of Cultivated Plants*, p. 266.

796 [182] The 24th of June, or Midsummer day (Old Style), is called in Arabic l-'ansara (l-ansra); and in Berber l'ansart (Shloh, Ait Warain), l'ansart (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), or t'ainsa (Temsaman).

On that day, or sometimes the evening before, smouldering fires are made in many different parts of Morocco.

[185] On the evening of Midsummer day the Ait Waryager make in their yards fires with poplar (asafsaf) leaves, pennyroyal, and barley straw, over which the people leap.

[187] Besides smoke and fire customs, water ceremonies are [188] frequently practised at Midsummer.

[515] [189] Among the Ait Waryager the people take their bath before sunrise, and those who refrain from doing so are supposed to remain unclean.

796 245 [190] "O God, pray for the sake of the Prophet, the chosen one; dust is better than male figs".

The last-mentioned phrase alludes to the custom, found at Midsummer in various northern tribes (Fahs, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), of hanging bunches of male figs in the female trees. This is said to prevent the fruit from dropping or to make it good, although it really serves as a means of fertilising the female figs by the aid of a very small hymenopter, Blastophaga grossorum, which lays its eggs in the interior of the figs. I was told by a scribe from the Rif that one insect is sufficient to make forty figs good by going in and out of them. The male figs hung in the female trees are wrapped up in straw, esparto (ariy; Ait Waryager), or pennyroyal (flaiyu; Andjra), the smell of which is considered good for the trees. The Rif Berbers and Andjra mountaineers also make a few cuts in the trunks of their fig trees so that the sap oozes out, in order to keep the tree from getting dry and the fruit from falling; and some of them, moreover, hang [754] oleander twigs in their fig trees as a charm against the evil eye. To protect their apple and pear trees from the same enemy, the people of Andjra on Midsummer day suspend from them stone weights stolen from the market-place or hang on them thistles (amgil) taken from the same place.

751 796 [192] The Ait Waryager on Midsummer day press the juice of a grape or two into their eyes to prevent their getting diseased; and in order to rid themselves of fleas they put a flea inside a grape and bury it in the dungheap (dazubait).

243 While barley is the predominant crop, maize is an important secondary one. Wheat and rye are also grown but the latter is held in low esteem as a food product[1] and the former does not grow successfully on the thin residual soil of the region. In 241 [312] those areas where there are rivers or streams, small gardens are maintained by irrigation canals. In these are cultivated potatoes, tomatoes, onions, garlic, squash, turnips, green peppers and mint.

245 In addition to the grains, maize, and small vegetable gardens, many households also have orchards of fruit and nut trees. Fig, lemon, orange, pomegranate, walnut, almond, and olive trees are common. In some areas grapes are also cultivated. Around each house is a grove of prickly pears which serves not only as a means of preserving privacy, but also as a source of food. These products not only supplement and add variety to the regular diet but in the case of oranges, almonds and grapes serve as cash crops. The olives are pressed by the [258] [262] women to provide crude cooking oil. Nuts, dried grapes and figs are an important winter food reserve. The work of pruning and [221] grafting goes on during the months of February-March-April.

243 In early summer harvesting begins. Both men and women engage in this activity, the men doing the reaping with hand

---

[829] [1]Coon (1931:47-48) states that rye is highly praised by the Riffian but that since the Arabs scorn it as a foodstuff the Berbers are ashamed to admit its worth.

province of Nador, where barley is relatively cheap, in order to sell in the Rif, which seldom produces enough to meet local needs. The barley is stacked in huge piles of loose, unground seed which is purchased in relatively small lots to be taken back to the mountains and ground for bread or left in seed form to feed the livestock. The barley is measured and weighed by a member of the imziren class, who loudly cries out the current price of barley in the market. The merchants themselves sit under nearby shade trees, accepting the coins from their criers and listening to the competition.

In addition to these large-scale sellers, there are the large-scale buyers, who resemble the large-scale sellers in all particulars except their immediate function in the market. Among this group are the egg merchants who buy the tiny lots of a myriad fellah in order to transport them to the urban centers of Tetuan or Fez. Another group of buyers are the almond merchants who purchase the Riffian's supply to market abroad, usually in France, to cosmetic companies which transform them into face oils and hand lotions. There are also merchants of oranges who supply the canned juice industry, and grape buyers who purchase the indigenous supply (used locally by the Berbers as a winter reserve in the form of raisins) for the wine industry located in central Morocco.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Relict Species

137 The vegetation of northern Morocco has not only been modified by man, but has also undergone progressive natural change. In the varied Moroccan flora, European, Asiatic, and tropical elements are found along with species endemic to the Mediterranean region. During the Pleistocene, the southward movement of a colder and wetter climate brought corresponding southward migrations of European and Euro-Siberian plants. Europe and Barbary were no longer linked by land bridges, but seeds could easily blow or float across the narrow Strait of Gibraltar. Relicts of these invasions are found today in the mountains of northern Morocco in growths of fir (*Abies pinsapo, A. tazaotana*) and deciduous oaks (*Quercus pyrenaica, Q. faginea*) that seem strangely out of place in northern Africa.[11] Other Pleistocene relicts include birch (*Betula alba*), two species of maple (*Acer monspessulanum, A. Opalus*), alder (*Alnus glutinosa*), and the mountain ash, or service tree (*Sorbus torminalis*).[12]

Enigma of the Oleaster

The olive tree (*Olea europaea*) has long been regarded as a symbol of the Mediterranean landscape. Since classical antiquity it has been recognized that not all olive trees are alike, that some grow without cultivation and produce small and bitter fruit. The "wild" olive, or oleaster, was long thought to be an endemic element of the Mediterranean flora and the ancestor of the cultivated tree. Victor [114] Hehn may have been the first to challenge this view on historical and philological grounds.[13] Today this problem is the subject of vigorous debate. Most authorities consider the oleaster to be a natural element of maqui, but some scholars, including August Chevalier, describe it as a "subspontaneous race," escaped from cultivation in ancient time.[14]

[245] In contrast to the common cultivated olive, the oleaster has four-angled thorny branches, broader leaves, and smaller fruit. Moreover, the oleaster, obviously, grows without cultivation or apparent care. None of these points proves that it is an ancestral wild race. As De Candolle remarks, "In a woody species which lives so long and shoots again from the same stock when cut off by accident, it is impossible to know the origin of the individuals observed."[15] To make matters worse, [245] it is a common practice in northern Morocco to graft scions of the cultivated olive to oleaster stock.[16]

The oleaster is best developed in the area covered by palmetto scrub, where the winters are too cold and wet for the cultivated race, but a few oleasters are seen

113 137 [11] Changes of climate also have been invoked to explain the presence of wild olive (*Olea Laperrini*) and cypress (*Cupressus Dupreziana*) in the mountains of the central Sahara. L. Lavauden, "Les Forêts du Sahara," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 65 (1927), 265–277.

[12] The adaptation of "Nordic" species to the Mediterranean environment is considered by Andrea Giacobbe in "Les effets écologiques de l'aridité du climat sur la végétation méditerranéenne: héliophilie et configuration morphologique des forêts," *Unesco Arid Zone Research*, V, "Plant Ecology" (Proceedings of the Montpellier Symposium) (Paris, 1955), pp. 64–66.

[13] Victor Hehn, *The Wanderings of Plants and Animals from Their First Home* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1888), pp. 88–101.

[14] Aug. Chevalier, "L'origine de l'olivier cultivé et ses variations," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 28 (1948), 1–25.

[15] Alphonse de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (New York: Appleton, 1885), p. 280.

[16] Pliny (*Natural History*, XVII, 30) thought that this practice was limited to Africa.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

in the semiarid region south of Melilla. Both varieties sprout vigorously, and both are polymorphic. The latter fact is of major significance, for if the oleaster were a wild species it should be monomorphic, at least in a given area. Chevalier's argument is based upon this point. The seemingly primitive oleasters may be escaped and neglected variants of races that were once cultivated.[11] The longevity of the olive is lengendary; some sprouts in Algeria and Tunisia are almost certainly derived from Roman trees.[12] The fact that some trees have spines and small fruit may not be distinctive. Both varieties probably evolved from *Olea chrysophylla*, the true wild olive of southwestern Asia.[13] The oleaster may be no more difficult to explain than the "wild" pears and apples in the forests of France. It is not unusual for a neglected cultivated plant to become naturalized. Subspontaneous varieties of the cultivated carob tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*) are common in the Mediterranean region. In northern Morocco this tree, cultivated for its edible pods, is widely scattered in the area covered by palmetto scrub. Like the oleaster, it often appears to be a natural element of the maqui.

Shrub Formations

In most of the Mediterranean basin, shrub formations now cover much more territory than do forests (fig. 8). In northern Morocco, shrub vegetation is dominated by dwarf palm or palmetto (*Chamaerops humilis*) and the xerophytic camel thorn (*Zizyphus lotus*). The range of these two species delimits two shrub formations, palmetto scrub and thorn scrub. The first formation is the *Oleo-Lentiscetum* (i.e., *Olea europaea—Pistacia lentiscus*) of most authors, but in northern Morocco neither of these plants is as conspicuous as the palmetto.

The palmetto (Arabic *doum*) is best developed on argillaceous soils in areas of mild temperature and moderate to heavy precipitation (fig. 7). These preferences explain the absence of palmetto in the cool highlands and its rare occurrence in semiarid areas. Dwarf palm may be seen on rocky knolls near Wad Moulouya, but most of the eastern half of northern Morocco is too dry for the species. In the western half of the zone the altitudinal limits of palmetto rise from west to east according to the lessening amount of precipitation.

The popular names "dwarf palm" and "palmetto" as well as the Linnaean binomial (*Chamaerops humilis*), derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "dwarf or stunted bush," do not suggest that this plant may grow five to ten meters high. Excellent specimens of this height are preserved, however, at the cemeteries of Chella near Rabat and at Asni south of Marrakech. In northern Morocco I have seen tall palmettos on several sacred sites. Palmetto is exploited

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 25]

[11] H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953), p. 11, states that charcoal from a midden near Tébessa in eastern Algeria "a révélé d'une manière certaine l'existence de l'oléastre en Afrique au Paléolithique Supérieur." But in the study to which she refers—R. le Du and L. Saccardy, "Etude de quelques charbons préhistoriques de la région de Tébessa," *Rev. Africaine*, 88 (1949), 111–119—there is no mention of oleaster. Charcoal of *Phillyrea*, another genus of the olive family, is mentioned, but this adds nothing to the history of *Olea europaea*.

[12] L. Joleaud, "L'ancienneté de la fabrication de l'huile en Afrique du Nord," *Rev. Africaine*, 70 (1929), 19–36.

[13] If this be correct, the present range of the cultivated olive is almost completely separated from that of its ancestor. I. H. Burkill, "Habits of Man and the Origins of the Cultivated Plants of the Old World," *Proc. Linnean Soc. London*, 164 (1951–1952), 12–42, ref. to fig. 2, p. 16.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[4]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[5]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[4] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.

[5] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

R 256 171 [423]

Mills of this type are usually privately owned, and the owner collects one-tenth of the flour. When there is neither hand nor turbine mill, the women pound the grain with iron bars.

R 245 409 171

The implements used to press and pulp olives are similar to those used in Roman time.[10] The apparatus consists of a mill, a press, and a vat. The millstone lies against a centrally placed revolving post and is turned by means of a horizontal shaft with one end secured in the center post and the other projecting beyond the stone (fig. 23). Mills are used both for bruising the fruit before pressing and later to pulp the pressed fruit for use as cattle fodder. The larger mills are powered by animals, the smaller by hand. The essential part of the press is a large log, held in place by heavy wooden screws, which is forced down on baskets filled with olive mash.

R 412 J [412]

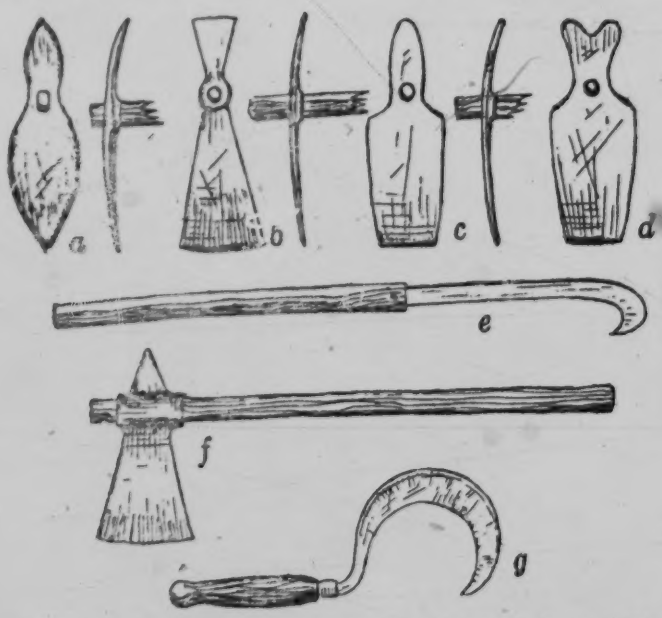


Fig. 21. Farm implements: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, digging and weeding tools; *e*, grubbing and cutting tool; *f*, hatchet used by woodcutters; *g*, sickle.

R 245 409 171

Role of Domestic Animals

R 231 171

In the statistical report of 1953 the number of domestic animals in Spanish Morocco is given as 1,104,000 goats, 661,000 sheep, 337,000 cattle, 55,000 donkeys, 22,000 mules, and 2,000 camels.[11] The number of goats nearly equals that of human beings. They are kept for their meat, milk, and hides. In many areas the number of goats is limited only by the amount of space available for storage of fodder and by the number of goatherds.

R [173]

[10] H. Campa Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953).

[11] *Anuario estadistico, 1952–53*, p. 131, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R
256
191

Fig. 22. Turbine grist mill.

R
245
409
191

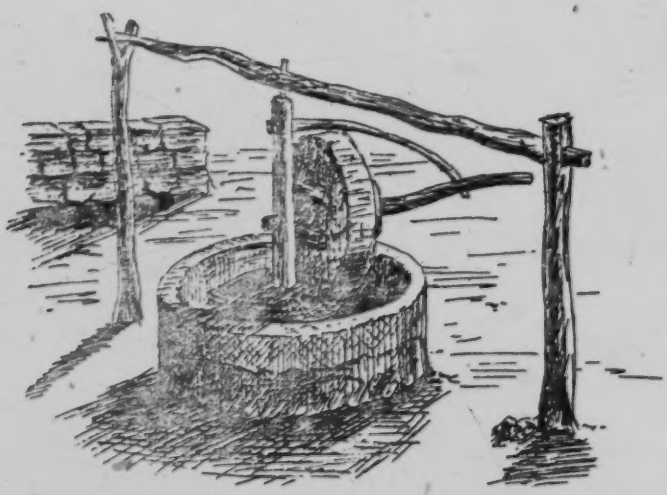


Fig. 23. Olive grinder.

000
S
231
061

and by the number of goatherds. The situation in Ktama is representative of the entire highland area. In 1934 this mountain tribe, with a population of 8,389 persons, maintained 20,259 goats in an area of 450 square kilometers.[14] Goats must be brought back to shelter each night; so the radius of their movement is small. The effects of browsing on vegetation will be examined in chapter viii.

R
231
191

The number of goats decreases toward the Atlantic lowlands and the plains

[14] Figures from an unpublished report of the Spanish *interventor* dated November, 1934.

1;Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Ref DX3
[Village of Ubed 'Abd al-Mumin]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The gathering of wild vegetable products is traditionally considered to antedate agriculture. Tales are told of the times when the Riffians subsisted on these products and game alone. In Ktama, where agriculture is difficult, the gathering of wild plants, especially *tuzzelt*, forms an important occupation. At the end of winter, when the dried fruit is gone and when the larders are low, many Riffian families would die of hunger if their womenfolk did not go out on the mountain slopes and up the watercourses looking for these natural foods.

The green plants, such as watercress and asparagus, are subject to a dietary sex tabu. Woman only may eat them. The reason given for this distinction is that they produce blood, fat, and soft flesh, desirable in women but not in men.

Mulberries and cherries were probably introduced by the Arabs and later abandoned. Mulberries are not considered good food and are seldom eaten except through necessity. Tomatoes were probably introduced from Spain and then given up.

Cultivation of Fruit and Nut Trees and of Vineyards. *zilon* (male), *misala* (female), the domestic olive tree. The male tree produces large olives low in oil content, which are preserved in lemon juice and eaten as a relish. The fruit of the female tree is pressed into oil. As a rule all the male trees in an olive yard are cut down with the exception of one, which is left to fertilize the female trees. The olives are called by the names of the trees which bear them.

arman, the pomegranate tree. The Riffians recognize sex differences in pomegranates, considering that the fruit with a thick skin and large, hard seeds in the granules is produced by the male tree, whereas the better fruit is produced by females. As a rule, the male trees are all cut down but one, which is left for fertilizing the others. Sometimes male trees are left, so that the fruit may be sold in markets frequented by people unacquainted with the difference. The fruit and tree bear the same name.

er ghas, the fig tree. There are four varieties of fig trees, *aseiri*, *aghudani*, *awar n aksi*, and *abaran*. The fruit borne by the *aseiri* is round, with longitudinal purple and green lines; that of the *aghudani* is long, pear-shaped, and purple; that of the *awar n aksi* is round and light green. There are two varieties of *abaran*, one of which is round and green and the other long with black or purple lines. The three first varieties bear twice a year, in June and in September. The June figs, called *er bashor*, are eaten but not dried, except for use as medicine, since they contain but little sugar. The September figs, called *thezath*, are dried. The *abaran* varieties bear only in September. The Riffians say that the *abaran* types are the only indigenous strains, and that the *aseiri* and *awar n aksi* came originally from the Arabs, whereas the *aghudani* is derived from the Negroes.

shukwar, a wild fig. Planted, it is said, by birds that have eaten cultivated figs, this fruit is useless for eating, but is employed for magical purposes. Each year the women and children go out and gather the wild figs when ripe, tie them together in pairs with grass, and hang them on the branches of the domesticated fig trees. There are said to be insects in the wild figs which come out and touch the buds of the domestic figs. It is thought that if these wild figs were not so hung and if the insects from them did not touch the buds, the cultivated figs would not bear.[1]

[1] Westermarck (p. 190) states that the Riffians hang male figs in female trees, in order to fertilize their fruit. A small insect, *Blastophaga grossorum*, bores in and out of the figs, fertilizing them. Westermarck refers to Elfving's *De Vigtigaste Kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1895), p. 74.

I: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241
805

July. In July, forty-five days after having planted the maize, the farmers reap it, fertilize and water the terraces, and set out the second crop. This second maize is a different variety from the first, and grows more rapidly. After it has ripened it is left in the ground until December or January, when it is removed in time for the next season's ploughing. Towards the end of July the almonds and walnuts are picked and stored away.

August. About the first of August, after the second crop of maize has been planted and the almonds and walnuts picked, the farmers gather the turnips, potatoes, and small beans, planting in their stead more potatoes, more turnips, and black beans. They likewise set the onion seed out in beds, and after the shoots arrive cover them with manure and branches to keep them warm during the winter. Toward the last of August the late figs are picked, split, and set to dry. Figs intended for sale rather than for local consumption are not split, but are spitted on sticks of wood. At this time the farmers also pick pomegranates and carob beans.

September. September is the grape season. Whole families repair to the precipitous vineyards with baskets to pick, sleeping in the vineyards at night, and feasting and playing games. This is the season of festival, and likewise the time when weddings take place. At this time, when the families are sleeping in the vineyards, raw garlic is eaten plentifully, since this is the only time of year in which people do not live in the house, and it is considered shameful to have an odor of garlic about the house. After the grapes have been picked the women gather the root called *fathis*, which they burn. The ashes, mixed with water, are used to wash the grapes before these are set out to dry. Grapes washed in this way are said to dry more rapidly, not to rot, and to form better raisins.

[260]
[251]

October. Toward the end of October the olives are picked and stored away packed in salt until the farmers find leisure in which to grind them. Olives can be kept two years in storage without detriment.

251

November. In November the farmers graft trees, using beeswax in the process just as it is used among modern farmers. They tie the waxed joints with cloths, which they leave on until the following spring. In October and November the men cut wood and brush for their fires, enough to last them through the winter. The women and children help them to bring this wood in on their backs.

December. Toward the end of this month and in early January, those farmers who possess orange trees pick the fruit. Some of it is eaten, but much is sent to Fez to be sold. During the winter months, when it is stormy outside and farming is ended, the men sit inside the house working with wood, fashioning spoons, hoe-handles, and ploughs, and do what repairing is necessary upon their houses.

This calendar of events keeps the Riffian farmers very busy most of the time, and as a rule they are most industrious and energetic workers.

In the regions where there is no terraced irrigation (left white upon map 2[1]) only one crop of maize is grown, and but one crop of vegetables. This is compensated for by the relatively greater abundance of arable land in the east and other low-lying districts. The mountain people depend to a great extent upon vegetables, especially the leguminous varieties, and dried fruits and nuts, while the lowlanders go in more extensively for wheat and barley.

[1] See p. 52.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

contain meat. The vegetable *guaz* consists of vegetable marrow, potatoes, onions, and peppers casseroled in a pot with oil. Meat *guaz* consists of the same combination of vegetables, or of as many of them as can be obtained, plus gobbets of any kind of meat — goat, sheep, or beef — or whole chickens. *Guaz* is the dish commonly given to guests, especially Europeans and Arabs.

The *kebab*, a recent innovation, is a series of chunks of meat, preferably mutton or goat, spitted on a length of wire, stick, or on a specially constructed spit. Pieces of fat alternate with the meat, and chopped-up onions and peppers are rubbed into the meat lavishly. The whole is broiled over a charcoal brazier and eaten as soon as it leaves the fire. (See plate 19.) The *kebab* forms an easily prepared and tasty dish, especially convenient for people on the march, who cannot carry pots or other utensils. Although introduced only recently it has had a rapid diffusion throughout the area, and is now known everywhere. An especially prized type of *kebab* is that made from bits of liver wrapped in sweetbreads.

Meat may be preserved for later consumption by two methods, drying in the sun and the manufacture of sausages.

er kadidth, from the Arabic *el kadid*, may be made of any meat commonly eaten, except chicken. Mutton, goat, and beef kadids are common, but the meat most suitable for this form of preservation is the flesh of the wild boar. Until recently pork kadids, resembling in taste ham, shoulder, and bacon, were made throughout the Rif, but through an increasing wave of religious feeling this article of diet is fast disappearing. In the Rif it is found only occasionally, and even then is made and consumed secretly through fear of ridicule. The people of Temjunt and Inhanahan of Gzennaya, as well as the Beni Amart, probably make and consume more of it than any other groups in the Rif. In the Senhaja Sghir it is still manufactured and eaten openly, especially in Ktama, Beni Seddath, Beni Bu Nsar, and Beni Khennus. In Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth it is called by another name when Arabs or Riffians are present. The kadid may be eaten dry, like chipped beef, or in a *guaz*. It is made and eaten by everyone in the area excepting the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi.

thimhagzin, sausages, are made from goat meat, beef, and pork. The latter meat is rarely used at present, but was formerly the common sausage material. The meat is chopped up, mixed with fat, salt, peppers, and onions, and packed into intestines, bladders, and stomachs. Sausages are eaten only on the feast of *Ashor*, and occasionally on the *Haggus*. For the former celebration, one sausage is made for each member of the family, its size varying with the size of the person who will eat it. These delicacies are hung in a cluster on a rafter. Sausages are found in the Beni Amart and among the Mountain Urriaghlis.

Fish. This is eaten very rarely in the mountain interior, although it forms a common enough article of diet along the coast. When eaten fresh, there is but one method of preparation — by frying in a skillet, with olive oil or some other fat. Sardines are more commonly eaten than any other kind of fish, and when prepared in this way, with olive oil, are very tasty.

There are two methods of preserving fish, by salting and by baking. Salting is done as soon as the fish are brought up on shore. The product so prepared is carried inland in baskets and sold in markets. (See plate 32.) Sometimes sardines are put in a bake-oven without being cleaned. When baked to a crisp they are set aside for winter consumption. Salted fish are sold inland, but baked fish are intended for the use of fishermen and their families.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

262 being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeezed from the ends of fig branches. They
234 claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammet*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape
273 jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a
●[251] relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammet* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it.

Wine-making, which Marmol [1] attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khamr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.[2] On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organized which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

276 *kif*, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghzuth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammet* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

264 **Riffian Table Manners.** When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children
574 sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

[1] Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86–88.

[2] Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 184, 207 *sqq.*, 316, 386, 423, 431, 467, 473, 488 *sqq.*, 507 n., 570, 601.

796 782 [120] It is the rule that as soon as the animal is killed its head and feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, At Ubahti). In Dukkala it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances it is only partaken of [252] on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), as also the heart (Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), are partaken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz) and the feet (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Amanuz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Ait Sadden), and the head and th the feet on the first (ibid.) or the third (Ait Waryager). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day.

[262] [121] Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel.

● [251] What remains of the meat is made into qaddid (or geddid [Ulad Bu 'aziz], lqaddid [Igliwa], rqaddid [Temsaman, Ait Waryager], tiqqaddidin [Ait Sadden], asawar [Ait Yusi], tagarin [Aglu], tifiyi iqorn [Amanuz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips.

[735] A portion of the qaddid is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following 'asura. Among the Ait Waryager some qaddid must be preserved till the following mulud.

[i.e. - sacrificial - Analyst]

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

251 [242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

251 778 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

776 778 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried—tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid [783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

4/2 The sieve—called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)—which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The population density, 65 individuals per sq. km., although not the highest in Spanish Morocco, is a greater number of people than the land, which is one of the most infertile in the Protectorate, can effectively support. In the last century the Aith Wuryāghil found blood-feuding a sure outlet to reduce their overpopulation, but, at, the present time, as they are no longer allowed to carry firearms, the population problem is met by a large annual exodus of ablebodied tribesmen to the plains of western Algeria, where they help out with the barley, wheat, olive and grape harvests on the farms of French colons. The terrible drought in the Rīf in 1945 precipitated emigration to a previously unheard of degree, and today the number of people from Aith Wuryāghil who are living and working outside the Rīf is greater than ever before.

Those who stay at home follow an annual agricultural cycle in which cereal cultivation is extensively practiced, particularly that of barley. They plow and sow their fields in the autumn and winter, and reap and thresh the grain the following summer. The straw is piled up into circular, conical silos (*athmūn*, pl. *ithmūnen*) to be used in the winter as fodder for the animals, of which cattle and goats are the most important, sheep less so. Mules and donkeys are employed as beasts of burden, while horses, owing to the extreme poverty of the people and the mountainous configuration of the terrain, are virtually non-existent. All, without exception, keep chickens and, inevitably, dogs, while in certain favored areas apiculture is practiced; the bees of Jabal Ḥammām produce the finest honey which it has ever been my good fortune to sample.

Although barley is the most important cash crop (the barley harvest of 1953 was the best on record), the Aith Wuryāghil spend comparatively little time working their grain fields, not more than three or four months a year, all told; it is their trees which receive the bulk of their attention. The most common trees are fig, pomegranate and almond in the Bay of Alhucemas, with olive substituted for pomegranate in the mountains; they are all pruned, watered, grafted and fertilized with great assiduousness, for dried figs and almonds constitute the principal food reserves during the winters, after the grains have been eaten. The same is true of raisins, and the cultivation of grape vines is extensively practiced in the mountains near Sūq al-Arbaʿ of Taurirt.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

342 [361] House sites in Aith Wuryāghil are determined by two principal considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6). The walls, sturdily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square; wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 20 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a *ghurfa*, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located [356] just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Riffians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of 'Abd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of 351 the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door [354] through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground [251] silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an [417] impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the *akhammās* as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: **La Vivienda Rifeña**, Ceuta 1930, passim.

000
[465] 97--The fqih is paid by each nuclear family of the jma'th in barley every year, but he receives absolutely nothing from property in habus.

[251] 98--The office of amarras is nonexistent in the Central Rif, where storehouses, either individual or collective, are unknown, and each man keeps his grain reserves in an underground deposit (thasrafth) in the patio of his house.

[804] [114] 99--In the days of the Republik, a mudd was reckoned at 48 kilos; in Spanish times, 50; and since independence, 56. This puts some doubt on the accuracy of Blanco's figures.

[114] 100--Blanco erroneously thought that collective storehouses once existed in the Rif, and he cites Ajdir and an unnamed place in the Sanhajan tribe of the Bni Hmid as examples; and he also thought that the institution should be revived, as a sort of bank or treasury or center of credit.

101--What Blanco no doubt means to say here is that the notables whose names are written down in this qanun are ipso facto no longer anonymous, and that the first step on the rise to personal power is the shedding off of anonymity.

[114] [562] 102--In Rifian, imqqranen dh-imzzyanen, and in the Arabic of qanuns, "al-kibar wa al-sighar": the terms refer to all the men and youths (or boys) of a given locality. Perhaps this is the root of Blanco's interesting, if in some ways rather questionable, notion of women, who do not have the same status as their menfolk, as minors.

103--The notion of qa'id came in with 'Abd al-Krim, but no Rifian living can remember the day when there was no qadi, even if only matters pertaining to marriage, divorce and land fell under his jurisdiction.

[114] [179] 104--What Blanco probably means to say here is "Arabization" rather than "Islamization"; there is much more than just a subtle distinction between the two, and even during the period of the "Republik", a Rifian would have been mortally offended if anyone did not consider him a good Muslim.

105--Bu-mwarith: an official who takes over in the name of the government the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs.

106--Ukil l-ghuyab: inheritance or property representative for absentees; the man's function is a literal translation of his title.

107--This traditionally given etymology seems highly doubtful, for the Rif at least, and the term should rather read aitarba'in or aitharba'in (sing. utharba'in), which changes the meaning to the far more plausible one of "people of the people".

[114] 108--This seems to be purely an ex post facto explanation on Blanco's part and has no relation to reality. The notion of Ait-arba'in as people of the forty, in which there literally were 40 councilmembers, d o es e x i s t in some areas (i.e. the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara), but it is unknown in the Rif.

621
423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794
793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The re-
[423] sources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income.

794
[429] The administration of these properties was the job of a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he
[251] had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

427
241
621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

A, [See p. 183--Analyst]

1;Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Ref

[villages of Ubed 'Abd al-Mumin]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

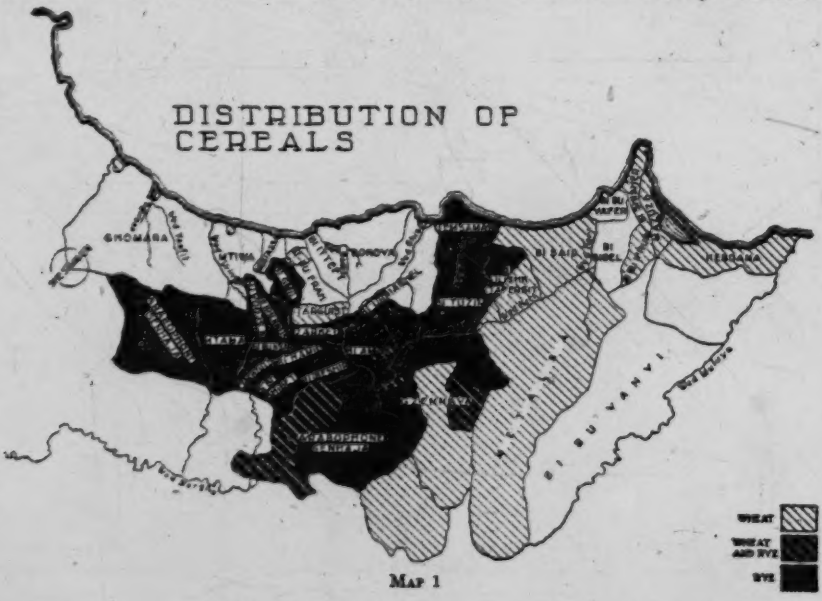
Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 it when guests are present. It is another of the innocuous things of which they are curiously ashamed.

imindhi, barley, is the universal grain, being grown everywhere except in Taghsuth. It is grown on irrigable plough-land, in the regions where irrigation is practised.

erden, wheat, is found only in the east, in the lowlands, and in flat plateau country, notably at Bured and Targuist, where it has recently been introduced. The mountain farmers consider wheat extravagant and low in food value, while the lowlanders think it the only aristocratic cereal. The distribution map for rye and wheat shows clearly the relative



MAP 1

ranges of these cereals, both being largely regulated by environmental zones. I have not depicted the range of barley, since it is found wherever grain is grown except in Taghsuth.

er ḥortar, oats, are not cultivated in the Rif, but grow wild, and are sometimes gathered and eaten.

243 *shasana* is a leguminous plant resembling vetch, the English name of which, if any exists,
● 252 I do not know.[1] It is grown in the same manner as peas and lentils. These leguminous plants are considered by the Riffians to belong with grains rather than with vegetables, hence I have followed the native usage in considering them in this place. *Shasana* is said to be poisonous when eaten without treatment. Like acorns, the *shasana* is placed in a basketry container and allowed to rest in the bottom of a stream, weighted down with stones,

[1] Specimens brought to the Harvard Botany Department are being studied.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 [252]

for several weeks. At the end of this time the poison is supposed to be washed out, and the product is dried and eaten.

thinifin, peas, *ibouen*, broad beans, and *er athis*, lentils, like *shasana*, are grown as grains.

241 805 T93

The Calendric Cycle of Agricultural Events. Agriculture in the Rif and in the Senhaja country is conducted on the basis of the old Roman calendar, the names of the months surviving in a form very little altered from its original character. I was unable to transcribe these names exactly since I could find no one who knew them accurately and was willing to reveal them. Knowledge of them is confined to the *fkih*, the preceptor or religious head of each group of villages, and to his students. The *fkih*, while delivering sermons at the mosque on Fridays, reveals the agricultural program for the following week and tells the farmers just what activities the season merits. To reveal this calendar system and the agricultural annotations which go with it woud be to relinquish a portion of the awe in which the religious leader is held.

The preceptor likewise knows the Arabic lunar calendar and is the only one able to tell when religious feasts of Arab origin are due. The farmers reckon only by the four seasons, a solar conception which may well antedate either the Roman or the Arabic system. They know, however, about when each activity is due, since they are in the habit of repeating the program every year. and could probably get along as well without the learned assistance of the *fkih* as with it.

241 805

A rough outline of the year's activities follows.

January. In this month the farmers plough their land. (See plate 9.) When this has been finished they sow barley and *shasana*, and later broad beans and lentils.

February. If the bean and lentil sowing has not been finished in January, it continues over into early February. Sometimes it continues until the end of the month.

March. About the first of March the farmers hoe the mountain slopes and sow rye and peas.

April. On the first of April they commence planting the vegetable gardens with potatoes, beans, carrots, turnips, onions, and peppers.

May. This is the month for trees. The farmers dig around the roots, fertilize them with manure, and water them. After the trees have been cared for in this way and pruned, the soil about the grapevines is loosened and fertilized with manure, without water. At this time the grapevines are also pruned.

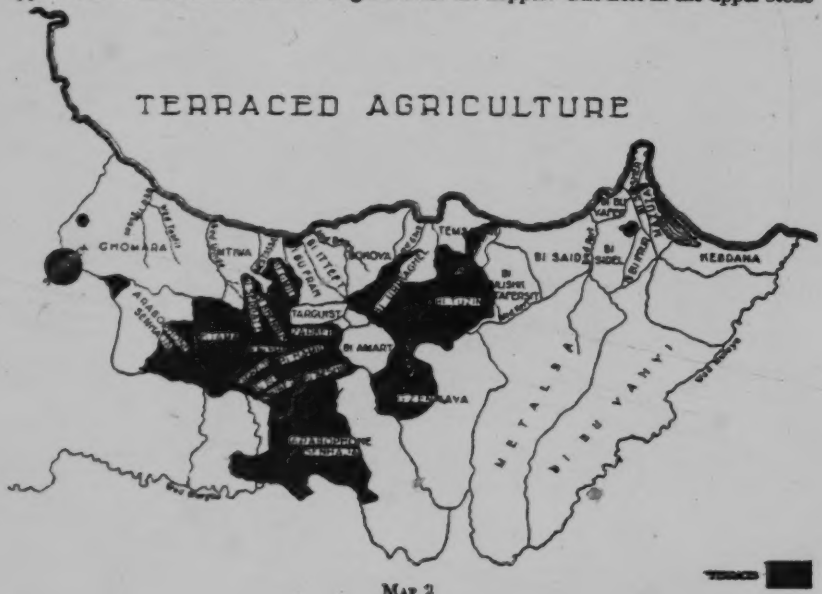
June. Toward the beginning of June, or sometimes during the last week of May, the farmers reap the *shasana*, lentils, barley, and peas, in the order named. The barley is cut with sickles; the others are pulled up by the roots and laid aside for threshing. After this has been done the farmers irrigate the terraces in which the *shasana*, lentils, peas, and barley have been growing (see plate 9) and plant them with maize. The plants previously reaped are then threshed, first the *shasana*, which is the most susceptible to insect pests and cannot wait, then the lentils and peas, and finally the barley. All this threshing is done with cattle, donkeys, or mules, which are forced to trot around a circular threshing floor. (See plates 10 and 11.) Toward the last of June the rye is cut, and the women thresh it by hitting the heads of the sheaves against sticks held in the hand. It is tabu to thresh rye with cattle, just as rye is never planted by means of domestic animals or the plough. The whole rye complex seems to antedate or at least to be negatively associated with the cattle and plough complex.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 portion of Beni Bu Yahyi, where no agriculture is practised, and parts of Ktama, where wheat and barley are not or cannot be grown.

252 [376] *thasath n waman*, the turbine grain mill. This type of mill, a complicated mechanical invention, consists of a small house built over a dam or over the end of a high-flowing irrigation ditch, a turbine wheel with tilted paddle-shaped blades set into a thick terminal hub, a circular stone attached to the upper end of the turbine shaft inside of the house and resting on the nether stone, and a hopper hanging above the stone with a feed-slot jiggled by the upper stone so as to insure the flow of grain from the hopper. The hole in the upper stone

241



MAP 2

into which the shaft is set is off-centre, and the upper part of the shaft is bent to allow for this, so that the upper stone turns fairly evenly on its axis, while a second hole, drilled through the exact centre of the upper stone, does not deviate from the centre and allows the grain falling from the hopper to be ground between the two stones. The lower stone is larger than the upper and is rimmed with a slightly raised border, broken only in one place, so that the flour may be extracted from the gap in the rim. This type of mill seems to be concentrated at Taghzuth, where many of them are in constant use. There are several in Beni Bu Nsar and five or six in Beni Aissi of Ktama; there was formerly one in Wed Iherrushen of the Gaennaya; and there are about ten at Ajdir. At Fez many of these mills are in use, and they are also found in the Atlas, particularly at Zerekten.[1]

[1] For a detailed description of this type of mill consult Laoust, pp. 36–43, and Baron Nopcsa's *Beuten, Truchten, Gerät Nordalbanien*, pp. 131–134.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 *thasath*, the ordinary hand mill, consists of two stones, an upper and a nether, as in the water mill (singular *agharf*, plural *igharfawn*). The upper is set crookedly on an axis fastened into the lower, and a hole through the middle receives the grain poured into it by hand. The upper stone is rotated by a wooden handle set in its side. This hand mill is distributed throughout Morocco and the Mediterranean area in general.

thahont, the olive grinder, is made of a concave platform, circular in shape, about six to eight feet in diameter, and two or three feet high, its surface covered when possible with slabs of slate. In the middle of it is set an upright pole, which rotates in its socket. Through the pole is set a log handle, which goes through a millstone set on edge and reaches several feet over the lip of the platform. Olives are put in the platform, and the wheelstone is turned by men or animals pushing or pulling on the handle. (See plate 12.)

azekor, the oil press, is the second machine necessary in the manufacture of olive oil. The mashed pulp of the olives, taken out of the grinder, is put in low circular baskets with constricted necks. These are then pressed in a machine constructed as follows. A heavy log is set at one end into the side of a hill or into a pile of rocks, so that it is pivoted rather than firmly attached. The other end, upheld by a wooden screw, is prevented from slipping sidewise by two upright logs set in the ground as guides. The screw, equipped with a handle, does not mesh directly with the heavy log, since if it did so the change in the direction of the log during the descent would jam and possibly break the screw. For this reason the screw passes through a large hole in the log and meshes with a smaller piece of hard wood, pegged, with considerable allowance for play, to the log beneath it. The descent of the heavy log is thus regulated by the turning of the screw: if it is turned one way, the log descends; if the other, the log rises. A block of wood is placed between the screw and the fulcrum of the lever, so as to get the maximum pressure. Under the log are set superimposed baskets of olive mash, and the block thus serves to transmit the weight of the log to the baskets. As the log is screwed down, the oil is squeezed out of the mash and flows through the meshes of the baskets, to fall into a wooden or pottery container at the foot of the stone on which the baskets are set. The parts of the oil press are as follows:

thahont, the olive-crushing machine, complete, also the stone wheel.
amghir, the sticks in it, both the upright axis and the horizontal handle.
er hawuth, the grinding table.
azekor the pressing machine, entire, also the log weight above.
azthi, the screw.
aharush, the log which transmits the pressure from the weight to the baskets, so-called from its resemblance to a mortar.

The olive press, including both component machines, is found in every tribe excepting Mtalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. In the Branes and Marnissa is found a variant type of press, in which there are two screws, and the weight-log, the *azekor*, is not heavy, the machine thus depending for its pressure upon the constriction of the screws, which are operated from above.[1]

312 *targa*, the irrigation ditch. (See plate 9.) Irrigation ditches are led from springs and streams along the sides of valleys at a slope less than that of the streams themselves. Their

[1] Laoust pp. 451–460 describes the variant forms of this machinery in other parts of Morocco. Baron Nopcsa (p. 157) also gives a description of the same thing in Albania. Like the turbine mill, this apparatus enjoys a wide distribution in the Mediterranean area.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252

Thakont of Ikarsen, Gaennaya, showing grinding table clearly

Crushing olives with *thakont*, Tezarin, Taghzuth

Pressing out oil with the *azekor*, Tezarin, Taghzuth

Closer view of same *azekor*

[facing p. 54]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 312 day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

241 735 476 At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathis* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

241 735 All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

252 471 Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

252 794

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.

[873]

3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.

[778]

4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Any oil remaining over the three or four cups so given is the property of the man who
[135] has pressed it, unless a poor man without trees comes to the press and asks for some. Such demands cannot be refused and each suppliant must be given a cup.

241 Besides charitable assistance and work done in anticipation of remunerative charity,
465 there are two types of definite agricultural contract by which one man who has not enough land to support himself and his family may acquire sufficient provender to last his household through the winter. The first is that by which a poor man binds himself to assist a richer farmer in all agricultural tasks in which he may engage. In return for this he receives a fifth of the total grain crop, a fourth of the leguminous plants and vegetables harvested, a third of the product of the fruit, olive, and nut trees, and a third of the grapes.

The rich farmer hires these share-laborers (who are called *akhemes*,[1] plural *ikhemesen* or "fifths," because of their return in grain) because he is not able to care for all of his land himself, owing to its extensive size. If the property of a rich farmer is so extensive that he is unable to cultivate it with the aid of one share-laborer, he will hire two, and these will split a fifth, a fourth, and a third of the various types of produce. No matter how many men a farmer employs he never gives more than the stipulated fractions, which are equally divided among the workers.

241 When a man owns property which he has no intention of working himself, he can rent it
427 out in return for one half of the produce. This type of contract is used by the Beni Bu Yahyi in renting out the northerly portions of their territory to farmers who come down from Galiya to work the land, the Beni Bu Yahyi not being as interested in agriculture.

241 The share-laborer is often a stranger in the village of his employment, having left his
166 home through shame of having his poverty advertised in his own village, or more often through fear of punishment for some crime. The migrations of these share-laborers has done more to cause infiltrations of blood from tribe to tribe than any other factor, since the immigrant usually marries into the group of his adoption.

241 Wealth is not a stable thing in the Rif, any more than it is in more modern types of
[556] society. Despite charitable practices and opportunities for outside work, many families find themselves on the verge of starvation in or near January and February, and are willing to sell anything within reason to obtain enough food to last them until the next harvest. Others, more industrious, who have worked their land to its limit and spent the rest of their time helping others for pay, may have more food than they require and be willing to sell some of it, at a premium. They generally demand land in payment. Working this land to its limit the following year, they may pile up an even greater surplus than before, and thus before many years may become large landowners and relatively rich men, ready, in their turn, to hire as share-laborers the people from whom they bought the land.

[558] Thus the retention of property depends upon whether or not it is worked diligently, and positions of wealth may be reversed in less than a generation.

FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

252 The different types of food, including their methods of preparation, may be classified as follows: (1) cereal preparations antedating bread, (2) bread and breadmaking, (3) preparation of vegetable products alone, (4) dishes containing meat, (5) fish, (6) eggs, (7) milk and

[1] The feminine form of this word signifies a political division. See p. 92.

1? Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

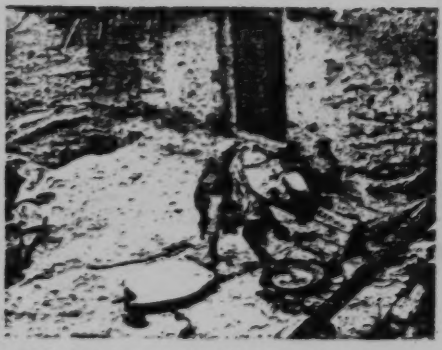
FOOD PREPARATION 1

252

Preparing flour for bread-making. Teririn, Taghauth

Grinding flour in a hand-mill, Tiguisas, Ghomara

[354]



Frying bread in an earthen skillet, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Typical bake-oven, Ulad Abekar, Taghauth

[p. 56 (a)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

[p. 56(8)]

[372]

Choosing a fat goat for supper, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Broiling goat-meat *kebabs* over a brasier

Eating the *kebabs*

Chopping up *kif*, Tiguisas, Ghomara

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

milk products, and (8) intoxicants and narcotics. To these topics may be added that of table manners.

Cereal Preparations antedating Bread. In Procopius we are told that the chief food of the mountain Berbers of Algeria consisted of roasted grains, eaten as such and without being made into bread;[1] and early accounts of the Canary Islands describe the Guanches as eating habitually a food called *gofio*, made from roasted barley.[2] This type of food, which the Riffians believe to have antedated bread, is still eaten in the more remote mountain sections of the Rif and Senhaja. The various kinds of food so prepared are as follows:

zimbu, barley or maize, is roasted in an oven or pan, ground in a stone mill (see plate 13), mixed with melted butter, and rolled into balls. These balls of *zimbu* are given children as a delicacy or as a snack between meals. They are likewise taken into battle as emergency rations and carried on long journeys.

tha' asat is maize roasted in the same way as is *zimbu*, then mixed with raisins and either almonds or walnuts, depending on which sex is to eat it. The whole is put into a grain pestle and crushed and mixed together; melted butter is poured through it, and the compressed cake taken out of the pestle and allowed to dry, a process during which it becomes very hard. This makes a compact lasting food, eminently suited for pilgrimages and other long journeys and for war. The maize used in *zimbu* and *tha'asat* is especially chosen so that in roasting it will burst open (like American popcorn).

imshiken, rye, is boiled in water until thoroughly cooked and swollen, then the water is drained off, butter is added, and the dish is ready to eat. It closely resembles oatmeal porridge and other cooked cereals commonly eaten in this country.

thighwawin, barley, is roasted, then husked in a pestle until the skins come off. It is eaten dry in time of war or of great emergency.

iuwzan, barley, is broken coarsely so that four or five pieces result from each grain. It is thrown into a pot of boiling water and cooked until swollen, then eaten with a spoon, like boiled rice.

These primitive methods of preparing grains for consumption are restricted to-day to a limited area, although traditionally all the inhabitants of the region formerly employed them. They are always found in association as a definite complex in the mountain sections of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Iherrassen of the Gzennaya, all of the Senhaja Sghir, and the Western Arabophone Sehaja.

Bread and Breadmaking. *agharum*, bread, is made from an incredibly large number of different materials. These are wheat, barley, rye, wild oats, maize in combination with some other cereal, durra (of recent introduction), acorns, dried *sasanu* and barley flour, *iyarni*, a wild tuber, *kirsana*, *ashtar*, another wild tuber, and the seeds from the pod of the *tuzelt*. There is a tradition, probably unfounded, that the ground pits of olives left after pressing are also utilized.

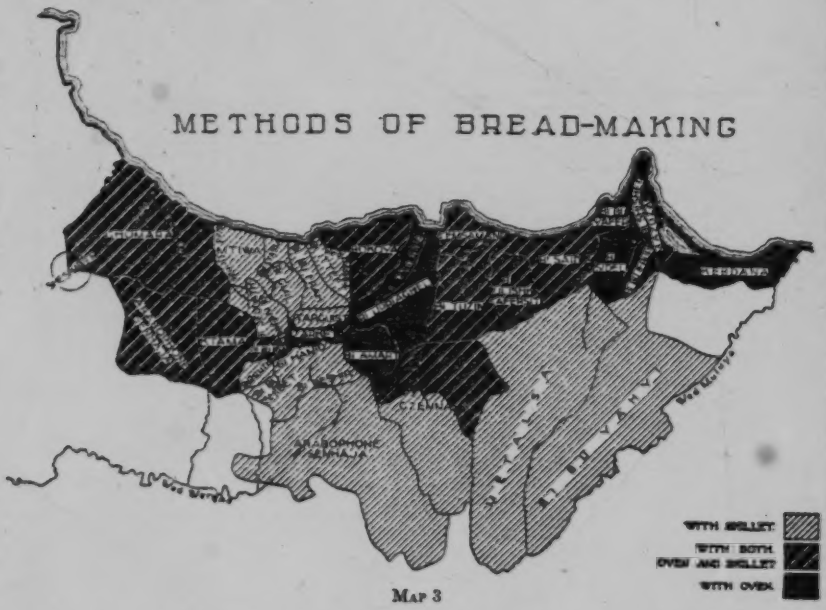
The grain is usually ground fresh for each baking. The first process is to mix warm water with the yeasty dough left over from the previous day's baking. Yeast is kept by holding over a bit of dough each day and mixing it in this way. If one's yeast gives out, a neighbor will supply more. Few housewives attempt to start yeast, which is considered a very difficult task. It is said that it can be done, however, by using the mother from vinegar,

[1] Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 6, l. 13.
[2] E. A. Hooton, *The Early Inhabitants of the Canary Islands*, p. 69.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and lemon juice. After the yeasty dough has been thoroughly diluted in warm water, flour is mixed in, and the resultant dough patted into disc-like loaves. These are piled one on top of the other and allowed to rise until the bubbles start bursting open, and then are thrust into a hot oven, from which the glowing embers of a hot juniper or other brush fire have just been drawn.

The Riffians say that the women of the Senhaja Sghir do not allow their bread to rise as long as do Riffian women, and that the resultant product is not as good. Personally, I found the bread in both places excellent.



Map 3

It is said that nineteen or twenty loaves of bread can be made from a *mudd* of barley, twenty-four from a *mudd* of wheat, and thirty-two from a *mudd* of rye. In this way rye, although it reproduces less grain than the others, compensates in the final product. A *mudd* is a common Moroccan measure.[1]

Bread is highly prized, due to its scarcity, in the Senhaja Sghir, and in Ktama is eaten only on memorable occasions. Although the usual shape of bread in the Rif, as well as in all Morocco, is discoidal, the Galiya and Kebdana women make long narrow loaves, like French bread. Besides the ordinary bread which has just been described, several types of unleavened bread and pancakes are commonly made:

aftheir, dough, is prepared without yeast, and fried on an earthen skillet.

[1] See p. 113, n. 2.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

tarid, a similar loaf, made with wheat bread and sugar. This is considered to be a recent Arab introduction.

ḥarīṭa, pancakes, are made from a thin batter, full of ground pepper, dropped on a hot skillet.

Bread is baked in an oven called *thinurth* (see plate 13), whereas *aftheir*, *tarid*, and *ḥarīṭa* are prepared on an earthen skillet called *nkhadam* and attributed to the Arabs. (See plate 13.) Of the bake-oven and the skillet, the former is unquestionably the older and more characteristic in the Rif. It is found in all the Rif but the maritime tribes, Nomads, Shawia and Imedurar of Gsennaya, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghzuth, Ktama, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. The clay skillet is distributed throughout the Rif with the exception of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Telmest, Galiya, and Kebdana.

Preparation of Vegetable Products without Meat. Another important article of diet is *thamarik*, a sort of purée or thick soup, which is made of dried split peas, ground beans, or lentils. When it is made with lentils, cut-up onions are added. The purée is boiled in a little water, the pulse being thrown in after the water has begun to boil. When it is nearly cooked butter or olive oil is added, and the resultant purée is eaten with bread used to scoop it out of the bowl, instead of with spoons. *Thamarik* is considered particularly nutritious and warming, and is eaten mostly in winter when there are no fresh vegetables and on particularly cold days. It is found in every tribe except the Nomads.

The wild greens mentioned under agriculture, gathered and eaten by the women, are boiled and mixed with oil or melted butter.

Peppers and onions are eaten raw by men working in the fields who do not want to take the time to go home to lunch.

Dried figs, apricots, raisins, almonds, and walnuts are eaten at any time, either on the march or in the house. They are taken especially in winter after the grain of the previous harvest has been used up. During years following poor harvests whole villages go for months with no other vegetable food than these dried fruits and nuts, in addition to what wild roots, herbs, and berries they are able to collect in the wilderness.

Acorns are divided into two classes, *rbejuth marjas*, bitter acorns, and *rbejuth mizirth*, sweet acorns. The latter may be eaten raw, but the former must be crushed and left in a stream, inside a bag, until the water has washed all the bitterness out of them, — the same process as that employed with *shasana*.

Dishes containing Meat. *seksu*, commonly known as kuskus, forms an important article of diet in the Rif, as well as in the rest of North Africa. Briefly, since it has been often described, *seksu* is a composite dish made of coarsely ground flour, moistened and rolled into small balls the size of the head of a glass-headed pin. These balls, or granules, are placed in a container the bottom of which is pierced with small holes and steamed over a pot of boiling water or of stew. The stew, which may be cooked separately, consists of vegetables, especially onions and turnips, and lamb, beef, goat meat, or chicken, butter or oil, and seasoning. The *seksu* is spread out, in a large dish, in the form of a symmetrical hill, and the stew is poured on the top, whence the juicier parts seep into the *seksu*; the chunks of meat and vegetable may be readily reached by the persons enjoying the repast.

Another common dish, distributed throughout North Africa, is called *guas*, a name which the Riffians have taken over from the Arabs. *Guas* may be purely vegetable or may

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

contain meat. The vegetable *guaz* consists of vegetable marrow, potatoes, onions, and peppers casseroled in a pot with oil. Meat *guaz* consists of the same combination of vegetables, or of as many of them as can be obtained, plus gobbets of any kind of meat — goat, sheep, or beef — or whole chickens. *Guaz* is the dish commonly given to guests, especially Europeans and Arabs.

The *kebab*, a recent innovation, is a series of chunks of meat, preferably mutton or goat, spitted on a length of wire, stick, or on a specially constructed spit. Pieces of fat alternate with the meat, and chopped-up onions and peppers are rubbed into the meat lavishly. The whole is broiled over a charcoal brazier and eaten as soon as it leaves the fire. (See plate 19.) The *kebab* forms an easily prepared and tasty dish, especially convenient for people on the march, who cannot carry pots or other utensils. Although introduced only recently it has had a rapid diffusion throughout the area, and is now known everywhere. An especially prized type of *kebab* is that made from bits of liver wrapped in sweetbreads.

Meat may be preserved for later consumption by two methods, drying in the sun and the manufacture of sausages.

er kadidth, from the Arabic *el kadid*, may be made of any meat commonly eaten, except chicken. Mutton, goat, and beef kadids are common, but the meat most suitable for this form of preservation is the flesh of the wild boar. Until recently pork kadids, resembling in taste ham, shoulder, and bacon, were made throughout the Rif, but through an increasing wave of religious feeling this article of diet is fast disappearing. In the Rif it is found only occasionally, and even then is made and consumed secretly through fear of ridicule. The people of Temjunt and Inhanahan of Gzennaya, as well as the Beni Amart, probably make and consume more of it than any other groups in the Rif. In the Senhaja Sghir it is still manufactured and eaten openly, especially in Ktama, Beni Seddath, Beni Bu Nsar, and Beni Khennus. In Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth it is called by another name when Arabs or Riffians are present. The kadid may be eaten dry, like chipped beef, or in a *guaz*. It is made and eaten by everyone in the area excepting the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi.

thimhagzin, sausages, are made from goat meat, beef, and pork. The latter meat is rarely used at present, but was formerly the common sausage material. The meat is chopped up, mixed with fat, salt, peppers, and onions, and packed into intestines, bladders, and stomachs. Sausages are eaten only on the feast of *Ashor*, and occasionally on the *Haggus*. For the former celebration, one sausage is made for each member of the family, its size varying with the size of the person who will eat it. These delicacies are hung in a cluster on a rafter. Sausages are found in the Beni Amart and among the Mountain Urriaghlis.

Fish. This is eaten very rarely in the mountain interior, although it forms a common enough article of diet along the coast. When eaten fresh, there is but one method of preparation — by frying in a skillet, with olive oil or some other fat. Sardines are more commonly eaten than any other kind of fish, and when prepared in this way, with olive oil, are very tasty.

There are two methods of preserving fish, by salting and by baking. Salting is done as soon as the fish are brought up on shore. The product so prepared is carried inland in baskets and sold in markets. (See plate 32.) Sometimes sardines are put in a bake-oven without being cleaned. When baked to a crisp they are set aside for winter consumption. Salted fish are sold inland, but baked fish are intended for the use of fishermen and their families.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Fish is never boiled or prepared in any way other than those above named. It is never eaten during a meal at which milk is drunk.

262 **Eggs.** These are most commonly eaten hard boiled, a number of them in a bowl of melted butter constituting a common dish. They are also made into omelettes, but this latter method is rare and is probably of recent introduction. They are never mixed in bread or in any other composite dish.

262 **Milk and Milk Products.** Milk is consumed in a number of different ways. It may 234 be drunk fresh, as it commonly is, especially among the mountain peoples, or may be left to

MAP 4

curdle. The curds, called *aghin*, are drunk out of a communal pot. Butter, called *adhen*, is made by two methods: (1) In the Rif, except in the region of nomadism, cream is put into an earthen pot with a narrow neck and a spout and two handles. Leather lids are tied over the neck and spout, and the pot tied to the rafters by the handles. Here it is swung back and forth until the butter is ready. (2) Among the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi the cream is put into a goatskin, which is tied tight and swung from a wooden tripod until churning is completed.

el kleila (Arabic), cheese, is made only by the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is commonly produced in the form of flat, hard cakes. Being cheese makers, the nomads naturally know the properties of rennet, which they cut from the stomachs of calves; with this and fresh milk they make junket, *jeben*, which they feed to children. The sedentary peoples,

776 921 by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

[253] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the 784 wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule 233 that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasror, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti). [254] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

776 [262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

796 782 [120] It is the rule that as soon as the animal[1] is killed its head and feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, At Ubahti). In Dukkala it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances it is only partaken of [252] on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), as also the heart (Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), are partaken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz) and the feet (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Amanuz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Ait Sadden), and the head and th the feet on the first (ibid.) or the third (Ait Waryager). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day.

[262] [121] Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel.

[251] What remains of the meat is made into qaddid (or geddid [Ulad Bu 'aziz], lqaddid [Igliwa], rqaddid [Temsaman, Ait Waryager], tiqqaddidin [Ait Sadden], asawar [Ait Yusi], tagarin [Aglu], tifiyi iqorn [Amanuz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips.

[735] A portion of the qaddid is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following 'asura. Among the Ait Waryager some qaddid must be preserved till the following mulud.

[1 i.e. - sacrificial. - Analyst]

231 755 [288] The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (dmaggit; Ait Waryager); and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Ait Waryager). It is also used as a remedy [859] for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (ibid.).

231 839 [289] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Ait Waryager); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Ait Waryager, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn.

231 777 [292] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion.

262 [295] The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic hlib or halib; and in Berber akfai (Amanuz), takfit (Igliwa), aggu akffa (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi (At Ubahti), asaffai (Ait Waryager), asffai (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Buttermilk is called in Arabic lben; and in Berber agu (Amanuz, Igliwa), aggu anddu (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi asemmam (At Ubahti), agiy (Ait Waryager), agi (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Curded milk is called in Arabic rayib or raib; and in Berber ikkil (Ait Sadden), ekkir (Ait Yusi), aklil (Ait Warain), attsil (At Ubahti), assir (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[297] Fresh butter is called in Arabic zebda; and in Berber tudit (Amanuz), tamudit (Igliwa), udi (Ait Warain), tlussi (At Ubahti), drussi (Ait Waryager), trussi (Temsaman). Salt butter is called in Arabic smen; and in Berber udi (Amanuz, Igliwa, Aglu, Ait Warain), ddhen (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

252 [298] The Ait Waryager hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the aqasror, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

372 354 171 [252] seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

372 314 171 Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus, Rhus pentaphylla,* and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and ll available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[a] During any day of [482] the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal [492] to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

342 313 171 Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

[139] Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix, Alnus, Populus, Vitex,* and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander,* the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) [174] is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[b] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[c]

---

[113] [372] [354] [171] [113] most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al.*, *Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[a] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Edieiones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[b] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies,* 9 (1931), 69.

[c] Coon, *loc. cit.*, traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ifarādhen* (Arabic *bil-fard*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches *(tharghu*, pl. *tharghiwīn)* and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rīf, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: **El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados**, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

454 Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect. 231 Thus, an extra mule or an ox can raise the level of productivity 454 of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the 433 case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily 554 in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

256 Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is 435 the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water 472 is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah [376] engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

256 435 472 256 472 477 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regardless of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills are not economically competitive with one another, they are socially competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a locality, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of [571] [578] [602] preference on the part of the users is not determined by convenience of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

423 427 Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor. We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise between a man who has more property than he alone can personally cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own. Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inheritance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these circumstances [464] the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

464 Although the akhammas association is the most prevalent,
465 it is only one of several such arrangements. Another sort of laborer is the amkari, who is hired for sowing and odd jobs about the house. His salary is not fixed and he is apparently paid in cash and clothing (Hart 1956:75). Another type of traditional
[233] work association is the amikhan, who is a youth employed to herd a man's goats and sheep. He ". . . is hired for a fixed period . . . [and] gets a non-stipulated sum at the end of his contract" (Hart, ibid.:75). Such an arrangement is graphically portrayed in Bowles' translation of Charhadi's autobiographical novel, A Life Full of Holes. Another form of association is the arabba' who cultivates household gardens, orchards, and trees. He is given a fourth of the fruit and vegetable crops; if the terrain is difficult to terrace, his portion is adjusted (Hart 1956:75).
[256] Most mill owners employ an assistant to do the grinding, and from the mill owner's portion the worker receives a fourth of the grain.

The common element of this sort of association seems to be that the salary the laborer earns is determined by customary regulations rather than by the supply and demand of workers. It
[571] is an association between the elite and the poor which is based
[565] on a fixed compensation and outside of any regulation by the market economy.

675 A correlate of this situation in which commercial arrangements are based on social factors is the irrelevance of written contracts. Whereas contractual agreement forms the basis of most

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

the gradual decrease in the number of fruit and nut trees. The tribesmen of Jbala and the Atlantic littoral can count on adequate rainfall for a good cereal crop in most years. Moreover, since the summer weather is cooler and more humid than in the interior, crops do not suffer from excessive evaporation. Cereals in winter give way to summer crops of sorghum and chickpeas. The latter are not irrigated, and so there is no need for terracing. Slopes are covered with an irregular patchwork of cultivated plots without walls or ditches. Each hamlet is surrounded by cactus (*Opuntia Ficus-indica*), which is cultivated as a hedge and for its edible fruit.

Farm Implements

The implements used by Moroccan farmers are simple and few, for long-established habit opposes change. There are some general reasons for conservatism, such as the abundance and cheapness of manpower and the stagnation of industry. There are specific reasons as well: the prevalence of steep slopes, of small plots where only handwork is possible, and the difficulty of hauling heavy equipment through mountainous terrain. Implements are limited to mattocks, picks, hatchets, hoes, plows, grist mills, and equipment for pulping and pressing olives. Plowshares and other iron tools are made and repaired by local blacksmiths.

The Moroccan plow is a one-handled implement without wheels, colter, or moldboard. Wings are attached obliquely to either side of the share in order to widen the furrows, though not to reverse the sod. Since there is no harrow, clods are broken with hoes or clubs, and a second plowing is necessary to cover the seed. The share is made from a flat piece of iron hammered over at the edges to form a socket. The plow itself is much the same throughout the northern zone. The main regional difference is in the manner of yoking. In Jbala plows are fastened to the foreheads of cows or oxen (pl. 4, *b*); neck yoking is practiced elsewhere.[7] Mixed teams are common, combining donkeys, mules, or oxen, or one of these animals with a camel (pl. 4, *b*).

Figure 21 illustrates the main hand tools. The first four (*a–d*) are digging and weeding tools; the complex tool in the fourth sketch (*d*) seems to be restricted to Jbala, for the Sanhajans and Rifians are unable to give it a name. The fifth sketch (*e*) shows an all-purpose grubbing and cutting tool, which the women use to collect fuel and edible plants. Figure 20, *f*, is the hatchet used by woodcutters in Ktama; 20, *g*, is the ubiquitous sickle.

Milling is ordinarily accomplished with a rotary hand mill consisting of an upper stone, turned with a wooden handle, and a lower stone that remains stationary.[8] In areas of abundant runoff there are also vertical water mills, consisting of a turbine wheel attached to the upper of two millstones, a hopper mounted above the stone, and a feed slot jiggled by the upper stone to ensure an even flow (fig. 22). The lower stone is larger than the upper, and is rimmed with a slightly raised border, broken at one place to allow extraction of the flour.[9] Mills of this

[7] For other illustrations of Moroccan plows, see E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères: notes de linguistique et d'éthnographie* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1920), pp. 275–301.

[8] This type of mill is illustrated in Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958), plate LI.

[9] The origin and evolution of the rotary hand mill and the turbine mill are discussed at length in L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

Mills of this type are usually privately owned, and the owner collects one-tenth of the flour. When there is neither hand nor turbine mill, the women pound the grain with iron bars.

The implements used to press and pulp olives are similar to those used in Roman time.[10] The apparatus consists of a mill, a press, and a vat. The millstone lies against a centrally placed revolving post and is turned by means of a horizontal shaft with one end secured in the center post and the other projecting beyond the stone (fig. 23). Mills are used both for bruising the fruit before pressing and later to pulp the pressed fruit for use as cattle fodder. The larger mills are powered by animals, the smaller by hand. The essential part of the press is a large log, held in place by heavy wooden screws, which is forced down on baskets filled with olive mash.

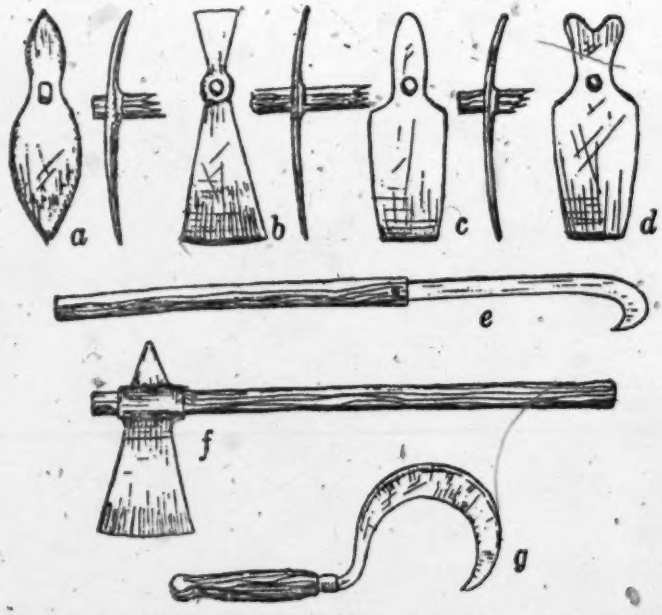


Fig. 21. Farm implements: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, digging and weeding tools; *e*, grubbing and cutting tool; *f*, hatchet used by woodcutters; *g*, sickle.

Role of Domestic Animals

In the statistical report of 1953 the number of domestic animals in Spanish Morocco is given as 1,104,000 goats, 661,000 sheep, 337,000 cattle, 55,000 donkeys, 22,000 mules, and 2,000 camels.[11] The number of goats nearly equals that of human beings. They are kept for their meat, milk, and hides. In many areas the number of goats is limited only by the amount of space available for storage of fodder and by the number of goatherds.

[10] H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953).

[11] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 131, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R
256
191

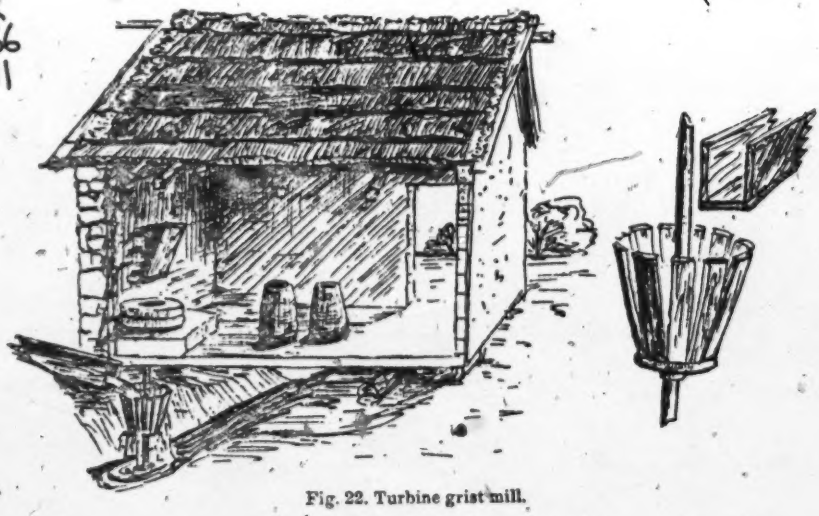


Fig. 22. Turbine grist mill.

R
245
407
171

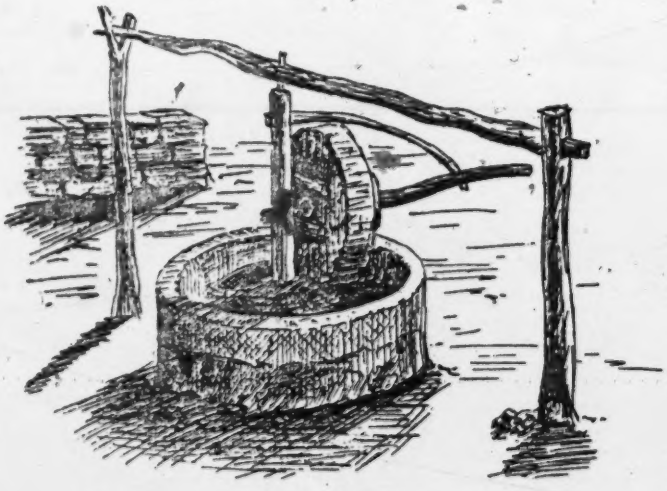


Fig. 23. Olive grinder.

000
S
231
061

and by the number of goatherds. The situation in Ktama is representative of the entire highland area. In 1934 this mountain tribe, with a population of 8,389 persons, maintained 20,259 goats in an area of 450 square kilometers.[13] Goats must be brought back to shelter each night; so the radius of their movement is small. The effects of browsing on vegetation will be examined in chapter viii.

R
231
191

The number of goats decreases toward the Atlantic lowlands and the plains

[13] Figures from an unpublished report of the Spanish *interventor* dated November, 1934.

243 While barley is the predominant crop, maize is an important secondary one. Wheat and rye are also grown but the latter is held in low esteem as a food product[1] and the former does not grow successfully on the thin residual soil of the region. In
241 [312] those areas where there are rivers or streams, small gardens are maintained by irrigation canals. In these are cultivated potatoes, tomatoes, onions, garlic, squash, turnips, green peppers and mint.

245 In addition to the grains, maize, and small vegetable gardens, many households also have orchards of fruit and nut trees. Fig, lemon, orange, pomegranate, walnut, almond, and olive trees are common. In some areas grapes are also cultivated. Around each house is a grove of prickly pears which serves not only as a means of preserving privacy, but also as a source of food. These products not only supplement and add variety to the regular diet but in the case of oranges, almonds
[258] and grapes serve as cash crops. The olives are pressed by the
[262] women to provide crude cooking oil. Nuts, dried grapes and figs
[221] are an important winter food reserve. The work of pruning and grafting goes on during the months of February-March-April.

243 In early summer harvesting begins. Both men and women engage in this activity, the men doing the reaping with hand

---

[829] [1]Coon (1931:47-48) states that rye is highly praised by the Riffian but that since the Arabs scorn it as a foodstuff the Berbers are ashamed to admit its worth.

778 [199] The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable.

[342] [200] When the Ait Waryager are building ahouse they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

[204] The baraka of mosques is also used for various purposes.

[354] [205] Among the Ait Waryager a new lamp (rqandir) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its baraka.

[208] The baraka of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic herz (or horz; plur. hruz) or hejab (or hajab; plur. hjabat). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as lharz (plur. lahruz) and lhejab (plur. lhejabat) in the Shelha of Tazerwalt, rahajab (plur. rahajabat) in the Rifian of the Ait Waryager, and rhaz (plur. rhruz) in that of the Ait Temsaman.

Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative,
[789] or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called t ebrid (by the Ait Waryager).

778 [211] Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a pro-
755 tection against the jnun and the evil eye, and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former or other illnesses.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other.

When [212] a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a herz is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plate, and water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

● [261] If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Ait Waryager).

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember [261] [272] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-871 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a 754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events 857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect" — alam n-nbi waqaf, — that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[5]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[6]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[5] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.

[6] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rlf MX3

137 *riarz*, a cedar, growing very tall and straight. Its sweet-smelling wood is valued by carpenters and cabinet-makers.

[314] *amerzi*, another cedar, with very volatile reddish wood. Its pitch and resin are used as medicine.

rkanus, a similar tree, considered by the Riffians to be the female of the *amerzi*.

The cedars, generally known under the name of *thuya*, or *arbor vitae*, form the characteristic coniferous vegetation of North Africa.[1]

Other Trees

[262] *rbejuh*, an evergreen oak, with edible acorns.

tashta, another species of oak, with inedible acorns.

rbejuth n yirif, the so-called pig-oak. Its acorns are eaten by wild boars, but not by men on account of their bitter taste. Justinard lists as oak *adren*, calling *abedjoud* the acorn.[2] The latter word is derived from the Arabic *el-bellut*, the difference in renderings being due, aside from different techniques in transcription, to my retention of the *r*, the berberization of the Arabic definite article, in the Riffian dialects. I have always heard it pronounced with the *r*. Hanoteau and Letourneau [3] identify five oaks in Algeria: *Quercus castaneaefolia C. A. Mey., Q. Mirbeckii Dr., Q. Ilex L., Q. Ilex var. Ballota*, and *Q. Suber L.*

[245] *adheman*, the hawthorne. This tree is used as a base for grafting pear and apple shoots. Hanoteau and Letourneau give *Crataegus Oxyacantha* (three varieties), *Cr. Azarolus*, and *Cr. monogyna* for Algeria.[4] Laoust identifies *Cr. Oxyacantha* in Morocco.[5]

[262] *asanu*, the arbute, or strawberry tree. Its fruit is eaten fresh, and also dried and put into bread; the wood is used in house construction. Laoust finds it in other parts of Morocco, and gives it the botanical name *Arbutus unedo*.[6]

[262 388] *fathis*, a large tree bearing a small red fruit, which is eaten. The ashes of its wood are mixed with water, in which grapes are washed before being set out to dry. These ashes are also used as soap in washing cloth. Westermarck [7] calls this the lentisk, *Pistacia lentiscus*.

asemmur, the wild olive. Its fruit is not eaten, but its wood is used in making spoons, ploughs, and other objects.

[245] *thasemmurth*, the female of the *asemmur*, smaller than the male. The male can be used for grafting domestic olives, but the female is never used for this purpose.

sa'awiz, a large tree with perennial foliage. It bears a seed containing a red liquid. The wood of this tree was formerly used for gunstocks.

thaghieshth n wushun, a species of wild walnut, called jackal-walnut.

afesas, perhaps a spurge-flax, or broom. It is a bush with a red flower, growing in valley bottoms. Laoust gives *Daphne Gnidium L.* for *walesaz*.[8] Hanoteau and Letourneau name three species, *Daphne oleoides Schreb., D. Gnidium L.*, and *D. Laureola L.*, for Algeria.[9] This plant has been mistaken by other botanists for an osier, on account of its extensive use in basketry.[10]

thabgha, a wild blackberry. Justinard affirms this designation.[11]

[1] Justinard, p. 159; Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 69; el Bekri (tr. Macguckin de Slane), p. 15 n.
[2] Page 117. [3] Page 129. [4] Pages 48, 89. [5] Page 809.
[6] Pages 483–484, 519. [7] Edvard Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. II, p. 185.
[8] Pages 515–516. [9] Page 116. [10] Laoust, pp. 515–516. [11] Page 142.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

ariyeri, the oleander. This plant is important in the manufacture of magical concoctions. Laoust [1] and Justinard [2] support this identification.

tuzselt, a bush resembling a high-bush blueberry. It bears a red pod, like a rose-pod, which is eaten. Laoust [3] calls this *Fraxinus dimorpha*.

aghanim, a reed, used extensively in basket making. Laoust supports this identification.[4]

tharugwith, a bush with a red flower, much frequented by bees.

zui, a bush bearing a white flower, with peppery-tasting leaves. The latter are used as medicine for stomach-ache.

r-knuafer, a bush or low tree which produces a bud resembling a clove. The buds are put into tea as a spice, and are used as a stomach-ache cure for children.

azir, a bush the leaves of which are used in the brewing of a tea alleged to be beneficial in fever.

izarahi, forsythia. Women cut pieces of its stem and tie them in their belts to prevent boils. This identification is purely personal and lacks confirmation.

thakhfa, a wild rose, the pods of which are sometimes eaten in times of famine. Hanoteau and Letourneau [5] give *Rosa sempervirens* for the Kabyle *thaafert*.

Luxurious forests of conifers are said by the inhabitants of the country to have once covered most of the region, but today they are confined to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar, Taghzuth, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarkut, and the upland reaches of Mtiwa. Patches of this forest remain on Mt. Kuin in Gzennaya, in parts of Beni Amart, at Aswil, where the Nekor passes from the Gzennaya into Beni Urriaghel, and on the crests of Beni Tuzin. The *taidha* grows chiefly in the Senhajan tribes, but the *thuya* is found not only there but also farther to the east, in Gzennaya and Beni Tuzin.

After climbing from the hot barrenness of the eastern Rif, one finds the forests of the Senhaja Sghir most beautiful and satisfying. On the mountain between Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth, it is difficult to realise that one is in Morocco. The whole of this section reminds one of temperate forests, such as are found in the northern United States and Canada; especially is this true in the long, flat plateau-valley of Beni Seddath, where a lush meadow is variegated with frequent clumps of *taidha*. Even in midsummer this region retains an exhilarating chilliness of atmosphere. (See plate 1.)

CLIMATE

The slopes of the Mediterranean border of this region are rugged, mostly deforested, hillsides, with a climate similar to northern Mexico or our own Southwest. Farther to the east, in the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and parts of Galiya, the country becomes rolling and its slope relatively gentle, and grain is grown on it without terracing or irrigation. Farther south, however, stretches the arid expanse of the Garet, that waterless waste whereon the Metalsa and Beni Yahyi shift about from camp to camp. This desert stretches into parts of Beni Said and Galiya, and oversteps the boundary of Beni Ulishk and Tafersit. Here in the Garet grows a sparse crop of grass, and quantities of that coarse grass called *halfa*, resembling our own marsh or beach grass, from which the nomadic peoples, and the Gzennaya and other Riffians as well, make sandals, pack-saddles, ropes, and all sorts

[1] Page 484. [2] Page 136. [3] Pages 493, 499.
[4] Page 483. [5] Page 48.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) - 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

reptile, green in color. When annoyed it puffs itself with air and exhales slowly, making an unpleasant noise. It is supposed to give birth to snakes, just as the lion is held responsible for the parentage of the panther. 136 825

Besides the snakes whose existence is unquestionable, one fabulous species is frequently mentioned. This creature is said to have a blunted tail, upon which it rises; using the tail as a lever it hurls itself through the air a great distance in the direction of its victim. The Riffians believe this firmly.

Fish are seldom seen in the smaller streams which empty into the Mediterranean; they are too swift, and, along their lower courses, too seasonal. In the Muluya, of course, fish are plentiful. What few there are in the mountain streams are eaten more by otters than by men, since the Riffians are not fond of fresh-water fish, although they preserve no definite tabu against them. 136 262

In the streams which empty into the Wergha on the Atlantic side of the watershed fish are more common, and are netted and eaten in Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar. Sea fishing, which has a special place under "Material Culture," [1] is carried on along practically all the coast.

[1] See below, p. 38.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IV

MATERIAL CULTURE

HUNTING

224 HUNTING is carried on in three ways in the Rif, by means of the rifle, the net, and the trap. In the fall and winter the Riffians, and especially the mountaineers of the Senhaja, spend as much of their time as they can spare climbing about the mountain sides in search of game.

[418] The weapons with which they hunt are confined to rifles of European manufacture and Taghzuthi flintlocks. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, hares, pigeons, partridges, wild [262] boar, and, where there are any, the aoudad, wild ox, and gazelle. Since before any animal may be eaten by Mohammedans it is necessary that its throat be cut ceremonially, — the butcher pronouncing the formula "*bism illah, ullahu akbar*," — the Riffians have devised several means of counteracting the consequences of the game's dying before this has been done. The hunter when loading his gun may kiss the lead ball, pronouncing the formula of *hallala*, or the sacrament, over it, and any animal shot by that ball will be clean and edible. Another and more convenient method is to have a gunsmith chase the words of the formula in silver wire upon the stock or barrel, and thereafter any game shot by that rifle will be sacramentally edible. In the case of the wild boar, the hunter does not worry about giving it the *hallala*, since it is forbidden food in any event.

Nets are set up across a path or entrance to a clearing on the side of a hill, and long palisades of brush are erected like wings on either side of the net, slightly wedge-shaped, and at an angle of less than 180 degrees to each other. Beaters start at the foot of the hill and work up, converging until they reach the ends of the palisade, and thus drive into the net whatever small game they may have intercepted. In this way they catch rabbits, hares, [262] partridges, foxes, jackals, and other animals. Although they kill the foxes and jackals, they never eat them.[1]

[231] Ferrets are used in winter time to unearth rabbits. They are completely tamed and well trained.

224 Traps are made by local blacksmiths and are based on the same mechanical principle as 326 the type with which the reader is familiar. The differences are: (1) The base of the trap is a frame, rectangular in shape, instead of a plate. The jaws are hinged into the sides of this. (2) Each jaw is bent in two right angles instead of in an arc. (3) The spring, attached to one arm of the frame, operates at right angles to the axis of the jaws instead of parallel to it. Thus it actually touches but one side of each jaw, instead of both sides, as in modern traps. (4) There is no trigger or bait-holder. The traps are set by means of two sticks, one put under the end of the frame and over one open jaw, and the other under both sides of the frame and over the end of the first stick. The second stick thus is caught in the jaws when the trap is sprung.

224 The trap is buried in the path or in front of the hole of any small animal, the top being covered with leaves and dust. The two sticks are so arranged that the slightest motion will

[1] I have seen tribesmen of the Zaer, near Rabat, eat a jackal.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The gathering of wild vegetable products is traditionally considered to antedate agriculture. Tales are told of the times when the Riffians subsisted on these products and game alone. In Ktama, where agriculture is difficult, the gathering of wild plants, especially *tuzzélt*, forms an important occupation. At the end of winter, when the dried fruit is gone and when the larders are low, many Riffian families would die of hunger if their womenfolk did not go out on the mountain slopes and up the watercourses looking for these natural foods.

The green plants, such as watercress and asparagus, are subject to a dietary sex tabu. Woman only may eat them. The reason given for this distinction is that they produce blood, fat, and soft flesh, desirable in women but not in men.

Mulberries and cherries were probably introduced by the Arabs and later abandoned. Mulberries are not considered good food and are seldom eaten except through necessity. Tomatoes were probably introduced from Spain and then given up.

Cultivation of Fruit and Nut Trees and of Vineyards. *zilon* (male), *misola* (female), the domestic olive tree. The male tree produces large olives low in oil content, which are preserved in lemon juice and eaten as a relish. The fruit of the female tree is pressed into oil. As a rule all the male trees in an olive yard are cut down with the exception of one, which is left to fertilise the female trees. The olives are called by the names of the trees which bear them.

arman, the pomegranate tree. The Riffians recognize sex differences in pomegranates, considering that the fruit with a thick skin and large, hard seeds in the granules is produced by the male tree, whereas the better fruit is produced by females. As a rule, the male trees are all cut down but one, which is left for fertilising the others. Sometimes male trees are left, so that the fruit may be sold in markets frequented by people unacquainted with the difference. The fruit and tree bear the same name.

er ghas, the fig tree. There are four varieties of fig trees, *aseiri*, *aghudani*, *awar n aksi*, and *abaran*. The fruit borne by the *aseiri* is round, with longitudinal purple and green lines; that of the *aghudani* is long, pear-shaped, and purple; that of the *awar n aksi* is round and light green. There are two varieties of *abaran*, one of which is round and green and the other long with black or purple lines. The three first varieties bear twice a year, in June and in September. The June figs, called *er bashor*, are eaten but not dried, except for use as medicine, since they contain but little sugar. The September figs, called *thezalh*, are dried. The *aberan* varieties bear only in September. The Riffians say that the *abaran* types are the only indigenous strains, and that the *aseiri* and *awar n aksi* came originally from the Arabs, whereas the *aghudani* is derived from the Negroes.

shukwar, a wild fig. Planted, it is said, by birds that have eaten cultivated figs, this fruit is useless for eating, but is employed for magical purposes. Each year the women and children go out and gather the wild figs when ripe, tie them together in pairs with grass, and hang them on the branches of the domesticated fig trees. There are said to be insects in the wild figs which come out and touch the buds of the domestic figs. It is thought that if these wild figs were not so hung and if the insects from them did not touch the buds, the cultivated figs would not bear.[1]

[1] Westermarck (p. 190) states that the Riffians hang male figs in female trees, in order to fertilise their fruit. A small insect, *Blastophaga grossorum*, bores in and out of the figs, fertilising them. Westermarck refers to Elfving's *De Viktigaste Kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1885), p. 74.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 242 *lishin*, the orange tree. Riffian oranges are of the common North African variety. Tangerines are not grown in the Rif. It is said that the fruit of the male orange tree is elongated, while that of the female tree is round. Orange shoots are grafted to wild lemon trees without distinction of sex.

limon, the cultivated lemon tree, as distinguished from the wild variety.

tifah, the apple tree. Riffian apples are small and stunted, and not very palatable. They are not commonly grown except in the highest mountain tribes. The apple shoots are frequently grafted onto hawthornes. A sex distinction is made between the apples: the male ones are said to be large and white, and the females red.

firas, the pear tree. It is said that the male pear is white, while the female is reddish. Grafting onto hawthorne is common.

thaghieshth, the walnut tree. Walnuts are called *nue n thaghieshth*. The Riffians distinguish male from female walnut trees as follows: The male tree bears a hard-shelled nut with little meat; the female's nut is thinner shelled and meatier. Usually the males are cut down to make room for others. No grafting is attempted with walnuts.

juz, the almond tree. The nuts from this tree are called *nue*, the same word which is applied to walnuts. It is said that the male almond bears a nut with a single meat, while the meat of the female is double. Almonds, like walnuts, are not grafted.

er mishmesh, a species of plum tree. The sex of plums is distinguished by breaking the stone and tasting the meat inside. If it is bitter the tree bearing it is supposed to be male. Plums, like apples and pears, are grafted to the hawthorne.

er barkok, the apricot tree. Males are said to have thick skins, and females thin ones. Males are preferred for export, and females for drying.

er khok, the peach tree. The Riffians do not distinguish sex in the peaches, and do not attempt to graft them.

[262] The Riffian prizes his fruit and nut trees highly, perhaps even more than his grain and vegetables, since on the dried fruit of these trees and upon raisins his family is often forced to subsist for months at a time during the winter. He digs around and manures the roots of the trees every spring, and leads irrigation ditches to their trunks. He keeps them carefully pruned and trimmed, and diligently removes insect parasites from leaves and branches.

262 831 [585] Not only does the Riffian take great pains to distinguish between the sexes of the trees, but he also imposes a sex tabu upon the eating of the fruit of two of them, walnuts and almonds. Walnuts may be eaten only by women, and almonds only by men. The reason for this is symbolically sexual, since walnuts, on account of their wrinkled appearance, are supposed to produce a drying and shrinking, whereas almonds are supposed to produce fluidity and potency in men. Both walnuts and almonds consequently play a prominent part in the wedding diet.

Vineyards. Grapes are as important to the Riffians as fruits and nuts. Those grown in the Rif are a large reddish-purple variety, resembling Malaga grapes in form and in taste. They are grown on vines set out on high mountain slopes too steep and too barren for the cultivation of anything else. The vines are kept trimmed, and in spring the soil about their roots is loosened. It is seldom possible to irrigate them, although fertilizer is brought laboriously uphill when possible.

Among the Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, and Beni Khennus, and in Taghzuth, another variety of grapes is grown, smaller and bluish-purple in color. These grapes are hardier

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 than the Riffian variety. They are grown on trellises outside of and trailing onto the houses, and along the village paths. Since they are trained to climb up trellises, they are not cut back like the Riffian grapes, but are allowed to grow as long as they will, for purposes of shade.

Cactus. The one species of cactus found in the Rif, the prickly pear variety, is called by its Arabic name, *karamus en Nsara*, or the Christian fig. It is found along the seacoast, in the eastern tribes up to Beni Tuzin and Gzennaya, and in the southern part of Gzennaya. It is absent in northern Gzennaya, in southern Beni Urriaghel, in Beni Amart, and in the Senhaja Sghir. Where it is grown it serves as a convenient fence about the house, and as a [238] supply of mediocre food in time of famine. Women and young girls pick its fruit, remove the needles, and sell it in market at a low price.

Garden Plants and Care of Gardens. *batata*, the potato. This vegetable is obviously 244 of American origin, although it has been grown for a long time in the Senhaja and central Rif and has become an integral part of the local culture. It is divided into two varieties: the reddish type, the more frequent, and the white type, found chiefly in Beni Amart. The white is considered the older. Potatoes are grown only where there is irrigation, and then usually in terraces.

er khizzu, the carrot. This vegetable, considered to be of Arab introduction, is not favored and is rarely grown.

er bser, the onion. This is planted in the following manner: in March onions are cut in two or more pieces lengthwise and planted; these pieces are allowed to grow big and go to seed, and the seeds are collected and sown in a starting-bed in August: the next year the stalks are cut off and the plants are separated and transplanted.

jifth, the white turnip.

er firfir, the pepper. Peppers are specially treated, being fertilized with goat manure when they begin to flower.

jubshth, a species of small bean.

ibauen ibershanen, black beans.

thakhseshth, a type of vegetable marrow or squash.

thakhseshth n yieri, the gourd, raised for bottles only and not eaten.

243 **Cultivation of Grains and Leguminous Plants.** *dra thesdat*, durra, is considered by the Riffians to be of recent introduction from the Negro country. It is grown only by men who have no terraces whereon to grow maize (*dra*), since it can be grown dry. It is not greatly valued and is not commonly grown.

shinti, rye,[1] is grown without irrigation on the mountain slopes where the land, too steep for ploughing, may be worked with the hoe. It may be grown on land which does not belong to the farmer, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture, and hence is an important source [242] of food supply for families owning insufficient arable land. The Riffians prize rye highly, considering it rich in food value and a strength producer. Since the Arabs ridicule them for eating it, the Riffians seldom discuss the subject with strangers, or produce food made from

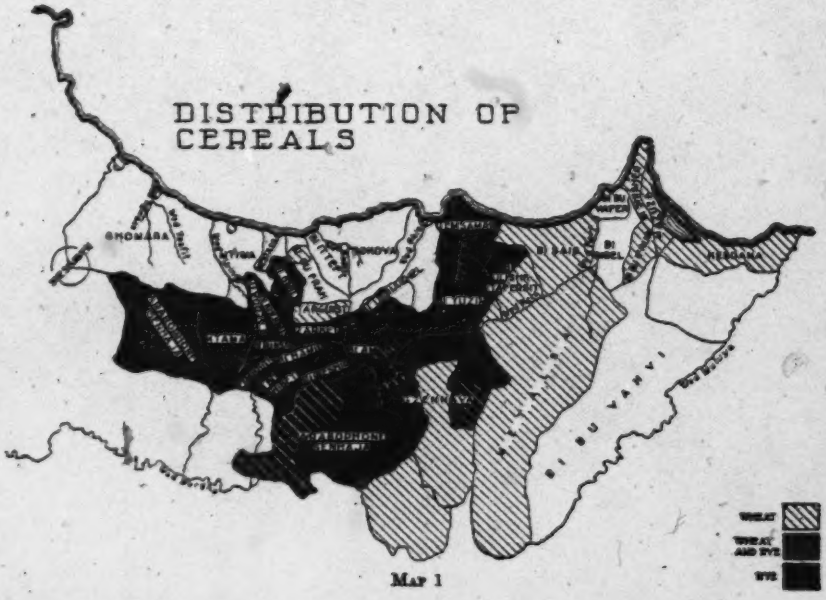
[1] Samples of *shinti* from Gzennaya, now in the Harvard Botanical Museum, have been identified by F. Tracy Hubbard of the Harvard Botany Department as rye. Moulieras mentions *shinti* in his description of the Beni Bu Nsar, calling it "une sorte de blé blanc." Procopius ascribes the cultivation of a grain called *ἄρακος* to the mountain Berbers of his time. This grain, identified with the Latin *arinca*, was perhaps rye. Moulieras, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, vol. I, p. 53: Procopius, bk. IV, chap. 6, l. 13; Freund, Latin-English Lexicon; Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, unabridged, 1882 edition; Vavilov, *The Origin of Cultivated Plants*, p. 206.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 it when guests are present. It is another of the innocuous things of which they are curiously ashamed.

imindhi, barley, is the universal grain, being grown everywhere except in Taghsuth. It is grown on irrigable plough-land, in the regions where irrigation is practised.

erden, wheat, is found only in the east, in the lowlands, and in flat plateau country, notably at Bured and Targuist, where it has recently been introduced. The mountain farmers consider wheat extravagant and low in food value, while the lowlanders think it the only aristocratic cereal. The distribution map for rye and wheat shows clearly the relative



MAP 1

ranges of these cereals, both being largely regulated by environmental zones. I have not depicted the range of barley, since it is found wherever grain is grown except in Taghsuth.

er kortar, oats, are not cultivated in the Rif, but grow wild, and are sometimes gathered and eaten.

243 252 *shasana* is a leguminous plant resembling vetch, the English name of which, if any exists, I do not know.[1] It is grown in the same manner as peas and lentils. These leguminous plants are considered by the Riffians to belong with grains rather than with vegetables, hence I have followed the native usage in considering them in this place. *Shasana* is said to be poisonous when eaten without treatment. Like acorns, the *shasana* is placed in a basketry container and allowed to rest in the bottom of a stream, weighted down with stones,

[1] Specimens brought to the Harvard Botany Department are being studied.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241
805

July. In July, forty-five days after having planted the maize, the farmers reap it, fertilise and water the terraces, and set out the second crop. This second maize is a different variety from the first, and grows more rapidly. After it has ripened it is left in the ground until December or January, when it is removed in time for the next season's ploughing. Towards the end of July the almonds and walnuts are picked and stored away.

August. About the first of August, after the second crop of maize has been planted and the almonds and walnuts picked, the farmers gather the turnips, potatoes, and small beans, planting in their stead more potatoes, more turnips, and black beans. They likewise set the onion seed out in beds, and after the shoots arrive cover them with manure and branches to keep them warm during the winter. Toward the last of August the late figs are picked, split, and set to dry. Figs intended for sale rather than for local consumption are not split, but are spitted on sticks of wood. At this time the farmers also pick pomegranates and carob beans.

September. September is the grape season. Whole families repair to the precipitous vineyards with baskets to pick, sleeping in the vineyards at night, and feasting and playing games. This is the season of festival, and likewise the time when weddings take place. At this time, when the families are sleeping in the vineyards, raw garlic is eaten plentifully, since this is the only time of year in which people do not live in the house, and it is considered shameful to have an odor of garlic about the house. After the grapes have been picked the women gather the root called *fathis*, which they burn. The ashes, mixed with water, are used to wash the grapes before these are set out to dry. Grapes washed in this way are said to dry more rapidly, not to rot, and to form better raisins.

[262]
[251]

October. Toward the end of October the olives are picked and stored away packed in salt until the farmers find leisure in which to grind them. Olives can be kept two years in storage without detriment.

[251]

November. In November the farmers graft trees, using beeswax in the process just as it is used among modern farmers. They tie the waxed joints with cloths, which they leave on until the following spring. In October and November the men cut wood and brush for their fires, enough to last them through the winter. The women and children help them to bring this wood in on their backs.

December. Toward the end of this month and in early January, those farmers who possess orange trees pick the fruit. Some of it is eaten, but much is sent to Fez to be sold. During the winter months, when it is stormy outside and farming is ended, the men sit inside the house working with wood, fashioning spoons, hoe-handles, and ploughs, and do what repairing is necessary upon their houses.

This calendar of events keeps the Riffian farmers very busy most of the time, and as a rule they are most industrious and energetic workers.

In the regions where there is no terraced irrigation (left white upon map 2[1]) only one crop of maize is grown, and but one crop of vegetables. This is compensated for by the relatively greater abundance of arable land in the east and other low-lying districts. The mountain people depend to a great extent upon vegetables, especially the leguminous varieties, and dried fruits and nuts, while the lowlanders go in more extensively for wheat and barley.

[1] See p. 52.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 milk products, and (8) intoxicants and narcotics. To these topics may be added that of table manners.

252 262 **Cereal Preparations antedating Bread.** In Procopius we are told that the chief food of the mountain Berbers of Algeria consisted of roasted grains, eaten as such and without being made into bread;[1] and early accounts of the Canary Islands describe the Guanches as eating habitually a food called *gofio*, made from roasted barley.[2] This type of food, which the Riffians believe to have antedated bread, is still eaten in the more remote mountain sections of the Rif and Senhaja. The various kinds of food so prepared are as follows:

zimbu, barley or maise, is roasted in an oven or pan, ground in a stone mill (see plate 13), mixed with melted butter, and rolled into balls. These balls of *zimbu* are given children as a delicacy or as a snack between meals. They are likewise taken into battle as emergency rations and carried on long journeys.

tha' asat is maise roasted in the same way as is *zimbu*, then mixed with raisins and either almonds or walnuts, depending on which sex is to eat it. The whole is put into a grain pestle and crushed and mixed together; melted butter is poured through it, and the compressed cake taken out of the pestle and allowed to dry, a process during which it becomes very hard. This makes a compact lasting food, eminently suited for pilgrimages and other long journeys and for war. The maise used in *zimbu* and *tha'asat* is especially chosen so that in roasting it will burst open (like American popcorn).

imshiken, rye, is boiled in water until thoroughly cooked and swollen, then the water is drained off, butter is added, and the dish is ready to eat. It closely resembles oatmeal porridge and other cooked cereals commonly eaten in this country.

thighwawin, barley, is roasted, then husked in a pestle until the skins come off. It is eaten dry in time of war or of great emergency.

inwan, barley, is broken coarsely so that four or five pieces result from each grain. It is thrown into a pot of boiling water and cooked until swollen, then eaten with a spoon, like boiled rice.

These primitive methods of preparing grains for consumption are restricted to-day to a limited area, although traditionally all the inhabitants of the region formerly employed them. They are always found in association as a definite complex in the mountain sections of Beni Urrisghel, Beni Amart, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Iherrassen of the Gsennaya, all of the Senhaja Sghir, and the Western Arabophone Sehaja.

Bread and Breadmaking. *agharum*, bread, is made from an incredibly large number of different materials. These are wheat, barley, rye, wild oats, maize in combination with some other cereal, durra (of recent introduction), acorns, dried *asanu* and barley flour, *iyarni*, a wild tuber, *kirsana*, *ashtar*, another wild tuber, and the seeds from the pod of the *tuzelt*. There is a tradition, probably unfounded, that the ground pits of olives left after pressing are also utilized.

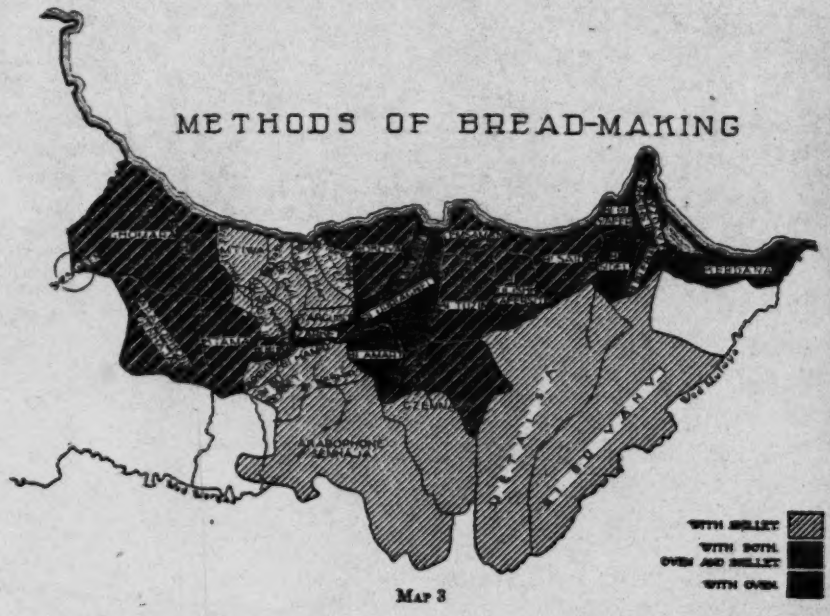
The grain is usually ground fresh for each baking. The first process is to mix warm water with the yeasty dough left over from the previous day's baking. Yeast is kept by holding over a bit of dough each day and mixing it in this way. If one's yeast gives out, a neighbor will supply more. Few housewives attempt to start yeast, which is considered a very difficult task. It is said that it can be done, however, by using the mother from vinegar,

[1] Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 6, l. 13.
[2] E. A. Hooton, *The Early Inhabitants of the Canary Islands*, p. 69.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and lemon juice. After the yeasty dough has been thoroughly diluted in warm water, flour is mixed in, and the resultant dough patted into disc-like loaves. These are piled one on top of the other and allowed to rise until the bubbles start bursting open, and then are thrust into a hot oven, from which the glowing embers of a hot juniper or other brush fire have just been drawn.

The Riffians say that the women of the Senhaja Sghir do not allow their bread to rise as long as do Riffian women, and that the resultant product is not as good. Personally, I found the bread in both places excellent.



Map 3

It is said that nineteen or twenty loaves of bread can be made from a *mudd* of barley, twenty-four from a *mudd* of wheat, and thirty-two from a *mudd* of rye. In this way rye, although it reproduces less grain than the others, compensates in the final product. A *mudd* is a common Moroccan measure.[1]

Bread is highly prised, due to its scarcity, in the Senhaja Sghir, and in Ktama is eaten only on memorable occasions. Although the usual shape of bread in the Rif, as well as in all Morocco, is discoidal, the Galiya and Kebdana women make long narrow loaves, like French bread. Besides the ordinary bread which has just been described, several types of unleavened bread and pancakes are commonly made:

aftheir, dough, is prepared without yeast, and fried on an earthen skillet.

[1] See p. 113, n. 3.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

tarid, a similar loaf, made with wheat bread and sugar. This is considered to be a recent Arab introduction.

ḥarīra, pancakes, are made from a thin batter, full of ground pepper, dropped on a hot skillet.

Bread is baked in an oven called *thinurth* (see plate 13), whereas *aftheir*, *tarid*, and *ḥarīra* are prepared on an earthen skillet called *akhadam* and attributed to the Arabs. (See plate 13.) Of the bake-oven and the skillet, the former is unquestionably the older and more characteristic in the Rif. It is found in all the Rif but the maritime tribes, Nomads, Shawia and Imedurar of Gsennaya, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghauth, Ktama, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. The clay skillet is distributed throughout the Rif with the exception of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Telmest, Galiya, and Kebdana.

Preparation of Vegetable Products without Meat. Another important article of diet is *ghamarik*, a sort of purée or thick soup, which is made of dried split peas, ground beans, or lentils. When it is made with lentils, cut-up onions are added. The purée is boiled in a little water, the pulse being thrown in after the water has begun to boil. When it is nearly cooked butter or olive oil is added, and the resultant purée is eaten with bread used to scoop it out of the bowl, instead of with spoons. *Thamarik* is considered particularly nutritious and warming, and is eaten mostly in winter when there are no fresh vegetables and on particularly cold days. It is found in every tribe except the Nomads.

The wild greens mentioned under agriculture, gathered and eaten by the women, are boiled and mixed with oil or melted butter.

Peppers and onions are eaten raw by men working in the fields who do not want to take the time to go home to lunch.

Dried figs, apricots, raisins, almonds, and walnuts are eaten at any time, either on the march or in the house. They are taken especially in winter after the grain of the previous harvest has been used up. During years following poor harvests whole villages go for months with no other vegetable food than these dried fruits and nuts, in addition to what wild roots, herbs, and berries they are able to collect in the wilderness.

Acorns are divided into two classes, *rbajuth marjaz*, bitter acorns, and *rbajuth misirth*, sweet acorns. The latter may be eaten raw, but the former must be crushed and left in a stream, inside a bag, until the water has washed all the bitterness out of them, — the same process as that employed with *shasana*.

Dishes containing Meat. *seksu*, commonly known as kuskus, forms an important article of diet in the Rif, as well as in the rest of North Africa. Briefly, since it has been often described, *seksu* is a composite dish made of coarsely ground flour, moistened and rolled into small balls the size of the head of a glass-headed pin. These balls, or granules, are placed in a container the bottom of which is pierced with small holes and steamed over a pot of boiling water or of stew. The stew, which may be cooked separately, consists of vegetables, especially onions and turnips, and lamb, beef, goat meat, or chicken, butter or oil, and seasoning. The *seksu* is spread out, in a large dish, in the form of a symmetrical hill, and the stew is poured on the top, whence the juicier parts seep into the *seksu*; the chunks of meat and vegetable may be readily reached by the persons enjoying the repast.

Another common dish, distributed throughout North Africa, is called *guaz*, a name which the Riffians have taken over from the Arabs. *Guaz* may be purely vegetable or may

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 262 contain meat. The vegetable *guaz* consists of vegetable marrow, potatoes, onions, and peppers casseroled in a pot with oil. Meat *guaz* consists of the same combination of vegetables, or of as many of them as can be obtained, plus gobbets of any kind of meat — goat, sheep, or beef — or whole chickens. *Guaz* is the dish commonly given to guests, especially Europeans and Arabs.

The *kebab*, a recent innovation, is a series of chunks of meat, preferably mutton or goat, spitted on a length of wire, stick, or on a specially constructed spit. Pieces of fat alternate with the meat, and chopped-up onions and peppers are rubbed into the meat lavishly. The whole is broiled over a charcoal brazier and eaten as soon as it leaves the fire. (See plate 19.) The *kebab* forms an easily prepared and tasty dish, especially convenient for people on the march, who cannot carry pots or other utensils. Although introduced only [177] recently it has had a rapid diffusion throughout the area, and is now known everywhere. An especially prized type of *kebab* is that made from bits of liver wrapped in sweetbreads.

[257] Meat may be preserved for later consumption by two methods, drying in the sun and the manufacture of sausages.

er kadidth, from the Arabic *el kadid*, may be made of any meat commonly eaten, except chicken. Mutton, goat, and beef kadids are common, but the meat most suitable for this form of preservation is the flesh of the wild boar. Until recently pork kadids, resembling in taste ham, shoulder, and bacon, were made throughout the Rif, but through an increasing wave of religious feeling this article of diet is fast disappearing. In the Rif it is found only occasionally, and even then is made and consumed secretly through fear of ridicule. The people of Temjunt and Inhanahan of Gzennaya, as well as the Beni Amart, probably make and consume more of it than any other groups in the Rif. In the Senhaja Sghir it is still manufactured and eaten openly, especially in Ktama, Beni Seddath, Beni Bu Nsar, and Beni Khennus. In Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth it is called by another name when Arabs or Riffians are present. The kadid may be eaten dry, like chipped beef, or in a *guaz*. It is made and eaten by everyone in the area excepting the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi.

thimhagzin, sausages, are made from goat meat, beef, and pork. The latter meat is rarely used at present, but was formerly the common sausage material. The meat is chopped up, mixed with fat, salt, peppers, and onions, and packed into intestines, bladders, and stomachs. Sausages are eaten only on the feast of *Ashor*, and occasionally on the *Haggus*. For the former celebration, one sausage is made for each member of the family, its size [251] varying with the size of the person who will eat it. These delicacies are hung in a cluster on a rafter. Sausages are found in the Beni Amart and among the Mountain Urriaghlis.

Fish. This is eaten very rarely in the mountain interior, although it forms a common enough article of diet along the coast. When eaten fresh, there is but one method of preparation — by frying in a skillet, with olive oil or some other fat. Sardines are more commonly eaten than any other kind of fish, and when prepared in this way, with olive oil, are very tasty.

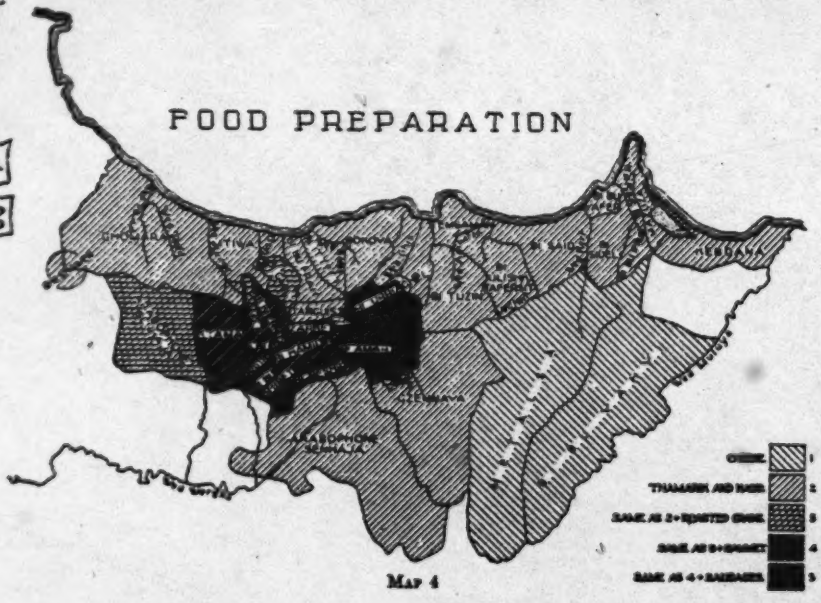
251 252 262 There are two methods of preserving fish, by salting and by baking. Salting is done as soon as the fish are brought up on shore. The product so prepared is carried inland in baskets and sold in markets. (See plate 32.) Sometimes sardines are put in a bake-oven without being cleaned. When baked to a crisp they are set aside for winter consumption. Salted fish are sold inland, but baked fish are intended for the use of fishermen and their families.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Fish is never boiled or prepared in any way other than those above named. It is never eaten during a meal at which milk is drunk.

262 **Eggs.** These are most commonly eaten hard boiled, a number of them in a bowl of melted butter constituting a common dish. They are also made into omelettes, but this latter method is rare and is probably of recent introduction. They are never mixed in bread or in any other composite dish.

262 234 **Milk and Milk Products.** Milk is consumed in a number of different ways. It may be drunk fresh, as it commonly is, especially among the mountain peoples, or may be left to



MAP 4

curdle. The curds, called *aphin*, are drunk out of a communal pot. Butter, called *adhen*, is made by two methods: (1) In the Rif, except in the region of nomadism, cream is put into an earthen pot with a narrow neck and a spout and two handles. Leather lids are tied over the neck and spout, and the pot tied to the rafters by the handles. Here it is swung back and forth until the butter is ready. (2) Among the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi the cream is put into a goatskin, which is tied tight and swung from a wooden tripod until churning is completed.

el kleila (Arabic), cheese, is made only by the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is commonly produced in the form of flat, hard cakes. Being cheese makers, the nomads naturally know the properties of rennet, which they cut from the stomachs of calves; with this and fresh milk they make junket, *jeben*, which they feed to children. The sedentary peoples,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

262 234 being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeesed from the ends of fig branches. They claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammet*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape 273 jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a [251] relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammet* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it.

Wine-making, which Marmol[1] attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khamr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.[2] On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organised which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

276 *kif*, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghzuth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammet* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

264 574 **Riffian Table Manners.** When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

[1] Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86–88.

[2] Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 184, 207 *sqq.*, 316, 386, 423, 431, 467, 473, 488 *sqq.*, 507 n., 570, 601.

784 272 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a person receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 296 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 ●262 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by selling bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

432 689

778 784 [783] [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 821 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

776 against you by God and the religious law", so as to drive it away if it is a jenn or a saint, or to prevent the jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager). A single raven seen in the morning by a person who sets out on a journey is sometimes said to be a jenn (Temsaman).

[271] Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of jnun, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits [264] saying the bismillah before eating, jnun or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks [272] standing (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or eats with his left hand (Ait Waryager), jnun are eating or drinking with him.

[782] If a person when he is praying does not bow down so low that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, jnun or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

776 ● 262 [263] [278] Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted and consequently in many cases a source of danger. As already said, a person who gets angry with raw meat in his hand is very liable to be struck by jnun. The same is the case with one who is beaten by such a person (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager).

No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shawia, Andjra, Ait Waryager, etc.) or generally to the person who has given it; it would be bad for both parties (Ait Waryager).

If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market and his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them (Ait Waryager), since otherwise they will be hurt by jnun (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Sadden).

[843] [279] If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she aks, because otherwise the fetus (Ait Waryager) or the woman as well (Ulad Bu aziz) will die; should he refuse, her husband might complain of it to his governor, who would compel him to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for (ibid.).

776 264 If a person eats meat in the presence of some one else he must let him have a share of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden; for l-lham auwaj l-hanak, "meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it]", he will be made ill by jnun (Dukkala)). In explanation of these

796 782 [120] It is the rule that as soon as the animal[1] is killed its head and feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, At Ubahti). In Dukkala it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances it is only partaken of [252] on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), as also the heart (Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), are partaken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz) and the feet (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Amanuz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Ait Sadden), and the head and th the feet on the first (ibid.) or the third (Ait Waryager). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day.

●[262] [121] Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel.

[251] What remains of the meat is made into qaddid (or geddid [Ulad Bu 'aziz], lqaddid [Igliwa], rqaddid [Temsaman, Ait Waryager], tiqqaddidin [Ait Sadden], asawar [Ait Yusi], tagarin [Aglu], tifiyi iqorn [Amanuz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips.

[735] A portion of the qaddid is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following 'asura. Among the Ait Waryager some qaddid must be preserved till the following mulud.

[1] [i.e.-sacrificial,- Analyst]

231 755 [288] The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (dmaggit; Ait Waryager); and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Ait Waryager). It is also used as a remedy [859] for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (ibid.).

231 839 [289] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Ait Waryager); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Ait Waryager, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn.

231 777 [292] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion.

262 ● [295] The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic hlib or halib; and in Berber akfai (Amanuz), takfit (Igliwa), aggu akffa (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi (At Ubahti), asaffai (Ait Waryager), asffai (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Buttermilk is called in Arabic lben; and in Berber agu (Amanuz, Igliwa), aggu anddu (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi asemmam (At Ubahti), agiy (Ait Waryager), agi (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Curded milk is called in Arabic rayib or raib; and in Berber ikkil (Ait Sadden), ekkir (Ait Yusi), aklil (Ait Warain), attsil (At Ubahti), assir (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[297] Fresh butter is called in Arabic zebda; and in Berber tudit (Amanuz), tamudit (Igliwa), udi (Ait Warain), tlussi (At Ubahti), drussi (Ait Waryager), trussi (Temsaman). Salt butter is called in Arabic smen; and in Berber udi (Amanuz, Igliwa, Aglu, Ait Warain), ddhen (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

252 [298] The Ait Waryager hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the aqasror, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before.

825 The wild-boar, as well as the domestic pig, is an unclean animal
[262] and must not be used for food; swine's flesh is strictly forbidden to
Moslems in four different places in the [313] Koran.

[317] It is generally believed that the hyena possesses the power of fascinating people with a view to devouring them, a belief which is also found in the East and is spoken of by Pliny as existing in classical antiquity. If a hyena makes water on a person (Casablanca, Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Aglu) or wets its tail and then sprinkles him with the urine (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or when seeking him makes a noise (Ait Waryager), he becomes enchanted or loses his senses and follows the animal to its den, where it eats him.

[755] [319] The jackal contains much medicinal and magic virtue.

[842] [320] Childless men and women who are desirous of offspring burn the dried intestines of a jackal and fumigate themselves with the smoke, letting it pass underneath their clothes (Ait Waryager).

Among the Ait Waryager a person who is going out to steal puts the ear of a jackal in his bag in order to keep the dogs from barking; they will scent the smell of the jackal, of which they are much afraid.

[787] [321] To meet a jackal when you start on a journey is by some people said to be a good omen (Hiaina, Ait Waryager), but by others a bad one (Andjra, Aglu).

755 The fox contains 366 medicines.

825 [322] In other tribes the powder made of a charred fox, mixed with honey, or with honey, butter, and spices, is taken in the morning before breakfast as a cure for an affection of the heart (Ait Waryager) or for Iberd (Ait Nder). Men who have been made impotent by witchcraft burn the penis of a fox and fumigate their own with the smoke.

[754] The gall of a fox is used by women for practising witchcraft, for example, with a view to inducing a man to divorce a rival wife.

[787] [323] Among the Ait Waryager the barking of a fox is supposed to indicate that the wind will be westerly, in Andjra and the Garb that it will be easterly. Charms are written on the skin of a fox.

The weasel is used as a medicine for horses and mules and, less often, for men. It is dried and burned, and the sick animal (Ulad Bu'aziz, Hiaina, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) or person (Temsaman) is made to inhale the smoke.

[324] The blood of a hedgehog is smeared on the head of a boy suffering from ringworm (daqassar), so that it shall be covered with hair as the hedgehog is covered with bristles (Ait Waryager).

825 The roasted and pounded liver of a hedgehog, mixed with honey, is also given to schoolboys to eat in the morning on an empty stomach in order that they may remember their lessons (Ait Waryager).

[326] The hare is said to have been once an old woman, who was transformed into a hare because she acted as a panderess (Ait Sadden). It menstruates like a woman and is therefore an unclean animal which [262] should not be eaten; but this rule is not strictly observed. It is eaten both as food and for magical and medicinal purposes.

825 755 [327] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from night-blindness (butallis), the liver of a hare is roasted and cut into three pieces by the schoolmaster of the village, who then writes something from the Koran on them. The patient takes one of the pieces and goes with it in the evening after sunset to the dung-heap (dazubait) of the house, calls a dog, and eats the piece of the liver, giving little bits of it to the dog as well. On the two following evenings he does the same with the other pieces of the liver; and then he will get rid of his complaint.

[781] If you go anywhere in the morning and meet a hare it is a bad omen (Dukkala, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa), especially if the hare is asleep and wakes up and runs ahead of you (Hiaina).

[328] The bat is used as medicine for fever. It is dried and burned and the smoke is made to pass underneath the clothes of the patient (Ait Waryager).

825 [331] To shoot a raven may also be attended with evil consequences. I was told of two men among the Bni Msauwar who did so and whose guns burst, and similar things are said to happen among the Ait Waryager.

[781] [333] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person goes somewhere at any hour of the day, it is a bad omen to see one raven ahead of him but a good one to see two.

[334] The eye of an owl is used as a means of preventing a person from falling asleep.

Both eyes are also removed and put into water. I was told that one of them always sinks and the other one floats; but while some people sew up the eye which sinks in a small leather case and wear it as a charm to prevent sleepiness (Ait Nder), others eat the eye which floats for the same purpose (Ait Waryager).

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary bab lmakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[787] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 852 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355] t- Teida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child.

825 [752] [824] In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[854] [357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 264 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

242 [264] "In the name of God, God is most great". This may be said before the breaking of the first egg only (Andjra), or before the breaking of each egg (Ait [363] Waryager).

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz unmarried men and girls refrain from eating the nose of any animal, lest they should have rain at their wedding. Among the same tribe scribes and boys who are studying the Koran must not eat an animal's throat, because the eating of it would make their voices hoarse. Among the Ait Waryager the same part is for a similar reason not given to children to eat. They also prohibit their women from eating the testicles of any male animal, which are eaten by the men; and they believe that if a child ate the kidney of an animal it would come out as lumps on the face and body of the child.

[364] A man who has killed an edible wild animal or bird eats its head in order to be successful in hunting (Ait Waryager, Temsamah), or he eats, for the same reason, both the head and the heart, though he may share them with his wife and children.

224 689 [365] Various customs relating to hunting, target-practice, and guns have been mentioned in earlier chapters, but others may be added.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz in Dukkala, if one of the hunters misbehaves, the others draw round him a circle, a so-called gart r-rma, and he has to remain inside it until he pays a fine (haqq or d'aira), after which the hunters surround him and make fatha. An offence which makes a hunter subject to this treatment on the evening after the hunt is the shooting or killing of a hare which is asleep, in which case he will have to give a feast to his companions; for both in Dukkala and elsewhere (Ait Waryager) a hunter must not kill a sleeping hare because it deprives his companions and the grayhounds of the pleasure of hunting it.

[369] Among the Ait Waryager, if one of the rrma has misbehaved, the others punish him when they are shooting at targets by filling the hood of his cloak with stones and compelling him to sit at a distance from them; and they do not remove the stones and admit him to their company until he has repeated the prayer for the Prophet a certain number of times, fifty or a hundred or more, according to their discretion.

844 [370] When a woman is going to give birth to a child, or if her delivery proves difficult, certain practices are often resorted to in order to facilitate it.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

623
623 and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In this case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay indemnity to the other. Even when the council ends peacefully it takes at least a week before they reach an agreement» (14).

To his may be appended a short but very apt summation of the situation by Col. Blanco: «En el Rif, donde todos son personajes, sólo una política de masas y no de individuos puede ser fructífera» (15).

618
616
628 In the Rīf, up to the advent of 'Abd al-Karīm, the state of war was so permanent that it can truthfully be said that if is customary for Europeans or Americans to declare war, it was also customary for the Riffians to declare peace. We must remember that the *thārfiqth* was the unit of vengeance, and that feuds between *thārfiqīn* even within the same village were a commonplace. House-to-house fighting was the order of they day. If a feud kept going long enough, the result was that the other *thārfiqīn* in the same and in nearby villages eventually began to group themselves around either one of the two feuding parties, usually with the one which was closer kin to themselves. Thus we have the beginnings of a moiety organization, equivalent to the *ṣof* of the Kabyles of Algeria. If the members of one moiety gradually found themselves on the losing side, their representatives used to lead a bull to the mosque of a neutral village or *thārfiqth* the aid of which they desired, and the *faqīh* slaughtered it on the sill so that its blood spurted over the threshold. The fact that a bull was sacrificed whenever possible is significant in itself, as the Wuryāghlis
● [262] are very poor and largely vegetarians by force of circumstances; a bull is the most expensive edible animal they can buy. The act of sacrifice worked as a powerful shame compulsion (*'ār*), and forced the members of the second group into alliance with the first, whether they were willing or not. This type of alliance was called *liff*, as mentioned above, and as the feud grew in size, so did the *liff*. If the feud remained localized, alliances were usually made anew after it was over; but if it spread enough to involve whole «fifths», the traditional *liff* alignment of the two opposing moieties of Aith Yūsuf and Aith 'Alī came into play again. The clever manipulation of this

(14) Coon, 1931, p. 97.
(15) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 67.

627 very scarce and will soon give out altogether.

627 614 This period is that of smoothing over. Those responsible hide their possessions, assure (the ingharen) that they have nothing, only a goat and a cow and a tiny plot of land: this is all they can offer, along with their house. The rest had been mortgaged[30], etc. The ingharen, sure in their convictions, do not agree....The members of the victim's family deny having any more possessions.

The neighbors of those responsible for the crime who are also obliged to put up lodgers become impatient and denounce possible concealments. The ingharen continue without deciding, and then their buying begins. Finally a moment arrives in which they hear no more offers or denunciations of those responsible for the crime. All, including the coterie, grumble, become tired and begin to desert, finally going back 627 to their homes. The notables, satiated and fed up, see that this is 614 the time to stop in the struggle and investigations, because of what 613 they hurried to auction when it was taken over, the gross value of which they distribute equally among the lineages concerned in the [594] agreement, except for that of the man who violated it. This distribution, which the representatives of the lineages present parcel out among their lineage-mates, must in turn be parcelled out by the latter among the nuclear families, and by these among the members of each [262] family. And thus, one fine day, the ingharen and their numerous coterie, nourished with barley, bread, butter and hard-boiled eggs, abandon those places which they have left as clean as the palms of their hands; for Rifian notions of justice are now satisfied and the lineage responsible for the crime remains in misery.

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
671 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qamms, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

671 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

21. THE QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH):[179]

224 619 The data which follow have been gathered principally among hunters from the tribes of the Ibuqquyen, Aith Hadhifa (Aith Waryaghar), Zarqat, Targist, Aith 'Ammarth and Aith (or Bni) Mazduci; and they can be considered as general hunting qanuns for the region.

A) Significance:

224 182 Hunting in the Rif was neither a sport nor a profession in the European manner. It was a physiological necessity, and it is still 134 considered so today. A poor soil, accidented and dry, rendered it 312 difficult for the tribesmen to utilize its scarce sources of water; 262 and the consumption of meat was limited, because of the scarcity of animals (i.e. both domestic and wild) to Fridays, feast days, days on which pacts were concluded, days of illness, etc., and to market 262 days. As the Rifian is by necessity a vegetarian[180], sacrifices of 782 animals acquire the status of a rite, and they form a fundamental ceremony in the most transcendental and important acts of his life. Peace and war, pacts, births and deaths, rogations, etc., have to be 224 sealed with meat for greater solemnity and efficacy. In hunting, 782 therefore, Rifian society finds a physiological compensation in no 182 way negligible to its sober life and ancestral appetite for meat, the sacrifice in common and equitable distribution of which is subject to strict rules[181], the object of the most rigorous tradition and fiscalization in order not to squander the slender reserves, which are 000 appraised in a manner unsuspected by European minds. The European visitor who is entertained in a Rifian household is not in a position to appreciate sufficiently the hospitality which is offered to him,

224 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the
672 fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during
685 the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the dis-
224 position of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the
672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another
183 Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

224 L) Taboos:

782 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to
784 make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh,
[751] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated
411 by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

Animals

224 262 782 783 caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah invocation must be eaten; but as, unfortunately, a mouse or some other ritually unclean animal might fall in, and as the owner of the trap would have to eat it, hunters prefer not to pronounce the invocation. They would prefer to wait until the next morning, trusting to luck to find the animal alive, if indeed it has not escaped from the trap.

The hunters must see the animals alive and pronounce the invocation in order to be able to eat them.

[231] For this reason, an animal caught by a dog, as well as one captured by a ferret, must be seen by the hunters in order that it be ritually permissible for them to eat. In the case of the ferret, if the animal turns up dead in its burrow and has not been seen previously by the ferret, it is also rejected, since death might have taken place earlier.

104 M) Vocabulary:

1) hunt, hunting--Arabic rayah, Rifian dhagimmarth, dhingimarth or dhingmarth
2) hunters--Arabic mruyah, Rifian igimmaren (sing. agimmar), or ingmarn (sing. angmar)
3) signal of game--Haw-haw-haw! (repeated)
4) hunting in company--shirka, shurka
5) signal for attention and flushing of game--L-'adaw!; and if the game in question is partridge--Birraw!
6) sticks--dhigharya (Iqar'qyen dhigharyin), sing. dhaghrith, in the Ibuqquyen and in all the Aith Waryaghar save the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil, where a hunting stick is called r-mitrag and a walking stick dhqabut.

000 53--This is probably Aith Tizi, forming a part of the larger jma'th of Ighmiren, with Aith Fars.

54--Whether all the Aith 'Adhiya jointly sacrificed two bulls, or whether one each was sacrificed by the members of each liff is not indicated.

55--The market in question is the Monday Market of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[671] 56--In both this qanun and that of the Aith 'Abdallah we see how the fine for murder committed in the market is double that for murder elsewhere. Both qanuns also imply that not only must the fine be paid but that the murderer's house and crops will be burned as well. All informants from all over the Central Rif, however, said time and again that if the fine is paid, there is no houseburning. The root of the [735] discrepancy seems therefore to be an implicit assumption that the average murderer is too poor to pay the fine, which is in any event prohibitively high.

57--In some respects one can see what Blanco means here, but such a statement, particularly regarding the "superficiality" of Rifian Islam, is one which the Rifians themselves would hotly and vehemently deny. In their own eyes, they are extremely good Muslims!

[262] 58--Rifians tend to eat meat, as a rule, only on one day of the week: when they buy and bring it home from the market.

[114] [682] 59--Blanco here confuses the ddiyith, or blood money, to be paid to the victim's agnates, with the rhaqq, or fine for murder, to be paid (both payments being made by the murderer and his own agnates) to the council-members.

[682] 60--Blanco's point about 1000 duros being the fine for murder under normal circumstances (i.e. outside the market) and 2000 for murder inside it is very well taken; and, as he implies, these sums are indeed the norm all over the Rif. But once again, he confuses fines with blood-money, and they are entirely different.

61--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

62--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

[114] 63--This is an interestingly expressed idea, but the linkage with nomadism seems questionable.

[614] 64--As already indicated, the Aith Khattab include the two Waryaghar clans of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; and in this sense they might be considered a "super-clan", particularly if, as some have it (though this is nowhere indicated in the text of the qanum), they embrace the Aith 'Abdallah as well. In the same way, Aith Bu 'Ayyash, if it embraces, on the topmost level, the two clans of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa, may also be regarded as a "super-clan" of the same order of segmentation. However, the group in question is referred to as Bani Khattab, not Aith Khattab, in the text of the qanum.

65--As indicated, this qanum is valid only for the coastal Aith Khattab, those of both Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari who live in and around the Plain of Alhucemas, bordering the Mediterranean.

243 While barley is the predominant crop, maize is an important secondary one. Wheat and rye are also grown but the latter is held in low esteem as a food product[1] and the former does not grow successfully on the thin residual soil of the region. In 241 [312] those areas where there are rivers or streams, small gardens are maintained by irrigation canals. In these are cultivated potatoes, tomatoes, onions, garlic, squash, turnips, green peppers and mint.

245 In addition to the grains, maize, and small vegetable gardens, many households also have orchards of fruit and nut trees. Fig, lemon, orange, pomegranate, walnut, almond, and olive trees are common. In some areas grapes are also cultivated. Around each house is a grove of prickly pears which serves not only as a means of preserving privacy, but also as a source of food. These products not only supplement and add variety to the regular diet but in the case of oranges, almonds [258] and grapes serve as cash crops. The olives are pressed by the [262] women to provide crude cooking oil. Nuts, dried grapes and figs [221] are an important winter food reserve. The work of pruning and grafting goes on during the months of February-March-April.

243 In early summer harvesting begins. Both men and women engage in this activity, the men doing the reaping with hand

---

[829] [1]Coon (1931:47-48) states that rye is highly praised by the Riffian but that since the Arabs scorn it as a foodstuff the Berbers are ashamed to admit its worth.

585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. Perhaps it is this unending sameness [777] which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is [262] not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [559] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [491] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 796 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

585 574 262 The father of the groom provides meals and tea for all the guests at his home as well as at the house of the bride. The meal for the guests in even the humblest of homes consists of a course of cous-cous and a meat tajin. In most ceremonies there is also a poultry course. Enormous quantities of bread and tea are also served. The most accepted casual factor for [178] reducing the days of the wedding ceremony from seven as they were before Abdel Krim to two or three days as they are today was that the expenses of providing hospitality over such an extended period of time was ruinous to all but the most prosperous families.

585 574 571 Guests are likewise expected to incur various expenses. At this moment we need only note the recurrent support of a public ceremony which is expected throughout Berber society. All mature guests are expected to provide a quantity of barley, loaves of freshly baked bread, fresh fruit and vegetables, or a monetary equivalent. This tends to discourage, among the poor fellah, the presence of nonrelatives, because it represents an outlay which is not part of their residual social obligations. In addition, such attendance by a nonrelative imposes future obligations which, in only rare circumstances, they are willing to accept. By attending the wedding and taking part in the joining in matrimony of the couple, one gratuitously assumes the duty of attending the naming ceremonies for the infants of this union. Such acceptance of future responsibility is not normally accepted unless there is social advantage thereby.

Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.

Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation, while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men, in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the poor.

Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer

443 province of Nador, where barley is relatively cheap, in order
442 to sell in the Rif, which seldom produces enough to meet local
438 needs. The barley is stacked in huge piles of loose, unground seed which is purchased in relatively small lots to be taken back to the mountains and ground for bread or left in seed form to feed the livestock. The barley is measured and
[565] weighed by a member of the imziren class, who loudly cries out the current price of barley in the market. The merchants themselves sit under nearby shade trees, accepting the coins from their criers and listening to the competition.

442 In addition to these large-scale sellers, there are the
439 large-scale buyers, who resemble the large-scale sellers in all particulars except their immediate function in the market. Among this group are the egg merchants who buy the tiny lots of a myriad fellah in order to transport them to the urban centers of Tetuan or Fez. Another group of buyers are the almond merchants who purchase the Riffian's supply to market abroad, usually in France, to cosmetic companies which transform them into face oils and hand lotions. There are also
[245] merchants of oranges who supply the canned juice industry,
[262] and grape buyers who purchase the indigenous supply (used locally by the Berbers as a winter reserve in the form of raisins) for the wine industry located in central Morocco.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[20] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[21] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[22] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wad Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

[20] *Marruecos, zona jalifiana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[21] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognized by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* . . . , II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est déterminée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[22] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of *doum*.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

delta, but it becomes progressively rarer toward the eastern semiarid sector of this zone. Pistacia wood is highly prized as a source of charcoal, and this fact alone may explain the plant's degraded appearance in the hills south of Tangier.

Pistacia rarely forms a pure stand. Several of the other plants found in palmetto scrub could be described as weeds, for they appear mainly in fallow fields. *Asphodelus microcarpus, Urginea maritima, Daphne Gnidium,* and one or more species of *Asparagus, Ononis,* and *Papaver* are prominent among them. In areas where most of the surface is cultivated, as in the Fahs territory south of Tangier, these plants, together with thistles and scattered clumps of palmetto, constitute all but a small part of the total inventory of vegetation. On rocky knolls and alluvial slopes too steep for cultivation, these plants grow among *Pistacia, Calycotome, Lavandula,* and the oleaster. The percentage of thorny plants is high. Besides *Calycotome* and thistles, *Carduus, Smilax,* and *Rosa* are found.

Dense shrub formations are rarely seen on the thickly settled Atlantic versant. One may walk unimpeded anywhere in the zone bounded by the Atlantic coast, Tangier, and Ksar al-Kebir. The thick shrub growth on the Mediterranean coast near Wad Lao contrasts sharply with the open formations on the Atlantic littoral. In the former area, *Cistus ladaniferus, C. albidus, Erica arborea, Pistacia lentiscus,* and *Arbutus Unedo* combine to form an impenetrable thicket. The limestone mountains of northern Morocco are almost bare of shrub or tree growth. From Ceuta to Wad Lao the eastern horizon is dominated by a great wall of limestone, almost completely devoid of soil. The prevalent whiteness is disturbed only by scattered clumps of palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

In the area covered by palmetto scrub the persistent riparian plant is the toxic *Nerium oleander.* It may be accompanied by *Crataegus, Myrtus,* and *Arbutus,* but in most of northwestern Morocco the oleander is the only plant on the banks of streams. The presence of *Alnus, Populus, Salix,* and *Vitex* along stream channels in the Sanhajan highlands may be explained by the persistence in that area of other trees, especially cedar, juniper, and oak, which have been adequate thus far as a source of fuel and building material.

In the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco, palmetto scrub grades into a thorn scrub dominated by *Zizyphus lotus,* a spiny and xerophytic member of the buckthorn family (Rhamnaceae). It is difficult to draw a line between these two formations. Isolated clumps of palmetto are found as far east as the Moulouya Valley, and zizyphus extends up the valley of Wad Ghis as far as Targist.

Well adapted to aridity and continentality, *Zizyphus lotus* has become the dominant plant of Morocco's semiarid plains. Clumps of zizyphus are conspicuous within most of the area mapped as thorn scrub. This plant may grow three meters high, but is most often seen as a shrub. It is deciduous; and, during the dormant winter season, gray and seemingly lifeless clumps of zizyphus are a characteristic feature of the landscape. Its branches are widely used as fence material, and this practice enhances the contrast between the semiarid sector of northern Morocco and the wetter western zone, where *Opuntia* is planted as a hedge. The fleshy drupe of zizyphus is collected wherever it grows; when cereal stocks are exhausted, "lotus bread" is an important food."

" *Zizyphus lotus* is occasionally planted in Andalusia, Portugal, and Sicily, but in northern Africa the fruit is collected from wild plants. Aug. Chevalier, "Les jujubiers ou zizyphus de

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[11] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[12]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[13] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[14] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[15] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[16] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[11] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[12] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[13] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[14] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[15] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[16] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[8]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[9]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[8] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.

[9] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[90]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus, C. laurifolius, C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[91] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[90] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[91] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

1;Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Ref 1953
[Village of Ulad 'Abd al-Mumin]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

ariyeri, the oleander. This plant is important in the manufacture of magical concoctions. Laoust [1] and Justinard [2] support this identification.

tumelt, a bush resembling a high-bush blueberry. It bears a red pod, like a rose-pod, which is eaten. Laoust [3] calls this *Fraxinus dimorpha*.

aghanim, a reed, used extensively in basket making. Laoust supports this identification.[4]

tharugwith, a bush with a red flower, much frequented by bees.

sui, a bush bearing a white flower, with peppery-tasting leaves. The latter are used as medicine for stomach-ache.

r-knuqfer, a bush or low tree which produces a bud resembling a clove. The buds are put into tea as a spice, and are used as a stomach-ache cure for children.

azir, a bush the leaves of which are used in the brewing of a tea alleged to be beneficial in fever.

izarshi, forsythia. Women cut pieces of its stem and tie them in their belts to prevent boils. This identification is purely personal and lacks confirmation.

thakhfa, a wild rose, the pods of which are sometimes eaten in times of famine. Hanoteau and Letourneau [5] give *Rosa sempervirens* for the Kabyle *thaqfert*.

Luxurious forests of conifers are said by the inhabitants of the country to have once covered most of the region, but today they are confined to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar, Taghsuth, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarhet, and the upland reaches of Mtiwa. Patches of this forest remain on Mt. Kuin in Gsennaya, in parts of Beni Amart, at Aswil, where the Nekor passes from the Gsennaya into Beni Urriaghel, and on the crests of Beni Tuzin. The *taidha* grows chiefly in the Senhajan tribes, but the *thuya* is found not only there but also farther to the east, in Gsennaya and Beni Tuzin.

After climbing from the hot barrenness of the eastern Rif, one finds the forests of the Senhaja Sghir most beautiful and satisfying. On the mountain between Beni Bu Nsar and Taghsuth, it is difficult to realise that one is in Morocco. The whole of this section reminds one of temperate forests, such as are found in the northern United States and Canada; especially is this true in the long, flat plateau-valley of Beni Seddath, where a lush meadow is variegated with frequent clumps of *taidha*. Even in midsummer this region retains an exhilarating chilliness of atmosphere. (See plate 1.)

CLIMATE

The slopes of the Mediterranean border of this region are rugged, mostly deforested, hillsides, with a climate similar to northern Mexico or our own Southwest. Farther to the east, in the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and parts of Galiya, the country becomes rolling and its slope relatively gentle, and grain is grown on it without terracing or irrigation. Farther south, however, stretches the arid expanse of the Garet, that waterless waste whereon the Metalsa and Beni Yahyi shift about from camp to camp. This desert stretches into parts of Beni Said and Galiya, and oversteps the boundary of Beni Ulishk and Tafersit. Here in the Garet grows a sparse crop of grass, and quantities of that coarse grass called *halfa*, resembling our own marsh or beach grass, from which the nomadic peoples, and the Gsennaya and other Riffians as well, make sandals, pack-saddles, ropes, and all sorts

[1] Page 484.
[2] Page 482.
[3] Page 136.
[4] Page 48.
[5] Pages 493, 499.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

tarid, a similar loaf, made with wheat bread and sugar. This is considered to be a recent Arab introduction.

ḥarīra, pancakes, are made from a thin batter, full of ground pepper, dropped on a hot skillet.

Bread is baked in an oven called *thinurth* (see plate 13), whereas *aftheir*, *tarid*, and *ḥarīra* are prepared on an earthen skillet called *nkhadam* and attributed to the Arabs. (See plate 13.) Of the baks-oven and the skillet, the former is unquestionably the older and more characteristic in the Rif. It is found in all the Rif but the maritime tribes, Nomads, Shawia and Imedurar of Gsennaya, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghsuth, Ktama, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. The clay skillet is distributed throughout the Rif with the exception of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Telmest, Galiya, and Kebdana.

Preparation of Vegetable Products without Meat. Another important article of diet is *thamarit*, a sort of purée or thick soup, which is made of dried split peas, ground beans, or lentils. When it is made with lentils, cut-up onions are added. The purée is boiled in a little water, the pulse being thrown in after the water has begun to boil. When it is nearly cooked butter or olive oil is added, and the resultant purée is eaten with bread used to scoop it out of the bowl, instead of with spoons. *Thamarit* is considered particularly nutritious and warming, and is eaten mostly in winter when there are no fresh vegetables and on particularly cold days. It is found in every tribe except the Nomads.

The wild greens mentioned under agriculture, gathered and eaten by the women, are boiled and mixed with oil or melted butter.

Peppers and onions are eaten raw by men working in the fields who do not want to take the time to go home to lunch.

Dried figs, apricots, raisins, almonds, and walnuts are eaten at any time, either on the march or in the house. They are taken especially in winter after the grain of the previous harvest has been used up. During years following poor harvests whole villages go for months with no other vegetable food than these dried fruits and nuts, in addition to what wild roots, herbs, and berries they are able to collect in the wilderness.

Acorns are divided into two classes, *rbejuth marjas*, bitter acorns, and *rbejuth msirth*, sweet acorns. The latter may be eaten raw, but the former must be crushed and left in a stream, inside a bag, until the water has washed all the bitterness out of them, — the same process as that employed with *shasna*.

Dishes containing Meat. *seksu*, commonly known as kuskus, forms an important article of diet in the Rif, as well as in the rest of North Africa. Briefly, since it has been often described, *seksu* is a composite dish made of coarsely ground flour, moistened and rolled into small balls the size of the head of a glass-headed pin. These balls, or granules, are placed in a container the bottom of which is pierced with small holes and steamed over a pot of boiling water or of stew. The stew, which may be cooked separately, consists of vegetables, especially onions and turnips, and lamb, beef, goat meat, or chicken, butter or oil, and seasoning. The *seksu* is spread out, in a large dish, in the form of a symmetrical hill, and the stew is poured on the top, whence the juicier parts seep into the *seksu*; the chunks of meat and vegetable may be readily reached by the persons enjoying the repast.

Another common dish, distributed throughout North Africa, is called *guas*, a name which the Riffians have taken over from the Arabs. *Guas* may be purely vegetable or may

T76 against you by God and the religious law", so as to drive it away if it is a jenn or a saint, or to prevent the jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager). A single raven seen in the morning by a person who sets out on a journey is sometimes said to be a jenn (Temsaman).

[271] Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of jnun, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits [264] saying the bismillah before eating, jnun or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks [272] standing (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or eats with his left hand (Ait Waryager), jnun are eating or drinking with him.

[782] If a person when he is praying does not bow down so low that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, jnun or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

T76 262 [263] [278] Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted and consequently in many cases a source of danger. As already said, a person who gets angry with raw meat in his hand is very liable to be struck by jnun. The same is the case with one who is beaten by such a person (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager).

No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shawia, Andjra, Ait Waryager, etc.) or generally to the person who has given it; it would be bad for both parties (Ait Waryager).

If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market and his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them (Ait Waryager), since otherwise they will be hurt by jnun (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Sadden).

[843] [279] If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she aks, because otherwise the fetus (Ait Waryager) or the woman as well (Ulad Bu aziz) will die; should he refuse, her husband might complain of it to his governor, who would compel him to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for (ibid.).

T76 264 If a person eats meat in the presence of some one else he must let him have a share of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden; for l-lham auwaj l-hanak, "meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it]", he will be made ill by jnun (Dukkala)). In explanation of these

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [177] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that the two rivals should start walking at once, and that he who arrived at Imasinen first should own the land. The Senhajan won, and when the Ghomaran arrived he became angry, whereupon the war commenced. On the way home the two rivals collected allies in all the Riffian tribes they passed, as follows:

Senhaja	*Ghomara*
Mazuza of Galiya	Beni Shisher of Galiya
Beni Sidel of Galiya	Beni Bu Yafer of Galiya
Metalsa	Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya
Gaennaya	Beni Bu Yahyi
Beni Urriaghel	Beni Said
Beni Bu Frah	Beni Tusin
Mestasa	Beni Ulishk
	Tafersit
	Beni Amart
	Bokoya
	Targuist
	Beni Itteft
	Mtiwa

The forces of the Ghomara, judging by names alone, should have outweighed those of the Senhaja. But Beni Urriaghel and Gaennaya have always far overshadowed the other tribes numerically and in military power, so that their presence on the Senhajan side is supposed to have turned the scale, especially since they had as allies all the tribes on the Wergha here called Arabophone Senhaja. The Senhaja won, and the Ghomara have remained huddled on their seacoast ever since. To this day bitterness remains between the peoples, although the allies of the two have long since been drawn into fresh feuds and new alignments.

One cultural difference between the Senhaja and Ghomara has led to an *ex post facto* explanation for the enmity. It is said that there are two kinds of men: those who when they eat together leave a little food in the bottom of the bowl through shame of taking the last bit, and likewise keep the *baraka* [1] of the food in the house; and those who gobble it all to the last morsel. Furthermore the first kind are hospitable, and the second not. The Black Sultan (a common figure in Moroccan folklore) decreed that those who have shame in this matter should be called Senhaja and those who have none Ghomara. To this day all the Senhaja leave food in the bowl, and the Ghomara leave none; the Senhaja are hospitable and the Ghomara cold to strangers.

In this seemingly simple story of the Senhaja and the Ghomara, recorded as it came from the lips of the old men of these peoples, we have an exceedingly lucid account of happenings that occurred at least a thousand years ago and probably considerably earlier. Certain factors in the tale have been crystallised and handed down as entities, whether or not they are strictly accurate. At any rate, both the Ghomara and the Senhaja invaded from the south, the Ghomara first. Each found traces of previous occupants, each absorbed a certain amount of Riffian blood, and each sought allies among the Riffians when they fought off their old grudges, which they may well have brought with them from the south.

[1] See p. 157.

[p.576(B)]

[269]

252

Choosing a fat goat for supper, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Broiling goat-meat *kebabs* over a brazier

Eating the *kebabs*

Chopping up *kif*, Tiguisas, Ghomara

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 RLF MX3

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

262 234 being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeezed from the ends of fig branches. They claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammet*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape 273 jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a [251] relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammet* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it.

Wine-making, which Marmol[1] attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khamr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.[2] On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organized which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

276 *kif*, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghsuth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammet* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

264 574 **Riffian Table Manners.** When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

[1] Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86-88.

[2] Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 154, 207 *sqq.*, 316, 386, 433, 431, 467, 473, 488 *sqq.*, 567 n., 570, 601.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

host are present, food is served them in a room separate from that commonly occupied by the family. The host is present, but does not partake unless urged to do so by the guest. The host's wife appears only to bring in and take out the food, which she does as rapidly and unostentatiously as possible. 264 574

In regard to actual table manners, but a few points serve to distinguish the Riffian from the Arab usage. The Riffian washes his hands with hot water and soap and wipes them on a towel before eating, providing he has soap and a towel, otherwise he washes them with water and dries them on whatever piece of cloth will serve the purpose. After eating he rinses his hands and dries them. He does not indulge in the gargling and spitting practised by the Arabs while washing. He does not expectorate on the floor and walls as do Arabs, nor does he belch to show his appreciation of the meal. In the actual technique of eating, however, from the sacramental breaking of bread to the pouring of tea, little difference can be found, except that the Riffians use wooden spoons more and their hands less than do Arabs. 264 [515] [415]

776 against you by God and the religious law", so as to drive it away if it is a jenn or a saint, or to prevent the jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager). A single raven seen in the morning by a person who sets out on a journey is sometimes said to be a jenn (Temsaman).

[271] Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of jnun, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits [264] saying the bismillah before eating, jnun or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks [272] standing (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or eats with his left hand (Ait Waryager), jnun are eating or drinking with him.

[782] If a person when he is praying does not bow down so low that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, jnun or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

776 262 [263] [278] Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted and consequently in many cases a source of danger. As already said, a person who gets angry with raw meat in his hand is very liable to be struck by jnun. The same is the case with one who is beaten by such a person (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager).

No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shawia, Andjra, Ait Waryager, etc.) or generally to the person who has given it; it would be bad for both parties (Ait Waryager).

If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market and his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them (Ait Waryager), since otherwise they will be hurt by jnun (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Sadden).

[843] [279] If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she aks, because otherwise the fetus (Ait Waryager) or the woman as well (Ulad Bu aziz) will die; should he refuse, her husband might complain of it to his governor, who would compel him to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for (ibid.).

776 264 If a person eats meat in the presence of some one else he must let him have a share of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden; for l-lham auwaj l-hanak, "meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it]", he will be made ill by jnun (Dukkala)). In explanation of these

776 practices and beliefs it was said that a person who sees meat and is not
264 allowed to taste it gets angry and is therefore attacked by the jnun
● haunting the meat, and also that the jnun haunting the person may hurt him because they do not get the meat they are longing for. We must not expect very clear ideas with regard to haunted objects; yet both explanations well agree with the fact that some of the customs in question have particular reference to women and children, who are more than others exposed to the attacks of jnun. If a person offers another meat the latter must accept it, even though he does not want to eat it; only an enemy can refuse such an offer, since a refusal would be attended with very serious consequences for the person who offered it—he may even die (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Sadden). But I have also heard that the bas, or evil, will fall upon the person who refuses to accept the meat (Hiaina), or that both parties will have to suffer (Ait Waryager).

776 [280] Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for
514 food are extremely haunted. The Ait Waryager say that there are
753 Jewish jnun in the dung-heap (dazubait, in Arabic zebbala) of the household; and water-closets and drains are favourite abodes of jnun. In this connection some beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour may be mentioned in addition to those noticed before. When a person does his needs he should cover his head with his hayek or the hood (qobb) of his jellaba, he must look neither right nor left, and if he speaks his children will be qora, that is, affected with ringworm (Fez). If a boy does his needs on the road—nobody but a boy can do such a thing—he will have boils (Ulad Bu aziz); the Ait Waryager say that he must be a bastard (mmis rahram). If a person makes water on the road, the bas enters underneath his nails and and makes them diseased (Andjra) or he will have hangnails (Ait Waryager) or he will be forgetful (Fez).

776 [293] Jnun also haunt the fire and the fire-place (in Arabic
372 l-kanun; in Berber takat or takkat [Sheïna], almssi [Ait Sadden],
513 tahfurt n tmssi [Ait Waraïn], dagandort [Ait Waryager]). If a person sleeps with his head near the fireplace, he is very liable to be struck by them; some people say that he will never get well again, while according to others he will have a headache or be troubled with bad dreams.

776 [294] To throw out a brand from the fire-place when it is raining
372 makes the angels blind (Hiaina); indeed, fire ought never to be thrown

776 372 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 776 784 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis, [585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 784 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they [264] do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 776 272 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent jnun from drinking of it.

777 It is bad fal to eat or drink standing, to drink water from one hand
264] only instead of drinking from both hands united (Andjra, Hiaina), and to drink with the mouth [34] in the water like an animal (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager); if you drink in the latter manner the water will go out through your anus.

[787] If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, his father or grandfather or some other relative of his will die (Ait Waryager).

777 The house will also be deserted by the angels (Tangier). It is
784 forbidden to whistle in a mosque or on a threshing-floor, and bad fal to do it on the road (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager). But it is the
593 custom for the shepherd to whistle; he thereby drives away evil influences from the animals (Hiaina, Ait Waryager). From a passage in the Koran it is understood that whistling was in the days of ignorance one of the idolatrous rites in the Meccan temple, and it is therefore generally held to be unlawful for pious Moslems.

787 [35] The twitches of muscles and itchings are interpreted as omens,
827 which are in most cases considered good or bad according as they occur on the right or the left side of the body. Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow (Hiaina, Tangier, Aglu, Igliwa, Ait Waryager).

According to a scribe from the Ait Waryager, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow.

[36] If the sole of one of your feet (Hiaina, Igliwa, Ait Waryager) or of your right foot (Dukkala, Shawia, Aglu) itches you will travel.

Some people also believe that you will travel if you feel itching between the toes (Ait Waryager).

777 [40] There are magical influences of many kinds in the various days of the week. I have previously spoken of beliefs relating to Friday, the holy day of the Muhammadan world, as also of the abstinence from work on Sundays observed by the women in some Berber tribes. Sunday is generally considered the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some places even

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary bab lmakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[787] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 852 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355] t- Teida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child.

825 [752] [824] In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[854] [357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 264 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

262 "In the name of God, God is most great". This may be said before
[264] the breaking of the first egg only (Andjra), or before the breaking of
● each egg (Ait [363] Waryager).

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz unmarried men and girls refrain from eating the nose of any animal, lest they should have rain at their wedding. Among the same tribe scribes and boys who are studying the Koran must not eat an animal's throat, because the eating of it would make their voices hoarse. Among the Ait Waryager the same part is for a similar reason not given to children to eat. They also prohibit their women from eating the testicles of any male animal, which are eaten by the men; and they believe that if a child ate the kidney of an animal it would come out as lumps on the face and body of the child.

[364] A man who has killed an edible wild animal or bird eats its head in order to be successful in hunting (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he eats, for the same reason, both the head and the heart, though he may share them with his wife and children.

224 [365] Various customs relating to hunting, target-practice, and
689 guns have been mentioned in earlier chapters, but others may be added.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz in Dukkala, if one of the hunters misbehaves, the others draw round him a circle, a so-called gart r-rma, and he has to remain inside it until he pays a fine (haqq or d'aira), after which the hunters surround him and make fatha. An offence which makes a hunter subject to this treatment on the evening after the hunt is the shooting or killing of a hare which is asleep, in which case he will have to give a feast to his companions; for both in Dukkala and elsewhere (Ait Waryager) a hunter must not kill a sleeping hare because it deprives his companions and the grayhounds of the pleasure of hunting it.

[369] Among the Ait Waryager, if one of the rrma has misbehaved, the others punish him when they are shooting at targets by filling the hood of his cloak with stones and compelling him to sit at a distance from them; and they do not remove the stones and admit him to their company until he has repeated the prayer for the Prophet a certain number of times, fifty or a hundred or more, according to their discretion.

844 [370] When a woman is going to give birth to a child, or if her delivery proves difficult, certain practices are often resorted to in order to facilitate it.

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible. [461] [369] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 785 472 443 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare [265] and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for 796 785 the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

796 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household
435 income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by
785 the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset.
[461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The
[264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible.
[461] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work
[369] pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting
796 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs
785 at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during
472 Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare
443 and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for
[265] the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the
796 Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a
785 time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is prohibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren, or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary, are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Composition of the Market of Arbs Taurirt, 1965

Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10	Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10
kerosene	6	8	barbers	11	9
rugs	8	7	solderers	3	2
pottery	1	1	shoe repair	9	6
baskets, brooms, and straw hats	4	0	butchers	11	9
men's new clothes	13	12	food for consumption at market	12	10
men's used clothes	7	4	medicine	1	0
women's clothes	x	27	photography	1	0
hardware and spices	29	27	dentist	1	0
barley	8	7	palm reader	0	1
bread	1	2	jewelry	0	1
candy	4	4	rubber boots	0	1
window frames	1	1	belts	0	1
books	1	1	magician	0	1
soft drinks	1	0			
trucks of fish	3	1			
garlic	a	a	turnips	0	a
peppers	a	0	eggs	a	a
almonds	a	0	melons	1	0
walnuts	1	0	grapes	a	0
oranges	0	a	tomatoes	a	0
raisins	0	a	potatoes	a	a
			onions	a	a

a] indicates that the number of vendors was so large and changeable that accurate counting was not possible.

x] indicates that I have no sure figures.

This list includes, to the best of my knowledge, every single item being sold inside the marketplace. It was not possible to keep a tab on livestock transactions.

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

527 enemy's grave after he has killed him, cuts off a piece of his liver or
578 tongue, and puts it into his own mouth, the vow being considered to
266 be fulfilled through this act of symbolical cannibalism. Other vows
in the Rif are to swear to kill an enemy and then to drink his blood, or to roast his liver and throw it to the dogs; but the person who has taken the former vow, on killing the enemy, only puts some of his blood into his own mouth and afterwards spits it out.

627 In many instances the promissory oath is a sworn vow either to re-
578 frain from an act or from acts of a certain kind until a certain design has been accomplished, or to do a thing in case a certain promise is not fulfilled or a certain wish is not complied with. In those parts of the country in which the blood-feud is rife it frequently happens that a relative of the murdered man makes a vow, silent or audible, to refrain from having his head shaved (Jbala, many Arabs of the plains, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Shloh of the Great Atlas and Aglu), from washing or changing his clothes (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager), from having matrimonial intercourse (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager), from slaughtering an animal (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or from going to the market (Ait Waryager), until revenge has been taken. Among the Ait Waryager the women of the [516] family in such a case also refrain from wearing silver ornaments round the head or the neck and from painting themselves with henna, and boys and unmarried men, who otherwise make use of henna at the feast of the Mulud and at weddings, refrain from doing so if their father has taken a vow of this kind.

789 [518] Besides the conditional self-imprecation, or oath, there are other conditional curses, which are directed, not against the curser himself, but against somebody else. This is the case with the 'ar and, in many cases, the 'ahd.

The word 'ar literally means "shame", but in Morocco it is used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request. If a person says to another, Ha l-'ar alik, "Here is 'ar upon you", or Hada 'ar 'alike, "This is 'ar upon you", it implies that if the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the 'ar. A stronger expression is to represent the 'ar cast on a person as 'ar on God, the Prophet, or some saint with an implicit request to curse the person if he does not do what is asked of him.

501 [505] [226] This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

283 277 178 501 They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

ooo This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

423 A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

423 574 271

784 since the barley would otherwise be bad for the animal, and when he
778 gives it he should say the bismillah; I was told that these rules owe
834 their origin to the baraka of the barley (Hiaina). When you stroke the back of such an animal you should not do it with your palm but with the outer side of your hand, since the palm may be unclean (ibid.).

514 [234] Like sexual uncleanness, excremental impurity is injurious
784 to baraka. A person ought not to sleep inside a mosque, because
778 during sleep he may have a nightly pollution or break wind or make water. If anybody breaks wind in a mosque he kills thereby the angels in it or makes them blind, or at any rate displeases them, and he will himself fall ill or become poor. I have seen men remove their trousers before prayer, since no prayer will be accepted from a person in a state of uncleanness. Nobody is allowed to pray in a place where there are excrements of any other animals but such as are used for food, that is, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Urination and evacuation must not take place in the direction of Mecca; in the case of the former the person should have his face turned westward, in the case of the latter north- or south-wards. It is forbidden to do one's needs or urinate in the sea. It is also forbidden to do such things in a river or a pond. He who urinates in water will be struck by a jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden) or urinate blood after his death (Ait Waryager).

784 [239] Baraka may be spoiled by contact with the ground and its
778 impurities. The prayer-place of a Muhammadan must be clean;
782 hence a Moor of the better class often carried under his arm a coloured felt-cloth on which he kneels when he says his prayers, or a cloak is for the same purpose spread on the ground. Yet people may pray on the bare ground if the sun is shining on it. Neither the Koran, nor any other book containing the name of God, nor the writing-boards of schoolboys, must be placed on the ground, at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place; and even where the ground is clean a scribe would not leave on it the book which he consults when he writes a charm, for fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy. A t ebrid loses its power if it falls to the ground. Another written charm may perhaps in similar circumstances retain its efficacy if it is at once put in wheat or barley to be purified, but if anybody has trampled upon it its baraka is irremediably lost (Ait Waryager).

784 [243] Milk and butter are very liable to be injured by the evil
272 eye, witchcraft, or other evil influences, and are therefore in need of many precautions.

704 272 A person who in the evening is going to carry milk from his own house or tent to that of somebody else, puts a little salt in it to protect it from jnun (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he drops into it a green grass-blade as a charm which will avert evil from the cows (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk is given to a neighbor he must not return the vessel empty but he must put something into it, for example, flour, or salt, or grass, or water; otherwise the house or tent of its owner will also become empty (Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Temsaman). But if a person takes milk out of his house or tent to give it to some one to drink, he must not take back there anything of it which is left, but should drink it himself or give it to some poor person or a dog, or pour it out in a place where nobody walks; should he take it back with him his cows, or his family as well, would have to suffer for it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, At Ubahti). If a person who is carrying milk meets another on the road, he must offer him a drink of it, and, as said above, the latter is obliged to accept the offer or, at least, to dip a finger, generally the little finger of the right hand, which is the cleanest, into the milk, putting it then into his mouth or touching his forehead with it. The offering of milk serves as a safeguard against [754] the evil eye, and will besides benefit the offerer in a more positive manner owing to the blessing pronounced on him by the recipient, which will make his animals thrive. But I have also heard that you should offer milk even to a person who does not know that you are [244] carrying such a thing; for if you conceal milk from him God will always conceal it from you (Andjra). The custom in question seems to prevail all over Morocco; but sometimes I was told that it is only observed in the morning (Ait Nder), or not between enemies (Ait Waryager). While gratuitous offering of milk is thus in certain [432] circumstances prescribed by custom, the sale of milk is forbidden (Temsaman): he who sells milk will not have much of it (Andjra), something bad will happen to his cows (Ulad Bu aziz), or he will leave his children destitute (Ait Warain). This rule is often broken, especially in towns where there are European residents; but during my stay in Marraksh I often found people unwilling to sell milk. A gratuity, however, is readily accepted for the milk offered to a stranger of note who passes through the village. When it is offered to the Sultan on horseback he dips the little finger of his right hand into it, wipes off the milk on the neck of his horse, and tells his amin,

784 272 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a person receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 296 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 262 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by selling bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

432 689

778 784 [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[783]

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 821 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

776 372 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 776 784 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis, [585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemfuk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 784 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between [264] asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 776 272 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent jnun from drinking of it.

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember
[261] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth
[272] (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-
871 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a
754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events
857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect" — alam n-nbi waqaf, —that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

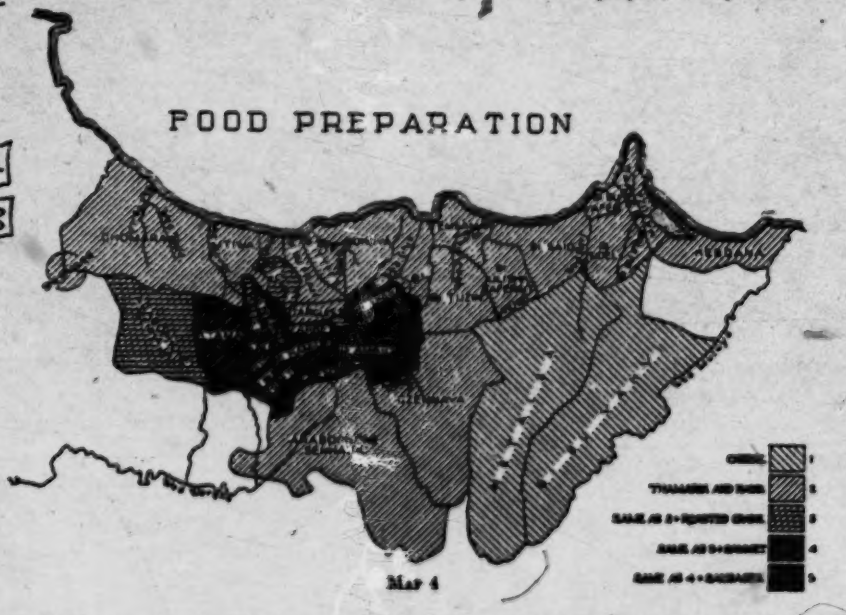
787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Fish is never boiled or prepared in any way other than those above named. It is never
262 eaten during a meal at which milk is drunk.

Eggs. These are most commonly eaten hard boiled, a number of them in a bowl of melted butter constituting a common dish. They are also made into omelettes, but this latter method is rare and is probably of recent introduction. They are never mixed in bread or in any other composite dish.

267 **Milk and Milk Products.** Milk is consumed in a number of different ways. It may
234 be drunk fresh, as it commonly is, especially among the mountain peoples, or may be left to



Map 4

curdle. The curds, called *aghin*, are drunk out of a communal pot. Butter, called *adhen*, is made by two methods: (1) In the Rif, except in the region of nomadism, cream is put into an earthen pot with a narrow neck and a spout and two handles. Leather lids are tied over the neck and spout, and the pot tied to the rafters by the handles. Here it is swung back and forth until the butter is ready. (2) Among the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi the cream is put into a goatskin, which is tied tight and swung from a wooden tripod until churning is completed.

el kleila (Arabic), cheese, is made only by the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is commonly produced in the form of flat, hard cakes. Being cheese makers, the nomads naturally know the properties of rennet, which they cut from the stomachs of calves; with this and fresh milk they make junket, *jben*, which they feed to children. The sedentary peoples,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

262 234 being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeezed from the ends of fig branches. They claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammet*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape ●273 jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammet* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it. [251]

Wine-making, which Marmol[1] attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khomr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.[2] On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organized which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

276 *kif*, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghzuth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammet* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

264 574 **Riffian Table Manners.** When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

[1] Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86-88.

[2] Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 184, 207 *sqq.*, 316, 386, 423, 431, 467, 473, 488 *sqq.*, 507 n., 570, 601.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[5]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[6]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[5] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.
[6] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

556 illustrate that this distinction is recognized not only within
472 the community but by outside authorities.

556 a) A tribesman of the Beni Said had migrated to Alhucemas
485 and worked for Spaniards during the Protectorate. He
472 had purchased the hotel of a Spaniard when the latter
sold on the eve of national independence. While it is
[275] illegal for a Muslim to operate a bar, he continued to
[784] do so with tacit approval from local officials. He
opened several other enterprises accommodating Berber
transients and Western tourists. Although he came from
a poor family he had accumulated considerable capital.
However, his values were oriented almost entirely to
city life and he visited his tribe only once or twice
a year. He did not attempt to translate any of his
556 economic power into social status in his tribe. When
485 an European-sponsored hotel opened in the city, the
472 management regarded this entrepreneur as a competitive
477 threat (he was underselling the new hotel by 50%).
They complained to the police (it was rumored that
generous bribes were offered and accepted) and they
promptly closed the Riffian's bar. He complained to
the Ministry of Interior in Rabat and was told he could
reopen once the tourist season was over.

556 b) A Berber of the Beni Wariyaghar was the son of a
prominent man who had sided with the Spanish against
Ab-del Krim. The man, although he held political office

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeezed from the ends of fig branches. They claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammet*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammet* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it.

Wine-making, which Marmol[1] attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khamr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.[2] On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organized which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

kif, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghzuth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammet* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

Riffian Table Manners. When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

[1] Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86–88.

[2] Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 184, 207 *sqq.*, 316, 386, 423, 431, 467, 473, 488 *sqq.*, 507 n., 570, 601.

778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts
[224] of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
[153] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
834 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID M. HART

AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF: THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR

ANNUAL pilgrimages, or *'imārāt* (sing. *'imārah*), to the tombs of certain saints are a major feature not only of the saint cult in Morocco, but of Maghribi Islam in general. A few of these, such as the *Naskhah*, occurring on 15 Sha'bān, to the shrine of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mshīsh in Banī 'Arūs in the Jbālah, or the visits to the sepulchres of Mūlāi Idrīs in Zarhūn or Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Aisā in Meknes, are events to which the faithful gather from all over the country. Seven successive pilgrimages to the tombs both of Mūlāi Idrīs and Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām equal, according to Moroccans, one to Mecca. The pilgrimage in these instances is supplemented by the activities of members of, variously, the Haddāwa (at Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām), 'Aisāwa or Ḥamādsha (in Meknes) brotherhoods, who smoke *kīf* (*Cannabis indica*, a narcotic not unlike marijuana), beat drums, chew and swallow live coals, put skewers through their cheeks and work themselves into a frenzy in order to identify themselves with the spirit of the saint with whose tomb they are associated; and, if possible, to merge with the Infinite.

There are many other saints, however, mostly of a more local and less national character, whose devotees show far more restraint in their behavior than the members of the brotherhoods mentioned above. One of these is Sīdī Bū Khiyār, buried in the southern mountains of the Central Rifian tribe of Aith Wariyāghir; and nothing like the above occurs at the annual pilgrimage to his tomb, for the members of these orders are held in very low repute in the Rif and are not encouraged to come there. A description of this pilgrimage, wich I witnessed on 1 August 1955, is, I think, of ethnographic interest not only for its own sake but because of the light it sheds on the Berber attitude toward Islam.

443 651 438 648 [735] [276] such items if they are purchased by the large middlemen merchants who pay the tax upon leaving the suq. Because of governmental tax and conservation laws, carbon is rarely sold in the free market but rather in the black market. The narcotic kif, which undoubtedly is a major trade item, also is in the province of the black marketeer. Missing from Albéniz's list are almonds, which have become an increasingly important cash crop. Almonds enter the market free in small lots, are bought by large-scale merchants and taxed upon departing from the market.

443 After paying his tax, the seller enters the market and goes to the area occupied by traders of his particular commodity. There are no market rules demanding that a seller go to a special place but areas have by custom been developed for each type of goods. Those people selling an unusual commodity or unique service set up shop wherever they desire as long as it does not interfere with the operation of the market.

443 438 In the following I shall outline the sorts of commodities brought to the market and the categories of people involved in marketing them. The composition of the agricultural products varies greatly with the season. Tomatoes, green peppers, and other vegetables are available only in the summer and early fall. For a short period during the fall, fruit is in overabundance. Potatoes, maize, garlic, and onions appear throughout the year, though again the supply varies. There are always large stacks of unmilled barley even though this is supposed to be the main crop of the region. That the fellah have to buy barley on

This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

[137] *ariyeri*, the oleander. This plant is important in the manufacture of magical concoctions. [189] Laoust [1] and Justinard [2] support this identification.

[263] *tuzelt*, a bush resembling a high-bush blueberry. It bears a red pod, like a rose-pod, which is eaten. Laoust [3] calls this *Fraxinus dimorpha*.

[314] *aghanim*, a reed, used extensively in basket making. Laoust supports this identification.[4]

tharuqwith, a bush with a red flower, much frequented by bees.

[278] *zui*, a bush bearing a white flower, with peppery-tasting leaves. The latter are used as medicine for stomach-ache.

[363] *t-knuafer*, a bush or low tree which produces a bud resembling a clove. The buds are put into tea as a spice, and are used as a stomach-ache cure for children.

[278] *azir*, a bush the leaves of which are used in the brewing of a tea alleged to be beneficial in fever.

isarshi, forsythia. Women cut pieces of its stem and tie them in their belts to prevent boils. This identification is purely personal and lacks confirmation.

[262] *thakhfa*, a wild rose, the pods of which are sometimes eaten in times of famine. Hanoteau and Letourneau [5] give *Rosa sempervirens* for the Kabyle *thaqfert*.

Luxurious forests of conifers are said by the inhabitants of the country to have once covered most of the region, but today they are confined to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar, Taghsuth, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarket, and the upland reaches of Mtiwa. Patches of this forest remain on Mt. Kuin in Gzennaya, in parts of Beni Amart, at Aswil, where the Nekor passes from the Gzennaya into Beni Urriaghel, and on the crests of Beni Tuzin. The *taidha* grows chiefly in the Senhajan tribes, but the *thuya* is found not only there but also farther to the east, in Gzennaya and Beni Tuzin.

After climbing from the hot barrenness of the eastern Rif, one finds the forests of the Senhaja Sghir most beautiful and satisfying. On the mountain between Beni Bu Nsar and Taghsuth, it is difficult to realise that one is in Morocco. The whole of this section reminds one of temperate forests, such as are found in the northern United States and Canada; especially is this true in the long, flat plateau-valley of Beni Seddath, where a lush meadow is variegated with frequent clumps of *taidha*. Even in midsummer this region retains an exhilarating chilliness of atmosphere. (See plate 1.)

CLIMATE

132 The slopes of the Mediterranean border of this region are rugged, mostly deforested, hillsides, with a climate similar to northern Mexico or our own Southwest. Farther to the east, in the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and parts of Galiya, the country becomes rolling and its slope relatively gentle, and grain is grown on it without terracing or irrigation. Farther south, however, stretches the arid expanse of the Garet, that waterless 137 waste whereon the Metalsa and Beni Yahyi shift about from camp to camp. This desert stretches into parts of Beni Said and Galiya, and oversteps the boundary of Beni Ulishk and Tafersit. Here in the Garet grows a sparse crop of grass, and quantities of that coarse grass called *halfa*, resembling our own marsh or beach grass, from which the nomadic peoples, and the Gzenpaya and other Riffians as well, make sandals, pack-saddles, ropes, and all sorts

- containers.

[1] Page 484. [2] Page 486. [3] Page 136. [4] Page 48. [5] Pages 493, 498.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The gathering of wild vegetable products is traditionally considered to antedate agriculture. Tales are told of the times when the Riffians subsisted on these products and game alone. In Ktama, where agriculture is difficult, the gathering of wild plants, especially *tuzelt*, forms an important occupation. At the end of winter, when the dried fruit is gone and when the larders are low, many Riffian families would die of hunger if their womenfolk did not go out on the mountain slopes and up the watercourses looking for these natural foods.

The green plants, such as watercress and asparagus, are subject to a dietary sex tabu. Woman only may eat them. The reason given for this distinction is that they produce blood, fat, and soft flesh, desirable in women but not in men.

Mulberries and cherries were probably introduced by the Arabs and later abandoned. Mulberries are not considered good food and are seldom eaten except through necessity. Tomatoes were probably introduced from Spain and then given up.

Cultivation of Fruit and Nut Trees and of Vineyards. *zilon* (male), *misola* (female), the domestic olive tree. The male tree produces large olives low in oil content, which are preserved in lemon juice and eaten as a relish. The fruit of the female tree is pressed into oil. As a rule all the male trees in an olive yard are cut down with the exception of one, which is left to fertilise the female trees. The olives are called by the names of the trees which bear them.

arman, the pomegranate tree. The Riffians recognize sex differences in pomegranates, considering that the fruit with a thick skin and large, hard seeds in the granules is produced by the male tree, whereas the better fruit is produced by females. As a rule, the male trees are all cut down but one, which is left for fertilizing the others. Sometimes male trees are left, so that the fruit may be sold in markets frequented by people unacquainted with the difference. The fruit and tree bear the same name.

er ghas, the fig tree. There are four varieties of fig trees, *aseiri*, *aghudani*, *awar n akai*, and *abaran*. The fruit borne by the *aseiri* is round, with longitudinal purple and green lines; that of the *aghudani* is long, pear-shaped, and purple; that of the *awar n akai* is round and light green. There are two varieties of *abaran*, one of which is round and green and the other long with black or purple lines. The three first varieties bear twice a year, in June and in September. The June figs, called *er bashor*, are eaten but not dried, except for use as medicine, since they contain but little sugar. The September figs, called *thezalk*, are dried. The *abaran* varieties bear only in September. The Riffians say that the *abaran* types are the only indigenous strains, and that the *aseiri* and *awar n akai* came originally from the Arabs, whereas the *aghudani* is derived from the Negroes.

shukwar, a wild fig. Planted, it is said, by birds that have eaten cultivated figs, this fruit is useless for eating, but is employed for magical purposes. Each year the women and children go out and gather the wild figs when ripe, tie them together in pairs with grass, and hang them on the branches of the domesticated fig trees. There are said to be insects in the wild figs which come out and touch the buds of the domestic figs. It is thought that if these wild figs were not so hung and if the insects from them did not touch the buds, the cultivated figs would not bear.[1]

[1] Westermarck (p. 190) states that the Riffians hang male figs in female trees, in order to fertilise their fruit. A small insect, *Blastophaga grossorum*, bores in and out of the figs, fertilizing them. Westermarck refers to Elfving's *De Viktigaste Kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1885), p. 74.

1:Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1
Shluh
R.f Mx3

M
621
619
631
642

themselves appointed qā'id. With imperial sanction and modern rifles, they conquered tribe after tribe, dissolving the assemblies and setting out khalīfas and shaikhs in the neighboring valleys to carry out their orders.

These qā'ids settled down into three houses, those of the Glawi, Gundafi, and Mtugi, reading from east to west along the Atlas. (The family of the Glawi, now in its third generation, is headed by the powerful el Ḥajj Thāmi [Tihāmi], also pasha of Marrakesh.) These three absolute autocrats have so crushed the mountaineers under their control that only the oldest remember the earlier system of government. Each of them has a huge fortress, strategically located near the crest of the divide, as for example that of Telwet, which is the Glawi's stronghold. Inside high walls are a number of castles, with an inner court. Great granaries hold the tribute brought by the farmers; dungeons hide the starving bodies of bandits captured on the roads. Mountain Jews and Negro retainers throng the courtyard, and privileged visitors (I was one in 1927) eat in the guest chambers.

Delegating power to the three great qā'ids is one way of ruling without effort. These men, controlling private armies, could make or break sultans, and they have also figured in the politics of the French Protectorate in a fashion similar to the fabulously wealthy princes of India under the British. Robert Montagne speaks with feeling when he states that Native Affairs officers were able to take over the direction of the small confederation of Ida U Tanan before the Mtugi could swallow it.

Ruling by delegating power to a local autocrat is something new in Morocco, but farther east it is an old system, which we have already seen in operation in western Asia; this is the way both Romans and Sassanian Persians controlled the Nabatean Arabs. This is also the way that the shahs of Iran (when they have been strong enough) have dealt with the Bakhtiari and other tribesmen. The Iranian tribesmen, however, have a reason for unity, the need for order in their annual migration. The Shluh need no more unity than they had in 1860, at the price they have paid for it. What the French think of this system is not easy to discover.

R
[114]
278 -
813

By now the reader is ready to join me in entering the Rif, as I first did in 1926, the year of 'Abd el-Krīm's surrender. On the way into the tribe of Gzennaya we noticed that our dog was growing ill. He

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East

Ref m2

[278] soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part
813 of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it
361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along
621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque.
368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro-
173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and
621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen
595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine of their fathers

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghsuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghsuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the [531] hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Asht Aximan of Beni Tuzin. [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[434] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghsuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and partly because it was part of Abd el Krim's uniform and would therefore throw suspicion upon the wearer as a rebel sympathiser. It is still worn, curiously enough, by many of the native *mokhasniya*, gendarmes in the employ of the Spanish military authorities.

2. *furu*. This is a collection of strings of camel's-hair yarn, roughly parallel, and crosstied just often enough to keep the whole combination together. The *furu* is twisted about the head as a turban just as is the *thaghargt*, leaving the top of the head similarly bare. The camel's hair comes from the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is dyed brown for ordinary wear and red for weddings. The *furu* came in after the *thaghargt*, and like it was worn by individuals here and there in every tribe, according to personal taste.

3. *thaamanth*, a yellow kerchief, silk embroidered, worn as a turban. This is of European manufacture and introduction.

4. *arisith*, a white cotton turban (see plate 25), likewise of European manufacture. In adopting the white turban the Riffians have reached the final step of imitating the Arabs. All the previous types of headgear mentioned were distinctively if not uniquely Riffian, but the *rezza*, as the Arabs call it, in no way distinguishes them from the rest of Moroccans. It has not yet attained universal distribution, being worn only by the least conservative elements in each tribe. The fez, or *sheshia*, as it is called in Morocco, has not yet appeared except in the tribes of Galiya and Kebdana.

The Riffians in the Spanish zone will probably become Europeanized in dress before they submit completely to Arab notions of sartorial accoutrement, since the Riffians have fewer inhibitions against European civilization than against that of the Arabs. However, European dress among them is at present confined to the very few who have become officers in the Spanish army and to chauffeurs, mechanics, and the like in Melilla.

Riffians never appear in public without some form of belt and a scrip, or bag.

thaghugat is the generalized term for men's belts, which are always made of leather. The ordinary type is about two inches broad, undecorated, and fastened by a buckle in front. *thaghugat n tayish* is a special belt worn at weddings, much broader, covered with silken embroidery, and frequently embellished with tassels. *thaghugat er kneith* is a leather cartridge belt, with pockets for the clips of cartridges which fit into the ordinary Mauser, or Spanish army rifle. *thasabutch*, the scrip or leathern bag, does not hang from the belt, but is supported by a separate strap, called *iyarusith*, passing over the shoulder opposite to the side on which the bag is worn. The old style bags used in the days of the flintlock rifle were very large and contained many pockets, in which were kept powder, lead balls, emergency rations, knives, papers, and other small objects which among us would be carried in pockets. These bags were ornamented with silk embroidery and long leather fringes and tassels. (See plate 27.) The designs were both rectilinear and curvilinear, the curvilinear designs usually being floral. The bags were also decorated by great areas of inlaid colored leather, a technique which had died out but which is now being revived by Taghsuthi workmen in French shops at Rabat.

Accompanying the large bag of former times, a powder horn made from the horn of the aoudad, called the *ish n wuthath*, depended from the belt. The use of these horns has died out, owing to the advent of cartridges and the scarcity or possible extinction of the aoudad.

The bags and belts which typified the Rif of a hundred years ago were made exclusively at a village called Iyarusith in the tribe of Temsaman. The craft has long been extinct there, however, and now the belts and bags used in the Rif are made locally or are imported

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

from Taghzuth. The Taghzuthis, who were craftsmen only in powder and firearms, have within the last generation taken over leatherwork and set themselves up as the foremost manufacturers of belts and bags. The Taghzuthi work is characterized by the stitching of narrow strips of colored leather diagonally in rows so as to form lines. These lines are always straight, and the designs produced by them form isosceles triangles and zigzags. Until recently white and green were the only colors employed for this purpose, but since the Spanish occupation other colors have come in, and the work has become coarser. (See plate 27.) Besides the ordinary belts and bags, the Taghzuthis now make wrist-watch straps and handbags, the former for the Spanish army, and the latter to be sent to the ports of the French zone and thence to America, and, to a lesser extent, to England and France.

Other old centers of the manufacture of bags and belts were Beni Misawr, a sub-tribe of el Khmes of the Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mohammed, situated between Beni Zerwal and el Khmes. The design on these Jebalan bags is curvilinear rather than rectilinear, and is characterized by three circles side by side on the front. The effect is produced by the stitching of leather strips, as at Taghzuth, and not by silk embroidery, as at Iyarusith of Temsaman.

Feminine Attire. Like men's clothing, the garments of women were formerly made entirely of wool. *thawthat*, the principal garment, consists of a long rectangular piece of woolen cloth. The upper corner of one end is held under the left armpit, with the lower corner falling by the left knee. The cloth is then wrapped around the body, from front to back, until it reaches the front again. A belt holds it together at the waist, and it is caught up back and front by each shoulder and fastened there by wooden pins or brooches. (See plate 26.) These brooches, called *thisghanes*, are made by Jews in Melilla, in the Jebarna section of the Shawia of Gzennaya, at Bades, and in Beni Bu Frah. The *thisghanes* consist of a triangular piece of silver or pewter, to which is attached a loose ring of the same material; there is a gap in the ring, through which the point end of the pin, of one piece with the triangle, may pass. To pin cloth together with this device, the ring is turned until the gap coincides with the pin; then the pin is thrust through the material, and the ring pressed beneath it and turned, so that it must stay under the pin. This type of brooch is not confined to the Rif, but is commonly found throughout North Africa.

thaghugat, the belt, bears the same name as the men's belt, although it is an entirely different object. The old style woman's belt is made of many cords of heavy woolen yarn of different colors caught together, and is locally considered an object of great beauty. This belt is wound around the waist many times, and a long end is left dangling behind. Ghomaran women wear broad belts of native cloth. (See plate 26.) *thaghugat n malagha*, the belt of Malaga, is a long red woolen belt with fringes at the end, manufactured in Spain and sold to the Riffians at Melilla. It is fast supplanting the heavier belt of native manufacture.

Feminine headwear is of two principal varieties:

1. *ifiran n thimgharin*, or women's braids, consist of long black threads of woolen yarn, which are braided into the hair near where it ends and then downward until they nearly touch the ground. Three of these *ifiran* are braided into each braid, and since the women divide their hair into two braids six *ifiran* are worn by each woman. The hair, supplemented by these long strands of black wool, may be left trailing or else tied around and around the head like a turban.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 RLF MX3

282

[415]

INDUSTRIES 2

Wooden spoons; left and upper, Galiya, lower right, Gasmaya

Pounding leather, Tesarin, Taghauth

[p. 607(2)]

Cutting a thin strip of colored leather for embroidering, Ulad el Wartith, Taghauth

Stitching leather cartridge-belts, Ulad el Wartith, Taghauth

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghsuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghsuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate [531] with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Asht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[439] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 ●282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghsuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

285 415 Hamara of the Gzennaya; Bokoya; Ijaonen of Beni Amart; Beni Hadifa and Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel; Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman; the Metalsa dwelling near Beni Mohammed, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, all the Senhaja and Ghomara, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, and the western Maritime tribes.

[314] *Wickerwork*, the third type, is called *asarow n ughanim*. Oleander switches and reeds are used, the oleander for the uprights, or warp, and the split reeds woven in and out between them. Baskets made of this material are often of great size, four to five feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are used for the transportation of grapes, figs, almonds, walnuts, and the like, and for the storage of raisins, dried figs, and dried apricots. (See plate 24.) They are to be found in Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikaroen, Temjunt, Bured, all of Gzennaya, Mountain Urriaghel, Taghzuth n Tassa and Tizera n Imziwen of Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, and Ain Mediuna of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Bu Shibet.

TEXTILES

286 [439] Textiles made in the Rif are confined to woolen cloths, all cotton and what little silk there is being imported.

283 [824] The first process in textile manufacture is washing the wool in a stream with the boiled roots of the plant known as *thaghigheshth*. The wool is hung up in the rafters of the house until dry, and is then carded. In the old days, cards of local manufacture, called *ikarthashen*, were employed, but today the cards used throughout the Rif are imported from Sheshawen and are of European type. The indigenous type consists of a long wooden handle about two feet in length, with a flat piece of cow's horn attached to one end. Into the horn are set two parallel rows of spikes, either wooden or brass, about the length of a human finger. The rows are set at right angles to the axis of the handle, and the spikes project from the handle at a right angle. These cards were kept in pairs, and when not in use were pushed up into the rafters, where, in old houses, a few of them may still be found.

Spinning, the next process after carding, is done in two ways:

1. The thread is suspended from a distaff, on which the rove is wound, and attached to a spindle-whorl held just off the ground. Thread spun in this way is used for warp and is called *asarau*.

2. The rove is spun on the thigh and gathered into a pot below. This thread is used for weft and is called *amshin*.

286 [868] Weaving, the final process of textile manufacture, is done on two entirely different kinds of loom under different circumstances. The more primitive is the *azta*, an upright two-bar loom with a stick heddle and a wooden comb for battening the warp. The operation of the *azta* is entirely in the hands of women. A girl who does not know how to weave on the *azta* has a poor chance of marriage, and consequently girls learn this art at an early age. Parties are held for the teaching of it; a girl who is not expert invites a number of skilled weavers, who go to her house, eat, and instruct her. The cloth produced by the *azta* is called *tadsha* and is used for women's clothes, men's sleeveless shirts worn in winter, and blankets. It is generally white, sometimes with red horizontal bands or stripes. The *azta* is employed throughout the region under consideration, except in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa.

This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[a] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[b] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[c] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wâd Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

[a] *Marruecos, zona jalifiana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[b] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognized by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* . . . , II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est déterminée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[c] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nîmes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of *doum*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

LAND TRANSPORT

Land transport in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara is confined to the bearing of burdens by man and by domestic animals. Wheels and all types of vehicles are unknown. Human transport consists usually of the carrying of loads on the back. (See plate 7.) The negroid method of carrying on the head is not employed, nor is the tump-line used. Women carrying water from the spring or brook to the house use a two-handled jug, with a rope leading from each handle over the shoulders and held or tied in front. The same method is used for carrying bulky burdens such as loads of brush or of charcoal. Men generally carry things in their hands, or put them in the hoods of their garments.

Animal transport is confined to donkeys, mules, and camels. (See plate 8.) Horses do not carry burdens. For donkeys and mules, a special pack-saddle called the *hallas* is used. This is a large heavy object made of cloth and stuffed with straw, covering, in most cases, the entire back of the animal. The top is flat, and the edges of the upper surface are often raised. The *hallas* is held on by a rope or basketry strap passing under the animal's neck and by another under its tail. There is no girth; gravity, size, and the two straps are enough to keep it on when paniers are not used.

The paniers, called *shwari*, are of twilled basketry, a double container with a handle on each side and connected by a strip of basketry wide enough to cover the top of the pack-saddle so that the two containers will hang at the sides. The paniers are filled with whatever objects are to be transported, generally simply thrown in. Soft objects, such as blankets or sacks of grain, are set on top of the flat portion, and long ones, such as tools with handles, are lashed to the sides. A water jug of porous earthenware is often thrust into one of the paniers in such a position that it can be easily extracted. After the load has been placed, a cord is run between the handles of the *shwari*, drawn tight over the top, and carried under the animal's belly as a girth.

Camels have no packsaddles. A long, flapping type of *shwari* is sometimes used, without girth. This falls off whenever the camel becomes excited and breaks into a run. A more efficient method of packing these animals is by tying packages on either side of the hump, as can be seen in the illustrations in plate 8.

Horses, mules, and donkeys are ridden, horses either bareback or with an Arab saddle, imported from the Arab cities of Morocco. These saddles are expensive and difficult to obtain, hence bareback riding is the usual type. Riffians make notably poor riders, except for the tribesmen of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, who are accustomed to that means of locomotion. The bridle is generally imported and of Arab manufacture.

Mules and donkeys are ridden with the *hallas*, either bare or with the addition of a *shwari* and its load. Bridles are never used with donkeys and seldom with mules, a simple hacksamore acting as substitute. Mule bridles, when used, are imported from Fez or other Arab centres.

Camels are almost never ridden by the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. They are used for transport and for milk, and attempts at riding them are sporadic and experimental.

In general, riding is an exceptional method of travelling, and the Riffian in most cases journeys on foot. Because of the ruggedness of the country, he can often make better time that way than if he were to ride. The Riffian can walk for long periods over the roughest ground without showing signs of fatigue, often bursting into trots for several miles at a time

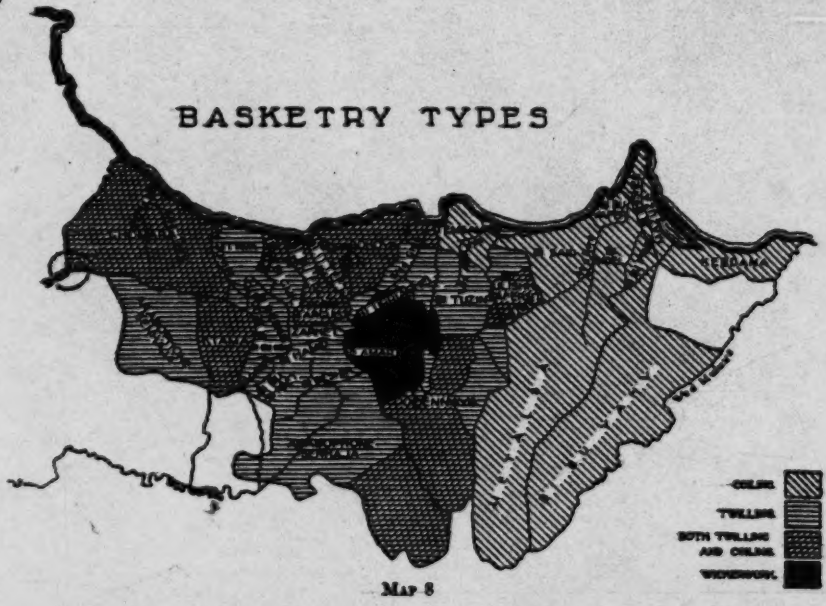
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

for the most part containers of iron and of skin, materials which are not apt to break in the course of a nomadic existence. Skins are used to hold all liquids, and likewise as churns for butter.

BASKETRY

There are three types of basket-making employed in the Rif; coiling, twilling, and wickerwork.

Coil-baskets are made with a bundle of *asref*, a grass, circular in section, as rod, and with palmetto leaves for wrapper. Coiled baskets, generally in the form of shallow trays, called



MAP 8

tubbuḳ, are supposed to have been introduced by the Arabs. They are found in Ghomara, Mestassa, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Itteft, Bokoya, Ajdir, Branes, Ktama, Targuist; Khebaba, Shawia, and Beni Yunes of Gsennaya; Temsaman, except for the villages near the sea; Beni Said, with the same exception; Galiya, Kebdana, el Azib of Meidhar, Tafersit, lowland Beni Ulishk, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi.

Twilling, called *ijji*, is employed in the manufacture of the *shwari*, or pack-saddle panier, and of the *endu* or flat basket with two handles used as a container of dried figs and raisins, also as a table upon which bowls are set and upon which bread rests during repasts. These articles are made from either *halfa* or palmetto, whichever is available. They are distributed through Beni Mohammed, Shawia, Ulad Alu Fars, Khebaba, Iharshliyen, and Ain el

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

285 415 Hamara of the Gzennaya; Bokoya; Ijaonen of Beni Amart; Beni Hadifa and Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel; Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman; the Metalsa dwelling near Beni Mohammed, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, all the Senhaja and Ghomara, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, and the western Maritime tribes.

[314] *Wickerwork*, the third type, is called *asarow n ughanim*. Oleander switches and reeds are used, the oleander for the uprights, or warp, and the split reeds woven in and out between them. Baskets made of this material are often of great size, four to five feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are used for the transportation of grapes, figs, almonds, walnuts, and the like, and for the storage of raisins, dried figs, and dried apricots. (See plate 24.) They are to be found in Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikaroen, Temjunt, Bured, all of Gzennaya, Mountain Urriaghel, Taghzuth n Tassa and Tizern n Imaiwen of Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, and Ain Mediuna of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Bu Shibet.

TEXTILES

286 [939] Textiles made in the Rif are confined to woolen cloths, all cotton and what little silk there is being imported.

283 [824] The first process in textile manufacture is washing the wool in a stream with the boiled roots of the plant known as *thaghigheshth*. The wool is hung up in the rafters of the house until dry, and is then carded. In the old days, cards of local manufacture, called *ikarthashen*, were employed, but today the cards used throughout the Rif are imported from Sheshawen and are of European type. The indigenous type consists of a long wooden handle about two feet in length, with a flat piece of cow's horn attached to one end. Into the horn are set two parallel rows of spikes, either wooden or brass, about the length of a human finger. The rows are set at right angles to the axis of the handle, and the spikes project from the handle at a right angle. These cards were kept in pairs, and when not in use were pushed up into the rafters, where, in old houses, a few of them may still be found.

Spinning, the next process after carding, is done in two ways:

1. The thread is suspended from a distaff, on which the rove is wound, and attached to a spindlewhorl held just off the ground. Thread spun in this way is used for warp and is called *asarau*.

2. The rove is spun on the thigh and gathered into a pot below. This thread is used for weft and is called *amshin*.

286 [869] Weaving, the final process of textile manufacture, is done on two entirely different kinds of loom under different circumstances. The more primitive is the *azta*, an upright two-bar loom with a stick heddle and a wooden comb for battening the warp. The operation of the *azta* is entirely in the hands of women. A girl who does not know how to weave on the *azta* has a poor chance of marriage, and consequently girls learn this art at an early age. Parties are held for the teaching of it; a girl who is not expert invites a number of skilled weavers, who go to her house, eat, and instruct her. The cloth produced by the *azta* is called *tadsha* and is used for women's clothes, men's sleeveless shirts worn in winter, and blankets. It is generally white, sometimes with red horizontal bands or stripes. The *azta* is employed throughout the region under consideration, except in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa.

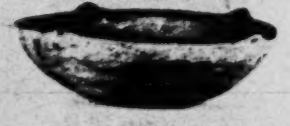
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CENTRAL RIFFIAN POTTERY-BASKETRY

415
323
531

Bottom of unusual water-jug, showing entrance of cone through which pot is filled when lowered into a well. Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Side view of the same



Bowl showing eastern influence in design. Temsaman

Making a wicker basket for raisins. Ulad Abd el Mumen, Iherrusben, Gzennaya

[285]
[177]

[facing p. 78]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

342 When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel 476 of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so 574 that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

356 The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too 358 are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

341 **Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques.** *The Moorish arch* in doors 177 and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

341 *Domes* are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni 764 Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since 177 domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

341 *Tiled roofs* are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of 177 the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

341 Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat 346 of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

342 **Tents.** The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa* [286] braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhashen*, sepa-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

285 415 Hamara of the Gzennaya; Bokoya; Ijaonen of Beni Amart; Beni Hadifa and Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel; Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman; the Metalsa dwelling near Beni Mohammed, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, all the Senhaja and Ghomara, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, and the western Maritime tribes.

[314] *Wickerwork*, the third type, is called *asarow n ughanim*. Oleander switches and reeds are used, the oleander for the uprights, or warp, and the split reeds woven in and out between them. Baskets made of this material are often of great size, four to five feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are used for the transportation of grapes, figs, almonds, walnuts, and the like, and for the storage of raisins, dried figs, and dried apricots. (See plate 24.) They are to be found in Iberrassen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikaroen, Temjunt, Bured, all of Gzennaya, Mountain Urriaghel, Taghruth n Tassa and Tizera n Imsiwen of Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Bu Adl, Beni Koras, and Ain Mediuna of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Bu Shibet.

TEXTILES

286 [439] Textiles made in the Rif are confined to woolen cloths, all cotton and what little silk there is being imported.

283 [314] The first process in textile manufacture is washing the wool in a stream with the boiled roots of the plant known as *thaghigheshth*. The wool is hung up in the rafters of the house until dry, and is then carded. In the old days, cards of local manufacture, called *ikarthashen*, were employed, but today the cards used throughout the Rif are imported from Sheshawen and are of European type. The indigenous type consists of a long wooden handle about two feet in length, with a flat piece of cow's horn attached to one end. Into the horn are set two parallel rows of spikes, either wooden or brass, about the length of a human finger. The rows are set at right angles to the axis of the handle, and the spikes project from the handle at a right angle. These cards were kept in pairs, and when not in use were pushed up into the rafters, where, in old houses, a few of them may still be found.

Spinning, the next process after carding, is done in two ways:

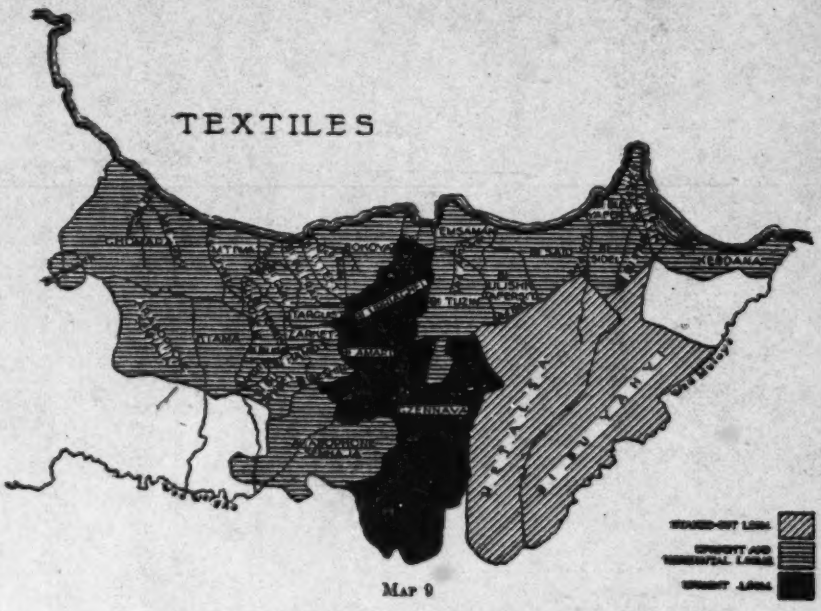
1. The thread is suspended from a distaff, on which the rove is wound, and attached to a spindlewhorl held just off the ground. Thread spun in this way is used for warp and is called *asarau*.

2. The rove is spun on the thigh and gathered into a pot below. This thread is used for weft and is called *amshin*.

286 [862] Weaving, the final process of textile manufacture, is done on two entirely different kinds of loom under different circumstances. The more primitive is the *azta*, an upright two-bar loom with a stick heddle and a wooden comb for battening the warp. The operation of the *azta* is entirely in the hands of women. A girl who does not know how to weave on the *azta* has a poor chance of marriage, and consequently girls learn this art at an early age. Parties are held for the teaching of it; a girl who is not expert invites a number of skilled weavers, who go to her house, eat, and instruct her. The cloth produced by the *azta* is called *tadsha* and is used for women's clothes, men's sleeveless shirts worn in winter, and blankets. It is generally white, sometimes with red horizontal bands or stripes. The *azta* is employed throughout the region under consideration, except in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

●286 The second and more advanced type of loom, called *marmath*, is a horizontal extended mechanism of complicated design, with looped-wire heddles operated by a foot-treadle, a shuttle, and a two-bar wire batten suspended from above. With this machine the weaver, who is always a man, can turn out in a reasonable time a first-class piece of homespun cloth comparable to that produced on Scotch or American hand-looms. The cloth woven in this fashion is generally dark brown or black in color, the black cloth being highly valued and made without dyeing from the wool of black sheep. The thread spun for the *marmath* is finer than that prepared for the *azia*. The *marmath* is used in Sheshawen, all the Eastern



Map 9

Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa and Branes, all Western Arabophone Senhaja and the Senhaja Sghir, the Ghomara, Targuist, the Maritime tribes, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Temsaman, Beni Said, Bokoya, Beni Tusin, Galiya, and Kebdana. The tribes which have none are Beni Amart, Marnissa, Branes, Gsennaya excepting Beni Yunes, Urriaghel excepting Ajdir, and Beni Mesduy. The use of the *marmath* seems to have spread from Sheshawen as a western center, only Ulad Azam of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja having employed it in earlier times. Its use in the east may have spread from Melilla or Algeria.

A third type of textile manufacture is found among the nomadic Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, who employ neither the *azia* nor the *marmath*. These people make long braids of *halfa* grass, and stretch them out on the ground, tied to iron stakes, in the form of a very long, somewhat narrow, loom. The *halfa* braids form the warp, and a coarse thick thread

[314]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

286 spun from black goat hair is put in as a weft by hand, without a shuttle, as in the case of the *asta*. The result of this process, a heavy, hybrid fabric, half textile and half matting, is used for tents.

Rug-making has not reached the high development among the Riffians which it has attained among the Shluh and Braber. Riffian rugs, woven on the *asta*, are coarse, harsh, and unattractive. The hooked-rug method, employed so effectively by the Beni Mgil and Beni Mtir of the Braber, is unknown. In fact, few rugs are made by the Riffians, who prefer to purchase them at Melilla and Fes.

386 All wool intended to be used in garments other than turbans and belts is thrown into a
314 vat of dye before being carded or spun. The dyes used for coloring this raw wool are as follows:

brown, made from boiled apple-leaves.
red, made from the bark of almond-tree roots, boiled.
yellow, made from pomegranate husks.
green, made from the water boiled out of *thaghigheshth* roots or cedar cones.
black, made from an imported mineral called *zaj*.

386 These natural vegetable products are boiled in water, in which the wool is immersed and soaked. When it is taken out the colors are fast. Turbans and belts are dyed after they have been finished; when taken out of the dye they are rubbed with ashes, a process not considered necessary in the case of raw wool. Leather is dyed by exactly the same process as wool.

Tie-dyeing, called *thisfarsth*, is in some regions applied to cloth intended for use as turbans. The distribution is as follows: all Senhaja and Ghomara, and all tribes between them and Tangier.

CLOTHING

291 Riffian clothing was formerly made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven.
177 At present many garments are made of imported cotton cloth, and others of silk. In this compilation of garment-types most attention will be paid to the older elements of Riffian dress, the distribution of which alone is significant.

Masculine Attire. *ajjab*, the jellaba, is a woolen cloak with short sleeves and a hood.
[171] The jellaba is found all over North Africa and is not a distinctive Riffian garment, except as it differs in minor details from jellabas worn by other Berber or Arab groups. The Riffian jellaba is notably shorter than the average, reaching only to the knees, and its hood less broad than the hoods of the Ghomara and other western groups. The Riffian jellaba has definite shoulders: in the western type the transition from hood to sleeve is lacking. The Riffian jellaba is always either dark brown or black, but in other areas white, striped, or other colored types are worn. Furthermore, the Riffian jellaba can be readily distinguished by its embroidery, which will be treated separately. The jellaba is exclusivley a masculine garment. (See plates 25 and 27.)

er serham, the silham, is a cloak resembling the jellaba, but lacks sleeves and is generally
[171] much longer and more flowing. The silham is typical of the Braber and Shluh of the Atlas, and is likewise worn by the nomadic peoples south of the Atlas. In the Rif its use is limited to the nomadic tribes of the Garet. Until recently the silham was worn by both the Metalsa

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

443 563 considered the social inferiors of the Wuryāghlīs and are entirely endogamous they do not form a separate economic caste, as they go in for little or no economic specialization other than that just mentioned. In a stall on one side of the market a weaver *(darrāz)* 443 is working on a woolen *jillāb* on a horizontal loom; another stall [284] houses two Berber-speaking Moroccan Jews, one of who hammers out silver bracelets and the other repairs packsaddles. In a nearby cafe sit a group of men who are loudly and appreciatively gulping down glasses of piping hot mint tea, while in the background is the blare of Arabic music or news broadcasted from Tetuan, Tangier, Rabat or Cairo. Needless to say, in Aith Wuryāghil very few people can understand the news programs, although very recently broadcasts in Shilha, coming from Tetuan, have been implemented. In another [302] corner the barber-bleeders (*ḥajjāmīn*) shave the dolichocephalic and sometimes favus-ridden crania of their patrons with unsterilized straight razors. And over all watches the market provost or *amīn*, who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees to it that the market is run smoothly and efficiently.

It is of interest to note that Aith Wuryāghil is the center of a uniquely Riffian institution: the women's market (20). This institution is not only Riffian but Central Riffian in distribution. Aside from Aith Wuryāghil, Tamsamān is the only other tribe possessing women's markets; it has two of them, one Tuesday at Suwānī of Tamsamān, just across the Nakūr River from Aith Wuryāghil, and the other on Sunday. In Aith Wuryāghil itself there are six: Sunday at Iswīqen, Monday at Isrīhen, Monday at Azghar, near Ajdīr, Friday at Aghrīdh, Friday at Ighmīren (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and Saturday at Aith Qamra.

The people of Aith Wuryāghil belive that these markets were established as the result of the endless intratribal wars, because, since women were noncombatants and were protected as such by the institution of *'anāya*, an interchange of commodities necessary for the survival of the feuding groups could only be carried on without hindrance in markets attended exclusively by members of the female sex. I have heard that the first women's market to be established was

(20) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: «Zocos de mujeres en Beni Uriaguel», Africa, Madrid. Mayo 1943, pp. 22-23.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, [241] the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men [114] are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman.[1] Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[2] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[3] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[1] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[2] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 326. First edition, Venice, 1550.

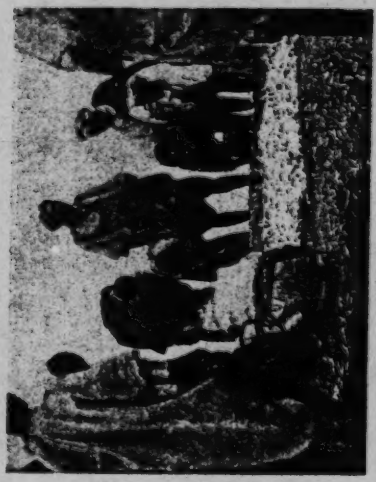
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291
142
492

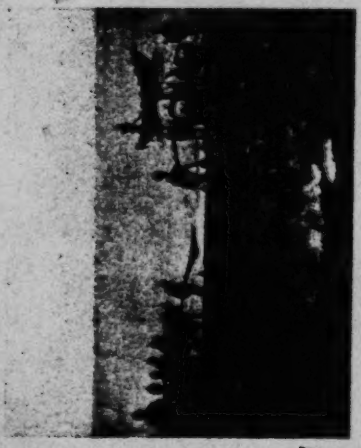
MOHAMMED LIMNIBHY

[frontispiece]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3



Beaching the catch, Tipuisa, Ghonara



226
291

[facing p.36]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

TRANSPORT 2

Donkey with *hallas* and *shouri*, Gzennaya

Donkey transport, Ajdir

492
291

Mule with *hallas* and *shouri*, Beni Bu Frah

Camels, showing method of attaching small loads, Metalsa

[facing p. 42]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

286 spun from black goat hair is put in as a weft by hand, without a shuttle, as in the case of the *azta*. The result of this process, a heavy, hybrid fabric, half textile and half matting, is used for tents.

Rug-making has not reached the high development among the Riffians which it has attained among the Shluh and Braber. Riffian rugs, woven on the *azta*, are coarse, harsh, and unattractive. The hooked-rug method, employed so effectively by the Beni Mgil and Beni Mtir of the Braber, is unknown. In fact, few rugs are made by the Riffians, who prefer to purchase them at Melilla and Fez.

386 All wool intended to be used in garments other than turbans and belts is thrown into a vat of dye before being carded or spun. The dyes used for coloring this raw wool are as 314 follows:

brown, made from boiled apple-leaves.
red, made from the bark of almond-tree roots, boiled.
yellow, made from pomegranate husks.
green, made from the water boiled out of *thaghigheshth* roots or cedar cones.
black, made from an imported mineral called *saj*.

386 These natural vegetable products are boiled in water, in which the wool is immersed and soaked. When it is taken out the colors are fast. Turbans and belts are dyed after they have been finished; when taken out of the dye they are rubbed with ashes, a process not considered necessary in the case of raw wool. Leather is dyed by exactly the same process as wool.

Tie-dyeing, called *thiafarsth*, is in some regions applied to cloth intended for use as turbans. The distribution is as follows: all Senhaja and Ghomara, and all tribes between them and Tangier.

CLOTHING

291 Riffian clothing was formerly made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven.
177 At present many garments are made of imported cotton cloth, and others of silk. In this compilation of garment-types most attention will be paid to the older elements of Riffian dress, the distribution of which alone is significant.

Masculine Attire. *ajjab*, the jellaba, is a woolen cloak with short sleeves and a hood.
[171] The jellaba is found all over North Africa and is not a distinctive Riffian garment, except as it differs in minor details from jellabas worn by other Berber or Arab groups. The Riffian jellaba is notably shorter than the average, reaching only to the knees, and its hood less broad than the hoods of the Ghomara and other western groups. The Riffian jellaba has definite shoulders; in the western type the transition from hood to sleeve is lacking. The Riffian jellaba is always either dark brown or black, but in other areas white, striped, or other colored types are worn. Furthermore, the Riffian jellaba can be readily distinguished by its embroidery, which will be treated separately. The jellaba is exclusivley a masculine garment. (See plates 25 and 27.)

er serham, the silham, is a cloak resembling the jellaba, but lacks sleeves and is generally much longer and more flowing. The silham is typical of the Braber and Shluh of the Atlas,
[171] and is likewise worn by the nomadic peoples south of the Atlas. In the Rif its use is limited to the nomadic tribes of the Garet. Until recently the silham was worn by both the Metalsa

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291 and Beni Bu Yahyi. At present the Metalsa have entirely discarded it, and the Beni Bu Yahyi wear it only on festive occasions. (See plate 25.)

thakhidusth. Three generations ago all Riffians wore a garment resembling a silham, but reaching only to the waist. This garment had a hood, lacked sleeves, and was heavily embroidered. It was worn over the jellaba and was considered highly decorative. The *thakhidusth* was woven on the woman's loom, as was the silham; jellaba cloth is always woven on the newer horisontal or man's loom.

thashbiar, a woolen shirt. The sleeves of this garment reach to mid-forearm, its collar opens on one side, and entrance for the head is permitted by a slit reaching along one side of the shoulder from the opening in the neck to the top of the sleeve. (See plate 25.) The collar is fastened by a looped string. This type of shirt is made of white wool, is very heavy, and is elaborately embroidered with colored silk. The lower edge, called *thimuar*, is ornamented by a row of heavy silken tassels called *thikhemesin*. This shirt is nearly as long as the jellaba, and is never tucked into the trousers. Over the *thashbiar* the Riffian men sometimes wear another shirt, called by the same name and identical in form, except that the neck of the over-shirt is cut low enough for easy insertion of the head. At present woolen shirts of this type are difficult to find, since manufactured cotton cloth has been adopted almost universally in place of the heavier woolen material. The style and design have, however, remained the same.

saarwair (Arabic *serwal*), trousers, entered the Rif at the same time as American cotton cloth, called *melikan*, about a generation ago. The trousers made from this cloth are very broad and baggy, and reach to a point just below the knee. The front and back are indistinguishable, except for a reënforcement patch at the rear, put on when the trousers are made. The tailor uses several yards of cloth and does not waste a scrap of material. Embroidery is confined to the narrow cuffs; the trousers are held up by a string like pyjamas. (See plate 25.) Another distinct type of trouser is found in the Ghomara, very short, open, and wide, reaching only to mid-thigh and exposing the lower part of the abdomen. The Riffians ridicule the Ghomarans when they see them thus attired. The Riffian type is found throughout the Rif and Senhaja Sghir except among the Nomads, Ktama, and Beni Hamid. The Ghomaran type appears in Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja.

The garments just described were, with the exception of headgear and footgear, the only ones worn by the Riffians before the advent of Abd el Krim. During the early stages of the [177] conflict with Spain, the Riffians, become in some cases affluent, went to Fez as tourists and brought home new and strange articles of clothing, notably the *bida'ia*, a woolen or felt vest of loud color, buttoning to the neck by means of many knotted tassels, and the *ferrajia*, a similar garment, reaching below the knees and equipped with broad, flowing sleeves. This latter garment resembles closely the familiar *kaftan*.

There are four principal types of masculine headgear, which will be described in the order of their antiquity.

1. *thaghareft*, a long narrow strip of stiff woolen cloth, with one end tapering and the other flat and broad. The flat, broad end is stuck up behind on the back of the head, and the tapering end tucked in when the turban has been wrapped around the head. This *thaghareft* forms a narrow turban which leaves the top of the head bare, and gives the appearance of a crown with an eminence behind. It is covered with heavy embroidery. The *thaghareft* is at present rare and difficult to obtain, partly because it has gone out of style,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CLOTHING 1

291

Left, jellaba with hood up. Right, typical Riffian trousers. Iberrushen, Gzennaya

Normal way of wearing jellaba. Ajdir

Silham worn over jellaba by man from Beni Znassen (uniform of Spanish *mokhazniye*)

Shirt with shoulder-slit and cord attachment at neck. Iberrushen, Gzennaya

[facing p. 80]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and partly because it was part of Abd el Krim's uniform and would therefore throw suspicion upon the wearer as a rebel sympathizer. It is still worn, curiously enough, by many of the native *mokhazniya*, gendarmes in the employ of the Spanish military authorities.

2. *furu*. This is a collection of strings of camel's-hair yarn, roughly parallel, and cross-tied just often enough to keep the whole combination together. The *furu* is twisted about the head as a turban just as is the *thagharefi*, leaving the top of the head similarly bare. The camel's hair comes from the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is dyed brown for ordinary wear and red for weddings. The *furu* came in after the *thagharefi*, and like it was worn by individuals here and there in every tribe, according to personal taste.

3. *thaamanth*, a yellow kerchief, silk embroidered, worn as a turban. This is of European manufacture and introduction.

4. *arisith*, a white cotton turban (see plate 25), likewise of European manufacture. In adopting the white turban the Riffians have reached the final step of imitating the Arabs. All the previous types of headgear mentioned were distinctively if not uniquely Riffian, but the *rezza*, as the Arabs call it, in no way distinguishes them from the rest of Moroccans. It has not yet attained universal distribution, being worn only by the least conservative elements in each tribe The fes, or *sheshia*, as it is called in Morocco, has not yet appeared except in the tribes of Galiya and Kebdana.

The Riffians in the Spanish zone will probably become Europeanised in dress before they submit completely to Arab notions of sartorial accoutrement, since the Riffians have fewer inhibitions against European civilization than against that of the Arabs. However, European dress among them is at present confined to the very few who have become officers in the Spanish army and to chauffeurs, mechanics, and the like in Melilla.

Riffians never appear in public without some form of belt and a scrip, or bag.

thaghugat is the generalized term for men's belts, which are always made of leather. The ordinary type is about two inches broad, undecorated, and fastened by a buckle in front. *thaghugat n tayish* is a special belt worn at weddings, much broader, covered with silken embroidery, and frequently embellished with tassels. *thaghugat er knenth* is a leather cartridge belt, with pockets for the clips of cartridges which fit into the ordinary Mauser, or Spanish army rifle. *thazabutch*, the scrip or leathern bag, does not hang from the belt, but is supported by a separate strap, called *iyarusith*, passing over the shoulder opposite to the side on which the bag is worn. The old style bags used in the days of the flintlock rifle were very large and contained many pockets, in which were kept powder, lead balls, emergency rations, knives, papers, and other small objects which among us would be carried in pockets. These bags were ornamented with silk embroidery and long leather fringes and tassels. (See plate 27.) The designs were both rectilinear and curvilinear, the curvilinear designs usually being floral. The bags were also decorated by great areas of inlaid colored leather, a technique which had died out but which is now being revived by Taghsuthi workmen in French shops at Rabat.

Accompanying the large bag of former times, a powder horn made from the horn of the aoudad, called the *ish n wulhath*, depended from the belt. The use of these horns has died out, owing to the advent of cartridges and the scarcity or possible extinction of the aoudad.

The bags and belts which typified the Rif of a hundred years ago were made exclusively at a village called Iyarusith in the tribe of Temsaman. The craft has long been extinct there, however, and now the belts and bags used in the Rif are made locally or are imported

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

from Taghzuth. The Taghzuthis, who were craftsmen only in powder and firearms, have within the last generation taken over leatherwork and set themselves up as the foremost manufacturers of belts and bags. The Taghzuthi work is characterised by the stitching of narrow strips of colored leather diagonally in rows so as to form lines. These lines are always straight, and the designs produced by them form isosceles triangles and zigzags. Until recently white and green were the only colors employed for this purpose, but since the Spanish occupation other colors have come in, and the work has become coarser. (See plate 27.) Besides the ordinary belts and bags, the Taghzuthis now make wrist-watch straps and handbags, the former for the Spanish army, and the latter to be sent to the ports of the French zone and thence to America, and, to a lesser extent, to England and France.

Other old centers of the manufacture of bags and belts were Beni Misawr, a sub-tribe of el Khmes of the Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mohammed, situated between Beni Zerwal and el Khmes. The design on these Jebalan bags is curvilinear rather than rectilinear, and is characterized by three circles side by side on the front. The effect is produced by the stitching of leather strips, as at Taghzuth, and not by silk embroidery, as at Iyarusith of Temsaman.

Feminine Attire. Like men's clothing, the garments of women were formerly made entirely of wool. *thawthat*, the principal garment, consists of a long rectangular piece of woolen cloth. The upper corner of one end is held under the left armpit, with the lower corner falling by the left knee. The cloth is then wrapped around the body, from front to back, until it reaches the front again. A belt holds it together at the waist, and it is caught up back and front by each shoulder and fastened there by wooden pins or brooches. (See plate 26.) These brooches, called *thisghanes*, are made by Jews in Melilla, in the Jebarna section of the Shawia of Gzennaya, at Bades, and in Beni Bu Frah. The *thisghanes* consist of a triangular piece of silver or pewter, to which is attached a loose ring of the same material; there is a gap in the ring, through which the point end of the pin, of one piece with the triangle, may pass. To pin cloth together with this device, the ring is turned until the gap coincides with the pin; then the pin is thrust through the material, and the ring pressed beneath it and turned, so that it must stay under the pin. This type of brooch is not confined to the Rif, but is commonly found throughout North Africa.

thaghugat, the belt, bears the same name as the men's belt, although it is an entirely different object. The old style woman's belt is made of many cords of heavy woolen yarn of different colors caught together, and is locally considered an object of great beauty. This belt is wound around the waist many times, and a long end is left dangling behind. Ghomaran women wear broad belts of native cloth. (See plate 26.) *thaghugat n malagha*, the belt of Malaga, is a long red woolen belt with fringes at the end, manufactured in Spain and sold to the Riffians at Melilla. It is fast supplanting the heavier belt of native manufacture.

Feminine headwear is of two principal varieties:

1. *ifiran n thimgharin*, or women's braids, consist of long black threads of woolen yarn, which are braided into the hair near where it ends and then downward until they nearly touch the ground. Three of these *ifiran* are braided into each braid, and since the women divide their hair into two braids six *ifiran* are worn by each woman. The hair, supplemented by these long strands of black wool, may be left trailing or else tied around and around the head like a turban.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

2. *thashumbushth*, a cotton headcloth, tied over the bunched-up hair, is a more recent type of headdress which came in with the introduction of American cotton cloth. (See plate 26.) This cloth is generally white, although red and yellow are occasionally used. In the region where tie-dyeing is practiced a headcloth decorated in this manner is worn.

The garments just described, the *thawthat* and *ifiran*, were formerly the only garments worn by women, in winter as well as in summer. On exceptionally cold days women might occasionally put on a second *thawthat*, bringing it up over the head like a shawl.

el haik is the Arab haik, or woman's shawl. There is no word for this in the Riffian dialects. It is simply a square piece of cloth worn as a shawl. (See plate 26.) It is to be found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all Eastern Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Branes. *hash*, the men's haik, has been given a Riffian name. This is a light thinly-woven woolen scarf worn around the neck and back of the head, and generally tucked into the neck of the jellaba in front. It is considered of Arab origin, and is distributed through Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Shawia and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya.

Since cotton cloth has come in, women's garments are losing their simple form and becoming tailored. Sleeved shirts, open at the neck and embroidered, are worn with wide trousers like those of the men and the red belts of Malaga. The result is a costume entirely different from that of a few years ago, but more decorative. This type of garment has not yet supplanted the *thawthat*, however, since the old style is still maintained by the older women and by many of the younger ones as well. As with other factors of material culture which depend on European introduction for their diffusion, the pattern of their dissemination seems to be sporadic and voluntary, and without cultural significance.

The garments of men are tailor-made by *tolba*, or students in the mosque, and women's garments must be made by the women themselves, although often men who have been students and have learned the art of embroidery make and embroider their wives' garments for them.

The silk with which embroidery is done is now largely European, and its dyes are not fast. Formerly all the silk used came from Tetwan, and often was not dyed until it arrived in the Rif; hence the dyes, the same as employed on wool and leather, were always fast. The Tetwan silk is still considered superior, but is increasingly difficult to obtain. There is no reason to believe that this native silk was not imported into the Rif in very early times, or since the inception of silk-worm cultivation in Morocco after the advent of the Arabs. El Bekri says that the Meknassa, a group just south of Gzennaya, paid tribute to the king of Nekor in cloth from Merv.[1]

The designs, the same as those formerly put on the bags and belts of Temsaman, are both curvilinear and rectilinear, the triangular or saw-toothed design predominating. A favorite design is a square capsule, decorated on the inside with sawteeth, and surmounted on the small ends with curved lines reminiscent of the ancient Libyan ostrich plumes. Designs found by Bates to be characteristic of the ancient Libyans are still recognizable in Riffian embroidery.[2] A favorite design employed on the hoods of jellabas and on the cuffs

[1] El Bekri, p. 167.

[2] Bates (*The Eastern Libyans*, Pl. III, and pp. 137, 139, 140) gives drawings of similar Libyan designs, mainly in the form of tattoo marks.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

294 531 is a cogged wheel with four spokes. On the hood this design is complete, but on the cuff only half of it is represented. This design is difficult to explain, owing to the utter absence of wheels for purposes of traction in the Rif, unless it be connected with a prehistoric sun-motif.

Riffian embroidery is characterized by another peculiar feature, the presence of short tufts of silk set at intervals on the borders of the designs. The tufts are much more prominent in the embroidery of the Maritime tribes of the western Rif and of the Ghomara than in that of the eastern or central Rif. (See plate 27.)

●291 **Footwear.** Footwear was formerly restricted to men, women going barefoot at all times. The harshness of this prohibition was somewhat mitigated by the fact that women seldom went out of doors in winter when snow was on the ground.

Masculine footwear is divided into sandals, buskins, stilts, and clogs, and these types have a most significant and interesting distribution. There are two kinds of sandals (*tbisira*), those made of *halfa* grass and those made of scrub palmetto.

The *halfa* sandals are constructed as follows: the maker braids a rope of *halfa*, about eight to ten feet long. He then ties this in a ring, and presses it to an oval representing the size and shape of the foot. The long piece, dangling from the knot, he draws between the sides of the oval so as to make a third strand in the middle, and runs what is left over and under these three pieces until the intervening spaces have all been filled in. Thus he has obtained a flat foot-shaped sole. By loosening strands, he inserts the remaining cord, still uncut, so as to form straps for attachment. The cord goes around the heel in back, and crosses itself over the toes, not going between any of the toes. The loose end is cut to a convenient length, and when the sandals have been put on and the cord tightened, it is tied at the cross in the front-straps. This makes an extremely convenient and durable sandal, easily put on and taken off, and one that will not slip on rocks or come off unexpectedly. (See plate 28.)

The palmetto sandals are made as follows: the maker braids a long cord of palmetto leaves, and coils these into a flat oval; then with a thinner cord of the same material and a wooden needle he sews the sole together from side to side; the resultant sole is the same type as that of the rope sandals worn by the Basques and by many Spaniards. This sole is, of course, but one braid in thickness, and is not nearly so durable as that of the *halfa* sandal.

The palmetto sandal differs from the *halfa* type not only in the construction of its sole but also in its attachment to the foot. In the palmetto type the cord left over from the sole is cut free, knotted at one end, and then run through the sole from beneath at a point between the great and second toes. From here it is looped through one side of the sole, carried around so as to form a heel-strap, looped through the other side, and attached to itself at a point two inches from where it emerges from the sole, between the toes. This attachment may be spliced in and permanent, or tied on and temporary, permitting later adjustment. The straps on the *halfa* sandal are always tied so that they may be adjusted later. (See plate 28.)

The toe-strap sandal is much easier to slip on and off than the cross-strap type, but is not nearly so durable. The sole wears out much more quickly than that of the cross-strap type, and the toe-strap is likely to pull through the sole. Thorns and other sharp objects pierce the toe-strap type, but seldom penetrate the cross-strap variety.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CLOTHING 2

Ghomaran woman with haik and leggings

Ghomaran girls, wearing haiks and broad cloth belts

291
142
301

Taghsuthi woman wearing *thouthat* with brooches

Taghsuthi woman with *thouthat*, showing attachment

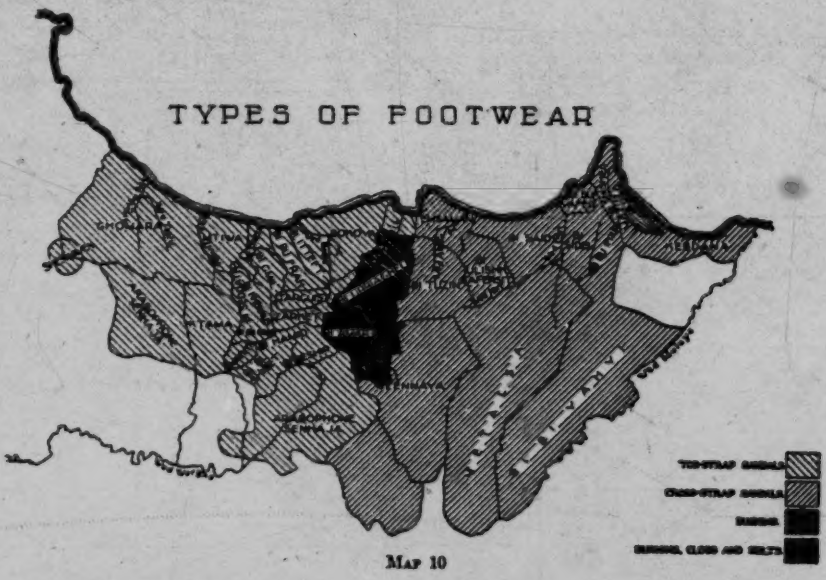
[facing p. 84]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291

Both these types are so easily made by everyone in the regions in which they are found that their life is of small moment. In other regions, however, where they must be purchased, they are valued more, hence the cross-strap variety alone is bought.

The *halfa* sandal is distributed through Branes, Beni Mohammed, Khebaba, Shawia, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Beni Bu Yahyi Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, and Temsaman. The palmetto sandal is found in Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel, Bokoya, Beni Hadifa, all the Western Maritime tribes, Targuist, Beni Mesduy, all the Senhaja but Branes, and all Ghomara.



MAP 10

airkasen are leather buskins. In winter the mountaineers of the central Rif tie their feet up in cloths and step into square pieces of raw cowhide or wild-boar hide, with the hair out. These squares of hide are then drawn up about the toes and ankles and sewn into place with thongs. As the leather hardens the holes gape open permanently, so that the *airkasen* can be taken on and off without inconvenience. This type of footwear is found among the Braber and Shluh; among the Glawa tribe in the Atlas it has developed into a variety of moccasin. This further development is not, however, found in the Rif. The Riffian buskin is more nearly comparable to the proto-moccasins found in the Basket-maker remains in the American Southwest,[1] and represents the first step toward the manufacture of a moccasin. The North Albanian *opinga* is practically the same thing. The *airkasen* are worn in

[1] Judging from observation of specimens in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, collected by Noel Morss.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291 Beni Amart, all Beni Urriaghel but Ajdir, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Inhanahan, Iherrassen, and Bured.

Of these types of footwear tradition has it that the crude *airkasen* were the earliest and were formerly worn over a much wider area than at present;[1] and that sandals, of both palmetto and *halfa*, were introductions from outside.

In recent times Arab slippers with turn-under heels, called by the Riffians *iherkusen*, have become somewhat popular in the Rif. They are an inferior type of footwear, owing to the difficulty of keeping them on without shuffling. Of imported shoes the only type which has become at all popular is the American sneaker, or tennis-shoe, which has found many users, especially in the east around Melilla and in the region of Ajdir. French army brogans are sometimes worn by men in military service, but are generally cut away at the heels so that they can be taken off without trouble when entering a house.

Beside these normal types of footwear, and their modern rivals, one finds two specialized types used only in rainy weather:

ikabkaben, clogs, are made from single pieces of wood, flat, shaped to the foot, and carved so as to have two cross-props beneath, running at right angles to the axis of the foot, one beneath the ball of the foot and the other under the heel. These clogs are attached with straps made of dried bull's penis, after the same style as the attachment of the western or palmetto type of sandal. When used by women this attachment is thought unseemly, and a piece of cowhide is nailed across the front to serve as a toe.

mawus, stilts, are made of single pieces of wood, chosen so that a fork low down on the shaft will serve as a foot rest. They are worn in wet weather and in snow, and are used as playthings by the children in all weather. The stilts and clogs have an identical distribution: Beni Amart, Mountain Urriaghel, Temjunt, Ikhuanen, Iherrushen, and Inhanahan.

In addition to these types of footwear, a peculiar form of legwear, found in the west, may be mentioned. The women of the region of Sheshawen and of the Ghomara wear leather leggings made of stiff hide, tied around the calves and ankles with straps. (See plate 26.) These are worn to protect the legs from the brush, for women spend a great deal of time on the mountains cutting brush for charcoal, a task which in the Rif properly belongs to men. Curiously enough, women who wear these go barefoot. These leggings are found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama (formerly Taghsuth).

TATTOOING

304 582 Tattooing in the Rif is practiced upon women as a prerequisite for marriage, and, less frequently, for the same purpose upon men. When a girl is sure that she is to be married, that is, when all arrangements for her wedding have been made, her family calls in an old woman of the same *awar*, or sociological family, who is proficient in the art; if there is no such old woman available one is called in from outside. If the artist is related to the victim no fee is paid, otherwise a small sum is given her by the girl's parents.

304 The old woman collects lamp-black from the bottoms of cooking pots, and mixes this with juice squeezed from the leaves of broad-beans. She sets to work with a knife and needle, working both by pricking and incising the skin. She works fairly rapidly so that the wounds will all be healed on the final day of the wedding. It is considered shameful for

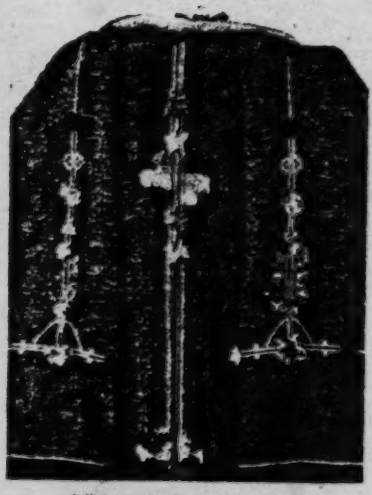
[1] Marmol (chap. 79) says that the Beni Bu Shibet wore these buskins.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CLOTHING 3

291
293
531

Taghzuthi scrip



Jellaba embroidery, Temsaman

Embroidery on woman's shirt.
Beni Urriaghel

Old Riffian scrip

[facing p. 88]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 28

FOOTWEAR

291

Cross-strap sandal, made of *halfa*. Galiya

Toe-strap sandal, normally made of palmetto fiber. (This particular specimen was made of American marsh-grass by a Riffian)

[facing p. 92]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 872 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 774 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 574 431 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[21a 789] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolba*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

777 356 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 ●291 789 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion. If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 576 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

628 quered group eventually decided to leave the country; almost no one was left but old men, women and children, who sought refuge in the sacred mountain of Zarhūn (where Mūlāy Idrīs, the first Sultan of Morocco, is buried), after having sold all their property in order to try to hire a man who would avenge their dead. The vengeance plan was carefully worked out, and the *'adūl* made the following stipulations: 10.000 riyāls if the bullet killed an enemy; 5.000 if it wounded one; and 2.500 if it missed its mark. In any event, the hired killer was usually found the next day with a bullet through his own head, due as often as not to the careful marksmanship of a small boy hidden behind a lentiscus bush.

To give further evidence of lengths which the people of Aith Wuryāghil used to go to put their enemies out of the way, I was told by one of my informants that someone had once insulted his father. The father, an *amghār* or councillor of considerable repute in his own village (Aith Mūsā u 'Amar of Aith 'Alī), would not brook the insult, and promised his *akhammās* a new *jillāb* (11) and a considerable sum of money if he disposed of the insulter. The *akhammās* went out on his master's errand, but seems to have had a change of heart somewhere during his journey, for he decided that he personally had no quarrel with the other party. Thus there was no reason to kill him. But, with the prospect of a fat reward in his pocket, he

291 (11) (Riffian **ajdab**): a woolen cloak with sleeves and hood worn by men. In the days before Abd al-Karim it was made of brown home-spun and reached the knees only; today ankle-length jillabs are much more in vogue, and the younger generation prefers them made of European cloth. The old woolen turban, **thaghrafth**, is also no longer worn, and has been replaced by a white cotton turban among the older men; the younger ones, particularly those who have traveled outside the Rif, prefer the tarbush. The trousers have become baggier in recent years as well; the only item of distinctly Riffian clothing which remains is the toe-strap sandal of esparto grass. It is interesting to note that the old short and decorated Riffian jillaba can only be seen today in the Ghumara.

Women's clothing on the other hand, is far more conservative. The women of Aith Wuryaghil wear a silken band around the head, tied in the back, over which is placed a cotton shawl; a long cotton or silk shirt (if cotton, it is white; if silk, red or yellow) coming to the knees, with blue trousers underneath, coming to halfway between knees and feet; and a heavy red woolen belt. Most women go barefoot, but some, like many of the men, have adopted Spanish sneakers (alpargatas). Both sexes wear babouches (Riffian **tharkusen**, Arabic **blaghi**) only on festival occasions, provided they are rich enough to afford them.

000 sought to remedy them.

671 This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences
671 from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the
181 Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization,
[177] how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society.

181 In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from
369 the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means
554 of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes,
177 in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthen-
369 ing his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers
554 himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although
291 his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

369 The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders
829 on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

369 Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

585 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing
571 system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future
431 obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding
182 and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations.
[426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the
574 seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of
[431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors
585 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to
574 be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's
152 family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's
[292] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women
[291] of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [177] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

RJ
291
369

SJR
291
369

Fig. 3. Clothing: *a*, young man of the Rif; *b*, elderly man of Jbala; *c*, boy's costume; *d*, townsman; *e*, woman of Jbala; *f*, woman of Sanhaja as-Srair; *g*, woman of the Rif; *h*, *i*, urban women.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman. Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[12] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[13] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[12] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[13] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 326. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *e*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

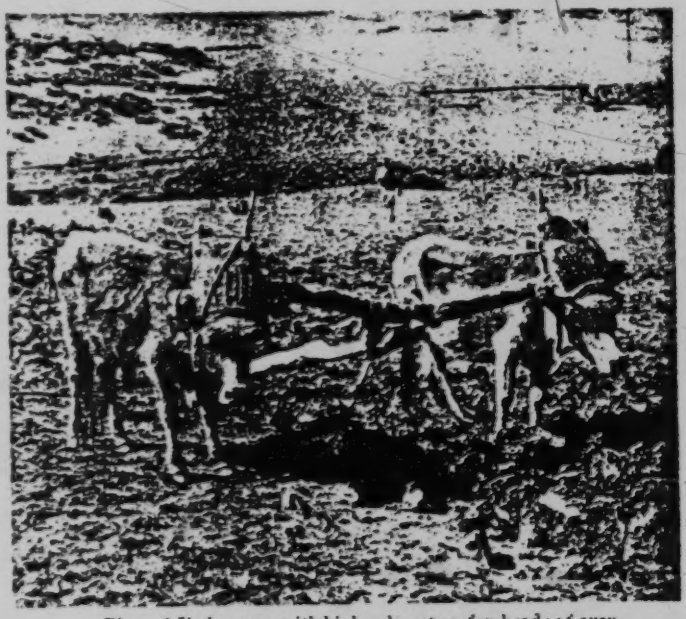
291 Rifian women present a different picture (fig. 3, *g*). They never wear leggings
[177] and are almost always barefoot. Sneakers may be worn on special occasions, but one never sees slippers. In recent years the Rifian markets have been flooded with inexpensive rubber shoes, usually green in color, which some of the younger women have adopted.

[531] Brilliant colors characterize the Rifian woman's outer robe, which is usually of red or yellow silk, worn over an inner robe of white cotton. Rifian women have recently begun to wear baggy trousers, usually blue. Unmarried girls wear a wide cotton headband with brightly colored embroidery, which is partly covered by
[177] a head towel. Married women in the mountains of Aith Tuzin and Aith Wariyaghar, and both married and single women in Sanhaja as-Srair, wear strands of black yarn around the crown of the head (fig. 3, *f*). One of the distinctive features of Rifian dress is a red woolen belt introduced about a generation ago
[171] from Melilla. It is worn by most Rifian women, but has not been adopted in
[184] Ghmara or Sanhaja as-Srair. In summer many Rifian women wear straw hats, but they do not approximate the huge size of the Jbalan "sombreros."

In general, there is a distinct difference in the pattern of women's dress in the
[184] Rif and in the western provinces. The brilliant yellow and red robes of the Rifian
[171] women are in striking contrast to the somber garments of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. These differences coincide with other cultural frontiers. The human geography of northern Morocco is a complicated pattern of areal succession and overlap; yet many lines coincide, and it is possible to speak of "culture areas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

J
407
492



a. Plow of Jbalan type with high yoke set on foreheads of oxen.

R
291
407
492

b. Mixed team in Garet.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and partly because it was part of Abd el Krim's uniform and would therefore throw suspicion upon the wearer as a rebel sympathizer. It is still worn, curiously enough, by many of the native *mokhazniya*, gendarmes in the employ of the Spanish military authorities.

2. *furu*. This is a collection of strings of camel's-hair yarn, roughly parallel, and crosstied just often enough to keep the whole combination together. The *furu* is twisted about the head as a turban just as is the *thaghareft*, leaving the top of the head similarly bare. The camel's hair comes from the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is dyed brown for ordinary wear and red for weddings. The *furu* came in after the *thaghareft*, and like it was worn by individuals here and there in every tribe, according to personal taste.

3. *thaamanth*, a yellow kerchief, silk embroidered, worn as a turban. This is of European manufacture and introduction.

4. *arizith*, a white cotton turban (see plate 25), likewise of European manufacture. In adopting the white turban the Riffians have reached the final step of imitating the Arabs. All the previous types of headgear mentioned were distinctively if not uniquely Riffian, but the *rezza*, as the Arabs call it, in no way distinguishes them from the rest of Moroccans. It has not yet attained universal distribution, being worn only by the least conservative elements in each tribe. The fes, or *sheshia*, as it is called in Morocco, has not yet appeared except in the tribes of Galiya and Kebdana.

The Riffians in the Spanish zone will probably become Europeanised in dress before they submit completely to Arab notions of sartorial accoutrement, since the Riffians have fewer inhibitions against European civilisation than against that of the Arabs. However, European dress among them is at present confined to the very few who have become officers in the Spanish army and to chauffeurs, mechanics, and the like in Melilla.

Riffians never appear in public without some form of belt and a scrip, or bag.

thaghuqat is the generalized term for men's belts, which are always made of leather. The ordinary type is about two inches broad, undecorated, and fastened by a buckle in front. *thaghuqat n tayish* is a special belt worn at weddings, much broader, covered with silken embroidery, and frequently embellished with tassels. *thaghuqat er knenth* is a leather cartridge belt, with pockets for the clips of cartridges which fit into the ordinary Mauser, or Spanish army rifle. *thazabutch*, the scrip or leathern bag, does not hang from the belt, but is supported by a separate strap, called *iyarusith*, passing over the shoulder opposite to the side on which the bag is worn. The old style bags used in the days of the flintlock rifle were very large and contained many pockets, in which were kept powder, lead balls, emergency rations, knives, papers, and other small objects which among us would be carried in pockets. These bags were ornamented with silk embroidery and long leather fringes and tassels. (See plate 27.) The designs were both rectilinear and curvilinear, the curvilinear designs usually being floral. The bags were also decorated by great areas of inlaid colored leather, a technique which had died out but which is now being revived by Taghzuthi workmen in French shops at Rabat.

Accompanying the large bag of former times, a powder horn made from the horn of the aoudad, called the *ish n wuthath*, depended from the belt. The use of these horns has died out, owing to the advent of cartridges and the scarcity or possible extinction of the aoudad.

The bags and belts which typified the Rif of a hundred years ago were made exclusively at a village called Iyarusith in the tribe of Temsaman. The craft has long been extinct there, however, and now the belts and bags used in the Rif are made locally or are imported

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust) [822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must [585] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, [292] which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

[440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a 716 silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family 754 who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait 301 Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with 784 such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

625 [27] Among the Ait Waryager a fox is styled si Ali, as though it were a scribe, other persons of that name being called 'Allus. They say that the fox was once a scribe, which is indicated by its Arabic name t a'leb—a confusion between t a'leb and taleb.

777 787 192 [30] There are auspicious words as well as inauspicious ones. It is a good omen for a person who sets out on a journey in the morning to hear the words mbarak, "blessed", or mes'ud, "lucky"; and if persons who are intent on robbery at night hear either of these words, which are also used as names for people, cried out, they are encouraged by it to carry out their evil intentions (Dukkala). The Ait Waryager regard it as good fal for one who starts on a journey in the morning to hear the names 'Absram ('Abdsslam) or Moh (Muhammed), but as bad fal to hear 'Esa or Musa. In other cases omens are drawn from words or statements which are by themselves neither lucky nor unlucky, but may become good or bad fal in accordance with the circumstances in which they are heard. If a person is speaking of something which he intends to do, and a stranger is at the same moment heard saying something which might be applied to the object of the conversation, then that which is said is regarded as fal. For example, if he says that he is going to travel or to marry, and somebody is heard saying "No", he should refrain from doing it (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [32] If a person starts on a journey or goes to the market and finds that he has left something behind or is called back, he should not turn back, or if he does he should not make another start on that day (Shawia, Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager) or he should eat a little flour before he sets out afresh (At Ubahti); otherwise he will have some misfortune. Hence if some one at home notices the thing left behind he should not ask the other one to return, but call out to make him stop and then take the thing to him.

To do something which is contrary to custom, and therefore improper, is followed by misfortune and, as we have noticed above, is often associated with the activity of [33] jnun or the devil. It is bad fal to light a candle or a lamp in the daytime (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

292 84 It is likewise bad to wear a garment with the inside out—such a thing is only done by Jews. Of him who does it people say that "his religion is reversed" (Ait Waryager).

It is bad to walk with one slipper only (Igliwa); it is said that he who does so is like the devil, who has only one foot (Andjra), or like a one-eyed person (Ait Waryager).

585 571 431 182 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 574 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to 585 574 152 be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's [292] [291] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and partly because it was part of Abd el Krim's uniform and would therefore throw suspicion upon the wearer as a rebel sympathizer. It is still worn, curiously enough, by many of the native *mokhaznîyo*, gendarmes in the employ of the Spanish military authorities.

2. *furu*. This is a collection of strings of camel's-hair yarn, roughly parallel, and crosstied just often enough to keep the whole combination together. The *furu* is twisted about the head as a turban just as is the *thaghareft*, leaving the top of the head similarly bare. The camel's hair comes from the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is dyed brown for ordinary wear and red for weddings. The *furu* came in after the *thaghareft*, and like it was worn by individuals here and there in every tribe, according to personal taste.

3. *thaamanth*, a yellow kerchief, silk embroidered, worn as a turban. This is of European manufacture and introduction.

4. *arizith*, a white cotton turban (see plate 25), likewise of European manufacture. In adopting the white turban the Riffians have reached the final step of imitating the Arabs. All the previous types of headgear mentioned were distinctively if not uniquely Riffian, but the *rezza*, as the Arabs call it, in no way distinguishes them from the rest of Moroccans. It has not yet attained universal distribution, being worn only by the least conservative elements in each tribe. The fez, or *sheshia*, as it is called in Morocco, has not yet appeared except in the tribes of Galiya and Kebdana.

The Riffians in the Spanish zone will probably become Europeanized in dress before they submit completely to Arab notions of sartorial accoutrement, since the Riffians have fewer inhibitions against European civilization than against that of the Arabs. However, European dress among them is at present confined to the very few who have become officers in the Spanish army and to chauffeurs, mechanics, and the like in Melilla.

Riffians never appear in public without some form of belt and a scrip, or bag.

thaghugat is the generalized term for men's belts, which are always made of leather. The ordinary type is about two inches broad, undecorated, and fastened by a buckle in front. *thaghugat n tayish* is a special belt worn at weddings, much broader, covered with silken embroidery, and frequently embellished with tassels. *thaghugat er knenth* is a leather cartridge belt, with pockets for the clips of cartridges which fit into the ordinary Mauser, or Spanish army rifle. *thasabutch*, the scrip or leathern bag, does not hang from the belt, but is supported by a separate strap, called *iyarusith*, passing over the shoulder opposite to the side on which the bag is worn. The old style bags used in the days of the flintlock rifle were very large and contained many pockets, in which were kept powder, lead balls, emergency rations, knives, papers, and other small objects which among us would be carried in pockets. These bags were ornamented with silk embroidery and long leather fringes and tassels. (See plate 27.) The designs were both rectilinear and curvilinear, the curvilinear designs usually being floral. The bags were also decorated by great areas of inlaid colored leather, a technique which had died out but which is now being revived by Taghsuthi workmen in French shops at Rabat.

Accompanying the large bag of former times, a powder horn made from the horn of the aoudad, called the *ish n wulhath*, depended from the belt. The use of these horns has died out, owing to the advent of cartridges and the scarcity or possible extinction of the aoudad.

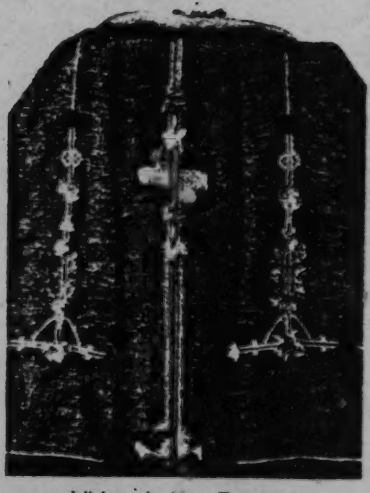
The bags and belts which typified the Rif of a hundred years ago were made exclusively at a village called Iyarusith in the tribe of Temsaman. The craft has long been extinct there, however, and now the belts and bags used in the Rif are made locally or are imported

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

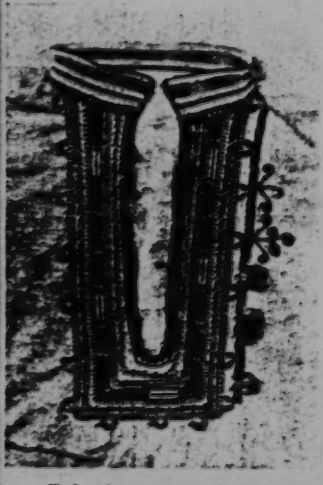
CLOTHING 3

291
293
531

Taghzuthi serip



Jellaba embroidery, Temsaman



Embroidery on woman's shirt.
Beni Urriaghel

Old Riffian serip

[facing p. 88]

000 al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations 671 about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber 114 sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berberes et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

177 5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of 67 any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, 179 why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

[554] 6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, [293] in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber- [114] speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

181 7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart 113 and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

000 8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also con- [596] ceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral [193] root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

1: Coon . E-5 . (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

2. *thashumbushth*, a cotton headcloth, tied over the bunched-up hair, is a more recent type of headdress which came in with the introduction of American cotton cloth. (See plate 26.) This cloth is generally white, although red and yellow are occasionally used. In the region where tie-dyeing is practiced a headcloth decorated in this manner is worn. 291

The garments just described, the *thawthat* and *ifiran*, were formerly the only garments worn by women, in winter as well as in summer. On exceptionally cold days women might occasionally put on a second *thawthat*, bringing it up over the head like a shawl.

el haik is the Arab haik, or woman's shawl. There is no word for this in the Riffian dialects. It is simply a square piece of cloth worn as a shawl. (See plate 26.) It is to be found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all Eastern Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Branes. *hash*, the men's haik, has been given a Riffian name. This is a light thinly-woven woolen scarf worn around the neck and back of the head, and generally tucked into the neck of the jellaba in front. It is considered of Arab origin, and is distributed through Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Shawia and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya.

Since cotton cloth has come in, women's garments are losing their simple form and becoming tailored. Sleeved shirts, open at the neck and embroidered, are worn with wide trousers like those of the men and the red belts of Malaga. The result is a costume entirely different from that of a few years ago, but more decorative. This type of garment has not yet supplanted the *thawthat*, however, since the old style is still maintained by the older women and by many of the younger ones as well. As with other factors of material culture which depend on European introduction for their diffusion, the pattern of their dissemination seems to be sporadic and voluntary, and without cultural significance. 177 291

The garments of men are tailor-made by *tolba*, or students in the mosque, and women's garments must be made by the women themselves, although often men who have been students and have learned the art of embroidery make and embroider their wives' garments for them. 294

The silk with which embroidery is done is now largely European, and its dyes are not fast. Formerly all the silk used came from Tetwan, and often was not dyed until it arrived in the Rif; hence the dyes, the same as employed on wool and leather, were always fast. The Tetwan silk is still considered superior, but is increasingly difficult to obtain. There is no reason to believe that this native silk was not imported into the Rif in very early times, or since the inception of silk-worm cultivation in Morocco after the advent of the Arabs. El Bekri says that the Meknassa, a group just south of Gzennaya, paid tribute to the king of Nekor in cloth from Merv.[1] 294 439

The designs, the same as those formerly put on the bags and belts of Temsaman, are both curvilinear and rectilinear, the triangular or saw-toothed design predominating. A favorite design is a square capsule, decorated on the inside with sawteeth, and surmounted on the small ends with curved lines reminiscent of the ancient Libyan ostrich plumes. Designs found by Bates to be characteristic of the ancient Libyans are still recognizable in Riffian embroidery.[2] A favorite design employed on the hoods of jellabas and on the cuffs 294 531

[1] El Bekri, p. 167.

[2] Bates (*The Eastern Libyans*, Pl. III, and pp. 137, 139, 140) gives drawings of similar Libyan designs, mainly in the form of tattoo marks.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

294 531 is a cogged wheel with four spokes. On the hood this design is complete, but on the cuff only half of it is represented. This design is difficult to explain, owing to the utter absence of wheels for purposes of traction in the Rif, unless it be connected with a prehistoric sun-motif.

Riffian embroidery is characterised by another peculiar feature, the presence of short tufts of silk set at intervals on the borders of the designs. The tufts are much more prominent in the embroidery of the Maritime tribes of the western Rif and of the Ghomara than in that of the eastern or central Rif. (See plate 27.)

291 **Footwear.** Footwear was formerly restricted to men, women going barefoot at all times. The harshness of this prohibition was somewhat mitigated by the fact that women seldom went out of doors in winter when snow was on the ground.

Masculine footwear is divided into sandals, buskins, stilts, and clogs, and these types have a most significant and interesting distribution. There are two kinds of sandals (*tbisira*), those made of *halfa* grass and those made of scrub palmetto.

The *halfa* sandals are constructed as follows: the maker braids a rope of *halfa*, about eight to ten feet long. He then ties this in a ring, and presses it to an oval representing the size and shape of the foot. The long piece, dangling from the knot, he draws between the sides of the oval so as to make a third strand in the middle, and runs what is left over and under these three pieces until the intervening spaces have all been filled in. Thus he has obtained a flat foot-shaped sole. By loosening strands, he inserts the remaining cord, still uncut, so as to form straps for attachment. The cord goes around the heel in back, and crosses itself over the toes, not going between any of the toes. The loose end is cut to a convenient length, and when the sandals have been put on and the cord tightened, it is tied at the cross in the front-straps. This makes an extremely convenient and durable sandal, easily put on and taken off, and one that will not slip on rocks or come off unexpectedly. (See plate 28.)

The palmetto sandals are made as follows: the maker braids a long cord of palmetto leaves, and coils these into a flat oval; then with a thinner cord of the same material and a wooden needle he sews the sole together from side to side; the resultant sole is the same type as that of the rope sandals worn by the Basques and by many Spaniards. This sole is, of course, but one braid in thickness, and is not nearly so durable as that of the *halfa* sandal.

The palmetto sandal differs from the *halfa* type not only in the construction of its sole but also in its attachment to the foot. In the palmetto type the cord left over from the sole is cut free, knotted at one end, and then run through the sole from beneath at a point between the great and second toes. From here it is looped through one side of the sole, carried around so as to form a heel-strap, looped through the other side, and attached to itself at a point two inches from where it emerges from the sole, between the toes. This attachment may be spliced in and permanent, or tied on and temporary, permitting later adjustment. The straps on the *halfa* sandal are always tied so that they may be adjusted later. (See plate 28.)

The toe-strap sandal is much easier to slip on and off than the cross-strap type, but is not nearly so durable. The sole wears out much more quickly than that of the cross-strap type, and the toe-strap is likely to pull through the sole. Thorns and other sharp objects pierce the toe-strap type, but seldom penetrate the cross-strap variety.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, [241] the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[198] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [294] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the [286] last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

784 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a per-
272 son receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be
296 squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the
262 prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-
432 speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by sell-
689 ing bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

778 [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but
784 also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the
[783] fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is
821 shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

from Taghzuth. The Taghzuthis, who were craftsmen only in powder and firearms, have within the last generation taken over leatherwork and set themselves up as the foremost manufacturers of belts and bags. The Taghzuthi work is characterized by the stitching of narrow strips of colored leather diagonally in rows so as to form lines. These lines are always straight, and the designs produced by them form isosceles triangles and zigzags. Until recently white and green were the only colors employed for this purpose, but since the Spanish occupation other colors have come in, and the work has become coarser. (See plate 27.) Besides the ordinary belts and bags, the Taghzuthis now make wrist-watch straps and handbags, the former for the Spanish army, and the latter to be sent to the ports of the French zone and thence to America, and, to a lesser extent, to England and France.

Other old centers of the manufacture of bags and belts were Beni Misawr, a sub-tribe of el Khmes of the Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mohammed, situated between Beni Zerwal and el Khmes. The design on these Jebalan bags is curvilinear rather than rectilinear, and is characterized by three circles side by side on the front. The effect is produced by the stitching of leather strips, as at Taghzuth, and not by silk embroidery, as at Iyarusith of Temsaman.

Feminine Attire. Like men's clothing, the garments of women were formerly made entirely of wool. *thawthat*, the principal garment, consists of a long rectangular piece of woolen cloth. The upper corner of one end is held under the left armpit, with the lower corner falling by the left knee. The cloth is then wrapped around the body, from front to back, until it reaches the front again. A belt holds it together at the waist, and it is caught up back and front by each shoulder and fastened there by wooden pins or brooches. (See plate 26.) These brooches, called *thisghanes*, are made by Jews in Melilla, in the Jebarna section of the Shawia of Gsennaya, at Bades, and in Beni Bu Frah. The *thisghanes* consist of a triangular piece of silver or pewter, to which is attached a loose ring of the same material; there is a gap in the ring, through which the point end of the pin, of one piece with the triangle, may pass. To pin cloth together with this device, the ring is turned until the gap coincides with the pin; then the pin is thrust through the material, and the ring pressed beneath it and turned, so that it must stay under the pin. This type of brooch is not confined to the Rif, but is commonly found throughout North Africa.

thaghugat, the belt, bears the same name as the men's belt, although it is an entirely different object. The old style woman's belt is made of many cords of heavy woolen yarn of different colors caught together, and is locally considered an object of great beauty. This belt is wound around the waist many times, and a long end is left dangling behind. Ghomaran women wear broad belts of native cloth. (See plate 26.) *thaghugat n malagha*, the belt of Malaga, is a long red woolen belt with fringes at the end, manufactured in Spain and sold to the Riffians at Melilla. It is fast supplanting the heavier belt of native manufacture.

Feminine headwear is of two principal varieties:

1. *ifiran n thimgharin*, or women's braids, consist of long black threads of woolen yarn, which are braided into the hair near where it ends and then downward until they nearly touch the ground. Three of these *ifiran* are braided into each braid, and since the women divide their hair into two braids six *ifiran* are worn by each woman. The hair, supplemented by these long strands of black wool, may be left trailing or else tied around and around the head like a turban.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CLOTHING 2

Ghomaran woman with haik and leggings

Ghomaran girls, wearing haiks and broad cloth belts

291
142
301

Taghsuthi woman wearing *thourthat* with brooches

Taghsuthi woman with *thourthat*, showing attachment

[facing p. 84]

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust) [822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must [585] [292] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

776 754 301 789 [440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
571 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by
577 both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
556 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
●30 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.
454 Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter.
[422] Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 *Type 4.* This is called Zenatan, and is characteristic of the Beni Znassen. In the Rif it is employed in Kebdana and Beni Bu Yafer. It has likewise been used in Targuist in recent years as a partial imitation of the central Riffian technique. In Targuist its identity with the Zenatan type is purely a coincidence.

Type 5. The single cross on the left side of the nose is employed by men in the same area as that covered by the occurrence of Type 3 among women, but extends its distribution farther than the corresponding female decoration. It is found in Khebaba and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya, sometimes in Shawia of the same tribe, in Mazuza, Ait Shisher, and Kebdana. Throughout this area it is optional, except in Khebaba, where all the men use it.

Type 6. This is the modern rendering of Type 2, the modification being in the use of a cross instead of a hatched line on the forehead. Type 6 has come in during the present generation, totally displacing its predecessor, but losing ground in Galiya, where it is gradually being replaced by Type 3.

Where the tattooing on the face is of Type 1, 3, or 4, the rest of the body remains without permanent decoration; but where the facial tattooing is of Type 2 or 6, that is of central Riffian pattern, the body is likewise tattooed. Number 7 shows the design on the abdomen, thorax, and neck, number 8 on the legs, — a stripe up each side and a cross over the ankle, — and number 9 on the forearm. As a variant of number 9, and considered very stylish, are forked antennae coming off the corners of both the distal and proximal terminal bars. The tattooing on the neck reaches up to the chin, where it joins with the tattooing of the face in one continuous design reaching from the center of the lower lip almost to the navel. Care is taken in tattooing the upper of the two hatched single lines just below the breasts not to have the design encroach upon the actual skin of the breasts.

USE OF HENNA

● 302 Henna, that universal cosmetic stain, is used throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, as well as by all other peoples of Morocco. On each day of the wedding feast, the bride thrusts both hands and both feet up to the wrists and ankles into a bowl of stewed henna leaves. The groom similarly stains his hands, but not his feet. The Riffians make no geometric lines with this henna, as do the Arabs and Atlas Jews, but simply daub it on until the whole extremity is colored a consistent reddish-brown.

It is said that in the Rif henna was not used in former times, but that apple leaves and green walnut shells were employed in place of the henna leaves, which even today are entirely imported, the chief source of supply being the tribe of Dukkala, on the Atlantic seaboard of French Morocco.

[[71]] Although henna is today distributed throughout North Africa, the presence of this definite tradition would indicate that its diffusion into the Rif took place in fairly recent times, and that in the remoter sections its use was preceded by an imitative employment of other materials.

626 Another use of henna distinct from all ideas of beautification is as follows: when a man has shown himself cowardly in war, the women of the village seize him, rip off his shirt, and smear his back with the stain.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

USE OF KOHL

302
585

Kohl, called *thasutch*, is produced locally, and not imported. Pedlars and women find it in lumps in deposits. It is used in powdered form by women to brighten their eyes and darken the lids and lashes. Although the women apply it to their eyes whenever they wish to look particularly attractive, its use is, nevertheless, chiefly confined to and associated with weddings. Before the bride is brought to her husband's house she is treated to an application of kohl. Kohl is used by women, especially in weddings, in all tribes and regions under consideration with the following exceptions: Mountain Urriaghel, Ikhuanen except Tainest, Iherrushen except Telmest, Temjunt, and Beni Amart.

In certain regions kohl is likewise applied to the eyes of the groom, on the occasion of the final night of his wedding. This is done in the Senhaja, the Ghomara, Targuist, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Shawia.

Besides henna and kohl, rouge made of local products is used by women dancing at weddings. It is applied to the lips.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

use them when in the presence of Arabs, lest the purpose of these names be misunderstood, for the Arabs would think that a man bearing his mother's name was illegitimate, and would ridicule him. For this reason the use of matronyms will probably soon die out.

Besides regular names, certain titles are in use. *Si* is prefixed to a man's name if he be a preceptor, schoolmaster, or clerk, or even a student proficient in reading and writing. *Sidi* is applied only to a reputed descendant of the prophet. The equivalent title *Mulai* is not known in the Rif, but is in use in the Senhaja Sghir, especially in Taghzuth, where a large part of the population, justly or otherwise, claims Sherifian blood.

THE FIRST HAIRCUT

The next event of importance in the life of the child is its first haircut. In the central tribes and the Senhaja it occurs after the expiration of a year; among the others, after six months. The former is the case in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Gzennaya, and all the Senhaja.

On the day decided on for the first haircut, the father takes a goat to the cantonal mosque and gives it to the students, who sacrifice and eat it. One of the students returns with the father and shaves the child's head, leaving a single lock standing out on the occiput. With some of the hair he makes a necklace, which is tied around the child's neck; the rest he takes out with him and buries secretly. After this the father and mother and immediate family, generally the entire *vein*, hold a small feast.

The scalp lock which the student has left is kept uncut until the death of the individual, and after that event is used by the students washing the body as a convenient handle wherewith to turn the corpse without touching the flesh. The origin of the Berber scalp lock is lost in antiquity, since it is one of the earliest features of Berber culture to be recorded in history.[1]

The position of the lock on the occiput differs among the tribes, there being three places where it may be left; the right occiput, the left occiput, and the center of the occiput, just below lambda. The lock when worn on the left is called *thazhtoshth*, when on the right *thai'iyeshth*, when in the middle *themzurth*.

Distribution of the left scalp lock: Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Shawia, Jebarna. It is also worn by the Ulad Stut, Beni Ukil, the Arabs of Msun, and the Beni Znassen. It is called the Zenatan type.

Distribution of the right scalp lock: Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, rest of Gzennaya, some in Tafersit, Targuist, Western and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Hamid. This is called the Senhajan type, and is worn by the Beni Zerwal, the Mtiwa dial Jbil, and by what few individuals of the Ghomara occasionally leave this lock. It is likewise worn by certain families of Fezzis, and by all of the Braber, who claim Senhajan origin.

Distribution of the median scalp lock: Beni Urriaghel,[2] Beni Amart, Bokoya, Maritimes, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Shibet, and Beni Mesduy.

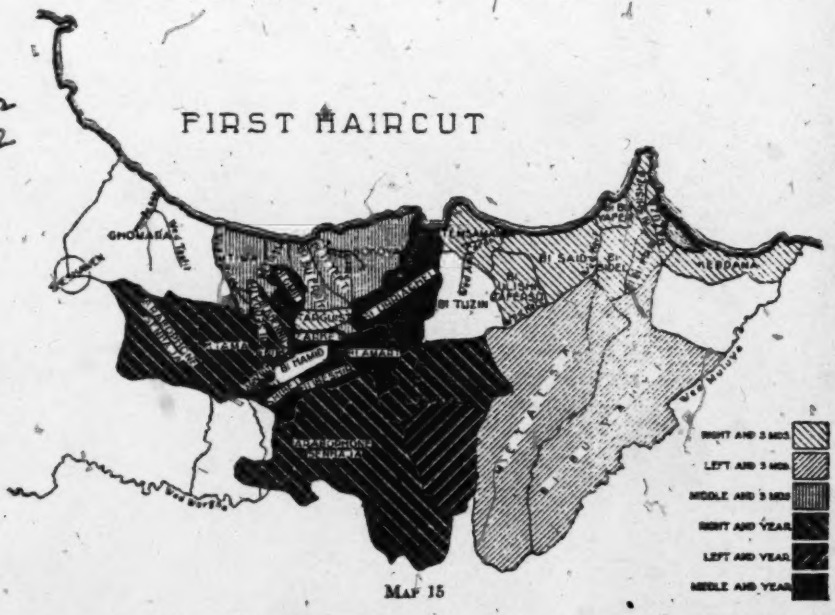
[1] Bates, pp. 134–137.

[2] Westermarck (p. 413) states that the Beni Urriaghel wear the lock on the *right* side, and that this lock is called *imzirj*. I have never seen an Urriaghli with his scalp lock anywhere but in the middle of his occiput; and the word which Westermarck uses to denote the right lock is really the name of the median lock.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Tribes which shave the head: Beni Tuzin, some in Targuist, and most of those in the Ghomara.

In most of Morocco, the scalp lock is worn by the boys up until puberty or marriage, when it is removed and the head shaved thereafter. In the Rif and Senhaja it is worn not only by boys but by grown men. In Beni Tuzin, and among most of the families of Targuist



MAP 15

and the Ghomara, the head is shaved at the time of the first haircut, and kept shaved thereafter. In Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrushen and Ikhuanen the men shave their faces; in other regions beards are usually worn.

By decree of Abd el Krim, who perhaps wanted to make his followers appear more civilized, the scalp lock was ordered removed in 1924. All Riffians and Senhajans within reach of Abd el Krim's punishing arm shaved them off, for the most part with considerable reluctance, with the exception of the exiled Riffians living in Fez and other places, who retained them. After Abd el Krim's surrender in 1926, many of the Riffians let them grow again, and now wear long scalp locks as before; others let their hair grow in the European style, and still others continue shaving their heads.

The Berber scalp lock dates back to Libyan antiquity; representations of it are frequent on Egyptian monuments.[1] A median occipital lock is also worn today in Northern Albania.

[1] O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 133-137.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585

counsellors. The bride similarly chooses a group of *thiuziren* from among her friends to act as companions. The period between the betrothal and the marriage is considered full of shame and of supernatural dangers for the participants. Consequently they have to be well guarded, and their *iuziren* and *thiuziren* go about with them whenever they leave their respective houses, which they do as little as possible. When the groom goes out he must keep the hood of his jellaba up, and the bride must keep her head covered. If either of them wears *iherkusen*, or leather slippers, he or she must keep the counters, which are ordinarily bent under the heel, up behind it.

This custom of choosing *iuziren* and *thiuziren* is confined to the central Riffian area and the contiguous regions. In outlying areas one finds regions in which but one, two, or three *iuziren* are chosen, with no *thiuziren*, and others in which no companions at all are chosen. The *iuziren* are several in number in Beni Urriaghel, the portion of Temsaman contiguous with Beni Urriaghel, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Beni Ulid, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Burda. They are limited to a few in Beni Tuzin, western Metalsa, Beni Mohammed, Beni Yunes, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Inhanahan, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath. Of these Beni Tuzin have two or three, and the others usually but one. In small *bones* in regions where many are chosen, all the unmarried boys and girls between fifteen and seventeen years of age or thereabouts serve as *iuziren* and *thiuziren*.

The actual duration of the wedding also varies regionally. In the central Riffian area and among the Nomads, a feast is held for seven consecutive nights (in Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Mohammed, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Beni Bu Shibet, Taghsuth, Ktama, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara). In the rest of the territories three nights is the normal duration.

In the seven-night areas, except among the Nomads, food is provided nightly for all the guests; in the three-night areas and among the Nomads, food is provided on the last night only (except in the tribes of Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath, where food is provided every night). These latter tribes seem to have lost the seven-day tradition while retaining that of continuous hospitality. In any case, food, whether provided on all nights or one, is to be had in both the house of the bride and that of the groom. The groom is supposed to pay for all of it in both houses. Often, however, he is unable to do so, and borrows the money from a member of his family, with the agreement that he shall provide a similar feast on the occasions of the loaner's marriage or shall pay him back when he has earned the money.

During all seven, or three, days of the wedding the bride is closely secluded in her house, and the groom seldom leaves his. Each have their companions with them all the time. In regions where there are no *thiuziren*, the women of the immedate family stay with the bride.

Among the nomads of the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, the groom, contrary to the usual practice, sleeps in the tent of his parents-in-law all seven nights of the pre-nuptial period. On the last day he returns to his own tent and makes ready for the bride to be brought to him in the evening. This custom forms a common subject of ridicule among the sedentary tribes.

585 302

On the first day of the feast the women apply kohl to the bride's eyes and henna to her hands. They first boil a pot of henna, allow it to cool, and place it in a shallow earthen bowl.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

In this they put two cracked eggs. They put a veil over the bride's head and face, and hang strings of silver coins between her fingers. The bride's hands are then thrust into the bowl of henna, and smeared up to the wrist. No attempt is made at forming a pattern. The feet are likewise painted with henna up to the ankles. The women in charge smear the henna on their own hands in order to partake of the magical potency of the bride and of the concoction.

At the same time the hands of the groom are stained with henna. This use of henna is repeated daily in both houses until the feast is over. Neither the bride nor groom is allowed to wash during this period.

Kohl is also applied to the bride's eyes during the feast days, in all regions excepting the central mountain area. It is put on the groom's eyes in the Senhaja and Ghomara and in the east. Kohl is used upon brides throughout the Rif except among the mountain Urriaghlis, Ikbuanen except Tainest, Iherrushen except Telmest, Temjunt, and Beni Amart. It is used upon grooms in all Senhaja, all Ghomara, Targuist, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Shawia.

On the first day of the feast, when those in charge of the henna convene, a white flag is set up on the roof of each of the houses.

In the regions which have seven-day feasts at both houses, the last three days are subject to definite food regulation, but on the first four any suitable dish such as *sekru* and *guaz* [1] may be served. On the fifth day a *thamarik* of beans cooked with oil and cut-up peppers is served with bread, and no other food may be cooked or consumed in the two houses on that day. On the sixth day, early in the morning, more bean *thamarik* is eaten and then the men slaughter a goat, the meat of which they give the women to cook in the house of the groom. These same men, members of the groom's family, then lead another goat to the bride's house and do the same.

On the seventh day honey is given to the guests early in the morning, and then a hearty meat dish, usually a *guaz*. After this has been eaten the guests bring their presents, consisting of cattle, goats, meat, bread, butter, honey, and other foodstuffs. Bread alone is never presented.

Each morning during the seven-day period two companies of four *iuziren* each come to the groom's house and waken him by chanting, each four alternately, the following quatrain:

Sabḥain er-raṣḳ
Sabḥain el-khalaiḳ
Sabḥain er-ruwâḳ
El ardh el-khalaiḳ.[2]

[1] See p. 59.

[2] The classical form of this would be:

Sabḥân er-râziḳ	Praise to the Provider (Giver of Bread)
Sabḥân el-khâliḳ	Praise to the Creator
Sabḥân er-ruwâḳ	Praise to the Tent (Canopy, Heavens)
El ardh el-khâliḳ	The Earth is the Creator.

The Arabic words are little changed from their classical form; they do not occur in the Koran, and I have been unable to trace their origin.

The idea seems to be that the sky fertilizes the earth, which produces life and food. Such a principle may be a survival of a pre-Islamic belief, with the formula translated into classical Arabic to give it greater ritualistic value; or it may be the last vestige of an obscure heresy, such as that of Hamim (El Bekri, pp. 197 *sqq.*). Discussion of this troublesome question is earnestly solicited.

696
778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Igliwa], tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager], tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[177] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have baraka.

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water,[1] since
776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day.
It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama qalil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health".
A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [307] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided.
In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [307] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
789 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. – Analyst]

796 Great Feast", and the Berber-speaking tribes by names such as l'id mqqorn (Amanuz), l'id amqqran (Ait Warain), l'id amqqoran (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), or r'id amqqran (Temsaman), meaning the same. In this case, as in the case of the 'asur, the mulud, and the 'id s-sger, the name of the feast is popularly given to the whole month in which it is celebrated.

796 [107] An important preparation for the feast is the use of henna,
302 which I have found among all the country people of whose customs I
789 have obtained information, with the exception of the Rifians of Temsaman; and, as has been said above, henna is used not merely as a cosmetic but as a means of protection against evil influences.

Grown-up or married men abstain from it altogether (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Sadden, Aglu), or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers (At Ubahti), or dip the little finger of their right hand (Dukkala) or its nail (Ait Waryager) into it.

796 [108] Greyhounds have henna applied to their foreheads (Ait Yusi),
[231] or to their chests and feet as well (Hiaina, Ait Sadden); while the Ait Waryager, who are great hunters, smear it on the feet of the greyhounds only, and on no other animal, on account of its being scarce among them.

[110] Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make seksu, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish damreqt, a kind of porridge made of dried beans.

[112] Among the Ait Waryager the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

796 [116] Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly sub-
783 jected to certain forms of purification or sanctification.

[117] The At Ubahti put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal; the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman some yeast. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and henna is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Hiaina told me that it takes away the bas from the house.

551 As the first son is called after the Prophet, so the first daughter is called after his daughter Fatimah, the wife of 'Ali and the mother of al-Hasan and al-Husain, from whom are descended the posterity of the Prophet known as Saiyids. Her name—which is in Morocco pronounced Fatuma, Fatma, Fatma, Fatna, or (by some Berbers) Fadma—is generally given to the eldest daughter, even though it be the name of the mother, which is otherwise avoided; but among the Ait Waryager the daughter is in such a case called Fattos.

[407] In Berber tribes Arabic names given to children are altered in ordinary conversation. Muhammed is changed into Muhand (Ait Yusi), Mohand (Ait Sadden), Mohand (Ait Waryager, in the case of a scribe or a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), Momoh (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), Mahha (Ait Sadden), Moha (ibid.), or Moh (Ait Waryager).

●302 [408] At Fez no child of either sex must be shaved until it is one year of age; while among the Ait Waryager a boy is shaved a year after his birth and a girl never.

[409] Some hair, however, is always left on the head, in accordance with the custom of the family. In all families it is the custom to leave an 'orf, consisting of a narrow line from front to back, but in some families a garn, or tuft, is in addition left on the right side, and in others a garn on the left side as well.

[753] [414] It is believed that if the shaving of a person's head is left unfinished, because the razor is not sharp enough or for some other reason, his head will be affected (Ulad Bu'aziz) or he will become ill in one way or another (Ait Waryager).

[415] In Morocco there is a belief that if it is the custom of a family to leave a garn on the head of a child, the latter will become ill and most probably die if this custom is not observed. The Ait Warain and the Ait Sadden maintain that the same will happen to a boy if the garn left on his head is ever shaved. The Ait Waryager say that if it is shaved before the death of his parents, either the father, the mother, or the boy will die.

852 304 [416] The next important event in the life of a boy is his circumcision. The age at which it takes place varies greatly.

[417] I was told that among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager boys are as a rule circumcised when they are about one year old, but that there are instances of boys being circumcised a few months after their birth. This is the earliest age I have heard of anywhere in Morocco.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

443 563 considered the social inferiors of the Wuryāghlīs and are entirely endogamous they do not form a separate economic caste, as they go in for little or no economic specialization other than that just mentioned. In a stall on one side of the market a weaver *(darrāz)* 443 is working on a woolen *jillāb* on a horizontal loom; another stall [284] houses two Berber-speaking Moroccan Jews, one of who hammers out silver bracelets and the other repairs packsaddles. In a nearby cafe sit a group of men who are loudly and appreciatively gulping down glasses of piping hot mint tea, while in the background is the blare of Arabic music or news broadcasted from Tetuan, Tangier, Rabat or Cairo. Needless to say, in Aith Wuryāghil very few people can understand the news programs, although very recently broadcasts in Shilḥa, coming from Tetuan, have been implemented. In another [302] corner the barber-bleeders (*ḥajjāmīn*) shave the dolichocephalic and sometimes favus-ridden crania of their patrons with unsterilized straight razors. And over all watches the market provost or *amīn*, who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees to it that the market is run smoothly and efficiently.

It is of interest to note that Aith Wuryāghil is the center of a uniquely Riffian institution: the women's market (20). This institution is not only Riffian but Central Riffian in distribution. Aside from Aith Wuryāghil, Tamsamān is the only other tribe possessing women's markets; it has two of them, one Tuesday at Suwānī of Tamsamān, just across the Nakūr River from Aith Wuryāghil, and the other on Sunday. In Aith Wuryāghil itself there are six: Sunday at Iswīqen, Monday at Isrīhen, Monday at Azghar, near Ajdīr, Friday at Aghrīdh, Friday at Ighmīren (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and Saturday at Aith Qamra.

The people of Aith Wuryāghil belive that these markets were established as the result of the endless intratribal wars, because, since women were noncombatants and were protected as such by the institution of *'anāya*, an interchange of commodities necessary for the survival of the feuding groups could only be carried on without hindrance in markets attended exclusively by members of the female sex. I have heard that the first women's market to be established was

(20) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: «Zocos de mujeres en Beni Uriaguel», Africa, Madrid. Mayo 1943, pp. 22-23.

798 764 2) Funeral Rites Contrary to Sunna: the funeral chant invoking the name of God which is started up when the body is lifted up to be taken to the cemetery (and this is done in the Rif) is rejected as bad (sic). A man should not place himself facing Mecca during the funeral prayer (at the grave) (sic); nor should the body be oriented in this direction (sic) nor should its shroud be pierced (in the Rif, in Ibuqquyen, a hold is pierced in the nose of the shroud), nor can a stick be nailed perpendicularly to the grave (this is done in the Rif[20]); and the catching...in the act by someone of the body being buried or of the recitation of the hizb[21] of the Koran is like lighting the three lights in agony.[22]

798 [302] [562] [794] [769] 3) Deceits and Frauds in the 'Aid: men should not put henna on their hands and should not shake hands with women, as this is sinful. Getting meals in the mosque is very bad, as are petitions (of gifts) to the imam[23] after the prayer of the 'Aid; and visiting the cemetery on feast days is also bad, as these are days of happiness[23a]. (In the Rif all these practices are observed[24]).

798 585 4) Weddings: It is very bad to mark the doors of the house of either the bride or the groom with blood (this is done in the Rif[25]), and so is firing rifle shots in the bride's room on the day that the marriage is consummated[26]; so is touching the bride's clothing, or helping her mount the mule which is to take her to the groom's house, or helping her alight on arrival, or mounting the same animal behind her; and equally bad is someone showing up at the moment of union of the newly married couple or staying so near to them that he can hear them talking. Also, men playing in front of women and women dancing in

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grana has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291 Beni Amart, all Beni Urriaghel but Ajdir, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Inhanahan, Iherrassen, and Bured.

Of these types of footwear tradition has it that the crude *airkasen* were the earliest and were formerly worn over a much wider area than at present;[1] and that sandals, of both palmetto and *halfa*, were introductions from outside.

In recent times Arab slippers with turn-under heels, called by the Riffians *iherkusen*, have become somewhat popular in the Rif. They are an inferior type of footwear, owing to the difficulty of keeping them on without shuffling. Of imported shoes the only type which has become at all popular is the American sneaker, or tennis-shoe, which has found many users, especially in the east around Melilla and in the region of Ajdir. French army brogans are sometimes worn by men in military service, but are generally cut away at the heels so that they can be taken off without trouble when entering a house.

Beside these normal types of footwear, and their modern rivals, one finds two specialized types used only in rainy weather:

ikabkaben, clogs, are made from single pieces of wood, flat, shaped to the foot, and carved so as to have two cross-props beneath, running at right angles to the axis of the foot, one beneath the ball of the foot and the other under the heel. These clogs are attached with straps made of dried bull's penis, after the same style as the attachment of the western or palmetto type of sandal. When used by women this attachment is thought unseemly, and a piece of cowhide is nailed across the front to serve as a toe.

mawus, stilts, are made of single pieces of wood, chosen so that a fork low down on the shaft will serve as a foot rest. They are worn in wet weather and in snow, and are used as playthings by the children in all weather. The stilts and clogs have an identical distribution: Beni Amart, Mountain Urriaghel, Temjunt, Ikhuanen, Iherrushen, and Inhanahan.

In addition to these types of footwear, a peculiar form of legwear, found in the west, may be mentioned. The women of the region of Sheshawen and of the Ghomara wear leather leggings made of stiff hide, tied around the calves and ankles with straps. (See plate 26.) These are worn to protect the legs from the brush, for women spend a great deal of time on the mountains cutting brush for charcoal, a task which in the Rif properly belongs to men. Curiously enough, women who wear these go barefoot. These leggings are found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama (formerly Taghruth).

TATTOOING

304 582 Tattooing in the Rif is practiced upon women as a prerequisite for marriage, and, less frequently, for the same purpose upon men. When a girl is sure that she is to be married, that is, when all arrangements for her wedding have been made, her family calls in an old woman of the same *awar*, or sociological family, who is proficient in the art; if there is no such old woman available one is called in from outside. If the artist is related to the victim no fee is paid, otherwise a small sum is given her by the girl's parents.

304 The old woman collects lamp-black from the bottoms of cooking pots, and mixes this with juice squeezed from the leaves of broad-beans. She sets to work with a knife and needle, working both by pricking and incising the skin. She works fairly rapidly so that the wounds will all be healed on the final day of the wedding. It is considered shameful for

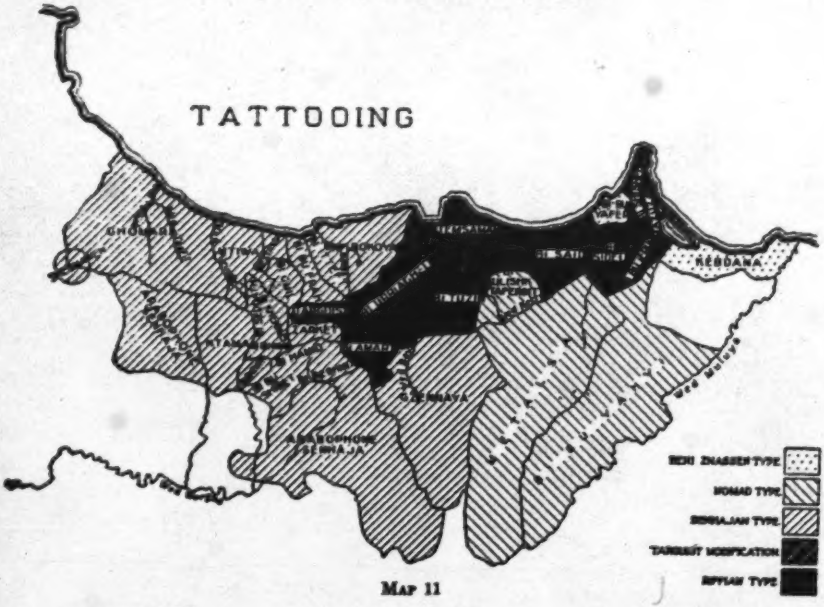
[1] Marmol (chap. 79) says that the Beni Bu Shibet wore these buskins.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304

a woman to go to her husband without having been tattooed, and it is likewise disgraceful for a young girl to be tattooed who is not about to be married.

On plate 29 are shown the various types of tattooing designs executed in the Rif. In numbers 1, 2, 4, and 6, the line running down from the median point of the lower lip reaches to the point of the chin, and in number 1 the two lines running obliquely from the corners of the mouth terminate on the line of the lower jawbone halfway between the gonial angles and the chin. In number 3 the central cross is made on the left side of the nose between the bridge and the wing, in the same position as that depicted in number 6, for men.



MAP 11

The distribution of these various types is as follows:

Type 1 (Senhajan). All Gsennaya but Iherrushen, all the Senhaja except Bi Mesduy; Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestasa, and Mtiwa. It is also employed among those of the Ghomara who practice any tattooing at all, the occurrence of this trait there being sporadic and wholly voluntary.

Type 2. This is the central Riffian method, old style, practiced until within a generation ago. It was used in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrushen of Gsennaya, Temsaman, Beni Sai[illegible] Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, northern Beni Ulishk, and Galiya except Beni Bu Yafer.

Type 3. This is employed by the Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, southern Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, el Azib of Meidhar of Beni Tuzin, and (during recent years) part of Galiya.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 *Type 4.* This is called Zenatan, and is characteristic of the Beni Znassen. In the Rif it is employed in Kebdana and Beni Bu Yafer. It has likewise been used in Targuist in recent years as a partial imitation of the central Riffian technique. In Targuist its identity with the Zenatan type is purely a coincidence.

Type 5. The single cross on the left side of the nose is employed by men in the same area as that covered by the occurrence of Type 3 among women, but extends its distribution farther than the corresponding female decoration. It is found in Khebaba and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya, sometimes in Shawia of the same tribe, in Mazuza, Ait Shisher, and Kebdana. Throughout this area it is optional, except in Khebaba, where all the men use it.

Type 6. This is the modern rendering of Type 2, the modification being in the use of a cross instead of a hatched line on the forehead. Type 6 has come in during the present generation, totally displacing its predecessor, but losing ground in Galiya, where it is gradually being replaced by Type 3.

Where the tattooing on the face is of Type 1, 3, or 4, the rest of the body remains without permanent decoration; but where the facial tattooing is of Type 2 or 6, that is of central Riffian pattern, the body is likewise tattooed. Number 7 shows the design on the abdomen, thorax, and neck, number 8 on the legs, — a stripe up each side and a cross over the ankle, — and number 9 on the forearm. As a variant of number 9, and considered very stylish, are forked antennae coming off the corners of both the distal and proximal terminal bars. The tattooing on the neck reaches up to the chin, where it joins with the tattooing of the face in one continuous design reaching from the center of the lower lip almost to the navel. Care is taken in tattooing the upper of the two hatched single lines just below the breasts not to have the design encroach upon the actual skin of the breasts.

USE OF HENNA

302 Henna, that universal cosmetic stain, is used throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, as well as by all other peoples of Morocco. On each day of the wedding feast, the bride thrusts both hands and both feet up to the wrists and ankles into a bowl of stewed henna leaves. The groom similarly stains his hands, but not his feet. The Riffians make no geometric lines with this henna, as do the Arabs and Atlas Jews, but simply daub it on until the whole extremity is colored a consistent reddish-brown.

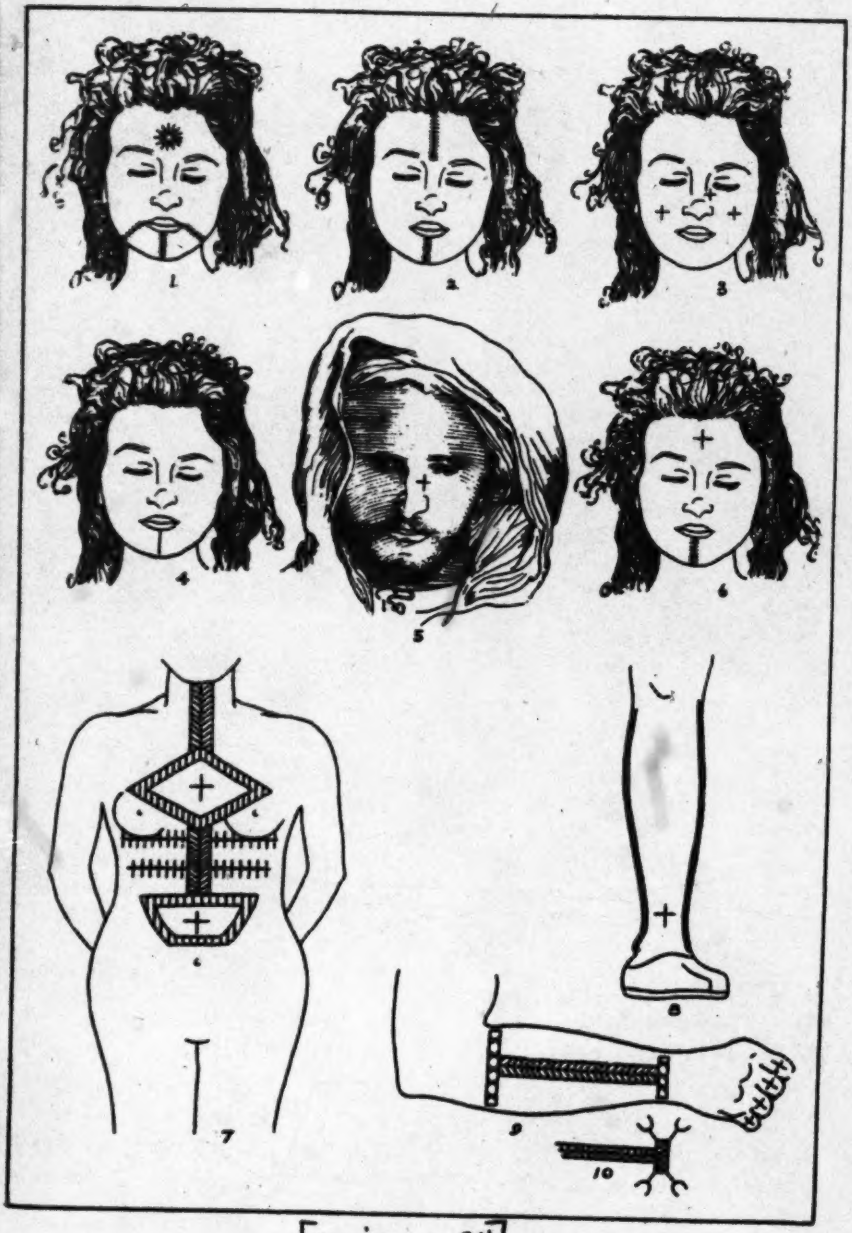
It is said that in the Rif henna was not used in former times, but that apple leaves and green walnut shells were employed in place of the henna leaves, which even today are entirely imported, the chief source of supply being the tribe of Dukkala, on the Atlantic seaboard of French Morocco.

[171] Although henna is today distributed throughout North Africa, the presence of this definite tradition would indicate that its diffusion into the Rif took place in fairly recent times, and that in the remoter sections its use was preceded by an imitative employment of other materials.

626 Another use of henna distinct from all ideas of beautification is as follows: when a man has shown himself cowardly in war, the women of the village seize him, rip off his shirt, and smear his back with the stain.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

TATTOOING DESIGNS



304
582

[facing p. 94]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CIRCUMCISION

Despite the statement of Rohlfs to the contrary,[1] all the peoples of northern Morocco circumcise. This operation, although it may be performed at any time of the year, is usually carried out either in September, when the grapes have been picked, or in mid-winter, when it is considered that the cold will prevent infection. On account of this seasonal occurrence of the rite it is impossible to state definitely at what age it is performed. Nevertheless there is a significant difference in the ages at which it is carried out in different tribes, tribes of the central Rif usually performing it when the child is less than a year old. Three months is considered a felicitous age, but naturally the child is not always three months old at one of the favored times. Among the Arab-speaking peoples of Morocco it is usually performed at the age of seven or eight years. Circumcision is performed in early infancy in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Amart; all the Beni Urriaghel excepting Beni Hadifa, all of the Gzennaya excepting Shawia, Imsdurar, Inhanahan, and Iharshliyen, all the Senhaja Sghir, all the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja excepting Fenassa, Beni Koraa, and Rgheiwa, and all the Ghomara.

In all the rest of the region under consideration circumcision is carried out during the seventh or eighth year. It is interesting, from the point of view of comparison with other peoples, that the Arabs and Shluh circumcise at the age of seven or eight, that the Zenata, as represented by the Beni Znassen, put it off until just before marriage, and that among the Braber three separate customs are found; circumcision at seven or eight years, at the period immediately preceding marriage, and, among some groups, I have been told, failure to circumcise at all.

In regard to the person who performs the operation, here again we meet with a difference of custom. Among the central Riffian tribes the act is done by a preceptor or student who makes a specialty of this work, and who has a regular route which he follows twice a year, in September and in mid-winter. Some groups employ local preceptors; others patronize visiting ones from other tribes. Circumcision is performed by local or resident preceptors in Beni Urriaghel (with the exception of the mountain region), Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Targuist, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Taghzuth, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, all the Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. It is performed by borrowed or itinerant preceptors among the mountain Urriaghlis and in Beni Amart, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Ktama.

The routes or spheres or influence of some of the more prominent preceptors are as follows:

Preceptor of Ajdir: Ajdir and the rest of Aith Yusuf u Ali, Beni Bu Ayesh, Beni Abdullah, and sometimes Imrabten; all these being *fifths* of the Beni Urriaghel, excepting Ajdir, which is a village therein.

Preceptor of Iherrushen (from the *bone* of Ulad Alu Fars): Iherrushen, Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ain el Hamara, Ihershliyen, Inhanahan, Bured, and Temjunt; these are *cantons* of the Gzennaya. He likewise officiates for all the Aith Ali and the Jebel Hammam people of the Beni Urriaghel.

Preceptor of Targuist: Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, and Beni Hadifa of the Beni Urriaghel.

[1] Gerhardt Rohlfs, *Adventures in Morocco*, p. 45.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Preceptor of Taghzuth: Taghzuth and Ktama.

Preceptor of Beni Bu Nsar: Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath.

In the rest of the region in which circumcision is performed by preceptors, all are local or resident. Preceptors build up reputations for dexterity in their trade, and their clientele of families grows or shrinks like that of family doctors. There are some families of Ajdir who send for the preceptor of Iberrushen instead of employing their own local practitioner, merely out of personal preference. Hence, due to the individual nature of the choice, the routes of the itinerant ones vary, while the distribution of the local ones remains the same.

In other tribes an illiterate man is employed. He performs the circumcision from the secular point of view of earning his living, rather than as an act of religious or magical virtue, as in the case of the preceptor. The lay practitioner is called by the name *akovani*, which means "illiterate" but has acquired the specialized meaning of "circumcisor" as well. The *akovani* is employed by the Kebdana, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, Mtiwa, Beni Bu Shibet. The Arabs of the plains normally use the *akovani*. In Fez, however, a preceptor is employed, as in the central Rif.

The preceptor when called to perform the operation, puts up a white flag on the roof of the house before he enters it, leaving the flag there until the operation is over and he is ready to depart. He takes eight to ten students with him, whose business it is to read the Koran aloud while he is working.

The preceptor and his students enter a special room, taking with them the boy, who has just been washed by his mother. The parents of the child, all women, and all illiterate men are excluded from the room during the operation.

The preceptor greases the foreskin and gland with butter until all is soft and pliant, puts a goat dropping inside the foreskin, which he twists around over it, and cuts off the foreskin with scissors, in such a way that the goat dropping is cut in two during the process.

Then he takes two eggs, the shells of which have been cracked and the whites of which have been drawn off, and thrusts the penis through holes in the shells into the yolks of both. It is said that this is done to cauterize the wound, and any magical significance which this action may imply is probably forgotten. After this has been done an old woman, preferably the child's grandmother, enters and picks the child up, taking him out on her back.

After the operation the preceptor and his students are given a great feast to which many guests are invited.

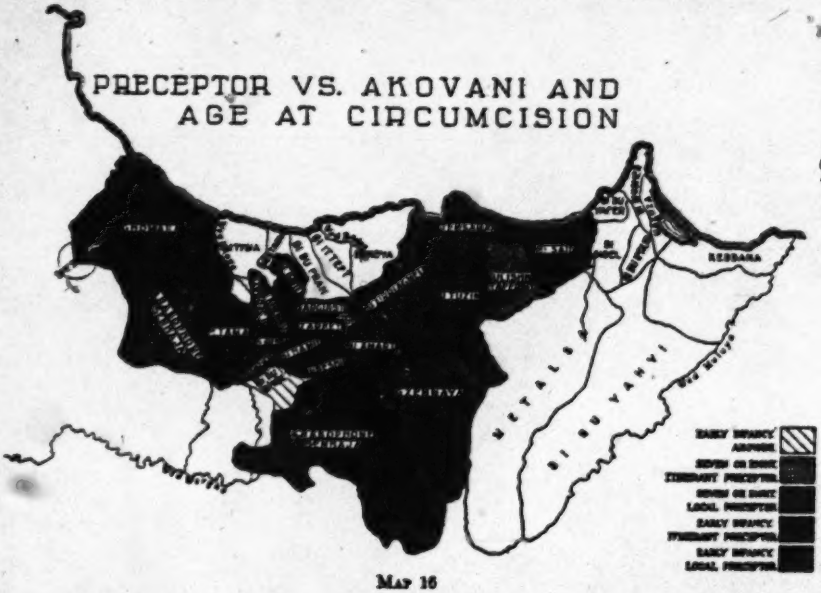
On account of the danger of infection circumcising is a dangerous practice, and the number of practitioners is few. During the hegemony of Abd el Krim, the preceptor of Ajdir once cut off the end of the gland of a child he was circumcising. If it had not been for the intervention of Abd el Krim, who assessed five hundred dollars blood money, the preceptor would surely have been killed, since the child died shortly after the accident. On account of this incident many families of Ajdir call in the preceptor of Iberrushen, as has been previously noted.

The *akovani* is a different type of person from the preceptor. He is a rough, unlettered fellow, occupying a social position which, while not definitely degraded and certainly higher than that of blacksmiths and market-criers, is yet lower than that of the ordinary farmer. His occupation does not, however, imply Negro blood, and does not carry any social restrictions with it.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The technique of the *akovani* differs from that of the preceptor. He enters the room in which the child is sitting, without any accompanying students. The child's parents and all men except himself are excluded, but the presence of women is required. Fifteen or twenty of them sit around the room singing throughout the operation. The *akovani* proceeds in the same manner as the preceptor, until the foreskin has been removed. At this point, instead of thrusting the penis into egg-shells, he rubs it with powdered goat manure.

In the process of getting rid of the foreskin, the preceptor and the *akovani* likewise differ. The preceptor puts two eggs in an earthen bowl full of earth, and thrusts the fore-



MAP 16

skin into the earth between the eggs. He hands this to one of the students, who covers the whole with a cloth, and carrying it out into the courtyard gives it to the boy's father or paternal uncle, who takes it out secretly to an unfrequented place and buries it, bowl and all, so that it will never be found. Great care is taken to keep the location of the foreskin secret, and not even the preceptor is trusted with its disposal. The *akovani* does not employ a bowl or eggs, but gives the raw foreskin to the father or paternal uncle, who disposes of it with as great secrecy as in the case of the other technique.

In regard to payment, another difference appears between the preceptor and the *akovani*. The former considers that he is doing a charitable or virtuous work, and never demands payment. If the family is wealthy enough, the father gives him a dollar, a goat, or some article of food. If the preceptor considers the gift a strain on the family resources, he

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 gives it back. The *akouni*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his
852 livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two;
875 among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

585 The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

584 Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to [836] casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

582 By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at four-
584 teen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married [805] until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

582 Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

their numbers as rapidly as possible so as to swell their fighting forces and replace losses. Often this desire caused the marriage of youthful couples who themselves were not yet old enough to desire it. At present, however, since warfare is forbidden, the incentive is lacking.

The price of brides in Taghzuth, as well as in other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, is fixed at seven dollars.

When the identity of the couple has been established by the consent, at least, of their parents, and in most cases by their own unofficial mutual consent, the groom goes to the clerk in order to obtain the necessary papers, one of which is given to the bride. The wedding cannot be held until the price agreed upon and stipulated in the written contract has been paid. This does not frequently cause a serious delay, because if the groom cannot produce the money some other member of his family will do it for him, expecting him to pay it back later in kind or in labor. Boys who have purchased their wives at the expense of an elder brother may live with that brother afterwards until payment has been made, and until they have built or bought houses of their own.

As soon as betrothal is certain, when the papers have been made out and the money paid, the bride is tattooed. The designs have already been discussed under the subject of material culture, and their distribution shown on a map.[1] The tattooing is usually done gratis by an old woman of the bride's *rein* who is adept at the art. If there is no one in the *rein* competent to do this a woman is called in from some other *rein* and is paid for her work.

This operation is done as soon as possible, because it is desirable that the skin should heal before the wedding. On the other hand, families are usually careful not to have their daughters tattooed until there is no chance of having the wedding called off, since to have an unmarried tattooed daughter on their hands would be as shameful as having an untattooed wife.

The date of the wedding is in some regions limited to a certain season of year, and in others is purely voluntary. Among the central tribes of the Rif, and much of the Senhaja, these festive ceremonies take place only in the month of September, when most of the crops are in, and while the grape picking is going on. Grape picking is a season of carnival; the people sleep in the vineyards, and after and between intervals in weddings the men and women go up to the vineyards, where they joke, shout and shoot off guns, and play games; the men wrestle together, and the women and men form sides and throw stones at each other. The whole aspect of the celebration is one of license, although by this I do not wish to imply that there is a definite practice of a license night. It is only natural, however, that this should be the season for weddings, when spirits are running higher than at any other time of the year. September weddings are the rule in Temsaman, northern Beni Ulishk, all of Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, Gsennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, all the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Gmil, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Ulad Azam. In the rest of the Rif, Senhaja, and in Ghomara, weddings take place not only in September but also at other times. In some parts of the September area, this arrangement has begun to break down since the war.

As soon as a groom determines when he is to be married, he chooses a number of his friends and schoolmates, usually about twenty, to act as *iuziren*, a word derived from the Arabic *wazir*, with the implication that the groom is a sultan and the chosen friends his

[1] See above, p. 87.

551 As the first son is called after the Prophet, so the first daughter is called after his daughter Fatimah, the wife of 'Ali and the mother of al-Hasan and al-Husain, from whom are descended the posterity of the Prophet known as Saiyids. Her name—which is in Morocco pronounced Fatuma, Fatma, Fatma, Fatna, or (by some Berbers) Fadma—is generally given to the eldest daughter, even though it be the name of the mother, which is otherwise avoided; but among the Ait Waryager the daughter is in such a case called Fattos.

[407] In Berber tribes Arabic names given to children are altered in ordinary conversation. Muhammed is changed into Muhand (Ait Yusi), Mohand (Ait Sadden), Mohand (Ait Waryager, in the case of a scribe or a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), Momoh (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), Mahha (Ait Sadden), Moha (ibid.), or Moh (Ait Waryager).

302 [408] At Fez no child of either sex must be shaved until it is one year of age; while among the Ait Waryager a boy is shaved a year after his birth and a girl never.

[409] Some hair, however, is always left on the head, in accordance with the custom of the family. In all families it is the custom to leave an 'orf, consisting of a narrow line from front to back, but in some families a garn, or tuft, is in addition left on the right side, and in others a garn on the left side as well.

[753] [414] It is believed that if the shaving of a person's head is left unfinished, because the razor is not sharp enough or for some other reason, his head will be affected (Ulad Bu'aziz) or he will become ill in one way or another (Ait Waryager).

[415] In Morocco there is a belief that if it is the custom of a family to leave a garn on the head of a child, the latter will become ill and most probably die if this custom is not observed. The Ait Warain and the Ait Sadden maintain that the same will happen to a boy if the garn left on his head is ever shaved. The Ait Waryager say that if it is shaved before the death of his parents, either the father, the mother, or the boy will die.

852 304 [416] The next important event in the life of a boy is his circumcision. The age at which it takes place varies greatly.

● [417] I was told that among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager boys are as a rule circumcised when they are about one year old, but that there are instances of boys being circumcised a few months after their birth. This is the earliest age I have heard of anywhere in Morocco.

852 304 [429] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager circumcision often takes place on the twelfth day of the month of the Mulud, "the day of the feast", at least when the family is fairly well-to-do, and it is performed by an expert, accompanying a band of scribes. It is considered of importance that there should be scribes present to make recitations from the Koran in the room where the operation is made. This is not the room inhabited by the boy's own family—which on this occasion is occupied by the women—but another room in the same house; the Ait Waryager live in houses containing several rooms, each of which is inhabited by one family. On the day when the boy is circumcised his father kills a sheep or a goat or, if he cannot afford that, some fowls; the scribes have to be entertained with food, and rewarded with money as well. Contrary to the custom at Aglu, the father is present in the room where the boy is circumcised, but not the mother. The boy is dressed in new clothes, a belt (rahzam) is wound round the top of his head, and just before the operation is performed his eyes are blackened with antimony. If his father is a man of means, a silver bangle (ahalhal) is also put round the boy's ankle, or round each of his ankles, and is left there until he grows older, to be used again for the next son when he is circumcised. The wounded part of the penis is dipped into the yolk of an egg, which is then thrown away. The foreskin is put in some "clean" place, where nobody can walk over it. The boy is removed to his father's room, where he is confined for seven days.

[434] RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH DEATH

163 If a person is very ill and his death is held to be immanent, his near relatives living in the same town or village assemble in the room in which he is lying. Should any of them fail to appear, the family of the dying person would look upon it as a sign of enmity and would make it a cause of quarrel. In country places a message may also be sent to relatives in neighbouring villages, who likewise hasten to the death-bed of their friend. No menstruating woman, however, should enter the room, nor any woman who has omitted to clean herself after sexual intercourse.

If the family of the dying person can afford it scribes are called in to recite a chapter of the Koran, unless some one of the assembled

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

000 [114] [311] 165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616] [578] 173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616] [619] 175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613] [616] The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[176] [178] 177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

perspective. Material traits do not include all of cultural geography, but they do constitute the core of things that the geographer can study systematically.

The thesis of my study of deforestation is that the extent of change can be roughly delimited by historical research and by observation of present trends. In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the principal agents of deforestation have been (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to clear land for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by livestock. There is evidence that each of these agents has been active for centuries. If allowance is made for probable variations in the rate of disturbance, tentative conclusions may be reached as to the extent of change.

For reasons that are painfully evident to all students of Moroccan languages or dialects, correct transliteration is difficult to achieve. Consider the word for "mountain." On French maps it apears as *jebel* or *djebel;* on Spanish maps it is *yebel.* The proper English transliteration of the classical Arabic is *jabal.* But most Moroccans know little of classical Arabic. The usual pronunciation is *jbil,* and this is the way I have written the word. I have tried to transliterate words so that they are intelligible to English-speaking readers. Thus the Maghribi Arabic word for "stream" appears as *wad,* not as *oued* or *uad.* Shawen is substituted for Chauen or Xauen, and Wezzan for Ouezzane. The variant spellings of French and Spanish cartographers are listed in the Appendix.

The field work for this study was carried out from November, 1955, to May, 1957, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to that institution for its support. I am grateful to many Moroccans who helped me to understand their land and culture. Special mention should be made of my frequent traveling companions, Muhammad Miqqi of Ktama and Muhammad ben Hmid l'Arbi of Aith Seddath. I am indebted also to Charles Sauvage of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien for assistance in the identification of plants.

Since returning to the United States, I have profited from correspondence with David M. Hart. Mr. Hart was engaged in ethnological field work in the Rif from 1953 to 1955 and has since returned to Morocco for more extensive research. I am indebted to him for notes on many aspects of Moroccan culture, and especially for his advice on transliteration. The reader with prior knowledge of the literature on northern Morocco will be aware that I have derived great profit from study of the pioneer work of Carleton S. Coon. The illustrations of clothing and house types for chapters i and v were made from my collection of photographs and field sketches by Iris Neff and Jacques Lemieux.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation for the encouragement given to this undertaking by my teachers at the University of California. A preliminary version of this study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in geography under the supervision of Professors Carl O. Sauer, Melvin M. Knight, and James J. Parsons. The present work has profited from the criticism of Professors John Leighly, Erhard Rostlund, and Clarence J. Glacken.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER V

SETTLEMENT MORPHOLOGY

NORTHERN MOROCCO is primarily a rural country. In the 1950 census of the Spanish protectorate, 2,954 places are listed as nuclei of settlement, but more than half of them had less than 200 inhabitants.[1] In 1953 the total population of the protectorate was estimated to be 1,026,056 persons, of whom 788,810 were rural. In the whole of Morocco, rural tribesmen probably account for more than 75 per cent of the population.

Since population density can be calculated only for tribal territories, detailed analysis of distribution is difficult. Nevertheless, it is clear that some areas are much more densely settled than others. The greatest rural density is found on the Atlantic and Rifian littorals, and the lowest in the central highlands and on the semiarid eastern plains. On the terraces and hills of the Atlantic littoral the density of population varies from 50 to 80 persons per square kilometer. In the territory of the Bani Huzmar, which is dominated by karstic mountains, the density drops to 40 persons per square kilometer. Actually, most of this tribe is settled along the base of the limestone range, close to the line of springs. In the Sanhajan highlands the fertile valley of Taghzut, with 85 persons per square kilometer, contrasts with the higher and more rocky terrain of Aith Khannus, with only 22 persons per square kilometer. On the parched plains of Garet, population density drops to about 12 persons per square kilometer. It is surprising to find high density in Gal'aya and the core area of the Rif, for these areas suffer from frequent droughts. Aith Wariyaghar has 65 and Thimsaman 72 persons per square kilometer. The Gal'ayan tribe of Imazujen, with 125 persons per square kilometer, has the highest population density in northern Morocco.[2] Before the recent rebellion these densely settled areas supplied as many as 30,000 laborers annually for the French farms in Algeria. The causes and consequences of emigration will be considered in chapter vi.

The high density of population in Bdor, Amar, and Mzura is encouraged by the small areas of these tribes. Land is available in neighboring territories, but no family wants to sell its land to "foreigners." Tribesmen from the more crowded areas often remark on the underdeveloped appearance of the Jbalan and Ghmaran hills. Tribesmen of the Rif and Gal'aya would gladly work many slopes which the Jbalans and the Ghmarans regard as marginal.

URBAN FORMS AND FUNCTIONS

When the French began their occupation in 1912, Marshal Lyautey declared that European settlements should be set apart from native centers. French settlements grew beside most native cities, but the two forms of urbanization did not merge. The Spanish were less respectful of Moroccan culture, but the urban pattern in the Spanish zone was one of juxtaposition rather than mingling, and the line between European and native communities was never erased. Native cities

[1] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1955), p. 39.
[2] Figures from J. Cabello Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 119–121.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Tnine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Caballo Alcaras, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167-169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[a] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[b] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[a] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[b] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter VII

EFFECTS OF SETTLEMENT ON THE LAND

121 311 Evidence of deforestation has already been considered briefly. In chapter ii the effects of burning and browsing were mentioned parenthetically in discussing the distribution of forest and scrub. Now that man's activities have been described, the discussion can be resumed.[1]

Historical Evidence

175 311 When the Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46, timber resources were nearly exhausted in the eastern Mediterranean basin. The cedars of Lebanon had been retreating since the time of King Solomon. Homer refers to "tall pines and spreading oaks" on the now virtually barren island of Sicily.[2] Plato, in the fifth century B.C., deplores the destruction of the forests in Greece,[3] and a century later Theophrastus complains that the supply of ship timber is limited.[4] In Pliny's time the thuya forests on Mount Ancorarius were already exhausted.[5] At the dawn of the Christian era, Roman ships were sailing as far away as the Caucasus ports to obtain timber, and Roman architecture eventually had to be modified to compensate for the scarcity and increasing price of wood. Large quantities of wood were needed to heat baths, and trees were cut everywhere for charcoal. Cork and tanners' bark were persistent items of trade. In both the Roman and the Carthaginian realms, perhaps the greatest wood-devouring industry was shipbuilding. As Miss Semple suggests, "A multitude of fishing smacks, naval vessels, merchant ships, and coastwise transportation boats kept up the demand for fir, pine, cedar, and minor woods which entered into their construction."[6] The coniferous forests were further depleted by the steady demand for pitch, resin, and tar. It would be rash to make sweeping generalizations on the basis of a few references after the lapse of centuries; yet it may be asserted that deforestation was evident in classical times, especially in the areas of Roman and Carthaginian influence, and that no forested area accessible to lumber merchants was ignored.[7]

In the time of Homer and Hesiod the Moroccan mountains were still confused with the peak of Tenerife, of which some indistinct knowledge had been gained from Phoenician sources.[8] The references to Atlas cedar in Latin literature usually refer to forests in the more familiar province of Numidia. According to Pliny,

175 113 311

[1] For additional illustrations, see M. W. Mikesell, "Deforestation in Northern Morocco," *Science*, 132 (1960), 441–448.

[2] *Odyssey*, IX; *Iliad*, XII, XVI, XX.

[3] *Critias*, 111 A–D, trans. A. J. Toynbee in *Greek Historical Thought* (New York: Mentor Books, 1952), p. 146.

[4] *Enquiry into Plants . . .*, IV, 5.

[5] *Natural History*, XIII, 15. Most authorities place Mount Ancorarius in the Ouarsenis Massif of Algeria. Paul Boudy, *Economie forestière nord-africaine* (Paris: Larose, 1948–1955), I, 223.

[6] E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1931), p. 282.

[7] H. C. Darby, "The Clearing of the Woodland in Europe," in W. L. Thomas, Jr., ed., *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 183–216.

[8] *Cf.* George Rawlinson's annotation of Herodotus, *History*, IV, 184 (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1910); and R. Thouvenot, "La connaissance de la montagne marocaine chez Pline l'Ancien," *Hespéris*, 26 (1939), 113–121.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 311

beams of Numidian cedar were used in the temple of Apollo at Utica.[9] Strabo describes Mount Abyla (Jbil Hacho) on the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees.[10] This specific reference is of major interest, for now only a few clusters of Aleppo pine appear on that promontory. The description of forest at Cape Cantin, near Safi, in the periplus of Hanno is significant, also, for no such description could be recorded today.[11] It is known that the African provinces contributed wood to the Roman baths, and it may be inferred that some of that wood came from Mauritania. Thuya beams were imported for the roofs of temples, palaces, and other fine buildings, and the same wood was preferred for cabinets and other furniture.[12] The pine and thuya of the Rif probably were exploited in shipbuilding, and there would have been a demand for fuel and lumber at each of the Tingitanian settlements.

The first Arab invasion of Morocco in A.D. 648 and the great immigration of bedawin tribes in the eleventh century mark the beginnings of two trends that have an important bearing on this discussion. The first Arab invaders were pious and learned men who sought to build an urban civilization comparable to that already established in the Muslim heartland. In each of the new cities wood was needed for building, for fuel, and for a hundred other domestic and industrial purposes. The great demand for tanbark at Marrakech, Fez, Salé, and Tetuán soon resulted in the destruction of large stands of holly oak and cork oak. Planks of cedar were needed for city gates, and beams of cedar or thuya were placed in mosques and palaces. Slender riparian trees were used in smaller structures, and charcoal braziers burned in every home. By the end of the tenth century the Moroccan cities had become "devourers of wood."[13]

Many authors, seeking a dramatic explanation of Moroccan deforestation, attribute most of the adverse change to the bedawin; at least one author refers to their "hatred of trees."[14] Ibn Khaldun noted the effects of the invasion of northern Africa by the Bani Hallal and Bani Soleim: "When the Arabs [i.e., bedawin] conquer a country, ruin quickly descends upon it"; after three hundred and fifty years of unrestricted nomadism in his native Tunisia, "ruin and devastation" still prevailed.[15]

Pastoral destruction accelerates very rapidly, for the havoc wrought by overgrazing lies not only in its destruction but also in its prevention of new growth. But it is seldom possible to distinguish one among the several causes of deforestation. There is something appealing in the thought that the Vandals or the bedawin "destroyed" the north African forest, just as there is in the notion that the Mesopotamian irrigation system was "ruined" by the hordes of Hulagu Khan.

175 311

[9] *Natural History*, XVI, 40.

[10] *Geography*, XVII, 3.

[11] For an English translation, see B. H. Warmington, *Carthage* (London: Robert Hale, 1960), pp. 62–64.

[12] Cf. Vitruvius, *Architecture*, II, 4; and Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI, 231, XXXIII, 146.

[13] Jean Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949), p. 84.

[14] A. Bernard, *Afrique septentrionale et occidentale* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1937–1939), I, 65.

[15] Charles Issawi, trans., *An Arab Philosophy of History: Selections from the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332–1406)* (London: John Murray, 1950), pp. 54–58. Cf. Boudy's comment, *op. cit.*, I, 228; cited in note 5: "C'est incontestablement de cette période que date la grande déforestation du pays, résultat inéluctable des incendies répétés et du pâturage sans mesure." In "Le déboisement de l'Afrique du Nord," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 79 (1941), 471–487, Paul Buffault also blames the bedawin, but his argument is weakened by use of discredited notions of climatic change.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 311

Both of these alien invasions merely accelerated processes of destruction or decay that had been going on for a long time.

Several of the Arab chroniclers refer to woods in areas that are now deforested. The celebrated text of the seventh century in which northern Africa is described as a land of "continuous shade" is doubtless exaggerated,[1] for the Maghrib would appear to be lush and verdant even today after a long trip through the deserts of Egypt and Libya. Later accounts are more specific, and several of these refer to northern Morocco. In the latter half of the eleventh century Al-Bekri describes an "extensive forest" near Qasr al-Awwal (Ksar as-Srair).[2] Today this area is covered by a shrub formation, interrupted only by scattered clumps of cork oak. In the middle of the twelfth century Al-Idrisi describes Ghmara as a "mountainous and wooded" land.[3] A generation later another author refers to forest in the Ghmaran mountains, and indicates that wood from this forest is used in the construction of boats.[4] In the fifteenth century Al-Ansari found an "abundance of trees" near Ceuta, where forest is now limited to a few stands of cork oak and Aleppo pine.[5]

In the sixteenth century the forests on the Rifian coast began to attract the attention of the Spanish. Moorish pirates had been raiding the Andalusian coast and it was virtually impossible for an unarmed ship to sail through the Strait of Gibraltar. The distress of the Spanish resulted not only from the daring of the Moors but also from the fact that the latter's boats were astonishingly fast and maneuverable. Contemporary accounts praise the "alerce" wood used in the Moorish boats and rate it higher than Spanish oak or pine. Opinions differ as to the identification of this wood, but descriptions of its distribution and properties strongly suggest the Barbary thuya (*Callitris articulata*).[6] In 1505 an agent of Fernando el Católico suggested that an expedition should be directed against the Moroccan coast at Peñón de Vélez because large quantities of alerce were to be found there and not elsewhere on the coast.[7] The latter assertion is almost certainly an error, for thuyas are still scattered over most of the Rifian littoral. At this time the interest of the Spanish seems to have been defensive, but they may have been interested in alerce as a source of timber for their own fleet. In the days of the Armada, Spain looked as far away as the Baltic for suitable timber.[8]

175 311 113

[1] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Un nouveau récit de la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les arabes," *Arabica*, 1 (1954), 40.

[2] Al-Bekri, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (Algiers: Adolphe Jourdan, 1919), p. 306.

[3] Al-Idrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1866), pp. 203–204.

[4] J. Vernet Ginés, "Marruecos en la geografía de Ibn Sa'id al-Maghribi," *Tamuda*, 1 (1953), 255.

[5] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une description de Ceuta musulmane au XVe siècle," *Hespéris*, 12 (1931), 145–176.

[6] After initially labeling alerce as thuya, T. García Figueras, *Miscelánea de estudios históricos sobre Marruecos* (Larache: Editora Marroquí, 1949), pp. 143–148, suggests that this name is related to *ars* (Arabic for "cedar"), an opinion shared by J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Bern: Francke, 1954). But it is unlikely that the cedar ever grew on the Mediterranean coast. Actually, there is little to choose between *ars* (cedar) and *ar'ar* (thuya) as possible roots of "alerce." The Latin *Larix* (larch) seems more plausible, but there are no deciduous conifers in Morocco.

[7] The reference is to "madera de los alerces, que los hay en Vélez y muchos y no en otra parte de la costa." For the complete text, see M. Jiménez de la Espada, *La guerra del moro a fines del sigol XV* (Ceuta: Imprenta Africa, 1940), p. 16.

[8] R. G. Albion, *Forests and Sea-Power* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926), p. 183; Hellmuth Hopfner, "La evolución de los bosques de Castilla la Vieja en tiempos históricos," *Estudios Geográficos*, 15 (1954), 415–430.

J: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175
311

A number of references to vegetation in northern Morocco appear in the journals of Leo Africanus.[26] In his introductory account of northern Africa the mountains of Barbary are described as "woody on all sides" and as being "replenished with woods and lofty trees."[27] But on the eastern frontier of Barbary, close to Libya, he found "certain barren hills destitute of trees, upon the lower parts whereof grow nothing but unprofitable thorns and shrubs."[28]

Leo's account of the "Kingdom of Fez" reveals his careful observation during extensive travels in northern Morocco.[29] "The Rif Mountains," he notes, are "replenished with most beautiful and straight trees." On the banks of Wad Lukkus he found "huge and solitary woods haunted with lions and other wild beasts." In 1562 a Portuguese attempt to supply the fort at La Graciosa was thwarted, according to Leo, when the Moors cut down "all the woods adjoining the river," causing it to be "choaked and stopped up with great trees." In this context it would seem that Leo refers to riparian forest, but he may be describing an extensive stand of cork oak. This forest did not extend over the entire Atlantic littoral, for he later notes that Arcila "sustaineth great want of wood" because it "standeth almost ten miles from the mountains." Then as now, the people of Arcila imported charcoal from the cork forests south of "Larais" (Larache).

Leo's description of Anjra shows an alertness to change. "In times past," he notes, the mountains of Anjra "greatly abounded with woods, which, being cut down by the inhabitants, were sent to Casar [Ksar as-Srair] for the building of ships, which at that time had a great fleet belonging thereunto." This passage seems to imply that ships were no longer being built or that shipbuilding had declined. A further implication might be that shipbuilding had declined because suitable timber had become scarce. If so, the depletion of the forest must have taken place between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries.[30]

Proceeding eastward on the Mediterranean coast, Leo stopped at "Terga," a few kilometers beyond Wad Lao and noted "not far from this town" an "abundance of wood upon the ragged and cold mountains." A similar observation is recorded at "Velles de Gumera" (Vélez de la Ghmara): "Upon the mountains grow great store of wood, very commodious for the building of ships and of galleys"; and he adds that the inhabitants of these mountains "are almost wholly employed about carrying of the said wood from place to place."[31] The reference to lumber trade is not surprising, for the Sanhajans probably carried cedar planks from market to market long before the sixteenth century; but it is surprising to find a suggestion that the mountain tribes were "almost wholly employed" in this trade.

The next account refers to "Ielles," a village located on the coast between Vélez and the bay of Alhucemas. The mountains south of this place are described as being "full of pine trees," and Leo found "great store of wood" in the moun-

[26] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896).
[27] *Ibid.*, I, 168–169.
[28] *Ibid.*, I, 173.
[29] *Ibid.*, II, 494–539, Hakluyt edition. The quotations to follow are taken from Book 3 of the narrative.
[30] Vernet Ginés, *op. cit.*, in note 19.
[31] In regard to the same place, Mármol (who may have copied Leo) refers to "buen aparejo de madera en las sierras de alrededor, donde hay muchos árboles, alcornoques y alerces para hacer navíos." Luys del Mármol Carvajal, *Descripción general de Africa* (Granada and Málaga, 1573–1599), III, chap. 62.

(113)

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

tains of the upper Nkour. The same expression is applied to the mountains on the route between Vélez and Fez (probably the Sanhajan highlands), and to "Mount Seusaoen" (i.e., Shawen, probably Jbil Tisuka). Leo's account of the eastern sector of northern Morocco is very different. The plains of Garet are described as a desert, and the lower Moulouya Valley as being "unpleasant and dry," with "no water but that of the river Muluia."

Accounts of forest in the Rif highlands are to be expected, but it is surprising to find repeated references to forest on the Mediterranean coast. Similar accounts appear in the works of Arab writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Strabo describes the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees. The frequent mentions of trees near Ceuta suggest a profound modification of vegetation in subsequent years. Accounts of shipbuilding and lumber trade indicate some commercial logging; the retreat of the forest near Ksar as-Srair, Ceuta, and Vélez might have been a direct result of these activities. Leo's reference to "great want of wood" at Arcila suggests that the hills and marine terraces of the Tahgier-Tetuán-Arcila triangle had been cleared before his time, but extensive woods still existed in the basin of Wad Lukkus. His evaluation of the Moulouya Valley may have been prejudiced by previous exposure to more verdant areas, but "desert" does not mean forest, or even a rich formation of scrub.

Agents and Processes of Change

In northern Morocco today, the most important agents of deforestation are: (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to "improve" pastures and to clear fields for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by sheep and goats. These processes are evident even to the casual observer, but it is difficult to determine their relative importance. Despois believes that the principal causes of deforestation have always been the need for fuel and new land to till.[11] Braun-Blanquet describes the Mediterranean garrigues as "zoöbiotically conditioned communities."[12] Kuhnholtz-Lordat is convinced that the greatest agent of deterioration has been fire.[13]

Each emphasis is supported by abundant evidence, but it may be doubted whether the several causes of deforestation can be treated independently. A series of fires, if not too closely spaced, may not result in deforestation, but burning followed by heavy pasturing inevitably does. Most of the broad-leaf trees in northern Morocco reproduce themselves from shoots after being burned or felled, but in areas overrun by goats the shoots are browsed down and forest degenerates to scrub. In tangled brush formations it is often difficult to tell whether the main destructive agent has been fire, domestic animals, or man.

Consumption of Wood

Although kerosene lamps burn in many Moroccan homes, charcoal and wood are the only important domestic fuels.[14] Butane and electrical appliances are

[11] Despois, *op. cit.*, p. 84, cited in note 13.

[12] J. Braun-Blanquet, *Pflanzensoziologie: Grundzüge der Vegetationskunde* (2d ed., Vienna: Springer, 1951), p. 371.

[13] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), *passim*.

[14] Anthracite of excellent quality has been mined at Djerada south of Oujda since 1931, but

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

313 The great wooden gates that used to guard the openings of every city wall
648 demonstrate the importance of the lumber trade. Only fragments of these gates
171 still exist, but it is certain that most of them were made of cedar. Logging operations were greatly expanded by the Spanish after the Rifian tribes had been pacified. It is not an exaggeration to say that the mineral deposits and cedar forests of northern Morocco were the only compensations for Spain's investment in colonial prestige. Reliable estimates of the amount of timber cut since the beginning of the protectorate cannot be found, possibly because the Spanish claimed to be conserving and restoring the forests in their zone. With the backing of military force, the Spanish were able to exercise some control over cutting by the native population, but their own work proceeded without interruption or apparent regulation. Spanish officials point out that the forests being exploited were private property and that the forestry service was concerned only with public domain.

In 1956 sawmills operated throughout the year at Tetuán and Targist, and during the summer months trucks heavily loaded with cedar logs could be seen on every mountain road. The fir forests on Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab had not yet been heavily logged when Spanish "protection" came to an end, but the deciduous oaks on Jbil Buhashim had been cut in quantity for use as railroad ties. These operations may have been a brief chapter in the history of the Moroccan forest, but it is probable that the Spanish, with modern equipment, cut more trees in a decade than the local tribesmen could destroy in a century. The effects of Spanish logging are strikingly evident in the Sanhajan highlands, especially on Adrar Dahdoh, Adrar Tidighin, and Adrar Tizi Ifri.

313 This harsh judgment applies only to the exploitation of cedar and the decidu-
171 ous oaks. A modest amount of reforestation was undertaken. A plantation of
[185] *Eucalyptus* was established north of Larache; Aleppo pines were planted near Rincón, Alhucemas, Nador, and Melilla; and an effort was made to prevent premature stripping of the cork oak.[32]

Profiting from long experience in Algeria, the Service des Eaux et Forêts carried out an elaborate program in French Morocco. The system advocated and partly enforced was based upon periodic and progressive thinnings, which were intended to reconcile the interests of the tribesmen with good forestry practice. If effectively enforced, this method would have permitted the production of fuel without waiting for the normal age of exploitation, and would have improved pastoral conditions by facilitating the movement and supervision of livestock.[33]

314 Tannin is extracted from the roots and bark of all the Moroccan oaks, and
171 this operation frequently results in mutilation or death. The cork oak is especially vulnerable, for tannin is scraped from the delicate inner bark immedi-
311 ately after the corky tissue has been removed. Complete girdling destroys trees, and death may result if more than half of the circumference is damaged.[34] The tanners of Marrakech have been responsible for extensive deforestation in the

[113] [32] The program planned by the Spanish forestry service is described in González Vázquez, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–185, cited in note 34; and J. Ruiz de la Torre, *La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos y la elección de especies para su repoblación forestal* (Larache: Centro de Investigaciones Forestales, 1956).

[113] [33] For a brief account of French management, see J. P. Challot, "L'homme et la forêt marocaine," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 84 (1946), 233–261.

[34] Boudy, *op. cit.*, II (fasc. 1), 47 ff., cited in note 5.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

High Atlas. Deforestation can be traced also to the tanners of Fez and Tetuán.[a] The tanners' guild in Fez goes back to the ninth century, when master tanners gathered at this site from Córdoba, Qayrawan, and distant Iran. Fez leather was once exported as far away as Baghdad, and shoes went to Egypt until the present century. During the peak years of production, Fez craftsmen tanned about 500,000 skins a year. The descendants of the original immigrant craftsmen are still busy making handbags, slippers, and other articles for the tourist and export trade.

It is not surprising that *Quercus Ilex*, an important source of tannin, should now be rare in the hills near Fez and Tetuán. There is good reason to believe that the holly oak once covered these hills. One well-informed botanist asserts that the primordial cover of the limestone mountains south of Tetuán probably was a "climax" forest of holly oak.[b] In Gal'aya and the eastern Rif, careless stripping of the bark of *Rhus pentaphylla*, a source of red dye, destroys many trees; "Morocco leather," a trade name in bookbinding, is customarily made from goatskin tanned with sumac.

Effects of Burning

In the eastern Rif the plant cover is usually too sparse to maintain a fire, and on the Atlantic littoral there is little land left to clear. But between these areas is a large zone covered with forest or scrub that must be burned before the land can be plowed. Some attempt is usually made to control the spread of fire, but conflagrations develop when tinder-dry shrubs are fanned by brisk winds. Fire is employed also for the "improvement" of pasture, for increased blossoming ("bee pasture"), and probably for the mere pleasure of burning or out of carelessness.[c]

The importance of pastoral fires has been emphasized by most students of the Mediterranean landscape,[d] but in northern Morocco fires set to clear away noxious shrubbery or to facilitate movement of stock are less important than agricultural fires. Pastoral fires are neither necessary nor desirable where there are goats, for these animals thrive on woody browse and can break through the thickest scrub. Sheep outnumber goats only in the drier eastern sector, where impenetrable formations are rare. For every fire set to "improve" pasture, probably more than ten are set to prepare new fields for plowing.

Whatever its cause, fire is a major agent of deforestation. The difficulty is that there are many kinds of fires: quick fires that run over a thin mantle of vegetation, great conflagrations that consume thicker formations, fires that remain close to the ground, fires that extend to the crowns of trees. It makes a great deal of difference whether fires recur after five or after twenty-five years. Moreover, the important factor may be not the fire itself but what happens to an area after it has been burned.

---

[a] R. le Tourneau, L. Paye, and R. Guyot, "La corporation des tanneurs et l'industrie de la tannerie à Fès," *Hespéris*, 21 (1935), 167–240; A. Joly, "L'industrie à Tétouan," *Archives Marocaines*, 8, 15, 18 (1906–1912).

[b] J. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala (Marruecos español)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1955), pp. 26–27, and the map showing the "natural area" of *Quercus Ilex*.

[c] H. Marc, *Notes sur les forêts de l'Algérie* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 396, lists the causes of serious forest fires from 1886 to 1915 as "accidents" (8 per cent), "imprudence" (32 per cent), "intentional" (23 per cent), "unknown" (37 per cent).

[d] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, "Influence des feux pastoraux dans la région méditerranéenne," *Jour. d'Agriculture Tropicale et de Botanique Appliquée*, 3 (1956), 785–791.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

372 Plants that are somewhat resistant to fire or are stimulated to multiply and
137 reproduce by fire have been called pyrophytes.[44] There are many kinds of pyro-
311 phytes, for resistance to or stimulation from fire may be achieved in several ways. The cork oak could be called a pyrophyte of passive resistance, for it is protected by thick insulating bark. Plants that send out new shoots after their aerial organs have been partly or completely destroyed might be described as pyrophytes of vegetative reaction. Budding may take place above ground, as in the thuya, or below ground, as in the kermes oak, palmetto, madrone, and numerous Mediterranean shrubs. Trees that cast deep shade (e.g., undisturbed holly oaks) could be termed pyrophytes of indirect resistance. Finally, some trees and shrubs that seed heavily and grow rapidly (e.g., Aleppo pine and species of *Cistus*) might be described as social pyrophytes.

372 This classification, derived from the pioneer work of Kuhnholtz-Lordat, has
114 much to recommend it,[45] but, like all classifications, it has some faults. The passive
137 resistance of the cork oak depends upon the lapse of time since the last stripping
311 of the bark. Pyrophytes of vegetative reaction may be destroyed if fires recur in rapid succession. In northern Morocco it is hard to think of a good example of indirect resistance. Some stands of cork oak and holly oak have shaded floors and sparse underbrush, but during the dry season such formations may be inflammable. Again, although the Aleppo pine is an excellent pioneer, it may be exterminated if fires recur in rapid succession or if the young shoots are browsed.

372 Recurrent burning thus favors some plants and discourages others. Continu-
137 ous repetition of brush fires produces communities rich in geophytes and thero-
311 phytes. In much of northwestern Morocco, species of *Cistus* are the first shrubby pioneers.[46] They soon collect in extensive clumps, but die out after ten to fifteen years if not burned again. Large areas in Jbala and Ghmara, now covered with *Cistus monspeliensis*, *C. albidus*, and *C. ladaniferus*, probably were once covered with forests of cork oak or holly oak. Fires usually do not destroy the aerial organs of trees protected by thick bark, but the mortality rate rises sharply immediately after the bark has been stripped.[47]

When aerial organs are destroyed, both cork oak and holly oak reproduce from shoots. An occasional fire may even serve to regenerate a senile forest. But extreme care must be taken to prevent further destruction, for *Cistus*, *Erica*, and other heliophilous shrubs spread over the surface as soon as more light reaches the ground. Since the expanding secondary growth is highly inflammable, this process increases the danger of recurrent fires.[48] After several fires, the mesophytic plants are replaced by species more xerophytic as well as more heliophilous, indicating a change to drier soil conditions.[49]

---

[44] Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée*, *passim*, cited in note 32.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

[46] Because of its rapid growth and abundant crop of seeds, *Cistus* has been used in California (113) to protect denuded slopes. Gustaf Juhren, "The Use of *Cistus* in Erosion Control," *Lasca Leaves*, Spring, 1956, pp. 26–29.

[47] See also Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 663 ff., cited in note 5; and A. Dugelay, "La remise en valeur des forêts de chênes-lièges incendiées," *Rev. Forestière Française*, November, 1951, pp. 687–694.

[48] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 649, describes *Erica arborea* as an "élément ignicole par excellence."

[49] On the effects of fire in similar environments, see A. W. Sampson, *Plant Succession on Burned (113) Chaparral Lands in Northern California* (Berkeley: California Agricultural Experiment Station, 1944); R. S. Adamson, *The Vegetation of South Africa* (London: British Empire Vegetation Committee, 1938); W. B. Turrill, *The Plant Life of the Balkan Peninsula* (Oxford:

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The main difference between the effects of fire in broad-leaf forests and in coniferous forests is that the latter, with the exception of the Barbary thuya, do not reproduce by coppice shoots. The resinous bark of maritime and Aleppo pines is highly inflammable, and since neither tree reproduces from shoots, burning is usually fatal. Yet both species, especially the Aleppo pine, are pyrophytes. Indeed, the presence of a large number of pine seedlings is a sure indication of recent burning. Both species produce abundant seed, and proliferation is encouraged by the destruction of competitive growth. If fifteen or more years have elapsed since a fire, the seedlings reach maturity and the ground is again littered with seeds; but recovery is thwarted by more frequent fires.

Little is known of the effects of fire on the Moroccan fir, but it is probably unimportant as an agent of deforestation. The three main stands of fir grow on the highest slopes of limestone mountains, where there is little underbrush. Furthermore, these mountains do not have sufficient surface water to support permanent human settlement. Goats driven to the mountains from the lower slopes have destroyed many seedlings, but there is little evidence of destructive forest fires. Nor is there evidence of destructive fires in relatively undisturbed stands of cedar. Such forests have little underbrush to serve as kindling, and the cedar itself does not burn easily. But fires may be serious where cedar forests have been invaded by secondary growth. Most of the shrubs common in open stands of cedar—*Cistus, Daphne, Genista, Cystius, Thymus,* and *Halimium*—are highly inflammable. Occasional fires followed by long periods free of disturbance generally do not cause deforestation, but deforestation results when seedlings are destroyed before they can produce seed. The critical interval is disadvantageously long, for the Atlas cedar does not produce abundant seed until it is forty to fifty years old.

Destruction by Domestic Animals

It would be hard to overemphasize the destruction wrought by grazing and browsing. More than half a million sheep and over a million goats are maintained in this zone. These figures are impressive, but the striking fact is that so large a number of animals are maintained by sedentary farmers. No tribe in northern Morocco is nomadic, and only the Ulad Stut and Aith Bu Yihyi practice transhumance. The main types of pastoral disturbance are well described by Braun-Blanquet.[36] Heavy pasturing causes: (1) withdrawal of large quantities of plant matter, (2) mechanical damage to plants by grazing, browsing, and trampling, (3) selective destruction of desired plants, (4) introduction of nitrophilous communities, and (5) alteration of micorelief.

The few cattle and camels kept in northern Morocco probably are not important agents of deforestation. Both animals are used almost exclusively for draft purposes, and few villages can afford to maintain more than one team. Authorities disagree on whether sheep have been significant factors in the process of deforestation. Most of the sheep in northern Morocco are in the drier and warmer parts of the zone, i.e., Garet and the eastern Rif. Woody plants are too

Clarendon Press, 1929); and B. O. Coventry, "Denudation of the Punjab Hills," *Indian Forest Records,* 14 (1929), 49–78.

[36] Braun-Blanquet, *op cit.*, pp. 367–368, cited in note 31.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

233 311 tough and massive to be adversely affected by grazing, but sheep can destroy shoots and seedlings, particularly those of the resinous trees.[a] The presence of monotonous formations of *Stipa tenacissima* in the lower Moulouya Valley and on the Algerian Hauts-Plateaux probably indicates overgrazing, for a history of excessive grazing may be inferred wherever hard tussock grasses have replaced more palatable growth.

Where goats are numerous, deforestation is accelerated, for no hillside is too steep to daunt this very agile creature, and few plants escape its voracious appetite (pl. 8, *a*). In Arcila, goats scale the nearly vertical Portuguese walls, and in the Sous Valley they climb into *Argania* trees. Not content with the grazing of grass, goats tear it up by the roots. When woody browse is exhausted, the soil itself is grazed in an attempt to get at the seeds of grasses and other plants. It is not surprising that the goat should be described as an "ecologic dominant,"[b] and that many naturalists would like to see it become extinct, except in zoos.[c]

[372] The most serious deforestation occurs when heavy browsing follows burning. Premature browsing or grazing results in the destruction of seedlings before they can produce a new crop of seeds. The French forestry service has ruled that burned areas should be closed to pasture for at least six years. The recovery of cedar forests may be thwarted if excessive browsing takes place within twenty years.[d]

311 139 The best-known relict of the cedars of Lebanon, a stand of several hundred trees, is protected from vandalism by a church and from goats by a stone wall.[e] In open places in the Mamora forest, young cork oaks survive only within a protective cluster of palmetto. On the semiarid plains of northeastern Morocco, *Pistacia atlantica* rarely survives unless it is protected by a spiny hedge of zizyphus or sumac (*Rhus pentaphylla*), and in the Sous Valley the latter species plays an even more vital role as a protector of young *Argania* trees. In the mountains of northern Morocco, seedlings of cedar, pine, and fir are protected by the armature of the juniper. Elsewhere on the Mediterranean versant, young trees may be protected by *Genista, Calycotome, Ulex,* and other thorny Leguminosae.

311 233 372 139 Trees that reproduce by coppice shoots are seldom completely destroyed, but excessive browsing may reduce them to shrub form. In the geographic textbooks the scrub or dwarf state of the Mediterranean woodland is often described as a consequence of the Mediterranean precipitation regime. The error of this generalization is manifest in the holly oak. That the stunted and deformed appearance of this tree results from fire-induced sprouting and browsing is evident when stately trees growing on protected sites are compared with the prevalent forms. Neither climate nor any other element of the inanimate environment can explain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

[a] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 616, is more emphatic: "Il est d'observation courante au Maroc, comme en Algérie, que dans tous les massifs de résineux où le parcours des moutons est intense, il n'y a pas de régénération et que ces massifs sont condamnés à disparaître à plus ou moins longue échéance."

[b] Marston Bates, "Man as an Agent in the Spread of Organisms," in Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 798, cited in note 7. [113]

[c] Raymond Furon, "The Gentle Little Goat: Arch Despoiler of the Earth," *The Unesco Courier*, January, 1958, pp. 30–32. [113]

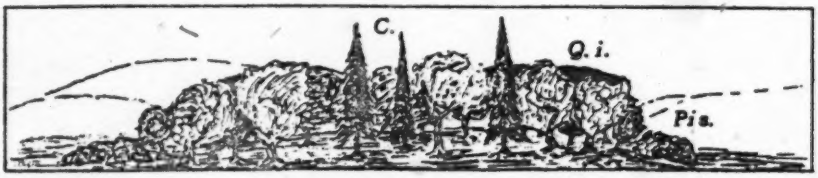
[d] Cf. Boudy's comment, *op. cit.*, II, 552: "Régénération de la cédraie et pâturage sont choses incompatibles." The prerequisites of recovery probably include at least three or four years of unusually heavy precipitation.

[e] W. C. Lowdermilk, "Lessons from the Old World to the Americas in Land Use," *Smithsonian Inst. Ann. Rept. 1943* (Washington, D.C., 1944), p. 416. [113]

A, [See p. 132--Analyst]

7:-Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

S
778
139
311



A. Sidi al-Hajj Yacub (Aith Seddath)

J
778
139
311

B. Sidi Mahadri (near Tetuán)

J
R
778
139
311

C. Km. 194, Tetuán-Melilla route

J
778
139
311

D. Km. 55, Tangier-Larache route

000

E. Bani Dercul F. Sidi Loraichi (Bani Arus)

Fig. 25. Profiles of vegetation on sacred sites.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961
MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

the stunted form of this tree. The same remarks apply to dwarf forms of thuya and oleaster. On protected sites even the palmetto may become a tree and, when disturbance is manifest, dwarf forms of cedar develop.

Vegetation on Sacred Sites

Throughout Morocco and to some extent elsewhere in the Muslim world, cemeteries are regarded as sacred ground. Sanctity is ascribed also to the areas adjacent to tombs or shrines of saints (*murabitin*). The cult of saints has been an important factor in Moroccan history, and tombs or shrines are found in the territory of each tribe.[a]

Sacred sites often constitute islands of verdure. This correlation is not unique. In *The Golden Bough* Sir James Frazer describes sacred woods in many parts of the world.[b] The interesting feature of the Moroccan situation is that such groves are extraordinarily numerous and that the veneration relates to the ground in which plants grow and not to the plants themselves.[c] Protected growth is usually more dense than the growth on adjacent profane land, and the height and girth of individual plants exceed those of plants growing on unprotected land. Some species (e.g., *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*) rarely achieve arborescent forms on unprotected sites.

The nature of the protected growth varies from a single shrub or tree to thickets and groves. Figure 25 shows the silhouettes of vegetation on a few sacred sites. These examples, selected from hundreds, illustrate the general pattern (cf. pl. 9, *a* and *b*).

Figure 25, *a*, shows a few mature cedars surrounded by a dense growth of holly oak. The prevalent vegetation in this area is a shrub formation dominated by *Cistus laurifolius*. There are no other cedars within a radius of several hundred meters, and holly oaks, apart from those on sacred sites, are in scrub form. It is evident that succession has resulted in a retrogression from cedar to oak forest and then to a sparse cover of shrubs.

Figure 25, *b*, illustrates a protected formation dominated by oleasters (cf. pl. 9, *a*). *Pistacia lentiscus* becomes prominent where oleasters are widely spaced and light reaches the ground freely. Palmetto and thuya, even more heliophilous, are confined to the edges of the protected growth. In the surrounding area the vegetation is limited to shrubs. Numerous other examples of oleaster groves fringed with pistacia and palmetto could be described. A handsome grove appears at the tomb of Sidi Manari on Cape Malabata opposite Tangier. Five groves appear on one ridge between Tangier and Tetuán. Others appear on the marine terraces between Tangier and Arcila, and on the lower slopes of the limestone mountains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

[a] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Marabout," in H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 325–326; Emile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

[b] Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935). Part I of *The Golden Bough*.

[c] J. Cola Alberich, *Cultos primitivos de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954), refers to tree worship (*dendrolatría*), but the evidence he cites relates to popular ideas of the medicinal and magical qualities of plant material (leaves, seeds, acorns, etc.) and not to the sanctity of plants as such. It is possible, for example, to recognize magical qualities in pine cones and yet have no reluctance to destroy or mutilate pine trees. In Morocco the important consideration is not what qualities a plant may possess but *where* it grows.

A, [See p. 133--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

south of Tetuán. There are at least a hundred oleaster groves in the area west of Ceuta and Ksar al-Kebir. In some areas oleasters mark every cemetery. Faced with this evidence, we can hardly avoid the inference that the primordial cover of the lowlands of northwestern Morocco was a woodland formation of oleaster and pistacia, and that the present cover of palmetto scrub represents degradation.

Figure 25, *c*, shows a protected stand of holly oak. The central part of the sacred grove consists of tall trees. *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Juniperus Oxycedrus* form a ring around the protected trees. Holly oaks are scattered throughout the central highlands (cf. fig. 8), but closed stands similar to the one depicted here are found only on sacred sites.

In figure 25, *d*, the evidence suggests, not a retrogression from forest species to scrub, but, rather, that two species which usually appear as shrubs, *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*, may have an arborescent form. The density of the protected formation and the height of its components differ markedly from the scrub cover of the surrounding land.

The cluster of cork oaks shown in figure 25, *e*, is preserved in an area of extensive clearing. Most of the nearby land has been burned during the last decade. The only conspicuous plants are *Cistus monspeliensis* in fallow fields and *Nerium oleander* along stream channels. This cluster of trees gives some indication of the plant cover of the area before it was cleared, and indicates the course of regeneration (cf. pl. 9, *b*).

In figure 25, *f*, a shrine is marked by two plants, an oleaster and a fig tree. This sketch illustrates on a small scale what the others show in greater detail. Most of the area surrounding the shrine is cultivated. Fallow fields are covered with *Asphodelus microcarpus, Urginea maritima,* and palmetto. The nearest oleaster, seven kilometers away, also grows on a sacred site.

Extent of Deforestation

Trends in plant ecology, viewed in the light of human relationships, take one of two courses, improvement or deterioration. The evidence examined thus far clearly indicates deterioration. What is the magnitude of change? This question cannot be answered in detail. Change is perceived through comparison, and the only reliable source of plant data is the visible pattern of today. Figure 26 gives a synoptic view of the distribution of forest. Figure 27, the basis for comparison, shows inferred primordial or potential forests. The first map is objective; it is a cartographic record of the distribution of forest in the sixth decade of the twentieth century. The second map is subjective, and its usefulness is conditioned by the quality of the evidence presented thus far.

The details of these maps are less important than their general outlines. The implication is clear that the present wooded area constitutes only a small part of the primordial forest. Many forest species, now stunted and widely spaced, may once have been taller and more closely spaced. Under undisturbed conditions the exceptionally xerophytic or heliophilous species would probably be confined to sunny slopes in the western sector or be limited to the semiarid eastern plains. Under optimum conditions the area covered by pyrophytic shrubs would be greatly reduced, and there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

would have included a large proportion of thorny plants. The exceptionally mesophytic species, *Abies pinsapo*, *Cedrus atlantica*, and *Quercus pyrenaica*, would presumably be restricted to the mountains even if all destructive activity came to an end. But moderately xerophytic and heliophilous trees, the oleaster and the evergreen oak, would occupy larger territories. Under favorable conditions the Barbary thuya would probably be taller and more closely spaced, and the formation described as thorn scrub would be a xerophytic woodland, dominated by *Pistacia atlantica* and *Rhus pentaphylla*.

If cutting, browsing, and burning ceased, most of the area now covered with palmetto scrub would eventually be clothed with forests of oleaster, cork oak, and holly oak. The primordial ranges of oleaster and cork oak would be determined by edaphic and climatic factors. The cork oak, which cannot grow on calcareous soils, would occupy the Pliocene terraces of the Atlantic littoral, the sandstone outliers of the Rif chain, and the slopes of intermediate elevation in the schistose highlands. Some connection may have existed between the cork forests of the central highlands and the small stand of *Quercus Suber* in the mountains immediately east of Wad Nkour. A solitary cork oak grows on a sacred site near the summit of Adrar Gurugú (885 meters). Recent dunes on the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts probably were once covered with *Juniperus phoenicea*.* In heavy clay soils the cork oak would give way to *Olea europaea* and *Pistacia lentiscus*, which would cover the lower slopes of the limestone mountains also. The sacred groves west of Ceuta and Shawen exemplify the natural state of this formation.

At higher elevations in the limestone mountains the natural forest was probably dominated by holly oak. It is necessary to postulate such a forest even though there is little evidence of it today. The agents responsible for the destruction and mutilation of *Quercus Ilex* have already been described. As we have noted, this tree is tolerant of most soils and has the widest range of any Moroccan tree (fig. 7).

The natural province of the Moroccan fir would be about the same as its present range, above 1,500 meters in the limestone mountains. At present this genus is restricted to the mountains east and southeast of Shawen. The only other peak in the calcareous chain high enough to support fir forests is Jbil Kelti (1,927 meters). Destructive processes, especially browsing by goats, have reduced the density of the remaining stands, but it is not likely that fir forests covered any lowland area in historic time.

Changes of greater magnitude appear to have taken place in the cedar forests. The lower limit of this tree overlaps the upper limit of cultivation (pl. 6, *a*). Retreat is especially evident on the northern slope of Adrar Taghzut (fig. 28). At present the lower limit of the forest on this slope is at about 1,800 meters, but a single majestic cedar grows on the site of a shrine (Sidi Abd al-Grifar) in the bottom of a deep valley, 600 meters below the main stand. In the valley of Wad Ouergha, protected cedars are found at even lower elevations. In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 113]

* The red juniper is still scattered over the dunes between Rabat and Larache, but has been replaced by herbaceous growth and the Aleppo pine on the Mediterranean coast. On dune vegetation, see J. Ruiz de la Torre, "La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos," *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 23–33; and Louis Emberger, *Notice phytogéographique sur une partie de la meseta marocaine septentrionale* (Montpellier: Causse, Graille, and Castelnau, 1931).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137
311
241

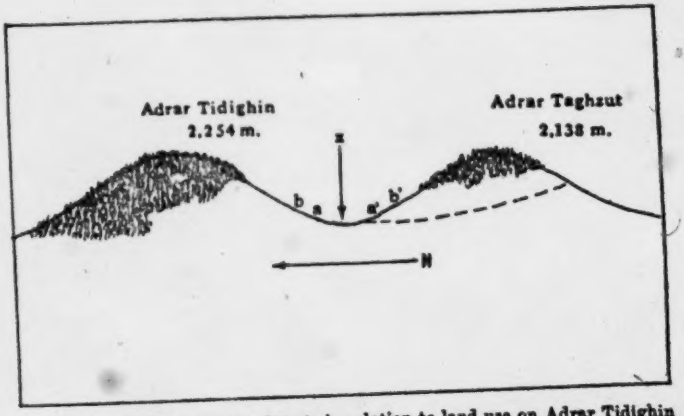


Fig. 28. Position of cedar forests in relation to land use on Adrar Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut: *a*, *a'*, zone of irrigated terraces; *b*, *b'*, zone of dry farming; *z*, location of protected cedar.

137
311

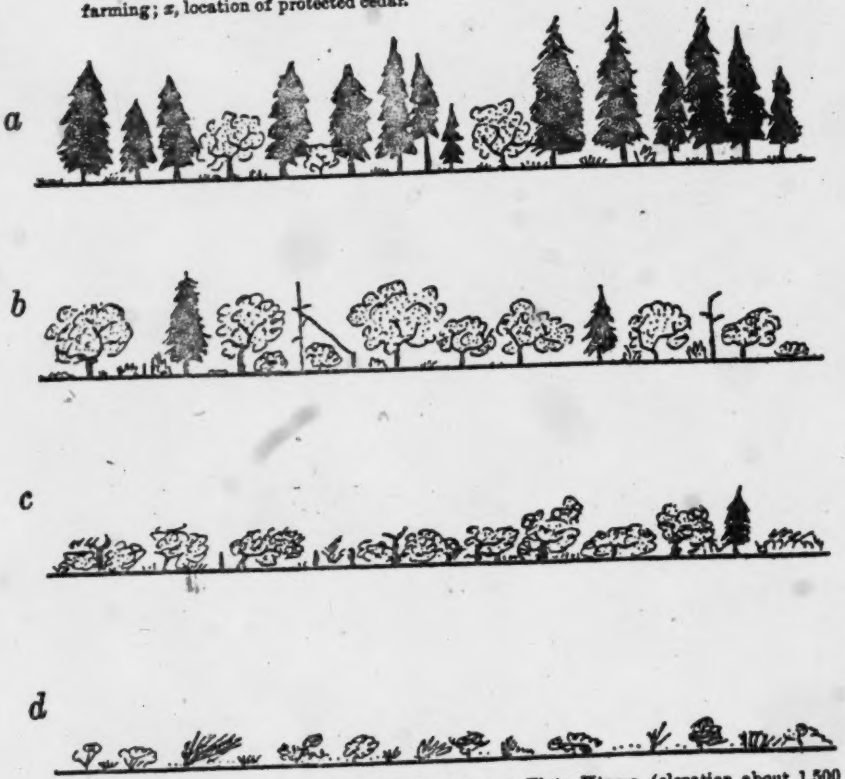


Fig. 29. Stages in retrogression of a cedar forest near Tlata Ktama (elevation about 1,500 meters): *a*, undisturbed forest; *b*, mixed stand of cedar and oak; *c*, secondary scrub oak formation; *d*, tertiary scrub formation without oak.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

bottoms of valleys, low nocturnal temperatures, caused by air drainage, probably favor the cedar; nevertheless, on many slopes the forest line appears to be 300–500 meters above its natural position.

Cedar forests do not regenerate unless pasturing is suppressed and there is an opportune cycle of wet years. Moreover, the subsoil and parent material must be loose enough to favor the development of seedlings and yet compact enough to retain moisture. A further prerequisite is that there must not be a thick cover of competitive shrubs. A single deforestation may drastically upset the natural equilibrium; if disturbance continues, recovery may be impossible. The mantle of cedars on relatively inaccessible slopes gives some indication of the appearance of the primordial forest (pl. 10, *a*). Figure 29 shows the trend of retrogression. On gentle slopes, undisturbed stands are dense, dark, and relatively free of underbrush. Steeper slopes, exposed to greater insolation, have an understory of shrubs and oaks. Burning or cutting followed by pasturing eliminates the cedar and reduces the oaks to scrub form. If disturbance continues, the plant cover degenerates to a sparse scrub of *Genista quadriflora, Juniperus Oxycedrus,* and *Cistus laurifolius.*

It is difficult to delimit the primordial pattern of the cedar forests. Forests probably existed on Jbil Kelti (1,927 meters), Jbil Sugna (1,600 meters), and Jbil Buhashim (1,681 meters), for a few cedars still grow on these peaks. The absence of cedars from Jbil Khsana (1,695 meters) is puzzling, since this peak receives abundant precipitation, and is composed of sandstone and schist, which weather into deep soils. At present no cedars appear east of Adrar Tizi Ifri, but they may once have clothed the highest peaks of the eastern Rif, including Adrar Hamam (1,930 meters) and Azru Akchar (2,011 meters). It cannot be proved that the cedar once grew beyond its present range, but the pattern of succession suggests that some stands may have been completely destroyed.*

The theory was presented, in chapter ii, that both the Aleppo and the maritime pine may be relicts which have been encouraged to advance by the destruction of competitive growth. If this notion is sound, the area originally covered with pines must have been even smaller than the present stands. This interpretation helps to explain the presence of pines in degraded forests of cedar and fir. However, human interference has probably caused a reduction of some stands of Aleppo pine, particularly on the Melilla peninsula and in the mountains southeast of Shawen. Disturbance might initially have encouraged expansion and then forced a new retreat. It is difficult to enlarge on this idea, for the existing stands of pine are too small and widely scattered to be placed accurately on the maps.

Prolonged disturbance and exploitation of the Barbary thuya have diminished the density of the remaining stands and reduced many trees to shrub form. The natural range of thuya in the western half of the zone can be traced without much difficulty. At higher altitudes on the Mediterranean versant, increased precipitation and lower winter temperatures favor cork oak and holly oak. On the Atlantic versant, climatic factors alone delimit the range. It is more difficult to trace a

* Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), (ref. to map), seems to regard the primordial range of the cedar as essentially the same as the present range. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala,* pp. 22–23, cited in note 41, suggests a natural extension to include the highest peaks of Ghmara and Jbala.

A, [See p. 134--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

limit in the area east of Wad Nkour. Emberger believes that most of the eastern lowlands were once covered with thuya.[44] According to another study, undertaken by an engineer of the Spanish forestry service, the natural range of the thuya extended to all areas of residual soil from the Nkour Valley to Wad Moulouya.[45] These interpretations may be sound, but the evidence presented here suggests that the primordial cover of most of the eastern sector was a mixed formation of *Pistacia atlantica* and *Rhus pentaphylla* with scattered clumps of oleaster. The effect of prolonged disturbance has been to reduce the area covered by these species and to favor the expansion of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*), dwarf sage (*Artemisia Herba alba*), and camel thorn (*Zizyphus lotus*).

There has been no study of plant succession in the arid and semiarid parts of northern Africa comparable in scope to Aubréville's monumental treatise on the effects of burning, clearing, and pasturing in tropical Africa.[46] Deterioration of ranges and "xerophytism" have been reported for most of the pre-Saharan zone, but it is not yet possible to determine the extent of change. The American statesman-scholar George P. Marsh argued long ago "that forests would soon cover many parts of the Arabian and African deserts, if man and domestic animals, especially the goat and camel, were banished from them."[47] In recent years a number of French scholars have expressed doubts concerning the theory that the vast formations of alfa grass and dwarf sage on the Algerian plateaus developed as a result of the semiarid climate.[48] After careful study of scattered stands of *Acacia gummifera* on the arid littoral of Morocco, south of Agadir, Charles Sauvage questions whether the zone between Anti Atlas and Wad Dra should be described as asylvatic.[49] Basing his conclusions on the wide occurrence of acacias in the desert, one author speaks of the primordial forests of the Sahara.[50] Sixty years ago another naturalist discovered that many of the wadis in the Egyptian desert were named after trees that had since disappeared.[51] Thus we have evidence that the effects of human disturbance have been felt even in the Sahara, and that aridity does not prevent the growth of some trees.

In the semiarid sector of northern Morocco it is possible to reconstruct vegetational changes with the aid of relict formations preserved on sacred sites. At the shrine of Sidi Seddic, on the border of the territories of Ulad Stut and Aith Bu Yihyi, a majestic oleaster, surrounded by sumac, is in striking contrast to the prevalent cover of dwarf sage. *Pistacia atlantica*, one of the few trees of northern Africa that can grow on heavy alluvial soils, appears on several sacred sites in

[44] Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, pp. 71–78.

[45] J. Ruíz de la Torre, "La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos," *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 30–33.

[46] André Aubréville, *Climats, forêts et désertification de l'Afrique tropicale* (Paris: Editions Maritimes et Coloniales, 1949).

[47] George P. Marsh, *The Earth as Modified by Human Action: A Last Edition of "Man and Nature"* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1885), p. 149.

[48] According to Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 68, "Les prairies d'halfa peuvent représenter d'anciennes forêts de *Juniperus phoenicia*, parfois même de *Callitris* et même de *Quercus Ilex*." Buffault, "Le déboisement de l'Afrique du Nord," p. 481, cited in note 15, also accepts the notion of a primordial forest on the Hauts-Plateaux.

[49] Ch. Sauvage, "Les environs de Goulimine: carrefour botanique," in *Volume jubilaire de la Société des Sciences Naturelles du Maroc* (Rabat, 1948), pp. 107–146.

[50] L. Lavauden, "Les forêts du Sahara," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 65 (1927), 265–277.

[51] E. A. Floyer, "Disappearance of Desert Plants in Egypt," *Kew Bull. Miscell. Information*, 72 (1892).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

the valleys of Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert.* The Aleppo pines preserved on the Melilla peninsula tell a similar story of general destruction and rare survival. Elderly tribesmen of Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut remember a time when great thickets of sumac covered the plains of Garet.

The evidence examined in this chapter supports the thesis, now accepted by most students of Mediterranean vegetation, that the prevalent maqui and garrigue formations are produced and maintained by man. The pattern of succession in the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco depends upon ecologic processes that are not yet thoroughly understood. The theory that this area was once wooded may or may not be sound, but there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover included a high proportion of tussock grass, zizyphus, or other animal-resistant plants. Any projection of current trends, whether in the drier or the wetter areas, suggests a large degree of change. This introduces new problems, for the inevitable result of biotic disturbance is a modification of the soil.

Erosion

The steep slopes of northern Morocco favor rapid runoff and prevent the formation of deep residual soils. Moreover, torrential rains in winter and spring follow vigorous mechanical weathering during the dry summer months. It would be hard to imagine an area more vulnerable to destructive erosion. Few slopes have an adequate plant cover, and forest now covers only about a tenth of its primordial range. In view of these natural and artificial conditions, it is not surprising that soil forms a deep and continuous mantle only in the coastal plains, and that most of the highlands are bare.

A useful point of departure is to locate areas that are virtually without soil. This is the situation in the calcareous highlands. From Jbil Musa to Ibuqquyen the horizon is dominated by a wall of bare limestone. It is possible that soil never was formed on the steepest slopes. On moderate slopes there are small and discontinuous patches of clay, but most of the calcareous zone has been stripped of fine material and only cobbles remain. Here and there are tiny mounds of soil preserved by the roots of a palmetto (pl. 11, *b*). On some slopes, particularly in the range of Jbil Kelti, lines of stone have been built up when there was enough soil to justify clearing and cultivation.

The rate of erosion in any storm depends on the force with which raindrops stir up the soil and the amount and speed of the runoff. Deforestation, particularly on steep slopes, accelerates degradation, and the combination of cutting, burning, and browsing prevents any reëstablishment of protective cover. Although the calcareous highlands were probably once covered with forests of holly oak (cf. figs. 5 and 27), today, vast areas lack even herbaceous growth. In the karstic highlands the only conspicuous plants are palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

Erosion is not quite so serious in the highland areas formed of schist and sandstone. Protected stands of cedar, cork, and deciduous oaks are associated with abundant litter and about eighteen inches of clay or sandy loam. But in cleared areas there is abundant evidence of loss of topsoil (pl. 10, *b*). Since it is common

* *Pistacia atlantica* has been used to stabilize slopes in Israel. G. F. Gindel, "Afforestation of the Semi-arid and Arid Areas in Palestine," *Empire Forestry Rev.*, 25 (1946), 213–221.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

practice to allow sheep to graze on stubble, many slopes are completely bare when the first rains fall. Erosion is retarded during spring and summer when a part of the runoff is diverted into irrigation ditches, but the irrigation systems promptly disintegrate at the beginning of the rainy season, and runoff again follows the network of gullies (pl. 11, *a*).

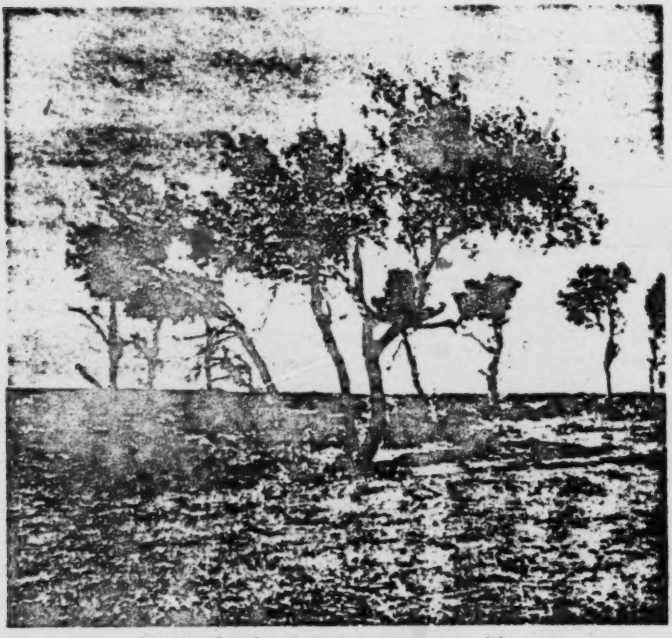
Gullying is most severe in the hilly areas of the Rif. The basins of Wad Ghis, Wad Nkour, and Wad Kert show an intricate pattern of short, steep slopes. "Ghis" means "mud" in Arabic, and most of the mud comes from the denuded highlands. The lower course of each river is joined by deeply entrenched tributary streams cutting through old fans and terraces. In Targist, Thimsaman, and Tafarsith the best farms are on fragments of Pliocene conglomerate, isolated from one another by deep ravines. Badland topography covers most of the area between Wad Nkour and Wad Kert. This may be described as an erosion-induced hoe-culture, for slopes are so badly dissected that it is no longer possible to use plows. The desperate effort to produce grain is abandoned only when the harvest does not repay the investment in seed. Cereals are sown in gullies and on nearly vertical slopes. The Spanish learned to their dismay that hungry Rifians try to cultivate even the roadbeds. The plains of Garet and the lower Kert constitute islands of alluvium in a sea of denuded terrain. Serious erosion becomes evident as soon as one passes to older terrace and residual soils. The hills of Ikibdhanen and the volcanic eminence of Gurugú are as bare as the limestone peaks.

The pattern of gullies and rills continues into the hills of Jbala and Ghmara, but the most serious problem in these areas is sliding. The roads from Tetuán to Tangier and Shawen are blocked by slides every year. In Anjra and Fahs one is never out of sight of a slide scar. Gullying is less serious than in the eastern sector, but streams are slightly entrenched even in the rolling country south of Tangier, and the marine terraces between Arcila and Larache are cut by deep barrancas."[113]

[113] René Raynal, "Bodenerosion in Marokko," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, 5 (1956–1957), 885–894.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957). 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

R
137
311



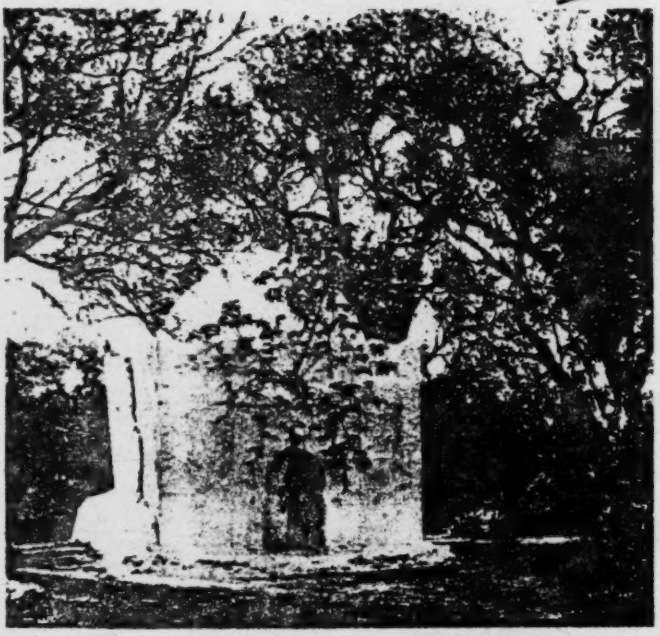
a. Mutilated cork oaks in an area overrun with goats.

J
291
313
482

b. Jbalan woman with a load of firewood.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

778
139
311
346



a. Protected forest at the tomb of a saint near Tetuán. Mature specimens of *Olea*, *Callitris*, and *Pistacia lentiscus*. Cf. fig. 25, *b*.

778
139
311

b. Sacred clump of cork oak on the site of a shrine near Shawen. *Cistus monspeliensis* appears in foreground.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

of containers. Water is so scarce in the Garet that the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi are accused by the other Riffians of giving their food-vessels to dogs to lick rather than washing them. (See plates 2 and 3.)

In the Garet during summertime the heat rises unmercifully, to such a temperature that it seems difficult to endure; in winter cold winds blow across it, and although the ground does not freeze and snow rarely falls, the inhabitants feel considerable discomfort in the flimsy shelter of their tents.

Winter snow falls regularly in Gaennaya, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, throughout the Senhaja Sghir, and in parts of the Ghomara, as well as in the Arabophone Senhaja. On Christmas day, 1926, several inches of snow fell at Ajdir, on the Bay of Alhucemas. In the valley of Beni Bu Nsar every winter the brook freezes over, and its course is obscured by several feet of snow, which smooths off the contours of the terraces; Taghzuth is almost as hard hit, and Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus are under snow for over four months of the year, while in Zarket the snowfall is so great that a whole column of Spanish troops perished in ten-foot drifts in November, 1926. The Spaniards occupying the posts in the Senhaja Sghir have organized a ski troop, composed of Riffians who, during the last two winters, have become adept in this new method of locomotion. (See plate 1.) Both the Riffians and the Senhajans seem perfectly acclimated to the snow, from a physical standpoint. They do not seem to mind the cold as much as do Europeans, and frequently walk for hours in the snow barefoot.

The Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath are as accustomed to snow as are we in New England, and endure a climate in no wise less rigorous.

FAUNA

As far as can be determined, no competent zoölogist has worked in the region discussed in this volume. Because of the inaccessibility of the country such a lacuna is not surprising. It is therefore with hesitation that one not versed in zoölogical classifications attempts to catalogue the animals found there. I have made a list of the mammals commonly known to the Riffians, with their Berber and Arabic names and their descriptions. By comparing these names with those given by Hanoteau and Letourneau for Kabylia and checking the descriptions with Dr. Glover Allen of the Zoölogy Department of Harvard University,[1] and by looking them up in Flower and Lydekker, I have arrived at tentative conclusions as to the identities of most of them. My guesses as to species should not be taken as premature and groundless identifications, but rather as suggestions intended to stimulate zoölogical interest in that area.

Mammalia

Ungulata

tighaidat u wazghar (Arabic *ghazal*), the gazelle. This animal is found in the flat arid regions west of the Muluya, in the tribes of Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Beni Tuzin, and in southeastern Gaennaya.

Gazella mhorr and *G. dorcas* are common in Morocco, also *G. isabella*.

[1] Dr. Allen has kindly gone over this section in proof, making numerous additions and corrections.

●312

AGRICULTURE I

Leading an irrigation ditch from the stream, Tesarin, Taghanth

Repairing a leaky ditch, Tigniss, Ghomara

Laundering beside an irrigation ditch, Tigniss, Ghomara

Ploughing under the fig trees, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

[facing p. 46]

J. Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 RLF MX3

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 *thasath*, the ordinary hand mill, consists of two stones, an upper and a nether, as in the water mill (singular *agharf*, plural *igharfawn*). The upper is set crookedly on an axis fastened into the lower, and a hole through the middle receives the grain poured into it by hand. The upper stone is rotated by a wooden handle set in its side. This hand mill is distributed throughout Morocco and the Mediterranean area in general.

thahont, the olive grinder, is made of a concave platform, circular in shape, about six to eight feet in diameter, and two or three feet high, its surface covered when possible with slabs of slate. In the middle of it is set an upright pole, which rotates in its socket. Through the pole is set a log handle, which goes through a millstone set on edge and reaches several feet over the lip of the platform. Olives are put in the platform, and the wheelstone is turned by men or animals pushing or pulling on the handle. (See plate 12.)

azekor, the oil press, is the second machine necessary in the manufacture of olive oil. The mashed pulp of the olives, taken out of the grinder, is put in low circular baskets with constricted necks. These are then pressed in a machine constructed as follows. A heavy log is set at one end into the side of a hill or into a pile of rocks, so that it is pivoted rather than firmly attached. The other end, upheld by a wooden screw, is prevented from slipping sidewise by two upright logs set in the ground as guides. The screw, equipped with a handle, does not mesh directly with the heavy log, since if it did so the change in the direction of the log during the descent would jam and possibly break the screw. For this reason the screw passes through a large hole in the log and meshes with a smaller piece of hard wood, pegged, with considerable allowance for play, to the log beneath it. The descent of the heavy log is thus regulated by the turning of the screw: if it is turned one way, the log descends; if the other, the log rises. A block of wood is placed between the screw and the fulcrum of the lever, so as to get the maximum pressure. Under the log are set superimposed baskets of olive mash, and the block thus serves to transmit the weight of the log to the baskets. As the log is screwed down, the oil is squeezed out of the mash and flows through the meshes of the baskets, to fall into a wooden or pottery container at the foot of the stone on which the baskets are set. The parts of the oil press are as follows:

thahont, the olive-crushing machine, complete, also the stone wheel.
amghir, the sticks in it, both the upright axis and the horizontal handle.
er hawuth, the grinding table.
azekor the pressing machine, entire, also the log weight above.
azthi, the screw.
aharush, the log which transmits the pressure from the weight to the baskets, so-called from its resemblance to a mortar.

The olive press, including both component machines, is found in every tribe excepting Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. In the Branes and Marnissa is found a variant type of press, in which there are two screws, and the weight-log, the *azekor*, is not heavy, the machine thus depending for its pressure upon the constriction of the screws, which are operated from above.[1]

312 *targa*, the irrigation ditch. (See plate 9.) Irrigation ditches are led from springs and streams along the sides of valleys at a slope less than that of the streams themselves. Their

[1] Laoust (pp. 451–460) describes the variant forms of this machinery in other parts of Morocco. Baron Nopcsa (p. 137) also gives a description of the same thing in Albania. Like the turbine mill, this apparatus enjoys a wide distribution in the Mediterranean area.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

construction requires a great amount of skill. Where the sides of the valley are precipitous and rocky, the ditches are led around through olive logs hollowed out with the adze and supported by long wooden props; at times ditches are led even from one side of the valley to the other by means of these olive-wood troughs. The distribution of the *targa* coincides with that of *tikerathin*, or terraces, except in the lowland alluvial plains of Ajdir, Tiguisas, and other Mediterranean deltas, where irrigation is carried on without terraces. Irrigation is locally supposed to have been invented by the men of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen in the northern Gzennaya, and expert *targa* makers from these places are sent for to construct and repair ditches all over the Rif.

hassi, the well. Wells are constructed by itinerant craftsmen from the region of the Draa, who wander about throughout the Rif seeking employment. They are never molested, since they are considered benefactors of mankind, and are paid well for their work. These men generally earn as much as twenty dollars for the construction of an average well, and find employment chiefly in flat arid country where there are no springs and where wells are a necessity.

Communism in Agriculture. The Riffians, living as they do close to the soil and often not distantly removed from the prospect of starvation, have developed several social devices whereby the poor may be prevented from perishing and the rich compelled partially to support them. These charitable practices are so ingrained that no one able to act as a benefactor to the poor would venture to criticize them in public or refuse to take part in them. They concern the three vegetable products which seem most deeply entwined with Riffian life: rye, grapes, and olives.

When a man wishes to sow rye on a mountain slope, he invites as many men as wish to do so to help him. Most men who have nothing else of importance to do accept the offer, and no one refuses without an adequate excuse. In this way a man of moderate means is assured of a plentiful crop of rye, to make up for his lack of other foodstuffs.

The crew works diligently from sunrise to sunset, after which they climb downhill to the house of the owner of the rye. The latter's womenfolk have meanwhile busied themselves preparing as ample a meal for the workers as the family's means will allow, and all eat and spend the evening together. If the family cannot provide very abundant rations, the workers seldom complain, since they consider their participation in the work as a form of charity, and their partaking of the food as a social gratification to the providers of it.

Similarly, in reaping season, anyone who wishes may come unbidden and help gather in the grain, whether it be rye, barley, or wheat, and is assured of an adequate meal at the end of the day in payment. In this way people who have finished their own work may be fed without drawing on their own supplies. Gleaning is left to the poor of the village.

If two farmers who own adjoining fields or terraces possess each but a single cow, they yoke these together and plough their land in common. No family is without a cow, and since ploughs are constructed by the farmers themselves, or by neighbors especially adept at the art, without payment, the situation of a man with land and no cow or plough does not arise.

Irrigation ditches which water the tillage of more than one man are subject to communal care. Each farmer is assigned a definite amount of water during each season when it is required, the amount depending on the amount of land requiring irrigation. The water is measured by days and half-days. Each season the farmer must send out a man for every

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathi* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.
3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.
4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

624 423 312 One of the clerk's most troublesome duties is keeping track of irrigation property. If a stream commences in the property of a certain man, that man has the right to build a ditch within his own property to irrigate his own fields, and that water belongs exclusively to him. If he wishes to sell the rights to some of the water to a neighbor, he allows the neighbor to lead water off the stream below the place at which he leads off his own water, and likewise allows this neighbor to build a ditch across his land to the purchaser's field. The purchaser must pay for the water rights and for the narrow strip of land on which the ditch runs. The clerk makes out papers for the transfer of these rights, and signs them.

He also makes out papers for other irrigation complications. One man may sell the right of one day's water per year to another man through whose land his ditch passes. If a ditch is led off from a large stream which flows through a number of villages, no one owns the original water, but any man who constructs a ditch from it has the right to the water which is led off, once he has paid for the land which the ditch crosses. Men who construct such ditches usually sell so many shares in it that in time it becomes almost communal. The shares are sold on the basis of so many day's water a year per man. If a dry year comes or the water is low, each man receives a reduced share of the water proportionate to his original allowance.

If a ditch owner has allowed another man to lead off part of his water into another ditch, under time limit or restriction, when a season of drought comes they take turns, day by day, so as to divide equally what little there is of it.

If in a series of step-terraces, built one above the other, an avalanche covers more than the top one, the owners of all the terraces in the series have to work together to remove the stones. If a cloudburst pushes these same terraces down the side of the mountain so that the top one has lowered its position, and the bottom one has fallen into the stream and its earth been washed away, the owners of the terraces go to the clerk and find out exactly how much of this particular terrace land each of them possessed. If they each owned a third, the clerk measures, with string, what arable land remains, and divides it up proportionately, so that the order of ascension is the same as before, but the area of each is proportionately reduced. If, however, the bottom one suffers loss through the action of the stream and nothing has happened to the upper ones, the owner of the bottom terrace has to suffer his loss alone. Any small loss of earth or manure due to a storm may not be recovered; the owner of the lower terrace into which it has been washed may keep it. If the boundary wall between two terraces has been broken in by the storm, and dirt has washed over the stones, making the boundary questionable, the clerk comes with the papers of the original sale and a cord, and measures the terraces anew. Then the owner of the upper terrace must build another retaining wall, and cannot recover the earth which he has lost, unless, as above stated, the upper boundary of his land has slumped downhill and the bottom terrace has fallen into the stream.

624 423 When a man's tree thrusts its branches over a boundary so that it hangs over another man's land and makes shade on it, preventing the growth of grain or vegetables, the owner of the shaded land may protest and demand that that part of the tree be removed. The clerk forbids cutting it, however, and orders the owner of the tree to give a fourth of its fruit to the other man.

624 471 The clerk also keeps track of the olive press, and of the succession of those entitled to use it. If a neighboring *bone* has no press he lets it use the one in his territory, before the

776 jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke
789 of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsis-
776 tencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place
778 where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the bâraka
789 possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

776 [315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is
789 to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[342] [317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat
782] is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

●[312] [321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the
[782] place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

776 [324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person,
755 attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means
789 used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

595 832 possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage; it is significant that the bride puts on the didli on the morning after her first intercourse withher husband.

787 755 [586] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person gets a sty some woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

787 843 An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic influences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Warain). At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (sfarjel) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere, is found the belief that if a pregnant woman [587] (Hiaina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Ait Waryager), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birthmark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Ait Sadden).

787 777 [590] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 356 [312] [593] Rezq (razq, rezq) means all sorts of good things contributing to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a person cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own rezq (Fez).

You may also sweep away your rezq. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Hiaina, Dukkala, Tangier, Andjra, Tsul, Ait Waryager), or even after 'asar (At Ubahti); and the Rifians of Temsaman consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon.

[595] Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. settaba; Berb. tasttabt [Ait Warain], tastta [Temsaman], disagwust [Ait Waryager]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Ait Waryager).

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

241 near Sūq al-Arba' of Taurirt. Olive oil, extracted from a communally owned olive grinder and oil press, is the essential fat (1).

The fields, orchards and vegetable gardens (the latter producing [312] broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers and carrots, to mention only a few) of the Aith Wuryāghil are usually terraced near the houses, along the slopes of the mountains. The vineyards, whither the families repair in September to pick grapes, are further up; and along the crests are the communal goat pastures [313] and the *ghāba* patches, where the women go to cut brushwood for their ovens and for the local mosque. Grape picking is the only important activity in September, which marks the end of the agricultural year; after this is done and after the barley has been reaped and [585] threshed and the silos piled up, people make merry and get married before the first rains begin again and the time to plow and sow has started up once more.

675 464 Herding and agricultural contracts of a verbal nature are made between the wealthier and the poorer men of the community, those who have little hiring themselves out to those who have more (2). Individuals who own more animals than they can pasture themselves hire herders who, while the beasts are in their charge, receive all the milk and butter and half the young ones born, and, when the animals are sold, half the profits; if the contract concerns sheep, they receive half the wool as well. Vegetable gardens and orchards are cared for by hired gardeners *(rabbā')* who receive one-fourth of the fruit and vegetable crop; as their job entails setting up terraces, they sometimes get one-third of the vegetables if the land is difficult to work. These same men, if they also perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, are called *ikhammāsen* and receive one-fifth of the barley and wheat crop. The owner of the field supplies the seed, the animals (usually cows) and the plow as well in this type of contract, while the *akhammās* (sing. of *ikhammāsen*) provides only his muscles and a switch to keep the cattle moving while they are under the yoke. The *akhammās* contract is the most

(1) Coon, Carleton Stevens: Caravan, The Story of the Middle East, New York 1951, p. 313.

(2) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en las yemaas del Rif, Africa, Madrid, Noviembre 1947, pp. 75-77.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ifarādhen* (Arabic *bil-fard*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches *(tharga*, pl. *tharghiwīn)* and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rīf, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

mary to arrange a fixed place beforehand for washing and bathing. Each *jamā'ath* (village, council of notables) works out and agrees on fines for infractions of water rights, particularly with regard to freedom of women; a small boy is stationed at a prudent distance from the women's section of the water, to keep men away (4).

It was Col. Blanco, in his magnificent analysis of Riffian customary law (5) (which has served as an invaluable aid to me in the collection of my own notes on the subject), who first called attention to the fact that in the Bay of Alhucemas, the primary ditches have secondary branches which only take up water for twenty-four hours; if there are four such secondary branches, each one only takes up water every four days. Secondary ditches in turn have tertiary branches, which take up water only during the day, or at night. The tertiary branches lead to the very small ditches of individuals, which take up water for a few hours only, these hours usually being determined by those of the daily prayers. Distribution of water is based on the tribal social structure: a *thārfiqth*, the fundamental social unit, receives water from a secondary ditch on a twenty-four hour basis, while a *jājghū* or patrilineal extended family within the *thārfiqth* may use only a tertiary ditch. If one of these family groups, during one turn, gets its water during the day, it will receive it at night in the following round, and the first in one turn will be the last in the next. All ditches are subject to communal maintenance and all the families who use them must help repair them after heavy rains have washed them out.

Water rights are still carefully regulated by the *'urf*, or unwritten customary law, and custom in respect to water channeled off from the Ghīs is different from that of the Nakūr, owing to the different nature of the rivers themselves. In the Bay of Alhucemas, the best land in the tribe, the flow of water in the lower course of the Ghīs, although slight, is nevertheless constant. The problem created by the Ghīs is that although today its volume has been artificially increased with new concrete beds for the primary ditches of Thafadhna, Bulma'iz and Libzimma, there would still not be enough water to go around if

(4) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 101.
(5) Blanco Izaga, 1939, passim.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

adequate provisions, sanctioned by custom, for its apportionment had not been made long ago. Because of the relative constancy of its flow, those who irrigate with its waters know that the quantity they can expect is more or less the same at any time of year. Thus the *qānūns* dealing with irrigation in the Lower Ghīs specifically state that any man who purchases land there must buy his irrigation turn independently. Due to the fact that these *qānūns* have been drawn up in Arabic by the *'adūl* or notaries public for all to see and abide by, and to the additional fact that all the land on both banks of the river belongs to Aith Wuryāghil, disturbances of social equilibrium about irrigation water there, although far from uncommon, have been considerably less great than they might have been.

The Nakūr, however, is something else again. Although it irrigates about eight times as much land as the Ghīs, it nevertheless loses much of its potential through infiltration. While in winter I have seen it overflow its banks during a heavy storm, it becomes reduced to a muddy little creek in summer. Owing to its volume capacity, however, its irrigation *qānūns*, in this case unwritten, provide that anyone who buys land there automatically has a right to irrigation water as well, because most of the year there is a sufficient quantity for all. But the hitch is that Nakūr water irrigates not only Aith Wuryāghil but Aith Tuzīn and Tamsamān as well. Although the Spanish administration has fixed the river as the boundary between Aith Tuzīn and Ṭamsamān on the east bank and Aith Wuryāghil on the west, individuals and families from each of these three tribes still own land on the bank opposite them. In the past the river functioned less as a boundary than as a zone of transition, and because of the unclear but traditional and conservative application of customary law, there was ample opportunity for feuds to develop, which they did with great frequency, particularly in summer when the water supply was low. The *shaikh ar-fijjāḥath* (Ar. *shaikh al-fillāḥa)* or *aquwwām* of each of the opposing tribes met to parley in case of a blatant infraction of custom, such as getting water out of turn; he was backed up by his respective constituents, all of whom were armed to the teeth. In case of a general melee, Aith Wuryāghil, being the most powerful, usually won, particularly if Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn were in disagreement with one another.

623 793 411 The fqih attended to the resources of the mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 624 312 242 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural supervisors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as litigations over other matters.[92]

623 613 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this, [555] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in 623 578 776 792 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.

623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

794 871 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an.... [872] [873] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some [829] [876] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 103 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 [631] 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

000 (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property. It$_{A}^{A}$ says nothing regarding
671 the question of irrigation, because within the territory of this subclan
312 there is not a single point of communal water available or usable only
614 by this jma'th, as happens in Thamasind (see Qanun of Tamasint); on the other hand, it forms part of a group of irrigating jma'ths subjected to the same norms which are described in detail in Chapter XIV, and, if it does not touch other points of coexistence and if it is observed in other qanuns, this is simply because such questions did not give rise to any disagreements, for all members of the subclan accepted the old and very well-known customs of their jma'th in good spirit.

000 And rough, practical men cannot lose time inventing or making things up, even though they may be capable of doing so.

671 This qanun, like almost all others, brings into relief the sweat, efforts and oversights of those who drew it up, in order to validate the precepts agreed upon and in order to satisfy, for those attending to them[37]; for, attentive to his individual interests, a man would wish to make an addendum if a mishap had occurred in his orchard the previous night, as in note i in the text. Amplifications or corrections [623] were required, for, fearing that they were not understood by the hard-headed councilmembers, the plaintiff was accredited before the legislative assembly as proof of his presence at the legislative meeting even if only to legislate egotistically for his orchard.

623 With this, they accredited that under a severe and formalized
182 appearance, there was no more than childishness (sic) and incapacity to govern (sic): lost in small details, strongly addicted to minutiae, passionately influenced by the latest incident, working anarchically (sic), each person obsessed with his own problems, attentive to his

574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present
805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

passers-by may slake their thirst. This also reflects the fact that the retention of surplus water is considered an act of bad faith by a person's neighbors; and the latter fact in part makes it necessary for irrigation water upstream to be properly carried out and led off, and thus that holdings under irrigation be leveled and conveniently prepared.

B) Usage of Water in General:

Utilization of water in the Rif presents three facets which are common to all societies: utilization by animate beings, by (or for) lands, and by (or for) industries. Rights of preference are also the same, and in the same order: first, animate objects, the surplus for lands, and what remains, for industry, which in the Rif is represented by turbine water mills (dhasirth w aman, pl. dhisira w aman), which in times of excessive dryness or drought do not have the right to utilize water from those irrigation channels which divert or subtract the flow from the principal ditch.

C) Water Points for Men and Animals:

Water points in Rifian villages whose liquid content is destined for human and animal consumption are not regulated by any by-laws other than that of designation of the hours in which men may go to them; the rest are reserved for women, for whom it is also customary to reserve, beforehand, and whenever possible, fixed points for washing and bathing. For this reason, if the village contains diverse water points, one is used by the women and another by the men; and the surplus water is channeled toward a pond (agirman, pl. igirmamen), which forms the common watering place for the animals as well as a malarial focus from which it is difficult to extinguish the mosquitoes.[118] The

312 562 [623] [681] The jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

312 695 The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agree- [212] ments are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

[466] The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work [333] done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

312 689 241 242 627 Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2) differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled

312
689
[24]
[342
[627] amicably by irrigation specialists (aquawam, pl. iquawamen). In the latter instance, the e specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

312
621
624

312
675
423 The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

312
571
[805] Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

312 571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

312 675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of riverain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work [181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for [648] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

423 675 312 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which we are studying it, in which tribe, its clans and smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

423 675 312 that this would have rendered useless all demands and threats voiced by downstream groupings for the transfer of even a minimal amount of flow, and in our time things have not varied; those upstream use all the water that they can, and those downstream, the overflow; and it would not occur to anybody to vary this procedure, followed since time 312 immemorial. To this procedure is very well adapted the regimen of the rivers in the Rif, in the dry beds of which water does not run on the surface, but rises up only in fixed points, each one of these forming, with the help of improvised dams, the sources or points of origin of successive irrigation ditches, making them seemingly independent.

133 241 (578) In addition, the narrow fissures which form the beds of such torrential rivers, their irregular flow, their devastating overflows and floods, in short, opposed nature and men so that the latter would have some motive for doing this and even need it for their small irrigable crop and the bare necessities of life; for it did not and would not occur to anyone to work or cultivate any more land than that necessary for his own subsistence, as anything else, overflow aside, would have attracted the envy of neighbors and strangers, and this in 675 turn would have led to blows. An association on such a large scale and for such modest objectives was, for this reason, impossible, inefficacious and unnecessary.

312 The river waters, in their upper courses, running between steep banks, scarcely need to be utilized even to a small degree on the minute riverain plots of land. In those beds, water, although actually slight in amount, is in fact overabundant, and land is lacking. Limited to the confines of the ditch by the topographical conditions

312 of the beds, the Rifians were unable to think in terms of large irrigation developments to lead the ditch to some small and dried-up meseta; for the minimal amount of these in the interior of the country and the longitude of the ditch which they would have needed did not compensate for the effort and expense they would have had nor the loathing they would have incurred (i.e. from neighboring segments of the tribes) in order to maintain the ditch as such. Nature has in no way favored the Rifians, who must gain everything they own through their own efforts. The men, the new men, the protectors (i.e. the Spanish administration) can and must do something to help them, and thus they wait for it and trust them, although up to the present time (1935), and in this connection, nothing other than prejudices and injuries have occurred, as happens with the turn of water which they have been made to cede to the Granja Agricola (i.e. model farm) of Imzuren and to a half-dozen Europeans, who, placing their minute holdings in dry rather than irrigable lands, have by virtue of more modern methods converted them into irrigated terrain; and these appear today like minute green islets among the calcinated holdings of the natives, whose ill-will and adverse commentaries are just, logical and in no way flattering.[122] "Nubth nj-Makhzin", the "turn of the Government", as they say, which means that in order to sustain it a group of mkhaznis is necessary; and the salaries of these men added to those of the directors and work force are certainly far higher than the four bushels of vegetables which they manage to obtain and the unknown profits of other kinds which they do their best to make.

[182]

648
312

181 423 The Rifian admits anything which constitutes instruction or improvement; but naturally he wants no part of any division of his 312 648 holdings with strangers. This blessing of water which the official organ (i.e. the Spanish administration) as well as individuals receive, although the latter do so only to a limited degree, is not a product of technique, profitable or exemplary work as new developments would be, possible economic outlets or improvements in the present distributive net, but utilization of native labor in the style of some early-day amghar.

312 Rare are the days of the Makhzin irrigation turn in which the Makhazniya does not present us (i.e. the administration) with some miserable akhammas[123] accused of the terrible crime of having been surprised at night attempting to lead up a thread of water into his tiny, dried-up holding, a crystalline fiber which, if it even arrives there to irrigate, only God knows; and the nubth which the Europeans derive from it, dispute from it and gain from it, did not cost them the least effort to lead up nor did they do anything other than wait sitting down while the Makhzin appropriated it. And in such a case neither the Makhzin nor the European stands to gain anything; to the contrary, they have much to lose.

F) Irrigation in the Plain of Al-Husaima:

312 675 The usage of irrigation water from the Lower Ghis and Nkur Rivers has been, since time immemorial, the object of individual agreements among the irrigators, agreements which are usually put down in writing, for the flow of water, although variable, permits a regular distribution through permanent ditches, a distribution known

312
675
(618) to all and a distribution which tradition has affirmed. These principal ditches carry water all year round, and at the present time their utilization seldom gives rise to incidents, as their usage has been stabilized and regulated, except in the case of the newly arrived Spanish irrigators, whose despondent attempts to improve their lands with fanciful enlargements, amplifications or regularizations of turns gave rise to the only disputes, aside from the ill-will of the local population already mentioned above.

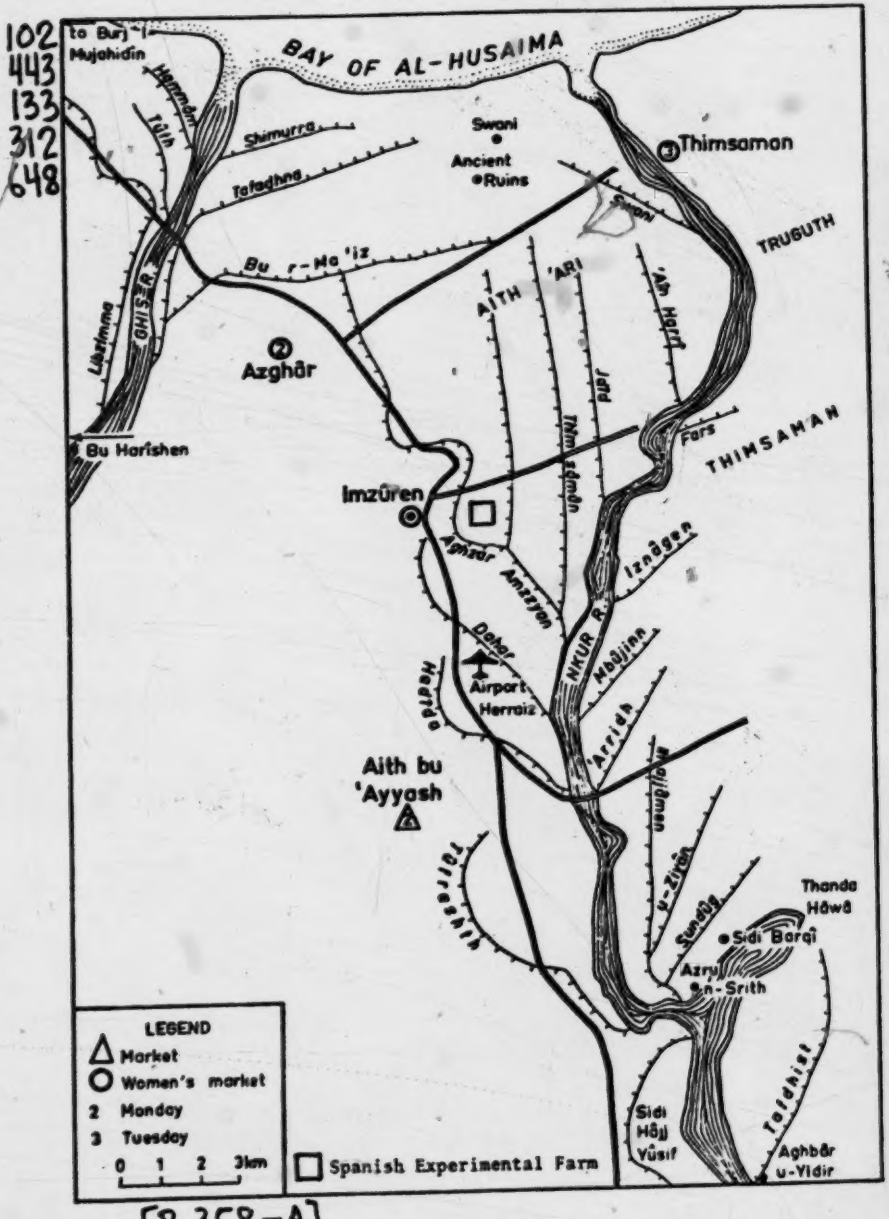
To be able to find something which leads us to the heart of the irrigation problem, it is necessary for us to look again among the individual agreements which are established by small groups of irrigators from both rivers, and descend through their steep beds to the widenings at their mouths, the journey over which has permitted us to observe the details of their irrigation system and to fix the principal idea which appears to preside over the distribution of the waters of both rivers into a diagram which we have made (see Irrigation Ditch Map of Plain of al-Husaima) for a better understanding and as a synthesis of their custom; and this is completed afterward with an outline of the network of ditches for each irrigated area and in these drawings is summarized our knowledge up to the present time.

312 The mechanism behind the distribution of irrigation water in Aith Waryaghar is simple, and up to the present time, it has satisfied local needs; it seems exact enough for the tribesmen, and so far they have shown no desire to modify it.

In the river beds there are certain points known to the people where the water always rises up; these are used as dams (uggug, pl.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

BLANCO MAP II (1939) - PLAIN OF AL-HUSAIMA



[P. 358-A]

312 uggugen) for the source or origin of irrigation ditches and as partitions of the waters on both banks. After a dam has been set up, built to hold as much water as possible, it is converted into a ditch-head, in which the necessary outlets are made, and it thus acts as the point of origin of the principal or primary ditches which have a permanent flow of water; these are usually two or three in number. Although [183] these outlets are irregular, the Rifians say that a half or a third of the water is utilized in distribution; and although this is what happens in practice, in theory the distribution is far from perfect, as the tribesmen do not take into account the width nor the depth of the outlets; and these are improvised, if not actually variable. The primary ditches are distributed and divided in this way into secondary branches, if these are necessary, in which the irrigation turns proper are initiated, which means that they only take up water for twenty-four hours; therefore, if there are four secondary ditches, each one [805] will take up water every four days. These secondary ditches are subdivided in turn into other tertiary branches, also of periodic or intermittent flow, which do not take up water other than during the day or at night; and these originate the irrigation furrows of individuals which do not take up any water other than at certain hours, which are determined by those of the principal daily prayers.

312 591 613 596 This distribution of irrigation water is intimately linked to the Rifian lineage system, to the dharfiqth (which tends to have a 24-hour turn) and its component ijujga, and it is completed with one order of turns begun in the tertiary ditches through which if one of these ditches, during its turn, takes up water during the daytime,

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 [628] 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

15. THE QANUN OF THE LOWER GHIS RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 [135] From this river, the longest of those which bathe the Central Rif (more than 70 km.), as with its companion and eastern neighbor the Nkur, only the surface waters are used, and very imperfectly, by the Rifians in the small meanders which its narrow basin forms. For the [648] Rifians there is too much water and not enough land. Up to the present, the Spanish protectors have not attempted the slightest modification nor the study of the Ghis basin and its regimen with utilitarian ends in mind. It is a wealth which, like so many others, is lost. There is too much water and nevertheless the Rif is thirsty. [132] The Rifian spends the whole year looking at the sky, an attitude which has become contagious to the protectors, imploring a few drops to fall in order to save his miserable winter (author's italics) harvest[125].....

In all the long basin of the Ghis one does not perceive the handi-work of man. Neither bridges nor acqueducts, neither dams nor any [487] installations to raise up its waters. Paths wind along its pebbly and steep banks to hide themselves in the dried-up stony bed. Small [402] and winding irrigation furrows timorously make haste to return suddenly the flow which they secretly absorbed, under the shelter of thickets, after (providing water to) move some small and rudimentary turbine mill. Only at the height of Targist, military techniques with their transportation of water give such a pessimistic sight a chance to change. 312 133 It is necessary to descend kilometers and kilometers down the steep bed of the river, to about some three kilometers from where it empties

312 133 into the sea, in order to really listen and take notice at last of the song of the Ghis, the activity and human ingenuity, the fertilizing mission of the water, the utility of the same, the gentleness of the countryside, the density of the population, the happiness (by comparison) of the orchards and gardens, the wealth and well-being, the convenience for (administrative) functionaries, the advantages of technology and the necessity of associating oneself with humans.[126]

312 402 In its long course the Ghis provides the water to turn 55 Rifian turbine mills (1935).[127]

312 [103] In Bu Harishen, on the left bank of the Lower Ghis, upstream from the bridge over the river, is where this river begins its well-performed work, bored by its useless rambling, acquires freedom, jumping from its bed to spill itself over in equal parts into the three principal ditches, l-Bzimma, "the tied-up"[128], on its left bank, and Bulma'iz and Thafadhna on its right. The regimen of these ditches is indicated below and their mean longitude is some six kilometers.

[103] Sidd Dharga nl-Bzimma (l-Bzimma): "the tied-up", which takes its name from that of the ancient ruined city, al-Mazimma[129], on its left bank. Its flow is one-third of the permanent intake of the dam at [212] Bu Harishen. There is a written document which regulates distribution of its water and proves its rights to property.[130] It empties (into the Mediterranean) at the height of the ruined castle of the Mujahidin[131] on the beach, in front of the old Peñón de Alhucemas (Isle of al-[402] Husaima). It moves a mill belonging to the Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi and to Muhand Ushshan.[132]

312 571 613 596

It has a turn cycle of six days, which are distributed among the four lineages (dharfiqin), these in turn dividing their turns among their respective branches (ijujga), in the following order:

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Hammu; U Haddu)

2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Xikhrif; U Yihya u Musa)

3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Mis'aud u Yusif; W 'Alla w Ujdir)

4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Dris; W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan)

5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir

6th Day (24 hours): Zawith (Fisra and Andrusen--Ushannen--Ihaddallahan--Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi)[133]

On the seventh day, the sequence is repeated.

Sidd Dharga n-Bulma'iz: on the right bank. It begins, as does l-Bzimma, at Bu Harishen, crossing the river in order to divide its water with Dharga n Tfadhna, and each one of these three ditches receives one-third of the permanent flow taken in at Bu Harishen. It runs for a few kilometers and reaches the sea at Swani Waddai (Lower [402] Swani). It moves three mills, the first belonging to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and 'Abdinnbi, the second to I'arhuthen and the third to Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru.[134]

It has a turn cycle of three days for the three dharfiqin indicated, and they in turn distribute the water among their ijujga, which make [805] them up in their own way. The turn begins at the maghrib, or sunset prayer.

1st Day (24 hours): Imhauren: Aith 'Aru Hmid
Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid
Aith Muhand u Hmid
Aith Bu Dhimmus (only when water is scarce)[135]

312
571
613
596

2nd Day (24 hours): Dhifirasin: Aith Mhand u Yihya
Im'aruwen[136]

3rd Day (24 hours): r-Hujjaj: Aith r-'Arbi
Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
I'arhuthen[137]

312
571
182
613
[596]

We thus have, in the regimen of the ditch with which we are dealing, an excellent example of Rifian solidarity, observable in the turn of the Imhauren, as in times of dryness or drought, when they need more themselves, they hasten to aid their neighbors of Aith Bu Dhimmus (who are ordinarily limited to their own turn of hours of irrigation in another ditch, that of Thafadhna, as we shall see later), although by this the other three lineage branches or ijujga only harm themselves, because they defer one of their own turns by nine more days, and even if the turn is a small one in itself, they only receive it once every nine days.

312
571

For a better understanding of the mechanics of irrigation among Rifians, we shall study in greater detail the order which is followed in this ditch[138], for it is curious to observe how they have simplified it, in spite of the modifications which are introduced in the case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus, for example, with its intermittent (author's italics) rights, so as not to interrupt the turn in general; but, at the same time, how can we explain the miracle of how the thousands of Rifian irrigators and the labyrinth of ditches which traverse the Plain of al-Husaima do not produce any disturbances nor give rise to any incidents other than those occasioned by ignorance on the part of the Europeans, of which the Rifians of importance sometimes try to take advantage or the avarice of the fortunately few and ill-named "colons"?

312
571
613

We may see the ingenuity with which they resolve the problem of irrigation during twenty-four hours in a three-day turn, the same to each of the lineages of the ordinary turn as to the nine days in the exceptional case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus.

Ordinary turn:

1st Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid

2nd Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya

3rd Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Aith r-'Arbi

4th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

5th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Im'aruwen

6th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru

7th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith Muhand u Hmid

8th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya (again)

9th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--I'arhuthen (I'abbuthen, probably)

10th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid (again)

[596] And thus the turn is repeated, except for Dhifirasin, which with only two (irrigating) ijujga alternates between one and the other every time its turn comes around. We see here that in the ordinary turn the nubath (pl. of nubth, "turn") of Dhifirasin irrigate once every three days, while those of Imhauren and r-Hujjaj irrigate once every nine days. Now, if we insert Aith Bu Dhimmus into the picture, we see that Dhifirasin continues to irrigate once every three days and r-Hujjaj once every nine, both on the same day as before, while, on the other hand, because of this shift, Imhauren, to which dharfiqth the new irrigators belong[139], irrigates four out of five times once every nine days and once out of five times once every eighteen days, with the

312 501 613 intercalated newcomers irrigating once every twelve days, as shown below, instead of the four lineages of Imhauren rotating every twelve days if they would have been given the right to irrigate with them.

We may observe that in reality, without any alteration of the general turn and without any injury to the other two neighboring dharfiqin which are slightly further away, the thirst of the Aith Bu Dhimmus is miraculously quenched, and how this happens:

1st Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith 'Aru Hmid

2nd Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

3rd Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

4th Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)

5th Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)

6th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru (r-Hujjaj)

7th Day: Aith Muhand u Hmid (Imhauren)

8th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

9th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)

10th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn

11th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

12th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

13th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

14th Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)

15th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru (r-Hujjaj)

16th Day: Aith Muhand u Hmid (Imhauren)

17th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

18th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)

19th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)

312 20th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
571 21st Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)
613 22nd Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn
23rd Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)
24th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
25th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith Muhand u Hmid
26th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
27th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)
28th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)
29th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
30th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

And so on.[140] To attempt to vary this unending chain which the [182] irrigation turns of the Rifians make up in those ditches with permanent flow is to promote major altercations and to upset the equilibrium of the whole of the Plain of al-Husaima.

312 The simple attempt by a Rifian miller to divert for a few
571 seconds the water of Bufma'iz so that it would flow to his turbine mill,
402 I recall, provided the motive for a sudden and vehement protest by the
578 users of this ditch, en masse, to the authorities; the whole Plain of al-Husaima took alarm to such an extent that no procedure nor influence (on the part of the authorities) could be brought to bear toward the peaceful possibility that the people might acknowledge the man's alleged right; and, nevertheless, this Plain needs more than a concerted arrangement and ordination, an improvement and rectification of the principal ditches;[141] and above all it needs a possible increase of flow for the outlet of subterranean or subalveal waters.

312 591 613 [402] Sidd Dharga n Tfadhna: on the right bank. It takes half the water from Bufna'iz, and therefore begins, as do the other two, in Bu Harishen, the permanent flow taking up one-third of the dam. It moves four mills: that of Muhammad Akuh and Si Muhammad Budra; downstream, that of Dharwa nd-Hajj Shiddi; the next, that of Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith, Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and Muhand nd-Hajj Hammu; and finally, that of Dharwa nd-Hajj Hammush.[142]

The turn is one of three days for the three dharfiqin using the ditch, and each lineage redistributes its twenty-four-hour flow as follows:[143]

1st Day: Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit

2nd Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours): Ajdir (12 hours)

Andrusen (2 hours 40 minutes or one-fifth)

Aith Bu Dhimmus (9 hours 20 minutes or four-fifths)[144]

(Andrusen and Aith Bu Dhimmus thus irrigate 12 hours between them)

3rd Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren) (24 hours): Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

Aith Muhand u Hmid

Aith 'Aru Hmid

The Ghis also provides water for three other ditches before it empties into the sea: Tuth ("mulberry") and Hammam[145] on its left bank and Shimurra on its right; but they do not have a permanent flow like the others discussed above, nor for that matter is their regimen or capacity, which is somewhat arbitrary and subordinate to the others, well regulated, for an irrigator, during his turn, can, if he wants,

312 571 613 [402] lead the water to which he has a right in any of the main ditches into these three smaller ones. The ditch of Tuth, when it has water, moves the mill of Dharwa nd-Hajj Mis'aud. The irrigators of the Tafadhna ditch, whether the turn is interrupted or not, have the right to use that of Shimurra, but giving first choice to those who use it regularly.

16. QANUN OF THE NKUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 675 The Nkur River has an irrigation regimen which is less exact than that of the Ghis, and the written agreements on the distribution of its waters are few and recent. One of them refers to the division of waters between the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intervention of the Bureau of the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir).[146] In any case, the establishment of such agreements is based upon the same notions and the same norms as in those pertaining to the Ghis.A

312 [621] In the Middle and Upper Nkur, there is more than enough water to irrigate the meanders which the river has created, through which it is easy to affix by-laws to the 'azibs[147] of the neighboring jma'ths which own land on its banks, given the small amount of land under irrigation. [241] There is even freedom and waste, and it is not uncommon to see, during harvest time, the formation of tiny threshing floors with capricious irrigation-furrows of 300 and 500 meters in the middle of the river bed.

[619] There are meanders like Dhaghzwith n Dasa (upstream, in the territory of Axt Tuzin, and near the bridge on the right bank) and Dhazur-akhth (downstream, in the territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also right beside the same bridge, but on the left bank), which are of relatively large dimension and which have already stabilized turns; but the real difficulties and concomitant near-perfect solutions are

A, [See pp. 361-369--Analyst]

312 [619] only found in the Lower Nkur, the principal water outlets of which, by acting as dividing lines between different tribes on both banks,[148] are Aghbar u Yidir, on the right bank and upstream from the Thanda Hawa pond, and Azru n Srith ("Rock of the Bride"), north of the former.

The latter point is the most important, where the wide Plain of al-Husaima and the ditches which traverse it may truly be said to begin. In the accompanying diagram, all these points are indicated, as well as the principal ditches, the regimen of which we shall now indicate in outline, with the hope that these notes may someday serve as the basis of a more detailed study.

West Bank:

Dharga n Dahar: begins downstream and right beside the piste to the Thimsaman, bordering it and crossing the main Tetuan-Melilla road to [402] end up in Imzuren. It moves three mills. It has two turns of twenty- 312 four hours each: one for the Qa'idate of Nkur (Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and 571 the other for that of I-Uta, the Plain. The latter, in turn, is divided into one-third for Imzuren and two-thirds for Aith Musa w 'Amar;[149] and this gives rise to the following cycle:[150]

1st Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

2nd Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar

3rd Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

4th Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar

5th Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

6th Day: Imzuren

312 Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan ("ditch of the small river"): In May 1938 [402] the flow of this ditch was 513 liters per second. It originates

312 (402) downstream from Dharga n Dahar, and it yields one-third of its flow to Dharga n Tusaman; it arrives at the Bulma'iz ditch at the height of Thafrasth, near the now defunct Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif; and it moves four mills: the first belonging to Muhand 'Aida w 'Amar; the second, to 'Allush nd-Hajj Muhand u Haddu; the third, to 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Bu Qiyadhen; and the fourth, to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and to 'Amar 'Abdallah nd-Hajj Muhand.[151]

312 571 It has three turns: one for those upstream (designated as n-dara), another for those downstream (s-waddai), and the third for the Granja Agricola or Model Farm of Imzuren (this last on Wednesdays and Thursdays), in the following manner:

1) N-dara (24 hours, distributed into 5 ditches): 1st--Sidd r-Hajib
2nd-Sidd Inufan
3rd--Sidd Bu Kra'
4th--Sidd Ahammar
5th--Sidd Miskur[152]

2) S-waddai (24 hours, distributed into 3 ditches): 1st--Tigarth (12 hours)
2nd--Sidd I'abbuthen (6 hours)
3rd--Sidd Aith Mis'aud (6 hours)[153]

3) N-dara (24 hours, distributed into 4 ditches): 1st--Sidd Tagharbund
2nd--Sidd 'Abdallah
3rd--Sidd 'Abdallah
4th--Sidd Ishtari[154]

4) S-waddai (24 hours, distributed into 2 ditches): 1st--Imhauren (12 hours)
2nd--Aith Mhand u Yihya (12 hours)[155]

312 [402] Dharga n Tmsaman: This ditch in May 1938 had a flow of 256 liters per second. It is located on the same bank of the river, and downstream from the Aghzar Amzzyan ditch. It moves two mills (one belonging to the Muhammad nd-Hajj Ussar, and the other to Muhammad n Tahir), and it has three turns, one for the tribe of the Thimsaman[156] and two for that of the Aith Waryaghar (lineage of Aith Musa w 'Amar, subclan of the Aith r-'Abbas, clan of the Aith 'Ari), as follows:[157]

1st Day: Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

2nd Day: Thimsaman

3rd Day: Ihankuren (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

The three other ditches on this bank, Sidd Jdid, Sidd 'Ain Harri and Sidd Swani, only have water in times of abundance:

Sidd Jdid: At the end of May 1938 this ditch had a flow of 40 liters per second. It originates one kilometer below Dharga n Tmsaman, in the crossroad from Bu Srama[158] and the (Spanish-built) airport to the Thimsaman.[159]

Sidd 'Ain Harri: Born near the road leading from the Granja of Imzuren to Truguth (Thimsaman).

Sidd Swani: The last ditch on the west bank of the Nkur, some two kilometers from the mouth of the river.

East Bank:

312 619 675 217 [103] Dharga n Tufdhisth (???--"ditch of the hammer"??): At the point called Aghbar u Yidir, in front of the mkhazniya post of Imudh, upstream from the Thanda Hawa pond, a division of waters is originated between the tribes of the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Waryaghar in equal parts, according to a document in the archives of the Bureau at Ajdir,[160] which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

000 which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

312 613 The flow taken up by the Aith Waryaghar bathes the meander of Sidi r-Hajj Yusif[161], and is used by the Aith Umnudh lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. It is divided [571] into two turns of twenty-four hours each: one for the lineage branch of Aith Ishshu (some 80 irrigators) and the other for the lineage branch of "True" Aith Umnudh (some 130 irrigators).[162] The flow taken up by the Axt Tuzin (clan of the Axt 'Akki) is distributed through the Dharga n Tufdhisth.

312 [823] [103] Azru n Srith ("The Rock of the Bride"): This legendary site[163], the point of departure for water from the pond of Thanda Hawa, beside the tomb of Sidi Birqi, is the principal shed for the waters of the Nkur River, and four ditches flow from it: one on the left, or Aith Waryaghar, side, Dharga n Tufrashth, and three on the right, called Sunduq (Axt Tuzin), Sidd Asiyar[164] (Thimsaman) and Ihajjamen ("barbers") (Thimsaman), respectively.

Sunduq and Tufrasht divide water into equal parts. In turn, the Sunduq ditch, by the same token, divides it with Dharga Usiyar, and the latter, in turn, with Ihajjamen, which in time of scarcity has no water.

[571] [613] The turn cycle of Dharga n Tufrasht is five days for Izakiren and two for Ighmiren.[165]

Dharga Sidd 'Arridh: begins at the same height as Dharga Hadhidha, on the other (west) bank, and beside and just upstream from the crossing of the main Tetuan-Melilla road and the piste to the Thimsaman.[166]

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front [402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills (Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168] [591] It has two turns, for the Thimsaman and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and [591] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'- [402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

104 Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")- anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

6 17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 614 312 578 423 691 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Amhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Musa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

675 through allegation, no litigation related to the water cited above.
578 If any of them should demand the continuation of the debate through the presentation of proofs or arguments, everything would be null and void, for neither the present nor the future provides for this. Both parties have renounced all arguments, both public or private, which they could allege, as well as all the successive declarations (or reclamations) which could be brought forth to impede putting this agreement into effect.

600 A valid and executive arrangement. Both parties attending know the value of the present act, and, by virtue of it, the undersigned notaries, who know them to be in a perfect state of legal capacity (who know them to be of sound mind and memory), make their testimony. On 28 Qa'da al-Haram of the year 1250 (March 28, 1835).

A signature follows, illegible and signed. Another illegible signature follows the first.

Legalization by the qadi: Praise be to God.--I give faith (or testimony) to the above after both 'udul (notaries) have done so.--Servant of his God.--Signature (of qadi) illegible.

18. A SHAHADA ON WATERS: TRANSLATION:

695 Praise be to God.
312
(693) Both the undersigned notaries compile the testimonies presented by the respected 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Umar al-'Alawi, the honorable 'Umar bin 'Ali, the respected Talib 'Isa Ajtuh, and the honorable Muhammad al-'Arusi, all of the Bani Waryaghal, in which they testify (the testimony of God is the perfect one) that the water ditch, (the property) of 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Amhawil al-Khattabi al-Waryaghli[175]

695 is to be found situated above the ditch of 'Umar bin Yusif al-Waryaghli.
312 [693] This is what the witnesses of the present (act) certify without there being (any) doubt existing in it. A complete attestation.

693 The undersigned notaries who have compiled (the testimonies which
695 these individuals afforded) from them testify that the latter are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) to testify, and they know them (i.e. personally).

[805] On the 21st day of the blessed Sha'ban of the year 1150 (December 13, 1737). Two illegible signatures follow.

19. PURCHASE AND SALE OF AN IRRIGATION TURN: TRANSLATION:

Praise be to the one God.

312 The Qa'id Sulaiman bin Muhammad al-Waryaghli al-Khattabi al-Ajdiri[176]
571 432 buys, with the power and force of God, from the one who sells it, Siddiq bin Muhammad bin Siddiq al-'Abdallawi[177], one-fourth (of a part) of the irrigation ditch of Bulma'iz, (in his turn) by day or by night, his turn reappearing about (once) every nine days; on some occasions
432 he gets it during the day, and on others at night. A valid, definitive
[435] and firm purchase, so much down, without conditions of resale or op-
[436] tions (to anything) other than that assigned here), for a price the sum of which is 100 duros, in Spanish money (i.e. 500 pesetas). This amount the abovementioned seller has taken from the abovementioned buyer, thus recognizing it in front of both witnesses instrumental to the present act, freeing the buyer from it, who took over his purchase with complete possession, occupying it in his place of ownership in conformity with the traditional law and the right of rehibitory action

(against this sale which was put into effect) after the sight, pleasure and knowledge of his capability as required.

Both parties concerned know the value of the present act, and, by virtue of this, the undersigned witnesses testify to the declarations of both, for both buyer and seller are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound mind and memory) to agree; and the witnesses know them both by sight and by name. In the first part of Rabi' al-Thani of the year 1347 (August 19, 1928).

Servant of his God, 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen (signature). Servant of his God, 'Abd al-Karim bin 'Umar al-Khattabi, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (signature).

Stamp of approval of the qadi: Both 'udul have borne witness (with respect to the above), which he (i.e. the qadi) accepts and to which he gives faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Bu-Dhimmusi[178], may God be benevolent toward him. Amen. (Signature).

20. SUMMARY OF IRRIGATION:

In a few words we may show the present day importance and interest of irrigation in the Aith Waryaghar, as tourists from time to time cross this splendid Plain of al-Husaima....

This Plain, under rudimentary cultivation even today (1938), as no one has succeeded or even proposed to amplify it, is completely criss-crossed by an intricate net of tiny irrigation ditches which in general do not feel the touch of water more than every eight days, and some even every eighteen days; and [illegible]or winter cultivation.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 In my humble opinion there is more than enough water for the surface area which can be irrigated; and so much more, in fact, that the amount which is lost is greater than that which is put to use.

312 [499] Calculating grosso modo an irrigable area of 5000 hectars, bounded by the main road on the west, as well as a subalveal flow of over 1 cubic meter per second from the Nkur River, according to the approximate calculations made when the supports of the new bridge (i.e. crossing the river at Km. 20 to the Axt Tuzin and Melilla) were set up, it would not be far off the mark to estimate the flow in both rivers, plus that of Thifarwin (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) at some 3 cubic meters per second, or 10,000 cubic meters per hour; and this would give daily 48 cubic meters per hectar under permanent irrigation.

Most of this water is now lost in the sea....and represents several millions of pesetas lost while technicians, policy makers and businessmen show no iterest.

[571] [435] [241] It should be remembered that a single turn of irrigation water every eight days costs 500 to 600 duros in the Plain of al-Husaima, and continually produces two harvests a year.

Ghis:

Ditch of Bufna'iz -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 131 liters per second

Ditch of r-Bzimma -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 46 liters per second

Nkur:

Ditch of Aghzar Amzzyan -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Thimsaman -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Sidd Jdid -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of 'Ain Harri -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of Swani -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

21. THE QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH):[179]

224 619 The data which follow have been gathered principally among hunters from the tribes of the Ibuqquyen, Aith Hadhifa (Aith Waryaghar), Zarqat, Targist, Aith 'Ammarth and Aith (or Bni) Mazduxi; and they can be considered as general hunting qanuns for the region.

A) Significance:

224 182 Hunting in the Rif was neither a sport nor a profession in the European manner. It was a physiological necessity, and it is still considered so today. A poor soil, accidented and dry, rendered it 134 312 difficult for the tribesmen to utilize its scarce sources of water; 262 and the consumption of meat was limited, because of the scarcity of animals (i.e. both domestic and wild) to Fridays, feast days, days on which pacts were concluded, days of illness, etc., and to market 262 days. As the Rifian is by necessity a vegetarian[180], sacrifices of 782 animals acquire the status of a rite, and they form a fundamental ceremony in the most transcendental and important acts of his life. Peace and war, pacts, births and deaths, rogations, etc., have to be 224 sealed with meat for greater solemnity and efficacy. In hunting, 782 therefore, Rifian society finds a physiological compensation in no 182 way negligible to its sober life and ancestral appetite for meat, the sacrifice in common and equitable distribution of which is subject to strict rules[181], the object of the most rigorous tradition and fiscalization in order not to squander the slender reserves, which are 000 appraised in a manner unsuspected by European minds. The European visitor who is entertained in a Rifian household is not in a position to appreciate sufficiently the hospitality which is offered to him,

000
[614] consideration here) are affiliated with the Ajdir segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan.

[614] 137--All three lineages are member groups of the subclan of the Tigarth in the clan of the Aith 'Ari.

• 312 571 613 114 138--Our own notes on the division of irrigation water from Dharga n-Bulma'iz are a little at variance with those of Blanco. There are three turns of 24 hours each, for the secondary ditches of Dhifirasin, r-Ghis Burma'iz and Thafadhna n Dara (Upper Dhafadhna). The Dhifirasin turn is distributed among the lineages of the Ibukriwen, Ihanjiqen (both of Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Plain) and Im'aruwen (this is exactly as Blanco indicates); but the Ghis Burma'iz turn is limited only to the three lineages of the Imhawren, i.e. the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid. The Tafadhna n Dara turn is divided between the lineage of the Yinn Si 'Amar (branches of Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Amar and Dharwa nd-Hajj Muhand) of Lower Imrabdhen, clan of the Imrabdhen; and the Aith Bu Dhimmus (Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush); and this is very much at variance with what Blanco says. It is possible, but unlikely, that a change in order may have taken place after the Spanish administration put cement bases in the three principal ditches (r-Bzimma, Bulma'iz and Dthafadhna) in the Lower Ghis; and the cementing occurred long after Blanco left the Rif. It is easier (and probably more plausible) to attribute the discrepancy to ambiguity among informants; but here again, the pitfall of using ambiguity as a scapegoat is that even the least intelligent users of any ditch are always thoroughly conversant with which lineages use it, how much time and how long the cycle is, and in what order it comes. For it is standard irrigation practice in the Plain of al-Husaima that each dharfiqth receives water for 24 hours at a stretch, and that after this, the supply is cut off so that other dharfiqin can irrigate.

000
[114] [614] 139--Blanco is in error here for not being familiar with the segmentary minutiae of the Aith Waryaghar. The Aith Bu Dhimmus lineage does not belong at all to the dharfiqth of the Imhawren, whose clan affiliations are with the Aith 'Ari, but to that of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar in the subclan of the Isrihan, of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[114] 140--Our own fieldnotes on the subject say nothing of the staggered, around-the-clock rotation every twelve days of the Aith Bu Dhimmus after their insertion into the routine of the Imhawren turn; but we think we are at fault here for not having gone into the matter thoroughly enough. Blanco is indeed to be congratulated here not only on a truly original discovery, but on an excellent exposition of his material as well.

141--This statement proves that in Blanco's time the three principal ditches emanating from the Lower Ghis had not yet been cemented.

142--Only the lineage of the Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith is of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari; all the rest of the individuals and lineages mentioned here are resident in Ajdir of the Aith Ughir Izan subclan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

143--Our own notes on the distribution of water from the Tafadhna ditch, while not as detailed as those of Blanco, are nonetheless largely in accord with his. The ditch has a three-day cycle: Imhawren (24 hours),

000

151--The third-mentioned individual was from the Aith Bu Qiyadhen lineage of the Aith 'Adhiya subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and the fourth from Ajdir of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The others were unidentified.

312 571 613 614

152--Sidd r-Hajib irrigates the Aith Musa W. 'Amar and Iswiqen n Waddai (affiliated with the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), for the most part. Sidd Inufan irrigates the territory of the same lineages, as well as the land of a few intrusive families of Shurfa Wazzaniyin from Snada (Aith Yittuft), those of Sidi l-Hajj Mikki and Sidi Brahim. Sidd Bu Kra' irrigates up through Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), as well as r-Mruj and Ahamri (the site of the Granja). Sidd Ahammar irrigates land bought by the Hajj Hmid n 'Abdssram Bu 'Ayyashi, the son of 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand Bu Qiyadhen mentioned in note 151; and it irrigates land of the Ihankuren lineage (in Aith Musa w 'Amar) as well. Sidd Miskur irrigates Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar) and the Ifqiren (Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen).

153--These ditches are presumably named for the lineages which use them: Tigarth and I'abbuthen (both of the Tigarth subclan) in the Aith 'Ari, and Aith Misa'ud in the Lower Imrabdhen.

154--Sidd Tagharbund irrigates for the Ihankuren (of Aith Musa w 'Amar of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), certain lineages of Bu Minqad (again of the Aith r-'Abbas of the Aith 'Ari), the (Lower) Imrabdhen of r-'Azih Imzuren, and, in 1953, for the then Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), Mikki n Sriman r-Khattabi, of Ajdir. Sidd 'Abdallah irrigates for the Ifqiren lineage (of Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen subclan) at r-'Azib Imzuren, Sidd Arbib ("dam of the step-child") irrigates for the Ifqiren and Ma'iza lineages (also of Aith 'Amar u Bukar) at r-'Azib Imzuren. Sidd Ishtari irrigates for the Imrabdhen of r-'Azib Imzuren, and for the Imhawren, Aith Musa w 'Amar and Bu Minqadh lineages (the last three of the Aith 'Ari).

155--As indicated, the Imhawren are a subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the Aith Mhand u Yihya are a lineage of the Isrihan subclan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

000

156--For whom, presumably, the ditch was named in the first place, as those of its members who are nearest it share a turn from its water.

613 571

157--Our notes state that the Dharga n Tmsaman always has a right to one-third of the water from Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan; and that there are four, rather than three, turns of 24 hours each, the fourth being that of the Aith 'Amar u Bukar (Lower Imrabdhen) of Ma'iza.

613 614

158--A lineage of Izakiren community in the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

159--Sidd Jdid is used in summer, when water is scarce, by the same lineages who use Dharga n Tmsaman.

160--This document is not given by Blanco in translation.

633 [504] The area is administered today from the small port and provincial capital of Alhucemas. The growth of this urban center, fishing port, and tourist attraction is but a recent [175] phenomenon. The city, founded in 1925 with the invasion of a Spanish fleet, has been the focal point for whatever innovation that has occurred in the Central Rif in this century.

133 361 Directly behind the city of Alhucemas is a flat plain. Although the land here is rich it was uninhabited prior to the Spanish because the terrain was indefensible during times of feuds. The original population was situated in the foothills [712] and higher mountains. Here homesteads were scattered and since they also served as garrisons or fortresses they were located on hills or ridges which could be defended militarily.

133 The area is not well served by rivers, the principal ones being the Rhis and the Nekor. The former rises in the Sonhaja area and empties into the Mediterranean at Alhucemas. The latter starts in Igzinnayen territory to flow along the border of the Beni Wariyaghar and the Beni Tuzin, emptying into the bay at [312] [161] Alhucemas. Both these rivers and their tributaries are used for irrigation and the population density is higher along them. There are also a good many natural springs (generally regarded as holy sites) and wells have been successfully dug in some of the valleys.

132 Rainfall varies annually and at times disastrously. At the weather station in Alhucemas during the decade 1946-1955, rainfall ranged from 8.5 inches to 16.9 inches. Although the

243 While barley is the predominant crop, maize is an important secondary one. Wheat and rye are also grown but the latter is held in low esteem as a food product[1] and the former does not grow successfully on the thin residual soil of the region. In 241 [312] those areas where there are rivers or streams, small gardens are maintained by irrigation canals. In these are cultivated potatoes, tomatoes, onions, garlic, squash, turnips, green peppers and mint.

245 In addition to the grains, maize, and small vegetable gardens, many households also have orchards of fruit and nut trees. Fig, lemon, orange, pomegranate, walnut, almond, and olive trees are common. In some areas grapes are also cultivated. Around each house is a grove of prickly pears which serves not only as a means of preserving privacy, but also as a source of food. These products not only supplement and add variety to the regular diet but in the case of oranges, almonds [258] and grapes serve as cash crops. The olives are pressed by the [262] women to provide crude cooking oil. Nuts, dried grapes and figs [221] are an important winter food reserve. The work of pruning and grafting goes on during the months of February-March-April.

243 In early summer harvesting begins. Both men and women engage in this activity, the men doing the reaping with hand

---

[829] [1]Coon (1931:47-48) states that rye is highly praised by the Riffian but that since the Arabs scorn it as a foodstuff the Berbers are ashamed to admit its worth.

443 182 571 [452] [554] He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

443 182 What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all <u>suqs</u> of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific <u>suq</u>. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturellement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

443 [651] Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They [366] are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can [312] drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization, but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

Climate

The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude, irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[7]

Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[7] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking.[1] The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers. Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred meters,[2] and in former generations each house had a corner tower used as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this use led to violent conflicts.

Types of Houses

In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common house is a crude conical structure (*nouala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

[1] See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

[2] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos historicos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951–52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[5]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[6]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[5] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.

[6] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

of Garet. In the Atlantic coastal zone most of the surface is cultivated, and little vegetation is left to serve as browse. In the eastern plains goats are replaced by sheep, which begin to outnumber them in the lower parts of the Rif. In the Middle Atlas the raising of sheep is associated with transhumance. This mode of pastoral life is still followed to some extent by the Ulad Stut, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ibdharsen, who spend the winter months near their cereal fields and the summer months in higher country with their sheep. The routes of migration run from the alluvial lowlands into nearby hills, especially the Kar-Kar range. In recent years the development of new irrigation projects has discouraged pastoral life, and the migration is now limited to a few of the young men and boys.

In the western provinces the main draft animals are cows or oxen. In the highlands and in the eastern lowlands the beasts of burden are donkeys and mules, which are used also for threshing and turning olive grinders. Mules are highly prized, for they can carry a heavier load than donkeys and are more agile and hardy than horses. Since there are few horses in the northern zone, most mules are imported from elsewhere in Morocco or from Spain. Moroccan donkeys are a small but hardy race, able to withstand long journeys with heavy loads. Horses have little value except as symbols of wealth and prestige, and are seldom used in the mountains. At the time of the Spanish conquest there were no horses at all in Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Seddath, and Aith Khannus.[11] Camels are restricted to the plains of Garet, where about 2,000 of them are used as milk, pack, and draft animals. Except for an occasional playful experiment, camels are not ridden.

The pack saddle for donkeys and mules is a heavy object made of cloth stuffed with straw. Panniers of twilled basketry, consisting of a double container connected by a strip of basketry, serve nearly all transport needs. Riders perch on top of the load and let their legs dangle to one side. There is little riding in the mountains, for a healthy man can make better time on foot.

Women are the most important burden bearers. Lines of women or girls bent under heavy loads are a common sight everywhere in Morocco. In Jbala they may be seen on any road carrying huge loads of wood and charcoal (pl. 8, *b*).

The domestic animals in northern Morocco include ferrets used in hunting, dogs, cats, and chickens. The dogs are of two types, one a small cur and the other a larger sheep dog. Chickens are the exclusive property of women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands. Bees are kept in the mountains, but the average tribesman knows nothing of apiculture, and prefers to assign the task to paid specialists.

Irrigation and Water Rights

In Moroccan agricultural terminology the most important distinction is that between *bilad bour*, the land of dry farming, and *bilad saqiyah*, the land of irrigation. By far the greatest amount of irrigated land is watered by diversion of surface runoff (pl. 5, *b*). Small dams (*mechra*) are used to divert water into ditches (*saqiyah*), which lead to the irrigable land. The ditches often follow tortuous contours, and may extend for several kilometers. The larger streams are flanked by several channels, sometimes five or six, each bringing water from a

[11] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 39, cited in note 5.

A, [See p. 132--Analyst]

B, [See p. 129--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

241 different dam. In deep valleys it is often necessary to move water back and forth
312 across the natural drainage lines. For this purpose, wooden conduits are set on
171 long tripods. Construction of irrigation works begins in the spring, and after a few months of use the water is redirected into its natural course. Since water is required only during the dry season, irrigation systems are designed for the minimum runoff. On steep slopes, water is carefully directed into a series of ponds; check dams are used to impound water from springs. Channels are constructed to lead water to grist mills, but the use of water for milling has a low priority, for most communities also have smaller mills turned by hand.

The construction and maintenance of dams and irrigation ditches require less effort than the construction and maintenance of terraces. With the exception of a few works in the coastal plains, terracing is necessary for irrigation. Since irrigation involves channeling rather than simple flooding, most terraces have a slight slope and are supported by stone walls (pl. 6, *b*). There is no rotation of crops on irrigated land. In areas of thin residual soil the land is gradually built up by the constant deposition of baskets of mud, another of the backbreaking tasks assigned to the women. Fertilizer, a mixture of sheep dung and ashes, is applied each year.

312 The regulation of water rights is a complicated matter.[14] The rights of pref-
17 erence pass from human beings to animals, crops, and industries. The two main
[423] rivers of the Rif, Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, illustrate the problems of management. Wad Ghis has only about a fourth of the flow of Wad Nkour, but its flow is more predictable. Those who irrigate with its waters know the quantity they can expect, and plan accordingly. In normal years Wad Nkour irrigates nearly ten times as much land as Wad Ghis, but in some years it remains little more than a muddy trickle. Hence there is frequent occasion for disputes, which in the past often led to prolonged feuds. In both basins the mountaineers have almost unlimited use of water, while the more numerous plainsmen must be satisfied with what is left. Most Rifian communities have secondary sources of water: wells, springs, and ponds. Each family is allowed a certain time at the water source, and the community as a whole works out the regulations and fines.

An elaborate series of agreements, usually verbal, deals with the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. The labor of construction as well as the necessary reconstruction after heavy rains is done by representatives of the fami-
[578] lies using the water. Infractions of agreement often lead to differences of opinion about these responsibilities or the period of time water is used. Serious disputes may arise over the outlines of ditches, and for this reason it is necessary to gain the consent of each property owner over whose land the water is to flow. The irrigation turns of the larger communities are regulated by days. Within such communities, individual families are allowed shorter periods of use, usually an hour. The mechanics of irrigation requires the use of the hoe to build up and then destroy a tiny diversion dam.

[113] [14] In this section I have made use of J. M. Paniagua y Santos, "Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, 4 (1948), 1–44; D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, 2 (1954), 55–57; and D. A. Caponera, "Water Laws in the Moslem Countries," *FAO Development Paper 43* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1954).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]
A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

practice to allow sheep to graze on stubble, many slopes are completely bare when the first rains fall. Erosion is retarded during spring and summer when a part of the runoff is diverted into irrigation ditches, but the irrigation systems promptly disintegrate at the beginning of the rainy season, and runoff again follows the network of gullies (pl. 11, *a*).

Gullying is most severe in the hilly areas of the Rif. The basins of Wad Ghis, Wad Nkour, and Wad Kert show an intricate pattern of short, steep slopes. "Ghis" means "mud" in Arabic, and most of the mud comes from the denuded highlands. The lower course of each river is joined by deeply entrenched tributary streams cutting through old fans and terraces. In Targist, Thimsaman, and Tafarsith the best farms are on fragments of Pliocene conglomerate, isolated from one another by deep ravines. Badland topography covers most of the area between Wad Nkour and Wad Kert. This may be described as an erosion-induced hoe-culture, for slopes are so badly dissected that it is no longer possible to use plows. The desperate effort to produce grain is abandoned only when the harvest does not repay the investment in seed. Cereals are sown in gullies and on nearly vertical slopes. The Spanish learned to their dismay that hungry Rifians try to cultivate even the roadbeds. The plains of Garet and the lower Kert constitute islands of alluvium in a sea of denuded terrain. Serious erosion becomes evident as soon as one passes to older terrace and residual soils. The hills of Ikibdhanen and the volcanic eminence of Gurugú are as bare as the limestone peaks.

The pattern of gullies and rills continues into the hills of Jbala and Ghmara, but the most serious problem in these areas is sliding. The roads from Tetuán to Tangier and Shawen are blocked by slides every year. In Anjra and Fahs one is never out of sight of a slide scar. Gullying is less serious than in the eastern sector, but streams are slightly entrenched even in the rolling country south of Tangier, and the marine terraces between Arcila and Larache are cut by deep barrancas.[13]

[13] René Raynal, "Bodenerosion in Marokko," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, 5 (1956–1957), 885–894.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

WOODWORK AND CARPENTRY

322 Woodworking is carried on as a trade throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, and in all of these places is considered a respectable profession, in no way to be confounded with the despised art of iron-forging. Carpenters are naturally most flourishing in the tribes where wood is most abundant, notably the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Beni Amart, and Gsennaya. Half the tribesmen of Beni Mesduy are carpenters, and are called out to neighboring tribes, notably to Beni Amart, to ply their trade.

322 412 The tools used by carpenters are as follows:

tharyirinth thumkaran	axe	*er barimith* (Arabic)	awl
tharyirinth n thinjarout	adze	*er ghaserith* (Arabic)	gouge
er minsher (Arabic)	saw	*es ziar* (Arabic)	vise
er mithara (Arabic)	plane (see plate 15)	*fukkuth*	pincers
thrima (Spanish, from *lima*)	file	*user*	knife
imithi	chisel	*thimsharath*	scissors
thafathisth	hammer		

The Riffian and Senhajan carpenters use most commonly the axe, adze, and chisel. Planes, awls, vises, gouges, and files are of more recent introduction and hence are used less frequently. Saws are frequently employed, but one may truthfully say that Riffian carpentry is largely dependent upon adze technique. The adze is their tool *par excellence*, and they are extremely skillful in fashioning wooden objects with it.

313 Woodcutters, in felling trees upon the mountains, employ the axe exclusively. Once having felled the tree, they trim it, and, if it is too long to drag down the slope in its entirety, saw it into convenient lengths, unless they intend to use if for a roof-beam. The woodcutter chisels a square hole into the side of the log near the butt end, and with bits of wood wedges a long withe into it. If there are several men available for hauling the log, as many withes are wedged in as there are men. By lifting and dragging they move the log to the edge of the forest, and thence drag it down the slope, often finding it more difficult to keep it from rolling or falling end over end than to keep it moving. Sometimes the log is squared with the adze before being taken from the mountain.

When the woodcutter has succeeded in conveying the log to his house, he sets about preparing it for use. If the log is to be made into planks, he saws it lengthwise, making as many parallel cuts as he can, and carefully leaving the butt end solid — in other words, the planks into which the log has been sawed are still attached at one end. He takes the log, so cut, to market, and breaks off each plank as he sells it. (See plate 15.)

322 In making doors, beams, window frames, and shutters, the planks, whether originally sawed or not, are smoothed and flattened with the adze. So expert are the Riffian carpenters at wielding this tool that they can make a smooth surface on which no lines can be discerned. To leave a line is considered a sign of poor workmanship. With the adze they fashion wooden spoons, smooth, delicate, and graceful, and with the same tool a heavier implement, the plough.

MANUFACTURE OF TAR

314 Among the tribes in which the conifer *takka* is found, the manufacture of tar is carried on as a common occupation by woodcutters. These craftsmen fell the trees and cut up and chip sections of the trunks into small pieces. They then dig a hole in the ground, setting in

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

241 near Sūq al-Arba' of Taurīrt. Olive oil, extracted from a communally owned olive grinder and oil press, is the essential fat (1).

[312] The fields, orchards and vegetable gardens (the latter producing broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers and carrots, to mention only a few) of the Aith Wuryāghil are usually terraced near the houses, along the slopes of the mountains. The vineyards, whither the families repair in September to pick grapes, are further up; and along the crests are the communal goat pastures [313] and the *ghāba* patches, where the women go to cut brushwood for their ovens and for the local mosque. Grape picking is the only important activity in September, which marks the end of the agricultural year; after this is done and after the barley has been reaped and [585] threshed and the silos piled up, people make merry and get married before the first rains begin again and the time to plow and sow has started up once more.

675 464 Herding and agricultural contracts of a verbal nature are made between the wealthier and the poorer men of the community, those who have little hiring themselves out to those who have more (2). Individuals who own more animals than they can pasture themselves hire herders who, while the beasts are in their charge, receive all the milk and butter and half the young ones born, and, when the animals are sold, half the profits; if the contract concerns sheep, they receive half the wool as well. Vegetable gardens and orchards are cared for by hired gardeners *(rabbā')* who receive one-fourth of the fruit and vegetable crop; as their job entails setting up terraces, they sometimes get one-third of the vegetables if the land is difficult to work. These same men, if they also perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, are called *ikhammāsen* and receive one-fifth of the barley and wheat crop. The owner of the field supplies the seed, the animals (usually cows) and the plow as well in this type of contract, while the *akhammās* (sing. of *ikhammāsen*) provides only his muscles and a switch to keep the cattle moving while they are under the yoke. The *akhammās* contract is the most

(1) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Caravan, The Story of the Middle East**, New York 1951, p. 313.

(2) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: **Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en las yemaas del Rif, Africa**, Madrid, Noviembre 1947, pp. 75-77.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 by cutting, browsing, or fire. This ability explains the presence of scrub thuya in deforested areas. But it grows slowly and is sensitive to disturbance in its early years. In the area delimited on the map, thuyas are widely scattered and for the most part badly mutilated. Large formations have been completely [313] destroyed. More than half of the houses in the eastern part of the Rif have [314] rafters of thuya, which is used, wherever it grows, as a source of charcoal. The [322] Barbary thuya has been used for centuries in making cabinets and other furniture, and was esteemed by the Romans for roofing temples.[a] Damaged trunks sometimes develop giant burls, which have been used since classical time as table [314] tops. A hard resin, sandarac, exudes from the trunks, and a modest quantity [439] of it is shipped to Britain, where it is used in the manufacture of varnish.[b]

[a] Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI. 231, XXXIII, 146.

[113] [b] W. Dallimore and A. Bruce Jackson, *A Handbook of Coniferae* (London: Edward Arnold, 1948), p. 610.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus*, *Rhus pentaphylla*, and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[94] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix*, *Alnus*, *Populus*, *Vitex*, and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander*, the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[95] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[96]

---

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al.*, *Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[94] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[95] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 69.

[96] Coon, *loc. cit.*, traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

313 The great wooden gates that used to guard the openings of every city wall
648 demonstrate the importance of the lumber trade. Only fragments of these gates
171 still exist, but it is certain that most of them were made of cedar. Logging operations were greatly expanded by the Spanish after the Rifian tribes had been pacified. It is not an exaggeration to say that the mineral deposits and cedar forests of northern Morocco were the only compensations for Spain's investment in colonial prestige. Reliable estimates of the amount of timber cut since the beginning of the protectorate cannot be found, possibly because the Spanish claimed to be conserving and restoring the forests in their zone. With the backing of military force, the Spanish were able to exercise some control over cutting by the native population, but their own work proceeded without interruption or apparent regulation. Spanish officials point out that the forests being exploited were private property and that the forestry service was concerned only with public domain.

In 1956 sawmills operated throughout the year at Tetuán and Targist, and during the summer months trucks heavily loaded with cedar logs could be seen on every mountain road. The fir forests on Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab had not yet been heavily logged when Spanish "protection" came to an end, but the deciduous oaks on Jbil Buhashim had been cut in quantity for use as railroad ties. These operations may have been a brief chapter in the history of the Moroccan forest, but it is probable that the Spanish, with modern equipment, cut more trees in a decade than the local tribesmen could destroy in a century. The effects of Spanish logging are strikingly evident in the Sanhajan highlands, especially on Adrar Dahdoh, Adrar Tidighin, and Adrar Tizi Ifri.

313 This harsh judgment applies only to the exploitation of cedar and the decidu-
171 ous oaks. A modest amount of reforestation was undertaken. A plantation of
[185] *Eucalyptus* was established north of Larache; Aleppo pines were planted near Rincón, Alhucemas, Nador, and Melilla; and an effort was made to prevent premature stripping of the cork oak.[112]

Profiting from long experience in Algeria, the Service des Eaux et Forêts carried out an elaborate program in French Morocco. The system advocated and partly enforced was based upon periodic and progressive thinnings, which were intended to reconcile the interests of the tribesmen with good forestry practice. If effectively enforced, this method would have permitted the production of fuel without waiting for the normal age of exploitation, and would have improved pastoral conditions by facilitating the movement and supervision of livestock.[113]

314 Tannin is extracted from the roots and bark of all the Moroccan oaks, and
171 this operation frequently results in mutilation or death. The cork oak is espe-
311 cially vulnerable, for tannin is scraped from the delicate inner bark immediately after the corky tissue has been removed. Complete girdling destroys trees, and death may result if more than half of the circumference is damaged.[114] The tanners of Marrakech have been responsible for extensive deforestation in the

[113] [112] The program planned by the Spanish forestry service is described in González Vázquez, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–185, cited in note 34; and J. Ruiz de la Torre, *La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos y la elección de especies para su repoblación forestal* (Larache: Centro de Investigaciones Forestales, 1956).

[113] [113] For a brief account of French management, see J. P. Challot, "L'homme et la forêt marocaine," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 84 (1946), 233–261.

[114] Boudy, *op. cit.*, II (fasc. 1), 47 ff., cited in note 5.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

delta. The course of the Ghis slants southwestward from Targuist, while the Nekor flows directly northward through sharp canyons from the mountain of Kuin in Gzennaya, to separate, farther along, Temsaman and Beni Tuzin from Beni Urriaghel. On the other side of the promontory of Temsaman empties the Amkaran, or Wed el Kebir, which commences a short distance away in the mountains of Beni Tuzin. Next to the Amkaran lies an unimportant stream called the Tasagin, coming down from the Dhar O Baran in Beni Ulishk. Beyond this there are none but the important arteries of the Kert and the Muluya, the former of which originates in Gzennaya, the seeming umbilicus of the Rif, and the latter of which flows northward from distant Tafilelt, where its head lies near that of the Draa, a lengthy watercourse emptying into the Atlantic nearly opposite the Canary Islands.

Such is the catalogue of rivers, the waters of which are jealously guarded and conserved, and which have been the cause of many of the local wars in the Rif.

The mountains of the Rif are supposed to be fabulously rich in minerals, including coal, iron, gold, and petroleum. None of these, however, have been extracted by the present inhabitants of the country, and hence they do not concern us here. Suspicion engendered by the presence of the minerals does more to hamper travel and research in the Rif than all other factors combined.

VEGETATION

It is too early in the course of Riffian research to give a complete list of botanical species from that country; no systematic botanist, as far as I know, has published any description of its flora. It will therefore have to suffice in this volume to present merely a very fragmentary roster of some of the more noticeable wild trees and bushes, such as readily meet the eye of the traveler, with local names and tentative identifications, made by observation and by analogy with the rest of North Africa.

Conifers

taidha, a tall, straight-growing conifer, with a large globular cone. This tree is much prized for house-building material.

taidha temjda, a similar tree, relatively stunted, with thick, wide branches. The *taidha* is found on the upper slopes of mountains; the *taidha temjda* grows on the mountain-tops and in the passes, where it is exposed to the elements: hence both may belong to the same species. (Plate I shows examples of both.)

Justinard calls the *taidha* a pine.[1] Hanoteau and Letourneau list for Algeria four species of terebinths; *Pistacia terebinthus L.*, *P. Atlantica Desf.*, *P. Lentiscus L.*, and *Rhus pentaphylla Desf.*[2]

takka, another conifer, with a small, compact cone. The wood of this tree is used in making tar. (Perhaps its name is related to the Ntifa word for terebinth.[3]) Justinard calls this a juniper.[4]

afezaz, the scrub juniper (not to be confused with *afesas*). Laoust postulates that the Berber root *zz* indicates the idea of spines or thorns, and cites other words, in Berber dialects, which contain this root and mean juniper.[5]

[1] Commandant Justinard, *Manuel de Berbère Marocain (Dialecte Rifain)*, p. 48.
[2] A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneau, *La Kabylie*, vol. 1, pp. 82–83.
[3] E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses Berbères*, p. 487. [4] Page 131. [5] Page 523.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

137 *riarz*, a cedar, growing very tall and straight. Its sweet-smelling wood is valued by carpenters and cabinet-makers.

[314] *amerzi*, another cedar, with very volatile reddish wood. Its pitch and resin are used as medicine.

rkanus, a similar tree, considered by the Riffians to be the female of the *amerzi*.

The cedars, generally known under the name of *thuya*, or *arbor vitæ*, form the characteristic coniferous vegetation of North Africa.[1]

Other Trees

[262] *rbejuth*, an evergreen oak, with edible acorns.

tashta, another species of oak, with inedible acorns.

rbejuth n yirif, the so-called pig-oak. Its acorns are eaten by wild boars, but not by men on account of their bitter taste. Justinard lists as oak *adren*, calling *abedjoud* the acorn.[2] The latter word is derived from the Arabic *el-bellut*, the difference in renderings being due, aside from different techniques in transcription, to my retention of the *r*, the berberisation of the Arabic definite article, in the Riffian dialects. I have always heard it pronounced with the *r*. Hanoteau and Letourneau [3] identify five oaks in Algeria: *Quercus castaneæfolia C. A. Mey., Q. Mirbeckii Dr., Q. Ilex L., Q. Ilex var. Ballota*, and *Q. Suber L.*

[245] *adheman*, the hawthorne. This tree is used as a base for grafting pear and apple shoots. Hanoteau and Letourneau give *Crataegus Oxyacantha* (three varieties), *Cr. Azarolus*, and *Cr. monogyna* for Algeria.[4] Laoust identifies *Cr. Oxyacantha* in Morocco.[5]

[262] *asanu*, the arbute, or strawberry tree. Its fruit is eaten fresh, and also dried and put into bread; the wood is used in house construction. Laoust finds it in other parts of Morocco, and gives it the botanical name *Arbutus unedo*.[6]

[262 388] *fathis*, a large tree bearing a small red fruit, which is eaten. The ashes of its wood are mixed with water, in which grapes are washed before being set out to dry. These ashes are also used as soap in washing cloth. Westermarck [7] calls this the lentisk, *Pistacia lentiscus*.

azemmur, the wild olive. Its fruit is not eaten, but its wood is used in making spoons, ploughs, and other objects.

[245] *thazemmurth*, the female of the *azemmur*, smaller than the male. The male can be used for grafting domestic olives, but the female is never used for this purpose.

sa'awis, a large tree with perennial foliage. It bears a seed containing a red liquid. The wood of this tree was formerly used for gunstocks.

thaghieshth n wushun, a species of wild walnut, called jackal-walnut.

afesas, perhaps a spurge-flax, or broom. It is a bush with a red flower, growing in valley bottoms. Laoust gives *Daphne Gnidium L.* for *walesaz*.[8] Hanoteau and Letourneau name three species, *Daphne oleoides Schreb., D. Gnidium L.*, and *D. Laureola L.*, for Algeria.[9] This plant has been mistaken by other botanists for an osier, on account of its extensive use in basketry.[10]

thabgha, a wild blackberry. Justinard affirms this designation.[11]

[1] Justinard, p. 139; Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 69; el Bekri (tr. Macguckin de Slane), p. 15 n.
[2] Page 117. [3] Page 119. [4] Pages 48, 99. [5] Page 509.
[6] Pages 453–454, 519. [7] Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. II, p. 185.
[8] Pages 515–516. [9] Page 116. [10] Laoust, pp. 515–516. [11] Page 142.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

ariyeri, the oleander. This plant is important in the manufacture of magical concoctions. Laoust [1] and Justinard [2] support this identification.

tuzalt, a bush resembling a high-bush blueberry. It bears a red pod, like a rose-pod, which is eaten. Laoust [3] calls this *Fraxinus dimorpha*.

aghanim, a reed, used extensively in basket making. Laoust supports this identification.[4]

tharugwith, a bush with a red flower, much frequented by bees.

zui, a bush bearing a white flower, with peppery-tasting leaves. The latter are used as medicine for stomach-ache.

t-knuafer, a bush or low tree which produces a bud resembling a clove. The buds are put into tea as a spice, and are used as a stomach-ache cure for children.

asir, a bush the leaves of which are used in the brewing of a tea alleged to be beneficial in fever.

izarshi, forsythia. Women cut pieces of its stem and tie them in their belts to prevent boils. This identification is purely personal and lacks confirmation.

thakhfa, a wild rose, the pods of which are sometimes eaten in times of famine. Hanoteau and Letourneau [5] give *Rosa sempervirens* for the Kabyle *thaafert*.

Luxurious forests of conifers are said by the inhabitants of the country to have once covered most of the region, but today they are confined to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar, Taghzuth, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarket, and the upland reaches of Mtiwa. Patches of this forest remain on Mt. Kuin in Gzennaya, in parts of Beni Amart, at Aswil, where the Nekor passes from the Gzennaya into Beni Urriaghel, and on the crests of Beni Tuzin. The *taidha* grows chiefly in the Senhajan tribes, but the *thuya* is found not only there but also farther to the east, in Gzennaya and Beni Tuzin.

After climbing from the hot barrenness of the eastern Rif, one finds the forests of the Senhaja Sghir most beautiful and satisfying. On the mountain between Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth, it is difficult to realise that one is in Morocco. The whole of this section reminds one of temperate forests, such as are found in the northern United States and Canada; especially is this true in the long, flat plateau-valley of Beni Seddath, where a lush meadow is variegated with frequent clumps of *taidha*. Even in midsummer this region retains an exhilarating chilliness of atmosphere. (See plate 1.)

CLIMATE

The slopes of the Mediterranean border of this region are rugged, mostly deforested, hillsides, with a climate similar to northern Mexico or our own Southwest. Farther to the east, in the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and parts of Galiya, the country becomes rolling and its slope relatively gentle, and grain is grown on it without terracing or irrigation. Farther south, however, stretches the arid expanse of the Garet, that waterless waste whereon the Metalsa and Beni Yahyi shift about from camp to camp. This desert stretches into parts of Beni Said and Galiya, and oversteps the boundary of Beni Ulishk and Tafersit. Here in the Garet grows a sparse crop of grass, and quantities of that coarse grass called *halfa*, resembling our own marsh or beach grass, from which the nomadic peoples, and the Gzennaya and other Riffians as well, make sandals, pack-saddles, ropes, and all sorts

[1] Page 484. [2] Page 136. [3] Pages 493, 499.
[4] Page 453. [5] Page 48.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

WOODWORK AND CARPENTRY

322 Woodworking is carried on as a trade throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, and in all of these places is considered a respectable profession, in no way to be confounded with the despised art of iron-forging. Carpenters are naturally most flourishing in the tribes where wood is most abundant, notably the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Beni Amart, and Gsennaya. Half the tribesmen of Beni Mesduy are carpenters, and are called out to neighboring tribes, notably to Beni Amart, to ply their trade.

322 412 The tools used by carpenters are as follows:

tharyisinth thumkaren	axe	*er barimith* (Arabic)	awl
tharyisinth n thinjarut	adze	*er ghazarith* (Arabic)	gouge
er minshar (Arabic)	saw	*es siar* (Arabic)	vise
er mithara (Arabic)	plane (see plate 15)	*fukkuth*	pincers
thrima (Spanish, from *lima*)	file	*user*	knife
imithi	chisel	*thimakarath*	scissors
thafaghath	hammer		

The Riffian and Senhajan carpenters use most commonly the axe, adze, and chisel. Planes, awls, vises, gouges, and files are of more recent introduction and hence are used less frequently. Saws are frequently employed, but one may truthfully say that Riffian carpentry is largely dependent upon adze technique. The adze is their tool *par excellence*, and they are extremely skillful in fashioning wooden objects with it.

313 Woodcutters, in felling trees upon the mountains, employ the axe exclusively. Once having felled the tree, they trim it, and, if it is too long to drag down the slope in its entirety, saw it into convenient lengths, unless they intend to use if for a roof-beam. The woodcutter chisels a square hole into the side of the log near the butt end, and with bits of wood wedges a long withe into it. If there are several men available for hauling the log, as many withes are wedged in as there are men. By lifting and dragging they move the log to the edge of the forest, and thence drag it down the slope, often finding it more difficult to keep it from rolling or falling end over end than to keep it moving. Sometimes the log is squared with the adze before being taken from the mountain.

When the woodcutter has succeeded in conveying the log to his house, he sets about preparing it for use. If the log is to be made into planks, he saws it lengthwise, making as many parallel cuts as he can, and carefully leaving the butt end solid — in other words, the planks into which the log has been sawed are still attached at one end. He takes the log, so cut, to market, and breaks off each plank as he sells it. (See plate 15.)

322 In making doors, beams, window frames, and shutters, the planks, whether originally sawed or not, are smoothed and flattened with the adze. So expert are the Riffian carpenters at wielding this tool that they can make a smooth surface on which no lines can be discerned. To leave a line is considered a sign of poor workmanship. With the adze they fashion wooden spoons, smooth, delicate, and graceful, and with the same tool a heavier implement, the plough.

MANUFACTURE OF TAR

314 Among the tribes in which the conifer *takka* is found, the manufacture of tar is carried on as a common occupation by woodcutters. These craftsmen fell the trees and cut up and chip sections of the trunks into small pieces. They then dig a hole in the ground, setting in

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

314 it a large earthen pot or other vessel. Over this they place a perforated plate like a *seksu* dish, and over that the *takka* wood, shielded from the fire by an inverted vessel. Over all a pile of brush is heaped, and this covered with dirt, except for an ignition hole. The fire is then lighted, and smoulders for days. When it has finally died down, the woodcutters extract the tar from the lowest pot.[1]

Tar is called *jathukh*. It is the only product made from the sap of the pine, since turpentine and resin are alike unknown to the Riffians. It is found in Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Ktama, Taghruth, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Hamid, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Amart, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Temjunt, Bured, and Beni Mesduy.

HOUSE TYPES

342 **Sedentary Habitations.** The tribesmen of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara occupy permanent houses, square in room-unit form, and usually built, when there are more rooms than one, about a hollow square serving as courtyard. The house, *theddath*, is generally of stone masonry with a roof of clay, thatch, or shingles. The component elements are as follows:

azkak, the courtyard.

afshthair, the low or sunken area at one end of the nuclear room, used by the family cow.

thisi, the middle area in which the family lives.

arfith, a raised platform at the end of the room opposite to the *afshthair*. This platform is slept on by the family.

thighagha, a rude firehole, hedged with stones, and set in the middle of the floor, usually in line with the door. There is no chimney, except in rare cases where a broken pot is set into the roof, and ordinarily the smoke finds its own way out of the room.

arof, a wooden loft built over the cattle-pit. This loft, made of rafters covered with loose, unnailed planks, and supported by a post from beneath, is used mainly for storage of firewood. In the Beni Bu Nsar, the *arof* is made to project through the wall under the roof, which likewise projects, forming a covered-in second-story piazza, often slept on in summer. It is sometimes supported by posts, the village street passing under it. (See plate 18.)

sijum (Arabic *silum*), the notched pole which holds up the *arof* and delimits the edge of the cattle-pit. The notches in this pole serve as ladder rungs for mounting the *arof*.

a'atab, the wooden lintel over the door.

thaworth, the door, made of two or more adze-flattened pieces of wood, with projections left at either end on one side, to fit into the lintel above and the ground below and serve as hinges. There is no lock, no latch, and rarely a handle.

thabuarjth, the window, a square opening of small size in the wall. There is seldom more than one window to a room.

thaworth n thabuarjth, the shutter. When a window is larger than a mere peep-hole, it is entitled to and receives a shutter — merely a miniature door, kept closed most of the time.

thuzukha, the roof, the component elements of which will be discussed separately.

sethur, the ridgepole, generally a single log, either left rough or hewn into hexagonal shape with the adze. Sometimes, with the aid of a pillar, the ridgepole may be composed of two logs laid end to end.

[1] A more complicated method of tar distillation, used in the South Algerian oasis of Tidikelt, has been described by L. Voinot in *Le Tidikelt*, pp. 142–143.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

of the bottom piece, set on edge. She does not coil it up over itself, but cuts it off, at the proper length, presses the ends together, and adds another strip to the top. When the pot has reached the required height she shapes it by means of a stick held inside and out, and by manipulation with her fingers. Handles and spouts are made separately and put on after the shaping has been finished. 323

The pot is then fired; while this is going on the women crush the ripe leaves of a wild bush called *bu b'kennin*, which resembles dogwood. From the leaves exudes a watery yellow juice. When they have taken out the pots, they paint them, still hot, with this juice, applying it with a stick, bit of straw, or rag, in geometric design, yellow on the buff of the clay. They then replace the pot in the kiln and rebake it. When it is taken out for the second time the design is black on buff, and gradually fades to sepia on buff. This pottery is found in Beni Urriaghel, Gsennaya, Beni Amart, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mesduy. (See plates 23 and 24.) 1386 3141

The wheel-made pottery manufactured by other tribes resembles the Arab pottery found all over the Arabic-speaking portions of Morocco, both in technique of manufacture and in shape. The vessels are generally cylindrical in form and white in color, without a slip; the wheel striations are plainly visible. Design is limited to a few squiggly lines running down the sides from the brim as the result of the fusion of a pigment put on the brim before firing. Distribution is in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Said, Galiya, and Kebdana.

The shapely designs of the central Riffian ware, two-handled drinking pots with down-curving lips, shallow plates, spouted milk-jugs, and semi-globular bowls, are copied on the wheel in certain tribes adjacent to the central Riffian area. The design typical of the Rif is put on, a little too perfectly to be true, and the product sold in markets as Riffian pottery. This hybrid type is made, not as a survival of Riffian design in an area of recent adoption of the wheel, but as a definite attempt to imitate and to defraud. The wheel is reputed to have been used in the regions where it is now employed from the most remote times, and the diffusionistic tendency has been against rather than for its dissemination. Wheels have been abandoned in Targuist in favor of the cruder technique, and the same tendency is evident in Bokoya, Beni Tuzin, and Temsaman. Distribution: Bokoya, Tuzin, and Temsaman. 323 415

WOOD, SKIN, AND IRON CONTAINERS

Throughout the Rif wooden bowls are adzed out of tree-trunks. These bowls are of one piece, and round in shape. Another type of wooden container, used in serving *seksu* to a large company, is the same as an old-fashioned washtub, shaped like the bottom part of a barrel, and carried about by means of chain handles. Wooden containers, carved from one piece or put together in the manner of barrels, are the characteristic product of the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, with the exception of Ktama. These tribes make no pottery, and have a greater abundance of wood than any other group. They utilise wooden vessels for every purpose which does not necessitate the use of fire. For the latter purpose they import pottery vessels from the Rif; but they have in recent years produced an undecorated imitation of them in Taghzuth. 415 322

Although the Metalsa make wheel-turned pottery, their equally nomadic neighbors, the Beni Bu Yahyi, neither make it nor employ it to any great extent. The Beni Bu Yahyi use 415

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

for the most part containers of iron and of skin, materials which are not apt to break in the course of a nomadic existence. Skins are used to hold all liquids, and likewise as churns for butter.

BASKETRY

There are three types of basket-making employed in the Rif; coiling, twilling, and wickerwork.

Coil-baskets are made with a bundle of *azref*, a grass, circular in section, as rod, and with palmetto leaves for wrapper. Coiled baskets, generally in the form of shallow trays, called

MAP 8

tubbut, are supposed to have been introduced by the Arabs. They are found in Ghomara, Mestassa, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Itteft, Bokoya, Ajdir, Branes, Ktama, Targuist; Khebaba, Shawia, and Beni Yunes of Gaennaya; Temsaman, except for the villages near the sea; Beni Said, with the same exception; Galiya, Kebdana, el Azib of Meidhar, Tafersit, lowland Beni Ulishk, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi.

Twilling, called *iji*, is employed in the manufacture of the *shuari*, or pack-saddle panier, and of the *endu* or flat basket with two handles used as a container of dried figs and raisins, also as a table upon which bowls are set and upon which bread rests during repasts. These articles are made from either *halfa* or palmetto, whichever is available. They are distributed through Beni Mohammed, Shawia, Ulad Alu Fars, Khebaba, Iharshliyen, and Ain el

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

285 415 Hamara of the Gzennaya; Bokoya; Ijaonen of Beni Amart; Beni Hadifa and Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel; Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman; the Metalsa dwelling near Beni Mohammed, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, all the Senhaja and Ghomara, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, and the western Maritime tribes.

[314] *Wickerwork*, the third type, is called *asarow n ughanim*. Oleander switches and reeds are used, the oleander for the uprights, or warp, and the split reeds woven in and out between them. Baskets made of this material are often of great size, four to five feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are used for the transportation of grapes, figs, almonds, walnuts, and the like, and for the storage of raisins, dried figs, and dried apricots. (See plate 24.) They are to be found in Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikaroen, Temjunt, Bured, all of Gzennaya, Mountain Urriaghel, Taghzuth n Tassa and Tizera n Imziwen of Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, and Ain Mediuna of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Bu Shibet.

TEXTILES

286 [439] Textiles made in the Rif are confined to woolen cloths, all cotton and what little silk there is being imported.

283 [824] The first process in textile manufacture is washing the wool in a stream with the boiled roots of the plant known as *thaghigheshth*. The wool is hung up in the rafters of the house until dry, and is then carded. In the old days, cards of local manufacture, called *ikarthashen*, were employed, but today the cards used throughout the Rif are imported from Sheshawen and are of European type. The indigenous type consists of a long wooden handle about two feet in length, with a flat piece of cow's horn attached to one end. Into the horn are set two parallel rows of spikes, either wooden or brass, about the length of a human finger. The rows are set at right angles to the axis of the handle, and the spikes project from the handle at a right angle. These cards were kept in pairs, and when not in use were pushed up into the rafters, where, in old houses, a few of them may still be found.

Spinning, the next process after carding, is done in two ways:

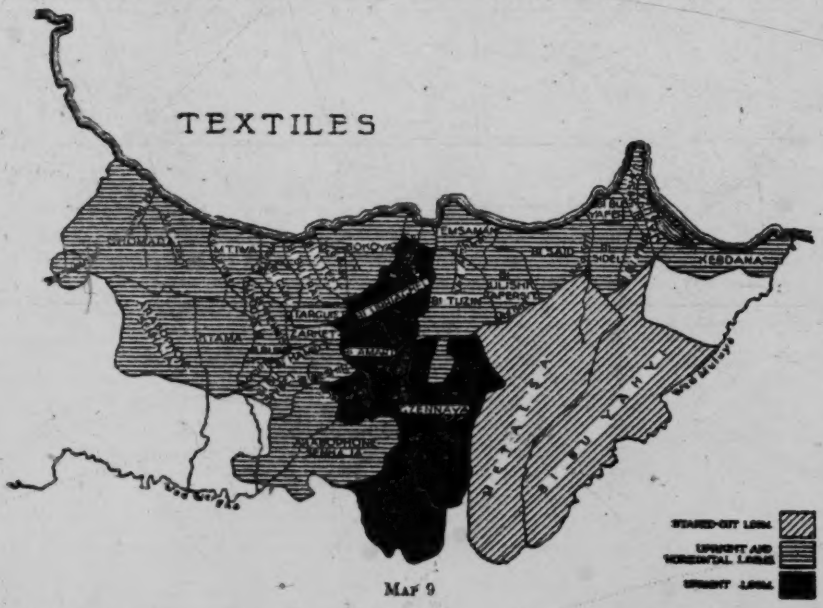
1. The thread is suspended from a distaff, on which the rove is wound, and attached to a spindle-whorl held just off the ground. Thread spun in this way is used for warp and is called *asarau*.

2. The rove is spun on the thigh and gathered into a pot below. This thread is used for weft and is called *amshin*.

286 [869] Weaving, the final process of textile manufacture, is done on two entirely different kinds of loom under different circumstances. The more primitive is the *azta*, an upright two-bar loom with a stick heddle and a wooden comb for battening the warp. The operation of the *azta* is entirely in the hands of women. A girl who does not know how to weave on the *azta* has a poor chance of marriage, and consequently girls learn this art at an early age. Parties are held for the teaching of it; a girl who is not expert invites a number of skilled weavers, who go to her house, eat, and instruct her. The cloth produced by the *azta* is called *tadsha* and is used for women's clothes, men's sleeveless shirts worn in winter, and blankets. It is generally white, sometimes with red horizontal bands or stripes. The *azta* is employed throughout the region under consideration, except in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

286 The second and more advanced type of loom, called *marmath*, is a horizontal extended mechanism of complicated design, with looped-wire heddles operated by a foot-treadle, a shuttle, and a two-bar wire batten suspended from above. With this machine the weaver, who is always a man, can turn out in a reasonable time a first-class piece of homespun cloth comparable to that produced on Scotch or American hand-looms. The cloth woven in this fashion is generally dark brown or black in color, the black cloth being highly valued and made without dyeing from the wool of black sheep. The thread spun for the *marmath* is finer than that prepared for the *azta*. The *marmath* is used in Sheshawen, all the Eastern



MAP 9

Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa and Branes, all Western Arabophone Senhaja and the Senhaja Sghir, the Ghomara, Targuist, the Maritime tribes, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Temsaman, Beni Said, Bokoya, Beni Tuzin, Galiya, and Kebdana. The tribes which have none are Beni Amart, Marnissa, Branes, Gzennaya excepting Beni Yunes, Urriaghel excepting Ajdir, and Beni Mesduy. The use of the *marmath* seems to have spread from Sheshawen as a western center, only Ulad Azam of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja having employed it in earlier times. Its use in the east may have spread from Melilla or Algeria.

A third type of textile manufacture is found among the nomadic Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, who employ neither the *azta* nor the *marmath*. These people make long braids of *halfa* grass, and stretch them out on the ground, tied to iron stakes, in the form of a very long, somewhat narrow, loom. The *halfa* braids form the warp, and a coarse thick thread

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

286 spun from black goat hair is put in as a weft by hand, without a shuttle, as in the case of the *azta*. The result of this process, a heavy, hybrid fabric, half textile and half matting, is used for tents.

Rug-making has not reached the high development among the Riffians which it has attained among the Shluh and Braber. Riffian rugs, woven on the *azta*, are coarse, harsh, and unattractive. The hooked-rug method, employed so effectively by the Beni Mgil and Beni Mtir of the Braber, is unknown. In fact, few rugs are made by the Riffians, who prefer to purchase them at Melilla and Fez.

386 All wool intended to be used in garments other than turbans and belts is thrown into a vat of dye before being carded or spun. The dyes used for coloring this raw wool are as ●314 follows:

brown, made from boiled apple-leaves.
red, made from the bark of almond-tree roots, boiled.
yellow, made from pomegranate husks.
green, made from the water boiled out of *thaghigheshth* roots or cedar cones.
black, made from an imported mineral called *zaj*.

386 These natural vegetable products are boiled in water, in which the wool is immersed and soaked. When it is taken out the colors are fast. Turbans and belts are dyed after they have been finished, when taken out of the dye they are rubbed with ashes, a process not considered necessary in the case of raw wool. Leather is dyed by exactly the same process as wool.

Tie-dyeing, called *thisfarsth*, is in some regions applied to cloth intended for use as turbans. The distribution is as follows: all Senhaja and Ghomara, and all tribes between them and Tangier.

CLOTHING

291 Riffian clothing was formerly made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven.
177 At present many garments are made of imported cotton cloth, and others of silk. In this compilation of garment-types most attention will be paid to the older elements of Riffian dress, the distribution of which alone is significant.

Masculine Attire. *ajjab*, the jellaba, is a woolen cloak with short sleeves and a hood.
[171] The jellaba is found all over North Africa and is not a distinctive Riffian garment, except as it differs in minor details from jellabas worn by other Berber or Arab groups. The Riffian jellaba is notably shorter than the average, reaching only to the knees, and its hood less broad than the hoods of the Ghomara and other western groups. The Riffian jellaba has definite shoulders; in the western type the transition from hood to sleeve is lacking. The Riffian jellaba is always either dark brown or black, but in other areas white, striped, or other colored types are worn. Furthermore, the Riffian jellaba can be readily distinguished by its embroidery, which will be treated separately. The jellaba is exclusivley a masculine garment. (See plates 25 and 27.)

er serham, the silham, is a cloak resembling the jellaba, but lacks sleeves and is generally
[171] much longer and more flowing. The silham is typical of the Braber and Shluh of the Atlas, and is likewise worn by the nomadic peoples south of the Atlas. In the Rif its use is limited to the nomadic tribes of the Garet. Until recently the silham was worn by both the Metalsa

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

delta, but it becomes progressively rarer toward the eastern semiarid sector of this zone. Pistacia wood is highly prized as a source of charcoal, and this fact alone may explain the plant's degraded appearance in the hills south of Tangier.

Pistacia rarely forms a pure stand. Several of the other plants found in palmetto scrub could be described as weeds, for they appear mainly in fallow fields. *Asphodelus microcarpus, Urginea maritima, Daphne Gnidium,* and one or more species of *Asparagus, Ononis,* and *Papaver* are prominent among them. In areas where most of the surface is cultivated, as in the Fahs territory south of Tangier, these plants, together with thistles and scattered clumps of palmetto, constitute all but a small part of the total inventory of vegetation. On rocky knolls and alluvial slopes too steep for cultivation, these plants grow among *Pistacia, Calycotome, Lavandula,* and the oleaster. The percentage of thorny plants is high. Besides *Calycotome* and thistles, *Carduus, Smilax,* and *Rosa* are found.

Dense shrub formations are rarely seen on the thickly settled Atlantic versant. One may walk unimpeded anywhere in the zone bounded by the Atlantic coast, Tangier, and Ksar al-Kebir. The thick shrub growth on the Mediterranean coast near Wad Lao contrasts sharply with the open formations on the Atlantic littoral. In the former area, *Cistus ladaniferus, C. albidus, Erica arborea, Pistacia lentiscus,* and *Arbutus Unedo* combine to form an impenetrable thicket. The limestone mountains of northern Morocco are almost bare of shrub or tree growth. From Ceuta to Wad Lao the eastern horizon is dominated by a great wall of limestone, almost completely devoid of soil. The prevalent whiteness is disturbed only by scattered clumps of palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

In the area covered by palmetto scrub the persistent riparian plant is the toxic *Nerium oleander.* It may be accompanied by *Crataegus, Myrtus,* and *Arbutus,* but in most of northwestern Morocco the oleander is the only plant on the banks of streams. The presence of *Alnus, Populus, Salix,* and *Vitex* along stream channels in the Sanhajan highlands may be explained by the persistence in that area of other trees, especially cedar, juniper, and oak, which have been adequate thus far as a source of fuel and building material.

In the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco, palmetto scrub grades into a thorn scrub dominated by *Zizyphus lotus,* a spiny and xerophytic member of the buckthorn family (Rhamnaceae). It is difficult to draw a line between these two formations. Isolated clumps of palmetto are found as far east as the Moulouya Valley, and zizyphus extends up the valley of Wad Ghis as far as Targist.

Well adapted to aridity and continentality, *Zizyphus lotus* has become the dominant plant of Morocco's semiarid plains. Clumps of zizyphus are conspicuous within most of the area mapped as thorn scrub. This plant may grow three meters high, but is most often seen as a shrub. It is deciduous; and, during the dormant winter season, gray and seemingly lifeless clumps of zizyphus are a characteristic feature of the landscape. Its branches are widely used as fence material, and this practice enhances the contrast between the semiarid sector of northern Morocco and the wetter western zone, where *Opuntia* is planted as a hedge. The fleshy drupe of zizyphus is collected wherever it grows; when cereal stocks are exhausted, "lotus bread" is an important food.[a]

[a] *Zizyphus lotus* is occasionally planted in Andalusia, Portugal, and Sicily, but in northern Africa the fruit is collected from wild plants. Aug. Chevalier, "Les jujubiers ou zizyphus de

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

by burning, may completely destroy the oaks. The Mamora cork forest north of Rabat (137,000 hectares) is the largest in the world.[a] Cork oak covers about 100,000 hectares in the northern zone.[b]

Much of the economic activity in northern Morocco is concerned with the collection and shipment of cork. The bark of the trunk and the larger branches is utilized. Cork is first removed when trees are about twenty years old, with subsequent stripping every seven to ten years. The first yield (*liège mâle*) is very rough and coarse and of little value. Cork of subsequent stripping (*liège de reproduction*) is more homogeneous and of higher commercial value. In northern Morocco, cork is collected by Spanish concerns with native labor, and also by small independent operators who collect cork from isolated villages and carry it to places of deposit on the main roads. Most of the cork from northern Morocco is shipped in bulk to Spain.

Deciduous oaks cover about 7,000 hectares in northern Morocco. Two species are represented, and they have the scattered distribution characteristic of relicts. The larger stand of deciduous oaks grows at an elevation of about 1,000 meters in the mountains west of Shawen and southwest of Bab Taza—Jbil Buhashim, Jbil Sugna, and Jbil Hazana. *Quercus pyrenaica* = *Q. Tozae* is the species in this area; it appears also at elevations of 1,200–2,000 meters on Jbil Tiziran and, as the binomial indicates, in the Pyrenees. The second species, *Q. faginea* = *Q. lusitanica*, is scattered over the Sanhajan highlands. The largest stands are on the slopes between Jbil Tiziran and Jbil Leshab. Other stands appear on the slopes of Adrar Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut, and there are a few trees mixed with *Erica arborea*, *Cistus ladaniferus*, and *Pistacia lentiscus* in the maqui near Tangier.

It is difficult to explain the scattered distribution of the deciduous oaks. They are abundant in the largest forested area (fig. 8), that of the mountains west of Shawen, but many of the trees in this forest were cut by the Spanish for use as railroad ties. Both species seem to be calcifuge, and it is unlikely that either will be found in the drier parts of the zone. The scattered and mountainous distribution suggests that the deciduous oaks are Pleistocene relicts now restricted to the coolest and wettest parts of northern Morocco. The extreme polymorphism of *Quercus faginea*, with its great number of subspecies and races, seems to support this view.

The highest peaks in northern Morocco are clothed with forests of fir and cedar. The former genus is confined to the calcareous mountains east of Shawen. Two species are present: *Abies tazaotana* occurs at elevations of 1,500–1,854 meters on Jbil Tazaot, and *A. pinsapo* appears on Jbil Maggo, Jbil Tisuka, and Jbil Leshab, as well as in the mountains near Ronda in southern Spain. This restricted highland distribution again suggests that these species are relicts. On Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab, forests of fir begin at an elevation of 1,600

[a] Estimate of Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 101. For an excellent description of the Mamora forest see A. Métro and Ch. Sauvage, *Flore des végétaux ligneux de la Mamora* (Rabat: Société des Sciences Naturelles et Physiques du Maroc, 1955).

[b] This figure and the estimates of forested surface in later paragraphs are taken from S. Sánchez Cózar, "Montes," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948), pp. 5–25. Earlier estimates appear in E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 by cutting, browsing, or fire. This ability explains the presence of scrub thuya in deforested areas. But it grows slowly and is sensitive to disturbance in its early years. In the area delimited on the map, thuyas are widely scattered and for the most part badly mutilated. Large formations have been completely [313] destroyed. More than half of the houses in the eastern part of the Rif have [314] rafters of thuya, which is used, wherever it grows, as a source of charcoal. The Barbary thuya has been used for centuries in making cabinets and other furni- [322] ture, and was esteemed by the Romans for roofing temples.[a] Damaged trunks sometimes develop giant burls, which have been used since classical time as table [314] tops. A hard resin, sandarac, exudes from the trunks, and a modest quantity [439] of it is shipped to Britain, where it is used in the manufacture of varnish.[b]

[a] Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI, 231, XXXIII, 146.

[113] [b] W. Dallimore and A. Bruce Jackson, *A Handbook of Coniferae* (London: Edward Arnold, 1948), p. 610.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus, Rhus pentaphylla,* and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[84] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix, Alnus, Populus, Vitex,* and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander,* the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[85] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[86]

---

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al., Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[84] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[85] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies,* 9 (1931), 69.

[86] Coon, *loc. cit.*, traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

313 The great wooden gates that used to guard the openings of every city wall
648 demonstrate the importance of the lumber trade. Only fragments of these gates
171 still exist, but it is certain that most of them were made of cedar. Logging operations were greatly expanded by the Spanish after the Rifian tribes had been pacified. It is not an exaggeration to say that the mineral deposits and cedar forests of northern Morocco were the only compensations for Spain's investment in colonial prestige. Reliable estimates of the amount of timber cut since the beginning of the protectorate cannot be found, possibly because the Spanish claimed to be conserving and restoring the forests in their zone. With the backing of military force, the Spanish were able to exercise some control over cutting by the native population, but their own work proceeded without interruption or apparent regulation. Spanish officials point out that the forests being exploited were private property and that the forestry service was concerned only with public domain.

In 1956 sawmills operated throughout the year at Tetuán and Targist, and during the summer months trucks heavily loaded with cedar logs could be seen on every mountain road. The fir forests on Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab had not yet been heavily logged when Spanish "protection" came to an end, but the deciduous oaks on Jbil Buhashim had been cut in quantity for use as railroad ties. These operations may have been a brief chapter in the history of the Moroccan forest, but it is probable that the Spanish, with modern equipment, cut more trees in a decade than the local tribesmen could destroy in a century. The effects of Spanish logging are strikingly evident in the Sanhajan highlands, especially on Adrar Dahdoh, Adrar Tidighin, and Adrar Tizi Ifri.

313 This harsh judgment applies only to the exploitation of cedar and the decidu-
171 ous oaks. A modest amount of reforestation was undertaken. A plantation of
[185] *Eucalyptus* was established north of Larache; Aleppo pines were planted near Rinecón, Alhucemas, Nador, and Melilla; and an effort was made to prevent premature stripping of the cork oak.[a]

Profiting from long experience in Algeria, the Service des Eaux et Forêts carried out an elaborate program in French Morocco. The system advocated and partly enforced was based upon periodic and progressive thinnings, which were intended to reconcile the interests of the tribesmen with good forestry practice. If effectively enforced, this method would have permitted the production of fuel without waiting for the normal age of exploitation, and would have improved pastoral conditions by facilitating the movement and supervision of livestock.[b]

314 Tannin is extracted from the roots and bark of all the Moroccan oaks, and
171 this operation frequently results in mutilation or death. The cork oak is espe-
311 cially vulnerable, for tannin is scraped from the delicate inner bark immediately after the corky tissue has been removed. Complete girdling destroys trees, and death may result if more than half of the circumference is damaged.[c] The tanners of Marrakech have been responsible for extensive deforestation in the

[a] The program planned by the Spanish forestry service is described in González Vázquez, [113] *op. cit.*, pp. 97–185, cited in note 34; and J. Ruiz de la Torre, *La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos y la elección de especies para su repoblación forestal* (Larache: Centro de Investigaciones Forestales, 1956).

[b] For a brief account of French management, see J. P. Challot, "L'homme et la forêt maro- [113] caine," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 84 (1946), 233–261.

[c] Boudy, *op. cit.*, II (fasc. 1), 47 ff., cited in note 5.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

High Atlas. Deforestation can be traced also to the tanners of Fez and Tetuán.[112] The tanners' guild in Fez goes back to the ninth century, when master tanners gathered at this site from Córdoba, Qayrawan, and distant Iran. Fez leather was once exported as far away as Baghdad, and shoes went to Egypt until the present century. During the peak years of production. Fez craftsmen tanned about 500,000 skins a year. The descendants of the original immigrant craftsmen are still busy making handbags, slippers, and other articles for the tourist and export trade.

It is not surprising that *Quercus Ilex,* an important source of tannin, should now be rare in the hills near Fez and Tetuán. There is good reason to believe that the holly oak once covered these hills. One well-informed botanist asserts that the primordial cover of the limestone mountains south of Tetuán probably was a "climax" forest of holly oak.[113] In Gal'aya and the eastern Rif, careless stripping of the bark of *Rhus pentaphylla,* a source of red dye, destroys many trees; "Morocco leather," a trade name in bookbinding, is customarily made from goatskin tanned with sumac.

Effects of Burning

In the eastern Rif the plant cover is usually too sparse to maintain a fire, and on the Atlantic littoral there is little land left to clear. But between these areas is a large zone covered with forest or scrub that must be burned before the land can be plowed. Some attempt is usually made to control the spread of fire, but conflagrations develop when tinder-dry shrubs are fanned by brisk winds. Fire is employed also for the "improvement" of pasture, for increased blossoming ("bee pasture"), and probably for the mere pleasure of burning or out of carelessness.[114]

The importance of pastoral fires has been emphasized by most students of the Mediterranean landscape,[115] but in northern Morocco fires set to clear away noxious shrubbery or to facilitate movement of stock are less important than agricultural fires. Pastoral fires are neither necessary nor desirable where there are goats, for these animals thrive on woody browse and can break through the thickest scrub. Sheep outnumber goats only in the drier eastern sector, where impenetrable formations are rare. For every fire set to "improve" pasture, probably more than ten are set to prepare new fields for plowing.

Whatever its cause, fire is a major agent of deforestation. The difficulty is that there are many kinds of fires: quick fires that run over a thin mantle of vegetation, great conflagrations that consume thicker formations, fires that remain close to the ground, fires that extend to the crowns of trees. It makes a great deal of difference whether fires recur after five or after twenty-five years. Moreover, the important factor may be not the fire itself but what happens to an area after it has been burned.

---

[112] R. le Tourneau, L. Paye, and R. Guyot, "La corporation des tanneurs et l'industrie de la tannerie à Fès," *Hespéris,* 21 (1935), 167–240; A. Joly, "L'industrie à Tétouan," *Archives Marocaines,* 8, 15, 18 (1906–1912).

[113] J. Ruiz de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala (Marruecos español)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1955), pp. 26–27, and the map showing the "natural area" of *Quercus Ilex.* H. Marc, *Notes sur les forêts de l'Algérie* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 396, lists the causes of serious forest fires from 1886 to 1915 as "accidents" (8 per cent), "imprudence" (32 per cent), "intentional" (23 per cent), "unknown" (37 per cent).

[114] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, "Influence des feux pastoraux dans la région méditerranéenne," *Jour. d'Agriculture Tropicale et de Botanique Appliquée,* 3 (1956), 785–791.

322
492
326

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 RH MX3

Shoeing a mule, Tiguisas, Ghomara

A negroid smith at his portable anvil, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

[p. 60(a)]

Beni Bu Nsar men with their sawed planks in market
Suk el Tnine, Taghauth

Taghauthi carpenter planing a board

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

WOODWORK AND CARPENTRY

322 Woodworking is carried on as a trade throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, and in all of these places is considered a respectable profession, in no way to be confounded with the despised art of iron-forging. Carpenters are naturally most flourishing in the tribes where wood is most abundant, notably the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Beni Amart, and Gsennaya. Half the tribesmen of Beni Mesduy are carpenters, and are called out to neighboring tribes, notably to Beni Amart, to ply their trade.

322 412 The tools used by carpenters are as follows:

tharyisinth thamkaras	axe	*er barimith* (Arabic)	awl
tharyisinth n thinjarout	adze	*er ghasarith* (Arabic)	gouge
er minshar (Arabic)	saw	*es siar* (Arabic)	vise
er mithara (Arabic)	plane (see plate 15)	*jukkuh*	pincers
thrima (Spanish, from *lima*)	file	*user*	knife
imithi	chisel	*thimsharath*	scissors
thafathith	hammer		

The Riffian and Senhajan carpenters use most commonly the axe, adze, and chisel. Planes, awls, vises, gouges, and files are of more recent introduction and hence are used less frequently. Saws are frequently employed, but one may truthfully say that Riffian carpentry is largely dependent upon adze technique. The adze is their tool *par excellence*, and they are extremely skillful in fashioning wooden objects with it.

313 Woodcutters, in felling trees upon the mountains, employ the axe exclusively. Once having felled the tree, they trim it, and, if it is too long to drag down the slope in its entirety, saw it into convenient lengths, unless they intend to use if for a roof-beam. The woodcutter chisels a square hole into the side of the log near the butt end, and with bits of wood wedges a long withe into it. If there are several men available for hauling the log, as many withes are wedged in as there are men. By lifting and dragging they move the log to the edge of the forest, and thence drag it down the slope, often finding it more difficult to keep it from rolling or falling end over end than to keep it moving. Sometimes the log is squared with the adze before being taken from the mountain.

When the woodcutter has succeeded in conveying the log to his house, he sets about preparing it for use. If the log is to be made into planks, he saws it lengthwise, making as many parallel cuts as he can, and carefully leaving the butt end solid — in other words, the planks into which the log has been sawed are still attached at one end. He takes the log, so cut, to market, and breaks off each plank as he sells it. (See plate 15.)

322 In making doors, beams, window frames, and shutters, the planks, whether originally sawed or not, are smoothed and flattened with the adze. So expert are the Riffian carpenters at wielding this tool that they can make a smooth surface on which no lines can be discerned. To leave a line is considered a sign of poor workmanship. With the adze they fashion wooden spoons, smooth, delicate, and graceful, and with the same tool a heavier implement, the plough.

MANUFACTURE OF TAR

314 Among the tribes in which the conifer *takka* is found, the manufacture of tar is carried on as a common occupation by woodcutters. These craftsmen fell the trees and cut up and chip sections of the trunks into small pieces. They then dig a hole in the ground, setting in

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

of the bottom piece, set on edge. She does not coil it up over itself, but cuts it off, at the proper length, presses the ends together, and adds another strip to the top. When the pot has reached the required height she shapes it by means of a stick held inside and out, and by manipulation with her fingers. Handles and spouts are made separately and put on after the shaping has been finished.

The pot is then fired; while this is going on the women crush the ripe leaves of a wild bush called *bu b'kennin*, which resembles dogwood. From the leaves exudes a watery yellow juice. When they have taken out the pots, they paint them, still hot, with this juice, applying it with a stick, bit of straw, or rag, in geometric design, yellow on the buff of the clay. They then replace the pot in the kiln and rebake it. When it is taken out for the second time the design is black on buff, and gradually fades to sepia on buff. This pottery is found in Beni Urriaghel, Gsennaya, Beni Amart, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mesduy. (See plates 23 and 24.)

The wheel-made pottery manufactured by other tribes resembles the Arab pottery found all over the Arabic-speaking portions of Morocco, both in technique of manufacture and in shape. The vessels are generally cylindrical in form and white in color, without a slip; the wheel striations are plainly visible. Design is limited to a few squiggly lines running down the sides from the brim as the result of the fusion of a pigment put on the brim before firing. Distribution is in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Said, Galiya, and Kebdana.

The shapely designs of the central Riffian ware, two-handled drinking pots with down-curving lips, shallow plates, spouted milk-jugs, and semi-globular bowls, are copied on the wheel in certain tribes adjacent to the central Riffian area. The design typical of the Rif is put on, a little too perfectly to be true, and the product sold in markets as Riffian pottery. This hybrid type is made, not as a survival of Riffian design in an area of recent adoption of the wheel, but as a definite attempt to imitate and to defraud. The wheel is reputed to have been used in the regions where it is now employed from the most remote times, and the diffusionistic tendency has been against rather than for its dissemination. Wheels have been abandoned in Targuist in favor of the cruder technique, and the same tendency is evident in Bokoya, Beni Tuzin, and Temsaman. Distribution: Bokoya, Tuzin, and Temsaman.

WOOD, SKIN, AND IRON CONTAINERS

Throughout the Rif wooden bowls are adzed out of tree-trunks. These bowls are of one piece, and round in shape. Another type of wooden container, used in serving *sekxu* to a large company, is the same as an old-fashioned washtub, shaped like the bottom part of a barrel, and carried about by means of chain handles. Wooden containers, carved from one piece or put together in the manner of barrels, are the characteristic product of the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, with the exception of Ktama. These tribes make no pottery, and have a greater abundance of wood than any other group. They utilise wooden vessels for every purpose which does not necessitate the use of fire. For the latter purpose they import pottery vessels from the Rif; but they have in recent years produced an undecorated imitation of them in Taghruth.

Although the Metalsa make wheel-turned pottery, their equally nomadic neighbors, the Beni Bu Yahyi, neither make it nor employ it to any great extent. The Beni Bu Yahyi use

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

by cutting, browsing, or fire. This ability explains the presence of scrub thuya in deforested areas. But it grows slowly and is sensitive to disturbance in its early years. In the area delimited on the map, thuyas are widely scattered and for the most part badly mutilated. Large formations have been completely destroyed. More than half of the houses in the eastern part of the Rif have rafters thuya, which is used, wherever it grows, as a source of charcoal. The Barbary thuya has been used for centuries in making cabinets and other furniture, and was esteemed by the Romans for roofing temples.[a] Damaged trunks sometimes develop giant burls, which have been used since classical time as table tops. A hard resin, sandarac, exudes from the trunks, and a modest quantity of it is shipped to Britain, where it is used in the manufacture of varnish.[b]

[a] Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI. 231, XXXIII, 146.

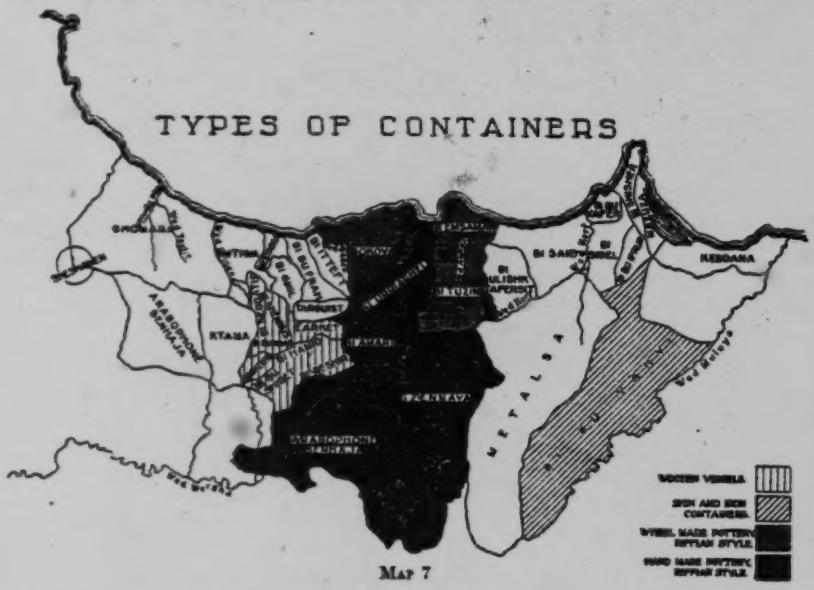
[b] W. Dallimore and A. Bruce Jackson, *A Handbook of Coniferae* (London: Edward Arnold, 1948), p. 610.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

POTTERY

323
[462] In the Rif and the territory adjacent to it pottery is shaped both by hand and on the wheel, each system of manufacture possessing its own shapes and types of decoration. Hand work is the exclusive duty of women and wheel work of men.

There are two kinds of clay used, a white variety called *therakhth*, which breaks easily and is considered inferior, and red clay, called *er-asr* (from the Arabic *el asl*, meaning "honey"), so termed because when it is fired metal sometimes runs out of it, looking like honey. Nothing is done with this slag, and the inhabitants do not even know what metal



Map 7

it is. This "honey-clay" is red before firing, and buff after; it rings when struck, and makes a harder vessel than the white variety. From it most of the hand-modeled pots are constructed; the white variety is more commonly used on the wheel.

In arranging the paste, the potter crushes dry clay to powder, sifts it through a sieve, and then mixes it with powder crushed from old potsherds to serve as tempering. Sometimes crushed stone is used instead, but only in case the pots are intended for sale rather than for home use, since vessels made with this tempering are considered inferior. When the powdered clay and tempering have been mixed, water is added and the whole kneaded until it reaches the proper consistency.

In the case of hand-made pottery, the potter pats out a piece, flattening it to form a bottom. She then rolls out a strip as for coiling, but flattens it and puts it around the edge

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

of the bottom piece, set on edge. She does not coil it up over itself, but cuts it off, at the proper length, presses the ends together, and adds another strip to the top. When the pot has reached the required height she shapes it by means of a stick held inside and out, and by manipulation with her fingers. Handles and spouts are made separately and put on after the shaping has been finished. 323

The pot is then fired; while this is going on the women crush the ripe leaves of a wild bush called *bu b'kennin*, which resembles dogwood. From the leaves exudes a watery yellow juice. When they have taken out the pots, they paint them, still hot, with this juice, applying it with a stick, bit of straw, or rag, in geometric design, yellow on the buff of the clay. They then replace the pot in the kiln and rebake it. When it is taken out for the second time the design is black on buff, and gradually fades to sepia on buff. This pottery is found in Beni Urriaghel, Gsennaya, Beni Amart, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mesduy. (See plates 23 and 24.) 386 347

The wheel-made pottery manufactured by other tribes resembles the Arab pottery found all over the Arabic-speaking portions of Morocco, both in technique of manufacture and in shape. The vessels are generally cylindrical in form and white in color, without a slip; the wheel striations are plainly visible. Design is limited to a few squiggly lines running down the sides from the brim as the result of the fusion of a pigment put on the brim before firing. Distribution is in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Said, Galiya, and Kebdana.

The shapely designs of the central Riffian ware, two-handled drinking pots with down-curving lips, shallow plates, spouted milk-jugs, and semi-globular bowls, are copied on the wheel in certain tribes adjacent to the central Riffian area. The design typical of the Rif is put on, a little too perfectly to be true, and the product sold in markets as Riffian pottery. This hybrid type is made, not as a survival of Riffian design in an area of recent adoption of the wheel, but as a definite attempt to imitate and to defraud. The wheel is reputed to have been used in the regions where it is now employed from the most remote times, and the diffusionistic tendency has been against rather than for its dissemination. Wheels have been abandoned in Targuist in favor of the cruder technique, and the same tendency is evident in Bokoya, Beni Tuzin, and Temsaman. Distribution: Bokoya, Tuzin, and Temsaman. 323 415

WOOD, SKIN, AND IRON CONTAINERS

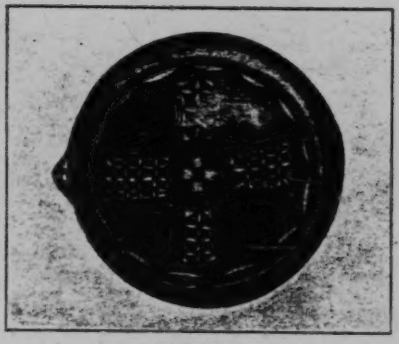
Throughout the Rif wooden bowls are adzed out of tree-trunks. These bowls are of one piece, and round in shape. Another type of wooden container, used in serving *seksu* to a large company, is the same as an old-fashioned washtub, shaped like the bottom part of a barrel, and carried about by means of chain handles. Wooden containers, carved from one piece or put together in the manner of barrels, are the characteristic product of the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, with the exception of Ktama. These tribes make no pottery, and have a greater abundance of wood than any other group. They utilise wooden vessels for every purpose which does not necessitate the use of fire. For the latter purpose they import pottery vessels from the Rif; but they have in recent years produced an undecorated imitation of them in Taghzuth. 415 322

Although the Metalsa make wheel-turned pottery, their equally nomadic neighbors, the Beni Bu Yahyi, neither make it nor employ it to any great extent. The Beni Bu Yahyi use 415

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CENTRAL RIFFIAN POTTERY

415
323
531



Targuist

Gennaya

Gennaya

Beni Urriaghel

[facing p. 76]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CENTRAL RIFFIAN POTTERY-BASKETRY

415
323
531

Bottom of unusual water-jug, showing entrance of cone through which pot is filled when lowered into a well. Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Side view of the same

Bowl showing eastern influence in design. Temsaman

Making a wicker basket for raisins. Ulad Abd el Mumen, Iberrushen, Gzennaya

[285]
[177]

[facing p. 78]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramaḍān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imzīren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith 'Alī u 'Aisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj 'Abd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

621 623 571 today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in 621 623 571 others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and 794 [613] as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer. This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

623 The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral 623 671 services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian [613] customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

621 623 463 326 323 In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand; on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subolan) these necessities are complemented.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER V

MATERIAL CULTURE (CONTINUED)

METAL WORK

326 METAL workers may be divided into three classes: ironworkers or blacksmiths, who are subjected to social restrictions, JEWS, and gunsmiths.

●325 None of these metal workers know the art of extracting metals from their ores — all the raw material used in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara in recent times has been brought in from outside.[1] Thus, using smelting as the criterion, one might say that these people are not in an age of metal, despite the fact that they use metal tools exclusively. This observation is doubly true when one considers that all the metal workers, except the gunsmiths, are counted as outsiders and immigrants.

The blacksmiths use double bellows of goat-skin bags, which they work up and down with sticks. These bellows, called *tahanut*, must not be confused with the *arrabos*, the bellows of European fireplace type now made in Taghzuth and copied from those made in Meknes and Fez. The blacksmith works over a charcoal fire, quickened by means of these bellows: he heats his metal until it is red hot and then forges it on an anvil, called *er minsbuth*, which consists merely of an iron stake driven into the ground (unless he has had the good fortune to buy a European anvil). All iron is forged, none is cast; in fact, the only metal melted and cast is lead, used for bullets. The Riffian smiths are, however, able to perform one feat of considerable difficulty: they weld steel edges into soft iron implements, 325 177 an art unknown, I believe, to the Negroes of Central Africa, from whom, judging by tradition, the physical type of the smiths, and the types of implements, modern North African metallurgy was borrowed. The Vandals, according to Procopius,[2] are supposed to have shown the North Africans the secret of steel-working, whence the smiths may have obtained this technique, if they did not obtain it later from Jews or Arabs.

326 412 439 The blacksmiths make hoes, sickles, ploughshares, pruning knives, knives, shears, scissors, axes, adzes, chisels, hammers, and horseshoes. Such tools as files, vises, saws, planes, awls, needles, and pincers they import.

325 412 Hoes, sickles, adzes, and axes were formerly so made that they could be hafted only to shafts which bent at right angles; in other words, the hafting superficially resembled a Bronze Age technique, especially since the end of such a tool away from the cutting edge was equipped with a socket for the reception of the end of the hafting. In order to make this socket, the implement was constructed as follows: a flat square sheet of iron was ham-

[1] Marmol (chaps. 41, 43, 46) states that iron was extracted in the neighborhood of Melilla and of Megeo, as well as in Beni Said. The first two sites were probably worked, or at least directed, by townspeople, who were not, according to Marmol's own accounts, native Berbers in blood. In Beni Said the mining operations were well organized, and merchants came from as far as Fez to buy iron balls, from which the tools Berbers use were made.

The excellence of the organization of this extinct industry in Beni Said may have been due to Arab or some other non-Riffian inspiration. At the time Marmol wrote the eastern Rif was much more open to outside influences than it has been in later centuries.

[2] Mareus, p. 217 (from Cassiod. Variar. v, 1. Victor Vitensis I, 10).

[2.64]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

325 412 mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. [171] The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

325 531 Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. [171] The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

[326] 411 The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibsben, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

326 492 231 The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

326 563 The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IV

MATERIAL CULTURE

HUNTING

224 HUNTING is carried on in three ways in the Rif, by means of the rifle, the net, and the trap. In the fall and winter the Riffians, and especially the mountaineers of the Senhaja, spend as much of their time as they can spare climbing about the mountain sides in search of game.

[41] The weapons with which they hunt are confined to rifles of European manufacture and
[262] Taghzuthi flintlocks. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, hares, pigeons, partridges, wild boar, and, where there are any, the aoudad, wild ox, and gazelle. Since before any animal may be eaten by Mohammedans it is necessary that its throat be cut ceremonially, — the butcher pronouncing the formula "*bism illah, ullahu akbar*," — the Riffians have devised several means of counteracting the consequences of the game's dying before this has been done. The hunter when loading his gun may kiss the lead ball, pronouncing the formula of *hallala*, or the sacrament, over it, and any animal shot by that ball will be clean and edible. Another and more convenient method is to have a gunsmith chase the words of the formula in silver wire upon the stock or barrel, and thereafter any game shot by that rifle will be sacramentally edible. In the case of the wild boar, the hunter does not worry about giving it the *hallala*, since it is forbidden food in any event.

Nets are set up across a path or entrance to a clearing on the side of a hill, and long palisades of brush are erected like wings on either side of the net, slightly wedge-shaped, and at an angle of less than 180 degrees to each other. Beaters start at the foot of the hill and work up, converging until they reach the ends of the palisade, and thus drive into the net whatever small game they may have intercepted. In this way they catch rabbits, hares,
[262] partridges, foxes, jackals, and other animals. Although they kill the foxes and jackals, they never eat them.[1]

[231] Ferrets are used in winter time to unearth rabbits. They are completely tamed and well trained.

224 Traps are made by local blacksmiths and are based on the same mechanical principle as
326 the type with which the reader is familiar. The differences are: (1) The base of the trap is a frame, rectangular in shape, instead of a plate. The jaws are hinged into the sides of this. (2) Each jaw is bent in two right angles instead of in an arc. (3) The spring, attached to one arm of the frame, operates at right angles to the axis of the jaws instead of parallel to it. Thus it actually touches but one side of each jaw, instead of both sides, as in modern traps. (4) There is no trigger or bait-holder. The traps are set by means of two sticks, one put under the end of the frame and over one open jaw, and the other under both sides of the frame and over the end of the first stick. The second stick thus is caught in the jaws when the trap is sprung.

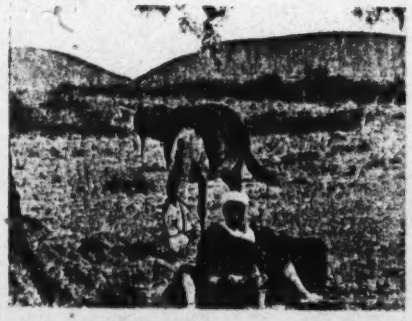
224 The trap is buried in the path or in front of the hole of any small animal, the top being covered with leaves and dust. The two sticks are so arranged that the slightest motion will

[1] I have seen tribesmen of the Zaer, near Rabat, eat a jackal.

322
492
●326

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 R.U. MX3

Shoeing a mule. Tiguisas, Ghomara



A negroid smith at his portable anvil, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Beni Bu Nsar men with their sawed planks in market. Suk et Tnine, Taghanth

Taghanthi carpenter planing a board

[p. 60(a)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER V

MATERIAL CULTURE (CONTINUED)

METAL WORK

326 METAL workers may be divided into three classes: ironworkers or blacksmiths, who are subjected to social restrictions, Jews, and gunsmiths.

325 None of these metal workers know the art of extracting metals from their ores — all the raw material used in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara in recent times has been brought in from outside.[1] Thus, using smelting as the criterion, one might say that these people are not in an age of metal, despite the fact that they use metal tools exclusively. This observation is doubly true when one considers that all the metal workers, except the gunsmiths, are counted as outsiders and immigrants.

The blacksmiths use double bellows of goat-skin bags, which they work up and down with sticks. These bellows, called *tahanut*, must not be confused with the *arrabos*, the bellows of European fireplace type now made in Taghruth and copied from those made in Meknes and Fes. The blacksmith works over a charcoal fire, quickened by means of these bellows: he heats his metal until it is red hot and then forges it on an anvil, called *er minsbuth*, which consists merely of an iron stake driven into the ground (unless he has had the good fortune to buy a European anvil). All iron is forged, none is cast; in fact, the only 325 metal melted and cast is lead, used for bullets. The Riffian smiths are, however, able to perform one feat of considerable difficulty; they weld steel edges into soft iron implements, 177 an art unknown, I believe, to the Negroes of Central Africa, from whom, judging by tradition, the physical type of the smiths, and the types of implements, modern North African metallurgy was borrowed. The Vandals, according to Procopius,[2] are supposed to have shown the North Africans the secret of steel-working, whence the smiths may have obtained this technique, if they did not obtain it later from Jews or Arabs.

326 The blacksmiths make hoes, sickles, ploughshares, pruning knives, knives, shears, 412 scissors, axes, adzes, chisels, hammers, and horseshoes. Such tools as files, vises, saws, 439 planes, awls, needles, and pincers they import.

325 Hoes, sickles, adzes, and axes were formerly so made that they could be hafted only to 412 shafts which bent at right angles; in other words, the hafting superficially resembled a Bronze Age technique, especially since the end of such a tool away from the cutting edge was equipped with a socket for the reception of the end of the hafting. In order to make this socket, the implement was constructed as follows: a flat square sheet of iron was ham-

[1] Marmol (chaps. 41, 43, 46) states that iron was extracted in the neighborhood of Melilla and of Megso, as well as in Beni Said. The first two sites were probably worked, or at least directed, by townspeople, who were not, according to Marmol's own accounts, native Berbers in blood. In Beni Said the mining operations were well organized, and merchants came from as far as Fes to buy iron balls, from which the tools Berbers use were made.

The excellence of the organization of this extinct industry in Beni Said may have been due to Arab or some other non-Riffian inspiration. At the time Marmol wrote the eastern Rif was much more open to outside influences than it has been in later centuries.

[2] Marcus, p. 217 (from Cassiod. Variar. v. 1, Victor Vitensis I, 10).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

325 412 mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. [171] The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

325 531 Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. [171] The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

● [326] 411 The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibshen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

326 492 231 The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

326 563 The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghsuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghsuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the [531] hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Asht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[434] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghsuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramaḍān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imzūren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith 'Alī u 'Aisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj 'Abd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer. This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand; on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

312 The
562 jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions
[623] of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of
[681] women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

312 The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly
615 among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agree-
[212] ments are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

[466] The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work
[333] done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

312 Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone
689 of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2)
241 differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled
242
627

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 342 a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them S [417] with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the [513] second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer [352] (pl. 3, *b*). A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions S [353] for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept S [574] in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly S [335] skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with [341] carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal [252] brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. [354] Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two [352] small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

R 342 Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*), B and the [351] walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the R [351] open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are some- [ ] what longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflec- [171] tion of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas [333] sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

R Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from [171] those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a [352] thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual R progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has 342 a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The 556 best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

R An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of dis- 341 tinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques 346 in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types 171 of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

A, [See p. 127--Analyst] B, [See p. 126--Analyst]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

342 476 574

The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

356 358

Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques. *The Moorish arch* in doors and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

341 177

Domes are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

341 764 177

Tiled roofs are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

341 177

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

341 346

Tents. The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa* braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

342 [286]

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhazhen*, sepa-

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3 ●
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R
S
361
341
102

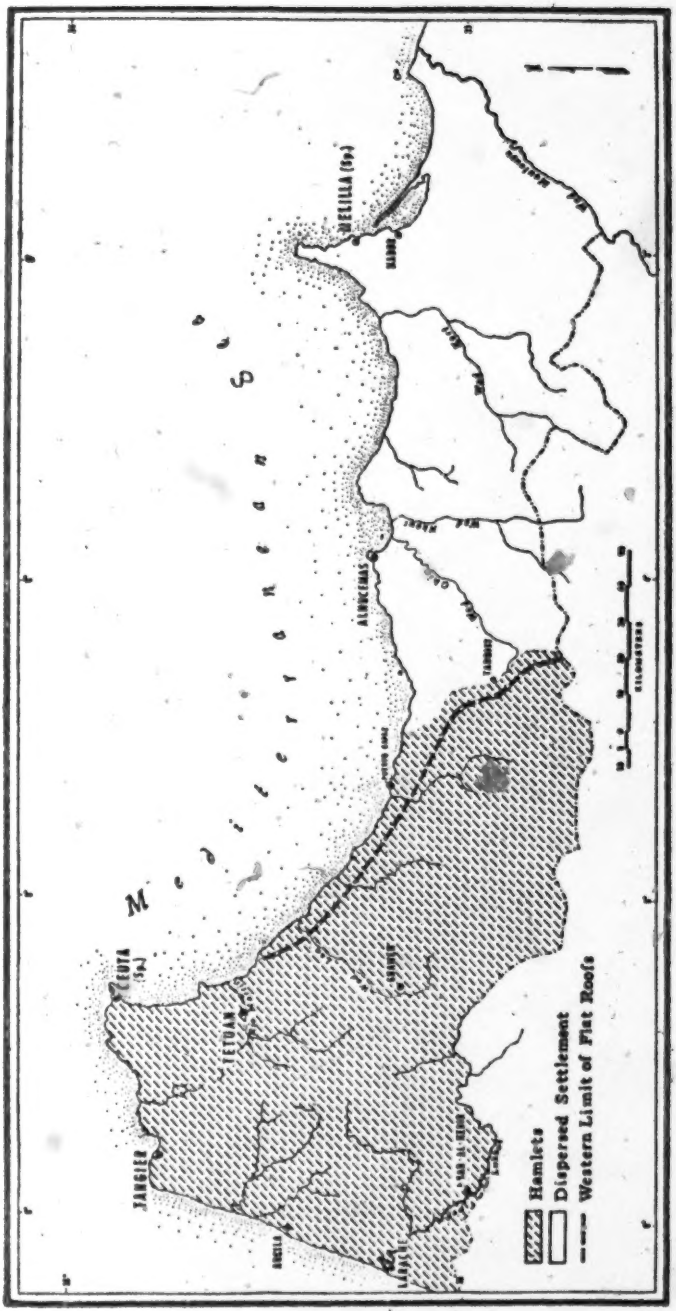


Fig. 15. Northern Morocco: settlement morphology.

/p. 68/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R 4 5
361
342
191
102
341

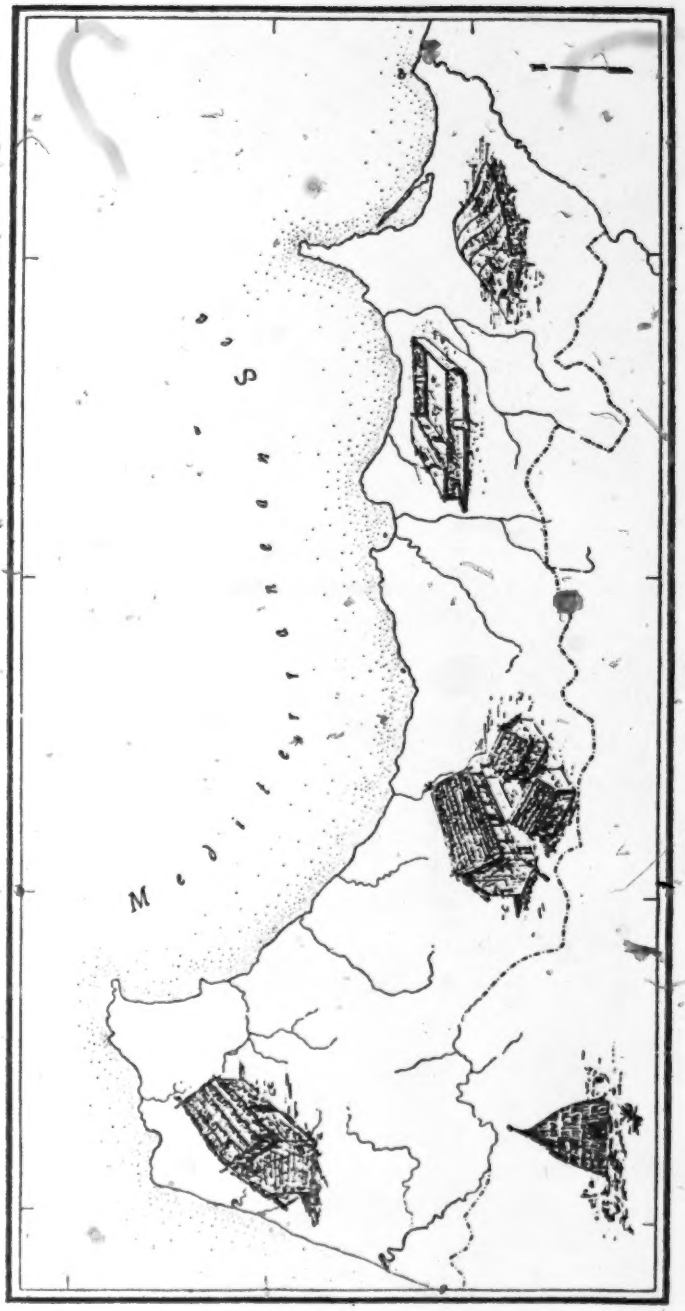


Fig. 17. Northern Morocco: principal types of houses.

/p. 70/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking.[7] The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers. Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred meters,[8] and in former generations each house had a corner tower used as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this use led to violent conflicts.

Types of Houses

In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common house is a crude conical structure (*nouala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

[7] See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

[8] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos historicos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951–52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 342 a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them S [417] with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the [513] second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer [352] (pl. 3, *b*). A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions S [353] for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept S in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, sepa- [574] rate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the S rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly [335] skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with [341] carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal [252] brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. [354] Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two [352] small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

R Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*), and the 342 walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy [351] one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be R used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the [351] open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are some- [231] what longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflec- [171] tion of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas [333] sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

R Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from [171] those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a [362] thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual R progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has 342 a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The 556 best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

R An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of dis- 341 tinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques 346 in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types 171 of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

A, [See p. 127--Analyst] B, [See p. 126--Analyst]

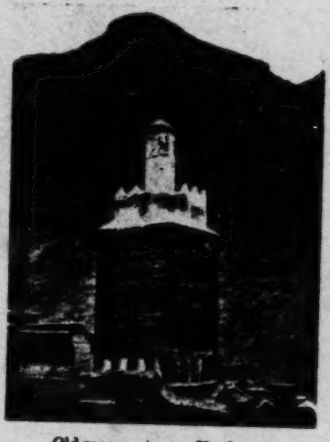
7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

341 346 171 in the central highlands is that at the zawia of Tifah in Targist; the nearest minarets are in the territories of Aith Tuzin and L-Khmas, 60 and 75 kilometers away. Whitewashed domes or ornate corners decorate the shrines of some saints (pl. 9, *a*), but for every saint honored by such structures there are at least fifty others with shrines that are not fundamentally different from the common types of houses. Even granaries and grist mills are built in the one local style (fig. 22).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 17

HOUSE TYPES 1



Old mosque tower, Sheshawen

Typical street, Sheshawen

342 ●
346
363

Town square, showing octagonal mosque tower, Sheshawen

Thatched-roof house type, Tiguisas, Ghomara

[facing p. 64]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

HOUSE TYPES 2

342

Side view showing projecting *arof*, Beni Bu Nsar

Front view showing projecting *arof*, Beni Bu Nsar

Village of Tamedith, Beni Bu Nsar

Two-storied house showing cribwork, Beni Bu Nsar

[p. 66 (A)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

HOUSE TYPES 3

342
346

Cantonal mosque, Iherrassen, Gzennaya

Village mosque, left, and school, right, Tesarin, Taghauth

764

Zaouia of the Ikemrijen, on Tizi Ifri between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir, showing wooden *amsiyimath*

Ornate saint's tomb, Suk et Tnine, Taghauth

[p.66 (B)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

314 it a large earthen pot or other vessel. Over this they place a perforated plate like a *seksu* dish, and over that the *takka* wood, shielded from the fire by an inverted vessel. Over all a pile of brush is heaped, and this covered with dirt, except for an ignition hole. The fire is then lighted, and smoulders for days. When it has finally died down, the woodcutters extract the tar from the lowest pot.[1]

Tar is called *jathukh*. It is the only product made from the sap of the pine, since turpentine and resin are alike unknown to the Riffians. It is found in Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Hamid, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Amart, Mountain Urriaghel, Iberrushen, Ikhuanen, Temjunt, Bured, and Beni Mesduy.

HOUSE TYPES

● 342 **Sedentary Habitations.** The tribesmen of the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara occupy permanent houses, square in room-unit form, and usually built, when there are more rooms than one, about a hollow square serving as courtyard. The house, *theddath*, is generally of stone masonry with a roof of clay, thatch, or shingles. The component elements are as follows:

azkak, the courtyard.

afshthair, the low or sunken area at one end of the nuclear room, used by the family cow.

thizi, the middle area in which the family lives.

arfith, a raised platform at the end of the room opposite to the *afshthair*. This platform is slept on by the family.

thighagha, a rude firehole, hedged with stones, and set in the middle of the floor, usually in line with the door. There is no chimney, except in rare cases where a broken pot is set into the roof, and ordinarily the smoke finds its own way out of the room.

arof, a wooden loft built over the cattle-pit. This loft, made of rafters covered with loose, unnailed planks, and supported by a post from beneath, is used mainly for storage of firewood. In the Beni Bu Nsar, the *arof* is made to project through the wall under the roof, which likewise projects, forming a covered-in second-story piazza, often slept on in summer. It is sometimes supported by posts, the village street passing under it. (See plate 18.)

ajum (Arabic *silum*), the notched pole which holds up the *arof* and delimits the edge of the cattle-pit. The notches in this pole serve as ladder rungs for mounting the *arof*.

a'atab, the wooden lintel over the door.

thaworth, the door, made of two or more adze-flattened pieces of wood, with projections left at either end on one side, to fit into the lintel above and the ground below and serve as hinges. There is no lock, no latch, and rarely a handle.

thabuarjth, the window, a square opening of small size in the wall. There is seldom more than one window to a room.

thaworth n thabuarjth, the shutter. When a window is larger than a mere peep-hole, it is entitled to and receives a shutter — merely a miniature door, kept closed most of the time.

thuzukha, the roof, the component elements of which will be discussed separately.

sethur, the ridgepole, generally a single log, either left rough or hewn into hexagonal shape with the adze. Sometimes, with the aid of a pillar, the ridgepole may be composed of two logs laid end to end.

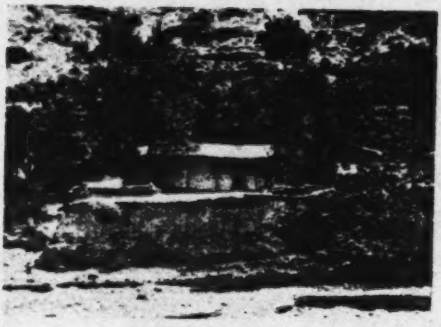
[1] A more complicated method of tar distillation, used in the South Algerian oasis of Tidikelt, has been described by L. Voinot in *Le Tidikelt*, pp. 142–143.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

HOUSE TYPES 4

342
346

Cantonal mosque, Tiddest, Ikhuanen, Gzennaya



Village mosque, Tiddest, which served as Hajj Bukkeish's office during the Riffian war. This picture shows the porch clearly

The only two-storied house in the Iberrushen, Gzennaya

Courtyard interior, showing porch and sloping clay roof. Ulad Abd el Mumen, Iberrushen

[facing p. 68]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342

thahenneshth, the pillar, a whole log or tree trunk. When the pillar has a broad base suitable for holding the ridgepole without the aid of other devices, it is turned upside down. When the butt is of moderate breadth it is set upright, and at the top end thrust into a hole in a curved crutch-head.

tha'asitch, the wooden crutch-head, or capital of the pillar, a curved piece of stout wood, with its concavity facing upward to hold the ridgepole, and having on its convex side in the middle a square hole into which is set the squared end of the pillar. When the pillar is set butt upwards no *tha'asitch* is employed.

igsthisan, rafters, peeled poles set so close together that they touch, or nearly so, and reaching from the ridgepole to the walls. When the roof is to be of shingles, thatch, or cork the rafters are set further apart. In the tribes of Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar the rafters are often squared.

aris, the small sticks or boards nailed over the rafters, parallel to the ridgepole and the tops of the walls. Sticks form a dense covering, impervious to the earth which is put over them with a layer of leaves and brush in between. Boards are nailed on as in any European house.

askeif, a porch, or piazza, consisting of the natural ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. (See plate 20.) It is found among the mountain Urriaghlis and in Beni Amart, Temjunt, Iherrassen, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Khennus, Seddath, Hamid, Shibet, Zarket, Beshir, and Ktama.

ghwarfth (Arabic *el ghorfat*), a second-floor room. The principle of building a two-story house is said to have been copied from the Arabs. The second-floor room must always be entered by an outside staircase running up the wall of the courtyard, by an outer wall, or by a notched pole. The *ghwarfth* is generally so low-ceiled that only a very short man can stand upright in it. The floor is treacherous, since it is made of thin rafters covered with peeled sticks and overlaid with buff-colored clay. Care must be taken to avoid crashing through into the room below. In Taghzuth and other regions of the Senhaja Sghir, where plenty of wood is available, the floor is made of planks nailed to sturdy rafters; despite this the planks are covered to a depth of about an inch with clay, which is continually working loose and making the upper chamber dirty. These people apparently borrowed the *ghwarfth* from others who had to use clay on account of the smallness of their wood; but did not have imagination enough to omit the clay when it was no longer necessary or even useful. The *ghwarfth* is not found among the mountain Urriaghlis or in Beni Amart, Iherrushen, or Ikhuanen. In recent years one has been built in Tiddest of Ikhuanen, by the Hajj Bukkeish, one in Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iherrushen, and one in Beni Msita of Beni Amart, by the Kaid Amar of that place.

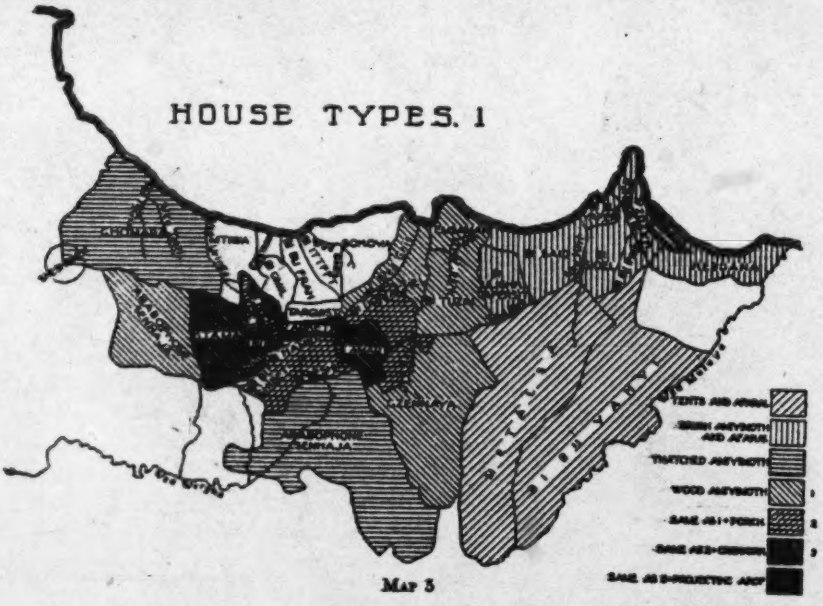
Sloping roofs. The word for sloping roof is the general word for roof, *thazukha*. For a flat roof a special word is used, *asthih*. The fact that the generalized word for roof and that for a sloping one are the same would impute a greater antiquity to the sloping variety. The constant burning of houses in feuds and in the war with France and Spain has caused the destruction of many of the better houses in the Rif. Since the French and Spaniards both have forbidden the cutting of trees on the mountains, many families have found it impossible to obtain the lumber necessary for the restoration of the roofs to their original state, and have by necessity repaired them with the flat type of roofing, much against their inclination. Sloping roofs were found before the war in Iherrushen, Temjunt, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 ben Aissa, Mountain Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrassen, Zarket, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all the Senhaja but Branes, and the Ghomara.

alim (Senhajan dialect), thatching as applied to roofs. Thatched roofs are distributed through Branes, Beni Krama, Khunduktamda, Beni Koraa, Ulad Azam, Bu Adl, Bab Wendar, Muziet, Ain Mediuna, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Beni Gmil, Zarket, Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and the Ghomara.

er wakth (from the Arabic word meaning paper) are shingles split from cedar or pine logs and used for roofing. They are found in the Senhaja Sghir. When wood was more plentiful, shingles were used in the Rif.



MAP 5

adrim, cork, used for roofing. Cork roofs are found in the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Mesduy, in Western Arabophone Senhaja, Beni Krama, Khunduktamda, and Zrarka. The same peoples who use it for roofing often sleep on and under it, substituting it for blankets and mattress. Mud roofs are found throughout the Rif except among the tent-users, and in the Ghomara.

Cribwork of wood, or beams laid horizontally in the masonry. This construction strengthens the walls in regions where the snowfall is heavy enough to endanger them. (See plates 18 and 19.) It is found in Taghruth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarket, and Beni Amart.

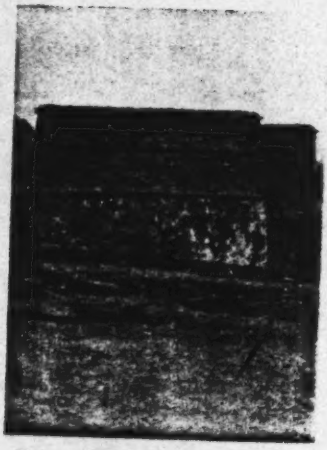
342 132 *amiyimoth*, or sheathing. A sheath is sometimes set under the eaves of houses, and sometimes on the sides, or on the ends in the case of flat-roofed houses, to protect the masonry

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

HOUSE TYPES 5

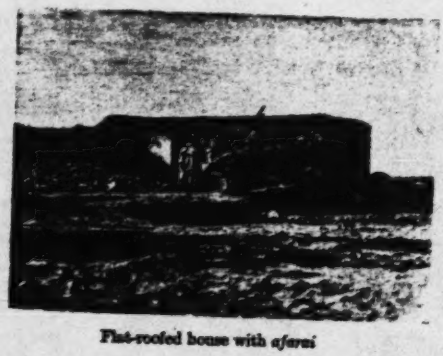
342

Village of Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel, flat-roofed house types



Defensible second story used by Abd el Krim's officers, Tafersit

Interior of Abd el Krim's central headquarters, Targuist. A recent composite house type



Flat-roofed house with *aferni*

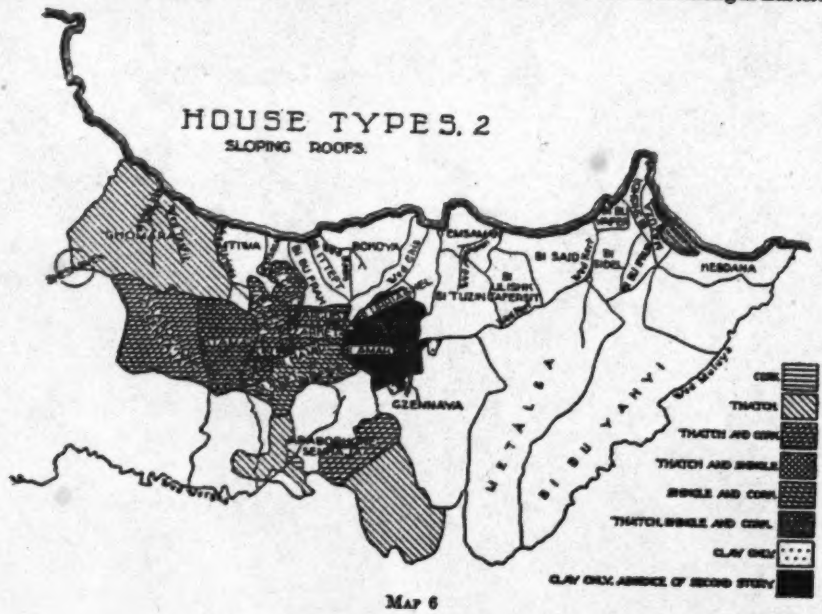
Tomb of Sidi Misaud, on the Temsaman-Beni Ulishk border near the scene of the battle of Anual

[facing p. 70]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 [132]

against the *shurrthuth*, a desolating icy wind, accompanied by rain and sleet, which strikes the Rif, particularly the mountain tribes, in winter time. (See plate 19.) Without this sheath the wind and rain would weather out the mortar and the stones might fall. There are three kinds of sheathing: the wooden type, made of planks nailed over the masonry; the brush type, made of a peculiarly dense species of bush, tied to the exposed area; and a type made of thatch. Wooden sheathing is used in Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, Beni Amart, Senhaja Sghir, and Western Arabophone Senhaja; brush sheathing in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit; and thatched sheathing in Eastern



MAP 6

Arabophone Senhaja and the Ghomara. The Nomads and Bokoya, and the Maritime tribes, use no *amiyimoth*.

el asha (Arabic), a very flimsy, poorly constructed house used in the Ghomara, along with masonry houses. This structure is made of a pole frame tied together in rectangular shape, with a pitch roof; walls and roof are thatched with straw. The thatching is inferior to the Senhajan work.

Circular straw huts,[1] such as are so commonly seen along the roads in the French Zone of Morocco (see plate 22), are never used in the Rif, Senhaja, or Ghomara, excepting in Branes, where, since the war, several of them have been built as makeshift or temporary

[1] These are the *mapalia* referred to in ancient documents. See Oric Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, p. 167.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques. *The Moorish arch* in doors and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

Domes are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

Tiled roofs are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

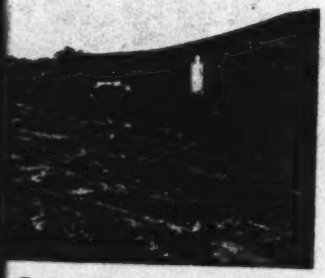
Tents. The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa* braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhazhen*, sepa-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

HOUSE TYPES 6

342



Zawia et-Tifaha, Targuist, the seat of Sidi Mohammed Akhemrij. Tower and tiled roof built by Christian *renegados*. Tiles imported from Fes

Saint's tomb, Galiya. Domes constructed by *renegados*

Nomad tent, of the type used throughout North Africa

Straw bee-hive hut, the *mapalium* of the ancients, characteristic of the Atlantic coastal plain, and recently introduced into the Branes

[facing p. 72]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 rated from the tent proper by long ropes, purposely designed so that the edge of the fabric composing the tent will remain about two feet from the ground. The space under the tent is sometimes walled off with matting set up as sides, and sometimes left open.

351 About the tent or group of tents the Nomads place thick hedges of cut, dried brush, of a particularly thorny and impenetrable variety, called *afarai*. This forms a serviceable en-
417 closure to protect the livestock against animals and the whole encampment against invaders, since anyone stumbling into it would arouse the dogs (if the latter had not already become aware of his approach).

In Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit, the sedentary peoples have adopted the *afarai*, but for a different purpose: they set it around their courtyards and onion patches to keep out wild animals. (See plate 21.)

342 Among the tent-dwellers of Braber extraction and the Arabs, every tent contains a *thaghirtch*, a cloth curtain dividing the area into two rooms, one of which is intended as a chamber of seclusion to which the women may retire when guests arrive. Among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa such an arrangement is not found, since all sleep and live together under the one undivided cloth. Among the sedentary peoples, when a family living in a one-room house wishes to insure privacy for the womenfolk, the *thaghirtch* is hung up across the room in such a way that the part open to the guests includes the door, the women being virtually imprisoned until the guests depart. It seems strange that in the Rif only the sedentary peoples should use what is elsewhere a nomadic means of obtaining privacy.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

352 Household furniture in the European sense is for the most part lacking. What there is consists of mats, skins, mortars and pestles, wooden bowls, pottery containers, baskets, basketry trays, and little else.

Stools are found only in the nuclear area. The Riffian stool, called *thiminjarth*, is a low affair, adzed from a single block of wood, with a long gouge parallel to the edges scooped out beneath to form a cleavage between the two sides. The top is concave and built for
[52] comfort. The Riffians who use these stools are very much ashamed of them and hide them when guests from outside the nuclear area are expected. The stools are found in Beni Amart, among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Temjunt, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen.

The Taghzuthis use a sort of low stool made from several pieces nailed together, with four legs and a concave top. This seat is used by leatherworkers, who get down and sit on the ground when not working. These Taghzuthi craftsmen also possess low round tables on which they cut leather, and others, built like butchers' blocks, on which they pound it. Both these types of table and the local chair form are definitely associated with the leather industry, which is a recent one in Taghzuth; indicating that these articles of furniture are of no great antiquity at Taghzuth. Other objects which adorn the house are pottery, basketry, cloth, and blankets, described elsewhere.

Pegs along the walls serve to support clothing, firearms, leather bags, earthen plates, bottles of European manufacture (highly prized and hung up in places of honor), and strings of peppers and onions, which likewise festoon the rafters. Sausages sometimes hang clustered from these capacious rafters, which likewise furnish a resting-place for the family distaff, wool cards, and wool. The upright women's loom is set up in the rooms least likely to be used in the entertainment of masculine guests.

778 [199] The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable.

[342] [200] When the Ait Waryager are building ahouse they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

[204] The baraka of mosques is also used for various purposes.

[354] [205] Among the Ait Waryager a new lamp (rqandir) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its baraka.

[208] The baraka of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic herz (or horz; plur. hruz) or hejab (or hajab; plur. hjabat). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as lharz (plur. lahruz) and lhejab (plur. lhejabat) in the Shelha of Tazerwalt, rahajab (plur. rahajabat) in the Rifian of the Ait Waryager, and rhaz (plur. rhruz) in that of the Ait Temsaman.

Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative, [789] or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called t ebrid (by the Ait Waryager).

778 [211] Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a pro-
755 tection against the jnun and the evil eye, and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former or other illnesses.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other.

When [212] a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a herz is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plate, and water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[261] If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Ait Waryager).

776 372 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

●342 776 784 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis, [585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 784 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between [264] asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 776 272 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent jnun from drinking of it.

776 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] [304] Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

[305] For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[784] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[307] The jnun shun the smell of tar.

●[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

[308] The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] [309] Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

776 jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke
789 of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsis-
776 tencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place
778 where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the baraka
789 possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

776 [315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is
789 to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[342] [317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat
[782] is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[312] [321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the
[782] place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

776 [324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person,
755 attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means
789 used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

●342 House sites in Aith Wuryāghil are determined by two principal
[341] considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6). The walls, sturdily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square; wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 20 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a *ghurfa*, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located
[356] just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Riffians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of 'Abd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of
351 the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door
[354] through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored
[251] beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an
[417] impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the *akhammās* as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: **La Vivienda Rifeña**, Ceuta 1930, passim.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman.[1] Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[2] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[3] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[1] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[2] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 326. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[14] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[15]

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[16] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency.[17] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family.[18] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[14] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[15] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[16] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[17] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[18] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R
54
361
342
191
102
341

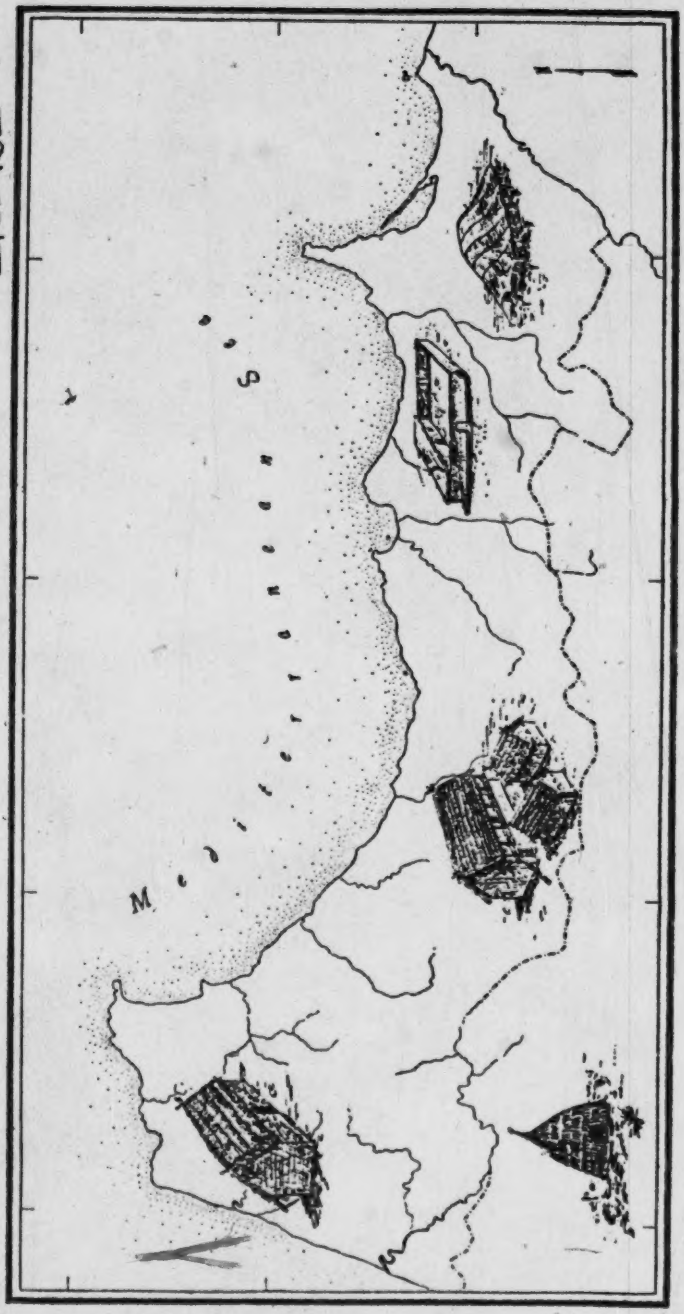


Fig. 17. Northern Morocco: principal types of houses.

/p. 70/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking.[7] The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers. Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred meters,[8] and in former generations each house had a corner tower used as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this use led to violent conflicts.

Types of Houses

In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common house is a crude conical structure (*nouala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

[7] See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

[8] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos historicos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951–52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

R 342 1971 7

Rectangular houses, built about a courtyard, are common in the Rif and in the coastal zone from Mazagan to Agadir. The tribes of the Middle Atlas, who practice transhumance, spend the summer months in tents. Tents are seen also in the Gharb and in the lower Moulouya Valley. In the northwestern corner of Morocco one finds still another type of house, again rectangular in shape, but with a sloping roof of thatch.*

The sketches in figure 17 illustrate and roughly locate northern Morocco's main architectural styles. Two traditions are immediately discerned. In the eastern half of the zone the houses have flat roofs and the walls enclose an open courtyard; in the western area the houses have sloping roofs and there are no courtyards. Tents of woven goat hair appear only in the areas occupied by pastoral tribes—Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut. The division between flat and sloping roofs coincides almost exactly with the division between clustered and dispersed settlements. These distinct patterns of settlement in turn roughly coincide with the division between Rifian and Arabic or Sanhajan speech (cf. figs. 15 and 12). Targist, with clustered settlement and houses of both eastern and western style, is an area of transition. Settlement morphology reveals the heterogeneous character of this tribe.

R 342 361 191

J 342 191

Houses are built of mud brick in Jbala and along most of the Atlantic littoral. After the walls have been constructed, a ridgepole, usually the trunk of a slender riparian tree, is placed across the top of the structure, and smaller poles are set at right angles to the ridge. Thatching is applied, and the house is ready to be occupied. The distinguishing feature of houses in the Jbalan area is that the thatch is allowed to droop almost to the ground. Hipped roofs are seen in Anjra and the Fahs territory, but the more common form is a simple saddle or ridge. The Jbalan house is a small structure about five meters long and three meters wide. There is seldom any differentiation of floor levels or rooms, and furnishing is usually limited to a single mat or rug. Hamlets may be enclosed by a cluster of opuntia or a brush fence, but there is no attempt to build houses and walls to enclose a courtyard.

000

South of Wad Lukkus, in the Gharb, the Jbalan type of house is replaced by cruder structures of cane or reeds. One form is like the Jbalan house, except that its walls are made of wickerwork. Another and much cruder form consists of a conical or circular framework of cane covered with straw. This structure, which seems to be of Sudanese origin, has been adopted by settled tribes of bedawin origin as a substitute for tents. Conical huts are the dominant dwelling in the

R (113)

* In the area of French influence, the literature on rural architecture is abundant, but for the Spanish zone there are only the accounts of E. Blanco Izaga, *La vivienda rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930); C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); and Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. On types of houses in French Morocco, see A. Bernard, "L'Afrique du Nord," in *L'Habitation indigène dans les possessions françaises* (Paris: Editions Maritimes et Coloniales, 1930); Robert Montagne, *Villages et kasbas berbères* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930); E. Laoust, "L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc central," *Hespéris*, 10, 14, 18 (1931-1944); M. Gaud and G. Sigault, "L'habitat indigène au Maroc," *Bull. de l'Institut d'Hygiène au Maroc*, 4 (1937), 4-102; André Adam, *La Maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas* (Paris: Larose, 1952); Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); E. Mauret, H. Pommeret, and R. Ringuelet, "Problèmes de l'habitat rural dans la région de Rabat," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 70 (1955), 15-71; and R. Aujard, "Problèmes de l'habitat rural dans la région d'Agadir," *ibid.*, 75 (1957), 275-288.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

coastal plains between Rabat and Ksar al-Kebir, but they have not yet penetrated the northern zone.

Ghmaran houses differ slightly from those farther to the west. Like the Jbalan houses they are rectangular and have thatch roofs. Ghmaran houses may, however, have two stories. Another distinguishing feature is that adjoining structures often have common roofs. Ghmaran hamlets, like those in Sanhaja as-Srair, tend to develop into units of L- or U-shape (pl. 2, *a*). When a second story is added, steps are cut into the adobe walls. (In Sanhaja as-Srair the second floor is reached by a notched log.)

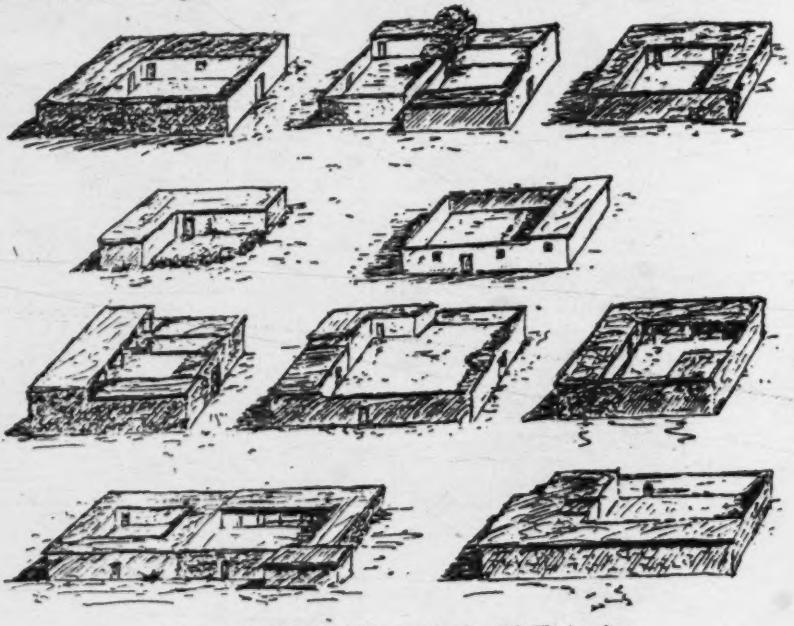


Fig. 19. Examples of Rifian courtyards, Aith Wariyaghar.

by a notched log.) Ghmara seems to be the only area in northern Morocco with special structures built to serve as granaries. Communal granaries (*agadir*) usually have the form of the prevalent houses.[10] Individual or family granaries are small structures of adobe brick and plaster set on wooden planks and supported by stone pedestals.[11]

At first glance, Sanhajan houses seem much like those in Ghmara and Jbala. The difference is in detail rather than in general outline. The foundation of the Sanhajan house is a rectangular shell of mud brick or stone with end sections constructed to form peaks about two meters above the walls. The two ends of

[10] In northern Morocco communal granaries are found only in the territory of the Bani Zejal. Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 64 and figs. 24, 25.

[11] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), p. 133.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

the shell are joined by a ridgepole, most often a young cedar or a riparian tree. Two or more other poles are added to a form a solid framework for the roof (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). Rye straw is the preferred material for thatch, and it is placed with great care (pl. 3, *a*). The ridgepole is set between two timbers, the ends of which are carved in the shape of a crescent moon. The crescent ornament is sometimes

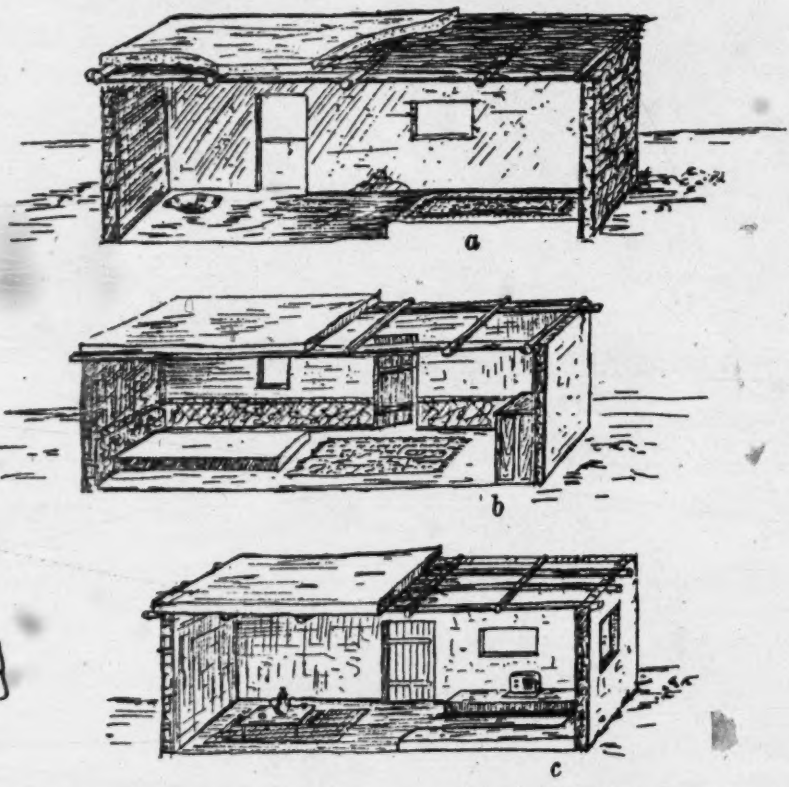


Fig. 20. Riñan houses: *a*, simple house with sleeping platform and fire pit; *b*, house of a moderately prosperous tribesman with wallpaper, cabinet, and mat; *c*, house of a tribal authority with padded benches, portable radio, mat, and table for tea service.

crowned with a carved model of a charcoal brazier and a teapot, thus uniting the symbols of hospitality and good luck (pl. 3, *a*). When stone is used, walls are usually covered with a thin layer of plaster. Wooden cribwork may be used to strengthen walls.

There are more two-story houses in Sanhaja as-Srair than in any other area of the northern zone. This preference for more elaborate structures reflects the more abundant supply of timber. When a two-story house is built, joists are cut

A, [See p. 127--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 342 a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them S [417] [513] [352] with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, *b*). A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions S [353] for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept S [574] in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the S [335] [341] [252] [354] [352] rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

R 342 [351] Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*), and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be R [351] [231] [171] [333] used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

R [171] [352] Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual R 342 556 progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

R 341 346 171 An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

A [See p. 127--Analyst] B [See p. 126--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus, Rhus pentaphylla,* and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[84] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix, Alnus, Populus, Vitex,* and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander,* the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[85] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[86]

---

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al., Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[84] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[85] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies,* 9 (1931), 69.

[86] Coon, *loc. cit.,* traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

J
133
342

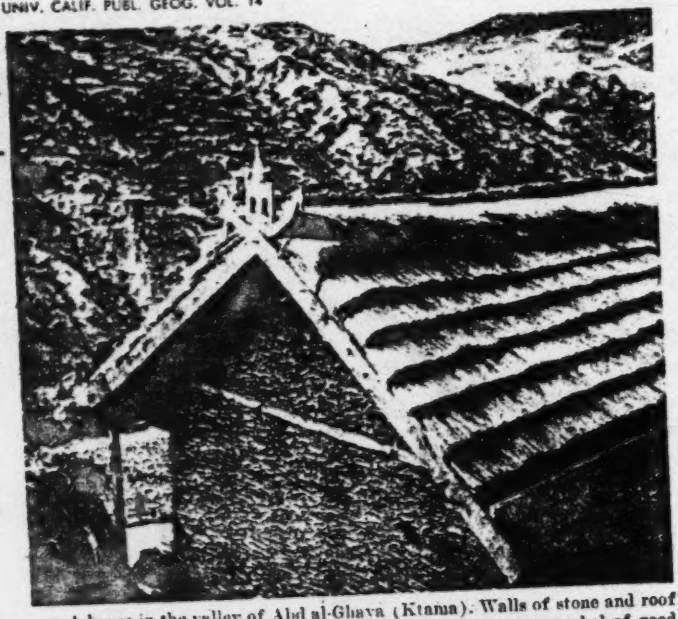
a. Composite dwelling in L-Khmas (Jbala), housing four families with seven units joined to form an enclosure.

R
342

b. Flat house of Rifian type at Midar (Aith Tuzin). The walls of adobe brick are being covered with mud.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

342
824
532



a. A house in the valley of Abd al-Ghaya (Ktama). Walls of stone and roof of rye thatch. Ornamental figure represents crescent moon, a symbol of good luck; brazier and teapot are symbols of hospitality.

342

b. A typical two-story house in Ktama, with overhanging roof and projecting rafters. Lower floor serves as living quarters, upper for storage.

623
621
571
793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of
623
184
343
624 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

646
614
[623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

000 [114] paradoxically, a "fifth" is larger than a "fourth"--so he employs "canton" to avoid confusion. He has failed to see that essentially, the two terms are interchangeable (a fact which once again underlines the fluidity of Berber and Arabic social unit terminology) and that ar-rba', which is almost always used to denote maximal segments in tribes possessing less than five of these, is also employed, more often than is khums, to designate the five maximal segments of tribes which do have "fifths".

[343] [114] [113] 23--There are no collective storehouses in the Rif proper, as there are all over the Atlas, and here Blanco has committed a major error. However, Montagne has signalled their presence in parts of the Ghmara, to the west of the Rif. See R. Montagne, Un Grenier Collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka, Paris: Larose, 1930.

24--It is somewhat difficult to understand precisely what Blanco means in this connection. However, his MSS. chapters on religion and economics were only evidently projected, and never written.

25--Dhaddarth is properly "house", and dhimssi (lit. "fire") is "hearth", whereas the normal word for nuclear family is nubth, pl. nubath, lit. "turn".

26--In the original, la major fuerza y derecho es el de los mas fuertes. Indeed, Rifians themselves generally conceptualize the cultural goals of their society during the 'Ripublik' in very similar terms.

27--In the original, un contrato de compraventa. Marriage is indeed conceptualized contractually in the Rif, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, but it need hardly be pointed out that compraventa, "buying and selling", is highly misleading.

28--The word "absolute" is, in this connection, of course, extreme; but, considering the position of women in Spain itself at the time, it is interesting that a Spaniard should have employed it.

29--The marriage contract document, or zujiya, is written (both today and as far back into the past as any Rifian's memory goes), in conformity with the Shari'a. It says, in effect, that A, son of B, has married X, daughter of Y, in the presence of C, D, and E, and is signed by a qadi (judge of Shari'a law) and two 'adul (sing. 'adl), [114] or notaries public. Blanco is in error in saying that the zujiya document was unwritten until recent times, because during the "Republik" period, the fqih or schoolmaster of the local mosque--a man who was and is usually only slightly more literate than his constituents--drew it up. It is in any case axiomatic in the Rif [692] that whatever other cases (primarily criminal) that he did not handle, a qadi invariably resolved all matters pertaining to: a) marriage, b) divorce, and c) land. This means, in turn, that in all these cases, the necessary documents were drawn up in Arabic--at least theoretically!

[114] 30--This is not so today, nor, we suspect, was it so in the past. Every Rifian has a number of documents, all carefully guarded in his house; and, in addition, most holy men or shurfa have always had genealogical family trees to prove the "genuineness" of their own pedigree.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[113]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[113] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[113] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

coastal plains between Rabat and Ksar al-Kebir, but they have not yet penetrated the northern zone.

Ghmaran houses differ slightly from those farther to the west. Like the Jbalan houses they are rectangular and have thatch roofs. Ghmaran houses may, however, have two stories. Another distinguishing feature is that adjoining structures often have common roofs. Ghmaran hamlets, like those in Sanhaja as-Srair, tend to develop into units of L- or U-shape (pl. 2, *a*). When a second story is added, steps are cut into the adobe walls. (In Sanhaja as-Srair the second floor is reached by a notched log.)

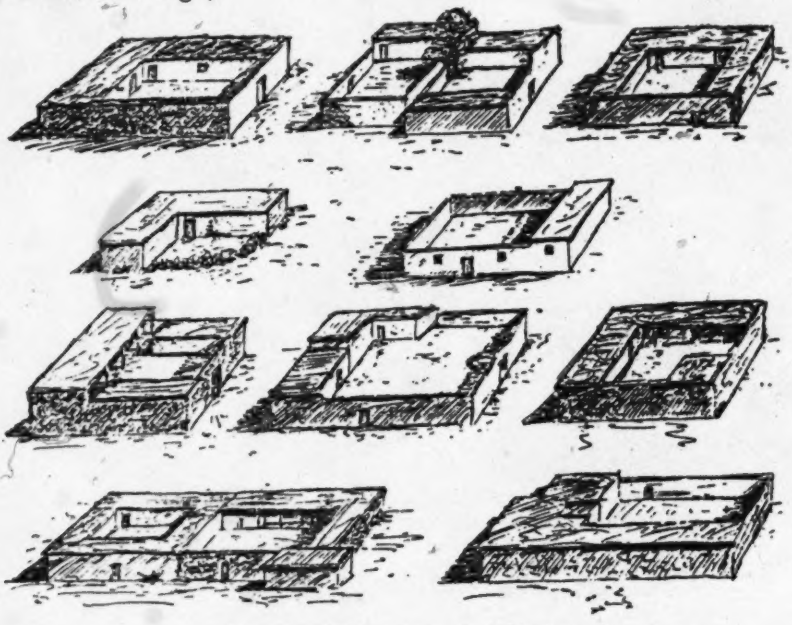


Fig. 19. Examples of Rifian courtyards, Aith Wariyaghar.

by a notched log.) Ghmara seems to be the only area in northern Morocco with special structures built to serve as granaries. Communal granaries (*agadir*) usually have the form of the prevalent houses.[10] Individual or family granaries are small structures of adobe brick and plaster set on wooden planks and supported by stone pedestals.[11]

At first glance, Sanhajan houses seem much like those in Ghmara and Jbala. The difference is in detail rather than in general outline. The foundation of the Sanhajan house is a rectangular shell of mud brick or stone with end sections constructed to form peaks about two meters above the walls. The two ends of

[10] In northern Morocco communal granaries are found only in the territory of the Bani Zejal. Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 64 and figs. 24, 25.

[11] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), p. 133.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 17

HOUSE TYPES 1

Old mosque tower, Sheshawen

Typical street, Sheshawen

342
346
363

Town square, showing octagonal mosque tower, Sheshawen

Thatched-roof house type, Tiguinsa, Ghomara

[facing p. 64]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

House Types 3

342
●346

Cantonal mosque, Iberrasen, Gaennaya

Village mosque, left, and school, right, Tezarin, Taghzuth

764]

Zouia of the Ikemrijen, on Tizi Ifri between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir, showing wooden *amiyimoth*

Ornate saint's tomb, Suk et Tnine, Taghzuth

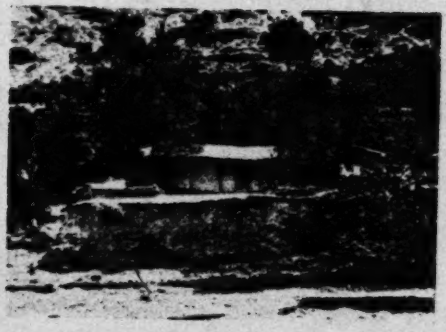
[p.66 (3)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

HOUSE TYPES 4

342
346

Cantonal mosque, Tiddest, Ikhuanen, Gzennaya



Village mosque, Tiddest, which served as Hajj Bukkeish's office during the Riffian war. This picture shows the porch clearly

The only two-storied house in the Iherrushen, Gzennaya

Courtyard interior, showing porch and sloping clay roof. Ulad Abd el Mumen, Iherrushen

[facing p. 68]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques. *The Moorish arch* in doors and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

Domes are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

Tiled roofs are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

Tents. The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa* braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhashen*, sepa-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

MOSQUES AND SAINTS' TOMBS

346 THERE are three types of building which serve both social and religious purposes: the *thamεyitha n jkhothbath*, or cantonal mosque,[1] the *thamεajoth*, or village mosque,[2] and the *amrabt* (plural *imrabten*) or saint's tomb.[3]

The first, the cantonal mosque, is a large edifice, common to the whole *canton*, and to it come all the people of the *canton* for worship. It can be readily distinguished from lesser mosques by the fact that it bears a flag, green in the morning and white in the afternoon.

The second is the mosque of the *bone*, and there is one for each *bone* in the *canton*.

764 778 The third, the saint's tomb, may be a structure of some magnitude, a mere pile of stones, or simply an unmarked but nevertheless well-known place. It is supposed to be the grave of a saint, although often it is merely some place noted for the possession of some unusual natural feature, such as a large boulder, a spring, or a clump of trees, revered long before the advent of Islam. Whether it be a definite building, a marker, or merely a place, in any case it fulfills a definite function.

358 346 In each of these three types of religious edifice there is one man who has been appointed to take care of it, the *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*) or "warden,"[4] who may be a man of learning or, in some cases, illiterate. He is the janitor and general caretaker. He brushes the floor, sees that the mats on them are in good repair, hoists the flag on the cantonal mosque, and occasionally substitutes as muezzin for the incumbent of this mosque.

428 794 The mosques and saints' tombs acquire land in a number of ways. When a man dies childless, and is displeased with his wife for having borne him no sons, or for some other reason, he may will a share of his land to the cantonal or village mosque or to a local saint's tomb. If he has sons but is not pleased with them, he may leave a share of his property to a mosque or tomb and the rest to his children.

[764] If, when about to die, he wishes to be buried within the mosque, he may buy his burial place with land to be given the mosque after his death. In this way he is interred under the floor of one of the rooms, and the warden has charge of the property so willed.

794 358 The warden of each public edifice has charge of the land belonging to it, and receives a portion of the produce. He does the farming on the land and cares for the trees, but if there is too much for him to do the village council enlists poor people to work with him, as previously related.

794 485 Any mosque, be it of the *canton* or merely of the *bone*, and any saint's tomb capable of providing shelter, serves as a free hotel for Riffians travelling from tribe to tribe. Lay

[1] From the Arabic *masjida el khutba*, meaning the "mosque of the Friday sermon."

[2] Likewise from *masjida*, and meaning literally "mosque."

[3] From the Arabic *wure'bat*. This word means either "living saint" or "dead saint"; the meaning given applies to the deceased variety and to the superstructure erected over his remains.

[4] This Arabic word is also employed to designate the "moderator" of the village council, as well as the "moderator" of the council of the great. See p. 90.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

travellers go to both types of mosque, but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuḳaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-hor*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *hagguz*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 109.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Gennaoya it is equivalent to 16 kilos, in Beni Urieghel 60, in Beni Tusin 12, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 20.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 R11 MX?

an altitude of 6500 feet, is the highest point in the whole tribe of Aith Wariyāghir. It is located above the village (*adshār*) of Bū Ma'dān, in the district (*r'ayyith*) of Timarzga. The tomb itself, a simple structure unadorned with the usual white cupola, was, in time, supplemented with a small mosque of mud and stone, today in a state of disrepair owing to the ravages of wind, snow, sleet and ice. The actual pinnacle of the massif is not the site of the tomb proper, but a point about 150 feet above it, called Tamrābiṭ. Upon ascending this point, after a spine-shattering journey by jeep up the tortuously winding *piste* from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turīrth (Spanish *Zoco de Arbaa Taurirt*), one realizes that one is at the top of the Central Rif. Almost all of Aith Wariyāghir is below one to the north, and only one or two of the Azru Uqshar peaks in the tribe of Igzinnāyen to the southeast, discernible in outline on a clear day, are higher. Just east of the tomb-mosque complex is a flat space measuring about 600 feet by 300 feet, used for prayer, and just above and north of this is a small grove of *ādhān* (from, by association, the Arabic for «prayer-call»?) trees; and between the mosque and the tomb itself is a small open area called the *Sūq al-Ṣāliḥīn* the Market of the Righteous.

The pilgrimage takes place on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah, one day before the 'Aid al-Kabīr or Great Feast of Islam, called *r'Aid Umqqran* by the Rifians. People come from all over the southern mountain districts of Aith Wariyāghir, as well as from the neighboring tribes of Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnāyen, to attend it. The greatest number are locals from Timarzga (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), after which come those from Aith 'Arūs (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), Aith 'Ammarth, Aith Bū 'Avyāsh (Aith Wariyāghir), Zāwīth n Sīdī 'Abd r-Qādir of the Imrābdhen of Aith Ḥadhīfah (Aith Wariyāghir), Mārruwī in Aith 'Abd Allāh (Aith Wariyāghir), Iṣrīḥan in Aith Yūsif w 'Arī (Aith Wariyāghir), and Igzinnāyen. In 1955, all the tribal authorities of the Nkūr qaidate of Aith Wariyāghir (Ait Bū 'Ayyāsh and Jbil), as well as the Spanish *interventores* both of Aith Wariyāghir and Aith 'Ammarth, were also present.

By about 10:00 A. M., most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, have assembled on the mountain top, where their first act is to visit the shrine. Merchants are busy setting up their small

huge tribe like the Aith Waryaghar possessed its own qanun, whereas a small tribe like the Aith Siddat in the Sanhaja Srir had only one qanun for the lot of them.

85--The idea which Blanco conveys here, i.e. that the whole Rif is in the last analysis split into two opposed liffs, is completely exaggerated. It is certainly true that each Rifian tribe is split more or less down the middle and contains two hostile factions, which are not always equal in size; but, on the outside, each of these tends to be allied only with that combination of clans in the next tribe which is politically favorable to it. The system thus tends to appear like a series of interlocking concentric circles rather than like a chessboard, as in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, if Montagne, op. cit., 1930, is correct. (More recently, however, some reservations have been recorded by Jacques Berque on the overall validity of Montagne's liff theory: vide J. Berque, Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, pp. 42 sq.) A further difference is the size factor: in the Rif, far larger blocs of man-units are involved in each alliance than in the Western Atlas, though the territory encompassed may in fact be much smaller.

86--This is true among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, who have a very complex system of election of chiefs, but not for those of the Rif, where headmanship and chieftainship have always been a "dog-eat-dog" proposition, and where a councilmember attended council meetings until he was murdered.

87--This kind of legal terminology has always been in vogue in French and Spanish monographs and administrative reports about Berbers. To be sure, it describes the situation with reasonable accuracy, but in our view tends to put it far too neatly into a Western conceptual straitjacket.

88--The fqih has nothing to do with habus property, which was looked after by the mqaddim n-tmzidha or caretaker of the mosque, and ultimately still is, on the local level, although at the provincial level the ndzir l-ahbas or habus administrator, has fulfilled this function since protectorate times.

89--The functions of a talib and those of a fqih are, in the Rif, almost interchangeable; indeed, the plural form of fqih, to most Rifians, is tulba. Technically speaking, a fqih is a teacher in a mosque, while a talib is a sort of post-graduate student, a "seeker after (Koranic) knowledge"; but the experience and abilities of the two are just about the same. Both are called upon to write out charms of all kinds, etc., and both are always addressed by the term Si ("Mr."), followed by their names, e.g. Si Muhammad, Si Mhand, Si ʿAmmar, Si Hmid, in recognition of their (relative) literacy in Arabic.

90--To our knowledge, each man who had them kept his own arms and ammunition in his house. A mosque, after all, is a house of peace, not an arsenal!

796 Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations
785 of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying
[574] numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it
[432] is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the
[431] community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where
[794] they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men
[782] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and dis-
[114] tribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

• 346 Before turning from religious activities to magical prac-
794 tices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools (658) (178) which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by (425) some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. (782) Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet (241) some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who (212) has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. (794) He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 794 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while gen- 465 erally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Sanhaja MX4

a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, *b*). A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*), and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Waṛiyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

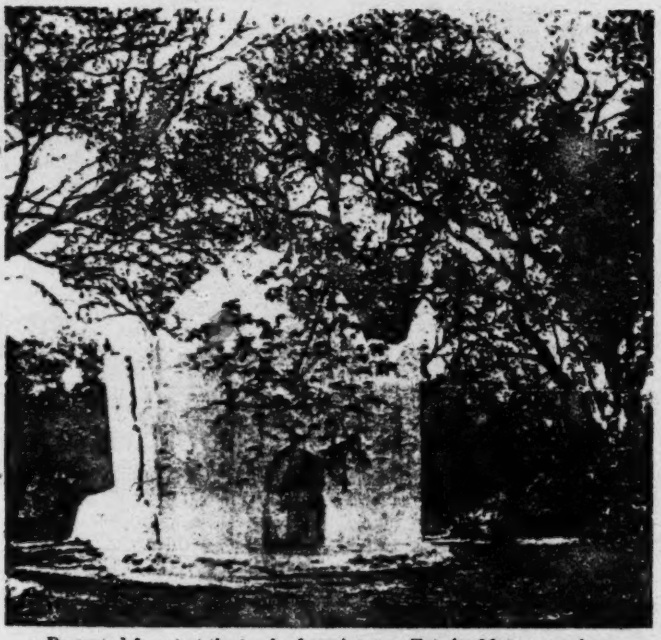
A, [See p. 127--Analyst] B, [See p. 126--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

341 346 191 in the central highlands is that at the zawia of Tifah in Targist; the nearest minarets are in the territories of Aith Tuzin and L-Khmas, 60 and 75 kilometers away. Whitewashed domes or ornate corners decorate the shrines of some saints (pl. 9, *a*), but for every saint honored by such structures there are at least fifty others with shrines that are not fundamentally different from the common types of houses. Even granaries and grist mills are built in the one local style (fig. 22).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

778
137
311
346



a. Protected forest at the tomb of a saint near Tetuán. Mature specimens of *Olea*, *Callitris*, and *Pistacia lentiscus*. Cf. fig. 25, *b*.

778
139
311

b. Sacred clump of cork oak on the site of a shrine near Shawen. *Cistus monspeliensis* appears in foreground.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East

Rif area

[Village of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin]

[278] soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part
813 of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it
361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along
621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque.
368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro-
173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and
621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen
595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine of their fathers

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 rated from the tent proper by long ropes, purposely designed so that the edge of the fabric composing the tent will remain about two feet from the ground. The space under the tent is sometimes walled off with matting set up as sides, and sometimes left open.

351 About the tent or group of tents the Nomads place thick hedges of cut, dried brush, of a particularly thorny and impenetrable variety, called *afarai*. This forms a serviceable enclosure to protect the livestock against animals and the whole encampment against invaders, since anyone stumbling into it would arouse the dogs (if the latter had not already become aware of his approach).

In Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit, the sedentary peoples have adopted the *afarai*, but for a different purpose: they set it around their courtyards and onion patches to keep out wild animals. (See plate 21.)

342 Among the tent-dwellers of Braber extraction and the Arabs, every tent contains a *thaghirtch*, a cloth curtain dividing the area into two rooms, one of which is intended as a chamber of seclusion to which the women may retire when guests arrive. Among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa such an arrangement is not found, since all sleep and live together under the one undivided cloth. Among the sedentary peoples, when a family living in a one-room house wishes to insure privacy for the womenfolk, the *thaghirtch* is hung up across the room in such a way that the part open to the guests includes the door, the women being virtually imprisoned until the guests depart. It seems strange that in the Rif only the sedentary peoples should use what is elsewhere a nomadic means of obtaining privacy.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

352 Household furniture in the European sense is for the most part lacking. What there is consists of mats, skins, mortars and pestles, wooden bowls, pottery containers, baskets, basketry trays, and little else.

Stools are found only in the nuclear area. The Riffian stool, called *thiminjarth*, is a low affair, adzed from a single block of wood, with a long gouge parallel to the edges scooped out beneath to form a cleavage between the two sides. The top is concave and built for [352] comfort. The Riffians who use these stools are very much ashamed of them and hide them when guests from outside the nuclear area are expected. The stools are found in Beni Amart, among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Temjunt, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen.

The Taghzuthis use a sort of low stool made from several pieces nailed together, with four legs and a concave top. This seat is used by leatherworkers, who get down and sit on the ground when not working. These Taghzuthi craftsmen also possess low round tables on which they cut leather, and others, built like butchers' blocks, on which they pound it. Both these types of table and the local chair form are definitely associated with the leather industry, which is a recent one in Taghzuth; indicating that these articles of furniture are of no great antiquity at Taghzuth. Other objects which adorn the house are pottery, basketry, cloth, and blankets, described elsewhere.

Pegs along the walls serve to support clothing, firearms, leather bags, earthen plates, bottles of European manufacture (highly prized and hung up in places of honor), and strings of peppers and onions, which likewise festoon the rafters. Sausages sometimes hang clustered from these capacious rafters, which likewise furnish a resting-place for the family distaff, wool cards, and wool. The upright women's loom is set up in the rooms least likely to be used in the entertainment of masculine guests.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

342 [341] House sites in Aith Wuryāghil are determined by two principal considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6). The walls, sturdily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square; wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 20 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a *ghurfa*, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located [356] just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Riffians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of ʿAbd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of ●351 the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door [354] through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored [251] beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an [417] impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the *akhammās* as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: **La Vivienda Rifeña**, Ceuta 1930, *passim*.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

coastal plains between Rabat and Ksar al-Kebir, but they have not yet penetrated the northern zone.

Ghmaran houses differ slightly from those farther to the west. Like the Jbalan houses they are rectangular and have thatch roofs. Ghmaran houses may, however, have two stories. Another distinguishing feature is that adjoining structures often have common roofs. Ghmaran hamlets, like those in Sanhaja as-Srair, tend to develop into units of L- or U-shape (pl. 2, *a*). When a second story is added, steps are cut into the adobe walls. (In Sanhaja as-Srair the second floor is reached by a notched log.)

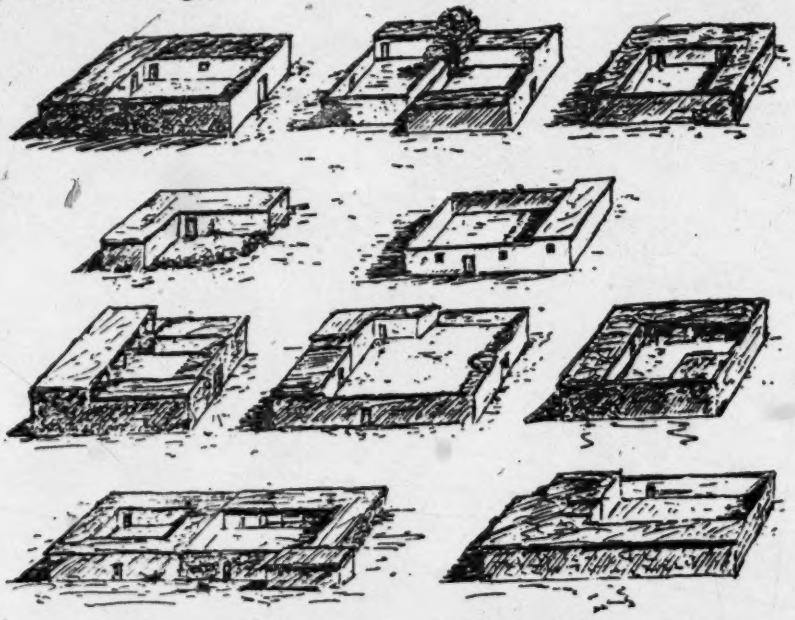


Fig. 19. Examples of Rifian courtyards, Aith Wariyaghar.

by a notched log.) Ghmara seems to be the only area in northern Morocco with special structures built to serve as granaries. Communal granaries (*agadir*) usually have the form of the prevalent houses.[10] Individual or family granaries are small structures of adobe brick and plaster set on wooden planks and supported by stone pedestals.[11]

At first glance, Sanhajan houses seem much like those in Ghmara and Jbala. The difference is in detail rather than in general outline. The foundation of the Sanhajan house is a rectangular shell of mud brick or stone with end sections constructed to form peaks about two meters above the walls. The two ends of

[10] In northern Morocco communal granaries are found only in the territory of the Bani Zejal. Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 64 and figs. 24, 25.

[11] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), p. 139.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, *b*).[A] A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*),[B] and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

[A] [See p. 127--Analyst] [B] [See p. 126--Analyst]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 rated from the tent proper by long ropes, purposely designed so that the edge of the fabric composing the tent will remain about two feet from the ground. The space under the tent is sometimes walled off with matting set up as sides, and sometimes left open.

351 About the tent or group of tents the Nomads place thick hedges of cut, dried brush, of a particularly thorny and impenetrable variety, called *afarai*. This forms a serviceable enclosure to protect the livestock against animals and the whole encampment against invaders,
417 since anyone stumbling into it would arouse the dogs (if the latter had not already become aware of his approach).

In Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit, the sedentary peoples have adopted the *afarai*, but for a different purpose: they set it around their courtyards and onion patches to keep out wild animals. (See plate 21.)

342 Among the tent-dwellers of Braber extraction and the Arabs, every tent contains a *thaghirtch*, a cloth curtain dividing the area into two rooms, one of which is intended as a chamber of seclusion to which the women may retire when guests arrive. Among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa such an arrangement is not found, since all sleep and live together under the one undivided cloth. Among the sedentary peoples, when a family living in a one-room house wishes to insure privacy for the womenfolk, the *thaghirtch* is hung up across the room in such a way that the part open to the guests includes the door, the women being virtually imprisoned until the guests depart. It seems strange that in the Rif only the sedentary peoples should use what is elsewhere a nomadic means of obtaining privacy.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

352 Household furniture in the European sense is for the most part lacking. What there is consists of mats, skins, mortars and pestles, wooden bowls, pottery containers, baskets, basketry trays, and little else.

Stools are found only in the nuclear area. The Riffian stool, called *thiminjarth*, is a low affair, adzed from a single block of wood, with a long gouge parallel to the edges scooped out beneath to form a cleavage between the two sides. The top is concave and built for
[352] comfort. The Riffians who use these stools are very much ashamed of them and hide them when guests from outside the nuclear area are expected. The stools are found in Beni Amart, among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Temjunt, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen.

The Taghzuthis use a sort of low stool made from several pieces nailed together, with four legs and a concave top. This seat is used by leatherworkers, who get down and sit on the ground when not working. These Taghzuthi craftsmen also possess low round tables on which they cut leather, and others, built like butchers' blocks, on which they pound it. Both these types of table and the local chair form are definitely associated with the leather industry, which is a recent one in Taghzuth; indicating that these articles of furniture are of no great antiquity at Taghzuth. Other objects which adorn the house are pottery, basketry, cloth, and blankets, described elsewhere.

Pegs along the walls serve to support clothing, firearms, leather bags, earthen plates, bottles of European manufacture (highly prized and hung up in places of honor), and strings of peppers and onions, which likewise festoon the rafters. Sausages sometimes hang clustered from these capacious rafters, which likewise furnish a resting-place for the family distaff, wool cards, and wool. The upright women's loom is set up in the rooms least likely to be used in the entertainment of masculine guests.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

the shell are joined by a ridgepole, most often a young cedar or a riparian tree. Two or more other poles are added to a form a solid framework for the roof (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). Rye straw is the preferred material for thatch, and it is placed with great care (pl. 3, *a*). The ridgepole is set between two timbers, the ends of which are carved in the shape of a crescent moon. The crescent ornament is sometimes

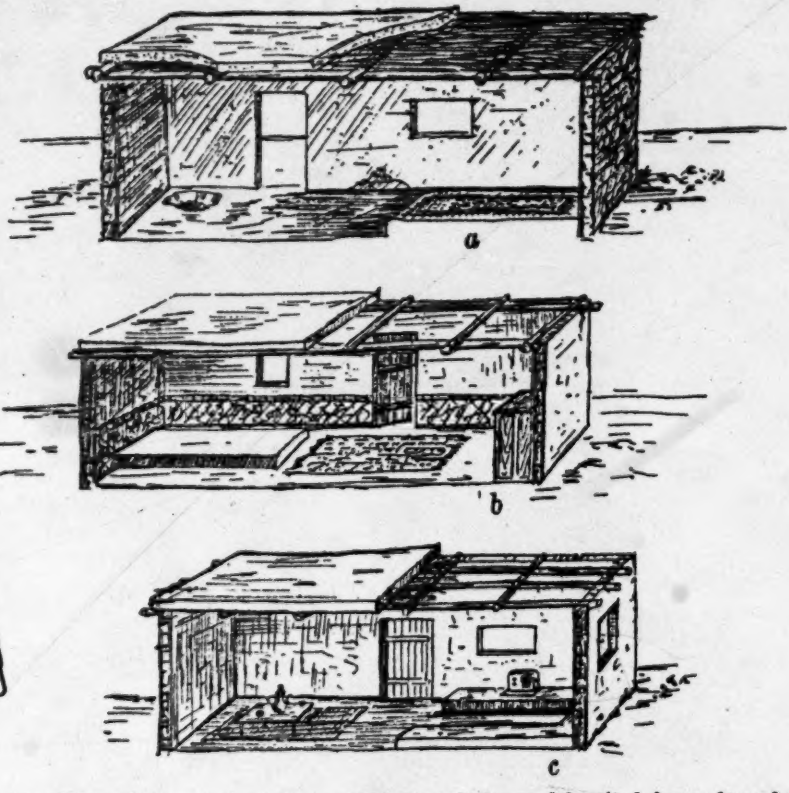


Fig. 20. Rifian houses: *a*, simple house with sleeping platform and fire pit; *b*, house of a moderately prosperous tribesman with wallpaper, cabinet, and mat; *c*, house of a tribal authority with padded benches, portable radio, mat, and table for tea service.

crowned with a carved model of a charcoal brazier and a teapot, thus uniting the symbols of hospitality and good luck (pl. 3, *a*). When stone is used, walls are usually covered with a thin layer of plaster. Wooden cribwork may be used to strengthen walls.

There are more two-story houses in Sanhaja as-Srair than in any other area of the northern zone. This preference for more elaborate structures reflects the more abundant supply of timber. When a two-story house is built, joists are cut

[See p. 127--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, *b*). A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*), and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

A. [See p. 127--Analyst] B. [See p. 126--Analyst]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

FOOD PREPARATION 1

252

Preparing flour for bread-making, Teririn, Taghauth

Grinding flour in a hand-mill; Tiguisas, Ghomara

[354]

Frying bread in an earthen skillet, Tiguisas, Ghomara

Typical bake-oven, Ulad Abekar, Taghauth

[p. 56 (a)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

tarid, a similar loaf, made with wheat bread and sugar. This is considered to be a recent Arab introduction.

fartata, pancakes, are made from a thin batter, full of ground pepper, dropped on a hot skillet.

Bread is baked in an oven called *thinurth* (see plate 13), whereas *aftheir*, *tarid*, and *fartata* are prepared on an earthen skillet called *akhadam* and attributed to the Arabs. (See plate 13.) Of the bake-oven and the skillet, the former is unquestionably the older and more characteristic in the Rif. It is found in all the Rif but the maritime tribes, Nomads, Shawia and Imedurar of Gzennaya, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghsuth, Ktama, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. The clay skillet is distributed throughout the Rif with the exception of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Telmest, Galiya, and Kebdana.

Preparation of Vegetable Products without Meat. Another important article of diet is *thamarik*, a sort of purée or thick soup, which is made of dried split peas, ground beans, or lentils. When it is made with lentils, cut-up onions are added. The purée is boiled in a little water, the pulse being thrown in after the water has begun to boil. When it is nearly cooked butter or olive oil is added, and the resultant purée is eaten with bread used to scoop it out of the bowl, instead of with spoons. *Thamarik* is considered particularly nutritious and warming, and is eaten mostly in winter when there are no fresh vegetables and on particularly cold days. It is found in every tribe except the Nomads.

The wild greens mentioned under agriculture, gathered and eaten by the women, are boiled and mixed with oil or melted butter.

Peppers and onions are eaten raw by men working in the fields who do not want to take the time to go home to lunch.

Dried figs, apricots, raisins, almonds, and walnuts are eaten at any time, either on the marcb or in the house. They are taken especially in winter after the grain of the previous harvest has been used up. During years following poor harvests whole villages go for months with no other vegetable food than these dried fruits and nuts, in addition to what wild roots, herbs, and berries they are able to collect in the wilderness.

Acorns are divided into two classes, *rbajuth marjas*, bitter acorns, and *rbajuth misirth*, sweet acorns. The latter may be eaten raw, but the former must be crushed and left in a stream, inside a bag, until the water has washed all the bitterness out of them, — the same process as that employed with *shasana*.

Dishes containing Meat. *seksu*, commonly known as kuskus, forms an important article of diet in the Rif, as well as in the rest of North Africa. Briefly, since it has been often described, *seksu* is a composite dish made of coarsely ground flour, moistened and rolled into small balls the size of the head of a glass-headed pin. These balls, or granules, are placed in a container the bottom of which is pierced with small holes and steamed over a pot of boiling water or of stew. The stew, which may be cooked separately, consists of vegetables, especially onions and turnips, and lamb, beef, goat meat, or chicken, butter or oil, and seasoning. The *seksu* is spread out, in a large dish, in the form of a symmetrical hill, and the stew is poured on the top, whence the juicier parts seep into the *seksu*; the chunks of meat and vegetable may be readily reached by the persons enjoying the repast.

Another common dish, distributed throughout North Africa, is called *guas*, a name which the Riffians have taken over from the Arabs. *Guas* may be purely vegetable or may

778 [199] The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable.

[942] [200] When the Ait Waryager are building ahouse they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

[204] The baraka of mosques is also used for various purposes.

[354] [205] Among the Ait Waryager a new lamp (rqandir) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its baraka.

[208] The baraka of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic herz (or horz; plur. hruz) or hejab (or hajab; plur. hjabat). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as lharz (plur. lahruz) and lhejab (plur. lhejabat) in the Shelha of Tazerwalt, rahajab (plur. rahajabat) in the Rifian of the Ait Waryager, and rhaz (plur. rhruz) in that of the Ait Temsaman.

Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative, [789] or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called t ebrid (by the Ait Waryager).

778 [211] Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a pro-
755 tection against the jnun and the evil eye, and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former or other illnesses.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other.

When [212] a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a herz is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plate, and water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[261] If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Ait Waryager).

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

342 [341] House sites in Aith Wuryāghil are determined by two principal considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6). The walls, sturdily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square; wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 20 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a *ghurfa*, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located [356] just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Riffians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of 'Abd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of 351 the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door [354] through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground [251] silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an [417] impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the *akhammās* as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: La Vivienda Rifeña, Ceuta 1930, passim.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

tains of the upper Nkour. The same expression is applied to the mountains on the route between Vélez and Fez (probably the Sanhajan highlands), and to "Mount Seusaoen" (i.e., Shawen, probably Jbil Tisuka). Leo's account of the eastern sector of northern Morocco is very different. The plains of Garet are described as a desert, and the lower Moulouya Valley as being "unpleasant and dry," with "no water but that of the river Muluia."

Accounts of forest in the Rif highlands are to be expected, but it is surprising to find repeated references to forest on the Mediterranean coast. Similar accounts appear in the works of Arab writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Strabo describes the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees. The frequent mentions of trees near Ceuta suggest a profound modification of vegetation in subsequent years. Accounts of shipbuilding and lumber trade indicate some commercial logging; the retreat of the forest near Ksar as-Srair, Ceuta, and Vélez might have been a direct result of these activities. Leo's reference to "great want of wood" at Arcila suggests that the hills and marine terraces of the Tangier-Tetuán-Arcila triangle had been cleared before his time, but extensive woods still existed in the basin of Wad Lukkus. His evaluation of the Moulouya Valley may have been prejudiced by previous exposure to more verdant areas, but "desert" does not mean forest, or even a rich formation of scrub.

Agents and Processes of Change

In northern Morocco today, the most important agents of deforestation are: (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to "improve" pastures and to clear fields for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by sheep and goats. These processes are evident even to the casual observer, but it is difficult to determine their relative importance. Despois believes that the principal causes of deforestation have always been the need for fuel and new land to till.[10] Braun-Blanquet describes the Mediterranean garrigues as "zoöbiotically conditioned communities."[11] Kuhnholtz-Lordat is convinced that the greatest agent of deterioration has been fire.[12]

Each emphasis is supported by abundant evidence, but it may be doubted whether the several causes of deforestation can be treated independently. A series of fires, if not too closely spaced, may not result in deforestation, but burning followed by heavy pasturing inevitably does. Most of the broad-leaf trees in northern Morocco reproduce themselves from shoots after being burned or felled, but in areas overrun by goats the shoots are browsed down and forest degenerates to scrub. In tangled brush formations it is often difficult to tell whether the main destructive agent has been fire, domestic animals, or man.

Consumption of Wood

Although kerosene lamps burn in many Moroccan homes, charcoal and wood are the only important domestic fuels.[13] Butane and electrical appliances are

[10] Despois, *op. cit.*, p. 84, cited in note 13.

[11] J. Braun-Blanquet, *Pflanzensoziologie: Grundzüge der Vegetationskunde* (2d ed., Vienna: Springer, 1951), p. 371.

[12] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), *passim*.

[13] Anthracite of excellent quality has been mined at Djerada south of Oujda since 1931, but

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus, Rhus pentaphylla,* and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[a] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix, Alnus, Populus, Vitex,* and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander,* the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[b] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[c]

---

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al., Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[a] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[b] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies,* 9 (1931), 69.

[c] Coon, *loc. cit.,* traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcase down, and the meat is made into festive food.

356 The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams, too
358 are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

341 **Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques.** *The Moorish arch* in doors
177 and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

341 *Domes* are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni
764 Tusin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since
177 domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

341 *Tiled roofs* are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of
177 the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

341 Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat
346 of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

342 **Tents.** The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa*
[286] braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *imuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n uzun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhashen*, sepa-

595 possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage; it is
832 significant that the bride puts on the didli on the morning after her first intercourse withher husband.

787 [586] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person gets a sty some
755 woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

787 An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic in-
843 fluences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Warain). At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (sfarjel) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere, is found the belief that if a pregnant woman [587] (Hiaina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Ait Waryager), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birthmark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Ait Sadden).

787 [590] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the
777 sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [593] Rezq (razq, rezq) means all sorts of good things contributing
●356 to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a per-
[312] son cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own rezq (Fez).

You may also sweep away your rezq. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Hiaina, Dukkala, Tangier, Andjra, Tsul, Ait Waryager), or even after 'asar (At Ubahti); and the Rifians of Temsaman consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon.

[595] Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. settaba; Berb. tasttabt [Ait Warain], tastta [Temsaman], disagwust [Ait Waryager]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Ait Waryager).

777 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising
356 to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion.
291 If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the
789 other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to haye to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and
576 his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

342 [361] House sites in Aith Wuryāghil are determined by two principal considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6). The walls, sturdily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square; wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 20 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a *ghurfa*, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located [356] just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Riffians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of 'Abd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of 351 the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door [354] through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored [251] beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an [417] impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the *akhammās* as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: **La Vivienda Rifeña**, Ceuta 1930, passim.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

356 The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

341 **Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques.** *The Moorish arch* in doors and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

341 *Domes* are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

341 *Tiled roofs* are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

341 Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

342 **Tents.** The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa* braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhashen*, sepa-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

MOSQUES AND SAINTS' TOMBS

346 THERE are three types of building which serve both social and religious purposes: the *thamsyitha n jkhothbath*, or cantonal mosque,[1] the *thamsajath*, or village mosque,[2] and the *amrabi* (plural *imrabten*) or saint's tomb.[3]

The first, the cantonal mosque, is a large edifice, common to the whole *canton*, and to it come all the people of the *canton* for worship. It can be readily distinguished from lesser mosques by the fact that it bears a flag, green in the morning and white in the afternoon.

The second is the mosque of the *bone*, and there is one for each *bone* in the *canton*.

764 The third, the saint's tomb, may be a structure of some magnitude, a mere pile of stones,
778 or simply an unmarked but nevertheless well-known place. It is supposed to be the grave of a saint, although often it is merely some place noted for the possession of some unusual natural feature, such as a large boulder, a spring, or a clump of trees, revered long before the advent of Islam. Whether it be a definite building, a marker, or merely a place, in any case it fulfills a definite function.

358 In each of these three types of religious edifice there is one man who has been appointed
346 to take care of it, the *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*) or "warden,"[4] who may be a man of learning or, in some cases, illiterate. He is the janitor and general caretaker. He brushes the floor, sees that the mats on them are in good repair, hoists the flag on the cantonal mosque, and occasionally substitutes as muezzin for the incumbent of this mosque.

428 The mosques and saints' tombs acquire land in a number of ways. When a man dies
794 childless, and is displeased with his wife for having borne him no sons, or for some other reason, he may will a share of his land to the cantonal or village mosque or to a local saint's tomb. If he has sons but is not pleased with them, he may leave a share of his property to a mosque or tomb and the rest to his children.

[764] If, when about to die, he wishes to be buried within the mosque, he may buy his burial place with land to be given the mosque after his death. In this way he is interred under the floor of one of the rooms, and the warden has charge of the property so willed.

794 The warden of each public edifice has charge of the land belonging to it, and receives a
358 portion of the produce. He does the farming on the land and cares for the trees, but if there is too much for him to do the village council enlists poor people to work with him, as previously related.

794 Any mosque, be it of the *canton* or merely of the *bone*, and any saint's tomb capable of
485 providing shelter, serves as a free hotel for Riffians travelling from tribe to tribe. Lay

[1] From the Arabic *masjida el khutba*, meaning the "mosque of the Friday sermon."

[2] Likewise from *masjida*, and meaning literally "mosque."

[3] From the Arabic *mura'but*. This word means either "living saint" or "dead saint"; the meaning given applies to the deceased variety and to the superstructure erected over his remains.

[4] This Arabic word is also employed to designate the "moderator" of the village council, as well as the "moderator" of the council of the great. See p. 96.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

342 [341] House sites in Aith Wuryāghil are determined by two principal considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6). The walls, sturdily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square; wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 20 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a *ghurfa*, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located [356] just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Riffians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of 'Abd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of 351 the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door [354] through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored [251] beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an [417] impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the *akhammās* as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: **La Vivienda Rifeña**, Ceuta 1930, *passim*.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The houses are widely scattered up and down the mountains, each one being at least three hundred meters away from the next. Its construction and situation reflect the independent spirit of its owner. Almost always isolated to at least this extent, such a dwelling is usually the residence of a man, his unmarried brothers an sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This is only part of the family; the rest of it, living in similar houses the usual distance away, includes the man's married brothers and their wives and unmarried children. Thus the family, as it is know in Aith Wuryāghil, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; when the daughters marry, they go to live with their husbands' people, for this is a patrilineal and patrilocal society. This extended family or *jājghū* (pl. *ijūjgha)* is a cooperative economic unit; the affiliations of in-marrying wives are with it rather than with the families from which they came. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old *jājghū* splits into as many new *ijūjgha* as there were married brothers originally.

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the elders of the *jājghū*, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two *'adūl* proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all, when the father dies; but with many sons, the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit; quarrels may develop, in which case the land is divided up among the sons, each one looking after his own share. The inheritance system follows standard Islamic practice, with the portion of one son equalling that of two daughters. If daughters whose share of the family property includes land marry into other villages or political sections, they are often induced to sell out their own holdings to their brothers so that the land will remain securely in the hands of the family. These are

562 428 [421] [361] Women are always considered as minors[52]. They have no property and do not, in practice, inherit. It would never even occur to a woman to ask for her portion of the inheritance; this is, indeed, very logical in a rural and bellicose society (whose settlement morphology consists of) dispersed dwellings, for otherwise it would 562 have been impossible to defend a woman against bold attacks. She can only take refuge in either her husband's house or that of her agnates. But women wear new clothes, sing, and dance, etc., at weddings, and at least they seem happy; and they are able to plague their husbands in many, many ways.

596 613 4) Jajgu (pl. ijujga--so-called in Aith Waryaghar; jij, pl. ijajjen, "wall-peg",--also, alliteratively, "penis"--in Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; and azwar, pl. isuran, "vein",--also, alliteratively, "penis" in the Eastern Rif):--This is the most difficult social unit to study, because of its intermediacy[53]. It is one of the "family 596 branches"[54] (i.e. a branch of a dharfiqth or patri lineage). I 613 really cannot say more than this because informants, also, are unable 114 to explain it properly. In my earliest notes, it appeared to me to be a uterine descent group (SIC!). If a man had agnatic descendants from three wives, he thus produced three "branches" of which he was the "trunk". I now (1935) believe this to be the case, but am not completely sure, for if a man who has only one wife has three sons, these also, as points of descent, form (the bases of) three ijujga. In any case, it is understood that branches or ijujga originate from each type (i.e. point of descent), but I feel that the more important category is that originating from a different mother; and, although

619 614 361 Today it may be said that there are no ostensible and important divisions among the different clans of the Igzinnayen.... The Igzinnayen are sedentary and inhabit fixed houses, which, as among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, are located along the edges of valleys, in fertile lands, and, in a word, wherever life is easier. Nevertheless, there is, aside from the tribal hamlet-villages, no agglomeration of importance....The tribe is divided 619 614 administratively into seven clans, each one headed by a shaikh except for Asht 'Asim, which is divided into three shaikhates. One of the [621] [639] latter is made up of the communities of Buridh, Tamjund and Imharrushen, another by those of Ifran, Iaqrru'an and Iharrasen, and the third by Inhanahan, Thara Tazzugwakhth and Iharshriyen[169]; all these 619 clans ("fractions") are headed by a qa'id. The tribe of Igzinnayen presents a line of penetration between the tribes of the Rif and those of the Eastern Gharb, as it has been utilized over a long period of time as a path for incursions by the mountaineers into the plain.

619 614 621 7) Political Division:--Qaid (1940): Si Bu Tahar n Mqaddim Saihi.

a) Clan ("fraction") of Jibarna: contains villages of Asht Hammu w 'Amar, I'athmanen (1-'Atamna), Dharwa Haddum Jibarna and Suyah. Shaikh (1940): Muhammed l-Mihdi Fars.

b) Clan ("fraction") of Ishawiyen (Shawiya): contains villages of Dharwa 'Abdallah, Dharwa n Tawunza, Bu Isri, Imrabdhen n Wawizaght[170], Aknul, Nadhur, Ihammuthen and Izimmuren. Shaikh (1940): Bushta nj-Qa'id Buhush.

c) Clan ("fraction") of Marar: contains villages of Thighzrathin, Tasharbant, Dharwa 'Ari, Zarhun, Fiddan l-Kbir, Thighambuyin,

633 [504] The area is administered today from the small port and provincial capital of Alhucemas. The growth of this urban center, fishing port, and tourist attraction is but a recent [175] phenomenon. The city, founded in 1925 with the invasion of a Spanish fleet, has been the focal point for whatever innovation that has occurred in the Central Rif in this century.

133 361 Directly behind the city of Alhucemas is a flat plain. Although the land here is rich it was uninhabited prior to the Spanish because the terrain was indefensible during times of feuds. The original population was situated in the foothills [712] and higher mountains. Here homesteads were scattered and since they also served as garrisons or fortresses they were located on hills or ridges which could be defended militarily.

133 The area is not well served by rivers, the principal ones being the Rhis and the Nekor. The former rises in the Sonhaja area and empties into the Mediterranean at Alhucemas. The latter starts in Igzinnayen territory to flow along the border of the Beni Wariyaghar and the Beni Tuzin, emptying into the bay at [312] [161] Alhucemas. Both these rivers and their tributaries are used for irrigation and the population density is higher along them. There are also a good many natural springs (generally regarded as holy sites) and wells have been successfully dug in some of the valleys.

132 Rainfall varies annually and at times disastrously. At the weather station in Alhucemas during the decade 1946-1955, rainfall ranged from 8.5 inches to 16.9 inches. Although the

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

54B
5
361
341
102

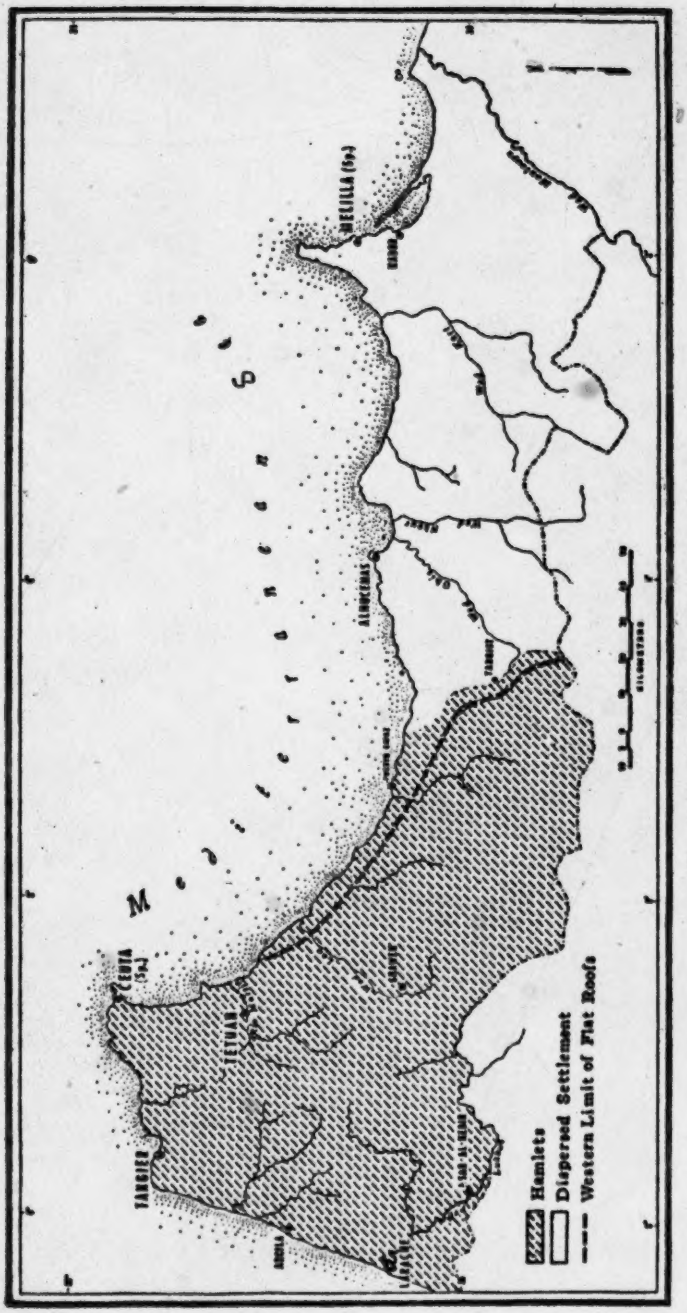


Fig. 15. Northern Morocco: settlement morphology.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

urban institutions are imposed by alien authorities. Such cities become parasites, drawing support from the rural countryside but offering little in exchange. The peasant population continues to look to its local markets for satisfaction of basic needs.

Hamlets versus Scattered Houses

Since they are walled, Moroccan cities begin and end abruptly. Pass through a gate and you are in the rural countryside. The type of landscape varies notably between the eastern and western parts of this zone. The basic distinction is between clustered settlements in the western areas and widely scattered houses in the Rif (fig. 15).

Clusters of ten to fifty houses make up the basic settlement pattern in Jbala, Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and along the Atlantic littoral. In these areas the

Fig. 16. Hamlet in Aith Seddath.

presence of an isolated house indicates that its owner has more than one place of residence; his first and most frequented home is generally with a cluster of several others. Isolated houses are usually of recent construction, and probably reflect the increased security introduced by the Spanish occupation. When it was no longer necessary to live close to trusted kinsmen, the more independent tribesmen settled on good land away from the ancestral hamlet.

The inhabitants of a hamlet are members of an extended family, formed of parents or grandparents, and the children of their sons. This unit does not break up unless the sons quarrel or the kin group becomes too large to be supported by the available land. Thus the basic unit of kinship, the biological family, is also the basic unit of settlement. Moroccans are averse to dividing up their land. When brothers inherit their father's land, they usually farm it jointly, and the eldest brother administers the property for all.

The growth of a hamlet follows the growth of a family. A newly married couple builds a new house, as close as possible to the husband's hamlet. Their first unit is a single hut, with a sunken area for domestic animals. As the livestock multiplies, another hut is erected to serve as a barn. When the sons of the pioneer couple marry, other huts are built adjoining the parent's home. The basic unit is extended into an L- or U- shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

R
5
4
361
342
191
102
341

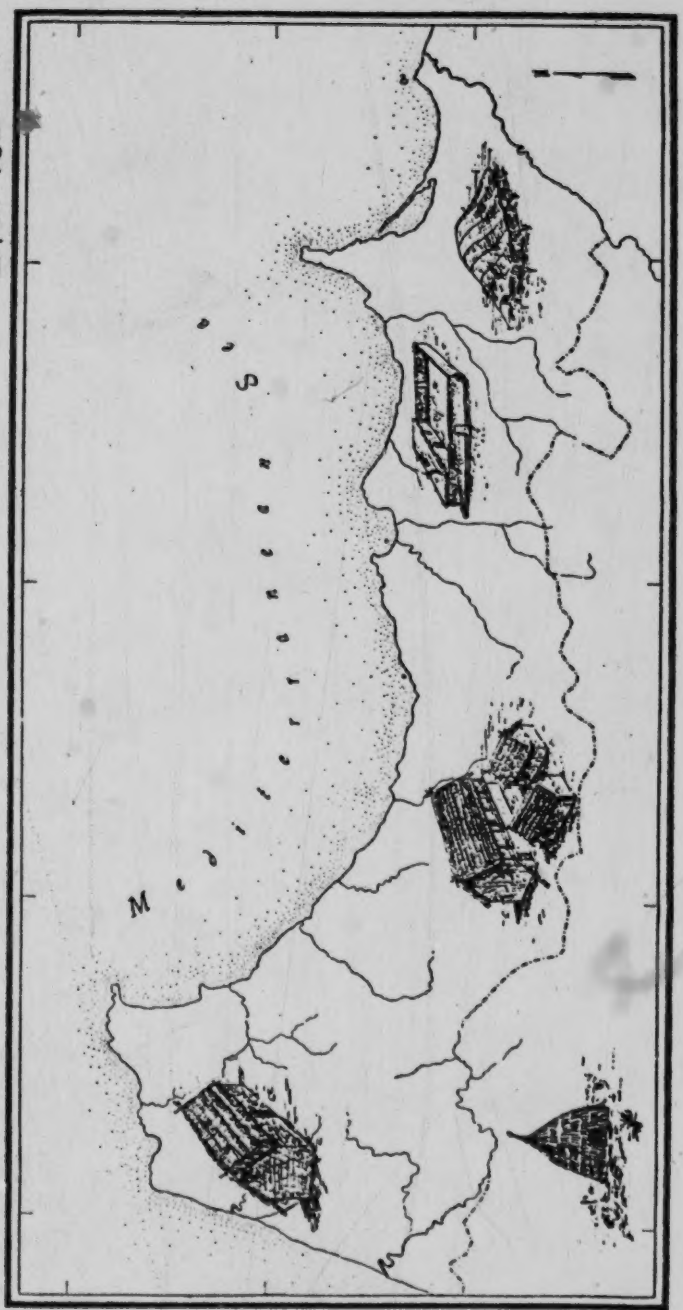


Fig. 17. Northern Morocco: principal types of houses.

/p. 70/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking.[1] The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers. Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred meters,[2] and in former generations each house had a corner tower used as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this use led to violent conflicts.

Types of Houses

In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common house is a crude conical structure (*nouala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

[1] See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

[2] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos historicos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951–52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

Rectangular houses, built about a courtyard, are common in the Rif and in the coastal zone from Mazagan to Agadir. The tribes of the Middle Atlas, who practice transhumance, spend the summer months in tents. Tents are seen also in the Gharb and in the lower Moulouya Valley. In the northwestern corner of Morocco one finds still another type of house, again rectangular in shape, but with a sloping roof of thatch.*

The sketches in figure 17 illustrate and roughly locate northern Morocco's main architectural styles. Two traditions are immediately discerned. In the eastern half of the zone the houses have flat roofs and the walls enclose an open courtyard; in the western area the houses have sloping roofs and there are no courtyards. Tents of woven goat hair appear only in the areas occupied by pastoral tribes—Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut. The division between flat and sloping roofs coincides almost exactly with the division between clustered and dispersed settlements. These distinct patterns of settlement in turn roughly coincide with the division between Rifian and Arabic or Sanhajan speech (cf. figs. 15 and 12). Targist, with clustered settlement and houses of both eastern and western style, is an area of transition. Settlement morphology reveals the heterogeneous character of this tribe.

Houses are built of mud brick in Jbala and along most of the Atlantic littoral. After the walls have been constructed, a ridgepole, usually the trunk of a slender riparian tree, is placed across the top of the structure, and smaller poles are set at right angles to the ridge. Thatching is applied, and the house is ready to be occupied. The distinguishing feature of houses in the Jbalan area is that the thatch is allowed to droop almost to the ground. Hipped roofs are seen in Anjra and the Fahs territory, but the more common form is a simple saddle or ridge. The Jbalan house is a small structure about five meters long and three meters wide. There is seldom any differentiation of floor levels or rooms, and furnishing is usually limited to a single mat or rug. Hamlets may be enclosed by a cluster of opuntia or a brush fence, but there is no attempt to build houses and walls to enclose a courtyard.

South of Wad Lukkus, in the Gharb, the Jbalan type of house is replaced by cruder structures of cane or reeds. One form is like the Jbalan house, except that its walls are made of wickerwork. Another and much cruder form consists of a conical or circular framework of cane covered with straw. This structure, which seems to be of Sudanese origin, has been adopted by settled tribes of bedawin origin as a substitute for tents. Conical huts are the dominant dwelling in the

* In the area of French influence, the literature on rural architecture is abundant, but for the Spanish zone there are only the accounts of E. Blanco Izaga, *La vivienda rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930); C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); and Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958. On types of houses in French Morocco, see A. Bernard, "L'Afrique du Nord," in *L'Habitation indigène dans les possessions françaises* (Paris: Editions Maritimes et Coloniales, 1930); Robert Montagne, *Villages et kasbas berbères* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930); E. Laoust, "L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc central," *Hespéris*, 10, 14, 18 (1931–1944); M. Gaud and G. Sigault, "L'habitat indigène au Maroc," *Bull. de l'Institut d'Hygiène au Maroc*, 4 (1937), 4–102; André Adam, *La Maison et le village dans quelques tribus de l'Anti-Atlas* (Paris: Larose, 1952); Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); E. Mauret, H. Pommeret, and R. Ringuelet, "Problèmes de l'habitat rural dans la région de Rabat," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 70 (1955), 15–71; and R. Aujard, "Problèmes de l'habitat rural dans la région d'Agadir," *ibid.*, 75 (1957), 275–288.

Ref mx3

[village of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin]

[278] 813 soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it ● 361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along 621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque. 368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro- 173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and 621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen 595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine of their fathers

/238 cont./

121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, •361 and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, 621 such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits 632 difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the [619] existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we 613 have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 114 It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according [171] to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 17

HOUSE TYPES 1

Old mosque tower, Sheshawen

Typical street, Sheshawen

342
346
363

Town square, showing octagonal mosque tower, Sheshawen

Thatched-roof house type, Tiguisas, Ghomara

[facing p. 64]

443 182 571 [452] [554] He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

443 182 What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all sugs of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific sug. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturallement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

443 [651] Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They [366] [312] are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East

Ref em2

[278] soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part
813 of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it
361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along
621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque.
● 368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro-
173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and
621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen
595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine of their fathers

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without 369 urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 779 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

000 sought to remedy them.

671 This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences
671 from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the
181 Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization,
[177] how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society.

181 In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from
369 the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means
554 of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes,
177 in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthen-
369 ing his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers
554 himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although
291 his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

369 The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders
829 on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

369 Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated 178 and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of 621 the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with 595 multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The 369 urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the 593 man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society 571 was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- 602 ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is 178 guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy 571 overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into 792

584 depending on the hour, return to their respective homes or stay
583 overnight as guest of the bride's father.

584 Once the financial arrangement has been settled, the rep-
583 resentatives of both families go to the religious judge (qadi)
692 in Alhucemas or Targuist and present him with the list of obli-
gations the groom's family has accepted. The young couple are
also supposed to attend this meeting, and in the urban centers
it is obligatory. However, judges who serve tribal areas are
rather relaxed about such attendance and are satisfied if the
fathers are in agreement. It is a rule of thumb that judges
[671] who serve rural Berber areas allow customary procedures to pre-
vail over civil law if the matter does not infringe upon the
security of the state.

584 At this point the groom's family begins to collect the
583 necessary goods for the wedding celebration. This process may
369 take some time, and over a year may pass between the initial
184 agreement and the completion of the stipulated requirements
of the groom. This is, however, quite rare and seems more
584 associated with Berbers living in the city. Among the fellah
585 the marriage has been contracted for good reason and it is
thought best to consummate it as rapidly as possible. Often
the marriage ceremony takes place less than a month after the
meeting to determine the expenses.

585 When all the money and goods have been collected, both
583 parties meet with the qadi again, two or three days before the
692 wedding ceremony. The qadi checks off all the items to make sure

585 that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement.
[583] Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs
[692] the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are
[184] legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In
[369] the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until the wedding ceremony is held.

585 By now, the groom's family has incurred several different
583 types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price'
431 or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss. The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 - - The wedding celebration or thamagra is held in the late
[221] summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the
585 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group
574 of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar. Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible. [461] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work [369] pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs 785 at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during 472 443 Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare [265] and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for 796 the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the 785 Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

556 It is possible, of course, for a single individual to
472 incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition
183 in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylia Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, ". . . only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' . . ." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remunerative but of negative value in terms of social interrela-
556 tions. Those men who are motivated by profit often find the
472 atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate
183 to Alhucemas or Targuist. While Riffians who live in the rural
521 areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to
369 the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they
186 are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

556 There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the
472 ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and
521 that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is mani-
577 fested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961
MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

RJ
291
369

SJR
291
369

Fig. 3. Clothing: *a*, young man of the Rif; *b*, elderly man of Jbala; *c*, boy's costume; *d*, townsman; *e*, woman of Jbala; *f*, woman of Sanhaja as-Srair; *g*, woman of the Rif; *h*, *i*, urban women.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman. Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[11] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[12] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[11] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[12] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 526. First edition, Venice, 1550.

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
[155] unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

776 practices and beliefs it was said that a person who sees meat and is not
264 allowed to taste it gets angry and is therefore attacked by the jnun haunting the meat, and also that the jnun haunting the person may hurt him because they do not get the meat they are longing for. We must not expect very clear ideas with regard to haunted objects; yet both explanations well agree with the fact that some of the customs in question have particular reference to women and children, who are more than others exposed to the attacks of jnun. If a person offers another meat the latter must accept it, even though he does not want to eat it; only an enemy can refuse such an offer, since a refusal would be attended with very serious consequences for the person who offered it—he may even die (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Sadden). But I have also heard that the bas, or evil, will fall upon the person who refuses to accept the meat (Hiaina), or that both parties will have to suffer (Ait Waryager).

776 [280] Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for
514 food are extremely haunted. The Ait Waryager say that there are
753 Jewish jnun in the dung-heap (dazubait, in Arabic zebbala) of the household; and water-closets and drains are favourite abodes of jnun. In this connection some beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour may be mentioned in addition to those noticed before. When a person does his needs he should cover his head with his hayek or the hood (qobb) of his jellaba, he must look neither right nor left, and if he speaks his children will be qora, that is, affected with ringworm (Fez). If a boy does his needs on the road—nobody but a boy can do such a thing—he will have boils (Ulad Bu aziz); the Ait Waryager say that he must be a bastard (mmis rahram). If a person makes water on the road, the bas enters underneath his nails and and makes them diseased (Andjra) or he will have hangnails (Ait Waryager) or he will be forgetful (Fez).

776 [293] Jnun also haunt the fire and the fire-place (in Arabic
372 l-kanun; in Berber takat or takkat [Sheliha], almssi [Ait Sadden],
513 tahfurt n tmssi [Ait Warain], dagandort [Ait Waryager]). If a person sleeps with his head near the fireplace, he is very liable to be struck by them; some people say that he will never get well again, while according to others he will have a headache or be troubled with bad dreams.

776 [294] To throw out a brand from the fire-place when it is raining
372 makes the angels blind (Hiaina); indeed, fire ought never to be thrown

776 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun
●372 at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house,
776 namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold
784 of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis,
[585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor,
784 taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between
[264] asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water
776 which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to
272 prevent jnun from drinking of it.

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water,[1] since
776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama qalil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health". A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [307] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [307] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
789 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. – Analyst]

789 evening prayer in the mosque, pray there a thousand times for the Prophet, each of them keeping count of his prayers by placing a pebble in front of him after the completion of every hundred.

[266] The custom of using a ladle as a rain-charm is common among the various Berber groups. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif the women dress up a wooden ladle (aganja) in women's clothes and walk with it to the village mosque or some shrine, praying for rain.

[372] [276] As water extinguishes fire, so fire is also supposed to destroy the rain. Among the Ait Waryager rain is stopped by a man whose name is 'Esa boiling some rain-water in an earthenware pan (anahadam) ordinarily used for the baking of bread, and then discharging a loaded gun in the air.

[279] Among the Ait Waryager, if there is too much rain, scribes write on a board the names of either ninety-nine or one hundred and one saints, and place the board on the roof of the village mosque.

[282] The Ait Waryager, again, stop a westerly gale by girdling a dog with a woollen belt, which is left on it as long as the gale lasts.

[283] BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS RELATION TO ANIMALS

231 [284] In some tribes it is the custom for a man who buys a stallion to kill a sheep or goat and invite the men of the village to a meal; after they have eaten they make fatha, calling down blessings on the host and his animal (Ait Yusi, Ait Waryager).

[285] Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a horse, mule, donkey, bullock, or cow, or some sheep or goats at the market, he treats those who accompanied him there with grapes, raisins, figs, or other eatables, and they in return call down blessings on him and the animal or animals he bought.

Among the Ait Waryager a person who has bought a mare or some other female animal puts a silver bracelet (damqayyast) or a pair of silver brooches (dibzimin, sing. dabzind), such as women wear over their breast, at the entrance to the yard (azqaq) and makes the animal walk over it, in order that it shall be fertile and good and not run away.

[177] [287] Among the Ait Waryager donkeys, as also horses and mules, with black spots in their mouths are not bought by anybody, and a white spot on the forehead of a donkey or a mule, but not on that of a horse, is likewise considered bad fal.

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [177] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

tains of the upper Nkour. The same expression is applied to the mountains on the route between Vélez and Fez (probably the Sanhajan highlands), and to "Mount Seusaoen" (i.e., Shawen, probably Jbil Tisuka). Leo's account of the eastern sector of northern Morocco is very different. The plains of Garet are described as a desert, and the lower Moulouya Valley as being "unpleasant and dry," with "no water but that of the river Muluia."

Accounts of forest in the Rif highlands are to be expected, but it is surprising to find repeated references to forest on the Mediterranean coast. Similar accounts appear in the works of Arab writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Strabo describes the Ceuta promontory as being clothed with a mantle of great trees. The frequent mentions of trees near Ceuta suggest a profound modification of vegetation in subsequent years. Accounts of shipbuilding and lumber trade indicate some commercial logging; the retreat of the forest near Ksar as-Srair, Ceuta, and Vélez might have been a direct result of these activities. Leo's reference to "great want of wood" at Arcila suggests that the hills and marine terraces of the Tangier-Tetuán-Arcila triangle had been cleared before his time, but extensive woods still existed in the basin of Wad Lukkus. His evaluation of the Moulouya Valley may have been prejudiced by previous exposure to more verdant areas, but "desert" does not mean forest, or even a rich formation of scrub.

Agents and Processes of Change

In northern Morocco today, the most important agents of deforestation are: (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to "improve" pastures and to clear fields for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by sheep and goats. These processes are evident even to the casual observer, but it is difficult to determine their relative importance. Despois believes that the principal causes of deforestation have always been the need for fuel and new land to till.[11] Braun-Blanquet describes the Mediterranean garrigues as "zoöbiotically conditioned communities."[12] Kuhnholtz-Lordat is convinced that the greatest agent of deterioration has been fire.[13]

Each emphasis is supported by abundant evidence, but it may be doubted whether the several causes of deforestation can be treated independently. A series of fires, if not too closely spaced, may not result in deforestation, but burning followed by heavy pasturing inevitably does. Most of the broad-leaf trees in northern Morocco reproduce themselves from shoots after being burned or felled, but in areas overrun by goats the shoots are browsed down and forest degenerates to scrub. In tangled brush formations it is often difficult to tell whether the main destructive agent has been fire, domestic animals, or man.

Consumption of Wood

Although kerosene lamps burn in many Moroccan homes, charcoal and wood are the only important domestic fuels.[14] Butane and electrical appliances are

[11] Despois, *op. cit.*, p. 84, cited in note 13.

[12] J. Braun-Blanquet, *Pflanzensoziologie: Grundzüge der Vegetationskunde* (2d ed., Vienna: Springer, 1951), p. 371.

[13] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), *passim*.

[14] Anthracite of excellent quality has been mined at Djerada south of Oujda since 1931, but

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus, Rhus pentaphylla,* and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[84] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix, Alnus, Populus, Vitex,* and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander,* the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[85] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[86]

---

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al., Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[84] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[85] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies,* 9 (1931), 69.

[86] Coon, *loc. cit.,* traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

314 High Atlas. Deforestation can be traced also to the tanners of Fez and Tetuán.[110]
311 The tanners' guild in Fez goes back to the ninth century, when master tanners
191 gathered at this site from Córdoba, Qayrawan, and distant Iran. Fez leather was once exported as far away as Baghdad, and shoes went to Egypt until the present century. During the peak years of production. Fez craftsmen tanned about 500,000 skins a year. The descendants of the original immigrant craftsmen are still busy making handbags, slippers, and other articles for the tourist and export trade.

It is not surprising that *Quercus Ilex,* an important source of tannin, should now be rare in the hills near Fez and Tetuán. There is good reason to believe that the holly oak once covered these hills. One well-informed botanist asserts that the primordial cover of the limestone mountains south of Tetuán probably was a "climax" forest of holly oak.[111] In Gal'aya and the eastern Rif, careless stripping of the bark of *Rhus pentaphylla,* a source of red dye, destroys many trees; "Morocco leather," a trade name in bookbinding, is customarily made from goatskin tanned with sumac.

Effects of Burning

372 In the eastern Rif the plant cover is usually too sparse to maintain a fire, and
241 on the Atlantic littoral there is little land left to clear. But between these areas
191 is a large zone covered with forest or scrub that must be burned before the land
311 can be plowed. Some attempt is usually made to control the spread of fire, but conflagrations develop when tinder-dry shrubs are fanned by brisk winds. Fire is employed also for the "improvement" of pasture, for increased blossoming ("bee pasture"), and probably for the mere pleasure of burning or out of carelessness.[112]

233 The importance of pastoral fires has been emphasized by most students of the
372 Mediterranean landscape,[113] but in northern Morocco fires set to clear away nox-
191 ious shrubbery or to facilitate movement of stock are less important than agri-
241 cultural fires. Pastoral fires are neither necessary nor desirable where there are
311 goats, for these animals thrive on woody browse and can break through the thickest scrub. Sheep outnumber goats only in the drier eastern sector, where impenetrable formations are rare. For every fire set to "improve" pasture, probably more than ten are set to prepare new fields for plowing.

372 Whatever its cause, fire is a major agent of deforestation. The difficulty is
311 that there are many kinds of fires: quick fires that run over a thin mantle of vegetation, great conflagrations that consume thicker formations, fires that remain close to the ground, fires that extend to the crowns of trees. It makes a great deal of difference whether fires recur after five or after twenty-five years. Moreover, the important factor may be not the fire itself but what happens to an area after it has been burned.

---

[113] [110] R. le Tourneau, L. Paye, and R. Guyot, "La corporation des tanneurs et l'industrie de la tannerie à Fès," *Hespéris,* 21 (1935), 167–240; A. Joly, "L'industrie à Tétouan," *Archives Marocaines,* 8, 15, 18 (1906–1912).

[113] [111] J. Ruis de la Torre, *El matorral en Yebala (Marruecos español)* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1955), pp. 26–27, and the map showing the "natural area" of *Quercus Ilex.*

[113] [112] H. Marc, *Notes sur les forêts de l'Algérie* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 396, lists the causes of serious forest fires from 1886 to 1915 as "accidents" (8 per cent), "imprudence" (32 per cent), "intentional" (23 per cent), "unknown" (37 per cent).

[113] [113] G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, "Influence des feux pastoraux dans la région méditerranéenne," *Jour. d'Agriculture Tropicale et de Botanique Appliquée,* 3 (1956), 785–791.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

372 137 311 Plants that are somewhat resistant to fire or are stimulated to multiply and reproduce by fire have been called pyrophytes.[a] There are many kinds of pyrophytes, for resistance to or stimulation from fire may be achieved in several ways. The cork oak could be called a pyrophyte of passive resistance, for it is protected by thick insulating bark. Plants that send out new shoots after their aerial organs have been partly or completely destroyed might be described as pyrophytes of vegetative reaction. Budding may take place above ground, as in the thuya, or below ground, as in the kermes oak, palmetto, madrone, and numerous Mediterranean shrubs. Trees that cast deep shade (e.g., undisturbed holly oaks) could be termed pyrophytes of indirect resistance. Finally, some trees and shrubs that seed heavily and grow rapidly (e.g., Aleppo pine and species of *Cistus*) might be described as social pyrophytes.

372 114 137 311 This classification, derived from the pioneer work of Kuhnholtz-Lordat, has much to recommend it,[b] but, like all classifications, it has some faults. The passive resistance of the cork oak depends upon the lapse of time since the last stripping of the bark. Pyrophytes of vegetative reaction may be destroyed if fires recur in rapid succession. In northern Morocco it is hard to think of a good example of indirect resistance. Some stands of cork oak and holly oak have shaded floors and sparse underbrush, but during the dry season such formations may be inflammable. Again, although the Aleppo pine is an excellent pioneer, it may be exterminated if fires recur in rapid succession or if the young shoots are browsed.

372 137 311 Recurrent burning thus favors some plants and discourages others. Continuous repetition of brush fires produces communities rich in geophytes and therophytes. In much of northwestern Morocco, species of *Cistus* are the first shrubby pioneers.[c] They soon collect in extensive clumps, but die out after ten to fifteen years if not burned again. Large areas in Jbala and Ghmara, now covered with *Cistus monspeliensis*, *C. albidus*, and *C. ladaniferus*, probably were once covered with forests of cork oak or holly oak. Fires usually do not destroy the aerial organs of trees protected by thick bark, but the mortality rate rises sharply immediately after the bark has been stripped.[d]

When aerial organs are destroyed, both cork oak and holly oak reproduce from shoots. An occasional fire may even serve to regenerate a senile forest. But extreme care must be taken to prevent further destruction, for *Cistus*, *Erica*, and other heliophilous shrubs spread over the surface as soon as more light reaches the ground. Since the expanding secondary growth is highly inflammable, this process increases the danger of recurrent fires.[e] After several fires, the mesophytic plants are replaced by species more xerophytic as well as more heliophilous, indicating a change to drier soil conditions.[f]

[a] Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée, passim*, cited in note 32.

[b] *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

[c] Because of its rapid growth and abundant crop of seeds, *Cistus* has been used in California (113) to protect denuded slopes. Gustaf Juhren, "The Use of *Cistus* in Erosion Control," *Lasca Leaves*, Spring, 1956, pp. 26–29.

[d] See also Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 663 ff., cited in note 5; and A. Dugelay, "La remise en valeur des forêts de chênes-lièges incendiées," *Rev. Forestière Française*, November, 1951, pp. 687–694.

[e] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 649, describes *Erica arborea* as an "élément ignicole par excellence."

[f] On the effects of fire in similar environments, see A. W. Sampson, *Plant Succession on Burned* (113) *Chaparral Lands in Northern California* (Berkeley: California Agricultural Experiment Station, 1944); R. S. Adamson, *The Vegetation of South Africa* (London: British Empire Vegetation Committee, 1938); W. B. Turrill, *The Plant Life of the Balkan Peninsula* (Oxford:

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The main difference between the effects of fire in broad-leaf forests and in coniferous forests is that the latter, with the exception of the Barbary thuya, do not reproduce by coppice shoots. The resinous bark of maritime and Aleppo pines is highly inflammable, and since neither tree reproduces from shoots, burning is usually fatal. Yet both species, especially the Aleppo pine, are pyrophytes. Indeed, the presence of a large number of pine seedlings is a sure indication of recent burning. Both species produce abundant seed, and proliferation is encouraged by the destruction of competitive growth. If fifteen or more years have elapsed since a fire, the seedlings reach maturity and the ground is again littered with seeds; but recovery is thwarted by more frequent fires.

Little is known of the effects of fire on the Moroccan fir, but it is probably unimportant as an agent of deforestation. The three main stands of fir grow on the highest slopes of limestone mountains, where there is little underbrush. Furthermore, these mountains do not have sufficient surface water to support permanent human settlement. Goats driven to the mountains from the lower slopes have destroyed many seedlings, but there is little evidence of destructive forest fires. Nor is there evidence of destructive fires in relatively undisturbed stands of cedar. Such forests have little underbrush to serve as kindling, and the cedar itself does not burn easily. But fires may be serious where cedar forests have been invaded by secondary growth. Most of the shrubs common in open stands of cedar—*Cistus, Daphne, Genista, Cystius, Thymus,* and *Halimium*—are highly inflammable. Occasional fires followed by long periods free of disturbance generally do not cause deforestation, but deforestation results when seedlings are destroyed before they can produce seed. The critical interval is disadvantageously long, for the Atlas cedar does not produce abundant seed until it is forty to fifty years old.

Destruction by Domestic Animals

It would be hard to overemphasize the destruction wrought by grazing and browsing. More than half a million sheep and over a million goats are maintained in this zone. These figures are impressive, but the striking fact is that so large a number of animals are maintained by sedentary farmers. No tribe in northern Morocco is nomadic, and only the Ulad Stut and Aith Bu Yihyi practice transhumance. The main types of pastoral disturbance are well described by Braun-Blanquet.[*] Heavy pasturing causes: (1) withdrawal of large quantities of plant matter, (2) mechanical damage to plants by grazing, browsing, and trampling, (3) selective destruction of desired plants, (4) introduction of nitrophilous communities, and (5) alteration of micorelief.

The few cattle and camels kept in northern Morocco probably are not important agents of deforestation. Both animals are used almost exclusively for draft purposes, and few villages can afford to maintain more than one team. Authorities disagree on whether sheep have been significant factors in the process of deforestation. Most of the sheep in northern Morocco are in the drier and warmer parts of the zone, i.e., Garet and the eastern Rif. Woody plants are too

Clarendon Press, 1929); and B. O. Coventry, "Denudation of the Punjab Hills," *Indian Forest Records*, 14 (1929), 49–78.

[*] Braun-Blanquet, *op cit.*, pp. 367–368, cited in note 31.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

233 311 tough and massive to be adversely affected by grazing, but sheep can destroy shoots and seedlings, particularly those of the resinous trees.[a] The presence of monotonous formations of *Stipa tenacissima* in the lower Moulouya Valley and on the Algerian Hauts-Plateaux probably indicates overgrazing, for a history of excessive grazing may be inferred wherever hard tussock grasses have replaced more palatable growth.

Where goats are numerous, deforestation is accelerated, for no hillside is too steep to daunt this very agile creature, and few plants escape its voracious appetite (pl. 8, *a*). In Arcila, goats scale the nearly vertical Portuguese walls, and in the Sous Valley they climb into *Argania* trees. Not content with the grazing of grass, goats tear it up by the roots. When woody browse is exhausted, the soil itself is grazed in an attempt to get at the seeds of grasses and other plants. It is not surprising that the goat should be described as an "ecologic dominant,"[b] and that many naturalists would like to see it become extinct, except in zoos.[c]

[372] The most serious deforestation occurs when heavy browsing follows burning. Premature browsing or grazing results in the destruction of seedlings before they can produce a new crop of seeds. The French forestry service has ruled that burned areas should be closed to pasture for at least six years. The recovery of cedar forests may be thwarted if excessive browsing takes place within twenty years.[d]

311 137 The best-known relict of the cedars of Lebanon, a stand of several hundred trees, is protected from vandalism by a church and from goats by a stone wall.[e] In open places in the Mamora forest, young cork oaks survive only within a protective cluster of palmetto. On the semiarid plains of northeastern Morocco, *Pistacia atlantica* rarely survives unless it is protected by a spiny hedge of zizyphus or sumac (*Rhus pentaphylla*), and in the Sous Valley the latter species plays an even more vital role as a protector of young *Argania* trees. In the mountains of northern Morocco, seedlings of cedar, pine, and fir are protected by the armature of the juniper. Elsewhere on the Mediterranean versant, young trees may be protected by *Genista, Calycotome, Ulex,* and other thorny Leguminosae.

311 233 392 137 Trees that reproduce by coppice shoots are seldom completely destroyed, but excessive browsing may reduce them to shrub form. In the geographic textbooks the scrub or dwarf state of the Mediterranean woodland is often described as a consequence of the Mediterranean precipitation regime. The error of this generalization is manifest in the holly oak. That the stunted and deformed appearance of this tree results from fire-induced sprouting and browsing is evident when stately trees growing on protected sites are compared with the prevalent forms. Neither climate nor any other element of the inanimate environment can explain

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

[a] Boudy, *op. cit.*, I, 616, is more emphatic: "Il est d'observation courante au Maroc, comme en Algérie, que dans tous les massifs de résineux où le parcours des moutons est intense, il n'y a pas de régénération et que ces massifs sont condamnés à disparaître à plus ou moins longue échéance."

[b] Marston Bates, "Man as an Agent in the Spread of Organisms," in Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 798, cited in note 7. [113]

[c] Raymond Furon, "The Gentle Little Goat: Arch Despoiler of the Earth," *The Unesco Courier*, January, 1958, pp. 30–32. [113]

[d] Cf. Boudy's comment, *op. cit.*, II, 532: "Régénération de la cédraie et pâturage sont choses incompatibles." The prerequisites of recovery probably include at least three or four years of unusually heavy precipitation.

[e] W. C. Lowdermilk, "Lessons from the Old World to the Americas in Land Use," *Smithsonian Inst. Ann. Rept. 1943* (Washington, D.C., 1944), p. 416. [113]

A, [See p. 132--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

the stunted form of this tree. The same remarks apply to dwarf forms of thuya and oleaster. On protected sites even the palmetto may become a tree and, when disturbance is manifest, dwarf forms of cedar develop.

Vegetation on Sacred Sites

Throughout Morocco and to some extent elsewhere in the Muslim world, cemeteries are regarded as sacred ground. Sanctity is ascribed also to the areas adjacent to tombs or shrines of saints (*murabitin*). The cult of saints has been an important factor in Moroccan history, and tombs or shrines are found in the territory of each tribe.[a]

Sacred sites often constitute islands of verdure. This correlation is not unique. In *The Golden Bough* Sir James Frazer describes sacred woods in many parts of the world.[b] The interesting feature of the Moroccan situation is that such groves are extraordinarily numerous and that the veneration relates to the ground in which plants grow and not to the plants themselves.[c] Protected growth is usually more dense than the growth on adjacent profane land, and the height and girth of individual plants exceed those of plants growing on unprotected land. Some species (*e.g.*, *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*) rarely achieve arborescent forms on unprotected sites.

The nature of the protected growth varies from a single shrub or tree to thickets and groves. Figure 25 shows the silhouettes of vegetation on a few sacred sites. These examples, selected from hundreds, illustrate the general pattern (cf. pl. 9, *a* and *b*).

Figure 25, *a*, shows a few mature cedars surrounded by a dense growth of holly oak. The prevalent vegetation in this area is a shrub formation dominated by *Cistus laurifolius*. There are no other cedars within a radius of several hundred meters, and holly oaks, apart from those on sacred sites, are in scrub form. It is evident that succession has resulted in a retrogression from cedar to oak forest and then to a sparse cover of shrubs.

Figure 25, *b*, illustrates a protected formation dominated by oleasters (cf. pl. 9, *a*). *Pistacia lentiscus* becomes prominent where oleasters are widely spaced and light reaches the ground freely. Palmetto and thuya, even more heliophilous, are confined to the edges of the protected growth. In the surrounding area the vegetation is limited to shrubs. Numerous other examples of oleaster groves fringed with pistacia and palmetto could be described. A handsome grove appears at the tomb of Sidi Manari on Cape Malabata opposite Tangier. Five groves appear on one ridge between Tangier and Tetuán. Others appear on the marine terraces between Tangier and Arcila, and on the lower slopes of the limestone mountains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

[a] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Marabout," in H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 325–326; Emile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

[b] Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935). Part I of *The Golden Bough*.

[c] J. Cola Alberich, *Cultos primitivos de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954), refers to tree worship (*dendrolatría*), but the evidence he cites relates to popular ideas of the medicinal and magical qualities of plant material (leaves, seeds, acorns, etc.) and not to the sanctity of plants as such. It is possible, for example, to recognize magical qualities in pine cones and yet have no reluctance to destroy or mutilate pine trees. In Morocco the important consideration is not what qualities a plant may possess but *where* it grows.

A, [See p. 133--Analyst]

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
[155] unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

● 373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

776 372 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 776 784 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis, [585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 784 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between [264] asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 776 272 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent jnun from drinking of it.

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [177] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

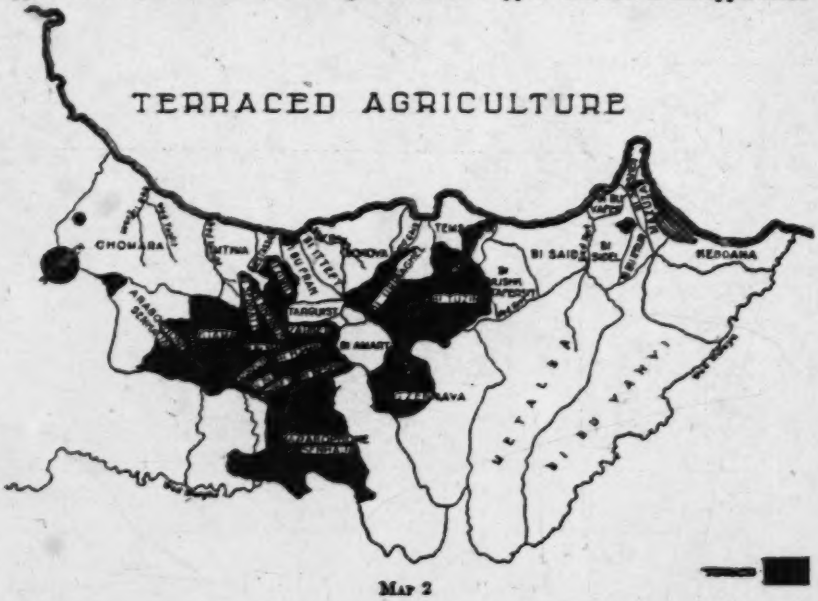
443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 portion of Beni Bu Yahyi, where no agriculture is practised, and parts of Ktama, where wheat and barley are not or cannot be grown.

252 [376] *Ihassih n usman*, the turbine grain mill. This type of mill, a complicated mechanical invention, consists of a small house built over a dam or over the end of a high-flowing irrigation ditch, a turbine wheel with tilted paddle-shaped blades set into a thick terminal hub, a circular stone attached to the upper end of the turbine shaft inside of the house and resting on the nether stone, and a hopper hanging above the stone with a feed-slot jiggled by the upper stone so as to insure the flow of grain from the hopper. The hole in the upper stone

241



MAP 2

into which the shaft is set is off-centre, and the upper part of the shaft is bent to allow for this, so that the upper stone turns fairly evenly on its axis, while a second hole, drilled through the exact centre of the upper stone, does not deviate from the centre and allows the grain falling from the hopper to be ground between the two stones. The lower stone is larger than the upper and is rimmed with a slightly raised border, broken only in one place, so that the flour may be extracted from the gap in the rim. This type of mill seems to be concentrated at Taghzuth, where many of them are in constant use. There are several in Beni Bu Near and five or six in Beni Aissi of Ktama; there was formerly one in Wed Iherrushen of the Gaennaya; and there are about ten at Ajdir. At Fez many of these mills are in use, and they are also found in the Atlas, particularly at Zerekten.[1]

[1] For a detailed description of this type of mill consult Lacoat, pp. 36–48, and Baron Nopsa's *Beutes, Trachten, Gerät. Nordalbanien*, pp. 131–134.

454 Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect. 231 454 433 554 Thus, an extra mule or an ox can raise the level of productivity of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

256 435 472 [376] Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghsuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghsuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the [531] hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebabs and by the Aaht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[434] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fes and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghsuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

of the bottom piece, set on edge. She does not coil it up over itself, but cuts it off, at the proper length, presses the ends together, and adds another strip to the top. When the pot has reached the required height she shapes it by means of a stick held inside and out, and by manipulation with her fingers. Handles and spouts are made separately and put on after the shaping has been finished. 323

The pot is then fired; while this is going on the women crush the ripe leaves of a wild bush called *bu b'kennin*, which resembles dogwood. From the leaves exudes a watery yellow juice. When they have taken out the pots, they paint them, still hot, with this juice, applying it with a stick, bit of straw, or rag, in geometric design, yellow on the buff of the clay. They then replace the pot in the kiln and rebake it. When it is taken out for the second time the design is black on buff, and gradually fades to sepia on buff. This pottery is found in Beni Urriaghel, Gaennaya, Beni Amart, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mesduy. (See plates 23 and 24.) 1386 ● 3143

The wheel-made pottery manufactured by other tribes resembles the Arab pottery found all over the Arabic-speaking portions of Morocco, both in technique of manufacture and in shape. The vessels are generally cylindrical in form and white in color, without a slip; the wheel striations are plainly visible. Design is limited to a few squiggly lines running down the sides from the brim as the result of the fusion of a pigment put on the brim before firing. Distribution is in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Said, Galiya, and Kebdana.

The shapely designs of the central Riffian ware, two-handled drinking pots with down-curving lips, shallow plates, spouted milk-jugs, and semi-globular bowls, are copied on the wheel in certain tribes adjacent to the central Riffian area. The design typical of the Rif is put on, a little too perfectly to be true, and the product sold in markets as Riffian pottery. This hybrid type is made, not as a survival of Riffian design in an area of recent adoption of the wheel, but as a definite attempt to imitate and to defraud. The wheel is reputed to have been used in the regions where it is now employed from the most remote times, and the diffusionistic tendency has been against rather than for its dissemination. Wheels have been abandoned in Targuist in favor of the cruder technique, and the same tendency is evident in Bokoya, Beni Tuzin, and Temsaman. Distribution: Bokoya, Tuzin, and Temsaman. 323 415

WOOD, SKIN, AND IRON CONTAINERS

Throughout the Rif wooden bowls are adzed out of tree-trunks. These bowls are of one piece, and round in shape. Another type of wooden container, used in serving *sekau* to a large company, is the same as an old-fashioned washtub, shaped like the bottom part of a barrel, and carried about by means of chain handles. Wooden containers, carved from one piece or put together in the manner of barrels, are the characteristic product of the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, with the exception of Ktama. These tribes make no pottery, and have a greater abundance of wood than any other group. They utilise wooden vessels for every purpose which does not necessitate the use of fire. For the latter purpose they import pottery vessels from the Rif; but they have in recent years produced an undecorated imitation of them in Taghsuth. 415 322

Although the Metalsa make wheel-turned pottery, their equally nomadic neighbors, the Beni Bu Yahyi, neither make it nor employ it to any great extent. The Beni Bu Yahyi use 415

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

286 spun from black goat hair is put in as a weft by hand, without a shuttle, as in the case of the *asta*. The result of this process, a heavy, hybrid fabric, half textile and half matting, is used for tents.

Rug-making has not reached the high development among the Riffians which it has attained among the Shluh and Braber. Riffian rugs, woven on the *asta*, are coarse, harsh, and unattractive. The hooked-rug method, employed so effectively by the Beni Mgil and Beni Mtir of the Braber, is unknown. In fact, few rugs are made by the Riffians, who prefer to purchase them at Melilla and Fez.

386 All wool intended to be used in garments other than turbans and belts is thrown into a vat of dye before being carded or spun. The dyes used for coloring this raw wool are as 314 follows:

brown, made from boiled apple-leaves.
red, made from the bark of almond-tree roots, boiled.
yellow, made from pomegranate husks.
green, made from the water boiled out of *thaghigheshth* roots or cedar cones.
black, made from an imported mineral called *zaj*.

386 These natural vegetable products are boiled in water, in which the wool is immersed and soaked. When it is taken out the colors are fast. Turbans and belts are dyed after they have been finished; when taken out of the dye they are rubbed with ashes, a process not considered necessary in the case of raw wool. Leather is dyed by exactly the same process as wool.

Tie-dyeing, called *thiſarsth*, is in some regions applied to cloth intended for use as turbans. The distribution is as follows: all Senhaja and Ghomara, and all tribes between them and Tangier.

CLOTHING

291 Riffian clothing was formerly made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven.
177 At present many garments are made of imported cotton cloth, and others of silk. In this compilation of garment-types most attention will be paid to the older elements of Riffian dress, the distribution of which alone is significant.

[171] **Masculine Attire.** *ajjab*, the jellaba, is a woolen cloak with short sleeves and a hood. The jellaba is found all over North Africa and is not a distinctive Riffian garment, except as it differs in minor details from jellabas worn by other Berber or Arab groups. The Riffian jellaba is notably shorter than the average, reaching only to the knees, and its hood less broad than the hoods of the Ghomara and other western groups. The Riffian jellaba has definite shoulders; in the western type the transition from hood to sleeve is lacking. The Riffian jellaba is always either dark brown or black, but in other areas white, striped, or other colored types are worn. Furthermore, the Riffian jellaba can be readily distinguished by its embroidery, which will be treated separately. The jellaba is exclusivley a masculine garment. (See plates 25 and 27.)

[171] *er serham*, the silham, is a cloak resembling the jellaba, but lacks sleeves and is generally much longer and more flowing. The silham is typical of the Braber and Shluh of the Atlas, and is likewise worn by the nomadic peoples south of the Atlas. In the Rif its use is limited to the nomadic tribes of the Garet. Until recently the silham was worn by both the Metalsa

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

137 *riarz*, a cedar, growing very tall and straight. Its sweet-smelling wood is valued by carpenters and cabinet-makers.

[314] *amerzi*, another cedar, with very volatile reddish wood. Its pitch and resin are used as medicine.

rkanus, a similar tree, considered by the Riffians to be the female of the *amerzi*.

The cedars, generally known under the name of *thuya*, or *arbor vitae*, form the characteristic coniferous vegetation of North Africa.[1]

Other Trees

[262] *rbejuth*, an evergreen oak, with edible acorns.

tashta, another species of oak, with inedible acorns.

rbejuth n yirif, the so-called pig-oak. Its acorns are eaten by wild boars, but not by men on account of their bitter taste. Justinard lists as oak *adren*, calling *abedjoud* the acorn.[2] The latter word is derived from the Arabic *el-bellut*, the difference in renderings being due, aside from different techniques in transcription, to my retention of the *r*, the berberization of the Arabic definite article, in the Riffian dialects. I have always heard it pronounced with the *r*. Hanoteau and Letourneau [3] identify five oaks in Algeria: *Quercus castaneaefolia C. A. Mey., Q. Mirbeckii Dr., Q. Ilex L., Q. Ilex var. Ballota*, and *Q. Suber L.*

[245] *adheman*, the hawthorne. This tree is used as a base for grafting pear and apple shoots. Hanoteau and Letourneau give *Crataegus Oxyacantha* (three varieties), *Cr. Azarolus*, and *Cr. monogyna* for Algeria.[4] Laoust identifies *Cr. Oxyacantha* in Morocco.[5]

[262] *asaanu*, the arbute, or strawberry tree. Its fruit is eaten fresh, and also dried and put into bread; the wood is used in house construction. Laoust finds it in other parts of Morocco, and gives it the botanical name *Arbutus unedo*.[6]

[262 388] *fathis*, a large tree bearing a small red fruit, which is eaten. The ashes of its wood are mixed with water, in which grapes are washed before being set out to dry. These ashes are also used as soap in washing cloth. Westermarck [7] calls this the lentisk, *Pistacia lentiscus*.

azemmur, the wild olive. Its fruit is not eaten, but its wood is used in making spoons, ploughs, and other objects.

[245] *thazemmurth*, the female of the *azemmur*, smaller than the male. The male can be used for grafting domestic olives, but the female is never used for this purpose.

sa'awis, a large tree with perennial foliage. It bears a seed containing a red liquid. The wood of this tree was formerly used for gunstocks.

thaghieshth n wushun, a species of wild walnut, called jackal-walnut.

afesas, perhaps a spurge-flax, or broom. It is a bush with a red flower, growing in valley bottoms. Laoust gives *Daphne Gnidium L.* for *walesaz*.[8] Hanoteau and Letourneau name three species, *Daphne oleoides Schreb., D. Gnidium L.*, and *D. Laureola L.*, for Algeria.[9] This plant has been mistaken by other botanists for an osier, on account of its extensive use in basketry.[10]

thabgha, a wild blackberry. Justinard affirms this designation.[11]

[1] Justinard, p. 189; Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 69; el Bekri (tr. Mac Guckin de Slane), p. 15 n.
[2] Page 117. [3] Page 119. [4] Pages 48, 99. [5] Page 809.
[6] Pages 483–484, 519. [7] Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. II, p. 185.
[8] Pages 515–516. [9] Page 116. [10] Laoust, pp. 515–516. [11] Page 143.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghsuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghsuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the [531] hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Asht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

●389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[434] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[415 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghsuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

226
389 Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

G) Recovery:

425 Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped (517) to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

H) Arbiters:

628
554 Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

628
648
554
671
642
115 Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

481 [484] and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

NAVIGATION

501 The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thagharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thagharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *izhizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkathafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

396 This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

[531] The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

501 Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in feluca rig.

501 226 Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks. The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

396 439 Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara, where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

241 Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Wafi, of the Beni Urriaghel.

000 here. We have never seen or heard of them.

[463] 114--There was a master boatbuilder who lived on the beach of Aith Bu
[396] Dawud in the Thimsaman, none in the Aith Waryaghar. He had no helpers in 1954, and got 500 pesetas and his food from future boat owners for building a boat.

115--The usual arrangement in this case is that the profits are split in half, one-half for the owner of the boat and the other half for the ra'is and the crew.

501 116--Each boat has a ra'is and a crew of four or five men. Sometimes,
463 though rarely, the owner of the boat will be a different individual
226 altogether; more often, however, the ra'is himself is the owner. It is also common fo. three or four fishermen to go shares on the price of an agharrabu or moruna (another common fishing boat of the same type, but smaller and of Spanish make), and they elect the most capable
[434] among them to be ra'is. If, for instance, there is a ra'is and a crew of four, the money from the sale of the catch is split six ways, the ra'is getting two parts. Before any division is made, however, 15-25 pesetas are given to the mule and donkey men who transport the fish to the tribal markets, while small boys who help pull the nets ashore receive one or two kilos of the catch.

226 The mouth of the Nkur River, emptying into the Mediterranean on the eastern side of the Plain of Al-Husaima, is an ideal place to fish, particularly in the area around Swani (Thimsaman). A boat takes the net (dhrarsha) out, leaving one of two ropes on the beach in the hands of a number of men or boys. When it has reached the end of the rope length, the net is let out in a semi-circle, with curled up ends, resembling a snail. The boat is then rowed back to shore, and the other rope then handed out to a second group of men and boys, as far away from the first rope as possible. When fish begin to collect in any quantity, each group starts pulling in on the ropes, lessening the distance between them as they do so. If the catch promises to be big, the agharrabu goes out again, to be rowed in behind the net in case of trouble. The site of the net is determined by the crew, who know where the fish are by watching places where birds dive into the water. After the net is hauled up on the beach, the crowd rushes out to scoop up the still leaping fish into baskets. They are put on a common pile in the sand, and the division of the catch begins. During the season, boats go out twice a day, in mornings and afternoons. Late summer is the heaviest season, and the ra'is and crew sleep and eat on the beach. They always have to be on the lookout for breaks in the nets and for fish which enter. At other times of year, after laying the nets out to dry, all go home and return in the morning; but with morunas, one person is always there, day or night, as a guard.

000 117--Capt. Gardiner was an English adventurer who ran guns to 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War; and Si l-Hadi n Dadi, of the lineage of Thighanimin, subclan of Izimurren, clan of Izimmuren, tribe of Ibuqquyen, still lives in Alhucemas (1961). During the Rifian War, in 1924, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to Paris with Si Muhand Uzarqan, the Rifian Foreign Minister, to try to preserve good relations with the French (which were broken when 'Abd al-Krim invaded the French Zone of Morocco the following year). After the war, Si l-Hadi eventually became, under the Spaniards, khalifa to the pasha of Al-Husaima, then known as Villa Sanjurjo.

423 passers-by may slake their thirst. This also reflects the fact that
823 the retention of surplus water is considered an act of bad faith by a person's neighbors; and the latter fact in part makes it necessary for irrigation water upstream to be properly carried out and led off, and thus that holdings under irrigation be leveled and conveniently prepared.

B) Usage of Water in General:

312 Utilization of water in the Rif presents three facets which are common to all societies: utilization by animate beings, by (or
312 for) lands, and by (or for) industries. Rights of preference are also
423 the same, and in the same order: first, animate objects, the surplus
[402] for lands, and what remains, for industry, which in the Rif is represented by turbine water mills (dhasirth w aman, pl. dhisira w aman), which in times of excessive dryness or drought do not have the right to utilize water from those irrigation channels which divert or subtract the flow from the principal ditch.

C) Water Points for Men and Animals:

312
562 Water points in Rifian villages whose liquid content is destined for human and animal consumption are not regulated by any by-laws other than that of designation of the hours in which men may go to them; the rest are reserved for women, for whom it is also customary to reserve, beforehand, and whenever possible, fixed points for washing and bathing. For this reason, if the village contains diverse water
[164] points, one is used by the women and another by the men; and the surplus water is channeled toward a pond (agirmam, pl. igirmamen), which forms the common watering place for the animals as well as a malarial focus from which it is difficult to extinguish the mosquitoes.[118] The

15. THE QANUN OF THE LOWER GHIS RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 [133] From this river, the longest of those which bathe the Central Rif (more than 70 km.), as with its companion and eastern neighbor the Nkur, only the surface waters are used, and very imperfectly, by the Rifians in the small meanders which its narrow basin forms. For the [648] Rifians there is too much water and not enough land. Up to the present, the Spanish protectors have not attempted the slightest modification nor the study of the Ghis basin and its regimen with utilitarian ends in mind. It is a wealth which, like so many others, is lost. There is too much water and nevertheless the Rif is thirsty. [132] The Rifian spends the whole year looking at the sky, an attitude which has become contagious to the protectors, imploring a few drops to fall in order to save his miserable <u>winter</u> (author's italics) harvest[125].....

In all the long basin of the Ghis one does not perceive the handi- work of man. Neither bridges nor acqueducts, neither dams nor any [487] installations to raise up its waters. Paths wind along its pebbly and steep banks to hide themselves in the dried-up stony bed. Small [402] and winding irrigation furrows timorously make haste to return suddenly the flow which they secretly absorbed, under the shelter of thickets, after (providing water to) move some small and rudimentary turbine mill. Only at the height of Targist, military techniques with their trans- portation of water give such a pessimistic sight a chance to change. 312 133 It is necessary to descend kilometers and kilometers down the steep bed of the river, to about some three kilometers from where it empties

312 into the sea, in order to really listen and take notice at last of
133 the song of the Ghis, the activity and human ingenuity, the fertilizing mission of the water, the utility of the same, the gentleness of the countryside, the density of the population, the happiness (by comparison) of the orchards and gardens, the wealth and well-being, the convenience for (administrative) functionaries, the advantages of technology and the necessity of associating oneself with humans.[126]

312 In its long course the Ghis provides the water to turn 55 Rifian
402 turbine mills (1935).[127]

312 In Bu Harishen, on the left bank of the Lower Ghis, upstream from
[103] the bridge over the river, is where this river begins its well-performed work, bored by its useless rambling, acquires freedom, jumping from its bed to spill itself over in equal parts into the three principal ditches, l-Bzimma, "the tied-up"[128], on its left bank, and Bulma'iz and Thafadhna on its right. The regimen of these ditches is indicated below and their mean longitude is some six kilometers.

[103] Sidd Dharga nl-Bzimma (l-Bzimma): "the tied-up", which takes its name from that of the ancient ruined city, al-Mazimma[129], on its left bank. Its flow is one-third of the permanent intake of the dam at
[212] Bu Harishen. There is a written document which regulates distribution of its water and proves its rights to property.[130] It empties (into the Mediterranean) at the height of the ruined castle of the Mujahidin[131] on the beach, in front of the old Peñón de Alhucemas (Isle of al-
[402] Husaima). It moves a mill belonging to the Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi and to Muhand Ushshan.[132]

312
571
613
596

It has a turn cycle of six days, which are distributed among the four lineages (dharfiqin), these in turn dividing their turns among their respective branches (ijujga), in the following order:

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Hammu; U Haddu)

2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Xikhrif; U Yihya u Musa)

3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Mis'aud u Yusif; W 'Alla w Ujdir)

4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Dris; W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan)

5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir

6th Day (24 hours): Zawith (Fisra and Andrusen--Ushannen--Ihaddallahan--Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi)[133]

On the seventh day, the sequence is repeated.

Sidd Dharga n-Bulma'iz: on the right bank. It begins, as does l-Bzimma, at Bu Harishen, crossing the river in order to divide its water with Dharga n Tfadhna, and each one of these three ditches receives one-third of the permanent flow taken in at Bu Harishen. It runs for a few kilometers and reaches the sea at Swani Waddai (Lower Swani). It moves three mills, the first belonging to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and 'Abdinnbi, the second to I'arhuthen and the third to Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru.[134]

[402]

It has a turn cycle of three days for the three dharfiqin indicated, and they in turn distribute the water among their ijujga, which make them up in their own way. The turn begins at the maghrib, or sunset prayer.

[805]

1st Day (24 hours): Imhauren: Aith 'Aru Hmid
Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid
Aith Muhand u Hmid
Aith Bu Dhimmus (only when water is scarce)[135]

312 20th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
571 21st Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)
613 22nd Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn
23rd Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)
24th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
25th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith Muhand u Hmid
26th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
27th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)
28th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)
29th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
30th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

And so on.[140] To attempt to vary this unending chain which the [182] irrigation turns of the Rifians make up in those ditches with permanent flow is to promote major altercations and to upset the equilibrium of the whole of the Plain of al-Husaima.

312 The simple attempt by a Rifian miller to divert for a few
571 seconds the water of Bufma'iz so that it would flow to his turbine mill,
402 I recall, provided the motive for a sudden and vehement protest by the
578 users of this ditch, en masse, to the authorities; the whole Plain of al-Husaima took alarm to such an extent that no procedure nor influence (on the part of the authorities) could be brought to bear toward the peaceful possibility that the people might acknowledge the man's alleged right; and, nevertheless, this Plain needs more than a concerted arrangement and ordination, an improvement and rectification of the principal ditches;[141] and above all it needs a possible increase of flow for the outlet of subterranean or subalveal waters.

312
591
613
[402]

Sidd Dharga n Tfadhna: on the right bank. It takes half the water from Bufma'iz, and therefore begins, as do the other two, in Bu Harishen, the permanent flow taking up one-third of the dam. It moves four mills: that of Muhammad Akuh and Si Muhammad Budra; downstream, that of Dharwa nd-Hajj Shiddi; the next, that of Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith, Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and Muhand nd-Hajj Hammu; and finally, that of Dharwa nd-Hajj Hammush.[142]

The turn is one of three days for the three dharfiqin using the ditch, and each lineage redistributes its twenty-four-hour flow as follows:[143]

1st Day: Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit

2nd Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours): Ajdir (12 hours)

Andrusen (2 hours 40 minutes or one-fifth)

Aith Bu Dhimmus (9 hours 20 minutes or four-fifths)[144]

(Andrusen and Aith Bu Dhimmus thus irrigate 12 hours between them)

3rd Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren) (24 hours): Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

Aith Muhand u Hmid

Aith 'Aru Hmid

The Ghis also provides water for three other ditches before it empties into the sea: Tuth ("mulberry") and Hamman[145] on its left bank and Shimurra on its right; but they do not have a permanent flow like the others discussed above, nor for that matter is their regimen or capacity, which is somewhat arbitrary and subordinate to the others, well regulated, for an irrigator, during his turn, can, if he wants,

312 lead the water to which he has a right in any of the main ditches into
571 these three smaller ones. The ditch of Tuth, when it has water, moves
613 the mill of Dharwa nd-Hajj Mis'aud. The irrigators of the Tafadhna
[402] ditch, whether the turn is interrupted or not, have the right to use
that of Shimurra, but giving first choice to those who use it regularly.

16. QANUN OF THE NKUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 The Nkur River has an irrigation regimen which is less exact than
675 that of the Ghis, and the written agreements on the distribution of its
waters are few and recent. One of them refers to the division of waters
between the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intervention of
the Bureau of the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir).[146] In any case, the
establishment of such agreements is based upon the same notions and
the same norms as in those pertaining to the Ghis.

312 In the Middle and Upper Nkur, there is more than enough water to
[621] irrigate the meanders which the river has created, through which it is
easy to affix by-laws to the 'azibs[147] of the neighboring jma'ths which
own land on its banks, given the small amount of land under irrigation.
[241] There is even freedom and waste, and it is not uncommon to see, during
harvest time, the formation of tiny threshing floors with capricious
irrigation-furrows of 300 and 500 meters in the middle of the river bed.

[619] There are meanders like Dhaghzwith n Dasa (upstream, in the territory of Axt Tuzin, and near the bridge on the right bank) and Dhazur-akhth (downstream, in the territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also right beside the same bridge, but on the left bank), which are of relatively large dimension and which have already stabilized turns; but the real difficulties and concomitant near-perfect solutions are

A, [See pp. 361-369--Analyst]

312 [619] only found in the Lower Nkur, the principal water outlets of which, by acting as dividing lines between different tribes on both banks,[148] are Aghbar u Yidir, on the right bank and upstream from the Thanda Hawa pond, and Azru n Srith ("Rock of the Bride"), north of the former.

The latter point is the most important, where the wide Plain of al-Husaima and the ditches which traverse it may truly be said to begin. In the accompanying diagram, all these points are indicated, as well as the principal ditches, the regimen of which we shall now indicate in outline, with the hope that these notes may someday serve as the basis of a more detailed study.

West Bank:

Dharga n Dahar: begins downstream and right beside the piste to the Thimsaman, bordering it and crossing the main Tetuan-Melilla road to [402] end up in Imzuren. It moves three mills. It has two turns of twenty-312 four hours each: one for the Qa'idate of Nkur (Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and 571 the other for that of l-Uta, the Plain. The latter, in turn, is divided into one-third for Imzuren and two-thirds for Aith Musa w 'Amar;[149] and this gives rise to the following cycle:[150]

1st Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash
2nd Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar
3rd Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash
4th Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar
5th Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash
6th Day: Imzuren

312 Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan ("ditch of the small river"): In May 1938 [402] the flow of this ditch was 513 liters per second. It originates

312 (402) downstream from Dharga n Dahar, and it yields one-third of its flow to Dharga n Tmsaman; it arrives at the Bulma'iz ditch at the height of Thafrasth, near the now defunct Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif; and it moves four mills: the first belonging to Muhand 'Aida w 'Amir; the second, to 'Allush nd-Hajj Muhand u Haddu; the third, to 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Bu Qiyadhen; and the fourth, to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and to 'Amar 'Abdallah nd-Hajj Muhand.[151]

312 571 It has three turns: one for those upstream (designated as n-dara), another for those downstream (s-waddai), and the third for the Granja Agricola or Model Farm of Imzuren (this last on Wednesdays and Thursdays), in the following manner:

1) N-dara (24 hours, distributed into 5 ditches): 1st--Sidd r-Hajib
2nd-Sidd Inufan
3rd--Sidd Bu Kra'
4th--Sidd Ahammar
5th--Sidd Miskur[152]

2) S-waddai (24 hours, distributed into 3 ditches): 1st--Tigarth (12 hours)
2nd--Sidd I'abbuthen (6 hours)
3rd--Sidd Aith Mis'aud (6 hours)[153]

3) N-dara (24 hours, distributed into 4 ditches): 1st--Sidd Tagharbund
2nd--Sidd 'Abdallah
3rd--Sidd 'Abdallah
4th--Sidd Ishtari[154]

4) S-waddai (24 hours, distributed into 2 ditches): 1st--Imhauren (12 hours)
2nd--Aith Mhand u Yihya (12 hours)[155]

312 Dharga n Tmsaman: This ditch in May 1938 had a flow of 256 liters per second. It is located on the same bank of the river, and down-
[402] stream from the Aghzar Amzzyan ditch. It moves two mills (one belonging to the Muhammad nd-Hajj Ussar, and the other to Muhammad n Tahir), and it has three turns, one for the tribe of the Thimsaman[156] and two for that of the Aith Waryaghar (lineage of Aith Musa w 'Amar, subclan of the Aith r-'Abbas, clan of the Aith 'Ari), as follows:[157]

1st Day: Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

2nd Day: Thimsaman

3rd Day: Ihankuren (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

The three other ditches on this bank, Sidd Jdid, Sidd 'Ain Harri and Sidd Swani, only have water in times of abundance:

Sidd Jdid: At the end of May 1938 this ditch had a flow of 40 liters per second. It originates one kilometer below Dharga n Tmsaman, in the crossroad from Bu Srama[158] and the (Spanish-built) airport to the Thimsaman.[159]

Sidd 'Ain Harri: Born near the road leading from the Granja of Imzuren to Truguth (Thimsaman).

Sidd Swani: The last ditch on the west bank of the Nkur, some two kilometers from the mouth of the river.

East Bank:

312 Dharga n Tufdhisth (???--"ditch of the hammer"??): At the point
619 called Aghbar u Yidir, in front of the mkhazniya post of Imnudh, up-
675 stream from the Thanda Hawa pond, a division of waters is originated
217 between the tribes of the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Waryaghar in equal
[103] parts, according to a document in the archives of the Bureau at Ajdir,[160] which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front
[402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills
(Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168]
[591] It has two turns, for the Thimsaman and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and
[591] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'-
[402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid
n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

104 Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")-anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

695 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the
614 three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those
312 who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and
578 those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the
423 River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of
691 Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 2

LIVELIHOOD

243 The primary economic activity in the Central Rif is the cultivation of barley. The agricultural cycle is marked by the [221] planting and harvesting of this crop. Ploughing begins during the months between October and January depending on the occurrence of the first rain which is necessary to soften the soil. [407] Breaking the soil is done by wooden ploughs though the blades are made of metal. The terrain is first weeded and cleared of small rocks by the children of the family. Then the father, an 243 492 older son or a hired man commences the ploughing. Two animals, one on each side of the plough, are used. Mules are preferred, but rarely does a man have two. Thus, there is a bizarre mixture of animals including combinations of donkeys, cows and mules. The value of animals on the market is at its highest in this season since everyone needs them for ploughing.

243 After the land has been ploughed by the animals it is [412] broken even finer by the use of a hand hoe. When the land has been sufficiently prepared, the seed is sown by hand. Once the barley has been planted there is no further care of the fields. The crop is dry farmed and its yield depends entirely on the amount of rainfall it receives during the winter.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

The Agricultural Calendar

Moroccan agriculture is conducted on the basis of the Julian almanac, and the Latin names for the months have passed with but slight changes into Arabic and Berber. In most of northern Morocco the agricultural cycle involves a combination of dry farming, horticulture, and the cultivation of small irrigated plots. Dry farming as practiced in the Mediterranean region is essentially a matter of farming the same land every other year and of tilling it during the fallow period. In this way as much moisture as possible is kept in the ground for the next year. Since few communities can produce enough grain during the alternate seasons to allow for the fallow years, dry farming requires constant clearing of new land.

In the hilly areas of Jbala and Ghmara the beginning of the agricultural year is marked by fires set to clear new fields, and the haze of smoke lingers until the arrival of the first rains. By the end of the summer drought, animals are weakened by the scarcity of feed; and wherever the soil is clayey the drought-hardened surface is difficult to plow. So the farmer waits for the first rains for plowing and the second for seeding. After the soil has been turned, cereals, usually barley or hard wheat, are broadcast. Then the soil is again worked with the plow and, since Moroccans do not use the harrow, clods are broken with clubs or hoes.

In the western half of the northern zone, plowing usually begins toward the end of September, and sowing is completed by the beginning of November. In the eastern sector the first heavy rains may not come until March or April. In this event, no further thought is given to barley or wheat, and a desperate effort is made to prepare the soil for a summer crop of sorghum. When cereals are sown, the feverish activity of autumn gives way to a period of virtual hibernation. Only the women keep busy, for there is always need for fodder and fuel.

In frost-free areas, February marks the beginning of the work of planting, pruning, grafting, and fertilizing the fruit and nut trees. This task continues through March and April. In the lower areas of the Rif the most common trees are the fig, pomegranate, almond, and olive. In the highlands walnuts are most important. Trees are cared for assiduously, for dried figs, raisins, and nuts constitute the principal food reserves after the cereals have been consumed. Since they do not have to be watered, figs and vines usually occupy the higher and steeper slopes. New olive trees are usually obtained by grafting on the oleaster. The olives are often left so long in heaps on the ground that they begin to ferment, and the oil is very rancid when the fruit is eventually pressed.

The arduous task of rebuilding terraces, dams, and ditches begins in March. This work is not yet finished when it is time to begin the harvest of the cereals. The shortage of manpower at this time is offset by the women, who reap the grain with sickles and carry it to threshing floors. There it remains until the men have completed the planting of the summer crops. Then all effort is devoted to threshing and winnowing. This work begins in July and in bountiful years it may still be in progress when the first rains fall. Threshing takes place on communal floors, which may or may not be paved. These are always in an exposed position, and when the mixture of grain and straw is thrown in the air, it is separated

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

J 241 171 the gradual decrease in the number of fruit and nut trees. The tribesmen of Jbala and the Atlantic littoral can count on adequate rainfall for a good cereal crop in most years. Moreover, since the summer weather is cooler and more humid than in the interior, crops do not suffer from excessive evaporation. Cereals in winter give way to summer crops of sorghum and chickpeas. The latter are not irrigated, and so there is no need for terracing. Slopes are covered with an irregular patchwork of cultivated plots without walls or ditches. Each hamlet is surrounded by cactus (*Opuntia Ficus-indica*), which is cultivated as a hedge and for its edible fruit.

Farm Implements

R 412 171 The implements used by Moroccan farmers are simple and few, for long-established habit opposes change. There are some general reasons for conservatism, such as the abundance and cheapness of manpower and the stagnation of industry. There are specific reasons as well: the prevalence of steep slopes, of small plots where only handwork is possible, and the difficulty of hauling heavy equipment through mountainous terrain. Implements are limited to mattocks, picks, hatchets, hoes, plows, grist mills, and equipment for pulping and pressing olives. Plowshares and other iron tools are made and repaired by local blacksmiths.

R 407 171 The Moroccan plow is a one-handled implement without wheels, colter, or moldboard. Wings are attached obliquely to either side of the share in order to widen the furrows, though not to reverse the sod. Since there is no harrow, clods are broken with hoes or clubs, and a second plowing is necessary to cover the seed. The share is made from a flat piece of iron hammered over at the edges to form a socket. The plow itself is much the same throughout the northern zone. J [407] [492] The main regional difference is in the manner of yoking. In Jbala plows are fastened to the foreheads of cows or oxen (pl. 4, *b*); neck yoking is practiced elsewhere.[1] Mixed teams are common, combining donkeys, mules, or oxen, or one of these animals with a camel (pl. 4, *b*).

R 412 171 J [412] Figure 21 illustrates the main hand tools. The first four (*a–d*) are digging and weeding tools; the complex tool in the fourth sketch (*d*) seems to be restricted to Jbala, for the Sanhajans and Rifians are unable to give it a name. The fifth sketch (*e*) shows an all-purpose grubbing and cutting tool, which the women use to collect fuel and edible plants. Figure 20, *f*, is the hatchet used by woodcutters in Ktama; 20, *g*, is the ubiquitous sickle.

R 256 171 Milling is ordinarily accomplished with a rotary hand mill consisting of an upper stone, turned with a wooden handle, and a lower stone that remains stationary.[2] In areas of abundant runoff there are also vertical water mills, consisting of a turbine wheel attached to the upper of two millstones, a hopper mounted above the stone, and a feed slot jiggled by the upper stone to ensure an even flow (fig. 22). The lower stone is larger than the upper, and is rimmed with a slightly raised border, broken at one place to allow extraction of the flour.[3] Mills of this

R [113] [1] For other illustrations of Moroccan plows, see E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères: notes de linguistique et d'éthnographie* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1920), pp. 275–301.

R [113] [2] This type of mill is illustrated in Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958), plate 12.

R [113] [3] The origin and evolution of the rotary hand mill and the turbine mill are discussed at length in L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

Mills of this type are usually privately owned, and the owner collects one-tenth of the flour. When there is neither hand nor turbine mill, the women pound the grain with iron bars.

The implements used to press and pulp olives are similar to those used in Roman time.[10] The apparatus consists of a mill, a press, and a vat. The millstone lies against a centrally placed revolving post and is turned by means of a horizontal shaft with one end secured in the center post and the other projecting beyond the stone (fig. 23). Mills are used both for bruising the fruit before pressing and later to pulp the pressed fruit for use as cattle fodder. The larger mills are powered by animals, the smaller by hand. The essential part of the press is a large log, held in place by heavy wooden screws, which is forced down on baskets filled with olive mash.

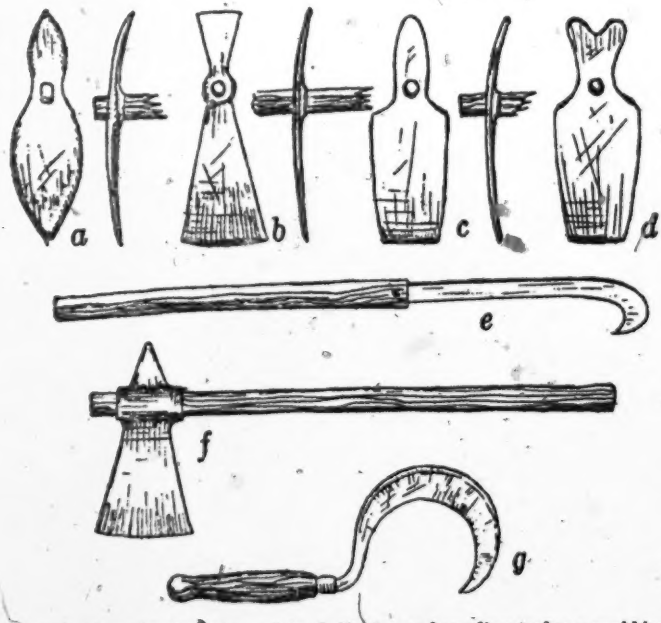


Fig. 21. Farm implements: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, digging and weeding tools; *e*, grubbing and cutting tool; *f*, hatchet used by woodcutters; *g*, sickle.

Role of Domestic Animals

In the statistical report of 1953 the number of domestic animals in Spanish Morocco is given as 1,104,000 goats, 661,000 sheep, 337,000 cattle, 55,000 donkeys, 22,000 mules, and 2,000 camels.[11] The number of goats nearly equals that of human beings. They are kept for their meat, milk, and hides. In many areas the number of goats is limited only by the amount of space available for storage of fodder and by the number of goatherds.

[10] H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953).

[11] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 131, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R
256
171

Fig. 22. Turbine grist mill.

R
245
407
171

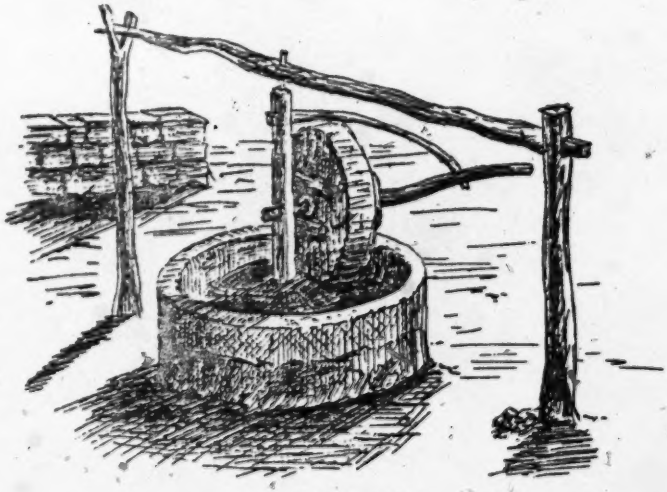


Fig. 23. Olive grinder.

000
S
231
061

and by the number of goatherds. The situation in Ktama is representative of the entire highland area. In 1934 this mountain tribe, with a population of 8,389 persons, maintained 20,259 goats in an area of 450 square kilometers.[10] Goats must be brought back to shelter each night; so the radius of their movement is small. The effects of browsing on vegetation will be examined in chapter viii.

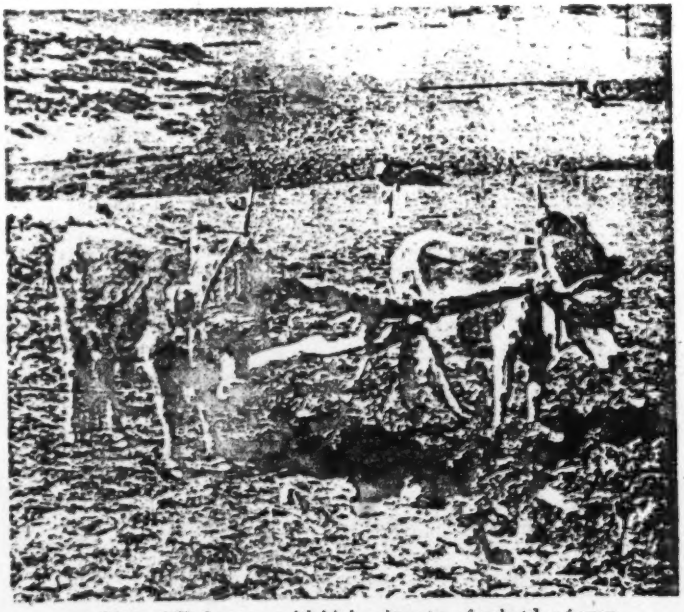
R
231
171

The number of goats decreases toward the Atlantic lowlands and the plains

[10] Figures from an unpublished report of the Spanish *interventor* dated November, 1934.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

J
407
492



a. Plow of Jbalan type with high yoke set on foreheads of oxen.

R
291
407
492

b. Mixed team in Garet.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3-Rif MX3

CHAPTER IV

MATERIAL CULTURE

HUNTING

224 HUNTING is carried on in three ways in the Rif, by means of the rifle, the net, and the trap. In the fall and winter the Riffians, and especially the mountaineers of the Senhaja, spend as much of their time as they can spare climbing about the mountain sides in search of game.

[411] The weapons with which they hunt are confined to rifles of European manufacture and Taghzuthi flintlocks. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, hares, pigeons, partridges, wild [262] boar, and, where there are any, the soudad, wild ox, and gazelle. Since before any animal may be eaten by Mohammedans it is necessary that its throat be cut ceremonially, — the butcher pronouncing the formula "*bism illah, wallahu akbar*," — the Riffians have devised several means of counteracting the consequences of the game's dying before this has been done. The hunter when loading his gun may kiss the lead ball, pronouncing the formula of *hallala*, or the sacrament, over it, and any animal shot by that ball will be clean and edible. Another and more convenient method is to have a gunsmith chase the words of the formula in silver wire upon the stock or barrel, and thereafter any game shot by that rifle will be sacramentally edible. In the case of the wild boar, the hunter does not worry about giving it the *hallala*, since it is forbidden food in any event.

Nets are set up across a path or entrance to a clearing on the side of a hill, and long palisades of brush are erected like wings on either side of the net, slightly wedge-shaped, and at an angle of less than 180 degrees to each other. Beaters start at the foot of the hill and work up, converging until they reach the ends of the palisade, and thus drive into the net whatever small game they may have intercepted. In this way they catch rabbits, hares, [262] partridges, foxes, jackals, and other animals. Although they kill the foxes and jackals, they never eat them.[1]

[231] Ferrets are used in winter time to unearth rabbits. They are completely tamed and well trained.

224 Traps are made by local blacksmiths and are based on the same mechanical principle as 326 the type with which the reader is familiar. The differences are: (1) The base of the trap is a frame, rectangular in shape, instead of a plate. The jaws are hinged into the sides of this. (2) Each jaw is bent in two right angles instead of in an arc. (3) The spring, attached to one arm of the frame, operates at right angles to the axis of the jaws instead of parallel to it. Thus it actually touches but one side of each jaw, instead of both sides, as in modern traps. (4) There is no trigger or bait-holder. The traps are set by means of two sticks, one put under the end of the frame and over one open jaw, and the other under both sides of the frame and over the end of the first stick. The second stick thus is caught in the jaws when the trap is sprung.

224 The trap is buried in the path or in front of the hole of any small animal, the top being covered with leaves and dust. The two sticks are so arranged that the slightest motion will

[1] I have seen tribesmen of the Zaer, near Rabat, eat a jackal.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

325 412 mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. [171] The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

325 531 Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern [171] is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

[326] 411 The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibshen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

326 492 231 The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

326 563 The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghsuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghsuth or in Arab towns.

326 ● 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate [531] with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Asht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[434] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghsuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

778 [823] [70] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [71] (the so-called l-hajra de l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 [73] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints.

411 [842] [755] Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[74] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 755 [84] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[85] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [86] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.

825 782 The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.[92]

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this,
[555] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his
623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.
623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

∞∞ 71--Blanco assigns the jma'th a predominants geographical or territorial role, while the dharfiqth is given a genealogical one. So far, so good; but, at the risk of adding to the confusion, I think that Blanco mistakes jma'th in this context with dshar, "village, hamlet, community", for jma'th invariably embodies the idea of "people". However, it does not embody any notion of genealogical relationships, and thus Blanco's error is minor, and thoroughly understandable.

[114] 72--Not, obviously, in a literal sense; but even though Blanco no doubt employed it to bolster his ideas on lineage and segment shifts, the word was badly chosen.

[411] [648] 73--Rifles turned in to the Spanish authorities (often with grave reluctance on their owners' part) after pacification of the Rif in 1926 often formed an index, in administrative reports, to a tribe's fighting strength.

74--We know of no mosque in the Rif which only serves a single family, well-to-do or not.

[212] 75--Qanun, pl. qawanin, is, in Rifian parlance, a document drawn up in Arabic which records decisions of the village or tribal council on matters of local interest; or, more often, it merely refers to such decisions themselves, without benefit of documentary evidence.

[619] 76--By this Blanco means that an offshoot of jma'th A which through the process of lineage scission has moved physically to tribe B will have property in tribe B. This stands to reason; but the only ties which the new jma'th retains with its "brother" in its former home are those of memory and sentiment. For all practical and functional purposes, it is now a naturalized subsegment of another tribe, and it must conform to the custom of that tribe.

[114] 77--Blanco's theory of clan autonomy is most interesting and challenging, and is discussed at some length in La Ley Rifeña. It has, however, one grave shortcoming: its omission of the fact that such clan autonomy is always relative to the tribe. Vide our article "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, p.194.

[648] 78--Blanco does not say, but it is possible that such sites may be attributed to the "Portuguese", whom Rifians say once occupied the Rif until "our ancestors rose up against them and drove them out, brandishing sickles in their hands".

[114] 79--This is an error of fact, at least in part. Today, the Aith 'Ammarth and the Ibuqquyen have only one market apiece, the former on Mondays and the latter, at Ruwadi, on Sundays; and to my knowledge, except for one women's market which is now defunct, Aith 'Ammarth has always had only one market. Blanco's own market listing, furthermore, brings out this fact: I) Aith Waryaghar--Mondays at Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa; Tuesdays at Dharan n-Dhihlaliyin in the clan of Aith 'Abd Allah (this market no longer functions, having been superseded by the Monday market at Aith Hadhifa); Wednesday at Sidi Bu 'Afif in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ali (also no longer functioning and superseded by a newer market on Saturdays at Imzuren which was set up by the Spanish administration) and at Turirth for the three mountain subclans of Aith Turirth, Aith Timarga and Aith 'Arus; Thursdays at Imrabdhen;

623 793 411 421 423 91--The comparison which Blanco makes here of the institution of habus to a rich widow is a challenging one; for after land has been donated to a mosque as habus, the question of who works it is resolved by the nadhir l-ahbas, or habus property administrator, of which there is one, at present, in each province of Morocco (with a central Ministry of Habus in Rabat). He goes to the tribal markets periodically and, through the market crier, auctions it off to the highest bidder, who in turn receives all the harvest for his own use. This system is in vogue at present and was also current during Spanish times. During the "Ripublik", however, in the days before there was a nadhir l-ahbas, the members of the jma'th concerned worked habus land, and, after selling the harvest, used the profits to buy mats for the mosque. Sometimes, also, the jma'th would designate a poor man to work habus land for a fixed share of the field (usually one-fifth or one-fourth), though this was not as common as the preceding arrangement.

000 [114] 92--Blanco is mistaken here, as there was, and still is, only one agricultural-irrigational expert, the aquwwam, whose judgment is generally sought in disputes over irrigation water.

[114] 93--Again in this instance one can detect the influence on Blanco of Robert Montagne, who devotes the whole last third of his book (Montagne, op. cit., 1930) to the "rise to personal power" of the three Grand Qa'ids (the Glawi, the Mtuggi and the Guntafi) in the Western Atlas, and cites the rise of 'Abd al-Krim in the Rif as a parallel case. Under the French, the Glawi soon eclipsed his two competitors to become a single "Lord of the Western Atlas", as well as Pasha of Marrakesh; while it was the presence of the Spaniards in the Eastern Rif which produced the Rifian "national" leader, 'Abd al-Krim. Montagne's argument for a kind of unidirectional political evolution, from the nameless members of a village council, in the middle and latter half of the 19th century, through to nationally known tribal or regional leaders' through a continuous scramble-for-power process of "top-dog-ism", is a very persuasive one. Whatever objections one may have to it, it is likely to remain the argument for a long time to come--because today, in the 1960's, the facts of the matter have become almost impossible to (re-)check; and the old men who remember such things are now all dead or dying off.

[613] 94--"Government by the few": possibly, if the lineage or clan headman can be so designated. However, each lineage head was in reality little more than a primus inter pares, and anyone who attained clan-wide recognition was just that much more primus. Once again we are faced with how badly the European shoe fits the Berber foot.

95--The Spanish original is absurdo.

96--The jma'th is not just an economic organism or organization, but a group of people, the majority of whom are genealogically related to each other, living together in a hamlet or village which bears its own name and forms a member group in a segmentally organized system of such jma'th-s, all of which belong to a territorial or segmental unit of a higher order. Relationships between member jma'th-s of the same order of segmentation are at once economic, social, political, legal, and religious.

000

65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide remarks on inheritance of property by women).[A] What Blanco does not say, however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

[A] [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

224 Another agreement which is also apt to be made previously, if the hunting is not in shirka, is the case of l-'adaw[184], which is indicated further on, in order to find out if measurements must be taken from above or below.

Regarding the personnel of the hunt, these are generally organized into two groups: the hunters, who go along the lower areas, tracking and flushing game; and the beaters, located in the dominating area and indicating paths taken by the animals to the hunters. Any hunter who gets an animal must change places with a beater, to equalize the possibilities and give the members of the latter group a chance.

The hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) walk in groups or in a line. In the first instance, the dogs go ahead of the groups, and in a line, at the ends, but always with the larger group in order to cut the road better for the game and to preserve it, insofar as possible, from accidents. The disposition which the Aith Hadhifa adopt while 224 628 hunting in shirka, for example, is in two bands: the local communities of Thizimmurin, Ihadduthen, Iharumen, Mishkur and Bihban from one, and those of Aith 'Amar u S'aid[185], Imrabdhen and Bashkra, the other[186]; and the meeting between both bands takes place in Aghir Inibdar, below Thizimmurin.

D) Arms:

224 411 [178] In the days of the Republik, Rifians hunted with firearms, ferrets, sticks, traps and net. Today they do not use firearms[187]; but practice and necessity have converted them into experts in the use of throwing sticks (r-mitrag). Each man carries two or three

224 411 of these, and any Rifian worthy of his salt can knock down a partridge in full flight with noteworthy dexterity, and at a distance of fifteen to twenty-five meters.

[824] The sticks which they use are usually of wild olive wood, in the form of shepherds' crooks, backed by a few turns of copper wiring at each end and the upper third; and this at the same time increases resistence to breakage, facilitates throwing by its greater accuracy.... The net result is that the Rifian is as dangerous, or even more so, to game animals or birds than is the average European hunter with a double-barreled shotgun.

224 At the hour agreed upon, when every participant is provided with his corresponding weapon or dog, they all leave their houses and go toward the hunting site, crying "Haw-haw! Haw-haw!", which is the signal of hunting and reunion.

E) Ownership of Game Caught:[188]

Ownership of game which is caught follows certain rules which are based on a general principle attributing the game first to whoever discovers it; second, to whoever kills it; and finally, to whoever [578] collects it. In different (or individual) cases, disputes may take place, and these and the way they are resolved will be discussed [411] further on. The principal elements of judgment are the range of vision of the hunters, and the range of accuracy of the weapons, some fourteen stick-lengths, or forty feet in a stone's throw.

671 224 692 The customary law of Rifian society minutely anticipates how many cases may arise, and as, furthermore, it is inspired by reality, it is simple and useful, requiring of the judges, first, competence,

000 223 224 629 578 671 [171] at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

671 223 224 411 4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 223 5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir). [572] [695]

671 223 224 6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "i-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar). [201]

671 223 224 23 eat the birds or animals instead of taking them to their masters. However, from another point of view, it is probably not a bad thing to let them taste meat once in their lives, for not everything in their diet must be bones!

[411] 2) If, at the moment it is flushed, an animal or bird is wounded with a gun or stick and then immediately caught by a dog, so that the result of the blow cannot be determined, it is for the hunter and not for the owner of the dog (Ibuqquyen).

[804] 3) Also for the hunter is any animal or bird which, wounded by him, continues to run and is overtaken by a dog within a radius of fourteen stick-lengths (dhigharya or dhigharyin, sing. dhaghrith, "stick"), counted from the site where the animal was wounded, provided that it shows a fracture. If it does not show a fracture or if it passes this radius, it belongs to the owner of the dog or to whoever picks it up (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

4) An animal pursued by a saluki which succeeds in hiding itself in a thicket or burrow belongs to the first man (i.e. the owner of the saluki), even though another hunter may come to get it (Ibuqquyen).

5) An animal or bird pursued by a saluki and brought to earth by a hunter is for the latter if it drops within the aforementioned radius of fourteen dhigharya (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

H) Aid During the Hunt:

671 224 Whoever discovers an animal in hiding can solicit aid in getting it or can get others to help him spontaneously, without losing his property (i.e. the animal) in either case; but he is obliged, if the

224 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the
672 fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during
685 the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the dis-
224 position of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the
672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another
183 Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

224 L) Taboos:
782 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to
784 make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh,
[751] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated
411 by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

900
[656] 187--Firearms have been prohibited in the Rif since 1926, and still are at date of writing (1961).

188--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, a hunting party always consists of at least four or five persons, more often ten to twenty; and it hunts the whole day, away from the village, returning home only at night. The catch, even if only one rabbit, is divided up equally among the hunters, no matter how many; and on the same principle, fines are equally shared by all members of a hunting party. The owner of a ferret (nims, pl. inimsan) which has caught an animal gets the head; and the owner of a trap (dhakhshifth, made of iron and generally reserved for larger animals) into which an animal has fallen has a right to the whole animal, even if someone else should discover it in the trap before the owner arrives. If an animal in flight passes through the land of any person, it still belongs to the hunter no matter who catches or kills it; this, however, presumably does not often happen, for hunting is always done away from the village.

[411] Rabbits and hares are always hunted with sticks, and in snow. Generally, the hunters wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing their sticks, because if a rabbit's face is smashed by a stick, the man who threw it is accused of being a poor hunter by his fellows.

[788] It is customary to pronounce the Muslim invocation "Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim!" ("In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate!") before throwing or shooting at an animal or before setting a trap, as this act renders the meat halal, or lawful for human consumption, the same as if its throat had been cut. If an animal is found dead (imwardhas, "dead animal"), it is thrown away.

189--What is presumably meant here are qadi's and other Muslim legal personnel.

190--As the catch is equally divided, so fines are equally shared, among the hunters.

191--The only dogs used for hunting in the Rif are a kind of greyhound or saluki, called in Rifian ushshai, pl. ushshayen. Hunting with greyhounds, however, is not done in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar.

192--This proves that hunting is indeed a corporate and cooperative venture, based on a principle of share and share alike.

193--In other words, it is the presence or absence of a circle around the burrow which denotes ownership and which is in fact the most visual and reliable proof of same.

194--And in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar as well.

[113] 195--Blanco and R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, O.F.M., Diccionario Español-Rifeño, Madrid 1944, p. 355, both give as the term for "partridge net" thinigmarth, pl. thinigmar (which also means "hunting"); and Ibáñez lists this as the term in use both in Ibuqquyen and in Iqar'ayen. In the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, however, a partridge net is termed dhabhyuth.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

428 423 171 for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

Hunting and Fishing

224 171 In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[111] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a [576] few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. [411] To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla.*

226 171 Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch."

[175] In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[112] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[113] [111] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[113] [112] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[113] [113] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER V

MATERIAL CULTURE (CONTINUED)

METAL WORK

326 METAL workers may be divided into three classes: ironworkers or blacksmiths, who are subjected to social restrictions, Jews, and gunsmiths.

325 None of these metal workers know the art of extracting metals from their ores — all the raw material used in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara in recent times has been brought in from outside.[1] Thus, using smelting as the criterion, one might say that these people are not in an age of metal, despite the fact that they use metal tools exclusively. This observation is doubly true when one considers that all the metal workers, except the gunsmiths, are counted as outsiders and immigrants.

The blacksmiths use double bellows of goat-skin bags, which they work up and down with sticks. These bellows, called *tahanut*, must not be confused with the *arrubee*, the bellows of European fireplace type now made in Taghzuth and copied from those made in Meknes and Fez. The blacksmith works over a charcoal fire, quickened by means of these bellows: he heats his metal until it is red hot and then forges it on an anvil, called *er minebuth*, which consists merely of an iron stake driven into the ground (unless he has had the good fortune to buy a European anvil). All iron is forged, none is cast; in fact, the only 325 metal melted and cast is lead, used for bullets. The Riffian smiths are, however, able to perform one feat of considerable difficulty; they weld steel edges into soft iron implements, 177 an art unknown, I believe, to the Negroes of Central Africa, from whom, judging by tradition, the physical type of the smiths, and the types of implements, modern North African metallurgy was borrowed. The Vandals, according to Procopius,[2] are supposed to have shown the North Africans the secret of steel-working, whence the smiths may have obtained this technique, if they did not obtain it later from Jews or Arabs.

326 The blacksmiths make hoes, sickles, ploughshares, pruning knives, knives, shears, 412 scissors, axes, adzes, chisels, hammers, and horseshoes. Such tools as files, vises, saws, 439 planes, awls, needles, and pincers they import.

325 Hoes, sickles, adzes, and axes were formerly so made that they could be hafted only to 412 shafts which bent at right angles; in other words, the hafting superficially resembled a Bronze Age technique, especially since the end of such a tool away from the cutting edge was equipped with a socket for the reception of the end of the hafting. In order to make this socket, the implement was constructed as follows: a flat square sheet of iron was ham-

[1] Marmol (chaps. 41, 43, 46) states that iron was extracted in the neighborhood of Melilla and of Mazgo, as well as in Beni Said. The first two sites were probably worked, or at least directed, by townspeople, who were not, according to Marmol's own accounts, native Berbers in blood. In Beni Said the mining operations were well organized, and merchants came from as far as Fez to buy iron balls, from which the tools Berbers use were made.

The excellence of the organization of this extinct industry in Beni Said may have been due to Arab or some other non-Riffian inspiration. At the time Marmol wrote the eastern Rif was much more open to outside influences than it has been in later centuries.

[2] Marcus, p. 217 (from Cassiod. Variar. v. 1, Victor Vitensis I, 10).

[p. 64]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

325 412 mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. [171] The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

325 531 Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. [171] The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

[326] 411 The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibshen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

326 492 231 The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

326 563 The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

WOODWORK AND CARPENTRY

322 Woodworking is carried on as a trade throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, and in all of these places is considered a respectable profession, in no way to be confounded with the despised art of iron-forging. Carpenters are naturally most flourishing in the tribes where wood is most abundant, notably the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Beni Amart, and Gsennaya. Half the tribesmen of Beni Mesduy are carpenters, and are called out to neighboring tribes, notably to Beni Amart, to ply their trade.

322 The tools used by carpenters are as follows:

412

tharyinith thumkarun	axe	*er barimith* (Arabic)	awl
tharyinith n thinjarut	adze	*er ghasarith* (Arabic)	gouge
er minshar (Arabic)	saw	*es siar* (Arabic)	vise
er mithare (Arabic)	plane (see plate 15)	*jukkuth*	pincers
thrima (Spanish, from *lima*)	file	*user*	knife
imijhi	chisel	*thimsharuth*	scissors
thafathisth	hammer		

The Riffian and Senhajan carpenters use most commonly the axe, adze, and chisel. Planes, awls, vises, gouges, and files are of more recent introduction and hence are used less frequently. Saws are frequently employed, but one may truthfully say that Riffian carpentry is largely dependent upon adze technique. The adze is their tool *par excellence*, and they are extremely skillful in fashioning wooden objects with it.

313 Woodcutters, in felling trees upon the mountains, employ the axe exclusively. Once having felled the tree, they trim it, and, if it is too long to drag down the slope in its entirety, saw it into convenient lengths, unless they intend to use if for a roof-beam. The woodcutter chisels a square hole into the side of the log near the butt end, and with bits of wood wedges a long withe into it. If there are several men available for hauling the log, as many withes are wedged in as there are men. By lifting and dragging they move the log to the edge of the forest, and thence drag it down the slope, often finding it more difficult to keep it from rolling or falling end over end than to keep it moving. Sometimes the log is squared with the adze before being taken from the mountain.

When the woodcutter has succeeded in conveying the log to his house, he sets about preparing it for use. If the log is to be made into planks, he saws it lengthwise, making as many parallel cuts as he can, and carefully leaving the butt end solid — in other words, the planks into which the log has been sawed are still attached at one end. He takes the log, so cut, to market, and breaks off each plank as he sells it. (See plate 15.)

322 In making doors, beams, window frames, and shutters, the planks, whether originally sawed or not, are smoothed and flattened with the adze. So expert are the Riffian carpenters at wielding this tool that they can make a smooth surface on which no lines can be discerned. To leave a line is considered a sign of poor workmanship. With the adze they fashion wooden spoons, smooth, delicate, and graceful, and with the same tool a heavier implement, the plough.

MANUFACTURE OF TAR

314 Among the tribes in which the conifer *takka* is found, the manufacture of tar is carried on as a common occupation by woodcutters. These craftsmen fell the trees and cut up and chip sections of the trunks into small pieces. They then dig a hole in the ground, setting in

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

251 [242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

251 778 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

776 778 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried—tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid [783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

4/2 The sieve—called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)—which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

412 231 On the other hand, the sieve is also used as a fertility charm. Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought some sheep or goats, he puts a sieve at the entrance to the yard and makes the animals walk over it with a view to rendering them very fertile; and he then sprinkles the sieve with water to expel any evil influences which may cling to them.

244 [251] There are, moreover, certain superstitions and ceremonies connected with the vegetable garden.

The Ait Waryager believe that [252] a woman's presence in a vegetable garden would make it dry.

[254]

RITES PRACTISED FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCING THE WEATHER

789 In Morocco the failure of the crops is mostly due not to the lack of sunshine or too much rain, but to drought, and to avert this danger many different methods are resorted to.

The orthodox method is to perform the so-called salat al-istisqa in the morning at the musalla, or public place of prayer outside the town or village. This ceremony consists of two rek'at, or ordinary forms of prayer, two hotbat, or sermons, and one du'a, or supplication in which God is asked to send rain. In the prayer, however, the formula of takbir (allahu akbar, "God is most great") is replaced by the phrase istagfir allah, "implore the pardon of God", in accordance with the saying of the Koran, "Ask God's pardon, for he is merciful and will give you abundant rain; he has placed the rain as a reward for him who begs forgiveness for his faults". After the first hotba the preacher changes his mantle from the right to the left shoulder and vice versa, and the same is done by the congregation. That this is intrinsically a magical act calculated to bring about a change in the weather is apparent from the statement of the commentators that it is meant to show God the desire of the [255] faithful to see the threatening famine "turned" into abundance.

[257] Among the Ait Waryager the people go to the mosque of the village or a shrine, walk three times round it, sacrifice a sheep or goat, and make fatha. If this does not produce the desired effect the more religious members of the community, after they have said their

Chapter 2

LIVELIHOOD

243 The primary economic activity in the Central Rif is the cultivation of barley. The agricultural cycle is marked by the [221] planting and harvesting of this crop. Ploughing begins during the months between October and January depending on the occurrence of the first rain which is necessary to soften the soil. [409] Breaking the soil is done by wooden ploughs though the blades are made of metal. The terrain is first weeded and cleared of small rocks by the children of the family. Then the father, an 243 492 older son or a hired man commences the ploughing. Two animals, one on each side of the plough, are used. Mules are preferred, but rarely does a man have two. Thus, there is a bizarre mixture of animals including combinations of donkeys, cows and mules. The value of animals on the market is at its highest in this season since everyone needs them for ploughing.

243 After the land has been ploughed by the animals it is [412] broken even finer by the use of a hand hoe. When the land has been sufficiently prepared, the seed is sown by hand. Once the barley has been planted there is no further care of the fields. The crop is dry farmed and its yield depends entirely on the amount of rainfall it receives during the winter.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

J 241 171 the gradual decrease in the number of fruit and nut trees. The tribesmen of Jbala and the Atlantic littoral can count on adequate rainfall for a good cereal crop in most years. Moreover, since the summer weather is cooler and more humid than in the interior, crops do not suffer from excessive evaporation. Cereals in winter give way to summer crops of sorghum and chickpeas. The latter are not irrigated, and so there is no need for terracing. Slopes are covered with an irregular patchwork of cultivated plots without walls or ditches. Each hamlet is surrounded by cactus (*Opuntia Ficus-indica*), which is cultivated as a hedge and for its edible fruit.

Farm Implements

R 412 171 The implements used by Moroccan farmers are simple and few, for long-established habit opposes change. There are some general reasons for conservatism, such as the abundance and cheapness of manpower and the stagnation of industry. There are specific reasons as well: the prevalence of steep slopes, of small plots where only handwork is possible, and the difficulty of hauling heavy equipment through mountainous terrain. Implements are limited to mattocks, picks, hatchets, hoes, plows, grist mills, and equipment for pulping and pressing olives. Plowshares and other iron tools are made and repaired by local blacksmiths.

R 407 171 The Moroccan plow is a one-handled implement without wheels, colter, or moldboard. Wings are attached obliquely to either side of the share in order to widen the furrows, though not to reverse the sod. Since there is no harrow, clods are broken with hoes or clubs, and a second plowing is necessary to cover the seed. The share is made from a flat piece of iron hammered over at the edges to form a socket. The plow itself is much the same throughout the northern zone. J [407] [492] The main regional difference is in the manner of yoking. In Jbala plows are fastened to the foreheads of cows or oxen (pl. 4, *b*); neck yoking is practiced elsewhere.[1] Mixed teams are common, combining donkeys, mules, or oxen, or one of these animals with a camel (pl. 4, *b*).

R 412 171 J [412] Figure 21 illustrates the main hand tools. The first four (*a–d*) are digging and weeding tools; the complex tool in the fourth sketch (*d*) seems to be restricted to Jbala, for the Sanhajans and Rifians are unable to give it a name. The fifth sketch (*e*) shows an all-purpose grubbing and cutting tool, which the women use to collect fuel and edible plants. Figure 20, *f*, is the hatchet used by woodcutters in Ktama; 20, *g*, is the ubiquitous sickle.

R 256 171 Milling is ordinarily accomplished with a rotary hand mill consisting of an upper stone, turned with a wooden handle, and a lower stone that remains stationary.[2] In areas of abundant runoff there are also vertical water mills, consisting of a turbine wheel attached to the upper of two millstones, a hopper mounted above the stone, and a feed slot jiggled by the upper stone to ensure an even flow (fig. 22). The lower stone is larger than the upper, and is rimmed with a slightly raised border, broken at one place to allow extraction of the flour.[3] Mills of this

R [113] [1] For other illustrations of Moroccan plows, see E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères: notes de linguistique et d'ethnographie* (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1920), pp. 275–301.

R [113] [2] This type of mill is illustrated in Ernst Rackow, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958), plate LI.

R [113] [3] The origin and evolution of the rotary hand mill and the turbine mill are discussed at length in L. A. Moritz, *Grain-Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

Mills of this type are usually privately owned, and the owner collects one-tenth of the flour. When there is neither hand nor turbine mill, the women pound the grain with iron bars.

The implements used to press and pulp olives are similar to those used in Roman time.[10] The apparatus consists of a mill, a press, and a vat. The millstone lies against a centrally placed revolving post and is turned by means of a horizontal shaft with one end secured in the center post and the other projecting beyond the stone (fig. 23). Mills are used both for bruising the fruit before pressing and later to pulp the pressed fruit for use as cattle fodder. The larger mills are powered by animals, the smaller by hand. The essential part of the press is a large log, held in place by heavy wooden screws, which is forced down on baskets filled with olive mash.

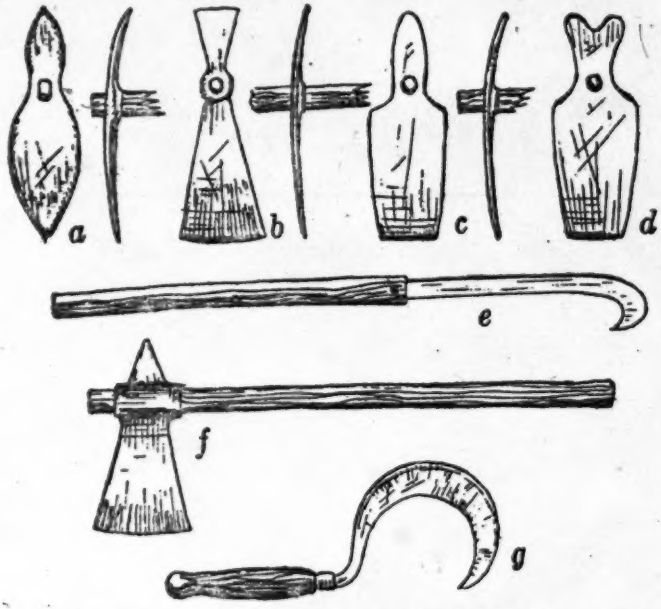


Fig. 21. Farm implements: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, digging and weeding tools; *e*, grubbing and cutting tool; *f*, hatchet used by woodcutters; *g*, sickle.

Role of Domestic Animals

In the statistical report of 1953 the number of domestic animals in Spanish Morocco is given as 1,104,000 goats, 661,000 sheep, 337,000 cattle, 55,000 donkeys, 22,000 mules, and 2,000 camels.[11] The number of goats nearly equals that of human beings. They are kept for their meat, milk, and hides. In many areas the number of goats is limited only by the amount of space available for storage of fodder and by the number of goatherds.

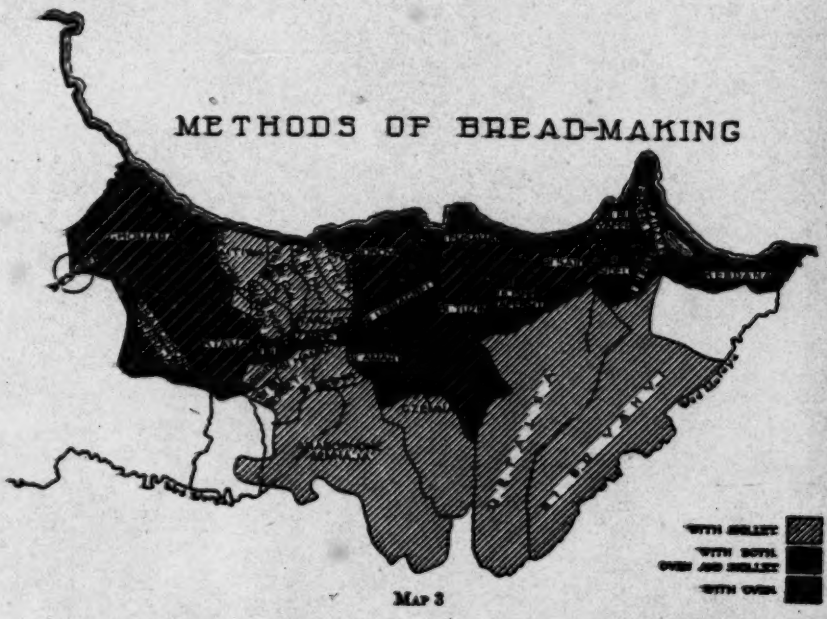
[10] H. Campe-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953).

[11] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 131, cited in note 1.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and lemon juice. After the yeasty dough has been thoroughly diluted in warm water, flour is mixed in, and the resultant dough patted into disc-like loaves. These are piled one on top of the other and allowed to rise until the bubbles start bursting open, and then are thrust into a hot oven, from which the glowing embers of a hot juniper or other brush fire have just been drawn.

The Riffians say that the women of the Senhaja Sghir do not allow their bread to rise as long as do Riffian women, and that the resultant product is not as good. Personally, I found the bread in both places excellent.



MAP 3

It is said that nineteen or twenty loaves of bread can be made from a *mudd* of barley, twenty-four from a *mudd* of wheat, and thirty-two from a *mudd* of rye. In this way rye, although it reproduces less grain than the others, compensates in the final product. A *mudd* is a common Moroccan measure.[1]

Bread is highly prized, due to its scarcity, in the Senhaja Sghir, and in Ktama is eaten only on memorable occasions. Although the usual shape of bread in the Rif, as well as in all Morocco, is discoidal, the Galiya and Kebdana women make long narrow loaves, like French bread. Besides the ordinary bread which has just been described, several types of unleavened bread and pancakes are commonly made:

a)their, dough, is prepared without yeast, and fried on an earthen skillet.

[1] See p. 112, n. 2.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

tarid, a similar loaf, made with wheat bread and sugar. This is considered to be a recent Arab introduction.

ḫartsta, pancakes, are made from a thin batter, full of ground pepper, dropped on a hot skillet.

Bread is baked in an oven called *thinurth* (see plate 13), whereas *aftheir*, *tarid*, and *ḫartsta* are prepared on an earthen skillet called *nkhadam* and attributed to the Arabs. (See plate 13.) Of the bake-oven and the skillet, the former is unquestionably the older and more characteristic in the Rif. It is found in all the Rif but the maritime tribes, Nomads, Shawia and Imsdurar of Gsennaya, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghsuth, Ktama, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. The clay skillet is distributed throughout the Rif with the exception of Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Telmest, Galiya, and Kebdana.

Preparation of Vegetable Products without Meat. Another important article of diet is *ḫamarik*, a sort of purée or thick soup, which is made of dried split peas, ground beans, or lentils. When it is made with lentils, cut-up onions are added. The purée is boiled in a little water, the pulse being thrown in after the water has begun to boil. When it is nearly cooked butter or olive oil is added, and the resultant purée is eaten with bread used to scoop it out of the bowl, instead of with spoons. *Thamarik* is considered particularly nutritious and warming, and is eaten mostly in winter when there are no fresh vegetables and on particularly cold days. It is found in every tribe except the Nomads.

The wild greens mentioned under agriculture, gathered and eaten by the women, are boiled and mixed with oil or melted butter.

Peppers and onions are eaten raw by men working in the fields who do not want to take the time to go home to lunch.

Dried figs, apricots, raisins, almonds, and walnuts are eaten at any time, either on the march or in the house. They are taken especially in winter after the grain of the previous harvest has been used up. During years following poor harvests whole villages go for months with no other vegetable food than these dried fruits and nuts, in addition to what wild roots, herbs, and berries they are able to collect in the wilderness.

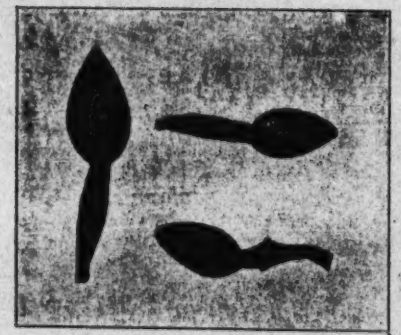
Acorns are divided into two classes, *rbejuth marjas*, bitter acorns, and *rbejuth misirth*, sweet acorns. The latter may be eaten raw, but the former must be crushed and left in a stream, inside a bag, until the water has washed all the bitterness out of them, — the same process as that employed with *shasana*.

Dishes containing Meat. *seksu*, commonly known as kuskus, forms an important article of diet in the Rif, as well as in the rest of North Africa. Briefly, since it has been often described, *seksu* is a composite dish made of coarsely ground flour, moistened and rolled into small balls the size of the head of a glass-headed pin. These balls, or granules, are placed in a container the bottom of which is pierced with small holes and steamed over a pot of boiling water or of stew. The stew, which may be cooked separately, consists of vegetables, especially onions and turnips, and lamb, beef, goat meat, or chicken, butter or oil, and seasoning. The *seksu* is spread out, in a large dish, in the form of a symmetrical hill, and the stew is poured on the top, whence the juicier parts seep into the *seksu*; the chunks of meat and vegetable may be readily reached by the persons enjoying the repast.

Another common dish, distributed throughout North Africa, is called *guas*, a name which the Riffians have taken over from the Arabs. *Guas* may be purely vegetable or may

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 RL MX3

182



Wooden spoons; left and upper, Gallya, lower right, Gasmaya

Pounding leather, Tesarin, Taghauth

Cutting a thin strip of colored leather for embroidering, Ulad el Wartith, Taghauth

Stitching leather cartridge-belts, Ulad el Wartith, Taghauth

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

host are present, food is served them in a room separate from that commonly occupied by the family. The host is present, but does not partake unless urged to do so by the guest. The host's wife appears only to bring in and take out the food, which she does as rapidly and unostentatiously as possible. 264 574

In regard to actual table manners, but a few points serve to distinguish the Riffian from the Arab usage. The Riffian washes his hands with hot water and soap and wipes them on a towel before eating, providing he has soap and a towel, otherwise he washes them with water and dries them on whatever piece of cloth will serve the purpose. After eating he rinses his hands and dries them. He does not indulge in the gargling and spitting practised by the Arabs while washing. He does not expectorate on the floor and walls as do Arabs, nor does he belch to show his appreciation of the meal. In the actual technique of eating, however, from the sacramental breaking of bread to the pouring of tea, little difference can be found, except that the Riffians use wooden spoons more and their hands less than do Arabs. 264 [515] [415]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghsuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghsuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the [531] hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Aaht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[434] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghsuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

of the bottom piece, set on edge. She does not coil it up over itself, but cuts it off, at the proper length, presses the ends together, and adds another strip to the top. When the pot has reached the required height she shapes it by means of a stick held inside and out, and by manipulation with her fingers. Handles and spouts are made separately and put on after the shaping has been finished.

The pot is then fired; while this is going on the women crush the ripe leaves of a wild bush called *bu b'kennin*, which resembles dogwood. From the leaves exudes a watery yellow juice. When they have taken out the pots, they paint them, still hot, with this juice, applying it with a stick, bit of straw, or rag, in geometric design, yellow on the buff of the clay. They then replace the pot in the kiln and rebake it. When it is taken out for the second time the design is black on buff, and gradually fades to sepia on buff. This pottery is found in Beni Urriaghel, Gsennaya, Beni Amart, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mesduy. (See plates 23 and 24.)

The wheel-made pottery manufactured by other tribes resembles the Arab pottery found all over the Arabic-speaking portions of Morocco, both in technique of manufacture and in shape. The vessels are generally cylindrical in form and white in color, without a slip; the wheel striations are plainly visible. Design is limited to a few squiggly lines running down the sides from the brim as the result of the fusion of a pigment put on the brim before firing. Distribution is in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, the Maritime tribes, Bokoya, Targuist, Temsaman, Beni Tusin, Metalsa, Beni Said, Galiya, and Kebdana.

The shapely designs of the central Riffian ware, two-handled drinking pots with down-curving lips, shallow plates, spouted milk-jugs, and semi-globular bowls, are copied on the wheel in certain tribes adjacent to the central Riffian area. The design typical of the Rif is put on, a little too perfectly to be true, and the product sold in markets as Riffian pottery. This hybrid type is made, not as a survival of Riffian design in an area of recent adoption of the wheel, but as a definite attempt to imitate and to defraud. The wheel is reputed to have been used in the regions where it is now employed from the most remote times, and the diffusionistic tendency has been against rather than for its dissemination. Wheels have been abandoned in Targuist in favor of the cruder technique, and the same tendency is evident in Bokoya, Beni Tusin, and Temsaman. Distribution: Bokoya, Tusin, and Temsaman.

WOOD, SKIN, AND IRON CONTAINERS

Throughout the Rif wooden bowls are adzed out of tree-trunks. These bowls are of one piece, and round in shape. Another type of wooden container, used in serving *seksu* to a large company, is the same as an old-fashioned washtub, shaped like the bottom part of a barrel, and carried about by means of chain handles. Wooden containers, carved from one piece or put together in the manner of barrels, are the characteristic product of the tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, with the exception of Ktama. These tribes make no pottery, and have a greater abundance of wood than any other group. They utilise wooden vessels for every purpose which does not necessitate the use of fire. For the latter purpose they import pottery vessels from the Rif; but they have in recent years produced an undecorated imitation of them in Taghsuth.

Although the Metalsa make wheel-turned pottery, their equally nomadic neighbors, the Beni Bu Yahyi, neither make it nor employ it to any great extent. The Beni Bu Yahyi use

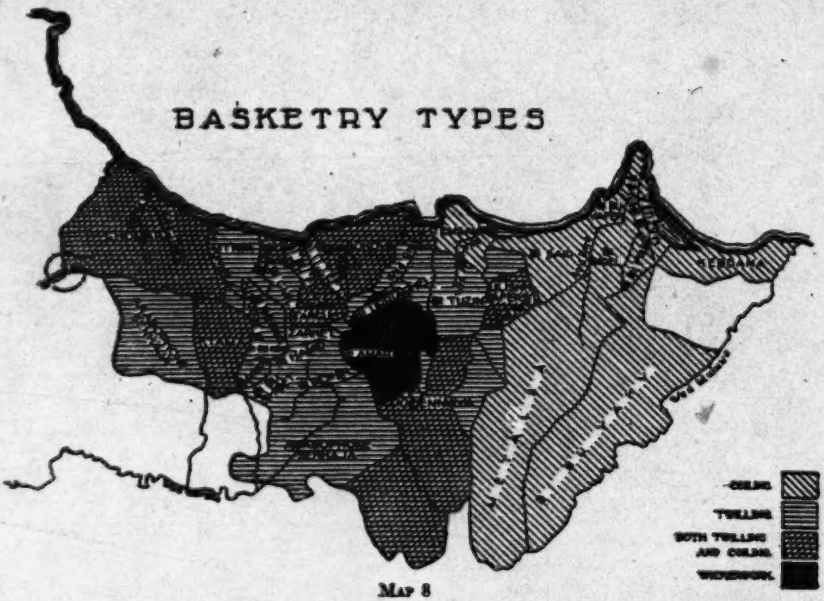
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

415 [234] for the most part containers of iron and of skin, materials which are not apt to break in the course of a nomadic existence. Skins are used to hold all liquids, and likewise as churns for butter.

BASKETRY

285 415 [314] There are three types of basket-making employed in the Rif; coiling, twilling, and wickerwork.

Coil-baskets are made with a bundle of *esref*, a grass, circular in section, as rod, and with palmetto leaves for wrapper. Coiled baskets, generally in the form of shallow trays, called



MAP 8

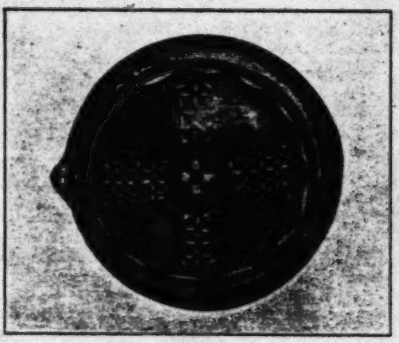
tubbuk, are supposed to have been introduced by the Arabs. They are found in Ghomara, Mestassa, Beni Bu Frah, Beni Itteft, Bokoya, Ajdir, Branes, Ktama, Targuist; Khebaba, Shawia, and Beni Yunes of Gaennaya; Temsaman, except for the villages near the sea; Beni Said, with the same exception; Galiya, Kebdana, el Arib of Meidhar, Taferst, lowland Beni Ulishk, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi.

Twilling, called *iji*, is employed in the manufacture of the *ahuari*, or pack-saddle panier, and of the *endu* or flat basket with two handles used as a container of dried figs and raisins, [314] also as a table upon which bowls are set and upon which bread rests during repasts. These articles are made from either *halfa* or palmetto, whichever is available. They are distributed through Beni Mohammed, Shawia, Ulad Alu Fars, Khebaba, Iharshliyen, and Ain el

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Central Riffian Pottery

415
323
531



Targuist

Gennaya

Gennaya

Beni Urriaghel

[facing p. 76]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Hamara of the Gzennaya; Bokoya; Ijaonen of Beni Amart; Beni Hadifa and Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel; Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman; the Metalsa dwelling near Beni Mohammed, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, all the Senhaja and Ghomara, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, and the western Maritime tribes.

Wickerwork, the third type, is called *asarow n'ughanim*. Oleander switches and reeds are used, the oleander for the uprights, or warp, and the split reeds woven in and out between them. Baskets made of this material are often of great size, four to five feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are used for the transportation of grapes, figs, almonds, walnuts, and the like, and for the storage of raisins, dried figs, and dried apricots. (See plate 24.) They are to be found in Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikaroan, Temjunt, Bured, all of Gzennaya, Mountain Urriaghel, Taghruth n Tassa and Tizera n Imziwen of Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, and Ain Mediuna of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Bu Shibet.

TEXTILES

Textiles made in the Rif are confined to woolen cloths, all cotton and what little silk there is being imported.

The first process in textile manufacture is washing the wool in a stream with the boiled roots of the plant known as *thaghigheshth*. The wool is hung up in the rafters of the house until dry, and is then carded. In the old days, cards of local manufacture, called *ikarthashen*, were employed, but today the cards used throughout the Rif are imported from Sheshawen and are of European type. The indigenous type consists of a long wooden handle about two feet in length, with a flat piece of cow's horn attached to one end. Into the horn are set two parallel rows of spikes, either wooden or brass, about the length of a human finger. The rows are set at right angles to the axis of the handle, and the spikes project from the handle at a right angle. These cards were kept in pairs, and when not in use were pushed up into the rafters, where, in old houses, a few of them may still be found.

Spinning, the next process after carding, is done in two ways:

1. The thread is suspended from a distaff, on which the rove is wound, and attached to a spindlewhorl held just off the ground. Thread spun in this way is used for warp and is called *asarau*.

2. The rove is spun on the thigh and gathered into a pot below. This thread is used for weft and is called *amshin*.

Weaving, the final process of textile manufacture, is done on two entirely different kinds of loom under different circumstances. The more primitive is the *azta*, an upright two-bar loom with a stick heddle and a wooden comb for battening the warp. The operation of the *azta* is entirely in the hands of women. A girl who does not know how to weave on the *azta* has a poor chance of marriage, and consequently girls learn this art at an early age. Parties are held for the teaching of it; a girl who is not expert invites a number of skilled weavers, who go to her house, eat, and instruct her. The cloth produced by the *azta* is called *tadsha* and is used for women's clothes, men's sleeveless shirts worn in winter, and blankets. It is generally white, sometimes with red horizontal bands or stripes. The *azta* is employed throughout the region under consideration, except in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa.

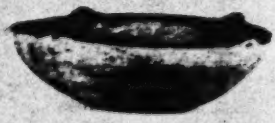
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

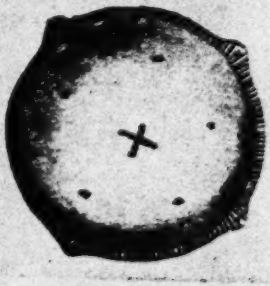
CENTRAL RIFFIAN POTTERY-BASKETRY

415
323
531

Bottom of unusual water-jug, showing entrance of cone through which pot is filled when lowered into a well. Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Side view of the same





Bowl showing eastern influence in design. Temsaman

Making a wicker basket for raisins. Ulad Abd el Mumen, Iberrusben, Gennaya

[285]
[177]

[facing p. 78]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman. Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[13] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[14] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[13] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[14] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 526. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *e*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

the shell are joined by a ridgepole, most often a young cedar or a riparian tree. Two or more other poles are added to a form a solid framework for the roof (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). Rye straw is the preferred material for thatch, and it is placed with great care (pl. 3, *a*). The ridgepole is set between two timbers, the ends of which are carved in the shape of a crescent moon. The crescent ornament is sometimes

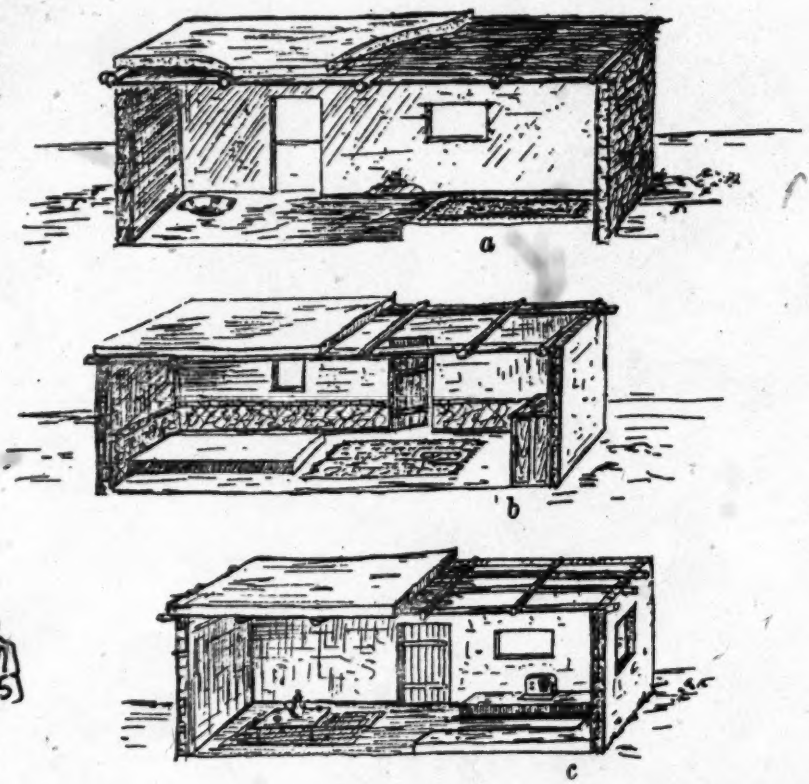


Fig. 20. Riñan houses: *a*, simple house with sleeping platform and fire pit; *b*, house of a moderately prosperous tribesman with wallpaper, cabinet, and mat; *c*, house of a tribal authority with padded benches, portable radio, mat, and table for tea service.

crowned with a carved model of a charcoal brazier and a teapot, thus uniting the symbols of hospitality and good luck (pl. 3, *a*). When stone is used, walls are usually covered with a thin layer of plaster. Wooden cribwork may be used to strengthen walls.

There are more two-story houses in Sanhaja as-Srair than in any other area of the northern zone. This preference for more elaborate structures reflects the more abundant supply of timber. When a two-story house is built, joists are cut

[See p. 127--Analyst]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 rated from the tent proper by long ropes, purposely designed so that the edge of the fabric composing the tent will remain about two feet from the ground. The space under the tent is sometimes walled off with matting set up as sides, and sometimes left open.

351 About the tent or group of tents the Nomads place thick hedges of cut, dried brush, of a particularly thorny and impenetrable variety, called *afarai*. This forms a serviceable enclosure to protect the livestock against animals and the whole encampment against invaders, 417 since anyone stumbling into it would arouse the dogs (if the latter had not already become aware of his approach).

In Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit, the sedentary peoples have adopted the *afarai*, but for a different purpose: they set it around their courtyards and onion patches to keep out wild animals. (See plate 21.)

342 Among the tent-dwellers of Braber extraction and the Arabs, every tent contains a *thaghirtch*, a cloth curtain dividing the area into two rooms, one of which is intended as a chamber of seclusion to which the women may retire when guests arrive. Among the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa such an arrangement is not found, since all sleep and live together under the one undivided cloth. Among the sedentary peoples, when a family living in a one-room house wishes to insure privacy for the womenfolk, the *thaghirtch* is hung up across the room in such a way that the part open to the guests includes the door, the women being virtually imprisoned until the guests depart. It seems strange that in the Rif only the sedentary peoples should use what is elsewhere a nomadic means of obtaining privacy.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE

352 Household furniture in the European sense is for the most part lacking. What there is consists of mats, skins, mortars and pestles, wooden bowls, pottery containers, baskets, basketry trays, and little else.

Stools are found only in the nuclear area. The Riffian stool, called *thiminjarth*, is a low affair, adzed from a single block of wood, with a long gouge parallel to the edges scooped out beneath to form a cleavage between the two sides. The top is concave and built for [352] comfort. The Riffians who use these stools are very much ashamed of them and hide them when guests from outside the nuclear area are expected. The stools are found in Beni Amart, among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Temjunt, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen.

The Taghzuthis use a sort of low stool made from several pieces nailed together, with four legs and a concave top. This seat is used by leatherworkers, who get down and sit on the ground when not working. These Taghzuthi craftsmen also possess low round tables on which they cut leather, and others, built like butchers' blocks, on which they pound it. Both these types of table and the local chair form are definitely associated with the leather industry, which is a recent one in Taghzuth; indicating that these articles of furniture are of no great antiquity at Taghzuth. Other objects which adorn the house are pottery, basketry, cloth, and blankets, described elsewhere.

Pegs along the walls serve to support clothing, firearms, leather bags, earthen plates, bottles of European manufacture (highly prized and hung up in places of honor), and strings of peppers and onions, which likewise festoon the rafters. Sausages sometimes hang clustered from these capacious rafters, which likewise furnish a resting-place for the family distaff, wool cards, and wool. The upright women's loom is set up in the rooms least likely to be used in the entertainment of masculine guests.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

342 [361] House sites in Aith Wuryāghil are determined by two principal considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6). The walls, sturdily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square; wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 20 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a *ghurfa*, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located [356] just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Riffians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of 'Abd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of 351 the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door [354] through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored [251] beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an [417] impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the *akhammās* as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: La Vivienda Rifeña, Ceuta 1930, passim.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

coastal plains between Rabat and Ksar al-Kebir, but they have not yet penetrated the northern zone.

Ghmaran houses differ slightly from those farther to the west. Like the Jbalan houses they are rectangular and have thatch roofs. Ghmaran houses may, however, have two stories. Another distinguishing feature is that adjoining structures often have common roofs. Ghmaran hamlets, like those in Sanhaja as-Srair, tend to develop into units of L- or U-shape (pl. 2, *a*). When a second story is added, steps are cut into the adobe walls. (In Sanhaja as-Srair the second floor is reached by a notched log.)

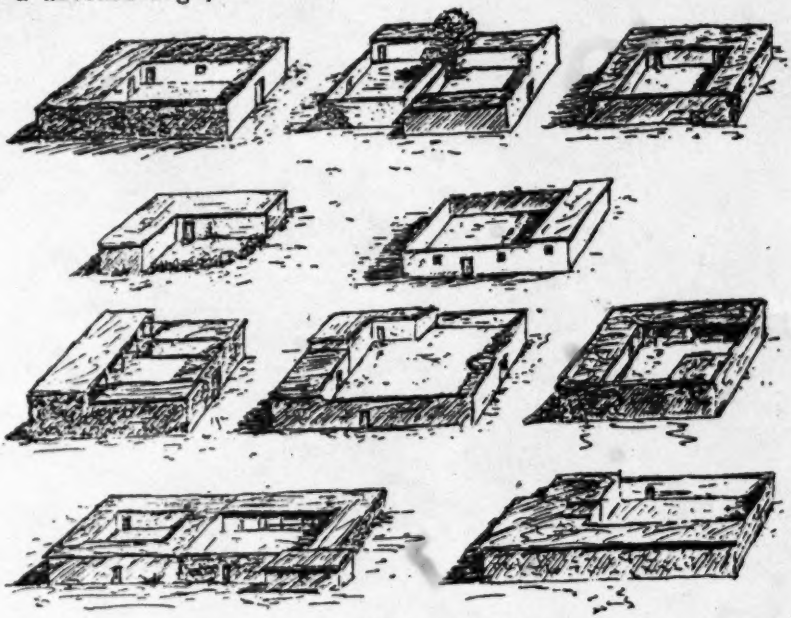


Fig. 19. Examples of Rifian courtyards, Aith Wariyaghar.

by a notched log.) Ghmara seems to be the only area in northern Morocco with special structures built to serve as granaries. Communal granaries (*agadir*) usually have the form of the prevalent houses.[10] Individual or family granaries are small structures of adobe brick and plaster set on wooden planks and supported by stone pedestals.[11]

At first glance, Sanhajan houses seem much like those in Ghmara and Jbala. The difference is in detail rather than in general outline. The foundation of the Sanhajan house is a rectangular shell of mud brick or stone with end sections constructed to form peaks about two meters above the walls. The two ends of

[10] In northern Morocco communal granaries are found only in the territory of the Bani Zejal. Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930), p. 64 and figs. 24, 25.

[11] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebíes* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), p. 138.

181 Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the
178 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of
that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim
[421] in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on
[562] what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk,
who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segre-
[423] gated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one
[628] else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with
554 the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud,
[464] which was once the dominant political institution of the society,
were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the
old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his
[464] mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until
1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons
in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration,
while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

181 The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Govern-
669 ment in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army
in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic in-
dication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apart-
ness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant
to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself
was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And
these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's
621 time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life
671 among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

621
671 example, the ganuns of Lower Thamasind, of Imhawren and the Inter-
Lineage Pact of Thazurakhth (all in LR) clearly show. And that such
114
621 community and inter-community life can also be constructive, as well
421 as vengeance-oriented and destructive, is amply shown by Blanco's
truly excellent analysis of Aith Waryaghar irrigation rights, es-
pecially with respect to the "intermittent" and intercalated rights
of a particular lineage in the Plain of al-Husaima to the water which
three other lineages, all of a different clan from the first, tradi-
tionally receive from a given irrigation ditch (LR, pp. 115-116).

114 Very much more could be said about the good points in Blanco's overall analysis and output on Rifian social structure, for they outweigh the bad ones, and by far. He never specifically pointed to segmentation as a crucial structural principle, but one can feel that he sensed it. And although he did not recognize the fact that the principles behind the liff system of alliances often, in the Rif, cross-cut those of segmentation, his understanding of liffs per se was certainly sound enough, and was not unduly influenced by Montagne. He did tend to confuse the concept of diya or bloodwealth with the concept of haqq, the fine paid by a murderer to the councillors if he committed his murder in the market, thereby breaking the peace of the market; but although this distinction is crucial, Blanco's treatment of the whole context of facts nonetheless correctly highlights the Rifian keynote of bloodfeud at home and peace abroad. And this last is perhaps the dominant theme in Rifian society and culture.

562 428 [421] [361] Women are always considered as minors[52]. They have no property and do not, in practice, inherit. It would never even occur to a woman to ask for her portion of the inheritance; this is, indeed, very logical in a rural and bellicose society (whose settlement morphology consists of) dispersed dwellings, for otherwise it would 562 have been impossible to defend a woman against bold attacks. She can only take refuge in either her husband's house or that of her agnates. But women wear new clothes, sing, and dance, etc., at weddings, and at least they seem happy; and they are able to plague their husbands in many, many ways.

596 613 4) Jajgu (pl. ijujga--so-called in Aith Waryaghar; jij, pl. ijajjen, "wall-peg",--also, alliteratively, "penis"--in Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; and azwar, pl. isuran, "vein",--also, alliteratively, "penis" in the Eastern Rif):--This is the most difficult social unit to study, because of its intermediacy[53]. It is one of the "family 596 branches"[54] (i.e. a branch of a dharfiqth or patri lineage). I 613 really cannot say more than this because informants, also, are unable 114 to explain it properly. In my earliest notes, it appeared to me to be a uterine descent group (SIC!). If a man had agnatic descendants from three wives, he thus produced three "branches" of which he was the "trunk". I now (1935) believe this to be the case, but am not completely sure, for if a man who has only one wife has three sons, these also, as points of descent, form (the bases of) three ijujga. In any case, it is understood that branches or ijujga originate from each type (i.e. point of descent), but I feel that the more important category is that originating from a different mother; and, although

623 793 411 421 423 91--The comparison which Blanco makes here of the institution of habus to a rich widow is a challenging one; for after land has been donated to a mosque as habus, the question of who works it is resolved by the nadhir l-ahbas, or habus property administrator, of which there is one, at present, in each province of Morocco (with a central Ministry of Habus in Rabat). He goes to the tribal markets periodically and, through the market crier, auctions it off to the highest bidder, who in turn receives all the harvest for his own use. This system is in vogue at present and was also current during Spanish times. During the "Ripublik", however, in the days before there was a nadhir l-ahbas, the members of the jma'th concerned worked habus land, and, after selling the harvest, used the profits to buy mats for the mosque. Sometimes, also, the jma'th would designate a poor man to work habus land for a fixed share of the field (usually one-fifth or one-fourth), though this was not as common as the preceding arrangement.

000 [114] 92--Blanco is mistaken here, as there was, and still is, only one agricultural-irrigational expert, the aquwwam, whose judgment is generally sought in disputes over irrigation water.

[114] 93--Again in this instance one can detect the influence on Blanco of Robert Montagne, who devotes the whole last third of his book (Montagne, op. cit., 1930) to the "rise to personal power" of the three Grand Qa'ids (the Glawi, the Mtuggi and the Guntafi) in the Western Atlas, and cites the rise of 'Abd al-Krim in the Rif as a parallel case. Under the French, the Glawi soon eclipsed his two competitors to become a single "Lord of the Western Atlas", as well as Pasha of Marrakesh; while it was the presence of the Spaniards in the Eastern Rif which produced the Rifian "national" leader, 'Abd al-Krim. Montagne's argument for a kind of unidirectional political evolution, from the nameless members of a village council, in the middle and latter half of the 19th century, through to nationally known tribal or regional leaders' through a continuous scramble-for-power process of "top-dog-ism", is a very persuasive one. Whatever objections one may have to it, it is likely to remain the argument for a long time to come--because today, in the 1960's, the facts of the matter have become almost impossible to (re-)check; and the old men who remember such things are now all dead or dying off.

[613] 94--"Government by the few": possibly, if the lineage or clan headman can be so designated. However, each lineage head was in reality little more than a primus inter pares, and anyone who attained clan-wide recognition was just that much more primus. Once again we are faced with how badly the European shoe fits the Berber foot.

95--The Spanish original is absurdo.

96--The jma'th is not just an economic organism or organization, but a group of people, the majority of whom are genealogically related to each other, living together in a hamlet or village which bears its own name and forms a member group in a segmentally organized system of such jma'th-s, all of which belong to a territorial or segmental unit of a higher order. Relationships between member jma'th-s of the same order of segmentation are at once economic, social, political, legal, and religious.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

000 urban institutions are imposed by alien authorities. Such cities become parasites, drawing support from the rural countryside but offering little in exchange. The peasant population continues to look to its local markets for satisfaction of basic needs.

Hamlets versus Scattered Houses

Since they are walled, Moroccan cities begin and end abruptly. Pass through a gate and you are in the rural countryside. The type of landscape varies notably between the eastern and western parts of this zone. The basic distinction is between clustered settlements in the western areas and widely scattered houses in the Rif (fig. 15).

Clusters of ten to fifty houses make up the basic settlement pattern in Jbala, Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and along the Atlantic littoral. In these areas the

Fig. 16. Hamlet in Aith Seddath.

presence of an isolated house indicates that its owner has more than one place of residence; his first and most frequented home is generally with a cluster of several others. Isolated houses are usually of recent construction, and probably reflect the increased security introduced by the Spanish occupation. When it was no longer necessary to live close to trusted kinsmen, the more independent tribesmen settled on good land away from the ancestral hamlet.

The inhabitants of a hamlet are members of an extended family, formed of parents or grandparents, and the children of their sons. This unit does not break up unless the sons quarrel or the kin group becomes too large to be supported by the available land. Thus the basic unit of kinship, the biological family, is also the basic unit of settlement. Moroccans are averse to dividing up their land. When brothers inherit their father's land, they usually farm it jointly, and the eldest brother administers the property for all.

The growth of a hamlet follows the growth of a family. A newly married couple builds a new house, as close as possible to the husband's hamlet. Their first unit is a single hut, with a sunken area for domestic animals. As the livestock multiplies, another hut is erected to serve as a barn. When the sons of the pioneer couple marry, other huts are built adjoining the parent's home. The basic unit is extended into an L- or U- shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

231 [182] Cattle are used for meat, milk, hides, and traction. Bulls are kept for sacrificial purposes, since several forms of ritual require the sacrifice of a bull. They are never castrated, the same being true of horses and all other domestic animals.

Swine. The problem of the domestication of swine opens up the most difficult aspect of Riffian culture with which one has to deal. Riffians have kept and probably still do keep swine, but they are extraordinarily secretive about it. For some strange reason, they are as ashamed to discuss the matter with a Christian as with an Arab. The practice is as wrapped in secrecy as the witches' sabbat of the Middle Ages. Families which keep swine never bring them to market, never admit that they keep them, and take them out of the house before guests arrive.

Swine were formerly raised in most of the nuclear mountain area of the Rif — in Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the Senhaja Sghir. A generation ago the people of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen of northern Gzennaya discontinued the practice, as the result of a pilgrimage to Mekka performed by one of their prominent men. Within the last six years swine have been kept at Inhanahan, in Gzennaya.

Whether swine are still owned anywhere in the Rif or Senhaja I cannot say, but I suspect that they are. They are not the descendants of any long-domesticated breed, but are bred from individuals caught in traps on the mountains; seldom does a litter have a domestic history of more than two or three generations. When all have been killed off, more are caught and bred. Thus swine domestication is, or was, either in an incipient stage or in the last stage of decadence. The animals are kept in the house, but are confined in a separate room, the door of which is closed at night. In the daytime they are taken out on the mountain slopes to feed on acorns and roots. When they are slaughtered, no *hallala* is performed.

Hens, happily, are kept openly, and present no such difficulties to the investigator as do swine. Their presence is manifest throughout the house and the courtyard, and especially on and about the refuse pile, which is located at some distance. They are the exclusive [422] property of the women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands; they keep the money thus earned, but husbands have the right to demand a hen or two on the occasion of a guest's arrival. Widows who live alone often support themselves entirely by keeping hens, since persons charitably inclined buy them from widows by preference.

Bees provide an important article of local diet. The Riffians are expert in the art of caring for bees, building hives of basketry, wood, and cork. Sometimes hollow logs are used, and the scooped-out bases of yucca plants. The hives are usually kept in caves or in crannies in the cliffs above the villages. In the spring the bee farmer transports his swarm to new hives and removes what honey is left from the winter, since he does not take it out in the fall. Honey is separated from the wax and is kept in jars. Apiculture is most commonly practised in Gzennaya. In many parts of the Senhaja Sghir bees are not kept on account of the cold.

[463] Individual owners of bees do not as a rule care for their own hives, but put them in charge of a bee expert, who takes a previously agreed portion of the honey as his payment. There is generally but one such bee farmer in the village, although most of the families own at least one hive apiece.

556 472 571 577 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incentive. In order to understand these differences more clearly, let us examine the process by which an investment is made by both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 454 231 471 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be 556 301 454 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function. [422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

624 423 312

One of the clerk's most troublesome duties is keeping track of irrigation property. If a stream commences in the property of a certain man, that man has the right to build a ditch within his own property to irrigate his own fields, and that water belongs exclusively to him. If he wishes to sell the rights to some of the water to a neighbor, he allows the neighbor to lead water off the stream below the place at which he leads off his own water, and likewise allows this neighbor to build a ditch across his land to the purchaser's field. The purchaser must pay for the water rights and for the narrow strip of land on which the ditch runs. The clerk makes out papers for the transfer of these rights, and signs them.

He also makes out papers for other irrigation complications. One man may sell the right of one day's water per year to another man through whose land his ditch passes. If a ditch is led off from a large stream which flows through a number of villages, no one owns the original water, but any man who constructs a ditch from it has the right to the water which is led off, once he has paid for the land which the ditch crosses. Men who construct such ditches usually sell so many shares in it that in time it becomes almost communal. The shares are sold on the basis of so many day's water a year per man. If a dry year comes or the water is low, each man receives a reduced share of the water proportionate to his original allowance.

If a ditch owner has allowed another man to lead off part of his water into another ditch, under time limit or restriction, when a season of drought comes they take turns, day by day, so as to divide equally what little there is of it.

If in a series of step-terraces, built one above the other, an avalanche covers more than the top one, the owners of all the terraces in the series have to work together to remove the stones. If a cloudburst pushes these same terraces down the side of the mountain so that the top one has lowered its position, and the bottom one has fallen into the stream and its earth been washed away, the owners of the terraces go to the clerk and find out exactly how much of this particular terrace land each of them possessed. If they each owned a third, the clerk measures, with string, what arable land remains, and divides it up proportionately, so that the order of ascension is the same as before, but the area of each is proportionately reduced. If, however, the bottom one suffers loss through the action of the stream and nothing has happened to the upper ones, the owner of the bottom terrace has to suffer his loss alone. Any small loss of earth or manure due to a storm may not be recovered; the owner of the lower terrace into which it has been washed may keep it. If the boundary wall between two terraces has been broken in by the storm, and dirt has washed over the stones, making the boundary questionable, the clerk comes with the papers of the original sale and a cord, and measures the terraces anew. Then the owner of the upper terrace must build another retaining wall, and cannot recover the earth which he has lost, unless, as above stated, the upper boundary of his land has slumped downhill and the bottom terrace has fallen into the stream.

624 423

When a man's tree thrusts its branches over a boundary so that it hangs over another man's land and makes shade on it, preventing the growth of grain or vegetables, the owner of the shaded land may protest and demand that that part of the tree be removed. The clerk forbids cutting it, however, and orders the owner of the tree to give a fourth of its fruit to the other man.

624 471

The clerk also keeps track of the olive press, and of the succession of those entitled to use it. If a neighboring *bone* has no press he lets it use the one in his territory, before the

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most
common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ifarādhen* (Arabic *bil-fard*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of associstion, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches *(tharga*, pl. *tharghiwīn)* and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rīf, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

mary to arrange a fixed place beforehand for washing and bathing. Each *jamā'ath* (village, council of notables) works out and agrees on fines for infractions of water rights, particularly with regard to freedom of women; a small boy is stationed at a prudent distance from the women's section of the water, to keep men away (4).

It was Col. Blanco, in his magnificent analysis of Riffian customary law (5) (which has served as an invaluable aid to me in the collection of my own notes on the subject), who first called attention to the fact that in the Bay of Alhucemas, the primary ditches have secondary branches which only take up water for twenty-four hours; if there are four such secondary branches, each one only takes up water every four days. Secondary ditches in turn have tertiary branches, which take up water only during the day, or at night. The tertiary branches lead to the very small ditches of individuals, which take up water for a few hours only, these hours usually being determined by those of the daily prayers. Distribution of water is based on the tribal social structure: a *thārfiqth*, the fundamental social unit, receives water from a secondary ditch on a twenty-four hour basis, while a *jājghū* or patrilineal extended family within the *thārfiqth* may use only a tertiary ditch. If one of these family groups, during one turn, gets its water during the day, it will receive it at night in the following round, and the first in one turn will be the last in the next. All ditches are subject to communal maintenance and all the families who use them must help repair them after heavy rains have washed them out.

Water rights are still carefully regulated by the *'urf*, or unwritten customary law, and custom in respect to water channeled off from the Ghīs is different from that of the Nakūr, owing to the different nature of the rivers themselves. In the Bay of Alhucemas, the best land in the tribe, the flow of water in the lower course of the Ghīs, although slight, is nevertheless constant. The problem created by the Ghīs is that although today its volume has been artificially increased with new concrete beds for the primary ditches of Thafadhna, Bulma'iz and Libzimma, there would still not be enough water to go around if

(4) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 101.
(5) Blanco Izaga, 1939, passim.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The houses are widely scattered up and down the mountains, each one being at least three hundred meters away from the next. Its construction and situation reflect the independent spirit of its owner. Almost always isolated to at least this extent, such a dwelling is usually the residence of a man, his unmarried brothers an sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This is only part of the family; the rest of it, living in similar houses the usual distance away, includes the man's married brothers and their wives and unmarried children. Thus the family, as it is know in Aith Wuryāghil, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; when the daughters marry, they go to live with their husbands' people, for this is a patrilineal and patrilocal society. This extended family or *jājghū* (pl. *ijūjgha*) is a cooperative economic unit; the affiliations of in-marrying wives are with it rather than with the families from which they came. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old *jājghū* splits into as many new *ijūjgha* as there were married brothers originally.

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the elders of the *jājghū*, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two *'adūl* proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all, when the father dies; but with many sons, the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit; quarrels may develop, in which case the land is divided up among the sons, each one looking after his own share. The inheritance system follows standard Islamic practice, with the portion of one son equalling that of two daughters. If daughters whose share of the family property includes land marry into other villages or political sections, they are often induced to sell out their own holdings to their brothers so that the land will remain securely in the hands of the family. These are

Moreover, even though many rural details of life during the 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk, who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segregated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud, which was once the dominant political institution of the society, were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until 1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration, while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Government in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic indication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apartness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

The patrimony of the jma'th is made up exclusively of communal lands. The jma'th is thus formed not only by people but by lands. It thus has a territorial significance which the dharfiqth lacks, for it may have immovable property in another tribe[76], and acts committed by its members outside the "municipal terminus" are thus not handled by it exclusively. For this reason there is a need for another social organ structured in an analogous manner, but of greater importance and more extensive jurisdiction: the "fraction" (i.e. clan or subclan.) This wider grouping, although it also has a localistic significance and a breadth wider than the village or hamlet of isolated homesteads or groups of homesteads that we have seen in the jma'th, has other more sharply defined characteristics. It alone intervenes in inter-jma'th matters, in most cases; for the custom of the jma'th itself is nothing more than inter-family (i.e. inter-lineage) custom.

3) The "fraction" (clan) is an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends; it is a state in miniature, an independent republic, and the true Rifian patria because it is within the limits of this unit that the Rifian lives out his life; where he finds what he needs, and where his law is made[77].

The clan has two distinctive features: its law and its market. It is my opinion that places in tribal areas which the natives regard as ancient Christian[78] market sites are nothing but former "clan" markets which are no longer in use and the memory of which has not persisted through time. In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin,

5: Blanco Izaga G 4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

423 A curious feature of Rifian society is that the territorial limits of its social units are to a certain extent elastic. An individual or a family, for example, may acquire land in another tribe, and his or their own clan or tribe does not appropriate for itself the territory he occupied previously; this remains fixed. But when [628] the properties of an individual or a kin group which are modified are bordering each other, then the jma'th, clan or tribe, or rather, its area of extension or its areal jurisdiction, follows an analogous variation, improvement or cutting-off, increase or loss, advance or retreat, as the case may be; and such instances bring about not a few 423 quarrels and altercations. This happened in Ibuqquyen, whose people 619 saw their neighbors of Aith Waryaghar creeping into their territory through slowly buying up all the good land around the middle course of the Buham River, at which point they opposed selling them any more terrain...This territorial elasticity, although it does not bring about great modifications because of the incessant watch which the tribes instinctively keep over their land, also derives, no doubt, from the ancient family concept of opposition to everything which could weaken it; and, as a result, such land returns most often to its tribe of origin through abandonment, new acquisition or exchange, if it has been alienated. Such elasticity tends to become lessened (with [131] consequently greater rigidity of tribal boundaries) when it coincides with natural boundaries, as, for example, in the middle and upper courses of the Nkur River, separating the tribes of Axt Tuzin and Aith Waryaghar; but even so, this play of property has nevertheless modified tribal frontiers as well delineated as this one.

5. Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

619 [423] [191] A large number of their families own land in the region immediately north of Jbil 'Ain 'Uqqa. They are bilingual, but they prefer to speak Rifian, which they learn as children.

The l-'Atamna (of the Asht r-Udha) say that they are descended from the Hawwara, which does not seem probable, considering that they all show "Berber" characteristics and that the Hawwara were "Arabs".

The Dharwa Haddu consider themselves to be descended from the Ulad 'Assu bin 'Abd Allah (Rifian Asht 'Assu 'Abd Allah) and from the Eastern Rifian tribe of Aith Bu Yihyi[154].....The ancestors of Hamza bin 'Abd Allah are buried in the latter area, near the Angad.

[166] A large number of Igzinnayen, some 1500 families, mostly from Asht 'Asim, left their own land to move to l-Mta, just north of Fez. Various reasons have been given for this, the most probable being that of poverty[155].

The Asht r-Udha, Ishawiyen, Bu Isri and Izimmuren (of the Asht r-Udha) are descendants of Abu 'Amama, whose grandfather Talib ibn Isma'il ibn Hamza ibn 'Abd Allah of Rashida was appointed basha of Igzinnayen by the Sultan 'Abd Allah Hamrini Tamrin in the 7th century A.H. On the other hand, there is still a group of Asht Hamza in the area around Aknul.

The Asht Mhand (or Bni Mhammad), in the earliest times of which the Arab chroniclers have any record, resided in the Jbil Sidi S'aid, in the area at present occupied by the shurfa of Aith Sidi S'aid in Mtalsa. Due to a dispute which rose up among them, they became divided. [578] [166] Some went to the Bni Bu Ya'la in the Branis and the rest formed the Asht Mhand of the Igzinnayen, where they are today.

000 [613] 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own, but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[191] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of [113] brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts [668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that 'Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 428 114 423 [794] 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religious or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion [113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris; Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individiual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] [114] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

[423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, [614] do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] [829] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

623 793 411 421 423 91--The comparison which Blanco makes here of the institution of habus to a rich widow is a challenging one; for after land has been donated to a mosque as habus, the question of who works it is resolved by the nadhir l-ahbas, or habus property administrator, of which there is one, at present, in each province of Morocco (with a central Ministry of Habus in Rabat). He goes to the tribal markets periodically and, through the market crier, auctions it off to the highest bidder, who in turn receives all the harvest for his own use. This system is in vogue at present and was also current during Spanish times. During the "Ripublik", however, in the days before there was a nadhir l-ahbas, the members of the jma'th concerned worked habus land, and, after selling the harvest, used the profits to buy mats for the mosque. Sometimes, also, the jma'th would designate a poor man to work habus land for a fixed share of the field (usually one-fifth or one-fourth), though this was not as common as the preceding arrangement.

000 [114] 92--Blanco is mistaken here, as there was, and still is, only one agricultural-irrigational expert, the aquwwam, whose judgment is generally sought in disputes over irrigation water.

[114] 93--Again in this instance one can detect the influence on Blanco of Robert Montagne, who devotes the whole last third of his book (Montagne, op. cit., 1930) to the "rise to personal power" of the three Grand Qa'ids (the Glawi, the Mtuggi and the Guntafi) in the Western Atlas, and cites the rise of 'Abd al-Krim in the Rif as a parallel case. Under the French, the Glawi soon eclipsed his two competitors to become a single "Lord of the Western Atlas", as well as Pasha of Marrakesh; while it was the presence of the Spaniards in the Eastern Rif which produced the Rifian "national" leader, 'Abd al-Krim. Montagne's argument for a kind of unidirectional political evolution, from the nameless members of a village council, in the middle and latter half of the 19th century, through to nationally known tribal or regional leaders' through a continuous scramble-for-power process of "top-dog-ism", is a very persuasive one. Whatever objections one may have to it, it is likely to remain the argument for a long time to come--because today, in the 1960's, the facts of the matter have become almost impossible to (re-)check; and the old men who remember such things are now all dead or dying off.

[613] 94--"Government by the few": possibly, if the lineage or clan headman can be so designated. However, each lineage head was in reality little more than a primus inter pares, and anyone who attained clan-wide recognition was just that much more primus. Once again we are faced with how badly the European shoe fits the Berber foot.

95--The Spanish original is absurdo.

96--The jma'th is not just an economic organism or organization, but a group of people, the majority of whom are genealogically related to each other, living together in a hamlet or village which bears its own name and forms a member group in a segmentally organized system of such jma'th-s, all of which belong to a territorial or segmental unit of a higher order. Relationships between member jma'th-s of the same order of segmentation are at once economic, social, political, legal, and religious.

621 423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794 793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The resources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income. [423]

794 [429] [251] The administration of these properties was the job of a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

427 241 621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

[See p. 183--Analyst]

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

423 794 171 [621] interested in doing field research may see. What happened was that the jma'ath, given their natural lack of confidence and their fear of our innocent decrees, disclosed to us a part (of what had happened), reserving for themselves exactly what was needed in order to assure themselves, in the worst cases, of the maintenance of worship and the dhamzyidha, the social and religious link.

621 423 794 With this estate, with this "bank", the poor jma'ath, in their hazardous existence, were able to save themselves in hard times, either in times of famine or drought, with advances of grain, or in times of violence, with advances of fines, muna-s (food) to harka-s in transit, acquisition of arms and ammunition, etc.

423 794 With the new centralizing system of a shocking and unanimous complaint, there is no rural mosque which is looked after; the fiscalization of accounts does not have that (degree of) efficiency; and, outside of its bureaucracy, the profits may only be revealed in the ostentatious and less accommodating urban mosques, given that if the latter were nests of preachers, and loafers, and rebels, the former acted as places of asylum, banks, storehouses, councils, clubs and schools. But the worst is that such a procedure mocks the will of the donor and falsifies management of the donation, for the property which the devout and rustic tribesman turned over were destined for lay administration and for the profit of his humble dhamzyidha, and with it for his family and for the small social nucleus within which his life developed. It was not in order to cover up the leaks of the mosque, whether large or small, nor to enlighten any urban mulay, whose surplus resources, religiosity and the prodigality of whose adherents could

423 never be made use of through such modest donations, so exact was the
794 objective for which they were turned over. And today they are obliged to be substituted by new constructions, as already we are finding instances in which the tribesmen are obliged to use part of their communal property in order to cover their minimal religious needs.

The traditional tribesman, a localistic and primitive soul, could never dream that his generous gesture and the fruit of his labor would be converted into utilization for and the beautifying of the vampire city, of that city which he knows only through its derisive attitude toward him and its desire to cheat him.[12]

651 b) Self-Taxation: This category was fulfilled in the jma'th
621 through other classes of property, such as religious (properties), through voluntary contributions and through alms.

The 'ashur (Rif. dha'ashurth) or tithe from the harvests, which was received in kind by another amin (read mqaddim), also a lay (author's italics) tribesman expressly nominated by the jma'th to whom he was responsible, justifying payments and income, and guarding and administering voluntary donations.

651 The respect for and knowledge of these good customs and
648 primary institutions in the Rif has permitted us to utilize such sentiments of solidarity on diverse occasions, without excessive shifts from times of abundance to others of restriction, hence giving them the sensation of our constant solicitude and thus coming to establish in some jma'ath and 'bureaux' (oficinas) the idea of voluntary deposits (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

[648] 12--This paragraph, as well as the preceding one with its reference to the "urban mulay", clearly indicate that Blanco fully shared the prevailing view of the protectoral authorities of both zones of Morocco regarding the administrative wisdom inherent in the separation of Town and Tribe.

792 794 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 178 794 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 621 794 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th, for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits [574] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

423 648 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

---

15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

423 648 the question have (interventors) had to abandon it unfinished, disheartened to see the effort yielding so little result, and contemplating the manner in which the inventory of such properties had diminished.

423 648 124 [203] Regarding these properties, I was recently told by some Rifians about what happened in their tribal territory when, many years ago, the protectorate authorities decided to plant a piece of communal land in the Eastern Rif with olive trees. The news spread through the tribe with the usual deformation, and its members became alarmed. Some of them, including my informant, decided to divide up all properties of this type which remained to them, for fear of being deprived of them. Did the Makhzin find out? Did it take any action? Is the news true? I do not know.

000 The above notwithstanding, a new revision and classification with every possible guarantee to allay alarm of this sort, and with the object of restoring to the rural estates the creation and classification of their patrimony, is possible. It is a task requiring effort, tenacity, urgency and desirability, because if the appeal (which is made) is not strong and healthy, neither will be the outcome. This patrimony, or at least a part of it, must be made inalienable, as is that of the habus. It should be made up of arable lands, fields and fruit trees at the limit or boundary of the jma'th, with no known owner, and should also include ghaba lands which are not regularly worked. All this land, when the seed has arrived, should then be parcelled out for plowing amonst the members of the jma'th; and some lands should be earmarked for common plowing in order to obtain the means to meet the obligations of hospitality, in this way removing the burden.

them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

681
673

Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

673
623
685
423

An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

623
423
578

The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is, then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

623
[793]

Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes

[574]

toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

[623]
[681]

But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of

[554]

European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

423 passers-by may slake their thirst. This also reflects the fact that
823 the retention of surplus water is considered an act of bad faith by a person's neighbors; and the latter fact in part makes it necessary for irrigation water upstream to be properly carried out and led off, and thus that holdings under irrigation be leveled and conveniently prepared.

B) Usage of Water in General:

312 Utilization of water in the Rif presents three facets which are common to all societies: utilization by animate beings, by (or
312 for) lands, and by (or for) industries. Rights of preference are also
423 the same, and in the same order: first, animate objects, the surplus
[402] for lands, and what remains, for industry, which in the Rif is represented by turbine water mills (dhasirth w aman, pl. dhisira w aman), which in times of excessive dryness or drought do not have the right to utilize water from those irrigation channels which divert or subtract the flow from the principal ditch.

C) Water Points for Men and Animals:

312
562 Water points in Rifian villages whose liquid content is destined for human and animal consumption are not regulated by any by-laws other than that of designation of the hours in which men may go to them; the rest are reserved for women, for whom it is also customary to reserve, beforehand, and whenever possible, fixed points for washing and bathing. For this reason, if the village contains diverse water
[164] points, one is used by the women and another by the men; and the surplus water is channeled toward a pond (agirman, pl. igirmamen), which forms the common watering place for the animals as well as a malarial focus from which it is difficult to extinguish the mosquitoes.[118] The

312
689
[24]
[342
[627] amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation

312
621
624 ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

312
675
423 The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

312
571
[805] Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

312
571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

312
675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of riverain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work [181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for [648] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

423
675 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the
312 essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which we are studying it, in which tribe, its clans and smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

423 675 312 that this would have rendered useless all demands and threats voiced by downstream groupings for the transfer of even a minimal amount of flow, and in our time things have not varied; those upstream use all the water that they can, and those downstream, the overflow; and it would not occur to anybody to vary this procedure, followed since time

312 immemorial. To this procedure is very well adapted the regimen of the rivers in the Rif, in the dry beds of which water does not run on the surface, but rises up only in fixed points, each one of these forming, with the help of improvised dams, the sources or points of origin of successive irrigation ditches, making them seemingly independent.

133 241 [578] In addition, the narrow fissures which form the beds of such torrential rivers, their irregular flow, their devastating overflows and floods, in short, opposed nature and men so that the latter would have some motive for doing this and even need it for their small irrigable crop and the bare necessities of life; for it did not and would not occur to anyone to work or cultivate any more land than that necessary for his own subsistence, as anything else, overflow aside, would have attracted the envy of neighbors and strangers, and this in

675 turn would have led to blows. An association on such a large scale and for such modest objectives was, for this reason, impossible, inefficacious and unnecessary.

312 The river waters, in their upper courses, running between steep banks, scarcely need to be utilized even to a small degree on the minute riverain plots of land. In those beds, water, although actually slight in amount, is in fact overabundant, and land is lacking. Limited to the confines of the ditch by the topographical conditions

181
423 The Rifian admits anything which constitutes instruction or improvement; but naturally he wants no part of any division of his
312 holdings with strangers. This blessing of water which the official
648 organ (i.e. the Spanish administration) as well as individuals receive, although the latter do so only to a limited degree, is not a product of technique, profitable or exemplary work as new developments would be, possible economic outlets or improvements in the present distributive net, but utilization of native labor in the style of some early-day amghar.

312 Rare are the days of the Makhzin irrigation turn in which the
648 Mkhazniya does not present us (i.e. the administration) with some
695 miserable akhammas[123] accused of the terrible crime of having been
[427] surprised at night attempting to lead up a thread of water into his tiny, dried-up holding, a crystalline fiber which, if it even arrives there to irrigate, only God knows; and the nubth which the Europeans derive from it, dispute from it and gain from it, did not cost them the least effort to lead up nor did they do anything other than wait sitting down while the Makhzin appropriated it. And in such a case neither the Makhzin nor the European stands to gain anything; to the contrary, they have much to lose.

F) Irrigation in the Plain of Al-Husaima:

312
695 The usage of irrigation water from the Lower Ghis and Nkur Rivers has been, since time immemorial, the object of individual agreements among the irrigators, agreements which are usually put down in writing, for the flow of water, although variable, permits a regular distribution through permanent ditches, a distribution known

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front
[402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills
(Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168]
[571] It has two turns, for the Thimsaman and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and
[571] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'-
[402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid
n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

104 Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")-anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the
614 three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those
312 who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and
578 those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the
423 River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of
691 Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Arhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

224 aid was rendered with firearms, to pay a cartridge, and if rendered
671 with a ferret, to surrender half of the animal taken, for the maintenance of ferrets, based on milk, eggs and bread with olive oil, is costly. The same holds true if he is lent a net; he must pay half of the animals he catches (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 Anyone who, if help is required of him, denies it and
224 deliberately frightens the game away with shouts and gestures, in
689 order to hunt it later on his own, is obliged to pay a fine of 25 pesetas for his selfishness.[192]

671 I) Snow:
224 The tracks of animals (largely hares and rabbits) and the footprints of hunters give rise to the following cases:

1) The animals are for whoever discovers them and follows their tracks from the point where these begin or further; this is thus a recognition of the greatest effort (Aith 'Ammarth).

2) This right may be yielded by the pursuer, for reasons of weariness, etc., to anyone whom he meets on the way; and in case he abandons the search, he loses his rights (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 3) After the den of an animal is discovered, the hunter makes
224 a circle in the snow around it. This circle is a sign of priority
423 rights to the animal within it, and it permits the hunter to follow new tracks even though he may not kill the animal within the burrow.
671 In case another man takes the animal from its den, the claim is
224 examined in front of the mulu' by the first hunter taking oath to
423 having made the circle in order to locate the animal first.
627
[681] If through lack of other proof and if afterward it comes to

671 224 423 627 681 be known that one of the parties involved obliged the other one to swear, even knowing that the latter was right, the first party is fined 25 pesetas over and above the value of the animal (Aith Waryaghar).[193]

671 224 4) Animals found on someone's plot of land belong to the man who catches them and not to the owner of the land (Aith 'Ammarth).[194]

J) Nets and Snares:

223 After threshing has been completed in the late summer, threshing floors somewhat distant from the villages are used in order to hunt partridges with nets.[195] The threshing floor is prepared for this purpose, with straw and grains wasted as fodder. It is then surrounded with a semi-circular fence, a sign that it is prepared for birds.

671 223 (685) On a threshing floor, the preferential right to any game caught is that of the owner of the floor. In a floor marked out as indicated above, only the indiviual who prepared it may hunt. Any other person who tries to do so is considered a thief, and the fine he must pay is calculated on the basis of the number of partridges in the net. This right is based upon the patient preparation and expense of fodder, as bait.

223 224 After the den of a rabbit or hare or the nest of a partridge has been discovered, the hunters sprinkle the path to it with the grain residues of threshing in order to gain the animal's confidence; and when they consider it gained, they put the trap hidden between the earth and the remains of the threshed straw.

000

22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

000

[175] 129--Al-Mazimma was the port, in the 8th century A.D., for the City of Nakur. Modern Rifians do not confuse i. with al-Husaima which, they say, aside from the present city and provincial capital of that name, covered the whole area from Badis in Bni Bu Frah to Ras Sidi Sh'aib in Thimsaman. It should also be noted that Sidd, in Arabic, means "dam".

[423] [432] 130--A translation of this document is given in Chapter XVII. It should be noted, in any case, that if a foreigner or anyone whose family does not traditionally irrigate in the area comes to buy land (and to build a house, etc.) in the Lower Ghis region, he has no right to irrigation water until he buys an irrigation turn. He must, furthermore, have a document proving that he bought his turn.

[712] [648] [175] [113] 131--The Jami' al-Mujahidin, or "mosque of the fighters of the faith", where the Aith Waryaghar mounted a permanent and perpetual guard against Spanish invasion, from 1673, when Spain occupied the Isle of al-Husaima, until 1926, when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas, Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47.

[175] [648] [631] 132--Both these men were of Ajdir, subclan of Aith Ughir Iyizan, clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi, a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim who during the Rifian War was pensioned by the Spaniards and in 1926 made qa'id of all Aith Waryaghar by them, died in 1936.

133--This statement needs some qualification. The four names under consideration here, although two of them (Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan) certainly correspond to lineage names, are in effect names of irrigation turns, for, on the other hand, Bu Mqathir and Zawith (the latter refers to the area around the Monday Women's Market, at Azghar, and not, as far as we know, to any particular zawiya) are both place names, and in both these instances, as indicated in the notation of participants in the Zawith turn, it is the lineages who form local groups in the area under consideration who have right to irrigation water, irrespective of their clan affiliations. In the Zawith turn, again, one of the participating ijujga is that of the Andrusen: this lineage, whose name means "Andalusians", has become a member segment of the subclan of Lower Imrabdhen, in the clan of the Imrabdhen; we say "has become" rather than "is", because, as in fact its name shows, it is made up of the descendants of "foreign shurfa" rather than of those of local ones. Another participating jajgu, the Ihaddallahan, is a lineage branch of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif of Ajdir, of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan in the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; while the Ushshannen are a branch of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, also of Ajdir. We have unfortunately been unable to establish the lineage affiliations of the Fisra and Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi; and, like Blanco's, our own notes on irrigation in the Lower Ghis (made in Imzuren in the autumn of 1953) have nothing to say regarding the lineage participating in the Bu Mqathir turn on the fifth day.

However, one point is very clear: that with the rotation over the first four days between Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan, and the additional fact that at least two lineages of Ajdir participate in the Zawith turn,

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools (658) (178) which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by (425) (782) some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. (241) Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who (212) has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. (794) He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 794 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while gen- 465 erally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

554 Within each Riffian community there are individuals and
556 families of differential social status. This differentiation is only partially based on wealth. Such factors as religious piety, descent, reputation and personal integrity also play a role. Prior to the pacification of the Rif skill in warfare and bravery were also markers. For the moment I shall discuss differentiation based on wealth.

556 The most important traditional measure of wealth was, and
423 is today, property ownership. The more land one has, the larger a crop one shall harvest and the greater reserves one can put aside for winter fodder. A consequence is the larger number of animals one can maintain and hence the more elaborate one's ritual activities and the greater assistance one can give relatives, neighbors, and friends.

423 While large landholdings have a positive value in the Rif,
428 such a goal is rather difficult to achieve because of the inheritance laws. Inheritance is based on the Maliki practice which divides the land amongst the heirs. Each son is allocated a full share and each daughter a half share. The widow (or widows) each receive an eighth of the property. In the absence of sons, the estate is divided so that the widow receives her eighth, while the remainder of the property is divided into three shares with the daughter(s) receiving two shares and the father's brother one share. If there are no children, the estate is divided among the brothers.

423 428 562 [587] Property going to females, either to widows or daughters, tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inheritance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 428 [768] The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more disruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 431 578 182 607 562 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B, B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exercise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

562
428 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister
431 and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal
578 equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land
182
607 claims are mutually balanced off.

Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their
428
423 inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their
607 property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct
562 on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheri-
423
428 tance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differ-
423 entiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there
183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The
556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which
425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

425
423
183
556
(131)

given to one's sons. However, in times of extended drought and famine as in the mid 'forties and again in the late 'fifties, selling of land and migration to the urban centers have taken place on a fairly wide scale. In such a situation the property owner can sell to a stranger but he must give relatives first option and, if they are unwilling to exercise their right, he should give the option to someone inside the community. To buy land under such conditions is considered not only honorable but a community service in that it maintains the integrity of the community by preventing outsiders from becoming members. However, neither the buyer nor the community regards such a purchase as speculation for economic profit. Rather, they see it as community service and a socially approved method of advancing one's children. The acquisition of land under such circumstances is not a part of the motivation system based on profit but part of the same complex which includes social duty and community solidarity.

Land is, of course, one of the factors of production. But whether the Riffian regards this aspect as being the primary attribute of land can be questioned. A man of my acquaintance whose grandfather and father had made sizable land purchases held at the time more land than he could profitably cultivate and manage. Yet he was quite ashamed that he had not been able to buy more land so as to increase the legacy for his own children. To him the economic value of the land was secondary to its prestige function. Nash's remark about property among the Maya

000

423 Nash's remark about property among the Maya
171 Indians of Guatemala has a certain degree of applicability in the Rif. ". . . Since land is what parents leave children to start their adult lives, the idea of heirloom or patrimony is closer to the definition of land than is commodity or factor of production" (1966:39).

556 Those Riffians who have enhanced their prestige by
576 acquiring greater wealth have certain incumbent social res-
574 ponsibilities which are not placed on the less fortunate. It is expected of all Riffians to offer a meal to anyone who comes asking. This form of hospitality is by tacit agreement, however, generally beholden on only the more prosperous. The majority of such travelers are religious men or Koranic students who travel about from community to community consulting with their own kind or making pilgrimages to local holy shrines. Since they are apparently universally poor, they depend for their livelihood on the hospitality of members of the local community. It is considered extremely bad manners not to provide for them in the way of food and lodging should they request such. (Actually, the proper etiquette is for the host to offer.) As an isolated incident such hospitality would appear to be only a slight inconvenience. However, the more prominent a man the more frequently such calls on hospitality take place. In one home where I lived, such visits during the summer and fall months occurred on an average of twice a week. Coon relates that hospitality can be pressed to the point where the host will act unseemly and even refuse entrance (1931:116). Within the limits of reasonable

556 (423) (425)

under the Spanish, remained more or less a part of his tribe. His son continued to accumulate wealth but exclusively in terms of land, especially from Spaniards leaving the country. He maintained daily contact with his tribe, attended weddings of the more important people within the Beni Wariyaghar and although he lived in the city of Alhucemas, had close and intense connections with the countryside.

(689) (625)

This man's own son, an officer in the army, was visiting Alhucemas and was accused by the police chief of drinking in a public place. The police chief, a recent transfer from the southern zone, was unaware of the prominence of the boy and had him arrested. As soon as his father heard of this he obtained the immediate release of his son through the Ministry of Interior and the suspension of the police chief.

These two examples are illustrative of the fact that wealth itself is not correlated with prestige or power. One might even suggest that analytically there are two sorts of wealth, each based on a different sort of operation in terms of accumulation and distribution. One sort of wealth, that which derives from the land, is a part of a greater complex in which social factors motivate economic action. The other sort of wealth generally operates free of these social factors and is motivated by the profit incentive.

256 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regard-
435 less of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills
472 are not economically competitive with one another, they are soci-
256 ally competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better
472 than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has
477 a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a local-
ity, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community
uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of
[571] preference on the part of the users is not determined by convenience
[578] of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such
[602] as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of
the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses
● 423 of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor.
427 We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise
between a man who has more property than he alone can personally
cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social
and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who
holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence
needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property
holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own.
Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inher-
itance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to
meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these cir-
[464] cumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to
keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

423 The number of men under such association is difficult to estimate
427 though I have the impression it is large. No man whom I inter-
464 viewed who might be roughly classified as a leader in the com-
munity had less than one person working for him in such a rela-
tionship.

427 The most prominent and common association is that of the
464 akhammas or sharecroppers. The akhammas is a laborer who volun-
tarily contracts to contribute all the physical labor necessary
for the total production process of a piece of land. The land-
owner provides the land itself, the seed, fertilizer, plough and
any other equipment, and the animal power. The akhammas provides
all labor, from the initial ploughing to the ultimate harvesting.
[465] For his services he receives exactly one-fifth of the yield,
[466] hence the name which derives from hamsa or 'five.' The akhammas
also receives the hand-me-down clothes of the master and often a
427 meal each day. Since the activities of the akhammas entail his
464 constant presence around or even inside the household, he has far
562 greater access to the wives of notables than other males. A man
of sufficient wealth to employ an akhammas would probably isolate
his wife from contact with male society. It is a myth that the
Berbers do not seclude their women. The only ones who are not
secluded from male society are the wives of poor men who must
contribute their labor to the production process. Such women
are, of course, the vast majority. The akhammas has more con-
tact with the wives of the notable class than any other male not
closely related to the family. Since the akhammas must consult

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is prohibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren, or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary, are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
● 423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

445 565 423 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes but find their occupation more remunerative.

443-445 In addition to these small merchants there is an assortment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician. (159) The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occasionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs, stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather peripheral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 443 472 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers, the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation, who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking.[1] The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers. Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred meters,[2] and in former generations each house had a corner tower used as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this use led to violent conflicts.

Types of Houses

In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common house is a crude conical structure (*nouala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

[1] See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

[2] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos historicos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951–52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[1]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[2]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[1] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.
[2] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

Mills of this type are usually privately owned, and the owner collects one-tenth of the flour. When there is neither hand nor turbine mill, the women pound the grain with iron bars.

The implements used to press and pulp olives are similar to those used in Roman time.[10] The apparatus consists of a mill, a press, and a vat. The millstone lies against a centrally placed revolving post and is turned by means of a horizontal shaft with one end secured in the center post and the other projecting beyond the stone (fig. 23). Mills are used both for bruising the fruit before pressing and later to pulp the pressed fruit for use as cattle fodder. The larger mills are powered by animals, the smaller by hand. The essential part of the press is a large log, held in place by heavy wooden screws, which is forced down on baskets filled with olive mash.

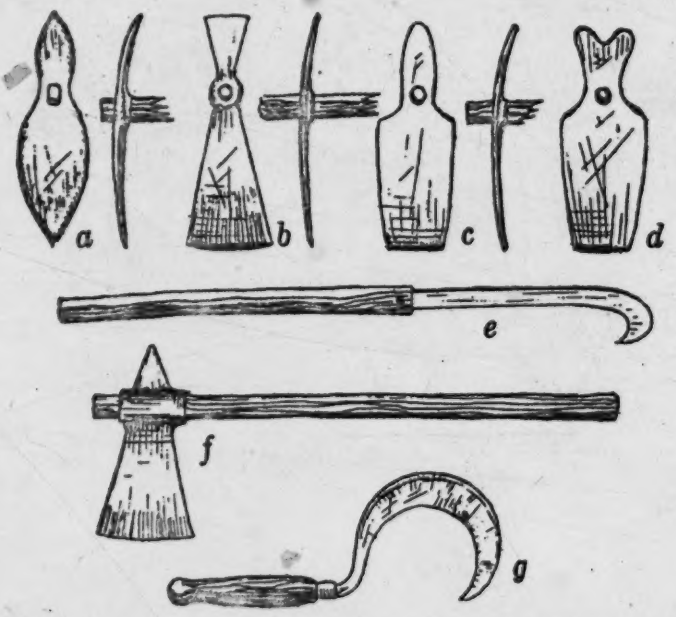


Fig. 21. Farm implements: *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, digging and weeding tools; *e*, grubbing and cutting tool; *f*, hatchet used by woodcutters; *g*, sickle.

Role of Domestic Animals

In the statistical report of 1953 the number of domestic animals in Spanish Morocco is given as 1,104,000 goats, 661,000 sheep, 337,000 cattle, 55,000 donkeys, 22,000 mules, and 2,000 camels.[11] The number of goats nearly equals that of human beings. They are kept for their meat, milk and hides. In many areas the number of goats is limited only by the amount of space available for storage of fodder and by the number of herds.

[10] H. Camps-Fabrer, *L'Olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine* (Algiers: Service des Antiquités, 1953).

[11] *Anuario estadistico, 1952–53*, p. 131, cited in note 1.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

different dam. In deep valleys it is often necessary to move water back and forth across the natural drainage lines. For this purpose, wooden conduits are set on long tripods. Construction of irrigation works begins in the spring, and after a few months of use the water is redirected into its natural course. Since water is required only during the dry season, irrigation systems are designed for the minimum runoff. On steep slopes, water is carefully directed into a series of ponds; check dams are used to impound water from springs. Channels are constructed to lead water to grist mills, but the use of water for milling has a low priority, for most communities also have smaller mills turned by hand.

The construction and maintenance of dams and irrigation ditches require less effort than the construction and maintenance of terraces. With the exception of a few works in the coastal plains, terracing is necessary for irrigation. Since irrigation involves channeling rather than simple flooding, most terraces have a slight slope and are supported by stone walls (pl. 6, *b*). There is no rotation of crops on irrigated land. In areas of thin residual soil the land is gradually built up by the constant deposition of baskets of mud, another of the backbreaking tasks assigned to the women. Fertilizer, a mixture of sheep dung and ashes, is applied each year.

The regulation of water rights is a complicated matter.[14] The rights of preference pass from human beings to animals, crops, and industries. The two main rivers of the Rif, Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, illustrate the problems of management. Wad Ghis has only about a fourth of the flow of Wad Nkour, but its flow is more predictable. Those who irrigate with its waters know the quantity they can expect, and plan accordingly. In normal years Wad Nkour irrigates nearly ten times as much land as Wad Ghis, but in some years it remains little more than a muddy trickle. Hence there is frequent occasion for disputes, which in the past often led to prolonged feuds. In both basins the mountaineers have almost unlimited use of water, while the more numerous plainsmen must be satisfied with what is left. Most Rifian communities have secondary sources of water: wells, springs, and ponds. Each family is allowed a certain time at the water source, and the community as a whole works out the regulations and fines.

An elaborate series of agreements, usually verbal, deals with the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. The labor of construction as well as the necessary reconstruction after heavy rains is done by representatives of the families using the water. Infractions of agreement often lead to differences of opinion about these responsibilities or the period of time water is used. Serious disputes may arise over the outlines of ditches, and for this reason it is necessary to gain the consent of each property owner over whose land the water is to flow. The irrigation turns of the larger communities are regulated by days. Within such communities, individual families are allowed shorter periods of use, usually an hour. The mechanics of irrigation requires the use of the hoe to build up and then destroy a tiny diversion dam.

[14] In this section I have made use of J. M. Paniagua y Santos, "Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, 4 (1948), 1–44; D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, 2 (1954), 55–57; and D. A. Caponera, "Water Laws in the Moslem Countries," *FAO Development Paper 43* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1954).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Contracts and Coöperation

675 464 171 241 When tribesmen are unable or unwilling to work their own land, contracts are made between the wealthier and the poorer members of a community; those who have little land or equipment hire themselves out to those who have more. Farmers who have more animals than they or their sons can manage, make agreements with others to care for the herd. The hired shepherds, while the animals are in their hands, receive part of the milk and butter, some of the young that are born, and, if the animals are sold, a share of the profit. The shepherd receives part, sometimes half, of the wool. Full-time employment as a shepherd is considered rather degrading, and for this reason it is the common occupation of exiles and orphans.

Vegetable gardens, orchards, and fields may be cared for by hired laborers. If their job entails the difficult task of setting up terraces, they may get up to a third of the crop. If they perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, they receive a fifth of the crop. If the hired hand needs an assistant during the reaping, the latter is paid with a tenth of the harvest. Associations of this sort are not common; farm labor is ordinarily done by the landowner and his sons.

476 241 171 A second type of association takes place when two farmers own plots of about the same size but do not have enough animals or equipment to work their land independently. The two farmers join forces, each supplying his share, and the harvest is divided between them. This form of coöperation is common when a farmer has only one draft animal. In irrigated areas, one man may supply the land and part of the seed, and another the rest of the seed, the animals, and the plow. Since most communities are kinship groups, coöperation of this sort is usually among brothers or cousins.[112]

Inheritance

428 171 The inheritance of property[113] in most of Morocco follows standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. When a man dies his widow first receives one-eighth of his property and the remainder is divided among the sons and daughters. All sons inherit equally, as do all daughters. If a man dies leaving a widow and daughters only, the widow gets one-eighth and the remainder is divided into three parts, of which the daughters receive two and the father's brother one. If the father has no brothers, the rest (aside from the widow's share) goes to the daughters. If he does have brothers, and dies leaving only one daughter, she receives half of the property (minus the widow's share) and the brothers get the other half. If a man dies leaving no children, his widow receives a fourth of his property and the rest goes to the brothers. If a man with children dies prior to his father, the children have no right to the property and receive shares only if the grandfather agrees to such a division.

[423] Moroccans are very reluctant to divide up their land. When brothers inherit land they customarily work it jointly, the eldest brother acting as a substitute

[113] [112] On contracts and coöperation, see also A. Sánchez Pérez, "Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en el Rif," *Selección de conferencias pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso 1950–51* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1951), pp. 95–104.

[113] [113] This paragraph is based upon the remarks of D. M. Hart in *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 141–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

Hunting and Fishing

In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[11] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla*.

Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[12]

In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[13] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[11] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[12] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[13] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.

685 3) theft, with corresponding fines, and even one of the thief's kinsmen putting out his eyes[61].

673 671 If there are certain crimes, known to all and carrying with them sanctions also known to all, which do not (translator's italics) appear in the qanuns (such as bestiality[52A], etc.), they are kept out purposely because of the shame, the hashuma, of those who formulate the decrees. In other instances (such as certain misdemeanors having to do with agriculture and fields), they are kept out because their inclusion is difficult and they are also sufficiently well known to and by all concerned so that they do not need to be put in. In still other cases, they are kept out because they are questions of custom which require consultation with men of laws or arbiters. Finally, these are all misdemeanors the nature of which, in one way or another, is inadequate to be put before the public in special announcements by market criers.

I) Miscellaneous Data on Fines for Lesser Offenses:

1) Among the Ibuqquyen:

224 a) Hunting[63]: Saturday is the day for hunting (rayāh or [689] thingimarth)[64]. Whoever does not attend pays a 5-peseta fine[65], and altercations during hunting are punished by a fine or by giving a meal to the other hunters. Animals killed do not belong to the man who kills [685] them but to the man who finds them[66]. Damages to cultivated lands are paid for by those who caused them. If it is not known who was responsible, the fine is divided up among all the hunters[67]. Any birds or eggs which are found by one of the hunters during the hunt are divided up [425] amongst them all. Any other objects found which are obviously lost articles of a third party are returned to their owners.

A, [This should read "62" not "52"--Analyst]

226
389 Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

G) Recovery:

425 Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped (517) to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

H) Arbiters:

628
554 Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

628
648
554
671
642
115 Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 67] Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools (658) [178] which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by (425) some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. [782] Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet [241] some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who [212] has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. [794] He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

562
428 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister
431 and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal
578 equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land
182
607 claims are mutually balanced off.

Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their
428
423 inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their
607 property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct
562 on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheri-
423
428 tance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differ-
423 entiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there
183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The
556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which
425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

• 425
423
183
556
(131)

given to one's sons. However, in times of extended drought and famine as in the mid 'forties and again in the late 'fifties, selling of land and migration to the urban centers have taken place on a fairly wide scale. In such a situation the property owner can sell to a stranger but he must give relatives first option and, if they are unwilling to exercise their right, he should give the option to someone inside the community. To buy land under such conditions is considered not only honorable but a community service in that it maintains the integrity of the community by preventing outsiders from becoming members. However, neither the buyer nor the community regards such a purchase as speculation for economic profit. Rather, they see it as community service and a socially approved method of advancing one's children. The acquisition of land under such circumstances is not a part of the motivation system based on profit but part of the same complex which includes social duty and community solidarity.

Land is, of course, one of the factors of production. But whether the Riffian regards this aspect as being the primary attribute of land can be questioned. A man of my acquaintance whose grandfather and father had made sizable land purchases held at the time more land than he could profitably cultivate and manage. Yet he was quite ashamed that he had not been able to buy more land so as to increase the legacy for his own children. To him the economic value of the land was secondary to its prestige function. Naah's remark about property among the Maya

000

556 (423) (425) under the Spanish, remained more or less a part of his tribe. His son continued to accumulate wealth but exclusively in terms of land, especially from Spaniards leaving the country. He maintained daily contact with his tribe, attended weddings of the more important people within the Beni Wariyaghar and although he lived in the city of Alhucemas, had close and intense connections with the countryside. This man's own son, an officer in the army, was visiting Alhucemas and was accused by the police chief of drinking in a public place. The police chief, a recent transfer from the southern zone, was unaware of the prominence of the boy and had him arrested. As soon as his father heard of this he obtained the immediate release of his son through the Ministry of Interior and the suspension of the police chief. (689) (625)

These two examples are illustrative of the fact that wealth itself is not correlated with prestige or power. One might even suggest that analytically there are two sorts of wealth, each based on a different sort of operation in terms of accumulation and distribution. One sort of wealth, that which derives from the land, is a part of a greater complex in which social factors motivate economic action. The other sort of wealth generally operates free of these social factors and is motivated by the profit incentive.

585 571 431 182 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 574 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors 585 574 152 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's [292] [291] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

ooo

22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu [614] 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no [114] record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a [681] crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual [728] ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu [648] 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities [115] because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man [792] figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up [114] this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real [426] [423] property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman) who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his

426 part of the bargain, he is reminded to do so by the chief, and if he
686 refuses, they forcibly commit a theft of animals or property, so
627 that his jma'th will hear of it; and they thus oblige him to fulfill
623 his promises or give rise to the intervention of his jma'th, which will force him to start negotiations.

685 The property of thieves is sold as indemnity, and, if they
627 have gone or if this cannot be done, that of their kinsmen is sold, a fine is imposed, and the eyes of the recalcitrant individual are plucked out by a member of his family if he is caught[68].

623 None of the decisions of the jma'th are registered.

F) Social Organization:

1) The jma'th has generally been defined in terms of what it is not. It has been likened to the Roman forum, the Greek agora, and the Scottish clan[69]; and it has been considered the "cornerstone" or the "roof" of the "Berber house". It has been characterized as an administrative unit by some, and as a social, judicial (i.e. jural), religious or military unit by others. Some have taken the number of houses as a base point, others the fact of whether or not it contains a Friday ("cantonal") mosque. The etymology of the word--"assembly, meeting, council, junta"--has also been invoked as a basis for definition, but this, by itself, is also insufficient[70].

623 In my view, the jma'th is the elemental form of the association
621 of neighboring family groups oriented toward essentially economic ends.
[613] The actual number of such groups, whether two today or two hundred tomorrow, and whether occupying thirty or two hundred households, is

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Any oil remaining over the three or four cups so given is the property of the man who
[735] has pressed it, unless a poor man without trees comes to the press and asks for some. Such demands cannot be refused and each suppliant must be given a cup.

241 Besides charitable assistance and work done in anticipation of remunerative charity,
465 there are two types of definite agricultural contract by which one man who has not enough land to support himself and his family may acquire sufficient provender to last his household through the winter. The first is that by which a poor man binds himself to assist a richer farmer in all agricultural tasks in which he may engage. In return for this he receives a fifth of the total grain crop, a fourth of the leguminous plants and vegetables harvested, a third of the product of the fruit, olive, and nut trees, and a third of the grapes.

The rich farmer hires these share-laborers (who are called *akhemes*,[1] plural *ikhemesen* or "fifths," because of their return in grain) because he is not able to care for all of his land himself, owing to its extensive size. If the property of a rich farmer is so extensive that he is unable to cultivate it with the aid of one share-laborer, he will hire two, and these will split a fifth, a fourth, and a third of the various types of produce. No matter how many men a farmer employs he never gives more than the stipulated fractions, which are equally divided among the workers.

241 When a man owns property which he has no intention of working himself, he can rent it
427 out in return for one half of the produce. This type of contract is used by the Beni Bu Yahyi in renting out the northerly portions of their territory to farmers who come down from Galiya to work the land, the Beni Bu Yahyi not being as interested in agriculture.

241 The share-laborer is often a stranger in the village of his employment, having left his
166 home through shame of having his poverty advertised in his own village, or more often through fear of punishment for some crime. The migrations of these share-laborers has done more to cause infiltrations of blood from tribe to tribe than any other factor, since the immigrant usually marries into the group of his adoption.

241 Wealth is not a stable thing in the Rif, any more than it is in more modern types of
556 society. Despite charitable practices and opportunities for outside work, many families find themselves on the verge of starvation in or near January and February, and are willing to sell anything within reason to obtain enough food to last them until the next harvest. Others, more industrious, who have worked their land to its limit and spent the rest of their time helping others for pay, may have more food than they require and be willing to sell some of it, at a premium. They generally demand land in payment. Working this land to its limit the following year, they may pile up an even greater surplus than before, and thus before many years may become large landowners and relatively rich men, ready, in their turn, to hire share-laborers the people from whom they bought the land.

[558] Thus the retention of property depends upon whether or not it is worked diligently, and positions of wealth may be reversed in less than a generation.

FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

252 The different types of food, including their methods of preparation, may be classified as follows: (1) cereal preparations antedating bread, (2) bread and breadmaking, (3) preparation of vegetable products alone, (4) dishes containing meat, (5) fish, (6) eggs, (7) milk and

[1] The feminine form of this word signifies a political division. See p. 92.

representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman) who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his

621 423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794 793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The re- [423] sources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income.

794 [429] [251] The administration of these properties was the job of a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

427 241 621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

[See p. 183--Analyst]

427 241 621 person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of 621 623 grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the ac- 465 793 quisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the 622 storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice 794 given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and im- 623 621 provements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on 613 the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these 794 423 properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation 423 794 and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus 177 (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

181
423 The Rifian admits anything which constitutes instruction or improvement; but naturally he wants no part of any division of his
312
648 holdings with strangers. This blessing of water which the official organ (i.e. the Spanish administration) as well as individuals receive, although the latter do so only to a limited degree, is not a product of technique, profitable or exemplary work as new developments would be, possible economic outlets or improvements in the present distributive net, but utilization of native labor in the style of some early-day amghar.

312
648 Rare are the days of the Makhzin irrigation turn in which the
685 Makhazniya does not present us (i.e. the administration) with some
[427] miserable akhammas[123] accused of the terrible crime of having been surprised at night attempting to lead up a thread of water into his tiny, dried-up holding, a crystalline fiber which, if it even arrives there to irrigate, only God knows; and the nubth which the Europeans derive from it, dispute from it and gain from it, did not cost them the least effort to lead up nor did they do anything other than wait sitting down while the Makhzin appropriated it. And in such a case neither the Makhzin nor the European stands to gain anything; to the contrary, they have much to lose.

F) Irrigation in the Plain of Al-Husaima:

312
675 The usage of irrigation water from the Lower Ghis and Nkur Rivers has been, since time immemorial, the object of individual agreements among the irrigators, agreements which are usually put down in writing, for the flow of water, although variable, permits a regular distribution through permanent ditches, a distribution known

243 sickles and the women carrying the grain stalks to the threshing areas. The threshing floors are generally merely a circle of dirt ground, although in some areas they are paved. The stalks [231] are placed on this circular floor and mules, donkeys, or cattle are driven about inside the circle, trampling the grain and separating it from the chaff. The grain is further refined by hand-winnowing done by the women. The straw is accumulated in circu- [231] lar stacks to be preserved as food for the animals during the winter months. When relatives have worked a common piece of land 243 465 the yield is divided by measuring off the appropriate amount of grain in straw baskets. If the division is on a one-for-one basis, each alternate basket will go to one of the parties. If the division is at some other ratio, the number of baskets will accordingly be at that ratio. If the land was ploughed, planted [427] and harvested by a akhammas, a sharecropping laborer, the owner of the land will receive four bushels out of every five, the remaining fifth going to the akhammas.

241 Throughout the summer the vegetables, fruits and nuts are harvested as they come ripe. In late summer and early autumn the [465] maize and grapes are harvested. Once again, if the labor of several families or of akhammas has been involved, straw baskets are used to allot out to each man his appropriate portion. It is 585 during this period, in the months of August and September, that 221 [241] weddings are held. The agricultural cycle has been completed and there is spare time to arrange the necessary items for a wedding. Also this is the period in which the optimum amount of food is

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
[521] circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 562 586 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initiating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 [782] [571] Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match, the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty (<u>'ar</u>) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of [593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will [464] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as [421] <u>akhammas</u> or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 581 582 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

256 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regard-
435 less of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills
472 are not economically competitive with one another, they are soci-
256 ally competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better
472 than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has
477 a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a local-
ity, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community
uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of
[571] preference on the part of the users is not determined by conveni-
[578] ence of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such
[602] as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of
the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses
423 of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor.
427 We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise
between a man who has more property than he alone can personally
cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social
and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who
holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence
needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property
holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own.
Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inher-
itance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to
meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these cir-
[464] cumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to
keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

423 The number of men under such association is difficult to estimate
427 though I have the impression it is large. No man whom I inter-
464 viewed who might be roughly classified as a leader in the community had less than one person working for him in such a relationship.

427 The most prominent and common association is that of the
464 akhammas or sharecroppers. The akhammas is a laborer who voluntarily contracts to contribute all the physical labor necessary for the total production process of a piece of land. The landowner provides the land itself, the seed, fertilizer, plough and any other equipment, and the animal power. The akhammas provides all labor, from the initial ploughing to the ultimate harvesting.
[465] For his services he receives exactly one-fifth of the yield,
[466] hence the name which derives from hamsa or 'five.' The akhammas also receives the hand-me-down clothes of the master and often a meal each day. Since the activities of the akhammas entail his
427 constant presence around or even inside the household, he has far
464 greater access to the wives of notables than other males. A man
562 of sufficient wealth to employ an akhammas would probably isolate his wife from contact with male society. It is a myth that the Berbers do not seclude their women. The only ones who are not secluded from male society are the wives of poor men who must contribute their labor to the production process. Such women are, of course, the vast majority. The akhammas has more contact with the wives of the notable class than any other male not closely related to the family. Since the akhammas must consult

427 464 562 [602] the wife about household tasks and often takes his meals inside the central patio, he is on rather intimate (for the Rif) terms with these women. In such a close and anomalous situation, there is a preference on the part of the master to hire a poor relative, especially of his wife, as a servant. By hiring a man of the wife's family or of a family which includes the wife's relatives by marriage, one lessens the danger of too close a relationship between wife and akhammas.

427 464 466 465 565 While both partners in the akhammas arrangement seek to establish a contract which is divorced from social conflict over women, they are nonetheless in basic conflict along incipient class lines. The akhammas, at least in the contemporary situation, regards himself as being exploited by his patron in that the wage scale is fixed and involves difficult manual labor without any guarantees of remmeration. While he is free to negotiate his contract with whomever he so desires, his wage depends directly on the size of the crop yield for any one year. The master with greater reserves of resources suffers only an inconvenience if the crop yield is low. The sharecropper, on the other hand, has few if any reserves, and any reduction in the portion of his share has serious repercussions on his ability to maintain his household. The akhammas is especially aware of the inequity of this arrangement as wage opportunities open up and he becomes aware that salary can be negotiated with commensurate rewards in cash. Most ikhammasen prefer to get into the category of wage

427 laborer, especially as a migrant worker in Europe or Algeria,
464 where salaries are high by Riffian standards.
465
466 On the other end of the spectrum are the landowners who
565 regard the akhammas as the true beneficiary of the association. They argue that since they provide all the elements of production except labor, they are being exploited by the working class. The akhammas provides only his manual labor for a few weeks of ploughing and again for a few weeks at harvest time. Their contention is that although the work is arduous, it spans over a relatively short period of time for which the akhammas receives enough to meet his subsistence needs for the year. The remainder of the year the akhammas is free to contract for such labor as is available. The property owner, however, depends exclusively on his crop and thus does not have the additional revenues which the worker earns throughout the rest of the year. If the crop yield is low, the master will always see to it that the worker gets something, and besides the poor can apply for government relief while the rich can not. I suggested to several owners that they [123] engage a wage laborer for the short duration of actual work involved in performing the cultivation tasks but was met with only stony silence at the notion of such a scheme. I did not encounter and no one ever spoke of an instance in which agricultural labor was paid for in daily or weekly wages. Since the property class is in a position to change the system but does not, presumably the akhammas arrangement works to their benefit.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

MOSQUES AND SAINTS' TOMBS

346 THERE are three types of building which serve both social and religious purposes: the *thamsyitha n jkhothbath*, or cantonal mosque,[1] the *thamsajoth*, or village mosque,[2] and the *amrabt* (plural *imrabten*) or saint's tomb.[3]

The first, the cantonal mosque, is a large edifice, common to the whole *canton*, and to it come all the people of the *canton* for worship. It can be readily distinguished from lesser mosques by the fact that it bears a flag, green in the morning and white in the afternoon.

The second is the mosque of the *bone*, and there is one for each *bone* in the *canton*.

764 778 The third, the saint's tomb, may be a structure of some magnitude, a mere pile of stones, or simply an unmarked but nevertheless well-known place. It is supposed to be the grave of a saint, although often it is merely some place noted for the possession of some unusual natural feature, such as a large boulder, a spring, or a clump of trees, revered long before the advent of Islam. Whether it be a definite building, a marker, or merely a place, in any case it fulfills a definite function.

358 346 In each of these three types of religious edifice there is one man who has been appointed to take care of it, the *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*) or "warden,"[4] who may be a man of learning or, in some cases, illiterate. He is the janitor and general caretaker. He brushes the floor, sees that the mats on them are in good repair, hoists the flag on the cantonal mosque, and occasionally substitutes as muezzin for the incumbent of this mosque.

428 794 The mosques and saints' tombs acquire land in a number of ways. When a man dies childless, and is displeased with his wife for having borne him no sons, or for some other reason, he may will a share of his land to the cantonal or village mosque or to a local saint's tomb. If he has sons but is not pleased with them, he may leave a share of his property to a mosque or tomb and the rest to his children.

[764] If, when about to die, he wishes to be buried within the mosque, he may buy his burial place with land to be given the mosque after his death. In this way he is interred under the floor of one of the rooms, and the warden has charge of the property so willed.

794 358 The warden of each public edifice has charge of the land belonging to it, and receives a portion of the produce. He does the farming on the land and cares for the trees, but if there is too much for him to do the village council enlists poor people to work with him, as previously related.

794 485 Any mosque, be it of the *canton* or merely of the *bone*, and any saint's tomb capable of providing shelter, serves as a free hotel for Riffians travelling from tribe to tribe. Lay

[1] From the Arabic *masjida el khutba*, meaning the "mosque of the Friday sermon."

[2] Likewise from *masjida*, and meaning literally "mosque."

[3] From the Arabic *mura'bat*. This word means either "living saint" or "dead saint"; the meaning given applies to the deceased variety and to the superstructure erected over his remains.

[4] This Arabic word is also employed to designate the "moderator" of the village council, as well as the "moderator" of the council of the great. See p. 96.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

actual owners of the machine are allowed to do so; and he collects from them the customary divisions of the oil which they squeeze. The village council of each *bone* makes out the list and the clerk writes it down and sees that it is followed.

Another duty of this latter official is making out papers of adoption for strangers who come into the *bone* to live and who wish to become affiliated with it.

The clerk also has charge of wills and inheritance. The head of each family may make a will on his deathbed, or at some time when he fears imminent death. To do this he summons the clerk, who writes down the terms of the bequests and takes the paper away with him. After the man has died he produces this paper, makes its contents public, and administers the estate.

Although most men, in making their wills, follow the traditional rules of inheritance, some bequeath their property unequally among their heirs, at times cutting individuals off entirely, and leave property to mosques or saints' tombs. No man is permitted, however, to disinherit his wife or wives.

In each tribe there is supposed to be a judge, appointed by the tribal council, and holding his office for life or good behavior. He has received a diploma from one of the four institutions previously mentioned. His appointment does not usually come, however, until long after his fulfilment of the requirements for this position. He is almost always a native of the tribe in which he is employed.

There was one in Beni Urriaghel, one in Beni Tuzin, and one in Gzennaya, at the time the Christians entered. The first judge in the Rif in modern times was Si Abd el Rahman of the Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya, who had dwelt long in Fez and married a Fezzi wife. The Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel decided, about fifty years ago, that they would like to have a judge, and therefore sent men of the Gzennaya to Fez to persuade Si Abd el Rahman to come. On the way back from Fez, the Beni Ulid, who did not know that he was a judge, attacked him and his bodyguard in the night, killing him and capturing his wife and children. What remained of the bodyguard returned to the Rif and called together a great council of the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Beni Ulishk, Beni Said, and Metalsa. All these councillors, with their retainers, invaded Beni Ulid and devastated it, taking back the prisoners and loot, and exacting a fine of four thousand five hundred dollars.

Si Abd el Rahman's eldest son was made judge in his place, after him his brother, and after his brother his sons, in turn. Beni Urriaghel and Beni Tuzin later each established a judge, certified by that of Beni Yunes. Several others were set up and deposed in later times.

Every year each *fifth* presents the judge with a cow, five or six goats, and large quantities of all staple agricultural products. The judge in this way receives a large income, but is expected to spend most or all of it on hospitality. He settles disputes concerning landed property. Contestants bring their papers of ownership to him, and he decides which one really owns the property, then signs and seals the paper of the winner. The plaintiffs bring him presents of meat and sugar — any further gift would be considered bribery.

In the Senhaja Sghir the Sherif of Targuist acts as judge, except in Taghzuth, where there has been a judge for generations. Until the time of Abd el Krim, however, the judge of Taghzuth was influenced by the Sherif of Targuist.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

428 **Laws Governing Inheritance.** The following are the traditional rules of inheritance, usually adhered to in wills, and always followed when a man dies intestate:

1. The widow or widows receive an eighth of the property. This eighth is divided equally among the widows in case there are more than one.
2. The children collectively receive the remaining seven eighths. Each boy receives twice as much as each girl. In all of the following cases in which property is inherited jointly by brothers and sisters, the same principle applies, *i. e.*, equality between brothers and equality between sisters, with one brother counting as equal to two sisters.
3. When one or more of the children have died before the father's decease, the share of each dead child is counted out as well as that of each living child. The share of each dead child is divided into two equal parts, one of which is given its mother and the other divided in the usual manner between the living children.
4. In case there are no living children, the brothers and sisters of the deceased inherit the property which would otherwise go to these children. In other words, if the children have all died, the brothers and sisters of the deceased receive one half of the seven eighths left over after the widows' allowance has been deducted. If there never have been any children, the whole seven eighths goes to the brothers and sisters.
5. A childless widow returns to the *seia* of her parents, and may marry any man whom she wishes and who desires her. She may keep the property which she has inherited from her first husband after she has married her second.
6. A widow who is the mother of unmarried or dependent children is expected to marry a brother of her deceased husband. If she refuses to do so, she is not allowed to marry anyone else, unless her brother-in-law is willing to marry and divorce her, or to announce publicly that he relinquishes her. In case she marries a man who is not her brother-in-law, she loses her rights to her children, who go to live with her brother-in-law; but she still retains her rights to the property left her by her deceased husband. In case she does not want to remarry, either because her brother-in-law will not free her or for any other reason, she can go to the clerk, who will give her a document making her legally incapable of marrying in the future. This will protect her against her brother-in-law, or against suitors in general, as the case may be.
7. Widows whose children are grown up and married live with their sons, who support them.
8. When a woman dies who has been married more than once and has borne children by each marriage, the children of each marriage divide the property of the respective father, and all of them divide the property of their mother.
9. When a woman with children marries a man who has never been married, and bears no children to this second husband, the children of the woman inherit the property of their stepfather just as if he were their real father, provided that he has not in the meanwhile married another wife and had children by her, in which case the stepchildren receive none of his property.
10. When a woman who owns property dies, her children divide it in the usual way. If she leaves only girls, her own family gets half and the girls the other half. The half which goes to her family is divided between her brothers and sisters. If she has no brothers and sisters, as well as no sons, her father takes it; if she has no father, her mother takes it; and if she dies without relatives the *bone* divides it between the married men.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

11. Girls who have inherited property must give it up when they are married. They give it to their brothers, or, if they have none, to their paternal uncles or masculine paternal cousins. After marriage they cannot inherit except from their husbands. 428

12. When a man dies without near relatives in the *bone* his property is divided among those distantly related on the paternal side; in case the deceased was a stranger who took up residence in the territory of the *bone* and has taken out with the clerk a paper of adoption into it, his property is divided among the married men of the *bone*. If he has neglected to take out a paper of adoption, his relatives from afar have the right to come and claim his property.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The houses are widely scattered up and down the mountains, each one being at least three hundred meters away from the next. Its construction and situation reflect the independent spirit of its owner. Almost always isolated to at least this extent, such a dwelling is usually the residence of a man, his unmarried brothers an sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This is only part of the family; the rest of it, living in similar houses the usual distance away, includes the man's married brothers and their wives and unmarried children. Thus the family, as it is know in Aith Wuryāghil, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; when the daughters marry, they go to live with their husbands' people, for this is a patrilineal and patrilocal society. This extended family or *jājghū* (pl. *ijūjgha)* is a cooperative economic unit; the affiliations of in-marrying wives are with it rather than with the families from which they came. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old *jājghū* splits into as many new *ijūjgha* as there were married brothers originally.

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the elders of the *jājghū*, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two *'adūl* proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all, when the father dies; but with many sons, the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit; quarrels may develop, in which case the land is divided up among the sons, each one looking after his own share. The inheritance system follows standard Islamic practice, with the portion of one son equalling that of two daughters. If daughters whose share of the family property includes land marry into other villages or political sections, they are often induced to sell out their own holdings to their brothers so that the land will remain securely in the hands of the family. These are

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

59 i) Summary:--The Rifian family is patriarchal and patrilineal, agnatic and polygamous (i.e. polygynous). It needs to be large because of possible loss through feuds or lack of hygiene. Although 562 428 legally a woman inherits one-half of what a man does (i.e. sons inherit twice as much as daughters), Rifians interpret Muslim inheritance laws in their own way, through customs such as "men's habus"[49], or the return to her house of a divorced woman, whether this be Koranically sanctioned or not. A woman does not inherit but is, in effect, inherited[50]; she bears children but cannot give them her name. She works, but cannot buy or sell; she exists to give pleasure to her husband, and is maltreated in return; but she is probably happier 000 than many of her European counterparts.....In my own opinion, the (Spanish) Protectorate has improved the status of women...and I think that if the Rifians consider men to be the superior of the sexes, this is so undoubtedly because men had to protect their womenfolk constantly, with rifle in hand. They saw in them a cause of weakness, but recognized them as being necessary to group survival (sic!). The Rifian family needed a headman with unquestioned authority, rigorous discipline without sentimentality, and an automatic ability 562 to heal breaches. Women were exempt from feuding and had at their disposition their own markets, reserved for them exclusively; in a sense, they formed a society which was semi-independent from that of [926] men. In battle, they incited men to combat. The shift today (1935) [178] toward Koranic norms is more apparent than real, and is taking place at the cost of parallel diminution, at the same time, of the socio-political importance of the group.[51]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

562 428 [421] [361] Women are always considered as minors[52]. They have no property and do not, in practice, inherit. It would never even occur to a woman to ask for her portion of the inheritance; this is, indeed, very logical in a rural and bellicose society (whose settlement morphology consists of) dispersed dwellings, for otherwise it would 562 have been impossible to defend a woman against bold attacks. She can only take refuge in either her husband's house or that of her agnates. But women wear new clothes, sing, and dance, etc., at weddings, and at least they seem happy; and they are able to plague their husbands in many, many ways.

596 613 4) Jajgu (pl. ijujga--so-called in Aith Waryaghar; jij, pl. ijajjen, "wall-peg",--also, alliteratively, "penis"--in Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; and azwar, pl. isuran, "vein",--also, alliteratively, "penis" in the Eastern Rif):--This is the most difficult social unit to study, because of its intermediacy[53]. It is one of the "family 596 branches"[54] (i.e. a branch of a dharfiqth or patri lineage). I 613 really cannot say more than this because informants, also, are unable 114 to explain it properly. In my earliest notes, it appeared to me to be a uterine descent group (SIC!). If a man had agnatic descendants from three wives, he thus produced three "branches" of which he was the "trunk". I now (1935) believe this to be the case, but am not completely sure, for if a man who has only one wife has three sons, these also, as points of descent, form (the bases of) three ijujga. In any case, it is understood that branches or ijujga originate from each type (i.e. point of descent), but I feel that the more important category is that originating from a different mother; and, although

684 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed,
171 while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their
562 houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads[65]. Women do not inherit
428 in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in
171 lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much (1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce
586 them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single
582 nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage.
[171] A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and
562 is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of insurrection
586 (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a zawiya
708 (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated
623 with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain
[171] to the jma'th, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather
627 through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration
171 of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslin ukil (legal
562

000 [613] 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own, but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[191] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of [113] brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts [668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that 'Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 428 114 423 [794] 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religious or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion [113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

671 [177] the Muslim ruling on inheritance by women), he finds it more convenient to bypass the Shari'a and invoke custom; for he will always find the means to allay any spiritual lack of scruples he might feel through coating his action with a veneer of pious intent (such as what is in effect a habus in favor of men) or of humanitarianism (such as asylum to divorced women, widow inheritance or sororate[10]), at the same time while he satisfies atavistic impulses.

671 114 It is very difficult to make any sort of rigorous comparison between the Shari'a and Rifian custom, owing to the great lack of data and documents dealing with the latter.[11] I might cite a few notes collected by del Nido[12], and some material of Sidi Ahmad bin Muhammad ar-Rhuni, former Minister of Justice and Chief Qadi of the Spanish Zone; but, then again, I am very doubtful that ar-Rhuni's material refers to the tribes of the Rif--certainly none of his documents are Rifian[13].

671 428 562 171 In matters of inheritance, Rifian custom elevates the condition of women more than the Shari'a does, by matching them with men and therefore by distributing the inheritance in equal parts instead of giving women only one-third (sic); but this is only in theory, and has to do with movable property[14]; in houses and in land, women, in fact, get nothing. The basis of this distinction is not at all a capricious one, but obeys to the letter the strong Rifian idea which conceptualizes women as minors in age. For this reason they are given, within the house, such work and responsibility as do not require masculine effort or personnel, a fact which becomes apparent if one studies family organization. Work in the fields is a masculine occupation, as is

671 428 562 housebuilding, although here women help, in return for male protection. Women are disregarded here, for in these aspects of movable property, to the formation of which, in the last analysis, they have not ultimately contributed, they receive nothing. On the other hand, in such work as befits their sex, nothing is denied them (even including cereals, for they contribute to the harvest by reaping grain with a sickle and transporting it, on their backs, to the threshing floor.) This notion is linked with the manner of acquiring property through inheritance, purchase or even through force (i.e. blood vengeance)[15]. Property gained in any other way is illegitimate, and as men are the ones who gain it, they have no reason to divide ir or share it with women.

114 113 D) Points Regarding Arabic Work on Anti-Sunna Traits (fragmentary):

I hereby review a work in Arabic by Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Brahim Aqibli Amshali al-Susi[16], dated 1342 A.H. (1923-4 A.D.), and published by al-Fatimi ibn Muhammad al-Shagadi. In this work the author exhorts 114 798 Berbers to give up practices which are irreverent and contrary to the sunna, the Custom of the Prophet, and lists those which are to be condemned, as follows:

798 796 1) Irreverent Customs at the 'Ashura:[17] Carnivals. The author rejects all forms of bonfires, of costume and of representation, i.e. imitating animals, birds, old men and old women, as well as the use of obscene words and the wearing of transparent clothes. I have myself seen all this practiced in the Rif[18]. Regarding the use of bonfires, it seems that in the Rif they are lit up to smoke the trees as a possible disinfectant[19].

661 and made him pasture the few goats he had. The jma'th or its mqaddim needed money, and so one day they called him up and fined him 65 duros, accusing his mother of incest and saying that if he did not pay up, they would tell the rest of the tribe and it would cost him more. The boy ran away, out of shame.

428 429 685 d) Muhammad Hmidu n 'Abd Allah of Aith Finathen, on the death of his father, was brought up by his grandmother, and when she died, by his cousins, who periodically fed and clothed him in return for his acting as a goatherd for them. They kept and divided up his inheritance in land from his father, and did not give it back to him, in spite of the constant excitement of the qa'id over the matter[76].

J. Responsibility:

672 [671] Collective responsibility as reflected in the qanuns is an amplification of responsibility to one's kin group and even...to the same social ties as those of other tribes (sic)[77]; this forces one's fellow tribesmen to comply with the duty of rectifying an injury or damage caused by one of their own people. It is an instinctive and necessary means of defense, and is done so that crimes will not go unpunished. This is all a consequence of the rudimentary social organization of the Rifians, of the difficulty of inquiry, of the lack of repressive organs[78] and of impartial and dispassionate individuals, such as judges. When independent states multiply and the extension of each one of them diminishes, such factors as the above make extradition (sic) more difficult and impunity more easy; and, for this reason, a group attribute is the obligation to educate (i.e. enculturate) and answer for its components. Thus, when the group publicly claims that

000 [128] 10--Blanco does not, in fact, employ the terms "levirate" and "sororate", and here I confess to having taken liberties with the text; but his meaning is abundantly clear. To readers who want refresher definitions, levirate refers to the practice of a man marrying the widow of his brother (as Coon has pointed out, in the Rif this is usually a junior levirate, meaning that the brother who does the marrying is genereally a younger brother), while sororate refers to the practice of a man marrying his deceased wife's sister.

[113] 11--This is indeed true, and the only published work thus far specifically dealing with any aspect or aspects of Rifian custom, aside from Blanco's own La Ley Rifeña, is José Maria Peniagua, "Notas Sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif", Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos, no. 4, Madrid 1948, pp. 7-44 and ditto, La Prescripción y el Retracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. Paniagua's work, particularly the last-mentioned monograph, deals with problems which seem to be almost entirely constructs of a European legal mind, and have no basis in social reality; and such work cannot be considered serious contributions to the study of Berber jural systems.

12--We cannot identify the work to which Blanco refers here.

13--The only work of Sidi Ahmad ar-Rhuni which we know is the Spanish translation of his Historia de Tetuan, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, and this contains no allusions whatever, even remote ones, to Rifian custom.

671 ●428 171 114 562 14--This is not so. Under Shari'a regulations, women receive one-half of what men receive, in inheritance, and this is the case for both movable and real property. Granted, of course, that the point in the Rif is largely theoretical and that women in fact, as Blanco points out, generally get nothing (particularly insofar as real property is concerned), it still seems appropriate to correct this error. In any case, we have never heard of any customary variation of normal Shari'a usage, which would allot to women one-third of movable property; and neither have any of my informants. It is one-half in theory, and, as a rule, nothing in practice.

671 428 171 562 Besides the current practice of a woman's father or brothers appropriating, in effect, her share of the patrimony on her marriage (in order to keep it in family hands and to keep in-laws out), there is a second institution which reinforces the notion that women do not inherit. If a man dies leaving only his widow and a daughter or daughters (no sons), his r-waratha (sing. awrith) or remaining agnates stand to inherit, which they would not do even if he had only one son. According to Shari'a regulations, the man's widow gets one-eighth, and then, if he has only one daughter, the rest of the property is divided in half, the daughter getting one-half and the r-waratha getting the other. If, on the other hand, he has more than one daughter, the rest of the property is divided up into three parts, the daughters getting one and the r-waratha getting one. However, even if there is a son or not, certain r-waratha (e.g. mmis n 'azizi, pl. dharwa n 'azizi, father's brother's son), but not others (e.g. uma, pl. aithma, brother, and

671 'azizi, pl. aith 'azizi, father's brother), marry the daughter or
428 daughters in question. The result is, of course, that if they do so,
191 they wind up with the daughters' share in any case. However, although
father's brother's daughter marriage does occur in the Rif, it is not
562 the rule, and this is because the institution of shuf 'ath (called
shafa'a by Berbers in the Central Atlas, and referring to agnates prior-
ity rights over both land and women, especially fathers' brothers'
daughters) in the Rif applies to land only and not to women. Indeed,
[582] there is no single form of preferential marriage, and most people be-
lieve in marrying "further away" than their parallel cousins. As, on
the other hand, parallel cousin marriage is the norm in the Central
Atlas, the same institution there (where r-waratha are termed imkusa)
is more effective in depriving women of their share than it is in the
Rif, where conditions per se in the latter area are considerably less
favorable to such deprivation. The crux of the matter, perhaps, is
this: that the property of a man who leaves no sons, despite what
other heirs or offspring he may have, is always divided up among these
heirs (and here, in practice, is where daughters tend to be left in
the cold, even though informants invariably say that they get their
part), while on the other hand, if there is a single surviving son,
no matter if he is a tiny baby, the patrimony stays pro indiviso.

000 15--What Blanco seems to be getting at here is that men rather than
women inherit and purchase property, or acquire it by right of con-
quest, and that therefore property and its administration rests ex-
clusively in male hands. The contrast is effective, because such
movable property which is involved in the work and everyday tasks of
women (i.e. pottery, chickens, eggs, etc.) does belong to them, and
is not touched by men. Men, for example, may perfectly easily sell
chickens or eggs in the market, and they often do so; but they in-
variably turn the proceeds over to their wives, who have stayed away
from the market as good women should (although they may go to the
women's market two days later) and because of this have asked their
husbands to do these things for them.

16--From his name, a Berber himself, possibly from the Sus (as his
final sobriquet would suggest), but more likely from the Ilimshan
subclan of the southern Ait 'Atta, the so-called 'Iqibliyen" of the
southern slope of the Central Atlas. These facts are indicated in the
first and second point-of-origin designations Aqibli Amshali, the
last mentioned probably being a metathesis of Alimshi, an Arabized
singular form of Ilimshan.

17--The 'ashura refers to the 10th day of the first month of the Muslim
year, Muharram (itself called l-'Ashur in Morocco), and commemorates
the martyrdom of the Prophet's two grandsons, Hasan and Husayn. It is
also, in Morocco, the day when almsgiving (zakah or 'ashur) to the poor
is legally enjoined; this act is, indeed, along with the profession of
faith (Ashhadu an la ilaha illa 'llah wa Muhammad al-rasuluY'llah,
"I testify that there is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger
of God"), prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan,
and the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five arkan al-din, "pillars of
religion", or qawa'id al-Islam, "customs of Islam".

554
556 Within each Riffian community there are individuals and families of differential social status. This differentiation is only partially based on wealth. Such factors as religious piety, descent, reputation and personal integrity also play a role. Prior to the pacification of the Rif skill in warfare and bravery were also markers. For the moment I shall discuss differentiation based on wealth.

556
423 The most important traditional measure of wealth was, and is today, property ownership. The more land one has, the larger a crop one shall harvest and the greater reserves one can put aside for winter fodder. A consequence is the larger number of animals one can maintain and hence the more elaborate one's ritual activities and the greater assistance one can give relatives, neighbors, and friends.

423
428 While large landholdings have a positive value in the Rif, such a goal is rather difficult to achieve because of the inheritance laws. Inheritance is based on the Maliki practice which divides the land amongst the heirs. Each son is allocated a full share and each daughter a half share. The widow (or widows) each receive an eighth of the property. In the absence of sons, the estate is divided so that the widow receives her eighth, while the remainder of the property is divided into three shares with the daughter(s) receiving two shares and the father's brother one share. If there are no children, the estate is divided among the brothers.

423 Property going to females, either to widows or daughters,
428 tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inher-
562 itance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the
[587] practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more dis-
428 ruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased
[768] husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the
431 inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and
578 his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B,
182 B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on
607 the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exer-
562 cise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

562 428 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister 431 and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal 578 equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land 182 607 claims are mutually balanced off.

428 Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their 423 inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their 607 property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct 562 on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

423 The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheri- 428 tance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differ- 423 entiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there 183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The 556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which 425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3 Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[2]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[3] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[4] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[2] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[4] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Contracts and Coöperation

When tribesmen are unable or unwilling to work their own land, contracts are made between the wealthier and the poorer members of a community; those who have little land or equipment hire themselves out to those who have more. Farmers who have more animals than they or their sons can manage, make agreements with others to care for the herd. The hired shepherds, while the animals are in their hands, receive part of the milk and butter, some of the young that are born, and, if the animals are sold, a share of the profit. The shepherd receives part, sometimes half, of the wool. Full-time employment as a shepherd is considered rather degrading, and for this reason it is the common occupation of exiles and orphans.

Vegetable gardens, orchards, and fields may be cared for by hired laborers. If their job entails the difficult task of setting up terraces, they may get up to a third of the crop. If they perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, they receive a fifth of the crop. If the hired hand needs an assistant during the reaping, the latter is paid with a tenth of the harvest. Associations of this sort are not common; farm labor is ordinarily done by the landowner and his sons.

A second type of association takes place when two farmers own plots of about the same size but do not have enough animals or equipment to work their land independently. The two farmers join forces, each supplying his share, and the harvest is divided between them. This form of coöperation is common when a farmer has only one draft animal. In irrigated areas, one man may supply the land and part of the seed, and another the rest of the seed, the animals, and the plow. Since most communities are kinship groups, coöperation of this sort is usually among brothers or cousins.[12]

Inheritance

The inheritance of property[13] in most of Morocco follows standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. When a man dies his widow first receives one-eighth of his property and the remainder is divided among the sons and daughters. All sons inherit equally, as do all daughters. If a man dies leaving a widow and daughters only, the widow gets one-eighth and the remainder is divided into three parts, of which the daughters receive two and the father's brother one. If the father has no brothers, the rest (aside from the widow's share) goes to the daughters. If he does have brothers, and dies leaving only one daughter, she receives half of the property (minus the widow's share) and the brothers get the other half. If a man dies leaving no children, his widow receives a fourth of his property and the rest goes to the brothers. If a man with children dies prior to his father, the children have no right to the property and receive shares only if the grandfather agrees to such a division.

Moroccans are very reluctant to divide up their land. When brothers inherit land they customarily work it jointly, the eldest brother acting as a substitute

[12] On contracts and coöperation, see also A. Sánchez Pérez, "Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en el Rif," *Selección de conferencias pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso 1950–51* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1951), pp. 95–104.

[13] This paragraph is based upon the remarks of D. M. Hart in *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 141–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

428 423 171 for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

Hunting and Fishing

224 171 In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[11] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a [576] few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. [411] To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla*.

226 171 Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[12]

[175] In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[13] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[113] [11] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[113] [12] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[13] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.

621
423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794
793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The re-
[423] sources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income.

794
[429] The administration of these properties was the job of
[251] a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

427
241
621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

A,[See p. 183--Analyst]

661 and made him pasture the few goats he had. The jma'th or its mqaddim needed money, and so one day they called him up and fined him 65 duros, accusing his mother of incest and saying that if he did not pay up, they would tell the rest of the tribe and it would cost him more. The boy ran away, out of shame.

428 d) Muhammad Hmidu n 'Abd Allah of Aith Finathen, on the
429 death of his father, was brought up by his grandmother, and when she
685 died, by his cousins, who periodically fed and clothed him in return for his acting as a goatherd for them. They kept and divided up his inheritance in land from his father, and did not give it back to him, in spite of the constant excitement of the qa'id over the matter[76].

J. Responsibility:

672 Collective responsibility as reflected in the qanuns is an
[671] amplification of responsibility to one's kin group and even...to the same social ties as those of other tribes (sic)[77]; this forces one's fellow tribesmen to comply with the duty of rectifying an injury or damage caused by one of their own people. It is an instinctive and necessary means of defense, and is done so that crimes will not go unpunished. This is all a consequence of the rudimentary social organization of the Rifians, of the difficulty of inquiry, of the lack of repressive organs[78] and of impartial and dispassionate individuals, such as judges. When independent states multiply and the extension of each one of them diminishes, such factors as the above make extradition (sic) more difficult and impunity more easy; and, for this reason, a group attribute is the obligation to educate (i.e. enculturate) and answer for its components. Thus, when the group publicly claims that

105 a disproportionate share of the national income towards support-
648 ing the region. "On balance, the ex-Spanish zone brings little other than problems to the Moroccan administration and economy" (Ibid.:170).[1] Since it cannot be profitably exploited, the Rif is allowed to follow its own form of economic integration. This integration is based on an adaptation to the prevailing ecological and social conditions of the Rif. That the adaptation is successful is testified by its persistence.

105 In summary I shall sketch what seem to me the basic features of this economic system. I do not pretend that this is an exhaustive summation of all elements of the system nor is it adequate as a treatment of the new forms of economic organization which are emerging in the Rif (expanding wage labor, tourism, etc.). It does, however, serve as a guide towards understanding the major elements of this status economy and, it is hoped, deepens our perception of the economic life of nonindustrial society.

105 We may start with the element in the system which marks
43 the greatest point of departure from the economy of an industrial
182 society. Those resources of the fellah which are not devoted to subsistence are predominantly tied up in meeting needs arising from a combination of social and religious factors. Production

---

[1] The same is said about the Kabylia in Algeria. Yet it is unlikely that independence in either country could have been achieved as quickly as it came without the assistance of these dissentient Berber groups. Unfortunately, once independence is achieved they become a burden to the urban-oriented leaders.

105 is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or
43 reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to
182 meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption,
[152] etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies. These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic
105 system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself
443 is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan
182 and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with
[181] peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources" (1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unimportant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest, respectively, appearing only as different instances of price according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most predominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the com-
[114] plete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 872 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 794 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 574 ● 431 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[212 789] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *tolab* (plural *tolbe*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *tolab*.

000
[114]
[311]

165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616] [518] 173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616] [619] 175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si 'Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613] [616] The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[776] [778] 177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
553 tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
585 the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
844 sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.
852
764

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she
sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
602 may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
782 (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
556 While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
574 bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so.
However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially
a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is
not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
553
574 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially
602 the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
114 On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
553 his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during
574 which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the
602 child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to
431 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed
but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by pre-
vious obligations established by gifts that the giver has received
from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money,
20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 574 602 431 [578] cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this ceremony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 782 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 574 621 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys. Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, however, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony

553 556 574 [571] 553

584 on behalf of his daughter, although within the informal network of female rumors the father's disposition in the matter may be learned. Even before negotiations begin there is a prelude in which gifts are given to the father of the prospective bride. Among the humblest families there is a period in which one brings over a cone of sugar, a block of rock salt, some kilos of tea, or a chicken. These gifts are regarded as friendship gifts in order to evaluate how the family might look towards a match. During such a period nothing is spoken of marriage and there is no obligation on either party from these gifts. Attitudes are being tested and if the result appears to be negative the process ends at this point. There is nothing to prevent a father from receiving gifts of this sort from several prospective families and, indeed, they may become competitive, although this is frowned upon. Naturally, the wealthier a man, the more expensive and extensive are the gifts from a prospective groom's family. The scale of gift is roughly arrived at but everyone in the community seems to have an approximate notion of how much is involved in even setting up the conditions of friendship whereby negotiations can begin. Since there are no overriding principles whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry because of their location within the structure, this initial gift helps guarantee that women circulate in their proper class. It was commonly acknowledged that it would require gifts in excess of 700 dirhams to place one of the most prominent men in the Beni Wariyaghar in a responsive mood. This man had received suitors

584
431

584 for his daughter before and had accepted their gifts but subse-
431 quent negotiations had broken down. Generally, a man will not offer such gifts unless he believes he had a good chance of succeeding. Once the father or guardian of the girl has expressed an interest, all subsequent exchanges are not regarded as gifts but as negotiated prices.

584 Once the conditions for commencing negotiations appear
[574] propitious, a group of male relatives from the boy's side visits
[431] the home of the girl's family. Again it is customary to bring a lamb, loaves of bread, sugar, and tea, although the amount depends on the wealth of the family. The request for the girl is made on this occasion. After the meal has been served, the guests and host go through a prescribed formula. "Do you know why we have come?" The host responds: "Yes. You have come as my guests." The spokesman replies: "No. We have come to ask for your daughter." They then commence the bargaining. There are two separate categories of items that are discussed. There is the
[583] sdaq, or dowry, that must be paid the father of the bride in order to provide her trousseau. This is always in cash. Second, there is bargaining in the amount of goods the groom's family are willing to spend on the ceremony. Both sides will argue over how many bulls, or sheep, or goats shall be provided for the ceremony, along with the quantity of barley and wheat, the loaves of bread, kilos of sugar and tea, and the liters of cooking oil.

584 The major expenditure, however, is the sdaq or the gift
583 from the groom's family to the bride's family to purchase her

585 that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement.
[583] Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs
[692] the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are
[184] legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In
[369] the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until the wedding ceremony is held.

By now, the groom's family has incurred several different
585 583 types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price'
431 or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss. The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 - - The wedding celebration or thamagra is held in the late
[221] summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the
585 574 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar. Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group

574
585
[533] by five or ten minutes. As they travel through the hills, each group sings praise songs of themselves and occasionally derogative songs about the other group. As they sing quite loudly, they can generally hear one another's songs even if they can not always see each other. The bride's group is the larger, numbering about twenty girls, all unmarried, while the male group consists rarely of more than ten and may include married male friends. The groom himself is addressed as Moulay or Sultan during this procession and the men with him are his iwziren or advisors. This is a borrowing of terms which are traditionally used to designate positions in the Moroccan government.

As they come to each house, the girls enter into the inside patio where they sing and dance, while the men enter a separate but connected guest room where they are offered tea and a meal. It is customary for the family head of each
585
574 visited house to present the groom with a sum of money and a gift of clothing or new shoes. The amount given is related to the prominence and wealth of the household, to the degree of relatedness between the groom and the giver, and to previous reciprocal gifts bestowed by members of the groom's family on the host. These gifts, grama', are interpreted by Westermarck as ". . . really a loan which has to be repaid in the future under corresponding circumstances, or an indemnity for similar contributions in the past; hence the amounts given by the various donors are most carefully taken note of" (1914:125).

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grama has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] [602] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] [754] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the profes- [533] sional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 524 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

585 574 571 431 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay, or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grama. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (viziers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and viziers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however, quite certain since both Coon (1931:134-135) and Renisio (1932:146-150) report it.

[154] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male

[533] [539] guests they sing in Arabic,

sabhain er-razik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

585
574
571
431 as they walk inside the circle three times. Traditionally, rifles were fired by the iwziren but with the confiscation of all firearms, firecrackers are today used as substitutes.

The groom then sits down on a chair in front of a low table which has previously been placed in the center of the circle. Squatting beside him on the ground are his iwziren, his father, and usually his younger brother. Behind him stand four girls who throughout the remaining ceremony fan him with their scarfs. At this point the gift giving commences. The [522] gifts, always in money, are collected by a traditional spokesmen, often a comic figure, who makes jokes and dances about as he announces aloud who has made the contribution and how much it is. With each announcement, the women who are inside the house but huddled around the doors peering out at the ceremony, commence to ululate. The comic figure goes about the crowd collecting gifts which he hands over to the groom's father, who places them in a brass tray in front of Moulay. The largest gifts, usually given at the beginning of the ceremony, are from relatives of the groom's father, such as brothers and uncles, as well as from relatives of the bride and close friends of the groom's father. These gifts are rarely under 100 dirhams but as the evening progresses smaller gifts of from 5 to 20 dirhams are given by age mates of the groom, by guests who wish to express their thanks for the evening's entertainment, and by local notables who feel it incumbent to give a small gift at each wedding they attend. The greater part of each gift goes to the father of the

585 groom to help defray the expenses of the wedding, but a part can
574 also be designated for the groom's personal use. Each gift must
571 also specify a small amount for the person who makes the public
431 announcement. A typical large gift would be announced as two hundred dirhams for the master of the wedding (the father), five dirhams for Moulay el-Sultan (the groom), and one dirham for the spokesman.

Although the smaller gifts are given gratuitously out of good will, the larger ones (fifty dirhams and upwards) are part of an extensive system of social obligations on the part of blood relatives, affines, and friends who are either fulfilling past obligations or setting up future ones. Recipients of gifts given by the father of the groom in the past are now expected to respond in kind. If the marriage is between members of the same lineage or between families who have contracted prior matrimonial links, a set of obligations will already exist. If it is the first marriage between two families, the bride's family is supposed to initiate good relations between the two families by donating to help defray the wedding expenses.

585 Coon has noted in passing (1931:141) that this gift giving
574 can become a competitive game in which the guests give increas-
571 ingly larger amounts of money during the ceremony in order to
431 shame rivals. I have never encountered such a situation in which
556 the ante was raised during the ceremony itself, but a somewhat
[14] similar incident occurred in which a man donated more than the community felt to be his social obligation. At a wedding in one

585 of the fractions of the Beni Wariyaghar, four large gifts were
574 given. One of these gifts was 350 dirhams ($70) from a friend
591 of the groom's father, another of 450 dirhams from a brother of
431 the groom's father. The final two gifts were from two men who
556 had married daughters of the groom's father. One of these sons-in-law had been married into the family of the groom's father for ten years and assumed a superior attitude towards the other son-in-law, who had only two years previously married into this family. The latter, a young man who was poor in his own right but related to several well-off families, went to his relatives borrowing from each in turn. At the wedding ceremony he was able to give 400 dirhams to the father, or one hundred dirhams
[578] more than the other brother-in-law. At the time of the ceremony the shamed brother-in-law bitterly accused the younger man's entire family of deliberately shaming him. The family denied that they had been in collusion with the boy, but also they took his side in the dispute and the two families ceased speaking to one another. As a participant on the one side explained to me, "I have a little bit of the evil eye for that outfit and they probably have the same for us."

585 After all the donations have been collected, the groom's
574 father and his paternal uncles take the tray filled with money
571 into the house and counts the proceeds. The amount received by
431 the groom's father may equal the outlay that he had to make to finance the wedding, and if the sequence of events ended here the man's debts might be balanced out by his newly acquired assets.

585 571 431 182 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 574 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors 585 574 152 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's [292] [291] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

585 of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes. A
574 feeling of intense competition seems to surround this ceremony
152 with the women of the bride's family appearing lofty and superior vis-à-vis the groom's family. Perhaps it is embodied in the compensatory feeling that one family has permanently lost a member to another family.

585 The seven days prior to this celebration are regarded as a 'honeymoon' during which the bride is still special. With the passing of this ceremony she is no longer tislith (bride) but timrath (wife) and must assume the ordinary business of household activities. Westermarck (1914:309) mentions a further ceremony
585 on the fortieth day after the wedding, in which a goat is
431 slaughtered by the groom and the meat taken to the wife's father's house. There countergifts, in the form of a cow or some goats, are given by the girl's father. This ceremony may
[114] have lapsed by the time I worked in the Rif. At least I have
[178] no data in my notes regarding rituals of marriage following the seventh day ceremony.

796 Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations
785 of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying
[574] numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it
[432] is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the
[431] community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where
[794] they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men
[782] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and dis-
[14] tribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

346 Before turning from religious activities to magical prac-
794 tices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

562 428 431 578 182 607 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land claims are mutually balanced off.

428 423 607 562 Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

423 428 The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheritance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differentiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there 423 183 556 425 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

423 Property going to females, either to widows or daughters,
428 tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inher-
562 itance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the
[587] practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more dis-
428 ruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased
[768] husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the
431 inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and
578 his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B,
182 B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on
607 the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exer-
562 cise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER X

JUDICIAL AND CLERICAL OFFICERS; LAWS GOVERNING INHERITANCE

THERE are in the Rif two classes of officials who concern themselves with judicial and clerical functions: the "clerk," or *adl*[1] (plural *adul*[1]), and the "judge," or *kadhi*. The former is something between a town clerk and minor judge, and the latter a supreme court of appeal. Both concern themselves only with civil, never with criminal, disputes. 693 624

The clerk is a former student who specialized in the cantonal mosque in the study of law, rather than in the usual study of magic and religion: some clerks, however, indulge in magical practices on the side as an additional source of income. The clerk takes pains to keep this second profession secret, lest he be expelled from office. Most clerks spend longer than the average period at study, and attend several different mosques in the course of their preparation. [791]

There is at least one clerk in every *bone*. Any person who is qualified by his training may set up as a clerk, but must receive the consensus of local approval before he is entrusted with enough business to make this occupation profitable. A clerk must be dignified and pious. 624

The clerk is often the schoolmaster of the *bone* as well. In smaller *bones* it is usually an economic necessity for one man to fulfill these two offices, consequently the terms "schoolmaster" and "clerk" have become somewhat confused. A clerk is often called schoolmaster, but a schoolmaster who is not a clerk is never called clerk. [875]

The duties of the clerk include writing and reading letters for illiterate persons, settling controversies as to ownership of property, making out and administering wills, and drawing up documents of sale for landed property and documents of marriage and divorce. He is also called upon to slaughter animals upon ceremonial occasions. [211]

In making out a document of marriage, the clerk writes out the names of the bride and groom, and the amount paid for the bride. He gives the paper to the bride and makes a duplicate, which he keeps. His signature renders the document valid. He similarly makes out divorce papers, which he gives to the woman, who can thus prove that she is no longer under obligation to her husband. [585] [586]

When the clerk makes out the document for a land sale, he takes the old document from the seller, and gives both old and new papers to the purchaser. Each time a piece of land changes hands a new paper is made out, and the present owner has in his possession all of the extant bills of sale for that piece of land. When a piece is subdivided the heir of the owner of the original piece at the time of its subdivision keeps the papers recording transfers prior to this subdivision. 624 432

When a man wishes to sell some of the land which has been in his family since time immemorial, and for which there is no paper, he informs the clerk, who advertises for any other claim to this land, either written or oral, and finding none makes a bill of sale.

[1] The usual Arab notary.

704 272 A person who in the evening is going to carry milk from his own house or tent to that of somebody else, puts a little salt in it to protect it from jnun (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he drops into it a green grass-blade as a charm which will avert evil from the cows (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk is given to a neighbor he must not return the vessel empty but he must put something into it, for example, flour, or salt, or grass, or water; otherwise the house or tent of its owner will also become empty (Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Temsaman). But if a person takes milk out of his house or tent to give it to some one to drink, he must not take back there anything of it which is left, but should drink it himself or give it to some poor person or a dog, or pour it out in a place where nobody walks; should he take it back with him his cows, or his family as well, would have to suffer for it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, At Ubahti). If a person who is carrying milk meets another on the road, he must offer him a drink of it, and, as said above, the latter is obliged to accept the offer or, at least, to dip a finger, generally the little finger of the right hand, which is the cleanest, into the milk, putting it then into his mouth or touching his forehead with it. The offering of milk serves as a safeguard against [754] the evil eye, and will besides benefit the offerer in a more positive manner owing to the blessing pronounced on him by the recipient, which will make his animals thrive. But I have also heard that you should offer milk even to a person who does not know that you are [244] carrying such a thing; for if you conceal milk from him God will always conceal it from you (Andjra). The custom in question seems to prevail all over Morocco; but sometimes I was told that it is only observed in the morning (Ait Nder), or not between enemies (Ait Waryager). While gratuitous offering of milk is thus in certain circumstances prescribed by custom, the sale of milk is forbidden [432] (Temsaman): he who sells milk will not have much of it (Andjra), something bad will happen to his cows (Ulad Bu aziz), or he will leave his children destitute (Ait Warain). This rule is often broken, especially in towns where there are European residents; but during my stay in Marraksh I often found people unwilling to sell milk. A gratuity, however, is readily accepted for the milk offered to a stranger of note who passes through the village. When it is offered to the Sultan on horseback he dips the little finger of his right hand into it, wipes off the milk on the neck of his horse, and tells his amin,

784 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a per-
272 son receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be
296 squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the
262 prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-
● 432 speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by sell-
689 ing bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

778 [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but
784 also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the
[783] fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is
821 shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet bâraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman) who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his

671 al-Faqir Siddiq al-'Arusi, Muhammad ibn Tahra, Sidi Musa ibn al-Hajj
628 Sayyid 'Amar Tahtahi, Muhammad bin Bu Hammud Mulaidi; al-Hajj Sidi
613 Misa'ud al-Manduri; Sa'id bin al-Hajj Haddu al-Ufari, Muhammad bin
682 al-Faqir Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Barzi, Muhammad Bu Shu'an, and
[792] the rest of the notables of Tzurakhth (Blanco: note 11) sold all that was handed over to them to the brothers of the murdered man for the above sum, converting it into money.

(Blanco: note 12) The amount stated above was levied and the quantity (literally, price) was divided into four parts: 300 duros for the lineage of Izzugwaghen; the same for the Awlad al-Hajj 'Amar; the same for the Awlad Muhammad bin Muh bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Tazurakhti; and 150 duros for the Awlad Ahmad bin Taimunt (to be split) with Muhammad bin Tah, and the same for Muhammad bin Taimunt bin Misa'ud (to be split) with the Awlad Hammu Kabghith. One hundred (100) duros were divided in half between the son of Bukhalif, that is, Siddiq, and 'Abd al-Qadir Hashsha'.

(Blanco: note 13) Each of the abovementioned parties shall divide with its brothers (i.e. those of the same jurisdiction) the amount which it has exacted and with regard to the quantity of the same.

671 An irrevocable and non-retractable sale, effected (Blanco:
628 note 14) for repression and exemplary punishment. The sellers having
613 levied the total of the abovementioned sum, in the upper part of the
681 present <u>qanun</u>, from the hands of the buyers cited above, thus liberating
• 432 the sellers from all actions or reclamation regarding this matter and the above-cited buyer thus occupying (the lands) instead of the sellers, as his share. That is to say, occupying the place of the owner in the land, of the land which he buys and that of the owner of immovable

property in that belonging to him, in conformance with traditional law.[25]

Those who attended the present (act) brought their testimony to the above according to the requirements of the interested parties. --In the middle of Jumad al-Awwal of the year 1336 (February 27, 1918). --The 'adl, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hajj al-Warnuri.--Another, whose name is not known.--Another, Muhammad bin Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghamri.

B) Commentary:

The social disintegration which Rifian society has reached is proven by these individual agreements between dharfiqin (Blanco: note 1, corresponding to text of qanun). In the face of helplessness or irregular functioning of higher-level associations, the poor tribesmen, before falling into complete anarchy, hastened to conclude an agreement with a neighboring group in order to attenuate that anarchy, succeeding in the hard struggle for life on a poor soil. These agreements thus formed true islets of irregular and variable peace, anchored in functional (sic) anarchy.

The necessity of agreements between lower-level lineages, who were abandoned by the rudimentary organization, obeyed, according to my understanding, those most curious periods which followed the public declaration of anarchy in the suq, when one powerful group managed by force to sustain the punishment, breaking the truce.

As the dispute was generalized between two preponderant rivals, the unaffected groups, before falling into anarchy, and with that notable instinct of self-defense, worked to bring about these agreements,

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

695 is to be found situated above the ditch of 'Umar bin Yusif al-Waryaghli.
312
[693] This is what the witnesses of the present (act) certify without there being (any) doubt existing in it. A complete attestation.

693 The undersigned notaries who have compiled (the testimonies which
695 these individuals afforded) from them testify that the latter are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) to testify, and they know them (i.e. personally).

[805] On the 21st day of the blessed Sha'ban of the year 1150 (December 13, 1737). Two illegible signatures follow.

19. PURCHASE AND SALE OF AN IRRIGATION TURN: TRANSLATION:

Praise be to the one God.

312
591
432 The Qa'id Sulaiman bin Muhammad al-Waryaghli al-Khattabi al-Ajdiri[176] buys, with the power and force of God, from the one who sells it, Siddiq bin Muhammad bin Siddiq al-'Abdallawi[177], one-fourth (of a part) of the irrigation ditch of Bulma'iz, (in his turn) by day or by night, his turn reappearing about (once) every nine days; on some occasions
432 he gets it during the day, and on others at night. A valid, definitive
[435] and firm purchase, so much down, without conditions of resale or op-
[436] tions (to anything) other than that assigned here), for a price the sum of which is 100 duros, in Spanish money (i.e. 500 pesetas). This amount the abovementioned seller has taken from the abovementioned buyer, thus recognizing it in front of both witnesses instrumental to the present act, freeing the buyer from it, who took over his purchase with complete possession, occupying it in his place of ownership in conformity with the traditional law and the right of rehibitory action

432 (against this sale which was put into effect) after the sight, pleasure and knowledge of his capability as required.

Both parties concerned know the value of the present act, and, by virtue of this, the undersigned witnesses testify to the declarations of both, for both buyer and seller are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound mind and memory) to agree; and the witnesses know (805) them both by sight and by name. In the first part of Rabi' al-Thani of the year 1347 (August 19, 1928).

000 Servant of his God, 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen (signature). Servant of his God, 'Abd al-Karim bin 'Umar al-Khattabi, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (signature).

Stamp of approval of the qadi: Both 'udul have borne witness (with respect to the above), which he (i.e. the qadi) accepts and to which he gives faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Bu-Dhimmusi[178], may God be benevolent toward him. Amen. (Signature).

20. SUMMARY OF IRRIGATION:

312 133 In a few words we may show the present day importance and interest of irrigation in the Aith Waryaghar, as tourists from time to time cross this splendid Plain of al-Husaima....

This Plain, under rudimentary cultivation even today (1938), as no one has succeeded or even proposed to amplify it, is completely criss-crossed by an intricate net of tiny irrigation ditches which in general do not feel the touch of water more than every eight days, and some even every eighteen days; and this for winter cultivation.

000

[175] 129--Al-Mazimma was the port, in the 8th century A.D., for the City of Nakur. Modern Rifians do not confuse it with al-Husaima which, they say, aside from the present city and provincial capital of that name, covered the whole area from Badis in Bni Bu Frah to Ras Sidi Sh'aib in Thimsaman. It should also be noted that Sidd, in Arabic, means "dam".

[423] [432] 130--A translation of this document is given in Chapter XVII. It should be noted, in any case, that if a foreigner or anyone whose family does not traditionally irrigate in the area comes to buy land (and to build a house, etc.) in the Lower Ghis region, he has no right to irrigation water until he buys an irrigation turn. He must, furthermore, have a document proving that he bought his turn.

[712] [648] [175] [113] 131--The Jami' al-Mujahidin, or "mosque of the fighters of the faith", where the Aith Waryaghar mounted a permanent and perpetual guard against Spanish invasion, from 1673, when Spain occupied the Isle of al-Husaima, until 1926, when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas, Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47.

[175] [648] [631] 132--Both these men were of Ajdir, subclan of Aith Ughir Iyizan, clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi, a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim who during the Rifian War was pensioned by the Spaniards and in 1926 made qa'id of all Aith Waryaghar by them, died in 1936.

133--This statement needs some qualification. The four names under consideration here, although two of them (Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan) certainly correspond to lineage names, are in effect names of irrigation turns, for, on the other hand, Bu Mqathir and Zawith (the latter refers to the area around the Monday Women's Market, at Azghar, and not, as far as we know, to any particular zawiya) are both place names, and in both these instances, as indicated in the notation of participants in the Zawith turn, it is the lineages who form local groups in the area under consideration who have right to irrigation water, irrespective of their clan affiliations. In the Zawith turn, again, one of the participating ijujga is that of the Andrusen: this lineage, whose name means "Andalusians", has become a member segment of the subclan of Lower Imrabdhen, in the clan of the Imrabdhen; we say "has become" rather than "is", because, as in fact its name shows, it is made up of the descendants of "foreign shurfa" rather than of those of local ones. Another participating jajgu, the Ihaddallahan, is a lineage branch of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif of Ajdir, of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan in the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; while the Ushshannen are a branch of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, also of Ajdir. We have unfortunately been unable to establish the lineage affiliations of the Fisra and Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi; and, like Blanco's, our own notes on irrigation in the Lower Ghis (made in Imzuren in the autumn of 1953) have nothing to say regarding the lineage participating in the Bu Mqathir turn on the fifth day.

However, one point is very clear: that with the rotation over the first four days between Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan, and the additional fact that at least two lineages of Ajdir participate in the Zawith turn,

796 Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations
785 of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying
[574] numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it
[432] is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the
[431] community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where
[794] they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men
[782] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and dis-
[014] tribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

346 Before turning from religious activities to magical prac-
794 tices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Rituals and Relatives:

A Study of the Social Uses of Wealth in Morocco

by

Roger Joseph, Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 1967

Professor Pedro Carrasco, Chairman

121 556 In industrial society the use of wealth to meet the needs of relatives or rituals is marginal and secondary to total expenditures. By contrast, such expenditures in a nonindustrial society may be the most important manner in which wealth is allocated. 121 556 Production in such societies is aimed primarily at satisfying needs arising from the activities and responsibilities induced 433 by social and religious obligations. Distribution seeks to maintain the continuation of these activities and of the social relationships that they establish.

This study is an examination of how wealth is distributed in the Berber society of the Rif Mountains in Morocco. The fundamental feature of [554] the Rif economy is that it is based on status. The economy is one in which the deployment of resources rests primarily, though not exclusively, on imperatives derived from social factors. Exchanges, transfers, or consumption not directly

121 related to subsistence are dictated by a different order of
556 practical considerations and ideological commitments than
433 obtain as the dominating factors in industrial society.

121 It has been an on-going dispute in anthropological
114 literature about whether such an economy as that of the Rif
433 is susceptible to the same sort of treatment that marks the study of market-oriented, industrial society. Polanyi began the dispute by pointing out that the rules of choice upon which most economic theory rests are based on a particular social and economic model which has only limited applicability. He noted that the economic behavior of the participants of an industrial society was largely induced by the institution of the market. The difficulty in such economic analysis comes, of course, when we study societies in which the market is not the primary focal point of the economy.

121 In Rif society the marketplace is peripheral to the
433 economy. This condition is due in part to historical and
443 ecological factors which have influenced the evolution of a particular kind of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and economic resources. The Rif has, until recently, been part

121 of the bled-as-siba, or the land outside the administrative
433 control of the Moroccan government. Thus, one of the major
642 social factors in the history of the Rif was the absence of centralized political authority. This lack of a political factor in integrating the economy has directly influenced the

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

121 433 642 system by which resources are distributed. In the absence of such a factor, the economy developed as a reflection of the social organization wherein well-being depended on relatives, friends, the good-will of the spirits and God, all supporting one another.

121 [126] The data upon which this study is based were collected from two villages in adjoining tribes in the Central Rif. The economy of individual families within the villages was studied, as well as how these local communities articulate with each other and with the wider Moroccan social and economic structure. The principal foci of the investigation were the reciprocal relations between kinsmen and neighbors, the relation of property to prestige, ritual obligations and magical predilection, and the general effects of the indigenous system of social relations on the consumption and distribution of resources.

121 and desert areas remained politically distinct from the Sultan's
105 regime. These areas, of which the Rif was one, were called the
bled-as-siba, or the land of insolence. In such areas there was
[571] no centralized political authority and whatever small degree of
security that existed came from a system of social relationships
whereby mutual assistance was expected and granted. The absence
of political integration at any higher than the local kin and
residence group was paralleled by an absence of extensive economic
121 integration. Not only political success but economic well-being
105 as well depended on relatives, friends and neighbors all support-
571 ing one another. Out of this developed an economic system based
602 on status. By "status" I mean an economy in which the deployment
433 of resources is based primarily, though not exclusively, on imper-
556 atives derived from social relationships and religious obligations.
In such societies wealth is expended on ceremonial activities, on
reciprocal obligations, on the gift and countergift. In an indus-
trial society there are analogous ceremonies and celebrations in
which wealth is spent on relatives and ritual. However, such
expenses are marginal to the amount of total outlay. Such expen-
ditures have proportionately little effect on the sum total of
wealth in comparison to expenditures connected with rational pro-
duction. By way of contrast, in a nonindustrial society social
expenditures of wealth can be the most important way in which
121 wealth is utilized. In a society heavily dependent on local ties,
105 on kin alliance, on neighborhood association, social activities
571 tend to be the essence and breadth of the group. Production is
602
433

121 aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise
105 from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation
571
602 of these activities and the social relationships that they help
433 establish.

121 The central problem I have set for myself is to describe
128 and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

121 As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the condi-
433 tions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that
571 the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was soci-
602 ally, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political condi-
[178] tions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

121 Production and distribution continue to be geared to a series of
433 goals arising out of the status economy. These goals involve
128 obligations attendant to life crises (Chapter 3), incumbent on the correct religious performer, or to placate the spiritual world (Chapter 4), to enhance status and/or acquire allies (Chapter 5). The relationship of the Riffian to the marketplace is described in the final chapter.

101 The field work upon which this study is based was carried
114 out in the Province of Alhucemas in northern Morocco between June of 1965 and November of 1966. The initial month and a half was spent in the port city of Alhucemas arranging necessary papers and working on the local Berber dialect. The following six months were spent among the Beni Wariyaghar in a location of scattered homesteads on the Wariyaghar-Igzinnayen border. The first quarter of 1966 was spent recovering from illness. May to October was spent in a compact village in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen. Field work was terminated in November.

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[771] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless, impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
433 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
435 Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif,
[171] which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
435

454 Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect. Thus, an extra mule or an ox can raise the level of productivity of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

231 454 433 554

256 435 472 [376] Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

442 profit not from dispersing goods in the same marketplace but in
571 transporting the goods from one region to another.
[443]

Large-scale buyers interact with small-lot sellers in a limited range of goods which, generally, can be transformed by industrial processes into another commodity (grapes to wine, almonds to cosmetics, oranges to canned fruit), the conversion of which enhances the value of the original object. These buyers are plugged into a larger economy with export connections and are
442 sensitive to external conditions. Tribesmen who produce in order
433 to meet the demand of such buyers are likewise closely connected
434 with the national and international economy. There is a small but growing number of fellah who produce to sell to this group, but even among them there is a reticence to move completely into the commercial sector. My impression is that the great majority of the Riffian peasantry engaging in cash-cropping attempt to maintain a balance in their production schedule which continues to include a fair proportion of traditional crops. By generalizing their production, few of the grape specialists suffered from
[458] the decrease in prices during 1965. This contrasts with the one-
[435] crop estates in Algeria which during the same period suffered severe setbacks.

443 The small-scale sellers of both goods and services occupy that position which is left open by the unwillingness of the local Berber to engage in full-time commerce and the absence
[434] of the large-scale entrepreneur. They are, on the one hand, dealing in commodities or services the margin of profit on which

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[5]

7 565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443] One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[6] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[7] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[5] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443. [113]

[6] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

[7] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93)

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Tnine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Cabello Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167–169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[2] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[3] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[2] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[3] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

000 of whom there are still a few[114]. In the business, he represents the 471 industrial member and as such he has a right to part of the profits[115], 222 [434] because of the fact that the fishing equipment is also ordinarily his property; and he has the right to appoint a master, the technical director of the business, whose obligations are limited to the maintenance and renovation of the equipment and to fishing. He may transfer the business voluntarily, taking back the equipment, either to sell it or simply to leave it grounded, even though the season may not be over. The construction of a covered shelter for the boats on the beach is his responsibility.

B) The Crew:

501 The master (ra'is) of the boat, appointed by the owner[116]...., 463 is the technical director of the business and he is therefore responsible for any property damages or injuries which can be justified, if they can be imputed to his unskillfulness or ill-will. He is given a free hand to select, appoint and discharge the individuals who have to make up his crew, of which he is the head, without the necessity of the consent of the owner; he is in charge of the selection of points of putting down the nets, fishing, embarkation and disembarkation, admission of merchandise and passengers, selection of shelters, collection of money, auctions and the responsibility for settlement of accounts; and while on board he is authorized to impose discipline by any means in extreme and necessary cases, and he must show the owner any necessary repairs or acquisitions which fall under his inspection. He is principally in charge of the working of the boat, and it is he who sets the course of direction. He appoints a second-in-command.

501 The crew must obey the master in the working of the boat, as
466 their job includes all operations, including loading and unloading. They can transfer at will (to another boat) whenever they like, in which case they are reimbursed with the gross value of their part of the profits, and in justifiable absences, such as short illnesses, the death of some relative, etc., there is no discount from their wages, if they are co-participants in the business; but this requires justification in front of the master and the consent of the rest of the crew, as well as previous warning.....

226 In fishing boats, they are accountable for the maintenance;
501 in boats of transport, they have charge of the profits.

226 C) Profits:
434

1) Fishing in a boat with net: the gross value of the sale is divided into two equal parts, one for the master and one for the crew. In addition to this, the master also receives one-seventh of the owner's share.

2) Fishing in a boat with hook: the gross value of the catch is divided into three equal parts; one for the owner of the appartus (net, lines, hooks....), another (not listed, probably a typographical error) and the last for the crew. Those who haul the nets on shore receive a few kilos of fish.

3) Fishing with explosives: three equal parts, two for the owner of the explosives and the third for the swimmer.

505 4) Transport of Travelers and Merchandise: the profits of the
434 trip, after maintenance expenses and port duties have been discounted, i.e. the true profit, are analogously divided into two parts, in the same proportion as in the case of fishing boats.

000 here. We have never seen or heard of them.

[463] [396] 114--There was a master boatbuilder who lived on the beach of Aith Bu Dawud in the Thimsaman, none in the Aith Waryaghar. He had no helpers in 1954, and got 500 pesetas and his food from future boat owners for building a boat.

115--The usual arrangement in this case is that the profits are split in half, one-half for the owner of the boat and the other half for the ra'is and the crew.

501 463 226 116--Each boat has a ra'is and a crew of four or five men. Sometimes, though rarely, the owner of the boat will be a different individual altogether; more often, however, the ra'is himself is the owner. It is also common for three or four fishermen to go shares on the price of an agharrabu or moruna (another common fishing boat of the same type, but smaller and of Spanish make), and they elect the most capable among them to be ra'is. If, for instance, there is a ra'is and a crew of four, the money from the sale of the catch is split six ways, the ra'is getting two parts. Before any division is made, however, 15-25 pesetas are given to the mule and donkey men who transport the fish to the tribal markets, while small boys who help pull the nets ashore receive one or two kilos of the catch.

[434]

226 The mouth of the Nkur River, emptying into the Mediterranean on the eastern side of the Plain of Al-Husaima, is an ideal place to fish, particularly in the area around Swani (Thimsaman). A boat takes the net (dhrarsha) out, leaving one of two ropes on the beach in the hands of a number of men or boys. When it has reached the end of the rope length, the net is let out in a semi-circle, with curled up ends, resembling a snail. The boat is then rowed back to shore, and the other rope then handed out to a second group of men and boys, as far away from the first rope as possible. When fish begin to collect in any quantity, each group starts pulling in on the ropes, lessening the distance between them as they do so. If the catch promises to be big, the agharrabu goes out again, to be rowed in behind the net in case of trouble. The site of the net is determined by the crew, who know where the fish are by watching places where birds dive into the water. After the net is hauled up on the beach, the crowd rushes out to scoop up the still leaping fish into baskets. They are put on a common pile in the sand, and the division of the catch begins. During the season, boats go out twice a day, in mornings and afternoons. Late summer is the heaviest season, and the ra'is and crew sleep and eat on the beach. They always have to be on the lookout for breaks in the nets and for fish which enter. At other times of year, after laying the nets out to dry, all go home and return in the morning; but with morunas, one person is always there, day or night, as a guard.

000 117--Capt. Gardiner was an English adventurer who ran guns to 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War; and Si l-Hadi n Dadi, of the lineage of Thighanimin, subclan of Izimurren, clan of Izimmuren, tribe of Ibuqquyen, still lives in Alhucemas (1961). During the Rifian War, in 1924, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to Paris with Si Muhand Uzarqan, the Rifian Foreign Minister, to try to preserve good relations with the French (which were broken when 'Abd al-Krim invaded the French Zone of Morocco the following year). After the war, Si l-Hadi eventually became, under the Spaniards, khalifa to the pasha of Al-Husaima, then known as Villa Sanjurjo.

443 I shall now attempt to schematize the suq in the Central Rif. While this diagram may not include all classes of participants nor all exchanges, I think it covers the majority of all cases. The buyers and sellers in the weekly market can be divided into three separate categories. The first are the tribal fellah, rooted socially in the local community. Unquestionably, this group constitutes the vast majority of people at the suq. Whatever economic interaction they have with the suq is prompted by acquiring cash to finance social expenditures or to provide a limited range of goods such as cooking oil, kerosene, sugar, tea, salt and so forth, for household consumption. The majority of persons in this category, the poor fellah, have brought their small lots of goods derived from their agricultural activities to exchange at whatever the prevailing price in order to obtain cash for making equally small purchases. They do not seek to accumulate surpluses of cash so that they can market larger quantities of goods in successive market meetings.

443 442 434 435 The second category of people involved in any one market is made up of the large-scale merchants who have come to buy from the fellah. This group is completely impersonal, rarely if ever having any local connections with the populace. These merchants are well provided with capital, own their own trucks, and are knowledgeable about supply and demand conditions in both the local and national markets in which they operate. In the case of most large-scale buyers, they are accompanied by a group of hired men who seek out market information. These informants

443 gather up verbal information about the prevailing prices and the
442 supply of a commodity in the sug. Their operation is somewhat
434 more complex than the sellers who can quickly assess the supply
435 of the market since they need only evaluate the quantities of their competitors. The large-scale buyers do not have such early information and must rely on their "runners" to supply them with market conditions on the inpouring of a commodity into the market. The centers of these operations are quite exciting as information pours into them and the merchant sends out his buying price.

443 While the lot size of his purchases is uniformly small (buying
442 from the numerous fellah who have only small lots to sell), the large-scale merchant departs from the market with a sizable supply

442 of his good. At the end of market day he is assessed a tax based
[651] on the quantity he has purchased and transports the merchandise to urban centers where even larger firms purchase the good either to transform it into another sort of goods, through an industrial or factory process, or to break it down into small lots again to sell at a higher price. The principle behind his operation is simple. By his act of transporting commodities away from the area in which they were produced to another area in which they are scarce, he multiplies the value of the goods.

443 Amongst themselves such buyers have a rather accurate idea
435 of the prevailing prices among their competitors at the market-
442 place. Whatever price differential that exists at the market develops from the efficiency of information gathering. By this word-of-mouth information the buyer is able to estimate market

442 profit not from dispersing goods in the same marketplace but in
571 transporting the goods from one region to another.
[443]

Large-scale buyers interact with small-lot sellers in a limited range of goods which, generally, can be transformed by industrial processes into another commodity (grapes to wine, almonds to cosmetics, oranges to canned fruit), the conversion of which enhances the value of the original object. These buyers are plugged into a larger economy with export connections and are
442 sensitive to external conditions. Tribesmen who produce in order
433 to meet the demand of such buyers are likewise closely connected
434 with the national and international economy. There is a small but growing number of fellah who produce to sell to this group, but even among them there is a reticence to move completely into the commercial sector. My impression is that the great majority of the Riffian peasantry engaging in cash-cropping attempt to maintain a balance in their production schedule which continues to include a fair proportion of traditional crops. By generalizing their production, few of the grape specialists suffered from
[458] the decrease in prices during 1965. This contrasts with the one-
[435] crop estates in Algeria which during the same period suffered severe setbacks.

443 The small-scale sellers of both goods and services occupy that position which is left open by the unwillingness of the local Berber to engage in full-time commerce and the absence
[434] of the large-scale entrepreneur. They are, on the one hand, dealing in commodities or services the margin of profit on which

443 is too low for the large-scale merchants to intrude in competi-
434 tion. The type of commodity (clothes, kerosene, and so on) can-
[438] not be increased in value through combination and transportation,
[435] while at the same time the volume of trade is so sporadic and low that only the one-man operation can derive a living from it. We might assume that wherever there exists an adequate margin of profit through combination and increase in scale, the large-scale firm will preempt this position. The leftovers, so to speak, go
443 to the small middleman operation. On the other hand, these small-
182 scale merchants are performing services which have a low cultural value among the local population. Thus the small-scale seller of goods and services fills a vacuum. He cannot be displaced by the large firms, since it would not be profitable for them to compete with him. At the same time, he serves the local community by providing necessary but socially disapproved of services.

443 Finally, the tribesmen interact amongst themselves--
438 producers selling to household consumers. Since the fellah's trade is always in small lots (with the exception of livestock), most transactions in this sector are on a very small scale. Lack of capital and limited interest in the market characterize this group. Sellers seek to dispose of their product at whatever the prevailing price as quickly as possible. Buyers choose mainly in terms of quality of the commodity rather than price, which tends to be even--each seller listening to his neighbor seller and selling accordingly. There is very little differential in this group in product or price. The cause behind this lies,

105 443 182 114 blindness that led Benet to conclude: "Everything that is not domestically produced has, therefore, to be obtained from the market, through market transactions, and no exchange or commercial activities of any kind are attempted outside of these times and places. The market place has a monopoly on exchange transactions [amongst Berbers]" (1957:196).

105 443 441 182 434 438 The market itself is not the area of primary concern for the fellah. Professional merchants, of course, fall into another category. But there is little impetus for the growth of an indigenous merchant class. The merchant entrepreneur is, by definition, acting in a way which runs counter to the status economy. He is primarily concerned with devoting his capital to profit or income-producing investments. While the peasant comes to the market with commodities to exchange for money to buy other commodities, the merchant seeks to convert money into commodities which he can resell in order to acquire more money. Social and religious imperatives only interfere with the merchant's freedom of action.[1] Unlike transactions in the social sphere which perpetuate themselves into the future as part of a web of reciprocal obligations, the merchant seeks transactions which are impersonal and terminal at the moment of exchange. He is most at home in the suq, where these conditions are nearest to being achieved.

---

[1] I do not mean to draw too close a parallel between the Protestant merchant and his Muslim counterpart. The Islamic business ethic still awaits its Weber.

/295 cont./

619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-[171] [681] [434] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] [581] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some <u>qanuns</u> express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

695 is to be found situated above the ditch of 'Umar bin Yusif al-Waryaghli.
312
[693] This is what the witnesses of the present (act) certify without there being (any) doubt existing in it. A complete attestation.

693 The undersigned notaries who have compiled (the testimonies which
695 these individuals afforded) from them testify that the latter are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) to testify, and they know them (i.e. personally).

[805] On the 21st day of the blessed Sha'ban of the year 1150 (December 13, 1737). Two illegible signatures follow.

19. PURCHASE AND SALE OF AN IRRIGATION TURN: TRANSLATION:

Praise be to the one God.

312
571
432 The Qa'id Sulaiman bin Muhammad al-Waryaghli al-Khattabi al-Ajdiri[176] buys, with the power and force of God, from the one who sells it, Siddiq bin Muhammad bin Siddiq al-'Abdallawi[177], one-fourth (of a part) of the irrigation ditch of Bulma'iz, (in his turn) by day or by night, his turn reappearing about (once) every nine days; on some occasions
432 he gets it during the day, and on others at night. A valid, definitive
[435] and firm purchase, so much down, without conditions of resale or op-
[436] tions (to anything) other than that assigned here), for a price the sum of which is 100 duros, in Spanish money (i.e. 500 pesetas). This amount the abovementioned seller has taken from the abovementioned buyer, thus recognizing it in front of both witnesses instrumental to the present act, freeing the buyer from it, who took over his purchase with complete possession, occupying it in his place of ownership in conformity with the traditional law and the right of rehibitory action

000 In my humble opinion there is more than enough water for the surface area which can be irrigated; and so much more, in fact, that the amount which is lost is greater than that which is put to use.

312 (499) Calculating grosso modo an irrigable area of 5000 hectars, bounded by the main road on the west, as well as a subalveal flow of over 1 cubic meter per second from the Nkur River, according to the approximate calculations made when the supports of the new bridge (i.e. crossing the river at Km. 20 to the Axt Tuzin and Melilla) were set up, it would not be far off the mark to estimate the flow in both rivers, plus that of Thifarwin (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) at some 3 cubic meters per second, or 10,000 cubic meters per hour; and this would give daily 48 cubic meters per hectar under permanent irrigation.

Most of this water is now lost in the sea....and represents several millions of pesetas lost while technicians, policy makers and businessmen show no iterest.

(591) (435) (241) It should be remembered that a single turn of irrigation water every eight days costs 500 to 600 duros in the Plain of al-Husaima, and continually produces two harvests a year.

Ghis:

Ditch of Bufma'iz -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 131 liters per second

Ditch of r-Bzimma -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 46 liters per second

Nkur:

Ditch of Aghzar Amzzyan -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Thimsaman -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Sidd Jdid -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of 'Ain Harri -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of Swani -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[791] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless, 433 impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that 435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional [191] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif, which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco, 231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices 435

231 of livestock during normal market conditions show a mule to be
435 worth $100 or more, a donkey between $40 and $60. Cows range
from $50 to $70, and bulls upward to $100. Rams sell for $20
[454] to $30, and goats for $10. Given the resources of the Riffian,
expenditures of this magnitude represent expensive investments.

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyia in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[954] evil eye or a djnoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[782] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi,
where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed
at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of
Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated
fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from
Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas
to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and
another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The
chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a
cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at
least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, espe-
cially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah
family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense
would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrim-
age is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such
instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa.
(A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

792
794
575
[124] annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

788
484 Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of
[179] the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died.
[805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu
[178] 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or
[509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group.
[435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in
[671] getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older,
[554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have
788 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, com-
484 pletely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of
626 the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If [illegible] wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
571 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible. [461] [369] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 785 472 443 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare [265] and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for 796 785 the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

754 791 789 793 443 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, a obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 754 789 435 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may [755] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One [755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi- [554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to 000 curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major
556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as
152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the djnoun
[753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of
[796] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The djnoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye, amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[793] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who
[435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

751 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams.
435 Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic
796 directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed,
241 the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain
789 received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed
821 with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins
[533] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community,
[539] singing the refrain,

s-reeth-nis-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawah- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food.
[782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

454 Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect. 231 Thus, an extra mule or an ox can raise the level of productivity 454 of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the 433 case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily 554 in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

256 Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is 435 the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water 492 is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah [376] engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

256 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regard-
435 less of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills
472 are not economically competitive with one another, they are soci-
256
472 ally competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better
477 than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a locality, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of
[571] preference on the part of the users is not determined by conveni-
[578] ence of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such
[602] as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

423 Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses
427 of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor. We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise between a man who has more property than he alone can personally cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own. Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inheritance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these cir-
[464] cumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

443 I shall now attempt to schematize the suq in the Central Rif. While this diagram may not include all classes of participants nor all exchanges, I think it covers the majority of all cases. The buyers and sellers in the weekly market can be divided into three separate categories. The first are the tribal fellah, rooted socially in the local community. Unquestionably, this group constitutes the vast majority of people at the suq. Whatever economic interaction they have with the suq is prompted by acquiring cash to finance social expenditures or to provide a limited range of goods such as cooking oil, kerosene, sugar, tea, salt and so forth, for household consumption. The majority of persons in this category, the poor fellah, have brought their small lots of goods derived from their agricultural activities to exchange at whatever the prevailing price in order to obtain cash for making equally small purchases. They do not seek to accumulate surpluses of cash so that they can market larger quantities of goods in successive market meetings.

443 442 434 435 The second category of people involved in any one market is made up of the large-scale merchants who have come to buy from the fellah. This group is completely impersonal, rarely if ever having any local connections with the populace. These merchants are well provided with capital, own their own trucks, and are knowledgeable about supply and demand conditions in both the local and national markets in which they operate. In the case of most large-scale buyers, they are accompanied by a group of hired men who seek out market information. These informants

443 gather up verbal information about the prevailing prices and the
442 supply of a commodity in the suq. Their operation is somewhat
434 more complex than the sellers who can quickly assess the supply
435 of the market since they need only evaluate the quantities of their competitors. The large-scale buyers do not have such early information and must rely on their "runners" to supply them with market conditions on the inpouring of a commodity into the market. The centers of these operations are quite exciting as information pours into them and the merchant sends out his buying price.

443 While the lot size of his purchases is uniformly small (buying
442 from the numerous fellah who have only small lots to sell), the large-scale merchant departs from the market with a sizable supply
442 of his good. At the end of market day he is assessed a tax based
[651] on the quantity he has purchased and transports the merchandise to urban centers where even larger firms purchase the good either to transform it into another sort of goods, through an industrial or factory process, or to break it down into small lots again to sell at a higher price. The principle behind his operation is simple. By his act of transporting commodities away from the area in which they were produced to another area in which they are scarce, he multiplies the value of the goods.

443 Amongst themselves such buyers have a rather accurate idea
435 of the prevailing prices among their competitors at the market-
442 place. Whatever price differential that exists at the market develops from the efficiency of information gathering. By this word-of-mouth information the buyer is able to estimate market

443 442 435 conditions and adjust his prices accordingly. The fellah, on the other hand, has no such information channel and merely attempts to get the best price he can with his limited supply of information. The fellah sells his eggs, or almonds, or oranges, to the big buyers almost as soon as he contacts one of them at the marketplace. Since his lots are so small, any fluctuation in the price of the commodity during the day would only remotely affect him and he prefers to get his selling activity over with quickly so that he can get on to his other market activities--buying and social intercourse. It would be far from the market style of the Berber to spend hours prowling the suq in search of an optimum moment to sell. Only in those commodities which the producer sells directly to the consumer (fellah to fellah) is there much time spent in marketing goods. Only in the absence of the large-scale merchant must the tribesman await the disposition of his goods.

It is only on rare occasions that the large-scale merchant attempts to sell what he has bought in the same market. The only instances that I know of were in the case of selling to wholesalers or restaurant owners from the city of Alhucemas who came to the rural suqs to buy for their immediate need, taking advantage of special friendships and buying in lots so large that the price advantage for the large-scale merchants of transporting to another area was offset by the quantity of the purchase. This, however, was rare. Most merchants of this magnitude attempted to derive their profits through their transporting facility.

443 The third group is those merchants who exclusively sell
442 at the market. As noted above, this is merely an analytic device. Empirically, a buyer in one market will be a seller in another. It is only the special ecological conditions of the Rif which separate the two categories in the marketplaces. There is, however, a major dichotomy which splits this group, based mainly on scale of operation. On the one hand are the large-scale sellers who resemble, in terms of organization, the large-scale buyers and who derive their profit mainly through the transportational facility. On the other hand, we have the small-scale merchant who sells his goods and services only in a cycle of small local markets.

443 The small-scale sellers hold in common with the large merchants only the fact that their basic activity is to sell. The difference is essentially in scale. The small-scale merchant or occupational specialist travels from one market within a carefully defined region to the next market. He has no con-
[494] [492] nections outside his immediate circuit and gets from one place to the next on public transportation or mule. He has little knowledge of market conditions outside his immediate view of
[435] [437] a single market. His prices, which may involve a good deal of bargaining, vary only slightly from customer to customer and
443 445 from market to market. He may be divided into two empirical categories: those who sell services, such as barbers, butchers, shoe repairmen, food vendors, blacksmiths, solderers, etc., and those who keep a small inventory of nonperishable goods, such

442 profit not from dispersing goods in the same marketplace but in
571 transporting the goods from one region to another.
[443]

Large-scale buyers interact with small-lot sellers in a limited range of goods which, generally, can be transformed by industrial processes into another commodity (grapes to wine, almonds to cosmetics, oranges to canned fruit), the conversion of which enhances the value of the original object. These buyers are plugged into a larger economy with export connections and are
442 sensitive to external conditions. Tribesmen who produce in order
433 to meet the demand of such buyers are likewise closely connected
434 with the national and international economy. There is a small but growing number of fellah who produce to sell to this group, but even among them there is a reticence to move completely into the commercial sector. My impression is that the great majority of the Riffian peasantry engaging in cash-cropping attempt to maintain a balance in their production schedule which continues to include a fair proportion of traditional crops. By generalizing their production, few of the grape specialists suffered from
[458] the decrease in prices during 1965. This contrasts with the one-
[435] crop estates in Algeria which during the same period suffered severe setbacks.

443 The small-scale sellers of both goods and services occupy that position which is left open by the unwillingness of the local Berber to engage in full-time commerce and the absence
[434] of the large-scale entrepreneur. They are, on the one hand, dealing in commodities or services the margin of profit on which

443 434 is too low for the large-scale merchants to intrude in competition. The type of commodity (clothes, kerosene, and so on) cannot be increased in value through combination and transportation, [438] [435] while at the same time the volume of trade is so sporadic and low that only the one-man operation can derive a living from it. We might assume that wherever there exists an adequate margin of profit through combination and increase in scale, the large-scale firm will preempt this position. The leftovers, so to speak, go to the small middleman operation. On the other hand, these small-443 182 scale merchants are performing services which have a low cultural value among the local population. Thus the small-scale seller of goods and services fills a vacuum. He cannot be displaced by the large firms, since it would not be profitable for them to compete with him. At the same time, he serves the local community by providing necessary but socially disapproved of services.

443 438 Finally, the tribesmen interact amongst themselves--producers selling to household consumers. Since the fellah's trade is always in small lots (with the exception of livestock), most transactions in this sector are on a very small scale. Lack of capital and limited interest in the market characterize this group. Sellers seek to dispose of their product at whatever the prevailing price as quickly as possible. Buyers choose mainly in terms of quality of the commodity rather than price, which tends to be even--each seller listening to his neighbor seller and selling accordingly. There is very little differential in this group in product or price. The cause behind this lies,

443 townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers
829 on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

443 Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I
438 mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local
182 suq because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic
443 advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the mer-
438 chants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has
571 certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market.
[609] Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of
443 transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best
438 price based on multiple competition, the larger the market,
●435 the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the fellah is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local suq, he must return the animal home or be entirely

443 dependent on the prices existing in the market for that day.
438 On the other hand, if he is dissatisfied with the price in the
435 local market he can easily transport the beast home again, to await a more propitious occasion.

443 I think that the major element which emerges from this
182 schematic presentation of the composition of the market and the
571 interaction of its various actors is that each fellah, as an individual, plays a relatively minor role in the workings of the market. The market brings together buyers and sellers, but the fellah have a different orientation than the other
443 buyers and sellers. Stemming from this difference in orienta-
182 tion is a basic difference in the form of economic activity. The primary concern of the professional merchant is to dispose of his products on the market, hopefully at a profit. The primary concern of the fellah is to meet subsistence and social needs. If he can do this by disposing of his crops or livestock on the market, all the better. But the market as such does not provide the dynamics of the Rif economy; the dynamics are provided by the impulses activated by the status economy.

/239 cont./

621
613
614
114
171

/footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11. Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse origins there. On the other hand, the bond of blood exists among the households of the same Riffian jemaᶜa.

621
613
it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and becomes a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq" heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers" resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of extermination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

621
628
613
726

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, following the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ᶜadoul; if the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

[722]

[435]

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes, large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living grouped in hamlets. The "mouda[c]" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to deliber-
621 ate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

623 the imposition of minimal social obligations (education and hospitality), the equal division of duties and work, and, finally, nomination of a man to represent the jma'th and to see that local law is enforced.

This jma'th and its representative were legitimate organs of the people, an authentic and faithful reflection of the feeling and convenience of its members, live and efficient organisms. Today a 623 197 182 rigid Arab framework and its imposed and despotic representatives has submerged the jma'th, without any alternative other than the hatred or scorn of its members, according to whether the chief is a tyrant, or a slave to his needs or whims.

436 681 For an analysis of the proportioning of the punishment, it is well to know the equivalents of the Rifian monetary system, as follows:[41]

Mithqal--2 Spanish pesetas

Bsita--0.60 Spanish pesetas

Rbi'a--0.50 Spanish pesetas

Uqiyya or Spanish onza, "ounce"--0.20 Spanish pesetas

Ujjhain (two muzunas)--0.10 Spanish pesetas

Muzuna or Spanish blanquillo, "little target"--0.05 Spanish pesetas.

681 693 With these data to hand, we may now establish the framework of fines which occur in the qanun commented upon, in the following order:

Theft by day, of cereals or fruits (figs, etc.)--100 pesetas

Theft by night, in the orchards or gardens--20 pesetas

Threats with firearms--20 pesetas

Thefts by day, in the orchards--10 pesetas

Threats with knives or daggers--5 pesetas

Damages to dams--5 pesetas

695 is to be found situated above the ditch of 'Umar bin Yusif al-Waryaghli.
312
[693] This is what the witnesses of the present (act) certify without there being (any) doubt existing in it. A complete attestation.

693 The undersigned notaries who have compiled (the testimonies which
695 these individuals afforded) from them testify that the latter are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) to testify, and they know them (i.e. personally).

[805] On the 21st day of the blessed Sha'ban of the year 1150 (December 13, 1737). Two illegible signatures follow.

19. PURCHASE AND SALE OF AN IRRIGATION TURN: TRANSLATION:

Praise be to the one God.

312 The Qa'id Sulaiman bin Muhammad al-Waryaghli al-Khattabi al-Ajdiri[176]
571
432 buys, with the power and force of God, from the one who sells it, Siddiq bin Muhammad bin Siddiq al-'Abdallawi[177], one-fourth (of a part) of the irrigation ditch of Bulma'iz, (in his turn) by day or by night, his turn reappearing about (once) every nine days; on some occasions
432 he gets it during the day, and on others at night. A valid, definitive
[435] and firm purchase, so much down, without conditions of resale or op-
[436] tions (to anything) other than that assigned here), for a price the sum of which is 100 duros, in Spanish money (i.e. 500 pesetas). This amount the abovementioned seller has taken from the abovementioned buyer, thus recognizing it in front of both witnesses instrumental to the present act, freeing the buyer from it, who took over his purchase with complete possession, occupying it in his place of ownership in conformity with the traditional law and the right of rehibitory action

000

34--Spanish literature refers to any Rifian who, during the "Republik", had done remunerative work for the Spanish administration on Al-Husaima Island as a pensionado de la isla.

35--It appears that here Blanco implicitly recognizes the Rifians' desire to preserve their system of checks, balances and oscillations within the framework of their segmentary lineage system.

36--"Counter-espionage" might be nearer the mark here, for it is up to the members of the jma'th in question to watch over their own property!

37--Blanco refers here to the addenda in the qanun after the two illegible signatures.

[436] 38--The duro hasani, more than any other denomination of coinage, was the Rifian monetary unit during the "Republik".

[114] 39--It seems to us that Blanco tries to infer too much from the order of appearance of the councilmembers' names; and undue emphasis is placed on social protocol as well. These traits are, of course, very Spanish!

[114] 40--Also very Spanish is the labored and rather far-fetched comparison with the urban ayuntamiento.

41--A word or two of explanation (as of 1961) is necessary regarding the Rifian monetary system. First of all, none of these coins have been in use since protectorate times; all of them date back to the "Republik". It will also be made increasingly clear below, in the text, that bigger fines for graver offenses were always expressed in terms of hasani duros. Secondly, in the corresponding peseta equivalents, it must be remembered that the peseta values are those of 1939, when the Spanish peseta was worth a good deal more than it was in 1961. Thirdly, Blanco does not mention the fact that Rifians call a peseta by the name frank, pl. franik, a term borrowed, of course from French franc, but not to be confused with it. Five franik made a duro, the word riyal being foreign to Rifian usage. This has created considerable terminological confusion, particularly since the introduction of Moroccan francs in 1958 and later, in 1961, the new Moroccan dirhams, into the North Zone. As 10 Moroccan francs, more or less, equal 1 Spanish peseta, the Rifians, unwilling to give up their old monetary terminology, call a ten-franc piece frank, a twenty-franc piece dhnain franik (two franks), a fifty-franc piece khamsa franik (five franks), and a one-hundred franc piece or note 'ashra franik (ten franks). And as the new Moroccan dirham is equal to 100 old Moroccan francs, it is also called "ten franks" by the Rifians, although within the next few years it is probable that the term dirham, or ij udirham (one dirham) will become common usage.

[114] 42--It is perhaps neither warlike nor religious in Blanco's interpretation of this qanun; but it is always highly contradictory and indeed erroneous assertions of this kind which seriously weaken the fabric of Blanco's arguments.

43--Hospitality to guests is very important, in the Rifian scale of values, and nobody would deny this; but is it the most important institution of the jma'th???

[See p. 290--Analyst]

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
437 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of
556
152 some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628
177 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613
623 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that somebody had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
687 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus pubbic

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 3

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

121
437 The Riffian then is an agriculturalist, a fellah, who keeps small herds of livestock. Our problem is what does he do with his herd and his cereals once the subsistence needs of himself and his family have been met. If he followed Smith's dictum he would 'by instinct' seek out another individual with whom he could exchange his superfluous product in order to gain a profit. Such exchanges do, of course, take place. Ecological differentiation, for one factor, causes the exchange of special objects from one region to another. Occupational specialization requires the fellah to seek out opportunities for exchanging his produce in the most opportune way in order to acquire services and goods outside his range of competence. The question however is, are these forms of exchange the most frequent, do they account for the most significant amount of distribution, and are they culturally or ideologically the most valued types of exchange? If the answer is no, then we must seek out what sort of exchanges do fulfill the above functions. The study of the circulation of goods must proceed sui generis.

121
556 In order to derive the relative importance of the various uses of wealth in the Rif, I shall commence with an analysis of the distribution of wealth related to some of the life crises of the Berber.

443 The third group is those merchants who exclusively sell
442 at the market. As noted above, this is merely an analytic device. Empirically, a buyer in one market will be a seller in another. It is only the special ecological conditions of the Rif which separate the two categories in the marketplaces. There is, however, a major dichotomy which splits this group, based mainly on scale of operation. On the one hand are the large-scale sellers who resemble, in terms of organization, the large-scale buyers and who derive their profit mainly through the transportational facility. On the other hand, we have the small-scale merchant who sells his goods and services only in a cycle of small local markets.

443 The small-scale sellers hold in common with the large merchants only the fact that their basic activity is to sell. The difference is essentially in scale. The small-scale merchant or occupational specialist travels from one market within a carefully defined region to the next market. He has no con-
[494] [492] nections outside his immediate circuit and gets from one place to the next on public transportation or mule. He has little knowledge of market conditions outside his immediate view of
[435] [437] a single market. His prices, which may involve a good deal of bargaining, vary only slightly from customer to customer and
443 445 from market to market. He may be divided into two empirical categories: those who sell services, such as barbers, butchers, shoe repairmen, food vendors, blacksmiths, solderers, etc., and those who keep a small inventory of nonperishable goods, such

443 as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and
445 spices.

443 A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe
444 owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consump-
443 tion. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is
444 in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments
452 can be spread into the future. With all the other participants
(439) of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

443 These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I
571 shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within
(128) this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the
442 Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers
443 do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers.
571 This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

443 438 undoubtedly, in the fact that each production unit is a replica of all the other units. Each seller has the same commodities, in about the same proportions and selling for similar prices. Individual (A) has commodities x and y which he wishes to sell in order to buy z. Individual (B) has the same commodities which he seeks to dispose of in order to achieve the same goal. And so forth, throughout the whole of the assembled tribesmen. What exchange does take place among the fellah exists, for the most part, as a function of slight ecological differentiation between local areas.

The fellah, by and large, enters the market and disposes of his goods at whatever price they will fetch, either to fellow tribesmen or merchants from the outside. Naturally he seeks the best return that he can get, but his motivations lie far from the rest of the merchants who seek capital accumulation. His [437] desire is to acquire cash for tobacco, tea, sugar, cooking oil, kerosene, and a kilo of fish or meat, or to transfer his gain back into the status economy of which he is so much a part. He partakes of the selling process for only as long as it is absolutely necessary. Ideally, he should not even need to sell.

443 829 Unlike the peasants of many areas (Guatemala and Mexico come to mind), the average Riffian is not a "marketeer" and marketing is not a primary household activity. In an ethnographic study of the small village of San Antonino in Oaxaca, Mexico, I was impressed by the fact that everyone seemed to be deeply concerned about what went on in the market. Many of the

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[6]

The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air. One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[7] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[8] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[6] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[7] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

[8] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 than the Riffian variety. They are grown on trellises outside of and trailing onto the houses, and along the village paths. Since they are trained to climb up trellises, they are not cut back like the Riffian grapes, but are allowed to grow as long as they will, for purposes of shade.

Cactus. The one species of cactus found in the Rif, the prickly pear variety, is called by its Arabic name, *karamus en Nsara*, or the Christian fig. It is found along the seacoast, in the eastern tribes up to Beni Tusin and Gzennaya, and in the southern part of Gzennaya. It is absent in northern Gzennaya, in southern Beni Urriaghel, in Beni Amart, and in the Senhaja Sghir. Where it is grown it serves as a convenient fence about the house, and as a [438] supply of mediocre food in time of famine. Women and young girls pick its fruit, remove the needles, and sell it in market at a low price.

244 **Garden Plants and Care of Gardens.** *batata*, the potato. This vegetable is obviously of American origin, although it has been grown for a long time in the Senhaja and central Rif and has become an integral part of the local culture. It is divided into two varieties: the reddish type, the more frequent, and the white type, found chiefly in Beni Amart. The white is considered the older. Potatoes are grown only where there is irrigation, and then usually in terraces.

er khizzu, the carrot. This vegetable, considered to be of Arab introduction, is not favored and is rarely grown.

er bser, the onion. This is planted in the following manner: in March onions are cut in two or more pieces lengthwise and planted; these pieces are allowed to grow big and go to seed, and the seeds are collected and sown in a starting-bed in August: the next year the stalks are cut off and the plants are separated and transplanted.

jifth, the white turnip.

er firfir, the pepper. Peppers are specially treated, being fertilized with goat manure when they begin to flower.

jubshth, a species of small bean.

ibauen ibershanen, black beans.

thakhseshth, a type of vegetable marrow or squash.

thakhseshth n yieri, the gourd, raised for bottles only and not eaten.

243 **Cultivation of Grains and Leguminous Plants.** *dra thesdat*, durra, is considered by the Riffians to be of recent introduction from the Negro country. It is grown only by men who have no terraces whereon to grow maize (*dra*), since it can be grown dry. It is not greatly valued and is not commonly grown.

shinti, rye,[1] is grown without irrigation on the mountain slopes where the land, too steep for ploughing, may be worked with the hoe. It may be grown on land which does not belong to the farmer, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture, and hence is an important source [262] of food supply for families owning insufficient arable land. The Riffians prize rye highly, considering it rich in food value and a strength producer. Since the Arabs ridicule them for eating it, the Riffians seldom discuss the subject with strangers, or produce food made from

[1] Samples of *shinti* from Gzennaya, now in the Harvard Botanical Museum, have been identified by F. Tracy Hubbard of the Harvard Botany Department as rye. Moulieras mentions *shinti* in his description of the Beni Bu Nsar, calling it "une sorte de blé blanc." Procopius ascribes the cultivation of a grain called *Bare* to the mountain Berbers of his time. This grain, identified with the Latin *arinca*, was perhaps rye. Moulieras, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, vol. i, p. 53; Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 6, l. 13; Freund, Latin-English Lexicon; Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, unabridged, 1882 edition; Vavilov, *The Origin of Cultivated Plants*, p. 206.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

175 caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the
178 one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād*
631 *as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective
443 *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain
438 of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables. fruits, eggs, butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as
443 clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (ba-
439 buches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

443 On the market day itself, this changes. Merchants arrive on bus, mule, truck, or foot to set up their booths. By eight o'clock there is a small but steady flow of fellah entering the
443 market. At the main entrances of the suq taxes are collected.
651 For those who have certain articles to sell, a tax must be paid,
438 based on the quantity of the commodity. There are certain cases, to be discussed below, when commodities may enter the market free to be taxed later, at the moment of sale or after the goods have been accumulated but before they leave the market.

443 The tax of the market is, at present, the main source of
651 revenue that the government realizes from the Rif. Both the
648 Spanish and Moroccan governments found that the collection of taxes on the basis of market exchange was the most feasible way of extracting revenue from the Rif.[1] By walling off the market and stationing guards at the entrances the government is able to impose a stability on the collection process. "Conviene senalar que la recaudación de los impuestos del Majken en los Zocos se viene realizando por las intervenciones militares sin el menor obstáculo y con mucha más facilidad que puede efectuarse en las ciudades la recaudación de los arbitrios urbanos" (Albéniz 1930:118-119).

---

[1]The Spanish charged a tax (tertib) on the yield of the land and upon livestock. The tertib was discontinued after independence and a new tax "was so designed as to exempt the poorest 90 percent of farmers" (Morocco 1965:394). This excludes most of the fellah. For a discussion of the Spanish tax structure in Morocco see Hart 1956:253.

443 651 648 438 [123] Below is the official tax rate of the Spanish as given in Albéniz (1930:121-122). I have no schedule of my own because of a disinclination on the part of officials to give me such information.

Articles upon which a tax is paid entering the market:	
A load of fruit	0.75 Spanish pesetas
Basket of vegetables	0.75
Basket of fish	1.50
Kilo of honey or butter	0.40

Articles upon which a tax is paid upon leaving the market by the large-scale buyers:	
Wool	5% of total value
Straw mats	0.25 each
Dried cereal	0.50 quintal
Goat or lamb hide	0.20 each
Cattle hide	0.50 each

Articles upon which a tax is paid at the moment of exchange:	
Horses	5% of the value of the sale
Mules	5% of the value of the sale
Donkeys	5% of the value of the sale
Firewood, a quintal	5% of the value of the sale

Articles upon which a tax is charged when entering the market and again upon being sold:	
Basket of wool	.10 and .20
Chickens and wild fowl	.10 and .10
Eggs (dozen)	.10 and .10
Carbon (a sack)	.10 and .10

443 651 648 438 735 While Albéniz's list follows the general lines of present taxing policy, there have been some changes aimed at helping the poor. For example, small lots of fruit, vegetables, nuts and eggs can enter the market without paying a duty. Revenue is collected for

443 651 such items if they are purchased by the large middlemen merchants 438 who pay the tax upon leaving the suq. Because of governmental 648 tax and conservation laws, carbon is rarely sold in the free [735] market but rather in the black market. The narcotic kif, which [276] undoubtedly is a major trade item, also is in the province of the black marketeer. Missing from Albéniz's list are almonds, which have become an increasingly important cash crop. Almonds enter the market free in small lots, are bought by large-scale merchants and taxed upon departing from the market.

443 After paying his tax, the seller enters the market and goes to the area occupied by traders of his particular commodity. There are no market rules demanding that a seller go to a special place but areas have by custom been developed for each type of goods. Those people selling an unusual commodity or unique service set up shop wherever they desire as long as it does not interfere with the operation of the market.

443 438 In the following I shall outline the sorts of commodities brought to the market and the categories of people involved in marketing them. The composition of the agricultural products varies greatly with the season. Tomatoes, green peppers, and other vegetables are available only in the summer and early fall. For a short period during the fall, fruit is in overabundance. Potatoes, maize, garlic, and onions appear throughout the year, though again the supply varies. There are always large stacks of unmilled barley even though this is supposed to be the main crop of the region. That the fellah have to buy barley on

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [177] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.

Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation, while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men, in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the poor.

Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer

province of Nador, where barley is relatively cheap, in order to sell in the Rif, which seldom produces enough to meet local needs. The barley is stacked in huge piles of loose, unground seed which is purchased in relatively small lots to be taken back to the mountains and ground for bread or left in seed form to feed the livestock. The barley is measured and weighed by a member of the imziren class, who loudly cries out the current price of barley in the market. The merchants themselves sit under nearby shade trees, accepting the coins from their criers and listening to the competition.

In addition to these large-scale sellers, there are the large-scale buyers, who resemble the large-scale sellers in all particulars except their immediate function in the market. Among this group are the egg merchants who buy the tiny lots of a myriad fellah in order to transport them to the urban centers of Tetuan or Fez. Another group of buyers are the almond merchants who purchase the Riffian's supply to market abroad, usually in France, to cosmetic companies which transform them into face oils and hand lotions. There are also merchants of oranges who supply the canned juice industry, and grape buyers who purchase the indigenous supply (used locally by the Berbers as a winter reserve in the form of raisins) for the wine industry located in central Morocco.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Composition of the Market of Arba Taurirt, 1965

443
438
445
265

Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10	Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10
kerosene	6	8	barbers	11	9
rugs	8	7	solderers	3	2
pottery	1	1	shoe repair	9	6
baskets, brooms, and straw hats	4	0	butchers	11	9
men's new clothes	13	12	food for consumption at market	12	10
men's used clothes	7	4	medicine	1	0
women's clothes	x	27	photography	1	0
hardware and spices	29	27	dentist	1	0
barley	8	7	palm reader	0	1
bread	1	2	jewelry	0	1
candy	4	4	rubber boots	0	1
window frames	1	1	belts	0	1
books	1	1	magician	0	1
soft drinks	1	0			
trucks of fish	3	1			
garlic	a	a	turnips	0	a
peppers	a	0	eggs	a	a
almonds	a	0	melons	1	0
walnuts	1	0	grapes	a	0
oranges	0	a	tomatoes	a	0
raisins	0	a	potatoes	a	a
			onions	a	a

a] indicates that the number of vendors was so large and changeable that accurate counting was not possible.

x] indicates that I have no sure figures.

This list includes, to the best of my knowledge, every single item being sold inside the marketplace. It was not possible to keep a tab on livestock transactions.

[114]

443 is too low for the large-scale merchants to intrude in competi-
434 tion. The type of commodity (clothes, kerosene, and so on) can-
[438] not be increased in value through combination and transportation,
[435] while at the same time the volume of trade is so sporadic and low that only the one-man operation can derive a living from it. We might assume that wherever there exists an adequate margin of profit through combination and increase in scale, the large-scale firm will preempt this position. The leftovers, so to speak, go
443 to the small middleman operation. On the other hand, these small-
182 scale merchants are performing services which have a low cultural value among the local population. Thus the small-scale seller of goods and services fills a vacuum. He cannot be displaced by the large firms, since it would not be profitable for them to compete with him. At the same time, he serves the local community by providing necessary but socially disapproved of services.

443 Finally, the tribesmen interact amongst themselves--
438 producers selling to household consumers. Since the fellah's trade is always in small lots (with the exception of livestock), most transactions in this sector are on a very small scale. Lack of capital and limited interest in the market characterize this group. Sellers seek to dispose of their product at whatever the prevailing price as quickly as possible. Buyers choose mainly in terms of quality of the commodity rather than price, which tends to be even--each seller listening to his neighbor seller and selling accordingly. There is very little differential in this group in product or price. The cause behind this lies,

443 undoubtedly, in the fact that each production unit is a replica
438 of all the other units. Each seller has the same commodities, in about the same proportions and selling for similar prices. Individual (A) has commodities x and y which he wishes to sell in order to buy z. Individual (B) has the same commodities which he seeks to dispose of in order to achieve the same goal. And so forth, throughout the whole of the assembled tribesmen. What exchange does take place among the fellah exists, for the most part, as a function of slight ecological differentiation between local areas.

The fellah, by and large, enters the market and disposes of his goods at whatever price they will fetch, either to fellow tribesmen or merchants from the outside. Naturally he seeks the best return that he can get, but his motivations lie far from the rest of the merchants who seek capital accumulation. His
[439] desire is to acquire cash for tobacco, tea, sugar, cooking oil, kerosene, and a kilo of fish or meat, or to transfer his gain back into the status economy of which he is so much a part. He partakes of the selling process for only as long as it is absolutely necessary. Ideally, he should not even need to sell.

443 Unlike the peasants of many areas (Guatemala and Mexico
829 come to mind), the average Riffian is not a "marketeer" and marketing is not a primary household activity. In an ethnographic study of the small village of San Antonino in Oaxaca, Mexico, I was impressed by the fact that everyone seemed to be deeply concerned about what went on in the market. Many of the

townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local *suq* because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the merchants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market. Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best price based on multiple competition, the larger the market, the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the *fellah* is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local *suq*, he must return the animal home or be entirely

443 dependent on the prices existing in the market for that day.
438 On the other hand, if he is dissatisfied with the price in the
435 local market he can easily transport the beast home again, to await a more propitious occasion.

443 I think that the major element which emerges from this
182 schematic presentation of the composition of the market and the
571 interaction of its various actors is that each fellah, as an individual, plays a relatively minor role in the workings of the market. The market brings together buyers and sellers, but the fellah have a different orientation than the other
443 buyers and sellers. Stemming from this difference in orienta-
182 tion is a basic difference in the form of economic activity. The primary concern of the professional merchant is to dispose of his products on the market, hopefully at a profit. The primary concern of the fellah is to meet subsistence and social needs. If he can do this by disposing of his crops or livestock on the market, all the better. But the market as such does not provide the dynamics of the Rif economy; the dynamics are provided by the impulses activated by the status economy.

105 443 182 114 blindness that led Benet to conclude: "Everything that is not domestically produced has, therefore, to be obtained from the market, through market transactions, and no exchange or commercial activities of any kind are attempted outside of these times and places. The market place has a monopoly on exchange transactions [amongst Berbers]" (1957:196).

105 443 441 182 434 438 The market itself is not the area of primary concern for the fellah. Professional merchants, of course, fall into another category. But there is little impetus for the growth of an indigenous merchant class. The merchant entrepreneur is, by definition, acting in a way which runs counter to the status economy. He is primarily concerned with devoting his capital to profit or income-producing investments. While the peasant comes to the market with commodities to exchange for money to buy other commodities, the merchant seeks to convert money into commodities which he can resell in order to acquire more money. Social and religious imperatives only interfere with the merchant's freedom of action.[1] Unlike transactions in the social sphere which perpetuate themselves into the future as part of a web of reciprocal obligations, the merchant seeks transactions which are impersonal and terminal at the moment of exchange. He is most at home in the suq, where these conditions are nearest to being achieved.

---

[1] I do not mean to draw too close a parallel between the Protestant merchant and his Muslim counterpart. The Islamic business ethic still awaits its Weber.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[m]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus, C. laurifolius, C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[n] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[m] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[n] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93]

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt*; on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt*.

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Tnine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Caballo Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167-169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[34] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[35] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[34] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[35] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

NAVIGATION

The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thagharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thagharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *izhizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkathafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in felucca rig.

Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks. The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara, where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Wafi, of the Beni Urriaghel.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER V

MATERIAL CULTURE (CONTINUED)

METAL WORK

326 METAL workers may be divided into three classes: ironworkers or blacksmiths, who are subjected to social restrictions, Jews, and gunsmiths.

325 None of these metal workers know the art of extracting metals from their ores — all the raw material used in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara in recent times has been brought in from outside.[1] Thus, using smelting as the criterion, one might say that these people are not in an age of metal, despite the fact that they use metal tools exclusively. This observation is doubly true when one considers that all the metal workers, except the gunsmiths, are counted as outsiders and immigrants.

The blacksmiths use double bellows of goat-skin bags, which they work up and down with sticks. These bellows, called *tahanut*, must not be confused with the *arrabos*, the bellows of European fireplace type now made in Taghzuth and copied from those made in Meknes and Fez. The blacksmith works over a charcoal fire, quickened by means of these bellows: he heats his metal until it is red hot and then forges it on an anvil, called *er minsbuth*, which consists merely of an iron stake driven into the ground (unless he has had the good fortune to buy a European anvil). All iron is forged, none is cast; in fact, the only metal melted and cast is lead, used for bullets. The Riffian smiths are, however, able to perform one feat of considerable difficulty; they weld steel edges into soft iron implements, an art unknown, I believe, to the Negroes of Central Africa, from whom, judging by tradition, the physical type of the smiths, and the types of implements, modern North African metallurgy was borrowed. The Vandals, according to Procopius,[2] are supposed to have shown the North Africans the secret of steel-working, whence the smiths may have obtained this technique, if they did not obtain it later from Jews or Arabs.

325 177

326 412 439 The blacksmiths make hoes, sickles, ploughshares, pruning knives, knives, shears, scissors, axes, adzes, chisels, hammers, and horseshoes. Such tools as files, vises, saws, planes, awls, needles, and pincers they import.

325 412 Hoes, sickles, adzes, and axes were formerly so made that they could be hafted only to shafts which bent at right angles; in other words, the hafting superficially resembled a Bronze Age technique, especially since the end of such a tool away from the cutting edge was equipped with a socket for the reception of the end of the hafting. In order to make this socket, the implement was constructed as follows: a flat square sheet of iron was ham-

[1] Marmol (chaps. 41, 43, 46) states that iron was extracted in the neighborhood of Melilla and of Megeo, as well as in Beni Said. The first two sites were probably worked, or at least directed, by townspeople, who were not, according to Marmol's own accounts, native Berbers in blood. In Beni Said the mining operations were well organized, and merchants came from as far as Fez to buy iron balls, from which the tools Berbers use were made.

The excellence of the organization of this extinct industry in Beni Said may have been due to Arab or some other non-Riffian inspiration. At the time Marmol wrote the eastern Rif was much more open to outside influences than it has been in later centuries.

[2] Marcus, p. 217 (from Cassiod. Variar. v. 1, Victor Vitensis I, 10).

[p. 64]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghzuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghzuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the [531] hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Aaht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. ●[439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[434] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[415 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghzuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

285 415 Hamara of the Gzennaya; Bokoya; Ijaonen of Beni Amart; Beni Hadifa and Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel; Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman; the Metalsa dwelling near Beni Mohammed, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, all the Senhaja and Ghomara, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, and the western Maritime tribes.

[314] *Wickerwork*, the third type, is called *asarow n ughanim*. Oleander switches and reeds are used, the oleander for the uprights, or warp, and the split reeds woven in and out between them. Baskets made of this material are often of great size, four to five feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are used for the transportation of grapes, figs, almonds, walnuts, and the like, and for the storage of raisins, dried figs, and dried apricots. (See plate 24.) They are to be found in Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikaroen, Temjunt, Bured, all of Gzennaya, Mountain Urriaghel, Taghzuth n Tassa and Tizera n Imziwen of Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, and Ain Mediuna of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Bu Shibet.

TEXTILES

286 [439] Textiles made in the Rif are confined to woolen cloths, all cotton and what little silk there is being imported.

283 [314] The first process in textile manufacture is washing the wool in a stream with the boiled roots of the plant known as *thaghigheshth*. The wool is hung up in the rafters of the house until dry, and is then carded. In the old days, cards of local manufacture, called *ikarthashen*, were employed, but today the cards used throughout the Rif are imported from Sheshawen and are of European type. The indigenous type consists of a long wooden handle about two feet in length, with a flat piece of cow's horn attached to one end. Into the horn are set two parallel rows of spikes, either wooden or brass, about the length of a human finger. The rows are set at right angles to the axis of the handle, and the spikes project from the handle at a right angle. These cards were kept in pairs, and when not in use were pushed up into the rafters, where, in old houses, a few of them may still be found.

Spinning, the next process after carding, is done in two ways:

1. The thread is suspended from a distaff, on which the rove is wound, and attached to a spindlewhorl held just off the ground. Thread spun in this way is used for warp and is called *asarau*.

2. The rove is spun on the thigh and gathered into a pot below. This thread is used for weft and is called *amshin*.

286 [869] Weaving, the final process of textile manufacture, is done on two entirely different kinds of loom under different circumstances. The more primitive is the *azta*, an upright two-bar loom with a stick heddle and a wooden comb for battening the warp. The operation of the *azta* is entirely in the hands of women. A girl who does not know how to weave on the *azta* has a poor chance of marriage, and consequently girls learn this art at an early age. Parties are held for the teaching of it; a girl who is not expert invites a number of skilled weavers, who go to her house, eat, and instruct her. The cloth produced by the *azta* is called *tadsha* and is used for women's clothes, men's sleeveless shirts worn in winter, and blankets. It is generally white, sometimes with red horizontal bands or stripes. The *azta* is employed throughout the region under consideration, except in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

281 from Taghzuth. The Taghzuthis, who were craftsmen only in powder and firearms, have within the last generation taken over leatherwork and set themselves up as the foremost manufacturers of belts and bags. The Taghzuthi work is characterized by the stitching of [531] narrow strips of colored leather diagonally in rows so as to form lines. These lines are always straight, and the designs produced by them form isosceles triangles and zigzags. Until recently white and green were the only colors employed for this purpose, but since the Spanish occupation other colors have come in, and the work has become coarser. (See plate 27.) Besides the ordinary belts and bags, the Taghzuthis now make wrist-watch straps and hand- [439] bags, the former for the Spanish army, and the latter to be sent to the ports of the French zone and thence to America, and, to a lesser extent, to England and France.

Other old centers of the manufacture of bags and belts were Beni Misawr, a sub-tribe of el Khmes of the Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mohammed, situated between Beni Zerwal and el Khmes. The design on these Jebalan bags is curvilinear rather than rectilinear, and is characterized by three circles side by side on the front. The effect is produced by the stitching of leather strips, as at Taghzuth, and not by silk embroidery, as at Iyarusith of Temsaman.

291 **Feminine Attire.** Like men's clothing, the garments of women were formerly made entirely of wool. *thawthat*, the principal garment, consists of a long rectangular piece of woolen cloth. The upper corner of one end is held under the left armpit, with the lower corner falling by the left knee. The cloth is then wrapped around the body, from front to back, until it reaches the front again. A belt holds it together at the waist, and it is caught up back and front by each shoulder and fastened there by wooden pins or brooches. (See 301 plate 26.) These brooches, called *thisghanes*, are made by Jews in Melilla, in the Jebarna section of the Shawia of Gzennaya, at Bades, and in Beni Bu Frah. The *thisghanes* consist of a triangular piece of silver or pewter, to which is attached a loose ring of the same material; there is a gap in the ring, through which the point end of the pin, of one piece with the triangle, may pass. To pin cloth together with this device, the ring is turned until the gap coincides with the pin; then the pin is thrust through the material, and the ring pressed beneath it and turned, so that it must stay under the pin. This type of brooch is not confined to the Rif, but is commonly found throughout North Africa.

291 *thaghugat*, the belt, bears the same name as the men's belt, although it is an entirely different object. The old style woman's belt is made of many cords of heavy woolen yarn of different colors caught together, and is locally considered an object of great beauty. This belt is wound around the waist many times, and a long end is left dangling behind. Ghomaran women wear broad belts of native cloth. (See plate 26.) *thaghugat n malagha*, the belt of Malaga, is a long red woolen belt with fringes at the end, manufactured in Spain and sold to the Riffians at Melilla. It is fast supplanting the heavier belt of native manufacture.

Feminine headwear is of two principal varieties:

1. *ifiran n thimgharin*, or women's braids, consist of long black threads of woolen yarn, which are braided into the hair near where it ends and then downward until they nearly touch the ground. Three of these *ifiran* are braided into each braid, and since the women divide their hair into two braids six *ifiran* are worn by each woman. The hair, supplemented by these long strands of black wool, may be left trailing or else tied around and around the head like a turban.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

2. *thashumbushth*, a cotton headcloth, tied over the bunched-up hair, is a more recent type of headdress which came in with the introduction of American cotton cloth. (See plate 26.) This cloth is generally white, although red and yellow are occasionally used. In the region where tie-dyeing is practiced a headcloth decorated in this manner is worn. 291

The garments just described, the *thawthat* and *ifran*, were formerly the only garments worn by women, in winter as well as in summer. On exceptionally cold days women might occasionally put on a second *thawthat*, bringing it up over the head like a shawl.

el haik is the Arab haik, or woman's shawl. There is no word for this in the Riffian dialects. It is simply a square piece of cloth worn as a shawl. (See plate 26.) It is to be found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all Eastern Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Branes. *hash*, the men's haik, has been given a Riffian name. This is a light thinly-woven woolen scarf worn around the neck and back of the head, and generally tucked into the neck of the jellaba in front. It is considered of Arab origin, and is distributed through Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Shawia and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya.

Since cotton cloth has come in, women's garments are losing their simple form and becoming tailored. Sleeved shirts, open at the neck and embroidered, are worn with wide trousers like those of the men and the red belts of Malaga. The result is a costume entirely different from that of a few years ago, but more decorative. This type of garment has not yet supplanted the *thawthat*, however, since the old style is still maintained by the older women and by many of the younger ones as well. As with other factors of material culture which depend on European introduction for their diffusion, the pattern of their dissemination seems to be sporadic and voluntary, and without cultural significance. 177 291

The garments of men are tailor-made by *tolba*, or students in the mosque, and women's garments must be made by the women themselves, although often men who have been students and have learned the art of embroidery make and embroider their wives' garments for them. 294

The silk with which embroidery is done is now largely European, and its dyes are not fast. Formerly all the silk used came from Tetwan, and often was not dyed until it arrived in the Rif; hence the dyes, the same as employed on wool and leather, were always fast. The Tetwan silk is still considered superior, but is increasingly difficult to obtain. There is no reason to believe that this native silk was not imported into the Rif in very early times, or since the inception of silk-worm cultivation in Morocco after the advent of the Arabs. El Bekri says that the Meknassa, a group just south of Gzennaya, paid tribute to the king of Nekor in cloth from Merv.[1] 294 439

The designs, the same as those formerly put on the bags and belts of Temsaman, are both curvilinear and rectilinear, the triangular or saw-toothed design predominating. A favorite design is a square capsule, decorated on the inside with sawteeth, and surmounted on the small ends with curved lines reminiscent of the ancient Libyan ostrich plumes. Designs found by Bates to be characteristic of the ancient Libyans are still recognizable in Riffian embroidery.[2] A favorite design employed on the hoods of jellabas and on the cuffs 294 531

[1] El Bekri, p. 157.

[2] Bates (*The Eastern Libyans*, Pl. III, and pp. 137, 139, 140) gives drawings of similar Libyan designs, mainly in the form of tattoo marks.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables. fruits, eggs, butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (babuches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramaḍān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imzīren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith ʿAlī u ʿAisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj ʿAbd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

province of Nador, where barley is relatively cheap, in order to sell in the Rif, which seldom produces enough to meet local needs. The barley is stacked in huge piles of loose, unground seed which is purchased in relatively small lots to be taken back to the mountains and ground for bread or left in seed form to feed the livestock. The barley is measured and weighed by a member of the imziren class, who loudly cries out the current price of barley in the market. The merchants themselves sit under nearby shade trees, accepting the coins from their criers and listening to the competition.

In addition to these large-scale sellers, there are the large-scale buyers, who resemble the large-scale sellers in all particulars except their immediate function in the market. Among this group are the egg merchants who buy the tiny lots of a myriad fellah in order to transport them to the urban centers of Tetuan or Fez. Another group of buyers are the almond merchants who purchase the Riffian's supply to market abroad, usually in France, to cosmetic companies which transform them into face oils and hand lotions. There are also merchants of oranges who supply the canned juice industry, and grape buyers who purchase the indigenous supply (used locally by the Berbers as a winter reserve in the form of raisins) for the wine industry located in central Morocco.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

by burning, may completely destroy the oaks. The Mamora cork forest north of Rabat (137,000 hectares) is the largest in the world.[a] Cork oak covers about 100,000 hectares in the northern zone.[b]

Much of the economic activity in northern Morocco is concerned with the collection and shipment of cork. The bark of the trunk and the larger branches is utilized. Cork is first removed when trees are about twenty years old, with subsequent stripping every seven to ten years. The first yield (*liège mâle*) is very rough and coarse and of little value. Cork of subsequent stripping (*liège de reproduction*) is more homogeneous and of higher commercial value. In northern Morocco, cork is collected by Spanish concerns with native labor, and also by small independent operators who collect cork from isolated villages and carry it to places of deposit on the main roads. Most of the cork from northern Morocco is shipped in bulk to Spain.

Deciduous oaks cover about 7,000 hectares in northern Morocco. Two species are represented, and they have the scattered distribution characteristic of relicts. The larger stand of deciduous oaks grows at an elevation of about 1,000 meters in the mountains west of Shawen and southwest of Bab Taza—Jbil Buhashim, Jbil Sugna, and Jbil Hazana. *Quercus pyrenaica* = *Q. Tozae* is the species in this area; it appears also at elevations of 1,200–2,000 meters on Jbil Tiziran and, as the binomial indicates, in the Pyrenees. The second species, *Q. faginea* = *Q. lusitanica*, is scattered over the Sanhajan highlands. The largest stands are on the slopes between Jbil Tiziran and Jbil Leshab. Other stands appear on the slopes of Adrar Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut, and there are a few trees mixed with *Erica arborea*, *Cistus ladaniferus*, and *Pistacia lentiscus* in the maqui near Tangier.

It is difficult to explain the scattered distribution of the deciduous oaks. They are abundant in the largest forested area (fig. 8), that of the mountains west of Shawen, but many of the trees in this forest were cut by the Spanish for use as railroad ties. Both species seem to be calcifuge, and it is unlikely that either will be found in the drier parts of the zone. The scattered and mountainous distribution suggests that the deciduous oaks are Pleistocene relicts now restricted to the coolest and wettest parts of northern Morocco. The extreme polymorphism of *Quercus faginea*, with its great number of subspecies and races, seems to support this view.

The highest peaks in northern Morocco are clothed with forests of fir and cedar. The former genus is confined to the calcareous mountains east of Shawen. Two species are present: *Abies tazaotana* occurs at elevations of 1,500–1,854 meters on Jbil Tazaot, and *A. pinsapo* appears on Jbil Maggo, Jbil Tisuka, and Jbil Leshab, as well as in the mountains near Ronda in southern Spain. This restricted highland distribution again suggests that these species are relicts. On Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab, forests of fir begin at an elevation of 1,600

[a] Estimate of Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 101. For an excellent description of the Mamora forest see A. Métro and Ch. Sauvage, *Flore des végétaux ligneux de la Mamora* (Rabat: Société des Sciences Naturelles et Physiques du Maroc, 1955).

[b] This figure and the estimates of forested surface in later paragraphs are taken from S. Sánchez Cózar, "Montes," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948), pp. 5–25. Earlier estimates appear in E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

137 by cutting, browsing, or fire. This ability explains the presence of scrub thuya in deforested areas. But it grows slowly and is sensitive to disturbance in its early years. In the area delimited on the map, thuyas are widely scattered and for the most part badly mutilated. Large formations have been completely [313] destroyed. More than half of the houses in the eastern part of the Rif have [314] rafters of thuya, which is used, wherever it grows, as a source of charcoal. The [322] Barbary thuya has been used for centuries in making cabinets and other furniture, and was esteemed by the Romans for roofing temples.[a] Damaged trunks sometimes develop giant burls, which have been used since classical time as table [314] tops. A hard resin, sandarac, exudes from the trunks, and a modest quantity [439] of it is shipped to Britain, where it is used in the manufacture of varnish.[b]

[a] Pliny, *Natural History*, XVI, 231, XXXIII, 146.

[113] [b] W. Dallimore and A. Bruce Jackson, *A Handbook of Coniferae* (London: Edward Arnold, 1948), p. 610.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[n]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus, C. laurifolius, C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[n] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[n] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.

[n] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93)

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

571 and orient a Rifian's activities and maintain...the safeguard of the interests which the community of his constituents does not guarantee him. While his social units are of a patriarchal, democratic and lay type, his political groupings are of a "military" type, true [562] alliances which join men together and not territories. While the social unit, minuscule as it is, has its proper jurisdiction over a territory and the people who live in it, whether men, women or children, linking together lands and families, the political unit only links individuals together, and these individuals are men only (author's italics)[15].

776 792 3) The "religious group"[16] satisfies the small (sic) spiritual needs of the rest of the Rifians and at the same time utilizes these needs for benefiting the tribe: they are the imrabdhen[17], who want to keep out of the Rifian's quarrels so that they can be effective mediators and arbitrators for him--and it satisfies the Rifian cult for the individual himself, and lends some distinction to his society, to which he never shows himself averse.

• 44 4) The "economic group"....is characterized in the Rif by markets, Jews[18], the twiza, wuzi's and dhwara, all of which suffice to fulfill the Rifian's principal needs, as much in terms of personal interests as in beneficial or humanitarian ones.

181 C) Family Organization:

1) Rifian society is an organized anarchy, with all the antagonisms and contradictions which are inherent in such a concept; and these may essentially be reduced to the "instinct of defense" and its derivative, the "spirit of association"[19].

105 443 182 114 blindness that led Benet to conclude: "Everything that is not domestically produced has, therefore, to be obtained from the market, through market transactions, and no exchange or commercial activities of any kind are attempted outside of these times and places. The market place has a monopoly on exchange transactions [amongst Berbers]" (1957:196).

105 443 441 182 434 438 The market itself is not the area of primary concern for the fellah. Professional merchants, of course, fall into another category. But there is little impetus for the growth of an indigenous merchant class. The merchant entrepreneur is, by definition, acting in a way which runs counter to the status economy. He is primarily concerned with devoting his capital to profit or income-producing investments. While the peasant comes to the market with commodities to exchange for money to buy other commodities, the merchant seeks to convert money into commodities which he can resell in order to acquire more money. Social and religious imperatives only interfere with the merchant's freedom of action.[1] Unlike transactions in the social sphere which perpetuate themselves into the future as part of a web of reciprocal obligations, the merchant seeks transactions which are impersonal and terminal at the moment of exchange. He is most at home in the suq, where these conditions are nearest to being achieved.

---

[1] I do not mean to draw too close a parallel between the Protestant merchant and his Muslim counterpart. The Islamic business ethic still awaits its Weber.

105 Yet at the same time, the merchant becomes increasingly iso-
443 lated from the culture of the Rif and increasingly involved
441 in the ideology of industrial society.
182

Outside the marketplace, resources continue to be cir-
105 cumscribed by social strictures, credit is based on reputation,
182 prestige is evoked through ceremony, while honor and shame guarantee each transaction. Bulls are killed to bring on rain, witches paid to remove evil eyes, and man continues an intensive dialogue with his external environment based on a cultural evaluation which provides a measure of both social and physical comfort.

226 tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not
[619] frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast
823 which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from
184 the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are after-
443 wards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed
492 over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another
685 boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

445 565 423 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes but find their occupation more remmerative.

443 445 In addition to these small merchants there is an assortment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician. (159) The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occasionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs, stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather peripheral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 443 472 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers, the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation, who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

442 Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and
443 we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.
472 Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade
[262] has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though
cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas
226 has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently
[504] rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation,
[178] while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several
[648] centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish
protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards
but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered
442 into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market
443 their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the
472 catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men,
438 in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the
appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually
carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy
a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building
of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by
entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present
[262] the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets
two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest
fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the
poor.

443 Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local
442 <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer
438

443 province of Nader, where barley is relatively cheap, in order
442 to sell in the Rif, which seldom produces enough to meet local
438 needs. The barley is stacked in huge piles of loose, unground seed which is purchased in relatively small lots to be taken back to the mountains and ground for bread or left in seed form to feed the livestock. The barley is measured and
[565] weighed by a member of the imziren class, who loudly cries out the current price of barley in the market. The merchants themselves sit under nearby shade trees, accepting the coins from their criers and listening to the competition.

442 In addition to these large-scale sellers, there are the
439 large-scale buyers, who resemble the large-scale sellers in all particulars except their immediate function in the market. Among this group are the egg merchants who buy the tiny lots of a myriad fellah in order to transport them to the urban centers of Tetuan or Fez. Another group of buyers are the almond merchants who purchase the Riffian's supply to market abroad, usually in France, to cosmetic companies which transform them into face oils and hand lotions. There are also
[245] merchants of oranges who supply the canned juice industry,
[262] and grape buyers who purchase the indigenous supply (used locally by the Berbers as a winter reserve in the form of raisins) for the wine industry located in central Morocco.

443 I shall now attempt to schematize the suq in the Central Rif. While this diagram may not include all classes of participants nor all exchanges, I think it covers the majority of all cases. The buyers and sellers in the weekly market can be divided into three separate categories. The first are the tribal fellah, rooted socially in the local community. Unquestionably, this group constitutes the vast majority of people at the suq. Whatever economic interaction they have with the suq is prompted by acquiring cash to finance social expenditures or to provide a limited range of goods such as cooking oil, kerosene, sugar, tea, salt and so forth, for household consumption. The majority of persons in this category, the poor fellah, have brought their small lots of goods derived from their agricultural activities to exchange at whatever the prevailing price in order to obtain cash for making equally small purchases. They do not seek to accumulate surpluses of cash so that they can market larger quantities of goods in successive market meetings.

443 442 434 435 The second category of people involved in any one market is made up of the large-scale merchants who have come to buy from the fellah. This group is completely impersonal, rarely if ever having any local connections with the populace. These merchants are well provided with capital, own their own trucks, and are knowledgeable about supply and demand conditions in both the local and national markets in which they operate. In the case of most large-scale buyers, they are accompanied by a group of hired men who seek out market information. These informants

443 gather up verbal information about the prevailing prices and the
442 supply of a commodity in the suq. Their operation is somewhat
434 more complex than the sellers who can quickly assess the supply
435 of the market since they need only evaluate the quantities of their competitors. The large-scale buyers do not have such early information and must rely on their "runners" to supply them with market conditions on the inpouring of a commodity into the market. The centers of these operations are quite exciting as information pours into them and the merchant sends out his buying price.
443 While the lot size of his purchases is uniformly small (buying
442 from the numerous fellah who have only small lots to sell), the large-scale merchant departs from the market with a sizable supply
442 of his good. At the end of market day he is assessed a tax based
[651] on the quantity he has purchased and transports the merchandise to urban centers where even larger firms purchase the good either to transform it into another sort of goods, through an industrial or factory process, or to break it down into small lots again to sell at a higher price. The principle behind his operation is simple. By his act of transporting commodities away from the area in which they were produced to another area in which they are scarce, he multiplies the value of the goods.

443 Amongst themselves such buyers have a rather accurate idea
435 of the prevailing prices among their competitors at the market-
442 place. Whatever price differential that exists at the market develops from the efficiency of information gathering. By this word-of-mouth information the buyer is able to estimate market

443 conditions and adjust his prices accordingly. The fellah, on
442 the other hand, has no such information channel and merely
435 attempts to get the best price he can with his limited supply of information. The fellah sells his eggs, or almonds, or oranges, to the big buyers almost as soon as he contacts one of them at the marketplace. Since his lots are so small, any fluctuation in the price of the commodity during the day would only remotely affect him and he prefers to get his selling activity over with quickly so that he can get on to his other market activities--buying and social intercourse. It would be far from the market style of the Berber to spend hours prowling the suq in search of an optimum moment to sell. Only in those commodities which the producer sells directly to the consumer (fellah to fellah) is there much time spent in marketing goods. Only in the absence of the large-scale merchant must the tribesman await the disposition of his goods.

It is only on rare occasions that the large-scale merchant attempts to sell what he has bought in the same market. The only instances that I know of were in the case of selling to wholesalers or restaurant owners from the city of Alhucemas who came to the rural suqs to buy for their immediate need, taking advantage of special friendships and buying in lots so large that the price advantage for the large-scale merchants of transporting to another area was offset by the quantity of the purchase. This, however, was rare. Most merchants of this magnitude attempted to derive their profits through their transporting facility.

443 The third group is those merchants who exclusively sell
● 442 at the market. As noted above, this is merely an analytic device. Empirically, a buyer in one market will be a seller in another. It is only the special ecological conditions of the Rif which separate the two categories in the marketplaces. There is, however, a major dichotomy which splits this group, based mainly on scale of operation. On the one hand are the large-scale sellers who resemble, in terms of organization, the large-scale buyers and who derive their profit mainly through the transportational facility. On the other hand, we have the small-scale merchant who sells his goods and services only in a cycle of small local markets.

443 The small-scale sellers hold in common with the large merchants only the fact that their basic activity is to sell. The difference is essentially in scale. The small-scale merchant or occupational specialist travels from one market within a carefully defined region to the next market. He has no connections outside his immediate circuit and gets from one place [494] [492] to the next on public transportation or mule. He has little knowledge of market conditions outside his immediate view of a single market. His prices, which may involve a good deal of [435] [437] bargaining, vary only slightly from customer to customer and from market to market. He may be divided into two empirical 443 445 categories: those who sell services, such as barbers, butchers, shoe repairmen, food vendors, blacksmiths, solderers, etc., and those who keep a small inventory of nonperishable goods, such

443 445 as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and spices.

443 444 A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consumption. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments can be spread into the future. With all the other participants of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

443 571 [128] These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers. This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

442 profit not from dispersing goods in the same marketplace but in
571 transporting the goods from one region to another.
[443]

Large-scale buyers interact with small-lot sellers in a limited range of goods which, generally, can be transformed by industrial processes into another commodity (grapes to wine, almonds to cosmetics, oranges to canned fruit), the conversion of which enhances the value of the original object. These buyers are plugged into a larger economy with export connections and are
442 sensitive to external conditions. Tribesmen who produce in order
433 to meet the demand of such buyers are likewise closely connected
434 with the national and international economy. There is a small but growing number of fellah who produce to sell to this group, but even among them there is a reticence to move completely into the commercial sector. My impression is that the great majority of the Riffian peasantry engaging in cash-cropping attempt to maintain a balance in their production schedule which continues to include a fair proportion of traditional crops. By generalizing their production, few of the grape specialists suffered from
[458] the decrease in prices during 1965. This contrasts with the one-
[435] crop estates in Algeria which during the same period suffered severe setbacks.

443 The small-scale sellers of both goods and services occupy that position which is left open by the unwillingness of the local Berber to engage in full-time commerce and the absence of the large-scale entrepreneur. They are, on the one hand,
[434] dealing in commodities or services the margin of profit on which

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VIII

MARKETS

DIFFERENT aspects of this subject have already been discussed in the chapters dealing with material culture, social organization, and government.[1] Since indeed the primary purpose of the market is economic, it is the seat of operation of an interesting social class, and likewise often the local administrative center. Hence, little remains for description save the general scheme and coördination of the whole. 443

A market meets weekly on a fixed day and in a fixed place. There is usually but one to a *canton*, although this rule, like all others, has its exceptions. The days and locations of markets are so correlated that it is possible for a person living in almost any place to reach a market on foot and return home again on any day of the week except Friday, when markets are never held. The word for market in both *thamazighth* and Arabic is *suḳ*, and markets are given the names of the days on which they are held. Thus all markets meeting on Thursday are called *suḳ el khemis*, or simply *el khemis*. Markets meeting on the same day are distinguished by the addition of the names of the places in which they are held.

Thursday markets are more important than the others, as a general rule, because Friday is the Mohammedan sabbath and provisions for it must be obtained in advance.

Each market is administered by the council of the great of the *canton*. This body has a house, or among the nomads, a tent, in or on the outskirts of the market. (See plate 30.) On market days it generally meets in a room of this edifice. Most such houses have a second room which is used as a rest-room for people attending the market, or as a guard-house for retainers of the councillors. Cases which have accumulated during the week are brought before the council of the great at this time, since defendants in situations which concern the councillors often prefer to postpone their appeals or complaints until market day rather than request the moderator of the council of the great to have a special meeting called for a single case.

Any offenses committed in market are considered more serious than if committed elsewhere, and are more heavily fined; offenses which would otherwise concern the village council are brought to the attention of the council of the great if committed in market. [673]

The division of spoils among the members of a *canton* who have participated in a tribal war is often made in market. [727]

In the markets under the authority of the Ikhemrijen, firearms must be left outside before their owners may enter. In other markets rifles were usually carried before the European occupation. Serious fights sometimes arose in markets, in some cases so severe that the tribal council convened and decreed the market closed forever, lest the sight of the place where kinsmen had died might in future remind members of the different *bones* of their mutual grievances and incite them to further violence.

The chief purpose of every market is of course the buying and selling of goods. (See plates 30, 31, and 32.) The vendors of different articles are segregated according to their wares, the cloth merchants, the women selling pottery, and so forth. The butchers are rele-

[1] Chapters IV–VII.

[p. 109]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The butchers are rele-
gated to a position as far removed from the rest of the market as possible, on account of the malodorous nature of their wares. If there is a stream in or near the market, the butchers are put on the other side of the stream from the rest. Farmers bring in cattle, sheep, and goats, and turn over the animals to the butchers, who are blacksmiths on other days of the week, or are members of the families of blacksmiths. After the butchers have slaughtered the animals, washed the blood from their throats, inflated their skins, flayed, and quartered them, the owners of the animals hang the meat on wooden racks permanently fixed to trees or posts nearby, where they are thus exposed for sale. Quarters of goat and sheep must have the hoofs and a portion of the adjoining skin left on so that customers can tell the difference between them. The butcher is paid for his work with a portion of the meat, with money, or with the hide, head, and entrails, which are the most common reward.

The meat market is the assembling place of all of the dogs in the *canton* which are able to get there, dozens of them waiting expectantly nearby each time an animal is slaughtered. They often snatch ends of intestine as the animal is being cleaned, and lap up eagerly the rills of blood flowing down towards the stream.

The butchering duties of the blacksmiths are not confined to the market. Whenever members of a *bone* together buy a cow or bull for the meat, the butcher is called in to slaughter it. The portions are divided equally among the married men, who must pay for their pieces before they can have them. A portion is sent up to the mosque of the *canton* for the students in it, and the blacksmith receives his portion as reward for his work.

Returning to the market, we find two other social outcasts at work, the market crier and the official weigher or measurer.[1] These are hired by the councillors, and carry on their functions as official appointees, but disputes arising from the work of the weigher or measurer are carried before the councillors. They work in as many markets as there are days in the week, except of course Friday, and providing that each market is within walking distance of their homes and that the councillors of each are willing to hire them.

Women's markets. In a number of *cantons* there is in addition to the regular market another devoted to women. All men are excluded from it, and are severely punished if they enter. It is commanded by a woman appointed by the councillors of the *canton*. In it the women sell, besides the fruits, vegetables, hens, eggs, and pottery which they dispense at the regular market, magico-medical materials which are supposed to act as contraceptives and to produce abortions. The sale and possession of these is kept secret from the men because the use of them is considered ample reason for divorce. Sometimes a woman who fails to bear children within a reasonable time after marriage is accused, on general suspicion, of using them and is divorced.

Boy Markets. In the Jebala, markets were formerly held in which boys stolen from their families were sold, to be used as apprentices by wandering musicians and as companions by ordinary individuals. They were and still are kept by their purchasers for the purpose of sodomy, and other uses to which these children are put are made secondary to it. When they have grown to an age at which they cease to interest their purchasers sexually they are released and allowed to earn their own living.

The market el Had Iksuen of Ktama was a famous boy market, and was not closed until the advent of the Spanish forces of occupation, who have been trying to prevent such

[1] See p. 92

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

MARKETS 2

443

In the market at Tiguisas, Ghomara

The jeweller's shop. Suk el Khemis, Targuist

A shop on the outskirts of the market, Suk et Tnine. Beni Amart

Brush shelter employed in Ghomaran markets. Tiguisas, Ghomara

[p. 110 (B)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

MARKETS 3

443

Butcher's section, Suk el Arbaa, Kasba Selwan, on the Mazuza-Kebdana border

Shlub butcher with goat's skin inflated before flaying. This method is also employed in the Rif

[504]

Women selling bread. Ajdir

One of the *ishegairen* (weighers) weighing grapes against a stone. Gaennaya

Selling salted sardines. Tiguisas, Ghomara

[p. 110 (c)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

443
838
567
548
[684]
[562
492
583]

sales, although it is difficult to stamp out private transactions.[1] Boy markets are found in the Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ghomara, and Ktama (also, of course, in the rest of the so-called Jebala, and centered at Sheshawen and in the tribe of Beni Zerwal).

[1] The whole Jebalan area is permeated with this type of sexual depravity, which is practiced without mutual shame or any attempt at concealment. In the Rif persons sometimes live and die without knowledge of its existence, and those who have travelled and seen it cannot mention it at home without falling into disfavor. It was punished during the recent war, in at least two known instances, by soaking the culprits in gasoline and burning them alive.

This perversion, the only form known in this region, is accompanied in the Jebala by a low esteem for women, who perform the more arduous tasks of agriculture which in the Rif are done by men. A frequent sight in the Jebala is a troop of women marching long distanc loaded down under heavy bundles of charcoal and other burdens, which in the Rif would be carried by mules or donkeys.

Bride purchase, a trait common to all Moroccans but the Jews, is in the Jebala literally applied, since here the wife becomes a definite chattel of her husband, not usually the case elsewhere.

The atmosphere created by this combination of cultural factors is in striking contrast to that of the Rif, which, although primitive, is wholesome and vigorous.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

175 caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the
178 one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād*
631 *as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective
443 *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain
438 of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables, fruits, eggs, butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as
443 clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (ba-
439 buches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramaḍān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imzīren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith ʿAlī u ʿAisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj ʿAbd al-Karīm (a kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

443 563 considered the social inferiors of the Wuryāghlīs and are entirely endogamous they do not form a separate economic caste, as they go in for little or no economic specialization other than that just mentioned. In a stall on one side of the market a weaver *(darrāz)* 443 is working on a woolen *jillāb* on a horizontal loom; another stall [284] houses two Berber-speaking Moroccan Jews, one of who hammers out silver bracelets and the other repairs packsaddles. In a nearby cafe sit a group of men who are loudly and appreciatively gulping down glasses of piping hot mint tea, while in the background is the blare of Arabic music or news broadcasted from Tetuan, Tangier, Rabat or Cairo. Needless to say, in Aith Wuryāghil very few people can understand the news programs, although very recently broadcasts in Shilha, coming from Tetuan, have been implemented. In another [302] corner the barber-bleeders (*ḥajjāmīn*) shave the dolichocephalic and sometimes favus-ridden crania of their patrons with unsterilized straight razors. And over all watches the market provost or *amīn*, who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees to it that the market is run smoothly and efficiently.

It is of interest to note that Aith Wuryāghil is the center of a uniquely Riffian institution: the women's market (20). This institution is not only Riffian but Central Riffian in distribution. Aside from Aith Wuryāghil, Tamsamān is the only other tribe possessing women's markets; it has two of them, one Tuesday at Suwānī of Tamsamān, just across the Nakūr River from Aith Wuryāghil, and the other on Sunday. In Aith Wuryāghil itself there are six: Sunday at Iswīqen, Monday at Isrīhen, Monday at Azghar, near Ajdīr, Friday at Aghrīdh, Friday at Ighmīren (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and Saturday at Aith Qamra.

The people of Aith Wuryāghil belive that these markets were established as the result of the endless intratribal wars, because, since women were noncombatants and were protected as such by the institution of *'anāya*, an interchange of commodities necessary for the survival of the feuding groups could only be carried on without hindrance in markets attended exclusively by members of the female sex. I have heard that the first women's market to be established was

(20) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: «Zocos de mujeres en Beni Uriaguel», Africa, Madrid. Mayo 1943, pp. 22-23.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

that held on Mondays at Azghar, and that it was the proposed establishment of this market which led to the seven years' war between Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī, the former being pro-market and the latter con. In any event, whatever their actual origin, the significant fact is that men are entirely excluded (although little boys of ten years or under may go with their mothers). The women buy and sell the usual eggs, chickens, bread and pottery, plus a certain amount of grains, fruits and vegetables, with occasional love charms and objects for warding off the *jnūn* and the evil eye thrown in. The markets are supervised by an *amīna* and are subject to the same market duty as the ordinary markets. In the old days two men, standing at a safe distance from the market, used to act as guards and prohibited other men from entering; this is no longer the case, however, for in recent times. Sánchez Pérez relates that a man from Buqqoya, interested in spotting a future wife for himself, went to the Saturday market at Aith Qamra dressed as a woman. He was soon discovered, however, then denounced to the *amīna* in no uncertain terms, and finally taken to the *qā'id* of Uṭa, who tossed him into jail (21). It is noteworthy that even in regular markets men and women do not talk or mix with each other, save in the transaction of business, but remain sharply and distinctly segregated.

Concerning the market as a commercial center, little remains to be said except that each market in the tribe specializes in certain kinds of products and falls into one of three definite categories: village, «fractional», and tribal. An example of the first is the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, specializing in charcoal, to which go only people from the surrounding villages. The second type is represented by the Monday market at Aith Ḥadīfa and the Thursday market at Imrābdhen; both specialize in grain, and to both come people from Aith 'Abdallāh as well as from the «fifths» in which the markets are located. The third type is represented by three markets: that on Saturday at Imzūren, specializing in fruits and vegetables, which caters as much to people from Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn as from Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī, Aith 'Alī and Imrābdhen; that on Mondays at Izakīren in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, specializing in animals, the most remunerative market in the tribe; and that on Wednesdays at Tu-

(21) Sánchez Pérez, 1943, p. 23.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith Tuzīn, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jibāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

443 648 771

tial functions of the market by supplying in with a permanent site has served to bring its very great cultural significance into even sharper relief (22).

Islām in Aith Wuryāghil is much the same as it is in the rest of Berber Morocco. The Wuryāghlis observe the «Five Pillars» (profession on faith, prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, legal almsgiving and the pilgrimage to Makka) as rigorously as they can, but extremely few have ever managed to make the long and costly trip to the holy places of Arabia. Riffian Islām is essentially a popular Islām, and is manifested chiefly by regular attendance at the cantonal mosque for the noonday prayer on Fridays, by veneration of local saints (Riffian *imrābdhen*, sig. *amrābidh*; Arabic *murābiṭīn*, sing. *murābiṭ*) and by belief in supernatural beings (angels, *jnūn* and a local ogress of hideous appearance called *thamza*, who eats babies and is more or less equivalent to the 'Ā'isha Qandīsha of the Moroccan Arabs). As elsewhere in the Muslim world, heathen survivals in religious ritual are numerous. The people of Aith Wuryāghil and of the Central Rīf in general are, however, not as ridden by superstition as those of the Jibāla and the Ghumāra. In the Rīf, Tamsamān enjoys a far more religious reputation than Aith Wuryāghil, whose name has always been linked more with warfare.

The principal zāwiyas (Ar. *zāwiya*, pl. *zuwāwī*) are those of Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir in Aith Ḥadīfa, Tashtīwen in Jabal Ḥammām (Iḥwaḥwaḥīyen of Aith 'Abdallāh), Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ḥājj Mis'ūd in Aith Turīrth (Aith La'ārs), Aith Fārs in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Ighmīren), Zāwiya 'Alāwīyīn in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (ar-Rabḍa), and Sīdī 'Aisā, Sīdī 'Amar u Būkar, Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā and Sīdī Yūsuf in Imrābdhen. In 'Abd al-Karīm's time the only one functioning as a *zāwiya* was Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā in Aith Hīshim, located on the point known as «The Hillock of the Saints»; today Sīdī Yūsuf and Zāwiya Iqannīyen, the local headquarters of the 'Alāwīyīn order, are the most active; all the rest, for the most part, have been reduced from functioning lodges of religious brotherhoods to simple schools or

(22) Fogg, Walter: «Villages, Tribal Markets and Towns: Some Considerations concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco», **The Sociological Review**, vol. XXXII, London, January-April 1940, pp. 85-107.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

an altitude of 6500 feet, is the highest point in the whole tribe of Aith Wariyāghir. It is located above the village (*adshār*) of Bū Ma'dān, in the district (*r'ayyith*) of Timarzga. The tomb itself, a simple structure unadorned with the usual white cupola, was, in time, supplemented with a small mosque of mud and stone, today in a state of disrepair owing to the ravages of wind, snow, sleet and ice. The actual pinnacle of the massif is not the site of the tomb proper, but a point about 150 feet above it, called Tamrābiṭ. Upon ascending this point, after a spine-shattering journey by jeep up the tortuously winding *piste* from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turīrth (Spanish *Zoco de Arbaa Taurirt*), one realizes that one is at the top of the Central Rif. Almost all of Aith Wariyāghir is below one to the north, and only one or two of the Azru Uqshar peaks in the tribe of Igzinnāyen to the southeast, discernible in outline on a clear day, are higher. Just east of the tomb-mosque complex is a flat space measuring about 600 feet by 300 feet, used for prayer, and just above and north of this is a small grove of *ādhān* (from, by association, the Arabic for «prayer-call»?) trees; and between the mosque and the tomb itself is a small open area called the *Sūq al-Ṣāliḥīn* the Market of the Righteous.

The pilgrimage takes place on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah, one day before the 'Aid al-Kabīr or Great Feast of Islam, called *r-'Aid Umqqran* by the Rifians. People come from all over the southern mountain districts of Aith Wariyāghir, as well as from the neighboring tribes of Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnāyen, to attend it. The greatest number are locals from Timarzga (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), after which come those from Aith 'Arūs (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), Aith 'Ammarth, Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Aith Wariyāghir), Zāwīth n Sīdī 'Abd r-Qādir of the Imrābdhen of Aith Ḥadhīfah (Aith Wariyāghir), Mārruwī in Aith 'Abd Allāh (Aith Wariyāghir), Iṣrīḥan in Aith Yūsif w 'Arī (Aith Wariyāghir), and Igzinnāyen. In 1955, all the tribal authorities of the Nkūr qaidate of Aith Wariyāghir (Ait Bū 'Ayyāsh and Jbil), as well as the Spanish *interventores* both of Aith Wariyāghir and Aith 'Ammarth, were also present.

By about 10:00 A. M., most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, have assembled on the mountain top, where their first act is to visit the shrine. Merchants are busy setting up their small

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

canvas tents in the Market of the Righteous, as they would do in any ordinary tribal market (*sūq*). They sell just the same articles, from clothing and bill-hooks (I purchased two of the latter here) to soap and matches, as they do in the regular markets, and some of them also sell sheep to be ritually slaughtered for the 'Aid al-Kabīr on the following day. As in a normal market, also, men and women remain sharply segregated.

Among the pilgrims are numerous *ṭulbā* or students of the Qur'ān, who, after visiting the tomb, where they recite the Holy Book from beginning to end, proceed to the Market of the Righteous to ask the faithful for contributions (*ma'rūf*), which are placed in a box beside the tomb put there for the purpose. The money is later counted up by the tribal authorities and divided equally among all the ṭulbā attending (1).

The 'imārah of Sīdī Bū Khiyār has also, within the last two decades, become a focal point in the activities of the local members of the brotherhood of the 'Alawiyyīn, who maintain a not insignificant following in Timarzga and Aith 'Arūs, although they do not have a lodge in either of these districts. After paying their respects to the saint, they congregate for their *miima'*, or reunion, at a spot between the ādhān grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and a half to two hours, they go through the litany (*dhikr*) required by their order. This consists of a constant repetition of the formula *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, «There is no god but God», over and over, while the brethren are standing in a circle. The litany is followed by the *'imrah*, a form of rhythmic breathing designed to induce ecstasy; and the 'imrah of the 'Alawiyyīn (the word is *not* to be confused with *'imārah*) progresses through the following routines, in which the underlined and accented vocalizations denote outgo, and the non-underlined ones, intake, of breath:

(1) In 1955, there were 99 ṭulbā from the Ibil (Timarzga-Tyrirth-Aith 'Arūs) of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 717.75 pesetas: 96 from Aith 'Abd Allāh of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 696.00 ptas.; 87 from Aith 'Ammarth, who got 630.75 ptas.; 75 from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh of Aith Warivāghir, who got 471.25 ptas.; 39 from Aith Hadhīfah of Aith Warivāghir, who received 282.75 ptas.; 15 from Imrābdhen of Aith Warivāghir, who got 108.75 ptas.; and 10 from Izzinnāven, who received 72.50 ptas. Total ṭulbā attending were 421, and total money collected was 2990.25 pesetas.

[Text continues on p. 243]

and, most important of all, what happened if a murder occurred in a market (a place of peaceful commercial exchange, as Blanco points out) on market day (a day of peace, as Blanco again points out). For the clan market, as Blanco makes very clear, set the tone for the relative autonomy of the clan within the framework of the tribe of which it was part; and this was particularly the case amongst the Aith Waryaghar, a fact which Blanco, once again, did not miss. Hence, in his fine analysis of the 'Qanun of the 'Fraction' of the Aith 'Adhiya' (in LR, pp. 10, 55), Blanco notes, regarding anyone who should commit a murder in the market, that "...all the above-mentioned communities of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his agnates; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as a fine".

In his comments on the qanuns of the clans of the Aith Khattab, Aith 'Abdallah and Aith 'Adhiya (all of the Aith Waryaghar), Blanco clearly brings out the fact of the market as the "preferential institution", both economic and social, and as the "temple of tribal law", where the clan councillors or ingharen convened in regular weekly meetings (called agraw) to settle disputes. Thus the jural aspect of the traditional Rifian market. Market day, in the Rif, absolutely had to be the one day of peace during the week, for if the market was "broken" through fighting and murder, the cry went up: "Now there is no law!" (Ur iddji shi r-haqq!) And this phrase, as Blanco graphically says, was "repeated in the humble dwellings perched on the mountain slopes; and soon the Rifian mountains returned to their harsh, restless and agitated life, as the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance reappeared

on the hillsides, bringing the cries of victims and the echo of rifle shots in its train" (LR, p. 19). Blanco's work is shot through with references to the clan (or, as he calls it, fraccion), with its market, as the basic Rifian patria - which of course applies better to large tribes like the Aith Waryaghar than to small ones like the Thafarsith, "Rifian Switzerlands" surrounded by more powerful neighbors.

By 1960, some of the finer points of the Rifian qanuns or Customary Law documents had been forgotten even by members of the oldest living generation, e.g., such as how much is to be paid if one shoots at a man and misses him, or if one threatens him with a dagger, but does not stab him. Blanco, and to a lesser extent Carleton Coon[28], have both set down many of these common-law niceties; and Blanco's work has the additional merit (and we refer here primarily to LR) of being a translation and an analysis of primary documents, some dating as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. These are invaluable source materials for the long and unbroken period of the Rifian 'Ripublik' (as opposed to 'Abd al-Krim's Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya, or "Rifian Republican State", 1921-1926, although he only constituted it "officially" early in 1923), which is today only a memory and, according to some, a skeleton in the Rifian closet. However, old tribesmen and even some younger ones who are less sophisticated - and who therefore generally make better informants - still grudgingly admit to admiring it and to looking upon it with nostalgia.

28--Cf. Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, Vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931. Coon's data on customary law come primarily from the tribe of the Igzinnayen, whereas the bulk of Blanco's come from their northern neighbors, the Aith Waryaghar.

representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman) who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his

000 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

621 623 423 The patrimony of the jma'th is made up exclusively of communal lands. The jma'th is thus formed not only by people but by lands. It thus has a territorial significance which the dharfiqth lacks, for it may have immovable property in another tribe[76], and acts committed by its members outside the "municipal terminus" are thus not handled by it exclusively. For this reason there is a need for another 614 621 623 social organ structured in an analogous manner, but of greater importance and more extensive jurisdiction: the "fraction" (i.e. clan or subclan.) This wider grouping, although it also has a localistic significance and a breadth wider than the village or hamlet of isolated homesteads or groups of homesteads that we have seen in the jma'th, has other more sharply defined characteristics. It alone intervenes in inter-jma'th matters, in most cases; for the custom of the jma'th itself is nothing more than inter-family (i.e. inter-lineage) custom.

3) The "fraction" (clan) is an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends; it is a state in miniature, an independent republic, and the true Rifian patria because it is within the limits of this unit that the Rifian lives out his life; where he finds what he needs, and where his law is made[77].

614 443 [671] The clan has two distinctive features: its law and its market. It is my opinion that places in tribal areas which the natives regard as ancient Christian[78] market sites are nothing but former "clan" markets which are no longer in use and the memory of which has not persisted through time. In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin,

In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin, Thimsaman, Aith 'Ammarth, Ibuqquyen, Ktama and Sanhaja Srir, each clan has its own market[79]. Only in a small tribe or in one with more or less artificial clans is this not the case. The clan, which occupies a well determined area topographically, as a rule (a large meseta, valley, mountain fold, etc.), is a rare one which does not have or did not formerly have its own market, where the clan representatives or imqqranen came together to agree upon and proclaim their law, their rules of coexistence, which in some cases were drawn up on paper and which form the basis of my La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte.

The clans of a tribe did not originate through accumulation of the association of jma'ths, but rather, the tribes which came to settle in the territory already contained three, four or five clans in their nomadic (sic) state, and the new lands were distributed equitably.[80] However, it is easier to follow the schematic representation of social groups from smaller to larger units, as the lineages characteristic of these are clearer and better defined. In the tribe, they are quite relaxed, and it is more difficult to see them, because the clans themselves are apt to show this by their patronymic designations, "sons of X"; but this opinion is provisional, as there are also names which are not genealogically based, as in the case of the clan names of Ibuqquyen (Izimmuren, Azghar and Thaghidhith) and in Ija'umen of Aith 'Ammarth; and the same might well be the case with the jma'ths, whose names are often geographical ones.[81]

In the clan, we have all the institutions, organisms, dependencies and economic specializations most necessary to sustain life: an amrabit or hermit saint venerated and besought for pilgrimages and miracles; a market for the provisions and supply and for the council

614 site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
616 elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done [241] by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[198] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

623 63 131 443 [646] [648] 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 562 [113] 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid, May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

[171] 443 562 114

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 562 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

443 562 since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

[184] Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'unen), as did the Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. [114] Sánchez Pérez, then, is essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of origin.

000 [103] [133] 117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at 1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. [823] [121] With certain notable exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

000 was capable of facing the wrath of the members of a dharfiqth who thought themselves to have been wronged in a legal decision and who were now blocking his path?

628 443 [671] The Rif is an area of warrior tulba; and the "poetry" of the Rifian Maghrib would have dealt with the firing of shots during the course of a feud or raqba[7] and the blood of victims whose bodies fall into canyons and gorges after sunset; for the qanun of the Tuesday market (now defunct) of the Aith 'Abd Allah clan establishes the validity of the agreement in question from the hours of dawn until dusk, on market day, after which time everyone shelters himself and his animals inside his house as fast as he can; and a guard is mounted with a rifle. The daily and weekly truce is over[7a]. And even in Spanish times, after 628 692 671 [648] the pacification, there is the story of the qadi who did not dare to return home unless accompanied by a pair of armed mkhazni-s[8], who represented the protection of the Makhzin in its most elementary form. And in the mahkama (tribunal building of qa'id or qadi), more than one qadi has been intimidated by exasperated litigants! If such things have happened during Spanish times, threats made during the "Republik" must have been far worse--"I'll hang you from a tree, mmis nj-haram!" or "I wonder what you'd look like without a head, mmis n-dhit!"[9]

671 177 As I see it, the Rifian follows the Shari'a in all instances in which custosary law cannot help him, either because it has been forgotten or because in such and such a case it is no longer applied. As he is both a practical man and a believer, there is no reason for the Rifian to deny himself the advantages of the Shari'a, but when, instead of these, he encounters a situation which is prejudicial to him (such as

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49 A], and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[443] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The
[574] Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

A, [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his
682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally
696 meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill
him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept
[782] this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the
presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was
eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only
after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he
682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on
443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum
[114] (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine
(called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder
on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other
offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market
itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the
imgharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market
path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no
question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in
the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually
meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise
the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the
ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum
which was prohibitively high), the imgharen descended on him in a body
and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re-
682 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the mur-
628 derer. The imgharen, however, could not touch his property as long as
he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's
family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion
of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that
he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's ag-
nates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the
imgharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen
of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted,
as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circum-
stances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to
have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 S6--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for
682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of
commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely stan-
dard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] S7--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the
[114] Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is ex-
pressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading
to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants,
[024] however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is
immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is
[628] assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the
murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and
a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted
up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

671 agree to the abovementioned truce for one year starting from the present
628 date. All of them appeared for judgment in front of the shiyukh of the
613 Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') which exists in the vicinity of Sidi
728 Abu al-'Afif; attendance at this act was completely general, as there
[443] also came notables such as the blessed, distinguished and excellent
[686] sharif Sidi Ahmad the son of the celebratedsaint Sidi Misa'ud, from whose grace God has let us avail ourselves; al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir al-'Abbasi; the shiyukh of Ajdir; the shiyukh of the Murabitin al-Jilmamiyin; and all in general, each of the parties arranging that in case either of them should break off the aforementioned truce in any way before the stipulated time of one year has elapsed, it shall pay a fine of 2000 duros (i.e. 20 x 100) to the shiyukh.

671 After responding with their goods and estates to the completed
628 arrangement, it was put into effect in the presence of the aforemen-
613 tioned shiyukh in the latters' shop in the aforementioned market; and it was accepted in full and in good faith, with neither party having the right to retract in either the present or the future, each one of them making itself responsible for the fulfillment of what has been set down and for which only those mentioned here have the responsibility.

(The obligation to) payment (of the fine) and the agreement are both complete, as indicated. (The undersigned witnesses) have testified to the testimonial capacity of everyone concerned, that on this day, in the interior of the aforementioned shop, each person concerned, among those known by sight and name, is of sound mind and memory and thus
[805] capable of testifying. On the first Wednesday of Rabi' al-Awwal of the Prophet, in the year 1335 (December 27, 1916).[11]

195 181 628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 613 619 134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 671 182 [648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

671 interest were discussed; in the suq resolutions of more importance were
[443] made by significant individuals, more important than the place which gave them a legal character.

Thus, in order to be valid, agreements and decisions had to conform to the following conditions: 1) agreement of the imgharen[16]; 2) necessity of a witness of exceptional character (a personality of religious significance, known and respected throughout the district); 3) registry by the tulba; and 4) proclamation in the suq. The above seems to be the mechanism of Rifian law.[17]

443 671 614 And in the suq a double character may be seen: place of business and temple of law, the latter more important than the former, because if it were the other way around, each clan would have various market sites and not just one, it seems to us; and furthermore, some clans, by virtue of their commercial topography would have been lacking in markets, which is also not the case.[18] Thus we believe, as stated in the first part of this work[19], that there is a correspondence between the clan as a social unit and the suq; in fact, we may go so far as to say that the former was the real fatherland (patria) of the Rifian, his political unit, a small independent republic, the distinctive feature of which was the suq, the temple of Rifian law.

3. INTER-LINEAGE QANUN,[20] SHOWING EXECUTIVE PROCEDURE (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 628 613 A) Qanun:

Praise be to God.--Copy taken from the text of a document after legalization, extended for the bearer of some.

[682] Praise be to God.--Upon the reciprocal guarantee (Blanco: note 1) made by Ait 'Aisa, Ait Tzurakhth, Izubu'an, Ait Haddu u Sa'id and

6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH[45] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

671 443 [778] Praise be to the One God. The will and eternal power of Our Lord having decided thus, the congregation--in the Tuesday Market (Suq ath-Thulatha) (situated) at 'Ain Tihalalin[46], in the vicinity of (the tomb of) the holy emanator of blessings Sidi 'Amran[47]--of its owners, those of the clan of Bani 'Abdallah. (The latter) convened 623 443 (in the abovementioned market) with the idea of coming to agreement on 692 their criteria and on the purity of their actions in behalf of the 681 common good of all; and, as a consequence, they decided the amount of the fines to be imposed inasmuch as there should occur within the abovementioned market, or, indeed, outside it on the path (which leads to it), (Blanco: note a) incidents, premeditated or not, through error or imprudence, such as woundings and murders (which might happen) through gunshots, knifings, strangulations and stonings, (or, indeed), pillaging and sacking. (Blanco: note b) To anyone who kills in the 682 443 interior of the market and is caught (literally, "had"), rashsha' shall [696] be applied to him (i.e. he shall be shot). If he has not been captured owing to having fled to another tribe (literally, "other tribes"), (they shall impose upon him a fine of) 2000 duros and his house shall be burned down to its foundations. (If he should kill) on the path (which leads to the market) he shall also pay (a fine of) 2000 (duros). Who- 683 ever should wound (another), (he shall be fined) 1000 duros. Whoever (shoots) and misses (his target), (he shall pay a fine of) 500 duros.

682 (Blanco: note c) Whoever of the Bani 'Abdallah should commit murder on Tuesday (i.e. on market day, the day of the suq) within the

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take
687 683 justice into his own hands (literally, "ransacking to collect a debt") shall pay 50 duros, and the same for whoever should attack another on
689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of
681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made
443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul)
693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

695 693 capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) in order to testify.

682 695 (Blanco: note h) If, regarding a murder, there is brought sufficient proof (against the guilty party), the abovementioned fine shall be imposed upon him, and in case sufficient proof does not exist, he shall swear (for acquittal).[48]

805 443 782 (Blanco: note i) Regarding the abovementioned beginning (i.e. on Tuesdays), it is ended at the hour of the 'isha (i.e. at the dinner hour or hour of the sunset prayer). Amen.

805 000 On the sixth day of Ramadan the Magnificent of the year 1335 (June 26, 1917). Servant of his God, may He be exalted, Muhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, "Abd as-Salam bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

671 692 693 000 Legalization by the qadi. Praise be to the One God. (Both 'udul) have put down its contents, which are accepted and to which I give faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Umar at-Tuzani, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

671 This qanun manifests in a clear way how social law is made among Rifians: where the legislators gathered to agree on it, how it was made public, whom it obligated, the jurisdiction in which it was exercised, the objective sought and the means of attaining it.

It enumerates the crimes and their sanctions, it distinguishes perpetrators and accomplices, provokers and auxiliaries, natives and 000 stranger. It eschews pardon, it demands proof and it shows the reality of the social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator A/1, [See p.306-- Analyst]

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
62 social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

• 443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
443 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to
671 those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan,
[182] an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
614
776

671 443 614 776 was drawn up, as the names of those who inspired it disappear into a convenient anonymity as the generic "those of the clan", under the otherworldly tutelage of Sidi 'Amran. As for being alive and present, 671 614 776 I consider that the jealous and rivalrous constituents of this saint would neither have consented, however great his sanctity might be, to figure expressly in this qanun; for such was the independent or anarchical spirit of this clan, that, having iziddifen or imgharen like all other clans, nobody wanted to see himself deferred or ordered around, 554 even in name only. There is no master nor, by the same token, are there servants, titles or honors. Only men and rifles, and only reality and harshness.

614 671 Nevertheless, the common good succeeds in putting the clan's ideas into effect (author's italics--i.e. "the common good makes them agree"), according to the expression of the first paragraph of the qanun, which reveals to us the amount of discussion and work that this would cost.

671 Rifian law grows, pacifying the minds of those who live by it, staisfying a need, not an ideal; and doing so as naturally as the waters of 'Ain Tihalalin, beside which it was made, slake the thirst of the wayfarer and even the clarity of both: the wayfarer and the law. For the function of the water and the function of the Rifian [182] legal system was analogous: to cure, even though the cure was not always successful.

671 443 Rifian society, as this qanun proves, establishes a place of peace, a place which is not (translator's italics) the temple of God, the place of prayer and that selected by almost all other peoples, but the market and its environs, the temple of the merchants. This proves

671 This proves
182 that Rifian law tended to satisfy a need and not an ideal, as we have
443 just said; for further on, the qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah points out
796 a truce to be held on a given day, on Tuesday, the market day, and not on Friday, the religious day and the day of attendance at the noon prayer in the mosque. The day of peace is thus a layman's day.....

671 The law is simple. ..nd hard. And sufficient to be encrusted with obligatory relief in the most refractory cranium of a believer, an objective impossible to obtain among modern societies. Nobody pretended ignorance, as all are wont to do or swear today.

There are neither aggravators nor attenuators, only consummate (and consummated) acts.

Paragraph a: They discount intentions, so difficult to prove
[681] and needing so much patience to investigate. They attain results more easy to prove and more quick to sanction (i.e. castigate) and be sanctioned, in conformance with their rudimentary law.

671 Paragraph b: A hard punishment; the liquidation of the mur-
682 derer, with the loophole that after his flight, the law may fatten on him. But it does not give a heavy punishment to his agnates, although it avoidsimpunity. It does not cease to be more humanitarian than other analogous qanuns, if indeed this custom is followed in reality.
[681] The gradation of fines is simple and even attempted murder is penalized.

671 Paragraph c: A typical example of the fact that Rifian law is only concerned with the external manifestation of the crime.

[681] Paragraph d: And so that the gradation of the punishment follows that manifestation as a shadow does a body, from the time that it is initiated.

component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing influence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the undersigned notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya) made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros. This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55] or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

671 628 681 184 443 1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in certain qanuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the 681 619 443 reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681 For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is 681 628 682 614 619 443 613 therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

671 "when they were under God's protection") among the notables of the Bani Khattab situated on the seacoast[65], God made them assemble, both adults and minors (author's italics), and made them put their ideas and 443 [778] criteria into agreement. Then they established the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') in front of the tomb of the saint Sidi Bu 'Afif[66], so that it would be a benefit to the poor as well as to those who should desire prosperity.

May God make concord (and harmony) endure among them, and may 443 554 He solidify (i.e. render prosperous) their market. The establishment (of the aforementioned market) was due to the blessed sharif Sayyidi Ahmad bin Sayyidi Misa'ud[67]--may God make the whole tribe happy--and to the following persons of Ajdir[68]: to the opulent and considerate Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, to the Qa'id Sayyid Bu Bakr bin al-Hajj Muhammad Ushshan, to the Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar al-'Azizi al-Ghalbzuri and to his neighbor Shaikh al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir u Musa w 'Amar, to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Shaikh Hammu Taqal'ait Amhawl, and to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Hajj Muhammadi. All these shuyukh are those who brought their criteria and aid (for the establishment of the market), and above all of them (is the worthy help) of the sharif Sidi Ahmad.

Each of the shuyukh designated those who had to help them in the aforementioned market; these helpers are their brothers (i.e. the people who fall under their jurisdiction) and have to be the first to arrive at the market and the last to leave, in order to safeguard it from prejudice, harm, danger, evil and brawls which might occur in it (i.e. within its limits).

000 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)

682 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)
443 and should kill him shall be fined 500 duros[69], and if, in attacking
he should miss him (i.e. if the bullet should fail to reach its mark),
685 he shall pay 200 duros. Whoever should take justice into his own hands
443 on the path to the market shall be fined 50 duros and shall return what-
ever object he made off with. Of those who should incite riots with
689 shouts and gunshots, as (happened) to the people of Tafrast, Ait Musa
w 'Amar (both in the clan of the Aith 'Ari) and to the people of Ajdir
(in the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), each one shall pay with his
689 death (literally, "with his neck"), that is, he must be shot. Whoever
443 should be discovered in the Monday Women's Market (Suq ath-Thnain n
562 Timgharin, at Azghar) shall be forced to pay 10 duros.

671 This is what has been decided (for fulfillment) of justice in
443 the above-mentioned market. May God, for the common good, put into
agreement His ideas and the criteria of His lords (of the market).
689 Punishment shall seek out anyone who should wish to provoke riots--
may God in His power make him meet his end.

000 The abovementioned shuyukh have worked with good intent, with
the idea of being useful. May God cause the miracles of the saints
to be manifested, and of the saint of the tomb situated in front of the
market (i.e. that of Sidi Bu 'Afif).

Each of the abovementioned shuyukh designated among his brothers
(i.e. among the men in his jurisdiction) those faithful to him (i.e.
those who constituted his escort and supported his decisions), as for
example: the Shaikh Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar designated among them
the Murabit bin Muhammad bin 'Abdallah Bu 'Azza; the Murabit Hammu bin
al-Hajj Muhammad w al-Qadi; 'Umar bin al-Hajj Tuhami Adardush; Muhammad

671 554 693 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike proclivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their real profession.

671 779 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code, or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack, 671 683 he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor markmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect markmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

681 443 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the [619] [673] tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

562 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among
671 the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed
183 today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only
79 one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon
443 discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering
689 the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him
178 over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's
562 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they
443 were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very
178 attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women
183 special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of
[184] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the funda-
(681) mentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that [443] among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 574 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

671 701 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

226 tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not
[619] frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 823 184 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 443 492 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are afterwards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

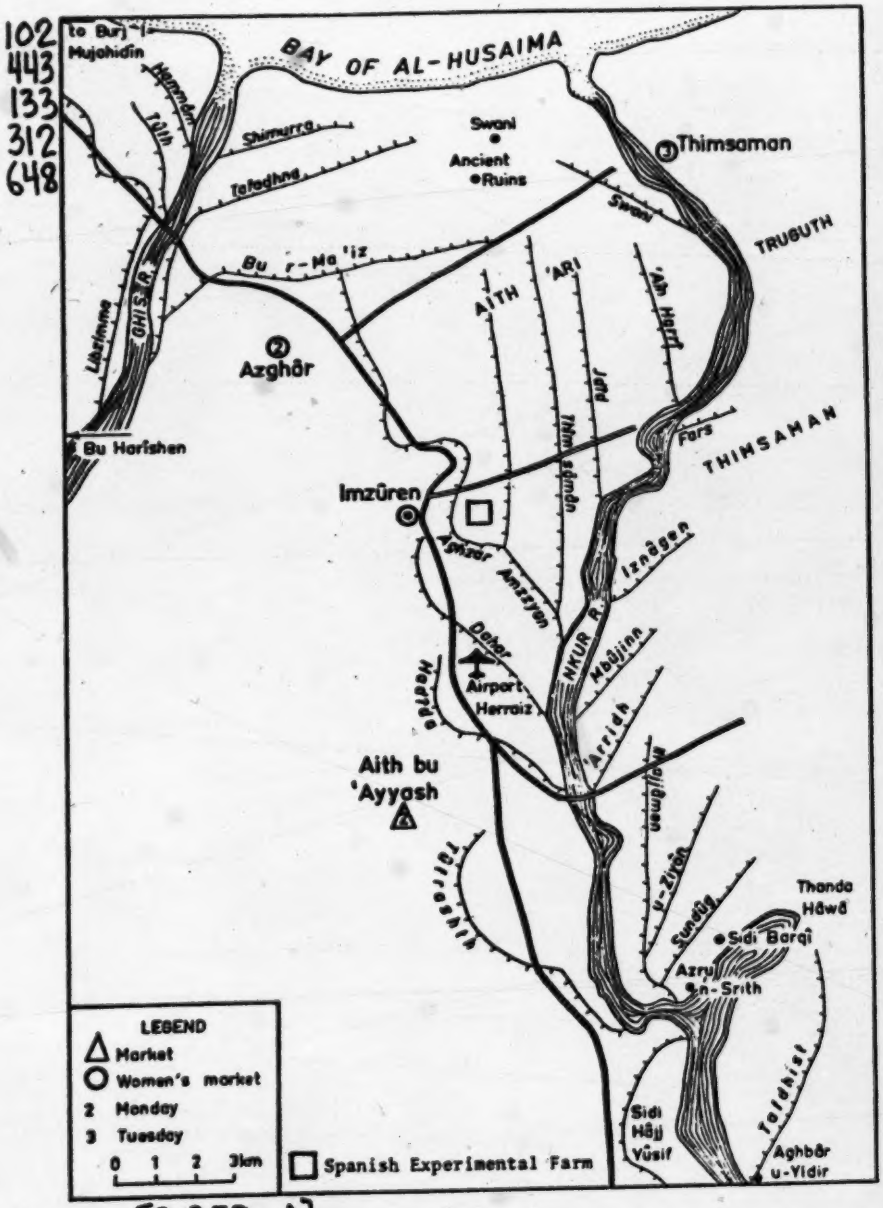
226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 685 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

BLANCO MAP II (1939) - PLAIN OF AL-HUSAIMA



[P. 358-A]

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their [821] tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

121 related to subsistence are dictated by a different order of
556 practical considerations and ideological commitments than
433 obtain as the dominating factors in industrial society.

121 It has been an on-going dispute in anthropological
114 literature about whether such an economy as that of the Rif
433 is susceptible to the same sort of treatment that marks the study of market-oriented, industrial society. Polanyi began the dispute by pointing out that the rules of choice upon which most economic theory rests are based on a particular social and economic model which has only limited applicability. He noted that the economic behavior of the participants of an industrial society was largely induced by the institution of the market. The difficulty in such economic analysis comes, of course, when we study societies in which the market is not the primary focal point of the economy.

121 In Rif society the marketplace is peripheral to the
433 economy. This condition is due in part to historical and
443 ecological factors which have influenced the evolution of a particular kind of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and
121 economic resources. The Rif has, until recently, been part
433 of the bled-as-siba, or the land outside the administrative
642 control of the Moroccan government. Thus, one of the major social factors in the history of the Rif was the absence of centralized political authority. This lack of a political factor in integrating the economy has directly influenced the

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible. [461] [369] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 785 472 443 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare [265] and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for 796 785 the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

793 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property
794 owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his
465 services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is
789 not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in
791 Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif
754 society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his
[793] knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are
[799] embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female
754 witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed
791 on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches
562 although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are
[888] universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

754 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical tech-
791 niques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages
789 from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qual-
793 ities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services
[443] of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

754
791
789
793
443

wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791
754
789
435

The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may

[955] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One

[955] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi-

[554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[955] As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to

000 curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 6

THE MARKETPLACE

128 443 While the preceding chapters have been devoted to distribution of wealth according to imperatives or bias arising from the social conditions of Berber life, this concluding section is devoted to exchanges which take place within the market. In it I describe the composition of the market and the interactions of its participants. I conclude with an analysis of the role of the local market in the economic and social life of the Riffian and in what ways the local Berber economy articulates with the national economy of Morocco. By doing this I hope to present a coherent picture of the integration between the indigenous exchange system and the larger national economy.

443 The characteristic form of the market, or suq, in the Rif is for buyers and sellers to come together once a week at a permanent location within each tribe or large tribal section. By holding their markets on separate days, the tribes have produced a system of staggering weekly markets all across the Rif. [196] Thus a merchant can travel to a different suq every day of the week except Friday, the Muslim sabbath. The fellah, however, rarely engage in any market activity except at the local suq. A study of the reasons behind this will divulge many of the

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

443 pertinent features of the marketplace and its importance in the economy of the Rif.

443 182 571 The market in the Rif does not function simply to facilitate exchange but serves a whole series of social needs of the fellah. By looking at the noneconomic functions of the market we can better understand why a man will ride a mule or walk for two hours to market, yet make only a single purchase. We will understand why a seller would prefer to deal in a familiar market although other markets may have higher prevailing prices for his goods. The market has both an economic and a social function and it is difficult to say which has primacy over the other. As Montagne points out, "Le montagnard ne se rend pas au 'souq' uniquement pour acheter ou vendre, il y vient souvent aussi pour rencountrer ses amis, réglar des contestations de terrain ou de pâturage, ou plus simplement encore pour connaître les nouvelles du jour" (1930:249). And Bourrilly has noted the importance "non seulement économique mais encore politique, de ces souks ruraux. Ces rendez-vous périodiques, que des liens d'hospitalité, tels que la zettata [a promise of safe passage], rendent plus forts, aboutissent forcément à une fusion plus ou moins complète des groupes qui fréquentent les marchés voisins" (1932:216).

Only by observing the noneconomic significance can we avoid the type of thinking that led Albéniz to conclude that ". . . poco a poco van disminuyendo el número de zocos en el territorio, como consecuencia de la bondad de las vías de comunicación. Los zocos de escasa vida se ven absorbidos por los de auge más intenso, y

443 los indígenas, por sí mismos, van señalando, con su ausencia e
182 inhibición, cuáles son los que deben desaparecer" (1930:122).
571 Or as Mikesell argues, improved communications and the bus favor the growth of large regional markets over the local one. "The simple charms of the local suq lose their appeal when larger markets with a wider range of goods are accessible" (Mikesell 1958:509).

443 Aside from the fact that market appeal is not based on
182 "simple charms," I think both Albéniz and Mikesell have founded
114 their conclusions on a false evaluation of the purposes of the market. When an institution serves multiple purposes it cannot easily be replaced by another institution which serves a single purpose. The large, impersonal regional market does not fulfill the social function of the local suq. Even as a source for supplying the fellah, the regional market has only a marginal value since most purchases are of articles (kerosene, tea, tobacco, etc.) whose value does not appreciably alter from market to market. Indeed, Mikesell elsewhere recognizes that from a buying standpoint one market is as good as another. "Everyone has a turn with the itinerant peddlers, but few purchase anything; for in this area of subsistence economy each family guards its currency for a marriage or some other special event" (1958:503).

443 But it is especially the social functions of the market
182 which reinforce the fellah's loyality to his local suq. It is
571 here that he can maximize his advantages of being part of a status economy. Here he can seek out local notables to assist him.

443 182 571 [452] [554] He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

443 182 What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all <u>sugs</u> of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific <u>sug</u>. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturallement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

443 [651] [366] [312] Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

443 On the market day itself, this changes. Merchants arrive on bus, mule, truck, or foot to set up their booths. By eight o'clock there is a small but steady flow of fellah entering the market. At the main entrances of the suq taxes are collected. For those who have certain articles to sell, a tax must be paid, based on the quantity of the commodity. There are certain cases, to be discussed below, when commodities may enter the market free to be taxed later, at the moment of sale or after the goods have been accumulated but before they leave the market.

443 651 438

The tax of the market is, at present, the main source of revenue that the government realizes from the Rif. Both the Spanish and Moroccan governments found that the collection of taxes on the basis of market exchange was the most feasible way of extracting revenue from the Rif.[1] By walling off the market and stationing guards at the entrances the government is able to impose a stability on the collection process. "Conviene senalar que la recaudación de los impuestos del Majken en los Zocos se viene realizando por las intervenciones militares sin el menor obstáculo y con mucha más facilidad que puede efectuarse en las ciudades la recaudación de los arbitrios urbanos" (Albéniz 1930:118-119).

443 651 648

---

[1]The Spanish charged a tax (tertib) on the yield of the land and upon livestock. The tertib was discontinued after independence and a new tax "was so designed as to exempt the poorest 90 percent of farmers" (Morocco 1965:394). This excludes most of the fellah. For a discussion of the Spanish tax structure in Morocco see Hart 1956:253.

443 651 648 438 [123] Below is the official tax rate of the Spanish as given in Albéniz (1930:121-122). I have no schedule of my own because of a disinclination on the part of officials to give me such information.

Articles upon which a tax is paid entering the market:	
A load of fruit	0.[illegible] Spanish pesetas
Basket of vegetables	0.75
Basket of fish	1.50
Kilo of honey or butter	0.40

Articles upon which a tax is paid upon leaving the market by the large-scale buyers:	
Wool	5% of total value
Straw mats	0.25 each
Dried cereal	0.50 quintal
Goat or lamb hide	0.20 each
Cattle hide	0.50 each

Articles upon which a tax is paid at the moment of exchange:	
Horses	5% of the value of the sale
Mules	5% of the value of the sale
Donkeys	5% of the value of the sale
Firewood, a quintal	5% of the value of the sale

Articles upon which a tax is charged when entering the market and again upon being sold:	
Basket of wool	.10 and .20
Chickens and wild fowl	.10 and .10
Eggs (dozen)	.10 and .10
Carbon (a sack)	.10 and .10

443 651 648 438 735 While Albéniz's list follows the general lines of present taxing policy, there have been some changes aimed at helping the poor. For example, small lots of fruit, vegetables, nuts and eggs can enter the market without paying a duty. Revenue is collected for

443
651
438
648
[735]
[276]
such items if they are purchased by the large middlemen merchants who pay the tax upon leaving the *suq*. Because of governmental tax and conservation laws, carbon is rarely sold in the free market but rather in the black market. The narcotic *kif*, which undoubtedly is a major trade item, also is in the province of the black marketeer. Missing from Albéniz's list are almonds, which have become an increasingly important cash crop. Almonds enter the market free in small lots, are bought by large-scale merchants and taxed upon departing from the market.

443 After paying his tax, the seller enters the market and goes to the area occupied by traders of his particular commodity. There are no market rules demanding that a seller go to a special place but areas have by custom been developed for each type of goods. Those people selling an unusual commodity or unique service set up shop wherever they desire as long as it does not interfere with the operation of the market.

443
438 In the following I shall outline the sorts of commodities brought to the market and the categories of people involved in marketing them. The composition of the agricultural products varies greatly with the season. Tomatoes, green peppers, and other vegetables are available only in the summer and early fall. For a short period during the fall, fruit is in overabundance. Potatoes, maize, garlic, and onions appear throughout the year, though again the supply varies. There are always large stacks of unmilled barley even though this is supposed to be the main crop of the region. That the *fellah* have to buy barley on

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [177] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
[556] to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
[735] the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
[265] of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
[785] and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
[796] market group most severely affected by the religious month of Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is prohibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren, or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary, are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

445 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes
565 but find their occupation more remunerative.
423

In addition to these small merchants there is an assort-
443 ment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special
445 goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician. The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occa-
(159) sionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs, stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather peripheral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers,
443 the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital
472 so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation, who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

442 Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and
443 we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.
472 Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade
[262] has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though
cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas
226 has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently
[504] rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation,
[178] while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several
[648] centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish
protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards
but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered
442 into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market
443 their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the
472 catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men,
438 in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the
appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually
carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy
a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building
of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by
entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present
[262] the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets
two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest
fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the
poor.

443 Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local
442 <u>sugs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer
438

province of Nador, where barley is relatively cheap, in order to sell in the Rif, which seldom produces enough to meet local needs. The barley is stacked in huge piles of loose, unground seed which is purchased in relatively small lots to be taken back to the mountains and ground for bread or left in seed form to feed the livestock. The barley is measured and weighed by a member of the imziren class, who loudly cries out the current price of barley in the market. The merchants themselves sit under nearby shade trees, accepting the coins from their criers and listening to the competition.

In addition to these large-scale sellers, there are the large-scale buyers, who resemble the large-scale sellers in all particulars except their immediate function in the market. Among this group are the egg merchants who buy the tiny lots of a myriad fellah in order to transport them to the urban centers of Tetuan or Fez. Another group of buyers are the almond merchants who purchase the Riffian's supply to market abroad, usually in France, to cosmetic companies which transform them into face oils and hand lotions. There are also merchants of oranges who supply the canned juice industry, and grape buyers who purchase the indigenous supply (used locally by the Berbers as a winter reserve in the form of raisins) for the wine industry located in central Morocco.

Composition of the Market of Arba Taurirt, 1965

443
438
445
265

Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10	Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10
kerosene	6	8	barbers	11	9
rugs	8	7	solderers	3	2
pottery	1	1	shoe repair	9	6
baskets, brooms, and straw hats	4	0	butchers	11	9
men's new clothes	13	12	food for consumption at market	12	10
men's used clothes	7	4	medicine	1	0
women's clothes	x	27	photography	1	0
hardware and spices	29	27	dentist	1	0
barley	8	7	palm reader	0	1
bread	1	2	jewelry	0	1
candy	4	4	rubber boots	0	1
window frames	1	1	belts	0	1
books	1	1	magician	0	1
soft drinks	1	0			
trucks of fish	3	1			
garlic	a	a	turnips	0	a
peppers	a	0	eggs	a	a
almonds	a	0	melons	1	0
walnuts	1	0	grapes	a	0
oranges	0	a	tomatoes	a	0
raisins	0	a	potatoes	a	a
			onions	a	a

a] indicates that the number of vendors was so large and changeable that accurate counting was not possible.

x] indicates that I have no sure figures.

This list includes, to the best of my knowledge, every single item being sold inside the marketplace. It was not possible to keep a tab on livestock transactions.

[114]

99

443 I shall now attempt to schematize the suq in the Central Rif. While this diagram may not include all classes of participants nor all exchanges, I think it covers the majority of all cases. The buyers and sellers in the weekly market can be divided into three separate categories. The first are the tribal fellah, rooted socially in the local community. Unquestionably, this group constitutes the vast majority of people at the suq. Whatever economic interaction they have with the suq is prompted by acquiring cash to finance social expenditures or to provide a limited range of goods such as cooking oil, kerosene, sugar, tea, salt and so forth, for household consumption. The majority of persons in this category, the poor fellah, have brought their small lots of goods derived from their agricultural activities to exchange at whatever the prevailing price in order to obtain cash for making equally small purchases. They do not seek to accumulate surpluses of cash so that they can market larger quantities of goods in successive market meetings.

443 442 434 435 The second category of people involved in any one market is made up of the large-scale merchants who have come to buy from the fellah. This group is completely impersonal, rarely if ever having any local connections with the populace. These merchants are well provided with capital, own their own trucks, and are knowledgeable about supply and demand conditions in both the local and national markets in which they operate. In the case of most large-scale buyers, they are accompanied by a group of hired men who seek out market information. These informants

443 gather up verbal information about the prevailing prices and the
442 supply of a commodity in the suq. Their operation is somewhat
434 more complex than the sellers who can quickly assess the supply
435 of the market since they need only evaluate the quantities of their competitors. The large-scale buyers do not have such early information and must rely on their "runners" to supply them with market conditions on the inpouring of a commodity into the market. The centers of these operations are quite exciting as information pours into them and the merchant sends out his buying price.

443 While the lot size of his purchases is uniformly small (buying
442 from the numerous fellah who have only small lots to sell), the large-scale merchant departs from the market with a sizable supply

442 of his good. At the end of market day he is assessed a tax based
[651] on the quantity he has purchased and transports the merchandise to urban centers where even larger firms purchase the good either to transform it into another sort of goods, through an industrial or factory process, or to break it down into small lots again to sell at a higher price. The principle behind his operation is simple. By his act of transporting commodities away from the area in which they were produced to another area in which they are scarce, he multiplies the value of the goods.

443 Amongst themselves such buyers have a rather accurate idea
435 of the prevailing prices among their competitors at the market-
442 place. Whatever price differential that exists at the market develops from the efficiency of information gathering. By this word-of-mouth information the buyer is able to estimate market

443 442 435 conditions and adjust his prices accordingly. The fellah, on the other hand, has no such information channel and merely attempts to get the best price he can with his limited supply of information. The fellah sells his eggs, or almonds, or oranges, to the big buyers almost as soon as he contacts one of them at the marketplace. Since his lots are so small, any fluctuation in the price of the commodity during the day would only remotely affect him and he prefers to get his selling activity over with quickly so that he can get on to his other market activities--buying and social intercourse. It would be far from the market style of the Berber to spend hours prowling the suq in search of an optimum moment to sell. Only in those commodities which the producer sells directly to the consumer (fellah to fellah) is there much time spent in marketing goods. Only in the absence of the large-scale merchant must the tribesman await the disposition of his goods.

It is only on rare occasions that the large-scale merchant attempts to sell what he has bought in the same market. The only instances that I know of were in the case of selling to wholesalers or restaurant owners from the city of Alhucemas who came to the rural suqs to buy for their immediate need, taking advantage of special friendships and buying in lots so large that the price advantage for the large-scale merchants of transporting to another area was offset by the quantity of the purchase. This, however, was rare. Most merchants of this magnitude attempted to derive their profits through their transporting facility.

443 442 The third group is those merchants who exclusively sell at the market. As noted above, this is merely an analytic device. Empirically, a buyer in one market will be a seller in another. It is only the special ecological conditions of the Rif which separate the two categories in the marketplaces. There is, however, a major dichotomy which splits this group, based mainly on scale of operation. On the one hand are the large-scale sellers who resemble, in terms of organization, the large-scale buyers and who derive their profit mainly through the transportational facility. On the other hand, we have the small-scale merchant who sells his goods and services only in a cycle of small local markets.

443 The small-scale sellers hold in common with the large merchants only the fact that their basic activity is to sell. The difference is essentially in scale. The small-scale merchant or occupational specialist travels from one market within a carefully defined region to the next market. He has no connections outside his immediate circuit and gets from one place to the next on public transportation or mule. He has little knowledge of market conditions outside his immediate view of a single market. His prices, which may involve a good deal of bargaining, vary only slightly from customer to customer and from market to market. He may be divided into two empirical categories: those who sell services, such as barbers, butchers, shoe repairmen, food vendors, blacksmiths, solderers, etc., and those who keep a small inventory of nonperishable goods, such

494 492 435 437 443 445

443 445 as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and spices.

443 444 A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consumption. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments can be spread into the future. With all the other participants of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

443 571 [128] These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers. This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

442 profit not from dispersing goods in the same marketplace but in
571 transporting the goods from one region to another.
[443]

Large-scale buyers interact with small-lot sellers in a limited range of goods which, generally, can be transformed by industrial processes into another commodity (grapes to wine, almonds to cosmetics, oranges to canned fruit), the conversion of which enhances the value of the original object. These buyers are plugged into a larger economy with export connections and are
442 sensitive to external conditions. Tribesmen who produce in order
433 to meet the demand of such buyers are likewise closely connected
434 with the national and international economy. There is a small but growing number of fellah who produce to sell to this group, but even among them there is a reticence to move completely into the commercial sector. My impression is that the great majority of the Riffian peasantry engaging in cash-cropping attempt to maintain a balance in their production schedule which continues to include a fair proportion of traditional crops. By generalizing their production, few of the grape specialists suffered from
[458] the decrease in prices during 1965. This contrasts with the one-
[435] crop estates in Algeria which during the same period suffered severe setbacks.

443 The small-scale sellers of both goods and services occupy that position which is left open by the unwillingness of the local Berber to engage in full-time commerce and the absence of the large-scale entrepreneur. They are, on the one hand,
[434] dealing in commodities or services the margin of profit on which

443 434 [438] [435] is too low for the large-scale merchants to intrude in competition. The type of commodity (clothes, kerosene, and so on) cannot be increased in value through combination and transportation, while at the same time the volume of trade is so sporadic and low that only the one-man operation can derive a living from it. We might assume that wherever there exists an adequate margin of profit through combination and increase in scale, the large-scale firm will preempt this position. The leftovers, so to speak, go to the small middleman operation. On the other hand, these small-443 182 scale merchants are performing services which have a low cultural value among the local population. Thus the small-scale seller of goods and services fills a vacuum. He cannot be displaced by the large firms, since it would not be profitable for them to compete with him. At the same time, he serves the local community by providing necessary but socially disapproved of services.

443 438 Finally, the tribesmen interact amongst themselves--producers selling to household consumers. Since the fellah's trade is always in small lots (with the exception of livestock), most transactions in this sector are on a very small scale. Lack of capital and limited interest in the market characterize this group. Sellers seek to dispose of their product at whatever the prevailing price as quickly as possible. Buyers choose mainly in terms of quality of the commodity rather than price, which tends to be even--each seller listening to his neighbor seller and selling accordingly. There is very little differential in this group in product or price. The cause behind this lies,

443 438 undoubtedly, in the fact that each production unit is a replica of all the other units. Each seller has the same commodities, in about the same proportions and selling for similar prices. Individual (A) has commodities x and y which he wishes to sell in order to buy z. Individual (B) has the same commodities which he seeks to dispose of in order to achieve the same goal. And so forth, throughout the whole of the assembled tribesmen. What exchange does take place among the fellah exists, for the most part, as a function of slight ecological differentiation between local areas.

The fellah, by and large, enters the market and disposes of his goods at whatever price they will fetch, either to fellow tribesmen or merchants from the outside. Naturally he seeks the best return that he can get, but his motivations lie far from the rest of the merchants who seek capital accumulation. His [437] desire is to acquire cash for tobacco, tea, sugar, cooking oil, kerosene, and a kilo of fish or meat, or to transfer his gain back into the status economy of which he is so much a part. He partakes of the selling process for only as long as it is absolutely necessary. Ideally, he should not even need to sell.

443 829 Unlike the peasants of many areas (Guatemala and Mexico come to mind), the average Riffian is not a "marketeer" and marketing is not a primary household activity. In an ethnographic study of the small village of San Antonino in Oaxaca, Mexico, I was impressed by the fact that everyone seemed to be deeply concerned about what went on in the market. Many of the

townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local *suq* because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the merchants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market. Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best price based on multiple competition, the larger the market, the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the *fellah* is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local *suq*, he must return the animal home or be entirely

443 438 435 dependent on the prices existing in the market for that day. On the other hand, if he is dissatisfied with the price in the local market he can easily transport the beast home again, to await a more propitious occasion.

443 182 571 I think that the major element which emerges from this schematic presentation of the composition of the market and the interaction of its various actors is that each fellah, as an individual, plays a relatively minor role in the workings of the market. The market brings together buyers and sellers, but the fellah have a different orientation than the other buyers and sellers. Stemming from this difference in orientation is a basic difference in the form of economic activity. The primary concern of the professional merchant is to dispose of his products on the market, hopefully at a profit. The primary concern of the fellah is to meet subsistence and social needs. If he can do this by disposing of his crops or livestock on the market, all the better. But the market as such does not provide the dynamics of the Rif economy; the dynamics are provided by the impulses activated by the status economy.

105 43 182 [152] is not keyed to profit for the sake of capital accumulation or reinvestment for expansion but rather to provide resources to meet these needs. Motives for exchanges, transfers, consumption, etc. are based on 1) social obligations, 2) anticipation of spiritual or social reward, and 3) ritually prescribed ceremonies. These motives provide the dynamics of the internal economic system. While there are markets in the Rif, the economy itself is not integrated by the market. It is a society which Bohannan and Dalton would characterize as consisting of "Communities with peripheral markets--that is, the institution of the market place is present, but the market principle does not determine acquisition of subsistence or the allocation of land and labor resources" (1965:5). Of course, this does not mean that markets are unimportant in the society. The market is an institutionalized way of bringing buyers and sellers together and redistributing resources. As such it merits our attention as much as non-market transactions. Yet it is organizationally distinct from our own economy in which "All goods and services, including the use of labor, land and capital are available for purchase in markets and have, therefore, a price; all forms of income derive from the sale of goods and services--wages, rent and interest, respectively, appearing only as different instances of price according to the items sold" (Polanyi 1957:247). In the Rif the market acts as only one, and not necessarily the most predominant, focal point for exchanges. Only by exploring the complete range of exchanges can we avoid the sort of ethnographic

105 443 182 [181]

[114]

105 blindness that led Benet to conclude: "Everything that is not
443 domestically produced has, therefore, to be obtained from the
182 market, through market transactions, and no exchange or com-
114 mercial activities of any kind are attempted outside of these times and places. The market place has a monopoly on exchange transactions [amongst Berbers]" (1957:196).

105 The market itself is not the area of primary concern for
443 the fellah. Professional merchants, of course, fall into another
441 category. But there is little impetus for the growth of an indig-
182 enous merchant class. The merchant entrepreneur is, by defini-
434 tion, acting in a way which runs counter to the status economy.
438 He is primarily concerned with devoting his capital to profit or income-producing investments. While the peasant comes to the market with commodities to exchange for money to buy other commodities, the merchant seeks to convert money into commodities which he can resell in order to acquire more money. Social and religious imperatives only interfere with the merchant's freedom of action.[1] Unlike transactions in the social sphere which perpetuate themselves into the future as part of a web of reciprocal obligations, the merchant seeks transactions which are impersonal and terminal at the moment of exchange. He is most at home in the suq, where these conditions are nearest to being achieved.

---

[1] I do not mean to draw too close a parallel between the Protestant merchant and his Muslim counterpart. The Islamic business ethic still awaits its Weber.

105 443 441 182 Yet at the same time, the merchant becomes increasingly isolated from the culture of the Rif and increasingly involved in the ideology of industrial society.

105 182 Outside the marketplace, resources continue to be circumscribed by social strictures, credit is based on reputation, prestige is evoked through ceremony, while honor and shame guarantee each transaction. Bulls are killed to bring on rain, witches paid to remove evil eyes, and man continues an intensive dialogue with his external environment based on a cultural evaluation which provides a measure of both social and physical comfort.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquies, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[26] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[27] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[28] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wad Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

[26] *Marruecos, zona jalifiana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[27] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognized by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants*..., II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est déterminée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[28] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of doum.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.[4]

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."[5]

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garet suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garet and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, *kif*, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

[4] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47–48.

[5] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93)

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

RS
102
443
131

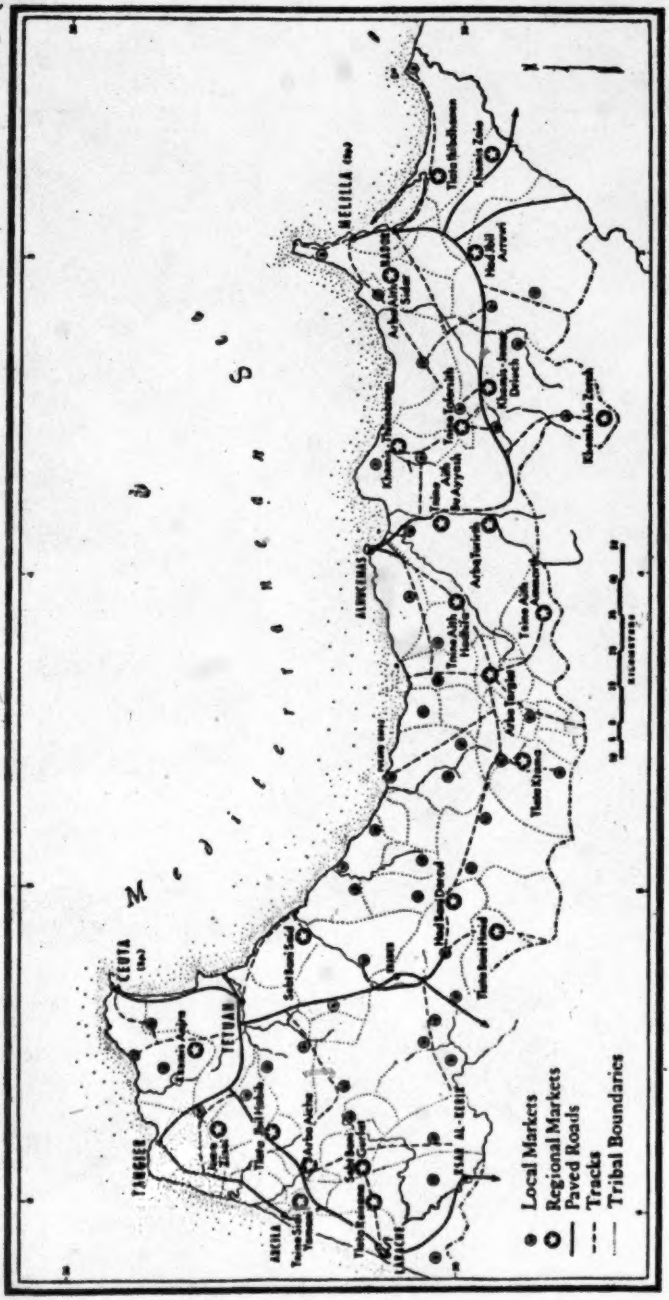


Fig. 24. Northern Morocco: tribal markets.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Tnine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Caballo Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167-169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[*] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[*] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[*] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[*] *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

S
443
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
[681]

R
S
443
171

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

R
S
•443
171

/253 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ not entrusted, as it would be natural to think, to the notables of the tribe. An appeal is also made to men belonging to powerful families, supported by a soff strong enough to make their decisions respected in the souqs /sooks/. As in the Rif, they are called the "amghars" of the souq. [Hanoteau and Letourneux, Kabylie /Kabylia/, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.] The tradition of these markets placed under the supervision of a chief is very ancient; this was done in Roman North Africa. Rich owners even used to found a market, often to their profit. Boissier, Afrique romaine /Roman Africa/, p. 149.

S
343

V. The collective storehouses of the Sous. -- It is above all in the construction and use of collective storehouses that the tribes of the western Atlas and the Anti-Atlas give the measure of their aptitudes for the organization of life in common. Although the inquiries made up to this time are not sufficient to permit studying this economic institution completely in all the development that it seems to have had in North Africa, we can at least show the importance that it has assumed in the Sous.

S
[114]

S
343
*634

Among most of the independent "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ or in the high valleys subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ for less than a generation, there exist collective storehouses that take the name of agadir (2).

S
[192]

2. The word "agadir," plur. "igoudar," "igidar," has the meaning of fortress or collective storehouse in the mountains of the Anti-Atlas, the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ between the trail of the Bibaoun and that of Telwet; of village placed in a spot easy to defend among the Haha and the Ida

443 445 as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and spices.

443 444 A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consumption. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments can be spread into the future. With all the other participants of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

443 571 [128] These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers. This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [177] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social
occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides
the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of
Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is pro-
hibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren,
or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary,
are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought
to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are
wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since
loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is
plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

445 565 423 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes but find their occupation more remmerative.

443 445 In addition to these small merchants there is an assortment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician. (159) The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occasionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs, stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather peripheral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 443 472 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers, the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation, who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Composition of the Market of Arbs Taurirt, 1965

443
438
445
265

Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10	Commodity	Vendors Sept. 15	Vendors Nov. 10
kerosene	6	8	barbers	11	9
rugs	8	7	solderers	3	2
pottery	1	1	shoe repair	9	6
baskets, brooms, and straw hats	4	0	butchers	11	9
men's new clothes	13	12	food for consumption at market	12	10
men's used clothes	7	4	medicine	1	0
women's clothes	x	27	photography	1	0
hardware and spices	29	27	dentist	1	0
barley	8	7	palm reader	0	1
bread	1	2	jewelry	0	1
candy	4	4	rubber boots	0	1
window frames	1	1	belts	0	1
books	1	1	magician	0	1
soft drinks	1	0			
trucks of fish	3	1			
garlic	a	a	turnips	0	a
peppers	a	0	eggs	a	a
almonds	a	0	melons	1	0
walnuts	1	0	grapes	a	0
oranges	0	a	tomatoes	a	0
raisins	0	a	potatoes	a	a
			onions	a	a

a] indicates that the number of vendors was so large and changeable that accurate counting was not possible.

x] indicates that I have no sure figures.

This list includes, to the best of my knowledge, every single item being sold inside the marketplace. It was not possible to keep a tab on livestock transactions.

[114]

443 442 The third group is those merchants who exclusively sell at the market. As noted above, this is merely an analytic device. Empirically, a buyer in one market will be a seller in another. It is only the special ecological conditions of the Rif which separate the two categories in the marketplaces. There is, however, a major dichotomy which splits this group, based mainly on scale of operation. On the one hand are the large-scale sellers who resemble, in terms of organization, the large-scale buyers and who derive their profit mainly through the transportational facility. On the other hand, we have the small-scale merchant who sells his goods and services only in a cycle of small local markets.

443 The small-scale sellers hold in common with the large merchants only the fact that their basic activity is to sell. The difference is essentially in scale. The small-scale merchant or occupational specialist travels from one market within a carefully defined region to the next market. He has no connections outside his immediate circuit and gets from one place to the next on public transportation or mule. He has little knowledge of market conditions outside his immediate view of a single market. His prices, which may involve a good deal of bargaining, vary only slightly from customer to customer and from market to market. He may be divided into two empirical categories: those who sell services, such as barbers, butchers, shoe repairmen, food vendors, blacksmiths, solderers, etc., and those who keep a small inventory of nonperishable goods, such

[494] [492] [435] [437] 443 445

as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and spices.

A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consumption. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments can be spread into the future. With all the other participants of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers. This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
571 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by
577 both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the
556 community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
30 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
454 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.
[422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

• 452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

452 on a quite different system with its own ideology than that which obtains in an industrial society or even among urban Moroccans. In an industrial society credit is based on tangibles, on some form of material good which has roughly an equivalent value to the loan. In the Rif the majority of transactions involving the extension of credit are guaranteed by a personal and intangible factor, one's social status and prestige. A man's reputation, the social credits he has accumulated, the ones his father and grandfather established, are his most valuable assets. A man who has established such social credit can draw on financial resources much broader than those available to the man without it. Because he supports the integrity of the community, he can draw on the community reserve with no greater guarantee than his word. One man, a quite humble fellah, financed his son's wedding with three loans, of $150 apiece, from a brother, the son of a deceased brother, and a friend. He was able in this manner to hold a wedding ceremony of considerable elegance with over five hundred guests. In another case, in which a young man wished to marry against his father's wishes, he could find almost no financing within the community except from returning migrant labor youths. Among this latter class the traditional ideology has been diluted by the industrial experience. These migrants have introduced a certain amount of novelty, especially in the material culture. Whether they shall also exert an influence in traditional social relationships and modes of social organization remains to be seen.

452 554

[177] [464]

443 182 571 [452] [554] He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

443 182 What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all sugs of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific sug. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturallement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

443 [651] [366] [312] Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

443 445 as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and spices.

443 444 A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consumption. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is 443 444 452 in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments can be spread into the future. With all the other participants (439) of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

443 571 (128) These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the 442 443 571 Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers. This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

231 of livestock during normal market conditions show a mule to be
435 worth $100 or more, a donkey between $40 and $60. Cows range
from $50 to $70, and bulls upward to $100. Rams sell for $20
[454] to $30, and goats for $10. Given the resources of the Riffian,
expenditures of this magnitude represent expensive investments.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
571 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by
577 both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the
556 community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
30 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
454 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.
[422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

454 Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect. Thus, an extra mule or an ox can raise the level of productivity of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

231 454 433 554

Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

256 435 472 376

584 haggling over the price, with each side naturally hoping to
583 achieve the best terms. Negotiations can break off at this point but it is considered extremely bad form and every effort is made by representatives of both sides to arrive at an equitable sum. I knew of no sdaq which was less than 500 dirhams ($100) and the average seemed to fall between 500 and 1,000
584 dirhams with some payments going up to 3,000. Hart (1956:170)
583 puts the average at between $50 and $125. The divergence of
114 our figures no doubt stems from monetary changes over the past ten years. Hart's figures were based on the Spanish peseta, which was the form of currency up until 1958 in the Rif. My own figures are based on Moroccan dirhams established on a parity with French francs. With the incorporation of the
(458) Spanish zone into the more prosperous French zone, prices for all goods have drastically spiraled upward in the northern zone over the past ten years. Hart is in agreement with my notion that these sums represent a considerable expense to the Berbers.

584 During the negotiations a fqih is present to write down
212 the ultimate agreement over each item, whether it be ceremonial
583 expense or sdaq. He also acts as a mediator, being presumably the only disinterested party present. When the final sum is determined, and this may take many hours and last till dawn of the next day, the fqih draws up a marriage contract. Cash for the sdaq is supposed to be turned over then, but on occasion
584 only a part is exchanged. All the men shake hands and,
583

442 profit not from dispersing goods in the same marketplace but in
57 transporting the goods from one region to another.
[443]

Large-scale buyers interact with small-lot sellers in a limited range of goods which, generally, can be transformed by industrial processes into another commodity (grapes to wine, almonds to cosmetics, oranges to canned fruit), the conversion of which enhances the value of the original object. These buyers are plugged into a larger economy with export connections and are
442 sensitive to external conditions. Tribesmen who produce in order
433 to meet the demand of such buyers are likewise closely connected
434 with the national and international economy. There is a small but growing number of fellah who produce to sell to this group, but even among them there is a reticence to move completely into the commercial sector. My impression is that the great majority of the Riffian peasantry engaging in cash-cropping attempt to maintain a balance in their production schedule which continues to include a fair proportion of traditional crops. By generalizing their production, few of the grape specialists suffered from
[458] the decrease in prices during 1965. This contrasts with the one-
[435] crop estates in Algeria which during the same period suffered severe setbacks.

443 The small-scale sellers of both goods and services occupy that position which is left open by the unwillingness of the local Berber to engage in full-time commerce and the absence
[434] of the large-scale entrepreneur. They are, on the one hand, dealing in commodities or services the margin of profit on which

585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too [777] enfeebled to do the work. Perhaps it is this unending sameness which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also [262] have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [554] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [551] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 796 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

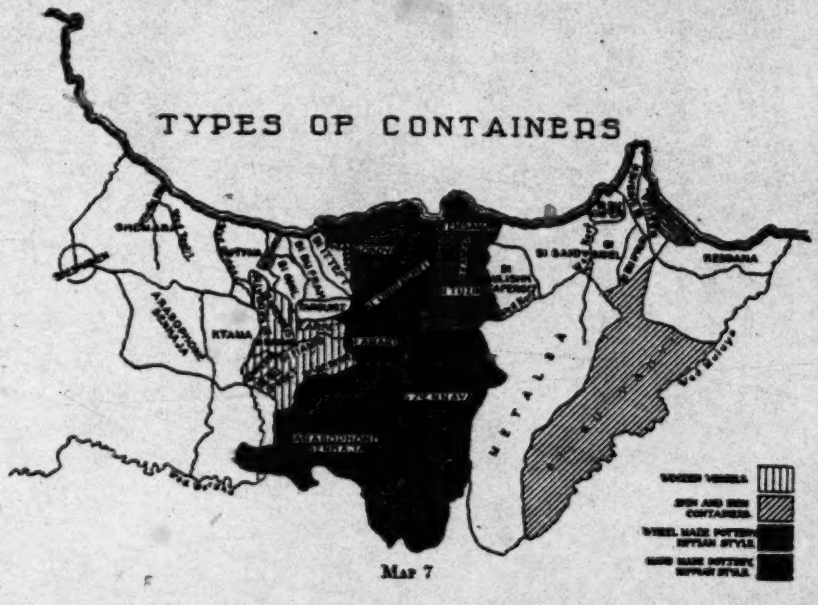
796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible. [461] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work [369] pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs 785 at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during 472 443 Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare [265] and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for 796 the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the 785 Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

POTTERY

323 In the Rif and the territory adjacent to it pottery is shaped both by hand and on the wheel, each system of manufacture possessing its own shapes and types of decoration. [462] Hand work is the exclusive duty of women and wheel work of men.

There are two kinds of clay used, a white variety called *tkerakkh*, which breaks easily and is considered inferior, and red clay, called *er-asr* (from the Arabic *el asl*, meaning "honey"), so termed because when it is fired metal sometimes runs out of it, looking like honey. Nothing is done with this slag, and the inhabitants do not even know what metal



Map 7

it is. This "honey-clay" is red before firing, and buff after; it rings when struck, and makes a harder vessel than the white variety. From it most of the hand-modeled pots are constructed; the white variety is more commonly used on the wheel.

In arranging the paste, the potter crushes dry clay to powder, sifts it through a sieve, and then mixes it with powder crushed from old potsherds to serve as tempering. Sometimes crushed stone is used instead, but only in case the pots are intended for sale rather than for home use, since vessels made with this tempering are considered inferior. When the powdered clay and tempering have been mixed, water is added and the whole kneaded until it reaches the proper consistency.

In the case of hand-made pottery, the potter pats out a piece, flattening it to form a bottom. She then rolls out a strip as for coiling, but flattens it and puts it around the edge

586 [587] a) Suspension of Marriage:--If through the absence of her husband, the bride goes home and is reintegrated with her family, the husband then cedes all rights and obligations with the exception of property; but the wife cannot remarry unless she has her husband's consent.[33]

b) Dissolution of Marriage:--This may come about only through death or divorce, the latter being an act which only a man can initiate, and a woman cannot.

462 c) Division of Labor:--Women care for children, keep house, prepare food (grind grain, fetch water, wood and fodder for the animals), wash clothes, and cook. They help reap the cereal harvest (in mid-summer) and carry the straw from the threshing floor to the house. At plowing time (in autumn), they sometimes carry the seed[34] and do the weeding (in early spring). They also bake the bread and care for the oven (located just outside the house). Men's affairs may be subsumed under the headings of war, agriculture, religion, and buying-and-selling; house-building, hunting, fishing[35], cutting trees and brushwood for charcoal, woodwork, reedwork, ironwork[36], wickerwork, work in palmetto and esparto, weaving, sewing[37], and burial rites and attendance at funerals.

562 d) Relations between the Sexes:--Men represent, direct, protect and administer. Women advise, help and obey. Men's work is free, external and primary, women's work subordinate, internal and secondary. Men administer their possessions as they wish, while women can neither alienate nor obtain anything[38]. Men have freedom of movement while women (theoretically) cannot receive visits from

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

231 [182] Cattle are used for meat, milk, hides, and traction. Bulls are kept for sacrificial purposes, since several forms of ritual require the sacrifice of a bull. They are never castrated, the same being true of horses and all other domestic animals.

Swine. The problem of the domestication of swine opens up the most difficult aspect of Riffian culture with which one has to deal. Riffians have kept and probably still do keep swine, but they are extraordinarily secretive about it. For some strange reason, they are as ashamed to discuss the matter with a Christian as with an Arab. The practice is as wrapped in secrecy as the witches' sabbat of the Middle Ages. Families which keep swine never bring them to market, never admit that they keep them, and take them out of the house before guests arrive.

Swine were formerly raised in most of the nuclear mountain area of the Rif — in Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the Senhaja Sghir. A generation ago the people of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen of northern Gzennaya discontinued the practice, as the result of a pilgrimage to Mekka performed by one of their prominent men. Within the last six years swine have been kept at Inhanahan, in Gzennaya.

Whether swine are still owned anywhere in the Rif or Senhaja I cannot say, but I suspect that they are. They are not the descendants of any long-domesticated breed, but are bred from individuals caught in traps on the mountains; seldom does a litter have a domestic history of more than two or three generations. When all have been killed off, more are caught and bred. Thus swine domestication is, or was, either in an incipient stage or in the last stage of decadence. The animals are kept in the house, but are confined in a separate room, the door of which is closed at night. In the daytime they are taken out on the mountain slopes to feed on acorns and roots. When they are slaughtered, no *hallala* is performed.

Hens, happily, are kept openly, and present no such difficulties to the investigator as do swine. Their presence is manifest throughout the house and the courtyard, and especially on and about the refuse pile, which is located at some distance. [422] They are the exclusive property of the women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands; they keep the money thus earned, but husbands have the right to demand a hen or two on the occasion of a guest's arrival. Widows who live alone often support themselves entirely by keeping hens, since persons charitably inclined buy them from widows by preference.

Bees provide an important article of local diet. The Riffians are expert in the art of caring for bees, building hives of basketry, wood, and cork. Sometimes hollow logs are used, and the scooped-out bases of yucca plants. The hives are usually kept in caves or in crannies in the cliffs above the villages. In the spring the bee farmer transports his swarm to new hives and removes what honey is left from the winter, since he does not take it out in the fall. Honey is separated from the wax and is kept in jars. Apiculture is most commonly practised in Gzennaya. In many parts of the Senhaja Sghir bees are not kept on account of the cold.

[463] Individual owners of bees do not as a rule care for their own hives, but put them in charge of a bee expert, who takes a previously agreed portion of the honey as his payment. There is generally but one such bee farmer in the village, although most of the families own at least one hive apiece.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

312 construction requires a great amount of skill. Where the sides of the valley are precipitous and rocky, the ditches are led around through olive logs hollowed out with the adze and supported by long wooden props; at times ditches are led even from one side of the valley to the other by means of these olive-wood troughs. The distribution of the *targa* coincides with that of *tikerathin*, or terraces, except in the lowland alluvial plains of Ajdir, Tiguisas, and other Mediterranean deltas, where irrigation is carried on without terraces. Irrigation is locally supposed to have been invented by the men of Iherrusben and Ikhuanen in the northern Gzennaya, and expert *targa* makers from these places are sent for to construct and repair ditches all over the Rif.

[463 465] *hassi*, the well. Wells are constructed by itinerant craftsmen from the region of the Draa, who wander about throughout the Rif seeking employment. They are never molested, since they are considered benefactors of mankind, and are paid well for their work. These men generally earn as much as twenty dollars for the construction of an average well, and find employment chiefly in flat arid country where there are no springs and where wells are a necessity.

241 735 476 **Communism in Agriculture.** The Riffians, living as they do close to the soil and often not distantly removed from the prospect of starvation, have developed several social devices whereby the poor may be prevented from perishing and the rich compelled partially to support them. These charitable practices are so ingrained that no one able to act as a benefactor to the poor would venture to criticise them in public or refuse to take part in them. They concern the three vegetable products which seem most deeply entwined with Riffian life: rye, grapes, and olives.

When a man wishes to sow rye on a mountain slope, he invites as many men as wish to do so to help him. Most men who have nothing else of importance to do accept the offer, and no one refuses without an adequate excuse. In this way a man of moderate means is assured of a plentiful crop of rye, to make up for his lack of other foodstuffs.

The crew works diligently from sunrise to sunset, after which they climb downhill to the house of the owner of the rye. The latter's womenfolk have meanwhile busied themselves preparing as ample a meal for the workers as the family's means will allow, and all eat and spend the evening together. If the family cannot provide very abundant rations, the workers seldom complain, since they consider their participation in the work as a form of charity, and their partaking of the food as a social gratification to the providers of it.

Similarly, in reaping season, anyone who wishes may come unbidden and help gather in the grain, whether it be rye, barley, or wheat, and is assured of an adequate meal at the end of the day in payment. In this way people who have finished their own work may be fed without drawing on their own supplies. Gleaning is left to the poor of the village.

241 476 If two farmers who own adjoining fields or terraces possess each but a single cow, they yoke these together and plough their land in common. No family is without a cow, and since ploughs are constructed by the farmers themselves, or by neighbors especially adept at the art, without payment, the situation of a man with land and no cow or plough does not arise.

241 312 Irrigation ditches which water the tillage of more than one man are subject to communal care. Each farmer is assigned a definite amount of water during each season when it is required, the amount depending on the amount of land requiring irrigation. The water is measured by days and half-days. Each season the farmer must send out a man for every

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *seins* descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhamasth* (plural *thikhamasin*), or "fifth,"[1] so called because each *thakhamasth* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood, although many *bones* in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and hence in war.

Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabilch*, a word derived from the Arabic *kabila*.[2] In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term *thakabilch* being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are Galiya, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gsennaya. Those of Galiya are Masuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Sidel. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gsennaya are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imadurar, and Asht Aru u Aissa. In naming these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or Arab as the case may be. In Temsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and Hathith n Temsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two *bones* each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Oshannen, and Amsauru and Tizi Azza. They are given this special standing because Temsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single *fifth*, and because these *bones* are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes between which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take wives from other *bones*. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immigrant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gsennaya, Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imasilen* (singular *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"[3] who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing, piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

[1] The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arba'*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

[2] Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

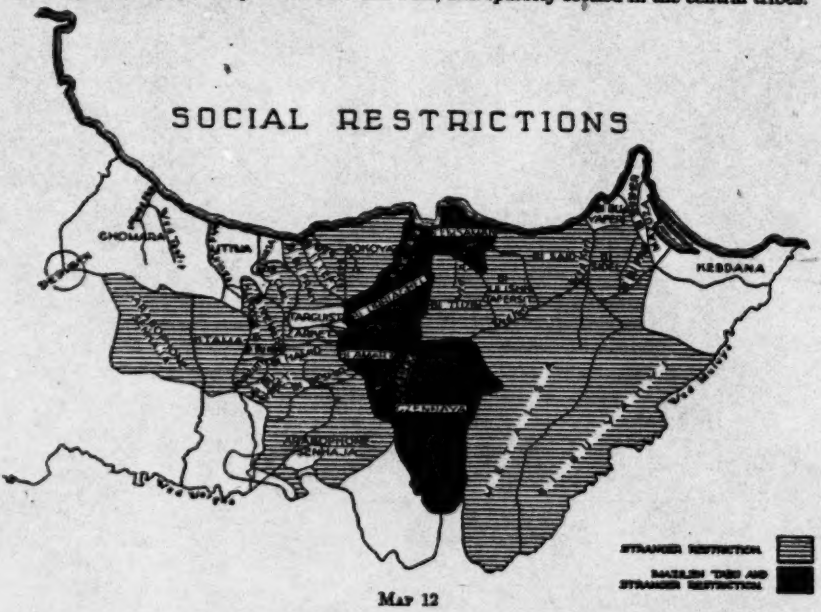
[3] The chief quality of this class, which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565
563
463

is as a rule extremely modest, and considers it degrading to expose himself to the public eye in any but a governmental way, it is only natural that he should look down upon a social class which practices trades that he himself would be ashamed to undertake, despite the fact that these trades might require greater intelligence and skill than his own manner of living.

Blacksmiths are traditionally an invading, or one should perhaps rather say infiltering, group, concentrated today in the east and west, and sparsely settled in the central tribes.



Map 12

The chief centers of blacksmith families are Azgangen in Beni Bu Ifrur, Imasinen in Mazuza, Mauru in Beni Said, Anual in Beni Ulishk, Tafersit town, Tisera n Jkhatha and Bu Hfora of Beni Tuzin, Khebaba, on the eastern edge of Gzennaya, Tarosht in Iherrushen of Gzennaya, Beni Msita and Ijaonen of Beni Amart, el Malimin of Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Snada of Beni Bu Frah, Garmaleth of Zarket, Tamadith of Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Berber, Aghbal of Beni Bu Shibet, and Tezarin, on the border between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir.

Only four centers were attributed to the tribes of Gzennaya and Beni Amart (two to each), and none to Beni Urriaghel. The smiths of Khebaba, makers of the famous Khebaba knives, and of Tarosht have been in the country so long that no one remembers whence they came. They are thought to antedate entirely the smiths who live in the regions to the east and west of them. The smiths of Beni Msita and Ijaonen, belonging to one family

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak
563 Arabic domestically, employing *themazighth* only with outsiders. They are at present con-
463 sidered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gaennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fes from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and shoe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

565 At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering.
563 Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting,
463 the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-
554 building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not
782 be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the *vein*, or of the schoolmaster of the *bone*, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

565 Pipers,[1] or *imṯhiyasen* (singular *amṯhiyaz*), play upon the *zammar*, a reed instrument
463 consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending
534 in the horns of the aoudad. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfora and Meidhar of Beni Tuzin, Ighza Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Nador, Azgangen, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

565 They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area
463 covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings[2] their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers[3] and **Weighers**, *iberraḥen* (singular *aberraḥ*) and *ishayairen* (singular *ashayair*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

[1] So translated here because of their profession. [2] See below, p. 138 seq.

[3] The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 from the villages of Ifergugen and Ibettoyen of the Beni Tuzin. They wander all over the Rif, establishing themselves temporarily near markets, in which they perform their duties. 463 There is one of each profession settled within convenient distance of each circle of markets in each tribe or group of tribes. Being strictly endogamous, they send home to Ifergugen and Ibettoyen for their women; they cannot even intermarry with other Shameless Ones.

554 Although agriculture is considered the most dignified and worthy of occupations, skilled trades such as those of carpenter, weaver (where weaving is done by men), gunsmith, powder-maker, and professional mason are not despised. A man plying one of these trades does not ostracise his family by so doing, or prevent his daughters from marrying into good families. Such trades are not hereditary as are the occupations of the despised castes.

563 The social position of the Jews is not comparable to that of any other group living in the Rif. The Jews, while living in the places settled by them, such as Galiya and Beni Bu Frah, form distinct colonies which in the past were not often molested. Jews going into other regions could formerly do so only under the protection of some important man in that place. The patron of the Jew considered the Jew as his bondsman or slave, while the Jew regarded the contract as merely a commercial one. The Jew was allowed to work at some trade, but must turn his receipts in to his patron, who gave him his food and lodging and a certain amount of money besides. The patron was held responsible for the Jew's safety and protected him against aggressors. Even under this type of contract Jews were able to enter only such marginal regions as Jebarna of Gzennaya, Ajdir, and, under the aegis of the Ikhemrijen, Targuist. They would not venture, in recent times at least, into the mountains of southern Beni Urriaghel, into northern Gzennaya, or into Beni Amart. For one to do so would have resulted in his death. The Riffians, in common with other Mohammedans, consider it a desecration of gunpowder to shoot Jews, killing them only with stones and knives. Since the Spanish and French occupations the rôle of the Jew has of course changed. He is at present allowed to go to markets to trade, and is not ordinarily molested.

567 Negro slaves are so rare in the Rif that it can almost be said that Riffians do not recognise the existence of slavery. The Ikhemrijen of Targuist have several, and one is owned in Ajdir. There may be others, but I have not seen or heard of them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The butchers are relegated to a position as far removed from the rest of the market as possible, on account of the malodorous nature of their wares. If there is a stream in or near the market, the butchers are put on the other side of the stream from the rest. Farmers bring in cattle, sheep, and goats, and turn over the animals to the butchers, who are blacksmiths on other days of the week, or are members of the families of blacksmiths. After the butchers have slaughtered the animals, washed the blood from their throats, inflated their skins, flayed, and quartered them, the owners of the animals hang the meat on wooden racks permanently fixed to trees or posts nearby, where they are thus exposed for sale. Quarters of goat and sheep must have the hoofs and a portion of the adjoining skin left on so that customers can tell the difference between them. The butcher is paid for his work with a portion of the meat, with money, or with the hide, head, and entrails, which are the most common reward.

The meat market is the assembling place of all of the dogs in the *canton* which are able to get there, dozens of them waiting expectantly nearby each time an animal is slaughtered. They often snatch ends of intestine as the animal is being cleaned, and lap up eagerly the rills of blood flowing down towards the stream.

The butchering duties of the blacksmiths are not confined to the market. Whenever members of a *bone* together buy a cow or bull for the meat, the butcher is called in to slaughter it. The portions are divided equally among the married men, who must pay for their pieces before they can have them. A portion is sent up to the mosque of the *canton* for the students in it, and the blacksmith receives his portion as reward for his work.

Returning to the market, we find two other social outcasts at work, the market crier and the official weigher or measurer.[1] These are hired by the councillors, and carry on their functions as official appointees, but disputes arising from the work of the weigher or measurer are carried before the councillors. They work in as many markets as there are days in the week, except of course Friday, and providing that each market is within walking distance of their homes and that the councillors of each are willing to hire them.

Women's markets. In a number of *cantons* there is in addition to the regular market another devoted to women. All men are excluded from it, and are severely punished if they enter. It is commanded by a woman appointed by the councillors of the *canton*. In it the women sell, besides the fruits, vegetables, hens, eggs, and pottery which they dispense at the regular market, magico-medical materials which are supposed to act as contraceptives and to produce abortions. The sale and possession of these is kept secret from the men because the use of them is considered ample reason for divorce. Sometimes a woman who fails to bear children within a reasonable time after marriage is accused, on general suspicion, of using them and is divorced.

Boy Markets. In the Jebala, markets were formerly held in which boys stolen from their families were sold, to be used as apprentices by wandering musicians and as companions by ordinary individuals. They were and still are kept by their purchasers for the purpose of sodomy, and other uses to which these children are put are made secondary to it. When they have grown to an age at which they cease to interest their purchasers sexually they are released and allowed to earn their own living.

The market el Had Ikauen of Ktama was a famous boy market, and was not closed until the advent of the Spanish forces of occupation, who have been trying to prevent such

[1] See p. 92. For comment on this, see the 111 slip.—Analyst

today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer. This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand; on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

536
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, [241] the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men [114] are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

000

[114] 43--There are several errors here. First of all, the oath formula is not as Blanco gives it at all, but Billahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa, as discussed in note 50. Secondly, this is the recognized formula for oaths as given in the Shari'a, and as such, the Arab formula as well. Thirdly, although it is quite true that oaths are as important among Arabs as they are among Berbers, the Prophet Muhammad, in effect, "decollectivized" them among his Hijazi constituents much as 'Abd al-Krim did among Rifians--for the collective oath, far from being an exclusively "Berber" institution, was current in pre-Islamic Arabia. Blanco fails to distinguish between the singular character of the Shari'a oath and the plural character of the oaths of certain nominally Muslim societies whom the Shari'a, in some respects, has not quite reached.

44--This is in no way remarkable, for it is up to the plaintiff not only to demand that the accused take oath, but to stipulate when, where and with how many of his agnates.

45--Men certainly swear during the day, in fact on Fridays just before noon; but women did not swear during the 'Ripublik', although today they may do so. However, they must do so not at night but during the day, and at home, not in the mosque, although their oaths, like those of men, must be made on the mushaf.

• [463] 46--A Jew accused of a crime against a Muslim or against a coreligionist was, indeed, forced to walk around the market with a packsaddle on his back, and to swear in this fashion, for packsaddle-making and silversmithing are the two traditional occupations of Jews in northern Morocco; but he took the oath itself in the synagogue.

47--There were no jails in the Rif until 'Abd al-Krim introduced them; he had three, at Ajdir, at Aith Qamra and at Thmasind, all in the Aith Waryaghar.

48--The Koranic sirat al-mustaqim, as given in the Surat al-Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Muslim Book.

[178] 49--This is true, but not quite for the reasons given. Women in the Aith Waryaghar have their own markets in order to keep them secluded from strange men and because it is shameful for them, and indeed forbidden (although this is beginning to break down today) for them to enter ordinary markets. The same goes for their "feasts": they visit [165] saints' tombs and cemeteries on Sundays, as a rule, when they know no men will be there.

[114] 50--This is a contradiction in terms. If Berber law admits bloodvengeance (which is in any case excessively common in the Rif), why does it not admit talion?

[114] 51--Again, a contradiction in terms. If the death penalty is admitted, as Blanco says, why not capital punishment? In actual fact, although murder and feuding were the rule, the death penalty per se was rare: the only instance I can think of (outside of cases in which it was inflicted by 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War, and administered by his huffadh or personal bodyguard, who tied the offender backwards on a donkey, paraded him around the market three times while the crier made his crime public, and then stood him up against the wall and shot him) is that in which a man kills another in a market and is caught by the

of whom there are still a few[114]. In the business, he represents the industrial member and as such he has a right to part of the profits[115], because of the fact that the fishing equipment is also ordinarily his property; and he has the right to appoint a master, the technical director of the business, whose obligations are limited to the maintenance and renovation of the equipment and to fishing. He may transfer the business voluntarily, taking back the equipment, either to sell it or simply to leave it grounded, even though the season may not be over. The construction of a covered shelter for the boats on the beach is his responsibility.

B) The Crew:

The master (ra'is) of the boat, appointed by the owner[116]...., is the technical director of the business and he is therefore responsible for any property damages or injuries which can be justified, if they can be imputed to his unskillfulness or ill-will. He is given a free hand to select, appoint and discharge the individuals who have to make up his crew, of which he is the head, without the necessity of the consent of the owner; he is in charge of the selection of points of putting down the nets, fishing, embarkation and disembarkation, admission of merchandise and passengers, selection of shelters, collection of money, auctions and the responsibility for settlement of accounts; and while on board he is authorized to impose discipline by any means in extreme and necessary cases, and he must show the owner any necessary repairs or acquisitions which fall under his inspection. He is principally in charge of the working of the boat, and it is he who sets the course of direction. He appoints a second-in-command.

000 here. We have never seen or heard of them.

[463] [396] 114--There was a master boatbuilder who lived on the beach of Aith Bu Dawud in the Thimsaman, none in the Aith Waryaghar. He had no helpers in 1954, and got 500 pesetas and his food from future boat owners for building a boat.

115--The usual arrangement in this case is that the profits are split in half, one-half for the owner of the boat and the other half for the ra'is and the crew.

501 463 226 116--Each boat has a ra'is and a crew of four or five men. Sometimes, though rarely, the owner of the boat will be a different individual altogether; more often, however, the ra'is himself is the owner. It is also common for three or four fishermen to go shares on the price of an agharrabu or moruna (another common fishing boat of the same type, but smaller and of Spanish make), and they elect the most capable among them to be ra'is. If, for instance, there is a ra'is and a crew of four, the money from the sale of the catch is split six ways, the ra'is getting two parts. Before any division is made, however, 15-25 pesetas are given to the mule and donkey men who transport the fish to the tribal markets, while small boys who help pull the nets ashore receive one or two kilos of the catch.

[434]

226 The mouth of the Nkur River, emptying into the Mediterranean on the eastern side of the Plain of Al-Husaima, is an ideal place to fish, particularly in the area around Swani (Thimsaman). A boat takes the net (dhrarsha) out, leaving one of two ropes on the beach in the hands of a number of men or boys. When it has reached the end of the rope length, the net is let out in a semi-circle, with curled up ends, resembling a snail. The boat is then rowed back to shore, and the other rope then handed out to a second group of men and boys, as far away from the first rope as possible. When fish begin to collect in any quantity, each group starts pulling in on the ropes, lessening the distance between them as they do so. If the catch promises to be big, the agharrabu goes out again, to be rowed in behind the net in case of trouble. The site of the net is determined by the crew, who know where the fish are by watching places where birds dive into the water. After the net is hauled up on the beach, the crowd rushes out to scoop up the still leaping fish into baskets. They are put on a common pile in the sand, and the division of the catch begins. During the season, boats go out twice a day, in mornings and afternoons. Late summer is the heaviest season, and the ra'is and crew sleep and eat on the beach. They always have to be on the lookout for breaks in the nets and for fish which enter. At other times of year, after laying the nets out to dry, all go home and return in the morning; but with morunas, one person is always there, day or night, as a guard.

000 117--Capt. Gardiner was an English adventurer who ran guns to 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War; and Si l-Hadi n Dadi, of the lineage of Thighanimin, subclan of Izimurren, clan of Izimmuren, tribe of Ibuqquyen, still lives in Alhucemas (1961). During the Rifian War, in 1924, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to Paris with Si Muhand Uzarqan, the Rifian Foreign Minister, to try to preserve good relations with the French (which were broken when 'Abd al-Krim invaded the French Zone of Morocco the following year). After the war, Si l-Hadi eventually became, under the Spaniards, khalifa to the pasha of Al-Husaima, then known as Villa Sanjurjo.

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grama has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [197] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social
occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides
the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of
Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is pro-
hibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren,
or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary,
are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought
to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are
wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since
loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is
plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

near Sūq al-Arba' of Taurirt. Olive oil, extracted from a communally owned olive grinder and oil press, is the essential fat (1).

The fields, orchards and vegetable gardens (the latter producing broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers and carrots, to mention only a few) of the Aith Wuryāghil are usually terraced near the houses, along the slopes of the mountains. The vineyards, whither the families repair in September to pick grapes, are further up; and along the crests are the communal goat pastures and the *ghāba* patches, where the women go to cut brushwood for their ovens and for the local mosque. Grape picking is the only important activity in September, which marks the end of the agricultural year; after this is done and after the barley has been reaped and threshed and the silos piled up, people make merry and get married before the first rains begin again and the time to plow and sow has started up once more.

Herding and agricultural contracts of a verbal nature are made between the wealthier and the poorer men of the community, those who have little hiring themselves out to those who have more (2). Individuals who own more animals than they can pasture themselves hire herders who, while the beasts are in their charge, receive all the milk and butter and half the young ones born, and, when the animals are sold, half the profits; if the contract concerns sheep, they receive half the wool as well. Vegetable gardens and orchards are cared for by hired gardeners *(rabbā')* who receive one-fourth of the fruit and vegetable crop; as their job entails setting up terraces, they sometimes get one-third of the vegetables if the land is difficult to work. These same men, if they also perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, are called *ikhammāsen* and receive one-fifth of the barley and wheat crop. The owner of the field supplies the seed, the animals (usually cows) and the plow as well in this type of contract, while the *akhammās* (sing. of *ikhammāsen*) provides only his muscles and a switch to keep the cattle moving while they are under the yoke. The *akhammās* contract is the most

(1) Coon, Carleton Stevens: Caravan, The Story of the Middle East, New York 1951, p. 313.

(2) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en las yemaas del Rif, Africa, Madrid, Noviembre 1947, pp. 75-77.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most
common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ifarādhen* (Arabic *bil-farḍ*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches (*tharga*, pl. *tharghiwīn*) and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rīf, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

181 Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the
178 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of
that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim
[421] in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on
[562] what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk,
who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segre-
[423] gated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one
[628] else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with
554 the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud,
464 which was once the dominant political institution of the society,
were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the
old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his
[464] mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until
1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons
in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration,
while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

181 The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Govern-
669 ment in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army
in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic in-
dication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apart-
ness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant
to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself
was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And
these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's
621 time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life
671 among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

000 latter's kinsmen before he can get away. Even in this case, the killer could generally get off if he were able to pay a 2000-duro fine (rhaqq) to the imgharen on the spot, if he was lucky enough to be caught by them and not by his victim's agnates.

[114] [464] [167] 52--Why should the Rifians have been acquainted with the qanuns of the Algerian Kabyles? Granted that Rifian labor migration to Algeria, prior to 1955, was very extensive, it must be remembered that Rifians went to the plains and vineyards of western Algeria (not to Kabylia) to work and send remittances to their families, not to compare notes with their fellow Berbers in Kabylia!

53--This is entirely true, though we know of one case in which, in 1926, after 'Abd al-Krim's defeat, a man from one of the mountain clans of Aith Waryaghar was beaten to death, by order of a lowland qaid from the same tribe, for refusing to hand two rifles in his possession over to the Spaniards.

[171] 54--In the Central Atlas, half ddiyit (blood money to victim's agnates) is paid by a man for shooting at someone else and missing him, but full ddiyit for taking aim and not shooting (E. Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship", Philosophy of Science, vol. 27, no. 2, 1960, pp. 187-204.) In other words, what is punished is the intent to kill, and on this subject Blanco has some interesting remarks to make in the chapter on the qanuns of Dhasind and of Aith 'Abd Allah in La Ley Rifeña (pp. 41-3, 47, 50). In the Rif, however, this is manifested in a different way under different circumstances: ddiyith is paid to the victim's family, under normal conditions, by the killer, who must also pay rqisas to the victim himself in case of wounding. The amount of the ddiyith is anything up to 1200 duros, while that of the rqisas, depends on the nature of the wound. However, there is no question at all of either ddiyith or rqisas being paid if the intended victim has not been harmed. This is the case if the attempted murder has taken place outside the market; but if it has taken place on market day and within the market (even though there is again an exemption from ddiyith and rqisas) the rhaqq or market fine must be paid in full (2000 duros) to the imgharen, because the would-be assassin is an amsasar (pl. imsasaren) or trouble-maker who has knowingly tried to "break" the market by flouting its regulations.

681 682 696 [613] 55--In case of murder, only the murderer himself went into exile. He did so immediately after the crime, so that he would not be killed in turn by his victim's agnates. Exile meant that he sought refuge, as an adhrib (pl. idhriben), (derived from Arabic talib, "enemy") in the territory of another tribe, whose members sheltered and protected him until such time (if ever) that he could go home. On occasion, as Blanco suggests, whole lineages have been forced into exile; Coon, in Flesh of the Wild Ox (pp. 74-108), gives an example from the Igzinnayen. However, this particular instance was the result of a decree of the Aitharba'in after a long and bitter feud; and as such, it was exceptional. The rule was that only the murderer fled; he was not accompanied by nine of his agnates, as in the Central Atlas (even though these latter returned after three days in order to start making overtures for payment of ddiyit to the dead man's agnates).

000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.

[776] [732] 67--This saint, nicknamed Bu Rjila, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of baraka were legendary.

[613] [614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.

69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.

70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.

71--The jillab is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.

72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.

[464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.

[114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.

75--Blanco actually means aitharba'in rather than agraw in this particular context.

[113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.

77--Ra'is in Arabic is "headman", from ras, "head".

[792] [113] 78--Mulay Admad al-Raisuli was a sharif from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, The Sultan of the Mountains, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community
[521] such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes
knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family.
If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother
to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's
father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are,
however, the majority.

584 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because
562 of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initi-
586 ating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son
into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advan-
tages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if
[782] a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match,
[571] the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing
an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the
Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a
wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of
[593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will
[464] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as
[427] akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such cir-
cumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed
581 that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative
582 which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grama has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

452 on a quite different system with its own ideology than that which obtains in an industrial society or even among urban Moroccans. In an industrial society credit is based on tangibles, on some form of material good which has roughly an equivalent value to
452 554 the loan. In the Rif the majority of transactions involving the extension of credit are guaranteed by a personal and intangible factor, one's social status and prestige. A man's reputation, the social credits he has accumulated, the ones his father and grandfather established, are his most valuable assets. A man who has established such social credit can draw on financial resources much broader than those available to the man without it. Because he supports the integrity of the community, he can draw on the community reserve with no greater guarantee than his word. One man, a quite humble fellah, financed his son's wedding with three loans, of $150 apiece, from a brother, the son of a deceased brother, and a friend. He was able in this manner to hold a wedding ceremony of considerable elegance with over five hundred guests. In another case, in which a young man wished to marry against his father's wishes, he could find almost no financing within the community except from returning migrant labor
[197] [464] youths. Among this latter class the traditional ideology has been diluted by the industrial experience. These migrants have introduced a certain amount of novelty, especially in the material culture. Whether they shall also exert an influence in traditional social relationships and modes of social organization remains to be seen.

256 435 472 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regardless of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills are not economically competitive with one another, they are socially competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a locality, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of preference on the part of the users is not determined by convenience of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

423 427 Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor. We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise between a man who has more property than he alone can personally cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own. Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inheritance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these circumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

423 The number of men under such association is difficult to estimate
427 though I have the impression it is large. No man whom I inter-
464 viewed who might be roughly classified as a leader in the community had less than one person working for him in such a relationship.

427 The most prominent and common association is that of the
464 akhammas or sharecroppers. The akhammas is a laborer who voluntarily contracts to contribute all the physical labor necessary for the total production process of a piece of land. The landowner provides the land itself, the seed, fertilizer, plough and any other equipment, and the animal power. The akhammas provides all labor, from the initial ploughing to the ultimate harvesting. [465] For his services he receives exactly one-fifth of the yield, [466] hence the name which derives from hamsa or 'five.' The akhammas also receives the hand-me-down clothes of the master and often a meal each day. Since the activities of the akhammas entail his
427 constant presence around or even inside the household, he has far
464 greater access to the wives of notables than other males. A man
562 of sufficient wealth to employ an akhammas would probably isolate his wife from contact with male society. It is a myth that the Berbers do not seclude their women. The only ones who are not secluded from male society are the wives of poor men who must contribute their labor to the production process. Such women are, of course, the vast majority. The akhammas has more contact with the wives of the notable class than any other male not closely related to the family. Since the akhammas must consult

427 464 562 [602] the wife about household tasks and often takes his meals inside the central patio, he is on rather intimate (for the Rif) terms with these women. In such a close and anomalous situation, there is a preference on the part of the master to hire a poor relative, especially of his wife, as a servant. By hiring a man of the wife's family or of a family which includes the wife's relatives by marriage, one lessens the danger of too close a relationship between wife and akhammas.

427 464 466 465 565 While both partners in the akhammas arrangement seek to establish a contract which is divorced from social conflict over women, they are nonetheless in basic conflict along incipient class lines. The akhammas, at least in the contemporary situation, regards himself as being exploited by his patron in that the wage scale is fixed and involves difficult manual labor without any guarantees of remuneration. While he is free to negotiate his contract with whomever he so desires, his wage depends directly on the size of the crop yield for any one year. The master with greater reserves of resources suffers only an inconvenience if the crop yield is low. The sharecropper, on the other hand, has few if any reserves, and any reduction in the portion of his share has serious repercussions on his ability to maintain his household. The akhammas is especially aware of the inequity of this arrangement as wage opportunities open up and he becomes aware that salary can be negotiated with commensurate rewards in cash. Most ikhammasen prefer to get into the category of wage

427 laborer, especially as a migrant worker in Europe or Algeria,
464 where salaries are high by Riffian standards.
465
466
565 On the other end of the spectrum are the landowners who regard the akhammas as the true beneficiary of the association. They argue that since they provide all the elements of production except labor, they are being exploited by the working class. The akhammas provides only his manual labor for a few weeks of ploughing and again for a few weeks at harvest time. Their contention is that although the work is arduous, it spans over a relatively short period of time for which the akhammas receives enough to meet his subsistence needs for the year. The remainder of the year the akhammas is free to contract for such labor as is available. The property owner, however, depends exclusively on his crop and thus does not have the additional revenues which the worker earns throughout the rest of the year. If the crop yield is low, the master will always see to it that the worker gets something, and besides the poor can apply for government relief while the rich can not. I suggested to several owners that they (123) engage a wage laborer for the short duration of actual work involved in performing the cultivation tasks but was met with only stony silence at the notion of such a scheme. I did not encounter and no one ever spoke of an instance in which agricultural labor was paid for in daily or weekly wages. Since the property class is in a position to change the system but does not, presumably the akhammas arrangement works to their benefit.

464 465 Although the akhammas association is the most prevalent, it is only one of several such arrangements. Another sort of laborer is the amkari, who is hired for sowing and odd jobs about the house. His salary is not fixed and he is apparently paid in cash and clothing (Hart 1956:75). Another type of traditional [233] work association is the amikhan, who is a youth employed to herd a man's goats and sheep. He ". . . is hired for a fixed period . . . [and] gets a non-stipulated sum at the end of his contract" (Hart, ibid.:75). Such an arrangement is graphically portrayed in Bowles' translation of Charhadi's autobiographical novel, A Life Full of Holes. Another form of association is the arabba' who cultivates household gardens, orchards, and trees. He is given a fourth of the fruit and vegetable crops; if the terrain is difficult to terrace, his portion is adjusted (Hart 1956:75). [256] Most mill owners employ an assistant to do the grinding, and from the mill owner's portion the worker receives a fourth of the grain.

The common element of this sort of association seems to be that the salary the laborer earns is determined by customary regulations rather than by the supply and demand of workers. It [571] [565] is an association between the elite and the poor which is based on a fixed compensation and outside of any regulation by the market economy.

675 A correlate of this situation in which commercial arrangements are based on social factors is the irrelevance of written contracts. Whereas contractual agreement forms the basis of most

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents). 675 466 464 Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

556 554 182 183 128 In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains significance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

by burning, may completely destroy the oaks. The Mamora cork forest north of Rabat (137,000 hectares) is the largest in the world.[a] Cork oak covers about 100,000 hectares in the northern zone.[b]

Much of the economic activity in northern Morocco is concerned with the collection and shipment of cork. The bark of the trunk and the larger branches is utilized. Cork is first removed when trees are about twenty years old, with subsequent stripping every seven to ten years. The first yield (*liège mâle*) is very rough and coarse and of little value. Cork of subsequent stripping (*liège de reproduction*) is more homogeneous and of higher commercial value. In northern Morocco, cork is collected by Spanish concerns with native labor, and also by small independent operators who collect cork from isolated villages and carry it to places of deposit on the main roads. Most of the cork from northern Morocco is shipped in bulk to Spain.

Deciduous oaks cover about 7,000 hectares in northern Morocco. Two species are represented, and they have the scattered distribution characteristic of relicts. The larger stand of deciduous oaks grows at an elevation of about 1,000 meters in the mountains west of Shawen and southwest of Bab Taza—Jbil Buhashim, Jbil Sugna, and Jbil Hazana. *Quercus pyrenaica* = *Q. Tozae* is the species in this area; it appears also at elevations of 1,200–2,000 meters on Jbil Tiziran and, as the binomial indicates, in the Pyrenees. The second species, *Q. faginea* = *Q. lusitanica*, is scattered over the Sanhajan highlands. The largest stands are on the slopes between Jbil Tiziran and Jbil Leshab. Other stands appear on the slopes of Adrar Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut, and there are a few trees mixed with *Erica arborea*, *Cistus ladaniferus*, and *Pistacia lentiscus* in the maqui near Tangier.

It is difficult to explain the scattered distribution of the deciduous oaks. They are abundant in the largest forested area (fig. 8), that of the mountains west of Shawen, but many of the trees in this forest were cut by the Spanish for use as railroad ties. Both species seem to be calcifuge, and it is unlikely that either will be found in the drier parts of the zone. The scattered and mountainous distribution suggests that the deciduous oaks are Pleistocene relicts now restricted to the coolest and wettest parts of northern Morocco. The extreme polymorphism of *Quercus faginea*, with its great number of subspecies and races, seems to support this view.

The highest peaks in northern Morocco are clothed with forests of fir and cedar. The former genus is confined to the calcareous mountains east of Shawen. Two species are present: *Abies tazaotana* occurs at elevations of 1,500–1,854 meters on Jbil Tazaot, and *A. pinsapo* appears on Jbil Maggo, Jbil Tisuka, and Jbil Leshab, as well as in the mountains near Ronda in southern Spain. This restricted highland distribution again suggests that these species are relicts. On Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab, forests of fir begin at an elevation of 1,600

[a] Estimate of Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 101. For an excellent description of the Mamora forest see A. Métro and Ch. Sauvage, *Flore des végétaux ligneux de la Mamora* (Rabat: Société des Sciences Naturelles et Physiques du Maroc, 1955).

[b] This figure and the estimates of forested surface in later paragraphs are taken from S. Sánchez Cózar, "Montes," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948), pp. 5–25. Earlier estimates appear in E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Contracts and Coöperation

675 464 171 241 When tribesmen are unable or unwilling to work their own land, contracts are made between the wealthier and the poorer members of a community; those who have little land or equipment hire themselves out to those who have more. Farmers who have more animals than they or their sons can manage, make agreements with others to care for the herd. The hired shepherds, while the animals are in their hands, receive part of the milk and butter, some of the young that are born, and, if the animals are sold, a share of the profit. The shepherd receives part, sometimes half, of the wool. Full-time employment as a shepherd is considered rather degrading, and for this reason it is the common occupation of exiles and orphans.

Vegetable gardens, orchards, and fields may be cared for by hired laborers. If their job entails the difficult task of setting up terraces, they may get up to a third of the crop. If they perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, they receive a fifth of the crop. If the hired hand needs an assistant during the reaping, the latter is paid with a tenth of the harvest. Associations of this sort are not common; farm labor is ordinarily done by the landowner and his sons.

476 241 171 A second type of association takes place when two farmers own plots of about the same size but do not have enough animals or equipment to work their land independently. The two farmers join forces, each supplying his share, and the harvest is divided between them. This form of coöperation is common when a farmer has only one draft animal. In irrigated areas, one man may supply the land and part of the seed, and another the rest of the seed, the animals, and the plow. Since most communities are kinship groups, coöperation of this sort is usually among brothers or cousins.[112]

Inheritance

428 171 The inheritance of property[113] in most of Morocco follows standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. When a man dies his widow first receives one-eighth of his property and the remainder is divided among the sons and daughters. All sons inherit equally, as do all daughters. If a man dies leaving a widow and daughters only, the widow gets one-eighth and the remainder is divided into three parts, of which the daughters receive two and the father's brother one. If the father has no brothers, the rest (aside from the widow's share) goes to the daughters. If he does have brothers, and dies leaving only one daughter, she receives half of the property (minus the widow's share) and the brothers get the other half. If a man dies leaving no children, his widow receives a fourth of his property and the rest goes to the brothers. If a man with children dies prior to his father, the children have no right to the property and receive shares only if the grandfather agrees to such a division.

[423] Moroccans are very reluctant to divide up their land. When brothers inherit land they customarily work it jointly, the eldest brother acting as a substitute

[113] [112] On contracts and coöperation, see also A. Sánchez Pérez, "Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en el Rif," *Selección de conferencias pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso 1950–51* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1951), pp. 95–104.

[113] [113] This paragraph is based upon the remarks of D. M. Hart in *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 141–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The answer to this dilemma, if it may be called an answer, is emigration. In the decade preceding the current disorder, more than 30,000 Rifians went to Algeria each year to work on French farms. The main drift took place during the slack winter season, but smaller groups migrated at other times of the year. Few Moroccans thought of emigration as a permanent change. They were hired by members of their own tribe appointed to serve as contractors, and messengers visited them regularly to collect money for the families left at home. Each tribe had its special place of employment. The Aith Warishik went to Sidi bel Abbes, the Aith Tuzin to Tlemcen, the Thimsaman to Blida and Ain Temouchent, and the Gal'ayan tribes to Oran.[111] The largest number of emigrants were recruited from the Aith Said, and it is not a coincidence that the territory of this tribe includes spectacular badlands. From the standpoint of the French farmer this movement was a blessing, for the Moroccans worked harder than the Algerians and were satisfied with less pay. The tribesmen of the western Rif did not join in the seasonal movement to Algeria, but many of them migrated to Tetuán and Tangier.[112]

These movements are manifestations of a general trend. The oasis dwellers of the Mzab have long practiced emigration as a solution to their problem of overpopulation. The Mozabite is a farmer in his youth and again in old age; during the middle years he may be a bus driver, a shopkeeper, or a mechanic.[113] The same tradition is found among the craftsmen of Taghzut and some of the Shluh tribesmen of the Anti Atlas. Emigration is not a new development, but in recent years it has been practiced on an unprecedented scale.[114]

[111] F. Benedicto Pérez, "Trabajadores rifeños en Argelia," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1948* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1949), pp. 5–17.

[112] D. M. Hart, "Notes on the Rifian Community of Tangier," *Middle East Jour.*, 11 (1957), 153–162.

[113] In the Mzab the tradition of emigration for men is combined with a tradition that women must not leave the oasis. See Karl Suter, "Die Ortsgebundenheit der Frau bei den Mozabiten," *Geographica Helvetica*, 12 (1957), 102–114.

[114] On emigration see also Günter Glauert, "Veränderungen in den Bevölkerungsstruktur Nordafrikas in den letzen Jahrzehnten," *Die Erde*, 88 (1957), 298–319; René Raynal, "Déplacements récents et actuels des populations du bassin de la Moulouya (Maroc oriental)," *Comptes Rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Lisbonne, 1949* (Lisbon, 1952), IV, 67–80; and J. C. Petit and Castet Barou, "Contribution à l'étude des mouvements de la population marocaine musulmane et de l'exode rural," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 68 (1953), 423–459.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

312 construction requires a great amount of skill. Where the sides of the valley are precipitous and rocky, the ditches are led around through olive logs hollowed out with the adze and supported by long wooden props; at times ditches are led even from one side of the valley to the other by means of these olive-wood troughs. The distribution of the *targa* coincides with that of *tikerathin*, or terraces, except in the lowland alluvial plains of Ajdir, Tiguisas, and other Mediterranean deltas, where irrigation is carried on without terraces. Irrigation is locally supposed to have been invented by the men of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen in the northern Gzennaya, and expert *targa* makers from these places are sent for to construct and repair ditches all over the Rif.

hassi, the well. Wells are constructed by itinerant craftsmen from the region of the [463 Draa, who wander about throughout the Rif seeking employment. They are never molested, since they are considered benefactors of mankind, and are paid well for their work. These 465] men generally earn as much as twenty dollars for the construction of an average well, and find employment chiefly in flat arid country where there are no springs and where wells are a necessity.

241 **Communism in Agriculture.** The Riffians, living as they do close to the soil and often
735 not distantly removed from the prospect of starvation, have developed several social de-
476 vices whereby the poor may be prevented from perishing and the rich compelled partially to support them. These charitable practices are so ingrained that no one able to act as a benefactor to the poor would venture to criticize them in public or refuse to take part in them. They concern the three vegetable products which seem most deeply entwined with Riffian life: rye, grapes, and olives.

When a man wishes to sow rye on a mountain slope, he invites as many men as wish to do so to help him. Most men who have nothing else of importance to do accept the offer, and no one refuses without an adequate excuse. In this way a man of moderate means is assured of a plentiful crop of rye, to make up for his lack of other foodstuffs.

The crew works diligently from sunrise to sunset, after which they climb downhill to the house of the owner of the rye. The latter's womenfolk have meanwhile busied themselves preparing as ample a meal for the workers as the family's means will allow, and all eat and spend the evening together. If the family cannot provide very abundant rations, the workers seldom complain, since they consider their participation in the work as a form of charity, and their partaking of the food as a social gratification to the providers of it.

Similarly, in reaping season, anyone who wishes may come unbidden and help gather in the grain, whether it be rye, barley, or wheat, and is assured of an adequate meal at the end of the day in payment. In this way people who have finished their own work may be fed without drawing on their own supplies. Gleaning is left to the poor of the village.

241 If two farmers who own adjoining fields or terraces possess each but a single cow, they
476 yoke these together and plough their land in common. No family is without a cow, and since ploughs are constructed by the farmers themselves, or by neighbors especially adept at the art, without payment, the situation of a man with land and no cow or plough does not arise.

241 Irrigation ditches which water the tillage of more than one man are subject to communal
312 care. Each farmer is assigned a definite amount of water during each season when it is required, the amount depending on the amount of land requiring irrigation. The water is measured by days and half-days. Each season the farmer must send out a man for every

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

252 Any oil remaining over the three or four cups so given is the property of the man who
[735] has pressed it, unless a poor man without trees comes to the press and asks for some. Such demands cannot be refused and each suppliant must be given a cup.

241 Besides charitable assistance and work done in anticipation of remunerative charity,
465 there are two types of definite agricultural contract by which one man who has not enough land to support himself and his family may acquire sufficient provender to last his household through the winter. The first is that by which a poor man binds himself to assist a richer farmer in all agricultural tasks in which he may engage. In return for this he receives a fifth of the total grain crop, a fourth of the leguminous plants and vegetables harvested, a third of the product of the fruit, olive, and nut trees, and a third of the grapes.

The rich farmer hires these share-laborers (who are called *akhemes*,[1] plural *ikhemesen* or "fifths," because of their return in grain) because he is not able to care for all of his land himself, owing to its extensive size. If the property of a rich farmer is so extensive that he is unable to cultivate it with the aid of one share-laborer, he will hire two, and these will split a fifth, a fourth, and a third of the various types of produce. No matter how many men a farmer employs he never gives more than the stipulated fractions, which are equally divided among the workers.

241 When a man owns property which he has no intention of working himself, he can rent it
427 out in return for one half of the produce. This type of contract is used by the Beni Bu Yahyi in renting out the northerly portions of their territory to farmers who come down from Galiya to work the land, the Beni Bu Yahyi not being as interested in agriculture.

241 The share-laborer is often a stranger in the village of his employment, having left his
166 home through shame of having his poverty advertised in his own village, or more often through fear of punishment for some crime. The migrations of these share-laborers has done more to cause infiltrations of blood from tribe to tribe than any other factor, since the immigrant usually marries into the group of his adoption.

241 Wealth is not a stable thing in the Rif, any more than it is in more modern types of
556 society. Despite charitable practices and opportunities for outside work, many families find themselves on the verge of starvation in or near January and February, and are willing to sell anything within reason to obtain enough food to last them until the next harvest. Others, more industrious, who have worked their land to its limit and spent the rest of their time helping others for pay, may have more food than they require and be willing to sell some of it, at a premium. They generally demand land in payment. Working this land to its limit the following year, they may pile up an even greater surplus than before, and thus before many years may become large landowners and relatively rich men, ready, in their turn, to hire as share-laborers the people from whom they bought the land.

[558] Thus the retention of property depends upon whether or not it is worked diligently, and positions of wealth may be reversed in less than a generation.

FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

252 The different types of food, including their methods of preparation, may be classified as follows: (1) cereal preparations antedating bread, (2) bread and breadmaking, (3) preparation of vegetable products alone, (4) dishes containing meat, (5) fish, (6) eggs, (7) milk and

[1] The feminine form of this word signifies a political division. See p. 92.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ifarādhen* (Arabic *bil-fard*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches *(tharga*, pl. *tharghiwīn)* and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rif, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

000
[465] 97--The fqih is paid by each nuclear family of the jma'th in barley every year, but he receives absolutely nothing from property in habus.

[251] 98--The office of amarras is nonexistent in the Central Rif, where storehouses, either individual or collective, are unknown, and each man keeps his grain reserves in an underground deposit (thasrafth) in the patio of his house.

[804] 99--In the days of the Republik, a mudd was reckoned at 48 kilos; in
[114] Spanish times, 50; and since independence, 56. This puts some doubt on the accuracy of Blanco's figures.

[114] 100--Blanco erroneously thought that collective storehouses once existed in the Rif, and he cites Ajdir and an unnamed place in the Sanhajan tribe of the Bni Hmid as examples; and he also thought that the institution should be revived, as a sort of bank or treasury or center of credit.

101--What Blanco no doubt means to say here is that the notables whose names are written down in this qanun are ipso facto no longer anonymous, and that the first step on the rise to personal power is the shedding off of anonymity.

102--In Rifian, imqqranen dh-imzzyanen, and in the Arabic of qanuns, "al-kibar wa al-sighar": the terms refer to all the men and youths
[114] (or boys) of a given locality. Perhaps this is the root of Blanco's
[562] interesting, if in some ways rather questionable, notion of women, who do not have the same status as their menfolk, as minors.

103--The notion of qa'id came in with 'Abd al-Krim, but no Rifian living can remember the day when there was no qadi, even if only matters pertaining to marriage, divorce and land fell under his jurisdiction.

[114] 104--What Blanco probably means to say here is "Arabization" rather
[199] than "Islamization"; there is much more than just a subtle distinction between the two, and even during the period of the "Republik", a Rifian would have been mortally offended if anyone did not consider him a good Muslim.

105--Bu-mwarith: an official who takes over in the name of the government the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs.

106--Ukil l-ghuyab: inheritance or property representative for absentees; the man's function is a literal translation of his title.

107--This traditionally given etymology seems highly doubtful, for the Rif at least, and the term should rather read aitarba'in or aitharba'in (sing. utharba'in), which changes the meaning to the far more plausible one of "people of the people".

[114] 108--This seems to be purely an ex post facto explanation on Blanco's part and has no relation to reality. The notion of Ait-arba'in as people of the forty, in which there literally were 40 councilmembers, d o e s e x i s t in some areas (i.e. the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara), but it is unknown in the Rif.

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

243 sickles and the women carrying the grain stalks to the threshing areas. The threshing floors are generally merely a circle of dirt ground, although in some areas they are paved. The stalks [231] are placed on this circular floor and mules, donkeys, or cattle are driven about inside the circle, trampling the grain and separating it from the chaff. The grain is further refined by hand-winnowing done by the women. The straw is accumulated in circu- [231] lar stacks to be preserved as food for the animals during the winter months. When relatives have worked a common piece of land 243 465 the yield is divided by measuring off the appropriate amount of grain in straw baskets. If the division is on a one-for-one basis, each alternate basket will go to one of the parties. If the division is at some other ratio, the number of baskets will accordingly be at that ratio. If the land was ploughed, planted [427] and harvested by a akhammas, a sharecropping laborer, the owner of the land will receive four bushels out of every five, the remaining fifth going to the akhammas.

241 Throughout the summer the vegetables, fruits and nuts are harvested as they come ripe. In late summer and early autumn the [465] maize and grapes are harvested. Once again, if the labor of several families or of akhammas has been involved, straw baskets are used to allot out to each man his appropriate portion. It is 585 during this period, in the months of August and September, that 221 [241] weddings are held. The agricultural cycle has been completed and there is spare time to arrange the necessary items for a wedding. Also this is the period in which the optimum amount of food is

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grama has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools [658] [178] which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by [425] some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. [782] Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet [241] some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who [212] has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. [794] He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth 793 in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

793 794 465 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 789 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in 791 754 Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif [793] [799] society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female 754 791 witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed 562 on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. [888] This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

754 791 789 793 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood [443] from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

423 The number of men under such association is difficult to estimate
427 though I have the impression it is large. No man whom I inter-
464 viewed who might be roughly classified as a leader in the community had less than one person working for him in such a relationship.

427 The most prominent and common association is that of the
464 akhammas or sharecroppers. The akhammas is a laborer who voluntarily contracts to contribute all the physical labor necessary for the total production process of a piece of land. The landowner provides the land itself, the seed, fertilizer, plough and any other equipment, and the animal power. The akhammas provides all labor, from the initial ploughing to the ultimate harvesting. [465] For his services he receives exactly one-fifth of the yield, [466] hence the name which derives from hamsa or 'five.' The akhammas also receives the hand-me-down clothes of the master and often a meal each day. Since the activities of the akhammas entail his
427 constant presence around or even inside the household, he has far
464 greater access to the wives of notables than other males. A man
562 of sufficient wealth to employ an akhammas would probably isolate his wife from contact with male society. It is a myth that the Berbers do not seclude their women. The only ones who are not secluded from male society are the wives of poor men who must contribute their labor to the production process. Such women are, of course, the vast majority. The akhammas has more contact with the wives of the notable class than any other male not closely related to the family. Since the akhammas must consult

427 the wife about household tasks and often takes his meals inside
464 the central patio, he is on rather intimate (for the Rif) terms
562 with these women. In such a close and anomalous situation, there
[602] is a preference on the part of the master to hire a poor relative, especially of his wife, as a servant. By hiring a man of the wife's family or of a family which includes the wife's relatives by marriage, one lessens the danger of too close a relationship between wife and akhammas.

427 While both partners in the akhammas arrangement seek to
464 establish a contract which is divorced from social conflict over
466 women, they are nonetheless in basic conflict along incipient
465 class lines. The akhammas, at least in the contemporary situa-
565 tion, regards himself as being exploited by his patron in that the wage scale is fixed and involves difficult manual labor without any guarantees of remmeration. While he is free to negotiate his contract with whomever he so desires, his wage depends directly on the size of the crop yield for any one year. The master with greater reserves of resources suffers only an inconvenience if the crop yield is low. The sharecropper, on the other hand, has few if any reserves, and any reduction in the portion of his share has serious repercussions on his ability to maintain his household. The akhammas is especially aware of the inequity of this arrangement as wage opportunities open up and he becomes aware that salary can be negotiated with commensurate rewards in cash. Most ikhammasen prefer to get into the category of wage

427 laborer, especially as a migrant worker in Europe or Algeria,
464 where salaries are high by Riffian standards.
465
466 On the other end of the spectrum are the landowners who
565 regard the akhammas as the true beneficiary of the association. They argue that since they provide all the elements of production except labor, they are being exploited by the working class. The akhammas provides only his manual labor for a few weeks of ploughing and again for a few weeks at harvest time. Their contention is that although the work is arduous, it spans over a relatively short period of time for which the akhammas receives enough to meet his subsistence needs for the year. The remainder of the year the akhammas is free to contract for such labor as is available. The property owner, however, depends exclusively on his crop and thus does not have the additional revenues which the worker earns throughout the rest of the year. If the crop yield is low, the master will always see to it that the worker gets something, and besides the poor can apply for government relief while the rich can not. I suggested to several owners that they (123) engage a wage laborer for the short duration of actual work involved in performing the cultivation tasks but was met with only stony silence at the notion of such a scheme. I did not encounter and no one ever spoke of an instance in which agricultural labor was paid for in daily or weekly wages. Since the property class is in a position to change the system but does not, presumably the akhammas arrangement works to their benefit.

464
465 Although the akhammas association is the most prevalent, it is only one of several such arrangements. Another sort of laborer is the ankari, who is hired for sewing and odd jobs about the house. His salary is not fixed and he is apparently paid in cash and clothing (Hart 1956:75). Another type of traditional [233] work association is the amlkhan, who is a youth employed to herd a man's goats and sheep. He ". . . is hired for a fixed period . . . [and] gets a non-stipulated sum at the end of his contract" (Hart, ibid.:75). Such an arrangement is graphically portrayed in Bowles' translation of Charhadi's autobiographical novel, A Life Full of Holes. Another form of association is the arabba' who cultivates household gardens, orchards, and trees. He is given a fourth of the fruit and vegetable crops; if the terrain is difficult to terrace, his portion is adjusted (Hart 1956:75). [256] Most mill owners employ an assistant to do the grinding, and from the mill owner's portion the worker receives a fourth of the grain.

The common element of this sort of association seems to be that the salary the laborer earns is determined by customary regulations rather than by the supply and demand of workers. It [571] is an association between the elite and the poor which is based [565] on a fixed compensation and outside of any regulation by the market economy.

675 A correlate of this situation in which commercial arrangements are based on social factors is the irrelevance of written contracts. Whereas contractual agreement forms the basis of most

1;Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Ref HN3
[Village of Ubed 'Abd al-Mumin]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
• [465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemaicha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

501 The crew must obey the master in the working of the boat, as
460 their job includes all operations, including loading and unloading. They can transfer at will (to another boat) whenever they like, in which case they are reimbursed with the gross value of their part of the profits, and in justifiable absences, such as short illnesses, the death of some relative, etc., there is no discount from their wages, if they are co-participants in the business; but this requires justification in front of the master and the consent of the rest of the crew, as well as previous warning.....

226 In fishing boats, they are accountable for the maintenance;
501 in boats of transport, they have charge of the profits.

226 C) Profits:
434

1) Fishing in a boat with net: the gross value of the sale is divided into two equal parts, one for the master and one for the crew. In addition to this, the master also receives one-seventh of the owner's share.

2) Fishing in a boat with hook: the gross value of the catch is divided into three equal parts; one for the owner of the appartus (net, lines, hooks....), another (not listed, probably a typographical error) and the last for the crew. Those who haul the nets on shore receive a few kilos of fish.

3) Fishing with explosives: three equal parts, two for the owner of the explosives and the third for the swimmer.

505 4) Transport of Travelers and Merchandise: the profits of the
434 trip, after maintenance expenses and port duties have been discounted, i.e. the true profit, are analogously divided into two parts, in the same proportion as in the case of fishing boats.

312 The
562 jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions
[623] of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of
[681] women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

312 The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly
675 among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agree-
[212] ments are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

[466] The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work
[333] done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

312 Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone
689 of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2)
241 differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled
242
627

000 [648] [744] 118--Malaria, of the "paludism" variety, was a considerable problem in the Rif of 1939, of which Blanco writes. In 1952-53, however, the Spanish administration conducted a vigorous DDT campaign, which made considerable strides in stamping out this disease.

119--Twiza is also often translated as "corvee". In Rifian, the word is dhiwiza, pl. dhiwizawin.

[466] 120--Any individual who failed to show up to take part in a twiza organized for repairing a ditch (of which he was--or is--one of the users) had to pay a fine ranging from about three to five duros. This fine, however, was not and is not paid to the aquwwam, but is levied as r-haqq by the jma'th in question, whose members buy and consume tea and sugar with the proceeds.

121--Irrigation turns, after the lots have been drawn to establish the order in which they occur, continue in the same order until something happens to the ditch, i.e. if it is washed out by a storm or if it loses water completely; and then lots are drawn again.

122--In 1953, the Granja Agricola had two days out of an eight day irrigation turn cycle, from the Dharga Hadhidha, on the left bank of [613] the Nkur River. The other six days, the following lineages irrigated from the same ditch: Bu Srama (Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen n Waddai (Isrihan, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Ihaddjiyen (Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), r-'Aramth (affiliation unknown), Aith 'Alla (Imhawren, in the Aith 'Ari) and Aith Bu Minqadh (a "foreign element", supposedly from the Sus, in the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari).

123--An akhammas is a poor sharecropper who receives one-fifth of the grain harvest of a richer individual with whom he has an annual verbal contract.

124--Blanco handles in a most able manner the whole question of the relationship of irrigation turns to lineage structure. Although by no means 100% accurate in all instances, his equation of the usage of secondary ditches by dharfiqin and of the smaller tertiary branches by the ijujga, or lineage branches, is certainly correct enough and widespread enough, in the Plain of al-Husaima in particular (where the distribution of irrigation turns is a very complicated affair), to be taken as a rule of thumb.

125--This seems a strange remark, particularly because it is italicized; as only plowing and sowing takes place in winter in the Rif, while the harvest is taken in mid-summer. However, it is possibly intended in irony, to show the poverty of the region.

126--Blanco refers here, in somewhat poetic and rhapsodic fashion, to the great topographical difference between the arid mountains along the upper course of the Ghis and the fertile alluvial Plain of al-Husaima which characterizes much of its lower course.

127--This number may have been 55 in 1939; it was certainly much higher in 1961.

128--Blanco mistranslates l-Bzimma, and, by extension, al-Masimma, as "the renowned".

423 The number of men under such association is difficult to estimate
427 though I have the impression it is large. No man whom I inter-
464 viewed who might be roughly classified as a leader in the community had less than one person working for him in such a relationship.

427 The most prominent and common association is that of the
464 akhammas or sharecroppers. The akhammas is a laborer who voluntarily contracts to contribute all the physical labor necessary for the total production process of a piece of land. The landowner provides the land itself, the seed, fertilizer, plough and any other equipment, and the animal power. The akhammas provides all labor, from the initial ploughing to the ultimate harvesting.
[465] For his services he receives exactly one-fifth of the yield,
[466] hence the name which derives from hamsa or 'five.' The akhammas also receives the hand-me-down clothes of the master and often a meal each day. Since the activities of the akhammas entail his
427 constant presence around or even inside the household, he has far
464 greater access to the wives of notables than other males. A man
562 of sufficient wealth to employ an akhammas would probably isolate his wife from contact with male society. It is a myth that the Berbers do not seclude their women. The only ones who are not secluded from male society are the wives of poor men who must contribute their labor to the production process. Such women are, of course, the vast majority. The akhammas has more contact with the wives of the notable class than any other male not closely related to the family. Since the akhammas must consult

427 464 562 the wife about household tasks and often takes his meals inside the central patio, he is on rather intimate (for the Rif) terms with these women. In such a close and anomalous situation, there [602] is a preference on the part of the master to hire a poor relative, especially of his wife, as a servant. By hiring a man of the wife's family or of a family which includes the wife's relatives by marriage, one lessens the danger of too close a relationship between wife and akhammas.

427 464 466 465 565 While both partners in the akhammas arrangement seek to establish a contract which is divorced from social conflict over women, they are nonetheless in basic conflict along incipient class lines. The akhammas, at least in the contemporary situation, regards himself as being exploited by his patron in that the wage scale is fixed and involves difficult manual labor without any guarantees of remuneration. While he is free to negotiate his contract with whomever he so desires, his wage depends directly on the size of the crop yield for any one year. The master with greater reserves of resources suffers only an inconvenience if the crop yield is low. The sharecropper, on the other hand, has few if any reserves, and any reduction in the portion of his share has serious repercussions on his ability to maintain his household. The akhammas is especially aware of the inequity of this arrangement as wage opportunities open up and he becomes aware that salary can be negotiated with commensurate rewards in cash. Most ikhammasen prefer to get into the category of wage

427 laborer, especially as a migrant worker in Europe or Algeria,
464 where salaries are high by Riffian standards.
465
466 On the other end of the spectrum are the landowners who
565 regard the akhammas as the true beneficiary of the association. They argue that since they provide all the elements of production except labor, they are being exploited by the working class. The akhammas provides only his manual labor for a few weeks of ploughing and again for a few weeks at harvest time. Their contention is that although the work is arduous, it spans over a relatively short period of time for which the akhammas receives enough to meet his subsistence needs for the year. The remainder of the year the akhammas is free to contract for such labor as is available. The property owner, however, depends exclusively on his crop and thus does not have the additional revenues which the worker earns throughout the rest of the year. If the crop yield is low, the master will always see to it that the worker gets something, and besides the poor can apply for government relief while the rich can not. I suggested to several owners that they
[123] engage a wage laborer for the short duration of actual work involved in performing the cultivation tasks but was met with only stony silence at the notion of such a scheme. I did not encounter and no one ever spoke of an instance in which agricultural labor was paid for in daily or weekly wages. Since the property class is in a position to change the system but does not, presumably the akhammas arrangement works to their benefit.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents). 675 Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men 466 of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on 464 another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the 556 social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects 554 the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians 182 wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains signifi- 183 cance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does [128] not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathi* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.
3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.
4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

624 423 312 One of the clerk's most troublesome duties is keeping track of irrigation property. If a stream commences in the property of a certain man, that man has the right to build a ditch within his own property to irrigate his own fields, and that water belongs exclusively to him. If he wishes to sell the rights to some of the water to a neighbor, he allows the neighbor to lead water off the stream below the place at which he leads off his own water, and likewise allows this neighbor to build a ditch across his land to the purchaser's field. The purchaser must pay for the water rights and for the narrow strip of land on which the ditch runs. The clerk makes out papers for the transfer of these rights, and signs them.

He also makes out papers for other irrigation complications. One man may sell the right of one day's water per year to another man through whose land his ditch passes. If a ditch is led off from a large stream which flows through a number of villages, no one owns the original water, but any man who constructs a ditch from it has the right to the water which is led off, once he has paid for the land which the ditch crosses. Men who construct such ditches usually sell so many shares in it that in time it becomes almost communal. The shares are sold on the basis of so many day's water a year per man. If a dry year comes or the water is low, each man receives a reduced share of the water proportionate to his original allowance.

If a ditch owner has allowed another man to lead off part of his water into another ditch, under time limit or restriction, when a season of drought comes they take turns, day by day, so as to divide equally what little there is of it.

If in a series of step-terraces, built one above the other, an avalanche covers more than the top one, the owners of all the terraces in the series have to work together to remove the stones. If a cloudburst pushes these same terraces down the side of the mountain so that the top one has lowered its position, and the bottom one has fallen into the stream and its earth been washed away, the owners of the terraces go to the clerk and find out exactly how much of this particular terrace land each of them possessed. If they each owned a third, the clerk measures, with string, what arable land remains, and divides it up proportionately, so that the order of ascension is the same as before, but the area of each is proportionately reduced. If, however, the bottom one suffers loss through the action of the stream and nothing has happened to the upper ones, the owner of the bottom terrace has to suffer his loss alone. Any small loss of earth or manure due to a storm may not be recovered; the owner of the lower terrace into which it has been washed may keep it. If the boundary wall between two terraces has been broken in by the storm, and dirt has washed over the stones, making the boundary questionable, the clerk comes with the papers of the original sale and a cord, and measures the terraces anew. Then the owner of the upper terrace must build another retaining wall, and cannot recover the earth which he has lost, unless, as above stated, the upper boundary of his land has slumped downhill and the bottom terrace has fallen into the stream.

624 423 When a man's tree thrusts its branches over a boundary so that it hangs over another man's land and makes shade on it, preventing the growth of grain or vegetables, the owner of the shaded land may protest and demand that that part of the tree be removed. The clerk forbids cutting it, however, and orders the owner of the tree to give a fourth of its fruit to the other man.

624 471 The clerk also keeps track of the olive press, and of the succession of those entitled to use it. If a neighboring *bone* has no press he lets it use the one in his territory, before the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

actual owners of the machine are allowed to do so; and he collects from them the customary divisions of the oil which they squeeze. The village council of each *bone* makes out the list and the clerk writes it down and sees that it is followed.

Another duty of this latter official is making out papers of adoption for strangers who come into the *bone* to live and who wish to become affiliated with it.

The clerk also has charge of wills and inheritance. The head of each family may make a will on his deathbed, or at some time when he fears imminent death. To do this he summons the clerk, who writes down the terms of the bequests and takes the paper away with him. After the man has died he produces this paper, makes its contents public, and administers the estate.

Although most men, in making their wills, follow the traditional rules of inheritance, some bequeath their property unequally among their heirs, at times cutting individuals off entirely, and leave property to mosques or saints' tombs. No man is permitted, however, to disinherit his wife or wives.

In each tribe there is supposed to be a judge, appointed by the tribal council, and holding his office for life or good behavior. He has received a diploma from one of the four institutions previously mentioned. His appointment does not usually come, however, until long after his fulfilment of the requirements for this position. He is almost always a native of the tribe in which he is employed.

There was one in Beni Urriaghel, one in Beni Tuzin, and one in Gzennaya, at the time the Christians entered. The first judge in the Rif in modern times was Si Abd el Rahman of the Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya, who had dwelt long in Fez and married a Fezzi wife. The Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel decided, about fifty years ago, that they would like to have a judge, and therefore sent men of the Gzennaya to Fez to persuade Si Abd el Rahman to come. On the way back from Fez, the Beni Ulid, who did not know that he was a judge, attacked him and his bodyguard in the night, killing him and capturing his wife and children. What remained of the bodyguard returned to the Rif and called together a great council of the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Beni Ulishk, Beni Said, and Metalsa. All these councillors, with their retainers, invaded Beni Ulid and devastated it, taking back the prisoners and loot, and exacting a fine of four thousand five hundred dollars.

Si Abd el Rahman's eldest son was made judge in his place, after him his brother, and after his brother his sons, in turn. Beni Urriaghel and Beni Tuzin later each established a judge, certified by that of Beni Yunes. Several others were set up and deposed in later times.

Every year each *fifth* presents the judge with a cow, five or six goats, and large quantities of all staple agricultural products. The judge in this way receives a large income, but is expected to spend most or all of it on hospitality. He settles disputes concerning landed property. Contestants bring their papers of ownership to him, and he decides which one really owns the property, then signs and seals the paper of the winner. The plaintiffs bring him presents of meat and sugar — any further gift would be considered bribery.

In the Senhaja Sghir the Sherif of Targuist acts as judge, except in Taghzuth, where there has been a judge for generations. Until the time of Abd el Krim, however, the judge of Taghzuth was influenced by the Sherif of Targuist.

Fines to be imposed:

Harka members: for each day of absence, two (days to be served) in the harka, and a fine of 2 duros.

Qa'ids of 25 men: the same, with a fine of 3 duros.

Qa'ids of 50 men: the same, with a fine of 4 duros.

Qa'ids of 100 men: the same, with a fine of 5 duros.

Qa'ids of 200 men: the same, with a fine of 6 duros.

This is an order emanating from the fortunate Makhzin (i.e. of 'Abd al-Krim). May God protect it. In Taghzut on Ramadan 23, 1344 (March 8, 1926). By order of 'Abd al-Karim bin Ziyan.[110]

12. DOCUMENT OF EXEMPTION FROM PAYMENT OF TAXES[111]:

Praise be to the one God. The blessings of God be upon our (lord) Muhammad, his family and friends.

It shall be known through the present document that we, taking into consideration the services rendered to the Makhzin and the taxes which because of hospitable attentions with warlike objectives (holy war) weigh upon the bearers, the sons of the late Si Ahmad bin Si 'Ali al-Tawti are exempted by us from the contributions concerned....The 'amil, in virtue of this, orders that they not be asked of them....And the peace.

Safar 18 of the year 1341 (October 10, 1922). Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, may God be with him, amen. (Signed and sealed).

13. QANUN OF THE SEA--AITH WARYAGHAR[112]:

A) The Boat Owner:

He owns the boat (agharrabu, pl. igharruba)[113], acquired by transfer, sale, already used or repaired by carpenters on the beach, of whom there are still a few[114].

of whom there are still a few[114]. In the business, he represents the industrial member and as such he has a right to part of the profits[115], because of the fact that the fishing equipment is also ordinarily his property; and he has the right to appoint a master, the technical director of the business, whose obligations are limited to the maintenance and renovation of the equipment and to fishing. He may transfer the business voluntarily, taking back the equipment, either to sell it or simply to leave it grounded, even though the season may not be over. The construction of a covered shelter for the boats on the beach is his responsibility.

B) The Crew:

The master (ra'is) of the boat, appointed by the owner[116]...., is the technical director of the business and he is therefore responsible for any property damages or injuries which can be justified, if they can be imputed to his unskillfulness or ill-will. He is given a free hand to select, appoint and discharge the individuals who have to make up his crew, of which he is the head, without the necessity of the consent of the owner; he is in charge of the selection of points of putting down the nets, fishing, embarkation and disembarkation, admission of merchandise and passengers, selection of shelters, collection of money, auctions and the responsibility for settlement of accounts; and while on board he is authorized to impose discipline by any means in extreme and necessary cases, and he must show the owner any necessary repairs or acquisitions which fall under his inspection. He is principally in charge of the working of the boat, and it is he who sets the course of direction. He appoints a second-in-command.

585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. Perhaps it is this unending sameness [777] which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is [262] not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [554] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 796 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
571 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by
597 both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the

556 community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
30 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
454 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.
[422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible.

[461] [369] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 785 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during 472 443 Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare [265] and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for 796 785 the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

641 To partake in such leadership requires wealth since the trip
648 itself is expensive (the only form of public transportation
556 from the Rif to Rabat is by bus and these men eschew this in
619 favor of splitting the expense of a taxi ride of several hundred
[494] miles) and the per diem allowance is more a token than anything realistic.

Some men have gracefully retired from positions of community leadership because of expenses such as these. If over a period of years one declines to go to such ceremonies because of ill health or pressing familial affairs, the person is quietly dropped from the list of the invited and another local man is
556 substituted. Expenses for maintaining such a social position are not small in relationship to the amount of wealth available even to the better-off Berber. On the other hand, wealth alone does not qualify one for a position of political prominence and social prestige. The importance of a man is based not on his wealth per se but rather what sort of wealth it is and how he came by it. Wealth divorced from such critical factors cannot be translated by the Riffian into socially meaningful significance. To operate within the context of profit is to operate outside the complex of social responsibility and communal solidarity. Thus while there are entrepreneurs in the Rif, they do
556 not have the social prestige that goes with traditional wealth
• 472 in land. This distinction could be illustrated by numerous examples but the following cases were selected because they

556 illustrate that this distinction is recognized not only within
472 the community but by outside authorities.

556 a) A tribesman of the Beni Said had migrated to Alhucemas
485 and worked for Spaniards during the Protectorate. He
472 had purchased the hotel of a Spaniard when the latter
[275] sold on the eve of national independence. While it is
[784] illegal for a Muslim to operate a bar, he continued to
do so with tacit approval from local officials. He opened several other enterprises accommodating Berber transients and Western tourists. Although he came from a poor family he had accumulated considerable capital. However, his values were oriented almost entirely to city life and he visited his tribe only once or twice a year. He did not attempt to translate any of his economic power into social status in his tribe. When
556 an European-sponsored hotel opened in the city, the
485 management regarded this entrepreneur as a competitive
472 threat (he was underselling the new hotel by 50%).
477 They complained to the police (it was rumored that generous bribes were offered and accepted) and they promptly closed the Riffian's bar. He complained to the Ministry of Interior in Rabat and was told he could reopen once the tourist season was over.

556 b) A Berber of the Beni Wariyaghar was the son of a prominent man who had sided with the Spanish against Ab-del Krim. The man, although he held political office

556 472 183 It is possible, of course, for a single individual to incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylia Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, ". . . only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' . . ." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remunerative but of negative value in terms of social interrelations. Those men who are motivated by profit often find the 556 472 183 atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate 521 369 186 to Alhucemas or Targuist. While Riffians who live in the rural areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

556 472 521 577 There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is manifested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
571
577 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the
556 community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
30 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
454 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.
[422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

454 Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect. 231 Thus, an extra mule or an ox can raise the level of productivity 454 of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the 433 case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily 554 in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

256 Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is 435 the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water 472 is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah [376] engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

256 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regard-
435 less of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills
472 are not economically competitive with one another, they are soci-
256 ally competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better
472 than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has
477 a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a local-
ity, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community
uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of
[571] preference on the part of the users is not determined by conveni-
[578] ence of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such
[602] as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of
the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

423 Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses
427 of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor.
We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise
between a man who has more property than he alone can personally
cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social
and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who
holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence
needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property
holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own.
Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inher-
itance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to
meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these cir-
[464] cumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to
keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

445 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes
565
423 but find their occupation more remunerative.

In addition to these small merchants there is an assort-
443
445 ment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician.
(159) The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occasionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs, stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather peripheral to the volume of trade that takes place.

Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers,
442
443 the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital
472 so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation, who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

442 Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and
443 we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.
472 Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade
[262] has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though
cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas
226 has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently
[504] rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation,
[178] while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several
[648] centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish
protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards
but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered
442 into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market
443 their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the
472 catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men,
438 in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the
appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually
carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy
a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building
of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by
entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present
[262] the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets
two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest
fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the
poor.

443 Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local
442 <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer
438

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

312 construction requires a great amount of skill. Where the sides of the valley are precipitous and rocky, the ditches are led around through olive logs hollowed out with the adze and supported by long wooden props; at times ditches are led even from one side of the valley to the other by means of these olive-wood troughs. The distribution of the *targa* coincides with that of *tikerathin*, or terraces, except in the lowland alluvial plains of Ajdir, Tiguissas, and other Mediterranean deltas, where irrigation is carried on without terraces. Irrigation is locally supposed to have been invented by the men of Iherrushen and Ikhqanen in the northern Gzennaya, and expert *targa* makers from these places are sent for to construct and repair ditches all over the Rif.

463 *hassi*, the well. Wells are constructed by itinerant craftsmen from the region of the 465 Draa, who wander about throughout the Rif seeking employment. They are never molested, since they are considered benefactors of mankind, and are paid well for their work. These men generally earn as much as twenty dollars for the construction of an average well, and find employment chiefly in flat arid country where there are no springs and where wells are a necessity.

241 **Communism in Agriculture.** The Riffians, living as they do close to the soil and often
735 not distantly removed from the prospect of starvation, have developed several social de-
476 vices whereby the poor may be prevented from perishing and the rich compelled partially to support them. These charitable practices are so ingrained that no one able to act as a benefactor to the poor would venture to criticize them in public or refuse to take part in them. They concern the three vegetable products which seem most deeply entwined with Riffian life: rye, grapes, and olives.

When a man wishes to sow rye on a mountain slope, he invites as many men as wish to do so to help him. Most men who have nothing else of importance to do accept the offer, and no one refuses without an adequate excuse. In this way a man of moderate means is assured of a plentiful crop of rye, to make up for his lack of other foodstuffs.

The crew works diligently from sunrise to sunset, after which they climb downhill to the house of the owner of the rye. The latter's womenfolk have meanwhile busied themselves preparing as ample a meal for the workers as the family's means will allow, and all eat and spend the evening together. If the family cannot provide very abundant rations, the workers seldom complain, since they consider their participation in the work as a form of charity, and their partaking of the food as a social gratification to the providers of it.

Similarly, in reaping season, anyone who wishes may come unbidden and help gather in the grain, whether it be rye, barley, or wheat, and is assured of an adequate meal at the end of the day in payment. In this way people who have finished their own work may be fed without drawing on their own supplies. Gleaning is left to the poor of the village.

241 If two farmers who own adjoining fields or terraces possess each but a single cow, they
476 yoke these together and plough their land in common. No family is without a cow, and since ploughs are constructed by the farmers themselves, or by neighbors especially adept at the art, without payment, the situation of a man with land and no cow or plough does not arise.

241 Irrigation ditches which water the tillage of more than one man are subject to communal
312 care. Each farmer is assigned a definite amount of water during each season when it is required, the amount depending on the amount of land requiring irrigation. The water is measured by days and half-days. Each season the farmer must send out a man for every

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathis* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.
3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.
4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques. *The Moorish arch* in doors and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

Domes are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

Tiled roofs are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

Tents. The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa* braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhazhen*, sepa-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most
common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ifarādhen* (Arabic *bil-fard*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches (*tharghat*, pl. *tharghiwīn*) and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rīf, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

7: Mikesell K-4,5. (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Contracts and Coöperation

675 464 171 241 When tribesmen are unable or unwilling to work their own land, contracts are made between the wealthier and the poorer members of a community; those who have little land or equipment hire themselves out to those who have more. Farmers who have more animals than they or their sons can manage, make agreements with others to care for the herd. The hired shepherds, while the animals are in their hands, receive part of the milk and butter, some of the young that are born, and, if the animals are sold, a share of the profit. The shepherd receives part, sometimes half, of the wool. Full-time employment as a shepherd is considered rather degrading, and for this reason it is the common occupation of exiles and orphans.

Vegetable gardens, orchards, and fields may be cared for by hired laborers. If their job entails the difficult task of setting up terraces, they may get up to a third of the crop. If they perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, they receive a fifth of the crop. If the hired hand needs an assistant during the reaping, the latter is paid with a tenth of the harvest. Associations of this sort are not common; farm labor is ordinarily done by the landowner and his sons.

476 241 171 A second type of association takes place when two farmers own plots of about the same size but do not have enough animals or equipment to work their land independently. The two farmers join forces, each supplying his share, and the harvest is divided between them. This form of coöperation is common when a farmer has only one draft animal. In irrigated areas, one man may supply the land and part of the seed, and another the rest of the seed, the animals, and the plow. Since most communities are kinship groups, coöperation of this sort is usually among brothers or cousins."

Inheritance

428 171 The inheritance of property" in most of Morocco follows standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. When a man dies his widow first receives one-eighth of his property and the remainder is divided among the sons and daughters. All sons inherit equally, as do all daughters. If a man dies leaving a widow and daughters only, the widow gets one-eighth and the remainder is divided into three parts, of which the daughters receive two and the father's brother one. If the father has no brothers, the rest (aside from the widow's share) goes to the daughters. If he does have brothers, and dies leaving only one daughter, she receives half of the property (minus the widow's share) and the brothers get the other half. If a man dies leaving no children, his widow receives a fourth of his property and the rest goes to the brothers. If a man with children dies prior to his father, the children have no right to the property and receive shares only if the grandfather agrees to such a division.

[423] Moroccans are very reluctant to divide up their land. When brothers inherit land they customarily work it jointly, the eldest brother acting as a substitute

[113] On contracts and coöperation, see also A. Sánchez Pérez, "Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en el Rif," *Selección de conferencias pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso 1950–51* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1951), pp. 95–104.

[113] This paragraph is based upon the remarks of D. M. Hart in *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 141–143.

556 illustrate that this distinction is recognized not only within
472 the community but by outside authorities.

556 a) A tribesman of the Beni Said had migrated to Alhucemas
485 and worked for Spaniards during the Protectorate. He
472 had purchased the hotel of a Spaniard when the latter
[275] sold on the eve of national independence. While it is
[784] illegal for a Muslim to operate a bar, he continued to do so with tacit approval from local officials. He opened several other enterprises accommodating Berber transients and Western tourists. Although he came from a poor family he had accumulated considerable capital. However, his values were oriented almost entirely to city life and he visited his tribe only once or twice a year. He did not attempt to translate any of his economic power into social status in his tribe. When
556 an European-sponsored hotel opened in the city, the
485 management regarded this entrepreneur as a competitive
472 threat (he was underselling the new hotel by 50%).
479 They complained to the police (it was rumored that generous bribes were offered and accepted) and they promptly closed the Riffian's bar. He complained to the Ministry of Interior in Rabat and was told he could reopen once the tourist season was over.

556 b) A Berber of the Beni Wariyaghar was the son of a prominent man who had sided with the Spanish against Ab-del Krim. The man, although he held political office

256 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regard-
435 less of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills
472 are not economically competitive with one another, they are soci-
256 ally competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better
472 than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has
477 a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a local-
ity, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community
uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of
[571] preference on the part of the users is not determined by conveni-
[578] ence of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such
[602] as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of
the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

423 Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses
427 of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor.
We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise
between a man who has more property than he alone can personally
cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social
and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who
holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence
needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property
holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own.
Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inher-
itance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to
meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these cir-
[464] cumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to
keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

LAND TRANSPORT

482 Land transport in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara is confined to the bearing of burdens by man and by domestic animals. Wheels and all types of vehicles are unknown. Human transport consists usually of the carrying of loads on the back. (See plate 7.) The negroid method of carrying on the head is not employed, nor is the tump-line used. Women carrying water from the spring or brook to the house use a two-handled jug, with a rope leading from each handle over the shoulders and held or tied in front. The same method is used for carrying bulky burdens such as loads of brush or of charcoal. Men generally carry things in their hands, or put them in the hoods of their garments.

492 Animal transport is confined to donkeys, mules, and camels. (See plate 8.) Horses do not carry burdens. For donkeys and mules, a special pack-saddle called the *hallas* is used. This is a large heavy object made of cloth and stuffed with straw, covering, in most cases, the entire back of the animal. The top is flat, and [illegible] edges of the upper surface are often raised. The *hallas* is held on by a rope or basketry strap passing under the animal's neck and by another under its tail. There is no girth; gravity, size, and the two straps are enough to keep it on when paniers are not used.

492 285 The paniers, called *shwari*, are of twilled basketry, a double container with a handle on each side and connected by a strip of basketry wide enough to cover the top of the pack-saddle so that the two containers will hang at the sides. The paniers are filled with whatever objects are to be transported, generally simply thrown in. Soft objects, such as blankets or sacks of grain, are set on top of the flat portion, and long ones, such as tools with handles, are lashed to the sides. A water jug of porous earthenware is often thrust into one of the paniers in such a position that it can be easily extracted. After the load has been placed, a cord is run between the handles of the *shwari*, drawn tight over the top, and carried under the animal's belly as a girth.

492 Camels have no packsaddles. A long, flapping type of *shwari* is sometimes used, without girth. This falls off whenever the camel becomes excited and breaks into a run. A more efficient method of packing these animals is by tying packages on either side of the hump, as can be seen in the illustrations in plate 8.

Horses, mules, and donkeys are ridden, horses either bareback or with an Arab saddle, imported from the Arab cities of Morocco. These saddles are expensive and difficult to obtain, hence bareback riding is the usual type. Riffians make notably poor riders, except for the tribesmen of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, who are accustomed to that means of locomotion. The bridle is generally imported and of Arab manufacture.

Mules and donkeys are ridden with the *hallas*, either bare or with the addition of a *shwari* and its load. Bridles are never used with donkeys and seldom with mules, a simple hackamore acting as substitute. Mule bridles, when used, are imported from Fez or other Arab centres.

Camels are almost never ridden by the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. They are used for transport and for milk, and attempts at riding them are sporadic and experimental.

481 In general, riding is an exceptional method of travelling, and the Riffian in most cases journeys on foot. Because of the ruggedness of the country, he can often make better time that way than if he were to ride. The Riffian can walk for long periods over the roughest ground without showing signs of fatigue, often bursting into trots for several miles at a time

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

NAVIGATION

The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thaqharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thaqharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *izhizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkathafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in felucca rig.

Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks. The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara, where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Wafi, of the Beni Urriaghel.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a, d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

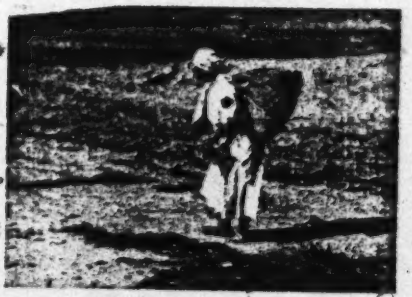
Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

TRANSPORT 1

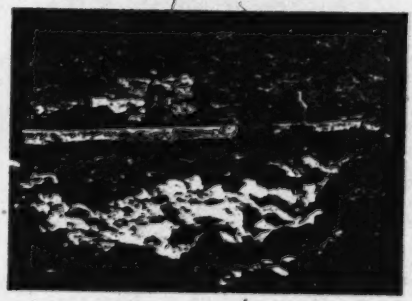
Common method of transporting water, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel



Method of carrying burdens on the back, Beni Said

482
491

Boy bringing home brush, Beni Amart



Bridge made of two parallel logs, Suk et Tnine, Taghzuth

[facing p. 40]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

LAND TRANSPORT

482 Land transport in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara is confined to the bearing of burdens by man and by domestic animals. Wheels and all types of vehicles are unknown. Human transport consists usually of the carrying of loads on the back. (See plate 7.) The negroid method of carrying on the head is not employed, nor is the tump-line used. Women carrying water from the spring or brook to the house use a two-handled jug, with a rope leading from each handle over the shoulders and held or tied in front. The same method is used for carrying bulky burdens such as loads of brush or of charcoal. Men generally carry things in their hands, or put them in the hoods of their garments.

492 Animal transport is confined to donkeys, mules, and camels. (See plate 8.) Horses do not carry burdens. For donkeys and mules, a special pack-saddle called the *hallas* is used. This is a large heavy object made of cloth and stuffed with straw, covering, in most cases, the entire back of the animal. The top is flat, and the edges of the upper surface are often raised. The *hallas* is held on by a rope or basketry strap passing under the animal's neck and by another under its tail. There is no girth; gravity, size, and the two straps are enough to keep it on when paniers are not used.

492 285 The paniers, called *shwari*, are of twilled basketry, a double container with a handle on each side and connected by a strip of basketry wide enough to cover the top of the pack-saddle so that the two containers will hang at the sides. The paniers are filled with whatever objects are to be transported, generally simply thrown in. Soft objects, such as blankets or sacks of grain, are set on top of the flat portion, and long ones, such as tools with handles, are lashed to the sides. A water jug of porous earthenware is often thrust into one of the paniers in such a position that it can be easily extracted. After the load has been placed, a cord is run between the handles of the *shwari*, drawn tight over the top, and carried under the animal's belly as a girth.

492 Camels have no packsaddles. A long, flapping type of *shwari* is sometimes used, without girth. This falls off whenever the camel becomes excited and breaks into a run. A more efficient method of packing these animals is by tying packages on either side of the hump, as can be seen in the illustrations in plate 8.

Horses, mules, and donkeys are ridden, horses either bareback or with an Arab saddle, imported from the Arab cities of Morocco. These saddles are expensive and difficult to obtain, hence bareback riding is the usual type. Riffians make notably poor riders, except for the tribesmen of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, who are accustomed to that means of locomotion. The bridle is generally imported and of Arab manufacture.

Mules and donkeys are ridden with the *hallas*, either bare or with the addition of a *shwari* and its load. Bridles are never used with donkeys and seldom with mules, a simple hackamore acting as substitute. Mule bridles, when used, are imported from Fes or other Arab centres.

Camels are almost never ridden by the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. They are used for transport and for milk, and attempts at riding them are sporadic and experimental.

481 In general, riding is an exceptional method of travelling, and the Riffian in most cases journeys on foot. Because of the ruggedness of the country, he can often make better time that way than if he were to ride. The Riffian can walk for long periods over the roughest ground without showing signs of fatigue, often bursting into trots for several miles at a time

1: Cook E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

sales, although it is difficult to stamp out private transactions.[1] Boy markets are found in the Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ghomara, and Ktama (also, of course, in the rest of the so-called Jebala, and centered at Sheshawen and in the tribe of Beni Zerwal).

[1] The whole Jebalan area is permeated with this type of sexual depravity, which is practiced without mutual shame or any attempt at concealment. In the Rif persons sometimes live and die without knowledge of its existence, and those who have travelled and seen it cannot mention it at home without falling into disfavor. It was punished during the recent war, in at least two known instances, by soaking the culprits in gasoline and burning them alive.

This perversion, the only form known in this region, is accompanied in the Jebala by a low esteem for women, who perform the more arduous tasks of agriculture which in the Rif are done by men. A frequent sight in the Jebala is a troop of women marching long distances loaded down under heavy bundles of charcoal and other burdens, which in the Rif would be carried by mules or donkeys.

Bride purchase, a trait common to all Moroccans but the Jews, is in the Jebala literally applied, since here the wife becomes a definite chattel of her husband, not usually the case elsewhere.

The atmosphere created by this combination of cultural factors is in striking contrast to that of the Rif, which, although primitive, is wholesome and vigorous.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

of Garet. In the Atlantic coastal zone most of the surface is cultivated, and little vegetation is left to serve as browse. In the eastern plains goats are replaced by sheep, which begin to outnumber them in the lower parts of the Rif. In the Middle Atlas the raising of sheep is associated with transhumance. This mode of pastoral life is still followed to some extent by the Ulad Stut, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ibdharsen, who spend the winter months near their cereal fields and the summer months in higher country with their sheep. The routes of migration run from the alluvial lowlands into nearby hills, especially the Kar-Kar range. In recent years the development of new irrigation projects has discouraged pastoral life, and the migration is now limited to a few of the young men and boys.

In the western provinces the main draft animals are cows or oxen. In the highlands and in the eastern lowlands the beasts of burden are donkeys and mules, which are used also for threshing and turning olive grinders. Mules are highly prized, for they can carry a heavier load than donkeys and are more agile and hardy than horses. Since there are few horses in the northern zone, most mules are imported from elsewhere in Morocco or from Spain. Moroccan donkeys are a small but hardy race, able to withstand long journeys with heavy loads. Horses have little value except as symbols of wealth and prestige, and are seldom used in the mountains. At the time of the Spanish conquest there were no horses at all in Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Seddath, and Aith Khannus.[11] Camels are restricted to the plains of Garet, where about 2,000 of them are used as milk, pack, and draft animals. Except for an occasional playful experiment, camels are not ridden.

The pack saddle for donkeys and mules is a heavy object made of cloth stuffed with straw. Panniers of twilled basketry, consisting of a double container connected by a strip of basketry, serve nearly all transport needs. Riders perch on top of the load and let their legs dangle to one side. There is little riding in the mountains, for a healthy man can make better time on foot.

Women are the most important burden bearers. Lines of women or girls bent under heavy loads are a common sight everywhere in Morocco. In Jbala they may be seen on any road carrying huge loads of wood and charcoal (pl. 8, *b*).

The domestic animals in northern Morocco include ferrets used in hunting, dogs, cats, and chickens. The dogs are of two types, one a small cur and the other a larger sheep dog. Chickens are the exclusive property of women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands. Bees are kept in the mountains, but the average tribesman knows nothing of apiculture, and prefers to assign the task to paid specialists.

Irrigation and Water Rights

In Moroccan agricultural terminology the most important distinction is that between *bilad bour*, the land of dry farming, and *bilad saqiyah*, the land of irrigation. By far the greatest amount of irrigated land is watered by diversion of surface runoff (pl. 5, *b*). Small dams (*mechra*) are used to divert water into ditches (*saqiyah*), which lead to the irrigable land. The ditches often follow tortuous contours, and may extend for several kilometers. The larger streams are flanked by several channels, sometimes five or six, each bringing water from a

[11] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 39, cited in note 5.

A, [See p. 132--Analyst] B, [See p. 129--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 . MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus*, *Rhus pentaphylla*, and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[1] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix*, *Alnus*, *Populus*, *Vitex*, and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander*, the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[2] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[3]

---

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al.*, *Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

[1] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[2] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 69.

[3] Coon, *loc. cit.*, traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

481 and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a [484] small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

NAVIGATION

501 The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thagharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thagharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *izhizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkathafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

396 This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

[531] The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

501 Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in felucca rig.

501 Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks.
226 The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

396 Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara,
439 where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

241 Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Wafi, of the Beni Urriaghel.

annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
591 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[n]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus*, *C. laurifolius*, *C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[n] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[n] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[n] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

MOSQUES AND SAINTS' TOMBS

346 THERE are three types of building which serve both social and religious purposes: the *thamsyitha n jkhothbath*, or cantonal mosque,[1] the *thamsajoth*, or village mosque,[2] and the *amrabt* (plural *imrabten*) or saint's tomb.[3]

The first, the cantonal mosque, is a large edifice, common to the whole *canton*, and to it come all the people of the *canton* for worship. It can be readily distinguished from lesser mosques by the fact that it bears a flag, green in the morning and white in the afternoon.

The second is the mosque of the *bone*, and there is one for each *bone* in the *canton*.

764 The third, the saint's tomb, may be a structure of some magnitude, a mere pile of stones,
778 or simply an unmarked but nevertheless well-known place. It is supposed to be the grave of a saint, although often it is merely some place noted for the possession of some unusual natural feature, such as a large boulder, a spring, or a clump of trees, revered long before the advent of Islam. Whether it be a definite building, a marker, or merely a place, in any case it fulfills a definite function.

358 In each of these three types of religious edifice there is one man who has been appointed
346 to take care of it, the *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*) or "warden,"[4] who may be a man of learning or, in some cases, illiterate. He is the janitor and general caretaker. He brushes the floor, sees that the mats on them are in good repair, hoists the flag on the cantonal mosque, and occasionally substitutes as muezzin for the incumbent of this mosque.

428 The mosques and saints' tombs acquire land in a number of ways. When a man dies
794 childless, and is displeased with his wife for having borne him no sons, or for some other reason, he may will a share of his land to the cantonal or village mosque or to a local saint's tomb. If he has sons but is not pleased with them, he may leave a share of his property to a mosque or tomb and the rest to his children.

[764] If, when about to die, he wishes to be buried within the mosque, he may buy his burial place with land to be given the mosque after his death. In this way he is interred under the floor of one of the rooms, and the warden has charge of the property so willed.

794 The warden of each public edifice has charge of the land belonging to it, and receives a
358 portion of the produce. He does the farming on the land and cares for the trees, but if there is too much for him to do the village council enlists poor people to work with him, as previously related.

794 Any mosque, be it of the *canton* or merely of the *bone*, and any saint's tomb capable of
485 providing shelter, serves as a free hotel for Riffians travelling from tribe to tribe. Lay

[1] From the Arabic *masjida el khutba*, meaning the "mosque of the Friday sermon."

[2] Likewise from *masjida*, and meaning literally "mosque."

[3] From the Arabic *more'bat*. This word means either "living saint" or "dead saint"; the meaning given applies to the deceased variety and to the superstructure erected over his remains.

[4] This Arabic word is also employed to designate the "moderator" of the village council, as well as the "moderator" of the council of the great. See p. 96.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

travellers go to both types of mosque but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuḳaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-hor*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *haggus*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 100.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Gennaya it is equivalent to 16 kilos, in Beni Urriaghel 60, in Beni Tusin 12, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 20.

556 illustrate that this distinction is recognized not only within
472 the community but by outside authorities.

556 a) A tribesman of the Beni Said had migrated to Alhucemas
485 and worked for Spaniards during the Protectorate. He
472 had purchased the hotel of a Spaniard when the latter
[275] sold on the eve of national independence. While it is
[784] illegal for a Muslim to operate a bar, he continued to do so with tacit approval from local officials. He opened several other enterprises accommodating Berber transients and Western tourists. Although he came from a poor family he had accumulated considerable capital. However, his values were oriented almost entirely to city life and he visited his tribe only once or twice a year. He did not attempt to translate any of his economic power into social status in his tribe. When
556 an European-sponsored hotel opened in the city, the
485 management regarded this entrepreneur as a competitive
472 threat (he was underselling the new hotel by 50%).
477 They complained to the police (it was rumored that generous bribes were offered and accepted) and they promptly closed the Riffian's bar. He complained to the Ministry of Interior in Rabat and was told he could reopen once the tourist season was over.

556 b) A Berber of the Beni Wariyaghar was the son of a prominent man who had sided with the Spanish against Ab-del Krim. The man, although he held political office

15. THE QANUN OF THE LOWER GHIS RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 [135] From this river, the longest of those which bathe the Central Rif (more than 70 km.), as with its companion and eastern neighbor the Nkur, only the surface waters are used, and very imperfectly, by the Rifians in the small meanders which its narrow basin forms. For the [648] Rifians there is too much water and not enough land. Up to the present, the Spanish protectors have not attempted the slightest modification nor the study of the Ghis basin and its regimen with utilitarian ends in mind. It is a wealth which, like so many others, is lost. There is too much water and nevertheless the Rif is thirsty. [132] The Rifian spends the whole year looking at the sky, an attitude which has become contagious to the protectors, imploring a few drops to fall in order to save his miserable winter (author's italics) harvest[125].....

In all the long basin of the Ghis one does not perceive the handiwork of man. Neither bridges nor acqueducts, neither dams nor any [487] installations to raise up its waters. Paths wind along its pebbly and steep banks to hide themselves in the dried-up stony bed. Small [402] and winding irrigation furrows timorously make haste to return suddenly the flow which they secretly absorbed, under the shelter of thickets, after (providing water to) move some small and rudimentary turbine mill. Only at the height of Targist, military techniques with their transportation of water give such a pessimistic sight a chance to change.

312 133 It is necessary to descend kilometers and kilometers down the steep bed of the river, to about some three kilometers from where it empties

7: Mikesell .K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization, but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

Climate

The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude, irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[1]

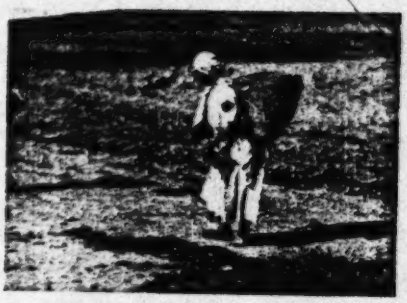
Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[1] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

TRANSPORT 1

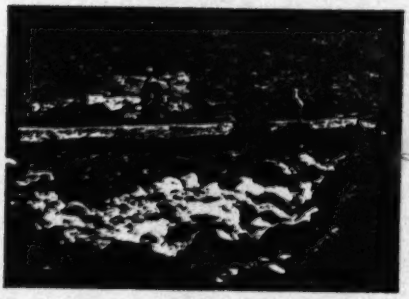
Common method of transporting water, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel



Method of carrying burdens on the back, Beni Said

482
491

Boy bringing home brush. Beni Amart



Bridge made of two parallel logs, Suk et Tnine, Taghauth

[facing p. 40]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

133 Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one
133 of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked
175 the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

132 On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization,
[504] but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail
[487] of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín
[491] (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

Climate

132 The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude,
[243] irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual
[312] precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

[127] Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[1]

Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[113] [1] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291
142
492

MOHAMMED LIMNIBHY

[frontispiece]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

LAND TRANSPORT

482 Land transport in the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara is confined to the bearing of burdens by man and by domestic animals. Wheels and all types of vehicles are unknown. Human transport consists usually of the carrying of loads on the back. (See plate 7.) The negroid method of carrying on the head is not employed, nor is the tump-line used. Women carrying water from the spring or brook to the house use a two-handled jug, with a rope leading from each handle over the shoulders and held or tied in front. The same method is used for carrying bulky burdens such as loads of brush or of charcoal. Men generally carry things in their hands, or put them in the hoods of their garments.

● 492 Animal transport is confined to donkeys, mules, and camels. (See plate 8.) Horses do not carry burdens. For donkeys and mules, a special pack-saddle called the *hallas* is used. This is a large heavy object made of cloth and stuffed with straw, covering, in most cases, the entire back of the animal. The top is flat, and the edges of the upper surface are often raised. The *hallas* is held on by a rope or basketry strap passing under the animal's neck and by another under its tail. There is no girth; gravity, size, and the two straps are enough to keep it on when paniers are not used.

492 285 The paniers, called *shwari*, are of twilled basketry, a double container with a handle on each side and connected by a strip of basketry wide enough to cover the top of the pack-saddle so that the two containers will hang at the sides. The paniers are filled with whatever objects are to be transported, generally simply thrown in. Soft objects, such as blankets or sacks of grain, are set on top of the flat portion, and long ones, such as tools with handles, are lashed to the sides. A water jug of porous earthenware is often thrust into one of the paniers in such a position that it can be easily extracted. After the load has been placed, a cord is run between the handles of the *shwari*, drawn tight over the top, and carried under the animal's belly as a girth.

492 Camels have no packsaddles. A long, flapping type of *shwari* is sometimes used, without girth. This falls off whenever the camel becomes excited and breaks into a run. A more efficient method of packing these animals is by tying packages on either side of the hump, as can be seen in the illustrations in plate 8.

Horses, mules, and donkeys are ridden, horses either bareback or with an Arab saddle, imported from the Arab cities of Morocco. These saddles are expensive and difficult to obtain, hence bareback riding is the usual type. Riffians make notably poor riders, except for the tribesmen of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, who are accustomed to that means of locomotion. The bridle is generally imported and of Arab manufacture.

Mules and donkeys are ridden with the *hallas*, either bare or with the addition of a *shwari* and its load. Bridles are never used with donkeys and seldom with mules, a simple hackamore acting as substitute. Mule bridles, when used, are imported from Fez or other Arab centres.

Camels are almost never ridden by the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. They are used for transport and for milk, and attempts at riding them are sporadic and experimental.

481 In general, riding is an exceptional method of travelling, and the Riffian in most cases journeys on foot. Because of the ruggedness of the country, he can often make better time that way than if he were to ride. The Riffian can walk for long periods over the roughest ground without showing signs of fatigue, often bursting into trots for several miles at a time

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

TRANSPORT 2

492
291

Donkey with *halles* and *shouri*, Gzennaya

Donkey transport, Ajdir

Mule with *halles* and *shouri*,
Beni Bu Frah

Camels, showing method of attaching small loads, Metalsa

[facing p. 42]

322
●492
326

INDUSTRIES I

Shoeing a mule, Tigwisa, Ghoosara

A negroid smith at his portable anvil, Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Beni Bu Nsar men with their sawed planks in market, Suk el Tnine, Taghanth

Taghanthi carpenter planing a board

[P. 60(2)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 RM MX3

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

325 412 mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. [171] The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

325 531 Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern [171] is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

[326] 411 The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibshen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

326 ●492 231 The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

326 563 The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The population density, 65 individuals per sq. km., although not the highest in Spanish Morocco, is a greater number of people than the land, which is one of the most infertile in the Protectorate, can effectively support. In the last century the Aith Wuryāghil found blood-feuding a sure outlet to reduce their overpopulation, but, at, the present time, as they are no longer allowed to carry firearms, the population problem is met by a large annual exodus of ablebodied tribesmen to the plains of western Algeria, where they help out with the barley, wheat, olive and grape harvests on the farms of French colons. The terrible drought in the Rīf in 1945 precipitated emigration to a previously unheard of degree, and today the number of people from Aith Wuryāghil who are living and working outside the Rīf is greater than ever before.

Those who stay at home follow an annual agricultural cycle in which cereal cultivation is extensively practiced, particularly that of barley. They plow and sow their fields in the autumn and winter, and reap and thresh the grain the following summer. The straw is piled up into circular, conical silos (*athmūn*, pl. *ithmūnen*) to be used in the winter as fodder for the animals, of which cattle and goats are the most important, sheep less so. Mules and donkeys are employed as beasts of burden, while horses, owing to the extreme poverty of the people and the mountainous configuration of the terrain, are virtually non-existent. All, without exception, keep chickens and, inevitably, dogs, while in certain favored areas apiculture is practiced; the bees of Jabal Ḥammām produce the finest honey which it has ever been my good fortune to sample.

Although barley is the most important cash crop (the barley harvest of 1953 was the best on record), the Aith Wuryāghil spend comparatively little time working their grain fields, not more than three or four months a year, all told; it is their trees which receive the bulk of their attention. The most common trees are fig, pomegranate and almond in the Bay of Alhucemas, with olive substituted for pomegranate in the mountains; they are all pruned, watered, grafted and fertilized with great assiduousness, for dried figs and almonds constitute the principal food reserves during the winters, after the grains have been eaten. The same is true of raisins, and the cultivation of grape vines is extensively practiced in the mountains near Sūq al-Arbaʿ of Taurīrt.

226 tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not
[619] frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 823 184 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 443 492 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are afterwards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 685 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

Chapter 2

LIVELIHOOD

243 The primary economic activity in the Central Rif is the cultivation of barley. The agricultural cycle is marked by the [221] planting and harvesting of this crop. Ploughing begins during the months between October and January depending on the occurrence of the first rain which is necessary to soften the soil. [407] Breaking the soil is done by wooden ploughs though the blades are made of metal. The terrain is first weeded and cleared of small rocks by the children of the family. Then the father, an 243 older son or a hired man commences the ploughing. Two animals, • 492 one on each side of the plough, are used. Mules are preferred, but rarely does a man have two. Thus, there is a bizarre mixture of animals including combinations of donkeys, cows and mules. The value of animals on the market is at its highest in this season since everyone needs them for ploughing.

243 After the land has been ploughed by the animals it is [412] broken even finer by the use of a hand hoe. When the land has been sufficiently prepared, the seed is sown by hand. Once the barley has been planted there is no further care of the fields. The crop is dry farmed and its yield depends entirely on the amount of rainfall it receives during the winter.

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the profes- [533] sional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 524 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

443 The third group is those merchants who exclusively sell
442 at the market. As noted above, this is merely an analytic device. Empirically, a buyer in one market will be a seller in another. It is only the special ecological conditions of the Rif which separate the two categories in the marketplaces. There is, however, a major dichotomy which splits this group, based mainly on scale of operation. On the one hand are the large-scale sellers who resemble, in terms of organization, the large-scale buyers and who derive their profit mainly through the transportational facility. On the other hand, we have the small-scale merchant who sells his goods and services only in a cycle of small local markets.

443 The small-scale sellers hold in common with the large merchants only the fact that their basic activity is to sell. The difference is essentially in scale. The small-scale merchant or occupational specialist travels from one market within a carefully defined region to the next market. He has no connections outside his immediate circuit and gets from one place [494] [492] to the next on public transportation or mule. He has little knowledge of market conditions outside his immediate view of [435] [437] a single market. His prices, which may involve a good deal of bargaining, vary only slightly from customer to customer and from market to market. He may be divided into two empirical 443 445 categories: those who sell services, such as barbers, butchers, shoe repairmen, food vendors, blacksmiths, solderers, etc., and those who keep a small inventory of nonperishable goods, such

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

seldom seen except in the European quarters of the larger towns. When a feast is in prospect, food is sometimes boiled in earthen pots set about an open fire. Wood fires also heat bake ovens. But most if not all Moroccan cooking is done over a charcoal brazier, consisting of an iron pot and tripod or simply an old gasoline tin. The brazier is used several times a day to boil water for tea; indeed, more fuel is consumed in this process than in cooking. Blacksmiths and other craftsmen rely upon charcoal, and lime kilns are found near every town.

Charcoal is a valuable fuel, for it has about twice the heating power of wood and burns without flame or smoke. In Morocco wood is converted to charcoal in shallow pits thinly covered with earth. But this process of partial combustion is extremely wasteful, since much of the volatile material in the wood is lost. The best charcoal is obtained from the denser hardwoods, especially the oaks. *Quercus Ilex* is the preferred wood, and this preference helps to explain the degraded aspect of most stands of this tree. The cork oak, the kermes oak, the oleaster, *Pistacia lentiscus, Rhus pentaphylla,* and *Arbutus Unedo* also yield excellent charcoal. Where the choice of wood is limited, many shrubs are utilized, and all available trees. No reliable estimate of the amount of charcoal annually consumed in northern Morocco has ever been published, but it must be enormous, for a charcoal brazier of some sort burns in every home.[a] During any day of the year, women and animals may be seen carrying loads of wood or charcoal to the cities and towns (pl. 8, *b*).

Mud brick or stone usually forms the walls of houses, but wood is always required for the rafters. In the deforested eastern sector, houses are built long and narrow so that branches and twigs can be used as a covering. When available, slender riparian or coniferous trees are used as rafters, but in most of northern Morocco such trees cannot be obtained.

Riparian forests are rare today apart from some canyons in the mountains, where the remaining stands of *Salix, Alnus, Populus, Vitex,* and *Crataegus* become thinner each year. *Nerium oleander,* the riparian "tree" of the hills and plains, is of little value in construction, and the oleaster and oaks are usually too massive or knarred.

The common type of house in Gal'aya and the Rif is well adapted to an environment poor in timber. In the Rifian dialect the word for "sloping roof" (*thazukha*) is the general word for all roofs, whereas a special word (*asthih*) is used for the now prevalent flat roofs.[b] The fact that the generalized word for roof is the same as that for a sloping one indicates greater antiquity for the latter variety. There is evidence that flat and narrow houses of the eastern type have recently replaced dwellings demanding more wood along the entire western frontier of the Rif.[c]

---

most of this production has been consumed by factories in the Casablanca district and by the railroads of northern Africa. Fernand Joly *et al., Géographie du Maroc* (Paris: Delagrave, 1949), pp. 135–136.

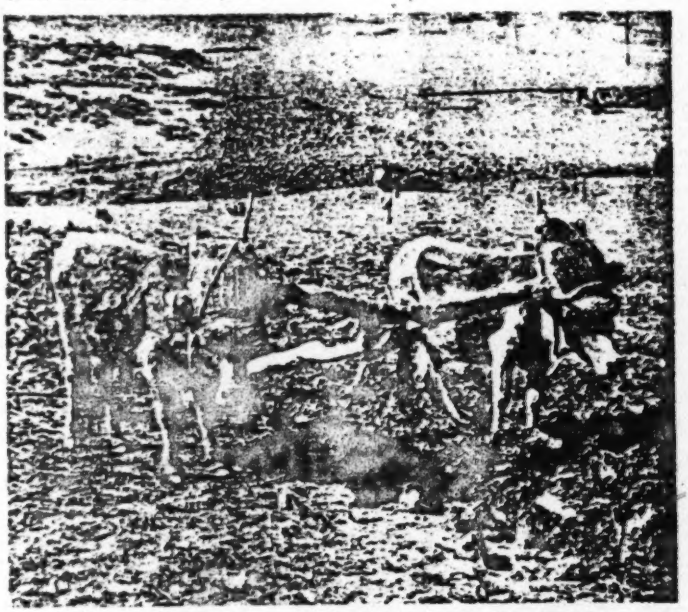
[a] The estimate of "four to five metric tons" published by the Spanish forestry service takes account only of commercial operations. E. González Vázquez, *El Marruecos forestal* (Madrid: Ediciones Técnicas, 1945), p. 72.

[b] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies,* 9 (1931), 69.

[c] Coon, *loc. cit.,* traces this change to the burning of houses during feuds in the pre-protectorate period, and to the fact that many families found it difficult to obtain lumber after the end of Abd al-Krim's rebellion. For evidence of changes in recent years, compare his map of house types (p. 71) with fig. 15 of the present study.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

J
407
492



a. Plow of Jbalan type with high yoke set on foreheads of oxen.

R
291
407
492

b. Mixed team in Garet.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramaḍān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imzūren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Gizināya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith 'Alī u 'Aisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj 'Abd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the [533] groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the professional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 594 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyia in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a djnoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[782] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi, where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, especially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrimage is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa. (A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

641 To partake in such leadership requires wealth since the trip
648 itself is expensive (the only form of public transportation
556 from the Rif to Rabat is by bus and these men eschew this in
619 favor of splitting the expense of a taxi ride of several hundred
[494] miles) and the per diem allowance is more a token than anything realistic.

Some men have gracefully retired from positions of community leadership because of expenses such as these. If over a period of years one declines to go to such ceremonies because of ill health or pressing familial affairs, the person is quietly dropped from the list of the invited and another local man is
556 substituted. Expenses for maintaining such a social position are not small in relationship to the amount of wealth available even to the better-off Berber. On the other hand, wealth alone does not qualify one for a position of political prominence and social prestige. The importance of a man is based not on his wealth <u>per se</u> but rather what sort of wealth it is and how he came by it. Wealth divorced from such critical factors cannot be translated by the Riffian into socially meaningful significance. To operate within the context of profit is to operate outside the complex of social responsibility and communal soli-
556 darity. Thus while there are entrepreneurs in the Rif, they do
472 not have the social prestige that goes with traditional wealth in land. This distinction could be illustrated by numerous examples but the following cases were selected because they

443 The third group is those merchants who exclusively sell
442 at the market. As noted above, this is merely an analytic device. Empirically, a buyer in one market will be a seller in another. It is only the special ecological conditions of the Rif which separate the two categories in the marketplaces. There is, however, a major dichotomy which splits this group, based mainly on scale of operation. On the one hand are the large-scale sellers who resemble, in terms of organization, the large-scale buyers and who derive their profit mainly through the transportational facility. On the other hand, we have the small-scale merchant who sells his goods and services only in a cycle of small local markets.

443 The small-scale sellers hold in common with the large merchants only the fact that their basic activity is to sell. The difference is essentially in scale. The small-scale merchant or occupational specialist travels from one market within a carefully defined region to the next market. He has no con-
[494] [492] nections outside his immediate circuit and gets from one place to the next on public transportation or mule. He has little knowledge of market conditions outside his immediate view of
[435] [437] a single market. His prices, which may involve a good deal of bargaining, vary only slightly from customer to customer and
443 445 from market to market. He may be divided into two empirical categories: those who sell services, such as barbers, butchers, shoe repairmen, food vendors, blacksmiths, solderers, etc., and those who keep a small inventory of nonperishable goods, such

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 In my humble opinion there is more than enough water for the surface area which can be irrigated; and so much more, in fact, that the amount which is lost is greater than that which is put to use.

312 (499) Calculating grosso modo an irrigable area of 5000 hectars, bounded by the main road on the west, as well as a subalveal flow of over 1 cubic meter per second from the Nkur River, according to the approximate calculations made when the supports of the new bridge (i.e. crossing the river at Km. 20 to the Axt Tuzin and Melilla) were set up, it would not be far off the mark to estimate the flow in both rivers, plus that of Thifarwin (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) at some 3 cubic meters per second, or 10,000 cubic meters per hour; and this would give daily 48 cubic meters per hectar under permanent irrigation.

Most of this water is now lost in the sea....and represents several millions of pesetas lost while technicians, policy makers and businessmen show no iterest.

(591) (435) (241) It should be remembered that a single turn of irrigation water every eight days costs 500 to 600 duros in the Plain of al-Husaima, and continually produces two harvests a year.

Ghis:

Ditch of Bufma'iz -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 131 liters per second

Ditch of r-Bzimma -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 46 liters per second

Nkur:

Ditch of Aghzar Amzzyan -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Thimsamsn -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Sidd Jdid -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

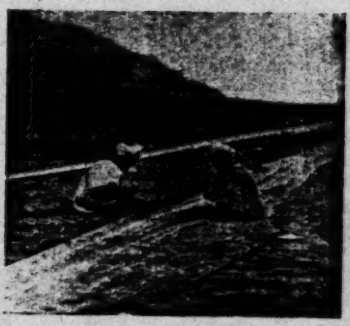
Ditch of 'Ain Harri -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of Swani -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

NAVIGATION AND FISHING 1

Fishing boat of the Masuna



Repairing a seine, Tiguisas, Ghomara

501
226

Hauling a net ashore, Tiguisas

Fishing seine showing Ghomaran boat type

[facing p. 34]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

NAVIGATION

The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thagharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thagharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *izhizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkathafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in felucca rig.

Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks. The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara, where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Wafi, of the Beni Urriaghel.

Fines to be imposed:

Harka members: for each day of absence, two (days to be served) in the harka, and a fine of 2 duros.

Qa'ids of 25 men: the same, with a fine of 3 duros.

Qa'ids of 50 men: the same, with a fine of 4 duros.

Qa'ids of 100 men: the same, with a fine of 5 duros.

Qa'ids of 200 men: the same, with a fine of 6 duros.

This is an order emanating from the fortunate Makhzin (i.e. of 'Abd al-Krim). May God protect it. In Taghzut on Ramadan 23, 1344 (March 8, 1926). By order of 'Abd al-Karim bin Ziyan.[110]

12. DOCUMENT OF EXEMPTION FROM PAYMENT OF TAXES[111]:

Praise be to the one God. The blessings of God be upon our (lord) Muhammad, his family and friends.

It shall be known through the present document that we, taking into consideration the services rendered to the Makhzin and the taxes which because of hospitable attentions with warlike objectives (holy war) weigh upon the bearers, the sons of the late Si Ahmad bin Si 'Ali al-Tawti are exempted by us from the contributions concerned....The 'amil, in virtue of this, orders that they not be asked of them....And the peace.

Safar 18 of the year 1341 (October 10, 1922). Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, may God be with him, amen. (Signed and sealed).

13. QANUN OF THE SEA--AITH WARYAGHAR[112]:

A) The Boat Owner:

He owns the boat (agharrabu, pl. igharruba)[113], acquired by transfer, sale, already used or repaired by carpenters on the beach, of whom there are still a few[114].

of whom there are still a few[114]. In the business, he represents the industrial member and as such he has a right to part of the profits[115], because of the fact that the fishing equipment is also ordinarily his property; and he has the right to appoint a master, the technical director of the business, whose obligations are limited to the maintenance and renovation of the equipment and to fishing. He may transfer the business voluntarily, taking back the equipment, either to sell it or simply to leave it grounded, even though the season may not be over. The construction of a covered shelter for the boats on the beach is his responsibility.

B) The Crew:

The master (ra'is) of the boat, appointed by the owner[116]...., is the technical director of the business and he is therefore responsible for any property damages or injuries which can be justified, if they can be imputed to his unskillfulness or ill-will. He is given a free hand to select, appoint and discharge the individuals who have to make up his crew, of which he is the head, without the necessity of the consent of the owner; he is in charge of the selection of points of putting down the nets, fishing, embarkation and disembarkation, admission of merchandise and passengers, selection of shelters, collection of money, auctions and the responsibility for settlement of accounts; and while on board he is authorized to impose discipline by any means in extreme and necessary cases, and he must show the owner any necessary repairs or acquisitions which fall under his inspection. He is principally in charge of the working of the boat, and it is he who sets the course of direction. He appoints a second-in-command.

501 466 The crew must obey the master in the working of the boat, as their job includes all operations, including loading and unloading. They can transfer at will (to another boat) whenever they like, in which case they are reimbursed with the gross value of their part of the profits, and in justifiable absences, such as short illnesses, the death of some relative, etc., there is no discount from their wages, if they are co-participants in the business; but this requires justification in front of the master and the consent of the rest of the crew, as well as previous warning.....

226 501 In fishing boats, they are accountable for the maintenance; in boats of transport, they have charge of the profits.

226 434 C) Profits:

1) Fishing in a boat with net: the gross value of the sale is divided into two equal parts, one for the master and one for the crew. In addition to this, the master also receives one-seventh of the owner's share.

2) Fishing in a boat with hook: the gross value of the catch is divided into three equal parts; one for the owner of the appartus (net, lines, hooks....), another (not listed, probably a typographical error) and the last for the crew. Those who haul the nets on shore receive a few kilos of fish.

3) Fishing with explosives: three equal parts, two for the owner of the explosives and the third for the swimmer.

505 434 4) Transport of Travelers and Merchandise: the profits of the trip, after maintenance expenses and port duties have been discounted, i.e. the true profit, are analogously divided into two parts, in the same proportion as in the case of fishing boats.

to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting themselves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjin (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this qamun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analogous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

501 (505) (226) This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

283 277 178 501 They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

423 A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

423 574 271

000 here. We have never seen or heard of them.

[463] [396] 114--There was a master boatbuilder who lived on the beach of Aith Bu Dawud in the Thimsaman, none in the Aith Waryaghar. He had no helpers in 1954, and got 500 pesetas and his food from future boat owners for building a boat.

115--The usual arrangement in this case is that the profits are split in half, one-half for the owner of the boat and the other half for the ra'is and the crew.

● 501 463 226 116--Each boat has a ra'is and a crew of four or five men. Sometimes, though rarely, the owner of the boat will be a different individual altogether; more often, however, the ra'is himself is the owner. It is also common for three or four fishermen to go shares on the price of an agharrabu or moruna (another common fishing boat of the same type, but smaller and of Spanish make), and they elect the most capable among them to be ra'is. If, for instance, there is a ra'is and a crew of four, the money from the sale of the catch is split six ways, the ra'is getting two parts. Before any division is made, however, 15-25 pesetas are given to the mule and donkey men who transport the fish to the tribal markets, while small boys who help pull the nets ashore receive one or two kilos of the catch.

[434]

226 The mouth of the Nkur River, emptying into the Mediterranean on the eastern side of the Plain of Al-Husaima, is an ideal place to fish, particularly in the area around Swani (Thimsaman). A boat takes the net (dhrarsha) out, leaving one of two ropes on the beach in the hands of a number of men or boys. When it has reached the end of the rope length, the net is let out in a semi-circle, with curled up ends, resembling a snail. The boat is then rowed back to shore, and the other rope then handed out to a second group of men and boys, as far away from the first rope as possible. When fish begin to collect in any quantity, each group starts pulling in on the ropes, lessening the distance between them as they do so. If the catch promises to be big, the agharrabu goes out again, to be rowed in behind the net in case of trouble. The site of the net is determined by the crew, who know where the fish are by watching places where birds dive into the water. After the net is hauled up on the beach, the crowd rushes out to scoop up the still leaping fish into baskets. They are put on a common pile in the sand, and the division of the catch begins. During the season, boats go out twice a day, in mornings and afternoons. Late summer is the heaviest season, and the ra'is and crew sleep and eat on the beach. They always have to be on the lookout for breaks in the nets and for fish which enter. At other times of year, after laying the nets out to dry, all go home and return in the morning; but with morunas, one person is always there, day or night, as a guard.

000 117--Capt. Gardiner was an English adventurer who ran guns to 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War; and Si l-Hadi n Dadi, of the lineage of Thighanimin, subclan of Izimurren, clan of Izimmuren, tribe of Ibuqquyen, still lives in Alhucemas (1961). During the Rifian War, in 1924, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to Paris with Si Muhand Uzarqan, the Rifian Foreign Minister, to try to preserve good relations with the French (which were broken when 'Abd al-Krim invaded the French Zone of Morocco the following year). After the war, Si l-Hadi eventually became, under the Spaniards, khalifa to the pasha of Al-Husaima, then known as Villa Sanjurjo.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 1

SOCIAL HISTORY

133 The Rif is a chain of rugged mountains stretching along the Mediterranean coastline from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Moulouya River. Composed almost entirely of sedimentary and metamorphic rock, it is an extension of the Cordillera Penibotica of Spain. While the mountains are somewhat lower than those of the Atlas, they are just as steep. The invaders of Morocco invariably skirted the Rif and proceeded through the Taza Corridor. If the mountains are foreboding, the coastline is no less so. [504] The entire stretch from Río Martin to Melilla is devoid of ship shelter except for the break in the bay of Alhucemas, the small cove at Puerto Capaz, and the deltas of Wad Lao, Rhis, Nekor, and Bados.

133 131 The area which will be discussed is located in the center of this mountain chain in what is now called the Province of Alhucemas. The Tamazight-speakers of this region lived, until very recently, in a social and economic backwash. The presence of a rugged, inaccessible coast isolated them from Mediterranean contact except for the few points mentioned above. The mountain chain, on the other hand, served as an effective barrier to the interior of the country. The Rif was thus isolated from the rest of Morocco by natural boundaries. The social and political consequences of this shall be discussed below.

633 [504] The area is administered today from the small port and provincial capital of Alhucemas. The growth of this urban center, fishing port, and tourist attraction is but a recent [175] phenomenon. The city, founded in 1925 with the invasion of a Spanish fleet, has been the focal point for whatever innovation that has occurred in the Central Rif in this century.

133 361 Directly behind the city of Alhucemas is a flat plain. Although the land here is rich it was uninhabited prior to the Spanish because the terrain was indefensible during times of feuds. The original population was situated in the foothills [712] and higher mountains. Here homesteads were scattered and since they also served as garrisons or fortresses they were located on hills or ridges which could be defended militarily.

133 The area is not well served by rivers, the principal ones being the Rhis and the Nekor. The former rises in the Sonhaja area and empties into the Mediterranean at Alhucemas. The latter starts in Igzinnayen territory to flow along the border of the Beni Wariyaghar and the Beni Tuzin, emptying into the bay at [312] [161] Alhucemas. Both these rivers and their tributaries are used for irrigation and the population density is higher along them. There are also a good many natural springs (generally regarded as holy sites) and wells have been successfully dug in some of the valleys.

132 Rainfall varies annually and at times disastrously. At the weather station in Alhucemas during the decade 1946-1955, rainfall ranged from 8.5 inches to 16.9 inches. Although the

442 Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and
443 we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.
472 Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade
[262] has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though
cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas
226 has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently
[504] rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation,
[178] while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several
[648] centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish
protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards
but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered
442 into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market
443 their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the
472 catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men,
438 in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the
appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually
carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy
a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building
of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by
entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present
[262] the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets
two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest
fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the
poor.

443 Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local
442 <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer
438

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

applied to this zone, which includes northern Morocco's highest mountains and principal watershed.[3] Adrar[4] Tidighin, highest of the Sanhajan mountains, rises to 2,456 meters and is snow-capped during six months of the year (plate 1, *b*).

Margins of the Rif Chain

From Bab Taza northward the karstic mountains of Bani Hassan form the principal arc of the Rif chain. West of this range the highland complex consists of a series of outliers trending northwest to southeast. Several of these ridges are more than 1,000 meters in elevation, and the highest peaks, Jbil Sugna and Jbil Buhashim, exceed 1,500 meters. A line drawn from Tangier to a point about 30 kilometers east of Ksar al-Kebir marks the division between the Rif highlands and the hills and terraces of the Atlantic littoral.[5]

The eastern margin of the Rif highlands is difficult to delimit. The main arc extends to a point about halfway between Alhucemas and Melilla. Mountainous terrain is found farther to the east, but its structure and lithology are different. The Rif chain is composed almost entirely of sedimentary and metamorphic rocks. Volcanism is evident from the eastern edge of the Nkour Valley to the Algerian frontier. The largest volcanic feature is Adrar Gurugú (886 meters), a composite cone of basalt and andesite behind Melilla. A number of smaller cones dot the plains of Garet and Gal'aya, and the promontories at the bay of Alhucemas and the Melilla peninsula are formed of trachyte and andesite. A large part of Gal'aya and Garet was submerged in Tertiary time. This lowland area includes the flattish plains of recent alluvium extending inland from Nador, and hill sections formed by recent stream dissection of Tertiary and Pleistocene sediments. The small range of Ikibdhanen appears to be an anticline. This range and the Kar-Kar highland were formed prior to the period of Rifian orogeny.

The Three Coasts

Most of northern Morocco is isolated by the Rif mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. The Atlantic façade, even more hostile to maritime life, has been the country's best rampart. Since these two shores are of little value, the coast facing Gibraltar has played a preponderant role.

Straight and shelterless, the Atlantic façade is indented only by mediocre harbors and poor estuaries. A series of marine terraces, mostly of Pliocene or Miocene age, dominates the littoral from Arcila to Larache. Quaternary dunes line the coast from Larache to and beyond the old interzonal frontier. The plain of Wad Lukkus is the largest zone of alluvial soil on the Atlantic coast and the only area in northern Morocco where agriculture is almost entirely mechanized. The small coastal plain on the frontier between the former Spanish and international zones is poorly drained and swampy most of the year.

Cliffs of Cretaceous or Eocene sandstone line the Strait of Gibraltar from Cape

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

[3] The best description of this area appears in the log of the excursion sponsored by the Société de Géographie du Maroc in March, 1957; see *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 43–46.

[4] I use the Berber *adrar* rather than the Moroccan Arabic *jbil* because this peak is in an area of Berber speech.

[5] I am omitting the pre-Rifian foothill zone, immediately south of the area shown on the maps. For a description of that zone see Maurer, *op. cit.*, and Jean Dresch, *Essai sur l'évolution du relief dans la région prérifaine* (Paris: Larose, 1933).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization, but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

Climate

The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude, irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[1]

Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[1] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

501 The crew must obey the master in the working of the boat, as
466 their job includes all operations, including loading and unloading. They can transfer at will (to another boat) whenever they like, in which case they are reimbursed with the gross value of their part of the profits, and in justifiable absences, such as short illnesses, the death of some relative, etc., there is no discount from their wages, if they are co-participants in the business; but this requires justification in front of the master and the consent of the rest of the crew, as well as previous warning.....

226 In fishing boats, they are accountable for the maintenance;
501 in boats of transport, they have charge of the profits.

226 C) Profits:
434

1) Fishing in a boat with net: the gross value of the sale is divided into two equal parts, one for the master and one for the crew. In addition to this, the master also receives one-seventh of the owner's share.

2) Fishing in a boat with hook: the gross value of the catch is divided into three equal parts; one for the owner of the appartus (net, lines, hooks....), another (not listed, probably a typographical error) and the last for the crew. Those who haul the nets on shore receive a few kilos of fish.

3) Fishing with explosives: three equal parts, two for the owner of the explosives and the third for the swimmer.

505 4) Transport of Travelers and Merchandise: the profits of the
434 trip, after maintenance expenses and port duties have been discounted, i.e. the true profit, are analogously divided into two parts, in the same proportion as in the case of fishing boats.

D) Repairs:

227 The expense of the periodic tarring of the net is borne equally by all those who are concerned in the business, the master and the owner hiring two more crewmen. This operation is usually performed every month and a half. The same happens with repairs to the net (thread, etc.).

The acquisition of new gear or repairs to the existing equipment are held to the account of the owner, always if, through use, it has been damaged by the sea; but if the damage has been intentional, then the gross value is demanded of the individual who caused it in front of an arbiter (theft, boarding the boat, etc.).

Each crew member must acquire annually, for the fishing gear, three pieces of cord, each one some 15 meters in length. The rest, up to the necessary length of the net, is taken care of by the owner. The master does nothing.

The straps are improvised with left-over pieces of rope earlier, and in the latter case they are cut from this. When a crew member transfers, leaves or is discharged, he cannot take the piece of rope which he originally supplied.

E) Travelers and Merchandise:

505 When the trip is contracted by the master and the hour of departure fixed by him, the sails are hoisted a short distance off shore, and by this time, if a traveler changes his mind and wants to go back to shore, he is taken ashore at the first opportunity, but he must pay for the trip already contracted.

505 With respect to merchandise, if because of a storm they lose all or part of it, the rest, once on land, is sold and the proceeds divided into equal parts by all the owners whose merchandise made up the boat's cargo, although the sales may not be from it (this is a kind of insurance); on the other hand, objects lost by the traveler have no indemnity at all. This favored and gave security to the business.

Once at the point of destination, the crew is in charge of unloading and storage on the beach or in the port, as well as custody of the cargo for three days, after which they are not responsible for loss or damages, and at the end of which they collect the proceeds of the freight from the consignee.

226 F) The Profession of Fishing:

The masters are chosen from among men known by everybody for their maritime knowledge and practice, and these in turn choose their crews.

The profession of fishing in jurisdictional waters, i.e. those which bathe the coast of the tribe (of Aith Waryaghar), was free, without subjection to taxes or any other obstacle, having no limitations other than that of not entering at the same time any area where another individual has his net spread, and of not entering certain others, such as the Cala del Quemado and Cala de Bonita, which because of the difficulties of their depths, a boat must not enter until the one inside has left. If two boats are waiting, the one which has first arrived in [LOR] the area enters first. Also, it is ordinarily permissible to fish in front of the coast of another tribe, provided that relations with this

This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

671 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred
771 Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian
182 appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for tran-
[778] scendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition
[782] to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice,
[779] the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian,
[574] an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of
182 the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic
614 practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in
619 writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the
182 maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting in-
628 delibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount
681 of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and
[511] it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which
628 can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real
681 ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality,
184 differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at
443

1sCoon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Ref 1003
[Village of Ulad 'Abd al-Mumin]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.

776 practices and beliefs it was said that a person who sees meat and is not
264 allowed to taste it gets angry and is therefore attacked by the jnun haunting the meat, and also that the jnun haunting the person may hurt him because they do not get the meat they are longing for. We must not expect very clear ideas with regard to haunted objects; yet both explanations well agree with the fact that some of the customs in question have particular reference to women and children, who are more than others exposed to the attacks of jnun. If a person offers another meat the latter must accept it, even though he does not want to eat it; only an enemy can refuse such an offer, since a refusal would be attended with very serious consequences for the person who offered it—he may even die (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Sadden). But I have also heard that the bas, or evil, will fall upon the person who refuses to accept the meat (Hiaina), or that both parties will have to suffer (Ait Waryager).

776 [280] Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for
514 food are extremely haunted. The Ait Waryager say that there are
753 Jewish jnun in the dung-heap (dazubait, in Arabic zebbala) of the household; and water-closets and drains are favourite abodes of jnun. In this connection some beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour may be mentioned in addition to those noticed before. When a person does his needs he should cover his head with his hayek or the hood (qobb) of his jellaba, he must look neither right nor left, and if he speaks his children will be qora, that is, affected with ringworm (Fez). If a boy does his needs on the road—nobody but a boy can do such a thing—he will have boils (Ulad Bu aziz); the Ait Waryager say that he must be a bastard (mmis rahram). If a person makes water on the road, the bas enters underneath his nails and and makes them diseased (Andjra) or he will have hangnails (Ait Waryager) or he will be forgetful (Fez).

776 [293] Jnun also haunt the fire and the fire-place (in Arabic
372 l-kanun; in Berber takat or takkat [Sheliha], almssi [Ait Sadden],
513 tahfurt n tmssi [Ait Warain], dagandort [Ait Waryager]). If a person sleeps with his head near the fireplace, he is very liable to be struck by them; some people say that he will never get well again, while according to others he will have a headache or be troubled with bad dreams.

776 [294] To throw out a brand from the fire-place when it is raining
372 makes the angels blind (Hiaina); indeed, fire ought never to be thrown

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water,[1] since
776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama qalil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health". A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [307] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
●[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [307] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
784 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. – Analyst]

776 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] [304] Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

[305] For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[784] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[307] The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

[308] The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] [309] Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

784 since the barley would otherwise be bad for the animal, and when he
778 gives it he should say the bismillah; I was told that these rules owe
834 their origin to the baraka of the barley (Hiaina). When you stroke the back of such an animal you should not do it with your palm but with the outer side of your hand, since the palm may be unclean (ibid.).

● 514 [234] Like sexual uncleanness, excremental impurity is injurious
784 to baraka. A person ought not to sleep inside a mosque, because
778 during sleep he may have a nightly pollution or break wind or make water. If anybody breaks wind in a mosque he kills thereby the angels in it or makes them blind, or at any rate displeases them, and he will himself fall ill or become poor. I have seen men remove their trousers before prayer, since no prayer will be accepted from a person in a state of uncleanness. Nobody is allowed to pray in a place where there are excrements of any other animals but such as are used for food, that is, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Urination and evacuation must not take place in the direction of Mecca; in the case of the former the person should have his face turned westward, in the case of the latter north- or south-wards. It is forbidden to do one's needs or urinate in the sea. It is also forbidden to do such things in a river or a pond. He who urinates in water will be struck by a jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden) or urinate blood after his death (Ait Waryager).

784 [239] Baraka may be spoiled by contact with the ground and its
778 impurities. The prayer-place of a Muhammadan must be clean;
782 hence a Moor of the better class often carried under his arm a coloured felt-cloth on which he kneels when he says his prayers, or a cloak is for the same purpose spread on the ground. Yet people may pray on the bare ground if the sun is shining on it. Neither the Koran, nor any other book containing the name of God, nor the writing-boards of schoolboys, must be placed on the ground, at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place; and even where the ground is clean a scribe would not leave on it the book which he consults when he writes a charm, for fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy. A t ebrid loses its power if it falls to the ground. Another written charm may perhaps in similar circumstances retain its efficacy if it is at once put in wheat or barley to be purified, but if anybody has trampled upon it its baraka is irremediably lost (Ait Waryager).

784 [243] Milk and butter are very liable to be injured by the evil
272 eye, witchcraft, or other evil influences, and are therefore in need of many precautions.

776 practices and beliefs it was said that a person who sees meat and is not
264 allowed to taste it gets angry and is therefore attacked by the jnun haunting the meat, and also that the jnun haunting the person may hurt him because they do not get the meat they are longing for. We must not expect very clear ideas with regard to haunted objects; yet both explanations well agree with the fact that some of the customs in question have particular reference to women and children, who are more than others exposed to the attacks of jnun. If a person offers another meat the latter must accept it, even though he does not want to eat it; only an enemy can refuse such an offer, since a refusal would be attended with very serious consequences for the person who offered it—he may even die (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Sadden). But I have also heard that the bas, or evil, will fall upon the person who refuses to accept the meat (Hiaina), or that both parties will have to suffer (Ait Waryager).

776 [280] Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for
514 food are extremely haunted. The Ait Waryager say that there are
753 Jewish jnun in the dung-heap (dazubait, in Arabic zebbala) of the household; and water-closets and drains are favourite abodes of jnun. In this connection some beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour may be mentioned in addition to those noticed before. When a person does his needs he should cover his head with his hayek or the hood (qobb) of his jellaba, he must look neither right nor left, and if he speaks his children will be qora, that is, affected with ringworm (Fez). If a boy does his needs on the road—nobody but a boy can do such a thing—he will have boils (Ulad Bu aziz); the Ait Waryager say that he must be a bastard (mmis rahram). If a person makes water on the road, the bas enters underneath his nails and and makes them diseased (Andjra) or he will have hangnails (Ait Waryager) or he will be forgetful (Fez).

776 [293] Jnun also haunt the fire and the fire-place (in Arabic
372 l-kanun; in Berber takat or takkat [Sheliha], almssi [Ait Sadden],
513 tahfurt n tmssi [Ait Warain], dagandort [Ait Waryager]). If a person sleeps with his head near the fireplace, he is very liable to be struck by them; some people say that he will never get well again, while according to others he will have a headache or be troubled with bad dreams.

776 [294] To throw out a brand from the fire-place when it is raining
372 makes the angels blind (Hiaina); indeed, fire ought never to be thrown

789 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathic magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough. Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

789 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it by having a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops at once and makes water on them.

● [514]

777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Ait Waryager).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

host are present, food is served them in a room separate from that commonly occupied by the family. The host is present, but does not partake unless urged to do so by the guest. The host's wife appears only to bring in and take out the food, which she does as rapidly and unostentatiously as possible.

In regard to actual table manners, but a few points serve to distinguish the Riffian from the Arab usage. The Riffian washes his hands with hot water and soap and wipes them on a towel before eating, providing he has soap and a towel, otherwise he washes them with water and dries them on whatever piece of cloth will serve the purpose. After eating he rinses his hands and dries them. He does not indulge in the gargling and spitting practised by the Arabs while washing. He does not expectorate on the floor and walls as do Arabs, nor does he belch to show his appreciation of the meal. In the actual technique of eating, however, from the sacramental breaking of bread to the pouring of tea, little difference can be found, except that the Riffians use wooden spoons more and their hands less than do Arabs.

776 778 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall [681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is whole-
● 515 some to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same
789 vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a
778 wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with [754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water,[1] since
776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama q-lil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health". A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [302] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [302] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
789 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. — Analyst]

716 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] /304/ Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

/305/ For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[184] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

/307/ The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

/308/ The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] /309/ Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

796 [182] The 24th of June, or Midsummer day (Old Style), is called in Arabic l-'ansara (l-ansra); and in Berber l'ansart (Shloh, Ait Warain), l'ansart (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), or t'ainsa (Temsaman).

On that day, or sometimes the evening before, smouldering fires are made in many different parts of Morocco.

[185] On the evening of Midsummer day the Ait Waryager make in their yards fires with poplar (asafsaf) leaves, pennyroyal, and barley straw, over which the people leap.

[187] Besides smoke and fire customs, water ceremonies are [188] frequently practised at Midsummer.

[515] [189] Among the Ait Waryager the people take their bath before sunrise, and those who refrain from doing so are supposed to remain unclean.

796 245 [190] "O God, pray for the sake of the Prophet, the chosen one; dust is better than male figs".

The last-mentioned phrase alludes to the custom, found at Midsummer in various northern tribes (Fahs, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), of hanging bunches of male figs in the female trees. This is said to prevent the fruit from dropping or to make it good, although it really serves as a means of fertilising the female figs by the aid of a very small hymenopter, Blastophaga grossorum, which lays its eggs in the interior of the figs. I was told by a scribe from the Rif that one insect is sufficient to make forty figs good by going in and out of them. The male figs hung in the female trees are wrapped up in straw, esparto (ariy; Ait Waryager), or pennyroyal (flaiyu; Andjra), the smell of which is considered good for the trees. The Rif Berbers and Andjra mountaineers also make a few cuts in the trunks of their fig trees so that the sap oozes out, in order to keep the tree from getting dry and the fruit from falling; and some of them, moreover, hang [754] oleander twigs in their fig trees as a charm against the evil eye. To protect their apple and pear trees from the same enemy, the people of Andjra on Midsummer day suspend from them stone weights stolen from the market-place or hang on them thistles (amgil) taken from the same place.

751 796 [192] The Ait Waryager on Midsummer day press the juice of a grape or two into their eyes to prevent their getting diseased; and in order to rid themselves of fleas they put a flea inside a grape and bury it in the dungheap (dazubait).

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most
common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ijarādhen* (Arabic *bil-jard*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches *(tharghe*, pl. *tharghiwīn)* and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rīf, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

mary to arrange a fixed place beforehand for washing and bathing. Each *jamā'ath* (village, council of notables) works out and agrees on fines for infractions of water rights, particularly with regard to freedom of women; a small boy is stationed at a prudent distance from the women's section of the water, to keep men away (4).

It was Col. Blanco, in his magnificent analysis of Riffian customary law (5) (which has served as an invaluable aid to me in the collection of my own notes on the subject), who first called attention to the fact that in the Bay of Alhucemas, the primary ditches have secondary branches which only take up water for twenty-four hours; if there are four such secondary branches, each one only takes up water every four days. Secondary ditches in turn have tertiary branches, which take up water only during the day, or at night. The tertiary branches lead to the very small ditches of individuals, which take up water for a few hours only, these hours usually being determined by those of the daily prayers. Distribution of water is based on the tribal social structure: a *thārfiqth*, the fundamental social unit, receives water from a secondary ditch on a twenty-four hour basis, while a *jājghū* or patrilineal extended family within the *thārfiqth* may use only a tertiary ditch. If one of these family groups, during one turn, gets its water during the day, it will receive it at night in the following round, and the first in one turn will be the last in the next. All ditches are subject to communal maintenance and all the families who use them must help repair them after heavy rains have washed them out.

Water rights are still carefully regulated by the *'urf*, or unwritten customary law, and custom in respect to water channeled off from the Ghīs is different from that of the Nakūr, owing to the different nature of the rivers themselves. In the Bay of Alhucemas, the best land in the tribe, the flow of water in the lower course of the Ghīs, although slight, is nevertheless constant. The problem created by the Ghīs is that although today its volume has been artificially increased with new concrete beds for the primary ditches of Thafadhna, Bulma'iz and Libzimma, there would still not be enough water to go around if

(4) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 101.
(5) Blanco Izaga, 1939, passim.

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613
554 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
[182] presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its repre-
792 sentatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692
554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692
212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
671 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
521
571 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
[521] circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 562 586 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initiating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 [782] [571] Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match, the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of [593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will [464] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as [427] akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 581 582 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Riffian students deport themselves more or less in conformity with Riffian ideas of morality and decorum. They enjoy practical joking and general jollification, but do not indulge in the hashish smoking and sodomy practiced by students from the Jebala, who bring with them boys ostensibly serving as musical apprentices. Before European occupation, these western students did not meet with a warm reception in the Rif. They were frequently refused entrance to some districts. In others, so many jokes were played upon them that they left hurriedly and never returned.

On one occasion, Jebalan students entered the mosque in a *canton* of the Gsennaya, leaving outside a mule which they had brought with them. They asked for food, and ate more than was thought necessary by the men who provided it. When they asked for more food, one of the men went outside, cut a slice of meat from the mule's rump, cooked it, and then brought it in. The students ate it. One of them, going outside to feed the mule, found its condition, whereupon the students left immediately, and [redacted] of their type have come there since.

Since European occupation, the Riffians have been prevented from excluding the students of the Jebala by such rigorous means. At present many of these undesirables are found in the Rif, to the consternation of the powerless inhabitants, who fear that they will spread their vicious practices among the younger generation.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that of bagpipes. The *zammar* is played by the pipers from Temsaman and other places outside the heart of the Rif. They wander into that region during the month of September to play at weddings.[1]

Besides being musicians, the pipers act as professional wits, specializing in double meanings, usually of an obscene nature. Remarks which would cause a fight if uttered by anyone else are received with great applause when uttered by a piper.

The places whence these players come have already been listed.[2] The range of their professional practice includes Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Temsaman, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, all Gaennaya excepting Shawia, Beni Amart, and Bokoya. Pipers inhabiting the territory of the Galiya play locally for weddings within their own families, as well as in the central Rif. Outside of our region, the Arabs of Msun, the Beni Znasseen, the Brabra, and the Algerian Kabyles employ *zammar* players, and in the last two instances bagpipers as well, to play at their weddings. The North African bagpipe, which is not found in the Rif, resembles the *zammar* in the construction of the two pipes, which are fingered.

The second type of music is that of the *rheta*, a flaring-mouthed straight clarinet which produces an extremely loud, piercing note. This music is accompanied by the beating of large drums, closed at the bottom; sometimes double-headed drums are used.[3] The Jebala is the home of this method of entertainment. The musicians are students from cantonal mosques or *zawias*. This means of livelihood does not place them in a low social category, as it does the pipers. The profession is optional, not hereditary. Jeballi students who wander about playing this instrument at weddings take small boys along to sing in a piping falsetto and dance. On other occasions they use the reed flute instead of the *rheta*, which is reserved for ceremonial occasions. This is the practice in all Senhaja except Marnissa, all Ghomara, the maritime tribes, and Targuist.

The third type, centered among the Nomads, consists of flute music and singing. All the guests, both men and women, except for the dancers, sit together within the brush enclosure surrounding the encampment, or, in the case of sedentary peoples, in the courtyard. They sing in mixed chorus to the accompaniment of a single flute played by one of the company. The musician is not distinguished from the others except in his musical ability. Distribution is in Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Shawia, Marnissa.

The fourth type is found in the Galiya and Kebdana. Negroes belonging to the Naṣiri sect, who play flutes, beat on large drums, and click iron clappers, wander into these tribes and are employed as entertainers in weddings. The Beni Bu Yahyi employ them when they can obtain their services, which is not often.

Besides these professional types of music, and the singing of the dancers, the part of the older women must not be omitted. They cluster in a corner of the court or in a room, and indulge in the shrill, pulsating cry known as the *ṣigharit*, famous in antiquity.[4]

The men sit on the ground, leaning against the walls, laugh, shout, emit piercing cries, and fire off their rifles, holding the butts against the ground so that the muzzles are level with their ears. This action naturally has the effect of temporarily deafening some of the guests.

[1] The social position of this group has already been discussed. See pp. 92 *seq.*

[2] See pp. 93–94.

[3] Bates (*loc. cit.*) shows a drawing of a similar instrument, played in antiquity, and also a double-headed Libyan drum.

[4] Bates, pp. 153–154.

585 574 571 431 as they walk inside the circle three times. Traditionally, rifles were fired by the _iwziren_ but with the confiscation of all firearms, firecrackers are today used as substitutes.

The groom then sits down on a chair in front of a low table which has previously been placed in the center of the circle. Squatting beside him on the ground are his _iwziren_, his father, and usually his younger brother. Behind him stand four girls who throughout the remaining ceremony fan him with their scarfs. At this point the gift giving commences. The [522] gifts, always in money, are collected by a traditional spokesmen, often a comic figure, who makes jokes and dances about as he announces aloud who has made the contribution and how much it is. With each announcement, the women who are inside the house but huddled around the doors peering out at the ceremony, commence to ululate. The comic figure goes about the crowd collecting gifts which he hands over to the groom's father, who places them in a brass tray in front of Moulay. The largest gifts, usually given at the beginning of the ceremony, are from relatives of the groom's father, such as brothers and uncles, as well as from relatives of the bride and close friends of the groom's father. These gifts are rarely under 100 dirhams but as the evening progresses smaller gifts of from 5 to 20 dirhams are given by age mates of the groom, by guests who wish to express their thanks for the evening's entertainment, and by local notables who feel it incumbent to give a small gift at each wedding they attend. The greater part of each gift goes to the father of the

527 578 266 enemy's grave after he has killed him, cuts off a piece of his liver or tongue, and puts it into his own mouth, the vow being considered to be fulfilled through this act of symbolical cannibalism. Other vows in the Rif are to swear to kill an enemy and then to drink his blood, or to roast his liver and throw it to the dogs; but the person who has taken the former vow, on killing the enemy, only puts some of his blood into his own mouth and afterwards spits it out.

627 578 In many instances the promissory oath is a sworn vow either to refrain from an act or from acts of a certain kind until a certain design has been accomplished, or to do a thing in case a certain promise is not fulfilled or a certain wish is not complied with. In those parts of the country in which the blood-feud is rife it frequently happens that a relative of the murdered man makes a vow, silent or audible, to refrain from having his head shaved (Jbala, many Arabs of the plains, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Shloh of the Great Atlas and Aglu), from washing or changing his clothes (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager), from having matrimonial intercourse (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager), from slaughtering an animal (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or from going to the market (Ait Waryager), until revenge has been taken. Among the Ait Waryager the women of the [516] family in such a case also refrain from wearing silver ornaments round the head or the neck and from painting themselves with henna, and boys and unmarried men, who otherwise make use of henna at the feast of the Mulud and at weddings, refrain from doing so if their father has taken a vow of this kind.

789 [518] Besides the conditional self-imprecation, or oath, there are other conditional curses, which are directed, not against the curser himself, but against somebody else. This is the case with the 'ar and, in many cases, the 'ahd.

The word 'ar literally means "shame", but in Morocco it is used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request. If a person says to another, Ha l-'ar alik, "Here is 'ar upon you", or Hada 'ar 'alike, "This is 'ar upon you", it implies that if the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the 'ar. A stronger expression is to represent the 'ar cast on a person as 'ar on God, the Prophet, or some saint with an implicit request to curse the person if he does not do what is asked of him.

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613
554 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
[182] presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

6711 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its repre-
792 sentatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692
554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692
212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
6711 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
521
5711 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and making almost vertical short cuts to save time and distance.[1] He generally runs when going down hill. He carries no extra clothing while travelling, nor any blankets, simply a small supply of concentrated food in his scrip and what arms and ammunition he can afford, as well as a cane with a spiked tip, generally of European manufacture, on which to steady his rifle while firing. Now that rifles are no longer carried, the cane persists as a walking stick.

NAVIGATION

The Riffians and Ghomarans, although both are essentially land peoples, take advantage of their proximity to the sea by constructing vessels and making short voyages in them. The Ghomarans take to the sea more frequently than do the Riffians.

The Riffians and Ghomarans construct two kinds of boat, the *thagharaboth*, or skiff, (see plates 5 and 6) and the *thagharaboth n jkrua'*, or sailboat. The sailless skiff seems to be commonest and is the indigenous type. Sails are supposed to have been taken over from the Arabs, although the geographical position of this coast must certainly have exposed it to contact with sail-using peoples in antiquity.

The skiff is a long narrow craft, usually about twenty feet in length, with bow and stern slightly curving upward. It is not decked over. The sides are equipped with double thole pins, *izhizh*, into which are fitted pine or cedar oars, long sweeps, *imkathafen*. It is steered by a primitive steering-oar, *demam*, held against a peg on the right stern.

This type of boat is made of cedar or pine, all hand-adzed, and caulked with tar, thickly smeared all over the hull so as to make the entire boat black in color. Pegs are used along the keel and gunwales; in order to strengthen the hull the planks are tied together with ropes through holes drilled near their edges and well plugged with hemp and tar.

The design on the boats is a simple right-angled zigzag in red paint, running horizontally near the bow. There is no trace of an eye motif on the bow, unless this be one.

Skiffs are used everywhere along the coast, but sailboats are employed less commonly and only at the better harbors. There is a single mast, called *sari*; the sail, *er krua'*, has no boom, but is attached to the mast by a long diagonal spar in felucca rig.

Skiffs are used in fishing with a net, and sailboats for fishing in the deep sea with hooks. The sailboats are likewise used for what slight coastal trade exists, and for carrying eggs and other products to Tangier and Gibraltar.

Shipbuilding was carried on, until the recent war, at the ports of Mtiwa and Ghomara, where cedar and pine were available near the shore. Since the war this shipbuilding has ceased, and the sailors buy second-hand European boats to replace those which they lose or discard. There are still plenty of native-built boats along the coast, but another ten years will probably see the last of them.

AGRICULTURE AND THE GATHERING OF WILD PLANTS

Agriculture is the most important trait of Riffian life and culture. It is the basis of existence, and is worthy of intensive study, especially by economic botanists. The anthropologist untrained in economic botany can at best merely record the external and economic factors, while the botanist may trace the origins and successions of the plants used and cultivated.

[1] The winner of the most recent Olympic Marathon was a Riffian, el Wafi, of the Beni Urriaghel.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibshen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghsuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghsuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Asht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [531] [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[439] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The rawhide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days; crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

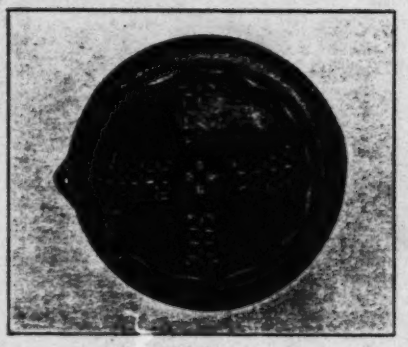
Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghsuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Central Rifian Pottery

415
323
531



Targuist

Gennaya

Gennaya

Beni Urriaghel

[facing p. 76]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

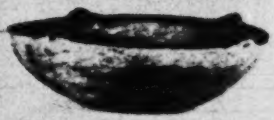
PLATE 24

CENTRAL RIFFIAN POTTERY-BASKETRY

Bottom of unusual water-jug, showing entrance of cone through which pot is filled when lowered into a well. Ajdir, Beni Urriaghel

Side view of the same

415
323
531



Bowl showing eastern influence in design. Temsaman

Making a wicker basket for raisins. Ulad Abd el Mumen, Iberrusben, Gzennaya

[285]

[177]

[facing p. 78]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

from Taghzuth. The Taghzuthis, who were craftsmen only in powder and firearms, have within the last generation taken over leatherwork and set themselves up as the foremost manufacturers of belts and bags. The Taghzuthi work is characterized by the stitching of narrow strips of colored leather diagonally in rows so as to form lines. These lines are always straight, and the designs produced by them form isosceles triangles and zigzags. Until recently white and green were the only colors employed for this purpose, but since the Spanish occupation other colors have come in, and the work has become coarser. (See plate 27.) Besides the ordinary belts and bags, the Taghzuthis now make wrist-watch straps and handbags, the former for the Spanish army, and the latter to be sent to the ports of the French zone and thence to America, and, to a lesser extent, to England and France.

Other old centers of the manufacture of bags and belts were Beni Misawr, a sub-tribe of el Khmes of the Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mohammed, situated between Beni Zerwal and el Khmes. The design on these Jebalan bags is curvilinear rather than rectilinear, and is characterized by three circles side by side on the front. The effect is produced by the stitching of leather strips, as at Taghzuth, and not by silk embroidery, as at Iyarusith of Temsaman.

Feminine Attire. Like men's clothing, the garments of women were formerly made entirely of wool. *thawthat*, the principal garment, consists of a long rectangular piece of woolen cloth. The upper corner of one end is held under the left armpit, with the lower corner falling by the left knee. The cloth is then wrapped around the body, from front to back, until it reaches the front again. A belt holds it together at the waist, and it is caught up back and front by each shoulder and fastened there by wooden pins or brooches. (See plate 26.) These brooches, called *thisghanes*, are made by Jews in Melilla, in the Jebarna section of the Shawia of Gsennaya, at Bades, and in Beni Bu Frah. The *thisghanes* consist of a triangular piece of silver or pewter, to which is attached a loose ring of the same material; there is a gap in the ring, through which the point end of the pin, of one piece with the triangle, may pass. To pin cloth together with this device, the ring is turned until the gap coincides with the pin; then the pin is thrust through the material, and the ring pressed beneath it and turned, so that it must stay under the pin. This type of brooch is not confined to the Rif, but is commonly found throughout North Africa.

thaghugat, the belt, bears the same name as the men's belt, although it is an entirely different object. The old style woman's belt is made of many cords of heavy woolen yarn of different colors caught together, and is locally considered an object of great beauty. This belt is wound around the waist many times, and a long end is left dangling behind. Ghomaran women wear broad belts of native cloth. (See plate 26.) *thaghugat n malagha*, the belt of Malaga, is a long red woolen belt with fringes at the end, manufactured in Spain and sold to the Riffians at Melilla. It is fast supplanting the heavier belt of native manufacture.

Feminine headwear is of two principal varieties:

1. *ifiran n thimgharin*, or women's braids, consist of long black threads of woolen yarn, which are braided into the hair near where it ends and then downward until they nearly touch the ground. Three of these *ifiran* are braided into each braid, and since the women divide their hair into two braids six *ifiran* are worn by each woman. The hair, supplemented by these long strands of black wool, may be left trailing or else tied around and around the head like a turban.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

2. *thashumbushth*, a cotton headcloth, tied over the bunched-up hair, is a more recent type of headdress which came in with the introduction of American cotton cloth. (See plate 26.) This cloth is generally white, although red and yellow are occasionally used. In the region where tie-dyeing is practiced a headcloth decorated in this manner is worn.

The garments just described, the *thawthat* and *ifiran*, were formerly the only garments worn by women, in winter as well as in summer. On exceptionally cold days women might occasionally put on a second *thawthat*, bringing it up over the head like a shawl.

el haik is the Arab haik, or woman's shawl. There is no word for this in the Riffian dialects. It is simply a square piece of cloth worn as a shawl. (See plate 26.) It is to be found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all Eastern Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Branes. *haah*, the men's haik, has been given a Riffian name. This is a light thinly-woven woolen scarf worn around the neck and back of the head, and generally tucked into the neck of the jellaba in front. It is considered of Arab origin, and is distributed through Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Shawia and Beni Mohammed of Gsennaya.

Since cotton cloth has come in, women's garments are losing their simple form and becoming tailored. Sleeved shirts, open at the neck and embroidered, are worn with wide trousers like those of the men and the red belts of Malaga. The result is a costume entirely different from that of a few years ago, but more decorative. This type of garment has not yet supplanted the *thawthat*, however, since the old style is still maintained by the older women and by many of the younger ones as well. As with other factors of material culture which depend on European introduction for their diffusion, the pattern of their dissemination seems to be sporadic and voluntary, and without cultural significance.

The garments of men are tailor-made by *tolba*, or students in the mosque, and women's garments must be made by the women themselves, although often men who have been students and have learned the art of embroidery make and embroider their wives' garments for them.

The silk with which embroidery is done is now largely European, and its dyes are not fast. Formerly all the silk used came from Tetwan, and often was not dyed until it arrived in the Rif; hence the dyes, the same as employed on wool and leather, were always fast. The Tetwan silk is still considered superior, but is increasingly difficult to obtain. There is no reason to believe that this native silk was not imported into the Rif in very early times, or since the inception of silk-worm cultivation in Morocco after the advent of the Arabs. El Bekri says that the Meknassa, a group just south of Gsennaya, paid tribute to the king of Nekor in cloth from Merv.[1]

The designs, the same as those formerly put on the bags and belts of Temsaman, are both curvilinear and rectilinear, the triangular or saw-toothed design predominating. A favorite design is a square capsule, decorated on the inside with sawteeth, and surmounted on the small ends with curved lines reminiscent of the ancient Libyan ostrich plumes. Designs found by Bates to be characteristic of the ancient Libyans are still recognizable in Riffian embroidery.[2] A favorite design employed on the hoods of jellabas and on the cuffs

[1] El Bekri, p. 157.

[2] Bates (*The Eastern Libyans*, Pl. III, and pp. 137, 139, 140) gives drawings of similar Libyan designs, mainly in the form of tattoo marks.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

294 531 is a cogged wheel with four spokes. On the hood this design is complete, but on the cuff only half of it is represented. This design is difficult to explain, owing to the utter absence of wheels for purposes of traction in the Rif, unless it be connected with a prehistoric sun-motif.

Riffian embroidery is characterized by another peculiar feature, the presence of short tufts of silk set at intervals on the borders of the designs. The tufts are much more prominent in the embroidery of the Maritime tribes of the western Rif and of the Ghomara than in that of the eastern or central Rif. (See plate 27.)

291 **Footwear.** Footwear was formerly restricted to men, women going barefoot at all times. The harshness of this prohibition was somewhat mitigated by the fact that women seldom went out of doors in winter when snow was on the ground.

Masculine footwear is divided into sandals, buskins, stilts, and clogs, and these types have a most significant and interesting distribution. There are two kinds of sandals (*tbisira*), those made of *halfa* grass and those made of scrub palmetto.

The *halfa* sandals are constructed as follows: the maker braids a rope of *halfa*, about eight to ten feet long. He then ties this in a ring, and presses it to an oval representing the size and shape of the foot. The long piece, dangling from the knot, he draws between the sides of the oval so as to make a third strand in the middle, and runs what is left over and under these three pieces until the intervening spaces have all been filled in. Thus he has obtained a flat foot-shaped sole. By loosening strands, he inserts the remaining cord, still uncut, so as to form straps for attachment. The cord goes around the heel in back, and crosses itself over the toes, not going between any of the toes. The loose end is cut to a convenient length, and when the sandals have been put on and the cord tightened, it is tied at the cross in the front-straps. This makes an extremely convenient and durable sandal, easily put on and taken off, and one that will not slip on rocks or come off unexpectedly. (See plate 28.)

The palmetto sandals are made as follows: the maker braids a long cord of palmetto leaves, and coils these into a flat oval; then with a thinner cord of the same material and a wooden needle he sews the sole together from side to side; the resultant sole is the same type as that of the rope sandals worn by the Basques and by many Spaniards. This sole is, of course, but one braid in thickness, and is not nearly so durable as that of the *halfa* sandal.

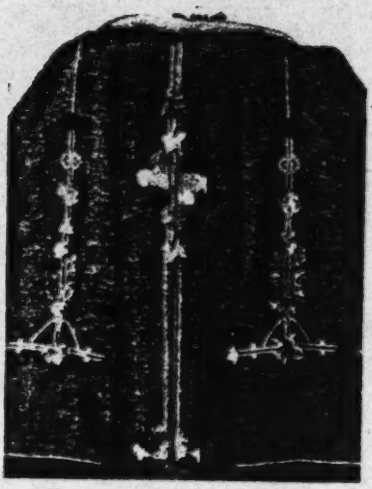
The palmetto sandal differs from the *halfa* type not only in the construction of its sole but also in its attachment to the foot. In the palmetto type the cord left over from the sole is cut free, knotted at one end, and then run through the sole from beneath at a point between the great and second toes. From here it is looped through one side of the sole, carried around so as to form a heel-strap, looped through the other side, and attached to itself at a point two inches from where it emerges from the sole, between the toes. This attachment may be spliced in and permanent, or tied on and temporary, permitting later adjustment. The straps on the *halfa* sandal are always tied so that they may be adjusted later. (See plate 28.)

The toe-strap sandal is much easier to slip on and off than the cross-strap type, but is not nearly so durable. The sole wears out much more quickly than that of the cross-strap type, and the toe-strap is likely to pull through the sole. Thorns and other sharp objects pierce the toe-strap type, but seldom penetrate the cross-strap variety.

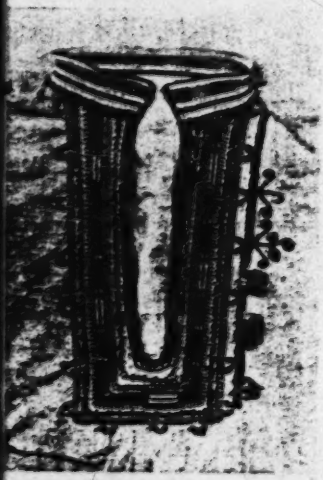
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291
293
531

Taghsuthi serip



Jellaba embroidery, Temsaman



Embroidery on woman's shirt.
Beni Urriaghel

Old Riffian serip

[facing p. 88]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

291 [197] Rifian women present a different picture (fig. 3, *g*). They never wear leggings and are almost always barefoot. Sneakers may be worn on special occasions, but one never sees slippers. In recent years the Rifian markets have been flooded with inexpensive rubber shoes, usually green in color, which some of the younger women have adopted.

[531] Brilliant colors characterize the Rifian woman's outer robe, which is usually of red or yellow silk, worn over an inner robe of white cotton. Rifian women have recently begun to wear baggy trousers, usually blue. Unmarried girls wear a wide cotton headband with brightly colored embroidery, which is partly covered by [171] a head towel. Married women in the mountains of Aith Tuzin and Aith Wariyaghar, and both married and single women in Sanhaja as-Srair, wear strands of black yarn around the crown of the head (fig. 3, *f*). One of the distinctive features of Rifian dress is a red woolen belt introduced about a generation ago [171] from Melilla. It is worn by most Rifian women, but has not been adopted in [184] Ghmara or Sanhaja as-Srair. In summer many Rifian women wear straw hats, but they do not approximate the huge size of the Jbalan "sombreros."

In general, there is a distinct difference in the pattern of women's dress in the [184] Rif and in the western provinces. The brilliant yellow and red robes of the Rifian [171] women are in striking contrast to the somber garments of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. These differences coincide with other cultural frontiers. The human geography of northern Morocco is a complicated pattern of areal succession and overlap; yet many lines coincide, and it is possible to speak of "culture areas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[a] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[b]

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[c] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency.[d] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family.[e] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[a] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[b] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

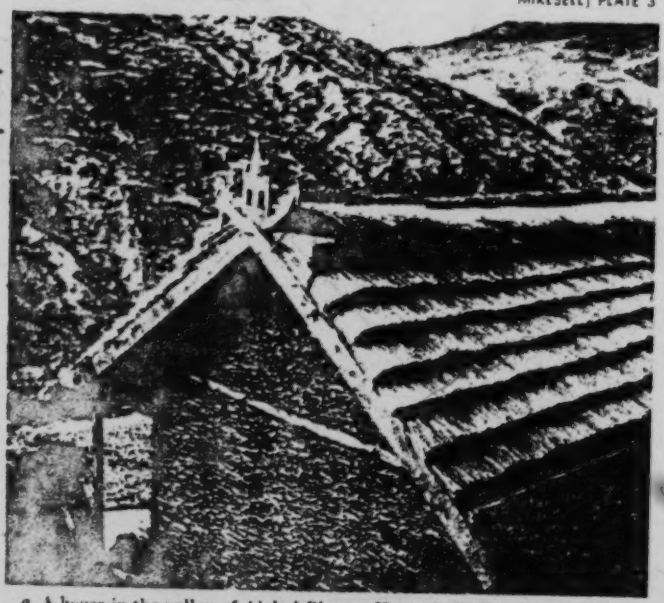
[c] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[d] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[e] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

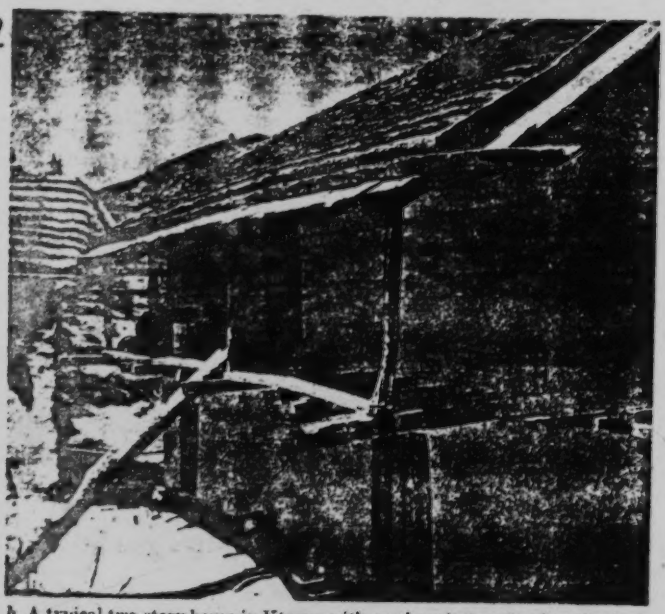
7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

342
824
532



a. A house in the valley of Abd al-Ghaya (Ktama). Walls of stone and roof of rye thatch. Ornamental figure represents crescent moon, a symbol of good luck; brazier and teapot are symbols of hospitality.

342



b. A typical two-story house in Ktama, with overhanging roof and projecting rafters. Lower floor serves as living quarters, upper for storage.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585 302 In this they put two cracked eggs. They put a veil over the bride's head and face, and hang strings of silver coins between her fingers. The bride's hands are then thrust into the bowl of henna, and smeared up to the wrist. No attempt is made at forming a pattern. The feet are likewise painted with henna up to the ankles. The women in charge smear the henna on their own hands in order to partake of the magical potency of the bride and of the concoction.

At the same time the hands of the groom are stained with henna. This use of henna is repeated daily in both houses until the feast is over. Neither the bride nor groom is allowed to wash during this period.

Kohl is also applied to the bride's eyes during the feast days, in all regions excepting the central mountain area. It is put on the groom's eyes in the Senhaja and Ghomara and in the east. Kohl is used upon brides throughout the Rif except among the mountain Urriaghlis, Ikhuanen except Tainest, Iherrushen except Telmest, Temjunt, and Beni Amart. It is used upon grooms in all Senhaja, all Ghomara, Targuist, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Shawia.

585 On the first day of the feast, when those in charge of the henna convene, a white flag is set up on the roof of each of the houses.

In the regions which have seven-day feasts at both houses, the last three days are subject to definite food regulation, but on the first four any suitable dish such as *sekru* and *guaz* [1] may be served. On the fifth day a *thamarik* of beans cooked with oil and cut-up peppers is served with bread, and no other food may be cooked or consumed in the two houses on that day. On the sixth day, early in the morning, more bean *thamarik* is eaten and then the men slaughter a goat, the meat of which they give the women to cook in the house of the groom. These same men, members of the groom's family, then lead another goat to the bride's house and do the same.

On the seventh day honey is given to the guests early in the morning, and then a hearty meat dish, usually a *guaz*. After this has been eaten the guests bring their presents, consisting of cattle, goats, meat, bread, butter, honey, and other foodstuffs. Bread alone is never presented.

585 533 Each morning during the seven-day period two companies of four *iuziren* each come to the groom's house and waken him by chanting, each four alternately, the following quatrain:

Sabḥain er-raẓiḳ
Sabḥain el-khalaiḳ
Sabḥain er-ruwâḳ
El ardh el-khalaiḳ.[2]

[1] See p. 59.

[2] The classical form of this would be:

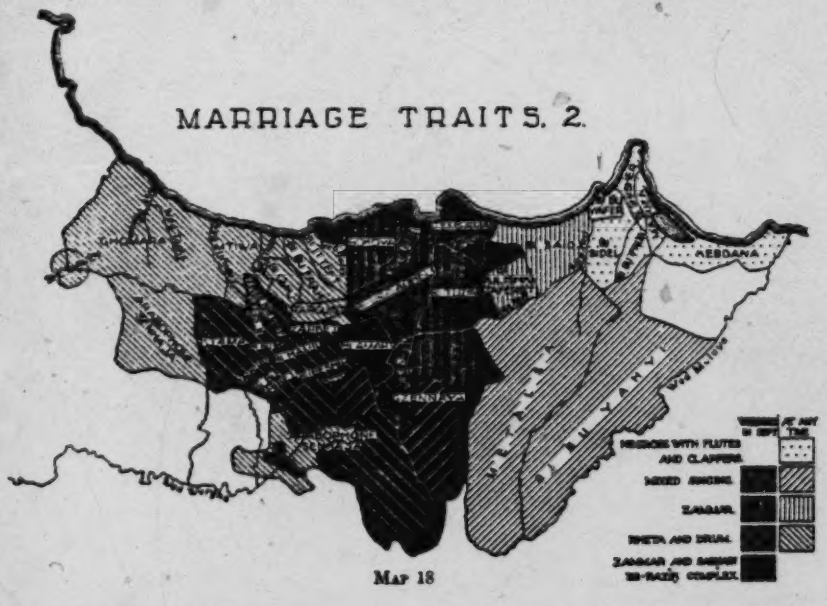
Sabḥân er-râziḳ	Praise to the Provider (Giver of Bread)
Sabḥân el-khâliḳ	Praise to the Creator
Sabḥân er-ruwâḳ	Praise to the Tent (Canopy, Heavens)
El ardh el-khâliḳ	The Earth is the Creator.

The Arabic words are little changed from their classical form; they do not occur in the Koran, and I have been unable to trace their origin.

The idea seems to be that the sky fertilises the earth, which produces life and food. Such a principle may be a survival of a pre-Islamic belief, with the formula translated into classical Arabic to give it greater ritualistic value; or it may be the last vestige of an obscure heresy, such as that of Hamim (El Bekri, pp. 197 *sqq.*). Discussion of this troublesome question is earnestly solicited.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The *tusiren* whose turn it is, chant at the top of their lungs, since the other company usually amuses itself by firing off volleys of musketry. After both have chanted it a number of times, they unite in gunplay, and enter the house to greet the groom. The chanting of the *sobhain er-rasîḥ* as the verse is called, is considered a very necessary formality in the region in which it is observed. It is thought that to omit this part of the wedding would be more serious than any other miscarriage of custom. Those who do not practice it look upon it with great ridicule, and call it a survival of heathendom; consequently those who do



MAP 18

practice it take pains to lead strangers away while it is being done, and never mention it nor admit participation in it while travelling. It is another of the strange hypocrisies and inconsistencies of Riffian culture, resulting from their retention of ancient cultural traits. Chanting it is the custom among the mountain Beni Urriaghlis, in Beni Amart, Iherruahen, and Ikhuanen, and among some families of Iherrassen.

The chief attractions at the houses of the bride and groom, during all the seven or three nights in the regions where food is given nightly, are the dancing and singing of the girls, the gunplay and shouting of the men, the instrumental music, and the coarse humor of the musicians.

There are two types of dancing, the usual one and the type confined to the central area. In the usual type, all the young women of the *bone* who are presentable form two opposing and equal lines in the courtyard, each line with a leader. The women include not only

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

unmarried ones but also the younger married women whose husbands will allow them to participate. The dancing is slow as far as actual progression and movement of the feet is concerned, since the two parallel lines, each girl with her hands on the shoulders of the one in front of her, move up and down the courtyard, and sometimes swing at angles to each other. A more rapid motion, however, takes place in the abdomen, hips, and shoulders, the dancers writhing in unison in a rapid muscle dance, stamping their feet in time with the music and moving them slowly back and forth.

While dancing the women sing rhymed couplets, usually in pentameter, to some monotonous and yet not unmusical refrain. The music is more appealing to an American ear than that of the Arabs, but less so than that of the Shluh. The couplets include amorous rhapsodies, extemporaneous personal allusions to boys in the audience whose attention one of the dancers, especially the leader of a line, may wish to attract, and endless narrative dirges and exultations dealing with the war with the Christians. These war poems are beautiful compositions, and have now been sung so often that they have acquired a certain stability of form. They are sung in the dialect of the Galiya; often during the singing men who have participated in the battles referred to burst out weeping.

In some of the songs a dialogue is carried out between the two lines, one representing the Riffians and the other the Spaniards. As an example, one line says (in rough paraphrasing) "O soldiers, why did you come here? Why did you pitch your white tents beneath the crags of sweet-smelling wood?" To this the other, representing the Spaniards, replies, "To see the girls of Temsaman walking by, girded with belts of many colors, and their skirts swishing."

The leaders of the lines sometimes carry shallow open-based drums, the heads of which they pause to tighten by a fire burning in an angle of the court.

In a restricted part of the central area a different and more active type of dancing is found: all but two of the girls, none of whom are married, dance around in a circle, facing inward and singing. The style of their dancing is the same as that of the usual type. The two leaders, however, dance apart from the others. They wear short skirts, and hold in their hands, instead of drums, wooden clickers or castanets.[1]

These two dance side by side, moving their hips in opposite directions, and from time to time kicking their legs high in the air, clicking their castanets beneath their raised thighs and striking them on their buttocks. When the spirit of the dance has sufficiently aroused them they pick up and swing each other and leap to each other's shoulders and stand for a moment upon them. The atmosphere of this dance, heightened by the presence of the castanets, is quite Andalusian, but more acrobatic. It is to be seen among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Beni Amart, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen. Since the war the Taghsuthis have taken over this type of dancing, or rather the circle part of it, since the skill required for the parts of the two leaders is beyond them.

There are several kinds of music played at Riffian weddings. The first is that of the *zammar*, a double-reed pipe with vibrator and opposing stops.[2] The ends of the pipes are adorned with aoudad horns. The music produced on this instrument sounds very much like

[1] Bates (pp. 155–156) says that castanets were used by the ancient Libyans. One representation which he exhibits shows two curved pieces, presumably of wood, held in one hand; another shows two sticks, one held in each hand, and struck together. The Riffian women hold a pair in each hand.

[2] Bates (loc. cit.) states on the authority of Durius Samius that the ancient Libyans played on double-reed pipes.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that of bagpipes. The *zammar* is played by the pipers from Temsaman and other places outside the heart of the Rif. They wander into that region during the month of September to play at weddings.[1]

Besides being musicians, the pipers act as professional wits, specializing in double meanings, usually of an obscene nature. Remarks which would cause a fight if uttered by anyone else are received with great applause when uttered by a piper.

The places whence these players come have already been listed.[2] The range of their professional practice includes Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Temsaman, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, all Gzennaya excepting Shawia, Beni Amart, and Bokoya. Pipers inhabiting the territory of the Galiya play locally for weddings within their own families, as well as in the central Rif. Outside of our region, the Arabs of Msun, the Beni Znassen, the Brabra, and the Algerian Kabyles employ *zammar* players, and in the last two instances bagpipers as well, to play at their weddings. The North African bagpipe, which is not found in the Rif, resembles the *zammar* in the construction of the two pipes, which are fingered.

The second type of music is that of the *rheta*, a flaring-mouthed straight clarinet which produces an extremely loud, piercing note. This music is accompanied by the beating of large drums, closed at the bottom; sometimes double-headed drums are used.[3] The Jebala is the home of this method of entertainment. The musicians are students from cantonal mosques or *zawias*. This means of livelihood does not place them in a low social category, as it does the pipers. The profession is optional, not hereditary. Jeballi students who wander about playing this instrument at weddings take small boys along to sing in a piping falsetto and dance. On other occasions they use the reed flute instead of the *rheta*, which is reserved for ceremonial occasions. This is the practice in all Senhaja except Marnissa, all Ghomara, the maritime tribes, and Targuist.

The third type, centered among the Nomads, consists of flute music and singing. All the guests, both men and women, except for the dancers, sit together within the brush enclosure surrounding the encampment, or, in the case of sedentary peoples, in the courtyard. They sing in mixed chorus to the accompaniment of a single flute played by one of the company. The musician is not distinguished from the others except in his musical ability. Distribution is in Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Shawia, Marnissa.

The fourth type is found in the Galiya and Kebdana. Negroes belonging to the Naṣiri sect, who play flutes, beat on large drums, and click iron clappers, wander into these tribes and are employed as entertainers in weddings. The Beni Bu Yahyi employ them when they can obtain their services, which is not often.

Besides these professional types of music, and the singing of the dancers, the part of the older women must not be omitted. They cluster in a corner of the court or in a room, and indulge in the shrill, pulsating cry known as the *sigharit*, famous in antiquity.[4]

The men sit on the ground, leaning against the walls, laugh, shout, emit piercing cries, and fire off their rifles, holding the butts against the ground so that the muzzles are level with their ears. This action naturally has the effect of temporarily deafening some of the guests.

[1] The social position of this group has already been discussed. See pp. 92 *seq.*

[2] See pp. 93–94.

[3] Bates (*loc. cit.*) shows a drawing of a similar instrument, played in antiquity, and also a double-headed Libyan drum.

[4] Bates, pp. 153–154.

777 It is bad fal to eat or drink standing, to drink water from one hand
[264] only instead of drinking from both hands united (Andjra, Hiaina), and to drink with the mouth [34] in the water like an animal (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager); if you drink in the latter manner the water will go out through your anus.

[787] If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, his father or grandfather or some other relative of his will die (Ait Waryager).

777 The house will also be deserted by the angels (Tangier). It is
784 forbidden to whistle in a mosque or on a threshing-floor, and bad fal to do it on the road (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager). But it is the
533 custom for the shepherd to whistle; he thereby drives away evil influences from the animals (Hiaina, Ait Waryager). From a passage in the Koran it is understood that whistling was in the days of ignorance one of the idolatrous rites in the Meccan temple, and it is therefore generally held to be unlawful for pious Moslems.

787 [35] The twitches of muscles and itchings are interpreted as omens,
827 which are in most cases considered good or bad according as they occur on the right or the left side of the body. Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow (Hiaina, Tangier, Aglu, Igliwa, Ait Waryager).

According to a scribe from the Ait Waryager, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow.

[36] If the sole of one of your feet (Hiaina, Igliwa, Ait Waryager) or of your right foot (Dukkala, Shawia, Aglu) itches you will travel.

Some people also believe that you will travel if you feel itching between the toes (Ait Waryager).

777 [40] There are magical influences of many kinds in the various days of the week. I have previously spoken of beliefs relating to Friday, the holy day of the Muhammadan world, as also of the abstinence from work on Sundays observed by the women in some Berber tribes. Sunday is generally considered the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some places even

000 [114] 109--In the Rif, to our knowledge, there was never a special "market chief", although this office existed in certain parts of the Central Atlas.

[565] 110--The market crier, like the blacksmith and members of certain other occupational groups, occupied a very low rung on the Rifian social ladder, and can in no way be considered as a "tribal functionary".

[533] [534] 111--The imdhiyazen, or professional singers of couplets at weddings and players of the zammar (an instrument with two mouthpieces and two flaring ends, each of which is adorned with a cow's horn), the flute and the tambourine, who invariably come from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, own no property in their own rights, and double as mule and donkey breeders.

[113] 112--For a detailed account of the dance of the ibarudiyen of the Aith Waryaghar, see Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas, Africa, nos. 55, 46-7, 59-60, Madrid 1946, pp. 315-16, 414-19, and 547-51., as well as our own article, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, pp. 232-37. This dance was stopped [648] by order of 'Abd al-krim during the Rifian War in order to save cartridges, and was afterwards forcibly discontinued because of the post-protectoral prohibition of firearms in the Rif. Our account is only a translation of Blanco's, with comments.

(113--Diagram.)

[114] 114--The social structure of the Aith Waryaghar is indeed complex, and this admission by Blanco is a strange contrast to his earlier diagnosis of it as "rudimentary". Although in all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the other Rifian tribes, it is more intricate because of certain variations between the lineage structure and the territorial system. These variations are expressed in terms of spatial discontinuity between certain subsegments bearing the same names, as hinted at in Section F above; and it is this same discontinuity, virtually non-existent among the other Rifian tribes (and where it does exist, only in embryonic form at the level of the minor and minimal lineages), which is, in fact, one of the central arguments advanced by Blanco in the present section. Our own opinion is that it is intimately linked with the notion of lineage scission.

Among certain transhumants in the Eastern Atlas, notably the Ait 'Atta and Ait Saghrushshan (there are no doubt other well-authenticated examples as well), this kind of discontinuity assumes classic proportions, for it is elevated to the tribal level as well. The fact that it exists among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar, however, leads me to believe that it is not primarily connected with the economic organization under consideration (sedentarism or transhumance), but rather with gradual shifts, over time, of tribal clans.

115--The discontinuity alluded to in note 114 had long been an established fact when 'Abd al-Krim rose to power, and there was no reason for him to attempt to change it through, presumably, any regroupment of jma'ths. Such a change would in any event have been highly artificial, and it seems logical to assume that he was fully aware of this.

574
585
[533] by five or ten minutes. As they travel through the hills, each group sings praise songs of themselves and occasionally derogative songs about the other group. As they sing quite loudly, they can generally hear one another's songs even if they can not always see each other. The bride's group is the larger, numbering about twenty girls, all unmarried, while the male group consists rarely of more than ten and may include married male friends. The groom himself is addressed as Moulay or Sultan during this procession and the men with him are his iwziren or advisors. This is a borrowing of terms which are traditionally used to designate positions in the Moroccan government.

As they come to each house, the girls enter into the inside patio where they sing and dance, while the men enter a separate but connected guest room where they are offered tea and a meal. It is customary for the family head of each
585
574
431 visited house to present the groom with a sum of money and a gift of clothing or new shoes. The amount given is related to the prominence and wealth of the household, to the degree of relatedness between the groom and the giver, and to previous reciprocal gifts bestowed by members of the groom's family on the host. These gifts, grama, are interpreted by Westermarck as ". . . really a loan which has to be repaid in the future under corresponding circumstances, or an indemnity for similar contributions in the past; hence the amounts given by the various donors are most carefully taken note of" (1914:125).

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grass has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] [602] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] [754] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the profes- [533] sional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 594 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

585 524 571 431 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay, or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grana. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (viziers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and viziers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however, quite certain since both Coon (1931:134-135) and Renisio (1932:146-150) report it.

[154] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male guests they sing in Arabic, [538] [539]

sabhain er-razik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

751 435 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams. Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

796 241 789 821 One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed, the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins [533] [539] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community, singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nis-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawsh- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food. [782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak
563 Arabic domestically, employing *thamaighth* only with outsiders. They are at present con-
463 sidered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fes from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and shoe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

565 At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering.
563 Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting,
463 the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-
554 building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not
782 be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the *vein*, or of the schoolmaster of the *bone*, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

565 **Pipers,**[1] or *imthiyazen* (singular *amthiyaz*), play upon the *zammar*, a reed instrument
463 consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending
534 in the horns of the aoudad. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfora and Meidhar of Beni Tuzin, Ighza Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Nador, Azgangen, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area
565 covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2
463 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings[2] their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers[3] and **Weighers,** *iberrahen* (singular *aberrah*) and *ishepairen* (singular *ashepair*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

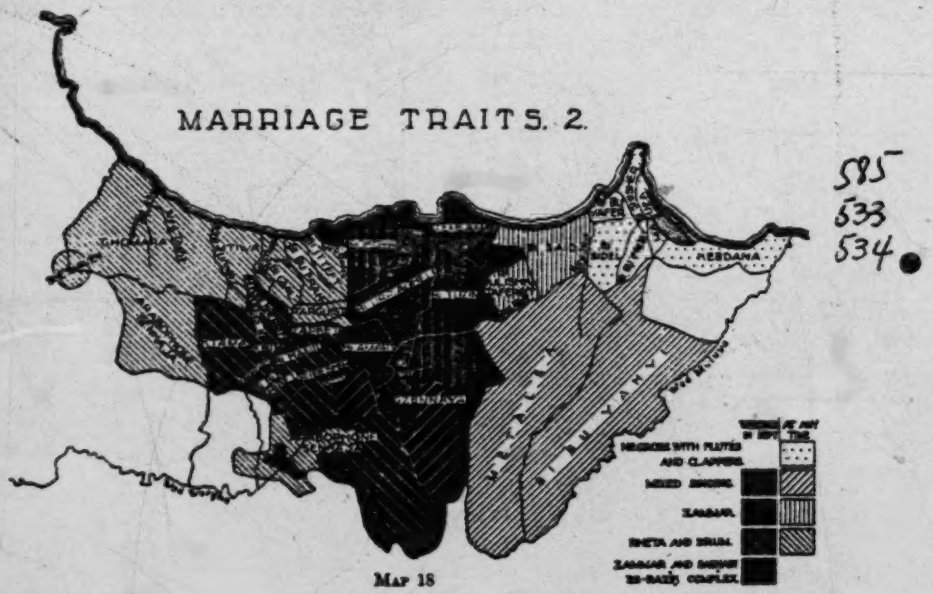
[1] So translated here because of their profession.

[2] See below, p. 128 *seq.*

[3] The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The *iuriren* whose turn it is, chant at the top of their lungs, since the other company usually amuses itself by firing off volleys of musketry. After both have chanted it a number of times, they unite in gunplay, and enter the house to greet the groom. The chanting of the *sabbain er-rarif* as the verse is called, is considered a very necessary formality in the region in which it is observed. It is thought that to omit this part of the wedding would be more serious than any other miscarriage of custom. Those who do not practice it look upon it with great ridicule, and call it a survival of heathendom; consequently those who do



MAP 18

practice it take pains to lead strangers away while it is being done, and never mention it nor admit participation in it while travelling. It is another of the strange hypocrisies and inconsistencies of Riffian culture, resulting from their retention of ancient cultural traits. Chanting it is the custom among the mountain Beni Urriaghlis, in Beni Amart, Iberrushen, and Ikhuanen, and among some families of Iberrassen.

The chief attractions at the houses of the bride and groom, during all the seven or three nights in the regions where food is given nightly, are the dancing and singing of the girls, the gunplay and shouting of the men, the instrumental music, and the coarse humor of the musicians.

There are two types of dancing, the usual one and the type confined to the central area. In the usual type, all the young women of the *bone* who are presentable form two opposing and equal lines in the courtyard, each line with a leader. The women include not only

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

unmarried ones but also the younger married women whose husbands will allow them to participate. The dancing is slow as far as actual progression and movement of the feet is concerned, since the two parallel lines, each girl with her hands on the shoulders of the one in front of her, move up and down the courtyard, and sometimes swing at angles to each other. A more rapid motion, however, takes place in the abdomen, hips, and shoulders, the dancers writhing in unison in a rapid muscle dance, stamping their feet in time with the music and moving them slowly back and forth.

While dancing the women sing rhymed couplets, usually in pentameter, to some monotonous and yet not unmusical refrain. The music is more appealing to an American ear than that of the Arabs, but less so than that of the Shluh. The couplets include amorous rhapsodies, extemporaneous personal allusions to boys in the audience whose attention one of the dancers, especially the leader of a line, may wish to attract, and endless narrative dirges and exultations dealing with the war with the Christians. These war poems are beautiful compositions, and have now been sung so often that they have acquired a certain stability of form. They are sung in the dialect of the Galiya; often during the singing men who have participated in the battles referred to burst out weeping.

In some of the songs a dialogue is carried out between the two lines, one representing the Riffians and the other the Spaniards. As an example, one line says (in rough paraphrasing) "O soldiers, why did you come here? Why did you pitch your white tents beneath the crags of sweet-smelling wood?" To this the other, representing the Spaniards, replies, "To see the girls of Temsaman walking by, girded with belts of many colors, and their skirts swishing."

The leaders of the lines sometimes carry shallow open-based drums, the heads of which they pause to tighten by a fire burning in an angle of the court.

In a restricted part of the central area a different and more active type of dancing is found: all but two of the girls, none of whom are married, dance around in a circle, facing inward and singing. The style of their dancing is the same as that of the usual type. The two leaders, however, dance apart from the others. They wear short skirts, and hold in their hands, instead of drums, wooden clickers or castanets.[1]

These two dance side by side, moving their hips in opposite directions, and from time to time kicking their legs high in the air, clicking their castanets beneath their raised thighs and striking them on their buttocks. When the spirit of the dance has sufficiently aroused them they pick up and swing each other and leap to each other's shoulders and stand for a moment upon them. The atmosphere of this dance, heightened by the presence of the castanets, is quite Andalusian, but more acrobatic. It is to be seen among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Beni Amart, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen. Since the war the Taghsuthis have taken over this type of dancing, or rather the circle part of it, since the skill required for the parts of the two leaders is beyond them.

There are several kinds of music played at Riffian weddings. The first is that of the *zummar*, a double-reed pipe with vibrator and opposing stops.[2] The ends of the pipes are adorned with aoudad horns. The music produced on this instrument sounds very much like

[1] Bates (pp. 155–156) says that castanets were used by the ancient Libyans. One representation which he exhibits shows two curved pieces, presumably of wood, held in one hand; another shows two sticks, one held in each hand, and struck together. The Riffian women hold a pair in each hand.

[2] Bates (loc. cit.) states on the authority of Durius Samins that the ancient Libyans played on double-reed pipes.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that of bagpipes. The *zammar* is played by the pipers from Temsaman and other places outside the heart of the Rif. They wander into that region during the month of September to play at weddings.[1]

Besides being musicians, the pipers act as professional wits, specializing in double meanings, usually of an obscene nature. Remarks which would cause a fight if uttered by anyone else are received with great applause when uttered by a piper.

The places whence these players come have already been listed.[2] The range of their professional practice includes Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Temsaman, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, all Gsennaya excepting Shawia, Beni Amart, and Bokoya. Pipers inhabiting the territory of the Galiya play locally for weddings within their own families, as well as in the central Rif. Outside of our region, the Arabs of Msun, the Beni Znassen, the Braber, and the Algerian Kabyles employ *zammar* players, and in the last two instances bagpipers as well, to play at their weddings. The North African bagpipe, which is not found in the Rif, resembles the *zammar* in the construction of the two pipes, which are fingered.

The second type of music is that of the *rheta*, a flaring-mouthed straight clarinet which produces an extremely loud, piercing note. This music is accompanied by the beating of large drums, closed at the bottom; sometimes double-headed drums are used.[3] The Jebala is the home of this method of entertainment. The musicians are students from cantonal mosques or *zawias*. This means of livelihood does not place them in a low social category, as it does the pipers. The profession is optional, not hereditary. Jeballi students who wander about playing this instrument at weddings take small boys along to sing in a piping falsetto and dance. On other occasions they use the reed flute instead of the *rheta*, which is reserved for ceremonial occasions. This is the practice in all Senhaja except Marnissa, all Ghomara, the maritime tribes, and Targuist.

The third type, centered among the Nomads, consists of flute music and singing. All the guests, both men and women, except for the dancers, sit together within the brush enclosure surrounding the encampment, or, in the case of sedentary peoples, in the courtyard. They sing in mixed chorus to the accompaniment of a single flute played by one of the company. The musician is not distinguished from the others except in his musical ability. Distribution is in Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Shawia, Marnissa.

The fourth type is found in the Galiya and Kebdana. Negroes belonging to the Naṣiri sect, who play flutes, beat on large drums, and click iron clappers, wander into these tribes and are employed as entertainers in weddings. The Beni Bu Yahyi employ them when they can obtain their services, which is not often.

Besides these professional types of music, and the singing of the dancers, the part of the older women must not be omitted. They cluster in a corner of the court or in a room, and indulge in the shrill, pulsating cry known as the *zigharit*, famous in antiquity.[4]

The men sit on the ground, leaning against the walls, laugh, shout, emit piercing cries, and fire off their rifles, holding the butts against the ground so that the muzzles are level with their ears. This action naturally has the effect of temporarily deafening some of the guests.

[1] The social position of this group has already been discussed. See pp. 92 *seq.*

[2] See pp. 93–94.

[3] Bates (*loc. cit.*) shows a drawing of a similar instrument, played in antiquity, and also a double-headed Libyan drum.

[4] Bates, pp. 153–154.

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
[155] unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith Tuzīn, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jibāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

000 [114] 109--In the Rif, to our knowledge, there was never a special "market chief", although this office existed in certain parts of the Central Atlas.

[565] 110--The market crier, like the blacksmith and members of certain other occupational groups, occupied a very low rung on the Rifian social ladder, and can in no way be considered as a "tribal functionary".

[533] [534] 111--The imdhiyazen, or professional singers of couplets at weddings and players of the zammar (an instrument with two mouthpieces and two flaring ends, each of which is adorned with a cow's horn), the flute and the tambourine, who invariably come from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, own no property in their own rights, and double as mule and donkey breeders.

[013] 112--For a detailed account of the dance of the ibarudiyen of the Aith Waryaghar, see Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas, Africa, nos. 55, 46-7, 59-60, Madrid 1946, pp. 315-16, 414-19, and 547-51., as well as our own article, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, pp. 232-37. This dance was stopped [648] by order of 'Abd al-krim during the Rifian War in order to save cartridges, and was afterwards forcibly discontinued because of the post-protectoral prohibition of firearms in the Rif. Our account is only a translation of Blanco's, with comments.

(113--Diagram.)

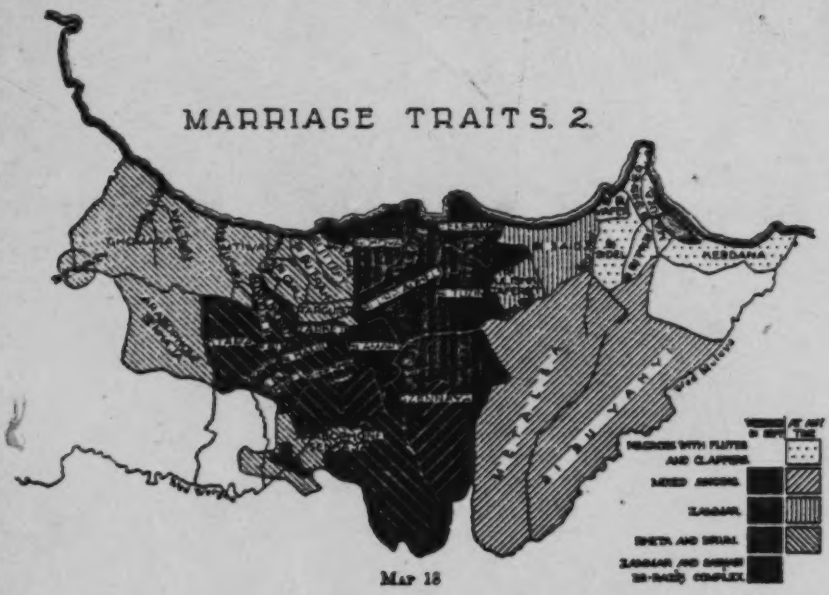
[114] 114--The social structure of the Aith Waryaghar is indeed complex, and this admission by Blanco is a strange contrast to his earlier diagnosis of it as "rudimentary". Although in all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the other Rifian tribes, it is more intricate because of certain variations between the lineage structure and the territorial system. These variations are expressed in terms of spatial discontinuity between certain subsegments bearing the same names, as hinted at in Section F above; and it is this same discontinuity, virtually non-existent among the other Rifian tribes (and where it does exist, only in embryonic form at the level of the minor and minimal lineages), which is, in fact, one of the central arguments advanced by Blanco in the present section. Our own opinion is that it is intimately linked with the notion of lineage scission.

Among certain transhumants in the Eastern Atlas, notably the Ait 'Atta and Ait Saghrushshan (there are no doubt other well-authenticated examples as well), this kind of discontinuity assumes classic proportions, for it is elevated to the tribal level as well. The fact that it exists among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar, however, leads me to believe that it is not primarily connected with the economic organization under consideration (sedentarism or transhumance), but rather with gradual shifts, over time, of tribal clans.

115--The discontinuity alluded to in note 114 had long been an established fact when 'Abd al-Krim rose to power, and there was no reason for him to attempt to change it through, presumably, any regroupment of jma'ths. Such a change would in any event have been highly artificial, and it seems logical to assume that he was fully aware of this.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The *tuziren* whose turn it is, chant at the top of their lungs, since the other company usually amuses itself by firing off volleys of musketry. After both have chanted it a number of times, they unite in gunplay, and enter the house to greet the groom. The chanting of the *sabḥain er-rasḥ* as the verse is called, is considered a very necessary formality in the region in which it is observed. It is thought that to omit this part of the wedding would be more serious than any other miscarriage of custom. Those who do not practice it look upon it with great ridicule, and call it a survival of heathendom; consequently those who do



Map 18

practice it take pains to lead strangers away while it is being done, and never mention it nor admit participation in it while travelling. It is another of the strange hypocrisies and inconsistencies of Riffian culture, resulting from their retention of ancient cultural traits. Chanting it is the custom among the mountain Beni Urriaghlia, in Beni Amart, Iberrushen, and Ikhuanen, and among some families of Iberrassen.

The chief attractions at the houses of the bride and groom, during all the seven or three nights in the regions where food is given nightly, are the dancing and singing of the girls, the gunplay and shouting of the men, the instrumental music, and the coarse humor of the musicians.

There are two types of dancing, the usual one and the type confined to the central area. In the usual type, all the young women of the *bone* who are presentable form two opposing and equal lines in the courtyard, each line with a leader. The women include not only

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585 535 unmarried ones but also the younger married women whose husbands will allow them to participate. The dancing is slow as far as actual progression and movement of the feet is concerned, since the two parallel lines, each girl with her hands on the shoulders of the one in front of her, move up and down the courtyard, and sometimes swing at angles to each other. A more rapid motion, however, takes place in the abdomen, hips, and shoulders, the dancers writhing in unison in a rapid muscle dance, stamping their feet in time with the music and moving them slowly back and forth.

585 533 While dancing the women sing rhymed couplets, usually in pentameter, to some monotonous and yet not unmusical refrain. The music is more appealing to an American ear than that of the Arabs, but less so than that of the Shluh. The couplets include amorous rhapsodies, extemporaneous personal allusions to boys in the audience whose attention one of the dancers, especially the leader of a line, may wish to attract, and endless narrative dirges and exultations dealing with the war with the Christians. These war poems are beautiful compositions, and have now been sung so often that they have acquired a certain stability of form. They are sung in the dialect of the Galiya; often during the singing men who have participated in the battles referred to burst out weeping.

In some of the songs a dialogue is carried out between the two lines, one representing the Riffians and the other the Spaniards. As an example, one line says (in rough paraphrasing) "O soldiers, why did you come here? Why did you pitch your white tents beneath the crags of sweet-smelling wood?" To this the other, representing the Spaniards, replies, "To see the girls of Temsaman walking by, girded with belts of many colors, and their skirts swishing."

The leaders of the lines sometimes carry shallow open-based drums, the heads of which they pause to tighten by a fire burning in an angle of the court.

585 535 In a restricted part of the central area a different and more active type of dancing is found: all but two of the girls, none of whom are married, dance around in a circle, facing inward and singing. The style of their dancing is the same as that of the usual type. The two leaders, however, dance apart from the others. They wear short skirts, and hold in their hands, instead of drums, wooden clickers or castanets.[1]

These two dance side by side, moving their hips in opposite directions, and from time to time kicking their legs high in the air, clicking their castanets beneath their raised thighs and striking them on their buttocks. When the spirit of the dance has sufficiently aroused them they pick up and swing each other and leap to each other's shoulders and stand for a moment upon them. The atmosphere of this dance, heightened by the presence of the castanets, is quite Andalusian, but more acrobatic. It is to be seen among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Beni Amart, Iherrusben, and Ikhuanen. Since the war the Taghsuthis have taken over this type of dancing, or rather the circle part of it, since the skill required for the parts of the two leaders is beyond them.

585 533 534 There are several kinds of music played at Riffian weddings. The first is that of the *zummar*, a double-reed pipe with vibrator and opposing stops.[2] The ends of the pipes are adorned with aoudad horns. The music produced on this instrument sounds very much like

[1] Bates (pp. 135–136) says that castanets were used by the ancient Libyans. One representation which he exhibits shows two curved pieces, presumably of wood, held in one hand; another shows two sticks, one held in each hand, and struck together. The Riffian women hold a pair in each hand.

[2] Bates (loc. cit.) states on the authority of Durius Siculus that the ancient Libyans played on double-reed pipes.

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

535
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

000 26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event, [178] [656] as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish administration, people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the last 30 years or more.

[562] 27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

[535] 28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two [114] tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala, the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first. As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator, it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

[685] 32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch belonging to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanun in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

[648] The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan administration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

[113] Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

is at Tangier. Westermarck plots a wide distribution for the custom,[1] and shows that it is a survival of a midsummer rite.[2]

The religious feasts of Mohammedan origin celebrated in the Rif are *el Ashor*, *el Mulud*, the month of *Ramadan*, the *Aid es Sghir* at the end of this month, and the *Aid el Kebir*.

The *Ashor* serves chiefly as a vacation for the school children, and is not otherwise important. Many do not even know when it is in force.

On the *Mulud* the women of the *bone* cook coarsely ground barley into a mush and carry it to the mosque, early in the morning, where all the children of the *bone* eat it together. In the evening the men buy a bull or cow by subscription and sacrifice it in front of the mosque so that blood will spurt on the door, then cut it up by the door and divide it, each man taking his share home to eat.

Ramadan is kept strictly by the Riffians, who do not deviate from the orthodox regulations in any way. Those who ordinarily eat pork, smoke, or drink, abstain from these practices during *Ramadan*, and scour with ashes any cooking or eating vessel which has been used for unclean food at other times. On the twenty-seventh night of this fast they believe that the sky opens and that a man who gazes fixedly at it may see God. If he does he dies instantly and is carried to heaven. On the last night, which is the *Aid es Sghir*, everyone washes well and dresses in clean clothing. The father measures out with his hands three double handfuls of barley for each person in the house. He then sends for a poor woman to come and take it, before which no one in the house may eat.

On each day of the *Aid el Kebir*, which lasts three days, each household kills a sheep and eats it. The men and women go about from house to house in the *bone*, the men dividing into age groups, and the women all banding together. The unmarried boys form two groups, the very young and the adolescent, and play games, wrestle, and play at government. They imitate the councils, also Arab forms of government, appointing a *kaid*, a *pasha*,[3] and *mokhazniya*.[4] The boys hold mock trials and send each other to jail. The young married men form a third group, the chief diversion of which is the exchange of obscene stories. The last group consists of the middle-aged and old men, who amuse themselves by reminiscing and narrating legends.

Each night comes the dramatic presentation by the *ishuikhen*, unmarried men who dress themselves up to represent certain characters and act out parts. The dramas are always comic and inevitably obscene. Staid persons who at any other time would be shocked at the sight or description of any obscene or sacrilegious act cast aside their repressions and enter heartily into the fun.

The scenes and situations enacted differ from tribe to tribe and at times change, but the general type and technique are always the same. A description of the carnival presented in parts of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Turin, follows. Descriptions of others may be found in Moulieras [5] and Westermarck.[6]

[1] Pages 182, 203–204.

[2] Pages 199–206. Westermarck eliminates the strong association with the idea of Jews by calling it *ex post facto*, and by bringing in parallels from other regions. For the present purpose, whether the Jewish factor be original or superimposed, as Westermarck has well demonstrated, in either case it indicates a degree of Jewish influence at some period of time.

[3] This Turkish title is applied in Morocco to mayors of cities.

[4] Guards, gendarmes, or retainers.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 100–111.

[6] Vol. II, pp. 133–158.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

There are eight rôles enacted by the *ishuikhen*; the Christians, the Christian women, the Jews, the Jewish women, the animals, their drivers, the Muslimin, and their wives. Those representing Christians imitate Christian clothing as best they can with cloth tied, not sewed together. They stick on moustaches of goats' hair, and put on leggings of grass matting. They carve great hats with broad brims out of yucca blades, make bandoliers from split strands of it, and attach small mirrors to their breasts in imitation of medals.

The "Christian women" imitate luxuriant hair with the woolen braids used by Riffian women. On top of their heads they attach white cloths with feathers sticking out of them. A yucca-cord belt is tied around the waist so tightly that it can be drawn in no farther, and onions or pomegranates are thrust under the shirt to look like breasts.

The "Jews" wear long beards of wool stuck on with a mixture of flour and eggs. They drape long white or black cloths around their bodies and tie red or black kerchiefs on the backs of their heads.

Those representing Jewish women wear long black cloths reaching to the ground.

The "animals," — lions, jackals, donkeys, cows, calves, and dogs — wear tails to which have been tied feathers and tufts of goat hair. The "donkey" wears over his face a donkey skull so cut as to allow his face partly to enter it. The "dog" has a long muzzle made of cork, wood, or cloth, and often has a jackal skin tied on his back. The "lions" disguise their faces only by smearing them with black and red pigments. A wooden phallus with onions or pomegranates for testes is attached to each "animal" excepting the "cow," who has a cloth udder with pendant cloth nipples fastened about his groins, and wears real cow horns tied to his head.

Those playing the parts of Muslimin wear large scrips full of ashes, representing gunpowder, and carry wooden rifles. The Jews and Christians carry these as well, and some of the latter drag log cannons.

The most effeminate looking youths are chosen to represent the wives of the Muslimin. They shave, use rouge and kohl, and draw the conventional tattoo marks on their faces with ink. They wear earrings and false hair.

The identity and preparations of the actors are kept secret beforehand. The *ishuikhen* dress and make up in the mosque or in a predetermined house; when ready they enter the houses of the *bone*, one after another, and stage their performance. Crowds follow them from house to house and witness the act over and over again.

First the Jews and their wives come in. They pair off in couples and dance over the floor, carrying on ribald conversation, snatching away each other's wives, approaching with wooden phalli, the women dancing with other men and throwing ashes out of scrips at each other.

After this has gone on for some time the Jews hold a wedding. While this is in progress the donkey and his driver enter. The Jews set the bride upon the donkey's back, and the donkey throws her off, whereupon the Jews become angry and shout incoherently. They then kneel down to hold a prayer, which a Judge leads. The Judge faces west and the Jews in all directions. In the prayer the Judge expounds the *ḥarram* and the *ḥallal* in a loud voice, reversing everything from its normal condition, calling it permissible to eat pork, permissible to commit adultery with a good-looking woman, and forbidden to do so with an ugly one. The extent of these *ḥarram* and *ḥallal* distinctions is limited only by the imagination of the Judge.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

While this is happening all the rest of the animals come running in and attack the Jews, who throw down their ashes and wooden guns and run away to hide. The animals, when the Jews have disappeared, are herded into a corner by their drivers. Then the Christians come in talking together loudly in a gibberish of extemporised sounds; an interpreter pretends to translate what they are saying to the audience, and accredits them with ludicrous and obscene conversation. He announces that the Christians have ordered all the attractive Moslem girls brought to the headquarters, one girl each day, for the enjoyment of the *ḥakim*, as the officer in charge of a tribal bureau is called.

After this the Christians dance with their wives, and then sit down and pretend to eat from bits of broken crockery which they have brought with them. The situation of people eating from separate utensils is in itself highly ludicrous to the Riffians.

After the meal the Christians and their wives dance again, after which the *ḥakim* performs his duties of administration. Prisoners are brought in, interviewed, and sentenced, and Muslimin who are not prisoners come in and try to sell things to the officers. Neither side understands the other, the Muslimin speaking *thamazighth* and the Christians still jabbering their gibberish. They begin to fight, and the tribal council convenes. The councillors appoint a crier, who shouts, "There is no god but God; O Muslimin, let us make holy war."

Then the *jihad*, or holy war, commences, both sides throwing ashes at each other, and the Christians dragging in cannon. While the fight is going on the Jews sneak out of hiding and going over to the Christian and Mohammedan women sitting on the side steal from them the eggs, meat, and bread which they are holding. One of the Jews makes a speech excusing this theft, saying that the ancestors of the Jews formerly had a great city and a great empire, but that the wild animals came in and destroyed their places and drove them out. Now they must steal to get a little of their property back. The Jews then go around the audience and collect eggs, almonds, sugar, and money.

Meanwhile the war is going on, all of the participants being by this time covered with ashes. Some of the contestants pretend to die or be wounded, and the women of their sides pick them up and take them to a corner, where they bandage the wounded. When most or all of them have simulated death, one woman from each side goes over to the corner where they are lying and touches all of her own kind, bringing them to life again. Finally the Muslimin win, and the Christians depart. The crier announces that the Christians have departed and that government and justice will be restored to the land.

Then the animals and their drivers come to the fore again, the drivers attempt to mount and are thrown, and the cow is milked.

After this they go to another house and give the performance again.

The *ishuikhen* perform once in each house in the village, excepting in those of "soured" individuals who do not approve of this vulgarity and will not permit it on their premises.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Besides the Deity and the historic characters concerned with the Semitic religions, such as the prophets and the *soḥaba*, the Riffians commonly believe in nine types of supernatural being, only two of which are intimately associated with Islam. These are as follows:

1. *malakin*, the Semitic angels.

2. *jnun*, the jinns or genii, including the *afariṭ* and the *shaiyaṭin*. This class also includes the *thajinnishth*, a female jinn in the form of a beautiful woman, who meets men on

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

536
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

616
[62]
[602
[114]
sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation, make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at the matter in a slightly different way.

There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves [539] readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows: "Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within 616 clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr, 614 pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even con- 619 tinuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were "external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the former more to higher ones.

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not continue ad infinitum.

The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their 616 terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big" 614 liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or 619 "smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes [124] would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe (in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chrin--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

671 of a compressed crowd which, hooded and silent in a semi-circle, hears its own echo in the voice of one of its constituents calling out to the four winds in a harsh thamazighth accent and with graphic gestures, while the black muzzles of rifles above their heads make the moment more solemn and the silence more impressive and represent the law, a strong, hard and impassioned law, the primitive law of the pastoral (sic) peoples. And if we ourselves might have had the good fortune to be eye-witnesses, perhaps we would have felt the chill of the anathema against our brethren for making them responsible for our acts.

[539] Qanun of the Sub-Clan of the Aith 'Adhiya: ".....all of the above-mentioned villages of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as fine".

671 829 609 Do not ask the Rifians about their qanuns, as they do not like to reveal them; they know them to be modest, they fear that they will not be understood and that they will be considered as a joke; they guard them and conceal them as carefully as the dearest members of their families, as their own tongue, with an understandable atavism; and so strong is the feeling of mistrust that it would be offensive and erroneous to attribute to them an inferiority complex; and if, in circumstantial preservation, you wanted to learn their language, they would invariably try to dissuade you with bitter phrases which they once might have heard, if not from your lips from those of your brother officers; and one does not know whether to think the sad reproach, the instinctive defense of the community or an absurd conviction is 829 the reason[3]. They speak disparagingly of their own language as of

o Joseph F 5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

585 574 571 431 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay, or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grama. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (viziers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and viziers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however, quite certain since both Coon (1931:134-135) and Renisio (1932:146-150) report it.

[154] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male guests they sing in Arabic.

[538]
[539]

sabhain er-razik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

751 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams.
435 Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic
796 directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed,
241 the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain
789 received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed
821 with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins
[533] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community,
[539] singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nia-la
arabe ya-sidi
atewah- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food.
[782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

443 rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Gizināya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, [563] while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of [534] gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith [203] Tuzīn, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members [545] of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jibāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, 692 and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

443 Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life 648 has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The butchers are relegated to a position as far removed from the rest of the market as possible, on account of the malodorous nature of their wares. If there is a stream in or near the market, the butchers are put on the other side of the stream from the rest. Farmers bring in cattle, sheep, and goats, and turn over the animals to the butchers, who are blacksmiths on other days of the week, or are members of the families of blacksmiths. After the butchers have slaughtered the animals, washed the blood from their throats, inflated their skins, flayed, and quartered them, the owners of the animals hang the meat on wooden racks permanently fixed to trees or posts nearby, where they are thus exposed for sale. Quarters of goat and sheep must have the hoofs and a portion of the adjoining skin left on so that customers can tell the difference between them. The butcher is paid for his work with a portion of the meat, with money, or with the hide, head, and entrails, which are the most common reward.

The meat market is the assembling place of all of the dogs in the *canton* which are able to get there, dozens of them waiting expectantly nearby each time an animal is slaughtered. They often snatch ends of intestine as the animal is being cleaned, and lap up eagerly the rills of blood flowing down towards the stream.

The butchering duties of the blacksmiths are not confined to the market. Whenever members of a *bone* together buy a cow or bull for the meat, the butcher is called in to slaughter it. The portions are divided equally among the married men, who must pay for their pieces before they can have them. A portion is sent up to the mosque of the *canton* for the students in it, and the blacksmith receives his portion as reward for his work.

Returning to the market, we find two other social outcasts at work, the market crier and the official weigher or measurer.[1] These are hired by the councillors, and carry on their functions as official appointees, but disputes arising from the work of the weigher or measurer are carried before the councillors. They work in as many markets as there are days in the week, except of course Friday, and providing that each market is within walking distance of their homes and that the councillors of each are willing to hire them.

Women's markets. In a number of *cantons* there is in addition to the regular market another devoted to women. All men are excluded from it, and are severely punished if they enter. It is commanded by a woman appointed by the councillors of the *canton*. In it the women sell, besides the fruits, vegetables, hens, eggs, and pottery which they dispense at the regular market, magico-medical materials which are supposed to act as contraceptives and to produce abortions. The sale and possession of these is kept secret from the men because the use of them is considered ample reason for divorce. Sometimes a woman who fails to bear children within a reasonable time after marriage is accused, on general suspicion, of using them and is divorced.

Boy Markets. In the Jebala, markets were formerly held in which boys stolen from their families were sold, to be used as apprentices by wandering musicians and as companions by ordinary individuals. They were and still are kept by their purchasers for the purpose of sodomy, and other uses to which these children are put are made secondary to it. When they have grown to an age at which they cease to interest their purchasers sexually they are released and allowed to earn their own living.

The market el Had Ikauen of Ktama was a famous boy market, and was not closed until the advent of the Spanish forces of occupation, who have been trying to prevent such

[1] See p. 92.

1: Coor. E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

443
838
567
548
[684]
[562]
[432]
[583]

sales, although it is difficult to stamp out private transactions.[1] Boy markets are found in the Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ghomara, and Ktama (also, of course, in the rest of the so-called Jebala, and centered at Sheshawen and in the tribe of Beni Zerwal).

[1] The whole Jebalan area is permeated with this type of sexual depravity, which is practiced without mutual shame or any attempt at concealment. In the Rif persons sometimes live and die without knowledge of its existence, and those who have travelled and seen it cannot mention it at home without falling into disfavor. It was punished during the recent war, in at least two known instances, by soaking the culprits in gasoline and burning them alive.

This perversion, the only form known in this region, is accompanied in the Jebala by a low esteem for women, who perform the more arduous tasks of agriculture which in the Rif are done by men. A frequent sight in the Jebala is a troop of women marching long distances loaded down under heavy bundles of charcoal and other burdens, which in the Rif would be carried by mules or donkeys.

Bride purchase, a trait common to all Moroccans but the Jews, is in the Jebala literally applied, since here the wife becomes a definite chattel of her husband, not usually the case elsewhere.

The atmosphere created by this combination of cultural factors is in striking contrast to that of the Rif, which, although primitive, is wholesome and vigorous.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

§44 case the child is masculine, having begun the fusillade at the moment of the delivery, or at the moment when the sex of the child was announced.

The women who come with their husbands bring with them chickens and other articles of food, especially wild greens such as watercress and asparagus, if these be in season. The women install themselves in the room in which the birth has taken place, and prepare §46] nourishing broths for the mother, and for the next week or so continually come in and out looking after her.

§46 On the seventh day the father holds a second celebration, similar to the first, which may be in many cases simply a continuation of it. On this seventh day, the guests, when they have finished drinking tea, each put a silver dollar on the tray; this money is intended as a present to the mother, who may spend it as she pleases.

Among the central Riffians the father is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until after the expiration of forty days after the birth of the child. During these forty days he avoids her as much as possible, seldom entering the room in which she has borne the child and seldom speaking with her. From economic necessity it is unavoidable that he should see and speak to her to a certain extent, but the tabu is nevertheless kept as rigidly as possible. Among the other tribes there is no fixed limit for the renewal of sexual relations, the matter being entirely personal, and there is no attempt at avoidance subsequent to the actual day of the birth, although the husband in most instances is kept busy outside entertaining the men for the first seven days, and naturally hesitates to enter his wife's room when a large number of women are there. The sex tabu is found in Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Iherrushen (except Tarosht, Telmest) Ikhuanen, Iherrassen, Beni Yunes, northern Ulishk, Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghzuth, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Beni Hamid, and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

NAMES AND NAMING

553 The second important event in the life of a child, be it a boy or a girl, is the occasion when it receives a name. Among the central Riffians this takes place on the seventh day, the same day on which the final feast celebrating the birth is held. Among the other tribes it takes place later, but usually before the child is more than a month or two old. Naming is done on the seventh day in[1] Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, northern Ulishk, Beni Yunes, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Beni Mohammed, Iherrassen, Ikaroen, Inhanahan, Bured, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Bokoya, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Beni Gmil, Zarket, Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Ktama, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and western Metalsa.

● 551 A boy child is at this time given a name usually of Arabic derivation and of religious significance, although such is not always the case. The name is frequently a derivative of the root *hmd*, meaning "to praise," of which Mohend, Moh, Bohosh, Haddu, Haddush, Hammush, Mohammadi, Hamidu, Hadi, and Omuah are all more or less Berberized variations. Of these, Mohend and Moh are the equivalents for Mohammed.

[1] According to de Castro, the Galiya and Kebdana likewise hold the naming on the seventh day. This information would serve to date the transition from a seven-day to a three-day custom between the time of de Castro's writing (1911) and the time at which my material was collected. See Fernandez de Castro, *Guelaia y Quebdana*, p. 130.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

551

If a child is named Mohammed, he is called Moh until he is quite grown up, after which he is addressed as Mohend by outsiders, and still as Moh by his immediate family. He is called Mohammed only by Arabs and Christians.

The name Mohammed is not, as has been stated,[1] given to the first son of a union as a matter of form and tradition; the first-born is more often named after his father, but the Riffians do not follow any hide-bound rule, calling their children by whatever names happen to strike their fancy.

Similarly the first girl is frequently, although not necessarily, named after her mother. Common girls' names are Fatima, Fattush, Hammut, Minnush, Mama, Rowasna, Thamimunt, Mona, Aisha, Mammut, Tha'wat, and Hadduma.

Names which are also used by Jews, such as Ishak, Yussuf, etc., are avoided. Musa, the equivalent of Moses, is seldom used, since in *thamazighth* it has the additional meaning of "hunger." Individuals bearing it must be addressed with a magical formula, lest the hunger implied in it befall him who pronounces it.

Sometimes when a child is given his regular or permanent name he also receives a nickname. This honor is, however, generally reserved until he has developed enough to exhibit distinctive and individualistic traits of appearance and behavior. The Riffians are very clever at finding resemblances and at picking out distinctive physical characteristics. A list of nicknames follows:

1. *Referring to pigmentation:*

Ashabar	very blond
Shu'uat	yellow-haired
Awara	yellow-haired
Shihibun	albinotic (literally, wool-like)
Asarkan	light-eyed (This title is often given to persons with mixed eyes. It really means that the person's eyes are not brown.)
Asgwau	red-haired
Aberkan	brown-eyed
Akarkash ...	freckled

2. *Referring to size:*

el Finsh	tiny
Ahathid	very small (This name is given when the child is very small at birth.)
Amsien.....	small
Azghirar.....	tall
Bu thaghund	very tall (the father of the rope)
Ksbats	giant

3. *Referring to characteristic form, usually exaggerated:*

Akaroa'	big head
Bu 'jif.....	big head (in at least one case, applied to a hydrocephal)
Bu ahkort ...	hammer-headed (dolichocephalic)
Akhenush ...	pot-headed (brachycephalic)
Bu krish.....	big paunch
Athemran ...	fat
Bu asiw	exceedingly fat
Zughdud *or* Mutaish ..	skinny
Bu imsoghen	big ears
Bu wenzar	big nose
Bu thaghumesth..	big tooth
Amtals	looking like a typical Metalsa man

4. *Referring to pathological conditions:*

Akshar	scab-head (a victim of scalp disease)
Aidar	lame
Ath-hashor ...	deaf

[1] E. Westermarck (*Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, vol. II, p. 404) says: "The first-born son is very frequently called Mohammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Desunat, Ait Wäryäger)." In 1928, after having read this selection, I inquired into the matter while visiting the Beni Urriaghel, and was unable to confirm Westermarck's statement.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

551

Bu tha'arur	hunchback
Bu thumzoghth ..	possessor of a single ear
Athagheir	one-eyed
Amarzu	wounded in leg or arm
Koshih	hand will not open or shut

5. *Referring to habit and occupation, and miscellaneous:*

Thabowat	midwife
Belezghai	stingy (literally, dry)
Amarsgiw	bad, naughty
Bu kiur	wears long hair
Sheikh	musician (also applied to actors in the Carnival)
Harrami	crafty, tricky
Bu rezza	wearer of a large turban
Bu shasana	cultivator of many *shasans*
Derraz	weaver (with the horizontal loom)
Bu ghiur	owner (literally father) of a donkey
Akenniny	rabbit, implying fast runner
Shaitan	demon, bad boy, brigand
Bu selmat	left-handed
Aowsa	[illegible]an
Ishen	twin
Oshun	wolf, jackal, crafty

Besides the names which have a religious significance or secular Arabic derivation, such as the *hmd* group, Ali and its derivative Hari, Amar, 'Omar, Abd el Kadher, Mimun, etc., there exists a body of names without known meaning, and said to be of ancient usage. Such are Abekri (plural Ibkretin), Windish (plural Indishen), Belash, Khartit, Wiginas, Ashor. These names are said to date from pagan times, and may be derived from earlier languages or from an extinct form of Berber speech.

Besides the name given in infancy and the nickname (which may be given at any time and is the most common appellation of the individual) there is the patronymic or matronymic, used only on formal occasions, such as the drawing up of documents by the clerk. A man's formal name is his given name, plus the name of his father, and a woman's is her given name plus the name of her father. The idea of *son* is either left to the imagination or expressed by the genitive particle *n* or the filial particle *th*. The filial particle *u*, typical of the Braber, is not frequently used in the Rif, except in names of social groupings.

When an ancestor of a certain *vein* or even *bone* has left a reputation which his descendants wish to perpetuate, his name, no matter how remote he may have been, is placed at the end after the patronymic. Such is the case, for example, with the families of Indishen and Oshannen, who have virtually acquired family names in the European sense.

Although the Riffians are regularly patronymic, matronymy is found under certain set conditions. If a child's mother is noted for some skilled accomplishment, the child is called "So-and-so the son of the midwife," or whatever she happens to be. Besides midwives, female doctors and women who habitually led the dance before marriage are thus honored. Again, a boy bears his mother's name if she be a native of a different *bone* from his father, in the case of patrilocal residence. In the case of matrilocal residence he usually bears his father's name, but instances are known of the use of the matronymic in cases of matrilocal residence.

554

When, then, a boy bears his mother's name, as a result of an exogamic marriage on the part of his father this may be the mother's own name or that of her *bone* or *canton*, put in the singular and with the gender reversed. Thus, the son of a woman from Iherrushen would be Moh n Taherusht: from Iherrassen, Moh n Taherast; from Temjunt, Moh n Chimjun; from Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Amar n Charu n Aissa, an actual name.

The occurrence of matronymy, which might lead one to the supposition of an early matriarchate in the Rif, can thus be explained completely on the basis of exogamy and of distinctive trades on the part of the mother. Naturally, Riffians bearing matronyms do not

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

use them when in the presence of Arabs, lest the purpose of these names be misunderstood, for the Arabs would think that a man bearing his mother's name was illegitimate, and would ridicule him. For this reason the use of matronyms will probably soon die out.

Besides regular names, certain titles are in use. *Si* is prefixed to a man's name if he be a preceptor, schoolmaster, or clerk, or even a student proficient in reading and writing. *Sidi* is applied only to a reputed descendant of the prophet. The equivalent title *Mulai* is not known in the Rif, but is in use in the Senhaja Sghir, especially in Taghzuth, where a large part of the population, justly or otherwise, claims Sherifian blood.

THE FIRST HAIRCUT

The next event of importance in the life of the child is its first haircut. In the central tribes and the Senhaja it occurs after the expiration of a year; among the others, after six months. The former is the case in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Gzennaya, and all the Senhaja.

On the day decided on for the first haircut, the father takes a goat to the cantonal mosque and gives it to the students, who sacrifice and eat it. One of the students returns with the father and shaves the child's head, leaving a single lock standing out on the occiput. With some of the hair he makes a necklace, which is tied around the child's neck; the rest he takes out with him and buries secretly. After this the father and mother and immediate family, generally the entire *tein*, hold a small feast.

The scalp lock which the student has left is kept uncut until the death of the individual, and after that event is used by the students washing the body as a convenient handle wherewith to turn the corpse without touching the flesh. The origin of the Berber scalp lock is lost in antiquity, since it is one of the earliest features of Berber culture to be recorded in history.

The position of the lock on the occiput differs among the tribes, there being three places where it may be left; the right occiput, the left occiput, and the center of the occiput, just below lambda. The lock when worn on the left is called *thazhtoshth*, when on the right *thai'iyeshth*, when in the middle *themzurth*.

Distribution of the left scalp lock: Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Shawia, Jebarna. It is also worn by the Ulad Stut, Beni Ukil, the Arabs of Msun, and the Beni Znassen. It is called the Zenatan type.

Distribution of the right scalp lock: Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, rest of Gzennaya, some in Tafersit, Targuist, Western and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Hamid. This is called the Senhajan type, and is worn by the Beni Zerwal, the Mtiwa dial Jbil, and by what few individuals of the Ghomara occasionally leave this lock. It is likewise worn by certain families of Fezzis, and by all of the Braber, who claim Senhajan origin.

Distribution of the median scalp lock: Beni Urriaghel,[2] Beni Amart, Bokoya, Maritimes, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Shibet, and Beni Mesduy.

[1] Bates, pp. 134–137.

[2] Westermarck (p. 413) states that the Beni Urriaghel wear the lock on the *right* side, and that this lock is called *thomaiyt*. I have never seen an Urriaghli with his scalp lock anywhere but in the middle of his occiput; and the word which Westermarck uses to denote the right lock is really the name of the median lock.

852 553 goat with the assistance of his wife; but if he does not know how to slaughter an animal in the proper manner, the ceremony is performed by the fqi of the village. The meat of the animal is served at the feast which is given on this occasion; the scribes being entertained in the mosque, the other men outside the house, where they amuse themselves with shooting at targets, and the women inside the house. The liver is eaten by the members of the household, the head is given to the midwife, and the skin is sold. I was told that if this sacrifice were not made the child would die. The mother must present some money to the schoolboys of the village to induce the fqi to give them a holiday. On the previous day the nearest relatives brought boiled meat, bread, and butter as presents to the parents.

853 [401] It is a widespread belief that if a pregnant woman suckles a child the suckling will get an illness called la-gyel (l-gyel)—which literally means "the sucking of a pregnant woman", —from which many children die in Morocco (Tangier, Fez, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

755 [404] Among the Ait Waryager women take their sick children to a mother of triplets, who cures the child by making cuts on its head and chest and the sides of its body, so that blood issues, and by pricking the top of its head with a red-hot oleander twig.

551 The name of the child is in certain cases fixed by custom. If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this is a very general and stringent rule. Moreover, if a saint has been invoked by the parents to help them to a son, the latter is in most cases called by the name of the saint, who is then supposed to become his protector.

The first-born son is very frequently called Muhammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Ait Waryager).

In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Muhammed. This is a very widespread practice; and it is believed that if the son were called after a living father whose name is not Muhammed, either the father or the son would soon die (Tangier, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[405] Among the Ait Waryager it seems to be the rule that if a man has more than one wife the eldest son of each wife is named Muhammed.

551 As the first son is called after the Prophet, so the first daughter is called after his daughter Fatimah, the wife of 'Ali and the mother of al-Hasan and al-Husain, from whom are descended the posterity of the Prophet known as Saiyids. Her name—which is in Morocco pronounced Fatuma, Fatma, Fatma, Fatna, or (by some Berbers) Fadma—is generally given to the eldest daughter, even though it be the name of the mother, which is otherwise avoided; but among the Ait Waryager the daughter is in such a case called Fattos.

[407] In Berber tribes Arabic names given to children are altered in ordinary conversation. Muhammed is changed into Muhand (Ait Yusi), Mohand (Ait Sadden), Mohand (Ait Waryager, in the case of a scribe or a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), Momoh (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), Mahha (Ait Sadden), Moha (ibid.), or Moh (Ait Waryager).

302 [408] At Fez no child of either sex must be shaved until it is one year of age; while among the Ait Waryager a boy is shaved a year after his birth and a girl never.

[409] Some hair, however, is always left on the head, in accordance with the custom of the family. In all families it is the custom to leave an 'orf, consisting of a narrow line from front to back, but in some families a garn, or tuft, is in addition left on the right side, and in others a garn on the left side as well.

[753] [414] It is believed that if the shaving of a person's head is left unfinished, because the razor is not sharp enough or for some other reason, his head will be affected (Ulad Bu'aziz) or he will become ill in one way or another (Ait Waryager).

[415] In Morocco there is a belief that if it is the custom of a family to leave a garn on the head of a child, the latter will become ill and most probably die if this custom is not observed. The Ait Warain and the Ait Sadden maintain that the same will happen to a boy if the garn left on his head is ever shaved. The Ait Waryager say that if it is shaved before the death of his parents, either the father, the mother, or the boy will die.

852 304 [416] The next important event in the life of a boy is his circumcision. The age at which it takes place varies greatly.

[417] I was told that among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager boys are as a rule circumcised when they are about one year old, but that there are instances of boys being circumcised a few months after their birth. This is the earliest age I have heard of anywhere in Morocco.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

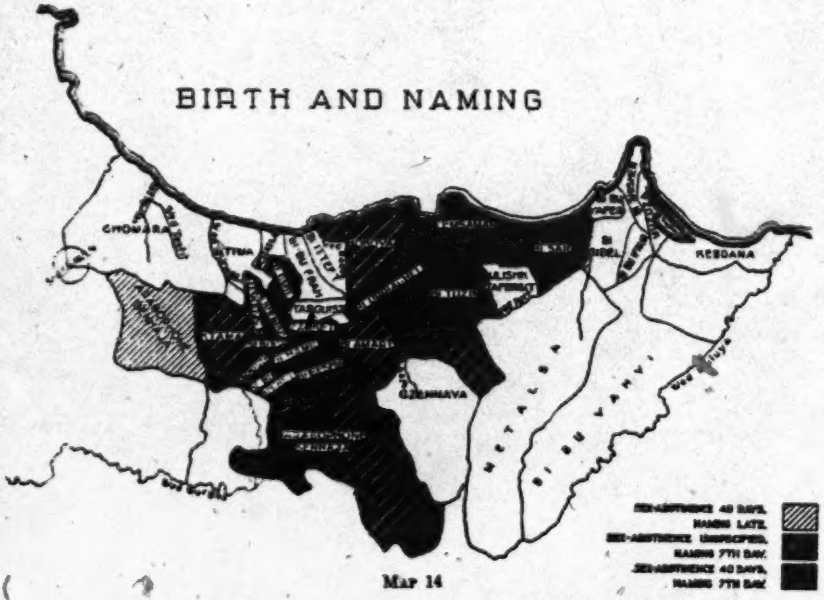
844
554
[845]

care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden.

853
582
608



MAP 14

844
553

Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard.

844

Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *sekau*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea.

844
782

This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in

844

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

case the child is masculine, having begun the fusillade at the moment of the delivery, or at the moment when the sex of the child was announced.

The women who come with their husbands bring with them chickens and other articles of food, especially wild greens such as watercress and asparagus, if these be in season. The women install themselves in the room in which the birth has taken place, and prepare nourishing broths for the mother, and for the next week or so continually come in and out looking after her.

On the seventh day the father holds a second celebration, similar to the first, which may be in many cases simply a continuation of it. On this seventh day, the guests, when they have finished drinking tea, each put a silver dollar on the tray; this money is intended as a present to the mother, who may spend it as she pleases.

Among the central Riffians the father is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until after the expiration of forty days after the birth of the child. During these forty days he avoids her as much as possible, seldom entering the room in which she has borne the child and seldom speaking with her. From economic necessity it is unavoidable that he should see and speak to her to a certain extent, but the tabu is nevertheless kept as rigidly as possible. Among the other tribes there is no fixed limit for the renewal of sexual relations, the matter being entirely personal, and there is no attempt at avoidance subsequent to the actual day of the birth, although the husband in most instances is kept busy outside entertaining the men for the first seven days, and naturally hesitates to enter his wife's room when a large number of women are there. The sex tabu is found in Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Iherrushen (except Tarosht, Telmest) Ikhuanen, Iherrassen, Beni Yunes, northern Ulishk, Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghzuth, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Beni Hamid, and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

NAMES AND NAMING

The second important event in the life of a child, be it a boy or a girl, is the occasion when it receives a name. Among the central Riffians this takes place on the seventh day, the same day on which the final feast celebrating the birth is held. Among the other tribes it takes place later, but usually before the child is more than a month or two old. Naming is done on the seventh day in[1] Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, northern Ulishk, Beni Yunes, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Beni Mohammed, Iherrassen, Ikaroen, Inhanahan, Bured, Temjunt, Iherrusben, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Bokoya, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Beni Gmil, Zarket, Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Ktama, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and western Metalsa.

A boy child is at this time given a name usually of Arabic derivation and of religious significance, although such is not always the case. The name is frequently a derivative of the root *hmd*, meaning "to praise," of which Mohend, Moh, Bohosh, Haddu, Haddush, Hammush, Mohammadi, Hamidu, Hadi, and Omuah are all more or less Berberized variations. Of these, Mohend and Moh are the equivalents for Mohammed.

[1] According to de Castro, the Galiya and Kebdana likewise hold the naming on the seventh day. This information would serve to date the transition from a seven-day to a three-day custom between the time of de Castro's writing (1911) and the time at which my material was collected. See Fernandez de Castro, *Guelaia y Quebdana*, p. 130.

844 [372] Among the Ait Waryager, before a woman gives birth to a child, the fqi of the village writes something from the Koran in a bowl, and water is poured over the writing and then given to the woman to drink. This is likewise supposed to facilitate the delivery.

[373] Among the Ait Waryager the after-birth (adan) and navel-string (dmit) are buried at the bottom of the dunghill of the house to prevent their being walked over.

[376] Among the Ait Waryager the mother is [377] immediately on her delivery given a dish of eggs and butter or oil to partake of, and after that the gravy of a fowl. Pieces of thin cakes, eggs, and butter are mixed together in an earthenware pot (dahabbit), which is placed on the head of a boy—a brother of the newborn child if there is one, otherwise a neighbour's son. The other children of the house and the women who are present eat from this pot on the boy's head; I was told that should they not do so something bad would happen to the child.

[378] Among the Ait Waryager, when a boy is born, the father puts into his right hand a knife (dahadmit) to make him a man, and when a girl is born he puts into her right hand a foot of a fowl to make her a good housewife; but the knife may also be a charm against the jnun.

[380] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the room of the lying-in woman is likewise fumigated with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels, who are consequently induced to remain there.

[384] The Ait Waryager have the custom of smearing henna on the top of the child's head on the day after its birth, "to make the head strong".

[387] In some places the child is referred to as the son or daughter of its father (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Amanuz and other people of Sus), and in other places as the son or daughter of its mother.

346 852 553 [391] Among the Ait Waryager the mother generally gets up on the third day, but keeps to the house till the seventh day, when she washes, fumigates herself with benzoin, and paints her hands and feet with henna, her eyes with antimony, and her teeth with walnut root. She also combs and oils her hair, puts a long silk scarf (rahzam) round her head, and dresses herself in her best clothes. On this day there is the ceremony of name-giving. The father kills a sheep or a

goat with the assistance of his wife; but if he does not know how to slaughter an animal in the proper manner, the ceremony is performed by the fqi of the village. The meat of the animal is served at the feast which is given on this occasion, the scribes being entertained in the mosque, the other men outside the house, where they amuse themselves with shooting at targets, and the women inside the house. The liver is eaten by the members of the household, the head is given to the midwife, and the skin is sold. I was told that if this sacrifice were not made the child would die. The mother must present some money to the schoolboys of the village to induce the fqi to give them a holiday. On the previous day the nearest relatives brought boiled meat, bread, and butter as presents to the parents.

[401] It is a widespread belief that if a pregnant woman suckles a child the suckling will get an illness called la-gyel (l-gyel)—which literally means "the sucking of a pregnant woman", —from which many children die in Morocco (Tangier, Fez, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[404] Among the Ait Waryager women take their sick children to a mother of triplets, who cures the child by making cuts on its head and chest and the sides of its body, so that blood issues, and by pricking the top of its head with a red-hot oleander twig.

The name of the child is in certain cases fixed by custom. If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this is a very general and stringent rule. Moreover, if a saint has been invoked by the parents to help them to a son, the latter is in most cases called by the name of the saint, who is then supposed to become his protector.

The first-born son is very frequently called Muhammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Ait Waryager).

In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Muhammed. This is a very widespread practice; and it is believed that if the son were called after a living father whose name is not Muhammed, either the father or the son would soon die (Tangier, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[405] Among the Ait Waryager it seems to be the rule that if a man has more than one wife the eldest son of each wife is named Muhammed.

121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
553 tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
585 the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
844 sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.
852
764

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she
sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
602 may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
782 (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
556 While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
574 bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so.
However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially
a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is
not uncommon among those who can afford it.

553 Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
574 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially
602 the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
114 On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during
553 which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the
574 child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to
602 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed
431 but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by pre-
vious obligations established by gifts that the giver has received
from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money,
20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 574 602 431 [578] cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this ceremony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 782 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 574 621 On the evening of this day, an open invita is extended to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the

553 556 574 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys. Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, however, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony

[571]

553

553 is, however, only a descriptive prelude to the much more elaborate presentations which occur in relation to nuptial ceremonies.

585 114 The marriage ceremony is probably the most socially significant public ceremony which takes place in the Rif. The spectacle and complexity of Berber marriage have prompted numerous studies, of which Westermarck (1914) is the most complete and Maunier (1927) the most useful. A rather detailed description of the ceremony among the Beni Iznassen, a tribe neighboring the Rif, is given by Renisio (1932). Accounts for the Rif proper are given by Coon (1931) and Hart (1956). My own description is not at odds with any of the above but the point of view differs from all except possibly Maunier.

585 The marriage process can be broken into three separate divisions of time and into the associated ceremonies and rituals [584] which accompany these three periods. The first period, which takes place prior to the wedding, is one in which the preliminary negotiations take place between the parents of the prospective couple. The second division is the actual wedding festival itself, which takes place over a two or three-day period. The final division is the ceremony held on the seventh day after the marriage. I shall discuss each of these periods in terms of the strategy of bargaining, the expenses entailed by social and religious imperatives, and the function of gift and countergift.

584 In the initial period negotiations are conducted between the male relatives on both sides, the most prominent participants being the fathers of the prospective bride and groom or, if they

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak
563 Arabic domestically, employing *thamaṛight* only with outsiders. They are at present con-
463 sidered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gaennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fes from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and shoe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

765 At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering.
563 Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting,
463 the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-
554 building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not
782 be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the *vein*, or of the schoolmaster of the *bone*, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

565 **Pipers,**[1] or *imṭhiyasen* (singular *amṭhiyas*), play upon the *summar*, a reed instrument
463 consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending
534 in the horns of the soudad. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfora and Meidhar of Beni Tusin, Ighza Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Nador, Azgangen, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area
565 covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2
463 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings[2] their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers[3] and **Weighers,** *iberraḥen* (singular *aberraḥ*) and *ishequiren* (singular *ashequir*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

[1] So translated here because of their profession.

[2] See below, p. 138 seq.

[3] The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 from the villages of Ifergugen and Ibettoyen of the Beni Tuzin. They wander all over the Rif, establishing themselves temporarily near markets, in which they perform their duties.
463 There is one of each profession settled within convenient distance of each circle of markets in each tribe or group of tribes. Being strictly endogamous, they send home to Ifergugen and Ibettoyen for their women; they cannot even intermarry with other Shameless Ones.

Although agriculture is considered the most dignified and worthy of occupations, skilled
554 trades such as those of carpenter, weaver (where weaving is done by men), gunsmith, powder-maker, and professional mason are not despised. A man plying one of these trades does not ostracize his family by so doing, or prevent his daughters from marrying into good families. Such trades are not hereditary as are the occupations of the despised castes.

563 The social position of the Jews is not comparable to that of any other group living in the Rif. The Jews, while living in the places settled by them, such as Galiya and Beni Bu Frah, form distinct colonies which in the past were not often molested. Jews going into other regions could formerly do so only under the protection of some important man in that place. The patron of the Jew considered the Jew as his bondsman or slave, while the Jew regarded the contract as merely a commercial one. The Jew was allowed to work at some trade, but must turn his receipts in to his patron, who gave him his food and lodging and a certain amount of money besides. The patron was held responsible for the Jew's safety and protected him against aggressors. Even under this type of contract Jews were able to enter only such marginal regions as Jebarna of Gsennaya, Ajdir, and, under the aegis of the Ikhemrijen, Targuist. They would not venture, in recent times at least, into the mountains of southern Beni Urriaghel, into northern Gsennaya, or into Beni Amart. For one to do so would have resulted in his death. The Riffians, in common with other Mohammedans, consider it a desecration of gunpowder to shoot Jews, killing them only with stones and knives. Since the Spanish and French occupations the rôle of the Jew has of course changed. He is at present allowed to go to markets to trade, and is not ordinarily molested.

567 Negro slaves are so rare in the Rif that it can almost be said that Riffians do not recognize the existence of slavery. The Ikhemrijen of Targuist have several, and one is owned in Ajdir. There may be others, but I have not seen or heard of them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XI

CRISES IN THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

128 Sociologists commonly recognize three major crises in the life of each individual: birth, puberty, and death.[1] Besides these major or biological crises they recognize others which lack direct biological importance, but are nevertheless sociologically of interest: naming, circumcision, and marriage. In the Rif, the first haircut should be added to the list and puberty subtracted, since no recognizable rite of passage is used to conduct the adolescent into the state of manhood or of womanhood.

In discussing these crises, my object is not so much to present a detailed picture of the ceremonies which accompany them as to work out a thorough plan of distribution for the various elements in each rite, in order to determine, where possible, the origins and relative antiquity of the various factors.

BIRTH

844 When a woman is considered to be within three days of the expiration of her term of pregnancy, the other women of her household go to the cantonal mosque and there hire a student to make out a charm which will help facilitate the birth. This charm is written, and the writing, soaked off the paper in warm water, is given the mother to drink. Care is taken to see that no knots are tied in the mother's clothing, and she is not allowed to work nor take any strenuous exercise during the last few days of her pregnancy.

On the actual day of the delivery, two midwives take charge of the situation, expelling the men of the family from the room in which the birth is to take place. One of the midwives sits on the floor, and holds the mother in her lap, in a posture half way between sitting and lying, and the mother meanwhile pulls on a rope which has been suspended from the rafters. The woman underneath her grasps her about the abdomen with both hands, helping thus to expel the child.

The Riffians explain the presence of the midwife underneath the mother by saying that it is shameful for a woman to bear a child while lying on the floor, since that is the manner of cattle.

While the mother is hanging by the rope, and the midwife under her is compressing her abdomen, the second midwife busies herself with the details of the actual delivery. When the child has been born, this second midwife cuts its umbilical cord with a pair of scissors, and afterwards goes outside, taking care not to be seen, and buries the afterbirth, the umbilical cord, and the scissors in a hidden place, which she is bound never to reveal, lest some enemy find the remains and with them wreak baleful magic upon the child.

844 The midwife who delivers the child and cuts the umbilical cord, and to a lesser extent
● 554 her assistant, who does the heavier if cruder part of the work, is held in especial esteem by the child in its later life. The child may later even address the midwife as "mother," and

[1] A. M. Tozzer, *Social Origins and Social Continuities*, pp. 86–89.

[P122]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

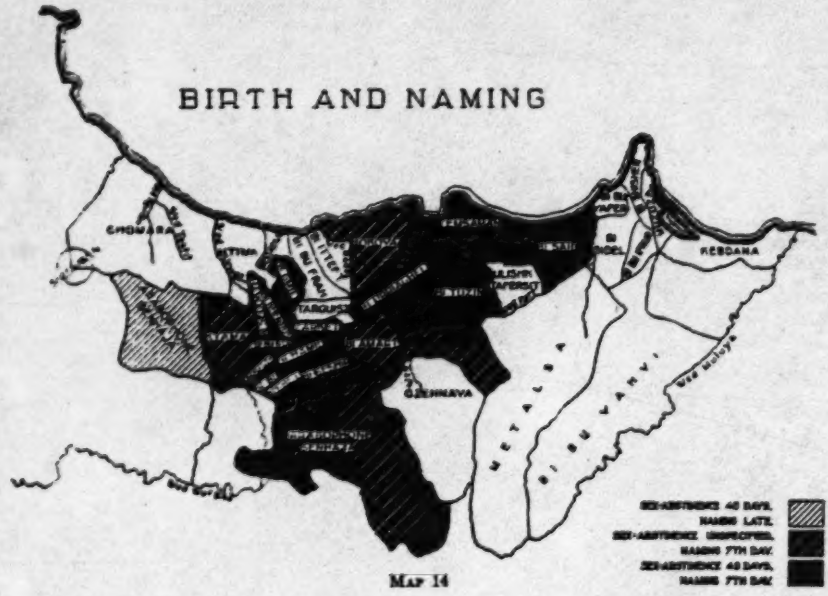
844
554
[845]

care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden.

853
582
608



MAP 14

844
553

Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard.

844

Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *sekru*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea.

844
782

This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in

844

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

551

Bu tha'arur	hunchback
Bu thumaghth	possessor of a single ear
Athagheir	one-eyed
Amarsu	wounded in leg or arm
Koshih	hand will not open or shut

5. *Referring to habit and occupation, and miscellaneous:*

Thahowat	midwife
Beleghai	stingy (literally, dry)
Amaragiw	bad, naughty
Bu kiur	wears long hair
Sheikh	musician (also applied to actors in the Carnival)
Harrami	crafty, tricky
Bu rezza	weaver of a large turban
Bu shaazza	cultivator of many *shaazas*
Derras	weaver (with the horizontal loom)
Bu ghiur	owner (literally father) of a donkey
Akenniny	rabbit, implying fast runner
Shaitan	demon, bad boy, brigand
Bu selmat	left-handed
Aowas	old man
Isben	twin
Oshun	wolf, jackal, crafty

Besides the names which have a religious significance or secular Arabic derivation, such as the *hmd* group, Ali and its derivative Hari, Amar, 'Omar, Abd el Kadher, Mimun, etc., there exists a body of names without known meaning, and said to be of ancient usage. Such are Abekri (plural Ibkretin), Windish (plural Indishen), Belash, Khartit, Wiginas, Asbor. These names are said to date from pagan times, and may be derived from earlier languages or from an extinct form of Berber speech.

Besides the name given in infancy and the nickname (which may be given at any time and is the most common appellation of the individual) there is the patronymic or matronymic, used only on formal occasions, such as the drawing up of documents by the clerk. A man's formal name is his given name, plus the name of his father, and a woman's is her given name plus the name of her father. The idea of *son* is either left to the imagination or expressed by the genitive particle *n* or the filial particle *th*. The filial particle *u*, typical of the Braber, is not frequently used in the Rif, except in names of social groupings.

When an ancestor of a certain *sein* or even *bone* has left a reputation which his descendants wish to perpetuate, his name, no matter how remote he may have been, is placed at the end after the patronymic. Such is the case, for example, with the families of Indishen and Oshannen, who have virtually acquired family names in the European sense.

Although the Riffians are regularly patronymic, matronymy is found under certain set conditions. If a child's mother is noted for some skilled accomplishment, the child is called "So-and-so the son of the midwife," or whatever she happens to be. Besides midwives, female doctors and women who habitually led the dance before marriage are thus honored. Again, a boy bears his mother's name if she be a native of a different *bone* from his father, in the case of patrilocal residence. In the case of matrilocal residence he usually bears his father's name, but instances are known of the use of the matronymic in cases of matrilocal residence.

[554]

When, then, a boy bears his mother's name, as a result of an exogamic marriage on the part of his father this may be the mother's own name or that of her *bone* or *cenlon*, put in the singular and with the gender reversed. Thus, the son of a woman from Iherrushen would be Moh n Taherusht; from Iherrassen, Moh n Taherast; from Temjunt, Moh n Chimjun; from Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Amar n Charu n Aissa, an actual name.

The occurrence of matronymy, which might lead one to the supposition of an early matriarchate in the Rif, can thus be explained completely on the basis of exogamy and of distinctive trades on the part of the mother. Naturally, Riffians bearing matronyms do not

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

use them when in the presence of Arabs, lest the purpose of these names be misunderstood, for the Arabs would think that a man bearing his mother's name was illegitimate, and would ridicule him. For this reason the use of matronyms will probably soon die out.

Besides regular names, certain titles are in use. *Si* is prefixed to a man's name if he be a preceptor, schoolmaster, or clerk, or even a student proficient in reading and writing. *Sidi* is applied only to a reputed descendant of the prophet. The equivalent title *Mulai* is not known in the Rif, but is in use in the Senhaja Sghir, especially in Taghzuth, where a large part of the population, justly or otherwise, claims Sherifian blood.

THE FIRST HAIRCUT

The next event of importance in the life of the child is its first haircut. In the central tribes and the Senhaja it occurs after the expiration of a year; among the others, after six months. The former is the case in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Gzennaya, and all the Senhaja.

On the day decided on for the first haircut, the father takes a goat to the cantonal mosque and gives it to the students, who sacrifice and eat it. One of the students returns with the father and shaves the child's head, leaving a single lock standing out on the occiput. With some of the hair he makes a necklace, which is tied around the child's neck; the rest he takes out with him and buries secretly. After this the father and mother and immediate family, generally the entire *sein*, hold a small feast.

The scalp lock which the student has left is kept uncut until the death of the individual, and after that event is used by the students washing the body as a convenient handle wherewith to turn the corpse without touching the flesh. The origin of the Berber scalp lock is lost in antiquity, since it is one of the earliest features of Berber culture to be recorded in history.[1]

The position of the lock on the occiput differs among the tribes, there being three places where it may be left; the right occiput, the left occiput, and the center of the occiput, just below lambda. The lock when worn on the left is called *thazhtoshth*, when on the right *thas'iyeshth*, when in the middle *themzurth*.

Distribution of the left scalp lock: Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Shawia, Jebarna. It is also worn by the Ulad Stut, Beni Ukil, the Arabs of Msun, and the Beni Znassen. It is called the Zenatan type.

Distribution of the right scalp lock: Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, rest of Gzennaya, some in Tafersit, Targuist, Western and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Hamid. This is called the Senhajan type, and is worn by the Beni Zerwal, the Mtiwa dial Jbil, and by what few individuals of the Ghomara occasionally leave this lock. It is likewise worn by certain families of Fezzis, and by all of the Braber, who claim Senhajan origin.

Distribution of the median scalp lock: Beni Urriaghel,[2] Beni Amart, Bokoya, Maritimes, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Shibet, and Beni Mesduy.

[1] Bates, pp. 134-137.

[2] Westermarck (p. 413) states that the Beni Urriaghel wear the lock on the *right* side, and that this lock *is* called *themzurt*. I have never seen an Urriaghli with his scalp lock anywhere but in the middle of his occiput; and the word which Westermarck uses to denote the right lock is really the name of the median lock.

181 178 Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim [421] [562] in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk, who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segre- [423] gated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one [628] else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with [554] the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud, [464] which was once the dominant political institution of the society, were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his [464] mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until 1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration, while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

181 669 The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Government in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic indication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apartness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's 621 671 time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

602 571 613 619 596 2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton[21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613 Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594 3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a 594 595 183 [554] conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny 595 182 [181] is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

646 authority could obtain for himself by entreaty the representation of
646 popular sovereignty. This representation gives him social prestige,
554 a prestige which in the Rif can only be won through bravery, ability or wealth. Beside it, the religious power, also represented by virtuous men, served most of the time only to decorate by their persons, to legalize by their presence, and to preserve with their spiritual power the most solemn agreements. Once such prestige was acquired, it could even be consecrated, as it were, in a written title (such as the Qanun of Lower Thamasint), but this meant ultimately the beginning of personal power and the abandonment of a democratic organization[101].....Such representation won through the personal courage and effort of those who wanted it was given a measure of authority and permanence, a fact which obliges (1935) extraordinary prudence in Spanish nominations of tribal notables--for the original lack of prestige of most functionaries of the Makhzin follows them all their lives as a shadow follows a body.....In a tribe which I
[123] once administered there appeared a new qa'id. The news reached me,
[124] and I wanted to find out in a superficial manner how the nomination had been received; but wherever and whenever I mentioned the word "qa'id", the people I talked to called the man amzir, or "blacksmith"--the Rifian is a master when it comes to establishing social categories!.....Another typical case: among the Aith Waryaghar it was very common in an agrau or council meeting for one of those attending to get to his feet suddenly and express his own opinion at an opportune moment. The igrawn were popular assemblies and many people attended them, each man coming armed and gesticulating with his rifle,

646 although not all of them with the same degree of forcefulness. Any-
554 one may speak, although the majority, as elsewhere, are silent. A spontaneous speaker caused the same sensation, stupor and curiosity as those like him in Spain do in the bull-ring, and the result was almost the same. An amqqran or councilmember interrupted him, saying "You here, you have just made the gesture of a stupid idiot," and the poor man, reddened and embarrassed, was silent amid general noise and quarreling, which the ingenious councilmember smilingly recalled
646 in later years.....Another incident: once a man whom I did not know
554 was proposed to me as a candidate for a position of tribal authority,
124 and I wanted to find out about him. I began a series of questions and reflections regarding the virtues which anyone nominated would have to possess, such as honor, ability, etc. I was, however, surprised to find the person to whom I was talking interrupt me, saying quickly, "No, no, no! You think he is like So-and-so?" (And So-and-so was a very short-statured men, as I myself am.) "Not at all, he is thus!" With this the speaker, a big, fat fellow, raised his shoulders up with a graphic gesture, thumping his chest and laughing, saying that nobody could willingly argue about his own authority.

646 Among Rifians, then, names of tribal functionaries seem
554 literally and faithfully to interpret the idea of the function in-
829 volved, as amghar and amqqran both convey the idea of "big, adult, old". This is reflected in the qanuns when, in reference to those [671] attending a meeting, prior to inscribing a list of the names of the notables present, those who drew up the qanun in question were very

careful to state that all those at the convocation were the "majors" and the "minors" (los grandes y pequeños)[102] of such and such a place. The written titles or nominations of functionaries, and the pompous Arabic names of qa'id, qadi and mqaddim, with which some men like to adorn their names in order to astonish simpletons and impress strangers, are only of value inside their own houses (author's italics), just as the titles of doctor and coronel formerly were in certain South American republics! In the Rif, there was, in pre-'Abd al-Krim days, no qa'id and no qadi[103]; only imgharen and igrawn, iziddjifen, dharfiqin and turba, the last-mentioned being warlike amanuenses whose fingers are better suited to hilt or trigger than to pen, while the other names are the most definite external indices of the degree of Islamization[104] of those who possess them. We will not speak here of such fantastic personages as the bu-mwarith[105] or the ukil l-ghuyab[106] and other shadowy figures recently created by the Spanish protectoral administration, who will probably soon disappear if not taken proper care of!

6) Resume of Rifian Tribal Functionaries (given even though Rifians tend to confuse them among themselves!):

a) the iziddjifen, "headmen", or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th.

b) the imqqranen, "big ones" (or imgharen, pl. of amghar), the representatives elected by the jma'th (author's italics) for its own prestige, and the delegates of the latter territorial unit in the clan council, whose habitual meeting site was the market, and whose job it was to make the law.

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

536
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

619 Thirnamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyuririn.
614 Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.
621

d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyar, Tighza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waunkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

175 8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara.
(628) (616) It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal struggles between Ifuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

175 554 When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

175 554 unwillingly brought the rest of the tribe into Bu Hmara's camp.

Bu Hmara, leaving the tribal organization as he found it, limited himself to transforming the existing shiyukh into qa'ids. The names of some of these men have been preserved: Muhammad wuld 'Allal, Midbuh, Muhush Kahwi, Buhut r-'Asimi and 'Allal n Dahu. Divide in order to rule; such was Bu Hmara's idea, severe and brutal. Under his command the Igzinnayen came to swell up his contingents to fight in Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman; and they were finally put in check in front of Silwan.

After Bu Hmara was taken prisoner, brought to Fez and executed by Sultan Mulay Hafidh, in 1327 A.H. (1909 A.D.), he continued to weigh on the tribe, which did not want him....Then anarchy returned.[172] We now see the appearance of Sidi Hmid Midbuh, son and grandson of the Qa'id Midbuh, and also a qa'id himself, in the Jibarna. Faithful to the Rogi Bu Hmara, he defended himself against the Hajj Hammada, who, far from enjoying the favors of Bu Hmara, had been executive after what happened at Silwan. The two families, already divided, came to show an increase in the number of their partisans.

Evil instincts now had free rein. The agreeable life of pillage, theft and murder began anew, with its concomitant of the exclusive satisfaction of the strong. 'Abd al'Malik found the tribe in this situation in 1333 (1915). He got the best group on his side, 175 648 554 because of the fact that aside from the facilities of command which he was given, he received important subsidies from Germany; and he did not hesitate for a moment to utilize the ancient quarrels in order to make his authority more secure. At this point, French forces had begun to penetrate the Sharifian Empire.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

175
648
554

The French advance in eastern Morocco hardly attracted the attention of the Igzinnayen in the beginning. The infidel was still far away, and, as for the rest, "God would provide." On their arrival at Minada, the events embroidered upon by market story-tellers increased their curiosity. One of their notables, the Hajj Hammada, presented himself to the French authorities. On their arrival at Msun, the Qa'id Midbuh, the Hajj Hammada, his nephew Muhand u Haddu, and all the rest of the notables of the southern Igzinnayen all went to look for them. Nevertheless, the French advance was a direct threat, and the Igzinnayen began to turn up as members of the harkas which fought against them. Importance was attributed to the numbers of these harkas, insofar as they came near the French, even without a definite order of battle.

At this point, 'Abd al-Malik, coming from Tetuan, entered the scene; thrown out by the Ghiyata, he succeeded in enlisting the cause of the Igzinnayen, especially those of Asht Yunis through his good relations with Si Hmid Ubarshan[173] and with Shaikh Hmid n 'Amar. He was spoken of throughout the mountains thanks to his open-handed palm-greasing, and thanks also to his tireless activity. He convoked the Igzinnayen in successive igrawn, the first at the Monday Market of Azru[174] and the second, a little later, along the banks of the Msun River, about 2 km. from the present gates of Kifan. The Qa'id Midbuh was frightened at this move, and after hiding by night with some fifteen of his agnates, he gained the French lines, while the Hajj Hammada, definitely conquered, received large compensations.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

175
648
559

'Abd al-Malik, aided by his German collaborator Hermann, sought friendships through money, and spread his propaganda among the Dharwa Haddu through the Hajj Hammada and his son 'Abdssram. Dedicated to their desires, they swelled up the harkas and suffered heavy losses; but the Igzinnayen did not hesitate to abandon and betray 'Abd al-Malik on the day that fortune went against him. His favorite, the Hajj Biqqish, who had sung his praises louder than anyone else, was the very first to rob him when he came to seek refuge amonst the Asht 'Asim.

The Hajj Muhand Biqqish, a notable of Thiddas in Ikhuwanen of Asht 'Asim, takes up all the internal history of Igzinnayen before the French occupation and the domination of 'Abd al-Krim. Having risen to the top through his indisputable merits as a warchief, he extended his power over all of Igzinnayen and a part of the Aith Waryaghar[175]. In 1913 and 1914, we find him in the Jbil Shaushau (?) of Bu Nakris (?) at the head of a harka which fought the French in Msun, in Taza, and in bil-Qasim in the country of the Miknasa. In 1915 he put himself at the disposition of the Hajj Mamun ash-Shangiti.

An excellent administrator, and having on the other hand a constant care about his own person and a great deal of knowledge of tribal politics, the exercise of justice was a considerable source of income to him thanks to certain rights toward discounts which he claimed and pocketed, and other ways of assuaging his conscience; and he thus increased his resources very considerably. He got rich and acquired lands and fields. He inherited the family house from his father in Tighza (Ikhuwanen), and another in Thiddas, as well as land formerly belonging to the subclan of Thimarzga of Aith Waryaghar,

175 on the mountain of Afuzar. In the latter place he built a large house
648 with a huge wall around it, according to the locals; this house is
554 known as Dhaddarth n Biqqish[176]. With 'Amar Hamidu, the qa'id of
Marnisa, he helped 'Abd al-Malik against the French. When the French
648 routed 'Abd al-Malik at Kifan on 13 Safar 1336 A.H. (November 28, 1917),
554 the latter took refuge in Biqqish's house. 'Amar Hamidu became hostile to Biqqish over the possession of the Wednesday Market at Buridh, but when 'Abd al-Malik appeared at Sidi 'Ari n Dawud[177], they patched up their differences in order to help him, until the day that he took refuge in Thafarsith. This friendship between the two chiefs of Marnisa and Igzinnayen lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim. In 1921, Biqqish, advised by 'Amar Hamidu, refused to join the Rifians of 'Abd al-Krim in their struggle against Spain. In 1922, 'Abd al-Krim attacked him and, abandoned by more and more of his followers, Biqqish, vacillating, had almost decided to place himself under Spanish protection; but afterward he reconsidered and submitted to 'Abd al-Krim. His son Si Hmid then was given a qa'idship.

By 1924 the importance of the younger Biqqish, Si Hmid, had notably decreased. Finally, in 1925, at the time of the all-out attack on the French front, the elder Biqqish and his son were detained by 'Abd al-Krim for questioning. After three months, in order to ascertain the feelings of the taciturn and mysterious Biqqish, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to the region of Branis to inspect the front and to keep inciting the war against the Christians.

Sick and irreductible, the old man set himself up in the Friday Market of Branis and did nothing. He was denounced and brought

648
554 back to Ajdir, 'Abd al-Krim's capital in the Aith Waryaghar lowlands. 'Abd al-Krim let him return to live with his family and gave his son Si Hmid his freedom; but, furious at the capture of the Mahkama of Brabir (---Branis?), he got rid of the old man permanently by giving him a glass of poisoned tea at the Wednesday Market of Aith Turirth (Aith Waryaghar).[178] Si Hmid was detained during the occupation of Marnisa by French Moroccan troops and then set free in January 1926. He lives today (1940) in the Igzinnayen[179], and has a sister, Mimuna, married to the former qa'id and present (1940) khalifa of Arba' n Turirth, Muh n 'Amar nj-Mqaddim; and this woman, probably because of the spirit she inherited from her father, is the real ruler of the household.[180]

It should be stated that the irreducible enemy of the Biqqish family, the Qa'id Finnish of Iharrasen, died in combat on May 11, 1926, against the French in Izkrithen (in the Asht 'Asim) near Ikhwanen; he had been a principal cause of the persecution and death of the Hajj Muhand Biqqish, through his influence with 'Abd al-Krim.

al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber-speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

684 554 203 626 74--In the Aith Waryaghar, anyone who indulged in bestiality became the object of extreme derision; and as a market crier himself is a person of very low social standing, this in itself would have rubbed more salt in the wound.

000 75--Marriages with parallel cousins occur, but they are uncommon. In this particular instance, there was a good reason for it, as Blanco points out.

76--These cousins, again as indicated in note 17, were the boy's r-waratha, who could normally have inherited only if the boy's father had either died without issue or if he had left a daughter or daughters only. It is un-Qur'anic enough for the r-waratha to appropriate, as [671] they often try to do, a daughter's share of the inheritance as well as their own, but for them to take over a son's share is expressly forbidden by the Shari'a, and may be regarded, in this instance, as the purest personal aggrandizement.

[114] 77--This should probably read "to one's tribe", as the notion of other tribes hardly enters the picture here. Except under an 'Abd al-Krim, how would it have been, or be, possible for a man of the Igzinnayen, for example, to feel any responsibility for a man from the Aith Waryaghar? This error may be due to a typographical error in the original text.

[682] [114] 78--One could hardly label a sanction of 2000 duros for murder committed in a market as indicative of "lack of repressive organs". It is statements of this kind, which continually crop up, that, in conjunction with numerous factual errors, cast a small but ever-present cloud over Blanco's work, and mark him as an amateur ethnologist.

79--See La Ley Rifeña, pp. 47, 50.

B) Commentary:

671 182 We have here a curious (sic) type of qanun, which, as we read it, reveals the decomposition which Rifian society had reached, the atomism to which its tribal anarchy led, the imperfection, or rather, the inefficacy, of its laws, the irregular coexistence, the demonstration of its independence.

628 613 728 The disputes between two lineages of the Aith Waryaghar threaten to exterminate them through the chain of blood-vengeance in the face of the indifferent attitude of their constituents, who are habituated to taking justice into their own hands in order to defend their own interests. Two rival groups of equal size attain, in their ferocious and persistent struggle, an equal number of losses, and they reach a stage of weariness, a moment of lassitude happily exploited in order to initiate a treaty of peace (author's italics), which will permit them to build up their resources; and this fact leads them to establish this agreement for one year. Those who will (686) see to it that the truce is kept are the shiyukh, to whose protection they submit and who are interested in the affair because of the inducement of the fine which the group must pay, if within this minimal space of time it contravenes what has been agreed upon in any way (author's italics).

671 613 628 728 554 This society lacks a strong executive power; it looked instinctively toward the web of lineages represented through its shiyukh or old chiefs (sic) (no one should believe that this title represented a step in any framework of governmental or judicial power) for a force which was neutral to its feuds and more powerful than itself, to which

671 613 628 728 554 by such a simple and voluntary act it was converted at the same time to an arbiter of incidents and an executor of decisions. The function is not gratuitous as in modern states, for if in the latter the contributor pays indirectly, he does so directly in the Rif. Their covetousness thus awakened, they evidently insured temporarily against feud renewal, but they also stipulated that it would revive the embers of their hatred.

671 613 628 182 [183] These agreements or inter-lineage truces obeyed a double mechanism originating from the vicious circle in which they were debated. On the one hand they originated a series of regulatory norms of coexistence which, gaining in amplitude of concept and extending their jurisdiction to the generalizing of their advantages and the persistence of their exemplarity, painfully came to gain the adhesion of other nearby and related lineages until they were adopted by larger social and territorial units, including districts or entire tribes; and this situation gave rise to some of those qanuns upon which we will comment further on. On the other hand, they represented the ultimate [728] step to which anarchy led, responding to those most curious periods of [195] their history in which one powerful group, having recourse to violence, broke the truce in defense of its own interests, the official recognition of this fact being given by the imgharen in the suq in the face of general consternation, with the tragic phrase War dha bu r-haqq.[12]

628 602 182 195 "Now there is no law"[13]: such was the official form of declaring the state of anarchy into which the Rifians so frequently fell, a phrase which obliged them to strengthen their kin group, without dismay and by all means in their power; for a man's kinsmen were his last refuge in case of social accident.

671 628 613 728 Things went well, while the violators of the past were humble figures among the allied groups, incapacitated by their slight strength and the fact that they had few friends to abuse the pact by opposing themselves to other groups concerned; but when the equilibrium was upset or broken by the hatreds of the more distinguished lineage members, dragging their powerful lineages into the fray, the pact was wrecked and peace disappeared anew.

671 628 728 Observe in note 1 the guarantee of peace. In note 2, the formality of the agreement obtained. In note 3, the punishment. In note 4, the violation of the agreement. In note 5, the executive organ, the mass of the population. In note 6, the procedure. In note 7, the reason for the punishment, because it is a voluntary law. In notes 8 and 9, the fulfillment. In notes 10 and 11, the notables, the really significant personages, the Aitharbi'in. In notes 12 and and 13, with economic details, the democratic sensation of defer ve practice. In note 14, the Rifian illusion.

671 628 152 Notes 3 and 4 seem to show that Rifian custom is not designed to punish the loyal combatant, who, in an inflamed dispute, comes impulsively to make use of arms, incapable of dominating his instincts and always quick to defend his rights, but also to avoid treachery, cunning and hatred, or rather, vengeance, reprisal, from which the Rifians did not know how to free themselves, and which used up men and [577] families. This is a notion which renders honors to manhood and [828] matizes the coward.

554 671 In notes 2, 10 and 11 it may be seen who the Rifians of significance are and that only these men, and not the ordinary tribesmen, are the executives and legislators. This proves what has been said

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
62 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an arictocracy known
623 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
619 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

pick up his rifle in defense of justice (a few days of visiting, free food, participation in the sharing of the fines, and even a raid, if this be the case). In the latter instance, everyone was (translator's italics) interested and desired to see justice done (with concomitant benefits of a meal and collecting one's own share of the fine).

Rifian law, according to note 7, is definitely superior (sic) to European law, because it obliges anyone who submits to it only to accept it and to agree to its fulfillment, accepting beforehand the santions which it establishes.

It is in these qanuns that Rifians may see sharply reflected who exactly are the men of prestige in the group to which they attach themselves and even the order of preference, by means of the names which figure in them; but we must not lose sight of the fact that they are edited by tulba of childish mentality (sic), a mentality deformed by their Islamic education; and that these tulba do not even translate Berber conceptualizations into their Arabic writing, as may be observed in other qanuns, thus altering the natural order in favor of their religious inclinations.[26]

Nobody believes, then, that such individuals cited in the first place figure in the documents for reasons of religiosity, but for the convenience of the ingharen who, jealous of their prestige, would have promoted interminable altercations in order to be first, in their jealous egalitarianism, and the necessity, which they saw themselves in order to avoid it, of putting above their disputes and petty jealousies individuals of neutral appearance, such as tulba, to officiate as the pacifying presidents of their stormy council-meetings (igrawn).

695 Valid and complete testimony in virtue of which both instrumental witnesses bring testimony against them.

000 (Two illegible signatures follow.)

692 At the same time, they agreed that whoever should commit any of the wrongs (literally, "things") expressed herein, the case, together with him (the man who committed it) shall be taken to Sayyid Mhammad bin Musa[32] and Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Ali[33] (Blanco: note d).

685 Whoever enters an orchard with intent to rob shall pay 20 uqiyyas. If a bull should start to trample property adjacent to that 685 of its owner, the latter shall pay one peseta. 672

The guarantors (of the fulfillment of this agreement) are three. The Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah, and Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan (Blanco: note e).

[681] Regarding the amount (of the fines imposed) with respect to orchards in cases in which they are injured by animals, this will be donated to their mosque (Blanco: note f).

If they should break a branch of a fig or other tree belonging to anyone, the owner of the animals will pay 20 (uqiyyas).

000 A signature in Arabic follows, which appears to be al-Bu Jma' bin Muhammad (signed).

B) Commentary:

671 624 The reading of this qanun clearly indicates in its first paragraph the names of those who have established it, all of them members of the jma'th of Imhauren, bordering the Island of Alhucemas, in the 624 plain of the same name. Every two or three headmen or iziddifen (sing., 613 aziddif, "head") are the visible representatives of the lineage groups 554

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613
554 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
[182] presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its repre-
792 sentatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692
554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692
212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
671 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
521
571 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
687 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that
695 the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they
have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the
qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a
triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the
meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the
agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it
as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good,
natural and admirable feeling.

182 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
671 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
626 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
681
613

691 It creates linkage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

671 623 [illegible]) Commentary:

This document, this community charter, as is customary with such writings, begins by enumerating the men who attended the meeting 671 554 623 in which it was drawn up. This simple list of names reveals to us, in the first place, the supremacy of the laymen, with civil power, over the clerics, a fact which may be observed in the name of the man figuring in first place being ahead of that of the Talib Sidi Shu'aib. The order in which the names occur is not a casual one. The editors 671 829 576 623 of the qanuns, profound psychologists who know to perfection the environment in which they operate, never dare to invert the terms of social protocol; they know with their eyes closed who must occupy the preferential place, and that the slightest transgression in this respect would tear down not only the agreement, through any quarrel which might take place, but also the effigy of the editors themselves[39].....

623 The first paragraph puts into relief just who are the representative men of the jma'th, the notables, the heads of the lineages making up the village, the iziddifen, who formed the council regulating neighborhood relations, the only council empowered to legislate in such questions (Blanco: paragraph i or j), and equivalent to the Spanish Consejo or Ayuntamiento.[40]

The agraw or council-meeting held on this occasion by the iziddifen had as its object, as the written qanun shows us, the legislation of neighborhood questions concerning the council, regulation of the coexistence of its lineage members, guaranteeing the free and peaceful usufruct of individual and communal (i.e. water) property,

681
673 Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

673 An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident
623 clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed
685 against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most
423 feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

623 The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is,
423 then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions
578 among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

623 Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs
[193] of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes
[574] toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

[623] But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as
[681] instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of
[554] European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

623 554 legislate, but it is not maintained by conferring distinctions on them, converting them into a caste, nor by giving them stipends for their work. For this same reason, the council-members have, perhaps, greater esteem among their neighbors. On the other hand, the jma'th punishes [581] disobedience to its decrees, but it does not impose a penalty on those who disobey the shaikh, who is simply a representative of the people with outside denomination expressed in writing (i.e. in Arabic), in view of the difficulty of expressing this in his own language.[44] That [622] he is a simple titular and outside arbiter is shown by the fact that his function, in Arabic terminology and organization, would be that of a mqaddim.

607 554 623 [578] This qanun is an excellent example of the beginnings of a trend toward personal power concentrated in a single individual, the shaikh, charged with the representation of the jma'th and the execution of its agreements;.....and we may perceive indistinctly the intrigue and the deaf struggle between this personage and the rest of the community, who are jealous of his attributes. In the first draft, the document is declared valid (Blanco: paragraph f, in text); but in the oversights pointed up in the re-reading of the document, and certainly at the shaikh's request, they consent to the fact that obedience to him be recommended in the addenda; but they have been careful, in the preceding paragraph (paragraph i), to state that only they can make resolutions or define crimes and misdemeanors through enforcement of law and punishment, always granted, of course, that such enforcement be useful (author's italics); but neither the shaikh nor anyone else can invent or contrive more than his council, because only they are capable

of knowing the needs of the moment, not past or future needs which do not mean anything to anybody. They are living laws designed for living people, for those present.

Paragraph b shows us how they embellish their law, taking aggravating and attenuating circumstances into account. Among these are nocturnity and dwellings (where they guard their fig and grain reserves). Attenuating and, even more, exemption from responsibility, homicide is legitimate if committed in self defense or in defense of one's property.

Paragraph c punishes intention, in order to avoid disputes, and makes a small concession to personal power, permitting the shaikh to keep for himself this fine destined for the common fund.

Paragraph d is concerned with injuries to crops by animals, which are herded by children. The punishment is minimal.

In paragraph e, the law of the jma'th establishes and regulates the social duty of hospitality, imposing the burden equally on all its members. Guests learn that it is not only the shaikh who pays for their upkeep, but all the members of the jma'th, even the poor ones.

Consider also the excessive number of voluntary servitors who dance continued attendance on the guest with towels, basins and soap, and finally the amphitrion hands over to their expectant voracity all the remains of your meal, except for one small dish which, passing through the door, is submerged in the mysterious interior of the dwelling as a reward for the activity of the women or children who prepared it. When you leave, each member of the jma'th retires with whatever he presented for your comfort: pillows, blankets, soap, coffee pot or teapot, towel, glasses, candles, etc.

771 [671] Paragraph h shows us the guarantee of keeping the principal religious services (funerals, etc.) and of keeping their sons educated in the faith. Today, under a different pretext, it is not uncommon 771 178 to observe someone pretending to reject with disdain such a traditional [793] obligation, for which he must not claim protection. The reason for this, rather than being rooted in irreligiosity, must be sought in possible antagonisms with the fqih.

623 671 Paragraph i conditions the obligation of fulfilling the agreements with certain legalities: that so many individuals be present at the meeting, and that they be useful and not prejudicial. They are, thus, the colegislators, working freely and without limitation, without dependence on anyone. It urges obedience.

671 [554] Paragraph j recommends obedience to the shaikh.

In summation: this beautiful qanun of a jma'th establishes who 671 623 are the iziddifen or council-members, and what their attributes are: to establish statutes regarding damages to crops, education and hospitality, but not to concern themselves with murder, woundings and homicide, an affair of the clan, nor with personal status, a religious 623 554 matter. In the internal struggle within the jma'th, if, indeed, the iziddifen consent and delegate the execution of their decisions to a representative (the shaikh) to whom they accord circumstantial rewards, at the same time, jealous of their prerogatives, they free themselves very easily from authorizing him to contrive misdemeanors and penalties for these.

554 Thus the shaikh, in reality, is only the guardian of the community.

671 443 614 776 was drawn up, as the names of those who inspired it disappear into a convenient anonymity as the generic "those of the clan", under the otherworldly tutelage of Sidi 'Amran. As for being alive and present, 671 614 776 I consider that the jealous and rivalrous constituents of this saint would neither have consented, however great his sanctity might be, to figure expressly in this qanun; for such was the independent or anarchical spirit of this clan, that, having iziddifen or ingharen like all other clans, nobody wanted to see himself deferred or ordered around, 554 even in name only. There is no master nor, by the same token, are there servants, titles or honors. Only men and rifles, and only reality and harshness.

614 671 Nevertheless, the common good succeeds in putting the clan's ideas into effect (author's italics--i.e. "the common good makes them agree"), according to the expression of the first paragraph of the qanun, which reveals to us the amount of discussion and work that this would cost.

671 Rifian law grows, pacifying the minds of those who live by it, staisfying a need, not an ideal; and doing so as naturally as the waters of 'Ain Tihalalin, beside which it was made, slake the thirst of the wayfarer and even the clarity of both: the wayfarer and the law. For the function of the water and the function of the Rifian [182] legal system was analogous: to cure, even though the cure was not always successful.

671 443 Rifian society, as this qanun proves, establishes a place of peace, a place which is not (translator's italics) the temple of God, the place of prayer and that selected by almost all other peoples, but the market and its environs, the temple of the merchants. This proves

671 "when they were under God's protection") among the notables of the Bani Khattab situated on the seacoast[65], God made them assemble, both adults and minors (author's italics), and made them put their ideas and criteria into agreement. Then they established the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') in front of the tomb of the saint Sidi Bu 'Afif[66], so that it would be a benefit to the poor as well as to those who should desire prosperity.

May God make concord (and harmony) endure among them, and may He solidify (i.e. render prosperous) their market. The establishment (of the aforementioned market) was due to the blessed sharif Sayyidi Ahmad bin Sayyidi Misa'ud[67]--may God make the whole tribe happy--and to the following persons of Ajdir[68]: to the opulent and considerate Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, to the Qa'id Sayyid Bu Bakr bin al-Hajj Muhammad Ushshan, to the Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar al-'Azizi al-Ghalbzuri and to his neighbor Shaikh al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir u Musa w 'Amar, to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Shaikh Hammu Taqal'ait Amhawl, and to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Hajj Muhammadi. All these shuyukh are those who brought their criteria and aid (for the establishment of the market), and above all of them (is the worthy help) of the sharif Sidi Ahmad.

Each of the shuyukh designated those who had to help them in the aforementioned market; these helpers are their brothers (i.e. the people who fall under their jurisdiction) and have to be the first to arrive at the market and the last to leave, in order to safeguard it from prejudice, harm, danger, evil and brawls which might occur in it (i.e. within its limits).

For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)

000 sought to remedy them.

671 This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences
671 from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the
181 Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization,
[177] how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity
in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society.
181 In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from
369 the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means
554 of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes,
177 in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthen-
369 ing his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers
554 himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although
291 his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

369 The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders
829 on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

369 Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

671
554 Abundant in these ideas, we may observe how in the first lines of the qanun some names are adorned with the honorific titles of shaikh and even qa'id, titles which fit the members of this society as well as two pistols do a saint, for not only did they not realize nor did anyone admit the roles which in Arabic correspond to such titles, but, as can be appreciated, the nominal qa'id (i.e. Sayyid Bu Bakr bin Muhammad Ushsham) does not occupy the first place, which he not only had to yield to the opulent and considerable Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, but to crouch behind another, second shaikh, 'Ali Azarqan, and we finally discover him in third place modestly lost among the notables: the adults (author's italics), with this single, authentic and legitimate representation: that of his lineage (family group) or dharfiqth, and all the rest, of the social group or jma'th.

It may be observed that this is the only qanun in which the imaginary personage of the qa'id is expressly stated; his title and role are as unreal as all other Arab ones in the Rif, whether they be called bu mwarith, ukil l-ghuyab, shiyukh, mqaddimin and even qudat
181 (pl. of qadi). These people did not look toward Fez nor toward the circumference of the Rif, but toward its center, toward the interior,
614 toward their villages. There was no power other than the assembly,
121 the agraw[75], the council of elders. For this reason Rifian society.... could have previously been considered concentric.[76]

671
554 We may also see the coincidence that this qanun, the only one
693 in which the term qa'id appears, is also the only one which contains that of amghar among the last names (ninth to last) as well as that of ra'is[77], and it reveals to us how the tulba of the Aith Waryaghar, who

671 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike pro-
554 clivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their
693 real profession.

671 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite
779 recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code, or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack, he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor markmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect markmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

681 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all
443 to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the
[619] tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent
[673] death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

have just said, a personage who does not show up in any qanun as discharging his office or as even providing the most minimal and non-transcendent representation, for in the one qanun in which we finally discover him (the qanun commented upon here) we have already shown that he hides himself modestly and even effacingly behind the camouflage of two other shiyukh. The result is that not even in the big list, in the listing of "the fat ones" (i.e. the enumeration of the clan brothers of each of the imagharen of importance), does this ambitious man gain first prize, the individual who seizes this being an opulent and lay tribesman whose preeminence clearly gives a clue to the psychology of the talib who drafted the qanun as well as to that of his constituents.

And, reflecting upon bases like these, it is well to ask what reasons or exigencies the first protectorate functionaries felt, discounting both imitative and ignorant ones in order to orient their policies toward big qa'ids who, even if their stature has been diminished, are no longer to be seen for sure anywhere.

To impose upon the tribes more or less significant personalities, representatives of concentrated power, when, subdivided ad infinitum, they unite in their opposition to all types of personal power, is always an ungrateful undertaking and one full of surprises, as practice has shown us....when power is imposed from above.[84]

In the Rif, where all are personalities, only a mass-oriented political system, and not one oriented toward individuals, can bear fruit.[85] The enforced utilization of one or even several dozen persons of some importance serves no purpose if this does not benefit the mass, taking up its aspirations and satisfying its needs, anxious for freedom

226
389 Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

G) Recovery:

425 Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped (577) to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

H) Arbiters:

628
554 Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

628
648
554
671
642
115 Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting themselves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analogous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their [821] tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

104 524 [686] by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

000 172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

[613] 173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

[554] [648] [631] 176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

[614] 177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[224] [113] 179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Rituals and Relatives:

A Study of the Social Uses of Wealth in Morocco

by

Roger Joseph, Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 1967

Professor Pedro Carrasco, Chairman

121 556 In industrial society the use of wealth to meet the needs of relatives or rituals is marginal and secondary to total expenditures. By contrast, such expenditures in a nonindustrial society may be the most important manner in which wealth is allocated. 121 556 433 Production in such societies is aimed primarily at satisfying needs arising from the activities and responsibilities induced by social and religious obligations. Distribution seeks to maintain the continuation of these activities and of the social relationships that they establish.

This study is an examination of how wealth is distributed in the Berber society of the Rif Mountains in Morocco. The fundamental feature of the Rif economy is that it is based on status. [554] The economy is one in which the deployment of resources rests primarily, though not exclusively, on imperatives derived from social factors. Exchanges, transfers, or consumption not directly

Within the ar-rba
619 there was a council (jemas) held irregularly to discuss and
[628] settle judicial matters generally pertaining to the blood feud.
[554] Only the more important families within the ar-rba had representation on the council.

613 The first social unit which is directly reflective of kin ties is the dharfiqth. Whereas tribal and ar-rba names refer to place names generally, the dharfiqth invariably carries the name of a real person, i.e. Aith Abdallah or Aith al-Qasim. The members of this group consider that they have a common agnate although they may not be able to demonstrate the genealogical linkage to this ancestor. The group theoretically includes all the sons of the founding ancestor and their offspring. Some dharfiquin seem to have increased in number and power while others grew smaller either through decimation in feuds or from splintering into rival dharfiquin. Solidarity seems to have rested mainly on sentiment, and in such an explosive atmosphere this is perhaps too fragile a mechanism for maintaining agnatic descent groups.

613 The dharfiqth is made up of a varying number of jujgu
596 which are localized patrilineal extended families which may be regarded as minimal lineages. Each ijujga consists of a man, his wife or wives, his married sons and their wives and children, along with his unmarried sons and daughters. When the referent of the ijujga dies, all his sons form separate and new jujgu. The composition of the ijujga is today an idealization since few
000 households contain the above list of relatives. Neolocality is

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is appointed by the national government. While the appointment is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem may and usually does have administrative responsibility over more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

621 622 657

622 631 619

Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

623 [554]

623 178

[657]

585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. Perhaps it is this unending sameness [777] which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also [262] have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [554] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 796 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

1965.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator. These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee.

These religious associations are for the most part voluntary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

792 794 575 [124] annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

788 484 [179] Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. [805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or [178] [509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. [435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in [671] getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, [554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have 788 484 626 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram. Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cultural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

754 791 789 793 433 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 754 789 435 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may [755] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One [755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi- [554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to 000 curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

554
556 Within each Riffian community there are individuals and families of differential social status. This differentiation is only partially based on wealth. Such factors as religious piety, descent, reputation and personal integrity also play a role. Prior to the pacification of the Rif skill in warfare and bravery were also markers. For the moment I shall discuss differentiation based on wealth.

556
423 The most important traditional measure of wealth was, and is today, property ownership. The more land one has, the larger a crop one shall harvest and the greater reserves one can put aside for winter fodder. A consequence is the larger number of animals one can maintain and hence the more elaborate one's ritual activities and the greater assistance one can give relatives, neighbors, and friends.

423
428 While large landholdings have a positive value in the Rif, such a goal is rather difficult to achieve because of the inheritance laws. Inheritance is based on the Maliki practice which divides the land amongst the heirs. Each son is allocated a full share and each daughter a half share. The widow (or widows) each receive an eighth of the property. In the absence of sons, the estate is divided so that the widow receives her eighth, while the remainder of the property is divided into three shares with the daughter(s) receiving two shares and the father's brother one share. If there are no children, the estate is divided among the brothers.

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off families have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
574 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local
692 level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas
631 or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
692 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
556 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is
554 placed in the position of protector and is under traditional
571 obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form of mutual support between local lords and the community was much

631 692 556 554 571 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally prominent man is generally efficacious since government representatives attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 648 556 619 The national government is well aware of the actual dual organization of political power in the country. While every Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

452 en a quite different system with its own ideology than that which obtains in an industrial society or even among urban Moroccans. In an industrial society credit is based on tangibles, on some form of material good which has roughly an equivalent value to the loan. In the Rif the majority of transactions involving the 452 554 extension of credit are guaranteed by a personal and intangible factor, one's social status and prestige. A man's reputation, the social credits he has accumulated, the ones his father and grandfather established, are his most valuable assets. A man who has established such social credit can draw on financial resources much broader than those available to the man without it. Because he supports the integrity of the community, he can draw on the community reserve with no greater guarantee than his word. One man, a quite humble fellah, financed his son's wedding with three loans, of $150 apiece, from a brother, the son of a deceased brother, and a friend. He was able in this manner to hold a wedding ceremony of considerable elegance with over five hundred guests. In another case, in which a young man wished to marry against his father's wishes, he could find almost no financing within the community except from returning migrant labor youths. Among this latter class the traditional ideology has [177] [464] been diluted by the industrial experience. These migrants have introduced a certain amount of novelty, especially in the material culture. Whether they shall also exert an influence in traditional social relationships and modes of social organization remains to be seen.

454 Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect. 231 Thus, an extra mule or an ox can raise the level of productivity 454 of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the 433 case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily 554 in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

256 Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is 435 the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water 472 is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah [376] engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents). 675 466 464 Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the 556 554 182 183 (128) social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains significance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

556
554
182
183

the fact that the society disapproves of any action which disrupts the solidarity of the community.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all <u>suqs</u> of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific <u>suq</u>. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturallement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

/296 cont./

175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
554 succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
182 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
578 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ʿAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

175 /402 cont./
631 of the tribes of the vicinity, ᶜAbd el Kerim can easily tame the
669 revolts of the Rif fomented by the minor amghars of the Ghomara,
648 /403/ jealous of the development of his power; soon he completes his successes by the conquest of the Jbel and makes his rival Raisouli perish in prison.

175 Four years sufficed to make of the son of the cadi of Ajdir the
631 independent Sultan of the north of Morocco, who keeps the
•554 armies of Spain at bay; carried away by his ambition, by the en-
[648] thusiasm and cupidity of his entourage, ᶜAbd el Kerim then dreams for an instant of conquering the towns of the Maghreb and becoming master of all the Mussulmans of Morocco, whose eyes turn toward him with growing admiration. Indeed, each day that passes increases his prestige; he becomes, in the eyes of western Islam, a new Moustapha /Mustafa/ Kemal; his name is known from the Indies to America, and people follow his victories and projects with a passionate interest; the large countries of Europe are stirred up by the importance that he is acquiring and, according to their interests, secretly desire his success or hope for his ruin.

175 A few weeks of well-directed military efforts moreover suffice
631 to get rid of the "Riffian State." But the conditions under which
182 this Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, so rapidly built up and at the same
648 time so fragile, suddenly collapses enable us to see its internal structure clearly.

During the first phase of the war, the struggle between the Rif, France, and Spain was carried on to the boundary of the tribes conquered and governed by the Beni Ouriaghel; so the efforts of two large modern armies remained in vain because the members of the Riffian Makhzen /makhzan/ always succeeded in constraining all the populations of the mountains of the north of Morocco to continue the holy war, the "jihad," without sparing their forces; but when the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel itself is threatened, the warriors of ᶜAbd el Kerim's tribe all abandon at the same time their external commands in the tribes of the Jbala and the Wergha in order to come to defend their own homes; the grip exerted by the tribal brothers of the "Sultan of the Rif" on all the small

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

231
[556]

In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart,
Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Targuist, and Bokoya, and in the western maritime tribes, horses are owned only by very wealthy and influential men, who buy them in the lowlands, keeping them more for display than for any other purpose. In the Senhaja Sghir and the Ghomara horses are very seldom encountered; in fact none were owned in Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, or Ktama at the time of the Spanish conquest. The sedentary peoples who own horses keep them in the courtyards of their houses and take excellent care of them; without exception the animals are fat, well fed, and not overworked.

Donkeys are found throughout the region, more particularly in the lowlands. They are of a small hardy breed. During the war the Riffians stole many large Spanish jackasses from the military encampments to increase the size of their own animals. In the high mountains of the central Rif and Senhaja, even donkeys are none too frequently encountered. They are used for transport, riding, threshing, and the operation of olive-grinders. They also are kept in the courtyards of the houses at night and are fed on barley and straw.

Mules are more common than either horses or donkeys. For the most part, the breeding of horses, donkeys, and mules is carried on in the lowlands, where the animals are bought by the mountain people. Mules are more highly prized than either of their parental stocks, since they can carry a much heavier load than donkeys and can navigate the steep trails and passes of the mountains better than horses. They are also used for threshing and for the operation of olive-grinders.

Camels are owned only by the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. Of the usual dromedary type, they are used wholly for the transport of goods and are only exceptionally ridden.

Sheep are kept principally by the nomadic tribes, and to a lesser extent by the lowland tribes of the eastern Rif. They are found only in the southern part of Gsennaya and are seldom raised in the northern section of that tribe. They are likewise absent from the southern Beni Urriaghel area and are rare in the mountains of the western Beni Tuzin. In Beni Amart and Targuist, on account of the flat plateau-like nature of the territory, sheep are fairly numerous. Throughout the Senhaja Sghir and Ghomara they are practically unknown, and of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja tribes only those on the southwestern extremity own them in any quantity.

Goats, on the other hand, have an opposite distribution. Although they are known and kept everywhere, their numbers increase with the altitude. On the lowlands the sheep are more numerous. In tribes on higher levels, such as Temsaman, the numbers are about even, and in the mountain nucleus at the headwaters of the Nekor and in the Senhaja Sghir the goats hold undisputed sway, for they are better able to withstand cold and to climb about mountain crags. The breeding of sheep, on the other hand, where feasible, is more lucrative than that of goats. This distribution does not, however, indicate the priority of goats over sheep in the Rif (even though this may well be the case), since the environmental factor is, in this particular instance, the governing one.

[857]

Sheep and goats are pastured by small boys, usually the sons of the owners, who amuse themselves by shooting with flintlock guns at pigeons, grouse, and small quadrupeds. Sheepfolds consisting of rough stone enclosures are used at night in stormy weather, and in winter the flocks are usually kept in the courtyard when the weather forbids their presence outside. The purchasing or raising of sheep or goats among the sedentary tribes depends largely upon the presence of sons of proper age to tend them, and the animals are usually sold when the sons have grown too old. In Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa this restriction does

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Any oil remaining over the three or four cups so given is the property of the man who has pressed it, unless a poor man without trees comes to the press and asks for some. Such demands cannot be refused and each suppliant must be given a cup.

Besides charitable assistance and work done in anticipation of remunerative charity, there are two types of definite agricultural contract by which one man who has not enough land to support himself and his family may acquire sufficient provender to last his household through the winter. The first is that by which a poor man binds himself to assist a richer farmer in all agricultural tasks in which he may engage. In return for this he receives a fifth of the total grain crop, a fourth of the leguminous plants and vegetables harvested, a third of the product of the fruit, olive, and nut trees, and a third of the grapes.

The rich farmer hires these share-laborers (who are called *akhemes*,[1] plural *ikhemesen* or "fifths," because of their return in grain) because he is not able to care for all of his land himself, owing to its extensive size. If the property of a rich farmer is so extensive that he is unable to cultivate it with the aid of one share-laborer, he will hire two, and these will split a fifth, a fourth, and a third of the various types of produce. No matter how many men a farmer employs he never gives more than the stipulated fractions, which are equally divided among the workers.

When a man owns property which he has no intention of working himself, he can rent it out in return for one half of the produce. This type of contract is used by the Beni Bu Yahyi in renting out the northerly portions of their territory to farmers who come down from Galiya to work the land, the Beni Bu Yahyi not being as interested in agriculture.

The share-laborer is often a stranger in the village of his employment, having left his home through shame of having his poverty advertised in his own village, or more often through fear of punishment for some crime. The migrations of these share-laborers has done more to cause infiltrations of blood from tribe to tribe than any other factor, since the immigrant usually marries into the group of his adoption.

Wealth is not a stable thing in the Rif, any more than it is in more modern types of society. Despite charitable practices and opportunities for outside work, many families find themselves on the verge of starvation in or near January and February, and are willing to sell anything within reason to obtain enough food to last them until the next harvest. Others, more industrious, who have worked their land to its limit and spent the rest of their time helping others for pay, may have more food than they require and be willing to sell some of it, at a premium. They generally demand land in payment. Working this land to its limit the following year, they may pile up an even greater surplus than before, and thus before many years may become large landowners and relatively rich men, ready, in their turn, to hire as share-laborers the people from whom they bought the land.

Thus the retention of property depends upon whether or not it is worked diligently, and positions of wealth may be reversed in less than a generation.

FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

The different types of food, including their methods of preparation, may be classified as follows: (1) cereal preparations antedating bread, (2) bread and breadmaking, (3) preparation of vegetable products alone, (4) dishes containing meat, (5) fish, (6) eggs, (7) milk and

[1] The feminine form of this word signifies a political division. See p. 92.

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
437 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of
556 some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable
152 increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large
197 Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that some-
623 body had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
687 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus public

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
691 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

691 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Rituals and Relatives:

A Study of the Social Uses of Wealth in Morocco

by

Roger Joseph, Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Los Angeles, 1967

Professor Pedro Carrasco, Chairman

In industrial society the use of wealth to meet the needs of relatives or rituals is marginal and secondary to total expenditures. By contrast, such expenditures in a nonindustrial society may be the most important manner in which wealth is allocated. Production in such societies is aimed primarily at satisfying needs arising from the activities and responsibilities induced by social and religious obligations. Distribution seeks to maintain the continuation of these activities and of the social relationships that they establish.

This study is an examination of how wealth is distributed in the Berber society of the Rif Mountains in Morocco. The fundamental feature of the Rif economy is that it is based on status. The economy is one in which the deployment of resources rests primarily, though not exclusively, on imperatives derived from social factors. Exchanges, transfers, or consumption not directly

121 related to subsistence are dictated by a different order of
556 practical considerations and ideological commitments than
433 obtain as the dominating factors in industrial society.

121 It has been an on-going dispute in anthropological
114 literature about whether such an economy as that of the Rif
433 is susceptible to the same sort of treatment that marks the study of market-oriented, industrial society. Polanyi began the dispute by pointing out that the rules of choice upon which most economic theory rests are based on a particular social and economic model which has only limited applicability. He noted that the economic behavior of the participants of an industrial society was largely induced by the institution of the market. The difficulty in such economic analysis comes, of course, when we study societies in which the market is not the primary focal point of the economy.

121 In Rif society the marketplace is peripheral to the
433 economy. This condition is due in part to historical and
443 ecological factors which have influenced the evolution of a particular kind of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and economic resources. The Rif has, until recently, been part

121 of the bled-as-siba, or the land outside the administrative
433 control of the Moroccan government. Thus, one of the major
642 social factors in the history of the Rif was the absence of centralized political authority. This lack of a political factor in integrating the economy has directly influenced the

121 and desert areas remained politically distinct from the Sultan's
105 regime. These areas, of which the Rif was one, were called the
bled-as-siba, or the land of insolence. In such areas there was
(571) no centralized political authority and whatever small degree of
security that existed came from a system of social relationships
whereby mutual assistance was expected and granted. The absence
of political integration at any higher than the local kin and
residence group was paralleled by an absence of extensive economic
121 integration. Not only political success but economic well-being
105 as well depended on relatives, friends and neighbors all support-
571 ing one another. Out of this developed an economic system based
602 on status. By "status" I mean an economy in which the deployment
433 of resources is based primarily, though not exclusively, on imper-
• 556 atives derived from social relationships and religious obligations.
In such societies wealth is expended on ceremonial activities, on
reciprocal obligations, on the gift and countergift. In an indus-
trial society there are analogous ceremonies and celebrations in
which wealth is spent on relatives and ritual. However, such
expenses are marginal to the amount of total outlay. Such expen-
ditures have proportionately little effect on the sum total of
wealth in comparison to expenditures connected with rational pro-
duction. By way of contrast, in a nonindustrial society social
expenditures of wealth can be the most important way in which
121 wealth is utilized. In a society heavily dependent on local ties,
105 on kin alliance, on neighborhood association, social activities
571 tend to be the essence and breadth of the group. Production is
602
433

585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. [997] Perhaps it is this unending sameness which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also [262] have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [554] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 796 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 3

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

121
437 The Riffian then is an agriculturalist, a fellah, who keeps small herds of livestock. Our problem is what does he do with his herd and his cereals once the subsistence needs of himself and his family have been met. If he followed Smith's dictum he would 'by instinct' seek out another individual with whom he could exchange his superfluous product in order to gain a profit. Such exchanges do, of course, take place. Ecological differentiation, for one factor, causes the exchange of special objects from one region to another. Occupational specialization requires the fellah to seek out opportunities for exchanging his produce in the most opportune way in order to acquire services and goods outside his range of competence. The question however is, are these forms of exchange the most frequent, do they account for the most significant amount of distribution, and are they culturally or ideologically the most valued types of exchange? If the answer is no, then we must seek out what sort of exchanges do fulfill the above functions. The study of the circulation of goods must proceed sui generis.

121
556 In order to derive the relative importance of the various uses of wealth in the Rif, I shall commence with an analysis of the distribution of wealth related to some of the life crises of the Berber.

121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
[553] tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
[585] the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
[844] sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.
[852]
[764]

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
[602] may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
[782] (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
[556] While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
[574] bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so. However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
553 574 602 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
[114] On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
553 574 602 his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to
431 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by previous obligations established by gifts that the giver has received from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money, 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially
574 father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this cere-
602 mony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the
431 family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right
(578) to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day
782 the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended
574 to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is
621 expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the
553 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of
574 food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys. Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, how-
(571) ever, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony
553

565 582 792 other shorfa families. However, the shorfa have never been a solid social class in the Rif because of the large and economically varied numbers of people who claim, with varying degrees of reliability, such descent. Whatever endogamy that exists [556] among the shorfa is between shorfa who are also men of means. Such families as possess both qualities do have a marked propensity towards marrying among themselves. There is also a 556 565 582 class of men who own more land than the average and do not do their own labor but hire others to do it. There is then a very loosely defined economic class which tends to marry within its own circle. It is very rare for a family of this class to marry a girl to a family with small holdings who hire out as laborers. They prefer to marry shorfa women, thus raising their prominence in both economic and religious terms. The majority of people, the small landholders who do their own labor or hire out to others, do not have any noticeable pattern of preference.

582 Aside from a loose class endogamy, marriage in the Rif is relatively freely constructed. There is no guiding principle whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry because of their location within the structure. Aside from incest rules which prohibit marriage with one's mother, father's sister, mother's sister, sister's daughter, brother's daughter, wife's mother, stepdaughter, grandmother, daughter, foster sister, or any child who was suckled by mother, marriage can be contracted with anyone inside or outside the dchar.[1] Within any one dharfiqth

[114] [1] Murdock's information (1959:117) that Riffians do not marry their father's brother's daughter is inaccurate, although the percentage

585 574 571 431 groom to help defray the expenses of the wedding, but a part can also be designated for the groom's personal use. Each gift must also specify a small amount for the person who makes the public announcement. A typical large gift would be announced as two hundred dirhams for the master of the wedding (the father), five dirhams for Moulay el-Sultan (the groom), and one dirham for the spokesman.

Although the smaller gifts are given gratuitously out of good will, the larger ones (fifty dirhams and upwards) are part of an extensive system of social obligations on the part of blood relatives, affines, and friends who are either fulfilling past obligations or setting up future ones. Recipients of gifts given by the father of the groom in the past are now expected to respond in kind. If the marriage is between members of the same lineage or between families who have contracted prior matrimonial links, a set of obligations will already exist. If it is the first marriage between two families, the bride's family is supposed to initiate good relations between the two families by donating to help defray the wedding expenses.

585 574 571 431 556 [114] Coon has noted in passing (1931:141) that this gift giving can become a competitive game in which the guests give increasingly larger amounts of money during the ceremony in order to shame rivals. I have never encountered such a situation in which the ante was raised during the ceremony itself, but a somewhat similar incident occurred in which a man donated more than the community felt to be his social obligation. At a wedding in one

585 of the fractions of the Beni Wariyaghar, four large gifts were
594 given. One of these gifts was 350 dirhams ($70) from a friend
591 of the groom's father, another of 450 dirhams from a brother of
431 the groom's father. The final two gifts were from two men who
556 had married daughters of the groom's father. One of these sons-in-law had been married into the family of the groom's father for ten years and assumed a superior attitude towards the other son-in-law, who had only two years previously married into this family. The latter, a young man who was poor in his own right but related to several well-off families, went to his relatives borrowing from each in turn. At the wedding ceremony he was able to give 400 dirhams to the father, or one hundred dirhams more than the other brother-in-law. At the time of the ceremony [578] the shamed brother-in-law bitterly accused the younger man's entire family of deliberately shaming him. The family denied that they had been in collusion with the boy, but also they took his side in the dispute and the two families ceased speaking to one another. As a participant on the one side explained to me, "I have a little bit of the evil eye for that outfit and they probably have the same for us."

585 After all the donations have been collected, the groom's
594 father and his paternal uncles take the tray filled with money
591 into the house and counts the proceeds. The amount received by
431 the groom's father may equal the outlay that he had to make to finance the wedding, and if the sequence of events ended here the man's debts might be balanced out by his newly acquired assets.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major
● 556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as
152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the dinoun
[753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of
[776] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The dinoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye,
amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[793] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who
[435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 5

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: STATUS AND PRESTIGE

121
556

The use of wealth in order to maintain or increase prestige is a feature which may have universal applicability to economic action. However, the outward manifestation of such a use of wealth varies from society to society. In industrial society there is a motivation for using wealth based on prestige, but because of the heterogeneous character of its composition, its different ethnic strains, different religions, different social classes, each sub-social unit has its own code and for the society at large there are no well-fixed rules. In the small-scale non-industrial society with its greater homogeneity, the code tends to be fixed and universal for the society. Thus one has the rather formal Kula ring with its minimization of options, the ritualized display and consumption of goods by Northwest Coast Indians, or the measuring of all social ties by cattle among the Nuer.

The Berbers of the Rif display a pattern which is between the flexible standards of prestige evaluation encountered in industrial society and the rigid standards of many traditional societies. The absence of rigidity does not imply that there is not a code of behavior involved in status but merely that the code is flexible.

554
556 Within each Riffian community there are individuals and families of differential social status. This differentiation is only partially based on wealth. Such factors as religious piety, descent, reputation and personal integrity also play a role. Prior to the pacification of the Rif skill in warfare and bravery were also markers. For the moment I shall discuss differentiation based on wealth.

556
423 The most important traditional measure of wealth was, and is today, property ownership. The more land one has, the larger a crop one shall harvest and the greater reserves one can put aside for winter fodder. A consequence is the larger number of animals one can maintain and hence the more elaborate one's ritual activities and the greater assistance one can give relatives, neighbors, and friends.

423
428 While large landholdings have a positive value in the Rif, such a goal is rather difficult to achieve because of the inheritance laws. Inheritance is based on the Maliki practice which divides the land amongst the heirs. Each son is allocated a full share and each daughter a half share. The widow (or widows) each receive an eighth of the property. In the absence of sons, the estate is divided so that the widow receives her eighth, while the remainder of the property is divided into three shares with the daughter(s) receiving two shares and the father's brother one share. If there are no children, the estate is divided among the brothers.

562 428 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister 431 and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal 578 equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land 182 607 claims are mutually balanced off.

428 Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their 423 inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their 607 property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct 562 on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

423 The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheri- 428 tance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differ- 423 entiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there 183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The 556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which 425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

425
423
183
• 556
[M31]

given to one's sons. However, in times of extended drought and famine as in the mid 'forties and again in the late 'fifties, selling of land and migration to the urban centers have taken place on a fairly wide scale. In such a situation the property owner can sell to a stranger but he must give relatives first option and, if they are unwilling to exercise their right, he should give the option to someone inside the community. To buy land under such conditions is considered not only honorable but a community service in that it maintains the integrity of the community by preventing outsiders from becoming members. However, neither the buyer nor the community regards such a purchase as speculation for economic profit. Rather, they see it as community service and a socially approved method of advancing one's children. The acquisition of land under such circumstances is not a part of the motivation system based on profit but part of the same complex which includes social duty and community solidarity.

Land is, of course, one of the factors of production. But whether the Riffian regards this aspect as being the primary attribute of land can be questioned. A man of my acquaintance whose grandfather and father had made sizable land purchases held at the time more land than he could profitably cultivate and manage. Yet he was quite ashamed that he had not been able to buy more land so as to increase the legacy for his own children. To him the economic value of the land was secondary to its prestige function. Naah's remark about property among the Maya

000

Nash's remark about property among the Maya
423 Indians of Guatemala has a certain degree of applicability in
171 the Rif. ". . . Since land is what parents leave children to start their adult lives, the idea of heirloom or patrimony is closer to the definition of land than is commodity or factor of production" (1966:39).

556 Those Riffians who have enhanced their prestige by
576 acquiring greater wealth have certain incumbent social res-
574 ponsibilities which are not placed on the less fortunate. It is expected of all Riffians to offer a meal to anyone who comes asking. This form of hospitality is by tacit agreement, however, generally beholden on only the more prosperous. The majority of such travelers are religious men or Koranic students who travel about from community to community consulting with their own kind or making pilgrimages to local holy shrines. Since they are apparently universally poor, they depend for their livelihood on the hospitality of members of the local community. It is considered extremely bad manners not to provide for them in the way of food and lodging should they request such. (Actually, the proper etiquette is for the host to offer.) As an isolated incident such hospitality would appear to be only a slight inconvenience. However, the more prominent a man the more frequently such calls on hospitality take place. In one home where I lived, such visits during the summer and fall months occurred on an average of twice a week. Coon relates that hospitality can be pressed to the point where the host will act unseemly and even refuse entrance (1931:116). Within the limits of reasonable

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off families have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
574 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 692 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
631 692 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
556 554 571 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is placed in the position of protector and is under traditional obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form of mutual support between local lords and the community was much

631 692 556 554 571 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally prominent man is generally efficacious since government representatives attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 648 556 619 The national government is well aware of the actual dual organization of political power in the country. While every Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

641 To partake in such leadership requires wealth since the trip
648 itself is expensive (the only form of public transportation
556 from the Rif to Rabat is by bus and these men eschew this in
619 favor of splitting the expense of a taxi ride of several hundred
[494] miles) and the per diem allowance is more a token than anything realistic.

Some men have gracefully retired from positions of community leadership because of expenses such as these. If over a period of years one declines to go to such ceremonies because of ill health or pressing familial affairs, the person is quietly dropped from the list of the invited and another local man is
556 substituted. Expenses for maintaining such a social position are not small in relationship to the amount of wealth available even to the better-off Berber. On the other hand, wealth alone does not qualify one for a position of political prominence and social prestige. The importance of a man is based not on his wealth per se but rather what sort of wealth it is and how he came by it. Wealth divorced from such critical factors cannot be translated by the Riffian into socially meaningful significance. To operate within the context of profit is to operate outside the complex of social responsibility and communal soli-
556 darity. Thus while there are entrepreneurs in the Rif, they do
472 not have the social prestige that goes with traditional wealth in land. This distinction could be illustrated by numerous examples but the following cases were selected because they

illustrate that this distinction is recognized not only within the community but by outside authorities.

a) A tribesman of the Beni Said had migrated to Alhucemas and worked for Spaniards during the Protectorate. He had purchased the hotel of a Spaniard when the latter sold on the eve of national independence. While it is illegal for a Muslim to operate a bar, he continued to do so with tacit approval from local officials. He opened several other enterprises accommodating Berber transients and Western tourists. Although he came from a poor family he had accumulated considerable capital. However, his values were oriented almost entirely to city life and he visited his tribe only once or twice a year. He did not attempt to translate any of his economic power into social status in his tribe. When an European-sponsored hotel opened in the city, the management regarded this entrepreneur as a competitive threat (he was underselling the new hotel by 50%). They complained to the police (it was rumored that generous bribes were offered and accepted) and they promptly closed the Riffian's bar. He complained to the Ministry of Interior in Rabat and was told he could reopen once the tourist season was over.

b) A Berber of the Beni Wariyaghar was the son of a prominent man who had sided with the Spanish against Ab-del Krim. The man, although he held political office

556 [423] [425] under the Spanish, remained more or less a part of his tribe. His son continued to accumulate wealth but exclusively in terms of land, especially from Spaniards leaving the country. He maintained daily contact with his tribe, attended weddings of the more important people within the Beni Wariyaghar and although he lived in the city of Alhucemas, had close and intense connections with the countryside. This man's own son, an officer in the army, was visiting Alhucemas and was accused by the police chief of drinking in a public place. The police chief, a recent transfer from the southern zone, was unaware of the prominence of the boy and had him arrested. As soon as his father heard of this he obtained the immediate release of his son through the Ministry of Interior and the suspension of the police chief. [689] [625]

These two examples are illustrative of the fact that wealth itself is not correlated with prestige or power. One might even suggest that analytically there are two sorts of wealth, each based on a different sort of operation in terms of accumulation and distribution. One sort of wealth, that which derives from the land, is a part of a greater complex in which social factors motivate economic action. The other sort of wealth generally operates free of these social factors and is motivated by the profit incentive.

556 472 183 It is possible, of course, for a single individual to incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylia Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, ". . . only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' . . ." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remunerative but of negative value in terms of social interrelations. 556 472 183 521 369 186 Those men who are motivated by profit often find the atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate to Alhucemas or Targuist. While Riffians who live in the rural areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

556 472 521 577 There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is manifested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

556 472 571 577 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incentive. In order to understand these differences more clearly, let us examine the process by which an investment is made by both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 454 231 471 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function. [422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

556 30 454

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents). 675 Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men 466 of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on 464 another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

556 In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the 554 social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects 182 the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians 183 wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains signifi- [128] cance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

556
554
182
183

the fact that the society disapproves of any action which disrupts the solidarity of the community.

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social
occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides
the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of
Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is pro-
hibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren,
or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary,
are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought
to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are
wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since
loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is
plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

the shell are joined by a ridgepole, most often a young cedar or a riparian tree. Two or more other poles are added to a form a solid framework for the roof (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). Rye straw is the preferred material for thatch, and it is placed with great care (pl. 3, *a*). The ridgepole is set between two timbers, the ends of which are carved in the shape of a crescent moon. The crescent ornament is sometimes

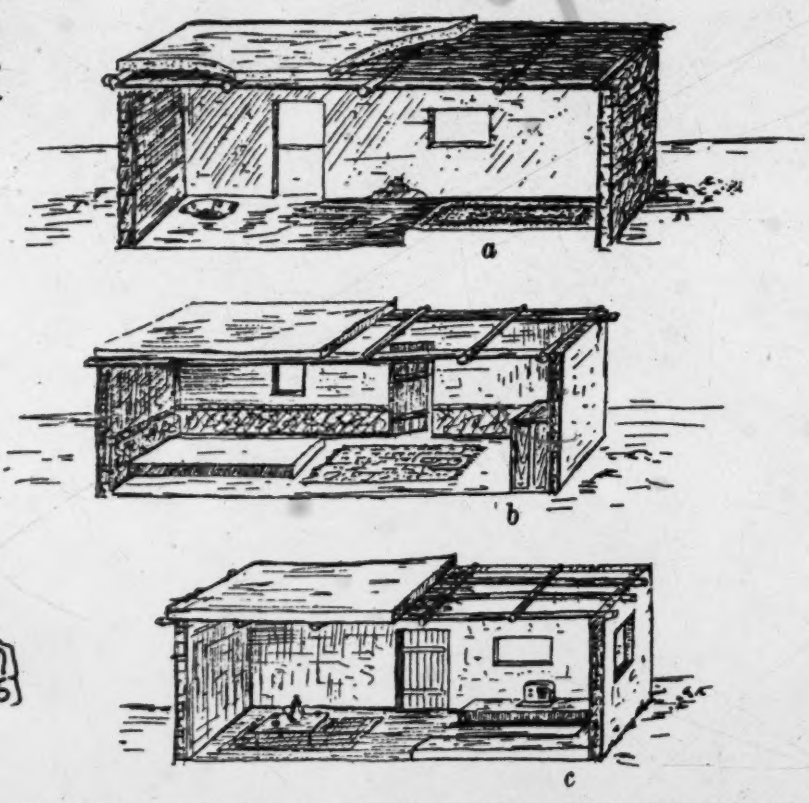


Fig. 20. Rifian houses: *a*, simple house with sleeping platform and fire pit; *b*, house of a moderately prosperous tribesman with wallpaper, cabinet, and mat; *c*, house of a tribal authority with padded benches, portable radio, mat, and table for tea service.

crowned with a carved model of a charcoal brazier and a teapot, thus uniting the symbols of hospitality and good luck (pl. 3, *a*). When stone is used, walls are usually covered with a thin layer of plaster. Wooden cribwork may be used to strengthen walls.

There are more two-story houses in Sanhaja as-Srair than in any other area of the northern zone. This preference for more elaborate structures reflects the more abundant supply of timber. When a two-story house is built, joists are cut

[See p. 127--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

a meter or so longer than the width of the space between the opposing walls. The projecting rafters are covered with planks, and other poles connect them with the overhanging roof. The result is a durable platform at the level of the second floor, which is used for drying hay and hemp, and for sleeping in summer (pl. 3, *b*).[A] A gentleman of leisure likes to have two platforms, one for the southern exposure and another for the setting sun.

The harsh winters in the Sanhajan highlands necessitate elaborate provisions for the storage of hay, fuel, and food. Each house has at least one loft, formed of poles set in the opposite walls and covered with planks (fig. 18, *a* and *b*). A separate hut may be built for sheep and goats, but the family cow is often kept in a sunken area at one end of the house (fig. 18, *a*). In the larger hamlets, separate structures or rooms are built for sleeping and entertaining guests. Guest rooms are usually on the second floor, and are always more elaborate than the rest of the house. In Abd al-Ghaya and Taghzut, where carpenters are highly skilled, such rooms have the Moorish arch at the doorway and are roofed with carefully fitted planks (fig. 18, *c*). Since cooking is usually done on a charcoal brazier, no special provision is needed for a hearth, a chimney, or smoke holes. Except for the door, which is rarely closed, light enters only from one or two small windows. Mats, blankets, and an occasional table are the only furnishings. Moroccans are not averse to sitting or sleeping on hard floors.

Rifian houses, whether of adobe or masonry, have flat roofs (pl. 2, *b*),[B] and the walls and rooms are constructed about an open courtyard. Rooms may occupy one or all sides of the enclosure, and two or more squares may be joined (fig. 19). Rafters are cut longer than the width of the room so that the overhang can be used as a porch or drying platform. Since the winters are mild in the Rif, the open courtyards serve as enclosures for domestic animals. Rifian houses are somewhat longer and narrower than those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, a reflection of the shortage of timber. In the highlands, stone is used for walls, whereas sun-dried bricks are used in the alluvial plains. In Aith Wariyaghar most houses are whitewashed.

Aside from the flat roofs and narrow rooms, Rifian houses do not differ from those in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. Floors again consist of bare earth or a thin layer of clay. A raised platform, covered with a mat of alfa or palmetto fiber, serves as a place of repose. The three houses shown in figure 20 show the usual progression from a modest to a higher standard of living. The man of means has a whitewashed room, a substantial door, and perhaps a strip of wallpaper. The best houses have padded benches rather than simple platforms. Add a table for tea service, a radio, and glass windows, and you have an ideal model of the home of a shaikh or qadi. Remove these items, and you have an average Rifian home. In most of Morocco, wealth is reckoned in land, not in material embellishments.

An interesting aspect of rural architecture in northern Morocco is the lack of distinction between humble dwellings and official or ceremonial structures. Mosques in most of the northern zone are merely larger versions of the prevalent types of houses. The same comment can be made about the shrines of saints, except that the structure is usually smaller than the average house. Minarets are a recent innovation, and many of them were built by Spanish *renegados*. The only minaret

[A] [See p. 127--Analyst] [B] [See p. 126--Analyst]

562 anyone, not even their families, nor can they leave their house to work, visit or travel, attend feasts, markets[39] or saints' tombs, without previous authorization from their husbands, who tell them how long [593] they may stay away from home. A man may correct his wife's faults [584] in any way he wishes, and if she is guilty of adultery, he may kill her[40]. If he has more than one wife, he sleeps with each in turn.

571 e) Concept of Turns:-(The notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" is a cardinal one in Rifian society.) There are "turns" of gift-giving (r-ghramth) at weddings, of the allocation of power (political hegemonies of families and even of tribes), of (usage of irrigation) water, or corvees (twiza), of theft (dhukkardha), of vengeance or reprisal (ar-raqba[41]), for (taking barley to) the fqih, or harkas (war-parties or punitive expeditions), of pasturage (dhwara)[42], and even of plows and animals during plowing time (if, as often was the case during the "Republik", there was only one pair of animals in the community). Rifian society is, thus, a turn-based society, and the term nubth (pl. nubath), in Rifianized Arabic, is so widespread as to include the inhabitants of a village.[43]

571 The case may be cited of a restless ex-qa'id (tribal chief
• 557 under the Spanish administration) who, desirous of returning to power, constantly pestered the administration with suggestions that he be [181] readmitted to office. As is logical and as a good Rifian, he wanted to be able to make a resounding exit, with his head held high, if he did not get the job. He wanted a responsible position in the regional government of the Territorio del Rif (in al-Husaima, then Villa Sanjurjo), and when he finally realized that his accusations

against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities, he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be composed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives, and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.[92]

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this,
● [557] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his
623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.

623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Any oil remaining over the three or four cups so given is the property of the man who has pressed it, unless a poor man without trees comes to the press and asks for some. Such demands cannot be refused and each suppliant must be given a cup.

Besides charitable assistance and work done in anticipation of remunerative charity, there are two types of definite agricultural contract by which one man who has not enough land to support himself and his family may acquire sufficient provender to last his household through the winter. The first is that by which a poor man binds himself to assist a richer farmer in all agricultural tasks in which he may engage. In return for this he receives a fifth of the total grain crop, a fourth of the leguminous plants and vegetables harvested, a third of the product of the fruit, olive, and nut trees, and a third of the grapes.

The rich farmer hires these share-laborers (who are called *akhemes*,[1] plural *ikhemesen* or "fifths," because of their return in grain) because he is not able to care for all of his land himself, owing to its extensive size. If the property of a rich farmer is so extensive that he is unable to cultivate it with the aid of one share-laborer, he will hire two, and these will split a fifth, a fourth, and a third of the various types of produce. No matter how many men a farmer employs he never gives more than the stipulated fractions, which are equally divided among the workers.

When a man owns property which he has no intention of working himself, he can rent it out in return for one half of the produce. This type of contract is used by the Beni Bu Yahyi in renting out the northerly portions of their territory to farmers who come down from Galiya to work the land, the Beni Bu Yahyi not being as interested in agriculture.

The share-laborer is often a stranger in the village of his employment, having left his home through shame of having his poverty advertised in his own village, or more often through fear of punishment for some crime. The migrations of these share-laborers has done more to cause infiltrations of blood from tribe to tribe than any other factor, since the immigrant usually marries into the group of his adoption.

Wealth is not a stable thing in the Rif, any more than it is in more modern types of society. Despite charitable practices and opportunities for outside work, many families find themselves on the verge of starvation in or near January and February, and are willing to sell anything within reason to obtain enough food to last them until the next harvest. Others, more industrious, who have worked their land to its limit and spent the rest of their time helping others for pay, may have more food than they require and be willing to sell some of it, at a premium. They generally demand land in payment. Working this land to its limit the following year, they may pile up an even greater surplus than before, and thus before many years may become large landowners and relatively rich men, ready, in their turn, to hire as share-laborers the people from whom they bought the land.

Thus the retention of property depends upon whether or not it is worked diligently, and positions of wealth may be reversed in less than a generation.

FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

The different types of food, including their methods of preparation, may be classified as follows: (1) cereal preparations antedating bread, (2) bread and breadmaking, (3) preparation of vegetable products alone, (4) dishes containing meat, (5) fish, (6) eggs, (7) milk and

[1] The feminine form of this word signifies a political division. See p. 92.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The gathering of wild vegetable products is traditionally considered to antedate agriculture. Tales are told of the times when the Riffians subsisted on these products and game alone. In Ktama, where agriculture is difficult, the gathering of wild plants, especially *tuzzelt*, forms an important occupation. At the end of winter, when the dried fruit is gone and when the larders are low, many Riffian families would die of hunger if their womenfolk did not go out on the mountain slopes and up the watercourses looking for these natural foods.

The green plants, such as watercress and asparagus, are subject to a dietary sex tabu. Woman only may eat them. The reason given for this distinction is that they produce blood, fat, and soft flesh, desirable in women but not in men.

Mulberries and cherries were probably introduced by the Arabs and later abandoned. Mulberries are not considered good food and are seldom eaten except through necessity. Tomatoes were probably introduced from Spain and then given up.

Cultivation of Fruit and Nut Trees and of Vineyards. *zilon* (male), *misola* (female), the domestic olive tree. The male tree produces large olives low in oil content, which are preserved in lemon juice and eaten as a relish. The fruit of the female tree is pressed into oil. As a rule all the male trees in an olive yard are cut down with the exception of one, which is left to fertilise the female trees. The olives are called by the names of the trees which bear them.

arman, the pomegranate tree. The Riffians recognize sex differences in pomegranates, considering that the fruit with a thick skin and large, hard seeds in the granules is produced by the male tree, whereas the better fruit is produced by females. As a rule, the male trees are all cut down but one, which is left for fertilizing the others. Sometimes male trees are left, so that the fruit may be sold in markets frequented by people unacquainted with the difference. The fruit and tree bear the same name.

er ghas, the fig tree. There are four varieties of fig trees, *aseiri*, *aghudani*, *awar n aksi*, and *abaran*. The fruit borne by the *aseiri* is round, with longitudinal purple and green lines; that of the *aghudani* is long, pear-shaped, and purple; that of the *awar n aksi* is round and light green. There are two varieties of *abaran*, one of which is round and green and the other long with black or purple lines. The three first varieties bear twice a year, in June and in September. The June figs, called *er bashor*, are eaten but not dried, except for use as medicine, since they contain but little sugar. The September figs, called *thezath*, are dried. The *abaran* varieties bear only in September. The Riffians say that the *abaran* types are the only indigenous strains, and that the *aseiri* and *awar n aksi* came originally from the Arabs, whereas the *aghudani* is derived from the Negroes.

shukwar, a wild fig. Planted, it is said, by birds that have eaten cultivated figs, this fruit is useless for eating, but is employed for magical purposes.[1] Each year the women and children go out and gather the wild figs when ripe, tie them together in pairs with grass, and hang them on the branches of the domesticated fig trees. There are said to be insects in the wild figs which come out and touch the buds of the domestic figs. It is thought that if these wild figs were not so hung and if the insects from them did not touch the buds, the cultivated figs would not bear.

[1] Westermarck (p. 190) states that the Riffians hang male figs in female trees, in order to fertilise their fruit. A small insect, *Blastophaga grossorum*, bores in and out of the figs, fertilising them. Westermarck refers to Elfving's *De Viktigaste Kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1885), p. 74.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

443
838
567
548
[684]
562
[48-
583]

sales, although it is difficult to stamp out private transactions.[1] Boy markets are found in the Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ghomara, and Ktama (also, of course, in the rest of the so-called Jebala, and centered at Sbeshawen and in the tribe of Beni Zerwal).

[1] The whole Jebalan area is permeated with this type of sexual depravity, which is practiced without mutual shame or any attempt at concealment. In the Rif persons sometimes live and die without knowledge of its existence, and those who have travelled and seen it cannot mention it at home without falling into disfavor. It was punished during the recent war, in at least two known instances, by soaking the culprits in gasoline and burning them alive.

This perversion, the only form known in this region, is accompanied in the Jebala by a low esteem for women, who perform the more arduous tasks of agriculture which in the Rif are done by men. A frequent sight in the Jebala is a troop of women marching long distances loaded down under heavy bundles of charcoal and other burdens, which in the Rif would be carried by mules or donkeys.

Bride purchase, a trait common to all Moroccans but the Jews, is in the Jebala literally applied, since here the wife becomes a definite chattel of her husband, not usually the case elsewhere.

The atmosphere created by this combination of cultural factors is in striking contrast to that of the Rif, which, although primitive, is wholesome and vigorous.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most
common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ifarādhen* (Arabic *bil-farḍ*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches (*tharghа*, pl. *tharghiwīn*) and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rīf, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-133.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

mary to arrange a fixed place beforehand for washing and bathing. Each *jamā'ath* (village, council of notables) works out and agrees on fines for infractions of water rights, particularly with regard to freedom of women; a small boy is stationed at a prudent distance from the women's section of the water, to keep men away (4).

It was Col. Blanco, in his magnificent analysis of Riffian customary law (5) (which has served as an invaluable aid to me in the collection of my own notes on the subject), who first called attention to the fact that in the Bay of Alhucemas, the primary ditches have secondary branches which only take up water for twenty-four hours; if there are four such secondary branches, each one only takes up water every four days. Secondary ditches in turn have tertiary branches, which take up water only during the day, or at night. The tertiary branches lead to the very small ditches of individuals, which take up water for a few hours only, these hours usually being determined by those of the daily prayers. Distribution of water is based on the tribal social structure: a *thārfīqth*, the fundamental social unit, receives water from a secondary ditch on a twenty-four hour basis, while a *jājghū* or patrilineal extended family within the *thārfīqth* may use only a tertiary ditch. If one of these family groups, during one turn, gets its water during the day, it will receive it at night in the following round, and the first in one turn will be the last in the next. All ditches are subject to communal maintenance and all the families who use them must help repair them after heavy rains have washed them out.

Water rights are still carefully regulated by the *'urf*, or unwritten customary law, and custom in respect to water channeled off from the Ghīs is different from that of the Nakūr, owing to the different nature of the rivers themselves. In the Bay of Alhucemas, the best land in the tribe, the flow of water in the lower course of the Ghīs, although slight, is nevertheless constant. The problem created by the Ghīs is that although today its volume has been artificially increased with new concrete beds for the primary ditches of Thafadhna, Bulma'īz and Libzimma, there would still not be enough water to go around if

(4) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 101.
(5) Blanco Izaga, 1939, passim.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfiqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rif; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlis are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jāris*, *muqaddams*, *shaikhs*, *qā'ids* and *qāḍis*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfiqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives awar (properly azwar), or «veins», and ighs, or «bones», corresponding to jajghu and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word ighs refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 R MX3

778 788 443 canvas tents in the Market of the Righteous, as they would do in any ordinary tribal market (*sūq*). They sell just the same articles, from clothing and bill-hooks (I purchased two of the latter here) to soap and matches, as they do in the regular markets, and some of them also sell sheep to be ritually slaughtered for the 'Aid [662] al-Kabīr on the following day. As in a normal market, also, men and women remain sharply segregated.

788 735 Among the pilgrims are numerous *ṭulbā* or students of the Qur'ān, who, after visiting the tomb, where they recite the Holy Book from beginning to end, proceed to the Market of the Righteous to ask the faithful for contributions (*ma'rūf*), which are placed in a box beside the tomb put there for the purpose. The money is later counted up by the tribal authorities and divided equally among all the ṭulbā attending (1).

788 778 795 575 781 The 'imārah of Sīdī Bū Khiyār has also, within the last two decades, become a focal point in the activities of the local members of the brotherhood of the 'Alawiyyīn, who maintain a not insignificant following in Timarzga and Aith 'Arūs, although they do not have a lodge in either of these districts. After paying their respects to the saint, they congregate for their *miima'*, or reunion, at a spot between the ādhān grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and a half to two hours, they go through the litany (*dhikr*) required by their order. This consists of a constant repetition of the formula *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, «There is no god but God», over and over, while the brethren are standing in a circle. The litany is followed by the *'imrah*, a form of rhythmic breathing designed to induce ecstasy; and the 'imrah of the 'Alawiyyīn (the word is *not* to be confused with *'imārah*) progresses through the following routines, in which the underlined and accented vocalizations denote outgo, and the non-underlined ones, intake, of breath:

(1) In 1955, there were 99 ṭulbā from the Ibil (Timarzga-Tvrirth, Aith 'Arūs) of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 717.75 pesetas: 96 from Aith 'Abd Allāh of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 696.00 ptas.; 87 from Aith 'Ammarth, who got 630.75 ptas.; 75 from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh of Aith Warivāghir, who got 471.25 ptas.; 39 from Aith Ḥadhīfah of Aith Warivāghir, who received 282.75 ptas.; 15 from Imrābdhen of Aith Warivāghir, who got 108.75 ptas.; and 10 from Iezinnāven, who received 72.50 ptas. Total ṭulbā attending were 421, and total money collected was 2990.25 pesetas.

[Text continues on p. 243]

Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk, who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segregated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud, which was once the dominant political institution of the society, were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until 1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration, while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Government in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic indication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apartness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

571 and orient a Rifian's activities and maintain...the safeguard of the interests which the community of his constituents does not guarantee him. While his social units are of a patriarchal, democratic and lay type, his political groupings are of a "military" type, true alliances which join men together and not territories. While the [562] social unit, minuscule as it is, has its proper jurisdiction over a territory and the people who live in it, whether men, women or children, linking together lands and families, the political unit only links individuals together, and these individuals are men only (author's italics)[15].

776 792 3) The "religious group"[16] satisfies the small (sic) spiritual needs of the rest of the Rifians and at the same time utilizes these needs for benefiting the tribe: they are the imrabdhen[17], who want to keep out of the Rifian's quarrels so that they can be effective mediators and arbitrators for him--and it satisfies the Rifian cult for the individual himself, and lends some distinction to his society, to which he never shows himself averse.

44 4) The "economic group"....is characterized in the Rif by markets, Jews[18], the twiza, wuzi's and dhwara, all of which suffice to fulfill the Rifian's principal needs, as much in terms of personal interests as in beneficial or humanitarian ones.

181 C) Family Organization:

1) Rifian society is an organized anarchy, with all the antagonisms and contradictions which are inherent in such a concept; and these may essentially be reduced to the "instinct of defense" and its derivative, the "spirit of association"[19].

583 The foundation of the nuclear family is through marriage,
584 which in the Rif is a "contract of buying and selling"[27], for, as the result of an amount (i.e. of money) stipulated by her father, a woman becomes her husband's absolute property[28]. A petition is made by the father or legal representatives of the woman; he, or
583 they, fix the bride-price (ssdhāq) and the manner of payment. This
584 contract, until very recent times, was unwritten[29], and the fact
212 that the jma'ath knew of the agreement was sufficient (to make it binding). Even today (1935), most old men do not have paper (i.e.
583 documents--r-knwaghadh, sing. r-kinghadh.)[30] By virtue of this
584 contract, a woman, who is never her own mistress, changes owners
562 and becomes the property of her husband, who uses and abuses her as
573 such, always for his own benefit, either improving her lot or
586 abandoning her[31].

583 Of all the acts which must be performed prior to marriage, none is as important as (payment of) the bride-price; and the day that the boy's father and the girl's father are together in the latter's house, accounts are settled and the former hands the bride-price over to the latter. From this sum, the bride's father buys his daughter's trousseau, with an advance on account from the groom; the latter's representatives, some friends and a fqih are also in attendance. Part of the bride-price is given to the father (immediately) so that he can buy clothing for his daughter; the rest of this clothing is bought by the groom; and the remainder of the bride-price is paid in money[32].

586 [587] a) Suspension of Marriage:--If through the absence of her husband, the bride goes home and is reintegrated with her family, the husband then cedes all rights and obligations with the exception of property; but the wife cannot remarry unless she has her husband's consent.[33]

b) Dissolution of Marriage:--This may come about only through death or divorce, the latter being an act which only a man can initiate, and a woman cannot.

462 c) Division of Labor:--Women care for children, keep house, prepare food (grind grain, fetch water, wood and fodder for the animals), wash clothes, and cook. They help reap the cereal harvest (in mid-summer) and carry the straw from the threshing floor to the house. At plowing time (in autumn), they sometimes carry the seed[34] and do the weeding (in early spring). They also bake the bread and care for the oven (located just outside the house). Men's affairs may be subsumed under the headings of war, agriculture, religion, and buying-and-selling; house-building, hunting, fishing[35], cutting trees and brushwood for charcoal, woodwork, reedwork, ironwork[36], wickerwork, work in palmetto and esparto, weaving, sewing[37], and burial rites and attendance at funerals.

●562 d) Relations between the Sexes:--Men represent, direct, protect and administer. Women advise, help and obey. Men's work is free, external and primary, women's work subordinate, internal and secondary. Men administer their possessions as they wish, while women can neither alienate nor obtain anything[38]. Men have freedom of movement while women (theoretically) cannot receive visits from

anyone, not even their families, nor can they leave their house to work, visit or travel, attend feasts, markets[39] or saints' tombs, without previous authorization from their husbands, who tell them how long they may stay away from home. A man may correct his wife's faults in any way he wishes, and if she is guilty of adultery, he may kill her[40]. If he has more than one wife, he sleeps with each in turn.

e) Concept of Turns:-(The notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" is a cardinal one in Rifian society.) There are "turns" of gift-giving (r-ghramth) at weddings, of the allocation of power (political hegemonies of families and even of tribes), of (usage of irrigation) water, or corvees (twiza), of theft (dhukkardha), of vengeance or reprisal (ar-raqba[41]), for (taking barley to) the fqih, or harkas (war-parties or punitive expeditions), of pasturage (dhwara)[42], and even of plows and animals during plowing time (if, as often was the case during the "Republik", there was only one pair of animals in the community). Rifian society is, thus, a turn-based society, and the term nubth (pl. nubath), in Rifianized Arabic, is so widespread as to include the inhabitants of a village.[43]

The case may be cited of a restless ex-qa'id (tribal chief under the Spanish administration) who, desirous of returning to power, constantly pestered the administration with suggestions that he be readmitted to office. As is logical and as a good Rifian, he wanted to be able to make a resounding exit, with his head held high, if he did not get the job. He wanted a responsible position in the regional government of the Territorio del Rif (in al-Husaima, then Villa Sanjurjo), and when he finally realized that his accusations

592
593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age
883
[785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time.
[584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage,
885
593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in
[591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the
[594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own.
883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and
885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council
623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he
616
794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].
575

593 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced
586 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

59 i) Summary:--The Rifian family is patriarchal and patrilineal, agnatic and polygamous (i.e. polygynous). It needs to be large because of possible loss through feuds or lack of hygiene. Although 562 428 legally a woman inherits one-half of what a man does (i.e. sons inherit twice as much as daughters), Rifians interpret Muslim inheritance laws in their own way, through customs such as "men's habus"[49], or the return to her house of a divorced woman, whether this be Koranically sanctioned or not. A woman does not inherit but is, in effect, inherited[50]; she bears children but cannot give them her name. She works, but cannot buy or sell; she exists to give pleasure to her husband, and is maltreated in return; but she is probably happier 000 than many of her European counterparts.....In my own opinion, the (Spanish) Protectorate has improved the status of women...and I think that if the Rifians consider men to be the superior of the sexes, this is so undoubtedly because men had to protect their womenfolk constantly, with rifle in hand. They saw in them a cause of weakness, but recognized them as being necessary to group survival (sic!). The Rifian family needed a headman with unquestioned authority, rigorous discipline without sentimentality, and an automatic ability 562 to heal breaches. Women were exempt from feuding and had at their disposition their own markets, reserved for them exclusively; in a sense, they formed a society which was semi-independent from that of [926] men. In battle, they incited men to combat. The shift today (1935) [178] toward Koranic norms is more apparent than real, and is taking place at the cost of parallel diminution, at the same time, of the sociopolitical importance of the group.[51]

562 428 [421] [361] Women are always considered as minors[52]. They have no property and do not, in practice, inherit. It would never even occur to a woman to ask for her portion of the inheritance; this is, indeed, very logical in a rural and bellicose society (whose settlement morphology consists of) dispersed dwellings, for otherwise it would 562 have been impossible to defend a woman against bold attacks. She can only take refuge in either her husband's house or that of her agnates. But women wear new clothes, sing, and dance, etc., at weddings, and at least they seem happy; and they are able to plague their husbands in many, many ways.

596 613 4) Jajgu (pl. ijujga--so-called in Aith Waryaghar; jij, pl. ijajjen, "wall-peg",--also, alliteratively, "penis"--in Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; and azwar, pl. isuran, "vein",--also, alliteratively, "penis" in the Eastern Rif):--This is the most difficult social unit to study, because of its intermediacy[53]. It is one of the "family 596 branches"[54] (i.e. a branch of a dharfiqth or patri lineage). I 613 really cannot say more than this because informants, also, are unable 114 to explain it properly. In my earliest notes, it appeared to me to be a uterine descent group (SIC!). If a man had agnatic descendants from three wives, he thus produced three "branches" of which he was the "trunk". I now (1935) believe this to be the case, but am not completely sure, for if a man who has only one wife has three sons, these also, as points of descent, form (the bases of) three ijujga. In any case, it is understood that branches or ijujga originate from each type (i.e. point of descent), but I feel that the more important category is that originating from a different mother; and, although

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s.
614
623 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each other.[63]

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jajgu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, reception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the jma'th.

D) Position of Women:

562
182
171 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the cancellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains regards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance[64], when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look for friends to reinforce it.

562 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly
627 revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as
628 their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

684 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed,
171 while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their
562 houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads[65]. Women do not inherit
428 in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in
171 lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much (1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce
586 them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single
582 nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage.
[171] A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and
562 is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of <u>insurrection</u>
586 (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a <u>zawiya</u>
708 (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated
623 [171] with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain to the <u>jma'th</u>, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather
629 through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration
171 of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslin <u>ukil</u> (legal
562

representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

B) Property (fragmentary notes):

In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman) who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his

000 [613] 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own, but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[191] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence [113] on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts [668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 428 114 423 [794] 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religious house or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion [113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

000

[465] 97--The fqih is paid by each nuclear family of the jma'th in barley every year, but he receives absolutely nothing from property in habus.

[251] 98--The office of amarras is nonexistent in the Central Rif, where storehouses, either individual or collective, are unknown, and each man keeps his grain reserves in an underground deposit (thasrafth) in the patio of his house.

[804] [114] 99--In the days of the Republik, a mudd was reckoned at 48 kilos; in Spanish times, 50; and since independence, 56. This puts some doubt on the accuracy of Blanco's figures.

[114] 100--Blanco erroneously thought that collective storehouses once existed in the Rif, and he cites Ajdir and an unnamed place in the Sanhajan tribe of the Bni Hmid as examples; and he also thought that the institution should be revived, as a sort of bank or treasury or center of credit.

101--What Blanco no doubt means to say here is that the notables whose names are written down in this qanun are ipso facto no longer anonymous, and that the first step on the rise to personal power is the shedding off of anonymity.

[114] [562] 102--In Rifian, imqqranen dh-imzzyanen, and in the Arabic of qanuns, "al-kibar wa al-sighar": the terms refer to all the men and youths (or boys) of a given locality. Perhaps this is the root of Blanco's interesting, if in some ways rather questionable, notion of women, who do not have the same status as their menfolk, as minors.

103--The notion of qa'id came in with 'Abd al-Krim, but no Rifian living can remember the day when there was no qadi, even if only matters pertaining to marriage, divorce and land fell under his jurisdiction.

[114] [199] 104--What Blanco probably means to say here is "Arabization" rather than "Islamization"; there is much more than just a subtle distinction between the two, and even during the period of the "Republik", a Rifian would have been mortally offended if anyone did not consider him a good Muslim.

105--Bu-mwarith: an official who takes over in the name of the government the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs.

106--Ukil l-ghuyab: inheritance or property representative for absentees; the man's function is a literal translation of his title.

107--This traditionally given etymology seems highly doubtful, for the Rif at least, and the term should rather read aitarba'in or aitharba'in (sing. utharba'in), which changes the meaning to the far more plausible one of "people of the people".

[114] 108--This seems to be purely an ex post facto explanation on Blanco's part and has no relation to reality. The notion of Ait-arba'in as people of the forty, in which there literally were 40 councilmembers, d o e s e x i s t in some areas (i.e. the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara), but it is unknown in the Rif.

623 63 13 443 [646] [648] 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 562 [113] 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid, May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. [191] Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

443 562 114

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 562 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

443 since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into
562 being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

[184] Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'unen), as did the Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have [114] disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. Sánchez Pérez, then, is essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of origin.

000 117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic [103] designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in [133] every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at 1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. With certain notable [823] exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now [121] in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

671 the Muslim ruling on inheritance by women), he finds it more convenient
[977] to bypass the Shari'a and invoke custom; for he will always find the means to allay any spiritual lack of scruples he might feel through coating his action with a veneer of pious intent (such as what is in effect a habus in favor of men) or of humanitarianism (such as asylum to divorced women, widow inheritance or sororate[10]), at the same time while he satisfies atavistic impulses.

671 114 It is very difficult to make any sort of rigorous comparison between the Shari'a and Rifian custom, owing to the great lack of data and documents dealing with the latter.[11] I might cite a few notes collected by del Nido[12], and some material of Sidi Ahmad bin Muhammad ar-Rhuni, former Minister of Justice and Chief Qadi of the Spanish Zone; but, then again, I am very doubtful that ar-Rhuni's material refers to the tribes of the Rif--certainly none of his documents are Rifian[13].

671 428 562 171 In matters of inheritance, Rifian custom elevates the condition of women more than the Shari'a does, by matching them with men and therefore by distributing the inheritance in equal parts instead of giving women only one-third (sic); but this is only in theory, and has to do with movable property[14]; in houses and in land, women, in fact, 671 428 562 get nothing. The basis of this distinction is not at all a capricious one, but obeys to the letter the strong Rifian idea which conceptualizes women as minors in age. For this reason they are given, within the house, such work and responsibility as do not require masculine effort or personnel, a fact which becomes apparent if one studies family organization. Work in the fields is a masculine occupation, as is

housebuilding, although here women help, in return for male protection. Women are disregarded here, for in these aspects of movable property, to the formation of which, in the last analysis, they have not ultimately contributed, they receive nothing. On the other hand, in such work as befits their sex, nothing is denied them (even including cereals, for they contribute to the harvest by reaping grain with a sickle and transporting it, on their backs, to the threshing floor.) This notion is linked with the manner of acquiring property through inheritance, purchase or even through force (i.e. blood vengeance)[15]. Property gained in any other way is illegitimate, and as men are the ones who gain it, they have no reason to divide ir or share it with women.

D) Points Regarding Arabic Work on Anti-Sunna Traits (fragmentary):

I hereby review a work in Arabic by Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Brahim Aqibli Amshali al-Susi[16], dated 1342 A.H. (1923-4 A.D.), and published by al-Fatimi ibn Muhammad al-Shagadi. In this work the author exhorts Berbers to give up practices which are irreverent and contrary to the sunna, the Custom of the Prophet, and lists those which are to be condemned, as follows:

1) Irreverent Customs at the 'Ashura:[17] Carnivals. The author rejects all forms of bonfires, of costume and of representation, i.e. imitating animals, birds, old men and old women, as well as the use of obscene words and the wearing of transparent clothes. I have myself seen all this practiced in the Rif[18]. Regarding the use of bonfires, it seems that in the Rif they are lit up to smoke the trees as a possible disinfectant[19].

798
764 2) Funeral Rites Contrary to Sunna: the funeral chant invoking the name of God which is started up when the body is lifted up to be taken to the cemetery (and this is done in the Rif) is rejected as bad (sic). A man should not place himself facing Mecca during the funeral prayer (at the grave) (sic); nor should the body be oriented in this direction (sic) nor should its shroud be pierced (in the Rif, in Ibuq-quyen, a hold is pierced in the nose of the shroud), nor can a stick be nailed perpendicularly to the grave (this is done in the Rif[20]); and the catching...in the act by someone of the body being buried or of the recitation of the hizb[21] of the Koran is like lighting the three lights in agony.[22]

798
302 3) Deceits and Frauds in the 'Aid: men should not put henna on
562 their hands and should not shake hands with women, as this is sinful.
794 Getting meals in the mosque is very bad, as are petitions (of gifts)
769 to the imam[23] after the prayer of the 'Aid; and visiting the cemetery on feast days is also bad, as these are days of happiness[23a]. (In the Rif all these practices are observed[24]).

798
585 4) Weddings: It is very bad to mark the doors of the house of either the bride or the groom with blood (this is done in the Rif[25]), and so is firing rifle shots in the bride's room on the day that the marriage is consummated[26]; so is touching the bride's clothing, or helping her mount the mule which is to take her to the groom's house, or helping her alight on arrival, or mounting the same animal behind her; and equally bad is someone showing up at the moment of union of the newly married couple or staying so near to them that he can hear them talking. Also, men playing in front of women and women dancing in

695 F) Oaths (fragmentary):[35]

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pretensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has [562] no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a women against her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter[36], where does one find more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and 695 839 the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape[36a] A, etc., which, if not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

695 [671] [191] Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are 695 623 previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants [613] to[37]. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members of his dharfiqth[38].

695 829 181 Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to

A, [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49A], and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right
[442] path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[574] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

[49A, [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

000 [128] 10--Blanco does not, in fact, employ the terms "levirate" and "sororate", and here I confess to having taken liberties with the text; but his meaning is abundantly clear. To readers who want refresher definitions, levirate refers to the practice of a man marrying the widow of his brother (as Coon has pointed out, in the Rif this is usually a junior levirate, meaning that the brother who does the marrying is generally a younger brother), while sororate refers to the practice of a man marrying his deceased wife's sister.

[113] 11--This is indeed true, and the only published work thus far specifically dealing with any aspect or aspects of Rifian custom, aside from Blanco's own La Ley Rifeña, is José Maria Peniagua, "Notas Sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif", Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos, no. 4, Madrid 1948, pp. 7-44 and ditto, La Prescripción y el Retracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. Paniagua's work, particularly the last-mentioned monograph, deals with problems which seem to be almost entirely constructs of a European legal mind, and have no basis in social reality; and such work cannot be considered serious contributions to the study of Berber jural systems.

12--We cannot identify the work to which Blanco refers here.

13--The only work of Sidi Ahmad ar-Rhuni which we know is the Spanish translation of his Historia de Tetuan, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, and this contains no allusions whatever, even remote ones, to Rifian custom.

671 428 191 114 • 562 14--This is not so. Under Shari'a regulations, women receive one-half of what men receive, in inheritance, and this is the case for both movable and real property. Granted, of course, that the point in the Rif is largely theoretical and that women in fact, as Blanco points out, generally get nothing (particularly insofar as real property is concerned), it still seems appropriate to correct this error. In any case, we have never heard of any customary variation of normal Shari'a usage, which would allot to women one-third of movable property; and neither have any of my informants. It is one-half in theory, and, as a rule, nothing in practice.

671 428 191 562 Besides the current practice of a woman's father or brothers appropriating, in effect, her share of the patrimony on her marriage (in order to keep it in family hands and to keep in-laws out), there is a second institution which reinforces the notion that women do not inherit. If a man dies leaving only his widow and a daughter or daughters (no sons), his r-waratha (sing. awrith) or remaining agnates stand to inherit, which they would not do even if he had only one son. According to Shari'a regulations, the man's widow gets one-eighth, and then, if he has only one daughter, the rest of the property is divided in half, the daughter getting one-half and the r-waratha getting the other. If, on the other hand, he has more than one daughter, the rest of the property is divided up into three parts, the daughters getting one and the r-waratha getting one. However, even if there is a son or not, certain r-waratha (e.g. mmis n 'azizi, pl. dharwa n 'azizi, father's brother's son), but not others (e.g. uma, pl. aithma, brother, and

671 'azizi, pl. aith 'azizi, father's brother), marry the daughter or
428 daughters in question. The result is, of course, that if they do so,
they wind up with the daughters' share in any case. However, although
191 father's brother's daughter marriage does occur in the Rif, it is not
• 562 the rule, and this is because the institution of shuf 'ath (called
shafa'a by Berbers in the Central Atlas, and referring to agnates prior-
ity rights over both land and women, especially fathers' brothers'
daughters) in the Rif applies to land only and not to women. Indeed,
[582] there is no single form of preferential marriage, and most people be-
lieve in marrying "further away" than their parallel cousins. As, on
the other hand, parallel cousin marriage is the norm in the Central
Atlas, the same institution there (where r-waratha are termed imkusa)
is more effective in depriving women of their share than it is in the
Rif, where conditions per se in the latter area are considerably less
favorable to such deprivation. The crux of the matter, perhaps, is
this: that the property of a man who leaves no sons, despite what
other heirs or offspring he may have, is always divided up among these
heirs (and here, in practice, is where daughters tend to be left in
the cold, even though informants invariably say that they get their
part), while on the other hand, if there is a single surviving son,
no matter if he is a tiny baby, the patrimony stays pro indiviso.

000 15--What Blanco seems to be getting at here is that men rather than
women inherit and purchase property, or acquire it by right of con-
quest, and that therefore property and its administration rests ex-
clusively in male hands. The contrast is effective, because such
movable property which is involved in the work and everyday tasks of
women (i.e. pottery, chickens, eggs, etc.) does belong to them, and
is not touched by men. Men, for example, may perfectly easily sell
chickens or eggs in the market, and they often do so; but they in-
variably turn the proceeds over to their wives, who have stayed away
from the market as good women should (although they may go to the
women's market two days later) and because of this have asked their
husbands to do these things for them.

16--From his name, a Berber himself, possibly from the Sus (as his
final sobriquet would suggest), but more likely from the Ilimshan
subclan of the southern Ait 'Atta, the so-called 'Iqibliyen" of the
southern slope of the Central Atlas. These facts are indicated in the
first and second point-of-origin designations Aqibli Amshali, the
last mentioned probably being a metathesis of Alimsni, an Arabized
singular form of Ilimshan.

17--The 'ashura refers to the 10th day of the first month of the Muslim
year, Muharram (itself called l-'Ashur in Morocco), and commemorates
the martyrdom of the Prophet's two grandsons, Hasan and Husayn. It is
also, in Morocco, the day when almsgiving (zakah or 'ashur) to the poor
is legally enjoined; this act is, indeed, along with the profession of
faith (Ashhadu an la ilaha illa 'llah wa Muhammad al-rasuluY'llah,
"I testify that there is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger
of God"), prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan,
and the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five arkan al-din, "pillars of
religion", or qawa'id al-Islam, "customs of Islam".

26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event, as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish administration, people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the last 30 years or more.

27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala, the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first. As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator, it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch belonging to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanun in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan administration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

634 Every man who carries a rifle drops whatever he is doing and
623 goes immediately to the council site, leaving his house, interests and
614 work in the fields to his women, who collect all their movable property,
619 animals and children, in case they have to move, and await the news,
562 quickly transmitted, with anxiety, while they decide upon their place
722 of retirement (usually the house of some relative) and form a line of sentries, together with the older children. Here they follow, with analogous emotions, the events of the fight, if there is one, and await its outcome....Once the men have arrived at the site of the
634 alarm, or more often at a generally determined meeting site (agraw),
623 they start to look, without orders or signals, for their kinsmen and
614 neighbors who have arrived or are just arriving. They are always
619 careful to seek a spatially dominant position, and remain grouped together some little distance from the other groups which are also being formed, completing a circle, in the interior of which only the chiefs, who are rapidly informed of the matter and of the opinions of their subordinates, may enter. Such opinions are impassioned ones, as they have been forged (in case of alarm) on the spur of the moment, on the basis of what those who echo them have heard, or on the basis of what is going on around them; one can distinguish the feverish voices of the kinsmen and friends of the injured party, who want immediate reparation.

634 In this heated atmosphere the delineation by the chiefs of the
623 matter at hand begins; they are attentive not so much to what happens
614 in their own little circle, but to the stormy atmosphere being created
619 on the outside one and pressing in on them....If the matter is one of
692

616 [182] Individual liffs bind together individuals or families, persons and possessions, and make for solidarity in the payment of fines, in both defense and attack[21].

2) General Liff:--I think the raison d'etre of the general liff to be purely defensive. These large-scale liffs are real military [619] alliances brought about in order to maintain territorial integrity, and it is they which have permitted the coexistence of minuscule tribes alongside of large and powerful ones. The situation in this respect is analogous to that of Switzerland in Europe; and among the most typical Switzerlands in the Rif are the Thafarsith and the Aith 'Ammarth[22].....In a general liff, it is not individual or kin group interests which are in opposition to each other and come into play, but rather the jurisdictional limits and the autonomy of the social [613] groupings (i.e. clans) which integrate them. The general liff obligates with the same end and binds together with the same strength [171] the individuals belonging to rival dharfiqin. There is thus, I think, a notable difference in the two classes of liffs, although the end result or defensive spirit is the same[23]; analogously, there are alliances between European nations which are destined to preserve their independence, as well as friendships of more of an individual or economic character between their members....The national liff, to call it [582] thus, cannot be confused with the social forms which have already been considered above, for while the latter place mutual obligations upon and bind together individuals and lands, the general liff usually applies only to men and binds together only warriors[24].

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

682 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)
443 and should kill him shall be fined 500 duros[69], and if, in attacking he should miss him (i.e. if the bullet should fail to reach its mark),
685 he shall pay 200 duros. Whoever should take justice into his own hands
443 on the path to the market shall be fined 50 duros and shall return whatever object he made off with. Of those who should incite riots with
689 shouts and gunshots, as (happened) to the people of Tafrast, Ait Musa w 'Amar (both in the clan of the Aith 'Ari) and to the people of Ajdir (in the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), each one shall pay with his
689 death (literally, "with his neck"), that is, he must be shot. Whoever
443 should be discovered in the Monday Women's Market (Suq ath-Thnain n
562 Timgharin, at Azghar) shall be forced to pay 10 duros.

671 This is what has been decided (for fulfillment) of justice in
443 the above-mentioned market. May God, for the common good, put into agreement His ideas and the criteria of His lords (of the market).
689 Punishment shall seek out anyone who should wish to provoke riots--may God in His power make him meet his end.

000 The abovementioned shuyukh have worked with good intent, with the idea of being useful. May God cause the miracles of the saints to be manifested, and of the saint of the tomb situated in front of the market (i.e. that of Sidi Bu 'Afif).

Each of the abovementioned shuyukh designated among his brothers (i.e. among the men in his jurisdiction) those faithful to him (i.e. those who constituted his escort and supported his decisions), as for example: the Shaikh Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar designated among them the Murabit bin Muhammad bin 'Abdallah Bu 'Azza; the Murabit Hammu bin al-Hajj Muhammad w al-Qadi; 'Umar bin al-Hajj Tuhami Adardush; Muhammad

562 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among
671 the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qānun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed
183 today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only
794 one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon
443 discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering
689 the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him
178 over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at
562 the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's
443 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they
178 were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very
183 attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of
[184] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the funda-
(681) mentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

181
167 They were too good and honorable to see themselves die out, with no fear other than that of the market announcement and without guards of any sort, on a most miserable land, which their way of life made habitable only through emigration[92] and epidemics taking care of the surplus population.

Clearly, bound to necessity, it incited the envy of more than one individual, considering the very slight severity of the punishment, the possibility of concealing the offense and the difficulty of proof, for which reason the people took refuge in traveling to places unknown to them on days which were not market days, without taking natural precautions.

671
685 The qanun of the Aith Siddat shows us, in notation (c), the offense of house-breaking, with a concise and admirable clarity; it recognizes for the owner of the house the right of violent opposition, a previous guarantee to the society that neither a difference of opinion nor known resentment shall mediate between them.

671
682 By the same token, notation (b) indicates and punishes the accomplice with the same penalty in offenses in which blood is drawn as does notation (k) with 50 mithqals in the rest of the cases.

And finally, in notation (d), the right of legitimate defense is established without the slightest doubt.

671
562 If in each one of the qanuns in this volume it is easy to discover its characteristics and, knowing the region, to find out what each one conceals, to explain what it says and the reasons which it gives for doing so, we must point out, in the present qanun, the interest which the Aith Siddat maintained in enforcing public respect

92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

passers-by may slake their thirst. This also reflects the fact that the retention of surplus water is considered an act of bad faith by a person's neighbors; and the latter fact in part makes it necessary for irrigation water upstream to be properly carried out and led off, and thus that holdings under irrigation be leveled and conveniently prepared.

B) Usage of Water in General:

Utilization of water in the Rif presents three facets which are common to all societies: utilization by animate beings, by (or for) lands, and by (or for) industries. Rights of preference are also the same, and in the same order: first, animate objects, the surplus for lands, and what remains, for industry, which in the Rif is represented by turbine water mills (dhasirth w aman, pl. dhisira w aman), which in times of excessive dryness or drought do not have the right to utilize water from those irrigation channels which divert or subtract the flow from the principal ditch.

C) Water Points for Men and Animals:

Water points in Rifian villages whose liquid content is destined for human and animal consumption are not regulated by any by-laws other than that of designation of the hours in which men may go to them; the rest are reserved for women, for whom it is also customary to reserve, beforehand, and whenever possible, fixed points for washing and bathing. For this reason, if the village contains diverse water points, one is used by the women and another by the men; and the surplus water is channeled toward a pond (agirmam, pl. igirmamen), which forms the common watering place for the animals as well as a malarial focus from which it is difficult to extinguish the mosquitoes.[118] The

312 The
562 jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions
[623] of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of
[681] women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

312 The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly
615 among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agree-
[212] ments are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

[466] The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work
[333] done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

312 Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone
689 of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2)
241 differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled
242
627

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
[521] circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 562 586 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initiating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 [782] [571] Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match, the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of
[593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will
[464] [421] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 581 582 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

793 794 465 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 789 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif 791 754 society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his [793] [789] knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female 754 791 witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed 562 on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. [888] This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

754 791 789 793 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood [443] from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
776 the dinoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The dinoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a dinoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the dinoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 dinoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the dinoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

423 Property going to females, either to widows or daughters,
428 tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inher-
562 itance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the
[587] practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more dis-
428 ruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased
[768] husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the
431 inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and
578 his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B,
182 B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on
607 the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exer-
562 cise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

562 428 431 578 182 607 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land claims are mutually balanced off.

428 423 607 562 Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

423 428 The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheritance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differentiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there 423 183 556 425 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

423 The number of men under such association is difficult to estimate
427 though I have the impression it is large. No man whom I inter-
464 viewed who might be roughly classified as a leader in the community had less than one person working for him in such a relationship.

427 The most prominent and common association is that of the
464 akhammas or sharecroppers. The akhammas is a laborer who voluntarily contracts to contribute all the physical labor necessary for the total production process of a piece of land. The landowner provides the land itself, the seed, fertilizer, plough and any other equipment, and the animal power. The akhammas provides all labor, from the initial ploughing to the ultimate harvesting.
[465] For his services he receives exactly one-fifth of the yield,
[466] hence the name which derives from hamsa or 'five.' The akhammas also receives the hand-me-down clothes of the master and often a meal each day. Since the activities of the akhammas entail his
427 464 562 constant presence around or even inside the household, he has far greater access to the wives of notables than other males. A man of sufficient wealth to employ an akhammas would probably isolate his wife from contact with male society. It is a myth that the Berbers do not seclude their women. The only ones who are not secluded from male society are the wives of poor men who must contribute their labor to the production process. Such women are, of course, the vast majority. The akhammas has more contact with the wives of the notable class than any other male not closely related to the family. Since the akhammas must consult

427 the wife about household tasks and often takes his meals inside
464 the central patio, he is on rather intimate (for the Rif) terms
562 with these women. In such a close and anomalous situation, there
[602] is a preference on the part of the master to hire a poor relative, especially of his wife, as a servant. By hiring a man of the wife's family or of a family which includes the wife's relatives by marriage, one lessens the danger of too close a relationship between wife and akhammas.

427 While both partners in the akhammas arrangement seek to
464 establish a contract which is divorced from social conflict over
466 women, they are nonetheless in basic conflict along incipient
465 class lines. The akhammas, at least in the contemporary situa-
565 tion, regards himself as being exploited by his patron in that the wage scale is fixed and involves difficult manual labor without any guarantees of remuneration. While he is free to negotiate his contract with whomever he so desires, his wage depends directly on the size of the crop yield for any one year. The master with greater reserves of resources suffers only an inconvenience if the crop yield is low. The sharecropper, on the other hand, has few if any reserves, and any reduction in the portion of his share has serious repercussions on his ability to maintain his household. The akhammas is especially aware of the inequity of this arrangement as wage opportunities open up and he becomes aware that salary can be negotiated with commensurate rewards in cash. Most ikhammasen prefer to get into the category of wage

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

mered out, and then the two sides of it were folded over the central part until they met. This doubled-over sheet was then pounded and forged until the cutting end had become one piece; the separation of the flaps from the main body was exaggerated on the other end, and rounded until a socket fit for the reception of a handle was formed. After this a piece of steel was welded into the cutting end, smoothed, and sharpened. This method of folding and forging, with socket haft, survived until less than a generation ago, when the modern type of hafting, with a hole through the implement at right angles to the long axis, came in. The socket method of hafting with the sides folded over is found today among the tribes of the Congo. It is said that the first smiths to use the modern hafting were the Ulad el Hani of Beni Amart, traditionally Arabs, and that the smiths of Khebaba and of Taghzuth followed them.

Another similarity to negro technique, besides this method of hafting, is found in the method of ornamenting the handles. A braid of *halfa* or palmetto is sometimes made, and wound about the handle, leaving open spaces in spirals. The handle is then thrown into a fire and taken out before it starts blazing. The braid is then taken off, and a spiral pattern is found burned around the length of the handle. Adzes with this identical form of decoration are found in the Peabody Museum collections from the Congo.

The oldest smiths in the Rif, if we accept tradition, are the craftsmen of Khebaba in the Gzennaya. These Ikhebibsen, as they are called, formerly held the monopoly of dagger-making. The Khebaba daggers, famous throughout the Rif and sold in every market, are long straight blades, well tempered, and sharpened on all of one side and on half of the other. Blood-rills run down the blades; the cross hilts are of bone, as is the major part of the hilt, which is often covered with leather. These keen and effective daggers are encased in scabbards of brass pounded over wood. The designs on the brass, pounded in, are rectilinear and consist mostly of tilted crosses set in squares.

The Khebaba daggers seem to have become scarce about a generation ago, although they are still made in limited quantities and can still be obtained. They were supplanted in general popularity by Senhajan knives from Taghzuth, and by knives from Wezzan, both of these being of one model, slightly curved with the outside sharpened, and equipped with a guardless bone hilt inlaid with brass wire. These knives have in recent years been made in Meknes, and most of the present Riffian daggers are imported from that city, although dagger-making is still carried on by local smiths in each tribe.

The blacksmiths of the Rif leave their shops for two principal purposes, to go to Melilla or Fez for metal, or to go to market, where they shoe horses and mules (see plate 15) and slaughter animals the meat of which is to be sold. The horseshoes and mule shoes which they use were formerly home-made, but at present bear the appearance of European manufacture.

The second class of metal workers, the Jews, are not found in all the tribes. They live only in that part of the Galiya immediately adjoining Melilla, at Bades, in the tribes of Beni Bu Frah and Mestassa, at Targuist, occasionally at Ajdir, and in the Jebarna section of Gzennaya. Before the rise of Abd el Krim, who set them to work making hand grenades, they seldom dared enter the tribes other than those mentioned, since the appearance of a Jew was traditionally greeted with a volley of stones. Many of them speak no Arabic, conversing only in *thamazighth*, and frequently one finds individuals among them with no apparent Jewish physical characteristics, but able to pass easily as Riffians. Their specialty is the manufacture of brass trays, sugar hammers, silver and pewter brooches, silver finger

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

326 563 rings, and bracelets. Formerly they did not dare peddle their wares far from home, but sold them to Riffian hawkers who took them to the inland markets.

326 The third class of metal workers, the gunsmiths, is for the most part concentrated in Taghzuth, although native gunsmiths are found in many of the Riffian tribes. Most of the latter have learned their trade at Taghzuth or in Arab towns.

326 411 Tradition says that the Riffians first obtained metal pipes, suitable for use as musket barrels, in an archaeological deposit at Bades, and that these pipes were peddled all over the Rif. Later, when the pipes are said to have been exhausted, similar ones were obtained from Ceuta and the Peñon de Velez. The gunsmiths make all the other parts of the gun themselves: they bore the priming hole and make the lock, springs, trigger, pan, and the [531] hammer which holds the flint. The stock, which they make from local wood, they decorate with inlaid wire and with ivory, which is exceedingly rare and valuable. The flints, which are sold in all the markets, are made at Khebaba and by the Asht Aziman of Beni Tuzin. [439] Many of the flints, however, are probably imported from England, as are some of the locks, which bear in many cases the royal insignia of Great Britain.

MANUFACTURE OF GUNPOWDER

389 The blending of gunpowder from its three ingredients, although carried on as a side occupation throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, was, before the Spanish occupation, the exclusive trade of one half of the Beni Mesduy. These craftsmen supplied the rest of the Rif with much of their explosive material, and since the consumption of gunpowder in the Rif, both as a festive gesture and for purposes of warfare, was tremendous, the craftsmen of Beni Mesduy were kept constantly busy supplying the demands made upon them.

[434] Of the three component elements, sulphur and saltpeter were imported and sold in all markets; charcoal was manufactured locally.

PREPARATION AND WORKING OF LEATHER

281 Tanning, practiced throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, is a process consisting of a long sequence of actions. The raw hide stripped from the animal is first rubbed with wet ashes, which are left on until the hair is ready to come off; it is then given a rubbing with crushed *taida* bark and water, which is allowed to stay on it for several days: crushed juniper berries are next rubbed into it, after which it is soaked in sour milk; it is then given another treatment with wet ashes, and is finally washed, often by being immersed in a stream.

[445 282] Leather so tanned is used in the manufacture of scrips, belts, parts of ploughs, covers to butter-jugs, amulet covers, and other objects. It is sewn, generally with strips of leather rather than with thread, by means of carpet needles imported from Fez and Melilla.

[386] Leather is colored by the same dyes and the same methods employed in the dyeing of textiles.

Leatherworking is at present concentrated in the tribe of Taghzuth, where cartridge belts and scrips of characteristic type are produced. (See plate 16.) These articles will be fully discussed under the subject of clothing.[1]

[1] See below, p. 81.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

their full share to any martial activity in which the *bone* participates; regarding this lack of balance as unfair, members of alien *veins* split off from the parent *bone* whenever possible, forming new *bones* with their own local government, and, in the course of time, with equal consideration in the larger governmental institutions. The new *bone* thus created may take as its name that of the wife of the adopted alien ancestor, since it was his wife and not he who belonged to the original indigenous strain. In that way one may explain many of the matronymic *bones* which occur frequently in the Rif.

Splitting of one *bone* into several may occur, however, without the necessity of alien immigration. If the *bone* becomes too large to be conveniently administered, if discord arises between two or more parties of *veins*, or if some of the *veins* migrate, voluntarily or through pressure, to a new locality, the *bone* splits up.

Sometimes a *vein* divides, some of the brothers staying at home and others migrating. In this case the original *vein* may never expand sufficiently to take on the status of a *bone*, whereas the brothers who migrated may have had numerous progeny and have become, in a relatively short time, the ancestors of separate *bones*. An example of this is the family of *Oshannen*, or jackals, a *vein* of the *bone* of Tiddest in Ikhuanen of Gzennaya. Two members of the Oshannen migrated, one going to Temsaman and the other to Beni Said. Now, the Oshannen of Temsaman and the Oshannen of Beni Said are not only separate *bones* in these tribes but have furthermore risen to the highest administrative authority in them. The Kaid Bu Kaddur of Temsaman and the Kaid Moh Amar n Woshun of Beni Said are both descendants of the original migrants from the *vein* of Oshannen of Tiddest.

A different situation is found in the tribes of Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Galiya, Kebdana, and, to a slight extent, Beni Said. Among these tribes are found both *veins* and *bones* composed of strangers called *igharbiyen*, reputed to be of Arab origin. The Igharbiyen are allowed an equal part in the government, and are in no way discriminated against as are members of alien Riffian *veins* among the *bones* of the central Rif. In Beni Said, however, an exception to this is found. The Igharbiyen among the Beni Said are few in number, and are subject not only to the restriction against alien *veins* which is found in the central Rif, but also to that against their *bones*, which are not allowed a part in higher councils.

Families of Zenatan origin in Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, are subject to no discrimination whatever. The single families of Zenata in Gzennaya, Temsaman, and Beni Bu Ifrur are given the standing of *bones*.

Although one finds in the Rif numerous *bones* of immigrant groups, both Igharbiyen and Zenata, no trace of any moiety organization is visible, even among the Beni Tuzin, whose very name, *Asht Uzin*, means, in their own language, "the children of the half." [1]

Next after the *bone*, which is a true family group and is dependent upon kinship and adoption, comes the division known as *arrba'* (plural *roboa'*), derived from the Arabic word meaning "a fourth." In the present volume it will be called "canton." [2] The *canton* is a group of *bones* which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical

[1] See p. 36, n. 7.

[2] Here again is a term with no ready equivalent. I have avoided "fourth," the literal translation, because such a designation would imply that it is greater than the *fifth*, when the opposite is true. Furthermore, there is no extant valid reason for the name *fourth* in Berberized Arabic. "Canton" seems to express the idea of geographical and political unity without an implication of kinship, and hence is applied to the present social phenomenon.

For comment on this, see the 111 slip. – Analyst

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhemesth* (plural *thikhemesin*), or "fifth,"[1] so called because each *thakhemesth* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood, although many *bones* in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and hence in war.

Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabilch*, a word derived from the Arabic *kabila*.[2] In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term *thakabitch* being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are Galiya, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gzennaya. Those of Galiya are Masuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Sidel. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gzennaya are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imsdurar, and Asht Aru u Aissa. In naming these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or Arab as the case may be. In Temsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and Hathith n Temsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two *bones* each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Oshannen, and Amzauru and Tisi Azza. They are given this special standing because Temsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single *fifth*, and because these *bones* are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes between which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take wives from other *bones*. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immigrant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gzennaya, Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imazilen* (singular *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"[3] who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing, piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

[1] The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arrba'*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

[2] Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

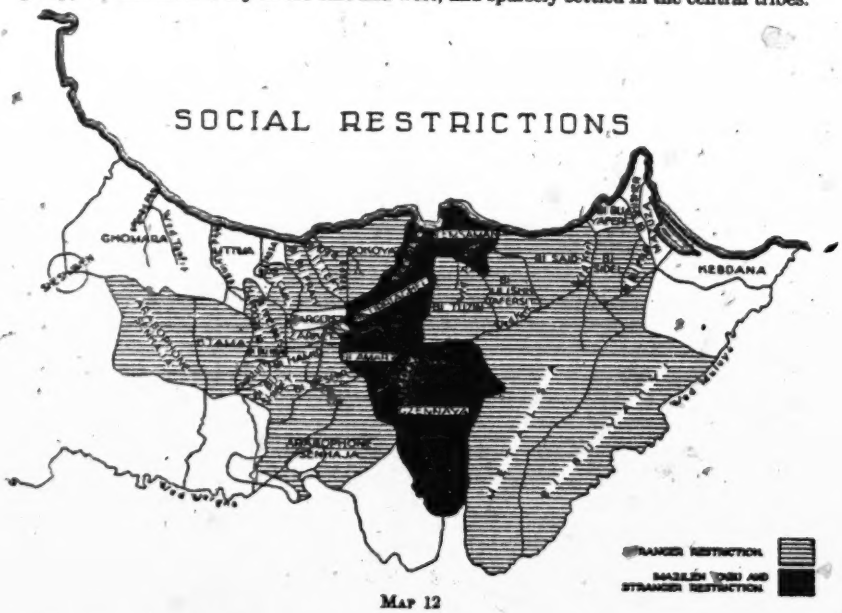
[3] The chief quality of this class which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565
563
463

is as a rule extremely modest, and considers it degrading to expose himself to the public eye in any but a governmental way, it is only natural that he should look down upon a social class which practices trades that he himself would be ashamed to undertake, despite the fact that these trades might require greater intelligence and skill than his own manner of living.

Blacksmiths are traditionally an invading, or one should perhaps rather say infiltering, group, concentrated today in the east and west, and sparsely settled in the central tribes.



MAP 12

The chief centers of blacksmith families are Azgangen in Beni Bu Ifrur, Imasinen in Mazuza, Mauru in Beni Said, Anual in Beni Ulishk, Tafersit town, Tizera n Jkhatha and Bu Hfora of Beni Tuzin, Khebaba, on the eastern edge of Gzennaya, Tarosht in Iherrushen of Gzennaya, Beni Msita and Ijaonen of Beni Amart, el Malimin of Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Snada of Beni Bu Frah, Garmaleth of Zarket, Tamadith of Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Berber, Aghbal of Beni Bu Shibet, and Tezarin, on the border between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir.

Only four centers were attributed to the tribes of Gzennaya and Beni Amart (two to each), and none to Beni Urriaghel. The smiths of Khebaba, makers of the famous Khebaba knives, and of Tarosht have been in the country so long that no one remembers whence they came. They are thought to antedate entirely the smiths who live in the regions to the east and west of them. The smiths of Beni Msita and Ijaonen, belonging to one family

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak Arabic domestically, employing *thamazighth* only with outsiders. They are at present considered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fez from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and shoe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering. Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting, the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the *vein*, or of the schoolmaster of the *bone*, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

Pipers,[1] or *imṯhiyazen* (singular *amṯhiyaz*), play upon the *zammar*, a reed instrument consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending in the horns of the goudad. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfora and Meidhar of Beni Tuzin, Ighza Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Nador, Azgangen, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings[2] their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers[3] and **Weighers**, *iberraḥen* (singular *aberraḥ*) and *ishegairen* (singular *ashegair*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

[1] So translated here because of their profession.

[2] See below, p. 138 seq.

[3] The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 from the villages of Ifergugen and Ibettoyen of the Beni Tuzin. They wander all over the Rif, establishing themselves temporarily near markets, in which they perform their duties.
463 There is one of each profession settled within convenient distance of each circle of markets in each tribe or group of tribes. Being strictly endogamous, they send home to Ifergugen and Ibettoyen for their women; they cannot even intermarry with other Shameless Ones.

554 Although agriculture is considered the most dignified and worthy of occupations, skilled trades such as those of carpenter, weaver (where weaving is done by men), gunsmith, powder-maker, and professional mason are not despised. A man plying one of these trades does not ostracize his family by so doing, or prevent his daughters from marrying into good families. Such trades are not hereditary as are the occupations of the despised castes.

563 The social position of the Jews is not comparable to that of any other group living in the Rif. The Jews, while living in the places settled by them, such as Galiya and Beni Bu Frah, form distinct colonies which in the past were not often molested. Jews going into other regions could formerly do so only under the protection of some important man in that place. The patron of the Jew considered the Jew as his bondsman or slave, while the Jew regarded the contract as merely a commercial one. The Jew was allowed to work at some trade, but must turn his receipts in to his patron, who gave him his food and lodging and a certain amount of money besides. The patron was held responsible for the Jew's safety and protected him against aggressors. Even under this type of contract Jews were able to enter only such marginal regions as Jebarna of Gzennaya, Ajdir, and, under the aegis of the Ikhemrijen, Targuist. They would not venture, in recent times at least, into the mountains of southern Beni Urriaghel, into northern Gzennaya, or into Beni Amart. For one to do so would have resulted in his death. The Riffians, in common with other Mohammedans, consider it a desecration of gunpowder to shoot Jews, killing them only with stones and knives. Since the Spanish and French occupations the rôle of the Jew has of course changed. He is at present allowed to go to markets to trade, and is not ordinarily molested.

567 Negro slaves are so rare in the Rif that it can almost be said that Riffians do not recognize the existence of slavery. The Ikhemrijen of Targuist have several, and one is owned in Ajdir. There may be others, but I have not seen or heard of them.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramadān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imzīren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith 'Alī u 'Aisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj 'Abd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

443 563 considered the social inferiors of the Wuryāghlīs and are entirely endogamous they do not form a separate economic caste, as they go in for little or no economic specialization other than that just mentioned. In a stall on one side of the market a weaver *(darrāz)* 443 is working on a woolen *jillāb* on a horizontal loom; another stall [284] houses two Berber-speaking Moroccan Jews, one of who hammers out silver bracelets and the other repairs packsaddles. In a nearby cafe sit a group of men who are loudly and appreciatively gulping down glasses of piping hot mint tea, while in the background is the blare of Arabic music or news broadcasted from Tetuan, Tangier, Rabat or Cairo. Needless to say, in Aith Wuryāghil very few people can understand the news programs, although very recently broadcasts in Shilha, coming from Tetuan, have been implemented. In another [302] corner the barber-bleeders (*ḥajjāmīn*) shave the dolichocephalic and sometimes favus-ridden crania of their patrons with unsterilized straight razors. And over all watches the market provost or *amīn*, who supervises the collection of the market tax and sees to it that the market is run smoothly and efficiently.

It is of interest to note that Aith Wuryāghil is the center of a uniquely Riffian institution: the women's market (20). This institution is not only Riffian but Central Riffian in distribution. Aside from Aith Wuryāghil, Tamsamān is the only other tribe possessing women's markets; it has two of them, one Tuesday at Suwānī of Tamsamān, just across the Nakūr River from Aith Wuryāghil, and the other on Sunday. In Aith Wuryāghil itself there are six: Sunday at Iswīqen, Monday at Isrīhen, Monday at Azghar, near Ajdīr, Friday at Aghrīdh, Friday at Ighmīren (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and Saturday at Aith Qamra.

The people of Aith Wuryāghil belive that these markets were established as the result of the endless intratribal wars, because, since women were noncombatants and were protected as such by the institution of *'anāya*, an interchange of commodities necessary for the survival of the feuding groups could only be carried on without hindrance in markets attended exclusively by members of the female sex. I have heard that the first women's market to be established was

(20) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: «Zocos de mujeres en Beni Uriaguel», *Africa*, Madrid, Mayo 1943, pp. 22-23.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith Tuzīn, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jībāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes, even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons, never quite complete.

16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem more nearly to fit the context.

17--Imrabdhen, sing. amrabidh (from Arabic murabit) are saints, living or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused with shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed, perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is (or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult to fathom.

19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the blad as-siba, and Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be extended to cover the whole notion of siba. In another publication we have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of this term, which goes back to Montagne, of siba as "anarchy", a notion which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--cf. André Adam, La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect, concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term, but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words, this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind when writing of "organized anarchy".

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49 A], and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right
[443] path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[574] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

A, [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

616 619 726 (614) [728] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well. [563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and 000 expected to do.

[114] [729] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 [162] [614] 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'unen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

when the Arabs arrived. But the Arabs introduced a number of additional crops: rice (Sp. *arroz;* Ar. *al-aruzz*), the apricot (Sp. *albaricoque;* Ar. *al-barquq*), and cotton (Old Sp. *coton;* Ar. *al-qutn*).[111] The Arabs brought the bitter or Seville orange, but the sweet or common orange was introduced by the Portuguese from India.[112] The Arabs also brought the artichoke (from the eastern Mediterranean), spinach (from Persia), sugar cane (probably from India), the mulberry (originally from China), pepper, ginger, saffron, and parsley. Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), the great cash crop of the Sanhajan highlands and the object of a lively contraband trade between Spanish and French Morocco, may also have been carried to Barbary by the Arabs. In an indirect sense the Arabs may be credited with the introduction of a number of New World plants, for many of the Spanish Muslims did not leave al-Andalus until after the final order of expulsion in 1609. By that time Europeans were familiar with the agave, opuntia, tomato, and the great American crop combination of maize, beans, and squash.

Moroccan Jews

Of the Hebrew people in Morocco, the largest and most prosperous group are the Sephardic Jews who were driven out of Spain after the reconquest of Andalusia. A second, quite different group was already settled in the country when their co-religionists arrived.

The Arab chroniclers state that Jews were in Morocco at the time of the first Muslim invasion. They may have arrived with the Phoenicians or the Romans, for Hebrew scholars believe that some of their religious practices are pre-Talmudic.[113] Today most of the original Jews inhabit ghettos (*mellah*)[114] in the cities, but a few are scattered among the rural tribes. The latter usually pay tribute to the tribesmen with whom they live. Many are caravan men who travel with mule and donkey trains into the less accessible parts of the country. Others are tinkers and petty traders, while many of the prosperous urban Jews are moneylenders, jewelers, and tailors. A small but interesting group cultivates small plots in the High Atlas, and speaks Berber domestically. These "Berber" Jews, like the peasant Jews of Yemen, the Jewish highlanders of the Caucasus, the Falasha of Ethiopia, and the Turkish-speaking Jews of the Crimea, present a difficult problem for historical research.[115] They may be descendants of ancient immigrants, but it seems more likely that they are descendants of indigenous peoples who were converted to Judaism at some remote time.

When the Sephardim arrived in Morocco they negotiated an ordinance as to their status, which also contained rules laid down for the guidance of their own conduct, no doubt out of fear that contact with the more primitive Moroccan Jews might compromise their tenets. The Sephardim had already abandoned

[111] Names from P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 528.
[112] "Orange" comes from the Spanish *naranja* through the Arabic *naranj* and the Persian *narang*. "Lemon" is the Arabic *laymum* and the Persian *limun*. *Ibid.*, p. 351.
[113] For clarification of this point, see Hahum Slouschz, *Hebraeo-phéniciens et Judeo-berbères* (Paris: Leroux, 1908); and André Chouraqui, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).
[114] *Mellah* is the Arabic word for "salt." The usual explanation for this association is that Jews were once assigned the task of preserving the heads of the sultan's enemies so that they could be put on display.
[115] A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), II, 257, 402–412.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

175 563 polygamy, which is still practiced by some of the native Jews. Keen businessmen, organizers of remarkable ability, and excellent linguists, the Sephardim played an important role as middlemen in the initial contacts between Europeans and Moroccans. European protection brought a distinct improvement in their social and economic status. They were particularly active in banking, since the Qur'an enjoins believers from engaging in usury. In Tangier, Jewish bankers attained remarkable privilege and affluence. On the other hand, none of the Moroccan Jews enjoyed true citizenship, and in the days before European protection they were subject to Qur'anic law, which does not recognize the oath of a Jew.

As a consequence of European protection, the Sephardim became more Spanish or French than Moroccan. Differences in dress and speech still distinguish this group from the older and more backward Jews. Only the more conservative Jews cling to the traditional black skullcap. The Sephardim use Maghribi Arabic for commercial purposes, but prefer to speak Spanish or French among themselves. The original Jews speak Berber or Arabic, depending upon the location of their homes and the circumstances of their livelihood. Among them, as among the Sephardim, Hebrew is only a ritual language. Neither the Sephardim nor the more conservative group is prominent in the rural districts of the northern zone. [162] The latest census of Spanish Morocco lists 8,062 Jews, of whom only 180 are described as rural."

[113] " *Anuario estadístico, 1952–53* (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 1955), p. 40.

619 131 /208 cont./
'Alam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only [563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

[127]

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The [616] [648] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

619 131 At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhemesth* (plural *thikhemesin*), or "fifth,"[1] so called because each *thakhemesth* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood, although many *bones* in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and hence in war.

Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabitch*, a word derived from the Arabic *kabila*.[2] In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term *thakabitch* being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are Galiya, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gzennaya. Those of Galiya are Mazuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Sidel. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gzennaya are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imsdurar, and Asht Aru u Aissa. In naming these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or Arab as the case may be. In Temsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and Hathith n Temsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two *bones* each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Oshannen, and Amzauru and Tizi Azza. They are given this special standing because Temsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single *fifth*, and because these *bones* are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes between which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take wives from other *bones*. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immigrant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gzennaya, Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imazilen* (singular *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"[3] who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing, piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

[1] The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arrba'*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

[2] Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

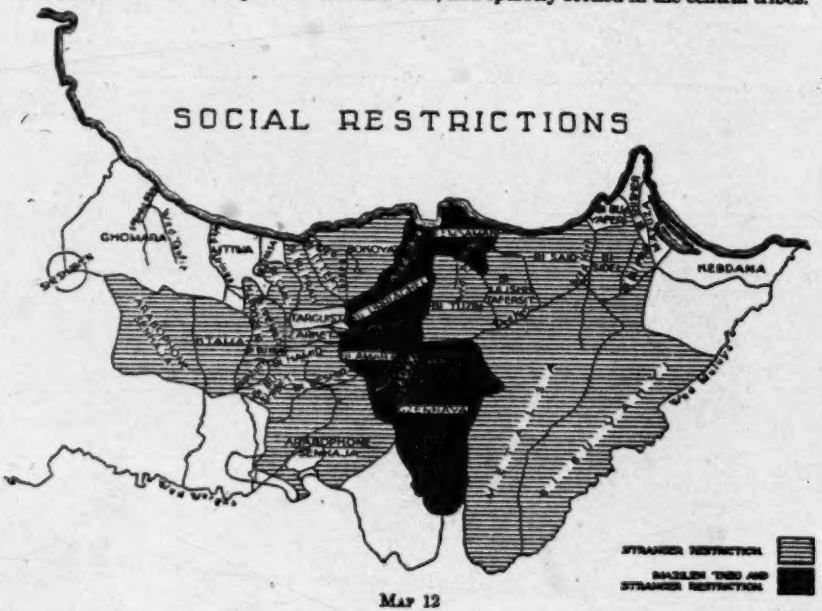
[3] The chief quality of this class which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565
563
463

is as a rule extremely modest, and considers it degrading to expose himself to the public eye in any but a governmental way, it is only natural that he should look down upon a social class which practices trades that he himself would be ashamed to undertake, despite the fact that these trades might require greater intelligence and skill than his own manner of living.

Blacksmiths are traditionally an invading, or one should perhaps rather say infiltering, group, concentrated today in the east and west, and sparsely settled in the central tribes.



MAP 12

The chief centers of blacksmith families are Azgangen in Beni Bu Ifrur, Imasinen in Mazuza, Mauru in Beni Said, Anual in Beni Ulishk, Tafersit town, Tizera n Jkhatha and Bu Hfora of Beni Tuzin, Khebaba, on the eastern edge of Gzennaya, Tarosht in Iherrushen of Gzennaya, Beni Msita and Ijaonen of Beni Amart, el Malimin of Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Snada of Beni Bu Frah, Garmaleth of Zarket, Tamadith of Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Berber, Aghbal of Beni Bu Shibet, and Tezarin, on the border between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir.

Only four centers were attributed to the tribes of Gzennaya and Beni Amart (two to each), and none to Beni Urriaghel. The smiths of Khebaba, makers of the famous Khebaba knives, and of Tarosht have been in the country so long that no one remembers whence they came. They are thought to antedate entirely the smiths who live in the regions to the east and west of them. The smiths of Beni Msita and Ijaonen, belonging to one family

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak Arabic domestically, employing *thamaziqht* only with outsiders. They are at present considered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fez from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and shoe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering. Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting, the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the *vein*, or of the schoolmaster of the *bone*, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

Pipers,[1] or *imthiyasen* (singular *amthiyas*), play upon the *zammar*, a reed instrument consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending in the horns of the aoudad. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfora and Meidhar of Beni Tuzin, Ighza Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Nador, Azgangen, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings[2] their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers[3] and **Weighers,** *iberrahen* (singular *aberrah*) and *ishegairen* (singular *ashegair*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

[1] So translated here because of their profession.

[2] See below, p. 138 *seq.*

[3] The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 from the villages of Ifergugen and Ibettoyen of the Beni Tuzin. They wander all over the Rif, establishing themselves temporarily near markets, in which they perform their duties. 463 There is one of each profession settled within convenient distance of each circle of markets in each tribe or group of tribes. Being strictly endogamous, they send home to Ifergugen and Ibettoyen for their women; they cannot even intermarry with other Shameless Ones.

554 Although agriculture is considered the most dignified and worthy of occupations, skilled trades such as those of carpenter, weaver (where weaving is done by men), gunsmith, powder-maker, and professional mason are not despised. A man plying one of these trades does not ostracize his family by so doing, or prevent his daughters from marrying into good families. Such trades are not hereditary as are the occupations of the despised castes.

563 The social position of the Jews is not comparable to that of any other group living in the Rif. The Jews, while living in the places settled by them, such as Galiya and Beni Bu Frah, form distinct colonies which in the past were not often molested. Jews going into other regions could formerly do so only under the protection of some important man in that place. The patron of the Jew considered the Jew as his bondsman or slave, while the Jew regarded the contract as merely a commercial one. The Jew was allowed to work at some trade, but must turn his receipts in to his patron, who gave him his food and lodging and a certain amount of money besides. The patron was held responsible for the Jew's safety and protected him against aggressors. Even under this type of contract Jews were able to enter only such marginal regions as Jebarna of Gzennaya, Ajdir, and, under the aegis of the Ikhemrijen, Targuist. They would not venture, in recent times at least, into the mountains of southern Beni Urriaghel, into northern Gzennaya, or into Beni Amart. For one to do so would have resulted in his death. The Riffians, in common with other Mohammedans, consider it a desecration of gunpowder to shoot Jews, killing them only with stones and knives. Since the Spanish and French occupations the rôle of the Jew has of course changed. He is at present allowed to go to markets to trade, and is not ordinarily molested.

567 Negro slaves are so rare in the Rif that it can almost be said that Riffians do not recognize the existence of slavery. The Ikhemrijen of Targuist have several, and one is owned in Ajdir. There may be others, but I have not seen or heard of them.

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, [241] the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [565] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren [463] (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men [114] are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

000 [114] 109--In the Rif, to our knowledge, there was never a special "market chief", although this office existed in certain parts of the Central Atlas.

[565] 110--The market crier, like the blacksmith and members of certain other occupational groups, occupied a very low rung on the Rifian social ladder, and can in no way be considered as a "tribal functionary".

[533] [534] 111--The imdhiyazen, or professional singers of couplets at weddings and players of the zammar (an instrument with two mouthpieces and two flaring ends, each of which is adorned with a cow's horn), the flute and the tambourine, who invariably come from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, own no property in their own rights, and double as mule and donkey breeders.

[113] 112--For a detailed account of the dance of the ibarudiyen of the Aith Waryaghar, see Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas, Africa, nos. 55, 46-7, 59-60, Madrid 1946, pp. 315-16, 414-19, and 547-51., as well as our own article, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, pp. 232-37. This dance was stopped [648] by order of 'Abd al-krim during the Rifian War in order to save cartridges, and was afterwards forcibly discontinued because of the post-protectoral prohibition of firearms in the Rif. Our account is only a translation of Blanco's, with comments.

(113--Diagram.)

[114] 114--The social structure of the Aith Waryaghar is indeed complex, and this admission by Blanco is a strange contrast to his earlier diagnosis of it as "rudimentary". Although in all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the other Rifian tribes, it is more intricate because of certain variations between the lineage structure and the territorial system. These variations are expressed in terms of spatial discontinuity between certain subsegments bearing the same names, as hinted at in Section F above; and it is this same discontinuity, virtually non-existent among the other Rifian tribes (and where it does exist, only in embryonic form at the level of the minor and minimal lineages), which is, in fact, one of the central arguments advanced by Blanco in the present section. Our own opinion is that it is intimately linked with the notion of lineage scission.

Among certain transhumants in the Eastern Atlas, notably the Ait 'Atta and Ait Saghrushshan (there are no doubt other well-authenticated examples as well), this kind of discontinuity assumes classic proportions, for it is elevated to the tribal level as well. The fact that it exists among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar, however, leads me to believe that it is not primarily connected with the economic organization under consideration (sedentarism or transhumance), but rather with gradual shifts, over time, of tribal clans.

115--The discontinuity alluded to in note 114 had long been an established fact when 'Abd al-Krim rose to power, and there was no reason for him to attempt to change it through, presumably, any regroupment of jma'ths. Such a change would in any event have been highly artificial, and it seems logical to assume that he was fully aware of this.

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated [178] and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of [621] the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with [595] multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The [369] urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the [593] man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

584 581 The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society [571] was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- [602] ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is [178] guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy [571] overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or de- 565 582 792 scendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

565 other shorfa families. However, the shorfa have never been a
582 solid social class in the Rif because of the large and econom-
792 ically varied numbers of people who claim, with varying degrees
of reliability, such descent. Whatever endogamy that exists
[556] among the shorfa is between shorfa who are also men of means.
Such families as possess both qualities do have a marked pro-
556 pensity towards marrying among themselves. There is also a
565 class of men who own more land than the average and do not do
582 their own labor but hire others to do it. There is then a very
loosely defined economic class which tends to marry within its
own circle. It is very rare for a family of this class to marry
a girl to a family with small holdings who hire out as laborers.
They prefer to marry shorfa women, thus raising their prominence
in both economic and religious terms. The majority of people,
the small landholders who do their own labor or hire out to
others, do not have any noticeable pattern of preference.

582 Aside from a loose class endogamy, marriage in the Rif is
relatively freely constructed. There is no guiding principle
whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry
because of their location within the structure. Aside from incest
rules which prohibit marriage with one's mother, father's sister,
mother's sister, sister's daughter, brother's daughter, wife's
mother, stepdaughter, grandmother, daughter, foster sister, or
any child who was suckled by mother, marriage can be contracted
with anyone inside or outside the dchar.[1] Within any one dharfiqth

[114] [1] Murdock's information (1959:117) that Riffians do not marry their father's brother's daughter is inaccurate, although the percentage

582 Within any one dharfiqth
[613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzimnayen than for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
565 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects
582 from which to draw.

582 The main structural consequence of the absence of pro-
602 scriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity
611 at any level of social organization beyond the extended family. Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal prin-
611 ciple. Although rights in property and children almost always
602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle. A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

---

582 of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more
114 correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me
[829] with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong. It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we prepared to attend exactly such a union.

427 the wife about household tasks and often takes his meals inside
464 the central patio, he is on rather intimate (for the Rif) terms
562 with these women. In such a close and anomalous situation, there
[602] is a preference on the part of the master to hire a poor relative, especially of his wife, as a servant. By hiring a man of the wife's family or of a family which includes the wife's relatives by marriage, one lessens the danger of too close a relationship between wife and akhammas.

427 While both partners in the akhammas arrangement seek to
464 establish a contract which is divorced from social conflict over
466 women, they are nonetheless in basic conflict along incipient
465 class lines. The akhammas, at least in the contemporary situa-
● 565 tion, regards himself as being exploited by his patron in that the wage scale is fixed and involves difficult manual labor without any guarantees of remuneration. While he is free to negotiate his contract with whomever he so desires, his wage depends directly on the size of the crop yield for any one year. The master with greater reserves of resources suffers only an inconvenience if the crop yield is low. The sharecropper, on the other hand, has few if any reserves, and any reduction in the portion of his share has serious repercussions on his ability to maintain his household. The akhammas is especially aware of the inequity of this arrangement as wage opportunities open up and he becomes aware that salary can be negotiated with commensurate rewards in cash. Most ikhammasen prefer to get into the category of wage

427 laborer, especially as a migrant worker in Europe or Algeria,
464 where salaries are high by Riffian standards.
465
466
• 565 On the other end of the spectrum are the landowners who regard the akhammas as the true beneficiary of the association. They argue that since they provide all the elements of production except labor, they are being exploited by the working class. The akhammas provides only his manual labor for a few weeks of ploughing and again for a few weeks at harvest time. Their contention is that although the work is arduous, it spans over a relatively short period of time for which the akhammas receives enough to meet his subsistence needs for the year. The remainder of the year the akhammas is free to contract for such labor as is available. The property owner, however, depends exclusively on his crop and thus does not have the additional revenues which the worker earns throughout the rest of the year. If the crop yield is low, the master will always see to it that the worker gets something, and besides the poor can apply for government relief while the rich can not. I suggested to several owners that they [123] engage a wage laborer for the short duration of actual work involved in performing the cultivation tasks but was met with only stony silence at the notion of such a scheme. I did not encounter and no one ever spoke of an instance in which agricultural labor was paid for in daily or weekly wages. Since the property class is in a position to change the system but does not, presumably the akhammas arrangement works to their benefit.

464 Although the akhamas association is the most prevalent,
465 it is only one of several such arrangements. Another sort of laborer is the amkari, who is hired for sowing and odd jobs about the house. His salary is not fixed and he is apparently paid in cash and clothing (Hart 1956:75). Another type of traditional
[233] work association is the amikhan, who is a youth employed to herd a man's goats and sheep. He ". . . is hired for a fixed period . . . [and] gets a non-stipulated sum at the end of his contract" (Hart, ibid.:75). Such an arrangement is graphically portrayed in Bowles' translation of Charhadi's autobiographical novel, A Life Full of Holes. Another form of association is the arabba' who cultivates household gardens, orchards, and trees. He is given a fourth of the fruit and vegetable crops; if the terrain is difficult to terrace, his portion is adjusted (Hart 1956:75).
[256] Most mill owners employ an assistant to do the grinding, and from the mill owner's portion the worker receives a fourth of the grain.

The common element of this sort of association seems to be that the salary the laborer earns is determined by customary regulations rather than by the supply and demand of workers. It
[571] is an association between the elite and the poor which is based
[565] on a fixed compensation and outside of any regulation by the market economy.

675 A correlate of this situation in which commercial arrangements are based on social factors is the irrelevance of written contracts. Whereas contractual agreement forms the basis of most

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
[556] to kill an animal for r st unless there is a special social
occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides
the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
[735] the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
[265] of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
[785] and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
[796] market group most severely affected by the religious month of
Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is pro-
hibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
● 565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren,
or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary,
are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought
to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are
wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since
loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is
plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

445 565 423 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes but find their occupation more remunerative.

443 445 In addition to these small merchants there is an assortment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician. (159) The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occasionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs, stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather peripheral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 443 472 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers, the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation, who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

province of Nador, where barley is relatively cheap, in order to sell in the Rif, which seldom produces enough to meet local needs. The barley is stacked in huge piles of loose, unground seed which is purchased in relatively small lots to be taken back to the mountains and ground for bread or left in seed form to feed the livestock. The barley is measured and weighed by a member of the *imziren* class, who loudly cries out the current price of barley in the market. The merchants themselves sit under nearby shade trees, accepting the coins from their criers and listening to the competition.

In addition to these large-scale sellers, there are the large-scale buyers, who resemble the large-scale sellers in all particulars except their immediate function in the market. Among this group are the egg merchants who buy the tiny lots of a myriad *fellah* in order to transport them to the urban centers of Tetuan or Fez. Another group of buyers are the almond merchants who purchase the Riffian's supply to market abroad, usually in France, to cosmetic companies which transform them into face oils and hand lotions. There are also merchants of oranges who supply the canned juice industry, and grape buyers who purchase the indigenous supply (used locally by the Berbers as a winter reserve in the form of raisins) for the wine industry located in central Morocco.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air. One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

241 433 [437] [443]

195 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[7] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[8] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[113] [113] [113]

[6] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[7] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

[8] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.

1: Coon, E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 from the villages of Ifergugen and Ibettoyen of the Beni Turin. They wander all over the Rif, establishing themselves temporarily near markets, in which they perform their duties.
463 There is one of each profession settled within convenient distance of each circle of markets in each tribe or group of tribes. Being strictly endogamous, they send home to Ifergugen and Ibettoyen for their women; they cannot even intermarry with other Shameless Ones.

554 Although agriculture is considered the most dignified and worthy of occupations, skilled trades such as those of carpenter, weaver (where weaving is done by men), gunsmith, powder-maker, and professional mason are not despised. A man plying one of these trades does not ostracize his family by so doing, or prevent his daughters from marrying into good families. Such trades are not hereditary as are the occupations of the despised castes.

563 The social position of the Jews is not comparable to that of any other group living in the Rif. The Jews, while living in the places settled by them, such as Galiya and Beni Bu Frah, form distinct colonies which in the past were not often molested. Jews going into other regions could formerly do so only under the protection of some important man in that place. The patron of the Jew considered the Jew as his bondsman or slave, while the Jew regarded the contract as merely a commercial one. The Jew was allowed to work at some trade, but must turn his receipts in to his patron, who gave him his food and lodging and a certain amount of money besides. The patron was held responsible for the Jew's safety and protected him against aggressors. Even under this type of contract Jews were able to enter only such marginal regions as Jebarna of Gzennaya, Ajdir, and, under the aegis of the Ikhemrijen, Targuist. They would not venture, in recent times at least, into the mountains of southern Beni Urriaghel, into northern Gzennaya, or into Beni Amart. For one to do so would have resulted in his death. The Riffians, in common with other Mohammedans, consider it a desecration of gunpowder to shoot Jews, killing them only with stones and knives. Since the Spanish and French occupations the rôle of the Jew has of course changed. He is at present allowed to go to markets to trade, and is not ordinarily molested.

567 Negro slaves are so rare in the Rif that it can almost be said that Riffians do not recognize the existence of slavery. The Ikhemrijen of Targuist have several, and one is owned in Ajdir. There may be others, but I have not seen or heard of them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rff MX3

The butchers are relegated to a position as far removed from the rest of the market as possible, on account of the malodorous nature of their wares. If there is a stream in or near the market, the butchers are put on the other side of the stream from the rest. Farmers bring in cattle, sheep, and goats, and turn over the animals to the butchers, who are blacksmiths on other days of the week, or are members of the families of blacksmiths. After the butchers have slaughtered the animals, washed the blood from their throats, inflated their skins, flayed, and quartered them, the owners of the animals hang the meat on wooden racks permanently fixed to trees or posts nearby, where they are thus exposed for sale. Quarters of goat and sheep must have the hoofs and a portion of the adjoining skin left on so that customers can tell the difference between them. The butcher is paid for his work with a portion of the meat, with money, or with the hide, head, and entrails, which are the most common reward.

The meat market is the assembling place of all of the dogs in the *canton* which are able to get there, dozens of them waiting expectantly nearby each time an animal is slaughtered. They often snatch ends of intestine as the animal is being cleaned, and lap up eagerly the rills of blood flowing down towards the stream.

The butchering duties of the blacksmiths are not confined to the market. Whenever members of a *bone* together buy a cow or bull for the meat, the butcher is called in to slaughter it. The portions are divided equally among the married men, who must pay for their pieces before they can have them. A portion is sent up to the mosque of the *canton* for the students in it, and the blacksmith receives his portion as reward for his work.

Returning to the market, we find two other social outcasts at work, the market crier and the official weigher or measurer.[1] These are hired by the councillors, and carry on their functions as official appointees, but disputes arising from the work of the weigher or measurer are carried before the councillors. They work in as many markets as there are days in the week, except of course Friday, and providing that each market is within walking distance of their homes and that the councillors of each are willing to hire them.

Women's markets. In a number of *cantons* there is in addition to the regular market another devoted to women. All men are excluded from it, and are severely punished if they enter. It is commanded by a woman appointed by the councillors of the *canton*. In it the women sell, besides the fruits, vegetables, hens, eggs, and pottery which they dispense at the regular market, magico-medical materials which are supposed to act as contraceptives and to produce abortions. The sale and possession of these is kept secret from the men because the use of them is considered ample reason for divorce. Sometimes a woman who fails to bear children within a reasonable time after marriage is accused, on general suspicion, of using them and is divorced.

Boy Markets. In the Jebala, markets were formerly held in which boys stolen from their families were sold, to be used as apprentices by wandering musicians and as companions by ordinary individuals. They were and still are kept by their purchasers for the purpose of sodomy, and other uses to which these children are put are made secondary to it. When they have grown to an age at which they cease to interest their purchasers sexually they are released and allowed to earn their own living.

The market el Had Ikauen of Ktama was a famous boy market, and was not closed until the advent of the Spanish forces of occupation, who have been trying to prevent such

[1] See p. 92. [For comment on this, see the 111 slip—Analyst]

1: Coon. E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

443
838
567
548
684
562
48
583

sales, although it is difficult to stamp out private transactions.[1] Boy markets are found in the Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ghomara, and Ktama (also, of course, in the rest of the so-called Jebala, and centered at Sheshawen and in the tribe of Beni Zerwal).

[1] The whole Jebalan area is permeated with this type of sexual depravity, which is practiced without mutual shame or any attempt at concealment. In the *Rif* persons sometimes live and die without knowledge of its existence, and those who have travelled and seen it cannot mention it at home without falling into disfavor. It was punished during the recent war, in at least two known instances, by soaking the culprits in gasoline and burning them alive.

This perversion, the only form known in this region, is accompanied in the Jebala by a low esteem for women, who perform the more arduous tasks of agriculture which in the Rif are done by men. A frequent sight in the Jebala is a troop of women marching long distances loaded down under heavy bundles of charcoal and other burdens, which in the Rif would be carried by mules or donkeys.

Bride purchase, a trait common to all Moroccans but the Jews, is in the Jebala literally applied, since here the wife becomes a definite chattel of her husband, not usually the case elsewhere.

The atmosphere created by this combination of cultural factors is in striking contrast to that of the *Rif*, which, although primitive, is wholesome and vigorous.

Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are complimentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe, from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

571 and orient a Rifian's activities and maintain...the safeguard of the interests which the community of his constituents does not guarantee him. While his social units are of a patriarchal, democratic and lay type, his political groupings are of a "military" type, true [562] alliances which join men together and not territories. While the social unit, minuscule as it is, has its proper jurisdiction over a territory and the people who live in it, whether men, women or children, linking together lands and families, the political unit only links individuals together, and these individuals are men only (author's italics)[15].

776 792 3) The "religious group"[16] satisfies the small (sic) spiritual needs of the rest of the Rifians and at the same time utilizes these needs for benefiting the tribe: they are the imrabdhen[17], who want to keep out of the Rifian's quarrels so that they can be effective mediators and arbitrators for him--and it satisfies the Rifian cult for the individual himself, and lends some distinction to his society, to which he never shows himself averse.

44 4) The "economic group"....is characterized in the Rif by markets, Jews[18], the twiza, wuzi's and dhwara, all of which suffice to fulfill the Rifian's principal needs, as much in terms of personal interests as in beneficial or humanitarian ones.

181 C) Family Organization:

1) Rifian society is an organized anarchy, with all the antagonisms and contradictions which are inherent in such a concept; and these may essentially be reduced to the "instinct of defense" and its derivative, the "spirit of association"[19].

602
571
613
619
596

2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton [21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594
596
613

Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594

3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a

594
595
183
[554]

conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny

595
182
[181]

is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

562 anyone, not even their families, nor can they leave their house to work, visit or travel, attend feasts, markets[39] or saints' tombs, without previous authorization from their husbands, who tell them how long [593] they may stay away from home. A man may correct his wife's faults [684] in any way he wishes, and if she is guilty of adultery, he may kill her[40]. If he has more than one wife, he sleeps with each in turn.

•571 e) Concept of Turns:-(The notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" is a cardinal one in Rifian society.) There are "turns" of gift-giving (r-ghramth) at weddings, of the allocation of power (political hegemonies of families and even of tribes), of (usage of irrigation) water, or corvees (twiza), of theft (dhukkardha), of vengeance or reprisal (ar-raqba[41]), for (taking barley to) the fqih, or harkas (war-parties or punitive expeditions), of pasturage (dhwara)[42], and even of plows and animals during plowing time (if, as often was the case during the "Republik", there was only one pair of animals in the community). Rifian society is, thus, a turn-based society, and the term nubth (pl. nubath), in Rifianized Arabic, is so widespread as to include the inhabitants of a village.[43]

571 The case may be cited of a restless ex-qa'id (tribal chief 559 under the Spanish administration) who, desirous of returning to power, constantly pestered the administration with suggestions that he be [181] readmitted to office. As is logical and as a good Rifian, he wanted to be able to make a resounding exit, with his head held high, if he did not get the job. He wanted a responsible position in the regional government of the Territorio del Rif (in al-Husaima, then Villa Sanjurjo), and when he finally realized that his accusations

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
848 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

623 immaterial; for a jma'th which formerly contained only two dharfiqin
613 may now have three, four or five, and tomorrow even more, with a
621 proportionate increase in houses and rifles. What the jma'th is not, however, is a family group united by blood ties--it is not a dharfiqth.

623 .....The jma'th came into being because of the necessity of common
182 usufruct of elements essential to sustain life, such as water, pasture
621 lands, brushwood, etc., and because of the necessity of regulating relations, both material and spiritual, with one's neighbors (hence mosques, which come into being after such an association has been effected). The result was that when a group for any reason abandoned its original jma'th in order to establish itself elsewhere--insofar as its growth and development made it do so, it cut off relationships with its parent group and its point of origin to constitute a new and independent nucleus[71].

621 Many Rifians confuse dharfiqth with jma'th, and proof of this
623 is that when one asks the members of a given group where they are
613 from, it is the same to them to answer "From such and such a jma'th"
[829] or "From such and such a dharfiqth", because the dharfiqth in question forms part of the jma'th whence they originated. Jma'th has a geographical connotation, while dharfiqth smells of noma sm (sic)[72]. This also explains why in different places one may find jma'th-s having the same name but formed by different dharfiqin, because over the course of time other splinter-groups from other jma'th-s became associated with the initial splinter-group from the first jma'th.....

621 I am dubious about the value of the number of households as a cri-
623 terion in definition; but I think that the best single datum available
591

621 today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of
623 nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant
571 than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in
621 others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as
623 a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and
571 as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but
794 only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer.
[613] This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

623 The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral
623 services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now
671 becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian
[613] customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

621 In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only
623 by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand;
463 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these
326 necessities are complemented.
323

623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collectively that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each representative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present-day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal administrators) to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to reappear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

623 621 591 793 The aziddjif or amghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

623 621 591 793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of 623 184 343 624 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

646 614 [623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in, and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors. 646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

681 H) Sanctions: Further Notes (fragmentary):

1) Punishment: fine, exile, or death of person responsible, whether an individual or a family group[55].

[671] 2) Gradation: variable, according to stipulations in the various
[672] qamms[56]. Rifian law recognizes the same degree of responsibility in his accomplices as in the man who actually committed the crime, by assimilating them with his kin group[57].

681 613 [571] 3) Victim: receives no indemnity, except through what he or his kinsmen get as their share of the fine, which is equitably distributed among all the representatives of the dharfiqin[58], thus appearing more than anything else as a payment for services rendered; and the dharfiqin heads divided it up in the same way among their constituent nubath[59]. Thus, if the Rifian is encumbered with the responsibility of executive power[60] (all are obliged to stand against an aggressor), he still participates in the benefits of such power in a true popular sovereignty, and he never cedes his rights or duties.

000 4) Role of Jma'th in Application of Custom: to influence matters or conceal them, by money, force or politicking behind the scenes. Agrau or assembly of the aitarba'in; assessors and arbiters (tulba, shurfa and imrabdhen); role of liffs (aid to their liff-mates in payment of fines, etc.) (This subsection is completely fragmentary.)

682 In summation, three kinds of offenses were punished:

683 1) murder and woundings, with corresponding fines, and vengeance;

683 684 2) abuse of women (if voluntary on their part, each party had to pay 50 duros, and if it was purely and simply rape, the guilty man paid 50 duros);

villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

b) Political Organization:

1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?[19]....I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances[20].

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613
554 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
[182] presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its repre-
792 sentatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692
554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692
212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
671 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
521
● 571 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

312 689 [24] [242] [627] amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with 312 621 624 their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

312 675 423 The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

312 571 [805] Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

312
571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

312
675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of riverain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work [181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for [648] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

423
675 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the
312 essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which we are studying it, in which tribe, its clans and smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

312 uggugen) for the source or origin of irrigation ditches and as partitions of the waters on both banks. After a dam has been set up, built to hold as much water as possible, it is converted into a ditch-head, in which the necessary outlets are made, and it thus acts as the point of origin of the principal or primary ditches which have a permanent flow of water; these are usually two or three in number. Although [183] these outlets are irregular, the Rifians say that a half or a third of the water is utilized in distribution; and although this is what happens in practice, in theory the distribution is far from perfect, as the tribesmen do not take into account the width nor the depth of the outlets; and these are improvised, if not actually variable. The primary ditches are distributed and divided in this way into secondary branches, if these are necessary, in which the irrigation turns proper are initiated, which means that they only take up water for twenty-four hours; therefore, if there are four secondary ditches, each one [805] will take up water every four days. These secondary ditches are subdivided in turn into other tertiary branches, also of periodic or intermittent flow, which do not take up water other than during the day or at night; and these originate the irrigation furrows of individuals which do not take up any water other than at certain hours, which are determined by those of the principal daily prayers.

312 This distribution of irrigation water is intimately linked to
591 the Rifian lineage system, to the dharfiqth (which tends to have a
613 24-hour turn) and its component ijujga, and it is completed with one
596 order of turns begun in the tertiary ditches through which if one of these ditches, during its turn, takes up water during the daytime,

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 67 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

312
591
613
596

It has a turn cycle of six days, which are distributed among the four lineages (dharfiqin), these in turn dividing their turns among their respective branches (ijujga), in the following order:

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Hammu; U Haddu)

2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Xikhrif; U Yihya u Musa)

3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Mis'aud u Yusif; W 'Alla w Ujdir)

4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Dris; W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan)

5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir

6th Day (24 hours): Zawith (Fisra and Andrusen--Ushannen--Ihaddallahan--Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi)[133]

On the seventh day, the sequence is repeated.

Sidd Dharga n-Bulma'iz: on the right bank. It begins, as does 1-Bzimma, at Bu Harishen, crossing the river in order to divide its water with Dharga n Tfadhna, and each one of these three ditches receives one-third of the permanent flow taken in at Bu Harishen. It runs for a few kilometers and reaches the sea at Swani Waddai (Lower Swani). It moves three mills, the first belonging to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and 'Abdinnbi, the second to I'arhuthen and the third to Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru.[134]

[402]

It has a turn cycle of three days for the three dharfiqin indicated, and they in turn distribute the water among their ijujga, which make them up in their own way. The turn begins at the maghrib, or sunset prayer.

[805]

1st Day (24 hours): Imhauren: Aith 'Aru Hmid
Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid
Aith Muhand u Hmid
Aith Bu Dhimmus (only when water is scarce)[135]

312
571
613
596

2nd Day (24 hours): Dhifirasin: Aith Mhand u Yihya
Im'aruwen[136]

3rd Day (24 hours): r-Hujjaj: Aith r-'Arbi
Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
I'arhuthen[137]

312
571
182
613
(596)

We thus have, in the regimen of the ditch with which we are dealing, an excellent example of Rifian solidarity, observable in the turn of the Imhauren, as in times of dryness or drought, when they need more themselves, they hasten to aid their neighbors of Aith Bu Dhimmus (who are ordinarily limited to their own turn of hours of irrigation in another ditch, that of Thafadhna, as we shall see later), although by this the other three lineage branches or ijujga only harm themselves, because they defer one of their own turns by nine more days, and even if the turn is a small one in itself, they only receive it once every nine days.

312
571

For a better understanding of the mechanics of irrigation among Rifians, we shall study in greater detail the order which is followed in this ditch[138], for it is curious to observe how they have simplified it, in spite of the modifications which are introduced in the case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus, for example, with its intermittent (author's italics) rights, so as not to interrupt the turn in general; but, at the same time, how can we explain the miracle of how the thousands of Rifian irrigators and the labyrinth of ditches which traverse the Plain of al-Husaima do not produce any disturbances nor give rise to any incidents other than those occasioned by ignorance on the part of the Europeans, of which the Rifians of importance sometimes try to take advantage or the avarice of the fortunately few and ill-named "colons"?

312
571
613

We may see the ingenuity with which they resolve the problem of irrigation during twenty-four hours in a three-day turn, the same to each of the lineages of the ordinary turn as to the nine days in the exceptional case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus.

Ordinary turn:

1st Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid

2nd Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya

3rd Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Aith r-'Arbi

4th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

5th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Im'aruwen

6th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru

7th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith Muhand u Hmid

8th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya (again)

9th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--I'arhuthen (I'abbuthen, probably)

10th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid (again)

[596] And thus the turn is repeated, except for Dhifirasin, which with only two (irrigating) ijujga alternates between one and the other every time its turn comes around. We see here that in the ordinary turn the nubath (pl. of nubth, "turn") of Dhifirasin irrigate once every three days, while those of Imhauren and r-Hujjaj irrigate once every nine days. Now, if we insert Aith Bu Dhimmus into the picture, we see that Dhifirasin continues to irrigate once every three days and r-Hujjaj once every nine, both on the same day as before, while, on the other hand, because of this shift, Imhauren, to which dharfiqth the new irrigators belong[139], irrigates four out of five times once every nine days and once out of five times once every eighteen days, with the

312 intercalated newcomers irrigating once every twelve days, as shown
571 below, instead of the four lineages of Imhauren rotating every twelve
613 days if they would have been given the right to irrigate with them.

We may observe that in reality, without any alteration of the general turn and without any injury to the other two neighboring dharfiqin which are slightly further away, the thirst of the Aith Bu Dhimmus is miraculously quenched, and how this happens:

1st Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith 'Aru Hmid

2nd Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

3rd Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

4th Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)

5th Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)

6th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru (r-Hujjaj)

7th Day: Aith Muhand u Hmid (Imhauren)

8th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

9th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)

10th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn

11th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

12th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

13th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

14th Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)

15th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru (r-Hujjaj)

16th Day: Aith Muhand u Hmid (Imhauren)

17th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

18th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)

19th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)

312 20th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
571 21st Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)
613 22nd Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn
23rd Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)
24th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
25th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith Muhand u Hmid
26th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
27th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)
28th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)
29th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
30th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

[182] And so on.[140] To attempt to vary this unending chain which the irrigation turns of the Rifians make up in those ditches with permanent flow is to promote major altercations and to upset the equilibrium of the whole of the Plain of al-Husaima.

312 The simple attempt by a Rifian miller to divert for a few
571 seconds the water of Bufma'iz so that it would flow to his turbine mill,
402 I recall, provided the motive for a sudden and vehement protest by the
578 users of this ditch, en masse, to the authorities; the whole Plain of al-Husaima took alarm to such an extent that no procedure nor influence (on the part of the authorities) could be brought to bear toward the peaceful possibility that the people might acknowledge the man's alleged right; and, nevertheless, this Plain needs more than a concerted arrangement and ordination, an improvement and rectification of the principal ditches;[141] and above all it needs a possible increase of flow for the outlet of subterranean or subalveal waters.

312
591
613
[402]

Sidd Dharga n Tfadhna: on the right bank. It takes half the water from Bufma'iz, and therefore begins, as do the other two, in Bu Harishen, the permanent flow taking up one-third of the dam. It moves four mills: that of Muhammad Akuh and Si Muhammad Budra; downstream, that of Dharwa nd-Hajj Shiddi; the next, that of Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith, Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and Muhand nd-Hajj Hammu; and finally, that of Dharwa nd-Hajj Hammush.[142]

The turn is one of three days for the three dharfiqin using the ditch, and each lineage redistributes its twenty-four-hour flow as follows:[143]

1st Day: Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit

2nd Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours): Ajdir (12 hours)

Andrusen (2 hours 40 minutes or one-fifth)

Aith Bu Dhimmus (9 hours 20 minutes or four-fifths)[144]

(Andrusen and Aith Bu Dhimmus thus irrigate 12 hours between them)

3rd Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren) (24 hours): Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

Aith Muhand u Hmid

Aith 'Aru Hmid

The Ghis also provides water for three other ditches before it empties into the sea: Tuth ("mulberry") and Hammam[145] on its left bank and Shimurra on its right; but they do not have a permanent flow like the others discussed above, nor for that matter is their regimen or capacity, which is somewhat arbitrary and subordinate to the others, well regulated, for an irrigator, during his turn, can, if he wants,

312 lead the water to which he has a right in any of the main ditches into
571 these three smaller ones. The ditch of Tuth, when it has water, moves
613 the mill of Dharwa nd-Hajj Mis'aud. The irrigators of the Tafadhna
[402] ditch, whether the turn is interrupted or not, have the right to use
that of Shimurra, but giving first choice to those who use it regularly.

16. QANUN OF THE NKUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 The Nkur River has an irrigation regimen which is less exact than
675 that of the Ghis, and the written agreements on the distribution of its
waters are few and recent. One of them refers to the division of waters
between the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intervention of
the Bureau of the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir).[146] In any case, the
establishment of such agreements is based upon the same notions and
the same norms as in those pertaining to the Ghis.

312 In the Middle and Upper Nkur, there is more than enough water to
[621] irrigate the meanders which the river has created, through which it is
easy to affix by-laws to the 'azibs[147] of the neighboring jma'ths which
own land on its banks, given the small amount of land under irrigation.
[241] There is even freedom and waste, and it is not uncommon to see, during
harvest time, the formation of tiny threshing floors with capricious
irrigation-furrows of 300 and 500 meters in the middle of the river bed.

[619] There are meanders like Dhaghzwith n Dasa (upstream, in the territory of Axt Tuzin, and near the bridge on the right bank) and Dhazurakhth (downstream, in the territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also right beside the same bridge, but on the left bank), which are of relatively large dimension and which have already stabilized turns; but the real difficulties and concomitant near-perfect solutions are

A, [See pp. 361-369--Analyst]

312 [619] only found in the Lower Nkur, the principal water outlets of which, by acting as dividing lines between different tribes on both banks,[148] are Aghbar u Yidir, on the right bank and upstream from the Thanda Hawa pond, and Azru n Srith ("Rock of the Bride"), north of the former.

The latter point is the most important, where the wide Plain of al-Husaima and the ditches which traverse it may truly be said to begin. In the accompanying diagram, all these points are indicated, as well as the principal ditches, the regimen of which we shall now indicate in outline, with the hope that these notes may someday serve as the basis of a more detailed study.

West Bank:

Dharga n Dahar: begins downstream and right beside the piste to the Thimsaman, bordering it and crossing the main Tetuan-Melilla road to [402] end up in Imzuren. It moves three mills. It has two turns of twenty- 312 four hours each: one for the Qa'idate of Nkur (Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and • 571 the other for that of l-Uta, the Plain. The latter, in turn, is divided into one-third for Imzuren and two-thirds for Aith Musa w 'Amar;[149] and this gives rise to the following cycle:[150]

1st Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

2nd Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar

3rd Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

4th Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar

5th Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

6th Day: Imzuren

312 Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan ("ditch of the small river"): In May 1938 [402] the flow of this ditch was 513 liters per second. It originates

312 (402) downstream from Dharga n Dâhar, and it yields one-third of its flow to Dharga n Tmsaman; it arrives at the Bulma'iz ditch at the height of Thafrasth, near the now defunct Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif; and it moves four mills: the first belonging to Muhand 'Aida w 'Amar; the second, to 'Allush nd-Hajj Muhand u Haddu; the third, to 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Bu Qiyadhen; and the fourth, to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and to 'Amar 'Abdallah nd-Hajj Muhand.[151]

312 571 It has three turns: one for those upstream (designated as n-dara), another for those downstream (s-waddai), and the third for the Granja Agricola or Model Farm of Imzuren (this last on Wednesdays and Thursdays), in the following manner:

1) N-dara (24 hours, distributed into 5 ditches): 1st--Sidd r-Hajib
2nd-Sidd Inufan
3rd--Sidd Bu Kra'
4th--Sidd Ahammar
5th--Sidd Miskur[152]

2) S-waddai (24 hours, distributed into 3 ditches): 1st--Tigarth (12 hours)
2nd--Sidd I'abbuthen (6 hours)
3rd--Sidd Aith Mis'aud (6 hours)[153]

3) N-dara (24 hours, distributed into 4 ditches): 1st--Sidd Tagharbund
2nd--Sidd 'Abdallah
3rd--Sidd 'Abdallah
4th--Sidd Ishtari[154]

4) S-waddai (24 hours, distributed into 2 ditches): 1st--Imhauren (12 hours)
2nd--Aith Mhand u Yihya (12 hours)[155]

000 which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

312 613 The flow taken up by the Aith Waryaghar bathes the meander of Sidi r-Hajj Yusif[161], and is used by the Aith Umnudh lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. It is divided [illegible] into two turns of twenty-four hours each: one for the lineage branch of Aith Ishsiu (some 80 irrigators) and the other for the lineage branch of "True" Aith Umnudh (some 130 irrigators).[162] The flow taken up by the Axt Tuzin (clan of the Axt 'Akki) is distributed through the Dharga n Tufdhisth.

312 [823] [103] Azru n Srith ("The Rock of the Bride"): This legendary site[163], the point of departure for water from the pond of Thanda Hawa, beside the tomb of Sidi Birqi, is the principal shed for the waters of the Nkur River, and four ditches flow from it: one on the left, or Aith Waryaghar, side, Dharga n Tufrashth, and three on the right, called Sunduq (Axt Tuzin), Sidd Asiyar[164] (Thimsaman) and Ihajjamen ("barbers") (Thimsaman), respectively.

Sunduq and Tufrasht divide water into equal parts. In turn, the Sunduq ditch, by the same token, divides it with Dharga Usiyar, and the latter, in turn, with Ihajjamen, which in time of scarcity has no water.

[571] [613] The turn cycle of Dharga n Tufrasht is five days for Izakiren and two for Ighmiren.[165]

Dharga Sidd 'Arridh: begins at the same height as Dharga Hadhidha, on the other (west) bank, and beside and just upstream from the crossing of the main Tetuan-Melilla road and the piste to the Thimsaman.[166]

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front [402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills (Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168] [571] It has two turns, for the Thimsaman and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and [571] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'- [402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

104 Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. mubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")- anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 614 312 578 423 691 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Amhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

695 is to be found situated above the ditch of 'Umar bin Yusif al-Waryaghli.
312
[693] This is what the witnesses of the present (act) certify without there being (any) doubt existing in it. A complete attestation.

693 The undersigned notaries who have compiled (the testimonies which
695 these individuals afforded) from them testify that the latter are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) to testify, and they know them (i.e. personally).

[805] On the 21st day of the blessed Sha'ban of the year 1150 (December 13, 1737). Two illegible signatures follow.

19. PURCHASE AND SALE OF AN IRRIGATION TURN: TRANSLATION:

Praise be to the one God.

312
571
432 The Qa'id Sulaiman bin Muhammad al-Waryaghli al-Khattabi al-Ajdiri[176] buys, with the power and force of God, from the one who sells it, Siddiq bin Muhammad bin Siddiq al-'Abdallawi[177], one-fourth (of a part) of the irrigation ditch of Bulma'iz, (in his turn) by day or by night, his turn reappearing about (once) every nine days; on some occasions
432 he gets it during the day, and on others at night. A valid, definitive
[435] and firm purchase, so much down, without conditions of resale or op-
[436] tions (to anything) other than that assigned here), for a price the sum of which is 100 duros, in Spanish money (i.e. 500 pesetas). This amount the abovementioned seller has taken from the abovementioned buyer, thus recognizing it in front of both witnesses instrumental to the present act, freeing the buyer from it, who took over his purchase with complete possession, occupying it in his place of ownership in conformity with the traditional law and the right of rehibitory action

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 In my humble opinion there is more than enough water for the surface area which can be irrigated; and so much more, in fact, that the amount which is lost is greater than that which is put to use.

312 (999) Calculating grosso modo an irrigable area of 5000 hectars, bounded by the main road on the west, as well as a subalveal flow of over 1 cubic meter per second from the Nkur River, according to the approximate calculations made when the supports of the new bridge (i.e. crossing the river at Km. 20 to the Axt Tuzin and Melilla) were set up, it would not be far off the mark to estimate the flow in both rivers, plus that of Thifarwin (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) at some 3 cubic meters per second, or 10,000 cubic meters per hour; and this would give daily 48 cubic meters per hectar under permanent irrigation.

Most of this water is now lost in the sea....and represents several millions of pesetas lost while technicians, policy makers and businessmen show no iterest.

(591) (435) (241) It should be remembered that a single turn of irrigation water every eight days costs 500 to 600 duros in the Plain of al-Husaima, and continually produces two harvests a year.

Ghis:

Ditch of Bufna'iz -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 131 liters per second

Ditch of r-Bzimma -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 46 liters per second

Nkur:

Ditch of Aghzar Amzzyan -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Thimsaman -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Sidd Jdid -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of 'Ain Harri -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of Swani -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

000
[614] consideration here) are affiliated with the Ajdir segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan.

[614] 137--All three lineages are member groups of the subclan of the Tigarth in the clan of the Aith 'Ari.

312
591
613
114
138--Our own notes on the division of irrigation water from Dharga n-Bulma'iz are a little at variance with those of Blanco. There are three turns of 24 hours each, for the secondary ditches of Dhifirasin, r-Ghis Burma'iz and Thafadhna n Dara (Upper Dhafadhna). The Dhifirasin turn is distributed among the lineages of the Ibukriwen, Ihanjiqen (both of Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Plain) and Im'aruwen (this is exactly as Blanco indicates); but the Ghis Burma'iz turn is limited only to the three lineages of the Imhawren, i.e. the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid. The Tafadhna n Dara turn is divided between the lineage of the Yinn Si 'Amar (branches of Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Amar and Dharwa nd-Hajj Muhand) of Lower Imrabdhen, clan of the Imrabdhen; and the Aith Bu Dhimmus (Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush); and this is very much at variance with what Blanco says. It is possible, but unlikely, that a change in order may have taken place after the Spanish administration put cement bases in the three principal ditches (r-Bzimma, Bulma'iz and Dthafadhna) in the Lower Ghis; and the cementing occurred long after Blanco left the Rif. It is easier (and probably more plausible) to attribute the discrepancy to ambiguity among informants; but here again, the pitfall of using ambiguity as a scapegoat is that even the least intelligent users of any ditch are always thoroughly conversant with which lineages use it, how much time and how long the cycle is, and in what order it comes. For it is standard irrigation practice in the Plain of al-Husaima that each dharfiqth receives water for 24 hours at a stretch, and that after this, the supply is cut off so that other dharfiqin can irrigate.

000
[114] [614] 139--Blanco is in error here for not being familiar with the segmentary minutiae of the Aith Waryaghar. The Aith Bu Dhimmus lineage does not belong at all to the dharfiqth of the Imhawren, whose clan affiliations are with the Aith 'Ari, but to that of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar in the subclan of the Isrihan, of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[114] 140--Our own fieldnotes on the subject say nothing of the staggered, around-the-clock rotation every twelve days of the Aith Bu Dhimmus after their insertion into the routine of the Imhawren turn; but we think we are at fault here for not having gone into the matter thoroughly enough. Blanco is indeed to be congratulated here not only on a truly original discovery, but on an excellent exposition of his material as well.

141--This statement proves that in Blanco's time the three principal ditches emanating from the Lower Ghis had not yet been cemented.

142--Only the lineage of the Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith is of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari; all the rest of the individuals and lineages mentioned here are resident in Ajdir of the Aith Ughir Izan subclan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

143--Our own notes on the distribution of water from the Tafadhna ditch, while not as detailed as those of Blanco, are nonetheless largely in accord with his. The ditch has a three-day cycle: Imhawren (24 hours),

000

151--The third-mentioned individual was from the Aith Bu Qiyadhen lineage of the Aith 'Adhiya subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and the fourth from Ajdir of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The others were unidentified.

312 571 613 614

152--Sidd r-Hajib irrigates the Aith Musa W. 'Amar and Iswiqen n Waddai (affiliated with the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), for the most part. Sidd Inufan irrigates the territory of the same lineages, as well as the land of a few intrusive families of Shurfa Wazzaniyin from Snada (Aith Yittuft), those of Sidi l-Hajj Mikki and Sidi Brahim. Sidd Bu Kra' irrigates up through Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), as well as r-Mruj and Ahamri (the site of the Granja). Sidd Ahammar irrigates land bought by the Hajj Hmid n 'Abdssram Bu 'Ayyashi, the son of 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand Bu Qiyadhen mentioned in note 151; and it irrigates land of the Ihankuren lineage (in Aith Musa w 'Amar) as well. Sidd Miskur irrigates Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar) and the Ifqiren (Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen).

153--These ditches are presumably named for the lineages which use them: Tigarth and I'abbuthen (both of the Tigarth subclan) in the Aith 'Ari, and Aith Misa'ud in the Lower Imrabdhen.

154--Sidd Tagharbund irrigates for the Ihankuren (of Aith Musa w 'Amar of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), certain lineages of Bu Minqad (again of the Aith r-'Abbas of the Aith 'Ari), the (Lower) Imrabdhen of r-'Azih Imzuren, and, in 1953, for the then Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), Mikki n Sriman r-Khattabi, of Ajdir. Sidd 'Abdallah irrigates for the Ifqiren lineage (of Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen subclan) at r-'Azib Imzuren, Sidd Arbib ("dam of the step-child") irrigates for the Ifqiren and Ma'iza lineages (also of Aith 'Amar u Bukar) at r-'Azib Imzuren. Sidd Ishtari irrigates for the Imrabdhen of r-'Azib Imzuren, and for the Imhawren, Aith Musa w 'Amar and Bu Minqadh lineages (the last three of the Aith 'Ari).

155--As indicated, the Imhawren are a subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the Aith Mhand u Yihya are a lineage of the Isrihan subclan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

000

156--For whom, presumably, the ditch was named in the first place, as those of its members who are nearest it share a turn from its water.

613 571

157--Our notes state that the Dharga n Tmsaman always has a right to one-third of the water from Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan; and that there are four, rather than three, turns of 24 hours each, the fourth being that of the Aith 'Amar u Bukar (Lower Imrabdhen) of Ma'iza.

613 614

158--A lineage of Izakiren community in the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

159--Sidd Jdid is used in summer, when water is scarce, by the same lineages who use Dharga n Tmsaman.

160--This document is not given by Blanco in translation.

121 and desert areas remained politically distinct from the Sultan's
105 regime. These areas, of which the Rif was one, were called the
bled-as-siba, or the land of insolence. In such areas there was
(571) no centralized political authority and whatever small degree of
security that existed came from a system of social relationships
whereby mutual assistance was expected and granted. The absence
of political integration at any higher than the local kin and
residence group was paralleled by an absence of extensive economic
121 integration. Not only political success but economic well-being
105 as well depended on relatives, friends and neighbors all support-
571 ing one another. Out of this developed an economic system based
602 on status. By "status" I mean an economy in which the deployment
433 of resources is based primarily, though not exclusively, on imper-
556 atives derived from social relationships and religious obligations.
In such societies wealth is expended on ceremonial activities, on
reciprocal obligations, on the gift and countergift. In an indus-
trial society there are analogous ceremonies and celebrations in
which wealth is spent on relatives and ritual. However, such
expenses are marginal to the amount of total outlay. Such expen-
ditures have proportionately little effect on the sum total of
wealth in comparison to expenditures connected with rational pro-
duction. By way of contrast, in a nonindustrial society social
expenditures of wealth can be the most important way in which
121 wealth is utilized. In a society heavily dependent on local ties,
105 on kin alliance, on neighborhood association, social activities
571 tend to be the essence and breadth of the group. Production is
602
433

b ...eph E-5 (1965 1966) 19"5 MX3 Rif MX3

121 105 571 602 433 aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation of these activities and the social relationships that they help establish.

121 128 The central problem I have set for myself is to describe and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

121 433 571 602 As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the conditions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was socially, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political conditions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

[178]

591 Neolocality is
178 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization. [613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijuiga [596] traditional social obligations are still extant. [602]

The final social unit in the Rif is the local community
621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchare, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

1. [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

553 cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially
574 father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this cere-
602 mony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the
431 family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right
[578] to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day
782 the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended
574 to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is
621 expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the
553 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of
556 food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys.
574 Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, how-
[571] ever, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony
553

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated [178] and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of [721] the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with [595] multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The [369] urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the [593] man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society [571] was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- [602] ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is [178] guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy [571] overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 792 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

178 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was
411 that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quar-
602 rels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situ-
578 ations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matri-
lineal lines.

121 I think that the principle of unilineality is not as
611 important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindus-
[571] trial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated
to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this
makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the
structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its
parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform
to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many non-
584 industrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must
decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce
bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and
set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either
type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of
an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on
the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the
couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter
should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely con-
sulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic
as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely
chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community
[521] such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes
knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family.
If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother
to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's
father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are,
however, the majority.

584 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because
562 of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initi-
586 ating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son
into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advan-
tages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if
[782] a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match,
[571] the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing
an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the
Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a
wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of
[593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will
[464] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as
[427] akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such cir-
cumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed
581 that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative
582 which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

584 that the following factors are evaluated in each case.

581 Advantages in marrying a relative are:

582 1. You don't fight over whose family is superior.

2. You know the girl beforehand and have a fair idea of what sort of a person you are getting.

3. It is a simpler property arrangement.

4. Your family already knows the girl, presumably likes her, and there is no problem of an outsider coming in and being picked upon by the women of the household.

5. If a husband is fighting with his wife, the common family relatives will pressure him into treating the woman better in order to decrease the possibility of divorce.

On the other hand, there are a countervailing series of factors which discourage marriage to a relative:

1. It is harder to be in love with or be attracted sexually by a woman with whom you have grown up and whom you regard as a sister.

2. It is socially and economically advantageous to spread out one's contacts through alliances with non-relatives.

3. With an outsider, a non-related wife, the husband has more power because his wife does not have any natural allies with the household or the family.

4. Although property arrangements are more complicated, there is a greater possibility of bringing additional property into the family with an outside wife than there is with a marriage within the family.

581 While such exchange as emerges from marriage defies the
571 making of pronouncements about the guiding principle behind alliance in purely structural terms, it does expose the factor that the distribution of human resources is influenced by both social and economic calculation of a given situation.

584 Negotiations are always begun on the side of the prospective groom. No father would attempt to initiate negotiations

585 574 262 The father of the groom provides meals and tea for all the guests at his home as well as at the house of the bride. The meal for the guests in even the humblest of homes consists of a course of cous-cous and a meat tajin. In most ceremonies there is also a poultry course. Enormous quantities of bread and tea are also served. The most accepted casual factor for [178] reducing the days of the wedding ceremony from seven as they were before Abdel Krim to two or three days as they are today was that the expenses of providing hospitality over such an extended period of time was ruinous to all but the most prosperous families.

585 574 571 Guests are likewise expected to incur various expenses. At this moment we need only note the recurrent support of a public ceremony which is expected throughout Berber society. All mature guests are expected to provide a quantity of barley, loaves of freshly baked bread, fresh fruit and vegetables, or a monetary equivalent. This tends to discourage, among the poor fellah, the presence of nonrelatives, because it represents an outlay which is not part of their residual social obligations. In addition, such attendance by a nonrelative imposes future obligations which, in only rare circumstances, they are willing to accept. By attending the wedding and taking part in the joining in matrimony of the couple, one gratuitously assumes the duty of attending the naming ceremonies for the infants of this union. Such acceptance of future responsibility is not normally accepted unless there is social advantage thereby.

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the [533] groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the professional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 594 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 . MX3 R1f MX3

585 574 571 431 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grana. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (viziers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and viziers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however quite certain since both Coon (1931:134-135) and Reniero (1932:146-150) report it.

[534] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male [538] guests they sing in Arabic, [539]

sabhain er-razik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

585 574 571 431 as they walk inside the circle three times. Traditionally, rifles were fired by the iwziren but with the confiscation of all firearms, firecrackers are today used as substitutes.

The groom then sits down on a chair in front of a low table which has previously been placed in the center of the circle. Squatting beside him on the ground are his iwziren, his father, and usually his younger brother. Behind him stand four girls who throughout the remaining ceremony fan him with their scarfs. At this point the gift giving commences. The [522] gifts, always in money, are collected by a traditional spokesmen, often a comic figure, who makes jokes and dances about as he announces aloud who has made the contribution and how much it is. With each announcement, the women who are inside the house but huddled around the doors peering out at the ceremony, commence to ululate. The comic figure goes about the crowd collecting gifts which he hands over to the groom's father, who places them in a brass tray in front of Houlay. The largest gifts, usually given at the beginning of the ceremony, are from relatives of the groom's father, such as brothers and uncles, as well as from relatives of the bride and close friends of the groom's father. These gifts are rarely under 100 dirhams but as the evening progresses smaller gifts of from 5 to 20 dirhams are given by age mates of the groom, by guests who wish to express their thanks for the evening's entertainment, and by local notables who feel it incumbent to give a small gift at each wedding they attend. The greater part of each gift goes to the father of the

585 574 591 431 groom to help defray the expenses of the wedding, but a part can also be designated for the groom's personal use. Each gift must also specify a small amount for the person who makes the public announcement. A typical large gift would be announced as two hundred dirhams for the master of the wedding (the father), five dirhams for Moulay el-Sultan (the groom), and one dirham for the spokesman.

Although the smaller gifts are given gratuitously out of good will, the larger ones (fifty dirhams and upwards) are part of an extensive system of social obligations on the part of blood relatives, affines, and friends who are either fulfilling past obligations or setting up future ones. Recipients of gifts given by the father of the groom in the past are now expected to respond in kind. If the marriage is between members of the same lineage or between families who have contracted prior matrimonial links, a set of obligations will already exist. If it is the first marriage between two families, the bride's family is supposed to initiate good relations between the two families by donating to help defray the wedding expenses.

585 574 591 431 556 [114] Coon has noted in passing (1931:141) that this gift giving can become a competitive game in which the guests give increasingly larger amounts of money during the ceremony in order to shame rivals. I have never encountered such a situation in which the ante was raised during the ceremony itself, but a somewhat similar incident occurred in which a man donated more than the community felt to be his social obligation. At a wedding in one

585 of the fractions of the Beni Wariyaghar, four large gifts were
574 given. One of these gifts was 350 dirhams ($70) from a friend
591 of the groom's father, another of 450 dirhams from a brother of
431 the groom's father. The final two gifts were from two men who
556 had married daughters of the groom's father. One of these sons-in-law had been married into the family of the groom's father for ten years and assumed a superior attitude towards the other son-in-law, who had only two years previously married into this family. The latter, a young man who was poor in his own right but related to several well-off families, went to his relatives borrowing from each in turn. At the wedding ceremony he was able to give 400 dirhams to the father, or one hundred dirhams more than the other brother-in-law. At the time of the ceremony [578] the shamed brother-in-law bitterly accused the younger man's entire family of deliberately shaming him. The family denied that they had been in collusion with the boy, but also they took his side in the dispute and the two families ceased speaking to one another. As a participant on the one side explained to me, "I have a little bit of the evil eye for that outfit and they probably have the same for us."

585 After all the donations have been collected, the groom's
574 father and his paternal uncles take the tray filled with money
591 into the house and counts the proceeds. The amount received by
431 the groom's father may equal the outlay that he had to make to finance the wedding, and if the sequence of events ended here the man's debts might be balanced out by his newly acquired assets.

585 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing
571 system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future
431 obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding
182 and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the
574 seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors
585 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to
574 be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's
152 family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's
[292] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women
[291] of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
571 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off familes have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
574 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
● 571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 692 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
631 692 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
556 554 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is placed in the position of protector and is under traditional
571 obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form of mutual support between local lords and the community was much

631 692 556 554 571 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally prominent man is generally efficacious since government representatives attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 648 556 619 The national government is well aware of the actual dual organization of political power in the country. While every Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

556 472 183 It is possible, of course, for a single individual to incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylia Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, ". . . only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' . . ." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remunerative but of negative value in terms of social interrelations. Those men who are motivated by profit often find the atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate to Alhucemas or Targuist. While Riffians who live in the rural areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

556 472 183 521 369 186

There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is manifested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

556 472 521 577

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
571 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by
577 both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the
556 community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
30 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
454 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.
[422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

256 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regard-
435 less of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills
472 are not economically competitive with one another, they are soci-
256
472 ally competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better
477 than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has
a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a local-
ity, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community
uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of
[571] preference on the part of the users is not determined by conveni-
[578] ence of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such
[602] as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of
the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

423 Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses
427 of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor.
We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise
between a man who has more property than he alone can personally
cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social
and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who
holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence
needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property
holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own.
Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inher-
itance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to
meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these cir-
[464] cumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to
keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

464 465 Although the akhammas association is the most prevalent, it is only one of several such arrangements. Another sort of laborer is the amkari, who is hired for sowing and odd jobs about the house. His salary is not fixed and he is apparently paid in cash and clothing (Hart 1956:75). Another type of traditional [233] work association is the amikhan, who is a youth employed to herd a man's goats and sheep. He ". . . is hired for a fixed period . . . [and] gets a non-stipulated sum at the end of his contract" (Hart, ibid.:75). Such an arrangement is graphically portrayed in Bowles' translation of Charhadi's autobiographical novel, A Life Full of Holes. Another form of association is the arabbe' who cultivates household gardens, orchards, and trees. He is given a fourth of the fruit and vegetable crops; if the terrain is difficult to terrace, his portion is adjusted (Hart 1956:75). [256] Most mill owners employ an assistant to do the grinding, and from the mill owner's portion the worker receives a fourth of the grain.

The common element of this sort of association seems to be that the salary the laborer earns is determined by customary regulations rather than by the supply and demand of workers. It [571] is an association between the elite and the poor which is based [565] on a fixed compensation and outside of any regulation by the market economy.

675 A correlate of this situation in which commercial arrangements are based on social factors is the irrelevance of written contracts. Whereas contractual agreement forms the basis of most

443 pertinent features of the marketplace and its importance in the economy of the Rif.

443 182 571 The market in the Rif does not function simply to facilitate exchange but serves a whole series of social needs of the fellah. By looking at the noneconomic functions of the market we can better understand why a man will ride a mule or walk for two hours to market, yet make only a single purchase. We will understand why a seller would prefer to deal in a familiar market although other markets may have higher prevailing prices for his goods. The market has both an economic and a social function and it is difficult to say which has primacy over the other. As Montagne points out, "Le montagnard ne se rend pas au 'souq' uniquement pour acheter ou vendre, il y vient souvent aussi pour rencountrer ses amis, réglar des contestations de terrain ou de pâturage, ou plus simplement encore pour connaître les nouvelles du jour" (1930:249). And Bourrilly has noted the importance "non soulement économique mais encore politique, de ces souks ruraux. Ces rendez-vous périodiques, que des liens d'hospitalité, tels que la zettata [a promise of safe passage], rendent plus forts, aboutissent forcément à une fusion plus ou moins complète des groupes qui fréquentent les marchés voisins" (1932:216).

Only by observing the noneconomic significance can we avoid the type of thinking that led Albéniz to conclude that ". . . poco a poco van disminuyendo el número de zocos en el territorio, como consecuencia de la bondad de las vías de comunicación. Los zocos de escasa vida se ven absorbidos por los de auge más intenso, y

443 los indígenas, por si mismos, van señalando, con su ausencia e
182 inhibición, cuáles son los que deben desaparecer" (1930:122).
571 Or as Mikesell argues, improved communications and the bus favor the growth of large regional markets over the local one. "The simple charms of the local suq lose their appeal when larger markets with a wider range of goods are accessible" (Mikesell 1958:509).

443 Aside from the fact that market appeal is not based on
182 "simple charms," I think both Albéniz and Mikesell have founded
114 their conclusions on a false evaluation of the purposes of the market. When an institution serves multiple purposes it cannot easily be replaced by another institution which serves a single purpose. The large, impersonal regional market does not fulfill the social function of the local suq. Even as a source for supplying the fellah, the regional market has only a marginal value since most purchases are of articles (kerosene, tea, tobacco, etc.) whose value does not appreciably alter from market to market. Indeed, Mikesell elsewhere recognizes that from a buying standpoint one market is as good as another. "Everyone has a turn with the itinerant peddlers, but few purchase anything; for in this area of subsistence economy each family guards its currency for a marriage or some other special event" (1958:503).

443 But it is especially the social functions of the market
182 which reinforce the fellah's loyality to his local suq. It is
571 here that he can maximize his advantages of being part of a status economy. Here he can seek out local notables to assist him.

He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all <u>suqs</u> of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific <u>suq</u>. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturallement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and spices.

A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consumption. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments can be spread into the future. With all the other participants of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers. This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

442 profit not from dispersing goods in the same marketplace but in
571 transporting the goods from one region to another.
[443]

Large-scale buyers interact with small-lot sellers in a limited range of goods which, generally, can be transformed by industrial processes into another commodity (grapes to wine, almonds to cosmetics, oranges to canned fruit), the conversion of which enhances the value of the original object. These buyers are plugged into a larger economy with export connections and are
442 sensitive to external conditions. Tribesmen who produce in order
433 to meet the demand of such buyers are likewise closely connected
434 with the national and international economy. There is a small but growing number of fellah who produce to sell to this group, but even among them there is a reticence to move completely into the commercial sector. My impression is that the great majority of the Riffian peasantry engaging in cash-cropping attempt to maintain a balance in their production schedule which continues to include a fair proportion of traditional crops. By generaliz-
[458] ing their production, few of the grape specialists suffered from
[435] the decrease in prices during 1965. This contrasts with the one-crop estates in Algeria which during the same period suffered severe setbacks.

443 The small-scale sellers of both goods and services occupy that position which is left open by the unwillingness of the local Berber to engage in full-time commerce and the absence
[434] of the large-scale entrepreneur. They are, on the one hand, dealing in commodities or services the margin of profit on which

443 townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers
829 on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

443 Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I
438 mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local
182 suq because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic
443 advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the mer-
438 chants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has
● 571 certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market.
[609] Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of
443 transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best
438 price based on multiple competition, the larger the market,
435 the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the fellah is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local suq, he must return the animal home or be entirely

443 dependent on the prices existing in the market for that day.
438 On the other hand, if he is dissatisfied with the price in the
435 local market he can easily transport the beast home again, to
await a more propitious occasion.

443 I think that the major element which emerges from this
182 schematic presentation of the composition of the market and the
571 interaction of its various actors is that each fellah, as an
individual, plays a relatively minor role in the workings of
the market. The market brings together buyers and sellers,
but the fellah have a different orientation than the other
443 buyers and sellers. Stemming from this difference in orienta-
182 tion is a basic difference in the form of economic activity.
The primary concern of the professional merchant is to dispose
of his products on the market, hopefully at a profit. The pri-
mary concern of the fellah is to meet subsistence and social
needs. If he can do this by disposing of his crops or livestock
on the market, all the better. But the market as such does not
provide the dynamics of the Rif economy; the dynamics are pro-
vided by the impulses activated by the status economy.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[a]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

62 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443]

One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[b] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[c] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[571] [616] [712]

[a] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[113] [b] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

[113] [c] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93)

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

D) Political Organization:

1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?[19]....I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances[20].

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that the two rivals should start walking at once, and that he who arrived at Imasinen first should own the land. The Senhajan won, and when the Ghomaran arrived he became angry, whereupon the war commenced. On the way home the two rivals collected allies in all the Riffian tribes they passed, as follows:

Senhaja	*Ghomara*
Maruza of Galiya	Beni Shisher of Galiya
Beni Sidel of Galiya	Beni Bu Yafer of Galiya
Metalsa	Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya
Gzennaya	Beni Bu Yahyi
Beni Urriaghel	Beni Said
Beni Bu Frah	Beni Tusin
Mestasa	Beni Ulishk
	Tafersit
	Beni Amart
	Bokoya
	Targuist
	Beni Ittaft
	Mtiwa

The forces of the Ghomara, judging by names alone, should have outweighed those of the Senhaja. But Beni Urriaghel and Gzennaya have always far overshadowed the other tribes numerically and in military power, so that their presence on the Senhajan side is supposed to have turned the scale, especially since they had as allies all the tribes on the Werghs here called Arabophone Senhaja. The Senhaja won, and the Ghomara have remained huddled on their seacoast ever since. To this day bitterness remains between the peoples, although the allies of the two have long since been drawn into fresh feuds and new alignments.

One cultural difference between the Senhaja and Ghomara has led to an *ex post facto* explanation for the enmity. It is said that there are two kinds of men: those who when they eat together leave a little food in the bottom of the bowl through shame of taking the last bit, and likewise keep the *baraka* [1] of the food in the house; and those who gobble it all to the last morsel. Furthermore the first kind are hospitable, and the second not. The Black Sultan (a common figure in Moroccan folklore) decreed that those who have shame in this matter should be called Senhaja and those who have none Ghomara. To this day all the Senhaja leave food in the bowl, and the Ghomara leave none; the Senhaja are hospitable and the Ghomara cold to strangers.

In this seemingly simple story of the Senhaja and the Ghomara, recorded as it came from the lips of the old men of these peoples, we have an exceedingly lucid account of happenings that occurred at least a thousand years ago and probably considerably earlier. Certain factors in the tale have been crystallised and handed down as entities, whether or not they are strictly accurate. At any rate, both the Ghomara and the Senhaja invaded from the south, the Ghomara first. Each found traces of previous occupants, each absorbed a certain amount of Riffian blood, and each sought allies among the Riffians when they fought off their old grudges, which they may well have brought with them from the south.

[1] See p. 187.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeezed from the ends of fig branches. They claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammet*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammet* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it.

Wine-making, which Marmol [1] attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khamr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.[2] On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organized which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

kif, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghzuth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammet* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

Riffian Table Manners. When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

[1] Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86–88.

[2] Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 184, 207 *sqq.*, 316, 386, 423, 431, 467, 473, 488 *sqq.*, 507 n., 570, 601.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

host are present, food is served them in a room separate from that commonly occupied by the family. The host is present, but does not partake unless urged to do so by the guest. The host's wife appears only to bring in and take out the food, which she does as rapidly and unostentatiously as possible.

In regard to actual table manners, but a few points serve to distinguish the Riffian from the Arab usage. The Riffian washes his hands with hot water and soap and wipes them on a towel before eating, providing he has soap and a towel, otherwise he washes them with water and dries them on whatever piece of cloth will serve the purpose. After eating he rinses his hands and dries them. He does not indulge in the gargling and spitting practised by the Arabs while washing. He does not expectorate on the floor and walls as do Arabs, nor does he belch to show his appreciation of the meal. In the actual technique of eating, however, from the sacramental breaking of bread to the pouring of tea, little difference can be found, except that the Riffians use wooden spoons more and their hands less than do Arabs.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques. *The Moorish arch* in doors and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

Domes are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

Tiled roofs are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

Tents. The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa* braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhazhen*, sepa-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Entertaining councillors of another tribe. If the councillors of a strange tribe stop at a village for the night, the local village council has charge of their entertainment. They first provide a house for the guests by expelling some childless man and his wife from their dwelling for the night. They then collect foodstuffs. Bread and all fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, and vegetables, are assessed from rich men without payment. Meat, sugar, tea, candles, oil, pepper, butter, and poultry are purchased from members of the *bone* willing to sell them. The boys of the council buy the poultry from widows, and eggs as well, if no one brings them voluntarily. Anyone refusing to supply the bread assessed him may be fined ten *soldi* a loaf; but since no one has ever been known to refuse, the fine is purely theoretical. If in buying those articles not given, the members of the council spend more money than they have in the fine treasury, they pay the excess amount themselves, later collecting it in equal portions from all the men of the *bone* who have been married one year or over. They themselves act as cooks for the visiting councillors.

Entering council chamber unbidden. If any member of the *bone* enters the council chamber while the council is deliberating, the intruder is told to remain and is given tea. When at length he departs, a member of the council is immediately sent out to call him back. This time he is reprimanded for having entered unbidden, and is fined between two and three dollars.

Conversing with women. If a man or boy speaks to a married woman belonging to a *bone* other than his own, on the path or in any other public place, except the market, the village council of the village to which the woman belongs summons the offender and fines him five dollars. If the offender repeatedly seeks out the woman, or loiters about places she is known to frequent in order to converse with her, the village council of the offender's own *bone* fines him between fifty and sixty dollars. If the offense takes place in market it is considered more serious, and comes before the council of the great.[1] These rules do not apply to unmarried women, who may be spoken to, in a respectful manner, by anyone.

Quarrels between women. When one woman injures another with a stone, stick, or other implement, the village council collects a fine of from five to six dollars from the husband of the aggressor. The council generally hears of such cases through gossip, since the husband of the injured woman is usually too ashamed to report it.

Entering a cemetery occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a cemetery when the women of the *bone* are convening there on a Friday or holiday, he is fined five dollars.

Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a saint's tomb in which women are convening, the village council fines him from fifty to a hundred dollars.

Fighting with the hands. If two men fight with their hands, without using any weapon, the village council determines which man started the fight and fines him an amount commensurate with the injury done.

Speaking to an enemy. If a man is caught conversing with a member of a hostile *bone*, at a time when war is either in progress or imminent, the village council of his own *bone* fines him fifty dollars.

In the tribes and territories where there is no village council, the rendering of justice in small affairs which is the work of this body is not performed. For example, one man may cut down another's tree or take his grass without any fine or other official reckoning; he can likewise speak to a woman of another *bone*; but if he does these things he incurs the wrath

[1] See below, p. 102.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 872 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 714 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 574 431 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[212 789] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolba*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

627 one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was
728 made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, perhaps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

574 [537] The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the belief in the 'ar and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in the 'ar of his host, in accordance with the principle, "He who is in your house is in your 'ar".

[538] Among the Braber of the Ait Yusi and Ait Sadden, if two or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a guest (anbg i, plur. inbg aun), spending the night in the mosque if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; some one of the villagers brings food to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the fqi is not there, as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any person in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse. The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up; for l-'ain t at akul, "the eye is eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all.

842 [559] Among the Ait Waryager parents who have lost a child de-
765 posit its shirt at a shrine as 'ar in order that they shall be blessed with another child.

776 [561] Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in
696 the 'ar of God and Sidna Jebril, the master of mosques. Among the Ait Waryager, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a village is considered to be in the 'ar of the villagers and is therefore sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint will be unscrupulously killed.

627 representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas
191 and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be
562 their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian
562 [574] women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from
[443] their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a
[576] woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of
855 way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

432 [623] In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents
427 623 in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman)
426 686 629 623 who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his

c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muma) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

792 794 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on 423 178 794 the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th, 423 621 794 for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits [574] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more 423 648 complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49A], and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[443] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The
[574] Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

[49A] [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

D) Political Organization:

1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?[19]....I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances[20].

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

574 689 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 784 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the 693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 312 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done 693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present 805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 2[illegible], 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

681
673 Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

673 An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident
623 clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed
685 against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most
423 feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

623 The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is,
423 then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions
578 among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

623 Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least
[793] religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is
[574] purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

[623] But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as
[681] instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of
[554] European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

of knowing the needs of the moment, not past or future needs which do not mean anything to anybody. They are living laws designed for living people, for those present.

Paragraph b shows us how they embellish their law, taking aggravating and attenuating circumstances into account. Among these are nocturnity and dwellings (where they guard their fig and grain reserves). Attenuating and, even more, exemption from responsibility, homicide is legitimate if committed in self defense or in defense of one's property.

Paragraph c punishes intention, in order to avoid disputes, and makes a small concession to personal power, permitting the shaikh to keep for himself this fine destined for the common fund.

Paragraph d is concerned with injuries to crops by animals, which are herded by children. The punishment is minimal.

In paragraph e, the law of the jma'th establishes and regulates the social duty of hospitality, imposing the burden equally on all its members. Guests learn that it is not only the shaikh who pays for their upkeep, but all the members of the jma'th, even the poor ones.

Consider also the excessive number of voluntary servitors who dance continued attendance on the guest with towels, basins and soap, and finally the amphitrion hands over to their expectant voracity all the remains of your meal, except for one small dish which, passing through the door, is submerged in the mysterious interior of the dwelling as a reward for the activity of the women or children who prepared it. When you leave, each member of the jma'th retires with whatever he presented for your comfort: pillows, blankets, soap, coffee pot or teapot, towel, glasses, candles, etc.

671 971 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [514] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 681 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

614 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe
648 which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 As European states do, this document imposes a public duty
[671] upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal
[829] lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While,
[682] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that
[443] among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality
574 which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was
671 precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thmasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

671 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:
701
[702] It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

This same agharrabu is used for transporting merchandise and travelers. For fishing with lines, the Rifians utilize small boats, enclosed, with a flat bottom and one or two benches.

They make the lines and hook themselves. What is left of this wonderful qanun of the sea? The remembrance of the last old Rifian agharrabu, the broken frames of which are half-buried in the sand of a hidden cove, tells us of its courageous life and slow agony, kissed by the waves which it so often dominated, which in incessant pilgrimage render it the ultimate homage to root out as a precious relic the splinters which will merit even combatting the new masters of the sea, the detonating motors.

This is what remains of the old Rifian agharrabus, navigators in history. An old frame and an even older sailor relating the custom of the sea, and now aspiring to a (minor) position in the port (author's italics); (of Villa Sanjurjo--since 1956: al-Husaima).

14. THE QANUN OF WATER RIGHTS (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Water Rights:

Water rights among the Aith Waryaghar are based on the fact that the owner of a plot of land also owns the subsoil as well. For this reason, the waters which pass over the former as well as those which run through the latter belong to him. An individual who owns property can therefore dig any wells which he deems convenient, even though this may damage the quality or cause an accident by not having revealed its presence. This right is limited by the spirit of fraternity which obliges the Rifian to maintain, at cardinal points on a path, such as under the shelter of a tree or by a well, a jug of water so that passers-by may slake their thirst.

121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
[553] tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
[585] the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
[844] sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.
[852]
[764]

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
[602] may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
[782] (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
[556] While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
[574] bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so. However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
553 574 602 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
[114] On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
553 574 602 431 his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by previous obligations established by gifts that the giver has received from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money, 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 574 602 431 [578] cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this ceremony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 782 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 574 621 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys. Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, however, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony

553 556 574 [571] 553

584 for his daughter before and had accepted their gifts but subse-
431 quent negotiations had broken down. Generally, a man will not offer such gifts unless he believes he had a good chance of succeeding. Once the father or guardian of the girl has expressed an interest, all subsequent exchanges are not regarded as gifts but as negotiated prices.

584 Once the conditions for commencing negotiations appear
[594] propitious, a group of male relatives from the boy's side visits
[431] the home of the girl's family. Again it is customary to bring a lamb, loaves of bread, sugar, and tea, although the amount depends on the wealth of the family. The request for the girl is made on this occasion. After the meal has been served, the guests and host go through a prescribed formula. "Do you know why we have come?" The host responds: "Yes. You have come as my guests." The spokesman replies: "No. We have come to ask for your daughter." They then commence the bargaining. There are two separate categories of items that are discussed. There is the
[583] sdaq, or dowry, that must be paid the father of the bride in order to provide her trousseau. This is always in cash. Second, there is bargaining in the amount of goods the groom's family are willing to spend on the ceremony. Both sides will argue over how many bulls, or sheep, or goats shall be provided for the ceremony, along with the quantity of barley and wheat, the loaves of bread, kilos of sugar and tea, and the liters of cooking oil.

584 The major expenditure, however, is the sdaq or the gift
583 from the groom's family to the bride's family to purchase her

585 that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement.
[583] Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs
[692] the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are
[184] legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In
[369] the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until the wedding ceremony is held.

585 By now, the groom's family has incurred several different
583 types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price'
431 or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss. The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 The wedding celebration or thamagra is held in the late
[221] summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the
585 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group
574 of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar. Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group

574 585 [533] by five or ten minutes. As they travel through the hills, each group sings praise songs of themselves and occasionally derogative songs about the other group. As they sing quite loudly, they can generally hear one another's songs even if they can not always see each other. The bride's group is the larger, numbering about twenty girls, all unmarried, while the male group consists rarely of more than ten and may include married male friends. The groom himself is addressed as Moulay or Sultan during this procession and the men with him are his iwziren or advisors. This is a borrowing of terms which are traditionally used to designate positions in the Moroccan government.

As they come to each house, the girls enter into the inside patio where they sing and dance, while the men enter a separate but connected guest room where they are offered tea and a meal. It is customary for the family head of each visited house to present the groom with a sum of money and a gift of clothing or new shoes. The amount given is related to the prominence and wealth of the household, to the degree of relatedness between the groom and the giver, and to previous reciprocal gifts bestowed by members of the groom's family on the host. These gifts, grama, are interpreted by Westermarck as ". . . really a loan which has to be repaid in the future under corresponding circumstances, or an indemnity for similar contributions in the past; hence the amounts given by the various donors are most carefully taken note of" (1914:125).

585 574 431

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grama has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [302] [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

585 The father of the groom provides meals and tea for all
574 the guests at his home as well as at the house of the bride.
262 The meal for the guests in even the humblest of homes consists of a course of cous-cous and a meat tajin. In most ceremonies there is also a poultry course. Enormous quantities of bread and tea are also served. The most accepted casual factor for
[178] reducing the days of the wedding ceremony from seven as they were before Abdel Krim to two or three days as they are today was that the expenses of providing hospitality over such an extended period of time was ruinous to all but the most prosperous families.

585 Guests are likewise expected to incur various expenses.
574 At this moment we need only note the recurrent support of a
571 public ceremony which is expected throughout Berber society. All mature guests are expected to provide a quantity of barley, loaves of freshly baked bread, fresh fruit and vegetables, or a monetary equivalent. This tends to discourage, among the poor fellah, the presence of nonrelatives, because it represents an outlay which is not part of their residual social obligations. In addition, such attendance by a nonrelative imposes future obligations which, in only rare circumstances, they are willing to accept. By attending the wedding and taking part in the joining in matrimony of the couple, one gratuitously assumes the duty of attending the naming ceremonies for the infants of this union. Such acceptance of future responsibility is not normally accepted unless there is social advantage thereby.

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the profes- [533] sional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 574 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 571 431

...ep... 5 (1965-1966) .97S MX3 Rif MX3

585 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high
574 point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web
571 of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or
431 projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay, or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grana. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (viziers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and viziers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however, quite certain since both Coon (1931:134-135) and Remisio (1932:146-150) report it.

[154] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male guests they sing in Arabic,

[538]
[539]

sabhain er-razik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

585 574 571 431 as they walk inside the circle three times. Traditionally, rifles were fired by the iwziren but with the confiscation of all firearms, firecrackers are today used as substitutes.

The groom then sits down on a chair in front of a low table which has previously been placed in the center of the circle. Squatting beside him on the ground are his iwziren, his father, and usually his younger brother. Behind him stand four girls who throughout the remaining ceremony fan him with their scarfs. At this point the gift giving commences. The [522] gifts, always in money, are collected by a traditional spokesmen, often a comic figure, who makes jokes and dances about as he announces aloud who has made the contribution and how much it is. With each announcement, the women who are inside the house but huddled around the doors peering out at the ceremony, commence to ululate. The comic figure goes about the crowd collecting gifts which he hands over to the groom's father, who places them in a brass tray in front of Moulay. The largest gifts, usually given at the beginning of the ceremony, are from relatives of the groom's father, such as brothers and uncles, as well as from relatives of the bride and close friends of the groom's father. These gifts are rarely under 100 dirhams but as the evening progresses smaller gifts of from 5 to 20 dirhams are given by age mates of the groom, by guests who wish to express their thanks for the evening's entertainment, and by local notables who feel it incumbent to give a small gift at each wedding they attend. The greater part of each gift goes to the father of the

585 groom to help defray the expenses of the wedding, but a part can
574 also be designated for the groom's personal use. Each gift must
571 also specify a small amount for the person who makes the public
431 announcement. A typical large gift would be announced as two hundred dirhams for the master of the wedding (the father), five dirhams for Moulay el-Sultan (the groom), and one dirham for the spokesman.

Although the smaller gifts are given gratuitously out of good will, the larger ones (fifty dirhams and upwards) are part of an extensive system of social obligations on the part of blood relatives, affines, and friends who are either fulfilling past obligations or setting up future ones. Recipients of gifts given by the father of the groom in the past are now expected to respond in kind. If the marriage is between members of the same lineage or between families who have contracted prior matrimonial links, a set of obligations will already exist. If it is the first marriage between two families, the bride's family is supposed to initiate good relations between the two families by donating to help defray the wedding expenses.

585 Coon has noted in passing (1931:141) that this gift giving
574 can become a competitive game in which the guests give increas-
571 ingly larger amounts of money during the ceremony in order to
431 shame rivals. I have never encountered such a situation in which
556 the ante was raised during the ceremony itself, but a somewhat
[114] similar incident occurred in which a man donated more than the community felt to be his social obligation. At a wedding in one

585 of the fractions of the Beni Wariyaghar, four large gifts were
574 given. One of these gifts was 350 dirhams ($70) from a friend
591 of the groom's father, another of 450 dirhams from a brother of
431 the groom's father. The final two gifts were from two men who
556 had married daughters of the groom's father. One of these sons-in-law had been married into the family of the groom's father for ten years and assumed a superior attitude towards the other son-in-law, who had only two years previously married into this family. The latter, a young man who was poor in his own right but related to several well-off families, went to his relatives borrowing from each in turn. At the wedding ceremony he was able to give 400 dirhams to the father, or one hundred dirhams more than the other brother-in-law. At the time of the ceremony [578] the shamed brother-in-law bitterly accused the younger man's entire family of deliberately shaming him. The family denied that they had been in collusion with the boy, but also they took his side in the dispute and the two families ceased speaking to one another. As a participant on the one side explained to me, "I have a little bit of the evil eye for that outfit and they probably have the same for us."

585 After all the donations have been collected, the groom's
574 father and his paternal uncles take the tray filled with money
571 into the house and counts the proceeds. The amount received by
431 the groom's father may equal the outlay that he had to make to finance the wedding, and if the sequence of events ended here the man's debts might be balanced out by his newly acquired assets.

585 571 431 182 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 574 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to 585 574 152 be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's [292] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women [291] of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

585 of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes. A
574 feeling of intense competition seems to surround this ceremony
152 with the women of the bride's family appearing lofty and superior vis-à-vis the groom's family. Perhaps it is embodied in the compensatory feeling that one family has permanently lost a member to another family.

585 The seven days prior to this celebration are regarded as a 'honeymoon' during which the bride is still special. With the passing of this ceremony she is no longer tislith (bride) but timrath (wife) and must assume the ordinary business of household activities. Westermarck (1914:309) mentions a further ceremony
585 on the fortieth day after the wedding, in which a goat is
431 slaughtered by the groom and the meat taken to the wife's father's house. There countergifts, in the form of a cow or some goats, are given by the girl's father. This ceremony may
[114] have lapsed by the time I worked in the Rif. At least I have
[198] no data in my notes regarding rituals of marriage following the seventh day ceremony.

796 Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations
785 of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying
[574] numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it
[432] is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the
[431] community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where
[794] they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men
[782] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and dis-
[014] tribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

346 Before turning from religious activities to magical prac-
794 tices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

Wolf's remark about property among the Maya
423 Indians of Guatemala has a certain degree of applicability in
171 the Rif. ". . . Since land is what parents leave children to start their adult lives, the idea of heirloom or patrimony is closer to the definition of land than is commodity or factor of production" (1966:39).

556 Those Riffians who have enhanced their prestige by
576 acquiring greater wealth have certain incumbent social res-
574 ponsibilities which are not placed on the less fortunate. It is expected of all Riffians to offer a meal to anyone who comes asking. This form of hospitality is by tacit agreement, however, generally beholden on only the more prosperous. The majority of such travelers are religious men or Koranic students who travel about from community to community consulting with their own kind or making pilgrimages to local holy shrines. Since they are apparently universally poor, they depend for their livelihood on the hospitality of members of the local community. It is considered extremely bad manners not to provide for them in the way of food and lodging should they request such. (Actually, the proper etiquette is for the host to offer.) As an isolated incident such hospitality would appear to be only a slight inconvenience. However, the more prominent a man the more frequently such calls on hospitality take place. In one home where I lived, such visits during the summer and fall months occurred on an average of twice a week. Coon relates that hospitality can be pressed to the point where the host will act unseemly and even refuse entrance (1931:116). Within the limits of reasonable

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off familes have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
574 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 692 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
631 692 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
556 554 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is placed in the position of protector and is under traditional
571 obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form of mutual support between local lords and the community was much

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID M. HART

AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF: THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR

ANNUAL pilgrimages, or *'imārāt* (sing. *'imārah*), to the tombs of certain saints are a major feature not only of the saint cult in Morocco, but of Maghribi Islam in general. A few of these, such as the *Naskhah*, occurring on 15 Sha'bān, to the shrine of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mshīsh in Banī 'Arūs in the Jbālah, or the visits to the sepulchres of Mūlāi Idrīs in Zarhūn or Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Aisā in Meknes, are events to which the faithful gather from all over the country. Seven successive pilgrimages to the tombs both of Mūlāi Idrīs and Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām equal, according to Moroccans, one to Mecca. The pilgrimage in these instances is supplemented by the activities of members of, variously, the Haddāwa (at Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām), 'Aisāwa or Ḥamādsha (in Meknes) brotherhoods, who smoke *kif* (*Cannabis indica*, a narcotic not unlike marijuana), beat drums, chew and swallow live coals, put skewers through their cheeks and work themselves into a frenzy in order to identify themselves with the spirit of the saint with whose tomb they are associated; and, if possible, to merge with the Infinite.

There are many other saints, however, mostly of a more local and less national character, whose devotees show far more restraint in their behavior than the members of the brotherhoods mentioned above. One of these is Sīdī Bū Khiyār, buried in the southern mountains of the Central Rifian tribe of Aith Wariyāghir; and nothing like the above occurs at the annual pilgrimage to his tomb, for the members of these orders are held in very low repute in the Rif and are not encouraged to come there. A description of this pilgrimage, wich I witnessed on 1 August 1955, is, I think, of ethnographic interest not only for its own sake but because of the light it sheds on the Berber attitude toward Islam.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

788 Sīdī Bū Khiyār («My Lord the Father of the Cucumber») was,
718 according to tradition, an itinerant *murābiṭ* or holy man from the
792 Sahara who reached the Central Rif completely destitute, without
173 family, servants or possessions. Of when this event occurred, or from what part of the Sahara he originated, we have absolutely no indication. Rifians today say that he was not a *sharīf* (pl. *shurfā*), or descendant of the Prophet, and this is negatively and locally confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of him in the genealogies of the Imrabdhen section (*ar-rba'* or *thakhammasth*, according to the context) of the tribe (*thaqbītsh*) of Aith Wariyāghir, who, despite their sobriquet, are shurfā descended from Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-A'raj («My Lord Abraham the Lame»), whose own lineage ascends to Mūlāi Idrīs. We may note here, parenthetically, that although the Rifians make a genealogical and functional distinction between *shurfā* and *murābiṭīn* (pl. of *murābiṭ*), they do not differentiate between them terminologically; in the Rifian dialect of Berber, both are called *imrābdhen*, derived from Arabic *murābiṭīn*.

778 In any event, Sīdī Bū Khiyār was to become far more important
788 in the religious aspects of tribal life than most of the Imrābdhen. for no organized visits have ever been made to any of the latters' tombs. After settling on the windswept and desolate mountain peak which bears his name, Sīdī Bū Khiyār became famous as a spellbinder who could attract crowds of lesser murābiṭīn from as far as ten to fifteen days' journey away. He never married, and he died without issue on his mountain top; but the name Bū Khiyār is one wich many mountain Rifians are given to this day.

788 The pilgrimage to Sīdī Bū Khiyār's grave is today a local fes-
718 tival entirely, albeit the most important and significant one in the
575 Central Rif. The only religious brotherhood involved is that of the
795 'Alawiyyīn, a recently formed order of Algerian origin, whose members bear no relationship to the saint other than the fact that some of them happen to live in the area, and whose litany is a far more toned-down and sedate affair than those of any of the orders mentioned above, as we shall see.

778 The tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is situated on the summit which
133 overlooks the Turīrth-Timarzga-Aith 'Ammarth Pass and dominates the massif of the Jbil Ḥamām, The Mountain of Doves, which, at

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

canvas tents in the Market of the Righteous, as they would do in any ordinary tribal market (*sūq*). They sell just the same articles, from clothing and bill-hooks (I purchased two of the latter here) to soap and matches, as they do in the regular markets, and some of them also sell sheep to be ritually slaughtered for the 'Aid al-Kabīr on the following day. As in a normal market, also, men and women remain sharply segregated.

Among the pilgrims are numerous *ṭulbā* or students of the Qur'ān, who, after visiting the tomb, where they recite the Holy Book from beginning to end, proceed to the Market of the Righteous to ask the faithful for contributions (*ma'rūf*), which are placed in a box beside the tomb put there for the purpose. The money is later counted up by the tribal authorities and divided equally among all the ṭulbā attending (1).

The 'imārah of Sīdī Bū Khiyār has also, within the last two decades, become a focal point in the activities of the local members of the brotherhood of the 'Alawiyyīn, who maintain a not insignificant following in Timarzga and Aith 'Arūs, although they do not have a lodge in either of these districts. After paying their respects to the saint, they congregate for their *miima'*, or reunion, at a spot between the ādhān grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and a half to two hours, they go through the litany (*dhikr*) required by their order. This consists of a constant repetition of the formula *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, «There is no god but God», over and over, while the brethren are standing in a circle. The litany is followed by the *'imrah*, a form of rhythmic breathing designed to induce ecstasy: and the 'imrah of the 'Alawiyyīn (the word is *not* to be confused with *'imārah*) progresses through the following routines, in which the underlined and accented vocalizations denote outgo, and the non-underlined ones, intake, of breath:

(1) In 1955, there were 99 ṭulbā from the Ibil (Timarzga-Turīrh, Aith 'Arūs) of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 717.75 pesetas: 96 from Aith 'Abd Allāh of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 696.00 ptas.; 87 from Aith 'Ammarth, who got 630.75 ptas.; 75 from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh of Aith Warivāghir, who got 471.25 ptas.; 39 from Aith Hadhīfah of Aith Warivāghir, who received 282.75 ptas.; 15 from Imṭābdhen of Aith Warivāghir, who got 108.75 ptas.; and 10 from Igzinnāven, who received 72.50 ptas. Total ṭulbā attending were 421, and total money collected was 2990.25 pesetas.

[Text continues on p. 243]

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788

B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781

C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 575 195

D) Same as B) above. 778

E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Ḥamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

778

The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 788 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 782

592
593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age
883
[785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time.
[584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage,
885
593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in
[591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the
[594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own.
883
885 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and
623 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council
616 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he
794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].
575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced
593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there
586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyia in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a djnoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[494] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi,
[782] where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed
at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of
Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated
fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from
Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas
to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and
another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The
chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a
cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at
least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, espe-
cially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah
family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense
would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrim-
age is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such
instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa.
(A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

c. Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

792 794 575 [778] [554] 1949.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator. These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

792 794 775 575 Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God [779] in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee.

792 794 575 These religious associations are for the most part voluntary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

792 brotherhood, Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi (1869-1934) broke off from
794 the organization to form his own association which is now the
575 largest in the Rif. According to informant estimate, this brotherhood holds about 50% of those Berbers in the Rif who belong to brotherhoods. Its annual meeting which I attended in 1965 consisted of several thousand brothers from all parts of the Rif and from neighboring Algeria where the mother lodge is located.

792 The importance of these fraternal orders declined to a
794 certain extent during the struggle for Moroccan independence
575 because of their anti-nationalistic behavior. When they are
178 criticized in the Rif it is not on theological grounds but political. The brotherhoods have been accused of accepting
[662] bribes in order to influence their membership on how to vote in local elections and to act as spies for the government. Their cogency has also been reduced by the increase in secular as opposed to Koranic education. Nonetheless, they have a powerful residual following, as attested by the vehemency with which they are attacked.

792 The fraternity supports itself on the annual contributions
794 in kind extracted as membership fees from its adherents as well
575 as the more or less regular visits to the key shrines and lodges
[124] where, again, donations are expected. The size of this contribution is most difficult to estimate, and my inquiries of lodge officials met with only our mutual exasperation. The amount seems to vary with the avarice of the local lodge, where 10% of

annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

777 356 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 291 789 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion. If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 576 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

789 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathie magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough. Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

789 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it by ha ving a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops at once and makes water on them.

[514]

777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Ait Waryager).

627 representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas
171 and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be
562 their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian
562 women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general,
[574] if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from
[443] their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a
[576] woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of
855 way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

432 In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th
[623] (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents
427 in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is
623 not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman)
426 who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies
686 in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his
627
623

671
623

2) Commentary:

This document, this community charter, as is customary with such writings, begins by enumerating the men who attended the meeting in which it was drawn up. This simple list of names reveals to us, in the first place, the supremacy of the laymen, with civil power, over the clerics, a fact which may be observed in the name of the man figuring in first place being ahead of that of the Talib Sidi Shu'aib. The order in which the names occur is not a casual one. The editors of the qanuns, profound psychologists who know to perfection the environment in which they operate, never dare to invert the terms of social protocol; they know with their eyes closed who must occupy the preferential place, and that the slightest transgression in this respect would tear down not only the agreement, through any quarrel which might take place, but also the effigy of the editors themselves[39].....

671
554
623

671
829
576
623

623

The first paragraph puts into relief just who are the representative men of the jma'th, the notables, the heads of the lineages making up the village, the iziddifen, who formed the council regulating neighborhood relations, the only council empowered to legislate in such questions (Blanco: paragraph i or j), and equivalent to the Spanish Consejo or Ayuntamiento.[40]

The agraw or council-meeting held on this occasion by the iziddifen had as its object, as the written qanun shows us, the legislation of neighborhood questions concerning the council, regulation of the coexistence of its lineage members, guaranteeing the free and peaceful usufruct of individual and communal (i.e. water) property,

423 Nash's remark about property among the Zayn
171 Indians of Guatemala has a certain degree of applicability in the Rif. ". . . Since land is what parents leave children to start their adult lives, the idea of heirloom or patrimony is closer to the definition of land than is commodity or factor of production" (1966:39).

556 Those Riffians who have enhanced their prestige by
576 acquiring greater wealth have certain incumbent social res-
574 ponsibilities which are not placed on the less fortunate. It is expected of all Riffians to offer a meal to anyone who comes asking. This form of hospitality is by tacit agreement, however, generally beholden on only the more prosperous. The majority of such travelers are religious men or Koranic students who travel about from community to community consulting with their own kind or making pilgrimages to local holy shrines. Since they are apparently universally poor, they depend for their livelihood on the hospitality of members of the local community. It is considered extremely bad manners not to provide for them in the way of food and lodging should they request such. (Actually, the proper etiquette is for the host to offer.) As an isolated incident such hospitality would appear to be only a slight inconvenience. However, the more prominent a man the more frequently such calls on hospitality take place. In one home where I lived, such visits during the summer and fall months occurred on an average of twice a week. Coon relates that hospitality can be pressed to the point where the host will act unseemly and even refuse entrance (1931:116). Within the limits of reasonable

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off familes have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
574 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local
692 level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
631 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
692 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is
556 placed in the position of protector and is under traditional
554 obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form
591 of mutual support between local lords and the community was such

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

for the father. Division takes place only if the brothers quarrel. Since daughters nearly always marry into other communities, they are usually induced to sell their land.

Hunting and Fishing

In autumn and winter most men, and especially the mountaineers, spend as much time as possible in search of game. Their chief quarry consists of rabbits, pigeons, and partridges; in former generations they also hunted wild boar, aoudad, and gazelle.[11] Rifles, nets, traps, strones, and clubs are used in hunting. Game may be driven into a net at the base of a palisade. Those who can afford rifles shoot their game, and a generation ago hunters made proficient use of flintlocks. The best time for hunting rabbits is after a snowfall, when they can be traced to their nests. In the Sanhajan highlands such periods are marked by the scurrying about of numerous hunting parties and the incessant barking of dogs.

It is difficult to say whether hunting should be described as a phase of livelihood or merely as a sport. Game evidently makes an appreciable contribution to diet only in the highlands, and even there the year's catch may be limited to a few rabbits and birds. Yet one of the highest compliments you can pay a Moroccan is to call him a "great hunter," and many an evening is spent listening to hunting adventures. Game is usually pursued during the idle period, after the cereals have been sown and before it is time to think of the summer crops. Interest in marksmanship is associated with the old tradition of the gentleman warrior. To the young Rifian, who grows up hearing tales of feuds and wars, there is no greater pleasure than to possess a fine rifle. This seems to have been the motivation of many of the boys who joined the Spanish army or the native *mehalla*.

Fishing takes place all along the Mediterranean coast. Most of the catch is obtained by seining small fish near the shore. The seine, made of hemp, is carried out about a hundred meters in a small boat. It is attached to two ropes held by men on the beach. When the boat has reached the end of the ropes, the seine is let out in a semicircle. The ropes are then pulled in, gradually lessening the distance between them. When the net is beached, the fish are scooped up in baskets and put in a common pile, later to be divided among the families assisting in the catch.[12]

In the journal of Leo Africanus are several accounts which suggest that fishing was an important industry in the sixteenth century.[13] At Peñón de Vélez he found "such abundance of fish, that one man alone is not able to draw up a net." He notes that fish from Peñón de Vélez were "salted and sent up into the mountains." At Terga, near Wad Lao, most of the inhabitants were fisherman "who, getting great abundance of fish, salt them and carry them to sell almost a hundred miles southward." At Tiguisas, on the Ghmaran coast, all the inhabitants were "fishers and seafaring men," and the smell of their fish "miserably infecteth the whole province." Even if these reports are exaggerated, it seems likely that fishing was

[11] For a Spanish sportsman's account of game in northern Morocco see G. Durán Pulis, *La caza en Marruecos* (Las Palmas: Imprenta Minerva, 1955). Note also the brief remarks of Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," pp. 37–38, cited in note 5.

[12] On the details of this operation, see Ignacio del Cubillo, "Actividades marítimas de la zona de protectorado de España en Marruecos," *Conferencias desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso de 1947* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1948). The boat is illustrated in Rackow, *op. cit.*, plate XLIX, cited in note 8.

[13] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, II, 517–520.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

695 [784] It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-[184] appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if [191] one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 [114] 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] [181] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

[191] [572] [114] 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an amghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

D) Political Organization:

1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?[19]....I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances[20].

671 628 613 728 Things went well, while the violators of the past were humble figures among the allied groups, incapacitated by their slight strength and the fact that they had few friends to abuse the pact by opposing themselves to other groups concerned; but when the equilibrium was upset or broken by the hatreds of the more distinguished lineage members, dragging their powerful lineages into the fray, the pact was wrecked and peace disappeared anew.

671 628 728 Observe in note 1 the guarantee of peace. In note 2, the formality of the agreement obtained. In note 3, the punishment. In note 4, the violation of the agreement. In note 5, the executive organ, the mass of the population. In note 6, the procedure. In note 7, the reason for the punishment, because it is a voluntary law. In notes 8 and 9, the fulfillment. In notes 10 and 11, the notables, the really significant personages, the Aitharbi'in. In notes 12 and and 13, with economic details, the democratic sensation of defective practice. In note 14, the Rifian illusion.

671 628 152 Notes 3 and 4 seem to show that Rifian custom is not designed to punish the loyal combatant, who, in an inflamed dispute, comes impulsively to make use of arms, incapable of dominating his instincts and always quick to defend his rights, but also to avoid treachery, cunning and hatred, or rather, vengeance, reprisal, from which the Rifians did not know how to free themselves, and which used up men and families. This is a notion which renders honors to manhood and stigmatizes the coward.

[577] [828]

554 671 In notes 2, 10 and 11 it may be seen who the Rifians of significance are and that only these men, and not the ordinary tribesmen, are the executives and legislators. This proves what has been said

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that [443] among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 524 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

67 70 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

226
389

Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

425

G) Recovery:

Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

(517)

H) Arbiters

628
554

Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

628
648
554
671
642
115

Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

000 223 224 629 578 671 [191] at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

671 223 224 411 4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 223 5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it [572] [695] must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 224 6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

[201] 7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "1-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

556 472 183 It is possible, of course, for a single individual to incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylia Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, ". . . only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' . . ." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remunerative but of negative value in terms of social interrelations. 556 472 183 Those men who are motivated by profit often find the atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate to Alhucemas or Targuist. 521 369 While Riffians who live in the rural areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to 186 the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

556 472 521 577 There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is manifested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
591 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by
597 both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the
556 community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
30 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
454 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.
[422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

son. In this way certain *veins* within each *bone* manage to control the seats of that *bone* within the council of the great, but if a man of great ability arises in a *vein* of eligible standing which has not previously sent a representative, the old men may be forced by expediency to send him rather than a member of their own *vein*, who may be of mediocre ability. Sometimes, however, a councillor is chosen who is exceptionally stupid and incapable of expressing himself well in deliberations. Such a councillor is chosen for his physical strength and fighting ability, since deliberations of these bodies often end in pitched battles; two or three intelligent men may be enough to bear the brunt of the mental labor involved, and the others can serve as valuable henchmen in a crisis.[1]

The council of the great meets in the common mosque of the *canton*, under the olive trees by a stream, in the house of one of its members, in market (see plate 30), or wherever it pleases the members to convene. The councillors elect a *mokaddem* as moderator and spokesman.

The councillors of each *canton* in the tribe go together, in time of crisis, to a place agreed upon, called the *ayarau* (which means also "tribal council"). This meeting place has no fixed locality, but depends upon mutual convenience. The councillors enter by groups and sit down on the ground huddled together, the various groups forming a circle. Each *fifth* occupies a section of the circle and its councils of *cantons* are contiguous. The moderator of each council talks, generally in a whisper, to its members, until a common attitude in regard to the subject of the meeting is agreed upon. The moderator now having, as it were, received the instructions of his constituency, approaches the center of the circle, where he squats down with the other moderators in a nuclear circle. The councillors left on the outer ring finger their rifles and generally express their readiness to defend their spokesman in case he enters into a violent argument; the moderators likewise hold their gun butts against the ground with their fingers clasping the trigger guard. They discuss the matter at hand, all talking at once or whenever they please, since there is no chief moderator at this meeting, and for one member to bid another be silent would be considered ample excuse for murder. The moderators of a *fifth* usually agree within themselves, and the argument soon devolves into consideration of how many *fifths* favor one opinion and how many the other. A moderator of one *fifth* may lead aside an influential moderator of another and whisper to him outside the ring of councillors, trying to win him over to his way of thinking by arguments and promises of bribery. If the moderator so entreated succumbs to this persuasion he returns to the central ring and tries to change the attitude of the other representatives of his *fifth*. In this way the parley goes on and on until an unanimous decision is reached or until the councillors begin fighting between themselves and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In the latter case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay an indemnity to the other. Even when the tribal council ends peacefully it often takes a week or more before an agreement is reached.

We thus see that the deliberative bodies in Riffian government are really composed of but two sets of members, the village council composed of adolescents who handle the small

[1] During the combats with Spain in the last three decades, certain councillors have arisen from time to time who have acted as virtual dictators. Among these were Moh Azerkan of the Beni Urriaghel, Hajj Bukheish of the Gzennaya, and, more widely known than the others, Abd el Krim. The rise of such dictators is psychologically un-Riffian; in these cases it was brought about by too late a realization of the necessity of union against a common foe.

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
● 578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

627 enemy's grave after he has killed him, cuts off a piece of his liver or
578 tongue, and puts it into his own mouth, the vow being considered to
666 be fulfilled through this act of symbolical cannibalism. Other vows in the Rif are to swear to kill an enemy and then to drink his blood, or to roast his liver and throw it to the dogs; but the person who has taken the former vow, on killing the enemy, only puts some of his blood into his own mouth and afterwards spits it out.

627 In many instances the promissory oath is a sworn vow either to re-
578 frain from an act or from acts of a certain kind until a certain design has been accomplished, or to do a thing in case a certain promise is not fulfilled or a certain wish is not complied with. In those parts of the country in which the blood-feud is rife it frequently happens that a relative of the murdered man makes a vow, silent or audible, to refrain from having his head shaved (Jbala, many Arabs of the plains, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Shloh of the Great Atlas and Aglu), from washing or changing his clothes (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager), from having matrimonial intercourse (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager), from slaughtering an animal (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or from going to the market (Ait Waryager), until revenge has been taken. Among the Ait Waryager the women of the [516] family in such a case also refrain from wearing silver ornaments round the head or the neck and from painting themselves with henna, and boys and unmarried men, who otherwise make use of henna at the feast of the Mulud and at weddings, refrain from doing so if their father has taken a vow of this kind.

789 [518] Besides the conditional self-imprecation, or oath, there are other conditional curses, which are directed, not against the curser himself, but against somebody else. This is the case with the 'ar and, in many cases, the 'ahd.

The word 'ar literally means "shame", but in Morocco it is used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request. If a person says to another, Ha l-'ar alik, "Here is 'ar upon you", or Hada 'ar 'alike, "This is 'ar upon you", it implies that if the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the 'ar. A stronger expression is to represent the 'ar cast on a person as 'ar on God, the Prophet, or some saint with an implicit request to curse the person if he does not do what is asked of him.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other, native *ijūjgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijūjgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfiqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfiqīn* of their own. All the families in the villages of Bū Zdūr and Marrūwī, and most of those of Thirkuzīn, in Aith 'Abdallāh, are of this type; they are still considered by the locals as foreigners from Aith 'Ammarth, although they banded together long ago to found a new *thārfiqth* of their own, Aith Ḥandu Dāwūd, which has now grown into a *farīqath* or canton.

In the Wuryāghlī sense of being a «whole family», the internal solidarity of the *thārfiqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijūjgha* of a *thārfiqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfiqth* as a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfiqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence. Although murders within the *thārfiqth* did occur, they were very rare and considered unnatural crimes; the local holy man, *sharīf* or *murābiṭ* was brought around at once to appease the bereaved and to act as moderator, and the offenders were either killed or exiled immediately to prevent a feud from spreading. To date, I know personally of only one case of one man killing another in the same *thārfiqth* (in Tharwa n Muḥammādi 'Alūsh, Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī): he was instantly shot by one of the sons of the dead man, and as he himself had no sons or brothers to carry on the feud, the problem ended then and there. Equilibrium was completely reestablished when the killer married his victim's sister, his own parallel cousin.

Each *thārfiqth*, however, was usually at war with its neighbors. Minor quarrels over ownership of land or of irrigation water could and did lead to blood feuds of such extraordinary savageness that on some occasions they did not stop until one or the other of the participating families was completely wiped out. The smaller the group,

623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.[92]

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this,
[557] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his
623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.
623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

619 [423] [191] A large number of their families own land in the region immediately north of Jbil 'Ain 'Uqqa. They are bilingual, but they prefer to speak Rifian, which they learn as children.

The l-'Atamna (of the Asht r-Udha) say that they are descended from the Huwwara, which does not seem probable, considering that they all show "Berber" characteristics and that the Hawwara were "Arabs".

The Dharwa Haddu consider themselves to be descended from the Ulad 'Assu bin 'Abd Allah (Rifian Asht 'Assu 'Abd Allah) and from the Eastern Rifian tribe of Aith Bu Yihyi[154].....The ancestors of Hamza bin 'Abd Allah are buried in the latter area, near the Angad.

[166] A large number of Igzinnayen, some 1500 families, mostly from Asht 'Asim, left their own land to move to l-Mta, just north of Fez. Various reasons have been given for this, the most probable being that of poverty[155].

The Asht r-Udha, Ishawiyen, Bu Isri and Izimmuren (of the Asht r-Udha) are descendants of Abu 'Amama, whose grandfather Talib ibn Isma'il ibn Hamza ibn 'Abd Allah of Rashida was appointed basha of Igzinnayen by the Sultan 'Abd Allah Hamrini Tamrin in the 7th century A.H. On the other hand, there is still a group of Asht Hamza in the area around Aknul.

The Asht Mhand (or Bni Mhammad), in the earliest times of which the Arab chroniclers have any record, resided in the Jbil Sidi S'aid, in the area at present occupied by the shurfa of Aith Sidi S'aid in Mtalsa. Due to a dispute which rose up among them, they became divided. [578] [166] Some went to the Bni Bu Ya'la in the Branis and the rest formed the Asht Mhand of the Igzinnayen, where they are today.

000
[114]
[311]
165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616]
[578]
173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616]
[619]
175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613]
[616]
The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[776]
[778]
177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

616 or similar agglomerates. This might also perhaps explain the persis-
182 tence in disorder up to exhaustion point, for thanks to an obscure
[628] family feud, a chain reaction would unleash violence throughout the
[578] whole region as fast as a burning cigarette can produce a forest fire[35].

616 There is no doubt that through their origins the tribes can
619 be classified into two great groups, Sanhaja and Ghumara, which formed
101 the two great Rifian alliances of the same names, and between which the Rifian tribes were distributed in an apparent equilibrium, as follows[36]:

Ghumara: Ibuqquyen, Aith Yittuft, Aith 'Ammarth, Mtiwa dyal Bhar (Mtiwa of the Sea), Ghmara Proper (Bni Rzin, Bni Khalid, Bni Silman, Bni Zjil, Bni Buzra, Bni Mansur, Bni Grir, Bni Smih and Bni Ziyat), Bni S'aid (of the Jbala, not the Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid), Bni Zarwal, Bni Zarwal, Bni Winjil, Slas, Hiyaina, Branis, Igzinnayen[37], Marnisa, Mtiwa dyal Uta (Mtiwa of the Plain), Bni Mstara and Ghzawa.

Sanhaja: Bni Bu Frah, Bni Gmil, Mistasa[38], Aith Waryaghar, 1-Khmas, Bni Waryagil[39], Jaya, Mzzyat, Rgiwa, Dsul, Rhuna, and Sanhaja Srir (Ktama, Aith Siddat, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Aith Bu Nsar and Bni Bu Shibt).

616 However, it seems somewhat limited to attribute the basis of Rifian political preferences and the reason for alliances in the region to this dim and garbled tradition of the very distant past[40]. If, on the other hand, the form of government or religion were in dispute, it would be easier to explain its affinities to the European type[44]. Furthermore, if we discard as vaguely traditional such causes of union

A, [This should read "41" not "44"--Analyst]

628 pick up his rifle in defense of justice (a few days of visiting, free food, participation in the sharing of the fines, and even a raid, if this be the case). In the latter instance, everyone was (translator's italics) interested and desired to see justice done (with concomitant benefits of a meal and collecting one's own share of the fine).

671 Rifian law, according to note 7, is definitely superior (sic) to European law, because it obliges anyone who submits to it only to accept it and to agree to its fulfillment, accepting beforehand the santions which it establishes.

671 554 794 212 It is in these qanuns that Rifians may see sharply reflected who exactly are the men of prestige in the group to which they attach themselves and even the order of preference, by means of the names which figure in them; but we must not lose sight of the fact that they are edited by tulba of childish mentality (sic), a mentality deformed by their Islamic education; and that these tulba do not even translate Berber conceptualizations into their Arabic writing, as may be observed in other qanuns, thus altering the natural order in favor of their religious inclinations.[26]

578 794 212 671 Nobody believes, then, that such individuals cited in the first place figure in the documents for reasons of religiosity, but for the convenience of the ingharen who, jealous of their prestige, would have promoted interminable altercations in order to be first, in their jealous egalitarianism, and the necessity, which they saw themselves in order to avoid it, of putting above their disputes and petty jealousies individuals of neutral appearance, such as tulba, to officiate as the pacifying presidents of their stormy council-meetings (igrawn).

681
673

Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

673
623
685
423

An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

623
423
578

The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is, then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

623
[793]

Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

[574]
[623]
[681]
[554]

But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

623 554 legislate, but it is not maintained by conferring distinctions on them, converting them into a caste, nor by giving them stipends for their work. For this same reason, the council-members have, perhaps, greater esteem among their neighbors. On the other hand, the jma'th punishes [581] disobedience to its decrees, but it does not impose a penalty on those who disobey the shaikh, who is simply a representative of the people with outside denomination expressed in writing (i.e. in Arabic), in view of the difficulty of expressing this in his own language.[44] That [622] he is a simple titular and outside arbiter is shown by the fact that his function, in Arabic terminology and organization, would be that of a mqaddim.

671 554 623 [578] This qanun is an excellent example of the beginnings of a trend toward personal power concentrated in a single individual, the shaikh, charged with the representation of the jma'th and the execution of its agreements;.....and we may perceive indistinctly the intrigue and the deaf struggle between this personage and the rest of the community, who are jealous of his attributes. In the first draft, the document is declared valid (Blanco: paragraph f, in text); but in the oversights pointed up in the re-reading of the document, and certainly at the shaikh's request, they consent to the fact that obedience to him be recommended in the addenda; but they have been careful, in the preceding paragraph (paragraph i), to state that only they can make resolutions or define crimes and misdemeanors through enforcement of law and punishment, always granted, of course, that such enforcement be useful (author's italics); but neither the shaikh nor anyone else can invent or contrive more than his council, because only they are capable

423 675 312 that this would have rendered useless all demands and threats voiced by downstream groupings for the transfer of even a minimal amount of flow, and in our time things have not varied; those upstream use all the water that they can, and those downstream, the overflow; and it would not occur to anybody to vary this procedure, followed since time 312 immemorial. To this procedure is very well adapted the regimen of the rivers in the Rif, in the dry beds of which water does not run on the surface, but rises up only in fixed points, each one of these forming, with the help of improvised dams, the sources or points of origin of successive irrigation ditches, making them seemingly independent.

133 241 (578) In addition, the narrow fissures which form the beds of such torrential rivers, their irregular flow, their devastating overflows and floods, in short, opposed nature and men so that the latter would have some motive for doing this and even need it for their small irrigable crop and the bare necessities of life; for it did not and would not occur to anyone to work or cultivate any more land than that necessary for his own subsistence, as anything else, overflow aside, would have attracted the envy of neighbors and strangers, and this in 675 turn would have led to blows. An association on such a large scale and for such modest objectives was, for this reason, impossible, inefficacious and unnecessary.

312 The river waters, in their upper courses, running between steep banks, scarcely need to be utilized even to a small degree on the minute riverain plots of land. In those beds, water, although actually slight in amount, is in fact overabundant, and land is lacking. Limited to the confines of the ditch by the topographical conditions

312 20th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
571 21st Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)
613 22nd Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn
23rd Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)
24th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
25th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith Muhand u Hmid
26th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
27th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)
28th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)
29th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
30th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

And so on.[140] To attempt to vary this unending chain which the [182] irrigation turns of the Rifians make up in those ditches with permanent flow is to promote major altercations and to upset the equilibrium of the whole of the Plain of al-Husaima.

312 The simple attempt by a Rifian miller to divert for a few
571 seconds the water of Bufma'iz so that it would flow to his turbine mill,
402 I recall, provided the motive for a sudden and vehement protest by the
● 578 users of this ditch, en masse, to the authorities; the whole Plain of al-Husaima took alarm to such an extent that no procedure nor influence (on the part of the authorities) could be brought to bear toward the peaceful possibility that the people might acknowledge the man's alleged right; and, nevertheless, this Plain needs more than a concerted arrangement and ordination, an improvement and rectification of the principal ditches;[141] and above all it needs a possible increase of flow for the outlet of subterranean or subalveal waters.

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front
[402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills
(Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168]
[571] It has two turns, for the Thimsaman and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and
[571] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'-
[402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid
n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

104 Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")-anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the
614 three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those
312 who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and
578 those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the
423 River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of
691 Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Amhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

675 through allegation, no litigation related to the water cited above.
-578 If any of them should demand the continuation of the debate through the presentation of proofs or arguments, everything would be null and void, for neither the present nor the future provides for this. Both parties have renounced all arguments, both public or private, which they could allege, as well as all the successive declarations (or reclamations) which could be brought forth to impede putting this agreement into effect.

600 A valid and executive arrangement. Both parties attending know the value of the present act, and, by virtue of it, the undersigned notaries, who know them to be in a perfect state of legal capacity (who know them to be of sound mind and memory), make their testimony. On 28 Qa'da al-Haram of the year 1250 (March 28, 1835).

A signature follows, illegible and signed. Another illegible signature follows the first.

Legalization by the qadi: Praise be to God.--I give faith (or testimony) to the above after both 'udul (notaries) have done so.--Servant of his God.--Signature (of qadi) illegible.

18. A SHAHADA ON WATERS: TRANSLATION:

695 Praise be to God.
312

(693) Both the undersigned notaries compile the testimonies presented by the respected 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Umar al-'Alawi, the honorable 'Umar bin 'Ali, the respected Talib 'Isa Ajtuh, and the honorable Muhammad al-'Arusi, all of the Bani Waryaghal, in which they testify (the testimony of God is the perfect one) that the water ditch, (the property) of 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Ashawil al-Khattabi al-Waryaghli[175]

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their [821] tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sum is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

224 411 of these, and any Rifian worthy of his salt can knock down a partridge in full flight with noteworthy dexterity, and at a distance of fifteen to twenty-five meters.

(824) The sticks which they use are usually of wild olive wood, in the form of shepherds' crooks, backed by a few turns of copper wiring at each end and the upper third; and this at the same time increases resistence to breakage, facilitates throwing by its greater accuracy.... The net result is that the Rifian is as dangerous, or even more so, to game animals or birds than is the average European hunter with a double-barreled shotgun.

224 At the hour agreed upon, when every participant is provided with his corresponding weapon or dog, they all leave their houses and go toward the hunting site, crying "Haw-haw! Haw-haw!", which is the signal of hunting and reunion.

E) Ownership of Game Caught:[188]

Ownership of game which is caught follows certain rules which are based on a general principle attributing the game first to whoever discovers it; second, to whoever kills it; and finally, to whoever collects it. In different (or individual) cases, disputes may take (578) place, and these and the way they are resolved will be discussed (411) further on. The principal elements of judgment are the range of vision of the hunters, and the range of accuracy of the weapons, some fourteen stick-lengths, or forty feet in a stone's throw.

671 224 692 The customary law of Rifian society minutely anticipates how many cases may arise, and as, furthermore, it is inspired by reality, it is simple and useful, requiring of the judges, first, competence,

691 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the ingharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

000 223 224 627 578 671 [191] at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

671 223 224 411 4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 223 5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir). [577] [695]

671 223 224 6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

[201] 7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "l-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

553 574 602 431 [578] cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this ceremony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 782 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 574 621 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the

553 556 574 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys. Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, [571] however, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony

553

178 611 602 578 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quarrels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matrilineal lines.

121 611 (571) I think that the principle of unilineality is not as important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindustrial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 584 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many nonindustrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely consulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

585 of the fractions of the Beni Wariyaghar, four large gifts were
574 given. One of these gifts was 350 dirhams ($70) from a friend
591 of the groom's father, another of 450 dirhams from a brother of
431 the groom's father. The final two gifts were from two men who
556 had married daughters of the groom's father. One of these sons-in-law had been married into the family of the groom's father for ten years and assumed a superior attitude towards the other son-in-law, who had only two years previously married into this family. The latter, a young man who was poor in his own right but related to several well-off families, went to his relatives borrowing from each in turn. At the wedding ceremony he was able to give 400 dirhams to the father, or one hundred dirhams more than the other brother-in-law. At the time of the ceremony [578] the shamed brother-in-law bitterly accused the younger man's entire family of deliberately shaming him. The family denied that they had been in collusion with the boy, but also they took his side in the dispute and the two families ceased speaking to one another. As a participant on the one side explained to me, "I have a little bit of the evil eye for that outfit and they probably have the same for us."

585 After all the donations have been collected, the groom's
574 father and his paternal uncles take the tray filled with money
571 into the house and counts the proceeds. The amount received by
431 the groom's father may equal the outlay that he had to make to finance the wedding, and if the sequence of events ended here the man's debts might be balanced out by his newly acquired assets.

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major
556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as
152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the dinoun
[753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of
[776] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The dinoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye,
amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[793] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who
[435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

423 Property going to females, either to widows or daughters,
428 tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inher-
562 itance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the
[587] practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more dis-
428 ruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased
[768] husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the
431 inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and
578 his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B,
182 B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on
607 the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exer-
562 cise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

562 428 431 578 182 607 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land claims are mutually balanced off.

428 423 607 562 Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

423 428 The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheritance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differentiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there 423 183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The 556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which 425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

256 435 472 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regardless of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills are not economically competitive with one another, they are socially competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a locality, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of preference on the part of the users is not determined by convenience of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

256 472 477

[571] [578] [602]

423 427 Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor. We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise between a man who has more property than he alone can personally cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own. Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inheritance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these circumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

[464]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

different dam. In deep valleys it is often necessary to move water back and forth across the natural drainage lines. For this purpose, wooden conduits are set on long tripods. Construction of irrigation works begins in the spring, and after a few months of use the water is redirected into its natural course. Since water is required only during the dry season, irrigation systems are designed for the minimum runoff. On steep slopes, water is carefully directed into a series of ponds; check dams are used to impound water from springs. Channels are constructed to lead water to grist mills, but the use of water for milling has a low priority, for most communities also have smaller mills turned by hand.

The construction and maintenance of dams and irrigation ditches require less effort than the construction and maintenance of terraces. With the exception of a few works in the coastal plains, terracing is necessary for irrigation. Since irrigation involves channeling rather than simple flooding, most terraces have a slight slope and are supported by stone walls (pl. 6, *b*). There is no rotation of crops on irrigated land. In areas of thin residual soil the land is gradually built up by the constant deposition of baskets of mud, another of the backbreaking tasks assigned to the women. Fertilizer, a mixture of sheep dung and ashes, is applied each year.

The regulation of water rights is a complicated matter.[14] The rights of preference pass from human beings to animals, crops, and industries. The two main rivers of the Rif, Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, illustrate the problems of management. Wad Ghis has only about a fourth of the flow of Wad Nkour, but its flow is more predictable. Those who irrigate with its waters know the quantity they can expect, and plan accordingly. In normal years Wad Nkour irrigates nearly ten times as much land as Wad Ghis, but in some years it remains little more than a muddy trickle. Hence there is frequent occasion for disputes, which in the past often led to prolonged feuds. In both basins the mountaineers have almost unlimited use of water, while the more numerous plainsmen must be satisfied with what is left. Most Rifian communities have secondary sources of water: wells, springs, and ponds. Each family is allowed a certain time at the water source, and the community as a whole works out the regulations and fines.

An elaborate series of agreements, usually verbal, deals with the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. The labor of construction as well as the necessary reconstruction after heavy rains is done by representatives of the families using the water. Infractions of agreement often lead to differences of opinion about these responsibilities or the period of time water is used. Serious disputes may arise over the outlines of ditches, and for this reason it is necessary to gain the consent of each property owner over whose land the water is to flow. The irrigation turns of the larger communities are regulated by days. Within such communities, individual families are allowed shorter periods of use, usually an hour. The mechanics of irrigation requires the use of the hoe to build up and then destroy a tiny diversion dam.

[14] In this section I have made use of J. M. Paniagua y Santos, "Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, 4 (1948), 1–44; D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, 2 (1954), 55–57; and D. A. Caponera, "Water Laws in the Moslem Countries," *FAO Development Paper 43* (Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1954).

A, [See p. 130--Analyst]

/175 cont./

000 a canton of the east and a canton of the west. During the last century their struggle was carried on without respite, with the backing of the neighboring tribes. When ʿAbd el Kerim, master of the Rif and of the Jbel, decided in 1925 to make Targist the redoubt of his defense, the memory of the internal divisions was still so alive that he had to name a "pasha" to the command of each of the hostile cantons.

631 634 619 XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- Perhaps, however, in this part of the Rif it is difficult to find out by means of what institution the canton preserves its personality and its own life; the underlying cause of this state of division of the country into small units of equal importance seems less apparent and more mysterious here than anywhere else. In fact, we no longer find councils of notables made up in so precise a way as in the western Jbel and the Moroccan South. In the high valleys that descend from the Tidighin, it is all the warriors under arms who come to be present at the deliberations of the village, of the "khoms," or of the tribe. The assembly then takes the name of "agrao" (1).

1. Berbère /Berber/ "agrao," plur. "igraoun," noun derived from the verb "grou," to meet (Biarnay, Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif /Study of the Berber Dialects of the Rif/, p. 70). The "agrao" corresponds to the "ajmoʿa" of the Ida Ou Tanan, to the "jemaʿa" of Kabylie /Kabylia/.

631 634 619 792 578 Discord and tumult would undoubtedly break out in it very quickly, if the marabouts of the family of the Khemalcha did not practice their arbitration between the hostile parties. Thanks to their pacifying role, these religious leaders colonized the whole country to their advantage and threw a sort of network of zaouïas over the mountains; they are, moreover, clever in the art of stirring up intrigues in order immediately to be able, thanks to their baraka, to stop the conflicts.

/175 cont./

631 619 634 In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still looser (2).

2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" [131] possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. Moreover, the marabouts form a supplementary [792] "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

• [578] In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^{c}," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

792 578 /176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the development of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

S
*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
S families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
[121] their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

R XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
634 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
631 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
171 sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
992 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

/296 cont./

175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
554 succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
182 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
• 578 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ʿAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

/401 cont./

900 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe; [578] after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his [619] brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert, Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of 175 631 669 the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus 648 ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Beni Bu Yafer has fought internally upon a number of occasions, but the other groups do not interfere, since they have learned from experience that the Beni Bu Yafer do not submit until after an arduous struggle, at the end of which they do not possess enough property to pay a fine worth the trouble of interfering. In consequence of this, they are not allowed to send their councillors to other tribes.

For a considerable period of time there has been no fighting worthy of intervention in Mazuza, Ait Shisher, or Kebdana; this is perhaps due to the early influence of the Spaniards upon these regions.

When the fighting is in Beni Bu Yahyi or Metalsa no councillors bother to go, since the land is too difficult to travel in, and since there are no houses to burn, and no property to confiscate which cannot readily be moved away before their arrival. Banditry has always been rife among these tribes, and active feuds between *bones* perpetual. Theft, in the Rif considered a crime unless practiced outside the tribe and its allies, is among the nomads an honorable profession when practiced between *bones*.

When the fight is between any of the tribal groups in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, the others of this group send their councillors and sheikhs, and Gsennaya as well sends councillors. In the meeting which follows Gsennaya plays the dominant rôle.

When the fight is within the Senhaja Sghir, the Sherif of Targuist betakes himself to the scene, accompanied by the councillors of the non-combatant tribes under his control. The Sherif collects the fine, keeping most of it, and distributes a small fraction of it among the councillors, who have nothing to say about the matter.

This rule does not apply to Ktama, which has never submitted to the authority of the Sherif. On account of its poverty and inaccessibility, Ktama is free from the intervention of councillors from other tribes; consequently it is in a constant state of turmoil, and banditry is common. This tribe has always been noted for its lawlessness, and has been generally avoided by travellers.

The tribes of the west, including the Western Arabophone Senhaja and the Ghomara, do not send representatives out to stop war and collect fines. This territory likewise enjoys a perennially bad reputation.

Some mention should be made of the ultimate disposal of money and other property taken by the various administrative bodies. Fines collected by the village council are kept by the moderator of that body for the entertainment of guests in the local mosque, for the purchase of tea, sugar, other foodstuffs, and candles for the council to use during its deliberations, and for cartridges and firearms to be used by members of the *bone* in time of war.

Fines collected by the council of the great are partly divided between the *bones*, partly given to the *fkih* or preceptor of the cantonal mosque, and partly expended upon the upkeep of, and hospitality in, this building.

Fines collected by the tribal council are divided equally among the *fifths* and then equally among *cantons* within the *fifths*. The moderator of each council of the great divides the money allotted his *canton* among the councillors who participated in the events which led to its collection, and among ordinary fighting men, if these were called upon to reënforce the councillors. The moderator distributes the money publicly at one time, giving more to the men who deported themselves bravely than to those who showed but mediocre interest in the fighting. Men who manifested cowardice and men who are absent from or come late to the division get nothing.

2: Westermarck--56 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[1]

VOL. II

CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS MAGICAL INFLUENCES AND OMENS—DREAMS

789 In the last chapter we noticed many instances of the belief that
787 qualities, acts, and events have a mysterious power of producing more
777 or less similar effects. In other cases of magic causation the effect is more indefinite or more unlike its cause. Yet even then we very frequently find the law of association of ideas by similarity operating in combining agreeable qualities or events with agreeable, and disagreeable qualities or events with disagreeable, consequences. And there is a parallel combination in the case of omens, which are often hardly distinguishable from magical influences.

777 [7] If a man meets an old woman on his way he should say, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate"; and if he meets her in the morning when he sets out on a journey he should not proceed on that day but turn back (Ait Waryager). It is also unlucky to meet a widow or a barren woman in the morning (Igliwa), and so it is to meet a widow in the evening as well (Ait Waryager).

585 [8] It is bad fal to meet a bridal procession on the road (Shawia,
787 Andjra, Ait Waryager). In Andjra it is believed that if two bridal processions meet, one of the brides will die, being affected by the other one's bas; and among the Ait Waryager it is the custom for the women of both parties to throw stones at each other to drive away the evil. At Tangier I was told that it is bad fal if two 'ammariyat (more often called a'mamer), or bridal boxes, meet, or if anybody meets one in the morning, because the 'ammariya means a bier. But this explanation cannot apply to the tribes mentioned above, among whom a woman's bier is not made to resemble an 'ammariya or, as in the Shawia and among the Ait Waryager, 'ammariyat are not used at weddings.

585 [9] But although a bride is looked upon with some suspicion and
581 a wedding is not without its dangers, benign magic virtue is on the other hand ascribed both to bride and bridegroom, and the wedding is a blessed occasion from which those who take part in it and even

581 585 the community at large expect various benefits. For marriage is a good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at any rate join in the feast (Ulad [10] Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager), and it is bad fal if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good fal if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the bas, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad fal to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shawia). So also the contrary belief that it is good fal to meet a funeral (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the bas; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier).

783 755 Manslayers are unclear.

[11] Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for stinging pain, in Arabic called nahsa, nogza, bab, or biban, among the Igliwa nnahst or nnogzt, among the Ait Warain tauwurt, among the Ait Waryager dauwort. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh.

783 775 682 [12] The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell.

884 682 Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes

000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individiual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] [114] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

[423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, [614] do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] [829] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated [178] and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of [621] the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with [595] multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The [369] urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the [593] man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either 581 to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society [571] was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- [602] ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is [178] guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy [571] overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into 792

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
[521] circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because
562 of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initi-
586 ating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if
[782] a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match,
[571] the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of
[593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will
[464] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as
[427] akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed
581 that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative
582 which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

584 that the following factors are evaluated in each case.

581 Advantages in marrying a relative are:

582 1. You don't fight over whose family is superior.

2. You know the girl beforehand and have a fair idea of what sort of a person you are getting.

3. It is a simpler property arrangement.

4. Your family already knows the girl, presumably likes her, and there is no problem of an outsider coming in and being picked upon by the women of the household.

5. If a husband is fighting with his wife, the common family relatives will pressure him into treating the woman better in order to decrease the possibility of divorce.

On the other hand, there are a countervailing series of factors which discourage marriage to a relative:

1. It is harder to be in love with or be attracted sexually by a woman with whom you have grown up and whom you regard as a sister.

2. It is socially and economically advantageous to spread out one's contacts through alliances with non-relatives.

3. With an outsider, a non-related wife, the husband has more power because his wife does not have any natural allies with the household or the family.

4. Although property arrangements are more complicated, there is a greater possibility of bringing additional property into the family with an outside wife than there is with a marriage within the family.

581 While such exchange as emerges from marriage defies the
571 making of pronouncements about the guiding principle behind alliance in purely structural terms, it does expose the factor that the distribution of human resources is influenced by both social and economic calculation of a given situation.

584 Negotiations are always begun on the side of the prospective groom. No father would attempt to initiate negotiations

/295 cont./
619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by [171] [681] the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all [434] when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from [614] among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by [581] marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291 Beni Amart, all Beni Urriaghel but Ajdir, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Inhanahan, Iherrasen, and Bured.

Of these types of footwear tradition has it that the crude *airkasen* were the earliest and were formerly worn over a much wider area than at present;[1] and that sandals, of both palmetto and *halfa*, were introductions from outside.

In recent times Arab slippers with turn-under heels, called by the Riffians *iherkusen*, have become somewhat popular in the Rif. They are an inferior type of footwear, owing to the difficulty of keeping them on without shuffling. Of imported shoes the only type which has become at all popular is the American sneaker, or tennis-shoe, which has found many users, especially in the east around Melilla and in the region of Ajdir. French army brogans are sometimes worn by men in military service, but are generally cut away at the heels so that they can be taken off without trouble when entering a house.

Beside these normal types of footwear, and their modern rivals, one finds two specialized types used only in rainy weather:

ikabkaben, clogs, are made from single pieces of wood, flat, shaped to the foot, and carved so as to have two cross-props beneath, running at right angles to the axis of the foot, one beneath the ball of the foot and the other under the heel. These clogs are attached with straps made of dried bull's penis, after the same style as the attachment of the western or palmetto type of sandal. When used by women this attachment is thought unseemly, and a piece of cowhide is nailed across the front to serve as a toe.

mauus, stilts, are made of single pieces of wood, chosen so that a fork low down on the shaft will serve as a foot rest. They are worn in wet weather and in snow, and are used as playthings by the children in all weather. The stilts and clogs have an identical distribution: Beni Amart, Mountain Urriaghel, Temjunt, Ikhuanen, Iherrushen, and Inhanahan.

In addition to these types of footwear, a peculiar form of legwear, found in the west, may be mentioned. The women of the region of Sheshawen and of the Ghomara wear leather leggings made of stiff hide, tied around the calves and ankles with straps. (See plate 26.) These are worn to protect the legs from the brush, for women spend a great deal of time on the mountains cutting brush for charcoal, a task which in the Rif properly belongs to men. Curiously enough, women who wear these go barefoot. These leggings are found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama (formerly Taghsuth).

TATTOOING

304 582 Tattooing in the Rif is practiced upon women as a prerequisite for marriage, and, less frequently, for the same purpose upon men. When a girl is sure that she is to be married, that is, when all arrangements for her wedding have been made, her family calls in an old woman of the same *awar*, or sociological family, who is proficient in the art; if there is no such old woman available one is called in from outside. If the artist is related to the victim no fee is paid, otherwise a small sum is given her by the girl's parents.

304 The old woman collects lamp-black from the bottoms of cooking pots, and mixes this with juice squeezed from the leaves of broad-beans. She sets to work with a knife and needle, working both by pricking and incising the skin. She works fairly rapidly so that the wounds will all be healed on the final day of the wedding. It is considered shameful for

[1] Marmol (chap. 79) says that the Beni Bu Shibet wore these buskins.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

619 621 unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *soins* descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhemseth* (plural *thikhemsin*), or "fifth,"[1] so called because each *thakhemseth* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood, although many *bones* in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and hence in war.

619 Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabitch*, a word derived from the Arabic *kabila*.[2] In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term *thakabitch* being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are Galiya, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gsennaya. Those of Galiya are Masuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Sidel. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gsennaya are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imsdurar, and Asht Aru u Aissa. In naming these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or Arab as the case may be. In Temsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and Hathith n Temsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two *bones* each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Oshannen, and Amsauru and Tizi Azza. They are given this special standing because Temsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single *fifth*, and because these *bones* are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

565 563 582 463 The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes between which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take wives from other *bones*. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immigrant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gsennaya, Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imazilen* (singular *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"[3] who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing, piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

565 563 463

[1] The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arba'*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

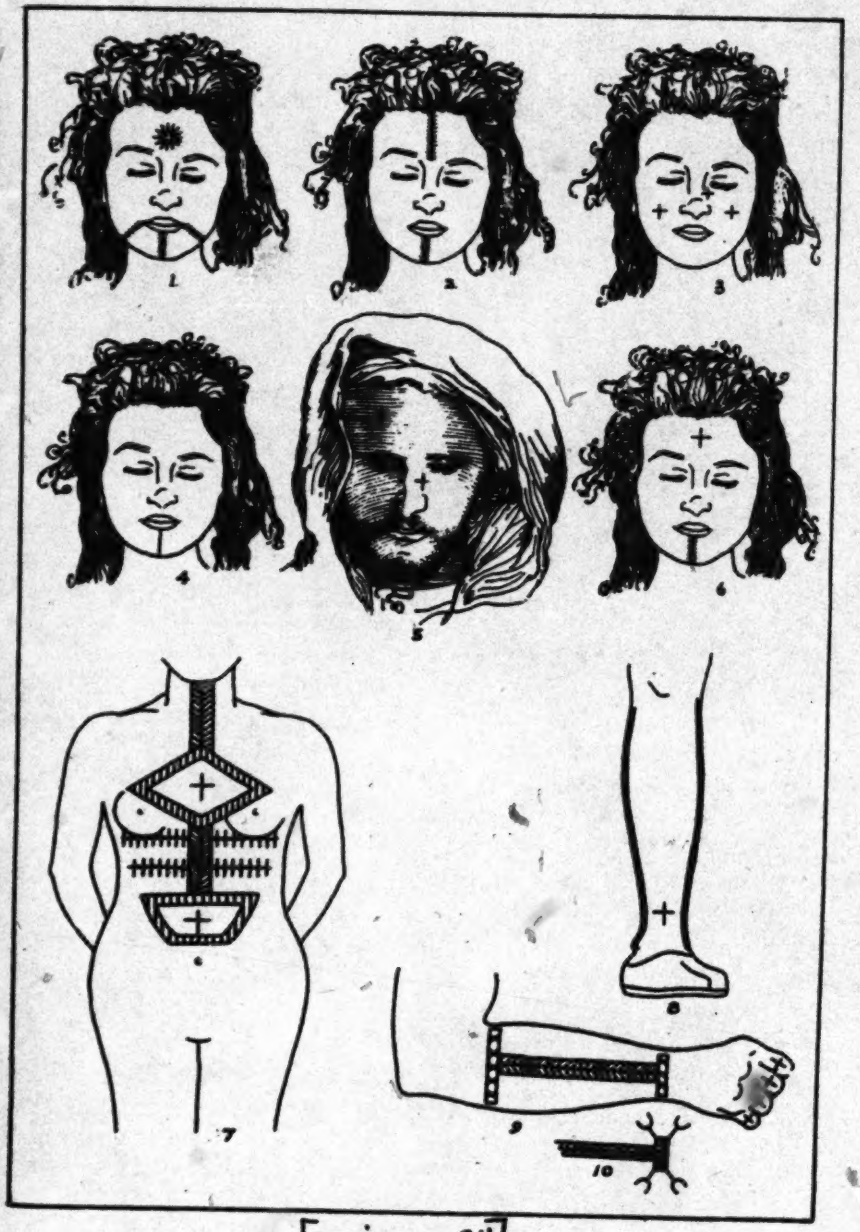
[2] Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

[3] The chief quality of this class, which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

TATTOOING DESIGNS

304
582



[facing p. 94]

I: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

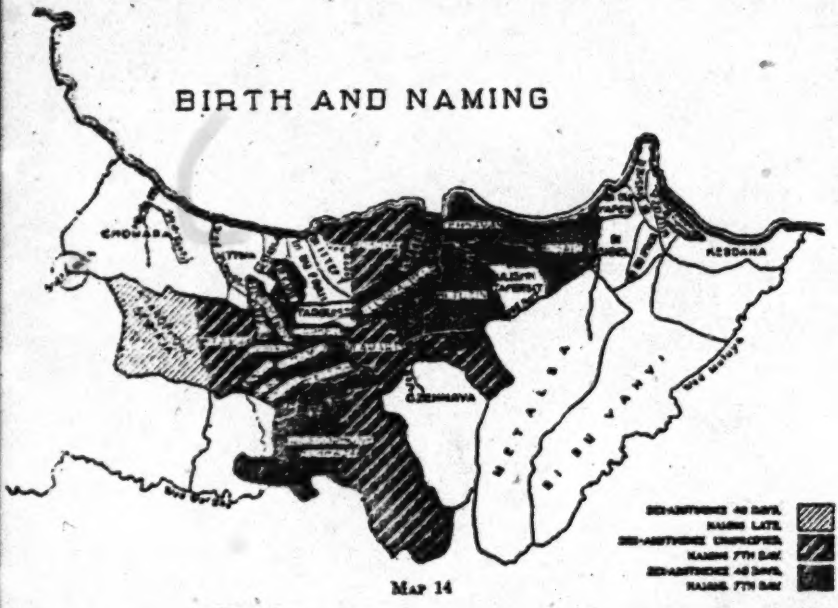
844
554
[845]

care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden.

853
582
608



MAP 14

844
553

Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard.

844

Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *sekau*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea.

844
782

This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in

844

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 852 875 gives it back. The *akowani*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two; among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

585 The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

584 Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to [836] casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

582 584 By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at fourteen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married [805] until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

582 Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *seins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

596 the essential features of the *jājghū* as an extended family group but its importance in the total social structure is far overshadowed by a larger and more durable unit called *thārfīqth* (pl. *thārfīqīn*).

618 This grouping, a form of clan-community, is an amplification of the *jājghū* by inclusion of the families of *all* the sons of the original founder-ancestor, not just of one of them (which constitutes the *jājghū*). This ancestor is apt to be at least three or four ascending generations removed from the speaker, if not more; he is the speaker's furthest remembereb ascendant in the male line and the man from whom the *thārfīqth* takes its name. Within the *thārfīqth*, the various *ijujgha* form its componet parts. Thus, in the *thārfīqth* of Iḥaddūshen or Aith Ḥaddūsh in the village of of Aith Mūsā u 'Amar (Aith 'Alī), the component *ijūjghā* are the families of 'Alī, Sa'īd, Muḥammādi, Muḥand and 'Abdallāh, all sons of Ḥaddūsh, the common ancestor of all; in the *thārfīqth* of Aith Sa'īd in the same village the *ijūjgha* are the families of Ḥmid, 'Aisā and 'Abdallāh. A *thārfīqth* may have a depth of five to nine generations from its ancestral head to its youngest living member; it may number some 200 living people, distributed throught ten to twenty households. In general, it constitutes a separate barrio or *ḥauma* in a village; its political existence as such is undeniable, for the village council members (*izdīfen*, sing. *azdīf*, «head») are the elders of each *thārfīqth*. Not all of these elders are kin, however, for it is unusual, as we shall see, for all the *thārfīqīn* in one village to be related to each other.

582 [618] [596] Preferred marriage takes the form of exogamy between the *ijūjgha* and endogamy within the *thārfīqth*. Instances of parallel or cross cousin marriages of the Arab pattern may be spotted in most large genealogies, but they are rare; on the other hand, exogamous marriages into other *thārfīqīn* in the same village or in the same political section are frequently contracted. Marriages into other political sections or into other tribes are less common; these are usually contracted by men of influence for political reasons and in the old days such unions formed the basis of a complicated network of alliance systems called *liff* (pl. *lifūf*), which will be given extensive treatment further on. Weddings usually take place when the boy is sixteen to seventeen years old and the girl fourteen to fifteen.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfīqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlīs are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jārīs, muqaddams, shaikhs, qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfīqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives awar (properly azwar), or «veins», and ighs, or «bones», corresponding to jajghu and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Gīznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word ighs refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

684 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed,
171 while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their
562 houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads[65]. Women do not inherit
428 in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in
171 lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much (1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce
586 them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single
582 nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage.
[171] A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and
562 is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of <u>insurrection</u>
586 (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a <u>zawiya</u>
228 (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated
623 with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain
[171] to the <u>jma'th</u>, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather
627 through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration
171 of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslin <u>ukil</u> (legal
562

000 does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

684 f) Anyone who commits an act of bestiality must pay for the fodder of the assaulted animal for one day; and among the Aith Waryaghar, he must pay for its packsaddle as well as a 50-peseta fine, and he is cursed by the market crier in the market[74].....

2) Among the Aith 'Ammarth:

685 a) A blacksmith of....asked the qadi for a room to live in. It was given him, and in it he raised chickens, which began to eat the qadi's barley. The qadi claimed compensation from him, saying that he had to kill the chickens and leave the house. He refused to do so, and made a reclamation to the shaikh, who said he was in the right. Then a member of the qadi's family poisoned all the chickens, and the blacksmith complained to the mqaddim. The jma'th, as a result, met in the mosque and fined the qadi 18 duros, of which the blacksmith received only two or three.

685 692

582 b) In the village of Aith Finathen, clan of Aith r-Hasayin, one 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, a rich man, married his daughter to Muhammadi n Si Siddiq nd-Hajj Sriman, a poor man and one of his agnates (i.e. his brother's son), in order to keep him as a servant[75]. The young man eventually killed his uncle. The tribal council was convoked, and its members punished the dead man's sons by imposing a 6000-peseta fine on them; and they in turn killed Muhammadi and paid another fine....During his lifetime, 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, as well as his five brothers, had on various occasions paid 400 duros to the jma'th to excuse themselves from participation in tribal wars.

682 [619]

662 623

661 c) A poor man made a goatherd of one of his younger in-laws,

'azizi, pl. aith 'azizi, father's brother), marry the daughter or daughters in question. The result is, of course, that if they do so, they wind up with the daughters' share in any case. However, although father's brother's daughter marriage does occur in the Rif, it is not the rule, and this is because the institution of shuf 'ath (called shafa'a by Berbers in the Central Atlas, and referring to agnates priority rights over both land and women, especially fathers' brothers' daughters) in the Rif applies to land only and not to women. Indeed, there is no single form of preferential marriage, and most people believe in marrying "further away" than their parallel cousins. As, on the other hand, parallel cousin marriage is the norm in the Central Atlas, the same institution there (where r-waratha are termed imkusa) is more effective in depriving women of their share than it is in the Rif, where conditions per se in the latter area are considerably less favorable to such deprivation. The crux of the matter, perhaps, is this: that the property of a man who leaves no sons, despite what other heirs or offspring he may have, is always divided up among these heirs (and here, in practice, is where daughters tend to be left in the cold, even though informants invariably say that they get their part), while on the other hand, if there is a single surviving son, no matter if he is a tiny baby, the patrimony stays pro indiviso.

15--What Blanco seems to be getting at here is that men rather than women inherit and purchase property, or acquire it by right of conquest, and that therefore property and its administration rests exclusively in male hands. The contrast is effective, because such movable property which is involved in the work and everyday tasks of women (i.e. pottery, chickens, eggs, etc.) does belong to them, and is not touched by men. Men, for example, may perfectly easily sell chickens or eggs in the market, and they often do so; but they invariably turn the proceeds over to their wives, who have stayed away from the market as good women should (although they may go to the women's market two days later) and because of this have asked their husbands to do these things for them.

16--From his name, a Berber himself, possibly from the Sus (as his final sobriquet would suggest), but more likely from the Ilimshan subclan of the southern Ait 'Atta, the so-called 'Iqibliyen" of the southern slope of the Central Atlas. These facts are indicated in the first and second point-of-origin designations Aqibli Amshali, the last mentioned probably being a metathesis of Alimshi, an Arabized singular form of Ilimshan.

17--The 'ashura refers to the 10th day of the first month of the Muslim year, Muharram (itself called l-'Ashur in Morocco), and commemorates the martyrdom of the Prophet's two grandsons, Hasan and Husayn. It is also, in Morocco, the day when almsgiving (zakah or 'ashur) to the poor is legally enjoined; this act is, indeed, along with the profession of faith (Ashhadu an la ilaha illa 'llah wa Muhammad al-rasuluY'llah, "I testify that there is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger of God"), prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five arkan al-din, "pillars of religion", or qawa'id al-Islam, "customs of Islam".

are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or descendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

565 582 792 other shorfa families. However, the shorfa have never been a solid social class in the Rif because of the large and economically varied numbers of people who claim, with varying degrees of reliability, such descent. Whatever endogamy that exists [556] among the shorfa is between shorfa who are also men of means. Such families as possess both qualities do have a marked propensity towards marrying among themselves. There is also a 556 565 582 class of men who own more land than the average and do not do their own labor but hire others to do it. There is then a very loosely defined economic class which tends to marry within its own circle. It is very rare for a family of this class to marry a girl to a family with small holdings who hire out as laborers. They prefer to marry shorfa women, thus raising their prominence in both economic and religious terms. The majority of people, the small landholders who do their own labor or hire out to others, do not have any noticeable pattern of preference.

582 Aside from a loose class endogamy, marriage in the Rif is relatively freely constructed. There is no guiding principle whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry because of their location within the structure. Aside from incest rules which prohibit marriage with one's mother, father's sister, mother's sister, sister's daughter, brother's daughter, wife's mother, stepdaughter, grandmother, daughter, foster sister, or any child who was suckled by mother, marriage can be contracted with anyone inside or outside the dchar.[1] Within any one dharfiqth

[114] [1] Murdock's information (1959:117) that Riffians do not marry their father's brother's daughter is inaccurate, although the percentage

582 Within any one dharfiqth
[613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzinnayen than for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
565 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects
582 from which to draw.

582 The main structural consequence of the absence of pro-
602 scriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity
611 at any level of social organization beyond the extended family. Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal prin-
611 ciple. Although rights in property and children almost always
602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle. A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

---

582 of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more
114 correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me
[829] with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong. It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we prepared to attend exactly such a union.

178 611 602 578 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quarrels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matrilineal lines.

121 611 [571] I think that the principle of unilineality is not as important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindustrial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 584 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many nonindustrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely consulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
[521] circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 562 586 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initiating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he stremuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 [782] [571] Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match, the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of
[593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will
[464] [421] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 581 582 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

584 that the following factors are evaluated in each case.

581 Advantages in marrying a relative are:

582 1. You don't fight over whose family is superior.

2. You know the girl beforehand and have a fair idea of what sort of a person you are getting.

3. It is a simpler property arrangement.

4. Your family already knows the girl, presumably likes her, and there is no problem of an outsider coming in and being picked upon by the women of the household.

5. If a husband is fighting with his wife, the common family relatives will pressure him into treating the woman better in order to decrease the possibility of divorce.

On the other hand, there are a countervailing series of factors which discourage marriage to a relative:

1. It is harder to be in love with or be attracted sexually by a woman with whom you have grown up and whom you regard as a sister.

2. It is socially and economically advantageous to spread out one's contacts through alliances with non-relatives.

3. With an outsider, a non-related wife, the husband has more power because his wife does not have any natural allies with the household or the family.

4. Although property arrangements are more complicated, there is a greater possibility of bringing additional property into the family with an outside wife than there is with a marriage within the family.

581 While such exchange as emerges from marriage defies the
571 making of pronouncements about the guiding principle behind alliance in purely structural terms, it does expose the factor that the distribution of human resources is influenced by both social and economic calculation of a given situation.

584 Negotiations are always begun on the side of the prospective groom. No father would attempt to initiate negotiations

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grams has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grams).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

443 838 567 548 [684] [562] [583]

sales, although it is difficult to stamp out private transactions.[1] Boy markets are found in the Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ghomara, and Ktama (also, of course, in the rest of the so-called Jebala, and centered at Sheshawen and in the tribe of Beni Zerwal).

[1] The whole Jebalan area is permeated with this type of sexual depravity, which is practiced without mutual shame or any attempt at concealment. In the Rif persons sometimes live and die without knowledge of its existence, and those who have travelled and seen it cannot mention it at home without falling into disfavor. It was punished during the recent war, in at least two known instances, by soaking the culprits in gasoline and burning them alive.

This perversion, the only form known in this region, is accompanied in the Jebala by a low esteem for women, who perform the more arduous tasks of agriculture which in the Rif are done by men. A frequent sight in the Jebala is a troop of women marching long distances loaded down under heavy bundles of charcoal and other burdens, which in the Rif would be carried by mules or donkeys.

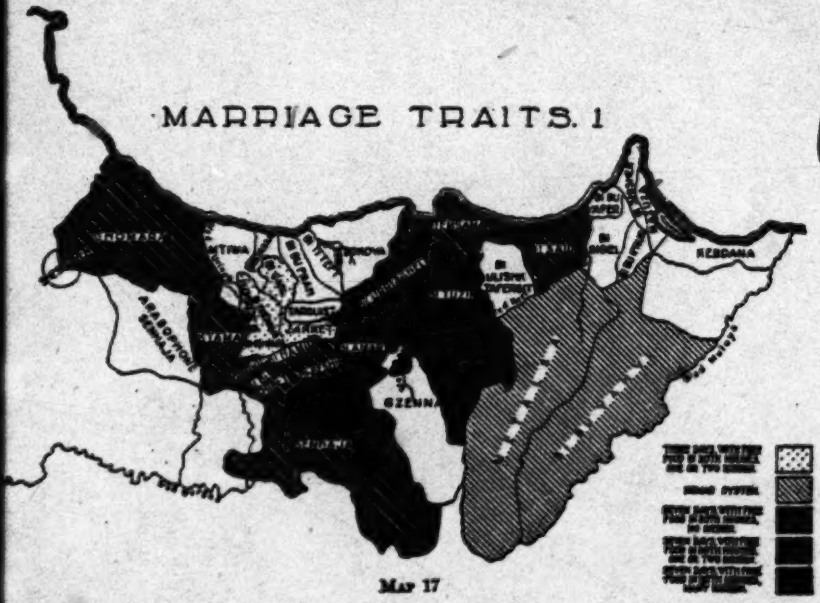
Bride purchase, a trait common to all Moroccans but the Jews, is in the Jebala literally applied, since here the wife becomes a definite chattel of her husband, not usually the case elsewhere.

The atmosphere created by this combination of cultural factors is in striking contrast to that of the Rif, which, although primitive, is wholesome and vigorous.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One reason for exceptionally early marriages is the desire of the parents to have their wishes fulfilled before the children are old enough to make preferences and insist upon them strongly.

When a boy has decided which girl he would like to marry, or when his parents have decided for him and have argued him into submission, the boy's mother seeks out the girl's mother in the women's market or in the ordinary market, and broaches the subject in such a circumlocutory way that if the latter does not show preliminary signs of acceptance the


MARRIAGE TRAITS. 1
RIFFIANS
BERBERS
ARABOPHONE BERBERS
BENI SNASSEN
BENI MESSAOUD
BENI SEDDAT
BENI SICAR
BENI OUARAIN
BENI SAID
BENI TOZIN
BENI SNOUSSI
BENI AMEUR
BENI SEDDEN
BENI MATIR
BENI SEDDEN

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

583 584 their numbers as rapidly as possible so as to swell their fighting forces and replace losses. Often this desire caused the marriage of youthful couples who themselves were not yet old enough to desire it. At present, however, since warfare is forbidden, the incentive is lacking.

The price of brides in Taghzuth, as well as in other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, is fixed at seven dollars.

584 When the identity of the couple has been established by the consent, at least, of their parents, and in most cases by their own unofficial mutual consent, the groom goes to the clerk in order to obtain the necessary papers, one of which is given to the bride. The wedding cannot be held until the price agreed upon and stipulated in the written contract has been paid. This does not frequently cause a serious delay, because if the groom cannot produce the money some other member of his family will do it for him, expecting him to pay it back later in kind or in labor. Boys who have purchased their wives at the expense of an elder brother may live with that brother afterwards until payment has been made, and until they have built or bought houses of their own.

584 304 As soon as betrothal is certain, when the papers have been made out and the money paid, the bride is tattooed. The designs have already been discussed under the subject of material culture, and their distribution shown on a map.[1] The tattooing is usually done gratis by an old woman of the bride's *vein* who is adept at the art. If there is no one in the *vein* competent to do this a woman is called in from some other *vein* and is paid for her work.

This operation is done as soon as possible, because it is desirable that the skin should heal before the wedding. On the other hand, families are usually careful not to have their daughters tattooed until there is no chance of having the wedding called off, since to have an unmarried tattooed daughter on their hands would be as shameful as having an untattooed wife.

585 786 The date of the wedding is in some regions limited to a certain season of year, and in others is purely voluntary. Among the central tribes of the Rif, and much of the Senhaja, these festive ceremonies take place only in the month of September, when most of the crops are in, and while the grape picking is going on. Grape picking is a season of carnival; the people sleep in the vineyards, and after and between intervals in weddings the men and women go up to the vineyards, where they joke, shout and shoot off guns, and play games; the men wrestle together, and the women and men form sides and throw stones at each other. The whole aspect of the celebration is one of license, although by this I do not wish to imply that there is a definite practice of a license night. It is only natural, however, that this should be the season for weddings, when spirits are running higher than at any other time of the year. September weddings are the rule in Temsaman, northern Beni Ulishk, all of Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, all the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Gmil, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Ulad Azam. In the rest of the Rif, Senhaja, and in Ghomara, weddings take place not only in September but also at other times. In some parts of the September area, this arrangement has begun to break down since the war.

585 As soon as a groom determines when he is to be married, he chooses a number of his friends and schoolmates, usually about twenty, to act as *iuziren*, a word derived from the Arabic *wezir*, with the implication that the groom is a sultan and the chosen friends his

[1] See above, p. 87.

583 584 The foundation of the nuclear family is through marriage, which in the Rif is a "contract of buying and selling"[27], for, as the result of an amount (i.e. of money) stipulated by her father, a woman becomes her husband's absolute property[28]. A petition is made by the father or legal representatives of the woman; he, or they, fix the bride-price (ssdhăq) and the manner of payment. This 583 584 212 contract, until very recent times, was unwritten[29], and the fact that the jma'ath knew of the agreement was sufficient (to make it binding). Even today (1935), most old men do not have paper (i.e. documents--r-knwaghadh, sing. r-kinghadh.)[30] By virtue of this 583 584 562 593 586 contract, a woman, who is never her own mistress, changes owners and becomes the property of her husband, who uses and abuses her as such, always for his own benefit, either improving her lot or abandoning her[31].

583 Of all the acts which must be performed prior to marriage, none is as important as (payment of) the bride-price; and the day that the boy's father and the girl's father are together in the latter's house, accounts are settled and the former hands the bride-price over to the latter. From this sum, the bride's father buys his daughter's trousseau, with an advance on account from the groom; the latter's representatives, some friends and a fqih are also in attendance. Part of the bride-price is given to the father (immediately) so that he can buy clothing for his daughter; the rest of this clothing is bought by the groom; and the remainder of the bride-price is paid in money[32].

584 for his daughter before and had accepted their gifts but subse-
431 quent negotiations had broken down. Generally, a man will not offer such gifts unless he believes he had a good chance of succeeding. Once the father or guardian of the girl has expressed an interest, all subsequent exchanges are not regarded as gifts but as negotiated prices.

584 Once the conditions for commencing negotiations appear
[594] propitious, a group of male relatives from the boy's side visits
[431] the home of the girl's family. Again it is customary to bring a lamb, loaves of bread, sugar, and tea, although the amount depends on the wealth of the family. The request for the girl is made on this occasion. After the meal has been served, the guests and host go through a prescribed formula. "Do you know why we have come?" The host responds: "Yes. You have come as my guests." The spokesman replies: "No. We have come to ask for your daughter." They then commence the bargaining. There are two separate categories of items that are discussed. There is the
● [583] sdaq, or dowry, that must be paid the father of the bride in order to provide her trousseau. This is always in cash. Second, there is bargaining in the amount of goods the groom's family are willing to spend on the ceremony. Both sides will argue over how many bulls, or sheep, or goats shall be provided for the ceremony, along with the quantity of barley and wheat, the loaves of bread, kilos of sugar and tea, and the liters of cooking oil.

584 The major expenditure, however, is the sdaq or the gift
583 from the groom's family to the bride's family to purchase her

584 583 trousseau. The sdaq does not seem to be regarded as a purchase sum which transfers rights in ownership from one family to another. Although such a transfer may be regarded as an attribute of this exchange, this is not the indigenous explanation. By furnishing the bride with new clothings and new furniture, a husband symbolizes that he is accepting the material responsibilities of her well-being. The bride, in turn, acknowledges that she is relinquishing her material interests in her father's household. Westermarck (1914:72) says that in some places in Morocco, including tribes in the Rif, the father keeps a portion of the sdaq for his own purposes. My own field questioning resulted in no example of a parent diverting any portion of the sdaq to his own use. While this may occur on occasion, my informants seemed shocked at the notion and voiced strong disapproval.

[114] [124]

Since the bride brings no clothes purchased in her premarried days into her new home, the minimal item required for a marriage is a new wardrobe, including numerous idfina (typical female dress), belts, handkerchiefs, shawls, and slippers. Also required are a wooden chest, and a brass or copper tray and tea pot. All this is placed in the wedding chest which accompanies the bride to the wedding ceremony. It is also customary for the girl to give gifts to all close members of her family, taken from the sdaq (dress and shoes for mother, shoes for sisters, shirts for brothers).

The amount of sdaq varies considerably according to the social position of the families involved. There is considerable

haggling over the price, with each side naturally hoping to achieve the best terms. Negotiations can break off at this point but it is considered extremely bad form and every effort is made by representatives of both sides to arrive at an equitable sum. I knew of no sdaq which was less than 500 dirhams ($100) and the average seemed to fall between 500 and 1,000 dirhams with some payments going up to 3,000. Hart (1956:170) puts the average at between $50 and $125. The divergence of our figures no doubt stems from monetary changes over the past ten years. Hart's figures were based on the Spanish peseta, which was the form of currency up until 1958 in the Rif. My own figures are based on Moroccan dirhams established on a parity with French francs. With the incorporation of the Spanish zone into the more prosperous French zone, prices for all goods have drastically spiraled upward in the northern zone over the past ten years. Hart is in agreement with my notion that these sums represent a considerable expense to the Berbers.

During the negotiations a fqih is present to write down the ultimate agreement over each item, whether it be ceremonial expense or sdaq. He also acts as a mediator, being presumably the only disinterested party present. When the final sum is determined, and this may take many hours and last till dawn of the next day, the fqih draws up a marriage contract. Cash for the sdaq is supposed to be turned over then, but on occasion only a part is exchanged. All the men shake hands and,

584 depending on the hour, return to their respective homes or stay
583 overnight as guest of the bride's father.

584 Once the financial arrangement has been settled, the rep-
583 resentatives of both families go to the religious judge (qadi)
692 in Alhucemas or Targuist and present him with the list of obli-
gations the groom's family has accepted. The young couple are
also supposed to attend this meeting, and in the urban centers
it is obligatory. However, judges who serve tribal areas are
rather relaxed about such attendance and are satisfied if the
fathers are in agreement. It is a rule of thumb that judges
[671] who serve rural Berber areas allow customary procedures to pre-
vail over civil law if the matter does not infringe upon the
security of the state.

584 At this point the groom's family begins to collect the
583 necessary goods for the wedding celebration. This process may
369 take some time, and over a year may pass between the initial
184 agreement and the completion of the stipulated requirements
of the groom. This is, however, quite rare and seems more
584 associated with Berbers living in the city. Among the fellah
585 the marriage has been contracted for good reason and it is
thought best to consummate it as rapidly as possible. Often
the marriage ceremony takes place less than a month after the
meeting to determine the expenses.

585 When all the money and goods have been collected, both
583 parties meet with the qadi again, two or three days before the
692 wedding ceremony. The qadi checks off all the items to make sure

585 that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement.
[583] Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs
[692] the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are
[184] legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In
[369] the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until the wedding ceremony is held.

585 By now, the groom's family has incurred several different
583 types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price'
431 or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss. The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 - - The wedding celebration or thamsgra is held in the late
[221] summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the
585 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group
574 of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar. Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group

J: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 gives it back. The *akouni*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his
852 livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two;
875 among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

585 The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

●584 Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to [836] casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

582 By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at four-
584 teen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

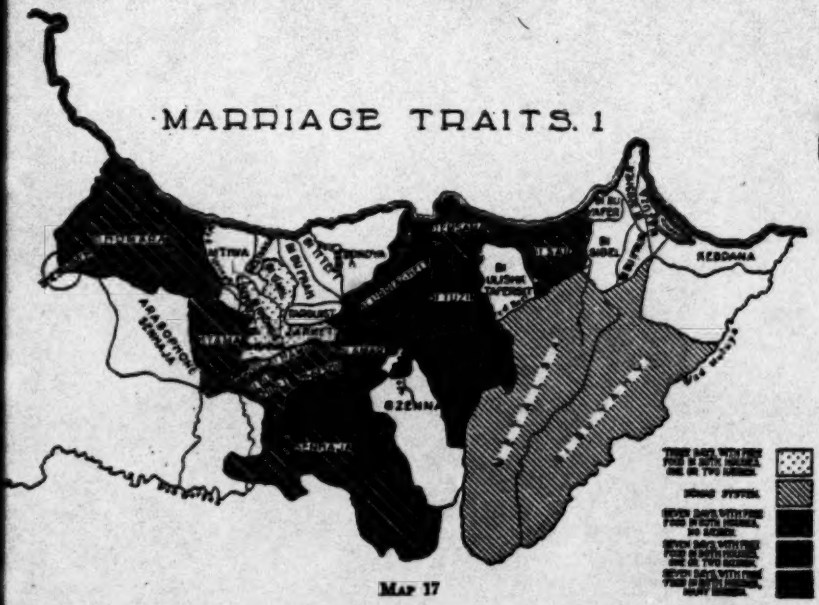
A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married [805] until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

582 Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One reason for exceptionally early marriages is the desire of the parents to have their 584
wishes fulfilled before the children are old enough to make preferences and insist upon them strongly.

When a boy has decided which girl he would like to marry, or when his parents have decided for him and have argued him into submission, the boy's mother seeks out the girl's mother in the women's market or in the ordinary market, and broaches the subject in such a circumlocutory way that if the latter does not show preliminary signs of acceptance the



MAP 17

former can change the subject without having committed herself too deeply. If the two women are both willing to have their children wed, the men of the family take the matter up officially. The boy's father, or if he has no father his paternal uncle or elder brother, 583
meets the girl's father in market and proposes it over again; at this time the bargaining 584
over the price commences. This stipend is very variable in amount. Before the war it ranged from one to five or six hundred dollars, until it was fixed by Abd el Krim at one hundred. The amount depended upon the prominence of the girl's parents, as well as upon her own personal usefulness, attractiveness, and character; in case of exogamous marriage her own personal desirability was completely overshadowed by political factors. Today the marriage price has again become variable, but does not attain as high a point as it did before the war, on account of the general poverty and the present disinclination to have children. Before the war marriage was eagerly sought by the *bones*, who wanted to increase

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

583 their numbers as rapidly as possible so as to swell their fighting forces and replace losses. Often this desire caused the marriage of youthful couples who themselves were not yet old
584 enough to desire it. At present, however, since warfare is forbidden, the incentive is lacking.

The price of brides in Taghruth, as well as in other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, is fixed at seven dollars.

584 When the identity of the couple has been established by the consent, at least, of their parents, and in most cases by their own unofficial mutual consent, the groom goes to the clerk in order to obtain the necessary papers, one of which is given to the bride. The wedding cannot be held until the price agreed upon and stipulated in the written contract has been paid. This does not frequently cause a serious delay, because if the groom cannot produce the money some other member of his family will do it for him, expecting him to pay it back later in kind or in labor. Boys who have purchased their wives at the expense of an elder brother may live with that brother afterwards until payment has been made, and until they have built or bought houses of their own.

584 As soon as betrothal is certain, when the papers have been made out and the money
304 paid, the bride is tattooed. The designs have already been discussed under the subject of material culture, and their distribution shown on a map.[1] The tattooing is usually done gratis by an old woman of the bride's *tein* who is adept at the art. If there is no one in the *tein* competent to do this a woman is called in from some other *tein* and is paid for her work.

This operation is done as soon as possible, because it is desirable that the skin should heal before the wedding. On the other hand, families are usually careful not to have their daughters tattooed until there is no chance of having the wedding called off, since to have an unmarried tattooed daughter on their hands would be as shameful as having an untattooed wife.

585 The date of the wedding is in some regions limited to a certain season of year, and in
786 others is purely voluntary. Among the central tribes of the Rif, and much of the Senhaja, these festive ceremonies take place only in the month of September, when most of the crops are in, and while the grape picking is going on. Grape picking is a season of carnival; the people sleep in the vineyards, and after and between intervals in weddings the men and women go up to the vineyards, where they joke, shout and shoot off guns, and play games; the men wrestle together, and the women and men form sides and throw stones at each other. The whole aspect of the celebration is one of license, although by this I do not wish to imply that there is a definite practice of a license night. It is only natural, however, that this should be the season for weddings, when spirits are running higher than at any other
585 time of the year. September weddings are the rule in Temsaman, northern Beni Ulishk, all of Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, all the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Gmil, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Ulad Azam. In the rest of the Rif, Senhaja, and in Ghomara, weddings take place not only in September but also at other times. In some parts of the September area, this arrangement has begun to break down since the war.

As soon as a groom determines when he is to be married, he chooses a number of his friends and schoolmates, usually about twenty, to act as *iuziren*, a word derived from the Arabic *wazir*, with the implication that the groom is a sultan and the chosen friends his

[1] See above, p. 87.

583 The foundation of the nuclear family is through marriage,
584 which in the Rif is a "contract of buying and selling"[27], for, as the result of an amount (i.e. of money) stipulated by her father, a woman becomes her husband's absolute property[28]. A petition is made by the father or legal representatives of the woman; he, or
583 they, fix the bride-price (ssdhāq) and the manner of payment. This
584 contract, until very recent times, was unwritten[29], and the fact
212 that the jma'ath knew of the agreement was sufficient (to make it binding). Even today (1935), most old men do not have paper (i.e. documents--r-knwaghadh, sing. r-kinghadh.)[30] By virtue of this
583 contract, a woman, who is never her own mistress, changes owners
584 and becomes the property of her husband, who uses and abuses her as
562 such, always for his own benefit, either improving her lot or
593 abandoning her[31].
586

583 Of all the acts which must be performed prior to marriage, none is as important as (payment of) the bride-price; and the day that the boy's father and the girl's father are together in the latter's house, accounts are settled and the former hands the bride-price over to the latter. From this sum, the bride's father buys his daughter's trousseau, with an advance on account from the groom; the latter's representatives, some friends and a fqih are also in attendance. Part of the bride-price is given to the father (immediately) so that he can buy clothing for his daughter; the rest of this clothing is bought by the groom; and the remainder of the bride-price is paid in money[32].

592 593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age 883 [785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time. [584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage, 885 593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in [591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the [594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own. 883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and 885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council 623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he 616 794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].

575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced 593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there 586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

553 is, however, only a descriptive prelude to the much more elaborate presentations which occur in relation to nuptial ceremonies.

585 114 The marriage ceremony is probably the most socially significant public ceremony which takes place in the Rif. The spectacle and complexity of Berber marriage have prompted numerous studies, of which Westermarck (1914) is the most complete and Maunier (1927) the most useful. A rather detailed description of the ceremony among the Beni Iznassen, a tribe neighboring the Rif, is given by Renisio (1932). Accounts for the Rif proper are given by Coon (1931) and Hart (1956). My own description is not at odds with any of the above but the point of view differs from all except possibly Maunier.

585 The marriage process can be broken into three separate divisions of time and into the associated ceremonies and rituals which accompany these three periods. The first period, which [584] takes place prior to the wedding, is one in which the preliminary negotiations take place between the parents of the prospective couple. The second division is the actual wedding festival itself, which takes place over a two or three-day period. The final division is the ceremony held on the seventh day after the marriage. I shall discuss each of these periods in terms of the strategy of bargaining, the expenses entailed by social and religious imperatives, and the function of gift and countergift.

584 In the initial period negotiations are conducted between the male relatives on both sides, the most prominent participants being the fathers of the prospective bride and groom or, if they

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated 178 621 and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with 595 multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The 369 urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the 593 man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society 571 was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- 602 ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is 178 guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy 571 overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 792 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

178 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was
411 that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quar-
602 rels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situ-
578 ations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matri-
lineal lines.

121 I think that the principle of unilineality is not as
611 important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindus-
(591) trial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated
to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this
makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the
structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its
parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform
to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many non-
584 industrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must
decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce
bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and
set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either
type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of
an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on
the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the
couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter
should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely con-
sulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic
as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely
chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community [521] such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 562 586 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initiating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he stremuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 [782] [571] Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match, the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of [593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as [464] [429] akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 581 582 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

584 that the following factors are evaluated in each case.

581 Advantages in marrying a relative are:

582 1. You don't fight over whose family is superior.

2. You know the girl beforehand and have a fair idea of what sort of a person you are getting.

3. It is a simpler property arrangement.

4. Your family already knows the girl, presumably likes her, and there is no problem of an outsider coming in and being picked upon by the women of the household.

5. If a husband is fighting with his wife, the common family relatives will pressure him into treating the woman better in order to decrease the possibility of divorce.

On the other hand, there are a countervailing series of factors which discourage marriage to a relative:

1. It is harder to be in love with or be attracted sexually by a woman with whom you have grown up and whom you regard as a sister.

2. It is socially and economically advantageous to spread out one's contacts through alliances with non-relatives.

3. With an outsider, a non-related wife, the husband has more power because his wife does not have any natural allies with the household or the family.

4. Although property arrangements are more complicated, there is a greater possibility of bringing additional property into the family with an outside wife than there is with a marriage within the family.

581 While such exchange as emerges from marriage defies the
571 making of pronouncements about the guiding principle behind alliance in purely structural terms, it does expose the factor that the distribution of human resources is influenced by both social and economic calculation of a given situation.

584 Negotiations are always begun on the side of the prospective groom. No father would attempt to initiate negotiations

584 on behalf of his daughter, although within the informal network of female rumors the father's disposition in the matter may be learned. Even before negotiations begin there is a prelude in which gifts are given to the father of the prospective bride. Among the humblest families there is a period in which one brings over a cone of sugar, a block of rock salt, some kilos of tea, or a chicken. These gifts are regarded as friendship gifts in order to evaluate how the family might look towards a match. During such a period nothing is spoken of marriage and there is no obligation on either party from these gifts. Attitudes are being tested and if the result appears to be negative the process ends at this point. There is nothing to prevent a father from receiving gifts of this sort from several prospective families and, indeed, they may become competitive, although this is frowned upon. Naturally, the wealthier a man, the more expensive and extensive are the gifts from a prospective groom's family. The scale of gift is roughly arrived at but everyone in the community seems to have an approximate notion of how much is involved in even setting up the conditions of friendship whereby negotiations can begin. Since there are no overriding principles whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry because of their location within the structure, this initial gift helps guarantee that women circulate in their proper class. It was commonly acknowledged that it would require gifts in excess of 700 dirhams to place one of the most prominent men in the Beni Wariyaghar in a responsive mood. This man had received suitors

584
43

584 431 for his daughter before and had accepted their gifts but subsequent negotiations had broken down. Generally, a man will not offer such gifts unless he believes he had a good chance of succeeding. Once the father or guardian of the girl has expressed an interest, all subsequent exchanges are not regarded as gifts but as negotiated prices.

584 [594] [431] Once the conditions for commencing negotiations appear propitious, a group of male relatives from the boy's side visits the home of the girl's family. Again it is customary to bring a lamb, loaves of bread, sugar, and tea, although the amount depends on the wealth of the family. The request for the girl is made on this occasion. After the meal has been served, the guests and host go through a prescribed formula. "Do you know why we have come?" The host responds: "Yes. You have come as my guests." The spokesman replies: "No. We have come to ask for your daughter." They then commence the bargaining. There are two separate categories of items that are discussed. There is the [583] sdaq, or dowry, that must be paid the father of the bride in order to provide her trousseau. This is always in cash. Second, there is bargaining in the amount of goods the groom's family are willing to spend on the ceremony. Both sides will argue over how many bulls, or sheep, or goats shall be provided for the ceremony, along with the quantity of barley and wheat, the loaves of bread, kilos of sugar and tea, and the liters of cooking oil.

584 583 The major expenditure, however, is the sdaq or the gift from the groom's family to the bride's family to purchase her

584 583 trousseau. The sdaq does not seem to be regarded as a purchase sum which transfers rights in ownership from one family to another. Although such a transfer may be regarded as an attribute of this exchange, this is not the indigenous explanation. By furnishing the bride with new clothings and new furniture, a husband symbolizes that he is accepting the material responsibilities of her well-being. The bride, in turn, acknowledges that she is relinquishing her material interests in her father's household. Westermarck (1914:72) says that in some places in Morocco, including tribes in the Rif, the father keeps a portion of the sdaq for his own purposes. My own field questioning resulted in no example of a parent diverting any portion of the sdaq to his own use. While this may occur on occasion, my informants seemed shocked at the notion and voiced strong disapproval.

[114] [124]

Since the bride brings no clothes purchased in her premarried days into her new home, the minimal item required for a marriage is a new wardrobe, including numerous idfina (typical female dress), belts, handkerchiefs, shawls, and slippers. Also required are a wooden chest, and a brass or copper tray and tea pot. All this is placed in the wedding chest which accompanies the bride to the wedding ceremony. It is also customary for the girl to give gifts to all close members of her family, taken from the sdaq (dress and shoes for mother, shoes for sisters, shirts for brothers).

The amount of sdaq varies considerably according to the social position of the families involved. There is considerable

584 583 haggling over the price, with each side naturally hoping to achieve the best terms. Negotiations can break off at this point but it is considered extremely bad form and every effort is made by representatives of both sides to arrive at an equitable sum. I knew of no sdaq which was less than 500 dirhams ($100) and the average seemed to fall between 500 and 1,000 584 583 114 dirhams with some payments going up to 3,000. Hart (1956:170) puts the average at between $50 and $125. The divergence of our figures no doubt stems from monetary changes over the past ten years. Hart's figures were based on the Spanish peseta, which was the form of currency up until 1958 in the Rif. My own figures are based on Moroccan dirhams established on a parity with French francs. With the incorporation of the (458) Spanish zone into the more prosperous French zone, prices for all goods have drastically spiraled upward in the northern zone over the past ten years. Hart is in agreement with my notion that these sums represent a considerable expense to the Berbers.

584 212 583 During the negotiations a fqih is present to write down the ultimate agreement over each item, whether it be ceremonial expense or sdaq. He also acts as a mediator, being presumably the only disinterested party present. When the final sum is determined, and this may take many hours and last till dawn of the next day, the fqih draws up a marriage contract. Cash for the sdaq is supposed to be turned over then, but on occasion 584 583 only a part is exchanged. All the men shake hands and,

584 583 depending on the hour, return to their respective homes or stay overnight as guest of the bride's father.

584 583 692 Once the financial arrangement has been settled, the representatives of both families go to the religious judge (qadi) in Alhucemas or Targuist and present him with the list of obligations the groom's family has accepted. The young couple are also supposed to attend this meeting, and in the urban centers it is obligatory. However, judges who serve tribal areas are rather relaxed about such attendance and are satisfied if the fathers are in agreement. It is a rule of thumb that judges [671] who serve rural Berber areas allow customary procedures to prevail over civil law if the matter does not infringe upon the security of the state.

584 583 369 184 At this point the groom's family begins to collect the necessary goods for the wedding celebration. This process may take some time, and over a year may pass between the initial agreement and the completion of the stipulated requirements of the groom. This is, however, quite rare and seems more

584 585 associated with Berbers living in the city. Among the fellah the marriage has been contracted for good reason and it is thought best to consummate it as rapidly as possible. Often the marriage ceremony takes place less than a month after the meeting to determine the expenses.

585 583 692 When all the money and goods have been collected, both parties meet with the qadi again, two or three days before the wedding ceremony. The qadi checks off all the items to make sure

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 242 *lishin*, the orange tree. Riffian oranges are of the common North African variety. Tangerines are not grown in the Rif. It is said that the fruit of the male orange tree is elongated, while that of the female tree is round. Orange shoots are grafted to wild lemon trees without distinction of sex.

limon, the cultivated lemon tree, as distinguished from the wild variety.

tifah, the apple tree. Riffian apples are small and stunted, and not very palatable. They are not commonly grown except in the highest mountain tribes. The apple shoots are frequently grafted onto hawthornes. A sex distinction is made between the apples: the male ones are said to be large and white, and the females red.

firas, the pear tree. It is said that the male pear is white, while the female is reddish. Grafting onto hawthorne is common.

thaghieshth, the walnut tree. Walnuts are called *nue n thaghieshth*. The Riffians distinguish male from female walnut trees as follows: The male tree bears a hard-shelled nut with little meat; the female's nut is thinner shelled and meatier. Usually the males are cut down to make room for others. No grafting is attempted with walnuts.

juz, the almond tree. The nuts from this tree are called *nue*, the same word which is applied to walnuts. It is said that the male almond bears a nut with a single meat, while the meat of the female is double. Almonds, like walnuts, are not grafted.

er mishmesh, a species of plum tree. The sex of plums is distinguished by breaking the stone and tasting the meat inside. If it is bitter the tree bearing it is supposed to be male. Plums, like apples and pears, are grafted to the hawthorne.

er barkok, the apricot tree. Males are said to have thick skins, and females thin ones. Males are preferred for export, and females for drying.

er khok, the peach tree. The Riffians do not distinguish sex in the peaches, and do not attempt to graft them.

[262] The Riffian prizes his fruit and nut trees highly, perhaps even more than his grain and vegetables, since on the dried fruit of these trees and upon raisins his family is often forced to subsist for months at a time during the winter. He digs around and manures the roots of the trees every spring, and leads irrigation ditches to their trunks. He keeps them carefully pruned and trimmed, and diligently removes insect parasites from leaves and branches.

262 831 [585] Not only does the Riffian take great pains to distinguish between the sexes of the trees, but he also imposes a sex tabu upon the eating of the fruit of two of them, walnuts and almonds. Walnuts may be eaten only by women, and almonds only by men. The reason for this is symbolically sexual, since walnuts, on account of their wrinkled appearance, are supposed to produce a drying and shrinking, whereas almonds are supposed to produce fluidity and potency in men. Both walnuts and almonds consequently play a prominent part in the wedding diet.

Vineyards. Grapes are as important to the Riffians as fruits and nuts. Those grown in the Rif are a large reddish-purple variety, resembling Malaga grapes in form and in taste. They are grown on vines set out on high mountain slopes too steep and too barren for the cultivation of anything else. The vines are kept trimmed, and in spring the soil about their roots is loosened. It is seldom possible to irrigate them, although fertilizer is brought laboriously uphill when possible.

Among the Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, and Beni Khennus, and in Taghzuth, another variety of grapes is grown, smaller and bluish-purple in color. These grapes are hardier

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

USE OF KOHL

302
585 Kohl, called *thasutch*, is produced locally, and not imported. Pedlars and women find it in lumps in deposits. It is used in powdered form by women to brighten their eyes and darken the lids and lashes. Although the women apply it to their eyes whenever they wish to look particularly attractive, its use is, nevertheless, chiefly confined to and associated with weddings. Before the bride is brought to her husband's house she is treated to an application of kohl. Kohl is used by women, especially in weddings, in all tribes and regions under consideration with the following exceptions: Mountain Urriaghel, Ikhuanen except Tainest, Iherrusben except Telmest, Temjunt, and Beni Amart.

In certain regions kohl is likewise applied to the eyes of the groom, on the occasion of the final night of his wedding. This is done in the Senhaja, the Ghomara, Targuist, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Shawia.

Besides henna and kohl, rouge made of local products is used by women dancing at weddings. It is applied to the lips.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER X

JUDICIAL AND CLERICAL OFFICERS; LAWS GOVERNING INHERITANCE

THERE are in the Rif two classes of officials who concern themselves with judicial and clerical functions: the "clerk," or *adl* (plural *adul*[1]), and the "judge," or *kadhi*. The former is something between a town clerk and minor judge, and the latter a supreme court of appeal. Both concern themselves only with civil, never with criminal, disputes.

The clerk is a former student who specialized in the cantonal mosque in the study of law, rather than in the usual study of magic and religion; some clerks, however, indulge in magical practices on the side as an additional source of income. The clerk takes pains to keep this second profession secret, lest he be expelled from office. Most clerks spend longer than the average period at study, and attend several different mosques in the course of their preparation.

There is at least one clerk in every *bone*. Any person who is qualified by his training may set up as a clerk, but must receive the consensus of local approval before he is entrusted with enough business to make this occupation profitable. A clerk must be dignified and pious.

The clerk is often the schoolmaster of the *bone* as well. In smaller *bones* it is usually an economic necessity for one man to fulfill these two offices, consequently the terms "schoolmaster" and "clerk" have become somewhat confused. A clerk is often called schoolmaster, but a schoolmaster who is not a clerk is never called clerk.

The duties of the clerk include writing and reading letters for illiterate persons, settling controversies as to ownership of property, making out and administering wills, and drawing up documents of sale for landed property and documents of marriage and divorce. He is also called upon to slaughter animals upon ceremonial occasions.

In making out a document of marriage, the clerk writes out the names of the bride and groom, and the amount paid for the bride. He gives the paper to the bride and makes a duplicate, which he keeps. His signature renders the document valid. He similarly makes out divorce papers, which he gives to the woman, who can thus prove that she is no longer under obligation to her husband.

When the clerk makes out the document for a land sale, he takes the old document from the seller, and gives both old and new papers to the purchaser. Each time a piece of land changes hands a new paper is made out, and the present owner has in his possession all of the extant bills of sale for that piece of land. When a piece is subdivided the heir of the owner of the original piece at the time of its subdivision keeps the papers recording transfers prior to this subdivision.

When a man wishes to sell some of the land which has been in his family since time immemorial, and for which there is no paper, he informs the clerk, who advertises for any other claim to this land, either written or oral, and finding none makes a bill of sale.

[1] The usual Arab notary.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

gives it back. The *akwani*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two; among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at fourteen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

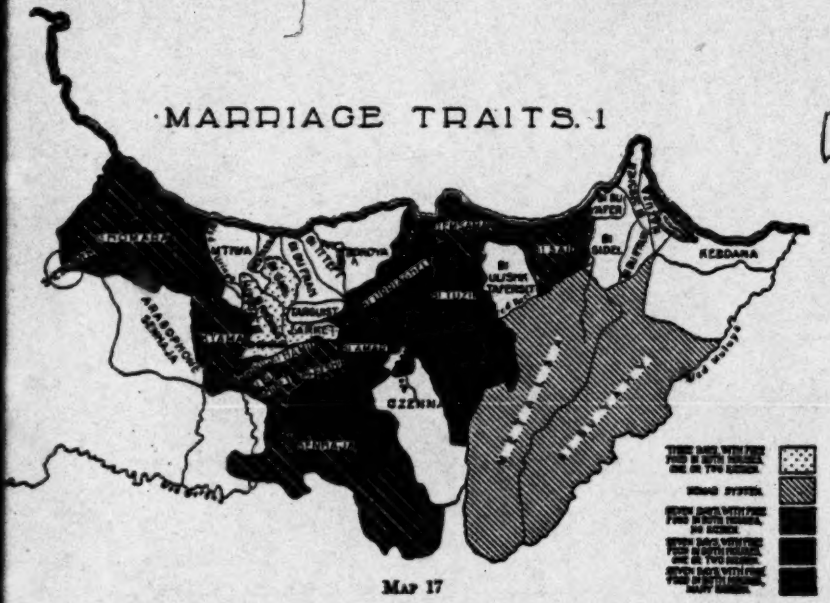
A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One reason for exceptionally early marriages is the desire of the parents to have their wishes fulfilled before the children are old enough to make preferences and insist upon them strongly.

When a boy has decided which girl he would like to marry, or when his parents have decided for him and have argued him into submission, the boy's mother seeks out the girl's mother in the women's market or in the ordinary market, and broaches the subject in such a circumlocutory way that if the latter does not show preliminary signs of acceptance the



Map 17

former can change the subject without having committed herself too deeply. If the two women are both willing to have their children wed, the men of the family take the matter up officially. The boy's father, or if he has no father his paternal uncle or elder brother, meets the girl's father in market and proposes it over again; at this time the bargaining over the price commences. This stipend is very variable in amount. Before the war it ranged from one to five or six hundred dollars, until it was fixed by Abd el Krim at one hundred. The amount depended upon the prominence of the girl's parents, as well as upon her own personal usefulness, attractiveness, and character; in case of exogamous marriage her own personal desirability was completely overshadowed by political factors. Today the marriage price has again become variable, but does not attain as high a point as it did before the war, on account of the general poverty and the present disinclination to have children. Before the war marriage was eagerly sought by the *bonos*, who wanted to increase

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

583 584 their numbers as rapidly as possible so as to swell their fighting forces and replace losses. Often this desire caused the marriage of youthful couples who themselves were not yet old enough to desire it. At present, however, since warfare is forbidden, the incentive is lacking.

The price of brides in Taghsuth, as well as in other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, is fixed at seven dollars.

584 When the identity of the couple has been established by the consent, at least, of their parents, and in most cases by their own unofficial mutual consent, the groom goes to the clerk in order to obtain the necessary papers, one of which is given to the bride. The wedding cannot be held until the price agreed upon and stipulated in the written contract has been paid. This does not frequently cause a serious delay, because if the groom cannot produce the money some other member of his family will do it for him, expecting him to pay it back later in kind or in labor. Boys who have purchased their wives at the expense of an elder brother may live with that brother afterwards until payment has been made, and until they have built or bought houses of their own.

584 304 As soon as betrothal is certain, when the papers have been made out and the money paid, the bride is tattooed. The designs have already been discussed under the subject of material culture, and their distribution shown on a map.[1] The tattooing is usually done gratis by an old woman of the bride's *tein* who is adept at the art. If there is no one in the *tein* competent to do this a woman is called in from some other *tein* and is paid for her work.

This operation is done as soon as possible, because it is desirable that the skin should heal before the wedding. On the other hand, families are usually careful not to have their daughters tattooed until there is no chance of having the wedding called off, since to have an unmarried tattooed daughter on their hands would be as shameful as having an untattooed wife.

585 786 The date of the wedding is in some regions limited to a certain season of year, and in others is purely voluntary. Among the central tribes of the Rif, and much of the Senhaja, these festive ceremonies take place only in the month of September, when most of the crops are in, and while the grape picking is going on. Grape picking is a season of carnival; the people sleep in the vineyards, and after and between intervals in weddings the men and women go up to the vineyards, where they joke, shout and shoot off guns, and play games; the men wrestle together, and the women and men form sides and throw stones at each other. The whole aspect of the celebration is one of license, although by this I do not wish to imply that there is a definite practice of a license night. It is only natural, however, that this should be the season for weddings, when spirits are running higher than at any other time of the year. September weddings are the rule in Temsaman, northern Beni Ulishk, all of Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, all the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Gmil, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Ulad Azam. In the rest of the Rif, Senhaja, and in Ghomara, weddings take place not only in September but also at other times. In some parts of the September area, this arrangement has begun to break down since the war.

585 As soon as a groom determines when he is to be married, he chooses a number of his friends and schoolmates, usually about twenty, to act as *iuziren*, a word derived from the Arabic *wazir*, with the implication that the groom is a sultan and the chosen friends his

[1] See above, p. 87.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

counsellors. The bride similarly chooses a group of *thiusiren* from among her friends to act as companions. The period between the betrothal and the marriage is considered full of shame and of supernatural dangers for the participants. Consequently they have to be well guarded, and their *iusiren* and *thiusiren* go about with them whenever they leave their respective houses, which they do as little as possible. When the groom goes out he must keep the hood of his jellaba up, and the bride must keep her head covered. If either of them wears *iherkusen*, or leather slippers, he or she must keep the counters, which are ordinarily bent under the heel, up behind it.

This custom of choosing *iusiren* and *thiusiren* is confined to the central Riffian area and the contiguous regions. In outlying areas one finds regions in which but one, two, or three *iusiren* are chosen, with no *thiusiren*, and others in which no companions at all are chosen. The *iusiren* are several in number in Beni Urriaghel, the portion of Temsaman contiguous with Beni Urriaghel, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Beni Ulid, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Burda. They are limited to a few in Beni Tuzin, western Metalsa, Beni Mohammed, Beni Yunes, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Inhanahan, Zarket, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath. Of these Beni Tuzin have two or three, and the others usually but one. In small *bones* in regions where many are chosen, all the unmarried boys and girls between fifteen and seventeen years of age or thereabouts serve as *iusiren* and *thiusiren*.

The actual duration of the wedding also varies regionally. In the central Riffian area and among the Nomads, a feast is held for seven consecutive nights (in Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Mohammed, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Beni Bu Shibet, Taghzuth, Ktama, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara). In the rest of the territories three nights is the normal duration.

In the seven-night areas, except among the Nomads, food is provided nightly for all the guests; in the three-night areas and among the Nomads, food is provided on the last night only (except in the tribes of Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath, where food is provided every night). These latter tribes seem to have lost the seven-day tradition while retaining that of continuous hospitality. In any case, food, whether provided on all nights or one, is to be had in both the house of the bride and that of the groom. The groom is supposed to pay for all of it in both houses. Often, however, he is unable to do so, and borrows the money from a member of his family, with the agreement that he shall provide a similar feast on the occasions of the loaner's marriage or shall pay him back when he has earned the money.

During all seven, or three, days of the wedding the bride is closely secluded in her house, and the groom seldom leaves his. Each have their companions with them all the time. In regions where there are no *thiusiren*, the women of the immedate family stay with the bride.

Among the nomads of the Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, the groom, contrary to the usual practice, sleeps in the tent of his parents-in-law all seven nights of the pre-nuptial period. On the last day he returns to his own tent and makes ready for the bride to be brought to him in the evening. This custom forms a common subject of ridicule among the sedentary tribes.

On the first day of the feast the women apply kohl to the bride's eyes and henna to her hands. They first boil a pot of henna, allow it to cool, and place it in a shallow earthen bowl.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585 In this they put two cracked eggs. They put a veil over the bride's head and face, and hang
302 strings of silver coins between her fingers. The bride's hands are then thrust into the bowl of henna, and smeared up to the wrist. No attempt is made at forming a pattern. The feet are likewise painted with henna up to the ankles. The women in charge smear the henna on their own hands in order to partake of the magical potency of the bride and of the concoction.

At the same time the hands of the groom are stained with henna. This use of henna is repeated daily in both houses until the feast is over. Neither the bride nor groom is allowed to wash during this period.

Kohl is also applied to the bride's eyes during the feast days, in all regions excepting the central mountain area. It is put on the groom's eyes in the Senhaja and Ghomara and in the east. Kohl is used upon brides throughout the Rif except among the mountain Urriaghlis, Ikbuanen except Tainest, Iherrushen except Telmest, Temjunt, and Beni Amart. It is used upon grooms in all Senhaja, all Ghomara, Targuist, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Shawia.

585 On the first day of the feast, when those in charge of the henna convene, a white flag is set up on the roof of each of the houses.

In the regions which have seven-day feasts at both houses, the last three days are subject to definite food regulation, but on the first four any suitable dish such as *seksu* and *guaz* [1] may be served. On the fifth day a *thamarik* of beans cooked with oil and cut-up peppers is served with bread, and no other food may be cooked or consumed in the two houses on that day. On the sixth day, early in the morning, more bean *thamarik* is eaten and then the men slaughter a goat, the meat of which they give the women to cook in the house of the groom. These same men, members of the groom's family, then lead another goat to the bride's house and do the same.

On the seventh day honey is given to the guests early in the morning, and then a hearty meat dish, usually a *guaz*. After this has been eaten the guests bring their presents, consisting of cattle, goats, meat, bread, butter, honey, and other foodstuffs. Bread alone is never presented.

585 Each morning during the seven-day period two companies of four *iuriren* each come
533 to the groom's house and waken him by chanting, each four alternately, the following quatrain:

Sabḥain er-raẓḳ
Sabḥain el-khalaiḳ
Sabḥain er-ruwâḳ
El ardh el-khalaiḳ.[2]

[1] See p. 59.

[2] The classical form of this would be:
Sabḥân er-râziḳ
Sabḥân el-khâliḳ
Sabḥân er-ruwâḳ
El ardh el-khâliḳ

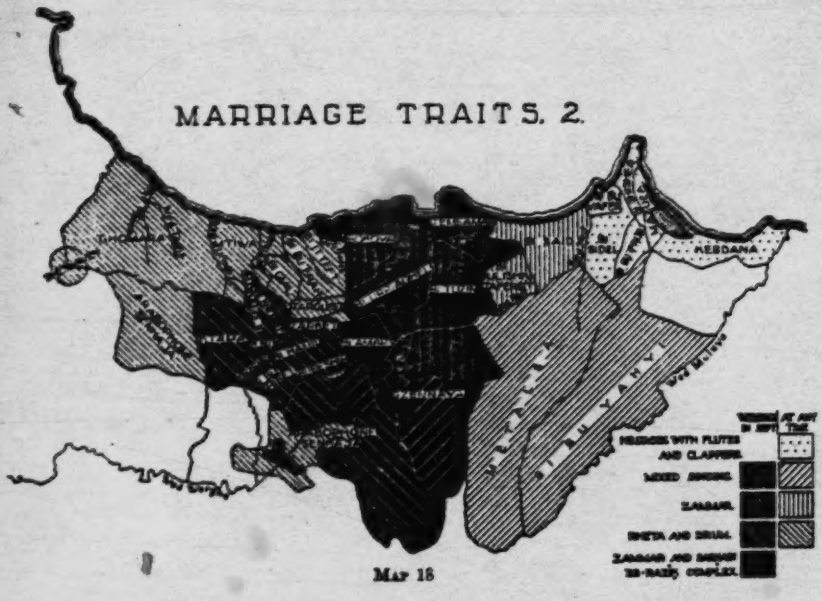
The translation is:
Praise to the Provider (Giver of Bread)
Praise to the Creator
Praise to the Tent (Canopy, Heavens)
The Earth is the Creator.

The Arabic words are little changed from their classical form; they do not occur in the Koran, and I have been unable to trace their origin.

The idea seems to be that the sky fertilizes the earth, which produces life and food. Such a principle may be a survival of a pre-Islamic belief, with the formula translated into classical Arabic to give it greater ritualistic value; or it may be the last vestige of an obscure heresy, such as that of Hamim (El Bekri, pp. 197 sqq.). Discussion of this troublesome question is earnestly solicited.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The *iuriren* whose turn it is, chant at the top of their lungs, since the other company usually amuses itself by firing off volleys of musketry. After both have chanted it a number of times, they unite in gunplay, and enter the house to greet the groom. The chanting of the *sebbain er-rasb* as the verse is called, is considered a very necessary formality in the region in which it is observed. It is thought that to omit this part of the wedding would be more serious than any other miscarriage of custom. Those who do not practice it look upon it with great ridicule, and call it a survival of heathendom; consequently those who do



MAP 18

practice it take pains to lead strangers away while it is being done, and never mention it nor admit participation in it while travelling. It is another of the strange hypocrisies and inconsistencies of Riffian culture, resulting from their retention of ancient cultural traits. Chanting it is the custom among the mountain Beni Urriaghlia, in Beni Ammart, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen, and among some families of Iherrassen.

The chief attractions at the houses of the bride and groom, during all the seven or three nights in the regions where food is given nightly, are the dancing and singing of the girls, the gunplay and shouting of the men, the instrumental music, and the coarse humor of the musicians.

There are two types of dancing, the usual one and the type confined to the central area. In the usual type, all the young women of the *bone* who are presentable form two opposing and equal lines in the courtyard, each line with a leader. The women include not only

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585 535 unmarried ones but also the younger married women whose husbands will allow them to participate. The dancing is slow as far as actual progression and movement of the feet is concerned, since the two parallel lines, each girl with her hands on the shoulders of the one in front of her, move up and down the courtyard, and sometimes swing at angles to each other. A more rapid motion, however, takes place in the abdomen, hips, and shoulders, the dancers writhing in unison in a rapid muscle dance, stamping their feet in time with the music and moving them slowly back and forth.

585 533 While dancing the women sing rhymed couplets, usually in pentameter, to some monotonous and yet not unmusical refrain. The music is more appealing to an American ear than that of the Arabs, but less so than that of the Shluh. The couplets include amorous rhapsodies, extemporaneous personal allusions to boys in the audience whose attention one of the dancers, especially the leader of a line, may wish to attract, and endless narrative dirges and exultations dealing with the war with the Christians. These war poems are beautiful compositions, and have now been sung so often that they have acquired a certain stability of form. They are sung in the dialect of the Galiya; often during the singing men who have participated in the battles referred to burst out weeping.

In some of the songs a dialogue is carried out between the two lines, one representing the Riffians and the other the Spaniards. As an example, one line says (in rough paraphrasing) "O soldiers, why did you come here? Why did you pitch your white tents beneath the crags of sweet-smelling wood?" To this the other, representing the Spaniards, replies, "To see the girls of Temsaman walking by, girded with belts of many colors, and their skirts swishing."

The leaders of the lines sometimes carry shallow open-based drums, the heads of which they pause to tighten by a fire burning in an angle of the court.

585 535 In a restricted part of the central area a different and more active type of dancing is found: all but two of the girls, none of whom are married, dance around in a circle, facing inward and singing. The style of their dancing is the same as that of the usual type. The two leaders, however, dance apart from the others. They wear short skirts, and hold in their hands, instead of drums, wooden clickers or castanets.[1]

These two dance side by side, moving their hips in opposite directions, and from time to time kicking their legs high in the air, clicking their castanets beneath their raised thighs and striking them on their buttocks. When the spirit of the dance has sufficiently aroused them they pick up and swing each other and leap to each other's shoulders and stand for a moment upon them. The atmosphere of this dance, heightened by the presence of the castanets, is quite Andalusian, but more acrobatic. It is to be seen among the mountain Urriaghlis, and in Beni Amart, Iherrushen, and Ikhuanen. Since the war the Taghzuthis have taken over this type of dancing, or rather the circle part of it, since the skill required for the parts of the two leaders is beyond them.

585 533 534 There are several kinds of music played at Riffian weddings. The first is that of the *sammar*, a double-reed pipe with vibrator and opposing stops.[2] The ends of the pipes are adorned with aoudad horns. The music produced on this instrument sounds very much like

[1] Bates (pp. 155–156) says that castanets were used by the ancient Libyans. One representation which he exhibits shows two curved pieces, presumably of wood, held in one hand; another shows two sticks, one held in each hand, and struck together. The Riffian women hold a pair in each hand.

[2] Bates (loc. cit.) states on the authority of Durius Samius that the ancient Libyans played on double-reed pipes.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that of bagpipes. The *sammar* is played by the pipers from Temsaman and other places outside the heart of the Rif. They wander into that region during the month of September to play at weddings.[1]

Besides being musicians, the pipers act as professional wits, specializing in double meanings, usually of an obscene nature. Remarks which would cause a fight if uttered by anyone else are received with great applause when uttered by a piper.

The places whence these players come have already been listed.[2] The range of their professional practice includes Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Temsaman, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Beni Urriaghel, all Gzennaya excepting Shawia, Beni Amart, and Bokoya. Pipers inhabiting the territory of the Galiya play locally for weddings within their own families, as well as in the central Rif. Outside of our region, the Arabs of Msun, the Beni Znassen, the Brabra, and the Algerian Kabyles employ *sammar* players, and in the last two instances bagpipers as well, to play at their weddings. The North African bagpipe, which is not found in the Rif, resembles the *sammar* in the construction of the two pipes, which are fingered.

The second type of music is that of the *rheta*, a flaring-mouthed straight clarinet which produces an extremely loud, piercing note. This music is accompanied by the beating of large drums, closed at the bottom; sometimes double-headed drums are used.[3] The Jebala is the home of this method of entertainment. The musicians are students from cantonal mosques or *zawias*. This means of livelihood does not place them in a low social category, as it does the pipers. The profession is optional, not hereditary. Jeballi students who wander about playing this instrument at weddings take small boys along to sing in a piping falsetto and dance. On other occasions they use the reed flute instead of the *rheta*, which is reserved for ceremonial occasions. This is the practice in all Senhaja except Marnissa, all Ghomara, the maritime tribes, and Targuist.

The third type, centered among the Nomads, consists of flute music and singing. All the guests, both men and women, except for the dancers, sit together within the brush enclosure surrounding the encampment, or, in the case of sedentary peoples, in the courtyard. They sing in mixed chorus to the accompaniment of a single flute played by one of the company. The musician is not distinguished from the others except in his musical ability. Distribution is in Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Shawia, Marnissa.

The fourth type is found in the Galiya and Kebdana. Negroes belonging to the Naṣiri sect, who play flutes, beat on large drums, and click iron clappers, wander into these tribes and are employed as entertainers in weddings. The Beni Bu Yahyi employ them when they can obtain their services, which is not often.

Besides these professional types of music, and the singing of the dancers, the part of the older women must not be omitted. They cluster in a corner of the court or in a room, and indulge in the shrill, pulsating cry known as the *zigharit*, famous in antiquity.[4]

The men sit on the ground, leaning against the walls, laugh, shout, emit piercing cries, and fire off their rifles, holding the butts against the ground so that the muzzles are level with their ears. This action naturally has the effect of temporarily deafening some of the guests.

[1] The social position of this group has already been discussed. See pp. 92 *seq.*

[2] See pp. 93–94.

[3] Bates (*loc. cit.*) shows a drawing of a similar instrument, played in antiquity, and also a double-headed Libyan drum.

[4] Bates, pp. 153–154.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

585

The culmination of the ceremony comes, in all regions, on the last night of the feast, when open hospitality is practiced everywhere. The guests, who, in the areas in which there is hospitality on the earlier nights have spent the preceding evenings wandering back and forth between the houses of the bride and groom, entertained alternately by the two groups of dancers and of musicians, concentrate on the final night at the house of the groom.

After it has grown dark the bride is dressed for her journey to her husband's house. Her best clothes are put on, including some which the groom has bought for her as a present. The rest of her clothes and personal possessions are tied together or put in a box to be taken with her. She is veiled, and mounted on a mule. In regions where there are no mules or the path between the houses is too steep for one, she is carried on the back of a strong woman. In no case is she allowed to walk.

Meanwhile, in the region in which the *sabḥain er-razḥ* is chanted, the groom makes a final preparation. He goes out of the house to a place where reeds grow, cuts one, and brings it back to the house. With this he re-enters his room and stays there until the bride arrives, keeping the reed for a purpose which will be described later. In the same region, the bride's costume contains one distinctive feature. The *thiuziren* bring two pliant sticks to the house. These they tie together and bend into an arch, which they hold over her head so that the ends touch her temples. They then throw a piece of cloth over this frame, silk if obtainable, and bind a red and white turban around the temples so that it will hold the arch and cloth in place. They thrust a small mirror under the cloth and over the bride's forehead, and remove her belt, which she is not allowed to wear in the presence of her husband.

When the bride has been thus prepared she is mounted on the mule. In the *sabḥain er-razḥ* area her brother, or her paternal uncle if she has no brother, mounts behind her and clasps her around the waist. Another relative leads the mule or walks beside it. The women of the family, in all regions, walk in a group about the mule. The men of the bride's family go with the procession, slightly ahead, and fire off their rifles all the way, bursting into especially rapid volleys as they near the courtyard of the groom's house. Before entering, the women of the bride's family hand her a tray full of barley, raisins, and almonds, which she scatters all about her as she enters. The guests rush out to pick these up, and eat the raisins, only the men eating the almonds. The barley is saved to be mixed with the next season's seed-grain, since it is thought that the fertility of the bride will cause an added increase in the crop.

The groom now emerges from his room and is handed a stick by one of the *iuziren*, who hands a similar one to the brother or uncle of the bride. These two hold a mock battle of short duration, after which the groom leads the bride into the room destined for her. In the *sabḥain er-razḥ* area he comes out again immediately with the reed which he has previously cut. He hands it to one of the *iuziren*, who holds it while the groom makes three passes at it with his knife without touching it. Then the groom takes it again and cuts it in three pieces. Two of these he gives to guests, who subdivide them and distribute the small pieces. These are considered to be full of *baraka*, and are kept.

While the groom is cutting up the reed eight of the *iuziren* pair off into two equal groups and chant the *sabḥain er-razḥ* for the last time. After they have finished the groom takes the third piece of the reed into the chamber with the bride, and hangs it on the wall. The bride and groom do not leave their room until the next day.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Outside, the guests eat. In the old days in many places a friend of the groom provided a tub of *seksu*, so large and so full that it took four men to carry it, lifting it by chain handles on the sides, and ten men could sit around it eating at once. Another man would bring a spouted pot full of honey mixed with melted butter, which he would pour on the *seksu* as dry spots were uncovered. When a guest was through he made way for another, and when all were through they re-assembled and threw coins as a gift to the groom into what remained of the *seksu*. The usual amount for each to throw in was a dollar. Since the discontinuance of the practice of serving such large tubs of *seksu*, the money is thrown into smaller bowls of *seksu* and into brass trays. Sometimes enemies or rivals throw increasingly large sums into the *seksu* in order to shame and exceed each other until one has run out of funds, when the other gloats over his rival's discomfiture. When a man thus runs out of money he may throw in cartridges, knives, or any other negotiable object. One famous instance is related wherein a man led his mule into the room and backed it into the tub, after he had thrown in everything else he possessed but his clothes.

Defloration of the bride does not necessarily take place on this night, since the couple is often extremely shy, especially if both are very young. If coitus takes place on the final night of the wedding, a portion of the bride's clothing or a cloth specially intended for the purpose is passed through the door and around among the guests, as proof of the bride's virginity. If the defloration takes place on a later occasion, the family of the groom holds a rapidly assembled celebration, called the *shahad er kreir*, to celebrate the event. If the bride is not a virgin the groom may send her home and get his money back, or may keep her and get back a portion of his money. In case he is fond of her he may do nothing about it, postponing the official defloration until some time when he can falsify the tokens of virginity. Such indulgence usually happens only when it is the groom who has deflowered her before marriage. If he keeps her without making any such exhibition, real or false, no action is taken by the community, but the couple starts its married life with an unsavory reputation. Fear of incurring the wrath of the bride's family sometimes prevents the groom from sending back a hymenless bride, much as he may wish to do so.

There is a tradition in the Rif that the *jus primae noctis* was formerly practiced in certain tribes of the Werghan Senhaja: a certain man from el Kelaa of Beni Ulid was sent for to attend weddings in Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Fenassa, Ulad Azam, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Zrarka, and Beni Krama, where he was feasted during all the days of the ceremony, and on the night of the bride's arrival deflowered and then left her. The man is said to be dead and the custom discontinued. The Riffians tell the story as a joke on the Senhajans, and although this circumstance does not necessarily render the tale false it does not increase its chances of being true.

The marriage of a divorced woman is everywhere carried out with less ceremony than that of a girl who is being married for the first time. In the area in which the *sabḥain errath* is chanted, the brother of a divorced woman does not mount on the mule behind her. The same is true of the marriage of a widow.

Residence of the couple after marriage may be matrilocal, patrilocal, in the house of a brother of the groom, or, when possible, in a separate house. Matrilocal residence occurs when the groom is a newcomer to the *bone* and serves the bride's father, as a share-laborer; residence in the house of the groom's father or brother takes place when the groom is not wealthy enough to build a new house or buy an unoccupied one; residence in the house of

776 778 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall [681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 515 789 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is wholesome to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 778 [198] The baráka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with [754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

776 372 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 776 784 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis, [585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 784 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between [264] asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 776 272 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent jnun from drinking of it.

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust) [822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must [585] [292] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

[440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a 776 silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family 754 who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait 301 Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with 784 such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

754 profit; a funeral is welcome to the scribes, it is called their wedding (Ait Waryager). For the same purpose they knock the bier which is kept in the mosque, telling it to get up to work: —Qum t hdem 'ala rasak; and they believe that somebody will die within three days (Andjra). Among the Ait Waryager they beat the bier three times at night, saying, Kar athadmed ya rmahmer, "Get up to work, O bier". And when they want a feast they take the empty palmetto or esparto mat (dasfirt) on which they keep their food when [579] they have a meal and give it a good beating, so that it shall help them to what they want (Ait Waryager). It is also shor when a person for wicked and selfish purposes tries to stop or prevent rain, when needed by the community, by ploughing with two cats "yoked" to a toy-plough.

787 [580] If a person accidentally bites his tongue while eating, he will eat meat (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If a man spills food (Andjra), or gets a piece of a straw or some other trifle (Ait Waryager), into his beard, he will have a guest.

832 [581] At Fez I heard of the following methods by which a man may strengthen his sexual power. He puts some chick-peas (hammos) into water and, when they have got soft and swollen, drinks the water; this, I was told, makes him so strong that he in one night might even deflower seventy-two virgin cows. Or he eats on three successive mornings before breakfast shelled almonds pounded with cinnamon and mixed with honey, which is said to produce a lasting effect. Elsewhere also chick-peas (Tangier, where they are called hommes) and almonds (ibid., Ait Waryager) are used for the same purpose; and so are earth-nuts (biyanat or kaukau; Tangier Fez) and beans (Ait Waryager). The efficacy attributed to them is of course due to their suggestive shape.

585 832 At weddings there are many homœopathic rites intended to ensure or facilitate the consummation of the marriage, which is not surprising considering the frequency of enchantments wrought for the contrary purpose. Among the Ait Waryager, before the arrival of the bride, it is the custom for the bridegroom's mother to place in the yard a mug (daqdeht) upside down with a so-called didli (an ornament consisting of dollar and half-dollar pieces threaded on a string of horsehair and worn by women round the forehead) and an egg on the top of it, and for the bridegroom to break both the mug and the egg with a kick, as I was told, "to destroy the evil", which undoubtedly meant any

595 832 possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage; it is significant that the bride puts on the didli on the morning after her first intercourse withher husband.

787 755 [586] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person gets a sty some woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

787 843 An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic influences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Warain). At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (sfarjel) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere, is found the belief that if a pregnant woman [587] (Hiaina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Ait Waryager), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birthmark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Ait Sadden).

787 777 [590] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 356 [312] [593] Rezq (razq, rezq) means all sorts of good things contributing to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a person cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own rezq (Fez).

You may also sweep away your rezq. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Hiaina, Dukkala, Tangier, Andjra, Tsul, Ait Waryager), or even after 'asar (At Ubahti); and the Rifians of Temsaman consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon.

[595] Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. settaba; Berb. tasttabt [Ait Warain], tastta [Temsaman], disagwust [Ait Waryager]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Ait Waryager).

2: Westermarck--56 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[1]

VOL. II

CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS MAGICAL INFLUENCES AND OMENS—DREAMS

789 In the last chapter we noticed many instances of the belief that
787 qualities, acts, and events have a mysterious power of producing more
777 or less similar effects. In other cases of magic causation the effect is more indefinite or more unlike its cause. Yet even then we very frequently find the law of association of ideas by similarity operating in combining agreeable qualities or events with agreeable, and disagreeable qualities or events with disagreeable, consequences. And there is a parallel combination in the case of omens, which are often hardly distinguishable from magical influences.

777 [7] If a man meets an old woman on his way he should say, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate"; and if he meets her in the morning when he sets out on a journey he should not proceed on that day but turn back (Ait Waryager). It is also unlucky to meet a widow or a barren woman in the morning (Igliwa), and so it is to meet a widow in the evening as well (Ait Waryager).

● 585 [8] It is bad fal to meet a bridal procession on the road (Shawia,
787 Andjra, Ait Waryager). In Andjra it is believed that if two bridal processions meet, one of the brides will die, being affected by the other one's bas; and among the Ait Waryager it is the custom for the women of both parties to throw stones at each other to drive away the evil. At Tangier I was told that it is bad fal if two 'ammariyat (more often called a'mamer), or bridal boxes, meet, or if anybody meets one in the morning, because the 'ammariya means a bier. But this explanation cannot apply to the tribes mentioned above, among whom a woman's bier is not made to resemble an 'ammariya or, as in the Shawia and among the Ait Waryager, 'ammariyat are not used at weddings.

585 [9] But although a bride is looked upon with some suspicion and
581 a wedding is not without its dangers, benign magic virtue is on the other hand ascribed both to bride and bridegroom, and the wedding is a blessed occasion from which those who take part in it and even

581 the community at large expect various benefits. For marriage is a
585 good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at any rate join in the feast (Ulad [10] Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager), and it is bad fal if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good fal if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the bas, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad fal to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shawia). So also the contrary belief that it is good fal to meet a funeral (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the bas; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier).

783 Manslayers are unclear.
755 [11] Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for stinging pain, in Arabic called nahsa, nogza, bab, or biban, among the Igliwa nnahst or nnogzt, among the Ait Warain tauwurt, among the Ait Waryager dauwort. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh.

783 [12] The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the
775 blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Ait
682 Waryager an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell.
884 Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken
682 anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes

789 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathie magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough. Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

789 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it by having a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops [514] at once and makes water on them.

777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Ait Waryager).

777 Among various tribes no hen is said to be allowed to sit on her eggs
784 in this month, because if chicks were hatched during it they would
796 drink of the water with which some dead body has been washed—in other words, somebody in the house or tent would die (Hiaina, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager). But I have also heard another explanation of this taboo, namely, that the chicks would die.

765 Various mourning taboos have to be observed in the month of the
585 'Asur. It is a widespread rule that there must be no weddings during it (Fez, Tangier, Andjra, Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

[77] The women refrain from the use of henna on the 'asura day (Bni (Bni 'Aros), or on the first three (Tsul) or ten (Tangier, Amanuz) days of the month, or on other days as well (Fez, Ait Waryager).

[78] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager, however, it is popularly believed that the Prophet died and was buried on this day, and that it is he who is mourned for, especially by his descendants, the shereefs.

796 [96] There is one night in Ramadan which, according to Islam, is of much more importance than any other, namely, lailatu l-qadr, "the night of power", on which the Koran is said to have been sent down to the Prophet. It is of more value than a thousand months. On this night "Gabriel comes down in a crowd of angels, supplicates and asks grace for every servant, sitting or standing in remembering God". He who then says the prayers "with faith and the hope of reward shall be pardoned of all his past sins". This night is one of the last ten nights of Ramadan, but its exact date[97] has not been discovered by any but the Prophet himself and some of the Companions. A tradition fixes it to be one of the odd nights—the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, or 29th, —and it is generally believed to be the 27th, that is, the night preceding the 27th day.

Among the Arabs of Bukkala and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager the whole Koran is likewise recited during that night.

The Ait Waryager slaughter a number of goats and eat the meat, with oil and bread, in the mosque in the course of the night; this is the only evening in Ramadan when persons other than scribes take a meal in the mosque, because they are afraid of going out in the dark on account of the blood-feud, which is always rife among them. Those who have milch-animals take some dry palmetto leaves to the mosque and put them in the rmahrab where the imam is praying,

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

241 near Sūq al-Arba' of Taurirt. Olive oil, extracted from a communally owned olive grinder and oil press, is the essential fat (1).

The fields, orchards and vegetable gardens (the latter producing [312] broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers and carrots, to mention only a few) of the Aith Wuryāghil are usually terraced near the houses, along the slopes of the mountains. The vineyards, whither the families repair in September to pick grapes, are further up; and along the crests are the communal goat pastures [313] and the *ghāba* patches, where the women go to cut brushwood for their ovens and for the local mosque. Grape picking is the only important activity in September, which marks the end of the agricultural year; after this is done and after the barley has been reaped and ● [585] threshed and the silos piled up, people make merry and get married before the first rains begin again and the time to plow and sow has started up once more.

675 464 Herding and agricultural contracts of a verbal nature are made between the wealthier and the poorer men of the community, those who have little hiring themselves out to those who have more (2). Individuals who own more animals than they can pasture themselves hire herders who, while the beasts are in their charge, receive all the milk and butter and half the young ones born, and, when the animals are sold, half the profits; if the contract concerns sheep, they receive half the wool as well. Vegetable gardens and orchards are cared for by hired gardeners *(rabbā')* who receive one-fourth of the fruit and vegetable crop; as their job entails setting up terraces, they sometimes get one-third of the vegetables if the land is difficult to work. These same men, if they also perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, are called *ikhammāsen* and receive one-fifth of the barley and wheat crop. The owner of the field supplies the seed, the animals (usually cows) and the plow as well in this type of contract, while the *akhammās* (sing. of *ikhammāsen*) provides only his muscles and a switch to keep the cattle moving while they are under the yoke. The *akhammās* contract is the most

(1) Coon, Carleton Stevens: Caravan, The Story of the Middle East, New York 1951, p. 313.

(2) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en las yemaas del Rif, Africa, Madrid, Noviembre 1947, pp. 75-77.

798 764 2) Funeral Rites Contrary to Sunna: the funeral chant invoking the name of God which is started up when the body is lifted up to be taken to the cemetery (and this is done in the Rif) is rejected as bad (sic). A man should not place himself facing Mecca during the funeral prayer (at the grave) (sic); nor should the body be oriented in this direction (sic) nor should its shroud be pierced (in the Rif, in Ibuq-quyen, a hold is pierced in the nose of the shroud), nor can a stick be nailed perpendicularly to the grave (this is done in the Rif[20]); and the catching...in the act by someone of the body being buried or of the recitation of the hizb[21] of the Koran is like lighting the three lights in agony.[22]

798 [302] [562] [794] [769] 3) Deceits and Frauds in the 'Aid: men should not put henna on their hands and should not shake hands with women, as this is sinful. Getting meals in the mosque is very bad, as are petitions (of gifts) to the imam[23] after the prayer of the 'Aid; and visiting the cemetery on feast days is also bad, as these are days of happiness[23a]. (In the Rif all these practices are observed[24]).

798 585 4) Weddings: It is very bad to mark the doors of the house of either the bride or the groom with blood (this is done in the Rif[25]), and so is firing rifle shots in the bride's room on the day that the marriage is consummated[26]; so is touching the bride's clothing, or helping her mount the mule which is to take her to the groom's house, or helping her alight on arrival, or mounting the same animal behind her; and equally bad is someone showing up at the moment of union of the newly married couple or staying so near to them that he can hear them talking. Also, men playing in front of women and women dancing in

798 front of men[27] are also rejected, as are ululations made by the women
585 on behalf of the groom when he enters the bride's room. (In the Bni Hmid[28], the bride is carried on the shoulders of volunteers to the groom's house; she does not, as elsewhere, ride a mule. In the same tribe, on the first day of the 'Aid, the men, on coming out of the mosque, greet the women, who are waiting for them in a line, one by one.)

E) Procedure:

692 Jural proceedings in the Rif are conducted in front of the
623 jma'th, personalized by several individuals (in one qanun, that of the Imhsuren of the Aith 'Ari clan, by a triumvirate) who meet daily[29] in a central location known to all; under a large tree (usually carob or wild olive), at some water point, or in the mosque. Here the men come with the iziddjifen, and the old and sick men, to sit in the sun, to talk, and perhaps to take a siesta.

695 Procedure is as follows: the plaintiff comes to the area chosen, and, in most cases, both contestants present themselves there, each explaining his reasons without, however, coming to the central point. If he is a stranger, boys and villagers accompany him to the site and there they give the reason for his presence. Ordinarily the question is apt to be settled amicably right there, if it is not an important one; but if this is not the case, for example, and if one of the parties does not agree, the proceedings are extended somewhat longer, as he might request an evaluation by a specialist in such matters, or offer to provide witnesses[30] or other modes of proof; and he sets the time--or
[623] one of them asks to swear. The jma'th, e.g. all of those men present (not all the men of the village nor even nearly all of them) lets the

243 sickles and the women carrying the grain stalks to the threshing areas. The threshing floors are generally merely a circle of dirt ground, although in some areas they are paved. The stalks [231] are placed on this circular floor and mules, donkeys, or cattle are driven about inside the circle, trampling the grain and separating it from the chaff. The grain is further refined by hand-winnowing done by the women. The straw is accumulated in circu- [231] lar stacks to be preserved as food for the animals during the winter months. When relatives have worked a common piece of land 243 465 the yield is divided by measuring off the appropriate amount of grain in straw baskets. If the division is on a one-for-one basis, each alternate basket will go to one of the parties. If the division is at some other ratio, the number of baskets will [427] accordingly be at that ratio. If the land was ploughed, planted and harvested by a akhammas, a sharecropping laborer, the owner of the land will receive four bushels out of every five, the remaining fifth going to the akhammas.

241 Throughout the summer the vegetables, fruits and nuts are harvested as they come ripe. In late summer and early autumn the [465] maize and grapes are harvested. Once again, if the labor of several families or of akhammas has been involved, straw baskets are used to allot out to each man his appropriate portion. It is 585 221 during this period, in the months of August and September, that [241] weddings are held. The agricultural cycle has been completed and there is spare time to arrange the necessary items for a wedding. Also this is the period in which the optimum amount of food is

585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. [777] Perhaps it is this unending sameness which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is [262] not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [554] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [554] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 796 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domestic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumcision and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed. While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assembled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so. However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially the second most important initiation ceremony in the society. On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by previous obligations established by gifts that the giver has received from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money, 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 is, however, only a descriptive prelude to the much more elaborate presentations which occur in relation to nuptial ceremonies.

585 114 The marriage ceremony is probably the most socially significant public ceremony which takes place in the Rif. The spectacle and complexity of Berber marriage have prompted numerous studies, of which Westermarck (1914) is the most complete and Maunier (1927) the most useful. A rather detailed description of the ceremony among the Beni Iznassen, a tribe neighboring the Rif, is given by Renisio (1932). Accounts for the Rif proper are given by Coon (1931) and Hart (1956). My own description is not at odds with any of the above but the point of view differs from all except possibly Maunier.

585 [584] The marriage process can be broken into three separate divisions of time and into the associated ceremonies and rituals which accompany these three periods. The first period, which takes place prior to the wedding, is one in which the preliminary negotiations take place between the parents of the prospective couple. The second division is the actual wedding festival itself, which takes place over a two or three-day period. The final division is the ceremony held on the seventh day after the marriage. I shall discuss each of these periods in terms of the strategy of bargaining, the expenses entailed by social and religious imperatives, and the function of gift and countergift.

584 In the initial period negotiations are conducted between the male relatives on both sides, the most prominent participants being the fathers of the prospective bride and groom or, if they

584 depending on the hour, return to their respective homes or stay
583 overnight as guest of the bride's father.

584 Once the financial arrangement has been settled, the rep-
583 resentatives of both families go to the religious judge (qadi)
692 in Alhucemas or Targuist and present him with the list of obli-
gations the groom's family has accepted. The young couple are
also supposed to attend this meeting, and in the urban centers
it is obligatory. However, judges who serve tribal areas are
rather relaxed about such attendance and are satisfied if the
fathers are in agreement. It is a rule of thumb that judges
[671] who serve rural Berber areas allow customary procedures to pre-
vail over civil law if the matter does not infringe upon the
security of the state.

584 At this point the groom's family begins to collect the
583 necessary goods for the wedding celebration. This process may
369 take some time, and over a year may pass between the initial
184 agreement and the completion of the stipulated requirements
of the groom. This is, however, quite rare and seems more
584 associated with Berbers living in the city. Among the fellah
585 the marriage has been contracted for good reason and it is
thought best to consummate it as rapidly as possible. Often
the marriage ceremony takes place less than a month after the
meeting to determine the expenses.

585 When all the money and goods have been collected, both
583 parties meet with the qadi again, two or three days before the
692 wedding ceremony. The qadi checks off all the items to make sure

585 [583] [692] [184] [369] that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement. Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until the wedding ceremony is held.

585 583 431 By now, the groom's family has incurred several different types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price' or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss. The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 [221] - - The wedding celebration or thamagra is held in the late summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the 585 574 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar. Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group

574
585 by five or ten minutes. As they travel through the hills, each
[533] group sings praise songs of themselves and occasionally derogative songs about the other group. As they sing quite loudly, they can generally hear one another's songs even if they can not always see each other. The bride's group is the larger, numbering about twenty girls, all unmarried, while the male group consists rarely of more than ten and may include married male friends. The groom himself is addressed as Moulay or Sultan during this procession and the men with him are his iwziren or advisors. This is a borrowing of terms which are traditionally used to designate positions in the Moroccan government.

As they come to each house, the girls enter into the inside patio where they sing and dance, while the men enter a separate but connected guest room where they are offered tea and a meal. It is customary for the family head of each
585
574 visited house to present the groom with a sum of money and a
431 gift of clothing or new shoes. The amount given is related to the prominence and wealth of the household, to the degree of relatedness between the groom and the giver, and to previous reciprocal gifts bestowed by members of the groom's family on the host. These gifts, grama, are interpreted by Westermarck as ". . . really a loan which has to be repaid in the future under corresponding circumstances, or an indemnity for similar contributions in the past; hence the amounts given by the various donors are most carefully taken note of" (1914:125).

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grana has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [302] [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grana).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

585 The father of the groom provides meals and tea for all
574 the guests at his home as well as at the house of the bride.
262 The meal for the guests in even the humblest of homes consists of a course of cous-cous and a meat tajin. In most ceremonies there is also a poultry course. Enormous quantities of bread and tea are also served. The most accepted casual factor for
[178] reducing the days of the wedding ceremony from seven as they were before Abdel Krim to two or three days as they are today was that the expenses of providing hospitality over such an extended period of time was ruinous to all but the most prosperous families.

585 Guests are likewise expected to incur various expenses.
574 At this moment we need only note the recurrent support of a
571 public ceremony which is expected throughout Berber society. All mature guests are expected to provide a quantity of barley, loaves of freshly baked bread, fresh fruit and vegetables, or a monetary equivalent. This tends to discourage, among the poor fellah, the presence of nonrelatives, because it represents an outlay which is not part of their residual social obligations. In addition, such attendance by a nonrelative imposes future obligations which, in only rare circumstances, they are willing to accept. By attending the wedding and taking part in the joining in matrimony of the couple, one gratuitously assumes the duty of attending the naming ceremonies for the infants of this union. Such acceptance of future responsibility is not normally accepted unless there is social advantage thereby.

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] [602] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] [754] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the profes- [533] sional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 524 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

585 574 571 431 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay, or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grama. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (viziers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and viziers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however, quite certain since both Coon (1931:134-135) and Renisio (1932:146-150) report it.

[534] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male guests they sing in Arabic,

[533] [539]

sabhain er-razik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

585 574 571 431 as they walk inside the circle three times. Traditionally, rifles were fired by the iwziren but with the confiscation of all firearms, firecrackers are today used as substitutes.

The groom then sits down on a chair in front of a low table which has previously been placed in the center of the circle. Squatting beside him on the ground are his iwziren, his father, and usually his younger brother. Behind him stand four girls who throughout the remaining ceremony fan him with their scarfs. At this point the gift giving commences. The [522] gifts, always in money, are collected by a traditional spokesmen, often a comic figure, who makes jokes and dances about as he announces aloud who has made the contribution and how much it is. With each announcement, the women who are inside the house but huddled around the doors peering out at the ceremony, commence to ululate. The comic figure goes about the crowd collecting gifts which he hands over to the groom's father, who places them in a brass tray in front of Moulay. The largest gifts, usually given at the beginning of the ceremony, are from relatives of the groom's father, such as brothers and uncles, as well as from relatives of the bride and close friends of the groom's father. These gifts are rarely under 100 dirhams but as the evening progresses smaller gifts of from 5 to 20 dirhams are given by age mates of the groom, by guests who wish to express their thanks for the evening's entertainment, and by local notables who feel it incumbent to give a small gift at each wedding they attend. The greater part of each gift goes to the father of the

585 594 591 431 groom to help defray the expenses of the wedding, but a part can also be designated for the groom's personal use. Each gift must also specify a small amount for the person who makes the public announcement. A typical large gift would be announced as two hundred dirhams for the master of the wedding (the father), five dirhams for Moulay el-Sultan (the groom), and one dirham for the spokesman.

Although the smaller gifts are given gratuitously out of good will, the larger ones (fifty dirhams and upwards) are part of an extensive system of social obligations on the part of blood relatives, affines, and friends who are either fulfilling past obligations or setting up future ones. Recipients of gifts given by the father of the groom in the past are now expected to respond in kind. If the marriage is between members of the same lineage or between families who have contracted prior matrimonial links, a set of obligations will already exist. If it is the first marriage between two families, the bride's family is supposed to initiate good relations between the two families by donating to help defray the wedding expenses.

585 594 591 431 556 [114] Coon has noted in passing (1931:141) that this gift giving can become a competitive game in which the guests give increasingly larger amounts of money during the ceremony in order to shame rivals. I have never encountered such a situation in which the ante was raised during the ceremony itself, but a somewhat similar incident occurred in which a man donated more than the community felt to be his social obligation. At a wedding in one

585 of the fractions of the Beni Wariyaghar, four large gifts were
574 given. One of these gifts was 350 dirhams ($70) from a friend
591 of the groom's father, another of 450 dirhams from a brother of
431 the groom's father. The final two gifts were from two men who
556 had married daughters of the groom's father. One of these sons-in-law had been married into the family of the groom's father for ten years and assumed a superior attitude towards the other son-in-law, who had only two years previously married into this family. The latter, a young man who was poor in his own right but related to several well-off families, went to his relatives borrowing from each in turn. At the wedding ceremony he was able to give 400 dirhams to the father, or one hundred dirhams more than the other brother-in-law. At the time of the ceremony [578] the shamed brother-in-law bitterly accused the younger man's entire family of deliberately shaming him. The family denied that they had been in collusion with the boy, but also they took his side in the dispute and the two families ceased speaking to one another. As a participant on the one side explained to me, "I have a little bit of the evil eye for that outfit and they probably have the same for us."

585 After all the donations have been collected, the groom's
574 father and his paternal uncles take the tray filled with money
571 into the house and counts the proceeds. The amount received by
431 the groom's father may equal the outlay that he had to make to finance the wedding, and if the sequence of events ended here the man's debts might be balanced out by his newly acquired assets.

585 571 431 182 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 574 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors 585 574 152 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's [292] [291] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

585 of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes. A
574 feeling of intense competition seems to surround this ceremony
152 with the women of the bride's family appearing lofty and superior vis-à-vis the groom's family. Perhaps it is embodied in the compensatory feeling that one family has permanently lost a member to another family.

585 The seven days prior to this celebration are regarded as a 'honeymoon' during which the bride is still special. With the passing of this ceremony she is no longer tislith (bride) but timrath (wife) and must assume the ordinary business of household
585 activities. Westermarck (1914:309) mentions a further ceremony
431 on the fortieth day after the wedding, in which a goat is slaughtered by the groom and the meat taken to the wife's father's house. There countergifts, in the form of a cow or some goats, are given by the girl's father. This ceremony may
[114] have lapsed by the time I worked in the Rif. At least I have
[198] no data in my notes regarding rituals of marriage following the seventh day ceremony.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 The councillors go in a body, taking with them twenty or more girls adept at singing and dancing, hired musicians, a bull or cow, two or three mules laden with bread, and quantities of tea, sugar, and candles. The cost of the presents and the fees of the musicians are paid out of money collected in fines.

DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 692 The task of the tribal council is to render judgment, exact fines, and destroy property in cases of adultery caught in the act, murder, and woundings; to make decisions as to tribal alliances in warfare; and to interfere with internal fights in other tribes.

Adultery caught in the act. A husband who surprises his wife in the act of adultery has 684 the traditional privilege of killing the man, removing his genitals and placing them in the mouth of his corpse, killing his wife, and ripping her from pubis to diaphragm with a knife. 837 This action is a privilege and not a duty. Many husbands are physically unable to do so; others are disinclined; still others mutilate their wives by cutting off the fleshy parts of their noses and let them go. One instance is known in Gzennaya of a man who thrust live coals into his wife's vagina and then released her. In at least half the cases, recently at any rate, no revenge is taken on the woman, her divorce and disgrace being considered ample punishment.

When the members of the tribal council hear of this event, they leave whatever they are 646 doing and go as rapidly as possible to the adulterer's house. This they burn; they impose a 684 fine of one thousand dollars or thereabouts, depending on the usage of the tribe, and on the 692 importance of the *bone*. The fine is accepted either in cash, livestock, land, or in all three. When land and livestock are taken they are sold on the spot, not by bidding but by arbitrary prices, fair to the victim, placed on each animal or portion of land. If the proceeds of the sale exceed the amount of the fine, the balance is returned to the *bone* of the adulterer. If the adulterer and the adulteress belong to different *bones* the burden of the fine is shared between the *bones*. If the adulterer has survived the vengeance of the injured man he must leave the tribe forever. Women who survive go back to their families, forcibly divorced and forbidden to marry again.

T586

After the cash of the fine is in hand, it is divided among the *fifths*, each receiving an 684 equal share, to be divided evenly among each *canton* composing the *fifth*. Thus the *canton* of the offenders receives back a portion of the money which some of its members have paid. It often refuses to accept this, in which case the money goes to the actual payers. *Cantons* friendly with that of the adulterer may likewise refuse to accept, and their money too is returned.

646 692 683 *Wounding.* When one man wounds another, the tribal council comes to the offender's house and exacts a fine of five hundred dollars after questioning the councillor or councillors belonging to the offending *bone*. The fine is always paid by the *bone* as a whole, whether the blood money is or not.

646 692 683 621 *Murder.* When one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If the man and his *bone* refuse to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which has refused has no allies, it seldom wins,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER X

JUDICIAL AND CLERICAL OFFICERS; LAWS GOVERNING INHERITANCE

THERE are in the Rif two classes of officials who concern themselves with judicial and clerical functions: the "clerk," or *adl* (plural *adul*[1]), and the "judge," or *kedhi*. The former is something between a town clerk and minor judge, and the latter a supreme court of appeal. Both concern themselves only with civil, never with criminal, disputes. 693 624

The clerk is a former student who specialized in the cantonal mosque in the study of law, rather than in the usual study of magic and religion: some clerks, however, indulge in magical practices on the side as an additional source of income. The clerk takes pains to keep this second profession secret, lest he be expelled from office. Most clerks spend longer than the average period at study, and attend several different mosques in the course of their preparation. [791]

There is at least one clerk in every *bone*. Any person who is qualified by his training may set up as a clerk, but must receive the consensus of local approval before he is entrusted with enough business to make this occupation profitable. A clerk must be dignified and pious. 624

The clerk is often the schoolmaster of the *bone* as well. In smaller *bones* it is usually an economic necessity for one man to fulfill these two offices, consequently the terms "schoolmaster" and "clerk" have become somewhat confused. A clerk is often called schoolmaster, but a schoolmaster who is not a clerk is never called clerk. [875]

The duties of the clerk include writing and reading letters for illiterate persons, settling controversies as to ownership of property, making out and administering wills, and drawing up documents of sale for landed property and documents of marriage and divorce. He is also called upon to slaughter animals upon ceremonial occasions. [211]

In making out a document of marriage, the clerk writes out the names of the bride and groom, and the amount paid for the bride. He gives the paper to the bride and makes a duplicate, which he keeps. His signature renders the document valid. He similarly makes out divorce papers, which he gives to the woman, who can thus prove that she is no longer under obligation to her husband. [585] [586]

When the clerk makes out the document for a land sale, he takes the old document from the seller, and gives both old and new papers to the purchaser. Each time a piece of land changes hands a new paper is made out, and the present owner has in his possession all of the extant bills of sale for that piece of land. When a piece is subdivided the heir of the owner of the original piece at the time of its subdivision keeps the papers recording transfers prior to this subdivision. 624 432

When a man wishes to sell some of the land which has been in his family since time immemorial, and for which there is no paper, he informs the clerk, who advertises for any other claim to this land, either written or oral, and finding none makes a bill of sale.

[1] The usual Arab notary.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

591 the brother instead of that of the father depends on whether or not the father is living, and whether or not the brother has paid for the wedding, for the bride, or for both.

587 In the case of the levirate, which has been discussed under inheritance, the newly-married widow usually remains with her children in the house of her first husband, to which the new husband comes as a visitor rather than as a regular occupant. All wives who have been married in any way other than through the levirate usually live in the same house together.

Not only is the levirate a common feature of Riffian society, but the sororate is also practiced. A man whose wife dies young is expected to marry one of her sisters in her place, and no fee is demanded for the second one. A man cannot, however, marry his wife's sister during the lifetime of the first one.

595 Polygyny in the Rif is more often the result of the function of the levirate than the wholly voluntary marriage of more than one wife. Only men of unusual wealth ordinarily marry more than one wife from choice. Women given a man of a different *bone* by means of a magical compulsion, the purpose of which is the alliance of the two *bones*, form an additional class of plural wives.

589 Such is the social economy of the Riffians that spinsters are practically non-existent.

DIVORCE

586 If a husband and his wife both desire a divorce, the clerk gives her a paper making her free to remarry and she goes back to the house of her parents.

If the wife desires a divorce and the husband does not, the wife may go to the house of her parents to live. If she remains there more than fifteen days without returning to her husband's house she is automatically divorced and is entitled to a paper to that effect from the clerk. This procedure is not as easy as it sounds, however, since the woman's parents may object to the divorce and send her back again by force.

The husband may send envoys, usually his father and brothers, to the house of his wife's parents to slaughter a goat and prepare a meal there, which action serves as a magical compulsion upon the owner of the house to accede to their wishes. The ultimate decision as to whether or not the wife remains all of the fifteen days depends upon the attitude of her parents, the strength of her husband's desire to get her back, and the relative importance of the two *seins* involved. If the wife is from a different *bone* from that of the husband serious hostilities may result.

A husband seldom divorces a wife against her will except for infidelity, but he may divorce her for lesser offenses if he desires or dares. He may if he wishes divorce her for failure to bear him children, though in this case he usually marries a second wife and keeps the first one as well.

A woman who wishes to be divorced and cannot, on account of the opposition of her family and of her husband, may run away from the tribe with her lover, if she has one; or alone, if she has not and is sufficiently courageous. Women who have run away on account of unfortunate marriages or as a consequence of being caught in adultery sometimes go to Fez and become prostitutes. So much trouble can be caused a man by a wife whom he has married against her will that few men are willing to undertake the liability of doing so.

583 The foundation of the nuclear family is through marriage,
584 which in the Rif is a "contract of buying and selling"[27], for, as the result of an amount (i.e. of money) stipulated by her father, a woman becomes her husband's absolute property[28]. A petition is made by the father or legal representatives of the woman; he, or
583 they, fix the bride-price (ssdhāq) and the manner of payment. This
584 contract, until very recent times, was unwritten[29], and the fact
212 that the jma'ath knew of the agreement was sufficient (to make it binding). Even today (1935), most old men do not have paper (i.e.
583 documents--r-knwaghadh, sing. r-kinghadh.)[30] By virtue of this
584 contract, a woman, who is never her own mistress, changes owners
562 and becomes the property of her husband, who uses and abuses her as
593 such, always for his own benefit, either improving her lot or
586 abandoning her[31].

583 Of all the acts which must be performed prior to marriage, none is as important as (payment of) the bride-price; and the day that the boy's father and the girl's father are together in the latter's house, accounts are settled and the former hands the bride-price over to the latter. From this sum, the bride's father buys his daughter's trousseau, with an advance on account from the groom; the latter's representatives, some friends and a fqih are also in attendance. Part of the bride-price is given to the father (immediately) so that he can buy clothing for his daughter; the rest of this clothing is bought by the groom; and the remainder of the bride-price is paid in money[32].

586 [587] a) Suspension of Marriage:--If through the absence of her husband, the bride goes home and is reintegrated with her family, the husband then cedes all rights and obligations with the exception of property; but the wife cannot remarry unless she has her husband's consent.[33]

b) Dissolution of Marriage:--This may come about only through death or divorce, the latter being an act which only a man can initiate, and a woman cannot.

462 c) Division of Labor:--Women care for children, keep house, prepare food (grind grain, fetch water, wood and fodder for the animals), wash clothes, and cook. They help reap the cereal harvest (in mid-summer) and carry the straw from the threshing floor to the house. At plowing time (in autumn), they sometimes carry the seed[34] and do the weeding (in early spring). They also bake the bread and care for the oven (located just outside the house). Men's affairs may be subsumed under the headings of war, agriculture, religion, and buying-and-selling; house-building, hunting, fishing[35], cutting trees and brushwood for charcoal, woodwork, reedwork, ironwork[36], wickerwork, work in palmetto and esparto, weaving, sewing[37], and burial rites and attendance at funerals.

562 d) Relations between the Sexes:--Men represent, direct, protect and administer. Women advise, help and obey. Men's work is free, external and primary, women's work subordinate, internal and secondary. Men administer their possessions as they wish, while women can neither alienate nor obtain anything[38]. Men have freedom of movement while women (theoretically) cannot receive visits from

592
593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age
883
[785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time.
[584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage,
885
593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in
[591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the
[594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own.
883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and
885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council
623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he
616
794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].
575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced
593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there
586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

684 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed,
171 while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their
562 houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads[65]. Women do not inherit
428 in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in
171 lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much (1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce
586 them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single
582 nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage.
[171] A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and
562 is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of <u>insurrection</u>
586 (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a <u>zawiya</u>
708 (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated
623 with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain
[171] to the <u>jma'th</u>, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration
627 of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslin <u>ukil</u> (legal
171
562

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community
[521] such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes
knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family.
If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother
to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's
father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are,
however, the majority.

584 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because
562 of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initi-
• 586 ating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son
into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advan-
tages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if
[782] a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match,
[571] the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing
an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the
Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a
wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of
[593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will
[464] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as
[427] akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such cir-
cumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed
581 that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative
582 which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Outside, the guests eat. In the old days in many places a friend of the groom provided a tub of *seksu*, so large and so full that it took four men to carry it, lifting it by chain handles on the sides, and ten men could sit around it eating at once. Another man would bring a spouted pot full of honey mixed with melted butter, which he would pour on the *seksu* as dry spots were uncovered. When a guest was through he made way for another, and when all were through they re-assembled and threw coins as a gift to the groom into what remained of the *seksu*. The usual amount for each to throw in was a dollar. Since the discontinuance of the practice of serving such large tubs of *seksu*, the money is thrown into smaller bowls of *seksu* and into brass trays. Sometimes enemies or rivals throw increasingly large sums into the *seksu* in order to shame and exceed each other until one has run out of funds, when the other gloats over his rival's discomfiture. When a man thus runs out of money he may throw in cartridges, knives, or any other negotiable object. One famous instance is related wherein a man led his mule into the room and backed it into the tub, after he had thrown in everything else he possessed but his clothes.

Defloration of the bride does not necessarily take place on this night, since the couple is often extremely shy, especially if both are very young. If coitus takes place on the final night of the wedding, a portion of the bride's clothing or a cloth specially intended for the purpose is passed through the door and around among the guests, as proof of the bride's virginity. If the defloration takes place on a later occasion, the family of the groom holds a rapidly assembled celebration, called the *shahad er ḫreir*, to celebrate the event. If the bride is not a virgin the groom may send her home and get his money back, or may keep her and get back a portion of his money. In case he is fond of her he may do nothing about it, postponing the official defloration until some time when he can falsify the tokens of virginity. Such indulgence usually happens only when it is the groom who has deflowered her before marriage. If he keeps her without making any such exhibition, real or false, no action is taken by the community, but the couple starts its married life with an unsavory reputation. Fear of incurring the wrath of the bride's family sometimes prevents the groom from sending back a hymenless bride, much as he may wish to do so.

There is a tradition in the Rif that the *jus primae noctis* was formerly practiced in certain tribes of the Werghan Senhaja: a certain man from el Kelaa of Beni Ulid was sent for to attend weddings in Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Fenassa, Ulad Asam, Beni Koras, Bu Adl, Zrarka, and Beni Krama, where he was feasted during all the days of the ceremony, and on the night of the bride's arrival deflowered and then left her. The man is said to be dead and the custom discontinued. The Riffians tell the story as a joke on the Senhajans, and although this circumstance does not necessarily render the tale false it does not increase its chances of being true.

The marriage of a divorced woman is everywhere carried out with less ceremony than that of a girl who is being married for the first time. In the area in which the *sabḫain erraṭḫ* is chanted, the brother of a divorced woman does not mount on the mule behind her. The same is true of the marriage of a widow.

Residence of the couple after marriage may be matrilocal, patrilocal, in the house of a brother of the groom, or, when possible, in a separate house. Matrilocal residence occurs when the groom is a newcomer to the *bone* and serves the bride's father, as a share-laborer; residence in the house of the groom's father or brother takes place when the groom is not wealthy enough to build a new house or buy an unoccupied one; residence in the house of

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

591 the brother instead of that of the father depends on whether or not the father is living, and whether or not the brother has paid for the wedding, for the bride, or for both.

587 In the case of the levirate, which has been discussed under inheritance, the newly-married widow usually remains with her children in the house of her first husband, to which the new husband comes as a visitor rather than as a regular occupant. All wives who have been married in any way other than through the levirate usually live in the same house together.

Not only is the levirate a common feature of Riffian society, but the sororate is also practiced. A man whose wife dies young is expected to marry one of her sisters in her place, and no fee is demanded for the second one. A man cannot, however, marry his wife's sister during the lifetime of the first one.

595 Polygyny in the Rif is more often the result of the function of the levirate than the wholly voluntary marriage of more than one wife. Only men of unusual wealth ordinarily marry more than one wife from choice. Women given a man of a different *bone* by means of a magical compulsion, the purpose of which is the alliance of the two *bones*, form an additional class of plural wives.

589 Such is the social economy of the Riffians that spinsters are practically non-existent.

DIVORCE

586 If a husband and his wife both desire a divorce, the clerk gives her a paper making her free to remarry and she goes back to the house of her parents.

If the wife desires a divorce and the husband does not, the wife may go to the house of her parents to live. If she remains there more than fifteen days without returning to her husband's house she is automatically divorced and is entitled to a paper to that effect from the clerk. This procedure is not as easy as it sounds, however, since the woman's parents may object to the divorce and send her back again by force.

The husband may send envoys, usually his father and brothers, to the house of his wife's parents to slaughter a goat and prepare a meal there, which action serves as a magical compulsion upon the owner of the house to accede to their wishes. The ultimate decision as to whether or not the wife remains all of the fifteen days depends upon the attitude of her parents, the strength of her husband's desire to get her back, and the relative importance of the two *reins* involved. If the wife is from a different *bone* from that of the husband serious hostilities may result.

A husband seldom divorces a wife against her will except for infidelity, but he may divorce her for lesser offenses if he desires or dares. He may if he wishes divorce her for failure to bear him children, though in this case he usually marries a second wife and keeps the first one as well.

A woman who wishes to be divorced and cannot, on account of the opposition of her family and of her husband, may run away from the tribe with her lover, if she has one; or alone, if she has not and is sufficiently courageous. Women who have run away on account of unfortunate marriages or as a consequence of being caught in adultery sometimes go to Fez and become prostitutes. So much trouble can be caused a man by a wife whom he has married against her will that few men are willing to undertake the liability of doing so.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfiqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlis are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jārīs*, *muqaddams*, *shaikhs*, *qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfiqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives awar (properly azwar), or «vein», and ighs, or «bone», corresponding to jajghu and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word ighs refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

586 [587] a) Suspension of Marriage:--If through the absence of her husband, the bride goes home and is reintegrated with her family, the husband then cedes all rights and obligations with the exception of property; but the wife cannot remarry unless she has her husband's consent.[33]

b) Dissolution of Marriage:--This may come about only through death or divorce, the latter being an act which only a man can initiate, and a woman cannot.

462 c) Division of Labor:--Women care for children, keep house, prepare food (grind grain, fetch water, wood and fodder for the animals), wash clothes, and cook. They help reap the cereal harvest (in mid-summer) and carry the straw from the threshing floor to the house. At plowing time (in autumn), they sometimes carry the seed[34] and do the weeding (in early spring). They also bake the bread and care for the oven (located just outside the house). Men's affairs may be subsumed under the headings of war, agriculture, religion, and buying-and-selling; house-building, hunting, fishing[35], cutting trees and brushwood for charcoal, woodwork, reedwork, ironwork[36], wickerwork, work in palmetto and esparto, weaving, sewing[37], and burial rites and attendance at funerals.

562 d) Relations between the Sexes:--Men represent, direct, protect and administer. Women advise, help and obey. Men's work is free, external and primary, women's work subordinate, internal and secondary. Men administer their possessions as they wish, while women can neither alienate nor obtain anything[38]. Men have freedom of movement while women (theoretically) cannot receive visits from

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
848 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

423 Property going to females, either to widows or daughters,
428 tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inher-
562 itance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the
[587] practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more dis-
428 ruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased
[768] husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the
431 inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and
578 his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B,
182 B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on
607 the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exer-
562 cise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

591 the brother instead of that of the father depends on whether or not the father is living, and whether or not the brother has paid for the wedding, for the bride, or for both.

587 In the case of the levirate, which has been discussed under inheritance, the newly-married widow usually remains with her children in the house of her first husband, to which the new husband comes as a visitor rather than as a regular occupant. All wives who have been married in any way other than through the levirate usually live in the same house together.

Not only is the levirate a common feature of Riffian society, but the sororate is also practiced. A man whose wife dies young is expected to marry one of her sisters in her place, and no fee is demanded for the second one. A man cannot, however, marry his wife's sister during the lifetime of the first one.

595 Polygyny in the Rif is more often the result of the function of the levirate than the wholly voluntary marriage of more than one wife. Only men of unusual wealth ordinarily marry more than one wife from choice. Women given a man of a different *bone* by means of a magical compulsion, the purpose of which is the alliance of the two *bones*, form an additional class of plural wives.

589 Such is the social economy of the Riffians that spinsters are practically non-existent.

DIVORCE

586 If a husband and his wife both desire a divorce, the clerk gives her a paper making her free to remarry and she goes back to the house of her parents.

If the wife desires a divorce and the husband does not, the wife may go to the house of her parents to live. If she remains there more than fifteen days without returning to her husband's house she is automatically divorced and is entitled to a paper to that effect from the clerk. This procedure is not as easy as it sounds, however, since the woman's parents may object to the divorce and send her back again by force.

The husband may send envoys, usually his father and brothers, to the house of his wife's parents to slaughter a goat and prepare a meal there, which action serves as a magical compulsion upon the owner of the house to accede to their wishes. The ultimate decision as to whether or not the wife remains all of the fifteen days depends upon the attitude of her parents, the strength of her husband's desire to get her back, and the relative importance of the two *reins* involved. If the wife is from a different *bone* from that of the husband serious hostilities may result.

A husband seldom divorces a wife against her will except for infidelity, but he may divorce her for lesser offenses if he desires or dares. He may if he wishes divorce her for failure to bear him children, though in this case he usually marries a second wife and keeps the first one as well.

A woman who wishes to be divorced and cannot, on account of the opposition of her family and of her husband, may run away from the tribe with her lover, if she has one; or alone, if she has not and is sufficiently courageous. Women who have run away on account of unfortunate marriages or as a consequence of being caught in adultery sometimes go to Fez and become prostitutes. So much trouble can be caused a man by a wife whom he has married against her will that few men are willing to undertake the liability of doing so.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

59 i) Summary:--The Rifian family is patriarchal and patrilineal, agnatic and polygamous (i.e. polygynous). It needs to be large because of possible loss through feuds or lack of hygiene. Although 562 428 legally a woman inherits one-half of what a man does (i.e. sons inherit twice as much as daughters), Rifians interpret Muslim inheritance laws in their own way, through customs such as "men's habus"[49], or the return to her house of a divorced woman, whether this be Koranically sanctioned or not. A woman does not inherit but is, in effect, inherited[50]; she bears children but cannot give them her name. She works, but cannot buy or sell; she exists to give pleasure to her husband, and is maltreated in return; but she is probably happier 000 than many of her European counterparts.....In my own opinion, the (Spanish) Protectorate has improved the status of women...and I think that if the Rifians consider men to be the superior of the sexes, this is so undoubtedly because men had to protect their womenfolk constantly, with rifle in hand. They saw in them a cause of weakness, but recognized them as being necessary to group survival (sic!). The Rifian family needed a headman with unquestioned authority, rigorous discipline without sentimentality, and an automatic ability 562 to heal breaches. Women were exempt from feuding and had at their disposition their own markets, reserved for them exclusively; in a sense, they formed a society which was semi-independent from that of [926] men. In battle, they incited men to combat. The shift today (1935) [178] toward Koranic norms is more apparent than real, and is taking place at the cost of parallel diminution, at the same time, of the sociopolitical importance of the group.[51]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

KINSHIP GROUPS AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS

[594] 614 [591] The smallest social grouping in the Rif is, of course, the biological family, consisting of father, mother, and offspring; but the importance of this fundamental group is often obscured by the large family group called *awar* (plural *iwaren*), or "vein." [1] The *vein* consists of a father, his wives, descendants, and descendants' wives, and his brothers, their wives, descendants, and descendants' wives. Since Riffian society is patrilineal and families are usually patronymic, daughters who have married into another *vein* become affiliated with the group into which they have married, and offspring of these daughters are considered to belong to their fathers' *veins*. When the brothers composing the oldest generation in a *vein* die, it splits into as many *veins* as there were brothers. Thus the sons of each deceased brother become the brothers forming the elder stratum of the new *vein*. In this way during the course of generations a single union of a man and his wife may give rise to numerous related *veins*.

614 621 These related *veins* collectively take the name of *ighs* (plural *ikhsan*), or "bone." [2] The *bone* is, however, something more important than a mere collection of related *veins*. In regions of sedentary life it generally takes the form of a village, or politically independent section of a village, and may include *veins* descended not only from the eponymous ancestor of the *bone* but also from strangers who have been adopted into the *bone*. The arrival of these strangers who become ancestors of spurious *veins* is due to the Riffian custom of selling property in order to pay fines or blood money assessed by the governing body. A man who has sold all his landed property and livestock in order to meet such an obligation feels ashamed to remain in his own village and often fears reprisal for his offence, and migrates, generally swiftly and secretly, to some other part of the Rif. When he has arrived at a sufficiently distant village, he hires himself out to a landowner in that village, or, if he seems to be a valuable potential adjunct to the village's military forces, is given land by popular subscription. He thus becomes a member of the *bone* into which his ill-fortune has thrust him, and is expected to marry into this *bone*, generally taking as wife a daughter of the man who first employed and sheltered him, if that man happens to have a daughter available. The newcomer and his wife become the forebears of a new *vein* in the *bone*, and this new *vein* may in turn split time after time until the *bone* contains a large number of alien *veins*. The *veins* descended from strangers exist under the disadvantage that they are not allowed any part in the government,[3] but are at the same time expected to contribute

[1] "Vein" is the literal translation of this word. I have discovered no sociological term in the English language exactly comparable to it, and hence have decided that to translate it literally, and to render this translation consistently throughout, will be less confusing to the reader than to leave it in its Berber form. In describing a highly complex social organization such as is found in the Rif clarity is of greater importance than philological exactitude.

[2] "Bone" is the literal translation, and has been retained through lack of any exact equivalent, although either "sib" or "gens" might be loosely applied. The endogamic character of the bone is not implied in either of these terms.

[3] Wherever the Riffian type of government is found, this is true. Under the Arab system the stranger restriction naturally cannot apply.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Outside, the guests eat. In the old days in many places a friend of the groom provided a tub of *seksu*, so large and so full that it took four men to carry it, lifting it by chain handles on the sides, and ten men could sit around it eating at once. Another man would bring a spouted pot full of honey mixed with melted butter, which he would pour on the *seksu* as dry spots were uncovered. When a guest was through he made way for another, and when all were through they re-assembled and threw coins as a gift to the groom into what remained of the *seksu*. The usual amount for each to throw in was a dollar. Since the discontinuance of the practice of serving such large tubs of *seksu*, the money is thrown into smaller bowls of *seksu* and into brass trays. Sometimes enemies or rivals throw increasingly large sums into the *seksu* in order to shame and exceed each other until one has run out of funds, when the other gloats over his rival's discomfiture. When a man thus runs out of money he may throw in cartridges, knives, or any other negotiable object. One famous instance is related wherein a man led his mule into the room and backed it into the tub, after he had thrown in everything else he possessed but his clothes.

Defloration of the bride does not necessarily take place on this night, since the couple is often extremely shy, especially if both are very young. If coitus takes place on the final night of the wedding, a portion of the bride's clothing or a cloth specially intended for the purpose is passed through the door and around among the guests, as proof of the bride's virginity. If the defloration takes place on a later occasion, the family of the groom holds a rapidly assembled celebration, called the *shahad er kreir*, to celebrate the event. If the bride is not a virgin the groom may send her home and get his money back, or may keep her and get back a portion of his money. In case he is fond of her he may do nothing about it, postponing the official defloration until some time when he can falsify the tokens of virginity. Such indulgence usually happens only when it is the groom who has deflowered her before marriage. If he keeps her without making any such exhibition, real or false, no action is taken by the community, but the couple starts its married life with an unsavory reputation. Fear of incurring the wrath of the bride's family sometimes prevents the groom from sending back a hymenless bride, much as he may wish to do so.

There is a tradition in the Rif that the *jus primae noctis* was formerly practiced in certain tribes of the Werghan Senhaja: a certain man from el Kelaa of Beni Ulid was sent for to attend weddings in Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Fenassa, Ulad Azam, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Zrarka, and Beni Krama, where he was feasted during all the days of the ceremony, and on the night of the bride's arrival deflowered and then left her. The man is said to be dead and the custom discontinued. The Riffians tell the story as a joke on the Senhajans, and although this circumstance does not necessarily render the tale false it does not increase its chances of being true.

The marriage of a divorced woman is everywhere carried out with less ceremony than that of a girl who is being married for the first time. In the area in which the *sabbain errarit* is chanted, the brother of a divorced woman does not mount on the mule behind her. The same is true of the marriage of a widow.

Residence of the couple after marriage may be matrilocal, patrilocal, in the house of a brother of the groom, or, when possible, in a separate house. Matrilocal residence occurs when the groom is a newcomer to the *bone* and serves the bride's father, as a share-laborer; residence in the house of the groom's father or brother takes place when the groom is not wealthy enough to build a new house or buy an unoccupied one; residence in the house of

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

591 the brother instead of that of the father depends on whether or not the father is living, and whether or not the brother has paid for the wedding, for the bride, or for both.

587 In the case of the levirate, which has been discussed under inheritance, the newly-married widow usually remains with her children in the house of her first husband, to which the new husband comes as a visitor rather than as a regular occupant. All wives who have been married in any way other than through the levirate usually live in the same house together.

Not only is the levirate a common feature of Riffian society, but the sororate is also practiced. A man whose wife dies young is expected to marry one of her sisters in her place, and no fee is demanded for the second one. A man cannot, however, marry his wife's sister during the lifetime of the first one.

595 Polygyny in the Rif is more often the result of the function of the levirate than the wholly voluntary marriage of more than one wife. Only men of unusual wealth ordinarily marry more than one wife from choice. Women given a man of a different *bone* by means of a magical compulsion, the purpose of which is the alliance of the two *bones*, form an additional class of plural wives.

589 Such is the social economy of the Riffians that spinsters are practically non-existent.

DIVORCE

586 If a husband and his wife both desire a divorce, the clerk gives her a paper making her free to remarry and she goes back to the house of her parents.

If the wife desires a divorce and the husband does not, the wife may go to the house of her parents to live. If she remains there more than fifteen days without returning to her husband's house she is automatically divorced and is entitled to a paper to that effect from the clerk. This procedure is not as easy as it sounds, however, since the woman's parents may object to the divorce and send her back again by force.

The husband may send envoys, usually his father and brothers, to the house of his wife's parents to slaughter a goat and prepare a meal there, which action serves as a magical compulsion upon the owner of the house to accede to their wishes. The ultimate decision as to whether or not the wife remains all of the fifteen days depends upon the attitude of her parents, the strength of her husband's desire to get her back, and the relative importance of the two *veins* involved. If the wife is from a different *bone* from that of the husband serious hostilities may result.

A husband seldom divorces a wife against her will except for infidelity, but he may divorce her for lesser offenses if he desires or dares. He may if he wishes divorce her for failure to bear him children, though in this case he usually marries a second wife and keeps the first one as well.

A woman who wishes to be divorced and cannot, on account of the opposition of her family and of her husband, may run away from the tribe with her lover, if she has one; or alone, if she has not and is sufficiently courageous. Women who have run away on account of unfortunate marriages or as a consequence of being caught in adultery sometimes go to Fez and become prostitutes. So much trouble can be caused a man by a wife whom he has married against her will that few men are willing to undertake the liability of doing so.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The houses are widely scattered up and down the mountains, each one being at least three hundred meters away from the next. Its construction and situation reflect the independent spirit of its owner. Almost always isolated to at least this extent, such a dwelling is usually the residence of a man, his unmarried brothers an sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This is only part of the family; the rest of it, living in similar houses the usual distance away, includes the man's married brothers and their wives and unmarried children. Thus the family, as it is know in Aith Wuryāghil, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; when the daughters marry, they go to live with their husbands' people, for this is a patrilineal and patrilocal society. This extended family or *jājghū* (pl. *ijūjgha)* is a cooperative economic unit; the affiliations of in-marrying wives are with it rather than with the families from which they came. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old *jājghū* splits into as many new *ijūjgha* as there were married brothers originally.

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the elders of the *jājghū*, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two *'adūl* proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all, when the father dies; but with many sons, the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit; quarrels may develop, in which case the land is divided up among the sons, each one looking after his own share. The inheritance system follows standard Islamic practice, with the portion of one son equalling that of two daughters. If daughters whose share of the family property includes land marry into other villages or political sections, they are often induced to sell out their own holdings to their brothers so that the land will remain securely in the hands of the family. These are

592 593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age 883 [785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time. [584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage, 885 593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in [591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the [594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own. 883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and 885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council 623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he 616 794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].

575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced 593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there 586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

591 Neolocality is
178 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization. [613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijuiga [596] traditional social obligations are still extant. [602]

621 The final social unit in the Rif is the local community or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

[1] [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives, and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
847 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child
848 usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

592 593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age 883 [785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time.

[584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage, 885 593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in [591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the

[594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own. 883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and 885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council 623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he 616 794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].

595 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced 593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there 586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

583 The foundation of the nuclear family is through marriage,
584 which in the Rif is a "contract of buying and selling"[27], for, as the result of an amount (i.e. of money) stipulated by her father, a woman becomes her husband's absolute property[28]. A petition is made by the father or legal representatives of the woman; he, or
583 they, fix the bride-price (ssdhāq) and the manner of payment. This
584 contract, until very recent times, was unwritten[29], and the fact
212 that the jma'ath knew of the agreement was sufficient (to make it binding). Even today (1935), most old men do not have paper (i.e.
583 documents--r-knwaghadh, sing. r-kinghadh.)[30] By virtue of this
584 contract, a woman, who is never her own mistress, changes owners
562 and becomes the property of her husband, who uses and abuses her as
593 such, always for his own benefit, either improving her lot or
586 abandoning her[31].

583 Of all the acts which must be performed prior to marriage, none is as important as (payment of) the bride-price; and the day that the boy's father and the girl's father are together in the latter's house, accounts are settled and the former hands the bride-price over to the latter. From this sum, the bride's father buys his daughter's trousseau, with an advance on account from the groom; the latter's representatives, some friends and a faih are also in attendance. Part of the bride-price is given to the father (immediately) so that he can buy clothing for his daughter; the rest of this clothing is bought by the groom; and the remainder of the bride-price is paid in money[32].

562 anyone, not even their families, nor can they leave their house to work, visit or travel, attend feasts, markets[39] or saints' tombs, without previous authorization from their husbands, who tell them how long [593] [684] they may stay away from home. A man may correct his wife's faults in any way he wishes, and if she is guilty of adultery, he may kill her[40]. If he has more than one wife, he sleeps with each in turn.

571 e) Concept of Turns:—(The notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" is a cardinal one in Rifian society.) There are "turns" of gift-giving (r-ghramth) at weddings, of the allocation of power (political hegemonies of families and even of tribes), of (usage of irrigation) water, or corvees (tuiza), of theft (dhukkardha), of vengeance or reprisal (ar-raqba[41]), for (taking barley to) the fqih, or harkas (war-parties or punitive expeditions), of pasturage (dhwara)[42], and even of plows and animals during plowing time (if, as often was the case during the "Republik", there was only one pair of animals in the community). Rifian society is, thus, a turn-based society, and the term nubth (pl. nubath), in Rifianized Arabic, is so widespread as to include the inhabitants of a village.[43]

571 559 The case may be cited of a restless ex-qa'id (tribal chief under the Spanish administration) who, desirous of returning to power, constantly pestered the administration with suggestions that he be [181] readmitted to office. As is logical and as a good Rifian, he wanted to be able to make a resounding exit, with his head held high, if he did not get the job. He wanted a responsible position in the regional government of the Territorio del Rif (in al-Husaima, then Villa Sanjurjo), and when he finally realized that his accusations

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
848 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

592 593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age 883 [785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time. [584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage, 885 593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in [591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the [594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own. 883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and 885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council 623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he 616 794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].

595 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced 593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there 586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants [114] beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

[423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, [614] do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most [829] Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

000

65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since [648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, [656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being [124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

[114] It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi [788] r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide A remarks on inheritance of property by women). What Blanco does not say, [593] however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and [848] the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A, [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated [178] and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of [621] the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with [595] multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The [369] urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the [593] man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

584 581 The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society [571] was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- [602] ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is [178] guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy [571] overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 792 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
[521] circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 562 586 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initiating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 [782] [571] Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match, the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty (*'ar*) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of
[593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will
[464] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as
[427] *akhammas* or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 581 582 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [194] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the profes- [533] sional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 524 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 571 431

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

KINSHIP GROUPS AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS

[594] The smallest social grouping in the Rif is, of course, the biological family, consisting of father, mother, and offspring; but the importance of this fundamental group is often obscured by the large family group called *awar* (plural *iwawen*), or "vein." [1] The *vein* consists of a father, his wives, descendants, and descendants' wives, and his brothers, their wives, descendants, and descendants' wives. Since Riffian society is patrilineal and families are usually patronymic, daughters who have married into another *vein* become affiliated with the group into which they have married, and offspring of these daughters are considered to belong to their fathers' *veins*. When the brothers composing the oldest generation in a *vein* die, it splits into as many *veins* as there were brothers. Thus the sons of each deceased brother become the brothers forming the elder stratum of the new *vein*. In this way during the course of generations a single union of a man and his wife may give rise to numerous related *veins*.

These related *veins* collectively take the name of *ighs* (plural *ikhsan*), or "bone." [2] The *bone* is, however, something more important than a mere collection of related *veins*. In regions of sedentary life it generally takes the form of a village, or politically independent section of a village, and may include *veins* descended not only from the eponymous ancestor of the *bone* but also from strangers who have been adopted into the *bone*. The arrival of these strangers who become ancestors of spurious *veins* is due to the Riffian custom of selling property in order to pay fines or blood money assessed by the governing body. A man who has sold all his landed property and livestock in order to meet such an obligation feels ashamed to remain in his own village and often fears reprisal for his offence, and migrates, generally swiftly and secretly, to some other part of the Rif. When he has arrived at a sufficiently distant village, he hires himself out to a landowner in that village, or, if he seems to be a valuable potential adjunct to the village's military forces, is given land by popular subscription. He thus becomes a member of the *bone* into which his ill-fortune has thrust him, and is expected to marry into this *bone*, generally taking as wife a daughter of the man who first employed and sheltered him, if that man happens to have a daughter available. The newcomer and his wife become the forebears of a new *vein* in the *bone*, and this new *vein* may in turn split time after time until the *bone* contains a large number of alien *veins*. The *veins* descended from strangers exist under the disadvantage that they are not allowed any part in the government,[3] but are at the same time expected to contribute

[1] "Vein" is the literal translation of this word. I have discovered no sociological term in the English language exactly comparable to it, and hence have decided that to translate it literally, and to render this translation consistently throughout, will be less confusing to the reader than to leave it in its Berber form. In describing a highly complex social organization such as is found in the Rif clarity is of greater importance than philological exactitude.

[2] "Bone" is the literal translation, and has been retained through lack of any exact equivalent, although either "sib" or "gens" might be loosely applied. The endogamic character of the bone is not implied in either of these terms.

[3] Wherever the Riffian type of government is found, this is true. Under the Arab system the stranger restriction naturally cannot apply.

602 571 613 619 596 2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton[21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613 Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594 3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a 594 595 183 [554] conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny 595 182 [181] is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
594 595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 848 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
768 [587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e., old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
592 593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

592
593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age
883 (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of
[785] Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time.
[584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage,
885
593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in
[591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the
[594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own.
883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and
885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council
623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he
616
794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].
575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced
593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there
586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

• 594
596
613
621
623
646
619

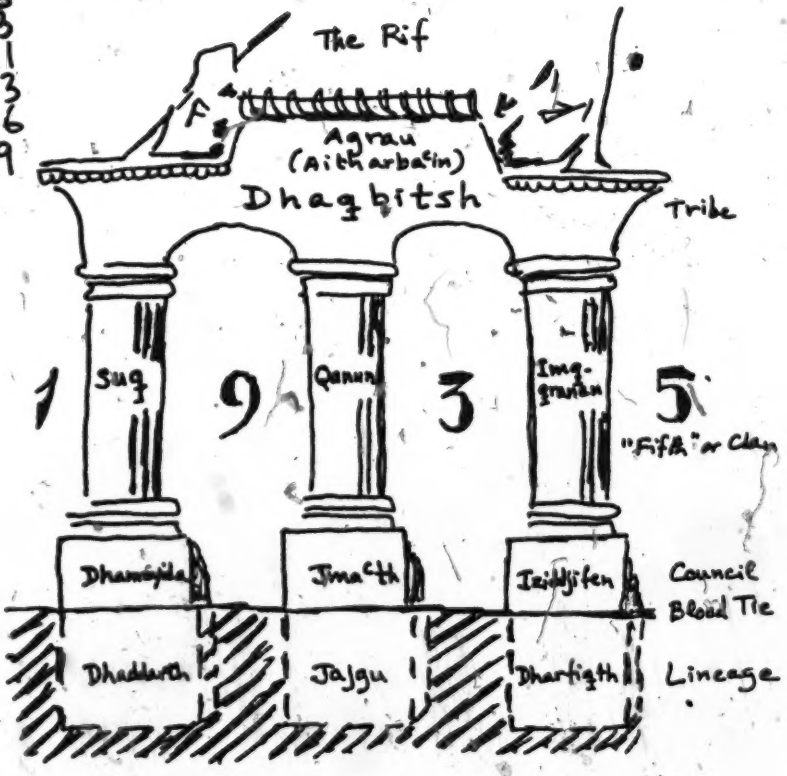


Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

535
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (tajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

FOOTNOTE: A

613
614
619
621
623
594
596
114

113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right, we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'th (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling isIifen), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A, [See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 J) Note on the Rifian Jma'th (Noticia sobre la Yemáa)

N.B. Undated MSS., probably written 1934-1936, Catalogue No. M1/6, Sección Africa, National Library, Madrid.

"An old, confused and nostalgic tribal memory of which so many people are unaware, although they all utilize it and nobody expects it. How does it work, and how can it best be reactivated?"

Organs and Functions:

621 613 1) The jma'th is the association of several lineages (grupos familiares) or dharfiqin toward social ends and objectives. It constitutes the elementary unit of Rifian social structure.[1]

[691] 2) It is personified in the iziddjifen, the headmen of these lineage-groups and their authentic representatives, zealous guardians of Custom (qa'ida), which is often codified into written qanums established during an agraw or council-meeting.

3) It is visibly manifested in the mosque, the local community and the lands which belong to it, all of which give rise to a spatial discontinuity and elastic boundaries, the origin of not a few quarrels.

4) Objectives: to regulate the coexistence of these (lineage) groups, to watch over them and to administrate their common patrimony.

5) Obligations: these were to attend to communal services and property (prayer,...education, hospitality, external relations, harka, prestations, collective responsibility and distribution of property, lands, irrigation, spoils of war, and fines), with the exception, in theory, of anything relating to personal and possessory status (marriage, inheritance).

---

[594] [114] 1--The elementary social unit, in the Rif as elsewhere, is the elementary or nuclear family, and hence Blanco is here, again, in error. A more easily defensible argument might have been a consideration of the jma'th as a kind of elementary political unit.

627 very scarce and will soon give out altogether.

627 This period is that of smoothing over. Those responsible hide
614 their possessions, assure (the imgharen) that they have nothing, only a goat and a cow and a tiny plot of land: this is all they can offer, along with their house. The rest had been mortgaged[30], etc. The imgharen, sure in their convictions, do not agree....The members of the victim's family deny having any more possessions.

The neighbors of those responsible for the crime who are also obliged to put up lodgers become impatient and denounce possible concealments. The imgharen continue without deciding, and then their buying begins. Finally a moment arrives in which they hear no more offers or denunciations of those responsible for the crime. All, including the coterie, grumble, become tired and begin to desert, finally going back
627 to their homes. The notables, satiated and fed up, see that this is
614 the time to stop in the struggle and investigations, because of what
613 they hurried to auction when it was taken over, the gross value of which they distribute equally among the lineages concerned in the
● [594] agreement, except for that of the man who violated it. This distribution, which the representatives of the lineages present parcel out among their lineage-mates, must in turn be parcelled out by the latter among the nuclear families, and by these among the members of each
[262] family. And thus, one fine day, the imgharen and their numerous coterie, nourished with barley, bread, butter and hard-boiled eggs, abandon those places which they have left as clean as the palms of their hands; for Rifian notions of justice are now satisfied and the lineage responsible for the crime remains in misery.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

591 the brother instead of that of the father depends on whether or not the father is living, and whether or not the brother has paid for the wedding, for the bride, or for both.

587 In the case of the levirate, which has been discussed under inheritance, the newly-married widow usually remains with her children in the house of her first husband, to which the new husband comes as a visitor rather than as a regular occupant. All wives who have been married in any way other than through the levirate usually live in the same house together.

Not only is the levirate a common feature of Riffian society, but the sororate is also practiced. A man whose wife dies young is expected to marry one of her sisters in her place, and no fee is demanded for the second one. A man cannot, however, marry his wife's sister during the lifetime of the first one.

595 Polygyny in the Rif is more often the result of the function of the levirate than the wholly voluntary marriage of more than one wife. Only men of unusual wealth ordinarily marry more than one wife from choice. Women given a man of a different *bone* by means of a magical compulsion, the purpose of which is the alliance of the two *bones*, form an additional class of plural wives.

589 Such is the social economy of the Riffians that spinsters are practically non-existent.

DIVORCE

586 If a husband and his wife both desire a divorce, the clerk gives her a paper making her free to remarry and she goes back to the house of her parents.

If the wife desires a divorce and the husband does not, the wife may go to the house of her parents to live. If she remains there more than fifteen days without returning to her husband's house she is automatically divorced and is entitled to a paper to that effect from the clerk. This procedure is not as easy as it sounds, however, since the woman's parents may object to the divorce and send her back again by force.

The husband may send envoys, usually his father and brothers, to the house of his wife's parents to slaughter a goat and prepare a meal there, which action serves as a magical compulsion upon the owner of the house to accede to their wishes. The ultimate decision as to whether or not the wife remains all of the fifteen days depends upon the attitude of her parents, the strength of her husband's desire to get her back, and the relative importance of the two *reins* involved. If the wife is from a different *bone* from that of the husband serious hostilities may result.

A husband seldom divorces a wife against her will except for infidelity, but he may divorce her for lesser offenses if he desires or dares. He may if he wishes divorce her for failure to bear him children, though in this case he usually marries a second wife and keeps the first one as well.

A woman who wishes to be divorced and cannot, on account of the opposition of her family and of her husband, may run away from the tribe with her lover, if she has one; or alone, if she has not and is sufficiently courageous. Women who have run away on account of unfortunate marriages or as a consequence of being caught in adultery sometimes go to Fez and become prostitutes. So much trouble can be caused a man by a wife whom he has married against her will that few men are willing to undertake the liability of doing so.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfiqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlis are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jārīs, muqaddams, shaikhs, qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfiqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives awar (properly azwar), or «veins», and ighs, or «bone», corresponding to jajghu and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word ighs refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

602 571 613 619 596 2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton[21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613 Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594 3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a 594 595 183 [554] conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny 595 182 [181] is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
848 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated 178 and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of 621 the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with 595 multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The 369 urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the 593 man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society 571 was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- 602 ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is 178 guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy 571 overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into 792

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East

Ref on3

[Village of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin]

[278] soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part
813 of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it
361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along
621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque.
368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro-
173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and
621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen
● 595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine of their fathers

1:Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif 1920's
[Village of Ubad 'Abd al-Mumin]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.

613
614
596

[For additional information on the thārfiqth (pl. thārfíqth) or dharfiqth, a form of clan-community composed of extended families (jājghū) and including the families of all the sons of an original founding ancestor, see also Category 618.]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The houses are widely scattered up and down the mountains, each one being at least three hundred meters away from the next. Its construction and situation reflect the independent spirit of its owner. Almost always isolated to at least this extent, such a dwelling is usually the residence of a man, his unmarried brothers an sisters, his wife or wives, and his unmarried children. This is only part of the family; the rest of it, living in similar houses the usual distance away, includes the man's married brothers and their wives and unmarried children. Thus the family, as it is know in Aith Wuryāghil, may consist of anywhere from one to ten separate households, and may number as many as fifty people, spread over three to four generations. Once the sons marry, they usually set up housekeeping on their own, but always within the family circle; when the daughters marry, they go to live with their husbands' people, for this is a patrilineal and patrilocal society. This extended family or *jājghū* (pl. *ijūjgha)* is a cooperative economic unit; the affiliations of in-marrying wives are with it rather than with the families from which they came. Once the last surviving member of the oldest generation dies off, the old *jājghū* splits into as many new *ijūjgha* as there were married brothers originally.

Ownership of property is concentrated in the hands of the elders of the *jājghū*, who parcel it out to their married sons on a provisional or on a permanent basis. If the former, the land goes back for redistribution among all the sons after the father's death; if the latter, the favored son needs a document signed by two *'adūl* proving that the land is his. If there are few sons, the eldest, if he is a sensible and honest man, is usually chosen to act as property administrator for all, when the father dies; but with many sons, the amount of land becomes too difficult to administer as a single unit; quarrels may develop, in which case the land is divided up among the sons, each one looking after his own share. The inheritance system follows standard Islamic practice, with the portion of one son equalling that of two daughters. If daughters whose share of the family property includes land marry into other villages or political sections, they are often induced to sell out their own holdings to their brothers so that the land will remain securely in the hands of the family. These are

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

the essential features of the *jājghū* as an extended family group but its importanoe in the total social structure is far overshadowed by a larger and more durable unit called *thārfīqth* (pl. *thārfīqīn*).

This grouping, a form of clan-community, is an amplification of the *jājghū* by inclusion of the families of *all* the sons of the original founder-ancestor, not just of one of them (which constitutes the *jājghū*). This ancestor is apt to be at least three or four ascending generations removed from the speaker, if not more; he is the speaker's furthest remembereb ascendant in the male line and the man from whom the *thārfīqth* takes its name. Within the *thārfīqth*, the various *ijujgha* form its componet parts. Thus, in the *thārfīqth* of Iḥaddūshen or Aith Ḥaddūsh in the village of of Aith Mūsā u 'Amar (Aith 'Alī), the component *ijūjghā* are the families of 'Alī, Sa'īd, Muḥammādi, Muḥand and 'Abdallāh, all sons of Ḥaddūsh, the common ancestor of all; in the *thārfīqth* of Aith Sa'īd in the same village the *ijūjgha* are the families of Ḥmid, 'Aisā and 'Abdallāh. A *thārfīqth* may have a depth of five to nine generations from its ancestral head to its youngest living member; it may number some 200 living people, distributed throught ten to twenty households. In general, it constitutes a separate barrio or *ḥauma* in a village; its political existence as such is undeniable, for the village council members (*izdīfen*, sing. *azdīf*, «head») are the elders of each *thārfīqth*. Not all of these elders are kin, however, for it is unusual, as we shall see, for all the *thārfīqīn* in one village to be related to each other.

Preferred marriage takes the form of exogamy between the *ijūjgha* and endogamy within the *thārfīqth*. Instances of parallel or cross cousin marriages of the Arab pattern may be spotted in most large genealogies, but they are rare; on the other hand, exogamous marriages into other *thārfīqīn* in the same village or in the same political section are frequently contracted. Marriages into other political sections or into other tribes are less common; these are usually contracted by men of influence for political reasons and in the old days such unions formed the basis of a complicated network of alliance systems called *liff* (pl. *lifūf*), which will be given extensive treatment further on. Weddings usually take place when the boy is sixteen to seventeen years old and the girl fourteen to fifteen.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfīqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlis are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jārīs, muqaddams, shaikhs, qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfīqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives awar (properly axwar), or «veins», and ighs, or «bones», corresponding to jajghu and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word ighs refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

618 596 Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other, native *ijūjgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijūjgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfiqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfiqīn* of their own. All the families in the villages of Bū Zdūr and Marrūwī, and most of those of Thirkuzīn, in Aith 'Abdallāh, are of this type; they are still considered by the locals as foreigners from Aith 'Ammarth, although they banded together long ago to found a new *thārfiqth* of their own, Aith Ḥandu Dāwūd, which has now grown into a *farīqath* or canton.

In the Wuryāghlī sense of being a «whole family», the internal solidarity of the *thārfiqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijūjgha* of a *thārfiqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfiqth* as a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfiqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence. Although murders within the *thārfiqth* 578 682 did occur, they were very rare and considered unnatural crimes; the 618 local holy man, *sharīf* or *murābiṭ* was brought around at once to 596 appease the bereaved and to act as moderator, and the offenders were either killed or exiled immediately to prevent a feud from spreading. To date, I know personally of only one case of one man killing another in the same *thārfiqth* (in Tharwa n Muḥammādi 'Alūsh, Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī): he was instantly shot by one of the sons of the dead man, and as he himself had no sons or brothers to carry on the feud, the problem ended then and there. Equilibrium was completely reestablished when the killer married his victim's sister, his own parallel cousin.

618 628 Each *thārfiqth*, however, was usually at war with its neighbors. Minor quarrels over ownership of land or of irrigation water could and did lead to blood feuds of such extraordinary savageness that on some occasions they did not stop until one or the other of the participating families was completely wiped out. The smaller the group,

602 571 613 619 596

2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family ajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton [21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613

Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or ajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594

3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a

594 595 183 [554]

conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny

595 182 [181]

is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

562 428 [421] [361] Women are always considered as minors[52]. They have no property and do not, in practice, inherit. It would never even occur to a woman to ask for her portion of the inheritance; this is, indeed, very logical in a rural and bellicose society (whose settlement morphology consists of) dispersed dwellings, for otherwise it would 562 have been impossible to defend a woman against bold attacks. She can only take refuge in either her husband's house or that of her agnates. But women wear new clothes, sing, and dance, etc., at weddings, and at least they seem happy; and they are able to plague their husbands in many, many ways.

596 613 4) Jajgu (pl. ijujga--so-called in Aith Waryaghar; jij, pl. ijajjen, "wall-peg",--also, alliteratively, "penis"--in Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; and azwar, pl. isuran, "vein",--also, alliteratively, "penis" in the Eastern Rif):--This is the most difficult social unit to study, because of its intermediacy[53]. It is one of the "family branches"[54] (i.e. a branch of a dharfiqth or patri lineage). I 596 613 really cannot say more than this because informants, also, are unable 114 to explain it properly. In my earliest notes, it appeared to me to be a uterine descent group (SIC!). If a man had agnatic descendants from three wives, he thus produced three "branches" of which he was the "trunk". I now (1935) believe this to be the case, but am not completely sure, for if a man who has only one wife has three sons, these also, as points of descent, form (the bases of) three ijujga. In any case, it is understood that branches or ijujga originate from each type (i.e. point of descent), but I feel that the more important category is that originating from a different mother; and, although

596 613 114 in her role in the family the wife does not count nor is her name perpetuated, there is no doubt that the blood-tie is different, as among our "brothers" and "half-brothers", and I therefore believe this interpretation to be correct.[55]

In any event, the jajgu is an important social grouping, as such in questions of succession, inheritance and collective responsibility as in the division of benefits, fines and communal property. These questions are simple enough for a Rifian in his own mind; and he thinks the question of what jajgu or jma'ath he belongs to such a simple one that he is astonished if the investigator asks him why. To this he does not readily give an explanation; furthermore, even if he (himself) wants to learn, he sees no benefit in teaching (others). He understands his own affairs up to the precise limit which is necessary for him in order to safeguard his own rights and interests. Beyond this point, he is not interested.[56]

596 613 [623] If the jajgu head is incapable of representing his group properly, there is always someone whose courage or polemical attitude may result in his being the spokesman. The headman of the jajgu is called aziddif or aziddjif (pl. iziddifen or iziddjifen,[57] literally "head"), and, with other such headmen, the jma'ath or council[58] of the elementary social unit is formed. These iziddjifen are thus the authentic representatives of the blood or kin groups which in Rifian are called dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin), or "family group" (i.e. lineage).

613 5) Dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin):--...When a Rifian says, "I am of the dharfiqth of so-and-so"[59], he means that so-and-so, in his own memory, is (usually) his most remote genealogical ascendant (on a step-by-step

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s,
614
623 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each other.[63]

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jajgu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, reception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the jma'th.

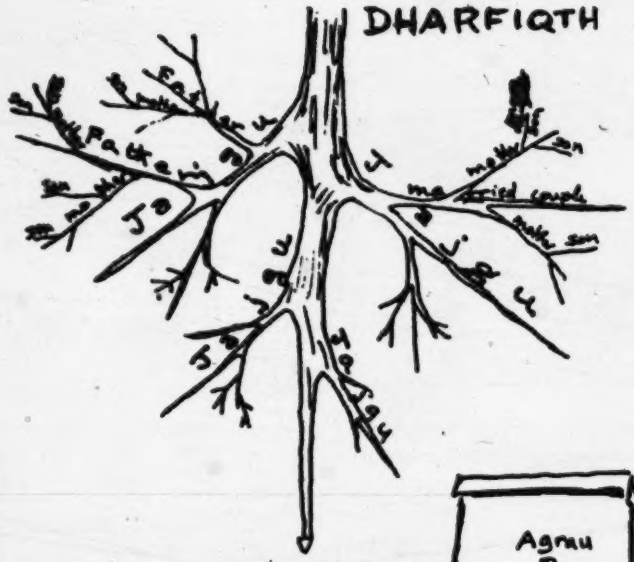
D) Position of Women:

562 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her
182 a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the can-
171 cellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains regards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance[64], when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look for friends to reinforce it.

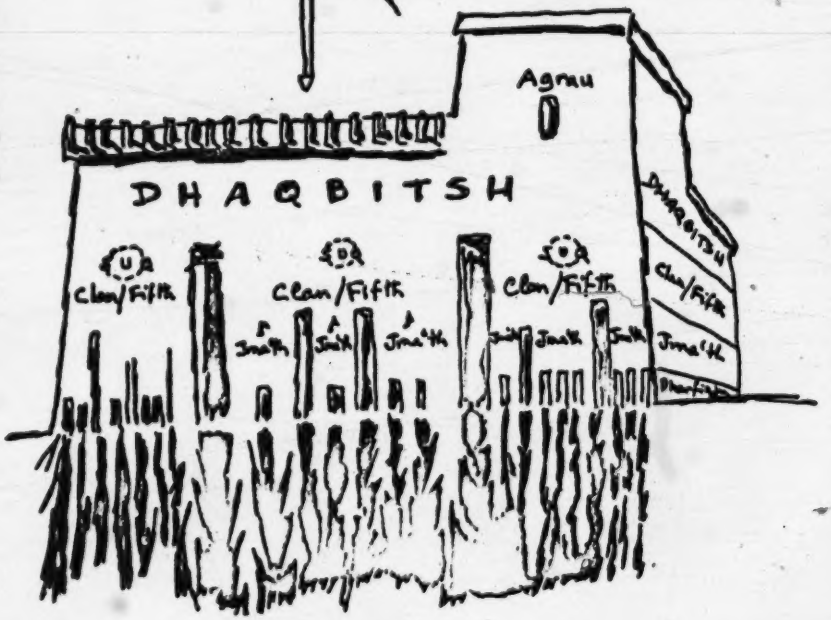
562 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly
627 revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as
628 their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

613
596



619
613
614
623
646
621



[P. 127-A]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

594
596
613
621
623
646
619

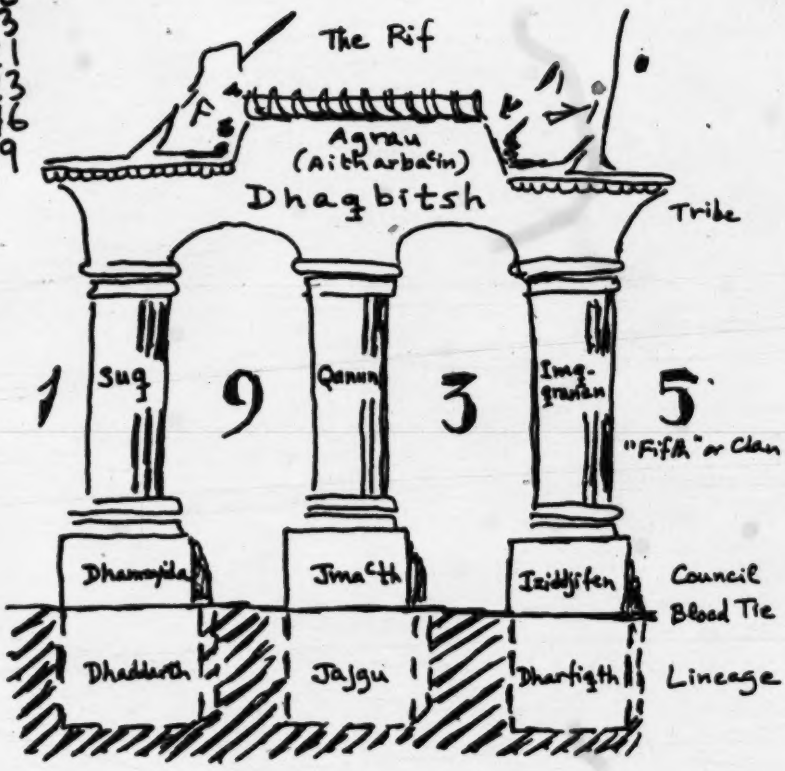
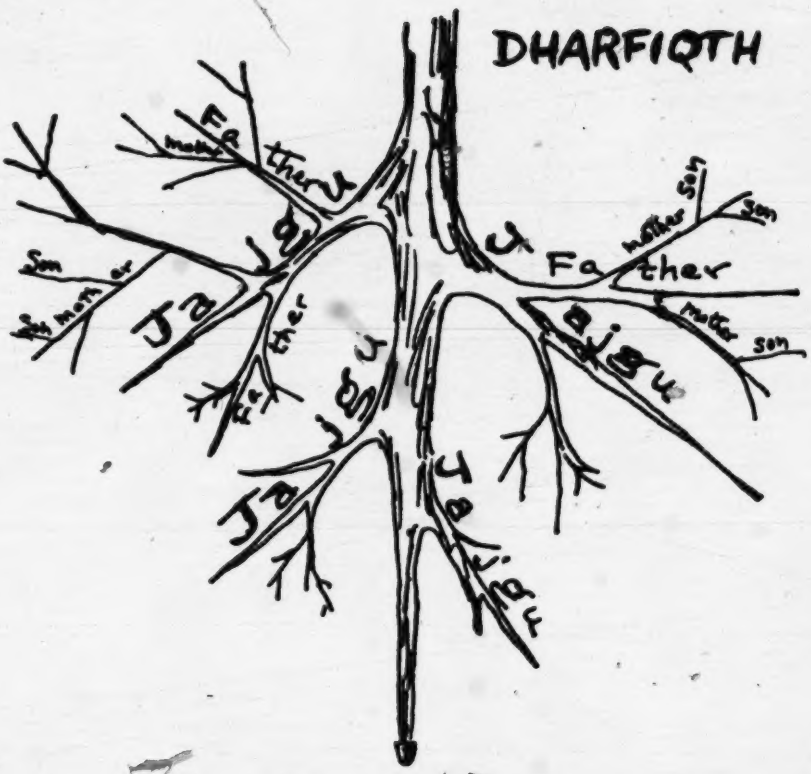


Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

613
596



[P. 127-C]

535
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

FOOTNOTE: A

613
614
619
621
623
594
596
114

113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right, we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'th (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling islifen), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A,[See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]

000 al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations 671 about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber 114 sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

177 5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of 67 any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, 279 why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

[554] 6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, [293] in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber- [114] speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

181 7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart 113 and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

000 8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

● [596]

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral [193] root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

312 uggugen) for the source or origin of irrigation ditches and as partitions of the waters on both banks. After a dam has been set up, built to hold as much water as possible, it is converted into a ditch-head, in which the necessary outlets are made, and it thus acts as the point of origin of the principal or primary ditches which have a permanent flow of water; these are usually two or three in number. Although [183] these outlets are irregular, the Rifians say that a half or a third of the water is utilized in distribution; and although this is what happens in practice, in theory the distribution is far from perfect, as the tribesmen do not take into account the width nor the depth of the outlets; and these are improvised, if not actually variable. The primary ditches are distributed and divided in this way into secondary branches, if these are necessary, in which the irrigation turns proper are initiated, which means that they only take up water for twenty-four hours; therefore, if there are four secondary ditches, each one [805] will take up water every four days. These secondary ditches are subdivided in turn into other tertiary branches, also of periodic or intermittent flow, which do not take up water other than during the day or at night; and these originate the irrigation furrows of individuals which do not take up any water other than at certain hours, which are determined by those of the principal daily prayers.

312 591 613 596 This distribution of irrigation water is intimately linked to the Rifian lineage system, to the dharfiqth (which tends to have a 24-hour turn) and its component ijujga, and it is completed with one order of turns begun in the tertiary ditches through which if one of these ditches, during its turn, takes up water during the daytime,

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some <u>qanuns</u> express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

312
591
613
596

It has a turn cycle of six days, which are distributed among the four lineages (dharfiqin), these in turn dividing their turns among their respective branches (ijujga), in the following order:

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Hammu; U Haddu)

2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Xikhrif; U Yihya u Musa)

3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Mis'aud u Yusif; W 'Alla w Ujdir)

4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Dris; W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan)

5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir

6th Day (24 hours): Zawith (Fisra and Andrusen--Ushannen--Ihaddallahan--Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi)[133]

On the seventh day, the sequence is repeated.

Sidd Dharga n-Bulma'iz: on the right bank. It begins, as does l-Bzimma, at Bu Harishen, crossing the river in order to divide its water with Dharga n Tfadhna, and each one of these three ditches receives one-third of the permanent flow taken in at Bu Harishen. It runs for a few kilometers and reaches the sea at Swani Waddai (Lower Swani). It moves three mills, the first belonging to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and 'Abdinnbi, the second to I'arhuthen and the third to Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru.[134]

(402)

It has a turn cycle of three days for the three dharfiqin indicated, and they in turn distribute the water among their ijujga, which make them up in their own way. The turn begins at the maghrib, or sunset prayer.

(805)

1st Day (24 hours): Imhauren: Aith 'Aru Hmid
Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid
Aith Muhand u Hmid
Aith Bu Dhimmus (only when water is scarce)[135]

312
571
613
596

2nd Day (24 hours): Dhifirasin: Aith Mhand u Yihya
Im'aruwen[136]

3rd Day (24 hours): r-Hujjaj: Aith r-'Arbi
Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
I'arhuthen[137]

312
571
182
613
[596]

We thus have, in the regimen of the ditch with which we are dealing, an excellent example of Rifian solidarity, observable in the turn of the Imhauren, as in times of dryness or drought, when they need more themselves, they hasten to aid their neighbors of Aith Bu Dhimmus (who are ordinarily limited to their own turn of hours of irrigation in another ditch, that of Thafadhna, as we shall see later), although by this the other three lineage branches or ijujga only harm themselves, because they defer one of their own turns by nine more days, and even if the turn is a small one in itself, they only receive it once every nine days.

312
571

For a better understanding of the mechanics of irrigation among Rifians, we shall study in greater detail the order which is followed in this ditch[138], for it is curious to observe how they have simplified it, in spite of the modifications which are introduced in the case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus, for example, with its intermittent (author's italics) rights, so as not to interrupt the turn in general; but, at the same time, how can we explain the miracle of how the thousands of Rifian irrigators and the labyrinth of ditches which traverse the Plain of al-Husaima do not produce any disturbances nor give rise to any incidents other than those occasioned by ignorance on the part of the Europeans, of which the Rifians of importance sometimes try to take advantage or the avarice of the fortunately few and ill-named "colons"?

312
571
613

We may see the ingenuity with which they resolve the problem of irrigation during twenty-four hours in a three-day turn, the same to each of the lineages of the ordinary turn as to the nine days in the exceptional case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus.

Ordinary turn:

1st Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid

2nd Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya

3rd Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Aith r-'Arbi

4th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

5th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Im'aruwen

6th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru

7th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith Muhand u Hmid

8th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya (again)

9th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--I'arhuthen (I'abbuthen, probably)

10th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid (again)

[596] And thus the turn is repeated, except for Dhifirasin, which with only two (irrigating) ijujga alternates between one and the other every time its turn comes around. We see here that in the ordinary turn the nubath (pl. of nubth, "turn") of Dhifirasin irrigate once every three days, while those of Imhauren and r-Hujjaj irrigate once every nine days. Now, if we insert Aith Bu Dhimmus into the picture, we see that Dhifirasin continues to irrigate once every three days and r-Hujjaj once every nine, both on the same day as before, while, on the other hand, because of this shift, Imhauren, to which dharfiqth the new irrigators belong[139], irrigates four out of five times once every nine days and once out of five times once every eighteen days, with the

Within the ar-rba
619 there was a council (jemas) held irregularly to discuss and
[628] settle judicial matters generally pertaining to the blood feud.
[554] Only the more important families within the ar-rba had representation on the council.

613 The first social unit which is directly reflective of kin ties is the dharfiqth. Whereas tribal and ar-rba names refer to place names generally, the dharfiqth invariably carries the name of a real person, i.e. Aith 'Abdallah or Aith al-Qasim. The members of this group consider that they have a common agnate although they may not be able to demonstrate the genealogical linkage to this ancestor. The group theoretically includes all the sons of the founding ancestor and their offspring. Some dharfiquin seem to have increased in number and power while others grew smaller either through decimation in feuds or from splintering into rival dharfiquin. Solidarity seems to have rested mainly on sentiment, and in such an explosive atmosphere this is perhaps too fragile a mechanism for maintaining agnatic descent groups.

613 The dharfiqth is made up of a varying number of jujgu
596 which are localized patrilineal extended families which may be regarded as minimal lineages. Each ijujga consists of a man, his wife or wives, his married sons and their wives and children, along with his unmarried sons and daughters. When the referent of the ijujga dies, all his sons form separate and new jujgu. The composition of the ijujga is today an idealization since few
000 households contain the above list of relatives. Neolocality is

591 Neolocality is
178 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization.
[613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfigth and ijuiga
[596] traditional social obligations are still extant.
[602]

The final social unit in the Rif is the local community
621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

[1] [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[14] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[15]

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[16] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency.[17] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family.[18] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 123–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[14] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[15] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[16] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[17] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[18] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

urban institutions are imposed by alien authorities. Such cities become parasites, drawing support from the rural countryside but offering little in exchange. The peasant population continues to look to its local markets for satisfaction of basic needs.

Hamlets versus Scattered Houses

Since they are walled, Moroccan cities begin and end abruptly. Pass through a gate and you are in the rural countryside. The type of landscape varies notably between the eastern and western parts of this zone. The basic distinction is between clustered settlements in the western areas and widely scattered houses in the Rif (fig. 15).

Clusters of ten to fifty houses make up the basic settlement pattern in Jbala, Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and along the Atlantic littoral. In these areas the

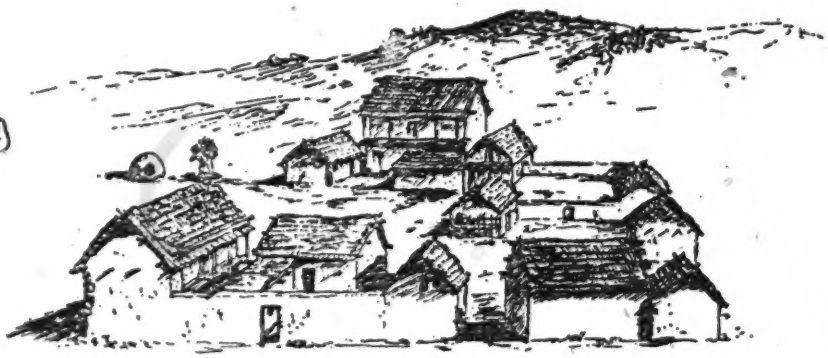


Fig. 16. Hamlet in Aith Seddath.

presence of an isolated house indicates that its owner has more than one place of residence; his first and most frequented home is generally with a cluster of several others. Isolated houses are usually of recent construction, and probably reflect the increased security introduced by the Spanish occupation. When it was no longer necessary to live close to trusted kinsmen, the more independent tribesmen settled on good land away from the ancestral hamlet.

The inhabitants of a hamlet are members of an extended family, formed of parents or grandparents, and the children of their sons. This unit does not break up unless the sons quarrel or the kin group becomes too large to be supported by the available land. Thus the basic unit of kinship, the biological family, is also the basic unit of settlement. Moroccans are averse to dividing up their land. When brothers inherit their father's land, they usually farm it jointly, and the eldest brother administers the property for all.

The growth of a hamlet follows the growth of a family. A newly married couple builds a new house, as close as possible to the husband's hamlet. Their first unit is a single hut, with a sunken area for domestic animals. As the livestock multiplies, another hut is erected to serve as a barn. When the sons of the pioneer couple marry, other huts are built adjoining the parent's home. The basic unit is extended into an L- or U- shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

actual owners of the machine are allowed to do so; and he collects from them the customary divisions of the oil which they squeeze. The village council of each *bone* makes out the list and the clerk writes it down and sees that it is followed.

Another duty of this latter official is making out papers of adoption for strangers who come into the *bone* to live and who wish to become affiliated with it.

The clerk also has charge of wills and inheritance. The head of each family may make a will on his deathbed, or at some time when he fears imminent death. To do this he summons the clerk, who writes down the terms of the bequests and takes the paper away with him. After the man has died he produces this paper, makes its contents public, and administers the estate.

Although most men, in making their wills, follow the traditional rules of inheritance, some bequeath their property unequally among their heirs, at times cutting individuals off entirely, and leave property to mosques or saints' tombs. No man is permitted, however, to disinherit his wife or wives.

In each tribe there is supposed to be a judge, appointed by the tribal council, and holding his office for life or good behavior. He has received a diploma from one of the four institutions previously mentioned. His appointment does not usually come, however, until long after his fulfilment of the requirements for this position. He is almost always a native of the tribe in which he is employed.

There was one in Beni Urriaghel, one in Beni Tuzin, and one in Gzennaya, at the time the Christians entered. The first judge in the Rif in modern times was Si Abd el Rahman of the Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya, who had dwelt long in Fez and married a Fezzi wife. The Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel decided, about fifty years ago, that they would like to have a judge, and therefore sent men of the Gzennaya to Fez to persuade Si Abd el Rahman to come. On the way back from Fez, the Beni Ulid, who did not know that he was a judge, attacked him and his bodyguard in the night, killing him and capturing his wife and children. What remained of the bodyguard returned to the Rif and called together a great council of the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Beni Ulishk, Beni Said, and Metalsa. All these councillors, with their retainers, invaded Beni Ulid and devastated it, taking back the prisoners and loot, and exacting a fine of four thousand five hundred dollars.

Si Abd el Rahman's eldest son was made judge in his place, after him his brother, and after his brother his sons, in turn. Beni Urriaghel and Beni Tuzin later each established a judge, certified by that of Beni Yunes. Several others were set up and deposed in later times.

Every year each *fifth* presents the judge with a cow, five or six goats, and large quantities of all staple agricultural products. The judge in this way receives a large income, but is expected to spend most or all of it on hospitality. He settles disputes concerning landed property. Contestants bring their papers of ownership to him, and he decides which one really owns the property, then signs and seals the paper of the winner. The plaintiffs bring him presents of meat and sugar — any further gift would be considered bribery.

In the Senhaja Sghir the Sherif of Targuist acts as judge, except in Taghsuth, where there has been a judge for generations. Until the time of Abd el Krim, however, the judge of Taghsuth was influenced by the Sherif of Targuist.

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [191] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [191] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[614] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 62] 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

177 Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when
671 Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are compli-
779 mentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

181 5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

602 1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of
571 the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe, from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in
613 "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which
621 units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although
619 they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

571 2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted
(602) by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

602 571 613 619 596 2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton [21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613 Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594 3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a 594 595 183 [554] conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny 595 182 [181] is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

616 619 648 173 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of 616 619 182 disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or [602] if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by iziddjifen or imgharen".

2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided
(682) up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for instance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clans in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an agraw, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97, and Coon, Flesh of the Wild Ox, New York: Norrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igziwnayen, who pronounce the word ayraw.

(628) 4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why:
(114) because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

5--The term harka did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a tabur), each one of which was under a qa'id designated by the number of men under his command--qa'id at-tn'ash (of 12), qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin (of 25), qa'id l-khamsin (of 50), qa'id l-Miya (of 100), and qa'id attabur (of a tabur, or 300).
(171) However, the idea of the harka had been there previously, even if the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

6--In actual fact, those imgharen already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

(602) 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native harkas in Spanish service.

(114) 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, todo el mundillo rifeño, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

616 619 642 114 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic", "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though

616 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[614] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

616
[62]
[202
[114]
sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation, make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at the matter in a slightly different way.

[539] There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows: "Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within
616 clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr,
614 pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even con-
619 tinuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were "external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the former more to higher ones.

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not continue ad infinitum.

616 The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their
614 terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big"
619 liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or "smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes
[124] would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe (in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chrin--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

671 613 628 728 554 by such a simple and voluntary act it was converted at the same time to an arbiter of incidents and an executor of decisions. The function is not gratuitous as in modern states, for if in the latter the contributor pays indirectly, he does so directly in the Rif. Their covetousness thus awakened, they evidently insured temporarily against feud renewal, but they also stipulated that it would revive the embers of their hatred.

671 613 628 182 [183] These agreements or inter-lineage truces obeyed a double mechanism originating from the vicious circle in which they were debated. On the one hand they originated a series of regulatory norms of coexistence which, gaining in amplitude of concept and extending their jurisdiction to the generalizing of their advantages and the persistence of their exemplarity, painfully came to gain the adhesion of other nearby and related lineages until they were adopted by larger social and territorial units, including districts or entire tribes; and this situation gave rise to some of those qanuns upon which we will comment further on. On the other hand, they represented the ultimate [728] [195] step to which anarchy led, responding to those most curious periods of their history in which one powerful group, having recourse to violence, broke the truce in defense of its own interests, the official recognition of this fact being given by the imgharen in the suq in the face of general consternation, with the tragic phrase War dha bu r-haqq.[12]

628 602 182 195 "Now there is no law"[13]: such was the official form of declaring the state of anarchy into which the Rifians so frequently fell, a phrase which obliged them to strengthen their kin group, without dismay and by all means in their power; for a man's kinsmen were his last refuge in case of social accident.

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these kin groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

671 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any in-
vader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed im-
potence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organiza-
tion and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

121 and desert areas remained politically distinct from the Sultan's
105 regime. These areas, of which the Rif was one, were called the
bled-as-siba, or the land of insolence. In such areas there was
571 no centralized political authority and whatever small degree of
security that existed came from a system of social relationships
whereby mutual assistance was expected and granted. The absence
of political integration at any higher than the local kin and
residence group was paralleled by an absence of extensive economic
121 integration. Not only political success but economic well-being
105 as well depended on relatives, friends and neighbors all support-
571 ing one another. Out of this developed an economic system based
602 on status. By "status" I mean an economy in which the deployment
433 of resources is based primarily, though not exclusively, on imper-
556 atives derived from social relationships and religious obligations.
In such societies wealth is expended on ceremonial activities, on
reciprocal obligations, on the gift and countergift. In an indus-
trial society there are analogous ceremonies and celebrations in
which wealth is spent on relatives and ritual. However, such
expenses are marginal to the amount of total outlay. Such expen-
ditures have proportionately little effect on the sum total of
wealth in comparison to expenditures connected with rational pro-
duction. By way of contrast, in a nonindustrial society social
expenditures of wealth can be the most important way in which
121 wealth is utilized. In a society heavily dependent on local ties,
105 on kin alliance, on neighborhood association, social activities
571 tend to be the essence and breadth of the group. Production is
602
433

121 aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise
105 from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation
571
602 of these activities and the social relationships that they help
433 establish.

The central problem I have set for myself is to describe
121
128 and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the condi-
121
433 tions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that
571 the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was soci-
602 ally, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political condi-
[178] tions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

591 Neolocality is
178 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by buresucratic organization. [613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijuiga [596] traditional social obligations are still extant. [602]

The final social unit in the Rif is the local community 621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen 621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I 619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest 162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

1. [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domestic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumcision and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed. While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assembled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so. However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially the second most important initiation ceremony in the society. On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by previous obligations established by gifts that the giver has received from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money, 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 574 602 431 [578] cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this ceremony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 782 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 574 621 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the

553 556 574 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys. Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, how-

[571] ever, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony

553

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated [178] and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of [621] the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with [595] multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The [369] urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the [593] man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

584 581 The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society [571] was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- [602] ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is [178] guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy [571] overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 792 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

582 Within any one dharfiqth
[613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzimnayen than
565 for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
582 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects from which to draw.

582 The main structural consequence of the absence of pro-
602 scriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity
611 at any level of social organization beyond the extended family. Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal prin-
611 ciple. Although rights in property and children almost always
602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle. A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

---

582 of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more
114 correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor
[829] a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong. It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we prepared to attend exactly such a union.

178 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was
41 that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quar-
602 rels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situ-
578 ations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matri-
lineal lines.

121 I think that the principle of unilineality is not as
611 important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindus-
[511] trial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated
to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this
makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the
structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its
parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform
to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many non-
584 industrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must
decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce
bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and
set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either
type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of
an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on
the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the
couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter
should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely con-
sulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic
as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely
chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the profes- [533] sional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 574 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
591 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

256 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regard-
435 less of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills
472 are not economically competitive with one another, they are soci-
256
472 ally competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better
477 than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has a mill, why shoulda't we?" If there is only one mill in a locality, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of
[571] preference on the part of the users is not determined by conveni-
[578] ence of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such
[602] as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses
423 of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor.
427 We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise between a man who has more property than he alone can personally cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own. Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inheritance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these cir-
[464] cumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

427 464 562 the wife about household tasks and often takes his meals inside the central patio, he is on rather intimate (for the Rif) terms with these women. In such a close and anomalous situation, there [602] is a preference on the part of the master to hire a poor relative, especially of his wife, as a servant. By hiring a man of the wife's family or of a family which includes the wife's relatives by marriage, one lessens the danger of too close a relationship between wife and akhammas.

427 464 466 465 565 While both partners in the akhammas arrangement seek to establish a contract which is divorced from social conflict over women, they are nonetheless in basic conflict along incipient class lines. The akhammas, at least in the contemporary situation, regards himself as being exploited by his patron in that the wage scale is fixed and involves difficult manual labor without any guarantees of remmeration. While he is free to negotiate his contract with whomever he so desires, his wage depends directly on the size of the crop yield for any one year. The master with greater reserves of resources suffers only an inconvenience if the crop yield is low. The sharecropper, on the other hand, has few if any reserves, and any reduction in the portion of his share has serious repercussions on his ability to maintain his household. The akhammas is especially aware of the inequity of this arrangement as wage opportunities open up and he becomes aware that salary can be negotiated with commensurate rewards in cash. Most ikhammasen prefer to get into the category of wage

423 Property going to females, either to widows or daughters,
428 tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inher-
562 itance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the
[587] practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more dis-
428 ruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased
[768] husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the
431 inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and
578 his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B,
182 B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on
607 the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exer-
562 cise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

562
428 noninterference in the use of the land inherited by A's sister
431 and B's wife. Another mechanism which achieves reciprocal
578 equality over inheritance is in sister exchange whereby land
182
607 claims are mutually balanced off.

Despite the weak claim that daughters exercise over their
428
423 inheritance, there are certain legal restrictions over their
607 property. A brother cannot sell his sister's land nor construct
562 on it unless he has obtained the prior permission of his sister's husband. Likewise, a husband cannot sell his wife's inherited property unless he has consulted with the woman's brothers, who have first option to purchase the land.

The male Riffian has a more solid claim over his inheri-
423
428 tance and although some families continue to work the land of their father jointly under the administration of the oldest brother, there tends to be a fragmentation of land with each successive generation. This process tends to level out differ-
423 entiations based on property holdings. On the other hand there
183 is no special cultural value placed on "shared poverty." The
556 aggrandizement of property holding is not a goal towards which
425 the community voices disapproval. To buy land increases a man's wealth as well as his prestige, but he is regarded as advancing his children rather than engaging in entrepreneurship or capital development. He is also regarded as maintaining community solidarity, which is quite the opposite of what the entrepreneur does. To alienate land is regarded as a great source of shame in the Rif. The property which one's father passed on should be

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

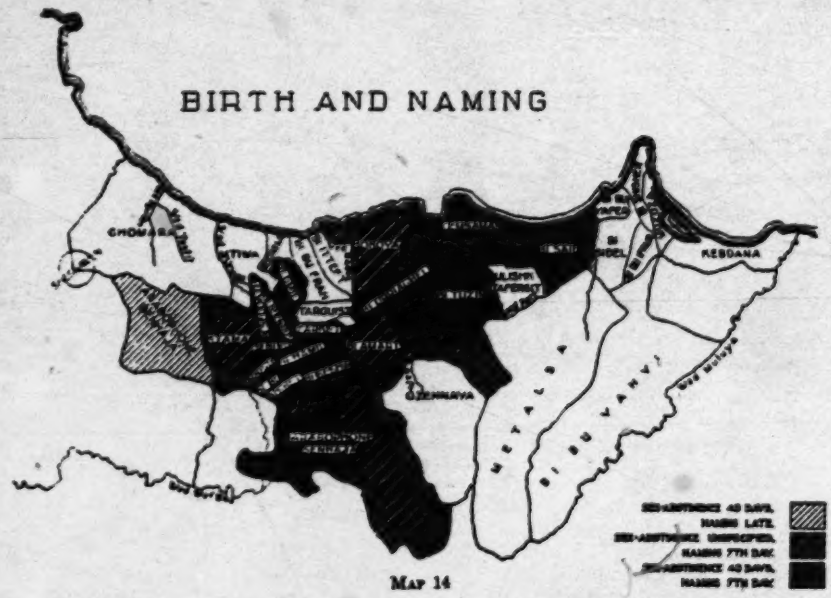
844
554
[845]

care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden.

853
582
608



MAP 14

844
553

Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard.

844

Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *sekau*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea.

844
782

This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in

844

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

travellers go to both types of mosque but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuḳaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-har*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *haggus*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 100.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Gennaya it is equivalent to 16 kilos, in Beni Urriaghel 40, in Beni Tusin 13, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 30.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

industrious, and an excellent farmer who has, with the primitive tools at his disposal, managed to raise the maximun possible number of crops on a very rocky and infertile soil.

It seems therefore possible that the city Arab's reaction to the tribesman from Aith Wuryāghil is born partly out of fear; the Wuryāghlī, in turn, has a low opinion of most Moroccan Arabs despite the fact that they gave him his religion. The most lasting impression which he makes on the outside observer is one of sturdy self-reliance and complete individualism coupled with extreme pugnacity. He follows the dictates of his culture to the letter, and, in the last analysis, it is only within the context of the patterns of that culture that he can be accurately judged.

671 of a compressed crowd which, hooded and silent in a semi-circle, hears its own echo in the voice of one of its constituents calling out to the four winds in a harsh thamazighth accent and with graphic gestures, while the black muzzles of rifles above their heads make the moment more solemn and the silence more impressive and represent the law, a strong, hard and impassioned law, the primitive law of the pastoral (sic) peoples. And if we ourselves might have had the good fortune to be eye-witnesses, perhaps we would have felt the chill of the anathema against our brethren for making them responsible for our acts.

[539] Qanun of the Sub-Clan of the Aith 'Adhiya: ".....all of the above-mentioned villages of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as fine".

671 829 609 Do not ask the Rifians about their qanums, as they do not like to reveal them; they know them to be modest, they fear that they will not be understood and that they will be considered as a joke; they guard them and conceal them as carefully as the dearest members of their families, as their own tongue, with an understandable atavism; and so strong is the feeling of mistrust that it would be offensive and erroneous to attribute to them an inferiority complex; and if, in circumstantial preservation, you wanted to learn their language, they would invariably try to dissuade you with bitter phrases which they once might have heard, if not from your lips from those of your brother officers; and one does not know whether to think the sad reproach, the instinctive defense of the community or an absurd conviction is 829 the reason[3]. They speak disparagingly of their own language as of

671 Paragraph e: This paragraph distinguishes principals from accomplices or auxiliaries.

671 181 Paragraph f: A virile and rural society distrusts the veracity of the so-called humanitarian sentiments, closing its doors to the intrigues which, under such a mask, provoke influential individuals to save their allies and other interested aspirations which mock the objectives that the law, to which they freely gave themselves, pursues.

671 609 628 Paragraph g: We have here a precise and exact detail, an excellent delimitation of a truce, a recognition of Rifian public law (i.e. jural procedure) and interest protecting the stranger, to whom this law guarantees a wide and sufficient time of commercial activity and a prudent warning that he leave an open field to the fierce internal bloodfeuding. We have here a manifestation of the social unit, 671 609 614 the clan, which shows us its reality and consistency, which recognizes a common interest and one superior to its own intestinal vendettas; and this permits it to guarantee to the neutral, to the stranger, a free passage and activity throughout its whole territory (author's italics).

671 695 Paragraph h: Two important additions are made here to the hurried first draft. It is necessary, first, to guarantee the person of the accused against the passions of the moment, the outward appearances, the ill-will and the outright suspicions, by means of evident proof (author's italics), offering him the means of avoiding such passions by taking oath. And in the second addendum (Paragraph i) they list, furthermore, and completing it, the duration of the truce or time of peace.

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!" 648 Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. [181] [609] Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get [114] away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

443 townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers
829 on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

443 Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I
438 mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local
182 suq because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic
443 advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the mer-
438 chants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has
571 certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market.
[609] Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of
443 transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best
438 price based on multiple competition, the larger the market,
435 the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the fellah is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local suq, he must return the animal home or be entirely

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1

R 643 921 R 721 701

able since much of it is not mountain at all, but open rolling country.

The Riffians are tough fighters. They won Spain for Franco, on a promise of freedom given them on the Yellow Plain of Ktama. One of them, ʿAbd el-Krīm's jailer, once told me that he gave the Christian prisoners dirt mixed in their bread; this is nothing to what the Christians have done to them, which, out of deference to the sensitivity of my readers, I shall not print here. Needless to say, the Riffians buried no one alive in anthills, nor have their women hacked any prisoners to shreds. Having never visited the Pathans, I cannot make the same denial for them with as much conviction, but until shown otherwise I shall continue to believe that these tales come out of the same volume of fiction.

R 771 609 731

Reading about the Pathans, however, reminds me much of the Riffians, with a few differences. The Riffians live in wetter and more fertile country, with more vegetation, and, although good Muslims, make little display of their religious feelings. They keep the fast and all the main feasts, adding a few of their own. The older men refuse to smoke, and some even refuse tea. They confined Jews to a few coastal settlements, notably Bades and Melilla, while Christians were not admitted at all, before the days of ʿAbd el-Krīm, who let in Gordon Canning, Vincent Sheean, and a few others without demanding previous conversion. One is told that the Pathans are "fanatical," but this again may be a form of general xenophobia channeled through the symbolic mechanism of religion.

M 619 628

The Pathans also are organized in tribes, divided into subtribes, partitioned into sections, split into clans, which are made up of patrilineal extended families.[9] Each family, clan, section, and subtribe has its head man, who represents his group in the *jirga,* or representative council of the group just above him. Like the Asht Arbaʿin, these councils convene to attempt to settle matters of dispute between their constituent members. Irrigation quarrels and cattle rustling are the chief business of the smaller jirgas, while adultery and murder draw the full tribal council, presided over by its chief officer, the khan. Like the amīn of a Kabyle village, he is often no more than a moderator. In case of murder, the killer flees the tribal territory at

[9] See H. Hörhager, *Die Volkstumsgrundlagen der Indischen nordwest-grenz Provinz* (Heidelberg, 1943). M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies* (London, 1825). C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the Northwest Frontier, 1890-1908.*

616 (social), for a man only goes to his liff when the other two types fail him. Thus we see individuals or groups, when they are helpless, calling for their liffs in defense of their rights or taking refuge with them when, conquered or routed, they abandon their own hearths.

● 61 621 Tribes and their clans, and jma'ths and their kin groups or dharfiqin are generally divided into two balanced, symmetrical and mutually hostile parties; and it is in such an equilibrium that we find the strength of each group, no matter how insignificant that group may appear, and the weakness of the whole tribe, which is only welded together if threatened from outside.

616 619 621 623 In essence, in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, the innumerable feuds between jma'ths are reduced to two parties, within each council, whose quarrel, perhaps rather than for hegemony, is a dispute of interests. But, in discussing parties, let us rid ourselves of the 642 795 notions which these have for Europeans, either in forms of government or in religion. In such simple questions, Republic[28] and Islam have been in agreement for a long time. The Rifian states were religious republics governed by laymen, we might say. Well and good: above and 616 beyond these quarrels and ferocious feuds, the Aith Waryaghar knew how to ally themselves, absolutely independently of these, to other groups, indicating that the motive forces which underlay each class of alli- 619 ance were different[29]. Thus we see, for example, how the five khmas (sing. khums) of the Aith Waryaghar were allied or opposed to each other, and how they constituted two mutually hostile bands; the Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abd Allah on one side, and the rest on the other[30]. In my opinion, these two bands represent the most obvious

582 Within any one dharfiqth
[613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzinnayen than for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
565 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects
582 from which to draw.

582 The main structural consequence of the absence of pro-
602 scriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity
611 at any level of social organization beyond the extended family. Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal prin-
611 ciple. Although rights in property and children almost always
602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle. A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

---

582 of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more
114 correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor
[829] a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong. It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we prepared to attend exactly such a union.

178 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was
611 that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quar-
602 rels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situ-
578 ations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matri-
lineal lines.

121 I think that the principle of unilineality is not as
611 important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindus-
[511] trial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated
to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this
makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the
structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its
parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform
to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many non-
584 industrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must
decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce
bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and
set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either
type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of
an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on
the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the
couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter
should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely con-
sulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic
as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely
chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[1]

The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[2] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[3] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[1] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[2] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

[3] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.

● 613
614
596

Rif MX?

[For additional information on the thārfiqth (pl. thārfīqth) or dharfiqth, a form of clan-community composed of extended families (jājghū) and including the families of all the sons of an original founding ancestor, see also Category 618.]

5: Blanco Izaga MX3 Rif MX3

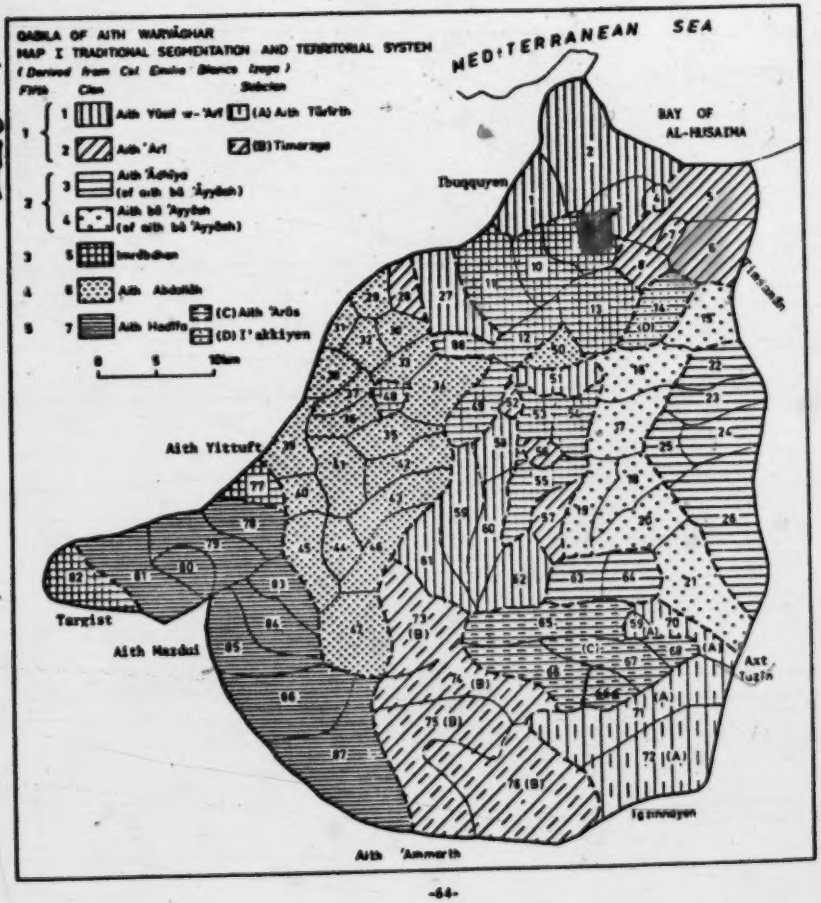
621
613

[For additional information on the function of the jma'th as a counseling body, see Category 623.]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

BLANCO MAP I (1934)



5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

KEY TO BLANCO MAP, 1934 - TRADITIONAL SEGMENTARY AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR (Derived from EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA)

N.B. Numbers of "fifths" and clans correspond to those, numbered 1-5 and 1-7 respectively, on the legend of the map, while nos. 1-88 represent local communities.

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

1. Izifzafen
2. Ajdir: Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, Aith Misa'ud u-Yusif, Aith Zara'
3. Azghar
4. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Plain

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

5. Tafrasth
6. Aith Musa w-'Amar
7. Imjjudhen
8. Tigarth

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(1) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

9. Aith Hishim
10. Aith Misa'ud
11. Aith Qamra
12. Idardushen
13. Ifasiyen, Aith Brahim, Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, Aith Yusif

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

14. (D). Subclan of I'AKKIYEN

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(4) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH

15. Izakiren
16. Aith Tfarwin
17. Isufiyen
18. Aith Tfarwin (again)
19. Aith Ta'a
20. Iriyanen
21. Aith Bu Khrif

102
631
613
619
614

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

22. Ighmiren
23. Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen
24. Imnudh
25. Aith Bu Qiyadhen (r-Rabda)
26. Tazurakhth: Aith 'Aisa, Aith Ruqman

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

27. Aith Buham

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

28. Aith Dawud

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

29. Tazaghin
30. Aith Zkri
31. Imarnisen
32. Tizi 'Ayyash
33. Ibunharen
34. Bu Khalifa (Aith Ziyyan)
35. Iqamiyen
36. Ikiddaben
37. Uqrishen
38. Dahar n-Zimmurth
39. Thariwin
40. Bu Sarah (Bu Salah)
41. Aith Sa'id
42. Aith Dris
43. Bu Zdur (Tigarth 'Ari)
44. Ihwahwahiyen
45. Thirkuzin (Tilkuzin)
46. Thimkiliwin
47. Marrui

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

48. Bu Ghardain
49. Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (Zawiya Sidi 'Aisa)

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

50. I'ayyaden

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

1 - "FIFTH" OF THE AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

51. Thamasind n-Waddai (Lower Thamasind)

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

52. Bu Minqad

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

53. Aith r-Qadi
54. Aith 'Aziz
55. Aith r-Qadi (again, I'athmanen

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

56. Thamasind n-Dara (Upper Thamasind)
57. Iswiqen

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

58. Aghridh (Aghlid)
59. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountains
60. 'Arnuq
61. Isrihan
62. Ikattshumen (Ikultumen)

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

63. Ighmiren (again)
64. Igar w-Anu

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

(C) - Subclan of AITH 'ARUS

(C) 65. Bu Sa'ida
(C) 66. Aith Tigarth (or simply Tigarth)
(C) 66a. Aith u-Maru (or simply Maru): "people of the shade"
(C) 67. Aith u-Sammar (or simply Sammar): "people of the sun"
(C) 68. Aith Juhra

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

(A) - Subclan of AITH TURIRTH

(A) 69. Aith 'Amar
(A) 70. Thizimmurin
(A) 71. Thigzirin
(A) 72. Bulma, Ignan, l-'Ass

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

(B) - Subclan of TIMARZGA

(B) 73. r-Maqsuridh
(B) 74. Bu Ma'dan
(B) 75. Thafsasth
(B) 76. Aith Yusif

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

77. Kammun

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH HADHIFA

78. Mishkur
79. Ihadduthen
80. Iharumen
81. Thizimmurin

3 - "FIFTH OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

82. Thamarkatt (Tamarkalt)

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

83. Bihban
84. Aghzar 'Aisa
85. Bashkra
86. Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id
87. Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar (Zawiya Sidi 'Abd l-Qadir)

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

88. Izarruqen

Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are complimentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe, from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

602 571 613 619 596

2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton [21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613

Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594

3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a

594 595 183 [554]

conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny

595 182 [181]

is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

562 428 [421] [361] Women are always considered as minors[52]. They have no property and do not, in practice, inherit. It would never even occur to a woman to ask for her portion of the inheritance; this is, indeed, very logical in a rural and bellicose society (whose settlement morphology consists of) dispersed dwellings, for otherwise it would 562 have been impossible to defend a woman against bold attacks. She can only take refuge in either her husband's house or that of her agnates. But women wear new clothes, sing, and dance, etc., at weddings, and at least they seem happy; and they are able to plague their husbands in many, many ways.

596 613 4) Jajgu (pl. ijujga--so-called in Aith Waryaghar; jij, pl. ijajjen, "wall-peg",--also, alliteratively, "penis"--in Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; and azwar, pl. isuran, "vein",--also, alliteratively, "penis" in the Eastern Rif):--This is the most difficult social unit to study, because of its intermediacy[53]. It is one of the "family branches"[54] (i.e. a branch of a dharfiqth or patri lineage). I 596 613 114 really cannot say more than this because informants, also, are unable to explain it properly. In my earliest notes, it appeared to me to be a uterine descent group (SIC!). If a man had agnatic descendants from three wives, he thus produced three "branches" of which he was the "trunk". I now (1935) believe this to be the case, but am not completely sure, for if a man who has only one wife has three sons, these also, as points of descent, form (the bases of) three ijujga. In any case, it is understood that branches or ijujga originate from each type (i.e. point of descent), but I feel that the more important category is that originating from a different mother; and, although

596 613 114 in her role in the family the wife does not count nor is her name perpetuated, there is no doubt that the blood-tie is different, as among our "brothers" and "half-brothers", and I therefore believe this interpretation to be correct.[55]

In any event, the jajgu is an important social grouping, as much in questions of succession, inheritance and collective responsibility as in the division of benefits, fines and communal property. These questions are simple enough for a Rifian in his own mind; and he thinks the question of what jajgu or jma'ath he belongs to such a simple one that he is astonished if the investigator asks him why. To this he does not readily give an explanation; furthermore, even if he (himself) wants to learn, he sees no benefit in teaching (others). He understands his own affairs up to the precise limit which is necessary for him in order to safeguard his own rights and interests. Beyond this point, he is not interested.[56]

596 613 If the jajgu head is incapable of representing his group properly, there is always someone whose courage or polemical attitude [623] may result in his being the spokesman. The headman of the jajgu is called aziddif or aziddjif (pl. iziddifen or iziddjifen,[57] literally "head"), and, with other such headmen, the jma'ath or council[58] of the elementary social unit is formed. These iziddjifen are thus the authentic representatives of the blood or kin groups which in Rifian are called dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin), or "family group" (i.e. lineage).

613 5) Dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin):---...When a Rifian says, "I am of the dharfiqth of so-and-so"[59], he means that so-and-so, in his own memory, is (usually) his most remote genealogical ascendant (on a step-by-step

613 basis). The dharfiqth is the fundamental unit in Rifian social organization, and it is erroneous to circumscribe it by defining it in terms of volume: so and so many houses, hearths or rifles.[60] The 613 623 dharfiqth, a kin group, is independent of the jma'ath, which is the association of dharfiqin or parts of them, and thus the elemental unit of the social (read "political") organization, the most distinctive feature of which, in my opinion, is lack of kinship, a point soon to be proven when we speak of the organization of the grouping called jma'ath.[61]

613 114 According to Robert Montagne in his Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris 1930, p. 239, the Rifian dharfiqth is equivalent to the family (i.e. lineage) group called either ighs or ikhs, or "bone", in the Atlas. It contains a dozen houses, thirty or forty "hearths" (i.e. nubath), and is a group strong enough to defend itself. Its leaders call themselves amghar (pl. imgharen). Montagne says the word is derived etymologically from Arabic rafaqa, "a group or company of people", or that it may be a deformation of Arabic farqa (or fariqa), "division".[62] He thinks it possible to attribute the name "clan" to the unit which the Aith Waryaghar (and other Rifians) call dharfiqth because it is a larger and more durable family group than the ikhs of the Western High Atlas, while at the same time a kind of political unit, for it insures the fact that the blood tie exists between "hearths" of the same Rifian jma'ath.

My own opinion is that Montagne is in error here. Within the (623) dharfiqth, to be sure, there are indeed blood ties, but within the Rifian jma'ath there is no known kinship between its dharfiqin, for

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s.
614
623 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each other.[63]

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jajgu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, reception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the jma'th.

562 D) Position of Women:
182 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her
171 a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the cancellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains regards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance[64], when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look for friends to reinforce it.

562 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly
627 revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as
628 their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

426 part of the bargain, he is reminded to do so by the chief, and if he
686 refuses, they forcibly commit a theft of animals or property, so
627 that his jma'th will hear of it; and they thus oblige him to fulfill
623 his promises or give rise to the intervention of his jma'th, which will force him to start negotiations.

685 The property of thieves is sold as indemnity, and, if they
627 have gone or if this cannot be done, that of their kinsmen is sold, a fine is imposed, and the eyes of the recalcitrant individual are plucked out by a member of his family if he is caught[68].

623 None of the decisions of the jma'th are registered.

F) Social Organization:

1) The jma'th has generally been defined in terms of what it is not. It has been likened to the Roman forum, the Greek agora, and the Scottish clan[69]; and it has been considered the "cornerstone" or the "roof" of the "Berber house". It has been characterized as an administrative unit by some, and as a social, judicial (i.e. jural), religious or military unit by others. Some have taken the number of houses as a base point, others the fact of whether or not it contains a Friday ("cantonal") mosque. The etymology of the word--"assembly, meeting, council, junta"--has also been invoked as a basis for definition, but this, by itself, is also insufficient[70].

623 In my view, the jma'th is the elemental form of the association
621 of neighboring family groups oriented toward essentially economic ends.
[613] The actual number of such groups, whether two today or two hundred tomorrow, and whether occupying thirty or two hundred households, is

623 immaterial; for a jma'th which formerly contained only two dharfiqin
613 may now have three, four or five, and tomorrow even more, with a
621 proportionate increase in houses and rifles. What the jma'th is not, however, is a family group united by blood ties--it is not a dharfiqth.

623 .....The jma'th came into being because of the necessity of common
182 usufruct of elements essential to sustain life, such as water, pasture
621 lands, brushwood, etc., and because of the necessity of regulating relations, both material and spiritual, with one's neighbors (hence mosques, which come into being after such an association has been effected). The result was that when a group for any reason abandoned its original jma'th in order to establish itself elsewhere--insofar as its growth and development made it do so, it cut off relationships with its parent group and its point of origin to constitute a new and independent nucleus[71].

621 Many Rifians confuse dharfiqth with jma'th, and proof of this
623 is that when one asks the members of a given group where they are
613 from, it is the same to them to answer "From such and such a jma'th"
[829] or "From such and such a dharfiqth", because the dharfiqth in question forms part of the jma'th whence they originated. Jma'th has a geographical connotation, while dharfiqth smells of nomadism (sic)[72]. This also explains why in different places one may find jma'th-s having the same name but formed by different dharfiqin, because over the course of time other splinter-groups from other jma'th-s became associated with the initial splinter-group from the first jma'th.....

621 I am dubious about the value of the number of households as a cri-
623 terion in definition; but I think that the best single datum available
501

621 today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of
623 nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant
571 than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in
621 others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as
623 a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and
571 as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but
794 only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer.
[613] This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

623 The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral
623 services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now
671 becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian
[613] customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

621 In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only
623 by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand;
463 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these
326 necessities are complemented.
323

In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin, Thimsaman, Aith 'Ammarth, Ibuqquyen, Ktama and Sanhaja Srir, each clan has its own market[79]. Only in a small tribe or in one with more or less artificial clans is this not the case. The clan, which occupies a well determined area topographically, as a rule (a large meseta, valley, mountain fold, etc.), is a rare one which does not have or did not formerly have its own market, where the clan representatives or imqqranen came together to agree upon and proclaim their law, their rules of coexistence, which in some cases were drawn up on paper and which form the basis of my La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte.

The clans of a tribe did not originate through accumulation of the association of jma'ths, but rather, the tribes which came to settle in the territory already contained three, four or five clans in their nomadic (sic) state, and the new lands were distributed equitably.[80] However, it is easier to follow the schematic representation of social groups from smaller to larger units, as the lineages characteristic of these are clearer and better defined. In the tribe, they are quite relaxed, and it is more difficult to see them, because the clans themselves are apt to show this by their patronymic designations, "sons of X"; but this opinion is provisional, as there are also names which are not genealogically based, as in the case of the clan names of Ibuqquyen (Izimmuren, Azghar and Thaghidhith) and in Ija'unen of Aith 'Ammarth; and the same might well be the case with the jma'ths, whose names are often geographical ones.[81]

In the clan, we have all the institutions, organisms, dependencies and economic specializations most necessary to sustain life: an amrabit or hermit saint venerated and besought for pilgrimages and miracles; a market for the provisions and supply and for the council

614 latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or
619 the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan
616 has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are its customary law, its qanuns and its market (as in the qanun of the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

619 4) Tribe or Dhaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of
614 clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this
619 level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium
614 (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is
671 guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has
182 no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors, faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans
619 form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as
614 the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin
616 of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It
613 would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over
621 and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes,
623 while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

623 5) Councils and Tribesmen of Authority: All units under consideration up to now (the three "family" ones and the three "social" ones) have their relationships regulated by councils, which, although bearing different names, have similar and analogous functions. The council of the jma'th must undergo no formality in order to convene, and it has no president, although at times the agreements which it comes to are drawn up in writing. Any male (above the age of puberty) [885] may attend and take part in its deliberations; but the personification [613] of it is embodied in the iziddjifen or headmen of each dharfiqth, and these men together form an authentic and permanent council. This council above all legislates what the jma'th deems necessary, in conformance with custom and its agreements. The assembly itself or its representatives chosen for each particular case[86] make and execute all decisions. It is thus a legislative, consultative and executive body[87]. Its attributes, nonetheless, are constantly limited on the [614] one hand by family law, in the form of reprisals, and on the other by the power of the clan, which tries to keep it from prejudicing neighboring jma'th-s or the clan itself in its external politics. Thus, what it has is an administrative autonomy.

623 This council(s) elects its functionaries, the best defined of 793 which is the fqih of the mosque, who is in charge of leading the 212 prayer and of burial services; he is administrator of mosque property (habus)[88], as well as jural notary and council clerk and secretary. In large councils, however, these jobs may be handled by more or less ignorant tulba (sing. talib)[89], who pompously attribute to themselves 000 the qualifications of qadis. The fqih attended to the resources of the

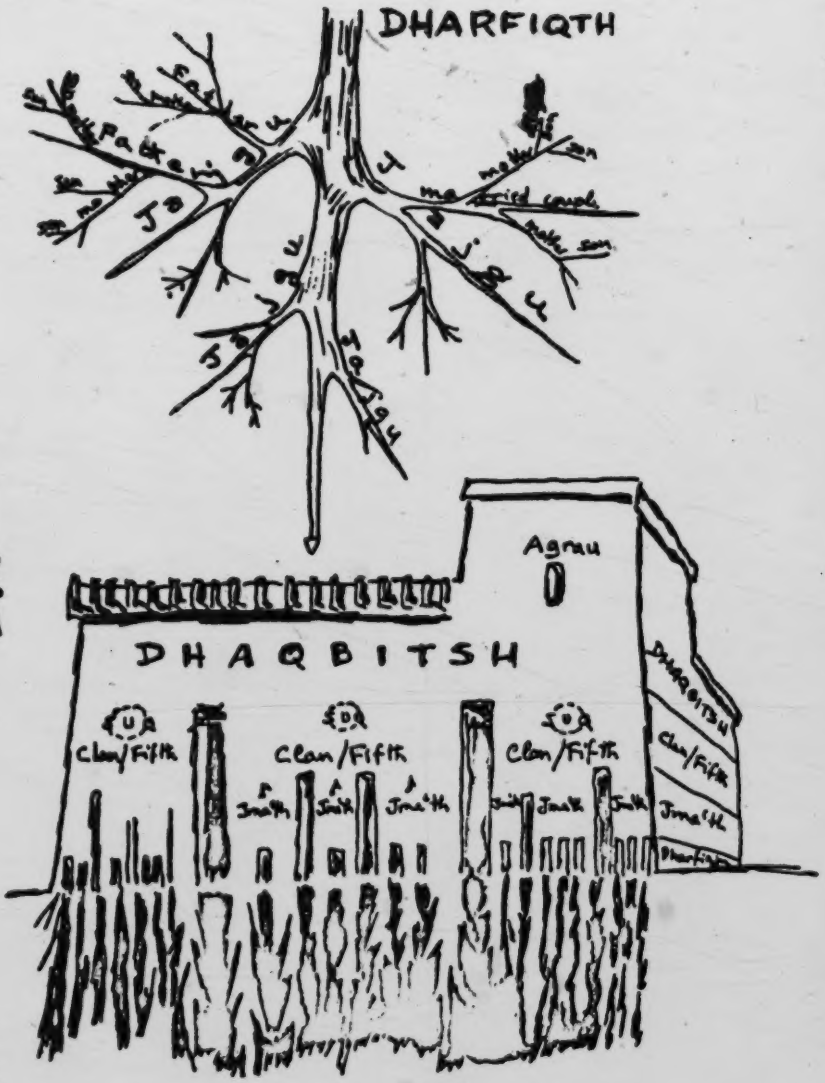
623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.[92]

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this;
[555] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his
623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.
623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

● 613
596



619
613
614
623
646
621

[P. 127-A]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

594
596
613
621
623
646
619

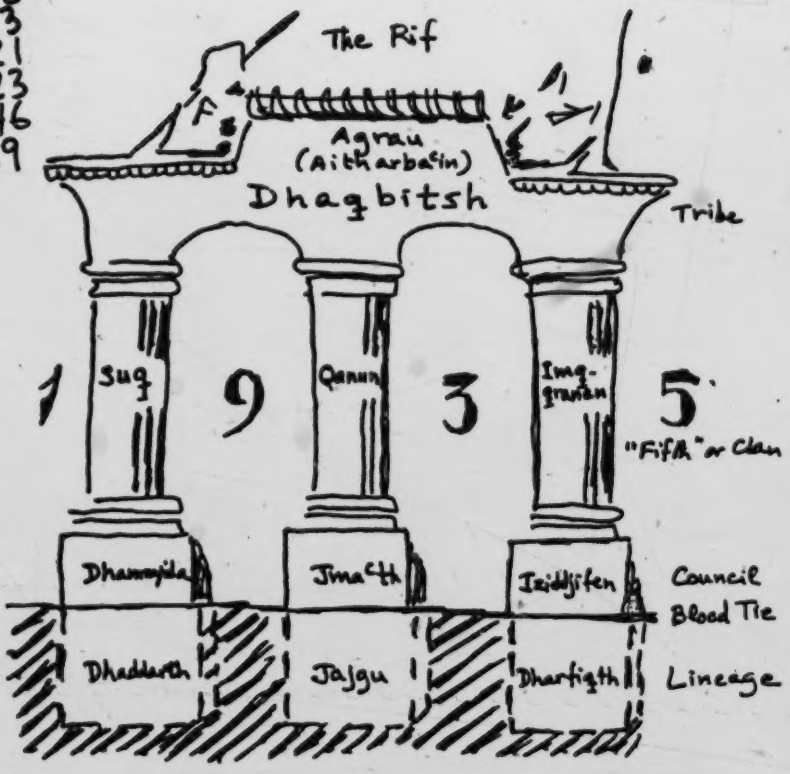
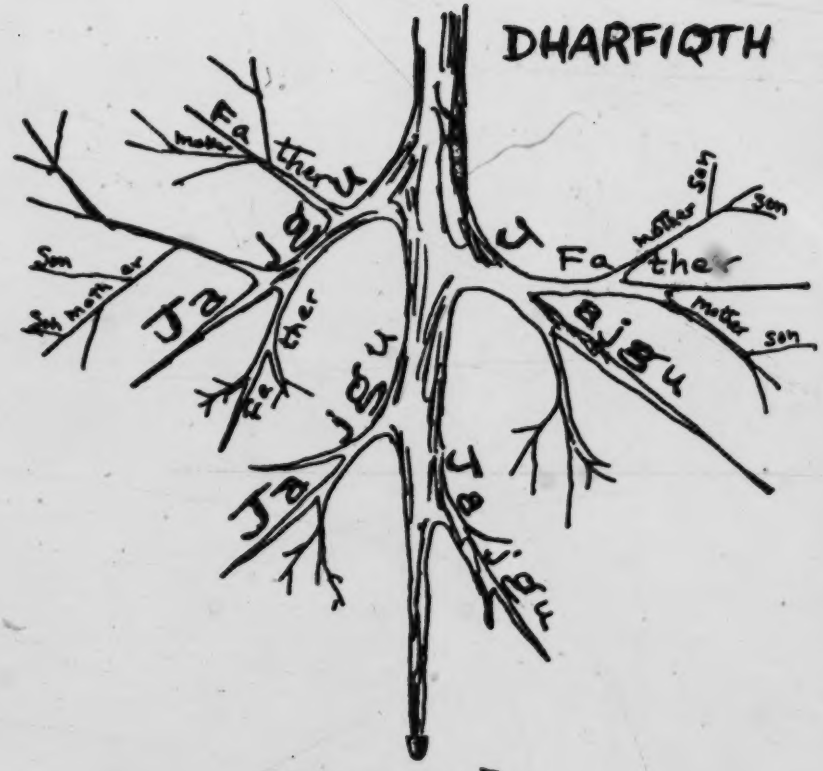


Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

613
596



[P. 127-C]

535
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

FOOTNOTE: A

613
614
619
621
623
594
596
114

113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right, we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'th (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling islifen), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A, [See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]

621 of Imhauren, of the clan of Aith 'Ari; while the upper part is made up of heterogeneous elements of different tribes. This will eventually happen in Ajdir, where a considerable number of Rifian workers are settling owing to its proximity to the town of Alhucemas. Ajdir has not succeeded in assimilating these people who, installed around and behind the fork in the (Tetuan-Melilla) main road, already form a special quarter which is beginning to be distinguished by the name of Kharras, or "stranger"[121], a disagreeable appellation for them and one which causes them to defend intuitively their jma'ths of origin. A future modification of the jurisdiction of this quarter cannot thus be considered as injurious to the constitution of the jma'th.

We thus see that the traditional jma'th in this tribe, in accordance with the data in our possession at the moment regarding this problem, may or may not have a familial origin (sic)[122], as an analogous examination of the Qa'idate of Nkur also seems to demonstrate.

621 614 If we limit ourselves, in this qa'idate, to the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one of those which from time immemorial seems to have kept its jma'ths most intact, we see that the only one to which a common origin or ancestor is attributed is that of Aith Ta'a. But if, [613] for example, we examine Isufiyen in this light, we find that of its five dharfiqin or patri lineages, three (I'adwiyen, Ihaqqumen and Imdihiriyen) are from the tribe of Ibdharsen (Mtalsa) in the Eastern Rif, and have the same ancestor, while of the two remaining ones, one (Aith Ta'rafth) is from the tribe of Aith Yittuft[123]. Thus, through the elimination of four out of the five kin groups in question, the only one which is left, Aith Musa w 'Amar[124], is the only possible

candidate for earliest occupancy and for the foundation of the jma'th. As it happens, this is the case here.

Passing now to the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif, we see, analogously, that while the founding or ancestral dharfiqth, Aith Wuzghar, that of the present (1935) Qa'id of Nkur, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan, is considered to be descended from the "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin, the former inhabitants of the City of Nkur[125], the other dharfiqin making up the jma'th do so without any apparent relationship to each other. The kin group whose ancestor arrived first was an Imrabdhen lineage from Ibdharsen, formed by the Aith Siddiq, Aith Tumritsh and Aith Tizza; this was followed by Aith Yunis, from the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; and finally, by the I'addiyen from the tribe of Axt Tuzin, the most recent of all.

If we turn now to the jma'th of Tazurakhth, we see the same thing, but with an increase in complexity, for the dharfiqth which is considered to be the founding one is that of Aith Bukhudam[126]. This group later received the following additional increments: a dharfiqth named Aith Ufaran from the subclan of Aith Turirth to the south; a second, much larger dharfiqth from the jma'th of Igar Ufadhis (local pronunciation Iyar Ufadhis) in the clan of Aith Bu Idhir of the tribe of Thimsaman, named Aith r-Qman (comprising today the four dharfiqin of Aith 'Aru Hammu, Yinn[127] 'Abdsram Bu 'Azza, Yinn 'Abd Allah u Hmidh and Ibaranen[128]); a third, Aith Tizi Marda, came from the clan of Amjau in the East Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid; a fourth, Ihamdiwen, from the jma'th of Asht Tghirasth[129] in the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; a fifth, from Aith 'Aisa in the tribe of Aith S'aid[130];

621 a sixth, a large one named Aith 'Aisa, from the jma'th of Aith 'Ammar
613 u S'aid in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan of Aith Hadhifa (com-
614 prising today the two dharfiqin of Aith 'Aisa--sometimes referred to
619 as Aith 'Aisa w Anu, or "the sons of 'Aisa of the well"--and Aith Injin); a seventh, Aith Si Hmand 'Aisa, from the clan of Aith 'Abd Allah; and an eighth, and last, Aith Tihar, from the jma'th of Tfsast in the subclan of Timarzga to the South.

621 The net result of all the foregoing is that even such a multiplicity of examples will not clarify the question for us, considering that, in Aith Waryaghar, there are traditional jma'ths which have been split since antiquity, and split in such a way that to bring them together again now would create a tremendous political as well as administrative difficulty[131]. This would, indeed, be next to impossible, due to the difficulties of all kinds already felt by the Rifians prior to the Spanish occupation, difficulties which brought them to the transcendental act of separation. This fact on the one hand, and, on the other, the fact that the traditional jma'th in Aith Waryaghar does not seem to present an ancestry which is common to all its constituent groups or a type of "family origin" (i.e. common ancestorship) in the form or for the ends which interest the order of the Spanish regional administration. Under these conditions, it seems the best thing in this tribe, if our knowledge should not lead us to other conclusions, to continue the sedimentation initiated some time ago, avoiding modifications which do not justify an imperious necessity or a convenience manifest to all lights, something which even the author was unable to avert, and to discount, for this reason, any.....or superficially learned innovatory zeal.[132]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

619
613
614

The ("holy" clan of the) Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are descended from Sidi Musa bin Mshish[163], the brother of one of the "poles" of Western Islam, Sidi 'Abd al-Salam bin Mshish, who is buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Sidi Musa is buried among the Khmid(?) (unidentifiable).

The principal idea to be extracted from the foregoing is the following: around a principal nucleus consisting of Asht 'Asim, Imzdurar and Asht Marar[164], clans which are known to and recognized by all the Igzinnayen, there came over the course of time an infinite number of lineages originating from very diverse points of northern Morocco; and these lineages intermingled with the above. Their motives for so doing varied between hunger and war. They were brought to the Rif either because there was no room for them elsewhere or because the possibilities of living well there attracted them.....It is probably necessary to look for their origins in regions which are particularly barren and unproductive, such as the Khuld of Huwwara or the northern part of the Angad Plain, in the case of elements from the Aith Bu Yihyi; the Tafrata for the Ahl Rashida, the clayey hills of Mtalsa, and, in general, all the places more or less bordering the Mulwiya River, which, even if they are by no means paradises, are at least hospitable (sic)[165].

794
871
[193]

3) Qur'anic Instruction: --This is organized in exactly the same way as it is among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, and is largely beyond the control of the Administration....There is usually a school in each village, the fqih of which is paid annually and in kind by its inhabitants. Instruction is carried out almost

000 almost postulate a sequence more or less as follows: people (and particularly the most important ones, i.e. members of the council) gather in the mosque on Fridays. This, in Durkheimian terms, would make a neat example of the three-way continuum of time, space and society! The fact that the Rifian term for mosque is dhamzidha in no way negates this rather attractive hypothesis (suggested by Ernest Gellner, personal communication, Feb. 4, 1961), for dhamzidha is itself derived from another Arabic word for mosque, masjid.

11--Dhaqbitsh, pl. dhiqbar (from Arabic qabila) is the Rifian term for "tribe", the ceiling unit in the region.

613 621 619 114 614 12--"Fraction": translator's quotation marks. This term, very current in the literature on North African social structure (and deriving from Arabic nuss, "half", tulut, "third", rba', "fourth" and khums, "fifth", each one of which usually refers to the number of clans or top-level segments a given tribe contains), is one which I find both imprecise and misleading. What one should read for "fraction" is either clan or maximal, primary or top-level segment of a tribe. What is totally missing in the term "fraction" is a notion of process.

As Blanco himself thought the term "fraction" absurd (as he indicated in a pencilled comment on a report on village etymologies in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar by another interventor, dated 1939), we shall henceforth take his cue and call it "clan"--even though he continued to employ "fraction" in the bulk of his writing!

13--The concept of the relative autonomy or independence of the tribal clan (Blanco's "fraction") is, as far as we know, an original contribution by Blanco to the overall study of Berber social structure (even though Blanco's thinking may have had its roots, on this score, in Montagne, op. cit., 1930). It is, considering the time and place it appeared, a challenging and cogent theory, and Blanco discusses it at length in the chapter on Social Organization, as well as in La Ley Rifeña, 1939. The fact that the notions of balance and opposition in all segmentary societies have become anthropological commonplaces since Evans-Pritchard's Nuer work does not vitiate Blanco's argument.

000 14--Again, in the choice of words which these notes represent, Blanco gives no definition, and we fear that, although a literal translation renders the reading awkward, a substitution of our own terms might falsify what he had in mind, namely, to attempt to establish criteria for differentiation between social and political units. In our opinion, most of these distinctions exist in the author's mind only, and do not correspond to any sociopolitical realities; for, on upper levels of segmentation at least, social units and political units invariably tend to merge.

15--It is, of course, true that only men make alliances, wage war and engage in politics (councils, etc.), but there seems no need to belabor this rather obvious point. More subtle, however, is the implicit--and possibly unintentional--distinction made between social structure and territorial organization. In the Rif, as elsewhere, the territorial organization reflects a genealogically oriented social system which has been brought down to ground level, so to speak, and

000
[613] 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own, but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[191] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence
[113] on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts
[668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562
428
114
423
[794] 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religious or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion
[113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

623 793 411 421 423 91--The comparison which Blanco makes here of the institution of habus to a rich widow is a challenging one; for after land has been donated to a mosque as habus, the question of who works it is resolved by the nadhir l-ahbas, or habus property administrator, of which there is one, at present, in each province of Morocco (with a central Ministry of Habus in Rabat). He goes to the tribal markets periodically and, through the market crier, auctions it off to the highest bidder, who in turn receives all the harvest for his own use. This system is in vogue at present and was also current during Spanish times. During the "Ripublik", however, in the days before there was a nadhir l-ahbas, the members of the jma'th concerned worked habus land, and, after selling the harvest, used the profits to buy mats for the mosque. Sometimes, also, the jma'th would designate a poor man to work habus land for a fixed share of the field (usually one-fifth or one-fourth), though this was not as common as the preceding arrangement.

000 [114] 92--Blanco is mistaken here, as there was, and still is, only one agricultural-irrigational expert, the aquwwam, whose judgment is generally sought in disputes over irrigation water.

[114] 93--Again in this instance one can detect the influence on Blanco of Robert Montagne, who devotes the whole last third of his book (Montagne, op. cit., 1930) to the "rise to personal power" of the three Grand Qa'ids (the Glawi, the Mtuggi and the Guntafi) in the Western Atlas, and cites the rise of 'Abd al-Krim in the Rif as a parallel case. Under the French, the Glawi soon eclipsed his two competitors to become a single "Lord of the Western Atlas", as well as Pasha of Marrakesh; while it was the presence of the Spaniards in the Eastern Rif which produced the Rifian "national" leader, 'Abd al-Krim. Montagne's argument for a kind of unidirectional political evolution, from the nameless members of a village council, in the middle and latter half of the 19th century, through to nationally known tribal or regional leaders' through a continuous scramble-for-power process of "top-dog-ism", is a very persuasive one. Whatever objections one may have to it, it is likely to remain the argument for a long time to come--because today, in the 1960's, the facts of the matter have become almost impossible to (re-)check; and the old men who remember such things are now all dead or dying off.

● [613] 94--"Government by the few": possibly, if the lineage or clan headman can be so designated. However, each lineage head was in reality little more than a primus inter pares, and anyone who attained clan-wide recognition was just that much more primus. Once again we are faced with how badly the European shoe fits the Berber foot.

95--The Spanish original is absurdo.

96--The jma'th is not just an economic organism or organization, but a group of people, the majority of whom are genealogically related to each other, living together in a hamlet or village which bears its own name and forms a member group in a segmentally organized system of such jma'th-s, all of which belong to a territorial or segmental unit of a higher order. Relationships between member jma'th-s of the same order of segmentation are at once economic, social, political, legal, and religious.

000 [114) 118--The jma'th of Isrihan gave its name to a whole subclan. The picture, however, is somewhat more complicated than Blanco would lead us to believe, although he is substantially correct. The founding family of Isrihan was the lineage of Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar, parts of which are not only to be found in Upper Isrihan and in Lower Isrihan, but in Aith Hishim, Aith Wamra, and Azghar, all of which communities are in the lowlands.

The true Isrihan, then, are fairly well spread out over parts of the tribal territory and in some cases they have differentiated themselves by merely tacking the place name of their new location onto their lineage name, e.g. Isrihan n Buham, Isrihan n Aith Qamra. This is of special interest in view of the fact that most of the original land of the Isrihan, on the northern slope of the Jbil Hamam, is now occupied by a lineage named Imjawiyen, who claim descent from the clan of Amjau in the tribe of the Aith Sa'id in the Eastern Rif. This lineage, moreover, became numerous and powerful enough so that its members split into two hostile and feuding factions.

[114] 119--Blanco fails to point out that Upper Thamasind belongs to the subclan of Thigarth in the clan of Aith 'Ari, while Lower Thamasind belongs to that of Aith Ughiryizan in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and this fact detracts much weight from his argument here.

120--This, in effect, is the reverse of the principle of segmental discontinuity; and the most striking example in the Rif, on the tribal level, of this kind of heterogeneity, in which virtually every segment or clan claims an origin different from that of the others, is that of the Aith 'Ammarth, whose people say not only was their land uninhabited before their arrival, but that they came from many different tribes to fill it up. Their explanation of their tribal name, Aith 'Ammarth, "people of the filling-up", supports this. An even better example is afforded by the Siksawa or Isiksawn of the Western High Atlas (Berque, op. cit., 1955, passim).

121--The normal Rifian term for "stranger" is abarrani (from Arabic barrani); kharras is unknown to us. The community of Ajdir is inhabited by the members of three lineages, Aith Mis'aud u Yusif, Aith 'Aru 'Aisa and Aith Zar'a (the last-mentioned being that of 'Abd al-Krim); but there are, in addition, numerous stranger accretions, particularly since pacification, and Ajdir is now the largest single community (almost 5000 persons) in the Aith Waryaghar. It is equally true that if one asks about traditional segmentation, one gets only the three lineages mentioned above, for one's informants will not mention the strangers, whom they consider of little account, unless they are forced to do so. This is a problem which would amply repay careful study.

[613]

122--What Blanco means by "having a familial origin" is descent from a common ancestor.

123--Etymology of Aith Ta'rafth,: "the people of the Arabic language". This is a possible lead to the speech of their lineage ancestor, who, according to my own field notes, came not from the Aith Yittuft (two out of three clans of which speak Arabic today) but from Algeria.

000 152--This is true, and as Coon indicates, it is probably a hall-mark of considerable antiquity. See Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 19, for traditions of origin of the clans and subclans of the Igzinnayen, many of which conflict with those given by Blanco below.

153--True; but does this necessitate the employment of value judgments as to physical type and temperament?

154--According to our notes, the Dharwa Haddu are autochthonous to Igzinnayen.

[613] [628] 155--According to Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 105), many people of the dharfiqth of Asht 'Abd r-Mumin in the village of Iharrushen, of Asht 'Asim Proper, went to l-Mta as exiles after their feud with the Asht Tadmuth; the Hajj Biqqish, in fact, was a moving spirit in banishing them, as one of their members shot three of the Asht Tadmuth on the feast day of the 'Aid l-Khir. Perhaps poverty was also a factor in the move to l-Mta of members of other lineages in the Asht 'Asim.

156--Ishillahan: our notes state that their origin traditions are not from Andalusia, but from the Eastern Rifian tribe on the Aith Wurishik, which would accord better with their "Berber" name.

157--Ihadhriyen: our notes say that they have nothing to do with the Jbarna, other than that they are members of the same tribe.

158--Thaghirasth is autochthonous to the Igzinnayen, according to our notes.

159--Asht r-'Arqub: our notes contain no reference to Sidi 'Azzuz, in connection with the lineage.

160--Ikhabbaben: our notes contain no reference, regarding them, to Branis.

161--Asht Hazim: our notes, regarding them, contain no reference to Aith Iznasan.

162--To our knowledge they are all local lineages.

163--The Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are more properly descended from Sidi Ahmad, the son of Sidi Musa bin Mshish, and known as Sidi Hand u Musa. He is buried in Swaiyar, in the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while his father is buried in Jbil 'Alam of Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Aru 'Aisa ('Ali u 'Aisa, or 'Ali bin 'Aisa) himself, the real apex of the lineage, is to be found some 11 generations later than Sidi Hand u Musa on the genealogy of these shurfa, whose authenticity is beyond question and is recognized in the right, which they exercise, to share in the annual proceeds of the box (sunduq) of Mulay Idris in Fez.

It is also said that 'Abd al-Krim was descended from the shurfa Sidi Hand u Musa of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa.

[616] 164--The Asht 'Asim and Imzdurar, each being the strongest representative of its respective liff, almost certainly formed the kernel of such a nucleus; but it seems to us that the Asht Yunis might be substituted for the Asht Marar, which is only a subclan of the Imzdurar.

000
[114]
[311]
165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616]
[578] 173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616]
[619] 175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613]
[616] The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[176]
[178] 177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

000

J) Note on the Rifian Jma'th (Noticia sobre la Yemáa)

N.B. Undated MSS., probably written 1934-1936, Catalogue No. W1/ñ, Sección Africa, National Library, Madrid.

"An old, confused and nostalgic tribal memory of which so many people are unaware, although they all utilize it and nobody expects it. How does it work, and how can it best be reactivated?"

Organs and Functions:

621 613 1) The jma'th is the association of several lineages (grupos familiares) or dharfiqin toward social ends and objectives. It constitutes the elementary unit of Rifian social structure.[1]

[691] 2) It is personified in the iziddjifen, the headmen of these lineage-groups and their authentic representatives, zealous guardians of Custom (qa'ida), which is often codified into written qanuns established during an agraw or council-meeting.

3) It is visibly manifested in the mosque, the local community and the lands which belong to it, all of which give rise to a spatial discontinuity and elastic boundaries, the origin of not a few quarrels.

4) Objectives: to regulate the coexistence of these (lineage) groups, to watch over them and to administrate their common patrimony.

5) Obligations: these were to attend to communal services and property (prayer,...education, hospitality, external relations, harka, prestations, collective responsibility and distribution of property, lands, irrigation, spoils of war, and fines), with the exception, in theory, of anything relating to personal and possessory status (marriage, inheritance).

---

[594] [114] 1--The elementary social unit, in the Rif as elsewhere, is the elementary or nuclear family, and hence Blanco is here, again, in error. A more easily defensible argument might have been a consideration of the jma'th as a kind of elementary political unit.

671 If aside from local community questions such as irrigation, hospitality and matters dealing with education, these community charters also deal with "crimes of blood" (delitos de sangre), one may see in them, more than the incumbency of these units (organisms), the necessity of providing for the lack of other upper-level associations which were lacking in this organized anarchy, which, in a happy phrase, may be attributed to those days when social disintegration attenuated the functioning of the upper-level units: clan (fracción) and tribe.

621 623 627 10) Security: Internally, security was guaranteed in normal times by the iziddjifen themselves, through the resolution of any incidents and the clearing up of any disputes which might arise, while in the internal political struggle of its council the popular spirit 623 predominated. This was even more the case when within the council the • 613 equilibrium between dharfiqin or agnatic lineages was broken and one 621 lineage came to predominate, as now it was one of its representatives who, in the last analysis, came to achieve the delegation of the permanent executive function of security, under the pompous and strange designation of mqaddim or shaikh[7], who, satisfying his own personal vanity, brought about the envy of the iziddjifen, who were very jealous of their own prerogatives, who were paid in their jobs (sic)[8], and who were opposed to the notion of personal power for which the [671] struggle now began. In this respect the qanun of the jma'th of (Lower) Thamasind (Aith Waryaghar) is of interest.[9]

7--Again Blanco reveals an anti-Arab and a pro-Rifian bias, perhaps: he would obviously have preferred the designation amghar. However, and more to the point: he is also equally aware of the superfluity of such titles in a society as fiercely egalitarian as that of the Rifian tribes.
[114] 8--This was hardly the case: no tribal leaders (to say nothing of mere lineage headmen) in pre-Protectorate Morocco were ever paid in the formal sense of the word. Remuneration came through occasional "perks".
9--Cf. La Ley Rifeña, 1939, Chapter V.

613 621 616 182 This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 701 Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

646 619 The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613 When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

---

[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

721 621 613 was imposed by the tribe or the clan: it was based on distribution amongst the several dharfiqin comprising the jma'th in question, while the place and date where and when they had to present themselves was communicated to them by the leader of the expedition, who also examined cases of exemption and desertion.

Thus, both in theory and in reality, all the operations of recruitment of our European municipalities were incumbent upon the jma'th; while relief and provisions, the personal and complementary obligation of the dharfiqth, were sometimes assumed by the jma'th when the earlier operations failed, as a kind of advance.

721 182 This natural system, alleviating the principal one of a number of onerous chores which are discharged by (military) services in European bureaucracies, permitted the Rifians to give their full attention both to military operations and to politics. It bound all of them together, the front and the rearguard, in a common interest, principally economic, which in lieu of discipline was what reinforced local spirit. The economic interest (the saving of ammunition in combat and sobriety in eating--for the individual had to pay for both out of his own pocket), apart from avoiding not a little dissatisfaction and worry, afforded the harka a high degree of addiction to rapine, given the fact that its members had to live on their own account in enemy territory in order to compensate for the woebegone consignments of the wretched rearguard, justifying through its well-known raids its desire to fill its stomach, the clearest of all its bellicose undertakings. Such that, once the booty was obtained, the harka was dissolved on more than one occasion.

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

695 At other times they decide to submit the
696 resolution to the clan council on the next market day; but when the
623 judgment, which is both swift and free of charge, has been rendered, the individual responsible can only comply with the council's decision; and he must do so not only more than rapidly, but virtually explosively, or be sentenced by his neighbors and his peers. If he resists, his only recourse is to take up arms, as everybody else is now after him, and this in itself obliges him to do so. The proceedings are rapid and gratuitous, as aforestated, except if experts are called upon to intervene; they are given an honorarium, the amount of which is determined by the custom of the tribe in question, and consists of such and such a percentage of the value of the appraised object or the object of the litigation[32].

692 Thus, true jural procedure, for the Rifian, is to render public
695 any offense or injury he has suffered, and to gain adherents to his point of view. First his family or kin group wants to intervene on his behalf, then his social grouping (properly: his lineage), and finally his liff, his last recourse. This multiplies the various contingencies and unsuspected turns the case may take ad infinitum, and tends to render useless any reclamations against an offender who is more powerful than the injured party. The latter may not take any action against him, but will often afterwards wait in ambush for him in order to redress the wrong! It is a procedure which.....awakens manliness and courage.....

[671] A good example of the executive procedure in criminal law is the qanun
[613] between dharfiqin[33].

000 Bshara, or procedure of recuperation[34]. (No text here whatsoever: translator's note.)

695 F) Oaths (fragmentary):[35]

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pretensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has [562] no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a women against her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter[36], where does one find more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and 695 839 the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape[36a] A etc., which, if not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

695 [671] [191] Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are 695 623 previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants [613] to[37]. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members of his dharfiqth[38].

695 829 181 Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to A, [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

681 H) Sanctions: Further Notes (fragmentary):

1) Punishment: fine, exile, or death of person responsible, whether an individual or a family group[55].

[671] 2) Gradation: variable, according to stipulations in the various
[672] qanuns[56]. Rifian law recognizes the same degree of responsibility in his accomplices as in the man who actually committed the crime, by assimilating them with his kin group[57].

681 3) Victim: receives no indemnity, except through what he or
613 his kinsmen get as their share of the fine, which is equitably dis-
[571] tributed among all the representatives of the dharfiqin[58], thus appearing more than anything else as a payment for services rendered; and the dharfiqin heads divided it up in the same way among their constituent nubath[59]. Thus, if the Rifian is encumbered with the responsibility of executive power[60] (all are obliged to stand against an aggressor), he still participates in the benefits of such power in a true popular sovereignty, and he never cedes his rights or duties.

000 4) Role of Jma'th in Application of Custom: to influence matters or conceal them, by money, force or politicking behind the scenes. Agrau or assembly of the aitarba'in; assessors and arbiters (tulba, shurfa and imrabdhen); role of liffs (aid to their liff-mates in payment of fines, etc.) (This subsection is completely fragmentary.)

682 In summation, three kinds of offenses were punished:
683 1) murder and woundings, with corresponding fines, and vengeance;

683 2) abuse of women (if voluntary on their part, each party had to
684 pay 50 duros, and if it was purely and simply rape, the guilty man paid 50 duros);

000 latter's kinsmen before he can get away. Even in this case, the killer could generally get off if he were able to pay a 2000-duro fine (rhaqq) to the imgharen on the spot, if he was lucky enough to be caught by them and not by his victim's agnates.

[114] [464] [167] 52--Why should the Rifians have been acquainted with the qanuns of the Algerian Kabyles? Granted that Rifian labor migration to Algeria, prior to 1955, was very extensive, it must be remembered that Rifians went to the plains and vineyards of western Algeria (not to Kabylia) to work and send remittances to their families, not to compare notes with their fellow Berbers in Kabylia!

53--This is entirely true, though we know of one case in which, in 1926, after 'Abd al-Krim's defeat, a man from one of the mountain clans of Aith Waryaghar was beaten to death, by order of a lowland qaid from the same tribe, for refusing to hand two rifles in his possession over to the Spaniards.

[171] 54--In the Central Atlas, half ddiyit (blood money to victim's agnates) is paid by a man for shooting at someone else and missing him, but full ddiyit for taking aim and not shooting (E. Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship", Philosophy of Science, vol. 27, no. 2, 1960, pp. 187-204.) In other words, what is punished is the intent to kill, and on this subject Blanco has some interesting remarks to make in the chapter on the qanuns of Dhmasind and of Aith 'Abd Allah in La Ley Rifeña (pp. 41-3, 47, 50). In the Rif, however, this is manifested in a different way under different circumstances: ddiyith is paid to the victim's family, under normal conditions, by the killer, who must also pay rqisas to the victim himself in case of wounding. The amount of the ddiyith is anything up to 1200 duros, while that of the rqisas, depends on the nature of the wound. However, there is no question at all of either ddiyith or rqisas being paid if the intended victim has not been harmed. This is the case if the attempted murder has taken place outside the market; but if it has taken place on market day and within the market (even though there is again an exemption from ddiyith and rqisas) the rhaqq or market fine must be paid in full (2000 duros) to the imgharen, because the would-be assassin is an amsasar (pl. imsasaren) or trouble-maker who has knowingly tried to "break" the market by flouting its regulations.

681 682 696 55--In case of murder, only the murderer himself went into exile. He did so immediately after the crime, so that he would not be killed in turn by his victim's agnates. Exile meant that he sought refuge, as an adhrib (pl. idhriben), (derived from Arabic talib, "enemy") in the territory of another tribe, whose members sheltered and protected him until such time (if ever) that he could go home. On occasion, as [613] Blanco suggests, whole lineages have been forced into exile; Coon, in Flesh of the Wild Ox (pp. 74-108), gives an example from the Igzinnayen. However, this particular instance was the result of a decree of the Aitharba'in after a long and bitter feud; and as such, it was exceptional. The rule was that only the murderer fled; he was not accompanied by nine of his agnates, as in the Central Atlas (even though these latter returned after three days in order to start making overtures for payment of ddiyit to the dead man's agnates).

616
[182] Individual liffs bind together individuals or families, persons and possessions, and make for solidarity in the payment of fines, in both defense and attack[21].

2) General Liff:--I think the raison d'etre of the general liff to be purely defensive. These large-scale liffs are real military [619] alliances brought about in order to maintain territorial integrity, and it is they which have permitted the coexistence of minuscule tribes alongside of large and powerful ones. The situation in this respect is analogous to that of Switzerland in Europe; and among the most typical Switzerlands in the Rif are the Thafarsith and the Aith 'Ammarth[22].....In a general liff, it is not individual or kin group interests which are in opposition to each other and come into play, but rather the jurisdictional limits and the autonomy of the social groupings (i.e. clans) which integrate them. The general liff [613] obligates with the same end and binds together with the same strength the individuals belonging to rival dharfiqin. There is thus, I think, [171] a notable difference in the two classes of liffs, although the end result or defensive spirit is the same[23]; analogously, there are alliances between European nations which are destined to preserve their independence, as well as friendships of more of an individual or econ- [562] omic character between their members....The national liff, to call it thus, cannot be confused with the social forms which have already been considered above, for while the latter place mutual obligations upon and bind together individuals and lands, the general liff usually applies only to men and binds together only warriors[24].

616 another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two
619 top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the
[124] khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top Segment I is labeled Aith Khattab, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari (plus Aith 'Ari) and Aith 'Abd Allah, while Top Segment II consists of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments of these top segments are aligned into their component liffs, as above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the
616 problem, therefore, is the khums of Imrabdhen, the presence of which,
619 in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above).
614 The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element
792 in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition
792 has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand
● [613] u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top imgharen of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a khums, and their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

[613] In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqqiwen of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the dispensing of baraka (which, it might be added, could only be inherited
614 by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent
616 liff alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver
182 in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with
792 the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally, "fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary and liff systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative, as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance, between holy and adjudicating imrabdhen, the 10% minority, and lay and warrior imrabdhen, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another
614 matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrab-
792 dhen as a clan: whether they are shurfa or not--and here again, one runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say "no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are genuine shurfa, although it is possible that these are, at least in part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the sunduq or box

2. THE INTER-LINEAGE PACT[9] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

671
628
613
728
[796]

Praise be to God...With the prolongation and extenuation of fire and discord between the sons of the celebrated saint Sidi 'Amar Bu Yawryan al-Yusifi al-Jilmami al-Ghalbzuri[10] of the subsegment (lit. farqa) of the Awlad Ukidar, and of that of the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, with the subsegment of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, their allies, their partisans among the Awlad Tahir Asrih al-Hishami, their patrilateral cousin the Murabit Sayyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar and their brother's sons supporting him, an intercession was initiated between both parties through which they desired to obtain the recompense of God by means of good acts, asking the two parties to incline toward reconciliation, which God qualifies by good work and promises to reward whomsoever puts it into practice; then they decided to initiate it for the space of one year from the present date until the same date of the following year.

In consequence, the first party, composed of the Faqih Muahammad Ashahbar Ukidar, his brothers by his father, his patrilateral cousins the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, such as his brother's son Hammu bin 'Abdallah, etc., appeared for judgment; after this, the second party, consisting of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, his father's brother Akuh, the patrilateral cousin of both the aforementioned, the Siyyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar, his brother's son and those of his party as well as those supporting the aforementioned second party of the subclan of Isrihan, the Awlad Tahir Asrich, such as Muhammad bin 'Aisa bin Tahir and all his patrilateral cousins, also appeared for judgment; they came to

671 agree to the abovementioned truce for one year starting from the present
628 date. All of them appeared for judgment in front of the shiyukh of the
613 Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') which exists in the vicinity of Sidi
728 Abu al-'Afif; attendance at this act was completely general, as there
[443] also came notables such as the blessed, distinguished and excellent
[686] sharif Sidi Ahmad the son of the celebrated saint Sidi Misa'ud, from whose grace God has let us avail ourselves; al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir al-'Abbasi; the shiyukh of Ajdir; the shiyukh of the Murabitin al-Jilmamiyin; and all in general, each of the parties arranging that in case either of them should break off the aforementioned truce in any way before the stipulated time of one year has elapsed, it shall pay a fine of 2000 duros (i.e. 20 x 100) to the shiyukh.

671 After responding with their goods and estates to the completed
628 arrangement, it was put into effect in the presence of the aforemen-
613 tioned shiyukh in the latters' shop in the aforementioned market; and it was accepted in full and in good faith, with neither party having the right to retract in either the present or the future, each one of them making itself responsible for the fulfillment of what has been set down and for which only those mentioned here have the responsibility.

(The obligation to) payment (of the fine) and the agreement are both complete, as indicated. (The undersigned witnesses) have testified to the testimonial capacity of everyone concerned, that on this day, in the interior of the aforementioned shop, each person concerned, among those known by sight and name, is of sound mind and memory and thus
[805] capable of testifying. On the first Wednesday of Rabi' al-Awwal of the Prophet, in the year 1335 (December 27, 1916).[11]

B) Commentary:

671 182 We have here a curious (sic) type of qanun, which, as we read it, reveals the decomposition which Rifian society had reached, the atomism to which its tribal anarchy led, the imperfection, or rather, the inefficacy, of its laws, the irregular coexistence, the demonstration of its independence.

628 613 728 The disputes between two lineages of the Aith Waryaghar threaten to exterminate them through the chain of blood-vengeance in the face of the indifferent attitude of their constituents, who are habituated to taking justice into their own hands in order to defend their own interests. Two rival groups of equal size attain, in their ferocious and persistent struggle, an equal number of losses, and they reach a stage of weariness, a moment of lassitude happily exploited in order to initiate a treaty of peace (author's italics), which will permit them to build up their resources; and this fact leads them to establish this agreement for one year. Those who will (686) see to it that the truce is kept are the shiyukh, to whose protection they submit and who are interested in the affair because of the inducement of the fine which the group must pay, if within this minimal space of time it contravenes what has been agreed upon in any way (author's italics).

671 613 628 728 554 This society lacks a strong executive power; it looked instinctively toward the web of lineages represented through its shiyukh or old chiefs (sic) (no one should believe that this title represented a step in any framework of governmental or judicial power) for a force which was neutral to its feuds and more powerful than itself, to which

671 613 628 728 554 by such a simple and voluntary act it was converted at the same time to an arbiter of incidents and an executor of decisions. The function is not gratuitous as in modern states, for if in the latter the contributor pays indirectly, he does so directly in the Rif. Their covetousness thus awakened, they evidently insured temporarily against feud renewal, but they also stipulated that it would revive the embers of their hatred.

671 613 628 182 [183] These agreements or inter-lineage truces obeyed a double mechanism originating from the vicious circle in which they were debated. On the one hand they originated a series of regulatory norms of coexistence which, gaining in amplitude of concept and extending their jurisdiction to the generalizing of their advantages and the persistence of their exemplarity, painfully came to gain the adhesion of other nearby and related lineages until they were adopted by larger social and territorial units, including districts or entire tribes; and this situation gave rise to some of those qanuns upon which we will comment further on. On the other hand, they represented the ultimate [728] [195] step to which anarchy led, responding to those most curious periods of their history in which one powerful group, having recourse to violence, broke the truce in defense of its own interests, the official recognition of this fact being given by the imgharen in the suq in the face of general consternation, with the tragic phrase War dha bu r-haqq.[12]

628 602 182 195 "Now there is no law"[13]: such was the official form of declaring the state of anarchy into which the Rifians so frequently fell, a phrase which obliged them to strengthen their kin group, without dismay and by all means in their power; for a man's kinsmen were his last refuge in case of social accident.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

195 181 628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 613 619 134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 671 182 [648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

671 [443] interest were discussed; in the suq resolutions of more importance were made by significant individuals, more important than the place which gave them a legal character.

Thus, in order to be valid, agreements and decisions had to conform to the following conditions: 1) agreement of the imgharen[16]; 2) necessity of a witness of exceptional character (a personality of religious significance, known and respected throughout the district); 3) registry by the tulba; and 4) proclamation in the suq. The above seems to be the mechanism of Rifian law.[17]

443 671 614 And in the suq a double character may be seen: place of business and temple of law, the latter more important than the former, because if it were the other way around, each clan would have various market sites and not just one, it seems to us; and furthermore, some clans, by virtue of their commercial topography would have been lacking in markets, which is also not the case.[18] Thus we believe, as stated in the first part of this work[19], that there is a correspondence between the clan as a social unit and the suq; in fact, we may go so far as to say that the former was the real fatherland (patria) of the Rifian, his political unit, a small independent republic, the distinctive feature of which was the suq, the temple of Rifian law.

3. INTER-LINEAGE QANUN,[20] SHOWING EXECUTIVE PROCEDURE (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 628 613 A) Qanun:

Praise be to God.--Copy taken from the text of a document after legalization, extended for the bearer of some.

[682] Praise be to God.--Upon the reciprocal guarantee (Blanco: note 1) made by Ait 'Aisa, Ait Tzurakhth, Izubu'an, Ait Haddu u Sa'id and

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

671 Isaghwan[21] with (the) Awlad Siddiq[22], in the Wednesday Market (Suq
628 al-Arba') of Tawrirt, in the presence of their notables (Blanco:
613 note 2), agreeing there (to fulfill what has been pacted among them)
682 that anyone who should kill another by treachery or cunning (Blanco: note 3) shall pay a great fine, the amount of which (may) be as high as 4000 duros. This was also agreed to in their Saturday Market (Suq al-Sabt) in front of the notaries of both parties.

On the betrayal and killing (Blanco: note 4) by the abovementioned Awlad Siddiq of Shu'aib bin al-Hajj 'Amar, the notables of both the abovementioned markets, accompanied by the rest of the people, went to their villages to look for them, camping there until the latter paid (Blanco: note 6), although they (e.g. the Awlad Siddiq) had agreed to this in their presence and in their abovementioned market (when the agreement took place) with respect to the fine expressed above (Blanco: note 7). Upon not finding any solution which would save them except that of handing over to them all their lands, both in the mountains and in Ait 'Aisa, their houses and their documents (Blanco: note 8), with which they remained free of the pressure which the notables and the rest of the people exercised over them (they opted for surrender).

[792] Then, everything which they handed over was valued at 1300 duros (Blanco: note 9) and after the estimate was made, the notables of both markets, including (Blanco: note 10) the sharif Sidi Ahmad bin Sidi al-Hajj Misa'ud[23], al-Hajj bin al-Hajj Am'awsh al-Tawrirti, 'Allal bin Haddu bin al-Hashimi u l-Fari (of the Axt Tuzin), Haddu bin Muhammad Amzyan al-Bu Khalafi[24], al-Talib al-Bukhamad al-Yunusi, Tuhami bin

671 al-Faqir Siddiq al-'Arusi, Muhammad ibn Tahra, Sidi Musa ibn al-Hajj
628 Sayyid 'Amar Tahtahi, Muhammad bin Bu Hammud Mulaidi; al-Hajj Sidi
613 Misa'ud al-Manduri; Sa'id bin al-Hajj Haddu al-Ufari, Muhammad bin
682 al-Faqir Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Barzi, Muhammad Bu Shu'an, and
[792] the rest of the notables of Tzurakhth (Blanco: note 11) sold all that was handed over to them to the brothers of the murdered man for the above sum, converting it into money.

(Blanco: note 12) The amount stated above was levied and the quantity (literally, price) was divided into four parts: 300 duros for the lineage of Izzugwaghen; the same for the Awlad al-Hajj 'Amar; the same for the Awlad Muhammad bin Muh bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Tazurakhti; and 150 duros for the Awlad Ahmad bin Taimunt (to be split) with Muhammad bin Tah, and the same for Muhammad bin Taimunt bin Misa'ud (to be split) with the Awlad Hammu Kabghith. One hundred (100) duros were divided in half between the son of Bukhalif, that is, Siddiq, and 'Abd al-Qadir Hashsha'.

(Blanco: note 13) Each of the abovementioned parties shall divide with its brothers (i.e. those of the same jurisdiction) the amount which it has exacted and with regard to the quantity of the same.

671 An irrevocable and non-retractable sale, effected (Blanco:
628 note 14) for repression and exemplary punishment. The sellers having
613 levied the total of the abovementioned sum, in the upper part of the
681 present qanun, from the hands of the buyers cited above, thus liberating
432 the sellers from all actions or reclamation regarding this matter and the above-cited buyer thus occupying (the lands) instead of the sellers, as his share. That is to say, occupying the place of the owner in the land, of the land which he buys and that of the owner of immovable

property in that belonging to him, in conformance with traditional law.[25]

Those who attended the present (act) brought their testimony to the above according to the requirements of the interested parties. --In the middle of Jumad al-Awwal of the year 1336 (February 27, 1918). --The 'adl, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hajj al-Warnuri.--Another, whose name is not known.--Another, Muhammad bin Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghazri.

B) Commentary:

The social disintegration which Rifian society has reached is proven by these individual agreements between dharfiqin (Blanco: note 1, corresponding to text of qanun). In the face of helplessness or irregular functioning of higher-level associations, the poor tribesmen, before falling into complete anarchy, hastened to conclude an agreement with a neighboring group in order to attenuate that anarchy, succeeding in the hard struggle for life on a poor soil. These agreements thus formed true islets of irregular and variable peace, anchored in functional (sic) anarchy.

The necessity of agreements between lower-level lineages, who were abandoned by the rudimentary organization, obeyed, according to my understanding, those most curious periods which followed the public declaration of anarchy in the suq, when one powerful group managed by force to sustain the punishment, breaking the truce.

As the dispute was generalized between two preponderant rivals, the unaffected groups, before falling into anarchy, and with that notable instinct of self-defense, worked to bring about these agreements,

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

628 "There is no law", the ingharen announced through the mouth of
616 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
[195] inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[203] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alliances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater efficacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

671 These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
628 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
728 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14) for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
721 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

671 628 613 728 Things went well, while the violators of the past were humble figures among the allied groups, incapacitated by their slight strength and the fact that they had few friends to abuse the pact by opposing themselves to other groups concerned; but when the equilibrium was upset or broken by the hatreds of the more distinguished lineage members, dragging their powerful lineages into the fray, the pact was wrecked and peace disappeared anew.

671 628 728 Observe in note 1 the guarantee of peace. In note 2, the formality of the agreement obtained. In note 3, the punishment. In note 4, the violation of the agreement. In note 5, the executive organ, the mass of the population. In note 6, the procedure. In note 7, the reason for the punishment, because it is a voluntary law. In notes 8 and 9, the fulfillment. In notes 10 and 11, the notables, the really significant personages, the Aitharbi'in. In notes 12 and and 13, with economic details, the democratic sensation of defective practice. In note 14, the Rifian illusion.

671 628 152 Notes 3 and 4 seem to show that Rifian custom is not designed to punish the loyal combatant, who, in an inflamed dispute, comes impulsively to make use of arms, incapable of dominating his instincts and always quick to defend his rights, but also to avoid treachery, cunning and hatred, or rather, vengeance, reprisal, from which the Rifians did not know how to free themselves, and which used up men and families. This is a notion which renders honors to manhood and stigmatizes the coward.

554 671 In notes 2, 10 and 11 it may be seen who the Rifians of significance are and that only these men, and not the ordinary tribesmen, are the executives and legislators. This proves what has been said

671 It may also be seen that here there appear no Arabic names of tribal functionaries, such as qa'id, qadi or mqaddim.

[693] The notaries who sign the documents limit themselves, then, to the registry of acts passed by the lay committee or customary tribunal.[27]

000 This procedure clarifies the executive prpcedure in notes 5, 6, 7 and 8.

627 613 The notables and a coterie of friends, family or volunteers, or, simply, hungry men, fall like locusts upon the households of the lineage-mates (agnates) of the accused, and they do not budge until the matter is settled; either this, or they throw them out of doors.[28] Documents and lands, proofs and possessions; the accused's agnates must hand over all of these, as well as their very houses. They have violated the pact and the pledged word. They can only save their own [628] persons, and this with difficulty, thanks to the force of vengeance, bloodfeud and reprisal, to the raqba[29], which may be taken by any member of the victim's family (i.e. any of the victim's agnates).

627 It is a rapid procedure, but not because the law or its executive organs are rapid, for, as among Europeans, as it is their own flesh which suffers, they are in no great hurry. In the Rif, the man who most strongly urges liquidation of these affairs is the one responsible for the crime, and his agnates. However, much beforehand accounts may be adjusted, the matter is over before they will see themselves free of the locusts in their quarters and before they will be able to save bread. After a few days, which are hard to stretch out, the provisions, already considerably reduced, will begin to get

627 very scarce and will soon give out altogether.

627 This period is that of smoothing over. Those responsible hide
614 their possessions, assure (the imgharen) that they have nothing, only a goat and a cow and a tiny plot of land: this is all they can offer, along with their house. The rest had been mortgaged[30], etc. The imgharen, sure in their convictions, do not agree....The members of the victim's family deny having any more possessions.

The neighbors of those responsible for the crime who are also obliged to put up lodgers become impatient and denounce possible concealments. The imgharen continue without deciding, and then their buying begins. Finally a moment arrives in which they hear no more offers or denunciations of those responsible for the crime. All, including the coterie, grumble, become tired and begin to desert, finally going back
627 to their homes. The notables, satiated and fed up, see that this is
614 the time to stop in the struggle and investigations, because of what
613 they hurried to auction when it was taken over, the gross value of which they distribute equally among the lineages concerned in the
[594] agreement, except for that of the man who violated it. This distribution, which the representatives of the lineages present parcel out among their lineage-mates, must in turn be parcelled out by the latter among the nuclear families, and by these among the members of each
[262] family. And thus, one fine day, the imgharen and their numerous coterie, nourished with barley, bread, butter and hard-boiled eggs, abandon those places which they have left as clean as the palms of their hands; for Rifian notions of justice are now satisfied and the lineage responsible for the crime remains in misery.

695 Valid and complete testimony in virtue of which both instrumental witnesses bring testimony against them.

800 (Two illegible signatures follow.)

692 At the same time, they agreed that whoever should commit any of the wrongs (literally, "things") expressed herein, the case, together with him (the man who committed it) shall be taken to Sayyid Mhammad bin Musa[32] and Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Ali[33] (Blanco: note d).

685 Whoever enters an orchard with intent to rob shall pay 20 uqiyyas. If a bull should start to trample property adjacent to that 685 672 of its owner, the latter shall pay one peseta.

The guarantors (of the fulfillment of this agreement) are three. The Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah, and Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan (Blanco: note e).

[681] Regarding the amount (of the fines imposed) with respect to orchards in cases in which they are injured by animals, this will be donated to their mosque (Blanco: note f).

If they should break a branch of a fig or other tree belonging to anyone, the owner of the animals will pay 20 (uqiyyas).

800 A signature in Arabic follows, which appears to be al-Bu Jma' bin Muhammad (signed).

B) Commentary:

671 624 The reading of this qanun clearly indicates in its first paragraph the names of those who have established it, all of them members of the jma'th of Imhauren, bordering the Island of Alhucemas, in the plain of the same name. Every two or three headmen or iziddifen (sing., 624 613 554 aziddif, "head") are the visible representatives of the lineage groups

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
● 613
554 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
[182] presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its repre-
792 sentatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692
554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692
212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
671 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
521
571 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
437 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of
556
152 some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628
177 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613
623 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that somebody had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
687 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus public

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
687 elty, for....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that
685 the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

691 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good, natural and admirable feeling.

182 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
671 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
626 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
681
613

691 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take 687 683 justice into his own hands (literally, "rahsacking to collect a debt") shall pay 50 duros, and the same for whoever should attack another on 689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of 681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made 443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul) 693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanuns, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

671 component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to
614 disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual
613 interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing in-
182 fluence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

671 7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)
693
695 A) Qanun:
623
621 Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the under-
782 signed notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya) made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this
682 kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-
613 mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros.
682 This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55]
443 or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

671
628
681
184
443 1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in certain qanuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

681
619
443 In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681 For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is

681
628
682
614
619
443
613 therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

616
613 While relationships with one's own and neighboring lineages, regulated by tradition, were maintained, the liff did not plead permanence as a hope of reward, but whenever injustice or violence, ripping up their pact or norms of coexistence, left an individual or his lineage-mates helpless, these latter attained in the liff a final support for their rights and in all cases a secure material refuge for their persons and possessions.

616
779 The liff must not be compared to European political parties (author's italics), for these are activated under a religious aegis or under a governmental form, both things being ones which did not enter into the preoccupations of the Rifians, for whom republics and Islam were points which did not admit controversy even in the slightest degree. Destined to a rude struggle for existence in a harsh and miserable environment, the speculations of the spirit had neither place nor occasion to make themselves felt in the fact of the other, primordial and undeferable.

616
182 To any presumed victims the liff was the best guarantee and forewarning, as through it individuals and social units were forced to bring about the alliances (author's italics) which they deemed necessary in order to oppose adverse forces; and thus they insured their own existence.

616
613
619
182 The mechanism of the liff worked the miracle, in the anarchical (sic) state of Rifian society, of permitting the coexistence of the family or kin group or social unit (i.e. the lineage, on whatever level), as small as it might be, among others more numerous in point of population with no diminution of its integrity; and this fact permitted the

616
613 survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian
619 Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were sur-
182 rounded by powerful neighbors.

616 Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family,
182 the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616 I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or
121 the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616 It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

671 This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the
614 clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe.
619 Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring
644 clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the
648 border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

312 uggugen) for the source or origin of irrigation ditches and as partitions of the waters on both banks. After a dam has been set up, built to hold as much water as possible, it is converted into a ditch-head, in which the necessary outlets are made, and it thus acts as the point of origin of the principal or primary ditches which have a permanent flow of water; these are usually two or three in number. Although [183] these outlets are irregular, the Rifians say that a half or a third of the water is utilized in distribution; and although this is what happens in practice, in theory the distribution is far from perfect, as the tribesmen do not take into account the width nor the depth of the outlets; and these are improvised, if not actually variable. The primary ditches are distributed and divided in this way into secondary branches, if these are necessary, in which the irrigation turns proper are initiated, which means that they only take up water for twenty-four hours; therefore, if there are four secondary ditches, each one [805] will take up water every four days. These secondary ditches are subdivided in turn into other tertiary branches, also of periodic or intermittent flow, which do not take up water other than during the day or at night; and these originate the irrigation furrows of individuals which do not take up any water other than at certain hours, which are determined by those of the principal daily prayers.

312 591 613 596 This distribution of irrigation water is intimately linked to the Rifian lineage system, to the dharfiqth (which tends to have a 24-hour turn) and its component ijujga, and it is completed with one order of turns begun in the tertiary ditches through which if one of these ditches, during its turn, takes up water during the daytime,

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns

312 571 805 was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

312
591
613
596

It has a turn cycle of six days, which are distributed among the four lineages (dharfiqin), these in turn dividing their turns among their respective branches (ijujga), in the following order:

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Hammu; U Haddu)

2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Xikhrif; U Yihya u Musa)

3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Mis'aud u Yusif; W 'Alla w Ujdir)

4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Dris; W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan)

5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir

6th Day (24 hours): Zawith (Fisra and Andrusen--Ushannen--Ihaddallahan--Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi)[133]

On the seventh day, the sequence is repeated.

Sidd Dharga n-Bulma'iz: on the right bank. It begins, as does l-Bzimma, at Bu Harishen, crossing the river in order to divide its water with Dharga n Tfadhna, and each one of these three ditches receives one-third of the permanent flow taken in at Bu Harishen. It runs for a few kilometers and reaches the sea at Swani Waddai (Lower [402] Swani). It moves three mills, the first belonging to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and 'Abdinnbi, the second to I'arhuthen and the third to Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru.[134]

It has a turn cycle of three days for the three dharfiqin indicated, and they in turn distribute the water among their ijujga, which make [805] them up in their own way. The turn begins at the maghrib, or sunset prayer.

1st Day (24 hours): Imhauren: Aith 'Aru Hmid
Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid
Aith Muhand u Hmid
Aith Bu Dhimmus (only when water is scarce)[135]

312
571
613
596

2nd Day (24 hours): Dhifirasin: Aith Mhand u Yihya
Im'aruwen[136]

3rd Day (24 hours): r-Hujjaj: Aith r-'Arbi
Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
I'arhuthen[137]

312
571
182
613
[596]

We thus have, in the regimen of the ditch with which we are dealing, an excellent example of Rifian solidarity, observable in the turn of the Imhauren, as in times of dryness or drought, when they need more themselves, they hasten to aid their neighbors of Aith Bu Dhimmus (who are ordinarily limited to their own turn of hours of irrigation in another ditch, that of Thafadhna, as we shall see later), although by this the other three lineage branches or ijujga only harm themselves, because they defer one of their own turns by nine more days, and even if the turn is a small one in itself, they only receive it once every nine days.

312
571

For a better understanding of the mechanics of irrigation among Rifians, we shall study in greater detail the order which is followed in this ditch[138], for it is curious to observe how they have simplified it, in spite of the modifications which are introduced in the case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus, for example, with its intermittent (author's italics) rights, so as not to interrupt the turn in general; but, at the same time, how can we explain the miracle of how the thousands of Rifian irrigators and the labyrinth of ditches which traverse the Plain of al-Husaima do not produce any disturbances nor give rise to any incidents other than those occasioned by ignorance on the part of the Europeans, of which the Rifians of importance sometimes try to take advantage or the avarice of the fortunately few and ill-named "colons"?

312
571
613

We may see the ingenuity with which they resolve the problem of irrigation during twenty-four hours in a three-day turn, the same to each of the lineages of the ordinary turn as to the nine days in the exceptional case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus.

Ordinary turn:

1st Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid

2nd Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya

3rd Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Aith r-'Arbi

4th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

5th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Im'aruwen

6th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru

7th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith Muhand u Hmid

8th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya (again)

9th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--I'arhuthen (I'abbuthen, probably)

10th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid (again)

[596] And thus the turn is repeated, except for Dhifirasin, which with only two (irrigating) ijujga alternates between one and the other every time its turn comes around. We see here that in the ordinary turn the nubath (pl. of nubth, "turn") of Dhifirasin irrigate once every three days, while those of Imhauren and r-Hujjaj irrigate once every nine days. Now, if we insert Aith Bu Dhimmus into the picture, we see that Dhifirasin continues to irrigate once every three days and r-Hujjaj once every nine, both on the same day as before, while, on the other hand, because of this shift, Imhauren, to which dharfiqth the new irrigators belong[139], irrigates four out of five times once every nine days and once out of five times once every eighteen days, with the

312
571
613

intercalated newcomers irrigating once every twelve days, as shown below, instead of the four lineages of Imhauren rotating every twelve days if they would have been given the right to irrigate with them.

We may observe that in reality, without any alteration of the general turn and without any injury to the other two neighboring dharfiqin which are slightly further away, the thirst of the Aith Bu Dhimmus is miraculously quenched, and how this happens:

1st Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith 'Aru Hmid

2nd Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

3rd Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

4th Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)

5th Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)

6th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru (r-Hujjaj)

7th Day: Aith Muhand u Hmid (Imhauren)

8th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

9th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)

10th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn

11th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

12th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

13th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

14th Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)

15th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru (r-Hujjaj)

16th Day: Aith Muhand u Hmid (Imhauren)

17th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

18th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)

19th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)

312 20th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
571 21st Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)
●613 22nd Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn
23rd Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)
24th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
25th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith Muhand u Hmid
26th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
27th Day: I'arbuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)
28th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)
29th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
30th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

And so on.[140] To attempt to vary this unending chain which the [182] irrigation turns of the Rifians make up in those ditches with permanent flow is to promote major altercations and to upset the equilibrium of the whole of the Plain of al-Husaima.

312 The simple attempt by a Rifian miller to divert for a few
571 seconds the water of Bufma'iz so that it would flow to his turbine mill,
402 I recall, provided the motive for a sudden and vehement protest by the
578 users of this ditch, en masse, to the authorities; the whole Plain of al-Husaima took alarm to such an extent that no procedure nor influence (on the part of the authorities) could be brought to bear toward the peaceful possibility that the people might acknowledge the man's alleged right; and, nevertheless, this Plain needs more than a concerted arrangement and ordination, an improvement and rectification of the principal ditches;[141] and above all it needs a possible increase of flow for the outlet of subterranean or subalveal waters.

312
571
613
(402)

Sidd Dharga n Tfadhna: on the right bank. It takes half the water from Bufma'iz, and therefore begins, as do the other two, in Bu Harishen, the permanent flow taking up one-third of the dam. It moves four mills: that of Muhammad Akuh and Si Muhammad Budra; downstream, that of Dharwa nd-Hajj Shiddi; the next, that of Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith, Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and Muhand nd-Hajj Hammu; and finally, that of Dharwa nd-Hajj Hammush.[142]

The turn is one of three days for the three dharfiqin using the ditch, and each lineage redistributes its twenty-four-hour flow as follows:[143]

1st Day: Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit

2nd Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours): Ajdir (12 hours)

Andrusen (2 hours 40 minutes or one-fifth)

Aith Bu Dhimmus (9 hours 20 minutes or four-fifths)[144]

(Andrusen and Aith Bu Dhimmus thus irrigate 12 hours between them)

3rd Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren) (24 hours): Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

Aith Muhand u Hmid

Aith 'Aru Hmid

The Ghis also provides water for three other ditches before it empties into the sea: Tuth ("mulberry") and Hammam[145] on its left bank and Shimurra on its right; but they do not have a permanent flow like the others discussed above, nor for that matter is their regimen or capacity, which is somewhat arbitrary and subordinate to the others, well regulated, for an irrigator, during his turn, can, if he wants,

312 571 613 [402] lead the water to which he has a right in any of the main ditches into these three smaller ones. The ditch of Tuth, when it has water, moves the mill of Dharwa nd-Hajj Mis'aud. The irrigators of the Tafadhna ditch, whether the turn is interrupted or not, have the right to use that of Shimurra, but giving first choice to those who use it regularly.

16. QANUN OF THE NKUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 675 The Nkur River has an irrigation regimen which is less exact than that of the Ghis, and the written agreements on the distribution of its waters are few and recent. One of them refers to the division of waters between the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intervention of the Bureau of the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir).[146] In any case, the establishment of such agreements is based upon the same notions and the same norms as in those pertaining to the Ghis.A

312 [621] In the Middle and Upper Nkur, there is more than enough water to irrigate the meanders which the river has created, through which it is easy to affix by-laws to the 'azibs[147] of the neighboring jma'ths which own land on its banks, given the small amount of land under irrigation. [241] There is even freedom and waste, and it is not uncommon to see, during harvest time, the formation of tiny threshing floors with capricious irrigation-furrows of 300 and 500 meters in the middle of the river bed.

[619] There are meanders like Dhaghzwith n Dasa (upstream, in the territory of Axt Tuzin, and near the bridge on the right bank) and Dhazur-akhth (downstream, in the territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also right beside the same bridge, but on the left bank), which are of relatively large dimension and which have already stabilized turns; but the real difficulties and concomitant near-perfect solutions are

A, [See pp. 361-369--Analyst]

000 which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

312 613 The flow taken up by the Aith Waryaghar bathes the meander of Sidi r-Hajj Yusif[161], and is used by the Aith Umnudh lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. It is divided [571] into two turns of twenty-four hours each: one for the lineage branch of Aith Ishshu (some 80 irrigators) and the other for the lineage branch of "True" Aith Umnudh (some 130 irrigators).[162] The flow taken up by the Axt Tuzin (clan of the Axt 'Akki) is distributed through the Dharga n Tufdhisth.

312 [823] [103] Azru n Srith ("The Rock of the Bride"): This legendary site[163], the point of departure for water from the pond of Thanda Hawa, beside the tomb of Sidi Birqi, is the principal shed for the waters of the Nkur River, and four ditches flow from it: one on the left, or Aith Waryaghar, side, Dharga n Tufrashth, and three on the right, called Sunduq (Axt Tuzin), Sidd Asiyar[164] (Thimsaman) and Ihajjamen ("barbers") (Thimsaman), respectively.

Sunduq and Tufrasht divide water into equal parts. In turn, the Sunduq ditch, by the same token, divides it with Dharga Usiyar, and the latter, in turn, with Ihajjamen, which in time of scarcity has no water.

[571] [613] The turn cycle of Dharga n Tufrasht is five days for Izakiren and two for Ighmiren.[165]

Dharga Sidd 'Arridh: begins at the same height as Dharga Hadhidha, on the other (west) bank, and beside and just upstream from the crossing of the main Tetuan-Melilla road and the piste to the Thimsaman.[166]

000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.

[996] [732] 67--This saint, nicknamed Bu Rjila, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of baraka were legendary.

[613] [614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.

69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.

70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.

71--The jillab is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.

72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.

[464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.

[114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.

75--Blanco actually means aitharba'in rather than agraw in this particular context.

[113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.

77--Ra'is in Arabic is "headman", from ras, "head".

[992] [113] 78--Mulay Admad al-Raisuli was a sharif from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, The Sultan of the Mountains, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4
Aith Siddat

000 S [619] 95--The two tribes in question are Bni Bu Frah and Bni Gmil, the former a predominantly Rifian even though largely Arabic-speaking tribe, and the latter, also predominantly Arabic speaking, disclaimed by both the Rifians and the Sinhaja Srir.

R [613] 96--A lineage of the clan of Agni, of the Bni Bu Frah, this unit, as indicated by its name, came from the tribe of the Igzinnayen. It is the second of the two Rifian-speaking lineages of the Bni Bu Frah.

97--Two questions emerge here. First, the text refers to "both clans", when in actual fact Bni Bu Frah has four clans. This may, however, mean one of two things: a reference to Muhammad bin al-'Arbi, the Awlad Ghadura and their allies (Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura being considered as one clan and the allies as another), or it may in fact refer to the two liffs into which the tribe was split and thus embrace all four clans. The first, in context, seems more probable. This jibes with Blanco's statement, in the commentary (note 259), that the two clans in question are Agni and Ulad S'aid.

Secondly, we find, in the notion of payment for combatting their own people, a contradiction in terms. But this can probably be explained away by the fact that what this statement (which is highly unclear) probably refers to is that those who stay on the tribal border and combat any of their tribal brethren who try to evade the collective obligation by sneaking home are indeed exempt from payment of any fine, because their conduct has been exemplary.

R [613] [619] S [619] One further point: the fact that lineages from every clan of the Bni Bu Frah are mentioned in this border agreement suggests the total involvement of the tribe as well as, implicitly, that of all of the Bni Gmil; for in small tribes, such involvement is total, whereas in large ones, such as the Aith Waryaghar or the Igzinnayen, this may not be (and indeed often is not) the case.

R [613] [614] S [619] 98--Even so, lineages from the other two clans of the Bni Bu Frah, Swahil and Ibuyihyathen, also appear to have been involved (see text of qanun); and presumably all or most of the Bni Gmil was involved as well, though this is nowhere stated in the text.

99--The mobility of tribal borders to which Blanco alludes here was quite relative; and it was far less great than, for instance, that among desert Bedouins, or even transhumants.

100--The liff system is perhaps a center-piece in Rifian political organization; but it is not the only one. There are other institutions with almost equal claims to primacy, such as the plural oath.

101--The liff system did bind together different social units, but always, let it be remembered, those of the same order or level of segmentation--unless, for example, a shift in alliance occurred, in which case it was possible for a liff to move upward or downward (in a structural sense) in gaining or losing new adherents.

It will be noted that the bulk of Blanco's commentary on liffs here is substantially the same as his chapter on the same subject in Der. Cons. Rif.

600 102--Whether by this Blanco is referring to the two rival bands within a tribe (i.e. the Rifian liff system as described in successive notes in Book 2) or to the rival bands of Ghmara and Sinhaja he does not specify; but we suspect the reference is to the latter, and we have already put our own view on this subject forward elsewhere.

103--As they could also, no doubt, for the theory of whether liffs start wars or stop them.

[C13] 104--An examination of the segmentation of the Bni Bu Frah shows us that lineages from all four of the tribal clans are in fact parties to the border defense agreement.

105--It is not clear from the original mss. whether by "least clear or tangible" Blanco refers to the tribe of the Bni Bu Frah or to the aspects of Rifian political organization under consideration.

106--Once again: for ddiyith, read rhaqq. This consistent howler becomes tiresome!

107--A somewhat similar situation, although born of quite different circumstances, is revealed in a tripartite qanun dated 1909 and translated and commented upon by Manuel Llord O'Lawlor ("Un Canon Bereber Tripartito", Tamuda, IV, 2, 1957, pp. 305-309), which involves an agreement between two Ghmaran tribes, Bni Smih and Bni Grir, and one "Rifian" (by default, as it is entirely arabic-speaking) tribe, Mtiwa, to establish a ribat in the harim or sacred territory surrounding the tomb of Sidi Yahya al-Wardani in Mtiwa; for Sidi Yahya is regularly visited every year, in mid-August, by all the surrounding tribes.

108--The punishment for whoever does not obey the order in question is not stated.

109--Literally, "big man of the military expedition"; under 'Abd al-Krim it referred to a top commander of tribal levies, rather than Rifian Army regular.

110--'Abd a-Krim Haddu n Si Ziyan, of Ajdir, and 'Abd al-Krim's cousin (and therefore a member of the lineage of Aith Zar'a), was the latter's qa'id al-mishwar (a term which might be translated as "privy counselor"). He took over all of Raisuli's money, after the latter was jailed in Thamasind early in 1925, and handed it over to 'Abd al-Krim.

111--Of this document, we have only the Spanish translation; there is no photocopy of the Arabic original in La Ley Rifeña.

[226] [184] 112--There is, in actual fact, very little fishing among the Aith Waryaghar, who possess only a very small strip of beach where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the sea, at Swani. The Ibuqquyen and Thimsaman, their neighbors to the west and east respectively, are more active fishermen.

113--The agharrabu is the standard Rifian fishing-boat. Made of pine-wood and caulked with tar, it measures 6 m. x 2 m. x 1 m., and in 1954, cost about 7000-8000 pesetas. It is a rowboat, with oarlocks beside each of its three or four benches such that if one bench has an oarlock on its right side, the one in front of it or behind it will have one on the left side, etc. Oars measure 3 m. in length. Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 43) speaks of the existence of sailboats on the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, but says they are less common than the agharrabu described

000 118--Malaria, of the "paludism" variety, was a considerable problem in the Rif of 1939, of which Blanco writes. In 1952-53, however, the Spanish administration conducted a vigorous DDT campaign, which made considerable strides in stamping out this disease.

119--Twiza is also often translated as "corvee". In Rifian, the word is dhiwiza, pl. dhiwizawin.

120--Any individual who failed to show up to take part in a twiza organized for repairing a ditch (of which he was--or is--one of the users) had to pay a fine ranging from about three to five duros. This fine, however, was not and is not paid to the aquwwam, but is levied as r-haqq by the jma'th in question, whose members buy and consume tea and sugar with the proceeds.

121--Irrigation turns, after the lots have been drawn to establish the order in which they occur, continue in the same order until something happens to the ditch, i.e. if it is washed out by a storm or if it loses water completely; and then lots are drawn again.

122--In 1953, the Granja Agricola had two days out of an eight day irrigation turn cycle, from the Dharga Hadhidha, on the left bank of the Nkur River. The other six days, the following lineages irrigated from the same ditch: Bu Srama (Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen n Waddai (Isrihan, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Ihaddjiyen (Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), r-'Aramth (affiliation unknown), Aith 'Alla (Imhawren, in the Aith 'Ari) and Aith Bu Minqadh (a "foreign element", supposedly from the Sus, in the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari).

123--An akhammas is a poor sharecropper who receives one-fifth of the grain harvest of a richer individual with whom he has an annual verbal contract.

124--Blanco handles in a most able manner the whole question of the relationship of irrigation turns to lineage structure. Although by no means 100% accurate in all instances, his equation of the usage of secondary ditches by dharfiqin and of the smaller tertiary branches by the ijujga, or lineage branches, is certainly correct enough and widespread enough, in the Plain of al-Husaima in particular (where the distribution of irrigation turns is a very complicated affair), to be taken as a rule of thumb.

125--This seems a strange remark, particularly because it is italicized; as only plowing and sowing takes place in winter in the Rif, while the harvest is taken in mid-summer. However, it is possibly intended in irony, to show the poverty of the region.

126--Blanco refers here, in somewhat poetic and rhapsodic fashion, to the great topographical difference between the arid mountains along the upper course of the Ghis and the fertile alluvial Plain of al-Husaima which characterizes much of its lower course.

127--This number may have been 55 in 1939; it was certainly much higher in 1961.

128--Blanco mistranslates l-Bzimma, and, by extension, al-Masimma, as "the renowned".

000
[614] consideration here) are affiliated with the Ajdir segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan.

[614] 137--All three lineages are member groups of the subclan of the Tigarth in the clan of the Aith 'Ari.

312 591 613 114 138--Our own notes on the division of irrigation water from Dharga n-Bulma'iz are a little at variance with those of Blanco. There are three turns of 24 hours each, for the secondary ditches of Dhifirasin, r-Ghis Burma'iz and Thafadhna n Dara (Upper Dhafadhna). The Dhifirasin turn is distributed among the lineages of the Ibukriwen, Ihanjiqen (both of Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Plain) and Im'aruwen (this is exactly as Blanco indicates); but the Ghis Burma'iz turn is limited only to the three lineages of the Imhawren, i.e. the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid. The Tafadhna n Dara turn is divided between the lineage of the Yinn Si 'Amar (branches of Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Amar and Dharwa nd-Hajj Muhand) of Lower Imrabdhen, clan of the Imrabdhen; and the Aith Bu Dhimmus (Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush); and this is very much at variance with what Blanco says. It is possible, but unlikely, that a change in order may have taken place after the Spanish administration put cement bases in the three principal ditches (r-Bzimma, Bulma'iz and Dthafadhna) in the Lower Ghis; and the cementing occurred long after Blanco left the Rif. It is easier (and probably more plausible) to attribute the discrepancy to ambiguity among informants; but here again, the pitfall of using ambiguity as a scapegoat is that even the least intelligent users of any ditch are always thoroughly conversant with which lineages use it, how much time and how long the cycle is, and in what order it comes. For it is standard irrigation practice in the Plain of al-Husaima that each dharfiqth receives water for 24 hours at a stretch, and that after this, the supply is cut off so that other dharfiqin can irrigate.

000
[114] 139--Blanco is in error here for not being familiar with the segmentary
[614] minutiae of the Aith Waryaghar. The Aith Bu Dhimmus lineage does not belong at all to the dharfiqth of the Imhawren, whose clan affiliations are with the Aith 'Ari, but to that of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar in the subclan of the Isrihan, of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[114] 140--Our own fieldnotes on the subject say nothing of the staggered, around-the-clock rotation every twelve days of the Aith Bu Dhimmus after their insertion into the routine of the Imhawren turn; but we think we are at fault here for not having gone into the matter thoroughly enough. Blanco is indeed to be congratulated here not only on a truly original discovery, but on an excellent exposition of his material as well.

141--This statement proves that in Blanco's time the three principal ditches emanating from the Lower Ghis had not yet been cemented.

142--Only the lineage of the Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith is of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari; all the rest of the individuals and lineages mentioned here are resident in Ajdir of the Aith Ughir Izan subclan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

143--Our own notes on the distribution of water from the Tafadhna ditch, while not as detailed as those of Blanco, are nonetheless largely in accord with his. The ditch has a three-day cycle: Imhawren (24 hours),

000 with the lineages of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid irrigating; Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours) with the Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush irrigating; and Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit (24 hours).

[114] 144--Blanco gives the "9 hours 20 minutes" figure (the difference between 12 hours and 2 hours 40 minutes) as "h. 60", which seems to make no sense whatsoever, and may be simply a typographical error.

[103] 145--Our notes record this as one ditch, called Sidd Tuth r-Hammam ("mulberry in the heat"?), a lower extension, in fact, of Sidd Dharga nd-Bzimma. It has a two-day turn, distributed as follows: U Kammuni, U r-Qadhi, U 'Amar u Bukar, U Muhand and Zawith. As in the l-Bzimma ditch, these names are purely names of turns, and not names of actual lineages located in the area around the ditch. However, at least three of the turn names recall present lineage segments of the clan of the Imrabdhen: U Kammuni and U r-Qadhi recall the Aith Kammun and Aith r-Qadhi in the Upper Imrabdhen, and U 'Amar u Bukar recalls the Aith 'Amar u Bukar in the Lower Imrabdhen. Given this fact, it is also possible, therefore, that Zawith in this context might refer either to the Zawith n Sidi Yusif in the Lower Imrabdhen or to the Zawith n Sidi 'Aisa or Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar in the Upper Imrabdhen. The turn name U Muhand is too generalized to provide any lead.

146--Blanco unfortunately does not provide us with a translation of this document.

147--'Azib, in an Arabic dictionary, is generally given the meaning of "estate", but it is one of many words in Arabic which mean different things to different groups of people. In the Central Atlas, it refers to a shepherd's shelter in a summer pasturage area; and in the Rif it refers to a second house built by an individual who already owns one, preferably a second house in which he spends a certain season of the year, such as summer. Such an individual is called a'azzab, pl. i'azzaben, and there are very few of them in the Central Rif, where transhumance, in any form, is non-existent.

148--The tribes in question which are bounded by the Lower Nkur are the Aith Waryaghar on the west bank and the Thimsaman on the east; but it should also be remembered that the Middle and even a part of the Upper Nkur divides the Aith Waryaghar (west) from the Axt Tuzin (east).

[121] [613] [614] 149--The latter is a lineage-community of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the former (Imzuren) is a thoroughly mixed local community, with elements of the Aith 'Ari, Aith Yusif w 'Ari Imrabdhen and even the Aith Bu 'Ayyash clans all included.

[113] 150--Our notes on Dharga n Dahar state that it has nine turns: five for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (by which, naturally, is meant only those lineage segments of this clan localized around the area of the ditch), and the remaining four as follows: Abyadh (the Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Isrihan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Thasrand Imziren (half for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and half for the Aith Musa w 'Amar), Ihaddushen (a branch of the Aith Musa w 'Amar) and Imzuren. In each one of these turns, there are 7 or 8 nubath. From Thasrand Imziren to the Nkur, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash irrigate; and from Ihaddushen to Imzuren, the Aith 'Ari do so.

000

151--The third-mentioned individual was from the Aith Bu Qiyadhen lineage of the Aith 'Adhiya subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and the fourth from Ajdir of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The others were unidentified.

312 591 613 614

152--Sidd r-Hajib irrigates the Aith Musa W. 'Amar and Iswiqen n Waddai (affiliated with the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), for the most part. Sidd Inufan irrigates the territory of the same lineages, as well as the land of a few intrusive families of Shurfa Wazzaniyin from Snada (Aith Yittuft), those of Sidi l-Hajj Mikki and Sidi Brahim. Sidd Bu Kra' irrigates up through Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), as well as r-Mruj and Ahamri (the site of the Granja). Sidd Ahammar irrigates land bought by the Hajj Hmid n 'Abdssram Bu 'Ayyashi, the son of 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand Bu Qiyadhen mentioned in note 151; and it irrigates land of the Ihankuren lineage (in Aith Musa w 'Amar) as well. Sidd Miskur irrigates Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar) and the Ifqiren (Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen).

153--These ditches are presumably named for the lineages which use them: Tigarth and I'abbuthen (both of the Tigarth subclan) in the Aith 'Ari, and Aith Misa'ud in the Lower Imrabdhen.

154--Sidd Tagharbund irrigates for the Ihankuren (of Aith Musa w 'Amar of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), certain lineages of Bu Minqad (again of the Aith r-'Abbas of the Aith 'Ari), the (Lower) Imrabdhen of r-'Azih Imzuren, and, in 1953, for the then Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), Mikki n Sriman r-Khattabi, of Ajdir. Sidd 'Abdallah irrigates for the Ifqiren lineage (of Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen subclan) at r-'Azib Imzuren, Sidd Arbib ("dam of the step-child") irrigates for the Ifqiren and Ma'iza lineages (also of Aith 'Amar u Bukar) at r-'Azib Imzuren. Sidd Ishtari irrigates for the Imrabdhen of r-'Azib Imzuren, and for the Imhawren, Aith Musa w 'Amar and Bu Minqadh lineages (the last three of the Aith 'Ari).

155--As indicated, the Imhawren are a subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the Aith Mhand u Yihya are a lineage of the Isrihan subclan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

000

156--For whom, presumably, the ditch was named in the first place, as those of its members who are nearest it share a turn from its water.

[613] [591]

157--Our notes state that the Dharga n Tmsaman always has a right to one-third of the water from Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan; and that there are four, rather than three, turns of 24 hours each, the fourth being that of the Aith 'Amar u Bukar (Lower Imrabdhen) of Ma'iza.

[613] [614]

158--A lineage of Izakiren community in the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

159--Sidd Jdid is used in summer, when water is scarce, by the same lineages who use Dharga n Tmsaman.

160--This document is not given by Blanco in translation.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

[755] [782]

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[793] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

104 624 [686] by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

000 172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

[613] 173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

[554] [648] [631] 176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

[614] 177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[224] [113] 179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

224 619 689 114 182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

224 671 [114] [178] We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

224 628 613 614 186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.

A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]

175 The social facts are, however, somewhat clearer. The
648 Berber tribes of the Central Rif were a part of the bled-as-siba,
651 or that area in which the central Moroccan government (bled-al-makhzen) failed to exercise effective control. The boundary between the one and the other was determined by whether within the area in question the makhzen could or could not collect taxes. If a tribe had voluntarily or involuntarily submitted to the payment of tribute, there would be a royal intermediary, a qaid, to collect revenue. In the Rif such dominancy was not present until the Spanish, or in the case of the Igzinnayen, the French, were able to assert supremacy.

619 A complimentary feature of the bled-as-siba, at least as
(648) it obtained in the Central Rif, was that not only were the tribes independent of the makhzen but within any particular tribe itself, the internal segments of which it consisted were independent in most instances from one another. There was no tradition of centralization in this region. Each tribe (taqbitch) was divided into segments of varying degrees of inclusiveness. The maximal
619 lineages or ar-rba agreed that they belonged to a common social
613 group which was socially, geographically, and to some extent linguistically distinct from other taqbitch. This social entity was evoked more in terms of space than of time. If one lived within the spacial limits of the tribe one was a member of that group. However, rights and duties within the taqbitch were nebulous and a Riffian would only use his tribal identity to someone who was unacquainted with local political sub-divisions. As a

619 temporal entity the tribe was only rarely a corporate group as in
613 times of invasion. Even on these occasions tribal-wide support was difficult to solidify since each lineage spokesman had the option of joining in or staying out. In a land where personal and familial enmity was so intense, it was not uncommon for a tribal segment to remain neutral or migrate away, temporarily or permanently, to avoid making common cause with tribal affiliates who might murder them. There were even occasions in which tribal segments allied themselves with an enemy tribe.

619 The social division which had a more frequent jural function was the ar-rba, the group which Coon designates as a 'canton.' The term itself comes from the Arabic and Berber word for the number four. The epistemology of the term is obscure. Some tribes, such as the Igzinnayen and Beni Wariyaghar, contain four of these subdivisions. Others, such as Thimsaman, contain two, and some taqbitch, such as Ibuqquyen and Tafarsith, are not divided into ar-rba at all. In these tribes the term for taqbitch and for ar-rba are used to designate the same set of people. The ar-rba contained both related families and strangers who had purchased land within the territorial limits of the ar-rba. Spacial proximity rather than kinship seems to have been the organizing principle. In tribes covering vast amounts of territory the ar-rba was a territorial division to meet whatever jural responsibilities which occurred within its limits. The smaller the number of tribesmen and of spacial expanse, the less necessary it was to have these subdivisions. Within the ar-rba

Within the ar-rba
619 there was a council (jemas) held irregularly to discuss and
[628] settle judicial matters generally pertaining to the blood feud.
[554] Only the more important families within the ar-rba had representation on the council.

613 The first social unit which is directly reflective of kin ties is the dharfiqth. Whereas tribal and ar-rba names refer to place names generally, the dharfiqth invariably carries the name of a real person, i.e. Aith 'Abdallah or Aith al-Qasim. The members of this group consider that they have a common agnate although they may not be able to demonstrate the genealogical linkage to this ancestor. The group theoretically includes all the sons of the founding ancestor and their offspring. Some dharfiquin seem to have increased in number and power while others grew smaller either through decimation in feuds or from splintering into rival dharfiquin. Solidarity seems to have rested mainly on sentiment, and in such an explosive atmosphere this is perhaps too fragile a mechanism for maintaining agnatic descent groups.

613 The dharfiqth is made up of a varying number of jujgu
596 which are localized patrilineal extended families which may be regarded as minimal lineages. Each ijujga consists of a man, his wife or wives, his married sons and their wives and children, along with his unmarried sons and daughters. When the referent of the ijujga dies, all his sons form separate and new jujgu. The composition of the ijujga is today an idealization since few
000 households contain the above list of relatives. Neolocality is

591 Neolocality is
178 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization.
[613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijuiga
[596] traditional social obligations are still extant.
[602] The final social unit in the Rif is the local community
621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

1. [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

582 Within any one dharfiqth
(613) there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzinnayen than
565 for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
582 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects from which to draw.

582 The main structural consequence of the absence of pro-
602 scriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity
611 at any level of social organization beyond the extended family. Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal prin-
611 ciple. Although rights in property and children almost always
602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle. A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

---

582 of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more
114 correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me
(829) with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong. It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we prepared to attend exactly such a union.

/238 cont./

121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, 361 and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, 621 such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits 632 difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the [619] existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we •613 have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 114 It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according [171] to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

/239 cont./

621
613
614
114
171

/footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11. Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse origins there. On the other hand, the bond of blood exists among the households of the same Riffian jemaᶜa.

621
613
621
628
613
726

it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and becomes a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq" heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers" resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of extermination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, following the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the
[722] country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under
[435] which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ᶜadoul; if the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

621 /240 cont./
628 reals: 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
•613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes, large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living grouped in hamlets. The "mouda[6]" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to delibe-
621 rate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

613
614
596

[For additional information on the thārfiqth (pl. thārfīqth) or dharfiqth, a form of clan-community composed of extended families (jājghū) and including the families of all the sons of an original founding ancestor, see also Category 618.]

614
619
634

Rif MX3

[For additional information on the arrba, thakhammasth (pl. thikhammasin) or rba (pl. ruba), a major or primary section of the tribe, which has been variously described in the literature as maximal lineages, districts, khoms ("fourths" or "fifths" of the tribe), cantons (by Coon), groups of bones, fractions, or clan "fifths" (Blanco Izaga), see also Category 631.]

[For additional information on the fariqath, a "sub-fraction" composed of 4 or 5 related villages (related through a traditional rather than necessarily an actual common ancestor), and making up a single hill-valley or watershed unit, see Category 631.]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

KINSHIP GROUPS AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS

[594] [614] [591] THE smallest social grouping in the Rif is, of course, the biological family, consisting of father, mother, and offspring; but the importance of this fundamental group is often obscured by the large family group called *awar* (plural *iwaren*), or "vein." [1] The *vein* consists of a father, his wives, descendants, and descendants' wives, and his brothers, their wives, descendants, and descendants' wives. Since Riffian society is patrilineal and families are usually patronymic, daughters who have married into another *vein* become affiliated with the group into which they have married, and offspring of these daughters are considered to belong to their fathers' *veins*. When the brothers composing the oldest generation in a *vein* die, it splits into as many *veins* as there were brothers. Thus the sons of each deceased brother become the brothers forming the elder stratum of the new *vein*. In this way during the course of generations a single union of a man and his wife may give rise to numerous related *veins*.

614 621 These related *veins* collectively take the name of *ighs* (plural *ikhsan*), or "bone." [2] The *bone* is, however, something more important than a mere collection of related *veins*. In regions of sedentary life it generally takes the form of a village, or politically independent section of a village, and may include *veins* descended not only from the eponymous ancestor of the *bone* but also from strangers who have been adopted into the *bone*. The arrival of these strangers who become ancestors of spurious *veins* is due to the Riffian custom of selling property in order to pay fines or blood money assessed by the governing body. A man who has sold all his landed property and livestock in order to meet such an obligation feels ashamed to remain in his own village and often fears reprisal for his offence, and migrates, generally swiftly and secretly, to some other part of the Rif. When he has arrived at a sufficiently distant village, he hires himself out to a landowner in that village, or, if he seems to be a valuable potential adjunct to the village's military forces, is given land by popular subscription. He thus becomes a member of the *bone* into which his ill-fortune has thrust him, and is expected to marry into this *bone*, generally taking as wife a daughter of the man who first employed and sheltered him, if that man happens to have a daughter available. The newcomer and his wife become the forebears of a new *vein* in the *bone*, and this new *vein* may in turn split time after time until the *bone* contains a large number of alien *veins*. The *veins* descended from strangers exist under the disadvantage that they are not allowed any part in the government,[3] but are at the same time expected to contribute

[1] "Vein" is the literal translation of this word. I have discovered no sociological term in the English language exactly comparable to it, and hence have decided that to translate it literally, and to render this translation consistently throughout, will be less confusing to the reader than to leave it in its Berber form. In describing a highly complex social organization such as is found in the Rif clarity is of greater importance than philological exactitude.

[2] "Bone" is the literal translation, and has been retained through lack of any exact equivalent, although either "sib" or "gens" might be loosely applied. The endogamic character of the bone is not implied in either of these terms.

[3] Wherever the Riffian type of government is found, this is true. Under the Arab system the stranger restriction naturally cannot apply.

[p. 90]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

their full share to any martial activity in which the *bone* participates; regarding this lack of balance as unfair, members of alien *veins* split off from the parent *bone* whenever possible, forming new *bones* with their own local government, and, in the course of time, with equal consideration in the larger governmental institutions. The new *bone* thus created may take as its name that of the wife of the adopted alien ancestor, since it was his wife and not he who belonged to the original indigenous strain. In that way one may explain many of the matronymic *bones* which occur frequently in the Rif.

Splitting of one *bone* into several may occur, however, without the necessity of alien immigration. If the *bone* becomes too large to be conveniently administered, if discord arises between two or more parties of *veins*, or if some of the *veins* migrate, voluntarily or through pressure, to a new locality, the *bone* splits up.

Sometimes a *vein* divides, some of the brothers staying at home and others migrating. In this case the original *vein* may never expand sufficiently to take on the status of a *bone*, whereas the brothers who migrated may have had numerous progeny and have become, in a relatively short time, the ancestors of separate *bones*. An example of this is the family of *Oshannen*, or jackals, a *vein* of the *bone* of Tiddest in Ikhuanen of Gzennaya. Two members of the Oshannen migrated, one going to Temsaman and the other to Beni Said. Now, the Oshannen of Temsaman and the Oshannen of Beni Said are not only separate *bones* in these tribes but have furthermore risen to the highest administrative authority in them. The Kaid Bu Kaddur of Temsaman and the Kaid Moh Amar n Woshun of Beni Said are both descendants of the original migrants from the *vein* of Oshannen of Tiddest.

A different situation is found in the tribes of Beni Tusin, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Galiya, Kebdana, and, to a slight extent, Beni Said. Among these tribes are found both *veins* and *bones* composed of strangers called *igharbiyen*, reputed to be of Arab origin. The Igharbiyen are allowed an equal part in the government, and are in no way discriminated against as are members of alien Riffian *veins* among the *bones* of the central Rif. In Beni Said, however, an exception to this is found. The Igharbiyen among the Beni Said are few in number, and are subject not only to the restriction against alien *veins* which is found in the central Rif, but also to that against their *bones*, which are not allowed a part in higher councils.

Families of Zenatan origin in Beni Tusin, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, are subject to no discrimination whatever. The single families of Zenata in Gzennaya, Temsaman, and Beni Bu Ifrur are given the standing of *bones*.

Although one finds in the Rif numerous *bones* of immigrant groups, both Igharbiyen and Zenata, no trace of any moiety organization is visible, even among the Beni Tusin, whose very name, *Asht Usin*, means, in their own language, "the children of the half." [1]

Next after the *bone*, which is a true family group and is dependent upon kinship and adoption, comes the division known as *arrba'* (plural *roboa'*), derived from the Arabic word meaning "a fourth." In the present volume it will be called "canton." [2] The *canton* is a group of *bones* which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical

[1] See p. 36, n. 7.

[2] Here again is a term with no ready equivalent. I have avoided "fourth," the literal translation, because such a designation would imply that it is greater than the *fifth*, when the opposite is true. Furthermore, there is no extant valid reason for the name *fourth* in Berberized Arabic. "Canton" seems to express the idea of geographical and political unity without an implication of kinship, and hence is applied to the present social phenomenon.

[For comment on this, see the 111 slip. - Analyst]

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 623 *'ath*, as, in the mountains, is the olive press; the *jamā'ath* also retains an indefinable hold over saints' tombs *(amrābidh*, pl. *imrābdhen)* if there are any in the vicinity. Each village also has its communal pasture lands *(ḥarīm)* and its scrub forests *(ghāba)*; these may neither be sold nor divided up, and are maintained *pro indiviso* for the sole use of the inhabitants of the village in question. These lands, generally, surround the village, and form a vague line of demarcation between it and the next village; their situation and extension are such that a woman, for instance, can go out after sunrise to cut *ghāba* and return home before sunset (13).

631 The next unit up the scale is the minor political division called *farīqath*, which the Spanish administration refers to as «subfraction» This unit usually takes the form of a canton, a single hill-valley- or watershed-unit, comprising some four or five villages. The administration has brought this grouping into sharper relief by putting a *muqaddam* at its head; but this is for administrative purposes only and is not, except in a few cases, a true reflection of the tribal social structure. In the minds of the tribepeople the *farīqath* is ultimately [614] a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one *farīqath* in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the *farīqath* coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some *thārfiqīn* within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members of a canton together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque *(thᵃmzīda n khuṭbath)* to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the *faqīh*. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, neverthless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements.

(13) Martos de Castro, José: «Lo bereber en Marruecos y sus relaciones con lo ibero». In Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos: Labor de España en Africa, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333. My references from pp. 328-333.

5: Blanco Izaga

MX3 Rif MX3

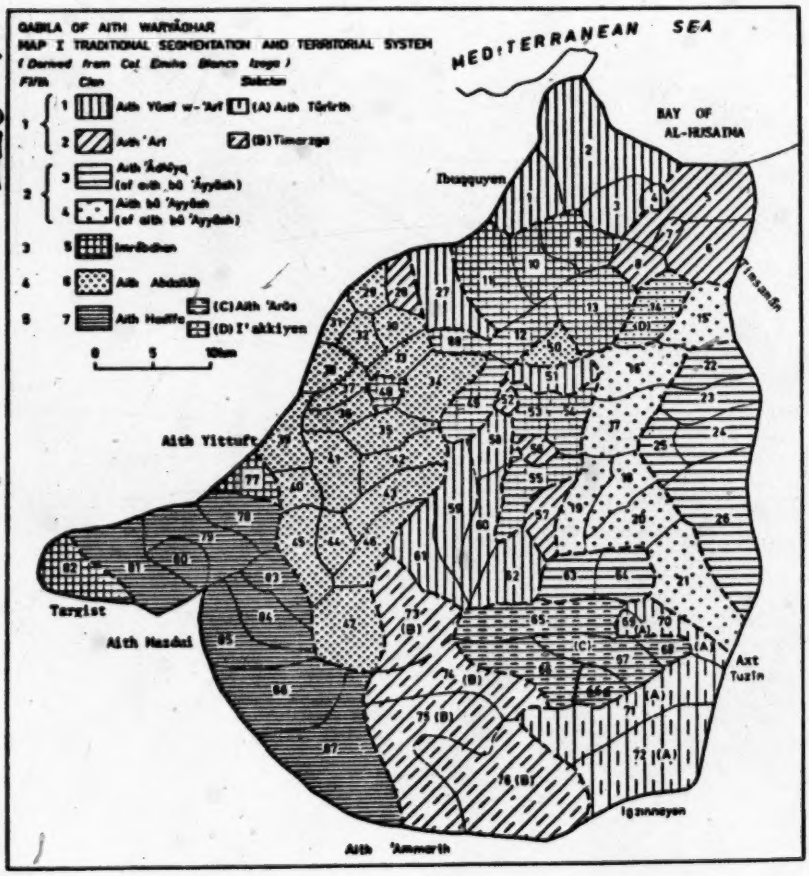
614

[For information on the tharfiqth, defined by the author (p. 57) as "a form of clan-community", see Category 613.]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

BLANCO MAP I (1934)



5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

KEY TO BLANCO MAP, 1934 - TRADITIONAL SEGMENTARY AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR (Derived from EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA)

N.B. Numbers of "fifths" and clans correspond to those, numbered 1-5 and 1-7 respectively, on the legend of the map, while nos. 1-88 represent local communities.

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

1. Izifzafen
2. Ajdir: Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, Aith Misa'ud u-Yusif, Aith Zara'
3. Azghar
4. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Plain

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

5. Tafrasth
6. Aith Musa w-'Amar
7. Imjjudhen
8. Tigarth

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(1) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

9. Aith Hishim
10. Aith Misa'ud
11. Aith Qamra
12. Idardushen
13. Ifasiyen, Aith Brahim, Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, Aith Yusif

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

14. (D). Subclan of I'AKKIYEN

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(4) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH

15. Izakiren
16. Aith Tfarwin
17. Isufiyen
18. Aith Tfarwin (again)
19. Aith Ta'a
20. Iriyanen
21. Aith Bu Khrif

102
631
613
619
614

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

22. Ighmiren
23. Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen
24. Imnudh
25. Aith Bu Qiyadhen (r-Rabda)
26. Tazurakhth: Aith 'Aisa, Aith Ruqman

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

27. Aith Buham

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

28. Aith Dawud

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

29. Tazaghin
30. Aith Zkri
31. Imarnisen
32. Tizi 'Ayyash
33. Ibunharen
34. Bu Khalifa (Aith Ziyyan)
35. Iqamniyen
36. Ikiddaben
37. Uqrishen
38. Dahar n-Zimmurth
39. Thariwin
40. Bu Sarah (Bu Salah)
41. Aith Sa'id
42. Aith Dris
43. Bu Zdur (Tigarth 'Ari)
44. Ihwahwahiyen
45. Thirkuzin (Tilkuzin)
46. Thimkiliwin
47. Marrui

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

48. Bu Ghardain
49. Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (Zawiya Sidi 'Aisa)

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

50. I'ayyaden

5:. Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

1 - "FIFTH" OF THE AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

51. Thamasind n-Waddai (Lower Thamasind)

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

52. Bu Minqad

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

53. Aith r-Qadi
54. Aith 'Aziz
55. Aith r-Qadi (again, I'athmanen

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

56. Thamasind n-Dara (Upper Thamasind)
57. Iswiqen

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

58. Aghridh (Aghlid)
59. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountains
60. 'Arnuq
61. Isrihan
62. Ikattshumen (Ikultumen)

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

63. Ighmiren (again)
64. Igar w-Anu

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

(C) - Subclan of AITH 'ARUS

(C) 65. Bu Sa'ida
(C) 66. Aith Tigarth (or simply Tigarth)
(C) 66a. Aith u-Maru (or simply Maru): "people of the shade"
(C) 67. Aith u-Sammar (or simply Sammar): "people of the sun"
(C) 68. Aith Juhra

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

(A) - Subclan of AITH TURIRTH

(A) 69. Aith 'Amar
(A) 70. Thizimmurin
(A) 71. Thigzirin
(A) 72. Bulma, Ignan, l-'Ass

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

(B) - Subclan of TIMARZGA

(B) 73. r-Maqsuridh
(B) 74. Bu Ma'dan
(B) 75. Thafsasth
(B) 76. Aith Yusif

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

77. Kammun

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH HADHIFA

78. Mishkur
79. Ihadduthen
80. Iharumen
81. Thizimmurin

3 - "FIFTH OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

82. Thamarkatt (Tamarkalt)

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

83. Bihban
84. Aghzar 'Aisa
85. Bashkra
86. Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id
87. Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar (Zawiya Sidi 'Abd l-Qadir)

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

88. Izarruqen

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s.
614 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is
623 an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each other.[63]

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jajgu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, reception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the jma'th.

D) Position of Women:

562 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her
182 a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the can-
171 cellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains regards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance[64], when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look for friends to reinforce it.

562 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly
627 revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as
628 their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

000 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

621 623 423 The patrimony of the jma'th is made up exclusively of communal lands. The jma'th is thus formed not only by people but by lands. It thus has a territorial significance which the dharfiqth lacks, for it may have immovable property in another tribe[76], and acts committed by its members outside the "municipal terminus" are thus not handled by it exclusively. For this reason there is a need for another 614 621 623 social organ structured in an analogous manner, but of greater importance and more extensive jurisdiction: the "fraction" (i.e. clan or subclan.) This wider grouping, although it also has a localistic significance and a breadth wider than the village or hamlet of isolated homesteads or groups of homesteads that we have seen in the jma'th, has other more sharply defined characteristics. It alone intervenes in inter-jma'th matters, in most cases; for the custom of the jma'th itself is nothing more than inter-family (i.e. inter-lineage) custom.

3) The "fraction" (clan) is an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends; it is a state in miniature, an independent republic, and the true Rifian patria because it is within the limits of this unit that the Rifian lives out his life; where he finds what he needs, and where his law is made[77].

614 443 [671] The clan has two distinctive features: its law and its market. It is my opinion that places in tribal areas which the natives regard as ancient Christian[78] market sites are nothing but former "clan" markets which are no longer in use and the memory of which has not persisted through time. In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin,

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975/ MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin, Thimsaman, Aith 'Ammarth, Ibuqquyen, Ktama and Sanhaja Srir, each clan has its own market[79]. Only in a small tribe or in one with more or less artificial clans is this not the case. The clan, which occupies a well determined area topographically, as a rule (a large meseta, valley, mountain fold, etc.), is a rare one which does not have or did not formerly have its own market, where the clan representatives or imqqranen came together to agree upon and proclaim their law, their rules of coexistence, which in some cases were drawn up on paper and which form the basis of my La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte.

The clans of a tribe did not originate through accumulation of the association of jma'ths, but rather, the tribes which came to settle in the territory already contained three, four or five clans in their nomadic (sic) state, and the new lands were distributed equitably.[80] However, it is easier to follow the schematic representation of social groups from smaller to larger units, as the lineages characteristic of these are clearer and better defined. In the tribe, they are quite relaxed, and it is more difficult to see them, because the clans themselves are apt to show this by their patronymic designations, "sons of X"; but this opinion is provisional, as there are also names which are not genealogically based, as in the case of the clan names of Ibuqquyen (Izimmuren, Azghar and Thaghidhith) and in Ija'umen of Aith 'Ammarth; and the same might well be the case with the jma'ths, whose names are often geographical ones.[81]

In the clan, we have all the institutions, organisms, dependencies and economic specializations most necessary to sustain life: an amrabit or hermit saint venerated and besought for pilgrimages and miracles; a market for the provisions and supply and for the council

614 site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
616 elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

614 latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or
[619] the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan
[616] has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are its customary law, its qanuns and its market (as in the qanun of the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

619 4) Tribe or Dhaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of
614 clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this
619 level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium
614 (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is
671 guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has
182 no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors, faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans
619 form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as
614 the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin
616 of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It
[613] would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over
[621] and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes,
[623] while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

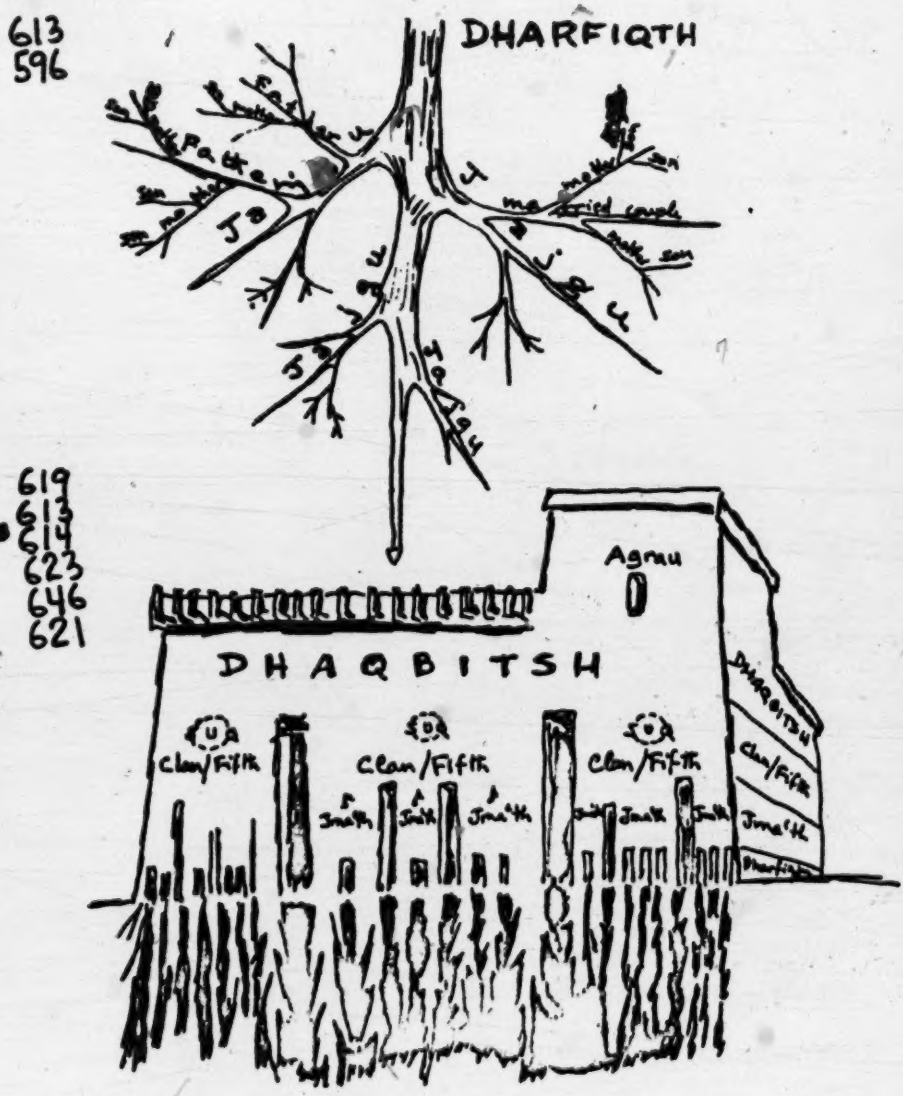
623 5) Councils and Tribesmen of Authority: All units under consideration up to now (the three "family" ones and the three "social" ones) have their relationships regulated by councils, which, although bearing different names, have similar and analogous functions. The council of the jma'th must undergo no formality in order to convene, and it has no president, although at times the agreements which it comes to are drawn up in writing. Any male (above the age of puberty) [885] [613] may attend and take part in its deliberations; but the personification of it is embodied in the iziddjifen or headmen of each dharfiqth, and these men together form an authentic and permanent council. This council above all legislates what the jma'th deems necessary, in conformance with custom and its agreements. The assembly itself or its representatives chosen for each particular case[86] make and execute all decisions. It is thus a legislative, consultative and executive body[87]. Its attributes, nonetheless, are constantly limited on the [614] one hand by family law, in the form of reprisals, and on the other by the power of the clan, which tries to keep it from prejudicing neighboring jma'th-s or the clan itself in its external politics. Thus, what it has is an administrative autonomy.

623 This council(s) elects its functionaries, the best defined of 793 which is the fqih of the mosque, who is in charge of leading the 212 prayer and of burial services; he is administrator of mosque property (habus)[88], as well as jural notary and council clerk and secretary. In large councils, however, these jobs may be handled by more or less ignorant tulba (sing. talib)[89], who pompously attribute to themselves 000 the qualifications of qadis. The fqih attended to the resources of the

623
621
571
793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of
623
184
343
624 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

646
614
[623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar



[P. 127-A]

536
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

FOOTNOTE: A

613
614
619
621
623
594
596
114

113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'in (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling islifen), "lineage-headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A, [See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]

of Imhauren, of the clan of Aith 'Ari; while the upper part is made up of heterogeneous elements of different tribes. This will eventually happen in Ajdir, where a considerable number of Rifian workers are settling owing to its proximity to the town of Alhucemas. Ajdir has not succeeded in assimilating these people who, installed around and behind the fork in the (Tetuan-Melilla) main road, already form a special quarter which is beginning to be distinguished by the name of Kharrás, or "stranger"[121], a disagreeable appellation for them and one which causes them to defend intuitively their jma'ths of origin. A future modification of the jurisdiction of this quarter cannot thus be considered as injurious to the constitution of the jmath.

We thus see that the traditional jma'th in this tribe, in accordance with the data in our possession at the moment regarding this problem, may or may not have a familial origin (sic)[122], as an analogous examination of the Qa'idate of Nkur also seems to demonstrate.

If we limit ourselves, in this qa'idate, to the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one of those which from time immemorial seems to have kept its jma'ths most intact, we see that the only one to which a common origin or ancestor is attributed is that of Aith Ta'a. But if, for example, we examine Isufiyen in this light, we find that of its five dharfiqin or patri lineages, three (I'adwiyen, Ihaqqunen and Imdihiriyen) are from the tribe of Ibdharsen (Mtalsa) in the Eastern Rif, and have the same ancestor, while of the two remaining ones, one (Aith Ta'rafth) is from the tribe of Aith Yittuft[123]. Thus, through the elimination of four out of the five kin groups in question, the only one which is left, Aith Musa w 'Amar[124], is the only possible

621 614 candidate for earliest occupancy and for the foundation of the jma'th. As it happens, this is the case here.

621 613 Passing now to the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif, we see, analogously, that while the founding or ancestral dharfiqth, Aith Wuzghar, that of the present (1935) Qa'id of Nkur, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan, is considered to be descended from the "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin, the former inhabitants of the City of Nkur[125], the other dharfiqin making up the jma'th do so without any apparent relationship to each other. [614] [619] The kin group whose ancestor arrived first was an Imrabdhen lineage from Ibdharsen, formed by the Aith Siddiq, Aith Tumritsh and Aith Tizza; this was followed by Aith Yunis, from the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; and finally, by the I'addiyen from the tribe of Axt Tuzin, the most recent of all.

If we turn now to the jma'th of Tazurakhth, we see the same thing, but with an increase in complexity, for the dharfiqth which is 621 considered to be the founding one is that of Aith Bukhudam[126]. This 613 group later received the following additional increments: a dharfiqth 614 named Aith Ufaran from the subclan of Aith Turirth to the south; a 619 second, much larger dharfiqth from the jma'th of Igar Ufadhis (local pronunciation Iyar Ufadhis) in the clan of Aith Bu Idhir of the tribe of Thimsaman, named Aith r-Qman (comprising today the four dharfiqin of Aith 'Aru Hammu, Yinn[127] 'Abdssram Bu 'Azza, Yinn 'Abd Allah u Hmidh and Ibaranen[128]); a third, Aith Tizi Marda, came from the clan of Amjau in the East Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid; a fourth, Ihamdiwen, from the jma'th of Asht Tghirasth[129] in the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; a fifth, from Aith 'Aisa in the tribe of Aith S'aid[130];

621 a sixth, a large one named Aith 'Aisa, from the jma'th of Aith 'Ammar
613 u S'aid in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan of Aith Hadhifa (com-
614 prising today the two dharfiqin of Aith 'Aisa--sometimes referred to
619 as Aith 'Aisa w Anu, or "the sons of 'Aisa of the well"--and Aith
Injin); a seventh, Aith Si Hmand 'Aisa, from the clan of Aith 'Abd
Allah; and an eighth, and last, Aith Tihar, from the jma'th of Tfsast
in the subclan of Timarrga to the South.

621 The net result of all the foregoing is that even such a multiplicity of examples will not clarify the question for us, considering that, in Aith Waryaghar, there are traditional jma'ths which have been split since antiquity, and split in such a way that to bring them together again now would create a tremendous political as well as administrative difficulty[131]. This would, indeed, be next to impossible, due to the difficulties of all kinds already felt by the Rifians prior to the Spanish occupation, difficulties which brought them to the transcendental act of separation. This fact on the one hand, and, on the other, the fact that the traditional jma'th in Aith Waryaghar does not seem to present an ancestry which is common to all its constituent groups or a type of "family origin" (i.e. common ancestorship) in the form or for the ends which interest the order of the Spanish regional administration. Under these conditions, it seems the best thing in this tribe, if our knowledge should not lead us to other conclusions, to continue the sedimentation initiated some time ago, avoiding modifications which do not justify an imperious necessity or a convenience manifest to all lights, something which even the author was unable to avert, and to discount, for this reason, any.....or superficially learned innovatory zeal.[132]

621 typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the
646 Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have
182 depreciated and is now dormant.

621 The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign, [114] such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

131 Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order
631 listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of I-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur
614 watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a
631 geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

614 certainly justified from a political and even from an ethnographic
631 standpoint. On the other hand, perhaps a greater simplification of the chain of command, brought by suppressing the khalifas of the qa'ids, a useless, retardatory and troublesome rung in the ladder, might be possible[139]; for the position of shaikh already exists, and in the absence of or in case of delegation of authority by the qa'ids.. ....the shiyukh can and do exercise the powers of the qa'id with all satisfaction, as has been observed in all cases and from all that has been told to me.

A chain of command without such useless steps would be restricted to qa'id and mqaddimin; but, nevertheless, the wide territorial extension which each of the clans of Aith Waryaghar has advises the retention of shaikhates in the manner expressed above; and the dispersion of the jma'ths advises in many cases the retention of the jwari (sing. jari)[140].

631 But these simplifications which are proposed in the framework
621 of authority in the tribe must be followed up with a stronger personality in the mqaddim which would make these jobs remunerative as well as having them, at the same time, fall on the shoulders of persons of true significance in the jma'th, so that the latter must listen to them, accepting procedures put forth by them and avoiding any chances that friendship, adhersion or mere servitude to the qa'id might annul this office, the one which is, in my opinion, the most important in a Berber tribe. It is certainly not advisable to try to accomplish this in one stroke; this patient revision of mqaddimin must be done without hurry on a jma'th-by-jma'th basis, if we wish to make a perfect

619 The ("holy" clan of the) Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are descended from
613 Sidi Musa bin Mshish[163], the brother of one of the "poles" of Western
614 Islam, Sidi 'Abd al-Salam bin Mshish, who is buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Sidi Musa is buried among the Khmid(?) (unidentifiable).

The principal idea to be extracted from the foregoing is the following: around a principal nucleus consisting of Asht 'Asim, Imzdurar and Asht Marar[164], clans which are known to and recognized by all the Igzinnayen, there came over the course of time an infinite number of lineages originating from very diverse points of northern Morocco; and these lineages intermingled with the above. Their motives for so doing varied between hunger and war. They were brought to the Rif either because there was no room for them elsewhere or because the possibilities of living well there attracted them.....It is probably necessary to look for their origins in regions which are particularly barren and unproductive, such as the Khuld of Huwwara or the northern part of the Angad Plain, in the case of elements from the Aith Bu Yihyi; the Tafrata for the Ahl Rashida, the clayey hills of Mtalsa, and, in general, all the places more or less bordering the Mulwiya River, which, even if they are by no means paradises, are at least hospitable (sic)[165].

794 3) Qur'anic Instruction: --This is organized in exactly the
871 same way as it is among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, and is largely beyond the control of the Administration....There is
[793] usually a school in each village, the fqih of which is paid annually and in kind by its inhabitants. Instruction is carried out almost

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

Today it may be said that there are no ostensible and important divisions among the different clans of the Igzinnayen.... The Igzinnayen are sedentary and inhabit fixed houses, which, as among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, are located along the edges of valleys, in fertile lands, and, in a word, wherever life is easier. Nevertheless, there is, aside from the tribal hamlet-villages, no agglomeration of importance....The tribe is divided administratively into seven clans, each one headed by a shaikh except for Asht 'Asim, which is divided into three shaikhates. One of the latter is made up of the communities of Buridh, Tamjund and Imharrushen, another by those of Ifran, Iaqrru'an and Iharrasen, and the third by Inhanahan, Thara Tazzugwakhth and Iharshriyen[169]; all these clans ("fractions") are headed by a qa'id. The tribe of Igzinnayen presents a line of penetration between the tribes of the Rif and those of the Eastern Gharb, as it has been utilized over a long period of time as a path for incursions by the mountaineers into the plain.

7) Political Division:--Qaid (1940): Si Bu Tahar n Mqaddim Saihi.

a) Clan ("fraction") of Jibarna: contains villages of Asht Hamou w 'Amar, I'athmanen (i-'Atamna), Dharwa Haddum Jibarna and Suyah. Shaikh (1940): Muhammed l-Mihdi Fars.

b) Clan ("fraction") of Ishawiyen (Shawiya): contains villages of Dharwa 'Abdallah, Dharwa n Tawunza, Bu Isri, Imrabdhen n Wawizaght[170], Aknul, Nadhur, Thammuthen and Izimmuren. Shaikh (1940): Bushta nj-Qa'id Buhush.

c) Clan ("fraction") of Marar: contains villages of Thighzrathin, Tasharbant, Dharwa 'Ari, Zarhun, Fiddan l-Kbir, Thighambuyin,

Thirmamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyririn. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.

d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyar, Tighza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waunkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara. It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal struggles between Ifuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

000 almost postulate a sequence more or less as follows: people (and particularly the most important ones, i.e. members of the council) gather in the mosque on Fridays. This, in Durkheimian terms, would make a neat example of the three-way continuum of time, space and society! The fact that the Rifian term for mosque is dhamzidha in no way negates this rather attractive hypothesis (suggested by Ernest Gellner, personal communication, Feb. 4, 1961), for dhamzidha is itself derived from another Arabic word for mosque, masjid.

11--Dhaqbitsh, pl. dhiqbar (from Arabic qabila) is the Rifian term for "tribe", the ceiling unit in the region.

613 621 619 114 614 12--"Fraction": translator's quotation marks. This term, very current in the literature on North African social structure (and deriving from Arabic nuss, "half", tulut, "third", rba', "fourth" and khums, "fifth", each one of which usually refers to the number of clans or top-level segments a given tribe contains), is one which I find both imprecise and misleading. What one should read for "fraction" is either clan or maximal, primary or top-level segment of a tribe. What is totally missing in the term "fraction" is a notion of process.

As Blanco himself thought the term "fraction" absurd (as he indicated in a pencilled comment on a report on village etymologies in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar by another interventor, dated 1939), we shall henceforth take his cue and call it "clan"--even though he continued to employ "fraction" in the bulk of his writing!

13--The concept of the relative autonomy or independence of the tribal clan (Blanco's "fraction") is, as far as we know, an original contribution by Blanco to the overall study of Berber social structure (even though Blanco's thinking may have had its roots, on this score, in Montagne, op. cit., 1930). It is, considering the time and place it appeared, a challenging and cogent theory, and Blanco discusses it at length in the chapter on Social Organization, as well as in La Ley Rifeña, 1939. The fact that the notions of balance and opposition in all segmentary societies have become anthropological commonplaces since Evans-Pritchard's Nuer work does not vitiate Blanco's argument.

000 14--Again, in the choice of words which these notes represent, Blanco gives no definition, and we fear that, although a literal translation renders the reading awkward, a substitution of our own terms might falsify what he had in mind, namely, to attempt to establish criteria for differentiation between social and political units. In our opinion, most of these distinctions exist in the author's mind only, and do not correspond to any sociopolitical realities; for, on upper levels of segmentation at least, social units and political units invariably tend to merge.

15--It is, of course, true that only men make alliances, wage war and engage in politics (councils, etc.), but there seems no need to belabor this rather obvious point. More subtle, however, is the implicit--and possibly unintentional--distinction made between social structure and territorial organization. In the Rif, as elsewhere, the territorial organization reflects a genealogically oriented social system which has been brought down to ground level, so to speak, and

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] [114] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

[423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

[614] 69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] [829] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

603 621 616 182 This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 701 Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

646 619 The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613 When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

---

[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

3. COUNCILS, WARFARE AND ALLIANCES

614
619
623
634

A) The Agraw:

The agraw is a meeting or convening of all the adult Rifian males in a clan or tribe who are capable of supporting their opinions by force of arms. It is an assembly of all men who carry rifles, and it has almost unlimited attributes, among which the major ones are:

a) Declaration of war and of all that this embodies (organization of attack and defense, organization of harka-s or war-parties, contingents which are levied up for distant expeditions, and establishment of agreements of friendship or alliance with neighboring tribes).

b) Guarding the security and honor of its component family and kin groups (making common cause with them, supporting them with force if necessary, and acting as mediators); thus, when the interests of any individual or of his kinsmen are harmed, and he is incapable of defending his rights, the councilmembers claim the resulting damages in his name, and, in order to obtain them, they either very soon have to take up arms, or wait and work out an alliance with other igrawn, or convoke the agraw of the group one step up the ladder.

The agraw may be on a village (or hamlet), "fractional" (or clan), or tribal level, and the only difference between these three levels lies in the number of councillors who attend the meeting on each one....The agraw is convoked by mqaddimin or shiyukh[1]; by word of mouth, by arqqas or messenger (gunshots by day or bonfires--thafgirth, pl. thifgirin--at night, in case of alarm, and in both instances by cries transmitted from hilltop to hilltop, from village to village, and from mountain to plain).

[202]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

634 Every man who carries a rifle drops whatever he is doing and
623 goes immediately to the council site, leaving his house, interests and
614 work in the fields to his women, who collect all their movable property,
619 animals and children, in case they have to move, and await the news,
562 quickly transmitted, with anxiety, while they decide upon their place
722 of retirement (usually the house of some relative) and form a line of sentries, together with the older children. Here they follow, with analogous emotions, the events of the fight, if there is one, and await its outcome....Once the men have arrived at the site of the
634 alarm, or more often at a generally determined meeting site (agraw),
623 they start to look, without orders or signals, for their kinsmen and
614 neighbors who have arrived or are just arriving. They are always
619 careful to seek a spatially dominant position, and remain grouped together some little distance from the other groups which are also being formed, completing a circle, in the interior of which only the chiefs, who are rapidly informed of the matter and of the opinions of their subordinates, may enter. Such opinions are impassioned ones, as they have been forged (in case of alarm) on the spur of the moment, on the basis of what those who echo them have heard, or on the basis of what is going on around them; one can distinguish the feverish voices of the kinsmen and friends of the injured party, who want immediate reparation.

634 In this heated atmosphere the delineation by the chiefs of the
623 matter at hand begins; they are attentive not so much to what happens
614 in their own little circle, but to the stormy atmosphere being created
619 on the outside one and pressing in on them....If the matter is one of
692

634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
619
692 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
681 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside circle).[2 & 3]

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
614 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
623 ....Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
628 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at
721 any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare.... Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities. This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared beforehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
(624) surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

619 616 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or institution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and [181] security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10] administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of 619 616 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or 182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13] markets and qanun), could never have been justified alone, because the Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances, which they would do until another more powerful force from outside, such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in reducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of individual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threat- 616 ing its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries 619 between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some [614] instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself 616 over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja 619 and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent 648 confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also 173 bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

616
614
619
[621]

The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members, are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known previously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

616
182
628

688
692
616
182

As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protectorate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

616

Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

619 brake or check upon the expanding hunger of neighbors as well as upon the hegemony of some determined individual.

175 But with the threat of the Rogi, Bu Hmara[31], expressed in
619 the form of the mhalla or military expedition under the command of Jilali Mul al-Wudhu[32] (Muludu), we see the Aith Waryaghar reacting violently and uniting, for the first time in their history, as the result of an agraw at Imzuren, nominating their war chief, mounting guard on the line of resistance parallel to the Nkur River, from Imnudh (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) to the Mediterranean, and joyfully accepting the hard task, magnificently performed, of smashing Bu Hmara's army to bits and sending it back in headlong retreat to Qasba Silwan.

619 In the same way, we also see the khums of Aith 'Abd Allah,
616 in liff with the Ibuqquyen, joining the other khmas of Aith Waryaghar
175 to fight against that tribe, as auxiliaries in the punitive expedition of Bushta al-Baghdadi[33]; and thus we see that tribal interests were always superior to clan ones[34].

616 For this reason, the mechanism of the liff is simply con-
182 servative and not disintegrative, as might seem the case from other points of view. If in the jma'th it equalizes the forces which are
[621] feuding, it does the same in the tribe with the rival clans, and in
[619] the overall Rifian area with hostile tribes, everywhere balancing the
[614] inferiority of weak groups with the strength of its own men. It may be possible to explain in this fashion why in spite of the feverish, ephemeral and unlucky vicissitudes of such minuscule states, they never came to the point of disappearing altogether, while at the same time and by the same token they never permitted the duration of empires

616 as were forgotten by the people, we have no others to explain the liff system save external autonomy and internal equilibrium. The liff is the opponent of group hegemony, as the latter is of the preponderance of one family, and it thus results as a protector of both. This was the cause of the ephemeral character of the empires founded upon such a powder-keg, a mosaic of minuscule autonomous republics, as of the transitory periods of tyranny which they would have undergone. If external danger brought about the sacred interclan unity; internal danger (rivalries and hegemony) separated them, seeing them forced to support themselves, now divided, in other neighboring tribes[42].

[614] Whatever may have been the cause of these alliances, it is certain that among the clans of a tribe there were two bands which put them into this framework and gave them this frame of reference....And if their ethnic origin permits us, in principle, to reestablish the division of the tribes which gave its name to the two great liffs (Sanhaja and Ghumara), it is in the equilibrium and autonomy (author's italics) thus established and in operation that we see the origin and persistence of the other two liffs commented upon, among the Aith Waryaghar[43].

616 619 Perhaps among the Aith Waryaghar, different aspects of this interpretation may be corroborated. We see their khmas or "fifths" allying themselves one against the other to form two rival groups and thus equalizing their internal strength and avoiding attempts at supremacy by individual clans. And we also see how the Aith 'Abd Allah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash look for their internal security in the tribes which border them, the first uniting with the "Badisiya" tribes of the A, [Apparently footnote "44" should appear here--Analyst]

[101]

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [191] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [191] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[114] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 62] 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

616
[62] sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although
[602] he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation,
[114] make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at
the matter in a slightly different way.

[539] There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows: "Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within
616 clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr,
614 pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even con-
619 tinuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were "external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the former more to higher ones.

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not continue ad infinitum.

616 The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their
614 terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big"
619 liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or "smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes
[124] would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe (in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chrin--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

616 619 726 [614] [728] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well. [563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and 000 expected to do.

[114] [729] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 [162] 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the [614] principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'umen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

000

last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels, and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco [114] does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Montagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans [113] Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent it, they hardly succeeded!

27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be reactivated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactivation would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in [152] the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his [628] friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside it.

28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

619 30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of
616 the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into
114 five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be
619 said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams
616 khmas (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition indicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and
● 614 Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu 'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith 'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

616
614
[619]

Aith 'Arus, though spatially separated from them, are nonetheless clan "brothers" of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa respectively; and each of the former groups gets its share of the tribal rhaqq from each of the latter, though this, at the moment, is beside the point. What is more important, however, is that each of the mountain clans is allied in liff to its "brethren" further down the slope.

In the Aith Waryaghar, the two liff heads depend largely on the clan to which one's informants belong. If they are from the Aith 'Adhiya, the liff heads are Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (which segments, being both member subclans of a single clan, are more "brothers" to each other than they are to any of the other clans); if from the Aith 'Abd Allah, they are Aith 'Abd Allah and Aith Hadhifa; and if from Aith 'Ari, they are Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari (who, again, as subclans of a single clan or clans combining to make up a single "fifth", are more "brothers" to each other than either or both of them are to any or all of the other clans; in this particular instance, in fact they are supposed to be descended from two actual brothers, 'Ari w 'Ari and Yusif w 'Ari). No matter; the structure of the liffs in Aith Waryaghar is as follows:
Faction A (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith 'Ari (with Timarzga), Aith 'Abd Allah, and Aith 'Adhiya (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash). Faction B (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith Yusif w 'Ari (with Aith Turirth), Aith Hadhifa (with Aith 'Arus), Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash), and Imrabdhen. Faction A (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes clans of Truguth, in the tribe of Thimsaman, and Axt 'Akki, in the tribe of the Axt Tuzin. Faction B (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes the clan of Ija'unen, in the tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth, affiliated through liff with Aith Hadhifa.

From the foregoing, four facts are readily apparent: 1) Faction B, internally, is, in both number of clans and total number of individuals involved, considerably stronger than Faction A is, internally. This shows that 2) the liff alignment among the Aith Waryaghar, rather than corresponding to the khums structure, tends to cut across it, for within two of the khmas listed, subclans are pitted against each other in the total tribal molety system, even though the other three khmas remain intact. It also implies that 3), as discussed below, the liff system of the Aith Waryaghar is in fact far more a function of their territorial system than it is of their system of segmentation. Moreover, as we have noted in an earlier publication (Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204-6, note 44), 4) the exact form that each liff in a given tribe will take depends largely upon whether the number of top-level segments in that tribe is even or odd. As most Rifian tribes have an odd number of top segments (only Bni Bu Frah, Aith 'Ammarth and Thafarsith have even numbers--four, four and two, respectively), usually five and never more than five, (i.e. Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen, Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith S'aid, Aith Wurishik, etc.), a certain amount of improvisation and splitting within clans has to take place. (Among tribes containing an even number of segments, there is no need for this.)

616
619

It may well be asked, at this juncture, what the explanation is for the numerical superiority of Faction B. There is, we think, a very good one, but in order to show how it works, we must first consider yet

616 another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two
619 top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the
[124] khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh
Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top Segment I is labeled Aith Khattab, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari (plus Aith 'Ari) and Aith 'Abd Allah, while Top Segment II consists of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments of these top segments are aligned into their component liffs, as above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the
616 problem, therefore, is the khums of Imrabdhen, the presence of which,
619 in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above).
614 The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element
792 in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition
[613] has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top imgharen of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a khums, and their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

[613] In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqqiwen of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the dispensing of baraka (which, it might be added, could only be inherited
614 by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent
616 liff alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver
182 in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with
792 the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally, "fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary and liff systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative, as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance, between holy and adjudicating imrabdhen, the 10% minority, and lay and warrior imrabdhen, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another
614 matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrab-
792 dhen as a clan: whether they are shurfa or not--and here again, one runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say "no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are genuine shurfa, although it is possible that these are, at least in part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the sunduq or box

614 of Mulay Idris in Fez; and over this, they hedge, saying that they do
792 have this right, but that they have never yet exercised it because "Fez is so far away". This is, in effect, a tacit admission of proper imrabdhen and non-shurfa status.)

616 In having postulated a state of equilibrium between the two
614 moieties of the Aith Waryaghar prior to the arrival of the Imrabdhen, and in having postulated that the latter came in time to upset this equilibrium in structural terms, we have up to now left Faction A in a kind of structural limbo. How, one may well ask, did this faction regain its balance? Through the principle of transitiveness within limits, as defined in note 18, by enlisting the aid of one neighboring clan from each of two tribes, Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin. After Faction A made this move, one may assume, Faction B did the same thing with a neighboring clan of Aith 'Ammarth. And here, we feel, is the secondary key to the problem, for, in effect, the inequality of liff alignments of a permanent type within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar is cancelled out or, perhaps, rectified through the mechanism of transitiveness without; and balance is thus restored. And the interplay of the factors of permanence, transitiveness and the chain-link theory (by which, if Faction A gets the Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin, Faction B gets the Aith 'Ammarth) is evident throughout.

000 31-Bu Hmara, as his title r-Rogi indicates, was a false pretender to the Moroccan throne in the first decade of the 20th century. For full details, see Eduardo Maldonado, El Rogui, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, n.d. (ca. 1952).

[648] 32--Jilali Mul al-Wudhu was a negro general of Bu Hmaram and his top man in the Eastern Rif when he set up headquarters in the qasba or fortress of Silwan in 1907, prior to trying to rally the Rifians to his cause. All of the tribes, in fact, did so rally, save Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth, who thought it very "shameful" that a black "slave" ('abid) should invade their territory; and so, on September 7, 1908, on the banks of the Nkur River, near Imzuren, they cut him and his army to pieces, after which the other tribes turned against him one by one and ambushed his rearguard.

33--Busta al-Baghdad's expedition took place in 1898. It should also be noted that any previous liff arrangement which may have existed between Aith 'Abd Allah and Ibuqquyen was purely and strictly ad hoc.

34--True; but the normal situation was as described in note 25. Only outside invasion could and did ever weld a whole tribe together; and the Aith Waryaghar were united for the very first (recorded) time in their history when Bu Hmara came to the Rif.

35--See note 18. The fact that Rifian liffs were transitive, but only up to and including neighboring clans of the next tribe, tended normally to isolate feuds and to keep them in bounds, to some extent, at least.

616 36--We have commented on the almost mythical Ghumara-Sanhaja war above.
619 The liff system at work in this particular case was at variance with
648 the traditional Rifian system, as described in note 18; although on the other hand, if we can accept the myth (which is doubtful), it points

A, [See p.257, #14--Analyst]

671 [443] interest were discussed; in the suq resolutions of more importance were made by significant individuals, more important than the place which gave them a legal character.

Thus, in order to be valid, agreements and decisions had to conform to the following conditions: 1) agreement of the imgharen[16]; 2) necessity of a witness of exceptional character (a personality of religious significance, known and respected throughout the district); 3) registry by the tulba; and 4) proclamation in the suq. The above seems to be the mechanism of Rifian law.[17]

443 671 614 And in the suq a double character may be seen: place of business and temple of law, the latter more important than the former, because if it were the other way around, each clan would have various market sites and not just one, it seems to us; and furthermore, some clans, by virtue of their commercial topography would have been lacking in markets, which is also not the case.[18] Thus we believe, as stated in the first part of this work[19], that there is a correspondence between the clan as a social unit and the suq; in fact, we may go so far as to say that the former was the real fatherland (patria) of the Rifian, his political unit, a small independent republic, the distinctive feature of which was the suq, the temple of Rifian law.

3. INTER-LINEAGE QANUN,[20] SHOWING EXECUTIVE PROCEDURE (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 628 613 A) Qanun:

Praise be to God.--Copy taken from the text of a document after legalization, extended for the bearer of some.

[682] Praise be to God.--Upon the reciprocal guarantee (Blanco: note 1) made by Ait 'Aisa, Ait Tzurakhth, Izubu'an, Ait Haddu u Sa'id and

property in that belonging to him, in conformance with traditional law.[25]

Those who attended the present (act) brought their testimony to the above according to the requirements of the interested parties. --In the middle of Jumad al-Awwal of the year 1336 (February 27, 1918). --The 'adl, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hajj al-Warnuri.--Another, whose name is not known.--Another, Muhammad bin Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghazri.

B) Commentary:

The social disintegration which Rifian society has reached is proven by these individual agreements between dharfiqin (Blanco: note 1, corresponding to text of qanun). In the face of helplessness or irregular functioning of higher-level associations, the poor tribesmen, before falling into complete anarchy, hastened to conclude an agreement with a neighboring group in order to attenuate that anarchy, succeeding in the hard struggle for life on a poor soil. These agreements thus formed true islets of irregular and variable peace, anchored in functional (sic) anarchy.

The necessity of agreements between lower-level lineages, who were abandoned by the rudimentary organization, obeyed, according to my understanding, those most curious periods which followed the public declaration of anarchy in the suq, when one powerful group managed by force to sustain the punishment, breaking the truce.

As the dispute was generalized between two preponderant rivals, the unaffected groups, before falling into anarchy, and with that notable instinct of self-defense, worked to bring about these agreements,

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
● 614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

"There is no law", the ingharen announced through the mouth of
628 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
616 inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[195] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alli-
[203] ances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater efficacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
671 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
628 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14)
728 for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
921 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
621 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an aristocracy known
623 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
619 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

627 very scarce and will soon give out altogether.

627 This period is that of smoothing over. Those responsible hide
614 their possessions, assure (the imgharen) that they have nothing, only a goat and a cow and a tiny plot of land: this is all they can offer, along with their house. The rest had been mortgaged[30], etc. The imgharen, sure in their convictions, do not agree....The members of the victim's family deny having any more possessions.

The neighbors of those responsible for the crime who are also obliged to put up lodgers become impatient and denounce possible concealments. The imgharen continue without deciding, and then their buying begins. Finally a moment arrives in which they hear no more offers or denunciations of those responsible for the crime. All, including the coterie, grumble, become tired and begin to desert, finally going back
627 to their homes. The notables, satiated and fed up, see that this is
614 the time to stop in the struggle and investigations, because of what
613 they hurried to auction when it was taken over, the gross value of which they distribute equally among the lineages concerned in the
[594] agreement, except for that of the man who violated it. This distribution, which the representatives of the lineages present parcel out among their lineage-mates, must in turn be parcelled out by the latter among the nuclear families, and by these among the members of each
[262] family. And thus, one fine day, the imgharen and their numerous coterie, nourished with barley, bread, butter and hard-boiled eggs, abandon those places which they have left as clean as the palms of their hands; for Rifian notions of justice are now satisfied and the lineage responsible for the crime remains in misery.

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 614 695 Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A], and their brother Hammu. 621 692 673 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hannash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 689 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir 784 al-'Azizi attended the present act with them. Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

A, A ["83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

000 671 182 628 681 nor a bastardization of his office. It creates guarantees for the accused, protecting him from bloodfeuds; it indemnifies the social unit, the subclan of Imhauren, from injuries caused by some of its members, so that when the fine is donated to the habus of the village mosque, through the particular conceptualization and application of these funds in the Rif, a part of the money always came back to the jma'th in kind; and the eagerness for a reward, as among participating European functionaries, who multiply the fines by increasing their investigations and denunciations in proportion to their needs, was discarded.

671 It has--and why not?--among its other defects one which is certainly a simple defect in editing, although the frequency with which 681 it is repeated makes this doubtful in several cases. The intention (author's italics) (Blanco: note f, in text) is punished, but how can 627 it be proven? According only to the prudent arbitration of the popular tribunal formed by the two aforementioned individuals. A bad business.

671 621 623 614 182 Curious and noteworthy is the palpable demonstration of this municipal letter, of this qanun of a jma'th, which is careful not to overstep the bounds of adjacent institutions, such as those of personal status law (inheritance, etc.) or of those handled by the immediately superior social unit, the clan, with its qanun approved and drawn up in the markets (murders and woundings, etc.), a fact which reveals the interrelationship and interdependence of the different social units, and even their institutions and how they function.

671 627 182 This qanun is limited, logically, to neighborhood questions, among which there figures in first place that of public security (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property.

000 (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property. It[A] says nothing regarding
671 the question of irrigation, because within the territory of this subclan
312 there is not a single point of communal water available or usable only
614 by this jma'th, as happens in Thamasind (see Qanun of Tamasint); on the other hand, it forms part of a group of irrigating jma'ths subjected to the same norms which are described in detail in Chapter XIV, and, if it does not touch other points of coexistence and if it is observed in other qanuns, this is simply because such questions did not give rise to any disagreements, for all members of the subclan accepted the old and very well-known customs of their jma'th in good spirit.

000 And rough, practical men cannot lose time inventing or making things up, even though they may be capable of doing so.

671 This qanun, like almost all others, brings into relief the sweat, efforts and oversights of those who drew it up, in order to validate the precepts agreed upon and in order to satisfy, for those attending to them[37]; for, attentive to his individual interests, a man would wish to make an addendum if a mishap had occurred in his orchard the previous night, as in note i in the text. Amplifications or corrections [623] were required, for, fearing that they were not understood by the hard-headed councilmembers, the plaintiff was accredited before the legislative assembly as proof of his presence at the legislative meeting even if only to legislate egotistically for his orchard.

623 With this, they accredited that under a severe and formalized
182 appearance, there was no more than childishness (sic) and incapacity to govern (sic): lost in small details, strongly addicted to minutiae, passionately influenced by the latest incident, working anarchically (sic), each person obsessed with his own problems, attentive to his

[A] [i.e., the qanun--Analyst]

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
621 social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
443 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to
671 those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan,
[182] an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
614
796

671 443 614 776 was drawn up, as the names of those who inspired it disappear into a convenient anonymity as the generic "those of the clan", under the otherworldly tutelage of Sidi 'Amran. As for being alive and present, 671 614 776 I consider that the jealous and rivalrous constituents of this saint would neither have consented, however great his sanctity might be, to figure expressly in this qanun; for such was the independent or anarchical spirit of this clan, that, having iziddifen or imgharen like all other clans, nobody wanted to see himself deferred or ordered around, 554 even in name only. There is no master nor, by the same token, are there servants, titles or honors. Only men and rifles, and only reality and harshness.

614 671 Nevertheless, the common good succeeds in putting the clan's ideas into effect (author's italics--i.e. "the common good makes them agree"), according to the expression of the first paragraph of the qanun, which reveals to us the amount of discussion and work that this would cost.

671 Rifian law grows, pacifying the minds of those who live by it, staisfying a need, not an ideal; and doing so as naturally as the waters of 'Ain Tihalalin, beside which it was made, slake the thirst of the wayfarer and even the clarity of both: the wayfarer and the law. For the function of the water and the function of the Rifian [182] legal system was analogous: to cure, even though the cure was not always successful.

671 443 Rifian society, as this qanun proves, establishes a place of peace, a place which is not (translator's italics) the temple of God, the place of prayer and that selected by almost all other peoples, but the market and its environs, the temple of the merchants. This proves

671 Paragraph e: This paragraph distinguishes principals from accomplices or auxiliaries.

671 181 Paragraph f: A virile and rural society distrusts the veracity of the so-called humanitarian sentiments, closing its doors to the intrigues which, under such a mask, provoke influential individuals to save their allies and other interested aspirations which mock the objectives that the law, to which they freely gave themselves, pursues.

671 609 628 Paragraph g: We have here a precise and exact detail, an excellent delimitation of a truce, a recognition of Rifian public law (i.e. jural procedure) and interest protecting the stranger, to whom this law guarantees a wide and sufficient time of commercial activity and a prudent warning that he leave an open field to the fierce internal bloodfeuding. We have here a manifestation of the social unit, 671 609 614 the clan, which shows us its reality and consistency, which recognizes a common interest and one superior to its own intestinal vendettas; and this permits it to guarantee to the neutral, to the stranger, a free passage and activity throughout its whole territory (author's italics).

671 695 Paragraph h: Two important additions are made here to the hurried first draft. It is necessary, first, to guarantee the person of the accused against the passions of the moment, the outward appearances, the ill-will and the outright suspicions, by means of <u>evident proof</u> (author's italics), offering him the means of avoiding such passions by taking oath. And in the second addendum (Paragraph i) they list, furthermore, and completing it, the duration of the truce or time of peace.

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanums, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

671 614 613 182 component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing influence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

671 693 695 623 621 782 7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the undersigned notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya) made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros. This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55] or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

682 613 682 443

671 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred
771 Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian
182 appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for tran-
[778] scendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition
[782] to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice,
[779] the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian,
[514] an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of
182 the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic
614 practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in
619 writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the
182 maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting in-
628 delibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount
681 of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and
[511] it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which
628 can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real
681 ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality,
184 differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at
443

671
628 1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in
681 certain qanuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which
184
443 the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the
681
619 reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place
443 reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681 For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is
681
628 therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly
682 made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine
614 for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the
619 Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or
443 agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith
613 Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

671 554 Abundant in these ideas, we may observe how in the first lines of the qanun some names are adorned with the honorific titles of shaikh and even qa'id, titles which fit the members of this society as well as two pistols do a saint, for not only did they not realize nor did anyone admit the roles which in Arabic correspond to such titles, but, as can be appreciated, the nominal qa'id (i.e. Sayyid Bu Bakr bin Muhammad Ushshan) does not occupy the first place, which he not only had to yield to the opulent and considerable Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, but to crouch behind another, second shaikh, 'Ali Azarqan, and we finally discover him in third place modestly lost among the notables: the adults (author's italics), with this single, authentic and legitimate representation: that of his lineage (family group) or dharfiqth, and all the rest, of the social group or jma'th.

It may be observed that this is the only qanun in which the imaginary personage of the qa'id is expressly stated; his title and role are as unreal as all other Arab ones in the Rif, whether they be called bu mwarith, ukil l-ghuyab, shiyukh, mqaddimin and even qudat (pl. of qadi). These people did not look toward Fez nor toward the circumference of the Rif, but toward its center, toward the interior, toward their villages. There was no power other than the assembly, the agraw[75], the council of elders. For this reason Rifian society.... could have previously been considered concentric.[76]

181 614 121

671 554 693 We may also see the coincidence that this qanun, the only one in which the term qa'id appears, is also the only one which contains that of amghar among the last names (ninth to last) as well as that of ra'is[77], and it reveals to us how the tulba of the Aith Waryaghar, who

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these l[illegible] groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

671 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any in-
vader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed im-
potence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organiza-
tion and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

the people of Bani Dar al-Zikhlif, the people of Agni, the people of the Awlad al-Hamdi ibn al-Qadi of Qubi'a, the people of Iharumen, the people of Igzinnayen[96] and the people of Bani Gmil, all agreeing among themselves, with respect to the defense of the border, (to impose) a fine of 2000 duros upon any of those mentioned who, in case of war in Dar al-Zikhlif, should flee through negligence (at a time when cooperation in border defense is needed) or should even proceed with cunning (in order not to fulfill the agreement), for which he shall pay the sum mentioned earlier in the present document.

The allies of Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura who flee back to their homes in Dar al-Zikhlif shall pay the above amount to each one of the clans. A sum shall be levied from their hands by those indicated in the earlier part of the present document. Those of both clans mentioned who would appear for judgment in the act and combat against their own (people) remain exempt from payment[97], (the justification of) this procedure being that it is the only way to impose brotherhood and unity, and to cause extralimitation against them to cease.

He who attended the present agreement with both parties and heard from them what was agreed upon extended this to the requirement of those who solicited it.

At the end of the divine month of Rajab al-Fard of the year 1336 (May 9, 1918).

Servant of his God, (illegible).--(Signature).

B) Commentary:

The above qanun, as a perusal of it indicates, represents an

616
613
619
182
survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were surrounded by powerful neighbors.

616
182
Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family, the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616
121
I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616
It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

691
614
619
This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe. Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring

644
648
clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that [443] among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 574 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

671 701 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front
[402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills
(Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168]
[571] It has two turns, for the Imsamaan and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and
[571] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'-
[402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid
n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

104 Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")-anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the
614 three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those
312 who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and
578 those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the
423 River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of
691 Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Azhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

671 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

000

22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man figures in any given qanum, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

000 unlike the Central Atlas, there is no special time limit on repayment.

• [614] 31--Imhawlen is the literal transliteration from the Arabic text, rather than the Rifian form Imhawren. The Imhawren are one of three subclans of the clan of the Aith 'Ari, of the lowland Aith Waryaghar; and the clan of the Aith 'Ari, along with that of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, form a single khums or "fifth" in that tribe.

776 692 32--Sidi Mhand u Musa (died 1254 A.H., or 1838-39 A.D., according to one informant), the apex of the lineage of Izziqiwen of the clan of the Imrabdhen. Sidi Mhand u Musa is buried in Aith Hishim and is one of the most important saints of the Aith Waryaghar. As the text 776 778 692 indicates, he adjudicated disputes and settled feuds (between the Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari clans); and he is said to have had a great deal of baraka, which, in accordance with Rifian notions of baraka-transmission, was successively passed down to only one descendant at a time: from Sidi Mhand u Musa to his grandson Sidi Misa'ud, bypassing his own son Sidi Siddiq; then to Sidi Misa'ud's son Sidi Hmid n Sidi Misa'ud; then to Sidi Siddiq's son, Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq; on the latter's death, to his son Sidi Muhand; on the latter's death to his son Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar, who was made qa'id of Imrabdhen by the Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz; and then to his brother Sidi Muhand.

776 792 Some informants say that Sidi Mhand u Musa and his descendants are the only true shurfa among all the Imrabdhen in the Aith Waryaghar, and that they have the right to their share in the sunduq or box of Mulay Idris for this reason. The share in question is divided up every year at the time of the Mulud: either a representative of the Dharwa n Sidi Mhand u Musa goes to Fez to get it, or, as the descendants of Mulay Idris are said to have a complete listing of those entitled to such shares, they sent them out. The shares are the same every year, but informants were unable to tell me the amount (a fact which in itself casts suspicion on the legitimacy of their claim to be shurfa). When the allotted amount arrives in Aith Waryaghar, it is divided into four parts: one for the descendants of Sidi Misa'ud ("Burjila") n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (the Iburjilathen of Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (also in Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi Haddu n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Zawith n Tashtiwin, in the subclan of Aith Tmajurth, in the clan territory of Aith 'Abdallah, and in Swani, where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the Mediterranean at the mouth of the Nkur River, in the clan territory of the Aith 'Ari), and one for the descendants of Sidi Muhammad n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Aith Hishim).

000 33--The reference here is probably to Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari n Sidi Musa n Sidi Hmid l-Quruni, the father of Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnau, of the lineage of Aith 'Aziz in the subclan of Upper Imrabdhen. Both father and son are buried in the Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar, located in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan territory of Aith Hadhifa.

Once again, with Sidi Mhand u Musa and Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari, both subclans of Imrabdhen are represented, no doubt in order to give greater validity to their roles as adjudicators, but also to the qanun itself.

000 44--Which is unwritten in any case.

45--The Aith 'Abdallah are at once a clan and a "fifth" of the Aith Waryaghar.

46--In Rifian, Dhara n Tihrariyin, "the spring of the pure women(?)". The Tuesday Market once located there has not been functioning since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate, or earlier. The people of Aith 'Abdallah at present share a market, held on Mondays, with those of Aith Hadhifa; this market is located on the border of the two clan territories.

[614] 47--Sidi 'Amran is buried in the jma'th of Aith S'aid, in the subclan territory of Aith 'Aru Musa, one of two subclans of Aith 'Abdallah (the other being Aith Tmajurth).

[114] 48--Presumably with eleven of his agnates as cojurors, for twelve must swear in cases of suspected homicide; but there is no mention of this in the text and Blanco, whose knowledge of collective oaths in the Rif was sketchy, does not comment upon it.

[114] 49--Blanco's notions of Rifian segmentary lineage organization are somewhat deficient; for although the notion of a confederation of tribes might once have existed in the Rif (vide the liffs of Ghumara and Sinhaja), but during the "Republik" as described both by Blanco and myself, it most emphatically did not exist, nor does it exist today.

50--"Autonomous" would perhaps be a better word in this connection, for any segmentary system presupposes an interdependence of its component segments, upward, downward and laterally; and within the framework of such a system, maintained as it is by the principles of balance, oscillation and opposition, there is always some (and often very considerable) latitude for a (virtually or largely) autonomous existence on the part of individual segments, irrespective of the segmental level under consideration.

[619] 51--Because the Aith Waryaghar, in point of population, are the biggest tribe by far in the entire Rif (with the Igzinnayen following, at some distance), its clans may be functionally equated, in certain respects but not in others, with whole tribes elsewhere.

671 614 52--The Aith 'Adhiya are one of two subclans of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (the other being "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash), of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar. We have referred to it as Bani 'Adhiya rather than Aith 'Adhiya in the text itself, as this is how it appears in Arabic.

614 162 Although the Aith 'Adhiya are strictly speaking a subclan rather than a clan proper, as the Aith 'Abdallah are (see Chap. VI), they are nonetheless about the same size as the latter in point of population; and the whole clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with both subclans considered, is the biggest in the tribe, and by a rather wide margin (population 22,000 in 1960). This fact helps explain two things: 614 616 671 1) why the Aith 'Adhiya and the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash are in opposite liffs, and 2) why the qanun of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya deals with almost exactly the same matters as that of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah. Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash form one "fifth". 619

000 53--This is probably Aith Tizi, forming a part of the larger jma'th of Ighmiren, with Aith Fars.

54--Whether all the Aith 'Adhiya jointly sacrificed two bulls, or whether one each was sacrificed by the members of each liff is not indicated.

55--The market in question is the Monday Market of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[671] 56--In both this qanun and that of the Aith 'Abdallah we see how the fine for murder committed in the market is double that for murder elsewhere. Both qanuns also imply that not only must the fine be paid but that the murderer's house and crops will be burned as well. All informants from all over the Central Rif, however, said time and again that if the fine is paid, there is no houseburning. The root of the [735] discrepancy seems therefore to be an implicit assumption that the average murderer is too poor to pay the fine, which is in any event prohibitively high.

57--In some respects one can see what Blanco means here, but such a statement, particularly regarding the "superficiality" of Rifian Islam, is one which the Rifians themselves would hotly and vehemently deny. In their own eyes, they are extremely good Muslims!

[262] 58--Rifians tend to eat meat, as a rule, only on one day of the week: when they buy and bring it home from the market.

[114] [682] 59--Blanco here confuses the ddiyith, or blood money, to be paid to the victim's agnates, with the rhaqq, or fine for murder, to be paid (both payments being made by the murderer and his own agnates) to the council-members.

[682] 60--Blanco's point about 1000 duros being the fine for murder under normal circumstances (i.e. outside the market) and 2000 for murder inside it is very well taken; and, as he implies, these sums are indeed the norm all over the Rif. But once again, he confuses fines with blood-money, and they are entirely different.

61--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

62--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

[114] 63--This is an interestingly expressed idea, but the linkage with nomadism seems questionable.

● [614] 64--As already indicated, the Aith Khattab include the two Waryaghar clans of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; and in this sense they might be considered a "super-clan", particularly if, as some have it (though this is nowhere indicated in the text of the qanun), they embrace the Aith 'Abdallah as well. In the same way, Aith Bu 'Ayyash, if it embraces, on the topmost level, the two clans of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa, may also be regarded as a "super-clan" of the same order of segmentation. However, the group in question is referred to as Bani Khattab, not Aith Khattab, in the text of the qanun.

65--As indicated, this qanun is valid only for the coastal Aith Khattab, those of both Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari who live in and around the Plain of Alhucemas, bordering the Mediterranean.

000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.

[976] [732] 67--This saint, nicknamed Bu Rjila, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of baraka were legendary.

[613] [614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.

69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.

70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.

71--The jillab is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.

72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.

[464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.

[114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.

75--Blanco actually means aitharba'in rather than agraw in this particular context.

[113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.

77--Ra'is in Arabic is "headman", from ras, "head".

[992] [113] 78--Mulay Admad al-Raisuli was a sharif from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, The Sultan of the Mountains, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

S: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4
Aith Siddat

000 95--The two tribes in question are Bni Bu Frah and Bni Gmil, the former
S a predominantly Rifian even though largely Arabic-speaking tribe, and
[619] the latter, also predominantly Arabic speaking, disclaimed by both the Rifians and the Sinhaja Srir.

R 96--A lineage of the clan of Agni, of the Bni Bu Frah, this unit, as
[613] indicated by its name, came from the tribe of the Igzinnayen. It is the second of the two Rifian-speaking lineages of the Bni Bu Frah.

97--Two questions emerge here. First, the text refers to "both clans", when in actual fact Bni Bu Frah has four clans. This may, however, mean one of two things: a reference to Muhammad bin al-'Arbi, the Awlad Ghadura and their allies (Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura being considered as one clan and the allies as another), or it may in fact refer to the two liffs into which the tribe was split and thus embrace all four clans. The first, in context, seems more probable. This jibes with Blanco's statement, in the commentary (note 259), that the two clans in question are Agni and Ulad S'aid.

Secondly, we find, in the notion of payment for combatting their own people, a contradiction in terms. But this can probably be explained away by the fact that what this statement (which is highly unclear) probably refers to is that those who stay on the tribal border and combat any of their tribal brethren who try to evade the collective obligation by sneaking home are indeed exempt from payment of any fine, because their conduct has been exemplary.

R One further point: the fact that lineages from every clan of the
[613] Bni Bu Frah are mentioned in this border agreement suggests the total
[619] involvement of the tribe as well as, implicitly, that of all of the Bni Gmil; for in small tribes, such involvement is total, whereas in large
S ones, such as the Aith Waryaghar or the Igzinnayen, this may not be
[619] (and indeed often is not) the case.

R 98--Even so, lineages from the other two clans of the Bni Bu Frah, Swa-
[613] hil and Ibuyihyathen, also appear to have been involved (see text of
[614] qanun); and presumably all or most of the Bni Gmil was involved as
S well, though this is nowhere stated in the text.
[619]

99--The mobility of tribal borders to which Blanco alludes here was quite relative; and it was far less great than, for instance, that among desert Bedouins, or even transhumants.

100--The liff system is perhaps a center-piece in Rifian political organization; but it is not the only one. There are other institutions with almost equal claims to primacy, such as the plural oath.

101--The liff system did bind together different social units, but always, let it be remembered, those of the same order or level of segmentation--unless, for example, a shift in alliance occurred, in which case it was possible for a liff to move upward or downward (in a structural sense) in gaining or losing new adherents.

It will be noted that the bulk of Blanco's commentary on liffs here is substantially the same as his chapter on the same subject in Der. Cons. Rif.

the participating lineages are overwhelmingly affiliated with Ajdir and the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. Indeed, through the first four days, the participants are all members of lineages localized in Ajdir and its immediate environs. Although Ajdir itself may be considered a segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, the distinction made in this context between "Ajdir" on the one hand and "Ughir Iyizan" on the other probably referred originally to participants who were from Ajdir "Proper" as opposed to other Aith Ughir Iyizan. Our own notes tend, in fact, to bear this out, as in the Ajdir turn on the first and third days, the U Haddu and W'Alla w Ujdir part-turns are affiliated with the lineage of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa; the U Hammu part-turn is affiliated with that of the Aith Zar'a; and the U Mis'aud u Yusif part-turn is of course affiliated with that of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif. In the Ughir Iyizan turn, on the second and fourth days, all the part-turn names in question designate lineages which had land in Ajdir long ago but which no longer exist as separate entities. Their names are today preserved only in connection with distribution of irrigation water, the present recipients of which are all in effect members of the three lineages of Ajdir.

To complete the record on the l-Bzimma ditch, it only need be said here that our data vary slightly with Blanco's regarding the irrigational order of the small lineage branches, e.g.,

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir--U Haddu (Aith 'Aru 'Aisa; U Mis'aud u Yusif (Aith Mis'aud u Yusif)
2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan--U Yikhrif; U Yihya u Musa
3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir--W 'Alla w Ujdir (Aith 'Aru 'Aisa); U Hammu (Aith Zar'a)
4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan--W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan; U Dris
5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir
6th Day (24 hours): Zawith and Tishtin r-B'ai

134--I'arhuthen may be an error; the lineage in question is probably that of the I'abbuthen, a member lineage of the subclan of the Tigarth of the clan of the Aith 'Ari; while the Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru are a branch of Aith r-'Arbi, also of the subclan of Tigarth. We have been unable to trace the lineage affiliations of the Dharwa 'Abdinnbi.

135--The fact, which Blanco discusses at length below, of the subclan of Imhauren (clan of the Aith 'Ari), of which the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid are member lineages, doling out water on a staggered nine-day basis to the Aith Bu Dhimmus is rendered all the more remarkable when one realizes that the latter are a branch of the lineage of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar, subclan of the Isrihan, in another (and traditionally hostile) clan, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

136--Dhifirasin (literally, "pear trees", sing. dhafirasth) is not the name of a lineage at all, but that of an irrigation ditch. Both the irrigating lineages, however, are of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari: the Aith Mhand u Yihya (of the Plain), though "foreigners" from the Ulad 'Azzam of the Wargha River Sanhaja, are affiliated with the subclan of the Isrihan, while the Im'aruwen (here again there are two groups who are not geographically contiguous, one in Isrihan in the mountains and one in Thafrasth in the Plain--the latter group is under

000
[614] consideration here) are affiliated with the Ajdir segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan.

[614] 137--All three lineages are member groups of the subclan of the Tigarth in the clan of the Aith 'Ari.

312 591 613 114 138--Our own notes on the division of irrigation water from Dharga n-Bulma'iz are a little at variance with those of Blanco. There are three turns of 24 hours each, for the secondary ditches of Dhifirasin, r-Ghis Burma'iz and Thafadhna n Dara (Upper Dhafadhna). The Dhifirasin turn is distributed among the lineages of the Ibukriwen, Ihanjiqen (both of Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Plain) and Im'aruwen (this is exactly as Blanco indicates); but the Ghis Burma'iz turn is limited only to the three lineages of the Imhawren, i.e. the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid. The Tafadhna n Dara turn is divided between the lineage of the Yinn Si 'Amar (branches of Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Amar and Dharwa nd-Hajj Muhand) of Lower Imrabdhen, clan of the Imrabdhen; and the Aith Bu Dhimmus (Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush); and this is very much at variance with what Blanco says. It is possible, but unlikely, that a change in order may have taken place after the Spanish administration put cement bases in the three principal ditches (r-Bzimma, Bulma'iz and Dthafadhna) in the Lower Ghis; and the cementing occurred long after Blanco left the Rif. It is easier (and probably more plausible) to attribute the discrepancy to ambiguity among informants; but here again, the pitfall of using ambiguity as a scapegoat is that even the least intelligent users of any ditch are always thoroughly conversant with which lineages use it, how much time and how long the cycle is, and in what order it comes. For it is standard irrigation practice in the Plain of al-Husaima that each dharfiqth receives water for 24 hours at a stretch, and that after this, the supply is cut off so that other dharfiqin can irrigate.

000
[114] [614] 139--Blanco is in error here for not being familiar with the segmentary minutiae of the Aith Waryaghar. The Aith Bu Dhimmus lineage does not belong at all to the dharfiqth of the Imhawren, whose clan affiliations are with the Aith 'Ari, but to that of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar in the subclan of the Isrihan, of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[114] 140--Our own fieldnotes on the subject say nothing of the staggered, around-the-clock rotation every twelve days of the Aith Bu Dhimmus after their insertion into the routine of the Imhawren turn; but we think we are at fault here for not having gone into the matter thoroughly enough. Blanco is indeed to be congratulated here not only on a truly original discovery, but on an excellent exposition of his material as well.

141--This statement proves that in Blanco's time the three principal ditches emanating from the Lower Ghis had not yet been cemented.

142--Only the lineage of the Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith is of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari; all the rest of the individuals and lineages mentioned here are resident in Ajdir of the Aith Ughir Izan subclan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

143--Our own notes on the distribution of water from the Tafadhna ditch, while not as detailed as those of Blanco, are nonetheless largely in accord with his. The ditch has a three-day cycle: Imhawren (24 hours),

000 with the lineages of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid irrigating; Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours) with the Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush irrigating; and Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit (24 hours).

[114] 144--Blanco gives the "9 hours 20 minutes" figure (the difference between 12 hours and 2 hours 40 minutes) as "h. 60", which seems to make no sense whatsoever, and may be simply a typographical error.

[103] 145--Our notes record this as one ditch, called Sidd Tuth r-Hammam ("mulberry in the heat"?), a lower extension, in fact, of Sidd Dharga nd-Bzimma. It has a two-day turn, distributed as follows: U Kammuni, U r-Qadhi, U 'Amar u Bukar, U Muhand and Zawith. As in the l-Bzimma ditch, these names are purely names of turns, and not names of actual lineages located in the area around the ditch. However, at least three of the turn names recall present lineage segments of the clan of the Imrabdhen: U Kammuni and U r-Qadhi recall the Aith Kammun and Aith r-Qadhi in the Upper Imrabdhen, and U 'Amar u Bukar recalls the Aith 'Amar u Bukar in the Lower Imrabdhen. Given this fact, it is also possible, therefore, that Zawith in this context might refer either to the Zawith n Sidi Yusif in the Lower Imrabdhen or to the Zawith n Sidi 'Aisa or Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar in the Upper Imrabdhen. The turn name U Muhand is too generalized to provide any lead.

146--Blanco unfortunately does not provide us with a translation of this document.

147--'Azib, in an Arabic dictionary, is generally given the meaning of "estate", but it is one of many words in Arabic which mean different things to different groups of people. In the Central Atlas, it refers to a shepherd's shelter in a summer pasturage area; and in the Rif it refers to a second house built by an individual who already owns one, preferably a second house in which he spends a certain season of the year, such as summer. Such an individual is called a'azzab, pl. i'azzaben, and there are very few of them in the Central Rif, where transhumance, in any form, is non-existent.

148--The tribes in question which are bounded by the Lower Nkur are the Aith Waryaghar on the west bank and the Thimsaman on the east; but it should also be remembered that the Middle and even a part of the Upper Nkur divides the Aith Waryaghar (west) from the Axt Tuzin (east).

[621] [613] [614] 149--The latter is a lineage-community of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the former (Imzuren) is a thoroughly mixed local community, with elements of the Aith 'Ari, Aith Yusif w 'Ari Imrabdhen and even the Aith Bu 'Ayyash clans all included.

[618] 150--Our notes on Dharga n Dahar state that it has nine turns: five for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (by which, naturally, is meant only those lineage segments of this clan localized around the area of the ditch), and the remaining four as follows: Abyadh (the Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Isrihan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Thasrand Imziren (half for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and half for the Aith Musa w 'Amar), Ihaddushen (a branch of the Aith Musa w 'Amar) and Imzuren. In each one of these turns, there are 7 or 8 nubath. From Thasrand Imziren to the Nkur, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash irrigate; and from Ihaddushen to Imzuren, the Aith 'Ari do so.

000

151--The third-mentioned individual was from the Aith Bu Qiyadhen lineage of the Aith 'Adhiya subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and the fourth from Ajdir of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The others were unidentified.

312 591 613 614 152--Sidd r-Hajib irrigates the Aith Musa W. 'Amar and Iswiqen n Waddai (affiliatedwith the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), for the most part. Sidd Inufan irrigates the territory of the same lineages, as well as the land of a few intrusive families of Shurfa Wazzaniyin from Snada (Aith Yittuft), those of Sidi l-Hajj Mikki and Sidi Brahim. Sidd Bu Kra' irrigates up through Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), as well as r-Mruj and Ahamri (the site of the Granja). Sidd Ahammar irrigates land bought by the Hajj Hmid n 'Abdssram Bu 'Ayyashi, the son of 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand Bu Qiyadhen mentioned in note 151; and it irrigates land of the Ihankuren lineage (in Aith Musa w 'Amar) as well. Sidd Miskur irrigates Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar) and the Ifqiren (Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen).

153--These ditches are presumably named for the lineages which use them: Tigarth and I'abbuthen (both of the Tigarth subclan) in the Aith 'Ari, and Aith Misa'ud in the Lower Imrabdhen.

154--Sidd Tagharbund irrigates for the Ihankuren (of Aith Musa w 'Amar of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), certain lineages of Bu Minqad (again of the Aith r-'Abbas of the Aith 'Ari), the (Lower) Imrabdhen of r-'Azih Imzuren, and, in 1953, for the then Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), Mikki n Sriman r-Khattabi, of Ajdir. Sidd 'Abdallah irrigates for the Ifqiren lineage (of Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen subclan) at r-'Azib Imzuren, Sidd Arbib ("dam of the step-child") irrigates for the Ifqiren and Ma'iza lineages (also of Aith 'Amar u Bukar) at r-'Azib Imzuren. Sidd Ishtari irrigates for the Imrabdhen of r-'Azib Imzuren, and for the Imhawren, Aith Musa w 'Amar and Bu Minqadh lineages (the last three of the Aith 'Ari).

155--As indicated, the Imhawren are a subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the Aith Mhand u Yihya are a lineage of the Isrihan subclan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

000 156--For whom, presumably, the ditch was named in the first place, as those of its members who are nearest it share a turn from its water.

[613] [591] 157--Our notes state that the Dharga n Tmsaman always has a right to one-third of the water from Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan; and that there are four, rather than three, turns of 24 hours each, the fourth being that of the Aith 'Amar u Bukar (Lower Imrabdhen) of Ma'iza.

[613] [614] 158--A lineage of Izakiren community in the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

159--Sidd Jdid is used in summer, when water is scarce, by the same lineages who use Dharga n Tmsaman.

160--This document is not given by Blanco in translation.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

[755] [782]

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

104 624 [686] by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

000 172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w. 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

[613] 173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

[554] [648] [631] 176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

[614] 177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[224] [113] 179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

224
619
689
114 182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

224
67] We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points [114] which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible [178] that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

224
628
613 186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

● 614 However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix. A A

A A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[11] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[12]

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[13] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency.[14] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family.[15] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[11] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[12] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[13] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[14] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[15] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[9]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[8] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[9] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Ref MX3

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
● 614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

/238 cont./

121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 361 621 632 [619] the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 613 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1):

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 114 It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

[171]

/239 cont./

621
613
614
114
171

/footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11. Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse origins there. On the other hand, the bond of blood exists among the households of the same Riffian jemaᶜa.

621
613
621
628
613
726

it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and becomes a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq" heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers" resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of extermination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, following the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the
[722] country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under
[435] which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ᶜadoul; if the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

S
*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
S
[121] families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

R
634 XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
631 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
171 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R
[616] Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R
Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
• 614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

/294 cont./

634 792 182 This expansion of the religious forces smothers the free political life of the mountain populations, and even when a family head succeeds in dominating the neighboring villages and becoming amghar of an entire khoms, he remains the respectful servant of the holy personages who maintain in the tribes the tradition of Islam, hate of the Christian, and direct, without ever appearing, the debates of the little assemblies.

/295/ It is only where the grip of the marabouts and shorfa relaxes for a time and in the regions that are not entirely given over to private wars that the ambition of the minor amghars can be given free rein for some years. Indeed, we see them appear on the north versant of the chain of the Rif, out of the reach of the zaouias established on the summits, in the tribes of the Ghomara, among the Beni Bou Frah, the Beni Gmil, the Mestasa, and to the south of the Jbel Hammam, in the country of the Gzennaya at the sources of the Nkor, or in the tribe of the Beni Amret.

634 619 Although the internal life of these tribes at the end of the nineteenth century is less well known to us than that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it is nevertheless possible to find again the conditions in which the amghars of the western Rif grew important, up to the moment when the effort attempted by ᶜAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ to constitute a Riffian State made them disappear at a single blow.

619 648 The anarchy in the country and disturbances that occurred in the tribe of the Boqqoya had made necessary, at the beginning of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the sending of a strong harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the organization of the tribes was entrusted to the kaid Boucheta el Baghdadi, of the guich /gish/ of the Sultan, who in our day has become Pasha of Fès /Fez/. The garrisons billeted in the old casbahs of Tafersit and Snada, supported by a small steamer of the sherifian fleet in the bay of Alhucémas, sufficed at this time to restore order. The command of the tribal "khoms" was then entrusted to the chiefs [614] of the most powerful clans, named sheiks for the occasion. The dissensions of the mountain "khoms," which had previously ended

/295 cont./

619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

[171] [681] [434] [614] [581]

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

623
623

and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In this case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay indemnity to the other. Even when the council ends peacefully it takes at least a week before they reach an agreement» (14).

To his may be appended a short but very apt summation of the situation by Col. Blanco: «En el Rif, donde todos son personajes, sólo una política de masas y no de individuos puede ser fructífera» (15).

618
616
628

In the Rīf, up to the advent of ʿAbd al-Karīm, the state of war was so permanent that it can truthfully be said that if is customary for Europeans or Americans to declare war, it was also customary for the Riffians to declare peace. We must remember that the *thārfiqth* was the unit of vengeance, and that feuds between *thārfiqīn* even within the same village were a commonplace. House-to-house fighting was the order of they day. If a feud kept going long enough, the result was that the other *thārfiqīn* in the same and in nearby villages eventually began to group themselves around either one of the two feuding parties, usually with the one which was closer kin to themselves. Thus we have the beginnings of a moiety organization, equivalent to the *ṣof* of the Kabyles of Algeria. If the members of one moiety gradually found themselves on the losing side, their representatives used to lead a bull to the mosque of a neutral village or *thārfiqth* the aid of which they desired, and the *faqīh* slaughtered it on the sill so that its blood spurted over the threshold. The fact that a bull was sacrificed whenever possible is significant in itself, as the Wuryāghlīs [262] are very poor and largely vegetarians by force of circumstances; a bull is the most expensive edible animal they can buy. The act of sacrifice worked as a powerful shame compulsion *(ʿār)*, and forced the members of the second group into alliance with the first, whether they were willing or not. This type of alliance was called *liff*, as mentioned above, and as the feud grew in size, so did the *liff*. If the feud remained localized, alliances were usually made anew after it was over; but if it spread enough to involve whole «fifths», the traditional *liff* alignment of the two opposing moieties of Aith Yūsuf and Aith ʿAlī came into play again. The clever manipulation of this

(14) Coon, 1931, p. 97.
(15) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 67.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

system of alliances which 'Abd al-Karīm displayed during the early part oh his war was one of the major reasons for his successful unification of the Rīf (16).

It must the stated here, however, that it was unusual for most feuds to become anything more than shootings on a local scale. First of all, feuding kept the population down; sescondly, house burnings and exaction of fines by the *imghāren* were harsh repressive measures in themselves; thirdly, the constant fear of outside invasion by the councillors of another tribe (which occurred wen the *imghāren* of Aith 'Ammarth stepped in on the side of Aith Yūsuf to end a feud between the latter and Aith 'Alī, plus the standard alignment of other «fifths», which had been going on for seven years) tended to restrict the scope of the feud and to prevent it from spreading; and fourthly, individuals who were considered habitual troublemakers and soreheads even by Riffian standards were exiled. If they refused to accept the dictum of the *imghāren* they were unceremoniously put to death.

The above is a reflection of the Riffian political system and situation which prevailed up until the time of 'Abd al-Karīm. The governmental structure of Aith Wuryāghil followed to the letter the true Berber pattern of superimposed representative councils, with a few of the members of each deliberative body being chosen to participate in the council of the group a rung higher up the ladder. Furthermre, thanks to the *liff* alliance system, as Blanco says, the individual in the *thārfiqth*, the *thārfiqth* in the *jamā'ath*, the *jamā'ath* in the «fifth», the «fifth» in the tribe *(thaqbīt*, pl. *thaqbīr*, from Arabic *qabīla*, pl. *qabā'il)*, and the tribe in relation to other tribes all maintain an unstable equilibrium, expressed in terms of the linking of *rubū'* or of «fifths», and ultimately, in the two great rival moieties of Ṣinhāja and Ghumāra (17). As it happens in our particular case, Aith Wuryāghil was (and is) too large and powerful to need formal alliances with other tribes, its only active ally having been Aith 'Ammarth, for, as many old greybeards have told me, «We could still go out and eat Tamsamān or Aith Tuzīn any day of the week»; but for small tribes surrounded by big neighbors, such as Thafarsīth,

(16) Coon, 1951, p. 317.
(17) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 70.

592 593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age 883 [785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time.

[584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage, 885 593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in [591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the [594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own. 883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and 885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council 623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he 616 794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].

575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced 593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there 586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

614 site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
● 616 elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

614 latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or
[619] the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan
[616] has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are its customary law, its qanums and its market (as in the qanum of the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

619 4) Tribe or Dhaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of
614 clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this
619 level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium
614 (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is
671 guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has
182 no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors, faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law
619 of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans
614 form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as
616 the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin
[613] of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It
[621] would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over
[623] and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes, while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

619 Thirmamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyuririn.
614 Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.
621

d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyar, Tighza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waumkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

175 8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara. It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal [628] [616] struggles between lfuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

175 554 When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

619 that in the Igzinnayen, the Asht Mhand were intrusive "fifth wheels" exactly as the Imrabdhen were in the Aith Waryaghar. Coon (op. cit., 619 1931, p. 19), on the other hand, calls them "autochthonous heathen" 114 because of their origin traditions, and this would accord more with the two-segment division above, which assigns them to a firmer position in the total structure (even though elsewhere in the same work, on p. 92, Coon himself endorses a five-fold division). The two-619 segment division, afforded us by the shaikh of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, is probably the more correct one, although the hypothesis of the Qa'id 616 Haddu is attractive from the standpoint of balance and imbalance of 114 liffs, and it is supported indirectly by Blanco's statement in the text that the Asht Mhand came originally from the Mtalsa, which would help explain their later liff affiliations.

The two liffs of the Igzinnayen were those of Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth, with affiliations as above, so that in this tribe, the liff system did not cut across the segmentary system as in Aith Waryaghar, but was, rather, co-extensive with it. Not only this, but it corresponded, in general, to Blanco's notion of "northern" and "southern" liffs, although without the "Berber vs. Arab" overtones which he suggests. It is true, furthermore, that the moiety of Asht Bu 'Amar, which was bigger than that of Asht r-Manth, usually won, although it is theoretically possible, as the Qa'id Haddu implied, that the presence of Asht Mhand in the Asht Bu 'Amar liff may have tipped the balance. However, this is purely speculation, and in any event liff affiliations shifted about the time of World War I or very shortly thereafter, and before the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim: one moiety, consisting of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa only, crystallized around the person of the Hajj Muhand Biqqish of Ikhuwanen (Asht 'Asim), who became the most powerful man in Igzinnayen and who was eventually poisoned by 'Abd al-Krim; and the other, consisting of the rest of the tribe, formed around Si Hmid Ubarshan of Azru (Asht Yunis). It may be noted that this shift in alliances did nothing to restore a balance, and the two liffs remained as asymmetrical as they had done previously.

After the crystallization of this alignment, the neighboring 619 tribes became involved as follows: in favor of Biqqish were the Aith 616 'Ammarth (who were his affines), the Timarzga of the Aith Waryaghar (into whom Biqqish's daughter had married) and thus also classificatory affines), the Iznagen of the Axt Tuzin; and after the death of Qa'id 'Amar Hamidu, half of the Marnisa; and in favor of Si Hmid Ubarshan were the Aith Turirth and Aith 'Arus of the Aith Waryaghar (who were against the Timarzga), the rest of Axt Tuzin, the rest of the Marnisa, Mtalsa, and Branis. And the disequilibrium of forces still held.

[114] Blanco's statement, therefore, that Axt Tuzin helped the "northern" liff (of Asht Bu 'Amar) and that Mtalsa and Branis helped the "southern" liff (of Asht r-Manth) is entirely plausible. The Axt Tuzin are neighbors of the Asht Yunis, while the Mtalsa borders the Asht Mhand, and the Branis are bounded by the Asht r-Udha; and this would explain why all three tribes later came to support the liff of Si Hmid Ubarshan. It should be noted, however, that wars between the Igzinnayen and the Branis were very frequent; and when they occurred, the tendency was for the former to patch up their own differences and gang up on the latter.

000 152--This is true, and as Coon indicates, it is probably a hall-mark of considerable antiquity. See Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 19, for traditions of origin of the clans and subclans of the Igzinnayen, many of which conflict with those given by Blanco below.

153--True; but does this necessitate the employment of value judgments as to physical type and temperament?

154--According to our notes, the Dharwa Haddu are autochthonous to Igzinnayen.

[613] [628] 155--According to Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 105), many people of the dharfiqth of Asht 'Abd r-Mumin in the village of Iharrushen, of Asht 'Asim Proper, went to l-Mta as exiles after their feud with the Asht Tadmuth; the Hajj Biqqish, in fact, was a moving spirit in banishing them, as one of their members shot three of the Asht Tadmuth on the feast day of the 'Aid l-Khir. Perhaps poverty was also a factor in the move to l-Mta of members of other lineages in the Asht 'Asim.

156--Ishillahan: our notes state that their origin traditions are not from Andalusia, but from the Eastern Rifian tribe on the Aith Wurishik, which would accord better with their "Berber" name.

157--Ihadhriyen: our notes say that they have nothing to do with the Jbarna, other than that they are members of the same tribe.

158--Thaghirasth is autochthonous to the Igzinnayen, according to our notes.

159--Asht r-'Arqub: our notes contain no reference to Sidi 'Azzuz, in connection with the lineage.

160--Ikhabbaben: our notes contain no reference, regarding them, to Branis.

161--Asht Hazim: our notes, regarding them, contain no reference to Aith Iznasan.

162--To our knowledge they are all local lineages.

163--The Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are more properly descended from Sidi Ahmad, the son of Sidi Musa bin Mshish, and known as Sidi Hand u Musa. He is buried in Swaiyar, in the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while his father is buried in Jbil 'Alam of Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Aru 'Aisa ('Ali u 'Aisa, or 'Ali bin 'Aisa) himself, the real apex of the lineage, is to be found some 11 generations later than Sidi Hand u Musa on the geneaology of these shurfa, whose authenticity is beyond question and is recognized in the right, which they exercise, to share in the annual proceeds of the box (sunduq) of Mulay Idris in Fez.

It is also said that 'Abd al-Krim was descended from the shurfa Sidi Hand u Musa of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa.

[616] 164--The Asht 'Asim and Imzdurar, each being the strongest representative of its respective liff, almost certainly formed the kernel of such a nucleus; but it seems to us that the Asht Yunis might be substituted for the Asht Marar, which is only a subclan of the Imzdurar.

000 [114] [311] 165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616] [578] 173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616] [619] 175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613] [616] The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[176] [178] 177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

613 621 616 182

This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 701

Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

616 619

The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613

When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

---

[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

619 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the
616 defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or in-
[181] stitution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10] administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of
619 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with
616 its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or
182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13], markets and qanum), could never have been justified alone, because the Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances, which they would do until another more powerful force from outside, such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in reducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of individual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threatening its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

616
619
[614]
616
619
648
173

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

616 619 648 193 616 619 182 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

D) Political Organization:

1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?[19]....I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances[20].

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

616 [182] Individual liffs bind together individuals or families, persons and possessions, and make for solidarity in the payment of fines, in both defense and attack[21].

2) General Liff:--I think the raison d'etre of the general liff to be purely defensive. These large-scale liffs are real military [619] alliances brought about in order to maintain territorial integrity, and it is they which have permitted the coexistence of minuscule tribes alongside of large and powerful ones. The situation in this respect is analogous to that of Switzerland in Europe; and among the most typical Switzerlands in the Rif are the Thafarsith and the Aith 'Amarth[22].....In a general liff, it is not individual or kin group interests which are in opposition to each other and come into play, but rather the jurisdictional limits and the autonomy of the social [613] groupings (i.e. clans) which integrate them. The general liff obligates with the same end and binds together with the same strength [191] the individuals belonging to rival dharfiqin. There is thus, I think, a notable difference in the two classes of liffs, although the end result or defensive spirit is the same[23]; analogously, there are alliances between European nations which are destined to preserve their independence, as well as friendships of more of an individual or economic character between their members....The national liff, to call it [562] thus, cannot be confused with the social forms which have already been considered above, for while the latter place mutual obligations upon and bind together individuals and lands, the general liff usually applies only to men and binds together only warriors[24].

616 The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping
614 their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members,
619 are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion
[621] on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known previously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these
616 two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary
182 feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social
628 units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

618 As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protec-
692 torate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes
616 up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights
182 to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

616 Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

616 (social), for a man only goes to his liff when the other two types fail him. Thus we see individuals or groups, when they are helpless, calling for their liffs in defense of their rights or taking refuge with them when, conquered or routed, they abandon their own hearths.

61 621 Tribes and their clans, and jma'ths and their kin groups or dharfiqin are generally divided into two balanced, symmetrical and mutually hostile parties; and it is in such an equilibrium that we find the strength of each group, no matter how insignificant that group may appear, and the weakness of the whole tribe, which is only welded together if threatened from outside.

616 619 621 623 In essence, in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, the innumerable feuds between jma'ths are reduced to two parties, within each council, whose quarrel, perhaps rather than for hegemony, is a dispute of interests. But, in discussing parties, let us rid ourselves of the 642 795 notions which these have for Europeans, either in forms of government or in religion. In such simple questions, Republic[28] and Islam have been in agreement for a long time. The Rifian states were religious republics governed by laymen, we might say. Well and good: above and 616 beyond these quarrels and ferocious feuds, the Aith Waryaghar knew how to ally themselves, absolutely independently of these, to other groups, indicating that the motive forces which underlay each class of alli- 619 ance were different[29]. Thus we see, for example, how the five khmas (sing. khums) of the Aith Waryaghar were allied or opposed to each other, and how they constituted two mutually hostile bands; the Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abd Allah on one side, and the rest on the other[30]. In my opinion, these two bands represent the most obvious

619 brake or check upon the expanding hunger of neighbors as well as upon the hegemony of some determined individual.

175 619 But with the threat of the Rogi, Bu Hmara[31], expressed in the form of the mhalla or military expedition under the command of Jilali Mul al-Wudhu[32] (Muludu), we see the Aith Waryaghar reacting violently and uniting, for the first time in their history, as the result of an agraw at Imzuren, nominating their war chief, mounting guard on the line of resistance parallel to the Nkur River, from Imudh (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) to the Mediterranean, and joyfully accepting the hard task, magnificently performed, of smashing Bu Hmara's army to bits and sending it back in headlong retreat to Qasba Silwan.

619 616 175 In the same way, we also see the khums of Aith 'Abd Allah, in liff with the Ibuqquyen, joining the other khmas of Aith Waryaghar to fight against that tribe, as auxiliaries in the punitive expedition of Bushta al-Baghdadi[33]; and thus we see that tribal interests were always superior to clan ones[34].

616 182 [621] [619] [614] For this reason, the mechanism of the liff is simply conservative and not disintegrative, as might seem the case from other points of view. If in the jma'th it equalizes the forces which are feuding, it does the same in the tribe with the rival clans, and in the overall Rifian area with hostile tribes, everywhere balancing the inferiority of weak groups with the strength of its own men. It may be possible to explain in this fashion why in spite of the feverish, ephemeral and unlucky vicissitudes of such minuscule states, they never came to the point of disappearing altogether, while at the same time and by the same token they never permitted the duration of empires

616 or similar agglomerates. This might also perhaps explain the persis-
182 tence in disorder up to exhaustion point, for thanks to an obscure
[628] family feud, a chain reaction would unleash violence throughout the
[578] whole region as fast as a burning cigarette can produce a forest fire[35].

616 There is no doubt that through their origins the tribes can
619 be classified into two great groups, Sanhaja and Ghumara, which formed
101 the two great Rifian alliances of the same names, and between which the Rifian tribes were distributed in an apparent equilibrium, as follows[36]:

Ghumara: Ibuqquyen, Aith Yittuft, Aith 'Ammarth, Mtiwa dyal Bhar (Mtiwa of the Sea), Ghmara Proper (Bni Rzin, Bni Khalid, Bni Silman, Bni Zjil, Bni Buzra, Bni Mansur, Bni Grir, Bni Smih and Bni Ziyat), Bni S'aid (of the Jbala, not the Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid), Bni Zarwal, Bni Zarwal, Bni Winjil, Slas, Hiyaina, Branis, Igzinnayen[37], Marnisa, Mtiwa dyal Uta (Mtiwa of the Plain), Bni Mstara and Ghzawa.

Sanhaja: Bni Bu Frah, Bni Gmil, Mistasa[38], Aith Waryaghar, l-Khmas, Bni Waryagil[39], Jaya, Mzzyat, Rgiwa, Dsul, Rhuna, and Sanhaja Srir (Ktama, Aith Siddat, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Aith Bu Nsar and Bni Bu Shibt).

616 However, it seems somewhat limited to attribute the basis of Rifian political preferences and the reason for alliances in the region to this dim and garbled tradition of the very distant past[40]. If, on the other hand, the form of government or religion were in dispute, it would be easier to explain its affinities to the European type[44]. Furthermore, if we discard as vaguely traditional such causes of union

A, [This should read "41" not "44"--Analyst]
A

616 as were forgotten by the people, we have no others to explain the liff system save external autonomy and internal equilibrium. The liff is the opponent of group hegemony, as the latter is of the preponderance of one family, and it thus results as a protector of both. This was the cause of the ephemeral character of the empires founded upon such a powder-keg, a mosaic of minuscule autonomous republics, as of the transitory periods of tyranny which they would have undergone. If external danger brought about the sacred interclan unity, internal danger (rivalries and hegemony) separated them, seeing them forced to support themselves, now divided, in other neighboring tribes[42].

[614] Whatever may have been the cause of these alliances, it is certain that among the clans of a tribe there were two bands which put them into this framework and gave them this frame of reference....And if their ethnic origin permits us, in principle, to reestablish the division of the tribes which gave its name to the two great liffs (Sanhaja and Ghumara), it is in the equilibrium and autonomy (author's italics) thus established and in operation that we see the origin and persistence of the other two liffs commented upon, among the Aith Waryaghar[43].

616 619 Perhaps among the Aith Waryaghar, different aspects of this interpretation may be corroborated. We see their khmas or "fifths" allying themselves one against the other to form two rival groups and thus equalizing their internal strength and avoiding attempts at

[101] supremacy by individual clans. And we also see how the Aith 'Abd Allah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash look for their internal security in the tribes which border them, the first uniting with the "Badisiya" tribes of the A A A A, [Apparently footnote "44" should appear here--Analyst]

616 Ibuqquyen, the Aith Yittuft and the Bni Bu Frah on the one hand, while
619 the second unites with the Axt Tuzin and the Thimsaman on the other,
101 thus giving rise to a curious small and narrow passage across the territory of the Sanhajan (sic) tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, through which the Ghumaran tribes can communicate[45]. This might be borne out through other possible passages of the same type which, if found, would widen our political conceptualizations of this problem and might explain the apparent anomaly of ethnographic islets[46]. But in this, before it can be attempted, there must be an agreement on the basic affinities of the tribes in each band, Sanhajan or Ghumaran, and even among the Zanatans[47].

616 The liffs also seem to show, and manifestly, the reason for this progressive increase observed in the concentration of groups struggling in order to obtain the successive enlistment of possible far-away liff adherents.....so that their support would be required or attracted by the idea of burning of houses, etc., and their sudden disappearance, as if the earth might have swallowed them up, on the retreat of such far-flung allies....and thus creating the vacuum which one might label post-ta'rqiba[48] (author's italics), in order to astonish superficial observers, and coming to doubt the veracity of confidences and trusts, as well as of the enemy whom they had in front of them, and
616 728 of the sincerity of the peace testimony....And nevertheless, a submission must be accepted as effective for those who are about to make it, or for the next enemy group, seeing that it does not naturally endanger the lives of the warriors, who voluntarily defended the territorial integrity of their part of their liff. The ta'rqiba of this

616 728 group is not and cannot represent the surrender or submission of the chain which, immediately unfurled if a single link is lost, maintains and preserves all those who remain within it in the desirable state of resistance[49].

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by iziddjifen or imgharen".

2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided
(682) up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for instance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clans in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an agraw, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97, and Coon, Flesh of the Wild Ox, New York: Morrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igzinnayen, who pronounce the word ayraw.

(628) 4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why:
(114) because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

5--The term harka did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a tabur), each one of which was under a qa'id designated by the number of men under his command--qa'id at-tn'ash (of 12), qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin (of 25), qa'id l-khamsin (of 50), qa'id l-Miya (of 100), and qa'id attabur (of a tabur, or 300).
(171) However, the idea of the harka had been there previously, even if the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

6--In actual fact, those imgharen already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

(602) 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native harkas in Spanish service.

(114) 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, todo el mundillo rifeño, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

• 616 619 642 114 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic", "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [171] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [171] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[614] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 621 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

616
[62] sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although
[602] he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation,
[114] make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at the matter in a slightly different way.

[539] There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows: "Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within 616 clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr, 614 pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even con- 619 tinuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were "external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the former more to higher ones.

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not continue ad infinitum.

616 The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their 614 terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big" 619 liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or "smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes [124] would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe (in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chain--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

616 619 726 [614] [728] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well.

[563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and
000 expected to do.

[114] [729] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 [162] 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the

[614] principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'umen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

000

last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels, and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Montagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent it, they hardly succeeded!

[114]
[113]

27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be reactivated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactivation would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside it.

[152]
[628]

28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams khmas (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition indicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu 'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith 'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

619
616
114
619
616
614

616 614 [619] Aith 'Arus, though spatially separated from them, are nonetheless clan "brothers" of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa respectively; and each of the former groups gets its share of the tribal rhaqq from each of the latter, though this, at the moment, is beside the point. What is more important, however, is that each of the mountain clans is allied in liff to its "brethren" further down the slope.

In the Aith Waryaghar, the two liff heads depend largely on the clan to which one's informants belong. If they are from the Aith 'Adhiya, the liff heads are Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (which segments, being both member subclans of a single clan, are more "brothers" to each other than they are to any of the other clans); if from the Aith 'Abd Allah, they are Aith 'Abd Allah and Aith Hadhifa; and if from Aith 'Ari, they are Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari (who, again, as subclans of a single clan or clans combining to make up a single "fifth", are more "brothers" to each other than either or both of them are to any or all of the other clans; in this particular instance, in fact they are supposed to be descended from two actual brothers, 'Ari w 'Ari and Yusif w 'Ari). No matter; the structure of the liffs in Aith Waryaghar is as follows:
Faction A (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith 'Ari (with Timarzga), Aith 'Abd Allah, and Aith 'Adhiya (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash). Faction B (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith Yusif w 'Ari (with Aith Turirth), Aith Hadhifa (with Aith 'Arus), Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash), and Imrabdhen. Faction A (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes clans of Truguth, in the tribe of Thimsaman, and Axt 'Akki, in the tribe of the Axt Tuzin. Faction B (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes the clan of Ija'unen, in the tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth, affiliated through liff with Aith Hadhifa.

From the foregoing, four facts are readily apparent: 1) Faction B, internally, is, in both number of clans and total number of individuals involved, considerably stronger than Faction A is, internally. This shows that 2) the liff alignment among the Aith Waryaghar, rather than 616 corresponding to the khums structure, tends to cut across it, for within 619 two of the khmas listed, subclans are pitted against each other in the total tribal moiety system, even though the other three khmas remain intact. It also implies that 3), as discussed below, the liff system of the Aith Waryaghar is in fact far more a function of their territorial system than it is of their system of segmentation. Moreover, as we have noted in an earlier publication (Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204-6, note 44), 4) the exact form that each liff in a given tribe will take depends largely upon whether the number of top-level segments in that tribe is even or odd. As most Rifian tribes have an odd number of top segments (only Bni Bu Frah, Aith 'Ammarth and Thafarsith have even numbers--four, four and two, respectively), usually five and never more than five, (i.e. Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen, Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith S'aid, Aith Wurishik, etc.), a certain amount of improvisation and splitting within clans has to take place. (Among tribes containing an even number of segments, there is no need for this.)

It may well be asked, at this juncture, what the explanation is for the numerical superiority of Faction B. There is, we think, a very good one, but in order to show how it works, we must first consider yet

616 619 [124] another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top Segment I is labeled Aith Khattab, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari (plus Aith 'Ari) and Aith 'Abd Allah, while Top Segment II consists of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments of these top segments are aligned into their component liffs, as above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the problem, therefore, is the khums of Imrabdhen, the presence of which, in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above). The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top imgharen of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a khums, and their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

616 619 614 792 [613]

[613] In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqqiwen of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the dispensing of baraka (which, it might be added, could only be inherited by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent liff alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally, "fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary and liff systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative, as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance, between holy and adjudicating imrabdhen, the 10% minority, and lay and warrior imrabdhen, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrabdhen as a clan: whether they are shurfa or not--and here again, one runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say "no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are genuine shurfa, although it is possible that these are, at least in part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the sunduq or box

616 619 614 792 182 792

614 792

614 of Mulay Idris in Fez; and over this, they hedge, saying that they do
792 have this right, but that they have never yet exercised it because "Fez is so far away". This is, in effect, a tacit admission of proper imrabdhen and non-shurfa status.)

In having postulated a state of equilibrium between the two
• 616 moieties of the Aith Waryaghar prior to the arrival of the Imrabdhen,
614 and in having postulated that the latter came in time to upset this equilibrium in structural terms, we have up to now left Faction A in a kind of structural limbo. How, one may well ask, did this faction regain its balance? Through the principle of transitiveness within limits, as defined in note 18, by enlisting the aid of one neighboring clan from each of two tribes, Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin. After Faction A made this move, one may assume, Faction B did the same thing with a neighboring clan of Aith 'Ammarth. And here, we feel, is the secondary key to the problem, for, in effect, the inequality of liff alignments of a permanent type within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar is cancelled out or, perhaps, rectified through the mechanism of transitiveness without; and balance is thus restored. And the interplay of the factors of permanence, transitiveness and the chain-link theory (by which, if Faction A gets the Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin, Faction B gets the Aith 'Ammarth) is evident throughout.

000 31-Bu Hmara, as his title r-Rogi indicates, was a false pretender to the Moroccan throne in the first decade of the 20th century. For full details, see Eduardo Maldonado, El Rogui, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, n.d. (ca. 1952).

[648] 32--Jilali Mul al-Wudhu was a negro general of Bu Hmaran and his top man in the Eastern Rif when he set up headquarters in the qasba or fortress of Silwan in 1907, prior to trying to rally the Rifians to his cause. All of the tribes, in fact, did so rally, save Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth, who thought it very "shameful" that a black "slave" ('abid) should invade their territory; and so, on September 7, 1908, on the banks of the Nkur River, near Imzuren, they cut him and his army to pieces, after which the other tribes turned against him one by one and ambushed his rearguard.

33--Busta al-Baghdad's expedition took place in 1898. It should also be noted that any previous liff arrangement which may have existed between Aith 'Abd Allah and Ibuqquyen was purely and strictly ad hoc.

34--True; but the normal situation was as described in note 25. Only outside invasion could and did ever weld a whole tribe together; and the Aith Waryaghar were united for the very first (recorded) time in their history when Bu Hmara came to the Rif.

35--See note 18. The fact that Rifian liffs were transitive, but only up to and including neighboring clans of the next tribe, tended normally to isolate feuds and to keep them in bounds, to some extent, at least.

616 36--We have commented on the almost mythical Ghumara-Sanhaja war above.
619 The liff system at work in this particular case was at variance with
648 the traditional Rifian system, as described in note 18; although on the other hand, if we can accept the myth (which is doubtful), it points

A,[See p.257, #14--Analyst]

616 619 648 [114] [113] to a far earlier incidence of tribal unity, and on a much wider scale, than the events precipitated by Bu Hamara's invasion. Blanco's listing, however, is incomplete, for this feud encompassed not only the Rif, but all of Northern Morocco, centering, supposedly, on the Ghumara and Sanhaja, each of which had allies both to the west (Jbala) and to the east (Rif). There are other listings available, the most complete of which may be found in Montagne, op. cit., 1930, map facing p. 208. See also Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 17-8, and Jesus Ortoneda Jiménez, Estudio de la Region del Rif, Ceuta, 1930, p. 37, as well as Vademecum de Intervenciones Militares, Melilla 1928. None of these listings is in complete agreement with any of the others.

000 37--According to Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 18, the Igzinnayen were not in the Ghumara liff, but in the Sanhajan one, and, according to his informants, the fact that the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen were both on that side brought the Sanhaja the ultimate victory.

38--Until 1906, Bni Gmil and Mistasa formed a single tribe. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, Vademecum del Territorio del Rif, 1946, p. 81.

39--Bni Waryagil is a small tribe in the southern Jbala, and Rifian informants have all disclaimed any connection between it and the very much larger Aith Waryaghar of the Rif. Literate informants, moreover, point to the difference in orthography: the name of the Rifian tribe is written in Arabic with the letter ghain, while that of the Jbalan group is written with the gaf (kaf with three points above it).

40--It does indeed!

[114] 41--Why should it be necessary to "explain its affinities to the European type"? One feels that liffs, like any other institutions, can only be "explained" in their own terms!

[696] 42--What Blanco presumably refers to here, in an oblique manner, is, among other things, the fact that murderers must flee their own tribes.

[114] 43--It seems to us that Blanco is looking at this aspect of the problem upside down. If anything, an alliance and war of the Sanhaja-Ghumara type probably had its origins in the Rifian system discussed in note 18, rather than the other way around. It is, of course, also possible that problems and/or notions of this kind cut both ways.

44--This term refers to the western maritime tribes of the Rif, located around the early Islamic center of Badis.

616 619 114 45--There are three basic errors in this sentence. First, the Aith 'Abd Allah had only an ad hoc liff arrangement with the Ibuqquyen; this was directed against their own enemies within the Aith Waryaghar, namely, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and the Aith Hadhifa, the former of whom, in particular, the Ibuqquyen could never forgive for having accompanied Bushta al-Baghdadi's punitive expedition into their tribal territory. There was no question whatsoever of an alliance with either the Aith Yittuft or the Bni Bu Frah. The same applies to the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who were also (but very tenuously) allied, through the transitive principle, to the Axt Tuzin clan of Axt Tsafth, because their "brothers" and enemies the Aith 'Adhiya were in liff (again through the transitive principle)

616 619 114 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian. Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are not often those of the next!)

616 728 184 782 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 [175] 49--Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts, Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Ammarth contingents who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

628 "There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
616 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
[195] inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[203] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alliances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater efficacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

671 These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
628 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
728 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14) for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
721 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

R S 671 648

alliance between the people of two distinct tribes, the Bni Bu Frah and the Bni Gmil, or, more specifically the clans of Agni and Ulah S'aid in the first tribe and their neighbor Bni Gmil[98], situated in the hollow of the upper basin of the Wad Bu Frah.

R 3 648

This alliance has as its objective more than just the defense of the border, as it points out, for it guarantees the lives and property of its constituents along the tribal frontiers, as these, in the Rif, do not have the stability which they do, for example, among European states, because purchasing of land, principally, renders them extremely mobile.[99]

R 616

These alliances (lfuf) have a significance and a mechanism among Rifians which we have already attempted to assess in the first part of this conference.

The liff, the origins of which are confusing and the development of which is complicated, is difficult for a European to understand; but nevertheless, it attracted us greatly as the center-piece in the life of the Rifian mountains.[100]

The way I view it, the liff is not a social institution, nor does it fit into the family institutions already considered with reference to the kin group; and this is because it binds together different social units, as in this instance, rather than individuals of different families.[101] The liff is more of a political institution and it represents in Rifian political life a complementary force of higher and intermittent action. Perhaps it may have been the real regulator (author's italics) of Rifian life, not coming into play until other forces became rarified or became disturbed. For this reason, to my way of thinking, it is so important.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

616
613 While relationships with one's own and neighboring lineages, regulated by tradition, were maintained, the liff did not plead permanence as a hope of reward, but whenever injustice or violence, ripping up their pact or norms of coexistence, left an individual or his lineage-mates helpless, these latter attained in the liff a final support for their rights and in all cases a secure material refuge for their persons and possessions.

616
999 The liff must not be compared to European political parties (author's italics), for these are activated under a religious aegis or under a governmental form, both things being ones which did not enter into the preoccupations of the Rifians, for whom republics and Islam were points which did not admit controversy even in the slightest degree. Destined to a rude struggle for existence in a harsh and miserable environment, the speculations of the spirit had neither place nor occasion to make themselves felt in the fact of the other, primordial and undeferable.

616
182 To any presumed victims the liff was the best guarantee and forewarning, as through it individuals and social units were forced to bring about the alliances (author's italics) which they deemed necessary in order to oppose adverse forces; and thus they insured their own existence.

616
613
619
182 The mechanism of the liff worked the miracle, in the anarchical (sic) state of Rifian society, of permitting the coexistence of the family or kin group or social unit (i.e. the lineage, on whatever level), as small as it might be, among others more numerous in point of population with no diminution of its integrity; and this fact permitted the

616
613 survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian
619 Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were sur-
182 rounded by powerful neighbors.

616 Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family,
182 the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616 I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or
121 the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616 It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

671 This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the
614 clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe.
619 Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring
644 clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the
648 border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

000 44--Which is unwritten in any case.

45--The Aith 'Abdallah are at once a clan and a "fifth" of the Aith Waryaghar.

46--In Rifian, Dhara n Tihrariyin, "the spring of the pure women(?)". The Tuesday Market once located there has not been functioning since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate, or earlier. The people of Aith 'Abdallah at present share a market, held on Mondays, with those of Aith Hadhifa; this market is located on the border of the two clan territories.

[614] 47--Sidi 'Amran is buried in the jma'th of Aith S'aid, in the subclan territory of Aith 'Aru Musa, one of two subclans of Aith 'Abdallah (the other being Aith Tmajurth).

[114] 48--Presumably with eleven of his agnates as cojurors, for twelve must swear in cases of suspected homicide; but there is no mention of this in the text and Blanco, whose knowledge of collective oaths in the Rif was sketchy, does not comment upon it.

[114] 49--Blanco's notions of Rifian segmentary lineage organization are somewhat deficient; for although the notion of a confederation of tribes might once have existed in the Rif (vide the liffs of Ghumara and Sinhaja), but during the "Republik" as described both by Blanco and myself, it most emphatically did not exist, nor does it exist today.

50--"Autonomous" would perhaps be a better word in this connection, for any segmentary system presupposes an interdependence of its component segments, upward, downward and laterally; and within the framework of such a system, maintained as it is by the principles of balance, oscillation and opposition, there is always some (and often very considerable) latitude for a (virtually or largely) autonomous existence on the part of individual segments, irrespective of the segmental level under consideration.

51--Because the Aith Waryaghar, in point of population, are the biggest tribe by far in the entire Rif (with the Igzinnayen following, at some distance), its clans may be functionally equated, in certain respects but not in others, with whole tribes elsewhere.

671 614 52--The Aith 'Adhiya are one of two subclans of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (the other being "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash), of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar. We have referred to it as Bani 'Adhiya rather than Aith 'Adhiya in the text itself, as this is how it appears in Arabic.

614 162 Although the Aith 'Adhiya are strictly speaking a subclan rather than a clan proper, as the Aith 'Abdallah are (see Chap. VI), they are nonetheless about the same size as the latter in point of population; and the whole clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with both subclans considered, is the biggest in the tribe, and by a rather wide margin (population 22,000 in 1960). This fact helps explain two things: 1) why the Aith 'Adhiya and the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash are in opposite liffs, and 2) why the qanun of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya deals with almost exactly the same matters as that of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah. Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash form one "fifth".

614 616 671 619

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[4]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443] One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[5] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[6] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [591] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[4] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443. [113]

[5] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

[6] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

631 634 343 191 assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. 619 [634] [614] The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit 619 616 was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan 631 619 history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[34]

197 Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

195 The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[113] [33] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[34] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

2: Montagne--274 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11
Rif MX3

S
616
174
[167
648]

/205 cont./ produced, more noticeable in the plains than in the mountains, in such a way that the leff of the "Aoggwa" would in our day be penetrated more by Arab influences.

Later the progressive settlement of the tribes on their territory, the natural mixing of the small social groups, and the indefinite repetition of the quarrels of the tribal fractions must have led to the breaking up of the large leffs in the east of the Anti-Atlas, at the junction point with the territory of the Aït Waouzgit; the same phenomenon would have been produced toward the Atlantic plains and at the edge of the desert. Thus little by little there would be constituted the political chessboard of the Far South, whose irregular aspect is still far from presenting the balanced state of division of the leffs of the Masmouda more ancient, fragmented into equal parts, the parts of which are constituted by cantons.

R
-616
171

XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- The institution of the leffs /206/ assumes, among the sedentary peoples of the north of Morocco, an aspect that differs both from that of the Masmouda and from the tribes of the Anti-Atlas.

From the Atlantic versant of the chain of the North and as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, which forms the eastern boundary of the Rif, people designate, by the name of "Senhaja" and of "Ghomara," at the same time two large confederations and alliances of tribes comparable to the ones of the south of Morocco (1).

1. Cf. on the Ghomara and Senhaja: M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 4-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah /A List of Popular Surnames of the Jebala Tribes/" (Archives berbères, 1918). -- Our friend M. G.-S. Colin has kindly consented to communicate to us an unpublished study that he

/206 cont./

616
171

/footnote 1 continued/ carried out on the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and the Senhaja. The precise identification that he has made of a large number of points or of tribes mentioned by El Bekri /al-Bakri/ and Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ permits finding again the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and measuring the importance of their enemies' progress in the course of the centuries. We have used his valuable information in the pages that follow and have given, according to his research, the outline of the ancient peopling of the Moroccan North in the map of the Senhaja and Ghomara tribes appended to this study.

In the region of the Habt, and in a more general way among all the tribes of the western Jbel, "Senhaja" and "Ghomara" are "'alam," "flags," behind which are ranged the small independent political units of the Moroccan North in order to confront one another. As in the Anti-Atlas, entire tribes enter into each of the leagues; it is rare that two small states belonging to the same "'alam" come to blows, whereas war is almost always breaking out between "Senhaja" and "Ghomara." As in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ also, neighbors side with their brothers, and the fight spreads over vast regions following a local conflict. The

616
619
171

leffs are very stable, as is proved by the existence of a curious classification attributed to a personage unknown elsewhere, called "Bou Tyour," the "bird man." In the list of "Bou Tyour," each tribe is designated by an animal -- bird, mammal, or insect -- or even by an object, and some simple rules should permit one, it is said, to find the leff of origin by remembering the surname. Sometimes the names of animals whose consumption is licit are applied to the "Ghomara," while those that are forbidden by religious law are "Senhaja"; or else "everything that

/206 cont./

•616 619 171 can be eaten" would be "Ghomara," with the exception of fish (Jaïa) or crabs (Beni Ahmed), the "Ghomara" having been "eaten," according to tradition, and conquered by the Senhaja foreigners, veiled with the litham /veil/ and coming from Lamtouna (2);

2. Lévi-Provençal, loc. cit.

yet again, the "Ghomara" would be /207/ designated by birds (1),

1. The Ghomara have for an emblem, in the list of Bou Tyour, a small bird that is called "aqouj." Perhaps it is possible to compare these bird surnames, of totemic appearance, with the ancient custom that the Ghomara would have had of picturing God in the aspects of a bird (From the qasida /kasida/ of Ibn ʿArdoun). This information has been given to us by M. G.-S. Colin.

the "Senhaja" by other animals (2).

2. There is also the custom of designating tribes by the name of an animal or object in the South of Morocco, but these sobriquets have nothing to do with the classification of the leffs. We have thus turned up the following surnames in the central Anti-Atlas: Aït Tisgi : Id bi Igherdaïn (the rats); Aït Wagrou : Iougra (the frogs); Ida Ou Martiyn : Tikida (the carob tree); Ida Ou Ennis : Id bou leqchour (pomegranate rind); Ida Ou Kensous : Id Bouilamen (the sound /Fr. le son, "the sound" or "the bran"/); Ind Ou Nadif : Id Warseba (the bearers of bad luck); Aït Tagmout : Id bou Maghous (the bitterness); Aït Ousa : Id

/207 cont./

616 619 171

/footnote 2 continued/ Biqousasen (the green figs); Aït Oughgoummi : Ibougha (the foxes); Aït Tikiwit : Anziden (the argan-tree rats); Aït Tiyout : Id bou Ifedam (the palm fiber); Irasen : Ifkharen (the potters); Aït Tmighat : Tighitten (the goats); Aït Mrait : Tatten (the ewes), etc. ... These appellations are most often considered insulting.

000 Among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the center, in the region of the Beni Zerwal and the Senhaja of Srair, the hostility between the two parties appears less passionate than among the tribes in the vicinity of the Ocean, and it is transformed into a mere antipathy preserved as a memory of the furious fights of the past (3).

3. Among the Jbala of the East, such as Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja of Gheddo.

The two large leffs no longer play their role in the recent wars, and they have not been seen to oppose each other since the end of the last century. Still more to the East, between the Nkor and the Moulouya, the list of "Bou Tyour" is unknown; nevertheless the tribes still range themselves in one or the other of the two parties. The leffs are no more than a mere historical memory there.

616 648 174 In spite of the slight activity shown in our day by the leffs of the north of Morocco, it is nevertheless certain that the hostility of the Senhaja and the Ghomara in the past was very passionate. Beyond the historical evidence, we have proof of it in the fact that everyone still knows for a great distance the name of the tribes allied to his own. It is therefore much easier than in the Atlas of the Masmouda to reconstruct the general arrangement of the alliances, although each informant is scarcely acquainted with any territory except that of his own tribe.

/207 cont./

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units. Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand,
[619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of
[131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah, around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/ plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

121 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the
178 Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Mo-
616 rocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched
131 over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

/208 cont./

619 131 °Alam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only [563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. [127] Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The [616] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the [648] other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

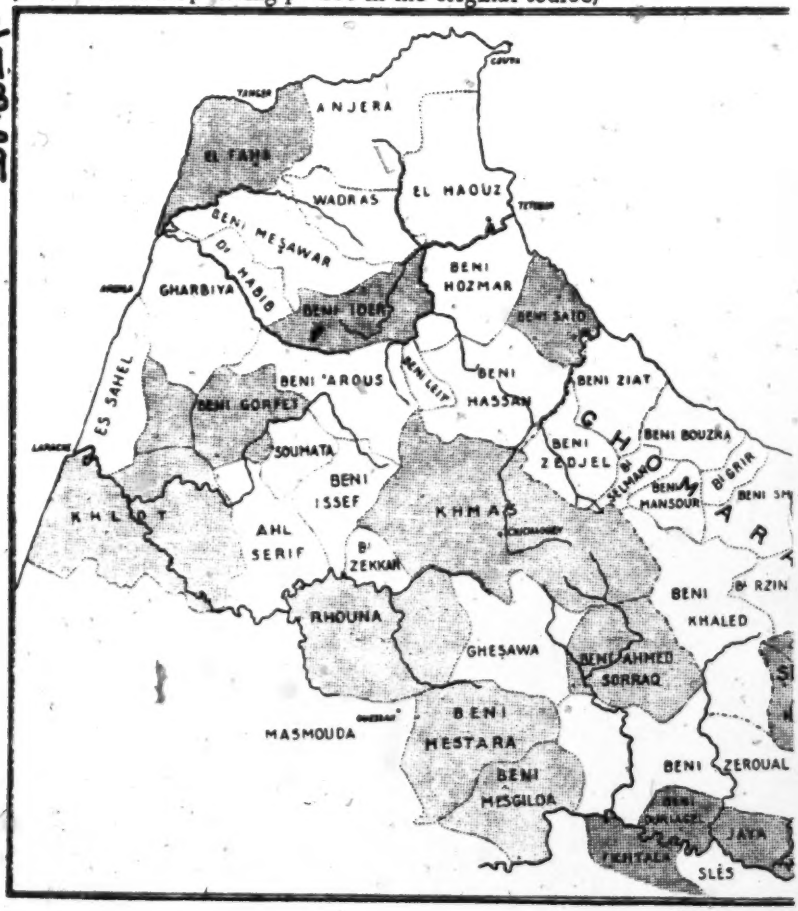
619 131 At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

2: Montagne--280 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Left side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
•616
619



2: Montagne--281 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Center part of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
•616
619

The two Leffs of the North of Morocco in the 20th century
The territories of the Tribes of the Senhaja àlam are shaded; those of the Tribes of the Ghomara àlam are in white

Scale $\frac{1}{800,000}$

/"Sreir" is spelled "Srair" in the text./

2: Montagne--282 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Right side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619

/210 cont./

619 Thus it is that there is substituted, little by little, for the
648 idea of a struggle of races that of "ᶜalam," of political and military alliance. /211/ Examples of groups that have thus changed sides are given still in our day: the Mtiwa of the Rif, it is said at present, were formerly Senhaja, after having been Ghomara several centuries ago. They became Ghomara again; likewise, the Oulad Bou Slama, a small tribe formerly attached to the Senhaja of Srair, passed over to the Ghomari "ᶜalam"; by such changes of alliance, voluntary or forced, is thus doubtless explained the presence, in the center of the former country of the Ghomara, of groups of the Beni Ider, Beni Gorfet, Rehouna, of the Senhaji "ᶜalam."

619 Many points still remain obscure, it is true, in the distribu-
- 616 tion of the tribes of the Moroccan North between the two leffs.
648 The presence of Senhaja groups around Tétouan, the existence of two groups of Beni Saïd from the same leff on the coast at the two extremities of the Rif, the descent of the Senhaja of Srair toward Yallich, which they regard as their port, or the possession of Nekor by the Beni Ouriaghel are facts that seem to us poorly explained. Nevertheless it suffices to examine the map of the two "ᶜalam" in our time and to compare it with the indications of the Arab historians and geographers on the origin and ancient position of the tribes in order to be convinced of one important fact: by the normal interaction of the life of the sedentary tribes, the opposition that takes the form of war between two races tends to disappear; it becomes that of two large political leffs that little by little become balanced, fraction their units, so that in the chain of the Rif peopled with Senhaja and Ghomara the struggle of the tribes comes to grow similar, thanks to the forgetting of origins, to that of the cantons of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda (1).

1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 105, on the large leffs, Beni Snassen and Angad.

S
*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
S
[121] families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

R
XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
634 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
631 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
171 sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R
Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
•[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R
Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/295 cont./

619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-[174] [681] [434] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] [581] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

[For additional information on the thārfiqth (pl. thārfīqth) or dharfiqth, a form of clan community composed of extended families (jājghū) and including the families of all the sons of an original founding ancestor, see Categories 613, 614, and 596.]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

596 the essential features of the *jājghū* as an extended family group but its importanoe in the total social structure is far overshadowed by a larger and more durable unit called *thārfīqth* (pl. *thārfīqīn*).

618 This grouping, a form of clan-community, is an amplification of the *jājghū* by inclusion of the families of *all* the sons of the original founder-ancestor, not just of one of them (which constitutes the *jājghū*). This ancestor is apt to be at least three or four ascending generations removed from the speaker, if not more; he is the speaker's furthest remembereb ascendant in the male line and the man from whom the *thārfīqth* takes its name. Within the *thārfīqth*, the various *ijujgha* form its componet parts. Thus, in the *thārfīqth* of Iḥaddūshen or Aith Ḥaddūsh in the village of of Aith Mūsā u 'Amar (Aith 'Alī), the component *ijūjghā* are the families of 'Alī, Sa'īd, Muḥammādi, Muḥand and 'Abdallāh, all sons of Ḥaddūsh, the common ancestor of all; in the *thārfīqth* of Aith Sa'īd in the same village the *ijūjgha* are the families of Ḥmid, 'Aisā and 'Abdallāh. A *thārfīqth* may have a depth of five to nine generations from its ancestral head to its youngest living member; it may number some 200 living people, distributed throught ten to twenty households. In general, it constitutes a separate barrio or *ḥauma* in a village; its political existence as such is undeniable, for the village council members (*izdīfen*, sing. *azdīf*, «head») are the elders of each *thārfīqth*. Not all of these elders are kin, however, for it is unusual, as we shall see, for all the *thārfīqīn* in one village to be related to each other.

582 [618] [596] Preferred marriage takes the form of exogamy between the *ijūjgha* and endogamy within the *thārfīqth*. Instances of parallel or cross cousin marriages of the Arab pattern may be spotted in most large genealogies, but they are rare; on the other hand, exogamous marriages into other *thārfīqīn* in the same village or in the same political section are frequently contracted. Marriages into other political sections or into other tribes are less common; these are usually contracted by men of influence for political reasons and in the old days such unions formed the basis of a complicated network of alliance systems called *liff* (pl. *lifūf*), which will be given extensive treatment furthe: on. Weddings usually take place when the boy is sixteen to seventeen years old and the girl fourteen to fifteen.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfiqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no soroal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlīs are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jāris, muqaddams, shaikhs, qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfiqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives **awar** (properly **azwar**), or «veins», and **ighs**, or «bones», corresponding to **jajghu** and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word **ighs** refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

618 Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmen-
596 tal activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other, native *ijūjgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijūjgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfiqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfiqīn* of their own. All the families in the villages of Bū Zdūr and Marrūwī, and most of those of Thirkuzīn, in Aith ʿAbdallāh, are of this type; they are still considered by the locals as foreigners from Aith ʿAmmarth, although they banded together long ago to found a new *thārfiqth* of their own, Aith Ḥandu Dāwūd, which has now grown into a *farīqath* or canton.

In the Wuryāghlī sense of being a «whole family», the internal solidarity of the *thārfiqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijūjgha* of a *thārfiqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfiqth* as a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfiqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity
578 for its continued existence. Although murders within the *thārfiqth*
682 did occur, they were very rare and considered unnatural crimes; the
618 local holy man, *sharīf* or *murābiṭ* was brought around at once to
596 appease the bereaved and to act as moderator, and the offenders were either killed or exiled immediately to prevent a feud from spreading. To date, I know personally of only one case of one man killing another in the same *thārfiqth* (in Tharwa n Muḥammādi ʿAlūsh, Aith Yūsuf u ʿAlī): he was instantly shot by one of the sons of the dead man, and as he himself had no sons or brothers to carry on the feud, the problem ended then and there. Equilibrium was completely reestablished when the killer married his victim's sister, his own parallel cousin.

618 Each *thārfiqth*, however, was usually at war with its neighbors.
628 Minor quarrels over ownership of land or of irrigation water could and did lead to blood feuds of such extraordinary savageness that on some occasions they did not stop until one or the other of the participating families was completely wiped out. The smaller the group,

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

the greater the number of powerful allies it had to have in order to survive. Periods of peace and quiet were very infrequent events; in the old days every house had a watch tower, forming a second story, in which the owner had a commanding view of the whole countryside. He could thus spot an unwary enemy and drop him dead in his tracks with the greatest of ease and pleasure. The poverty and infertility of the soil was a factor which contributed heavily to an atmosphere of eternal suspicion and mistrust of one's neighbor. Violence was so common that, analyzing it from an anthropological standpoint, Montagne remarks with considerable justification that the concept of the *thārfīqth* obscured and often even obliterated those of the larger political units above it (8). The acceptance of the *dīyath* or blood money by the murdered man's *thārfīqth* was a rare phenomenon; most families, particularly those of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, the political division which has the greatest fighting reputation of all, preferred to keep the feud going. I have been informed that in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh feuding assumed such extreme proportions that, to take one example, the village of Aith Bū Khrif knew *no peace at all* until the Spanish occupation. Another instance on record, cited both by Montagne (9) and Maldonado (10), tells of a feud which started between two *thārfīqīn* of Aith 'Abdallāh, Aith al-Qāsim and Iburāsan; I have personally verified their accounts by conversation with two of the participants.

The shooting began after the murder of a dog which belonged to the guest of the head man of Iburāsan, as the Aith al-Qāsim refused to pay the blood money (50 duros) claimed. Twelve men were killed in combat the first day; each side got its allies and soon the feud spread all through the *farīqas* of Ibunahāren and Aith 'Amar u Ḥmid. In the following years, 40 men died on one side and 62 on the other, in pitched battles alone. This does not take into account the even larger number of those who were shot down in ambush or poisoned with arsenic sold by merchants at Alhucemas. The con-

(8) Montagne, Robert: Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris 1930, p. 240.

(9) Montagne, 1930, pp. 239-240.

(10) Maldonado, Eduardo: El Regui, Tetuán 1952, pp. 33-34.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

623
623

and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In this case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay indemnity to the other. Even when the council ends peacefully it takes at least a week before they reach an agreement» (14).

To his may be appended a short but very apt summation of the situation by Col. Blanco: «En el Rif, donde todos son personajes, sólo una política de masas y no de individuos puede ser fructífera» (15).

618
616
628

In the Rīf, up to the advent of ʿAbd al-Karīm, the state of war was so permanent that it can truthfully be said that if is customary for Europeans or Americans to declare war, it was also customary for the Riffians to declare peace. We must remember that the *thārfiqth* was the unit of vengeance, and that feuds between *thārfiqīn* even within the same village were a commonplace. House-to-house fighting was the order of they day. If a feud kept going long enough, the result was that the other *thārfiqīn* in the same and in nearby villages eventually began to group themselves around either one of the two feuding parties, usually with the one which was closer kin to themselves. Thus we have the beginnings of a moiety organization, equivalent to the *ṣof* of the Kabyles of Algeria. If the members of one moiety gradually found themselves on the losing side, their representatives used to lead a bull to the mosque of a neutral village or *thārfiqth* the aid of which they desired, and the *faqīh* slaughtered it on the sill so that its blood spurted over the threshold. The fact that a bull was sacrificed whenever possible is significant in itself, as the Wuryāghlīs

[262]

are very poor and largely vegetarians by force of circumstances; a bull is the most expensive edible animal they can buy. The act of sacrifice worked as a powerful shame compulsion *(ʿār)*, and forced the members of the second group into alliance with the first, whether they were willing or not. This type of alliance was called *liff*, as mentioned above, and as the feud grew in size, so did the *liff*. If the feud remained localized, alliances were usually made anew after it was over; but if it spread enough to involve whole «fifths», the traditional *liff* alignment of the two opposing moieties of Aith Yūsuf and Aith ʿAlī came into play again. The clever manipulation of this

(14) Coon, 1931, p. 97.
(15) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 67.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

system of alliances which 'Abd al-Karīm displayed during the early part oh his war was one of the major reasons for his successful unification of the Rīf (16).

It must the stated here, however, that it was unusual for most feuds to become anything more than shootings on a local scale. First of all, feuding kept the population down; sescondly, house burnings and exaction of fines by the *imghāren* were harsh repressive measures in themselves; thirdly, the constant fear of outside invasion by the councillors of another tribe (which occurred wen the *imghāren* of Aith 'Ammarth stepped in on the side of Aith Yūsuf to end a feud between the latter and Aith 'Alī, plus the standard alignment of other «fifths», which had been going on for seven years) tended to restrict the scope of the feud and to prevent it from spreading; and fourthly, individuals who were considered habitual troublemakers and soreheads even by Riffian standards were exiled. If they refused to accept the dictum of the *imghāren* they were unceremoniously put to death.

The above is a reflection of the Riffian political system and situation which prevailed up until the time of 'Abd al-Karīm. The governmental structure of Aith Wuryāghil followed to the letter the true Berber pattern of superimposed representative councils, with a few of the members of each deliberative body being chosen to participate in the council of the group a rung higher up the ladder. Furthermre, thanks to the *liff* alliance system, as Blanco says, the individual in the *thārfiqth*, the *thārfiqth* in the *jamā'ath*, the *jamā'ath* in the «fifth», the «fifth» in the tribe *(thaqbīt*, pl. *thaqbīr*, from Arabic *qabīla*, pl. *qabā'il)*, and the tribe in relation to other tribes all maintain an unstable equilibrium, expressed in terms of the linking of *rubū'* or of «fifths», and ultimately, in the two great rival moieties of Ṣinhāja and Ghumāra (17). As it happens in our particular case, Aith Wuryāghil was (and is) too large and powerful to need formal alliances with other tribes, its only active ally having been Aith 'Ammarth, for, as many old greybeards have told me, «We could still go out and eat Tamsamān or Aith Tuzīn any day of the week»; but for small tribes surrounded by big neighbors, such as Thafarsīth,

(16) Coon, 1951, p. 317.
(17) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 70.

619 Rif MX3

[For additional information on Riffian "fractions" see also Category 634.]

614
619
634

Rif MX3

[For additional information on the arrba, thakhammasth (pl. thikhammasin) or rba (pl. ruba), a major or primary section of the tribe, which has been variously described in the literature as maximal lineages, districts, khoms ("fourths" or "fifths" of the tribe), cantons (by Coon), groups of bones, fractions, or clan "fifths" (Blanco Izaga), see also Category 631.]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE territory with which this book is concerned is of small area, despite the fact that it contains continental extremes of environment. It extends along the Mediterranean coast of Morocco from approximately one degree and twenty-six minutes west longitude to approximately one degree and twenty minutes east longitude, possessing about one hundred and forty-five miles of Mediterranean coast-line; its most northerly point is at approximately thirty-five degrees and twenty-nine minutes north latitude, and its most southerly at about thirty-four degrees and nineteen minutes north latitude. The greatest distance north and south in a vertical line in this area is approximately fifty-three miles. This territory, small as it is, includes three distinct provinces, or regions: the Rif, the Ghomara, and what may be called the Northern Senhaja.

131

TRIBAL BOUNDARIES

Rif. The Rif occupies the eastern portion of this area and is greater in size than the Senhaja and Ghomara combined. Its westernmost border is the Wed Uringa, which separates it from the Ghomara, and its eastern the Wed Muluya, which separates it from the Zenatan tribe of Beni Znassen and from the Arabs who live to the southeast of that stream. Of these Arab tribes, one has already encroached on Riffian territory by locating permanently west of the river — the Ulad Stut, a nomadic tribe of Bedawin, much mixed with Riffian blood.

There are eighteen more or less distinct tribes in the Rif proper. These are Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Targuist, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, and Mtiwa.[1] The location of these tribes can be ascertained by a study of the map opposite page 3. It will be seen that the largest tribes geographically are Galiya (which includes Mazuza, Beni Shisher, Beni Sidel, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Bu Yafer), Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi. The largest in point of population is Beni Urriaghel, next comes Gzennaya, and Galiya is probably third. The Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa, although they inhabit a relatively large territory, are not numerous; they are nomadic in habit and occupy a sparsely vegetated terrain.

131
619

One might divide the Rif geographically into three parts, eastern, central, and western. The eastern part would comprise Kebdana, Galiya, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit. The central portion would comprise Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Targuist, and Bokoya. The western part would be the maritime tribes, as they might be called — Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, and Mtiwa.

[1] In giving these tribal names I have used the common Arabic equivalents for the Berber originals, since to render the Berber names as they are actually pronounced would involve a confusing use of phonetic symbols and would, furthermore, prevent the use of a standard system, since pronunciations of these names vary from tribe to tribe and in some cases within tribes.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 **Senhaja.** To the west and southwest of the Rif, nowhere touching the Mediterranean seaboard, is the Northern Senhaja, which may be divided into the Senhaja Sghir, or Little 619 Senhaja, and the Arabophone Senhaja, composed of tribes extending to either side of the nuclear group. The Little Senhaja contains eleven tribes: Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Naar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Berber, Taghzuth, and Ktama. To these may be added Beni Mesduy, a tribe of two villages compressed between Targuist, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and Zarket. Politically, Beni Mesduy is divided between Targuist and Zarket; geographically, it is thrust into the side of the Rif; linguistically, it is Senhajan. Since the Beni Mesduy speak the same Senhajan dialect as the people of Zarket, and consider themselves to be remotely descended from the same ancestors, they are usually classed as Senhajan by the Riffians living near them.

197 Although this is not a work on linguistics, some reference to language cannot be avoided. The Riffians speak a peculiar dialect of Berber called *thamazighth*, which seems to be most typically represented in the central region, and grades into the Zenatan idiom as one passes eastward toward the Muluya. The people of Targuist have lost their Berber speech, speaking Arabic domestically, and the same is true to a lesser extent of the Beni Bu Frah, many of whom are ignorant of Berber. The peoples of Mestassa and Mtiwa are losing it rapidly.

The dialect spoken in the Senhaja Sghir, although possessing local differences between tribes, is distinctly different from any dialect of the Rif, and cannot be understood without study by a Riffian. Riffian and Senhajan speakers of Berber are forced to employ Arabic as a means of communication.

The Senhajan tribes which speak only Arabic are divided into two groups, those to the east of the tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil (to be distinguished from the Riffian maritime tribe of Mtiwa, called, to avoid confusion, Mtiwa dial Bhar) and those to the west of it.

The Eastern Arabophone Senhaja contains nineteen units generally considered as tribes. These are Marnissa, Beni Krama, Branes, Amshesh, Beni Wenjin, Fenassa, Beni Ulid, Zrarka, Bu Adl, Beni Koras, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Muziet, Rgheiwa, Aghbalu, Khunduktamda, Ulad Brahim, and Beni Bu Slama. Amshesh and Beni Bu Slama are but single settlements, occupied by religious devotees, the former located on the border between Beni Amart and Marnissa, and the latter between Beni Hamid and Beni Wenjin. Both retain Berber speech of the Senhajan variety. Zwawa, a small village of the tribe of Fenassa, likewise preserves Berber speech. Taunat el Uta, a village politically affiliated with the non-Senhajan tribe of Mtiwa dial Jbil, is said to be of Senhajan origin, and hence is included with the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

The Western Arabophone Senhaja, extending from the western border of Ktama to and beyond the city of Sheshawen, is perhaps not as purely Senhajan as the Eastern division. It includes the tribes of Beni Hamid Sorak, Ghazawa, and el Khmes, and two isolated villages separate from the rest — Taseghudra, in the midst of the non-Senhajan tribe of Beni Zerwal, and Taghsuth, in Beni Hassan of the Ghomara. The latter lays claim to being an offshoot of the tribe of Taghzuth and preserves Senhajan speech.

Beni Hozmar, a tribe to the northwest of Sheshawen, is said to be Senhajan, but data are difficult to obtain, owing to the fact that the Riffian army in their advance on Tetwan during the recent war utterly destroyed the village of these people, and whatever inhabitants survived scattered, leaving their home territory uninhabited.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

131 **Ghomara.** The third great region is the Ghomara, which extends along the Mediterranean coast from Wed Uringa to Wed Lao, and is separated from the Senhaja by the main ●619 mountain crest. It is divided into eight tribes, Beni Ziat, Beni Zejel, Beni Selman, Beni Bu Zra, Beni Mansur, Beni Grir, Beni Smih, and Beni Resin.

197 Of these Beni Bu Zra retains Berber speech in fairly complete form, and all the others employ Berber words mixed with Arabic. This Ghomaran dialect has never been studied, but seems to resemble Riffian more closely than does Senhajan, in that Riffian and Ghomaran are mutually comprehensible.

131 **Other Berber Groups.** This work is confined to a consideration of the Riffians, Senhajans, and Ghomarans because my material covers these groups only, and not because 619 they are the only recognizable Berbers of northern Morocco. In the peninsula which culminates at Tangier and Ceuta lives another group, the Anjera, which although Arab in speech is distinctly Berber in appearance, and which is said to be related to the Riffians; to the south and west of the Senhaja are other tribes, such as the Beni Zerwal, which are certainly not Arab in origin.

The term *Jebala*, from the Arabic word for mountain, is generally used to distinguish the Ghomara, the Arabophone Senhaja, and the other Berber tribes of the northwest from the Riffians and from the Arabs. This term is unfortunately inexact, and hence is not employed in this work to designate any specific area.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY

133 The most important topographical feature of this region is the high mountain chain which bends southward from Tetwan into the heart of the Senhaja Sghir, and then resumes an eastward course through the Rif until it fades down into a series of hills in Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi to crop up again, thrusting northeastward, in Galiya, and carrying the land of that tribe out into the Mediterranean at the Cabo Tres Forcas. Although the crest of this range is in most places nearly thirty miles from the Mediterranean coast, the shore line itself is rough and craggy, since the mountains carry much of their height to the very water's edge, where they descend with a sharp drop. The mountains are higher in the west than in the east. Adhrar Tidighin, partly in Beni Khennus and partly in Beni Seddath, is the highest in the range, reaching an altitude of 2,549 meters [1] in one peak and 2,455 meters [1] in another; it is covered on the north side with a permanent layer of snow. Although Tidighin is the highest peak, it does not far surpass its neighbors. Between Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar, slightly southeast of Tidighin, is another mountain of great height and majesty, called the mountain of Taghzuth, 2,330 meters [1] high. In the Rif itself the highest points of the divide are Kuin, 1,883 meters,[1] and Tizi Uzli, 2,006 meters,[1] both in the Gsennaya. The Jebel Hammam, in Beni Urriaghel, attains about the same height, 1,948 meters, [1] but does not fall in the direct line of the watershed.

The divide itself runs between the Ghomara and the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; it separates Ktama from Mtiwa of the Rif, and Beni Seddath and Beni Khennus from Beni Bu Nsar (although in truth these three tribes might be said to perch on top of it); runs through Zarket, setting Targuist on one side and Beni Hamid on the other; and cuts through the middle of Beni Amart, along the range of Tizi Ifri, and across the top of Gsennaya, along

[1] Map issued by the Service Géographique du Maroc, Rabat, March, 1926. Scale, 1: 20,000.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

their full share to any martial activity in which the *bone* participates; regarding this lack of balance as unfair, members of alien *veins* split off from the parent *bone* whenever possible, forming new *bones* with their own local government, and, in the course of time, with equal consideration in the larger governmental institutions. The new *bone* thus created may take as its name that of the wife of the adopted alien ancestor, since it was his wife and not he who belonged to the original indigenous strain. In that way one may explain many of the matronymic *bones* which occur frequently in the Rif.

Splitting of one *bone* into several may occur, however, without the necessity of alien immigration. If the *bone* becomes too large to be conveniently administered, if discord arises between two or more parties of *veins*, or if some of the *veins* migrate, voluntarily or through pressure, to a new locality, the *bone* splits up.

Sometimes a *vein* divides, some of the brothers staying at home and others migrating. In this case the original *vein* may never expand sufficiently to take on the status of a *bone*, whereas the brothers who migrated may have had numerous progeny and have become, in a relatively short time, the ancestors of separate *bones*. An example of this is the family of *Oshannen*, or jackals, a *vein* of the *bone* of Tiddest in Ikhuanen of Gzennaya. Two members of the Oshannen migrated, one going to Temsaman and the other to Beni Said. Now, the Oshannen of Temsaman and the Oshannen of Beni Said are not only separate *bones* in these tribes but have furthermore risen to the highest administrative authority in them. The Kaid Bu Kaddur of Temsaman and the Kaid Moh Amar n Woshun of Beni Said are both descendants of the original migrants from the *vein* of Oshannen of Tiddest.

A different situation is found in the tribes of Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Galiya, Kebdana, and, to a slight extent, Beni Said. Among these tribes are found both *veins* and *bones* composed of strangers called *igharbiyen*, reputed to be of Arab origin. The Igharbiyen are allowed an equal part in the government, and are in no way discriminated against as are members of alien Riffian *veins* among the *bones* of the central Rif. In Beni Said, however, an exception to this is found. The Igharbiyen among the Beni Said are few in number, and are subject not only to the restriction against alien *veins* which is found in the central Rif, but also to that against their *bones*, which are not allowed a part in higher councils.

Families of Zenatan origin in Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, are subject to no discrimination whatever. The single families of Zenata in Gzennaya, Temsaman, and Beni Bu Ifrur are given the standing of *bones*.

Although one finds in the Rif numerous *bones* of immigrant groups, both Igharbiyen and Zenata, no trace of any moiety organisation is visible, even among the Beni Tuzin, whose very name, *Asht Uzin*, means, in their own language, "the children of the half." [1]

Next after the *bone*, which is a true family group and is dependent upon kinship and adoption, comes the division known as *arrba'* (plural *roboa'*), derived from the Arabic word meaning "a fourth." In the present volume it will be called "canton." [2] The *canton* is a group of *bones* which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical

[1] See p. 36, n. 7.

[2] Here again is a term with no ready equivalent. I have avoided "fourth," the literal translation, because such a designation would imply that it is greater than the *fifth*, when the opposite is true. Furthermore, there is no extant valid reason for the name *fourth* in Berberised Arabic. "Canton" seems to express the idea of geographical and political unity without an implication of kinship, and hence is applied to the present social phenomenon.

[For comment on this, see the 111 slip. – Analyst]

I: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *reins* descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhemesth* (plural *thikhemesin*), or "fifth,"[1] so called because each *thakhemesth* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood, although many *bones* in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and hence in war.

Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabitch*, a word derived from the Arabic *kabila*.[2] In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term *thakabitch* being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are Galiya, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gzennaya. Those of Galiya are Masuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni Sidel. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gzennaya are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imsdurar, and Asht Aru u Aissa. In naming these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or Arab as the case may be. In Temsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and Hathith n Temsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two *bones* each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Oshannen, and Amzauru and Tizi Azza. They are given this special standing because Temsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single *fifth*, and because these *bones* are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes between which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take wives from other *bones*. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immigrant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gzennaya, Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imazilen* (singular *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"[3] who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing, piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

[1] The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arrbe'*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

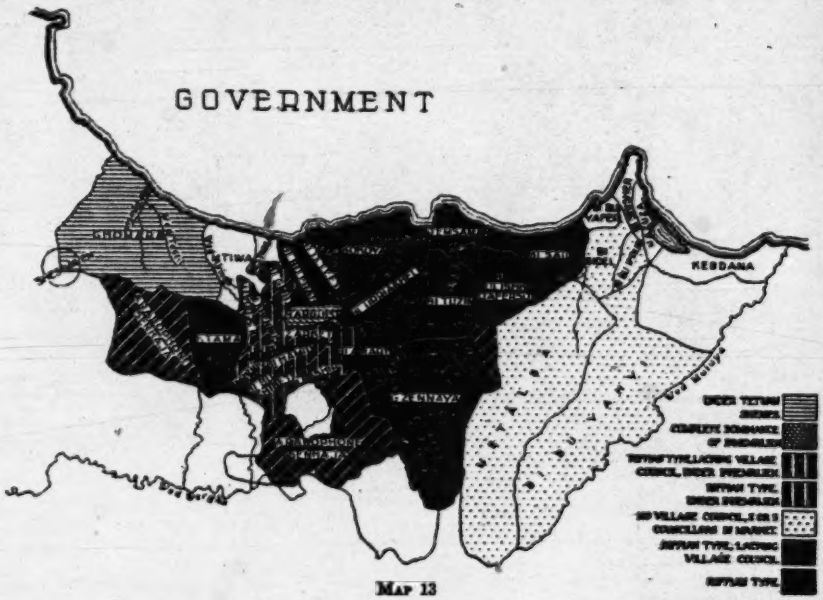
[2] Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

[3] The chief quality of this class which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 affairs of the *bons* and the council of the great, composed of councillors who concern themselves with the problems of the *cantons* and go together to take part in the tribal council in 646 which the function of the *fifth* is to divide the councillors into preliminary alliances.

The type of government just described is limited to the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Temsaman, Beni Tusin, Gaennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, most of Beni Amart (exclusive of the region immediately contiguous with Zarket and Beni Mesduy), and, curiously enough, the Senhajan tribe of Ktama.



MAP 13

619 The following tribes or parts of tribes have the same sort of government, except that the 642 village council is lacking, the minor duties accomplished by it in other regions being neglected or else taken over by the council of the great: the Asht Dris of Metalsa; Marnissa, Fenassa, Ulad Azam, Beni Kora, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Zrarka, Beni Krama, and Beni Wenjin, from the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; and all the Western Arabophone Senhaja.

In Targuist is the center of the temporal authority of the marabutic family of Ikhemrijen, who have absolute political control of that tribe, as well as of the northwesterly portion of Beni Mesduy; in Zarket, in the rest of Beni Mesduy, which counts with it, in Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Beni Berber, Taghsuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khemmas, Beni Seddath, and Beni Gmil, the same type of government as that described in the previous paragraph obtains except that the Ikhemrijen dictate to the councils what they shall do, and in fact keep the moderators of these bodies practically in vassalage. In these tribes

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

the Ikhemrijen forbid warfare and alliances, with a result that, as a natural outlet for bellicose exuberance, brigandage is rife.

In the northwestern part of Beni Amart, in the *canton* of Ijaonen, the power of the Ikhemrijen prevents warfare and alliance; otherwise the government is purely Riffian in type.

In the Ghomara the Arab system of government is employed, with the customary alignment of ḳaids (leaders of tribes), khalifas (leaders of *fifths*), and sheikhs (leaders of *cantons*), excepting that all these officers are under the jurisdiction of a marabutic family of Tetuan.

Metalsa, except Asht Dris, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, employ a hybrid form of government in which there is no village council and the council of the great consists only of two or three men who meet in the market to administer justice for the region near it.

Mtiwa, Mestasa, Beni Bu Yafer, Ait Shisher, Mazuza, Kebdana, Musiet, Rgheiwa, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Beni Ulid, Branes, and Burda had fallen completely under the Arab system before the time when Abd el Krim attempted to remodel the government. In the eastern section and in Mtiwa and Mestasa the ḳaid was euphemistically called by the Berber term *amghar* (councillor), and in the Senhajan tribes mentioned the sheikh was called *kebir el jama*, or "great one of the congregation."

DUTIES OF THE VILLAGE COUNCIL

The cases tried by this body and the matters it is required to regulate are as follows (the fines listed are only approximate):

Theft of eggs and of poultry. The thief must pay a fine of thirty dollars. If the culprit is a child, his father appears and pays it.

Theft of maize. Boys who steal early ripening maize are collectively fined five dollars. The injured farmer has the right to pick ripened ears from the terraces of the thieves' parents to the number which he has lost.

Cutting maize in adjoining terraces. Sometimes maize growing in adjoining terraces, owned by different men, ripens at different times. The owner of the later ripening maize may wish to prevent the owner of the other field from cutting his crop until both are ready, through fear that his own maize may be trampled in the process. This situation arises when it is necessary to enter one terrace by passing through the other. In this case the village council enjoins the owner of the early maize to wait until the other is ready.

Breaking branches of fruit trees. If goats or children break branches from a fruit tree, the owner of the tree brings the branch or branches to the mosque, where the village council counts the number of buds on the branch or branches. A *girch* (about five cents) is charged for each bud, the recompense to be paid the owner of the tree, and in addition a fine of twenty dollars must be paid.

Trampling vegetable gardens. This offense is punished by a fine of one to two dollars, with no restitution.

Policing orchards. During the harvest season the members of this body police the orchards of the *bens* during the night to prevent thefts.

Starting the grape picking. The village council, which has charge of allotting poor families to rich ones for the grape picking, exacts a fine of twenty dollars from anyone guilty of picking grapes before the signal is given.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 the *liff* mechanism was an absolute necessity, for if it did not exist they would have been swallowed up long ago.

619 175 178 The entrance of the Pretender Bū Ḥimāra into the Rīf in 1908 and the short war with Spain in 1909 brought about a disruption of some of the traditional alliances and the constitution of new ones. This had a particularly important effect upon Aith Wuryāghil because, for the first time, the tribe became truly united. Reinforced by contingents from Aith 'Ammarth, the warriors of Aith Wuryāghil banded together to resist the Rūghī and his *ḥarka* of Riffians from the east. They defeated him at the Battle of Imzūren and managed very effectively to check his progress in the Central Rīf.

619 We can thus see that tribal unity, dormant under normal conditions, is manifested when outside forces threaten to upset group equilibrium. The strongest allegiances are family and *thārfiqth* ties, but, in opposition to neighboring tribes, tribal allegiance is undivided. This has its reflection in tribal nomenclature: a man from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh is called Bū 'Ayyāshī only in the tribal territory of Aith Wuryāghīl. Outside it he is called Wuryāghlī, and if he is outside the Rīf entirely he is usually just referred to as ar-Rīfī. This is how the Riffian really defines his tribe, by inferred comparison to and in opposition to other tribes. Writing about another tribal society, the Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard has defined a tribe as having: 1) a common and distinct name; 2) a common sentiment; 3) a common and distinct territory; 4) a moral obligation to unite in war, and 5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. It is precisely upon these criteria that the Aith Wuryāghil base their own concept of their tribe, as do all the other tribal groups as well. When menaced by Bū Ḥimāra, the Aith Wuryāghil were welded together by their common «we-feeling», and stopped him.

631 175 178 The ultimate result of Bū Ḥimāra's campaign in the Rīf was the rise to personal power of a number of petty *imghāren* who became absolute masters in their own bailiwicks. Such men were the Ḥājj Buqqaish in northern Giznāya, Muḥammad 'Abdallāh of Aith ar-Ḥāsain in Aith 'Ammarth, and, in Aith Wuryāghil itself, Muḥand Ḥaddū of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, Sī Ziyān of Ajdīr (Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī), Ḥājj Ḥaddū of Aith 'Alī, Sīdī 'Amar of Imrābdhen, Muḥand n Sī 'Amar of Aith

5: Blanco Izaga MX3 Rif MX3

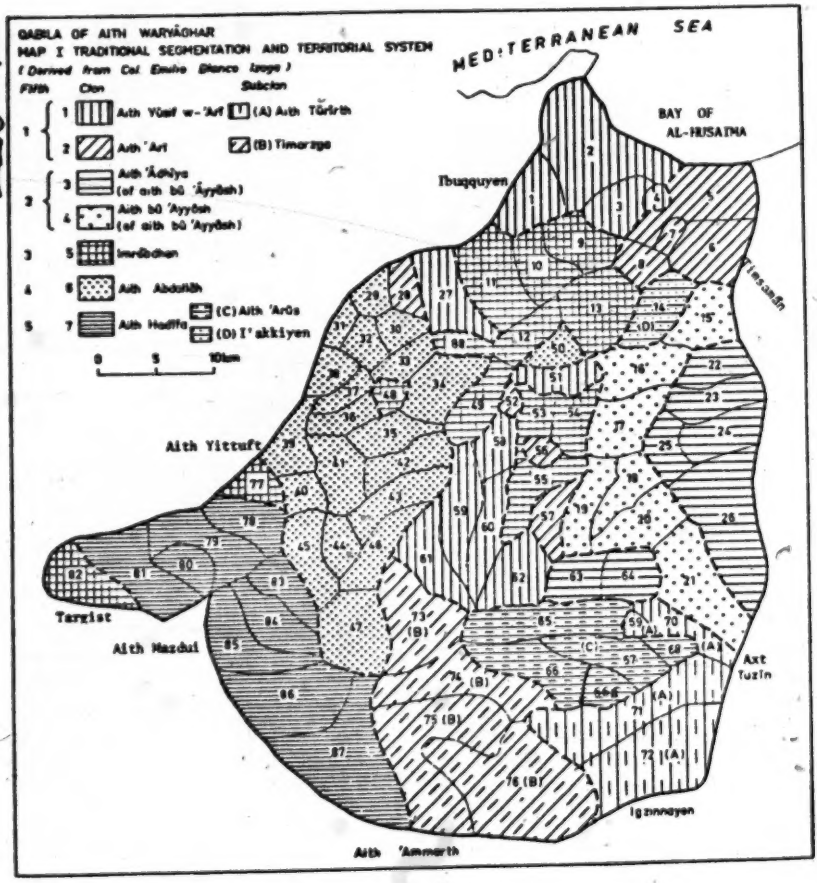
619
634

[For information on the Rifian "fraction", called a "clan" or "sub-clan" by Blanco Izaga, and defined as "... an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends ..., a state in miniature ..., an independent republic, and the true Rifian Patria ..." (p. 115), see Category 614.]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

BLANCO MAP I (1934)

102
631
613
619
614



5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

KEY TO BLANCO MAP, 1934 - TRADITIONAL SEGMENTARY AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR (Derived from EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA)

N.B. Numbers of "fifths" and clans correspond to those, numbered 1-5 and 1-7 respectively, on the legend of the map, while nos. 1-88 represent local communities.

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

1. Izifzafen
2. Ajdir: Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, Aith Misa'ud u-Yusif, Aith Zara'
3. Azghar
4. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Plain

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

5. Tafrasth
6. Aith Musa w-'Amar
7. Imjjudhen
8. Tigarth

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(1) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

9. Aith Hishim
10. Aith Misa'ud
11. Aith Qamra
12. Idardushen
13. Ifasiyen, Aith Brahim, Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, Aith Yusif

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

14. (D). Subclan of I'AKKIYEN

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(4) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH

15. Izakiren
16. Aith Tfarwin
17. Isufiyen
18. Aith Tfarwin (again)
19. Aith Ta'a
20. Iriyanen
21. Aith Bu Khrif

102
631
613
619
614

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

22. Ighmiren
23. Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen
24. Imnudh
25. Aith Bu Qiyadhen (r-Rabda)
26. Tazurakhth: Aith 'Aisa, Aith Ruqman

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

27. Aith Buham

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

28. Aith Dawud

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

29. Tazaghin
30. Aith Zkri
31. Imarnisen
32. Tizi 'Ayyash
33. Ibunharen
34. Bu Khalifa (Aith Ziyyan)
35. Iqanniyen
36. Ikiddaben
37. Uqrishen
38. Dahar n-Zimmurth
39. Thariwin
40. Bu Sarah (Bu Salah)
41. Aith Sa'id
42. Aith Dris
43. Bu Zdur (Tigarth 'Ari)
44. Ihwahwahiyen
45. Thirkuzin (Tilkuzin)
46. Thimkiliwin
47. Marrui

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

48. Bu Ghardain
49. Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (Zawiya Sidi 'Aisa)

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

50. I'ayyaden

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

1 - "FIFTH" OF THE AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

51. Thamasind n-Waddai (Lower Thamasind)

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

52. Bu Minqad

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

53. Aith r-Qadi
54. Aith 'Aziz
55. Aith r-Qadi (again, I'athmanen

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

56. Thamasind n-Dara (Upper Thamasind)
57. Iswiqen

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

58. Aghridh (Aghlid)
59. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountains
60. 'Arnuq
61. Isrihan
62. Ikattshumen (Ikultumen)

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

63. Ighmiren (again)
64. Igar w-Anu

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

(C) - Subclan of AITH 'ARUS

(C) 65. Bu Sa'ida
(C) 66. Aith Tigarth (or simply Tigarth)
(C) 66a. Aith u-Maru (or simply Maru): "people of the shade"
(C) 67. Aith u-Sammar (or simply Sammar): "people of the sun"
(C) 68. Aith Juhra

102
631
613
619
614

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

(A) - Subclan of AITH TURIRTH

(A) 69. Aith 'Amar
(A) 70. Thizimmurin
(A) 71. Thigzirin
(A) 72. Bulma, Ignan, l-'Ass

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

(B) - Subclan of TIMARZGA

(B) 73. r-Maqsuridh
(B) 74. Bu Ma'dan
(B) 75. Thafsasth
(B) 76. Aith Yusif

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

77. Kammun

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH HADHIFA

78. Mishkur
79. Ihadduthen
80. Iharumen
81. Thizimmurin

3 - "FIFTH OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

82. Thamarkatt (Tamarkalt)

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

83. Bihban
84. Aghzar 'Aisa
85. Bashkra
86. Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id
87. Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar (Zawiya Sidi 'Abd l-Qadir)

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

88. Izarruqen

177 671 779 Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are complimentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

181 5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

602 571 1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe, from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in 613 621 "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which 619 units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

571 (602) 2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

602 571 613 619 596 2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton [21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

594 596 613 Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

594 3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a 594 595 183 [554] conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny 595 182 [181] is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin, Thimsaman, Aith 'Ammarth, Ibuqquyen, Ktama and Sanhaja Srir, each clan has its own market[79]. Only in a small tribe or in one with more or less artificial clans is this not the case. The clan, which occupies a well determined area topographically, as a rule (a large meseta, valley, mountain fold, etc.), is a rare one which does not have or did not formerly have its own market, where the clan representatives or imqqranen came together to agree upon and proclaim their law, their rules of coexistence, which in some cases were drawn up on paper and which form the basis of my La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte.

The clans of a tribe did not originate through accumulation of the association of jma'ths, but rather, the tribes which came to settle in the territory already contained three, four or five clans in their nomadic (sic) state, and the new lands were distributed equitably.[80] However, it is easier to follow the schematic representation of social groups from smaller to larger units, as the lineages characteristic of these are clearer and better defined. In the tribe, they are quite relaxed, and it is more difficult to see them, because the clans themselves are apt to show this by their patronymic designations, "sons of X"; but this opinion is provisional, as there are also names which are not genealogically based, as in the case of the clan names of Ibuqquyen (Izimmuren, Azghar and Thaghidhith) and in Ija'unen of Aith 'Ammarth; and the same might well be the case with the jma'ths, whose names are often geographical ones.[81]

In the clan, we have all the institutions, organisms, dependencies and economic specializations most necessary to sustain life: an amrabit or hermit saint venerated and besought for pilgrimages and miracles; a market for the provisions and supply and for the council

614 site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
616 elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

614 latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or
619 the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan
616 has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are its customary law, its qanuns and its market (as in the qanun of the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

619 4) Tribe or Dhaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of
614 clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this
619 level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium
614 (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is
671 guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has
182 no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors, faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law
619 of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans
614 form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as
616 the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin
613 of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It
621 would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over
623 and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes, while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

423 A curious feature of Rifian society is that the territorial limits of its social units are to a certain extent elastic. An individual or a family, for example, may acquire land in another tribe, and his or their own clan or tribe does not appropriate for itself the territory he occupied previously; this remains fixed. But when [628] the properties of an individual or a kin group which are modified are bordering each other, then the jma'th, clan or tribe, or rather, its area of extension or its areal jurisdiction, follows an analogous variation, improvement or cutting-off, increase or loss, advance or retreat, as the case may be; and such instances bring about not a few 423 quarrels and altercations. This happened in Ibuqquyen, whose people 619 saw their neighbors of Aith Waryaghar creeping into their territory through slowly buying up all the good land around the middle course of the Buham River, at which point they opposed selling them any more terrain...This territorial elasticity, although it does not bring about great modifications because of the incessant watch which the tribes instinctively keep over their land, also derives, no doubt, from the ancient family concept of opposition to everything which could weaken it; and, as a result, such land returns most often to its tribe of origin through abandonment, new acquisition or exchange, if it has been alienated. Such elasticity tends to become lessened (with [131] consequently greater rigidity of tribal boundaries) when it coincides with natural boundaries, as, for example, in the middle and upper courses of the Nkur River, separating the tribes of Axt Tuzin and Aith Waryaghar; but even so, this play of property has nevertheless modified tribal frontiers as well delineated as this one.

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

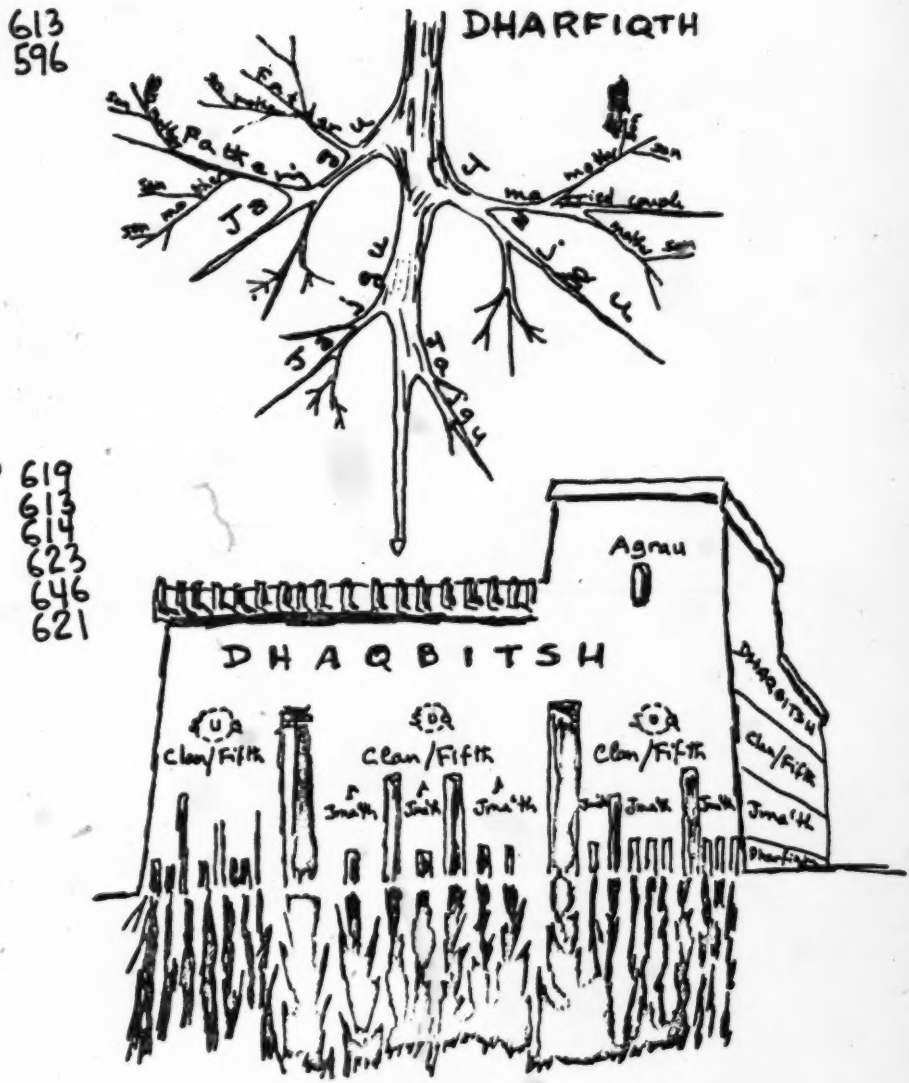
a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar



[P.127-A]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

594
596
613
621
623
646
619

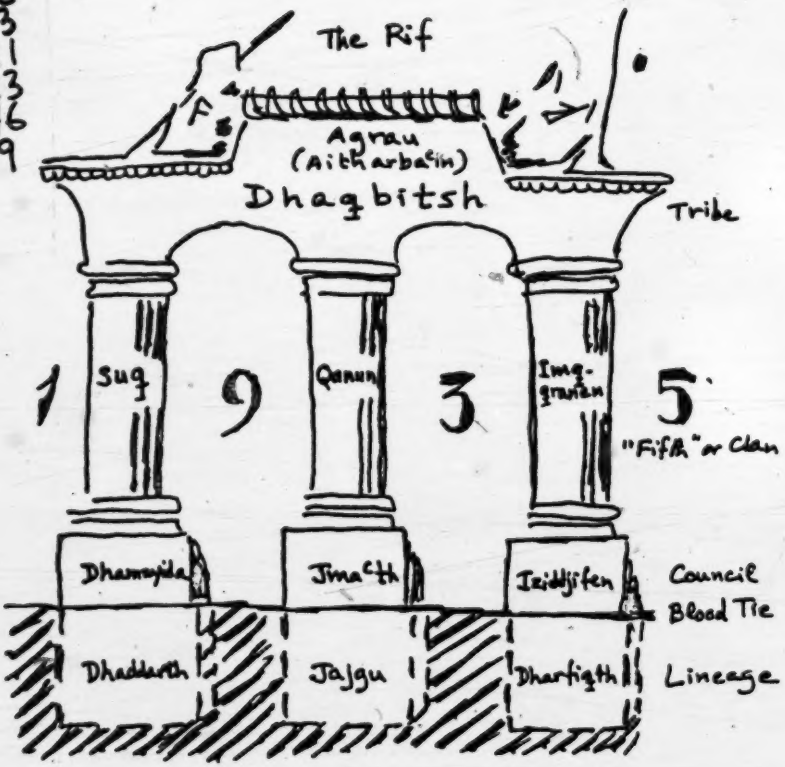


Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

535
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

FOOTNOTE: A
^

613
614
619
621
623
594
596
114

113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right, we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'th (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling islifen), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A, [See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]
^

H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari clan) is also

621
614 candidate for earliest occupancy and for the foundation of the jma'th. As it happens, this is the case here.

621
613 Passing now to the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif, we see, analogously, that while the founding or ancestral dharfiqth, Aith Wuzghar, that of the present (1935) Qa'id of Nkur, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan, is considered to be descended from the "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin, the former inhabitants of the City of Nkur[125], the other dharfiqin making up the jma'th do so without any apparent relationship to each other. The kin group whose ancestor arrived first was an Imrabdhen lineage from Ibdharsen, formed by the Aith Siddiq, Aith Tumritsh and Aith Tizza; this was followed by Aith Yunis, from the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; and finally, by the I'addiyen from the tribe of Axt Tuzin, the most recent of all.

[614]
[619]

If we turn now to the jma'th of Tazurakhth, we see the same thing, but with an increase in complexity, for the dharfiqth which is considered to be the founding one is that of Aith Bukhudam[126]. This group later received the following additional increments: a dharfiqth named Aith Ufaran from the subclan of Aith Turirth to the south; a second, much larger dharfiqth from the jma'th of Igar Ufadhis (local pronunciation Iyar Ufadhis) in the clan of Aith Bu Idhir of the tribe of Thimsaman, named Aith r-Qman (comprising today the four dharfiqin of Aith 'Aru Hammu, Yinn[127] 'Abdssram Bu 'Azza, Yinn 'Abd Allah u Hmidh and Ibaranen[128]); a third, Aith Tizi Marda, came from the clan of Amjau in the East Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid; a fourth, Ihamdiwen, from the jma'th of Asht Tghirasth[129] in the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; a fifth, from Aith 'Aisa in the tribe of Aith S'aid[130];

621
613
614
619

621 a sixth, a large one named Aith 'Aisa, from the jma'th of Aith 'Ammar
613 u S'aid in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan of Aith Hadhifa (com-
614 prising today the two dharfiqin of Aith 'Aisa--sometimes referred to
619 as Aith 'Aisa w Anu, or "the sons of 'Aisa of the well"--and Aith
Injin); a seventh, Aith Si Hmand 'Aisa, from the clan of Aith 'Abd
Allah; and an eighth, and last, Aith Tihar, from the jma'th of Tfsast
in the subclan of Timarzga to the South.

621 The net result of all the foregoing is that even such a multiplicity of examples will not clarify the question for us, considering that, in Aith Waryaghar, there are traditional jma'ths which have been split since antiquity, and split in such a way that to bring them together again now would create a tremendous political as well as administrative difficulty[131]. This would, indeed, be next to impossible, due to the difficulties of all kinds already felt by the Rifians prior to the Spanish occupation, difficulties which brought them to the transcendental act of separation. This fact on the one hand, and, on the other, the fact that the traditional jma'th in Aith Waryaghar does not seem to present an ancestry which is common to all its constituent groups or a type of "family origin" (i.e. common ancestorship) in the form or for the ends which interest the order of the Spanish regional administration. Under these conditions, it seems the best thing in this tribe, if our knowledge should not lead us to other conclusions, to continue the sedimentation initiated some time ago, avoiding modifications which do not justify an imperious necessity or a convenience manifest to all lights, something which even the author was unable to avert, and to discount, for this reason, any.....or superficially learned innovatory zeal.[132]

631 augmentation to the "building" or "house" of Rifian society (of which
621 the traditional jma'th is the "cornerstone").[141]

631 Aith Waryaghar, then, could be organized in the following way:

619 I) QA'IDATE OF L-UTA: Shaikhate of Aith Yusif w 'Ari --12 jma'ths
621 Shaikhate of Imrabdhen --15 jma'ths

II) QA'IDATE OF NKUR: Shaikhate of Bni Bu 'Ayyash --16 jma'ths
Shaikhate of l-Jbil --16 jma'ths

III) QA'IDATE OF UPPER GHIS: Shaikhate of Bni Hadifa --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Bni 'Abd Allah --16 jma'ths

Total----87 jma'ths

000 If this organization is applied to the other tribes[142], the patron must be remembered in salary gradation, so that salaries do not turn out to be prejudiced as the Aith Waryaghar have been, up to now, both in salary and category of their office-holders and tribal authorities.

Ajdir, August 27, 1935.

I) Notes on the Igzinnayen:

101 1) Etymology and Language:--The word Gzinnaya (Rifian Igzinnayen) is derived from Berber gizna, meaning "libertine"[143]. The
191 tribesmen of Igzinnayen are bilingual, although even so, Rifian speech
[212] has a far greater predominance over Arabic. Their men of letters (fqihs, etc.), although they know how to read and write Arabic, express themselves very poorly in that language, and their grammatical construction tends to be bad. Knowledge of French is extremely slight,

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no
619 little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first,
648 is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
[186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the
619 "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

114 Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

114 619 unfounded argument which is insufficient for making up any definitive listing, for it excludes other criteria. The famous historian from Sevilla (read "Tunis"), Ibn Khaldun, who also never visited Morocco, places them among the descendants of the Sinhajat al-Litham, or "Veiled Sinhaja", who emigrated over all North Africa after having left their original home in southern Algeria. My own humble opinion 619 is that in the Igzinnayen we are confronted with a tribe of purely Berber origin, around which many diversified elements came to establish themselves.

142 The Arab, in general, is a man of deliberate movements, thin, 159 long-faced and giving the impression that a certain spiritual elegance emanates from him; the Berber, in general, is much more brusque and abrupt, with a short neck and a round face, and, in speaking, he gesticulates in such a way as to give the impression that he is talking with his eyes rather than with his mouth. Whether Arab, Arabo-619 Berber or pure Berber, the origins of the Igzinnayen are very obscure.[153]

The founders of the tribe originated from the Ulad Akthir (unidentifiable), who, in Tamjund and Buridh (of the Asht 'Asim clan) gave rise to the Asht Bu Zkri (or Izkrithen), Ibaqriyen and Iharrasen; in Azru (of the Asht Yunis), to the Farzugu (unidentifiable), Asht Ishaq and Asht 'Aisa (unidentifiable); in Aqwir (of the Imzdwar), to the Asht Tirmamin and the Asht Tighda 'Ali.

The Jbarna (of the Asht r-Udha clan) have their origin in Imzdurar; they reached their present territory at a time which is impossible to determine. A large number of their families own land

619 [423] [191] A large number of their families own land in the region immediately north of Jbil 'Ain 'Uqqa. They are bilingual, but they prefer to speak Rifian, which they learn as children.

The l-'Atamna (of the Asht r-Udha) say that they are descended from the Huwwara, which does not seem probable, considering that they all show "Berber" characteristics and that the Hawwara were "Arabs".

The Dharwa Haddu consider themselves to be descended from the Ulad 'Assu bin 'Abd Allah (Rifian Asht 'Assu 'Abd Allah) and from the Eastern Rifian tribe of Aith Bu Yihyi[154].....The ancestors of Hamza bin 'Abd Allah are buried in the latter area, near the Angad.

[166] A large number of Igzinnayen, some 1500 families, mostly from Asht 'Asim, left their own land to move to l-Mta, just north of Fez. Various reasons have been given for this, the most probable being that of poverty[155].

The Asht r-Udha, Ishawiyen, Bu Isri and Izimmuren (of the Asht r-Udha) are descendants of Abu 'Amama, whose grandfather Talib ibn Isma'il ibn Hamza ibn 'Abd Allah of Rashida was appointed basha of Igzinnayen by the Sultan 'Abd Allah Hamrini Tamrin in the 7th century A.H. On the other hand, there is still a group of Asht Hamza in the area around Aknul.

The Asht Mhand (or Bni Mhammad), in the earliest times of which the Arab chroniclers have any record, resided in the Jbil Sidi S'aid, in the area at present occupied by the shurfa of Aith Sidi S'aid in Mtalsa. Due to a dispute which rose up among them, they became divided. [578] [166] Some went to the Bni Bu Ya'la in the Branis and the rest formed the Asht Mhand of the Igzinnayen, where they are today.

• 619 The Azru Ishillahan (of Asht Uzru of the Asht Yunis clan) are of "foreign", or Andalusian origin; they came to Igzinnayen when the Muslims were expelled from Spain in 1492. Although I am dubious about this assertion, certain members of this group are considered today as "Andalusians".[156]

The people of Ihadhriyen (of the Asht Yunis) are from Jbarna[157]; those of Tghirasth (of the Asht Yunis)[158] are the descendants of Sidi Ya'qub al-Badisi, who is buried in Badis, in Bni Bu Frah.

The ancestor of the Asht r-'Arqub (of the Asht Yunis) was Sidi 'Azzuz, buried in Taza,[159] and father of Sidi al-Hajj 'Ali, who died in Zaghwan (Tripolitania), on returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca. His tomb is also in Zaghwan.

The Ikhabbaben (of the Asht Yunis) from Bni Khalid in the Branis[160], came to the Igzinnayen as a result of feuds in their homeland, as did the Asht Hazim, from the Aith Iznasan tribe in the province of Oujda[161].

The Ikhwanan (of the Asht 'Asim) are descended from Sidi 'Abd Allah al'Khulali al-Wazzani, who is buried in Tamadda, in the Sanhaja Srir.

The Asht Marar, Asht 'Ari, Tasharbant, Asht Saghur and Asht Thiyuririn (of the Imzdurar clan), descendants of Sidi 'Athman of 'Ain Zura (Mtalsa), came gradually to install themselves in Igzinnayen, probably pushed on by poverty.[162]

The Iharshriyen and Asht Tighambuyin (of the Imzdurar), descendants of Muly Idris, came under the direction of their ancestor Sidi Hmid, whose tomb is located in Thighambuyin.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

619 613 614 The ("holy" clan of the) Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are descended from Sidi Musa bin Mshish[163], the brother of one of the "poles" of Western Islam, Sidi 'Abd al-Salam bin Mshish, who is buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Sidi Musa is buried among the Khmid(?) (unidentifiable).

The principal idea to be extracted from the foregoing is the following: around a principal nucleus consisting of Asht 'Asim, Imzdurar and Asht Marar[164], clans which are known to and recognized by all the Igzinnayen, there came over the course of time an infinite number of lineages originating from very diverse points of northern Morocco; and these lineages intermingled with the above. Their motives for so doing varied between hunger and war. They were brought to the Rif either because there was no room for them elsewhere or because the possibilities of living well there attracted them.....It is probably necessary to look for their origins in regions which are particularly barren and unproductive, such as the Khuld of Huwwara or the northern part of the Angad Plain, in the case of elements from the Aith Bu Yihyi; the Tafrata for the Ahl Rashida, the clayey hills of Mtalsa, and, in general, all the places more or less bordering the Mulwiya River, which, even if they are by no means paradises, are at least hospitable (sic)[165].

794 871 [793] 3) Qur'anic Instruction: --This is organized in exactly the same way as it is among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, and is largely beyond the control of the Administration....There is usually a school in each village, the fqih of which is paid annually and in kind by its inhabitants. Instruction is carried out almost

794 871 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an....

[872] [873] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some

[829] [876] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 103 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 [631] 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

619 614 361 Today it may be said that there are no ostensible and important divisions among the different clans of the Igzinnayen.... The Igzinnayen are sedentary and inhabit fixed houses, which, as among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, are located along the edges of valleys, in fertile lands, and, in a word, wherever life is easier. Nevertheless, there is, aside from the tribal hamlet-villages, no agglomeration of importance....The tribe is divided 619 614 administratively into seven clans, each one headed by a shaikh except for Asht 'Asim, which is divided into three shaikhates. One of the [621] [631] latter is made up of the communities of Buridh, Tamjund and Imhar-rushen, another by those of Ifran, Iaqrru'an and Iharrasen, and the third by Inhanahan, Thara Tazzugwakhth and Iharshriyen[169]; all these clans ("fractions") are headed by a qa'id. 619 The tribe of Igzinnayen presents a line of penetration between the tribes of the Rif and those of the Eastern Gharb, as it has been utilized over a long period of time as a path for incursions by the mountaineers into the plain.

619 614 621 7) Political Division:--Qaid (1940): Si Bu Tahar n Mqaddim Saihi.

a) Clan ("fraction") of Jibarna: contains villages of Asht Hammu w 'Amar, I'athmanen (l-'Atamna), Dharwa Haddum Jibarna and Suyah. Shaikh (1940): Muhammed l-Mihdi Fars.

b) Clan ("fraction") of Ishawiyen (Shawiya): contains villages of Dharwa 'Abdallah, Dharwa n Tawunza, Bu Isri, Imrabdhen n Wawizaght[170], Aknul, Nadhur, Thammuthen and Izimmuren. Shaikh (1940): Bushta nj-Qa'id Buhush.

c) Clan ("fraction") of Marar: contains villages of Thighzrathin, Tasharbant, Dharwa 'Ari, Zarhun, Fiddan l-Kbir, Thighambuyin,

619 Thirmamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyuririn.
614 Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.
621

d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyar, Tighza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waunkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

175 8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara.
(628) (616) It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal struggles between Ifuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

175 554 When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

000 almost postulate a sequence more or less as follows: people (and particularly the most important ones, i.e. members of the council) gather in the mosque on Fridays. This, in Durkheimian terms, would make a neat example of the three-way continuum of time, space and society! The fact that the Rifian term for mosque is dhamzidha in no way negates this rather attractive hypothesis (suggested by Ernest Gellner, personal communication, Feb. 4, 1961), for dhamzidha is itself derived from another Arabic word for mosque, masjid.

11--Dhaqbitsh, pl. dhiqbar (from Arabic qabila) is the Rifian term for "tribe", the ceiling unit in the region.

613 621 619 114 614 12--"Fraction": translator's quotation marks. This term, very current in the literature on North African social structure (and deriving from Arabic nuss, "half", tulut, "third", rba', "fourth" and khums, "fifth", each one of which usually refers to the number of clans or top-level segments a given tribe contains), is one which I find both imprecise and misleading. What one should read for "fraction" is either clan or maximal, primary or top-level segment of a tribe. What is totally missing in the term "fraction" is a notion of process.

As Blanco himself thought the term "fraction" absurd (as he indicated in a pencilled comment on a report on village etymologies in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar by another interventor, dated 1939), we shall henceforth take his cue and call it "clan"--even though he continued to employ "fraction" in the bulk of his writing!

13--The concept of the relative autonomy or independence of the tribal clan (Blanco's "fraction") is, as far as we know, an original contribution by Blanco to the overall study of Berber social structure (even though Blanco's thinking may have had its roots, on this score, in Montagne, op. cit., 1930). It is, considering the time and place it appeared, a challenging and cogent theory, and Blanco discusses it at length in the chapter on Social Organization, as well as in La Ley Rifeña, 1939. The fact that the notions of balance and opposition in all segmentary societies have become anthropological commonplaces since Evans-Pritchard's Nuer work does not vitiate Blanco's argument.

000 14--Again, in the choice of words which these notes represent, Blanco gives no definition, and we fear that, although a literal translation renders the reading awkward, a substitution of our own terms might falsify what he had in mind, namely, to attempt to establish criteria for differentiation between social and political units. In our opinion, most of these distinctions exist in the author's mind only, and do not correspond to any sociopolitical realities; for, on upper levels of segmentation at least, social units and political units invariably tend to merge.

15--It is, of course, true that only men make alliances, wage war and engage in politics (councils, etc.), but there seems no need to belabor this rather obvious point. More subtle, however, is the implicit--and possibly unintentional--distinction made between social structure and territorial organization. In the Rif, as elsewhere, the territorial organization reflects a genealogically oriented social system which has been brought down to ground level, so to speak, and

arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes, even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons, never quite complete.

16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem more nearly to fit the context.

17--Imrabdhen, sing. amrabidh (from Arabic murabit) are saints, living or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused with shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed, perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is (or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult to fathom.

19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the blad as-siba, and Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be extended to cover the whole notion of siba. In another publication we have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of this term, which goes back to Montagne, of siba as "anarchy", a notion which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--cf. André Adam, La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect, concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term, but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words, this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind when writing of "organized anarchy".

∞∞ [114] 71--Blanco assigns the jma'th a predominants geographical or territorial role, while the dharfiqth is given a genealogical one. So far, so good; but, at the risk of adding to the confusion, I think that Blanco mistakes jma'th in this context with dshar, "village, hamlet, community", for jma'th invariably embodies the idea of "people". However, it does not embody any notion of genealogical relationships, and thus Blanco's error is minor, and thoroughly understandable.

[114] 72--Not, obviously, in a literal sense; but even though Blanco no doubt employed it to bolster his ideas on lineage and segment shifts, the word was badly chosen.

[411] [648] 73--Rifles turned in to the Spanish authorities (often with grave reluctance on their owners' part) after pacification of the Rif in 1926 often formed an index, in administrative reports, to a tribe's fighting strength.

74--We know of no mosque in the Rif which only serves a single family, well-to-do or not.

[212] 75--Qanun, pl. qawanin, is, in Rifian parlance, a document drawn up in Arabic which records decisions of the village or tribal council on matters of local interest; or, more often, it merely refers to such decisions themselves, without benefit of documentary evidence.

[619] 76--By this Blanco means that an offshoot of jma'th A which through the process of lineage scission has moved physically to tribe B will have property in tribe B. This stands to reason; but the only ties which the new jma'th retains with its "brother" in its former home are those of memory and sentiment. For all practical and functional purposes, it is now a naturalized subsegment of another tribe, and it must conform to the custom of that tribe.

[114] 77--Blanco's theory of clan autonomy is most interesting and challenging, and is discussed at some length in La Ley Rifeña. It has, however, one grave shortcoming: its omission of the fact that such clan autonomy is always relative to the tribe. Vide our article "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, p.194.

[648] 78--Blanco does not say, but it is possible that such sites may be attributed to the "Portuguese", whom Rifians say once occupied the Rif until "our ancestors rose up against them and drove them out, brandishing sickles in their hands".

[114] 79--This is an error of fact, at least in part. Today, the Aith 'Ammarth and the Ibuqquyen have only one market apiece, the former on Mondays and the latter, at Ruwadi, on Sundays; and to my knowledge, except for one women's market which is now defunct, Aith 'Ammarth has always had only one market. Blanco's own market listing, furthermore, brings out this fact: I) Aith Waryaghar--Mondays at Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa; Tuesdays at Dharan n-Dhihlaliyin in the clan of Aith 'Abd Allah (this market no longer functions, having been superseded by the Monday market at Aith Hadhifa); Wednesday at Sidi Bu 'Afif in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ali (also no longer functioning and superseded by a newer market on Saturdays at Imzuren which was set up by the Spanish administration) and at Turirth for the three mountain subclans of Aith Turirth, Aith Timarzga and Aith 'Arus; Thursdays at Imrabdhen;

000 Ulad 'Abbu and J'auna) and in the Igzinnayen (or Gzinnaya: Bni 'Asim, Bni Yunis, Ulad 'Ali bin 'Aida, Bni Mhammad, Ulad l-Uta, and Imzdurar, of which only the last mentioned retains its Berber name, "mountaineers").

[114] [829] 147--The Branis tribe (Arabic branis, sing. barnus, "burnous") is very probably Berber by descent; but it is, as Blanco notes, entirely Arabic speaking today (as is Igzinnayen's other neighbor, Marnisa), and Rifians consider it "jabalan" rather than as one of their own.

[133] 148--Tizi Usli, "the pass of the bridegroom", is a tribal administration post in the northeastern Igzinnayen, while Azru Aqshar, "bald rock" or "bald mountain", is, at 2010 meters, the highest peak in the Central Rifian area, and is located just north of Tizi Usli, which nestles in its shadow.

[114] 149--Blanco is in error here, for all of Igzinnayen are Rifians, and of Berber origin. Even if they were not, there would in any case be little basis for a (largely artificial) contrast in physical type and/or language and/or institutions; and once again, Blanco is groping with outmoded anthropological theory.

150--As noted, the "Arab-Berber" dichotomy which Blanco draws within Igzinnayen is largely a figment of his imagination. The southern clans of Igzinnayen neither "obeyed" nor "resisted" the Makhzin in pre-Protectorate times, any more than the northern ones or any of the other Rifian tribes did. In fact, aside from Bushta al-Bahdadi's punitive expedition to Ibuqquyen in 1898, the Makhzin tended to leave the Rifians severely alone. Informants say that the sultans Mulay al-Hasan, Mulay 'Abd al-Aziz and Mulay Hafidh all appointed qa'ids and shaikhs in all the Rifian tribes, but such "appointments" were nothing but dahirs which ratified the already existing tribal and clan chiefs. In the Rif, therefore, the notion of "Republik" or siba was essentially characterized by a lack of contact between tribes and central government; and the above-mentioned dahirs merely preserved the status quo.

619 151--Like the Aith Waryaghar, the Igzinnayen are regarded as being divided into either two or five top segments, according to one's informants, although, unlike Aith Waryaghar, the problem of segment discontinuity within the tribe is (virtually) non-existent. The division into two top segments gives us the following: Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth. Asht Bu 'Amar is in turn segmented into Asht Yunis and Asht 'Asim; and the first of these, Asht Yunis, is again segmented into Asht Yunis Proper, Asht 'Aru 'Aisa and Asht Mhand, while the second Asht 'Asim, is divided into Asht 'Asim Proper and Asht Findish. Asht r-Manth is segmented into Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha.

The division into five top segments bypasses the level of the top to give us Asht 'Asim, Asht Yunis, Asht Mhand, Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha; and immediately we note a discrepancy between the two systems. In the first, Asht Mhand is given the status of a subsegment of Asht Yunis, while in the second it is a top-level segment or clan in its own right; and the Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (Aith Waryaghar), who was 'Abd al-Krim's top field commander in the Igzinnayen in 1925-26 and who provided us with the second set of data, told me

619 that in the Igzinnayen, the Asht Mhand were intrusive "fifth wheels" exactly as the Imrabdhen were in the Aith Waryaghar. Coon (op. cit., 619 1931, p. 19), on the other hand, calls them "autochthonous heathen" 114 because of their origin traditions, and this would accord more with the two-segment division above, which assigns them to a firmer position in the total structure (even though elsewhere in the same work, on p. 92, Coon himself endorses a five-fold division). The two- 619 segment division, afforded us by the shaikh of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, is 616 probably the more correct one, although the hypothesis of the Qa'id Haddu is attractive from the standpoint of balance and imbalance of 114 liffs, and it is supported indirectly by Blanco's statement in the text that the Asht Mhand came originally from the Mtalsa, which would help explain their later liff affiliations.

The two liffs of the Igzinnayen were those of Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth, with affiliations as above, so that in this tribe, the liff system did not cut across the segmentary system as in Aith Waryaghar, but was, rather, co-extensive with it. Not only this, but it corresponded, in general, to Blanco's notion of "northern" and "southern" liffs, although without the "Berber vs. Arab" overtones which he suggests. It is true, furthermore, that the moiety of Asht Bu 'Amar, which was bigger than that of Asht r-Manth, usually won, although it is theoretically possible, as the Qa'id Haddu implied, that the presence of Asht Mhand in the Asht Bu 'Amar liff may have tipped the balance. However, this is purely speculation, and in any event liff affiliations shifted about the time of World War I or very shortly thereafter, and before the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim: one moiety, consisting of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa only, crystallized around the person of the Hajj Muhand Biqqish of Ikhuwanen (Asht 'Asim), who became the most powerful man in Igzinnayen and who was eventually poisoned by 'Abd al-Krim; and the other, consisting of the rest of the tribe, formed around Si Hmid Ubarshan of Azru (Asht Yunis). It may be noted that this shift in alliances did nothing to restore a balance, and the two liffs remained as asymmetrical as they had done previously.

After the crystallization of this alignment, the neighboring 619 tribes became involved as follows: in favor of Biqqish were the Aith 616 'Ammarth (who were his affines), the Timarzga of the Aith Waryaghar (into whom Biqqish's daughter had married) and thus also classificatory affines), the Iznagen of the Axt Tuzin; and after the death of Qa'id 'Amar Hamidu, half of the Marnisa; and in favor of Si Hmid Ubarshan were the Aith Turirth and Aith 'Arus of the Aith Waryaghar (who were against the Timarzga), the rest of Axt Tuzin, the rest of the Marnisa, Mtalsa, and Branis. And the disequilibrium of forces still held.

[114] Blanco's statement, therefore, that Axt Tuzin helped the "northern" liff (of Asht Bu 'Amar) and that Mtalsa and Branis helped the "southern" liff (of Asht r-Manth) is entirely plausible. The Axt Tuzin are neighbors of the Asht Yunis, while the Mtalsa borders the Asht Mhand, and the Branis are bounded by the Asht r-Udha; and this would explain why all three tribes later came to support the liff of Si Hmid Ubarshan. It should be noted, however, that wars between the Igzinnayen and the Branis were very frequent; and when they occurred, the tendency was for the former to patch up their own differences and gang up on the latter.

000
[114]
[311]
165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616]
[578]
173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616]
[619]
175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613]
[616]
The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[176]
[178]
177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

603 621 616 182 This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 701 Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

646 619 The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613 When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

---

[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

695 829 [181] the individual, in most cases. It therefore seems natural that the group rather than the individual (contrary to Islamic Law) proclaims its innocence[39].

695 212 (685) Although written proofs are admitted, they are not common, and are always submitted previously to a fqih for his consultation. Also, certain tulba were known to take advantage of their essentially notary function in order to falsify documents (one man even wrote up false Sultan's dahirs, or imperial decrees, and was jailed in Tangier!); and this did not make for any great respect of written proofs in Arabic, a language which in any case the Rifians did not understand. [157] Even today (1935) a Rifian who possesses a document is always looking for people to translate it for him, as he is never satisfied with one man's word and always suspects that the man who drew it up for him either misrepresented him or lied to him. I have known Rifians who want to the French Zone and even to Spain in order to obtain proper interpretations of their personal papers! Only death will separate a Rifian from his r-kwaghadh![40]

695 Conciliation and arbitration are the preferential jural processes in this society, where victory is difficult and defeat is hard; and one is drawn to the idea that what actually takes place is more akin to "horse trading" than to justice, in the European sense of the word.

It seems to me that the collective oath is the Rifian equivalent of the European "word of honor", in its unadulterated sense[41]. It has [619] a social rather than a religious significance, and, in practice, very little ritual; it is carried out in the mosque under the eye of the rival or plaintiff, and of those who were in on the secret, a sufficient action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]

000 does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

684 f) Anyone who commits an act of bestiality must pay for the fodder of the assaulted animal for one day; and among the Aith Waryaghar, he must pay for its packsaddle as well as a 50-peseta fine, and he is cursed by the market crier in the market[74].....

2) Among the Aith 'Ammarth:

685 a) A blacksmith of....asked the qadi for a room to live in. It was given him, and in it he raised chickens, which began to eat the qadi's barley. The qadi claimed compensation from him, saying that he had to kill the chickens and leave the house. He refused to do so, 685 692 and made a reclamation to the shaikh, who said he was in the right. Then a member of the qadi's family poisoned all the chickens, and the blacksmith complained to the mqaddim. The jma'th, as a result, met in the mosque and fined the qadi 18 duros, of which the blacksmith received only two or three.

582 b) In the village of Aith Finathen, clan of Aith r-Hasayin, one 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, a rich man, married his daughter to Muhammadi n Si Siddiq nd-Hajj Sriman, a poor man and one of his agnates (i.e. his brother's son), in order to keep him as a servant[75]. The young man 682 [619] eventually killed his uncle. The tribal council was convoked, and its members punished the dead man's sons by imposing a 6000-peseta fine on them; and they in turn killed Muhammadi and paid another fine....During 662 623 his lifetime, 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, as well as his five brothers, had on various occasions paid 400 duros to the jma'th to excuse themselves from participation in tribal wars.

661 c) A poor man made a goatherd of one of his younger in-laws,

3. COUNCILS, WARFARE AND ALLIANCES

614
619
623
634

A) The Agraw:

The agraw is a meeting or convening of all the adult Rifian males in a clan or tribe who are capable of supporting their opinions by force of arms. It is an assembly of all men who carry rifles, and it has almost unlimited attributes, among which the major ones are:

a) Declaration of war and of all that this embodies (organization of attack and defense, organization of harka-s or war-parties, contingents which are levied up for distant expeditions, and establishment of agreements of friendship or alliance with neighboring tribes).

b) Guarding the security and honor of its component family and kin groups (making common cause with them, supporting them with force if necessary, and acting as mediators); thus, when the interests of any individual or of his kinsmen are harmed, and he is incapable of defending his rights, the councilmembers claim the resulting damages in his name, and, in order to obtain them, they either very soon have to take up arms, or wait and work out an alliance with other igrawn, or convoke the agraw of the group one step up the ladder.

The agraw may be on a village (or hamlet), "fractional" (or clan), or tribal level, and the only difference between these three levels lies in the number of councillors who attend the meeting on each one....The agraw is convoked by mqaddimin or shiyukh[1]; by word of mouth, by arqqas or messenger (gunshots by day or bonfires--thafgirth, pl. thifgirin--at night, in case of alarm, and in both instances by cries transmitted from hilltop to hilltop, from village to village, and from mountain to plain).

[202]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

634 Every man who carries a rifle drops whatever he is doing and
623 goes immediately to the council site, leaving his house, interests and
614 work in the fields to his women, who collect all their movable property,
619 animals and children, in case they have to move, and await the news,
562 quickly transmitted, with anxiety, while they decide upon their place
722 of retirement (usually the house of some relative) and form a line of sentries, together with the older children. Here they follow, with analogous emotions, the events of the fight, if there is one, and await its outcome....Once the men have arrived at the site of the
634 alarm, or more often at a generally determined meeting site (agraw),
623 they start to look, without orders or signals, for their kinsmen and
614 neighbors who have arrived or are just arriving. They are always
619 careful to seek a spatially dominant position, and remain grouped together some little distance from the other groups which are also being formed, completing a circle, in the interior of which only the chiefs, who are rapidly informed of the matter and of the opinions of their subordinates, may enter. Such opinions are impassioned ones, as they have been forged (in case of alarm) on the spur of the moment, on the basis of what those who echo them have heard, or on the basis of what is going on around them; one can distinguish the feverish voices of the kinsmen and friends of the injured party, who want immediate reparation.

634 In this heated atmosphere the delineation by the chiefs of the
623 matter at hand begins; they are attentive not so much to what happens
614 in their own little circle, but to the stormy atmosphere being created
619 on the outside one and pressing in on them....If the matter is one of
692

634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
619 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
692 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured
681 parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside
circle).[2 & 3]

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
614 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
623 ....Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
628 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at
721 any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare.... Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities. This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared beforehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
(624) surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

701 own jma'ths; they were headed by men of their own localities; and 'Abd al-Krim only reserved for himself the right to nominate individuals in his confidence for top positions[5].

[619] The contingents of each tribe were headed by the notables of that tribe, and were instructed independently within the whole harka

619 agglomerate. The tribal notables received news of the objectives
726 they had to attain; they took their contingents into battle; and
701 afterwards, they abandoned the field and brought their harkas home....

[621] Through their representatives in the agraw, the jma'ths knew the
[623] contingent which was requested, and they made the division and nomin-
701 ated the chiefs[6]. There were both volunteers and conscripts; but in
[702] each house, one man had to stay at home. An amghar or the amghar was
[621] the elected warchief, and he established his contingent....He did not
[623] abandon his house or agricultural tasks or coerce anyone to fight[7], and the jma'th saw to an equitable distribution of men under arms at all times. Only shurfa, old men, boys and individuals with physical defects were exempt from harka service.

726 Attempts were made to respect geographical order, and each contingent was called upon to engage in combat only on its natural front. The order of battle was traditionally known, and was answerable to political necessity. Coexistence was easier for harka members on their natural fronts, of course, in their own land; resistance was more effective, displacements were more rapid and dispersion was less serious. Knowing the country perfectly, they could send groups to defend passes or watersheds or gorges in relays, each one two or three hours behind the last, so that later arrivals could increase the

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

619 616 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or in- [181] stitution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10] administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of 619 616 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or 182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13], markets and qanun), could never have been justified alone, because the Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances, which they would do until another more powerful force from outside, such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in reducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of individual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threatening its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries 616 619 between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some [614] instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja 616 619 and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent 648 confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also 193 bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

616 619 648 193 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of 616 619 182 disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

616
[182] Individual liffs bind together individuals or families, persons and possessions, and make for solidarity in the payment of fines, in both defense and attack[21].

2) General Liff:--I think the raison d'etre of the general liff to be purely defensive. These large-scale liffs are real military [619] alliances brought about in order to maintain territorial integrity, and it is they which have permitted the coexistence of minuscule tribes alongside of large and powerful ones. The situation in this respect is analogous to that of Switzerland in Europe; and among the most typical Switzerlands in the Rif are the Thafarsith and the Aith 'Ammarth[22].....In a general liff, it is not individual or kin group interests which are in opposition to each other and come into play, but rather the jurisdictional limits and the autonomy of the social [613] groupings (i.e. clans) which integrate them. The general liff obligates with the same end and binds together with the same strength [171] the individuals belonging to rival dharfiqin. There is thus, I think, a notable difference in the two classes of liffs, although the end result or defensive spirit is the same[23]; analogously, there are alliances between European nations which are destined to preserve their independence, as well as friendships of more of an individual or econ- [562] omic character between their members....The national liff, to call it thus, cannot be confused with the social forms which have already been considered above, for while the latter place mutual obligations upon and bind together individuals and lands, the general liff usually applies only to men and binds together only warriors[24].

616 The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping
614 their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members,
619 are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion
[621] on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known previously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these
616 182 628 two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

648 692 616 182 As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protectorate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

616 Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

(social), for a man only goes to his liff when the other two types fail him. Thus we see individuals or groups, when they are helpless, calling for their liffs in defense of their rights or taking refuge with them when, conquered or routed, they abandon their own hearths.

Tribes and their clans, and jma'ths and their kin groups or dharfiqin are generally divided into two balanced, symmetrical and mutually hostile parties; and it is in such an equilibrium that we find the strength of each group, no matter how insignificant that group may appear, and the weakness of the whole tribe, which is only welded together if threatened from outside.

In essence, in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, the innumerable feuds between jma'ths are reduced to two parties, within each council, whose quarrel, perhaps rather than for hegemony, is a dispute of interests. But, in discussing parties, let us rid ourselves of the notions which these have for Europeans, either in forms of government or in religion. In such simple questions, Republic[28] and Islam have been in agreement for a long time. The Rifian states were religious republics governed by laymen, we might say. Well and good: above and beyond these quarrels and ferocious feuds, the Aith Waryaghar knew how to ally themselves, absolutely independently of these, to other groups, indicating that the motive forces which underlay each class of alliance were different[29]. Thus we see, for example, how the five khmas (sing. khums) of the Aith Waryaghar were allied or opposed to each other, and how they constituted two mutually hostile bands; the Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abd Allah on one side, and the rest on the other[30]. In my opinion, these two bands represent the most obvious

619 brake or check upon the expanding hunger of neighbors as well as upon the hegemony of some determined individual.

175 619 But with the threat of the Rogi, Bu Hmara[31], expressed in the form of the mhalla or military expedition under the command of Jilali Mul al-Wudhu[32] (Muludu), we see the Aith Waryaghar reacting violently and uniting, for the first time in their history, as the result of an agraw at Imzuren, nominating their war chief, mounting guard on the line of resistance parallel to the Nkur River, from Imudh (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) to the Mediterranean, and joyfully accepting the hard task, magnificently performed, of smashing Bu Hmara's army to bits and sending it back in headlong retreat to Qasba Silwan.

619 616 175 In the same way, we also see the khums of Aith 'Abd Allah, in liff with the Ibuqquyen, joining the other khmas of Aith Waryaghar to fight against that tribe, as auxiliaries in the punitive expedition of Bushta al-Baghdadi[33]; and thus we see that tribal interests were always superior to clan ones[34].

616 182 For this reason, the mechanism of the liff is simply conservative and not disintegrative, as might seem the case from other points of view. If in the jma'th it equalizes the forces which are [621] [619] [614] feuding, it does the same in the tribe with the rival clans, and in the overall Rifian area with hostile tribes, everywhere balancing the inferiority of weak groups with the strength of its own men. It may be possible to explain in this fashion why in spite of the feverish, ephemeral and unlucky vicissitudes of such minuscule states, they never came to the point of disappearing altogether, while at the same time and by the same token they never permitted the duration of empires

or similar agglomerates. This might also perhaps explain the persistence in disorder up to exhaustion point, for thanks to an obscure family feud, a chain reaction would unleash violence throughout the whole region as fast as a burning cigarette can produce a forest fire[35].

There is no doubt that through their origins the tribes can be classified into two great groups, Sanhaja and Ghumara, which formed the two great Rifian alliances of the same names, and between which the Rifian tribes were distributed in an apparent equilibrium, as follows[36]:

Ghumara: Ibuqquyen, Aith Yittuft, Aith 'Ammarth, Mtiwa dyal Bhar (Mtiwa of the Sea), Ghmara Proper (Bni Rzin, Bni Khalid, Bni Silman, Bni Zjil, Bni Buzra, Bni Mansur, Bni Grir, Bni Smih and Bni Ziyat), Bni S'aid (of the Jbala, not the Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid), Bni Zarwal, Bni Zarwal, Bni Winjil, Slas, Hiyaina, Branis, Igzinnayen[37], Marnisa, Mtiwa dyal Uta (Mtiwa of the Plain), Bni Mstara and Ghzawa.

Sanhaja: Bni Bu Frah, Bni Gmil, Mistasa[38], Aith Waryaghar, I-Khmas, Bni Waryagil[39], Jaya, Mzzyat, Rgiwa, Dsul, Rhuna, and Sanhaja Srir (Ktama, Aith Siddat, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Aith Bu Nsar and Bni Bu Shibt).

However, it seems somewhat limited to attribute the basis of Rifian political preferences and the reason for alliances in the region to this dim and garbled tradition of the very distant past[40]. If, on the other hand, the form of government or religion were in dispute, it would be easier to explain its affinities to the European type[44]. Furthermore, if we discard as vaguely traditional such causes of union

[This should read "41" not "44"--Analyst]

616 as were forgotten by the people, we have no others to explain the liff system save external autonomy and internal equilibrium. The liff is the opponent of group hegemony, as the latter is of the preponderance of one family, and it thus results as a protector of both. This was the cause of the ephemeral character of the empires founded upon such a powder-keg, a mosaic of minuscule autonomous republics, as of the transitory periods of tyranny which they would have undergone. If external danger brought about the sacred interclan unity, internal danger (rivalries and hegemony) separated them, seeing them forced to support themselves, now divided, in other neighboring tribes[42].

(614) Whatever may have been the cause of these alliances, it is certain that among the clans of a tribe there were two bands which put them into this framework and gave them this frame of reference....And if their ethnic origin permits us, in principle, to reestablish the division of the tribes which gave its name to the two great liffs (Sanhaja and Ghumara), it is in the equilibrium and autonomy (author's italics) thus established and in operation that we see the origin and persistence of the other two liffs commented upon, among the Aith Waryaghar[43].

616 Perhaps among the Aith Waryaghar, different aspects of this
● 619 interpretation may be corroborated. We see their khmas or "fifths" allying themselves one against the other to form two rival groups and thus equalizing their internal strength and avoiding attempts at
[101] supremacy by individual clans. And we also see how the Aith 'Abd Allah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash look for their internal security in the tribes which border them, the first uniting with the "Badisiya" tribes of the A A A A, [Apparently footnote "44" should appear here--Analyst]

616 Ibuqquyen, the Aith Yittuft and the Bni Bu Frah on the one hand, while
619 the second unites with the Axt Tuzin and the Thimsaman on the other,
101 thus giving rise to a curious small and narrow passage across the territory of the Sanhajan (sic) tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, through which the Ghumaran tribes can communicate[45]. This might be borne out through other possible passages of the same type which, if found, would widen our political conceptualizations of this problem and might explain the apparent anomaly of ethnographic islets[46]. But in this, before it can be attempted, there must be an agreement on the basic affinities of the tribes in each band, Sanhajan or Ghumaran, and even among the Zanatans[47].

616 The liffs also seem to show, and manifestly, the reason for this progressive increase observed in the concentration of groups struggling in order to obtain the successive enlistment of possible far-away liff adherents.....so that their support would be required or attracted by the idea of burning of houses, etc., and their sudden disappearance, as if the earth might have swallowed them up, on the retreat of such far-flung allies....and thus creating the vacuum which one might label post-ta'rqiba[48] (author's italics), in order to astonish superficial observers, and coming to doubt the veracity of confidences and trusts, as well as of the enemy whom they had in front of them, and
616 of the sincerity of the peace testimony....And nevertheless, a sub-
728 mission must be accepted as effective for those who are about to make it, or for the next enemy group, seeing that it does not naturally endanger the lives of the warriors, who voluntarily defended the territorial integrity of their part of their liff. The ta'rqiba of this

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by iziddjifen or imgharen".

2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided
(682) up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for instance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clans in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an agraw, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97, and Coon, Flesh of the Wild Ox, New York: Morrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igzinnayen, who pronounce the word ayraw.

(628) 4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why:
(114) because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

5--The term harka did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a tabur), each one of which was under a qa'id designated by the number of men under his command--qa'id at-tn'ash (of 12), qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin (of 25), qa'id l-khamsin (of 50), qa'id l-Miya (of 100), and qa'id attabur (of a tabur, or 300).
(177) However, the idea of the harka had been there previously, even if the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

6--In actual fact, those imgharen already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

(602) 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native harkas in Spanish service.

(114) 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, todo el mundillo rifeño, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

616 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic",
619 "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several
642 previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though
114

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [171] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

OOO 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [171] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[614] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 62 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

616
[62]
[62]
[114]
sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation, make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at the matter in a slightly different way.

There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves [539] readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows: "Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within 616 clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr, 614 pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even continuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were • 619 "external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the former more to higher ones.

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not continue ad infinitum.

616 The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their 614 terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big" 619 liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or "smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes [124] would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe (in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chain--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

616 619 726 [614] [928] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well.

[563] 000 Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and expected to do.

[114] [929] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 [162] [614] 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'unen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

000

last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels, and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Montagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent it, they hardly succeeded!

[114] [113]

27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be reactivated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactivation would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside it.

[152] [628]

28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

619 616 114

30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams khmās (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition indicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu 'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith 'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

619 616 614

616
614
[619]

Aith 'Arus, though spatially separated from them, are nonetheless clan "brothers" of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa respectively; and each of the former groups gets its share of the tribal rhaqq from each of the latter, though this, at the moment, is beside the point. What is more important, however, is that each of the mountain clans is allied in liff to its "brethren" further down the slope.

In the Aith Waryaghar, the two liff heads depend largely on the clan to which one's informants belong. If they are from the Aith 'Adhiya, the liff heads are Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (which segments, being both member subclans of a single clan, are more "brothers" to each other than they are to any of the other clans); if from the Aith 'Abd Allah, they are Aith 'Abd Allah and Aith Hadhifa; and if from Aith 'Ari, they are Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari (who, again, as subclans of a single clan or clans combining to make up a single "fifth", are more "brothers" to each other than either or both of them are to any or all of the other clans; in this particular instance, in fact they are supposed to be descended from two actual brothers, 'Ari w 'Ari and Yusif w 'Ari). No matter; the structure of the liffs in Aith Waryaghar is as follows:
Faction A (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith 'Ari (with Timarzga), Aith 'Abd Allah, and Aith 'Adhiya (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash). Faction B (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith Yusif w 'Ari (with Aith Turirth), Aith Hadhifa (with Aith 'Arus), Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash), and Imrabdhen. Faction A (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes clans of Truguth, in the tribe of Thimsaman, and Axt 'Akki, in the tribe of the Axt Tuzin. Faction B (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes the clan of Ija'umen, in the tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth, affiliated through liff with Aith Hadhifa.

From the foregoing, four facts are readily apparent: 1) Faction B, internally, is, in both number of clans and total number of individuals involved, considerably stronger than Faction A is, internally. This shows that 2) the liff alignment among the Aith Waryaghar, rather than corresponding to the khums structure, tends to cut across it, for within two of the khmas listed, subclans are pitted against each other in the total tribal moiety system, even though the other three khmas remain intact. It also implies that 3), as discussed below, the liff system of the Aith Waryaghar is in fact far more a function of their territorial system than it is of their system of segmentation. Moreover, as we have noted in an earlier publication (Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204-6, note 44), 4) the exact form that each liff in a given tribe will take depends largely upon whether the number of top-level segments in that tribe is even or odd. As most Rifian tribes have an odd number of top segments (only Bni Bu Frah, Aith 'Ammarth and Thafarsith have even numbers--four, four and two, respectively), usually five and never more than five, (i.e. Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen, Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith S'aid, Aith Wurishik, etc.), a certain amount of improvisation and splitting within clans has to take place. (Among tribes containing an even number of segments, there is no need for this.)

616
619

It may well be asked, at this juncture, what the explanation is for the numerical superiority of Faction B. There is, we think, a very good one, but in order to show how it works, we must first consider yet

another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top Segment I is labeled Aith Khattab, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari (plus Aith 'Ari) and Aith 'Abd Allah, while Top Segment II consists of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments of these top segments are aligned into their component liffs, as above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the problem, therefore, is the khums of Imrabdhen, the presence of which, in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above). The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top imgharen of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a khums, and their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqqiwen of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the dispensing of baraka (which, it might be added, could only be inherited by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent liff alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally, "fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary and liff systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative, as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance, between holy and adjudicating imrabdhen, the 10% minority, and lay and warrior imrabdhen, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrabdhen as a clan: whether they are shurfa or not--and here again, one runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say "no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are genuine shurfa, although it is possible that these are, at least in part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the sunduq or box

614 of Mulay Idris in Fez; and over this, they hedge, saying that they do
792 have this right, but that they have never yet exercised it because "Fez is so far away". This is, in effect, a tacit admission of proper imrabdhen and non-shurfa status.)

616 In having postulated a state of equilibrium between the two
614 moieties of the Aith Waryaghar prior to the arrival of the Imrabdhen, and in having postulated that the latter came in time to upset this equilibrium in structural terms, we have up to now left Faction A in a kind of structural limbo. How, one may well ask, did this faction regain its balance? Through the principle of transitiveness within limits, as defined in note 18, by enlisting the aid of one neighboring clan from each of two tribes, Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin. After Faction A made this move, one may assume, Faction B did the same thing with a neighboring clan of Aith 'Ammarth. And here, we feel, is the secondary key to the problem, for, in effect, the inequality of liff alignments of a permanent type within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar is cancelled out or, perhaps, rectified through the mechanism of transitiveness without; and balance is thus restored. And the interplay of the factors of permanence, transitiveness and the chain-link theory (by which, if Faction A gets the Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin, Faction B gets the Aith 'Ammarth) is evident throughout.

000 31-Bu Hmara, as his title r-Rogi indicates, was a false pretender to the Moroccan throne in the first decade of the 20th century. For full details, see Eduardo Maldonado, El Rogui, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, n.d. (ca. 1952).

[648] 32--Jilali Mul al-Wudhu was a negro general of Bu Hmaram and his top man in the Eastern Rif when he set up headquarters in the qasba or fortress of Silwan in 1907, prior to trying to rally the Rifians to his cause. All of the tribes, in fact, did so rally, save Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth, who thought it very "shameful" that a black "slave" ('abid) should invade their territory; and so, on September 7, 1908, on the banks of the Nkur River, near Imzuren, they cut him and his army to pieces, after which the other tribes turned against him one by one and ambushed his rearguard.

33--Busta al-Baghdad's expedition took place in 1898. It should also be noted that any previous liff arrangement which may have existed between Aith 'Abd Allah and Ibuqquyen was purely and strictly ad hoc.

34--True; but the normal situation was as described in note 25. Only outside invasion could and did ever weld a whole tribe together; and the Aith Waryaghar were united for the very first (recorded) time in their history when Bu Hmara came to the Rif.

35--See note 18. The fact that Rifian liffs were transitive, but only up to and including neighboring clans of the next tribe, tended normally to isolate feuds and to keep them in bounds, to some extent, at least.

616 36--We have commented on the almost mythical Ghumara-Sanhaja war above.
619 The liff system at work in this particular case was at variance with the traditional Rifian system, as described in note 18; although on the
648 other hand, if we can accept the myth (which is doubtful), it points

A, [See p.257, #14--Analyst]

to a far earlier incidence of tribal unity, and on a much wider scale, than the events precipitated by Bu Hamara's invasion. Blanco's listing, however, is incomplete, for this feud encompassed not only the Rif, but all of Northern Morocco, centering, supposedly, on the Ghumara and Sanhaja, each of which had allies both to the west (Jbala) and to the east (Rif). There are other listings available, the most complete of which may be found in Montagne, op. cit., 1930, map facing p. 208. See also Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 17-8, and Jesus Ortoneda Jiménez, Estudio de la Region del Rif, Ceuta, 1930, p. 37, as well as Vademecum de Intervenciones Militares, Melilla 1928. None of these listings is in complete agreement with any of the others.

37--According to Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 18, the Igzinnayen were not in the Ghumara liff, but in the Sanhajan one, and, according to his informants, the fact that the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen were both on that side brought the Sanhaja the ultimate victory.

38--Until 1906, Bni Gmil and Mistasa formed a single tribe. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, Vademecum del Territorio del Rif, 1946, p. 81.

39--Bni Waryagil is a small tribe in the southern Jbala, and Rifian informants have all disclaimed any connection between it and the very much larger Aith Waryaghar of the Rif. Literate informants, moreover, point to the difference in orthography: the name of the Rifian tribe is written in Arabic with the letter ghain, while that of the Jbalan group is written with the gaf (kaf with three points above it).

40--It does indeed!

41--Why should it be necessary to "explain its affinities to the European type"? One feels that liffs, like any other institutions, can only be "explained" in their own terms!

42--What Blanco presumably refers to here, in an oblique manner, is, among other things, the fact that murderers must flee their own tribes.

43--It seems to us that Blanco is looking at this aspect of the problem upside down. If anything, an alliance and war of the Sanhaja-Ghumara type probably had its origins in the Rifian system discussed in note 18, rather than the other way around. It is, of course, also possible that problems and/or notions of this kind cut both ways.

44--This term refers to the western maritime tribes of the Rif, located around the early Islamic center of Badis.

45--There are three basic errors in this sentence. First, the Aith 'Abd Allah had only an ad hoc liff arrangement with the Ibuqquyen; this was directed against their own enemies within the Aith Waryaghar, namely, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and the Aith Hadhifa, the former of whom, in particular, the Ibuqquyen could never forgive for having accompanied Bushta al-Baghdadi's punitive expedition into their tribal territory. There was no question whatsoever of an alliance with either the Aith Yittuft or the Bni Bu Frah. The same applies to the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who were also (but very tenuously) allied, through the transitive principle, to the Axt Tuzin clan of Axt Tsafth, because their "brothers" and enemies the Aith 'Adhiya were in liff (again through the transitive principle)

616 619 114 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian. Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are notoften those of the next!)

616 728 184 782 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 [175] 49-- Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts, Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Ammarth contingents who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

195 181 628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 613 619 134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 671 182 [648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
62 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an arictocracy known
623 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
619 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
62] social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
443 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to
671 those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan, an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in
[182] principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
614
776

law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

671 628 681 184 443 1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in certain qanuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

681 619 443 In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681 For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is 681 628 682 614 619 443 613 therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

671 554 693 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike proclivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their real profession.

671 799 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code, 671 683 or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack, he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor marksmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect marksmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

681 443 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the [619] [673] tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these kin groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

671 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any in-
vader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed im-
potence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organiza-
tion and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

671 have just said, a personage who does not show up in any qanun as dis-
619 charging his office or as even providing the most minimal and non-
181 transcendent representation, for in the one qanun in which we finally discover him (the qanun commented upon here) we have already shown that he hides himself modestly and even effacingly behind the camouflage of
619 two other shiyukh. The result is that not even in the big list, in
554 the listing of "the fat ones" (i.e. the enumeration of the clan brothers of each of the imagharen of importance), does this ambitious man gain first prize, the individual who seizes this being an opulent and lay tribesman whose preeminence clearly gives a clue to the psychology of the talib who drafted the qanun as well as to that of his constituents.

619 And, reflecting upon bases like these, it is well to ask what
648 reasons or exigencies the first protectorate functionaries felt, discounting both imitative and ignorant ones in order to orient their policies toward big qa'ids who, even if their stature has been diminished, are no longer to be seen for sure anywhere.

To impose upon the tribes more or less significant personalities, representatives of concentrated power, when, subdivided ad infinitum, they unite in their opposition to all types of personal power, is always an ungrateful undertaking and one full of surprises, as practice has shown us....when power is imposed from above.[84]

642 In the Rif, where all are personalities, only a mass-oriented political system, and not one oriented toward individuals, can bear fruit.[85] The enforced utilization of one or even several dozen persons of some importance serves no purpose if this does not benefit the mass, taking up its aspirations and satisfying its needs, anxious for freedom

toward women and the exhortation which they conducted at all times with nobility and without wickedness.

On the other hand, we see that in contrast to their fellows of Aith Waryaghar, they neither list in detail nor excoriate cases of theft, a fact which might give rise to the notion that, among them, such actions were no longer considered pernicious. This is not the case at all. Poorer than the Aith Waryaghar, the Aith Siddat must preserve their property with greater zeal, from whence the right of legitimate defense against the aggressor who would try to seize something from them in a field or path, and the right to kill anyone who should penetrate their houses, the only place where they guard their possessions.[93]

The picking of fruit or vegetables in a field or garden in order that a poor man might eat has never been considered an offense by the Rifian, who puts waterjugs along the mountain paths for the thirsty traveler. In addition, the border market of the Aith Siddat and the fact that their geographical location lacks commercial roads are the reasons which, in our opinion, can explain the apparent oversight in listing actions which it is everywhere else desirable to curb.

10. EXAMPLE OF A LIFF[94] BETWEEN TWO TRIBES (BNI BU FRAH AND BNI GMIL):[95]

A) Qanun:

Praise be to God. In the presence of the witness instrumental to the present act and on the day of the date (below) in Dar al-Zikhlif, there appeared for judgment in front of the above notary certain determined members of the Awlad Sa'id of Bani Bu Frah, of the Awlad Ghadura and Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and his allies on the side of their brothers,

RS 671 669 687 648

the people of Bani Dar al-Zikhlif, the people of Agni, the people of the Awlad al-Hamdi ibn al-Qadi of Qubi'a, the people of Iharunen, the people of Igzinnayen[96] and the people of Bani Gmil, all agreeing among themselves, with respect to the defense of the border, (to impose) a fine of 2000 duros upon any of those mentioned who, in case of war in Dar al-Zikhlif, should flee through negligence (at a time when cooperation in border defense is needed) or should even proceed with cunning (in order not to fulfill the agreement), for which he shall pay the sum mentioned earlier in the present document.

RS 687 614 648

The allies of Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura who flee back to their homes in Dar al-Zikhlif shall pay the above amount to each one of the clans. A sum shall be levied from their hands by those indicated in the earlier part of the present document. Those of both clans mentioned who would appear for judgment in the act and combat against their own (people) remain exempt from payment[97], (the justification of) this procedure being that it is the only way to impose brotherhood and unity, and to cause extralimitation against them to cease.

000 He who attended the present agreement with both parties and heard from them what was agreed upon extended this to the requirement of those who solicited it.

At the end of the divine month of Rajab al-Fard of the year 1336 (May 9, 1918).

Servant of his God, (illegible).--(Signature).

RS 671 648

B) Commentary:

The above qanun, as a perusal of it indicates, represents an

616
613 While relationships with one's own and neighboring lineages, regulated by tradition, were maintained, the liff did not plead permanence as a hope of reward, but whenever injustice or violence, ripping up their pact or norms of coexistence, left an individual or his lineage-mates helpless, these latter attained in the liff a final support for their rights and in all cases a secure material refuge for their persons and possessions.

616
799 The liff must not be compared to European political parties (author's italics), for these are activated under a religious aegis or under a governmental form, both things being ones which did not enter into the preoccupations of the Rifians, for whom republics and Islam were points which did not admit controversy even in the slightest degree. Destined to a rude struggle for existence in a harsh and miserable environment, the speculations of the spirit had neither place nor occasion to make themselves felt in the fact of the other, primordial and undeferable.

616
182 To any presumed victims the liff was the best guarantee and forewarning, as through it individuals and social units were forced to bring about the alliances (author's italics) which they deemed necessary in order to oppose adverse forces; and thus they insured their own existence.

616
613 The mechanism of the liff worked the miracle, in the anarchical (sic) state of Rifian society, of permitting the coexistence of the
619 family or kin group or social unit (i.e. the lineage, on whatever level),
182 as small as it might be, among others more numerous in point of population with no diminution of its integrity; and this fact permitted the

616
613 survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian
619 Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were sur-
182 rounded by powerful neighbors.

616 Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family,
182 the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616 I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or
121 the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616 It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

671 This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the
614 clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe.
619 Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring
644 clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the
648 border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

505 With respect to merchandise, if because of a storm they lose all or part of it, the rest, once on land, is sold and the proceeds divided into equal parts by all the owners whose merchandise made up the boat's cargo, although the sales may not be from it (this is a kind of insurance); on the other hand, objects lost by the traveler have no indemnity at all. This favored and gave security to the business.

Once at the point of destination, the crew is in charge of unloading and storage on the beach or in the port, as well as custody of the cargo for three days, after which they are not responsible for loss or damages, and at the end of which they collect the proceeds of the freight from the consignee.

226 F) The Profession of Fishing:

The masters are chosen from among men known by everybody for their maritime knowledge and practice, and these in turn choose their crews.

The profession of fishing in jurisdictional waters, i.e. those which bathe the coast of the tribe (of Aith Waryaghar), was free, without subjection to taxes or any other obstacle, having no limitations other than that of not entering at the same time any area where another individual has his net spread, and of not entering certain others, such as the Cala del Quemado and Cala de Bonita, which because of the difficulties of their depths, a boat must not enter until the one inside has left. If two boats are waiting, the one which has first arrived in [64] the area enters first. Also, it is ordinarily permissible to fish in front of the coast of another tribe, provided that relations with this

226 tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not
[619] frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 823 184 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 443 492 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are afterwards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 685 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

312
571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

312
675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of riverain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work [181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for [648] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

423
675 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the
312 essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which we are studying it, in which tribe, its clans and smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

312 591 613 [402] lead the water to which he has a right in any of the main ditches into these three smaller ones. The ditch of Tuth, when it has water, moves the mill of Dharwa nd-Hajj Mis'aud. The irrigators of the Tafadhna ditch, whether the turn is interrupted or not, have the right to use that of Shimurra, but giving first choice to those who use it regularly.

16. QANUN OF THE NKUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 675 The Nkur River has an irrigation regimen which is less exact than that of the Ghis, and the written agreements on the distribution of its waters are few and recent. One of them refers to the division of waters between the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intervention of the Bureau of the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir).[146] In any case, the establishment of such agreements is based upon the same notions and the same norms as in those pertaining to the Ghis. A

312 [621] In the Middle and Upper Nkur, there is more than enough water to irrigate the meanders which the river has created, through which it is easy to affix by-laws to the 'azibs[147] of the neighboring jma'ths which own land on its banks, given the small amount of land under irrigation. [241] There is even freedom and waste, and it is not uncommon to see, during harvest time, the formation of tiny threshing floors with capricious irrigation-furrows of 300 and 500 meters in the middle of the river bed.

[619] There are meanders like Dhaghzwith n Dasa (upstream, in the territory of Axt Tuzin, and near the bridge on the right bank) and Dhazur-akhth (downstream, in the territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also right beside the same bridge, but on the left bank), which are of relatively large dimension and which have already stabilized turns; but the real difficulties and concomitant near-perfect solutions are

A, [See pp. 361-369--Analyst]

312 only found in the Lower Nkur, the principal water outlets of which,
[619] by acting as dividing lines between different tribes on both banks,[148] are Aghbar u Yidir, on the right bank and upstream from the Thanda Hawa pond; and Azru n Srith ("Rock of the Bride"), north of the former. The latter point is the most important, where the wide Plain of al-Husaima and the ditches which traverse it may truly be said to begin. In the accompanying diagram, all these points are indicated, as well as the principal ditches, the regimen of which we shall now indicate in outline, with the hope that these notes may someday serve as the basis of a more detailed study.

West Bank:

Dharga n Dahar: begins downstream and right beside the piste to the Thimsaman, bordering it and crossing the main Tetuan-Melilla road to
[402] end up in Imzuren. It moves three mills. It has two turns of twenty-
312 four hours each: one for the Qa'idate of Nkur (Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and
571 the other for that of l-Uta, the Plain. The latter, in turn, is divided into one-third for Imzuren and two-thirds for Aith Musa w 'Amar;[149] and this gives rise to the following cycle:[150]

1st Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

2nd Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar

3rd Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

4th Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar

5th Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

6th Day: Imzuren

312 Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan ("ditch of the small river"): In May 1938
[402] the flow of this ditch was 513 liters per second. It originates

312 Dharga n Tmsaman: This ditch in May 1938 had a flow of 256 liters per second. It is located on the same bank of the river, and down-
[402] stream from the Aghzar Amzzyan ditch. It moves two mills (one belonging to the Muhammad nd-Hajj Ussar, and the other to Muhammad n Tahir), and it has three turns, one for the tribe of the Thimsaman[156] and two for that of the Aith Waryaghar (lineage of Aith Musa w 'Amar, subclan of the Aith r-'Abbas, clan of the Aith 'Ari), as follows:[157]

1st Day: Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

2nd Day: Thimsaman

3rd Day: Ihankuren (Aith Musa w 'Amar)

The three other ditches on this bank, Sidd Jdid, Sidd 'Ain Harri and Sidd Swani, only have water in times of abundance:

Sidd Jdid: At the end of May 1938 this ditch had a flow of 40 liters per second. It originates one kilometer below Dharga n Tmsaman, in the crossroad from Bu Srama[158] and the (Spanish-built) airport to the Thimsaman.[159]

Sidd 'Ain Harri: Born near the road leading from the Granja of Imzuren to Truguth (Thimsaman).

Sidd Swani: The last ditch on the west bank of the Nkur, some two kilometers from the mouth of the river.

East Bank:

312 Dharga n Tufdhisth (???--"ditch of the hammer"??): At the point
619 called Aghbar u Yidir, in front of the mkhazniya post of Imnudh, up-
675 stream from the Thanda Hawa pond, a division of waters is originated
212 between the tribes of the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Waryaghar in equal
[103] parts, according to a document in the archives of the Bureau at Ajdir,[160] which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

21. THE QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH):[179]

224 The data which follow have been gathered principally among hunters
● 619 from the tribes of the Ibuqquyen, Aith Hadhifa (Aith Waryaghar), Zarqat, Targist, Aith 'Ammarth and Aith (or Bni) Mazduci; and they can be considered as general hunting qanuns for the region.

A) Significance:

224 182 Hunting in the Rif was neither a sport nor a profession in the European manner. It was a physiological necessity, and it is still 134 considered so today. A poor soil, accidented and dry, rendered it 312 difficult for the tribesmen to utilize its scarce sources of water; 262 and the consumption of meat was limited, because of the scarcity of animals (i.e. both domestic and wild) to Fridays, feast days, days on which pacts were concluded, days of illness, etc., and to market 262 days. As the Rifian is by necessity a vegetarian[180], sacrifices of 782 animals acquire the status of a rite, and they form a fundamental ceremony in the most transcendental and important acts of his life. Peace and war, pacts, births and deaths, rogations, etc., have to be 224 sealed with meat for greater solemnity and efficacy. In hunting, 782 therefore, Rifian society finds a physiological compensation in no 182 way negligible to its sober life and ancestral appetite for meat, the sacrifice in common and equitable distribution of which is subject to strict rules[181], the object of the most rigorous tradition and fiscalization in order not to squander the slender reserves, which are 000 appraised in a manner unsuspected by European minds. The European visitor who is entertained in a Rifian household is not in a position to appreciate sufficiently the hospitality which is offered to him,

000 and he acquires a false idea of the environment in which he finds himself.

B) Days and Sites:

224 619 689 For this reason, all the tribes had fixed days for hunting during the week; it was obligatory for all able-bodied men, and those who eluded such an obligation were penalized.[182]

224 This obligation, like all those which this society imposed upon its members, was not capricious, but served a utilitarian end and responded to a basic need. When the number of the line of beaters was greater, so were the probabilities of yield in the hunt, insuring with good practical sense the flushing of a greater amount of game, the consumption of which was the hunt's object most of the time. In most cases, as today, the meat was to be eaten in common, and never sold; for the Rifian, outside of the times of prohibition, the hunt must be free of all bonds and impositions, for today (1939), it if were not for the understandable tolerance of the Spanish tribal administration, the law would become a privilege for the European hunter, reserving for him a distraction or gain at the cost of the need of the tribesmen.

[796] Even today, the Rifians still continue to hunt on fixed days, ordinarily on Saturdays, but never on Fridays (day of rest) nor on market days; even so hunting is not obligatory in most villages. In the clan of the Izimmuren, in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen, people hunt on Saturdays or Mondays; in the Aith 'Ammarth, on Wednesdays, Saturdays or Sundays; in the Aith Hadhifa clan (Aith Waryaghar), on Thursdays or Saturdays; etc.

000 44--Which is unwritten in any case.

45--The Aith 'Abdallah are at once a clan and a "fifth" of the Aith Waryaghar.

46--In Rifian, Dhara n Tihrariyin, "the spring of the pure women(?)". The Tuesday Market once located there has not been functioning since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate, or earlier. The people of Aith 'Abdallah at present share a market, held on Mondays, with those of Aith Hadhifa; this market is located on the border of the two clan territories.

[614] 47--Sidi 'Amran is buried in the jma'th of Aith S'aid, in the subclan territory of Aith 'Aru Musa, one of two subclans of Aith 'Abdallah (the other being Aith Tmajurth).

[114] 48--Presumably with eleven of his agnates as cojurors, for twelve must swear in cases of suspected homicide; but there is no mention of this in the text and Blanco, whose knowledge of collective oaths in the Rif was sketchy, does not comment upon it.

[114] 49--Blanco's notions of Rifian segmentary lineage organization are somewhat deficient; for although the notion of a confederation of tribes might once have existed in the Rif (vide the liffs of Ghumara and Sinhaja), but during the "Republik" as described both by Blanco and myself, it most emphatically did not exist, nor does it exist today.

50--"Autonomous" would perhaps be a better word in this connection, for any segmentary system presupposes an interdependence of its component segments, upward, downward and laterally; and within the framework of such a system, maintained as it is by the principles of balance, oscillation and opposition, there is always some (and often very considerable) latitude for a (virtually or largely) autonomous existence on the part of individual segments, irrespective of the segmental level under consideration.

[619] 51--Because the Aith Waryaghar, in point of population, are the biggest tribe by far in the entire Rif (with the Igzinnayen following, at some distance), its clans may be functionally equated, in certain respects but not in others, with whole tribes elsewhere.

671 614 52--The Aith 'Adhiya are one of two subclans of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (the other being "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash), of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar. We have referred to it as Bani 'Adhiya rather than Aith 'Adhiya in the text itself, as this is how it appears in Arabic.

614 162 Although the Aith 'Adhiya are strictly speaking a subclan rather than a clan proper, as the Aith 'Abdallah are (see Chap. VI), they are nonetheless about the same size as the latter in point of population; and the whole clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with both subclans considered, is the biggest in the tribe, and by a rather wide margin (population 22,000 in 1960). This fact helps explain two things: 1) why the Aith 'Adhiya and the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash are in opposite liffs, and 2) why the qanun of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya deals with almost exactly the same matters as that of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah. Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash form one "fifth".

614 616 671 619

000

79--It seems that Blanco has mixed his references here. The qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah decrees the death penalty for murder in the market if the murderer be apprehended on the spot, and a fine of 2000 duros if he should escape; the qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya decrees a 2000-duro fine for murder in the market, with no mention of a death penalty; while the qanun of the Aith Khattab only decrees a 500-duro fine for market murder, as we have seen.

R [114]

80--It is very probable that women's markets are an old institution in the Rif, but an assumption of antiquity in terms of "thousands of years" seems rather extravagant!

81--This is an implicit acknowledgement of the role of balanced opposition in segmentary societies. See also Lewis, op. cit., 1961.

R [619]

82--Presumbly what is meant here is the ensemble of clans forming the tribe.

83--See R. Montagne, op. cit., 1930, passim.

84--It is not clear here whether Blanco refers to the domination of the imgharen of 'Abd al-Krim, or of the Spaniards.

85--This, in our opinion, is one of the most profound statements Blanco ever committed to print.

S 619 691

86--Blanco calls this tribe the Bni Siddat, but outside the qanun itself, we have given them the benefit of the doubt and have called them the Aith Siddat. They are entirely Berber-speaking (Sinhaja Srir dialect), and are one of eight tribes in the Sinhaja Srir confederacy, the others of which are Aith Khannus, Ktama, Aith Bu Nsar, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Bni Bu Shibt and Taghzut.

S 691 619 614 114

87--This is a shrewd inference on Blanco's part. We do not know if such was the case, but suspect that it was, particularly in view of the centralization of the Sinhaja Srir under the politico-religious leadership of the Shurfa Ikhamlijhen in Targist and elsewhere.

000

88--As the qanuns on the jma'th level do.

89--Here again, Blanco mistakes the ddiyith for the rhaqq.

S 681 614 312 691 173

90--A written law in only the qanuns with which Blanco has presented us here. Qanun documents in the Rif and the North in general are extremely scarce (unlike the Sus); for usually, the substance of the Rifian qanuns is contained not in documents but in the heads of the oldest surviving men; when they die off, all this material will have been forgotten.

91--For ddiyith, read rhaqq, and the same for the rest of this qanun.

000

92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

S 181 167 114 000

93--It is certainly true that the Aith Siddat are an infinitely smaller and vastly poorer tribe than the Aith Waryaghar; but it seems questionable to me to attempt to infer from the mere presence or absence of a given statement in a qanun that they are more zealous in guarding their property.

R [114]

94--As discussed in Der. Cons. Rif., at some length, liff means "alliance". Blanco, however, is guilty of a howling error here, for he transcribes it throughout the text as lift, which in Moroccan Arabic Arabic means "turnip"!

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 ~~MX3 Rif~~ MX3
Senhaja MX4
Aith Siddat

000 95--The two tribes in question are Bni Bu Frah and Bni Gmil, the former
S a predominantly Rifian even though largely Arabic-speaking tribe, and
[619] the latter, also predominantly Arabic speaking, disclaimed by both the
Rifians and the Sinhaja Srir.

R 96--A lineage of the clan of Agni, of the Bni Bu Frah, this unit, as
[613] indicated by its name, came from the tribe of the Igzinnayen. It is
the second of the two Rifian-speaking lineages of the Bni Bu Frah.

97--Two questions emerge here. First, the text refers to "both clans", when in actual fact Bni Bu Frah has four clans. This may, however, mean one of two things: a reference to Muhammad bin al-'Arbi, the Awlad Ghadura and their allies (Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura being considered as one clan and the allies as another), or it may in fact refer to the two liffs into which the tribe was split and thus embrace all four clans. The first, in context, seems more probable. This jibes with Blanco's statement, in the commentary (note 259), that the two clans in question are Agni and Ulad S'aid.

Secondly, we find, in the notion of payment for combatting their own people, a contradiction in terms. But this can probably be explained away by the fact that what this statement (which is highly unclear) probably refers to is that those who stay on the tribal border and combat any of their tribal brethren who try to evade the collective obligation by sneaking home are indeed exempt from payment of any fine, because their conduct has been exemplary.

R One further point: the fact that lineages from every clan of the
[613] Bni Bu Frah are mentioned in this border agreement suggests the total
[619] involvement of the tribe as well as, implicitly, that of all of the Bni
Gmil; for in small tribes, such involvement is total, whereas in large
S ones, such as the Aith Waryaghar or the Igzinnayen, this may not be
[619] (and indeed often is not) the case.

R 98--Even so, lineages from the other two clans of the Bni Bu Frah, Swa-
[613] hil and Ibuyihyathen, also appear to have been involved (see text of
[614] qanun); and presumably all or most of the Bni Gmil was involved as
S well, though this is nowhere stated in the text.
[619]

99--The mobility of tribal borders to which Blanco alludes here was quite relative; and it was far less great than, for instance, that among desert Bedouins, or even transhumants.

100--The liff system is perhaps a center-piece in Rifian political organization; but it is not the only one. There are other institutions with almost equal claims to primacy, such as the plural oath.

101--The liff system did bind together different social units, but always, let it be remembered, those of the same order or level of segmentation--unless, for example, a shift in alliance occurred, in which case it was possible for a liff to move upward or downward (in a structural sense) in gaining or losing new adherents.

It will be noted that the bulk of Blanco's commentary on liffs here is substantially the same as his chapter on the same subject in Der. Cons. Rif.

224
619
689
114
182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

224
671
[114]
[178]
We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanums are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000
183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114]
185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

224
628
613
614
186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.

A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]

175 The social facts are, however, somewhat clearer. The
648 Berber tribes of the Central Rif were a part of the bled-as-siba,
651 or that area in which the central Moroccan government (bled-al-makhzen) failed to exercise effective control. The boundary between the one and the other was determined by whether within the area in question the makhzen could or could not collect taxes. If a tribe had voluntarily or involuntarily submitted to the payment of tribute, there would be a royal intermediary, a qaid, to collect revenue. In the Rif such dominancy was not present until the Spanish, or in the case of the Igzirnayen, the French, were able to assert supremacy.

619 A complimentary feature of the bled-as-siba, at least as
(648) it obtained in the Central Rif, was that not only were the tribes independent of the makhzen but within any particular tribe itself, the internal segments of which it consisted were independent in most instances from one another. There was no tradition of centralization in this region. Each tribe (taqbitch) was divided
619 into segments of varying degrees of inclusiveness. The maximal
613 lineages or ar-rba agreed that they belonged to a common social group which was socially, geographically, and to some extent linguistically distinct from other taqbitch. This social entity was evoked more in terms of space than of time. If one lived within the spacial limits of the tribe one was a member of that group. However, rights and duties within the taqbitch were nebulous and a Riffian would only use his tribal identity to someone who was unacquainted with local political sub-divisions. As a

619 613 temporal entity the tribe was only rarely a corporate group as in times of invasion. Even on these occasions tribal-wide support was difficult to solidify since each lineage spokesman had the option of joining in or staying out. In a land where personal and familial enmity was so intense, it was not uncommon for a tribal segment to remain neutral or migrate away, temporarily or permanently, to avoid making common cause with tribal affiliates who might murder them. There were even occasions in which tribal segments allied themselves with an enemy tribe.

619 The social division which had a more frequent jural function was the ar-rba, the group which Coon designates as a 'canton.' The term itself comes from the Arabic and Berber word for the number four. The epistemology of the term is obscure. Some tribes, such as the Igzinnayen and Beni Wariyaghar, contain four of these subdivisions. Others, such as Thimsaman, contain two, and some taqbitch, such as Ibuqquyen and Tafarsith, are not divided into ar-rba at all. In these tribes the term for taqbitch and for ar-rba are used to designate the same set of people. The ar-rba contained both related families and strangers who had purchased land within the territorial limits of the ar-rba. Spacial proximity rather than kinship seems to have been the organizing principle. In tribes covering vast amounts of territory the ar-rba was a territorial division to meet whatever jural responsibilities which occurred within its limits. The smaller the number of tribesmen and of spacial expanse, the less necessary it was to have these subdivisions. Within the ar-rba

Within the ar-rba
619 there was a council (jemas) held irregularly to discuss and
[628] settle judicial matters generally pertaining to the blood feud.
[554] Only the more important families within the ar-rba had representation on the council.

613 The first social unit which is directly reflective of kin ties is the dharfiqth. Whereas tribal and ar-rba names refer to place names generally, the dharfiqth invariably carries the name of a real person, i.e. Aith 'Abdallah or Aith al-Qasim. The members of this group consider that they have a common agnate although they may not be able to demonstrate the genealogical linkage to this ancestor. The group theoretically includes all the sons of the founding ancestor and their offspring. Some dharfiquin seem to have increased in number and power while others grew smaller either through decimation in feuds or from splintering into rival dharfiquin. Solidarity seems to have rested mainly on sentiment, and in such an explosive atmosphere this is perhaps too fragile a mechanism for maintaining agnatic descent groups.

613 The dharfiqth is made up of a varying number of jujgu
596 which are localized patrilineal extended families which may be regarded as minimal lineages. Each ijujga consists of a man, his wife or wives, his married sons and their wives and children, along with his unmarried sons and daughters. When the referent of the ijujga dies, all his sons form separate and new jujgu. The composition of the ijujga is today an idealization since few
000 households contain the above list of relatives. Neolocality is

591 Neolocality is
178 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization. [613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijujga [596] traditional social obligations are still extant.

[602] The final social unit in the Rif is the local community
621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

1. [i.e., the ar-rba, or tribal levels--Analyst]

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is 621 622 appointed by the national government. While the appointment 657 is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem 622 631 may and usually does have administrative responsibility over 619 more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

623 [554] Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, 623 178 before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed [657] by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

582 Within any one dharfiqth
[613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzimayen than for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
565 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects
582 from which to draw.

582 The main structural consequence of the absence of pro-
602 scriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity
611 at any level of social organization beyond the extended family. Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal prin-
611 ciple. Although rights in property and children almost always
602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle. A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

---

582 of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more
114 correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor
[829] a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong. It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we prepared to attend exactly such a union.

585 On the day before the bride goes from her home to the home of the groom's father, and after the procession collecting the grama has occurred, celebrations are held in the homes of both [574] the bride and the groom. Patri- and matrilineal kinsmen as well as friends are invited to each house. If the marriage is between related persons, the kinsmen go to the house of the person with whom they have the closest connection either in terms of nearness [582] of kinship, friendship, or both. Since marriage for the majority of the fellah occur in a close community and often with relatives, the parties are often held in adjoining houses or at least in quite nearby places. In such cases the guests often move from one party to another. The ceremony which takes place at the bride's house is also financed by the groom's family, who send over the necessary animals, bread, oil, and so forth. At the bride's house her girlhood friends dance and sing in the patio [302] for the entertainment of the ensemble. The bride's hands are [431] painted with henna during a ceremony in which each of her girl friends and older female relatives gives her a small gift (grama).

585 At the groom's house a similar ceremony takes place. If 533 the father is wealthy, or even if poor but with sufficient social 463 credit, he will hire professional musicians who play, sing and [464] dance at the home of the groom on this night and the following [465] one. These musicians, who receive $20 to $40 for the celebration, also take up contributions from the assembled guests. There is [619] a tribal fraction in the Beni Tuzin who, for obscure reasons, have taken up this occupation as their professional speciality.

631 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism
692 was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally promi-
556 nent man is generally efficacious since government representatives
554 attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation
571 between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 The national government is well aware of the actual dual
648 organization of political power in the country. While every
556 Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he
619 does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

641 To partake in such leadership requires wealth since the trip
648 itself is expensive (the only form of public transportation
556 from the Rif to Rabat is by bus and these men eschew this in
619 favor of splitting the expense of a taxi ride of several hundred
[494] miles) and the per diem allowance is more a token than anything realistic.

Some men have gracefully retired from positions of community leadership because of expenses such as these. If over a period of years one declines to go to such ceremonies because of ill health or pressing familial affairs, the person is quietly dropped from the list of the invited and another local man is
556 subatituted. Expenses for maintaining such a social position are not small in relationship to the amount of wealth available even to the better-off Berber. On the other hand, wealth alone does not qualify one for a position of political prominence and social prestige. The importance of a man is based not on his wealth <u>per se</u> but rather what sort of wealth it is and how he came by it. Wealth divorced from such critical factors cannot be translated by the Riffian into socially meaningful significance. To operate within the context of profit is to operate outside the complex of social responsibility and communal soli-
556 darity. Thus while there are entrepreneurs in the Rif, they do
472 not have the social prestige that goes with traditional wealth in land. This distinction could be illustrated by numerous examples but the following cases were selected because they

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

RJS
101
102
619
131
133

Fig. 2. Northern Morocco: tribal divisions.

/p. 2/

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebies* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[4]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443]

One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[5] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[6] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[4] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443. [113]

[5] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

[6] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[10]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[10] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[10] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961

MX3 Rif MX3 ●
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

JSR
102
197
619

Fig. 12. Northern Morocco: distribution of Arabic and Berber speech.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

is extended into an L- or U-shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16). In Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair, growing families are often accommodated by the addition of a second story, but this type of architecture is rare in the deforested areas of Jbala and the Rif.

The necessary conditions of settlement are adequate amounts of land and a reliable source of water. Water is the more critical requirement. There must be sufficient water for drinking, watering the animals, washing clothes, taking an occasional bath, and, if possible, operating a grist mill. The runoff of the stream should be sufficient to irrigate a few precious plots of terraced land in which to grow vegetables and protein-rich legumes. In Jbala most hamlets appear on ridges overlooking the cultivated land. In Sanhaja as-Srair the preferred settlement sites are near the bottoms of valleys, close to perennial streams. Settlement forms a continuous line where terraces can be constructed along a large stream. The valley of Abd al-Ghaya in Ktama is a narrow ribbon of terraces and houses, stretching ten kilometers. In the valley of Taghzut the ribbon form of settlement is even more striking.[1] The concentration of settlement in deep valleys imposes severe barriers to communication. In Bani Hmid and Bani Bu Shibat, neighboring hamlets are often separated by ridges towering several hundred meters above the inhabited land. Similar problems are created by the deep ravines on the Ghmaran coast. To visit a friend or reach the nearest market, many tribesmen must spend hours on tortuous trails. In the steepest valleys, settlements are themselves terraced, like the cultivated land.

In most of the Rif the terms "hamlet" and "village" are complete misnomers. Reflecting the independent spirit of their owners, Rifian houses are separated by at least a hundred meters; in Aith Wariyaghar the usual spacing is three hundred meters,[2] and in former generations each house had a corner tower used as a lookout and blockhouse. The houses that make up a lineage unit are usually closer to one another than they are to those of any other unit, but a man must walk a short distance to visit his brother. In Sanhaja as-Srair, however, he would have only a few steps to walk. In Jbala and Ghmara the houses of kinsmen often have common walls. In most of Morocco, and especially in the Rif, houses are located in territory that indisputably belongs to one tribe or another. Border zones are seldom used except as range land, and in former generations even this use led to violent conflicts.

Types of Houses

In the whole of Morocco there are at least seven distinct types of houses. In the Gharb and in most of the coastal zone between Rabat and Wad Lukkus, the common house is a crude conical structure (*nouala*) of cane and thatch. On the southern slopes of the Atlas and in the oases of the pre-Saharan zone, houses are huge multistory structures (*qsar*) made of rammed mud blocks. On the northern slopes of the High Atlas, houses are built of stone, and resemble solid little blocks.

[1] See the aerial photographs of Taghzut in Jules Blache, "Modes of Life in the Moroccan Countryside," *Geog. Rev.*, 11 (1921), 501.

[2] A. Sánchez Pérez, "Datos historicos sobre ciudades rifeñas," in *Selecciones de conferencias y trabajos realizados durante el curso de interventores, 1951–52* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1952), describes this distance as "el radio mínimo del espacio vital que un Rifeño de buena raza necesita para respirar a sus anchas."

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif MX3

623 minor points of difference, the men let them arbitrate and set fines
867 of a few eggs or loaves of bread, for their own consumption. Having thus learned the routine of sitting in judgment and also some of the oral qanūns, the boys are ready for the serious business ahead.

623 Once a week, when the nearest market meets, the older men of
627 the neighboring villages, corresponding to the "brains" of the Kabyles, meet in a house just off the grounds, or in good weather, under a tree. Over glasses of tea they settle any disputes which may
628 come up in the market or which litigants may bring them. When
619 more serious matters arise, such as the trouble between the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmut, the councilors of a single geographical unit, consisting of several clans, come together. They must be fed, and it is in the interest of the feuding parties to make a speedy settlement, with fines and blood money. Fines go to the councilors, who eat part and divide the rest. Blood money goes to the kin of the wounded or dead. If these councilors cannot settle the problem, the "fifth" is invoked—the whole series of little valleys and watershed cantons which forms the next largest political unit. Some tribes have only one "fifth," but Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel each have five. If the "fifth" cannot settle the dispute, and the bloodshed spreads, then all the fifths join in. If the whole tribe is embroiled, the councilors of another tribe may invade and catch them unawares, to their great loss. The longer the fight remains unsettled the greater the number of participants, each new and larger body trying to capitalize on the confusion of the partisans.

It can be readily seen that few troubles reach intertribal proportions. This device of government in depth works. Feuding keeps the population down, and the fear of interference keeps the feud isolated and within bounds. Chronic troublemakers, and those who break the rules, must go. On the other hand when some outside force threatens more than a small portion of the Rif, the mechanism is at hand for all to unite, forcefully if ephemerally. The elders of one clan perform a compulsion of shame on another, thus forcing them into alliance, called *lif*, as elsewhere. As the danger grows, so
643 does the lif. In this manner 'Abd el-Krīm (who had been educated by
721 the Spaniards) set up a government of the whole Rif, which defeated Spain in two great battles in 1921 and 1924, and but for the use of aircraft and tanks by his enemy, might have held the French army indefinitely at bay. No sultan had ever been able to conquer this classic corner of the Land of Insolence, which is all the more remark-

/175 cont./

000 a canton of the east and a canton of the west. During the last century their struggle was carried on without respite, with the backing of the neighboring tribes. When ʿAbd el Kerim, master of the Rif and of the Jbel, decided in 1925 to make Targist the redoubt of his defense, the memory of the internal divisions was still so alive that he had to name a "pasha" to the command of each of the hostile cantons.

631 634 619 XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- Perhaps, however, in this part of the Rif it is difficult to find out by means of what institution the canton preserves its personality and its own life; the underlying cause of this state of division of the country into small units of equal importance seems less apparent and more mysterious here than anywhere else. In fact, we no longer find councils of notables made up in so precise a way as in the western Jbel and the Moroccan South. In the high valleys that descend from the Tidighin, it is all the warriors under arms who come to be present at the deliberations of the village, of the "khoms," or of the tribe. The assembly then takes the name of "agrao" (1).

1. Berbère /Berber/ "agrao," plur. "igraoun," noun derived from the verb "grou," to meet (Biarnay, Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif /Study of the Berber Dialects of the Rif/, p. 70). The "agrao" corresponds to the "ajmoʿa" of the Ida Ou Tanan, to the "jemaʿa" of Kabylie /Kabylia/.

631 634 619 792 578 Discord and tumult would undoubtedly break out in it very quickly, if the marabouts of the family of the Khemalcha did not practice their arbitration between the hostile parties. Thanks to their pacifying role, these religious leaders colonized the whole country to their advantage and threw a sort of network of zaouïas over the mountains; they are, moreover, clever in the art of stirring up intrigues in order immediately to be able, thanks to their baraka, to stop the conflicts.

/175 cont./

631 In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni
619 Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still
634 looser (2).

2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" [131] possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. More- [792] over, the marabouts form a supplementary "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

[578] In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^{c}," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

792 /176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the develop-
578 ment of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

/176 cont./

631 The "igraoun" become for all the family groups the occasion to
634 measure their strength, and it very often happens, when the tribe
619 is left to itself, that all government disappears to make way for domination by the most bellicose.

Nevertheless, even in these unfavorable circumstances, the feeling of the unity of the territory exists, and, despite private wars, the assembly of the clans that forms the council of the "khoms" still keeps, by a prodigy of collective memory, the precise notion of the territorial limits. One sees it reappear intact when the common interests are threatened.

631 There exist in the north of Morocco, as in the south, above
619 the tribes, larger groups that merit the name of confederations: they are, on the one hand, the Ghomara, made up of nine tribes, between the Ouringa, Chichaouen, and Tigissas, and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair around the Tidighin, who bring together ten. Those are the remains -- the witnesses, one might say -- of two ethnic masses -- Ghomara and Senhaja -- whose struggles have filled almost all the history of the country. We shall soon see how in our time, when the war between the two races is subsiding, there is appearing among the tribes detached from one or the other of the two confederations the idea of league or of political party, which is being substituted for the old belief in a common origin. It is nontheless interesting to observe here that these two confederations, which have best preserved the historic tradition of the two great enemy races of the Senhaja and Ghomara, are only, however, almost inorganic masses of tribes, which have only fragile and poorly defined bonds between them (1).

1. The Ghomara tribes are united above all by their historical traditions. They have, however, kept a meeting center, Aïn Hajer, and a hierarchical order (Beni Bouzra, Beni /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Gmil, Beni Khaled, Beni Selman, Beni Ziyat, Beni Zedjel, Beni Rzin, Beni Grir, Mtiwa).

631
.619
[191]

/176 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ The tribes forming the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair have not, to our knowledge at least, any common institution. These two groups have partially submitted to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and sometimes received leaders who commanded nominally at least the totality of the tribes.

It seems that here again the confederations exist /177/ like empty cadres, in which the tribes and khoms live as they like and conclude alliances in complete independence, as if in the relative calm of our time, which succeeds the furious wars of the past, the weakest units were being constituted little by little and becoming conscious of their particular interests and their needs.

000 XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "ᶜarch." -- One of the most singular characteristics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/ is the existence of a population whose density is often greater than that of the French territory. Most often one does not find little hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda, but rather large villages of 100 to 150 houses, which have maintained a surprising internal activity up to our day. Republican institutions are more developed there than in the South of Morocco, and the customary law has resisted, after 80 years of conquest, the political and economic transformation of the country (1).

1. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun [kanoun, see p. 492]/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

In former times the villages were grouped, three or four in number, to form a tribe, "ᶜarch." The "ᶜarch" entered into an arrangement to constitute confederations to which the name of "qbila" was given.

/206 cont./

616
171

/footnote 1 continued/ carried out on the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and the Senhaja. The precise identification that he has made of a large number of points or of tribes mentioned by El Bekri /al-Bakri/ and Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ permits finding again the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and measuring the importance of their enemies' progress in the course of the centuries. We have used his valuable information in the pages that follow and have given, according to his research, the outline of the ancient peopling of the Moroccan North in the map of the Senhaja and Ghomara tribes appended to this study.

In the region of the Habt, and in a more general way among all the tribes of the western Jbel, "Senhaja" and "Ghomara" are "ʿalam," "flags," behind which are ranged the small independent political units of the Moroccan North in order to confront one another. As in the Anti-Atlas, entire tribes enter into each of the leagues; it is rare that two small states belonging to the same "ʿalam" come to blows, whereas war is almost always breaking out between "Senhaja" and "Ghomara." As in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ also, neighbors side with their brothers, and the fight spreads over vast regions following a local conflict. The

616
•619
171

leffs are very stable, as is proved by the existence of a curious classification attributed to a personage unknown elsewhere, called "Bou Tyour," the "bird man." In the list of "Bou Tyour," each tribe is designated by an animal -- bird, mammal, or insect -- or even by an object, and some simple rules should permit one, it is said, to find the leff of origin by remembering the surname. Sometimes the names of animals whose consumption is licit are applied to the "Ghomara," while those that are forbidden by religious law are "Senhaja"; or else "everything that

/206 cont./

616 .619 171

can be eaten" would be "Ghomara," with the exception of fish (Jaïa) or crabs (Beni Ahmed), the "Ghomara" having been "eaten," according to tradition, and conquered by the Senhaja foreigners, veiled with the litham /veil/ and coming from Lamtouna (2);

2. Lévi-Provençal, loc. cit.

yet again, the "Ghomara" would be /207/ designated by birds (1),

1. The Ghomara have for an emblem, in the list of Bou Tyour, a small bird that is called "aqouj." Perhaps it is possible to compare these bird surnames, of totemic appearance, with the ancient custom that the Ghomara would have had of picturing God in the aspects of a bird (From the qasida /kasida/ of Ibn ᶜArdoun). This information has been given to us by M. G.-S. Colin.

the "Senhaja" by other animals (2).

2. There is also the custom of designating tribes by the name of an animal or object in the South of Morocco, but these sobriquets have nothing to do with the classification of the leffs. We have thus turned up the following surnames in the central Anti-Atlas: Aït Tisgi : Id bi Igherdaïn (the rats); Aït Wagrou : Iougra (the frogs); Ida Ou Martiyn : Tikida (the carob tree); Ida Ou Finis : Id bou leqchour (pomegranate rind); Ida Ou Kensous : Id Bouilamen (the sound /Fr. le son, "the sound" or "the bran"/); Ind Ou Nadif : Id Warseba (the bearers of bad luck); Aït Tagmout : Id bou Maghous (the bitterness); Aït Ousa : Id

/207 cont./

616
619
171

/footnote 2 continued/ Biqousasen (the green figs); Aït Oughgoummi : Ibougha (the foxes); Aït Tikiwit : Anziden (the argan-tree rats); Aït Tiyout : Id bou Ifedam (the palm fiber); Irasen : Ifkharen (the potters); Aït Tmighat : Tighitten (the goats); Aït Mrait : Tatten (the ewes), etc. ... These appellations are most often considered insulting.

000 Among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the center, in the region of the Beni Zerwal and the Senhaja of Srair, the hostility between the two parties appears less passionate than among the tribes in the vicinity of the Ocean, and it is transformed into a mere antipathy preserved as a memory of the furious fights of the past (3).

3. Among the Jbala of the East, such as Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja of Gheddo.

The two large leffs no longer play their role in the recent wars, and they have not been seen to oppose each other since the end of the last century. Still more to the East, between the Nkor and the Moulouya, the list of "Bou Tyour" is unknown; nevertheless the tribes still range themselves in one or the other of the two parties. The leffs are no more than a mere historical memory there.

616
648
174

In spite of the slight activity shown in our day by the leffs of the north of Morocco, it is nevertheless certain that the hostility of the Senhaja and the Ghomara in the past was very passionate. Beyond the historical evidence, we have proof of it in the fact that everyone still knows for a great distance the name of the tribes allied to his own. It is therefore much easier than in the Atlas of the Masmouda to reconstruct the general arrangement of the alliances, although each informant is scarcely acquainted with any territory except that of his own tribe.

/207 cont./

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units. Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand,
• [619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of
[131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah, around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/ plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

121 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the
178 Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Mo-
616 rocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched
131 over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

/208 cont./

619 131 ʿAlam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only [563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri. [127]

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The [616] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the [648] other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

619 131 At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

2: Montagne--280 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Left side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619

2: Montagne--281 , E-5 , (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Center part of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619

The two Leffs of the North of Morocco in the 20th century
The territories of the Tribes of the Senhaja àlam are shaded; those of the Tribes of the Ghomara àlam are in white

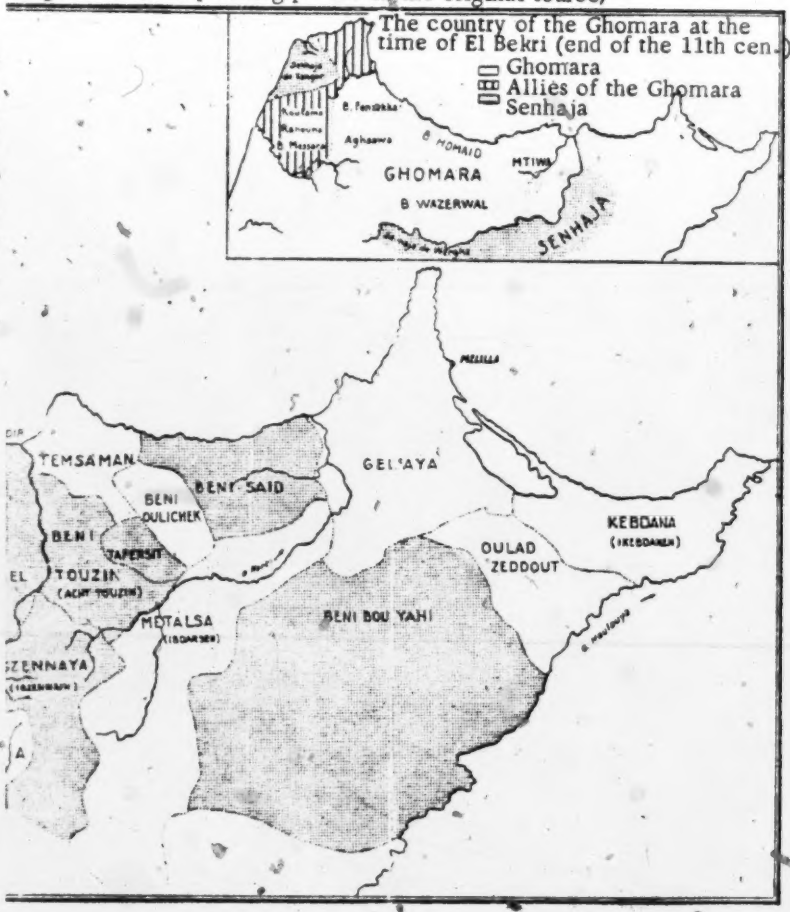
Scale 1/600.000

/"Sreir" is spelled "Srair" in the text./

2: Montagne--282 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Right side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

102
131
133
616
619



/209 cont./

619 131 territory of the Koutama and of Taghzout. Badès, according to Idrisi, was the eastern limit of the bloc of the Ghomara; the present Spanish name of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera would suffice to prove that it was their port.

To the East were still found, between Badès and Ghassasa, in the vicinity of the cape Tres Forcas, Senhajian and Ghomarian populations, which, in the first centuries of the Hejira, had constituted the kingdom of Nekor of the Banou Salih, before the destruction of the town of Nekor at the beginning of the eleventh century (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 139.

[648] Moreover it is not impossible that the internal wars that deeply disturbed the life of this small State were caused by the permanent hostility of the two races.

195 648 What were the historic causes of the attack led by the Senhaja against the country of the Ghomara? Already at the time of Idrisi in the twelfth century, the latter had suffered a serious check, since their territory had been reduced toward the South, to the advantage of the Senhaja, by a just punishment from God, "because of their numerous sins, the weakness of their Islam, their perseverance in practicing adultery with complete freedom," and all their other crimes (3).

[113] 3. El Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, text p. 170.

It is the succession of defeats that they suffered that is alluded to, as we have seen, in the classification of "Bou Tyour," /210/ in which the Ghomara are represented by animals "capable of being eaten."

But it is not possible to explain solely by the advance of Senhaja elements, who doubtless came originally from the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ for the acquisition of better lands,

/210 cont./

175 the present equilibrium of the tribes of the two leffs in the west-
648 ern part of the Jbala. First of all, elements foreign to the two races took part for one or the other of the adversaries, according to historical circumstances. Already in the eleventh century the Koutama were counting themselves with the Masmouda of the Habt; Nefzawa elements, such as the Soumata and the Ghessassa, small tribes of the group of the Aureba, such as the Jaya, Mezziat, Reghiwa, the group of the Branès, later some Zénète invaders, such as the Metalsa, had to choose a side and join one or the other of the alliances. Other groups, in submitting to the conqueror of the moment, even abandoned their leff of origin; thus it is that at present the Rhouna pass themselves off as Senhaja, whereas they belong to the other race. Koutama fractions were absorbed into the Senhaja of Srair; they are now part of their confederation; by contrast, the Boqqoya, Senhaja in origin, according to Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, count themselves today in the "ʿalam" of the Ghomara. The Khlot, Arabs settled on the territory of the Beni Hassan, naturally attached themselves to the leff hostile to those whose place they were taking.

648 It is easy, moreover, to imagine how, through the effect of
[174] internal divisions and local wars, the weakest groups were to detach themselves from the homogeneous mass of the tribes of their race and find themselves carried along little by little into new alliances more congenial to their inclinations or to their habitual interests. Still today, observes M. Michaux-Bellaire: "the small mountain tribes, incapable of defending themselves and preserving their independence, live under the protection and under the domination of a nearby large tribe to which they pay tribute ...
[619] Two large tribes often dispute with arms the superiority over one of these little tribes and the little tribe at issue successively becomes Senhadjian or Ghomarian ..." (1).

1. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," p. 6.

/210 cont./

619 648 Thus it is that there is substituted, little by little, for the idea of a struggle of races that of "ᶜalam," of political and military alliance. /211/ Examples of groups that have thus changed sides are given still in our day: the Mtiwa of the Rif, it is said at present, were formerly Senhaja, after having been Ghomara several centuries ago. They became Ghomara again; likewise, the Oulad Bou Slama, a small tribe formerly attached to the Senhaja of Srair, passed over to the Ghomari "ᶜalam"; by such changes of alliance, voluntary or forced, is thus doubtless explained the presence, in the center of the former country of the Ghomara, of groups of the Beni Ider, Beni Gorfet, Rehouna, of the Senhaji "ᶜalam."

619 616 648 Many points still remain obscure, it is true, in the distribution of the tribes of the Moroccan North between the two leffs. The presence of Senhaja groups around Tétouan, the existence of two groups of Beni Saïd from the same leff on the coast at the two extremities of the Rif, the descent of the Senhaja of Srair toward Yallich, which they regard as their port, or the possession of Nekor by the Beni Ouriaghel are facts that seem to us poorly explained. Nevertheless it suffices to examine the map of the two "ᶜalam" in our time and to compare it with the indications of the Arab historians and geographers on the origin and ancient position of the tribes in order to be convinced of one important fact: by the normal interaction of the life of the sedentary tribes, the opposition that takes the form of war between two races tends to disappear; it becomes that of two large political leffs that little by little become balanced, fraction their units, so that in the chain of the Rif peopled with Senhaja and Ghomara the struggle of the tribes comes to grow similar, thanks to the forgetting of origins, to that of the cantons of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda (1).

1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 105, on the large leffs, Beni Snassen and Angad.

/238 cont./

121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 361 621 632 [619] the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 613 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 114 [171] It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes, large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living grouped in hamlets. The "mouda^{c}" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to deliber-
621 ate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

/294 cont./

634 792 182 This expansion of the religious forces smothers the free political life of the mountain populations, and even when a family head succeeds in dominating the neighboring villages and becoming amghar of an entire khoms, he remains the respectful servant of the holy personages who maintain in the tribes the tradition of Islam, hate of the Christian, and direct, without ever appearing, the debates of the little assemblies.

/295/ It is only where the grip of the marabouts and shorfa relaxes for a time and in the regions that are not entirely given over to private wars that the ambition of the minor amghars can be given free rein for some years. Indeed, we see them appear on the north versant of the chain of the Rif, out of the reach of the zaouias established on the summits, in the tribes of the Ghomara, among the Beni Bou Frah, the Beni Gmil, the Mestasa, and to the south of the Jbel Hammam, in the country of the Gzennaya at the sources of the Nkor, or in the tribe of the Beni Amret.

634 619 Although the internal life of these tribes at the end of the nineteenth century is less well known to us than that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it is nevertheless possible to find again the conditions in which the amghars of the western Rif grew important, up to the moment when the effort attempted by ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ to constitute a Riffian State made them disappear at a single blow.

619 648 The anarchy in the country and disturbances that occurred in the tribe of the Boqqoya had made necessary, at the beginning of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd el ʿAziz, the sending of a strong harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the organization of the tribes was entrusted to the kaid Boucheta el Baghdadi, of the guich /gish/ of the Sultan, who in our day has become Pasha of Fès /Fez/. The garrisons billeted in the old casbahs of Tafersit and Snada, supported by a small steamer of the sherifian fleet in the bay of Alhucémas, sufficed at this time to restore order. The command of the tribal "khoms" was then entrusted to the chiefs [614] of the most powerful clans, named sheiks for the occasion. The dissensions of the mountain "khoms," which had previously ended

619 648 /295 cont./ in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-[171] [681] [434] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] [581] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

/401 cont./

000 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him [578] first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe; after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his [619] brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert, Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and

175 631 669 648

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

KINSHIP GROUPS AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS

[594] 614 [591] THE smallest social grouping in the Rif is, of course, the biological family, consisting of father, mother, and offspring; but the importance of this fundamental group is often obscured by the large family group called *awar* (plural *iwaren*), or "vein."[1] The *vein* consists of a father, his wives, descendants, and descendants' wives, and his brothers, their wives, descendants, and descendants' wives. Since Riffian society is patrilineal and families are usually patronymic, daughters who have married into another *vein* become affiliated with the group into which they have married, and offspring of these daughters are considered to belong to their fathers' *veins*. When the brothers composing the oldest generation in a *vein* die, it splits into as many *veins* as there were brothers. Thus the sons of each deceased brother become the brothers forming the elder stratum of the new *vein*. In this way during the course of generations a single union of a man and his wife may give rise to numerous related *veins*.

614 ● 621 These related *veins* collectively take the name of *iqhs* (plural *ikhsan*), or "bone."[2] The *bone* is, however, something more important than a mere collection of related *veins*. In regions of sedentary life it generally takes the form of a village, or politically independent section of a village, and may include *veins* descended not only from the eponymous ancestor of the *bone* but also from strangers who have been adopted into the *bone*. The arrival of these strangers who become ancestors of spurious *veins* is due to the Riffian custom of selling property in order to pay fines or blood money assessed by the governing body. A man who has sold all his landed property and livestock in order to meet such an obligation feels ashamed to remain in his own village and often fears reprisal for his offence, and migrates, generally swiftly and secretly, to some other part of the Rif. When he has arrived at a sufficiently distant village, he hires himself out to a landowner in that village, or, if he seems to be a valuable potential adjunct to the village's military forces, is given land by popular subscription. He thus becomes a member of the *bone* into which his ill-fortune has thrust him, and is expected to marry into this *bone*, generally taking as wife a daughter of the man who first employed and sheltered him, if that man happens to have a daughter available. The newcomer and his wife become the forebears of a new *vein* in the *bone*, and this new *vein* may in turn split time after time until the *bone* contains a large number of alien *veins*. The *veins* descended from strangers exist under the disadvantage that they are not allowed any part in the government,[3] but are at the same time expected to contribute

[1] "Vein" is the literal translation of this word. I have discovered no sociological term in the English language exactly comparable to it, and hence have decided that to translate it literally, and to render this translation consistently throughout, will be less confusing to the reader than to leave it in its Berber form. In describing a highly complex social organization such as is found in the Rif clarity is of greater importance than philological exactitude.

[2] "Bone" is the literal translation, and has been retained through lack of any exact equivalent, although either "sib" or "gens" might be loosely applied. The endogamic character of the bone is not implied in either of these terms.

[3] Wherever the Riffian type of government is found, this is true. Under the Arab system the stranger restriction naturally cannot apply.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

their full share to any martial activity in which the *bone* participates; regarding this lack of balance as unfair, members of alien *veins* split off from the parent *bone* whenever possible, forming new *bones* with their own local government, and, in the course of time, with equal consideration in the larger governmental institutions. The new *bone* thus created may take as its name that of the wife of the adopted alien ancestor, since it was his wife and not he who belonged to the original indigenous strain. In that way one may explain many of the matronymic *bones* which occur frequently in the Rif.

Splitting of one *bone* into several may occur, however, without the necessity of alien immigration. If the *bone* becomes too large to be conveniently administered, if discord arises between two or more parties of *veins*, or if some of the *veins* migrate, voluntarily or through pressure, to a new locality, the *bone* splits up.

Sometimes a *vein* divides, some of the brothers staying at home and others migrating. In this case the original *vein* may never expand sufficiently to take on the status of a *bone*, whereas the brothers who migrated may have had numerous progeny and have become, in a relatively short time, the ancestors of separate *bones*. An example of this is the family of *Oshannen*, or jackals, a *vein* of the *bone* of Tiddest in Ikhuanen of Gzennaya. Two members of the Oshannen migrated, one going to Temsaman and the other to Beni Said. Now, the Oshannen of Temsaman and the Oshannen of Beni Said are not only separate *bones* in these tribes but have furthermore risen to the highest administrative authority in them. The Kaid Bu Kaddur of Temsaman and the Kaid Moh Amar n Woshun of Beni Said are both descendants of the original migrants from the *vein* of Oshannen of Tiddest.

A different situation is found in the tribes of Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Galiya, Kebdana, and, to a slight extent, Beni Said. Among these tribes are found both *veins* and *bones* composed of strangers called *igharbiyen*, reputed to be of Arab origin. The Igharbiyen are allowed an equal part in the government, and are in no way discriminated against as are members of alien Riffian *veins* among the *bones* of the central Rif. In Beni Said, however, an exception to this is found. The Igharbiyen among the Beni Said are few in number, and are subject not only to the restriction against alien *veins* which is found in the central Rif, but also to that against their *bones*, which are not allowed a part in higher councils.

Families of Zenatan origin in Beni Tuzin, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, are subject to no discrimination whatever. The single families of Zenata in Gzennaya, Temsaman, and Beni Bu Ifrur are given the standing of *bones*.

Although one finds in the Rif numerous *bones* of immigrant groups, both Igharbiyen and Zenata, no trace of any moiety organization is visible, even among the Beni Tuzin, whose very name, *Ashi Uzin*, means, in their own language, "the children of the half." [1]

Next after the *bone*, which is a true family group and is dependent upon kinship and adoption, comes the division known as *arrba'* (plural *roboa'*), derived from the Arabic word meaning "a fourth." In the present volume it will be called "canton." [2] The *canton* is a group of *bones* which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical

[1] See p. 36, n. 7.

[2] Here again is a term with no ready equivalent. I have avoided "fourth," the literal translation, because such a designation would imply that it is greater than the *fifth*, when the opposite is true. Furthermore, there is no extant valid reason for the name *fourth* in Berberized Arabic. "Canton" seems to express the idea of geographical and political unity without an implication of kinship, and hence is applied to the present social phenomenon.

For comment on this, see the 111 slip. – Analyst

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

unit-area, such as a valley with its contiguous mountains up to their crests. Relationship between the *bones* composing a *canton* depends on whether or not the *bone* of oldest standing has split to form other groups, and whether or not immigrant *bones* have entered or been formed by the enlargement of *veins* descended from strangers. In most *cantons* one finds both related and unrelated *bones*. Loyalty within the *canton* is seldom very strong, and in many if not most instances wars have been fought within *cantons*.

Beyond the *canton* one finds a still larger division, the *thakhemesth* (plural *thikhemesin*), or "fifth,"[1] so called because each *thakhemesth* in the tribe receives one fifth of the booty after a successful tribal war, and because tribes which are divided into *fifths* always contain five such divisions. This group again is dependent upon geography rather than upon blood, although many *bones* in the same *fifth*, even in different *cantons*, are allied by marriage and hence in war.

Beyond the *fifth* is the tribe, called *thakabitch*, a word derived from the Arabic *kabila*.[2] In most cases the tribe is equivalent to one *fifth*, and the latter word is not used, the term *thakabitch* being applied directly above *canton*. The tribes divided into five *fifths* are Galiya, Temsaman, Beni Urriaghel, and Gzennaya. Those of Galiya are Mazuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer, Beni Bu Ifrur, and Beni [illegible]del. Those of Beni Urriaghel are Aith Yusuf u Ari, Aith Abdullah, Aith Ari, Imrabten, and Beni Bu Ayesh. Those of Gzennaya are Beni Yunes, Beni Asem, Beni Mohammed, Imsdurar, and Asht Aru u Issa. In naming these *fifths* I have given the names most commonly known to the outside world, Berber or Arab as the case may be. In Temsaman there are really but two actual *fifths*, Truguth and Hathith n Temsaman. The other three so-called *fifths* are merely combinations of two *bones* each, classed in pairs for the sole purpose of dividing spoils. These are Asht Daud and Sidi Shaib u Ftah, Bu Thinar and Oshannen, and Amzauru and Tizi Azza. They are given this special standing because Temsaman is too powerful to be relegated to the position of a single *fifth*, and because these *bones* are able to support their position by arms.

SOCIAL CLASSES

The Riffians, democratic as they are, nevertheless distinguish several social classes between which marriage is forbidden. The vast body of Riffians, whether descended from old Riffian stock, from Senhaja, Zenata, or Igharbiyen, consider themselves socially more or less equal, and do not hesitate, when exogamy is desirable for purposes of alliance, to take wives from other *bones*. Yet there is a definite lower class, considered to be not only immigrant but Negroid as well, with which alliances are, in some tribes (Gzennaya, Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, and Temsaman), strictly forbidden, and in others are followed by the social debasement of the Riffian marrying among them. These are the so-called *imazilen* (singular *amazil*) or "Shameless Ones,"[3] who carry on the three hereditary trades of blacksmithing, piping at weddings, and acting as public criers, measurers and weighers in markets. All these trades require a degree of publicity, of self-exposure in crowds — and since the Riffian

[1] The literal translation, "fifth," applies so well here that I have retained it. Most authorities call this division a "fraction," but the latter term is frequently confused in meaning, being also given as an equivalent for *arrba'*, and not carrying with it a clear picture of what particular sub-division of the tribe is meant.

[2] Here the word "tribe" forms a sufficiently exact equivalent.

[3] The chief quality of this class, which the Riffians always mention first in describing them, is their lack of shame. Hence the term "Shameless Ones" will be used throughout to designate them.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 The councillors go in a body, taking with them twenty or more girls adept at singing and dancing, hired musicians, a bull or cow, two or three mules laden with bread, and quantities of tea, sugar, and candles. The cost of the presents and the fees of the musicians are paid out of money collected in fines.

DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 692 The task of the tribal council is to render judgment, exact fines, and destroy property in cases of adultery caught in the act, murder, and woundings; to make decisions as to tribal alliances in warfare; and to interfere with internal fights in other tribes.

Adultery caught in the act. A husband who surprises his wife in the act of adultery has 684 the traditional privilege of killing the man, removing his genitals and placing them in the mouth of his corpse, killing his wife, and ripping her from pubis to diaphragm with a knife. 837 This action is a privilege and not a duty. Many husbands are physically unable to do so; others are disinclined; still others mutilate their wives by cutting off the fleshy parts of their noses and let them go. One instance is known in Gzennaya of a man who thrust live coals into his wife's vagina and then released her. In at least half the cases, recently at any rate, no revenge is taken on the woman, her divorce and disgrace being considered ample punishment.

When the members of the tribal council hear of this event, they leave whatever they are 646 doing and go as rapidly as possible to the adulterer's house. This they burn; they impose a 684 fine of one thousand dollars or thereabouts, depending on the usage of the tribe, and on the 692 importance of the *bone*. The fine is accepted either in cash, livestock, land, or in all three. When land and livestock are taken they are sold on the spot, not by bidding but by arbitrary prices, fair to the victim, placed on each animal or portion of land. If the proceeds of the sale exceed the amount of the fine, the balance is returned to the *bone* of the adulterer. If the adulterer and the adulteress belong to different *bones* the burden of the fine is shared between the *bones*. If the adulterer has survived the vengeance of the injured man he must T586 leave the tribe forever. Women who survive go back to their families, forcibly divorced and forbidden to marry again.

After the cash of the fine is in hand, it is divided among the *fifths*, each receiving an 684 equal share, to be divided evenly among each *canton* composing the *fifth*. Thus the *canton* of the offenders receives back a portion of the money which some of its members have paid. It often refuses to accept this, in which case the money goes to the actual payers. *Cantons* friendly with that of the adulterer may likewise refuse to accept, and their money too is returned.

646 692 683 *Wounding.* When one man wounds another, the tribal council comes to the offender's house and exacts a fine of five hundred dollars after questioning the councillor or councillors belonging to the offending *bone*. The fine is always paid by the *bone* as a whole, whether the blood money is or not.

646 692 683 *Murder.* When one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If the man and his *bone* refuse to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which has refused has no allies, it seldom wins,

621

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

but there are few *bones* without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The *bone* which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another *fifth*, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses being caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council.

A *bone* may thus be expelled from a tribe, permanently or temporarily. A *bone* which is continually making trouble and causing feuds may be the subject of a special meeting of the tribal council, which decides to exile it from the tribe either permanently or for a given number of years. Killing people on Mohammedan feast days or during the month of Ramadan is one of the strongest reasons for the expulsion of a *bone*.

This habit of exiling *bones* has been going on for so long that there are today numerous colonies of exiled Riffians living outside the Rif. Such are colonies of Beni Urriaghel in Oran and in Tangier; of Beni Amart in Ain Leuh, on the Wergha, of Beni Amart and Beni Hadifa at Armeila, on Wed Teberis; of Beni Tuzin at Zerhoun; of Temjunt of Gzennaya in Ain Mediuna (Beni Gzin); of Beni Yunes of Gzennaya at el Kob, in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Ulid; and the Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iherrushen of Gzennaya at el Mta outside of Fez. Most of these exiles could now go back if they so wished, but they have been away for so long, in many cases for generations, that they no longer have any desire to return.

Sometimes a murder spreads into a feud and from a feud into a war so rapidly that before a tribal council can come together to deliberate the councillors find themselves fighting on one side or another, in a tribal war.

Murder often leads to immediate revenge, and immediate revenge to a feud between *bones*. The feud may be a bitter one, in fact a pitched battle, in which may join other *bones* allied of old to one or other of the principal combatants. Most allies, however, are made anew on the occasion of each war. An alliance is called *liff*; it belongs more properly under the heading of magic than under that of political organization, but must be discussed at this point if the complexities of Riffian warfare are to be understood.

A *liff* is a shame-compulsion laid by one *bone* on another, a magical act which forces the second *bone* into alliance with, or at least toleration of, the other. By making *liff* with a number of other *bones*, a *bone* may increase its fighting force many times, and by both sides industriously making *liff* with others, a general war starts, in which there may not remain enough of the tribal council to make its convening worth while.

5: Blanco Izaga

MX3 Rif MX3

621
613

[For additional information on the function of the jma'th as a counseling body, see Category 623.]

Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk, who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segregated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud, which was once the dominant political institution of the society, were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until 1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration, while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Government in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic indication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apartness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

621
671 example, the qanuns of Lower Thamasind, of Imhawren and the Inter-
114 Lineage Pact of Thazurakhth (all in LR) clearly show. And that such
621 community and inter-community life can also be constructive, as well
421 as vengeance-oriented and destructive, is amply shown by Blanco's truly excellent analysis of Aith Waryaghar irrigation rights, especially with respect to the "intermittent" and intercalated rights of a particular lineage in the Plain of al-Husaima to the water which three other lineages, all of a different clan from the first, traditionally receive from a given irrigation ditch (LR, pp. 115-116).

114 Very much more could be said about the good points in Blanco's overall analysis and output on Rifian social structure, for they outweigh the bad ones, and by far. He never specifically pointed to segmentation as a crucial structural principle, but one can feel that he sensed it. And although he did not recognize the fact that the principles behind the liff system of alliances often, in the Rif, cross-cut those of segmentation, his understanding of liffs per se was certainly sound enough, and was not unduly influenced by Montagne. He did tend to confuse the concept of diya or bloodwealth with the concept of haqq, the fine paid by a murderer to the councillors if he committed his murder in the market, thereby breaking the peace of the market; but although this distinction is crucial, Blanco's treatment of the whole context of facts nonetheless correctly highlights the Rifian keynote of bloodfeud at home and peace abroad. And this last is perhaps the dominant theme in Rifian society and culture.

Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are complimentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe, from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

426 686 627 623 part of the bargain, he is reminded to do so by the chief, and if he refuses, they forcibly commit a theft of animals or property, so that his jma'th will hear of it; and they thus oblige him to fulfill his promises or give rise to the intervention of his jma'th, which will force him to start negotiations.

685 627 The property of thieves is sold as indemnity, and, if they have gone or if this cannot be done, that of their kinsmen is sold, a fine is imposed, and the eyes of the recalcitrant individual are plucked out by a member of his family if he is caught[68].

623 None of the decisions of the jma'th are registered.

F) Social Organization:

1) The jma'th has generally been defined in terms of what it is not. It has been likened to the Roman forum, the Greek agora, and the Scottish clan[69]; and it has been considered the "cornerstone" or the "roof" of the "Berber house". It has been characterized as an administrative unit by some, and as a social, judicial (i.e. jural), religious or military unit by others. Some have taken the number of houses as a base point, others the fact of whether or not it contains a Friday ("cantonal") mosque. The etymology of the word--"assembly, meeting, council, junta"--has also been invoked as a basis for definition, but this, by itself, is also insufficient[70].

623 621 In my view, the jma'th is the elemental form of the association of neighboring family groups oriented toward essentially economic ends. [613] The actual number of such groups, whether two today or two hundred tomorrow, and whether occupying thirty or two hundred households, is

623 immaterial; for a jma'th which formerly contained only two dharfiqin
613 may now have three, four or five, and tomorrow even more, with a
621 proportionate increase in houses and rifles. What the jma'th is not, however, is a family group united by blood ties--it is not a dharfiqth.

623 .....The jma'th came into being because of the necessity of common
182 usufruct of elements essential to sustain life, such as water, pasture
621 lands, brushwood, etc., and because of the necessity of regulating relations, both material and spiritual, with one's neighbors (hence mosques, which come into being after such an association has been effected). The result was that when a group for any reason abandoned its original jma'th in order to establish itself elsewhere--insofar as its growth and development made it do so, it cut off relationships with its parent group and its point of origin to constitute a new and independent nucleus[71].

621 Many Rifians confuse dharfiqth with jma'th, and proof of this
623 is that when one asks the members of a given group where they are
613 from, it is the same to them to answer "From such and such a jma'th"
[829] or "From such and such a dharfiqth", because the dharfiqth in question forms part of the jma'th whence they originated. Jma'th has a geographical connotation, while dharfiqth smells of nomadism (sic)[72]. This also explains why in different places one may find jma'th-s having the same name but formed by different dharfiqin, because over the course of time other splinter-groups from other jma'th-s became associated with the initial splinter-group from the first jma'th.....

621 I am dubious about the value of the number of households as a cri-
623 terion in definition; but I think that the best single datum available
591

today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer. This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand; on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

000 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

621 623 423 The patrimony of the jma'th is made up exclusively of communal lands. The jma'th is thus formed not only by people but by lands. It thus has a territorial significance which the dharfiqth lacks, for it may have immovable property in another tribe[76], and acts committed by its members outside the "municipal terminus" are thus not handled by it exclusively. For this reason there is a need for another 614 621 623 social organ structured in an analogous manner, but of greater importance and more extensive jurisdiction: the "fraction" (i.e. clan or subclan.) This wider grouping, although it also has a localistic significance and a breadth wider than the village or hamlet of isolated homesteads or groups of homesteads that we have seen in the jma'th, has other more sharply defined characteristics. It alone intervenes in inter-jma'th matters, in most cases; for the custom of the jma'th itself is nothing more than inter-family (i.e. inter-lineage) custom.

3) The "fraction" (clan) is an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends; it is a state in miniature, an independent republic, and the true Rifian patria because it is within the limits of this unit that the Rifian lives out his life; where he finds what he needs, and where his law is made[77].

614 443 [671] The clan has two distinctive features: its law and its market. It is my opinion that places in tribal areas which the natives regard as ancient Christian[78] market sites are nothing but former "clan" markets which are no longer in use and the memory of which has not persisted through time. In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin,

In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin, Thimsaman, Aith 'Ammarth, Ibuqquyen, Ktama and Sanhaja Srir, each clan has its own market[79]. Only in a small tribe or in one with more or less artificial clans is this not the case. The clan, which occupies a well determined area topographically, as a rule (a large meseta, valley, mountain fold, etc.), is a rare one which does not have or did not formerly have its own market, where the clan representatives or imqqranen came together to agree upon and proclaim their law, their rules of coexistence, which in some cases were drawn up on paper and which form the basis of my La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte.

The clans of a tribe did not originate through accumulation of the association of jma'ths, but rather, the tribes which came to settle in the territory already contained three, four or five clans in their nomadic (sic) state, and the new lands were distributed equitably.[80] However, it is easier to follow the schematic representation of social groups from smaller to larger units, as the lineages characteristic of these are clearer and better defined. In the tribe, they are quite relaxed, and it is more difficult to see them, because the clans themselves are apt to show this by their patronymic designations, "sons of X"; but this opinion is provisional, as there are also names which are not genealogically based, as in the case of the clan names of Ibuqquyen (Izimmuren, Azghar and Thaghidhith) and in Ija'unen of Aith 'Ammarth; and the same might well be the case with the jma'ths, whose names are often geographical ones.[81]

In the clan, we have all the institutions, organisms, dependencies and economic specializations most necessary to sustain life: an amrabit or hermit saint venerated and besought for pilgrimages and miracles; a market for the provisions and supply and for the council

614 site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
616 elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

614 latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or
619 the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan
616 has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are its customary law, its qanuns and its market (as in the qanun of the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

619 4) Tribe or Dhaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of
614 clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this
619 level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium
614 (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is
671 guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has
182 no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors, faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans
619 form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as
614 the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin
616 of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It
613 would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over
621 and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes,
623 while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collec- [642] tively that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each repre- sentative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in [622] reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present- day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal admin- [648] istrators) to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. [622] There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to re- appear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

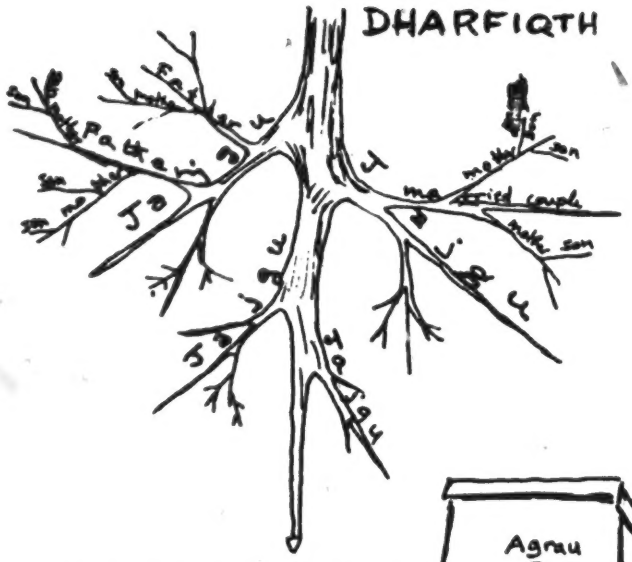
623 The aziddjif or amghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan 621 and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries 571 or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the 793 administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

623
621
571
793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of
623
184
343
624 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

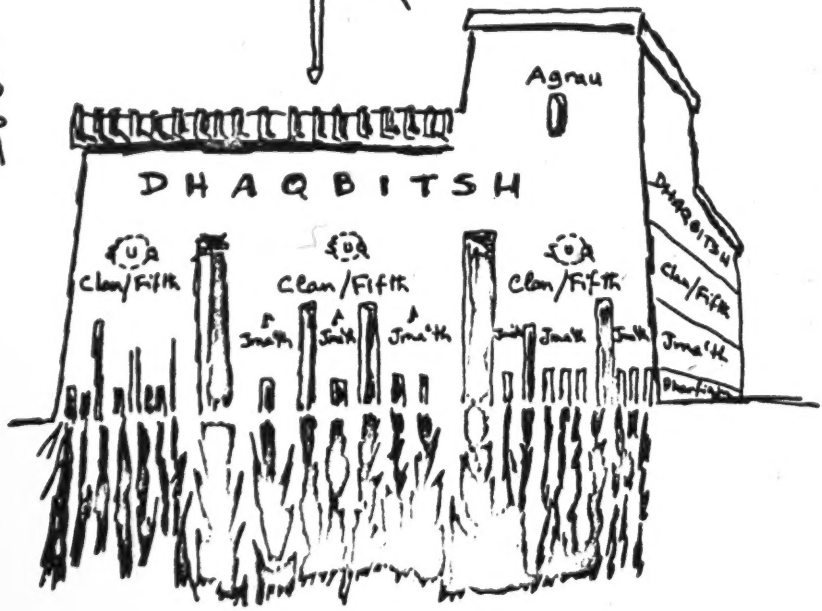
646
614
[623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in, and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

613
596



619
613
614
623
646
●621



[P. 127-A]

594
596
613
621
623
646
619

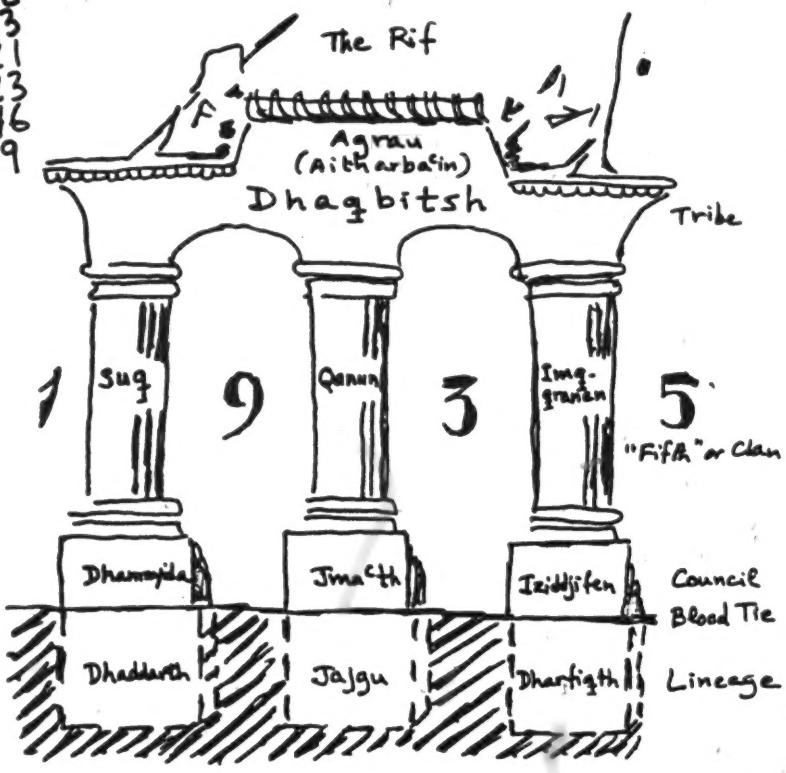


Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

535
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

FOOTNOTE: A
∧

613
614
619
621
623
594
596
114

113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right, we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'th (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling islifen), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A, [See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]
∧

621
631
[619]

H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the [648] Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, [643] that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

621
631
131

1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusifw-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusifw-'Ari clan) is also

621 631 131 divided into two others of the same name, to which is added the geographical denomination of "mountain" or "plain", according to the location of each. Each one of these two divisions, like those of the Aith Mhand u Yihya, belongs to two different qa'idates: the mountain group, which is south of the women's market called Suq r-Had n-Timgharin (Sunday Women's Market")[117] at Iswiqen, to the Qa'idate of Nkur; and the plains group, in the vicinity of Imzuren, to the Qa'idate of 1-Uta. The originating group is the mountain one.

3) Isrihan:--This jma'th (again of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), again, is divided into two others: the mountain part, in the folds of the Jbil Hamam[117a], belongs to the Qa'idate of Nkur, and the lowland part, in the Buham Plain and known as Isrihan n Buham, belongs to the Qa'idate of 1-Uta[118].

4) Bu Minqadh:--This jma'th (of the clan of the Aith 'Ari) presents a further complication, that of a three-fold division: the founding and original section, in Sidi 'Abd Allah u Yusif, near the women's market at Iswiqen, is in the Qa'idate of Nkur; while of its two offshoots, both in the Qa'idate of 1-Uta, one if near Thamasind and the other is found down in the plain near Imzuren. There is thus a Mountain Bu Minqadh, a Foothills Bu Minqadh, and a Plains Bu Minqadh.

5) Aith 'Aziz:--There are today two jma'ths (of the clan of the Imrabdhen) of this name, one in Thamasind and the other in Imzuren; and although both are located within the Qa'idate of 1-Uta, this fact is purely coincidental.

621 6) Thamasind:--There are two jma'ths of this name: one is called Thamasind n Dara (Upper Thamasind), and the other, Thamasind n

Waddai (Lower Thamasind). These two have been spatially separated for a long time, although they both happen to be located in the Qa'idate of l-Uta[119].

Aside from these examples given above, we then have those jma'ths which, after their descent to the plain, lose their original names, such, for instance, as Ajdir, and acquire those of new geographical locations or founders without, however, losing their ties with the parent jma'th until these become relaxed with the passing of time or until new needs cause them to become independent, as we find them today, if in the inversion of roles the newly formed nucleus is not imposing itself on the original one, thus becoming converted into a tributary group. We have just seen that among the Aith Waryaghar there are traditional jma'ths which are found to be split, the displaced groups often occupying sites very distant from the original ones; and the fact that this displacement occurred long, long ago led them to become independent of the originating jma'th, and to constitute new jma'ths on their own or even to graft themselves onto the neighboring jma'ths when their importance or convenience so dictated.

By the same token, also, there are jma'ths which are not of the same origin and which may form the initial fusion of perhaps as many as twenty different kin groups and stranger accretions of the most diverse origins[120]. An example of this may be found in Swani, in which the lower part of the jma'th is made up of descendants of Sidi Mhand of Aith Hishim, of the clan of Imrabdhen, who are shurfa, and of the original founders, the people of Thafrasth, of the subclan

621 of Imhaurren, of the clan of Aith 'Ari; while the upper part is made up of heterogeneous elements of different tribes. This will eventually happen in Ajdir, where a considerable number of Rifian workers are settling owing to its proximity to the town of Alhucemas. Ajdir has not succeeded in assimilating these people who, installed around and behind the fork in the (Tetuan-Melilla) main road, already form a special quarter which is beginning to be distinguished by the name of Kharras, or "stranger"[121], a disagreeable appellation for them and one which causes them to defend intuitively their jma'ths of origin. A future modification of the jurisdiction of this quarter cannot thus be considered as injurious to the constitution of the jma'th.

We thus see that the traditional jma'th in this tribe, in accordance with the data in our possession at the moment regarding this problem, may or may not have a familial origin (sic)[122], as an analogous examination of the Qa'idate of Nkur also seems to demonstrate.

621 614 If we limit ourselves, in this qa'idate, to the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one of those which from time immemorial seems to have kept its jma'ths most intact, we see that the only one to which a common origin or ancestor is attributed is that of Aith Ta'a. But if, [613] for example, we examine Isufiyen in this light, we find that of its five dharfiqin or patri lineages, three (I'adwiyen, Ihaqqunen and Imdihiriyen) are from the tribe of Ibdharsen (Mtalsa) in the Eastern Rif, and have the same ancestor, while of the two remaining ones, one (Aith Ta'rafth) is from the tribe of Aith Yittuft[123]. Thus, through the elimination of four out of the five kin groups in question, the only one which is left, Aith Musa w 'Amar[124], is the only possible

candidate for earliest occupancy and for the foundation of the jma'th. As it happens, this is the case here.

Passing now to the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif, we see, analogously, that while the founding or ancestral dharfiqth, Aith Wuzghar, that of the present (1935) Qa'id of Nkur, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan, is considered to be descended from the "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin, the former inhabitants of the City of Nkur[125], the other dharfiqin making up the jma'th do so without any apparent relationship to each other. The kin group whose ancestor arrived first was an Imrabdhen lineage from Ibdharsen, formed by the Aith Siddiq, Aith Tumritsh and Aith Tizza; this was followed by Aith Yunis, from the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; and finally, by the I'addiyen from the tribe of Axt Tuzin, the most recent of all.

If we turn now to the jma'th of Tazurakhth, we see the same thing, but with an increase in complexity, for the dharfiqth which is considered to be the founding one is that of Aith Bukhudam[126]. This group later received the following additional increments: a dharfiqth named Aith Ufaran from the subclan of Aith Turirth to the south; a second, much larger dharfiqth from the jma'th of Igar Ufadhis (local pronunciation Iyar Ufadhis) in the clan of Aith Bu Idhir of the tribe of Thimsaman, named Aith r-Qman (comprising today the four dharfiqin of Aith 'Aru Hammu, Yinn[127] 'Abdsram Bu 'Azza, Yinn 'Abd Allah u Hmidh and Ibaranen[128]); a third, Aith Tizi Marda, came from the clan of Amjau in the East Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid; a fourth, Ihamdiwen, from the jma'th of Asht Tghirasth[129] in the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; a fifth, from Aith 'Aisa in the tribe of Aith S'aid[130];

621 603 604 619 a sixth, a large one named Aith 'Aisa, from the jma'th of Aith 'Ammar u S'aid in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan of Aith Hadhifa (comprising today the two dharfiqin of Aith 'Aisa--sometimes referred to as Aith 'Aisa w Anu, or "the sons of 'Aisa of the well"--and Aith Injin); a seventh, Aith Si Hmand 'Aisa, from the clan of Aith 'Abd Allah; and an eighth, and last, Aith Tihar, from the jma'th of Tfsast in the subclan of Timarzga to the South.

621 The net result of all the foregoing is that even such a multiplicity of examples will not clarify the question for us, considering that, in Aith Waryaghar, there are traditional jma'ths which have been split since antiquity, and split in such a way that to bring them together again now would create a tremendous political as well as administrative difficulty[131]. This would, indeed, be next to impossible, due to the difficulties of all kinds already felt by the Rifians prior to the Spanish occupation, difficulties which brought them to the transcendental act of separation. This fact on the one hand, and, on the other, the fact that the traditional jma'th in Aith Waryaghar does not seem to present an ancestry which is common to all its constituent groups or a type of "family origin" (i.e. common ancestorship) in the form or for the ends which interest the order of the Spanish regional administration. Under these conditions, it seems the best thing in this tribe, if our knowledge should not lead us to other conclusions, to continue the sedimentation initiated some time ago, avoiding modifications which do not justify an imperious necessity or a convenience manifest to all lights, something which even the author was unable to avert, and to discount, for this reason, any.....or superficially learned innovatory zeal.[132]

621 These jma'ths, the internal lives of which were regulated by
628 the custom governing the original mountain jma'th, continued as
[688] tributaries of the latter[133], enjoying the benefits of such a status
[794] (participation in the collection of fines, contributions to the fqih)[134] until, as we have seen, the new nucleus, beginning to stand out more and more as a result of its growth, importance and distance from the parent jma'th, succeeded in emancipating itself from the latter through its own discords and ambitions.[135]

621 But it is difficult to determine at precisely what moment the new jma'th came of age, as it is to determining everything else, even including finding out the designations in nomenclature of its repre-
621 sentatives. This designation is not that of amin, as among the Kabyles
192 of Algeria, a word which, taken over from Arabic, is one which does not permit a confusion of its administrative significance, an individual function, with that of the jma'th, which has a collective mqaddim, a term also adopted from Arabic and employed by certain Berber groups in the Western Atlas, for the personage of the mqaddim also has that function as well as the inadmission of that of the shaikh, which more than one person in Aith Waryaghar attributes to himself and which
621 figures even in documents. These terms, however, do not demonstrate any more than the anarchy which the people have attained, and the forgetting of their own racial (sic!) characteristics[136]; as such words among Rifians can have no meaning nor can they be given any importance greater than those of "colonel" and "doctor" in the South
[646] American republics. These are strange nicknames (sic), for to the
[182] Rifian, as to any Berber, they say nothing if they are to be considered

621 typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the
6046 Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have
182 depreciated and is now dormant.

621 The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign,
[114] such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

131 Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order
631 listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of I-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur
614 watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a
631 geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

614 631 certainly justified from a political and even from an ethnographic standpoint. On the other hand, perhaps a greater simplification of the chain of command, brought by suppressing the khalifas of the qa'ids, a useless, retardatory and troublesome rung in the ladder, might be possible[139]; for the position of shaikh already exists, and in the absence of or in case of delegation of authority by the qa'ids.. ....the shiyukh can and do exercise the powers of the qa'id with all satisfaction, as has been observed in all cases and from all that has been told to me.

A chain of command without such useless steps would be restricted to qa'id and mqaddimin; but, nevertheless, the wide territorial extension which each of the clans of Aith Waryaghar has advises the retention of shaikhates in the manner expressed above; and the dispersion of the jma'ths advises in many cases the retention of the jwari (sing. jari)[140].

631 621 But these simplifications which are proposed in the framework of authority in the tribe must be followed up with a stronger personality in the mqaddim which would make these jobs remunerative as well as having them, at the same time, fall on the shoulders of persons of true significance in the jma'th, so that the latter must listen to them, accepting procedures put forth by them and avoiding any chances that friendship, adhersion or mere servitude to the qa'id might annul this office, the one which is, in my opinion, the most important in a Berber tribe. It is certainly not advisable to try to accomplish this in one stroke; this patient revision of mqaddimin must be done without hurry on a jma'th-by-jma'th basis, if we wish to make a perfect

augmentation to the "building" or "house" of Rifian society (of which the traditional jma'th is the "cornerstone").[141]

Aith Waryaghar, then, could be organized in the following way:

I) QA'IDATE OF L-UTA: Shaikhate of Aith Yusif w 'Ari --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Imrabdhen --15 jma'ths

II) QA'IDATE OF NKUR: Shaikhate of Bni Bu 'Ayyash --16 jma'ths
Shaikhate of l-Jbil --16 jma'ths

III) QA'IDATE OF UPPER GHIS: Shaikhate of Bni Hadifa --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Bni 'Abd Allah --16 jma'ths

Total----87 jma'ths

If this organization is applied to the other tribes[142], the patron must be remembered in salary gradation, so that salaries do not turn out to be prejudiced as the Aith Waryaghar have been, up to now, both in salary and category of their office-holders and tribal authorities.

Ajdir, August 27, 1935.

I) Notes on the Igzinnayen:

1) Etymology and Language:--The word Gzinnaya (Rifian Igzinnayen) is derived from Berber gizna, meaning "libertine"[143]. The tribesmen of Igzinnayen are bilingual, although even so, Rifian speech has a far greater predominance over Arabic. Their men of letters (fqihs, etc.), although they know how to read and write Arabic, express themselves very poorly in that language, and their grammatical construction tends to be bad. Knowledge of French is extremely slight,

619 614 361 Today it may be said that there are no ostensible and important divisions among the different clans of the Igzinnayen.... The Igzinnayen are sedentary and inhabit fixed houses, which, as among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, are located along the edges of valleys, in fertile lands, and, in a word, wherever life is easier. Nevertheless, there is, aside from the tribal hamlet-villages, no agglomeration of importance....The tribe is divided 619 614 administratively into seven clans, each one headed by a shaikh except for Asht 'Asim, which is divided into three shaikhates. One of the [621] [631] latter is made up of the communities of Buridh, Tamjund and Imharrushen, another by those of Ifran, Iaqrru'an and Iharrasen, and the third by Inhanahan, Thara Tazzugwakhth and Iharshriyen[169]; all these 619 clans ("fractions") are headed by a qa'id. The tribe of Igzinnayen presents a line of penetration between the tribes of the Rif and those of the Eastern Gharb, as it has been utilized over a long period of time as a path for incursions by the mountaineers into the plain.

619 614 621 7) Political Division:--Qaid (1940): Si Bu Tahar n Mqaddim Saihi.

a) Clan ("fraction") of Jibarna: contains villages of Asht Hammu w 'Amar, I'athmanen (1-'Atamna), Dharwa Haddum Jibarna and Suyah. Shaikh (1940): Muhammed l-Mihdi Fars.

b) Clan ("fraction") of Ishawiyen (Shawiya): contains villages of Dharwa 'Abdallah, Dharwa n Tawunza, Bu Isri, Imrabdhen n Nawizaght[170], Aknul, Nadhur, Ihammuthen and Izimmuren. Shaikh (1940): Bushta nj-Qa'id Buhush.

c) Clan ("fraction") of Marar: contains villages of Thighzrathin, Tasharbant, Dharwa 'Ari, Zarhun, Fiddan l-Kbir, Thighambuyin,

619 Thirnamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyuririn.
614 Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.
621

d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyar, Tighza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waunkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

195 8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara. [628] It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal [616] struggles between Ifuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

195 554 When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

006 almost postulate a sequence more or less as follows: people (and particularly the most important ones, i.e. members of the council) gather in the mosque on Fridays. This, in Durkheimian terms, would make a neat example of the three-way continuum of time, space and society! The fact that the Rifian term for mosque is dhamzidha in no way negates this rather attractive hypothesis (suggested by Ernest Gellner, personal communication, Feb. 4, 1961), for dhamzidha is itself derived from another Arabic word for mosque, masjid.

11--Dhaqbitsh, pl. dhiqbar (from Arabic qabila) is the Rifian term for "tribe", the ceiling unit in the region.

613 621 619 114 614 12--"Fraction": translator's quotation marks. This term, very current in the literature on North African social structure (and deriving from Arabic nuss, "half", tulut, "third", rba', "fourth" and khums, "fifth", each one of which usually refers to the number of clans or top-level segments a given tribe contains), is one which I find both imprecise and misleading. What one should read for "fraction" is either clan or maximal, primary or top-level segment of a tribe. What is totally missing in the term "fraction" is a notion of process.

As Blanco himself thought the term "fraction" absurd (as he indicated in a pencilled comment on a report on village etymologies in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar by another interventor, dated 1939), we shall henceforth take his cue and call it "clan"--even though he continued to employ "fraction" in the bulk of his writing!

13--The concept of the relative autonomy or independence of the tribal clan (Blanco's "fraction") is, as far as we know, an original contribution by Blanco to the overall study of Berber social structure (even though Blanco's thinking may have had its roots, on this score, in Montagne, op. cit., 1930). It is, considering the time and place it appeared, a challenging and cogent theory, and Blanco discusses it at length in the chapter on Social Organization, as well as in La Ley Rifeña, 1939. The fact that the notions of balance and opposition in all segmentary societies have become anthropological commonplaces since Evans-Pritchard's Nuer work does not vitiate Blanco's argument.

060 14--Again, in the choice of words which these notes represent, Blanco gives no definition, and we fear that, although a literal translation renders the reading awkward, a substitution of our own terms might falsify what he had in mind, namely, to attempt to establish criteria for differentiation between social and political units. In our opinion, most of these distinctions exist in the author's mind only, and do not correspond to any sociopolitical realities; for, on upper levels of segmentation at least, social units and political units invariably tend to merge.

15--It is, of course, true that only men make alliances, wage war and engage in politics (councils, etc.), but there seems no need to belabor this rather obvious point. More subtle, however, is the implicit--and possibly unintentional--distinction made between social structure and territorial organization. In the Rif, as elsewhere, the territorial organization reflects a genealogically oriented social system which has been brought down to ground level, so to speak, and

000 J) Note on the Rifian Jma'th (Noticia sobre la Yemáa)

N.B. Undated MSS., probably written 1934-1936, Catalogue No. W1/11, Sección Africa, National Library, Madrid.

"An old, confused and nostalgic tribal memory of which so many people are unaware, although they all utilize it and nobody expects it. How does it work, and how can it best be reactivated?"

Organs and Functions:

• 621 613 1) The jma'th is the association of several lineages (grupos familiares) or dharfiqin toward social ends and objectives. It constitutes the elementary unit of Rifian social structure.[1]

[671] 2) It is personified in the iziddjifen, the headmen of these lineage-groups and their authentic representatives, zealous guardians of Custom (qa'ida), which is often codified into written qanuns established during an agraw or council-meeting.

3) It is visibly manifested in the mosque, the local community and the lands which belong to it, all of which give rise to a spatial discontinuity and elastic boundaries, the origin of not a few quarrels.

4) Objectives: to regulate the coexistence of these (lineage) groups, to watch over them and to administrate their common patrimony.

5) Obligations: these were to attend to communal services and property (prayer,...education, hospitality, external relations, harka, prestations, collective responsibility and distribution of property, lands, irrigation, spoils of war, and fines), with the exception, in theory, of anything relating to personal and possessory status (marriage, inheritance).

---

[594] [114] 1--The elementary social unit, in the Rif as elsewhere, is the elementary or nuclear family, and hence Blanco is here, again, in error. A more easily defensible argument might have been a consideration of the jma'th as a kind of elementary political unit.

[621] 6) Means: its own functionaries and the contributions (taxes), in money or in kind, of its members (through profits, donations and fines).

7) Functionaries: are as enumerated below, duly grouped and classified for a primary and synthetic idea:

[623] a) Native and Permanent: the iziddjifen, who comprise the legislative body and whose nearest equivalent in European society would be "councillors in their own right" (concejales por derecho propio).

[6446] b) Elective: the aitharbi'in, representatives to the outside world when occasion demands, and their auxiliaries, the aith amzyan[2], and the trustees or administrators (umana).

c) Contracted: the fqih, for religious services; the mudarris, or teacher of the community's small boys in Koranic instruction; the amarras or storehouse (strawstack) guardian in the Eastern Rif; and the amzir or blacksmith.

d) Administrative: the mqaddim ("he who goes in front"), delegate of the Makhzin and linking agent; and the jari ("neighbor"), helper of the former in outlying communities or hamlets.

e) Recompensed: although this category, like the previous one, is not a normal jma'th category (but a Makhzin-created one), the tulba, and the notaries ('adul) and the aquwwam, or expert on matters pertaining to land and irrigation, all belong to it.

8) Mechanism: The jma'th was autonomous regarding all matters internal to it, economic questions as well as all others, and was co-sovereign in external matters, for it took part (as we shall see later) in the adoption of agreements and the carrying out of those accords necessary for the upper-level collectivities (i.e. sociopolitical units), in a way to be indicated later.

2--Possibly Blanco refers here to imzzyanen, "small people", in the same equivocal sense in which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 96) considered the council of the Rifian local community to be made up of teen-age boys, so that they would thus be prepared for governing in adult life. In our own experience, councillors are imgharen and imqqranen, "big men", not imzzyanen or "little ones".

621 [80]

This autonomy in the questions which were imposed by the number five[3] rendered necessary an arbitration and a management of resources, and a creation of functionaries, although generally these latter were unpaid. All this created such a solidarity and such benefits, lost today, that one might wonder if it would not be advantageous, in the undeveloped and rural stage in which the Rifians still exist, to resuscitate some of these practices or revitalize those of them whose survival is an indication of the need for them, through their codification in a jma'a statute (author's italics), the transcendency of which seems to us to be basic because it is a matter of foundations and not of retouches on roofs or walls, as we are tired of observing in the copious and unoriginal legislation of both zones of this torn land that is Morocco.

This neglect of the countryside (campo), of which these matters are yet another index, would not be admissible but might be excusable in an industrialized Morocco, but never in a land which, like this one, is essentially agrarian and maritime.[4] Contrary, then, to habitual writings on Morocco, we will venture once again on the humble but complicated paths of Rifian social structure, with a view to analyzing it, and intentionally putting aside that chorus of reciters with a more or less "sharifian" genealogy[5], and proceed to an analysis of the functions of the jma'th.

3--The reference to the number five in this connection is curious: is it supposed to refer, for instance, to the concept of "five fifths"?

4--Blanco reverses the order of these two adjectives in the original text, but we only need point out that Morocco's maritime vocation makes a very poor second, if that, to its agricultural one.

5--Why Blanco should manifest this evident prejudice against the holders of holy genealogies is not clear, though possibly because he held such geneaologies to be more "Arab" than "Berber" or "Rifian".

623
621
671

9) The Community Charter: The principal function of the iziddjifen, among the many that fell to them, was to establish the norms of coexistence, the laws by which they had to regulate their social relations, the qanun or the haqq, as they call it, and to which we may refer as the community charter, which comes to be its equivalent.

671

This charter, whose archetypes, of a strong rudimentary beauty, I published in the year (not given: translator's note)[6], show very clearly its formative processes; and the matters which are codified are only those which it is convenient to recall periodically to the group as a whole for whatever the reason needed (neglect, modification or innovation), but not the only rules to be obeyed, for those admitted by Custom and followed in good faith, because of their applicability and convenience for the whole neighborhood, were not written down, as they were known to all and sundry. Thus, codifying them for the knowledge and satisfaction of outsiders would have been a waste of time.

The characteristics of these documents or agreements, which many people see only as simple lists of fines, can be resumed as follows: the drafting of the documents by the tulba, and the specification of the place concerned; those who attend; the reasons for the meeting and what is decided at it, i.e. transgressions, crimes and their penalties and sanctions; to whom this applies; the period of time that the agreement is to be in force; the individuals upon whom its fulfillment is incumbent; the neutral and prestigious personage who acts as mediator; and the saint or amrabit whose protection they invoke and under whose shadow they seek shelter.

6--The reference here is probably to La Ley Rifeña, 1939.

671 If aside from local community questions such as irrigation, hospitality and matters dealing with education, these community charters also deal with "crimes of blood" (delitos de sangre), one may see in them, more than the incumbency of these units (organisms), the necessity of providing for the lack of other upper-level associations which were lacking in this organized anarchy, which, in a happy phrase, may be attributed to those days when social disintegration attenuated the functioning of the upper-level units: clan (fracción) and tribe.

621 623 627 10) Security: Internally, security was guaranteed in normal times by the iziddjifen themselves, through the resolution of any incidents and the clearing up of any disputes which might arise, while in the internal political struggle of its council the popular spirit predominated. This was even more the case when within the council the 623 613 621 equilibrium between dharfiqin or agnatic lineages was broken and one lineage came to predominate, as now it was one of its representatives who, in the last analysis, came to achieve the delegation of the permanent executive function of security, under the pompous and strange designation of mqaddim or shaikh[7], who, satisfying his own personal vanity, brought about the envy of the iziddjifen, who were very jealous of their own prerogatives, who were paid in their jobs (sic)[8], and who were opposed to the notion of personal power for which the [671] struggle now began. In this respect the qanun of the jma'th of (Lower) Thamasind (Aith Waryaghar) is of interest.[9]

7--Again Blanco reveals an anti-Arab and a pro-Rifian bias, perhaps: he would obviously have preferred the designation amghar. However, and more to the point: he is also equally aware of the superfluity of such titles in a society as fiercely egalitarian as that of the Rifian tribes.

[114] 8--This was hardly the case: no tribal leaders (to say nothing of mere lineage headmen) in pre-Protectorate Morocco were ever paid in the formal sense of the word. Remuneration came through occasional "perks".

9--Cf. La Ley Rifeña, 1939, Chapter V.

613 621 616 182

This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 701

Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

646 619

The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613

When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

---

[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

721 was imposed by the tribe or the clan: it was based on distribution
621 amongst the several dharfiqin comprising the jma'th in question, while
613 the place and date where and when they had to present themselves was communicated to them by the leader of the expedition, who also examined cases of exemption and desertion.

Thus, both in theory and in reality, all the operations of recruitment of our European municipalities were incumbent upon the jma'th; while relief and provisions, the personal and complementary obligation of the dharfiqth, were sometimes assumed by the jma'th when the earlier operations failed, as a kind of advance.

721 This natural system, alleviating the principal one of a number
182 of onerous chores which are discharged by (military) services in European bureaucracies, permitted the Rifians to give their full attention both to military operations and to politics. It bound all of them together, the front and the rearguard, in a common interest, principally economic, which in lieu of discipline was what reinforced local spirit. The economic interest (the saving of ammunition in combat and sobriety in eating--for the individual had to pay for both out of his own pocket), apart from avoiding not a little dissatisfaction and worry, afforded the harka a high degree of addiction to rapine, given the fact that its members had to live on their own account in enemy territory in order to compensate for the woebegone consignments of the wretched rearguard, justifying through its well-known raids its desire to fill its stomach, the clearest of all its bellicose undertakings. Such that, once the booty was obtained, the harka was dissolved on more than one occasion.

621 423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794 793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The resources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income. [423]

794 [429] [251] The administration of these properties was the job of a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

427 241 621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

A [See p. 183--Analyst]

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

423 interested in doing field research may see. What happened was that the
794 jma'ath, given their natural lack of confidence and their fear of our
innocent decrees, disclosed to us a part (of what had happened), re-
[621] serving for themselves exactly what was needed in order to assure themselves, in the worst cases, of the maintenance of worship and the dhamzyidha, the social and religious link.

621 With this estate, with this "bank", the poor jma'ath,
423 in their hazardous existence, were able to save themselves in hard
794 times, either in times of famine or drought, with advances of grain, or in times of violence, with advances of fines, muna-s (food) to harka-s in transit, acquisition of arms and ammunition, etc.

423 With the new centralizing system of a shocking and
794 unanimous complaint, there is no rural mosque which is looked after; the fiscalization of accounts does not have that (degree of) efficiency; and, outside of its bureaucracy, the profits may only be revealed in the ostentatious and less accommodating urban mosques, given that if the latter were nests of preachers, and loafers, and rebels, the former acted as places of asylum, banks, storehouses, councils, clubs and schools. But the worst is that such a procedure mocks the will of the donor and falsifies management of the donation, for the property which the devout and rustic tribesman turned over were destined for lay administration and for the profit of his humble dhamzyidha, and with it for his family and for the small social nucleus within which his life developed. It was not in order to cover up the leaks of the mosque, whether large or small, nor to enlighten any urban mulay, whose surplus resources, religiosity and the prodigality of whose adherents could

423 never be made use of through such modest donations, so exact was the
794 objective for which they were turned over. And today they are obliged to be substituted by new constructions, as already we are finding instances in which the tribesmen are obliged to use part of their communal property in order to cover their minimal religious needs.

The traditional tribesman, a localistic and primitive soul, could never dream that his generous gesture and the fruit of his labor would be converted into utilization for and the beautifying of the vampire city, of that city which he knows only through its derisive attitude toward him and its desire to cheat him.[12]

651 b) Self-Taxation: This category was fulfilled in the jma'th
621 through other classes of property, such as religious (properties), through voluntary contributions and through alms.

The 'ashur (Rif. dha'ashurth) or tithe from the harvests, which was received in kind by another amin (read mqaddim), also a lay (author's italics) tribesman expressly nominated by the jma'th to whom he was responsible, justifying payments and income, and guarding and administering voluntary donations.

651 The respect for and knowledge of these good customs and
648 primary institutions in the Rif has permitted us to utilize such sentiments of solidarity on diverse occasions, without excessive shifts from times of abundance to others of restriction, hence giving them the sensation of our constant solicitude and thus coming to establish in some jma'ath and 'bureaux' (oficinas) the idea of voluntary deposits (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

[648] 12--This paragraph, as well as the preceding one with its reference to the "urban mulay", clearly indicate that Blanco fully shared the prevailing view of the protectoral authorities of both zones of Morocco regarding the administrative wisdom inherent in the separation of Town and Tribe.

000 (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

651
621 The 'ashur, a Koranic tax which was always collected by the Makhzin--even including "rebellious Makhzins" like that of 'Abd al-Krim--continued to be collected by the jma'th in its long periods of "anarchy", which to the jma'th concerned meant, of course, autonomy. From this stems the fact that although the tirtib today is the real Makhzin-imposed tax, the 'ashur, for the Rifian tribes, continues to retain its traditional character both of religious obligation and of application to the jma'th (author's italics), a tax which is accepted with such good grace as to leave the evaluation of how much is to be paid to the conscience of the reductions longed for by any Rifian; and this in just the same way as the tirtib is rejected and regarded as disagreeable. Hence the reform of the tirtib, or better yet, the reform of any system of tribute, might also be advisable with a view to freeing the product from any internal encumbrances.

Hence the voluntary alms (self-taxation) which Rifians call dha'ashurth (tithe), collected in kind (figs, raisins, walnuts, olive oil, barley, etc.) and turned over to the hands of the appropriately elected member of the local community, constituted the beneficial bases with which the jma'th fed its own poor and those in transit, without falling into the prodigalities, with relation to their means, of organizations set up in which there are real contests to be poor, with the result that their mean standard of living was higher than the sober mean of the jma'th, which organizations of this type should not surpass nor equal[13].

13--The allusion here has escaped us: it may possibly refer to some particular institution current in Spain in the 1930s. In any event, this is another of Blanco's tortuously meandering sentences.

c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, mma) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

792 794 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 178 794 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 621 794 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th, for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits [594] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

423 648 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

---

15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

such urgent needs: it disorbitized the simple problems of fiscalization, strengthening and (re)orientation of Rifian popular institutions in order to create a cold and foreign bureaucracy and/or, at the very least, to improve the cities by putting up sumptuous buildings or repairing beautiful minarets.[17]

From a communal administrative organization and an essentially lay and effective position--like that of the ahabbas--a complicated religious problem and political weapon has been forged, i.e. the forms and modes have changed completely, to the detriment of the need which they tried to remedy. The administration has passed into the hands of the tulba; the inspection into those of the qudat (pl. of qadi); and the orders for payments into those of nothing less than a Ministry.[18]

In these dazzling reports it is easy to find science per se and the origin, finality and means of acquiring and utilizing these jma'ath properties in the different tribal areas of our (Spanish) zone in its "anarchical" (sic) existence.

I believe, then, that it is not in ways foreign to the Zone nor to those of the Arab authors of treatises where we must look for the light which will illuminate our path, but rather in what we know (empirically) through investigation of Rifian society itself, whose most durable facets are not very different from old Spanish

---

17--The situation which Blanco hints at here, of local community resources in the Rif disappearing in order to add luster to urban mosque-cum-habus situations, is not one which has ever come up in our own experience.

18--Here Blanco complains again about what can only be labeled as "Creeping Arabism", after his earlier remarks about the pernicious influence of "the city" on the Rifian.

own jma'ths; they were headed by men of their own localities; and 'Abd al-Krim only reserved for himself the right to nominate individuals in his confidence for top positions[5].

The contingents of each tribe were headed by the notables of that tribe, and were instructed independently within the whole harka agglomerate. The tribal notables received news of the objectives they had to attain; they took their contingents into battle; and afterwards, they abandoned the field and brought their harkas home....

Through their representatives in the agraw, the jma'ths knew the contingent which was requested, and they made the division and nominated the chiefs[6]. There were both volunteers and conscripts; but in each house, one man had to stay at home. An amghar or the amghar was the elected warchief, and he established his contingent....He did not abandon his house or agricultural tasks or coerce anyone to fight[7], and the jma'th saw to an equitable distribution of men under arms at all times. Only shurfa, old men, boys and individuals with physical defects were exempt from harka service.

Attempts were made to respect geographical order, and each contingent was called upon to engage in combat only on its natural front. The order of battle was traditionally known, and was answerable to political necessity. Coexistence was easier for harka members on their natural fronts, of course, in their own land; resistance was more effective, displacements were more rapid and dispersion was less serious. Knowing the country perfectly, they could send groups to defend passes or watersheds or gorges in relays, each one two or three hours behind the last, so that later arrivals could increase the

616 619 648 193 616 619 182 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

616 The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping
614 their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members,
619 are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion
[621] on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known pre-
616 viously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these
182 two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary
628 feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

618 As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protec-
692 torate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes
616 up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights
182 to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

616 Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

616 (social), for a man only goes to his liff when the other two types fail him. Thus we see individuals or groups, when they are helpless, calling for their liffs in defense of their rights or taking refuge with them when, conquered or routed, they abandon their own hearths.

61 621 Tribes and their clans, and jma'ths and their kin groups or dharfiqin are generally divided into two balanced, symmetrical and mutually hostile parties; and it is in such an equilibrium that we find the strength of each group, no matter how insignificant that group may appear, and the weakness of the whole tribe, which is only welded together if threatened from outside.

616 619 621 623 In essence, in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, the innumerable feuds between jma'ths are reduced to two parties, within each council, whose quarrel, perhaps rather than for hegemony, is a dispute of interests. But, in discussing parties, let us rid ourselves of the

642 795 notions which these have for Europeans, either in forms of government or in religion. In such simple questions, Republic[28] and Islam have been in agreement for a long time. The Rifian states were religious republics governed by laymen, we might say. Well and good: above and

616 beyond these quarrels and ferocious feuds, the Aith Waryaghar knew how to ally themselves, absolutely independently of these, to other groups, indicating that the motive forces which underlay each class of alli-

619 ance were different[29]. Thus we see, for example, how the five khmas (sing. khums) of the Aith Waryaghar were allied or opposed to each other, and how they constituted two mutually hostile bands; the Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abd Allah on one side, and the rest on the other[30]. In my opinion, these two bands represent the most obvious

brake or check upon the expanding hunger of neighbors as well as upon the hegemony of some determined individual.

But with the threat of the Rogi, Bu Hmara[31], expressed in the form of the mhalla or military expedition under the command of Jilali Mul al-Wudhu[32] (Muludu), we see the Aith Waryaghar reacting violently and uniting, for the first time in their history, as the result of an agraw at Imzuren, nominating their war chief, mounting guard on the line of resistance parallel to the Nkur River, from Imnudh (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) to the Mediterranean, and joyfully accepting the hard task, magnificently performed, of smashing Bu Hmara's army to bits and sending it back in headlong retreat to Qasba Silwan.

In the same way, we also see the khums of Aith 'Abd Allah, in liff with the Ibuqquyen, joining the other khmas of Aith Waryaghar to fight against that tribe, as auxiliaries in the punitive expedition of Bushta al-Baghdadi[33]; and thus we see that tribal interests were always superior to clan ones[34].

For this reason, the mechanism of the liff is simply conservative and not disintegrative, as might seem the case from other points of view. If in the jma'th it equalizes the forces which are feuding, it does the same in the tribe with the rival clans, and in the overall Rifian area with hostile tribes, everywhere balancing the inferiority of weak groups with the strength of its own men. It may be possible to explain in this fashion why in spite of the feverish, ephemeral and unlucky vicissitudes of such minuscule states, they never came to the point of disappearing altogether, while at the same time and by the same token they never permitted the duration of empires

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [191] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [191] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[114] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 [2] 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

616
[62] sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although
[602] he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation,
[114] make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at
the matter in a slightly different way.

There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves
[539] readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows:
"Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight
among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within
616 clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr,
614 pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even con-
619 tinuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were
"external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan
against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and
predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the
same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-
clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention
to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and imperman-
ence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are
under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the
former more to higher ones.

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work
in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E.
Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44).
What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are,
then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within
well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neigh-
boring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not con-
tinue ad infinitum.

616 The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their
614 terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big"
619 liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or
"smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the
Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know
of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and
its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in
Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but
not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was gener-
ally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes
[124] would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the
Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe
(in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the
Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder,
therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others
who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because
of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each in-
dividual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at
least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes,
the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-
out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne
et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast
doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the
links of a chrin--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly
through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
62 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an aristocracy known
23 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
19 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 614 [693] Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A], and their brother Hammu.

621 692 673 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hannash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 687 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Azizi attended the present act with them. 784 Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

A, [A "83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

695 Valid and complete testimony in virtue of which both instrumental witnesses bring testimony against them.

000 (Two illegible signatures follow.)

692 At the same time, they agreed that whoever should commit any of the wrongs (literally, "things") expressed herein, the case, together with him (the man who committed it) shall be taken to Sayyid Mhammad bin Musa[32] and Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Ali[33] (Blanco: note d).

685 Whoever enters an orchard with intent to rob shall pay 20 685 uqiyyas. If a bull should start to trample property adjacent to that 672 of its owner, the latter shall pay one peseta.

The guarantors (of the fulfillment of this agreement) are three. The Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah, and Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan (Blanco: note e).

[681] Regarding the amount (of the fines imposed) with respect to orchards in cases in which they are injured by animals, this will be donated to their mosque (Blanco: note f).

If they should break a branch of a fig or other tree belonging to anyone, the owner of the animals will pay 20 (uqiyyas).

000 A signature in Arabic follows, which appears to be al-Bu Jma' bin Muhammad (signed).

B) Commentary:

671 624 The reading of this qanun clearly indicates in its first paragraph the names of those who have established it, all of them members of the jma'th of Imhauren, bordering the Island of Alhucemas, in the 624 plain of the same name. Every two or three headmen or iziddifen (sing., 613 554 aziddif, "head") are the visible representatives of the lineage groups

621 613 554 [182] which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most influential and respected members of the community. Without any presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 621 181 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its representatives. 792 621 692 554 For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting; they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the 792 621 692 212 671 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that 527 521 571 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673
687 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
685 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good, natural and admirable feeling.

182
671 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
626 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
681 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
613

671 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

000 671 182 628 681 nor a bastardization of his office. It creates guarantees for the accused, protecting him from bloodfeuds; it indemnifies the social unit, the subclan of Imhauren, from injuries caused by some of its members, so that when the fine is donated to the habus of the village mosque, through the particular conceptualization and application of these funds in the Rif, a part of the money always came back to the jma'th in kind; and the eagerness for a reward, as among participating European functionaries, who multiply the fines by increasing their investigations and denunciations in proportion to their needs, was discarded.

671 It has--and why not?--among its other defects one which is certainly a simple defect in editing, although the frequency with which 681 it is repeated makes this doubtful in several cases. The intention (author's italics) (Blanco: note f, in text) is punished, but how can 627 it be proven? According only to the prudent arbitration of the popular tribunal formed by the two aforementioned individuals. A bad business.

671 Curious and noteworthy is the palpable demonstration of this municipal letter, of this qanun of a jma'th, which is careful not to 621 623 overstep the bounds of adjacent institutions, such as those of personal 614 182 status law (inheritance, etc.) or of those handled by the immediately superior social unit, the clan, with its qanun approved and drawn up in the markets (murders and woundings, etc.), a fact which reveals the interrelationship and interdependence of the different social units, and even their institutions and how they function.

671 627 182 This qanun is limited, logically, to neighborhood questions, among which there figures in first place that of public security (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property.

623 182 own circumstantial interest, their councils and the agreements fallen back upon in them lacked that breadth and generality which would have been needed for a longer duration in any jural operation. In a short time, new, unspecified cases or prejudice among the influential men brought their usefulness to an end and necessitated their being redrafted, in which previous experience, the analysis of which was discarded in order to resolve the question of the moment, did not play a part.

671 212 For this reason written laws in the Rif are rare, of only relative value and minimal jural operation, which did not go beyond the time it took the minors (author's italics), the small ones, to forget the announcement of the majors (author's italics) by the criers in the markets to reach their hands.

671 They do not have the severity of European law which, even though drafted in moments of emotion, gathers up and encloses in itself principles of general usefulness, a usefulness which does not necessarily exist at the time of codification but which comes into play with possible and presumable variations which later times can introduce, by which, with the prolongation of their legal operation, their disclosure and exemplarity increase, resulting in the slow but sure advance of society.

5. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF TAMASINT (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 695 621 623 A) Qanun:

(Blanco: paragraph a) Praise be to God.--Copy.--In front of both witnesses testifying at the present act, those of the jama'a of Tamasint as-Sifli, Lower Thamasind, appeared for judgment, including:

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

671 614 It eschews pardon,
it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that
the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe
(author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's
italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange
and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result
of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 623 443 671 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to
those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives,
whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan,
[182] an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in
principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial inter-
change, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accus-
tomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to
the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at
least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the
side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging
its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored,
converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, over-
flowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of
humanitarianism.

671 443 614 796 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanuns, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing influence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the undersigned notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya) made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros. This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55] or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

312 571 613 [402] lead the water to which he has a right in any of the main ditches into these three smaller ones. The ditch of Tuth, when it has water, moves the mill of Dharwa nd-Hajj Mis'aud. The irrigators of the Tafadhna ditch, whether the turn is interrupted or not, have the right to use that of Shimurra, but giving first choice to those who use it regularly.

16. QANUN OF THE NKUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 675 The Nkur River has an irrigation regimen which is less exact than that of the Ghis, and the written agreements on the distribution of its waters are few and recent. One of them refers to the division of waters between the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intervention of the Bureau of the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir).[146] In any case, the establishment of such agreements is based upon the same notions and the same norms as in those pertaining to the Ghis.

312 (621) In the Middle and Upper Nkur, there is more than enough water to irrigate the meanders which the river has created, through which it is easy to affix by-laws to the 'azibs[147] of the neighboring jma'ths which own land on its banks, given the small amount of land under irrigation. (241) There is even freedom and waste, and it is not uncommon to see, during harvest time, the formation of tiny threshing floors with capricious irrigation-furrows of 300 and 500 meters in the middle of the river bed.

[619] There are meanders like Dhaghzwith n Dasa (upstream, in the territory of Axt Tuzin, and near the bridge on the right bank) and Dhazur-akhth (downstream, in the territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also right beside the same bridge, but on the left bank), which are of relatively large dimension and which have already stabilized turns; but the real difficulties and concomitant near-perfect solutions are

A, [See pp. 361-369--Analyst]

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] [821] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

000 with the lineages of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid irrigating; Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours) with the Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush irrigating; and Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit (24 hours).

[114] 144--Blanco gives the "9 hours 20 minutes" figure (the difference between 12 hours and 2 hours 40 minutes) as "h. 60", which seems to make no sense whatsoever, and may be simply a typographical error.

[103] 145--Our notes record this as one ditch, called Sidd Tuth r-Hammam ("mulberry in the heat"?), a lower extension, in fact, of Sidd Dharga nd-Bzimma. It has a two-day turn, distributed as follows: U Kammuni, U r-Qadhi, U 'Amar u Bukar, U Muhand and Zawith. As in the 1-Bzimma ditch, these names are purely names of turns, and not names of actual lineages located in the area around the ditch. However, at least three of the turn names recall present lineage segments of the clan of the Imrabdhen: U Kammuni and U r-Qadhi recall the Aith Kammun and Aith r-Qadhi in the Upper Imrabdhen, and U 'Amar u Bukar recalls the Aith 'Amar u Bukar in the Lower Imrabdhen. Given this fact, it is also possible, therefore, that Zawith in this context might refer either to the Zawith n Sidi Yusif in the Lower Imrabdhen or to the Zawith n Sidi 'Aisa or Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar in the Upper Imrabdhen. The turn name U Muhand is too generalized to provide any lead.

146--Blanco unfortunately does not provide us with a translation of this document.

147--'Azib, in an Arabic dictionary, is generally given the meaning of "estate", but it is one of many words in Arabic which mean different things to different groups of people. In the Central Atlas, it refers to a shepherd's shelter in a summer pasturage area; and in the Rif it refers to a second house built by an individual who already owns one, preferably a second house in which he spends a certain season of the year, such as summer. Such an individual is called a'azzab, pl. i'azzaben, and there are very few of them in the Central Rif, where transhumance, in any form, is non-existent.

148--The tribes in question which are bounded by the Lower Nkur are the Aith Waryaghar on the west bank and the Thimsaman on the east; but it should also be remembered that the Middle and even a part of the Upper Nkur divides the Aith Waryaghar (west) from the Axt Tuzin (east).

[121] [613] [614] 149--The latter is a lineage-community of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the former (Imzuren) is a thoroughly mixed local community, with elements of the Aith 'Ari, Aith Yusif w 'Ari Imrabdhen and even the Aith Bu 'Ayyash clans all included.

[113] 150--Our notes on Dharga n Dahar state that it has nine turns: five for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (by which, naturally, is meant only those lineage segments of this clan localized around the area of the ditch), and the remaining four as follows: Abyadh (the Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Isrihan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Thasrand Imziren (half for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and half for the Aith Musa w 'Amar), Ihaddushen (a branch of the Aith Musa w 'Amar) and Imzuren. In each one of these turns, there are 7 or 8 nubath. From Thasrand Imziren to the Nkur, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash irrigate; and from Ihaddushen to Imzuren, the Aith 'Ari do so.

591 Neolocality is
198 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

198 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization. [613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijuiga [596] traditional social obligations are still extant.

[602] The final social unit in the Rif is the local community
621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchars, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

[1] [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is appointed by the national government. While the appointment is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem may and usually does have administrative responsibility over more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

621 622 657 622 631 619

623 [554] Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

623 178 [657]

621 The dchar then is a neighborhood association which is made up of all the adult permanent residents. Its functions which formerly held considerable political importance have now been reduced to an association of mutual support and assistance. It is important economically in such activities as maintenance of the local mosque and collecting sufficient funds to support local ceremonies. This latter function shall be taken up in greater detail in Chapter 5.

553 cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially
574 father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this cere-
602 mony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the
431 family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right
[578] to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day
782 the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended
574 to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is
621 expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the
553 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of
556 food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys.
574 Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, how-
[571] ever, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony
553

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated [178] and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of [621] the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with [595] multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The [369] urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the [593] man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society [571] was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- [602] ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is [178] guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy [571] overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 792 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.*

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443] One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes† and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.‡ Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

* In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443. [113]

† *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

‡ Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

urban institutions are imposed by alien authorities. Such cities become parasites, drawing support from the rural countryside but offering little in exchange. The peasant population continues to look to its local markets for satisfaction of basic needs.

Hamlets versus Scattered Houses

Since they are walled, Moroccan cities begin and end abruptly. Pass through a gate and you are in the rural countryside. The type of landscape varies notably between the eastern and western parts of this zone. The basic distinction is between clustered settlements in the western areas and widely scattered houses in the Rif (fig. 15).

Clusters of ten to fifty houses make up the basic settlement pattern in Jbala, Ghmara, Sanhaja as-Srair, and along the Atlantic littoral. In these areas the

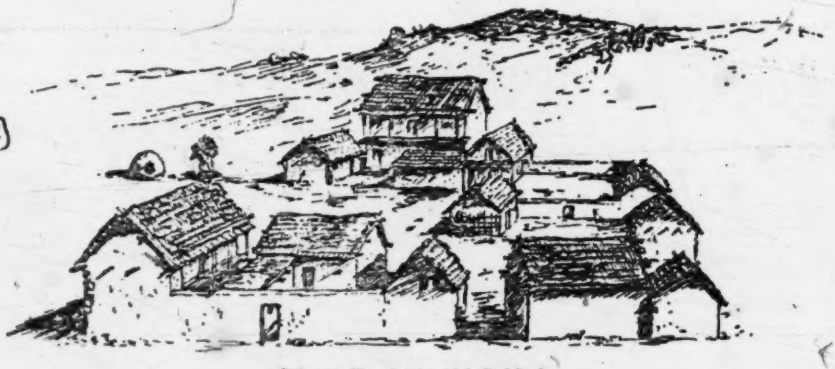


Fig. 16. Hamlet in Aith Seddath.

presence of an isolated house indicates that its owner has more than one place of residence; his first and most frequented home is generally with a cluster of several others. Isolated houses are usually of recent construction, and probably reflect the increased security introduced by the Spanish occupation. When it was no longer necessary to live close to trusted kinsmen, the more independent tribesmen settled on good land away from the ancestral hamlet.

The inhabitants of a hamlet are members of an extended family, formed of parents or grandparents, and the children of their sons. This unit does not break up unless the sons quarrel or the kin group becomes too large to be supported by the available land. Thus the basic unit of kinship, the biological family, is also the basic unit of settlement. Moroccans are averse to dividing up their land. When brothers inherit their father's land, they usually farm it jointly, and the eldest brother administers the property for all.

The growth of a hamlet follows the growth of a family. A newly married couple builds a new house, as close as possible to the husband's hamlet. Their first unit is a single hut, with a sunken area for domestic animals. As the livestock multiplies, another hut is erected to serve as a barn. When the sons of the pioneer couple marry, other huts are built adjoining the parent's home. The basic unit is extended into an L- or U- shape, and similar units are added by the grandchildren (fig. 16).

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East

Ref map

[Village of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin]

[278] soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part
813 of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it
361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along
621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque.
368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro-
173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and
621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen
595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine ~~of their fathers~~

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif mx3

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

/238 cont./

121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 361 621 632 [619] the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 613 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 114 [171] It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

/239 cont./

621 613 614 114 171 /footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11. Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse origins there. On the other hand, the bond of blood exists among the households of the same Riffian jema^{c}a.

621 613 it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and becomes a group stsong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq" heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers" 621 resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they 628 take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring 613 hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of exter- 726 mination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of the Aït ^{c}Abdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, following the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the [722] country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under [435] which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ^{c}adoul; if the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes, large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living grouped in hamlets. The "mouda^{c}" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to deliber-
621 ate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collectively that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each representative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present-day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal administrators) to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to reappear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

623 621 591 793 The aziddjif or amghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

000
[114] 135--Although he does not couch them in anthropological language, Blanco here elucidates certain principles which are so common to most segmentary systems as to have become anthropological platitudes, since Evans-Pritchard's work among the Nuer. They were not, however, platitudes in 1935, and Blanco's perspicacity in stating them (even if obliquely) should be commended.

[113] 136--For competent discussions on the racial affiliations of the Rifians, see Carleton S. Coon, The Races of Europe, New York: Macmillan, 1939, and Coon, 1951, op. cit., pp. 156-7.
[144] But why should the Rifians be aware of their own racial affiliations well enough to "forget" them? They know they are whites, and they know they are Berbers (the latter example of self-knowledge is particularly well developed at the present day, since the independence of Morocco, and contains definite political overtones); and these facts, to them, are sufficient, genealogies and traditions explaining all the others.

137--Ghis, in Moroccan Arabic, means "mud", and a better name for the river in question could not be found.

138--The sixth "clan" of the Jbil is in reality made up of three subclans which are "brothers" of the members of two of the other five "ancient" clans which Blanco mentions above: Aith Turirth are "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Timarzga are "brothers" of Aith 'Ari (Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari in turn form the two top segments of one major clan, that of Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari--it has no proper name, on this level, of its own), and Aith 'Arus are "brothers" of Aith Hadhifa. These three subclans, being contiguous to each other in the mountain massif of the Jbil Hamam and discontiguous to their larger "clan brothers" mentioned above, formed a single administrative unit under a shaikh during Spanish times.

139--Blanco's recommendation to do away with the khalifa or representative of the qa'id in order to make for greater administrative simplicity was not acted upon by the Spanish authorities.

● [822] [184] 140--The office of jari or village headman is one which exists only among the Aith Waryaghar. In all other tribes, the village headman is the mqaddim, who in Aith Waryaghar became the head of the administratively created "sub-fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh. The creation and insertion by the Spaniards of another tribal [648] office-holder on a level between that of village and clan (where no such office-holder had existed previously) was their answer to the greater segmentary intricacy, larger territorial units and greater population of the Aith Waryaghar. And last, but not least, Blanco's division of the total tribal territory into three blocs, each under its own qa'id, and each perforce following territorial rather than segmentary lines (owing to the frequent geographical discontinuity of subsegments), was, in the last analysis, the best and indeed the only way to make for an effective tribal administration.

141--This phrase comes from Hanoteau and Letourneux' famous reference to the Thajm 'aith of Kabylia as "la pierre angulaire de l'edifice berbère".

427 241 621 person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

621 623 465 793 622 794 623 621 613 The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

794 423 From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

423 794 197 It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present
805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

623 554 legislate, but it is not maintained by conferring distinctions on them, converting them into a caste, nor by giving them stipends for their work. For this same reason, the council-members have, perhaps, greater esteem among their neighbors. On the other hand, the jma'th punishes [581] disobedience to its decrees, but it does not impose a penalty on those who disobey the shaikh, who is simply a representative of the people with outside denomination expressed in writing (i.e. in Arabic), in view of the difficulty of expressing this in his own language.[44] That [622] he is a simple titular and outside arbiter is shown by the fact that his function, in Arabic terminology and organization, would be that of a mqaddim.

607 554 623 [578] This qanun is an excellent example of the beginnings of a trend toward personal power concentrated in a single individual, the shaikh, charged with the representation of the jma'th and the execution of its agreements;.....and we may perceive indistinctly the intrigue and the deaf struggle between this personage and the rest of the community, who are jealous of his attributes. In the first draft, the document is declared valid (Blanco: paragraph f, in text); but in the oversights pointed up in the re-reading of the document, and certainly at the shaikh's request, they consent to the fact that obedience to him be recommended in the addenda; but they have been careful, in the preceding paragraph (paragraph i), to state that only they can make resolutions or define crimes and misdemeanors through enforcement of law and punishment, always granted, of course, that such enforcement be useful (author's italics); but neither the shaikh nor anyone else can invent or contrive more than his council, because only they are capable

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is appointed by the national government. While the appointment is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem may and usually does have administrative responsibility over more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

621 622 657 622 631 619

Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

623 [554] 623 178 [657]

[For information on the councils (jemas) on the ar-rba or tribal level, see Category 619.]

623

[For councils (jemas, jma'th) on the ar-rba or tribal level, see Categories 619 and 646.]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT AND WARFARE

REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS

623 RIFFIAN government is a highly complex system based on the principles of superimposed representative councils. The smallest and least important of these is the *asht arbain n dchar*, or village council,[1] which concerns itself with the affairs of its own *bone* only. The second is the *asht arbain imkaranen*, or council of the great,[2] which has charge of the administration of the *canton*. Each member of the latter council is called by the title *amghar* (plural *imgharen*), or "Councillor"; these councillors go as units to the tribal council,[3] called *ayarau* (plural *iyarawen*).

The village council, or council of the *bone*, is composed of two or three boys from each *vein* which claims patrilineal descent from the common founder of the *bone*. *Veins* descended from incoming or adopted strangers are not allowed to be thus represented. The boys are chosen by the members of the council of the great, supposedly by virtue of their superior intelligence and promise of future ability. The element of personal favoritism naturally enters into the choice in many cases. These boys meet together in the village mosque, elect a *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*), or "moderator,"[4] and judge cases of minor misdemeanor brought before them. Although the cases given them are unimportant, their authority is real and their elders see that their decrees are enforced.

The membership of the council of the great is indeterminate in number, but seldom exceeds three or four from each prominent *bone* of long residence in the *canton*. There are two kinds of *bones* which do not send members to this council, those of long standing which are poor and of little military worth, and those formed by the cleavage of *veins* sired by outsiders. When a *bone* of alien origin is new and the memory of this origin is fresh in the minds of all, it cannot participate in the government of the *canton*, but after a number of generations, when such memories have become dim and the *bone* has come to be considered indigenous, it may be allowed to send its councillors with the others. The selection of councillors to be sent from each *bone* is made by the old men who frequent the common mosque of the *canton*. These men are too decrepit to serve, but all of them at one time during their younger years were councillors. Thus the councillors perpetuate themselves: when they are too old to be of active use in the council they dictate who shall succeed them. This being the case, it is only natural that the succession should become to a certain extent hereditary. An ex-councillor is likely to name one of his sons to take the office he formerly held, or if he has no son competent for the task he nominates a nephew, brother, or grand-

[1] This means literally "The sons of the forty of the village." Where the idea of the number forty comes from is a difficult question. It recurs time and again in Berber lore as a conventional number.

[2] The literal meaning is "the great sons of the forty."

[3] This term will also be used to signify the place in which the council is held.

[4] This Arabic word, which is applied to a number of different types of officials, both civil and religious, may in this case be translated as either "moderator" or "spokesman." In the *Village Council* only the former term applies, but in the *Council of the Great* either may be used.

[For comment on this, see the 111 slip, -Analyst] [p. 96]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

son. In this way certain *veins* within each *bone* manage to control the seats of that *bone* within the council of the great, but if a man of great ability arises in a *vein* of eligible standing which has not previously sent a representative, the old men may be forced by expediency to send him rather than a member of their own *vein*, who may be of mediocre ability. Sometimes, however, a councillor is chosen who is exceptionally stupid and incapable of expressing himself well in deliberations. Such a councillor is chosen for his physical strength and fighting ability, since deliberations of these bodies often end in pitched battles; two or three intelligent men may be enough to bear the brunt of the mental labor involved, and the others can serve as valuable henchmen in a crisis.[1]

The council of the great meets in the common mosque of the *canton*, under the olive trees by a stream, in the house of one of its members, in market (see plate 30), or wherever it pleases the members to convene. The councillors elect a *mokaddem* as moderator and spokesman.

The councillors of each *canton* in the tribe go together, in time of crisis, to a place agreed upon, called the *ayarau* (which means also "tribal council"). This meeting place has no fixed locality, but depends upon mutual convenience. The councillors enter by groups and sit down on the ground huddled together, the various groups forming a circle. Each *fifth* occupies a section of the circle and its councils of *cantons* are contiguous. The moderator of each council talks, generally in a whisper, to its members, until a common attitude in regard to the subject of the meeting is agreed upon. The moderator now having, as it were, received the instructions of his constituency, approaches the center of the circle, where he squats down with the other moderators in a nuclear circle. The councillors left on the outer ring finger their rifles and generally express their readiness to defend their spokesman in case he enters into a violent argument; the moderators likewise hold their gun butts against the ground with their fingers clasping the trigger guard. They discuss the matter at hand, all talking at once or whenever they please, since there is no chief moderator at this meeting, and for one member to bid another be silent would be considered ample excuse for murder. The moderators of a *fifth* usually agree within themselves, and the argument soon devolves into consideration of how many *fifths* favor one opinion and how many the other. A moderator of one *fifth* may lead aside an influential moderator of another and whisper to him outside the ring of councillors, trying to win him over to his way of thinking by arguments and promises of bribery. If the moderator so entreated succumbs to this persuasion he returns to the central ring and tries to change the attitude of the other representatives of his *fifth*. In this way the parley goes on and on until an unanimous decision is reached or until the councillors begin fighting between themselves and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In the latter case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay an indemnity to the other. Even when the tribal council ends peacefully it often takes a week or more before an agreement is reached.

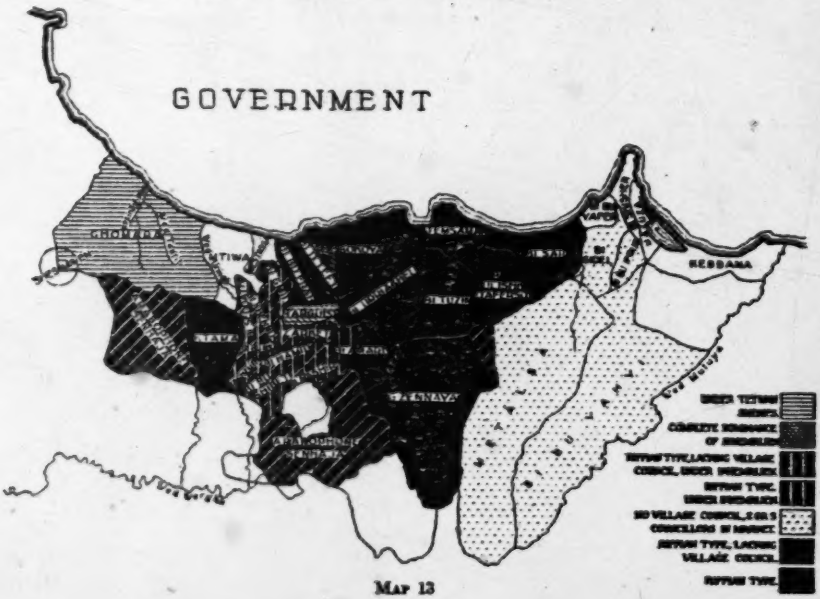
We thus see that the deliberative bodies in Riffian government are really composed of but two sets of members, the village council composed of adolescents who handle the small

[1] During the combats with Spain in the last three decades, certain councillors have arisen from time to time who have acted as virtual dictators. Among these were Moh Aserkan of the Beni Urriaghel, Hajj Bukkeiah of the Gzennaya, and, more widely known than the others, Abd el Krim. The rise of such dictators is psychologically un-Riffian; in these cases it was brought about by too late a realization of the necessity of union against a common foe.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 646 affairs of the *bone* and the council of the great, composed of councillors who concern themselves with the problems of the *canton* and go together to take part in the tribal council in which the function of the *fifth* is to divide the councillors into preliminary alliances.

The type of government just described is limited to the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Gsennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, most of Beni Amart (exclusive of the region immediately contiguous with Zarket and Beni Mesduy), and, curiously enough, the Senhajan tribe of Ktama.



MAP 13

619 642 The following tribes or parts of tribes have the same sort of government, except that the village council is lacking, the minor duties accomplished by it in other regions being neglected or else taken over by the council of the great: the Asht Dris of Metalsa; Marnissa, Fenassa, Ulad Azam, Beni Kora, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Zrarka, Beni Krama, and Beni Wenjin, from the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; and all the Western Arabophone Senhaja.

In Targuist is the center of the temporal authority of the marabutic family of Ikhemrijen, who have absolute political control of that tribe, as well as of the northwesterly portion of Beni Mesduy; in Zarket, in the rest of Beni Mesduy, which counts with it, in Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Beni Berber, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Gmil, the same type of government as that described in the previous paragraph obtains except that the Ikhemrijen dictate to the councils what they shall do, and in fact keep the moderators of these bodies practically in vassalage. In these tribes

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

the Ikhemrijen forbid warfare and alliances, with a result that, as a natural outlet for bellicose exuberance, brigandage is rife.

In the northwestern part of Beni Amart, in the *canton* of Ijaonen, the power of the Ikhemrijen prevents warfare and alliance; otherwise the government is purely Riffian in type.

In the Ghomara the Arab system of government is employed, with the customary alignment of ḳaids (leaders of tribes), khalifas (leaders of *fifths*), and sheikhs (leaders of *cantons*), excepting that all these officers are under the jurisdiction of a marabutic family of Tetuan.

Metalsa, except Asht Dris, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, employ a hybrid form of government in which there is no village council and the council of the great consists only of two or three men who meet in the market to administer justice for the region near it.

Mtiwa, Mestassa, Beni Bu Yafer, Ait Shisher, Mazuza, Kebdana, Muziet, Rgheiwa, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Beni Ulid, Branes, and Burda had fallen completely under the Arab system before the time when Abd el Krim attempted to remodel the government. In the eastern section and in Mtiwa and Mestassa the ḳaid was euphemistically called by the Berber term *amghar* (councillor), and in the Senhajan tribes mentioned the sheikh was called *kebir el jama*, or "great one of the congregation."

DUTIES OF THE VILLAGE COUNCIL

The cases tried by this body and the matters it is required to regulate are as follows (the fines listed are only approximate):

Theft of eggs and of poultry. The thief must pay a fine of thirty dollars. If the culprit is a child, his father appears and pays it.

Theft of maize. Boys who steal early ripening maize are collectively fined five dollars. The injured farmer has the right to pick ripened ears from the terraces of the thieves' parents to the number which he has lost.

Cutting maize in adjoining terraces. Sometimes maize growing in adjoining terraces, owned by different men, ripens at different times. The owner of the later ripening maize may wish to prevent the owner of the other field from cutting his crop until both are ready, through fear that his own maize may be trampled in the process. This situation arises when it is necessary to enter one terrace by passing through the other. In this case the village council enjoins the owner of the early maize to wait until the other is ready.

Breaking branches of fruit trees. If goats or children break branches from a fruit tree, the owner of the tree brings the branch or branches to the mosque, where the village council counts the number of buds on the branch or branches. A *girch* (about five cents) is charged for each bud, the recompense to be paid the owner of the tree, and in addition a fine of twenty dollars must be paid.

Trampling vegetable gardens. This offense is punished by a fine of one to two dollars, with no restitution.

Policing orchards. During the harvest season the members of this body police the orchards of the *bone* during the night to prevent thefts.

Starting the grape picking. The village council, which has charge of allotting poor families to rich ones for the grape picking, exacts a fine of twenty dollars from anyone guilty of picking grapes before the signal is given.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 692 685

Picking windfall olives. Similarly, the head of each family must pay a quarter of a dollar for each member of his family who starts picking up windfalls before the signal is given.

Theft of olives. The outright theft of olives is punished by a fine of ten dollars.

Trespassing in order to pick grass. If a man catches a woman picking or cutting grass for her cow on his land, he may report her, and her husband will be fined one dollar. But to make such a report is considered mean and few are willing to do so.

Stray goats and cattle in the cemetery. When goats or cattle, either with or without the intention of their guardian, enter a cemetery, their owner is fined a quarter of a dollar for each goat, and a dollar for each bull or cow which entered.

[689]

Repair of irrigation ditches. If any farmer fails to send a man or men to work on a ditch, when he is required to do so, he is fined between two and three dollars per day per man.

Taking water illegally from irrigation ditches. This is considered a serious offense, and although it incurs but a five dollar fine, it always breeds bad feelings and often incites to murder.

[782] 623 692 688

Regulating attendance at prayer. To explain this function it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of religion. Each *bone* in the *canton* is required to send twenty-five men once a week to the common mosque of the *canton* to pray. The village council of each *bone* lists the names of all married men in the *bone*: a day is set for each *bone* to attend the mosque, and the *bone* keeps that day permanently. The first week the first twenty-five men on the list must go, the second week the second twenty-five, and so on until the list has been exhausted, when the procedure starts all over again. If the number of married men in the *bone* is not evenly divisible by twenty-five, those forming the remainder at the foot of the list are supplemented by enough at the head of it to fill the number, and the rotation starts anew. It is the task of the village council in whose territory the cantonal mosque is situated to see that twenty-five men appear from each *bone* on the allotted day. If a *bone* is so small that it does not contain twenty-five, it is combined with another *bone* for this purpose.

If the members of the village council of the mosque territory find that a quota is not full on a certain day, they fine the man who has defaulted five dollars. If this is not paid promptly the council of the great steps in and fines the guilty *bone* between two and three hundred dollars. If a man is away on a journey his name is temporarily stricken from the list and the following names are moved up one place; if he is ill or for some other reason unable to go, he is allowed to send a substitute. If a man falls ill on the way, becomes wounded, or is otherwise prevented from reaching the mosque when it is too late to obtain a substitute, his absence is excused.

The fines thus extracted, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the mosque, formerly consisted of walnuts, almonds, figs, or raisins. Later, when sugar was first imported, two sugar cones were assessed. Later still the money fine was introduced.

623 681 651 642

Providing for exiles from other fifths. When a man has been exiled by the tribal council for a year, two years, or more, he must pass to a different *fifth*, preferably to a *bone* in which he has friends. The village council of the *bone* collects an assessed portion of the crops of every farmer and gives it to him. This it does for the first year only. If he remains more than a year he must work as a share-laborer for a farmer and earn his living. If a farmer refuses to give his assessed portion it is taken by force, and twofold. Such refusals are, however, almost unknown.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Entertaining councillors of another tribe. If the councillors of a strange tribe stop at a village for the night, the local village council has charge of their entertainment. They first provide a house for the guests by expelling some childless man and his wife from their dwelling for the night. They then collect foodstuffs. Bread and all fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, and vegetables, are assessed from rich men without payment. Meat, sugar, tea, candles, oil, pepper, butter, and poultry are purchased from members of the *bone* willing to sell them. The boys of the council buy the poultry from widows, and eggs as well, if no one brings them voluntarily. Anyone refusing to supply the bread assessed him may be fined ten *soldi* a loaf; but since no one has ever been known to refuse, the fine is purely theoretical. If in buying those articles not given, the members of the council spend more money than they have in the fine treasury, they pay the excess amount themselves, later collecting it in equal portions from all the men of the *bone* who have been married one year or over. They themselves act as cooks for the visiting councillors.

Entering council chamber unbidden. If any member of the *bone* enters the council chamber while the council is deliberating, the intruder is told to remain and is given tea. When at length he departs, a member of the council is immediately sent out to call him back. This time he is reprimanded for having entered unbidden, and is fined between two and three dollars.

Conversing with women. If a man or boy speaks to a married woman belonging to a *bone* other than his own, on the path or in any other public place, except the market, the village council of the village to which the woman belongs summons the offender and fines him five dollars. If the offender repeatedly seeks out the woman, or loiters about places she is known to frequent in order to converse with her, the village council of the offender's own *bone* fines him between fifty and sixty dollars. If the offense takes place in market it is considered more serious, and comes before the council of the great.[1] These rules do not apply to unmarried women, who may be spoken to, in a respectful manner, by anyone.

Quarrels between women. When one woman injures another with a stone, stick, or other implement, the village council collects a fine of from five to six dollars from the husband of the aggressor. The council generally hears of such cases through gossip, since the husband of the injured woman is usually too ashamed to report it.

Entering a cemetery occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a cemetery when the women of the *bone* are convening there on a Friday or holiday, he is fined five dollars.

Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a saint's tomb in which women are convening, the village council fines him from fifty to a hundred dollars.

Fighting with the hands. If two men fight with their hands, without using any weapon, the village council determines which man started the fight and fines him an amount commensurate with the injury done.

Speaking to an enemy. If a man is caught conversing with a member of a hostile *bone*, at a time when war is either in progress or imminent, the village council of his own *bone* fines him fifty dollars.

In the tribes and territories where there is no village council, the rendering of justice in small affairs which is the work of this body is not performed. For example, one man may cut down another's tree or take his grass without any fine or other official reckoning; he can likewise speak to a woman of another *bone*; but if he does these things he incurs the wrath

[1] See below, p. 102.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

627 of the men affected, and may thus start a feud which will end in killings, after which it becomes the concern of the councillors to render justice.

In regions where the Arab form of government has supplanted the indigenous type, such affairs are decided by the sheikh.

DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT

● 623 This council, which is the governing body of the *canton*, does not convene as often as the village council, but comes together only in market and when some occasion demands it, its moderator then sending for the members. In *cantons* which have no markets, the council of the great has no regular meetings.

Supporting the village council. If anyone who has been fined by the village council refuses to pay it, that body sends a messenger to the moderator of the council of the great. The moderator sends for the members, who come armed to a place previously agreed upon and proceed in a body to the house of the offender. There they assess upon a him fine several times that originally imposed, amounting usually to between fifty and two hundred dollars, depending on the offense.

623 692 [685] *Theft of livestock.* A man who has stolen sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules, or horses is summoned before the councillors and fined between a hundred and two hundred dollars, besides being forced to restore to his victim the animals stolen, in cash or in kind. The theft of camels does not incur jurisdiction because of the lawless condition of the nomads who own them. Such a theft simply results in a fight.

[683] *Fighting with sticks.* The councillors decide which of the parties is at fault and fine him fifty dollars. If the *bone* of the injured man is a strong one, the councillors force the culprit to bring a goat, bread, tea, and sugar and go with them to the house of the injured man to present him with a feast. Such a feast, provided by visitors to the house, is a strong act of [689] compulsive magic and cannot be disregarded. The recipient of such a favor must grant any request made and cease enmity against the giver. If the *bone* of the injured man is weak, no precaution of this nature is necessary.

[683] *Shooting at a man but missing him.* He who shoots at another without hitting him must pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the councillors.

[689] *Speaking to women in market.* This offense is considered greater than that of speaking to women in any other place. It is settled by the councillors of the *canton* in whose territory the market is held, and is punished by a hundred dollar fine.

Entering a women's market. For a man to enter a market which is restricted to women is an offense as serious as that of speaking to a woman in a common market, if not more so. It is punished by a fine of a hundred dollars, paid to the councillors.

623 692 684 *Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act.* If a husband hears that his wife has been unfaithful, but did not actually witness such an event, he is not allowed to kill the suspected man without incurring the penalty for ordinary murder. He has the privilege of bringing the matter before the councillors, who fine the suspect, if they are reasonably sure of his guilt, between a hundred and two hundred dollars. They forcibly divorce the woman from her husband, and forbid her to remarry him or any other man. Women so divorced return to their parents to live. Such a woman often becomes a prostitute, plying her trade with the greatest secrecy possible. If she is caught doing this, the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

man with whom she is involved is punished just as was the first convicted offender. If she has been publicly exposed several times as a prostitute, the men of her *bone* kidnap her, carry her into the mountains, and there kill her and hide her body. No notice is taken of her absence, and if the councillors hear about the affair they pretend not to have done so.

If a woman catches her husband in the act of adultery with another woman, she ordinarily goes back to her own people and tells them of it. The men of her family, her father, brothers, or paternal uncle, may bring the matter up before the councillors and have the husband fined and divorced. In many cases, however, the men of her *rein* persuade the woman to do nothing about it, thinking that to make a commotion would only cause the disruption of the *bone*. In case the woman has married outside her *bone*, whether or not action takes place depends largely upon the respect which her own *bone* has for that of her husband. In any case, the sacramental defilement of the man is not considered as great as that of the woman in the opposite situation.

Blood money. Although murders, woundings, and adultery caught in the act are offenses beyond the jurisdiction of the council of the great and are relegated to the tribal council, one consequence of them falls directly upon the councillors. This is the assessment and collection of the *diith*, or blood money. Whereas the tribal council has the right to impose the fine, the council of the great has charge of compensation to the injured family. This takes place after the tribal council has finished its judgment and punishment. Murder is atoned for by the payment of a sum between one and five hundred dollars. The amount varies from *canton* to *canton*, but within a *canton* is constant and inflexible. Wounds are paid for at the rate of twenty-five dollars a month for each month of convalescence, until the injured man is able to work again.

The man who committed the crime pays, if he is able. If he is unable to raise the money by selling his property, the *bone* pays. In some *bones* the group as a whole always pays, whether the guilty one is able to raise the money or not; in others a man other than the guilty one pays, with the understanding that he is to receive the total of the next blood-money payment to his *bone*.

In the *bones* which pay individually, receipts are given to the children of the deceased, and if he left no children, to his father. Children receive the money on the basis that one boy is equal to two girls. If the deceased leaves neither children nor father, it is divided among the members of the *bone*. Many *bones* refuse altogether to receive blood money, preferring to take it out in blood by killing a member of the hostile *bone*, in which case, after the punishment of the tribal council is finished, the account is considered by the councillors as settled. Frequently the injured *bone* accepts the blood money, then suffers a revulsion of feeling and takes blood vengeance in addition, in which case it is required to return the payment.

Murders within the *bone* rarely occur, and are considered unnatural crimes. No blood money is assessed, because such an offender is instantly killed by his own people if he is unable to escape. A man fleeing such a crime will not be harbored by any Riffian, and must continue until he has left the Rif altogether. Even in this case he must take care to go to some place to which Riffians do not ordinarily travel, lest revenge overtake him later.

Attending weddings outside the canton. Another duty of the council of the great, this time of a bloodless nature, is to attend weddings of other councillors or their sons in other *cantons* or *fifths*. This is done in order to foster friendly relations between the two groups.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 The councillors go in a body, taking with them twenty or more girls adept at singing and dancing, hired musicians, a bull or cow, two or three mules laden with bread, and quantities of tea, sugar, and candles. The cost of the presents and the fees of the musicians are paid out of money collected in fines.

DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 692 The task of the tribal council is to render judgment, exact fines, and destroy property in cases of adultery caught in the act, murder, and woundings; to make decisions as to tribal alliances in warfare; and to interfere with internal fights in other tribes.

684 837 *Adultery caught in the act.* A husband who surprises his wife in the act of adultery has the traditional privilege of killing the man, removing his genitals and placing them in the mouth of his corpse, killing his wife, and ripping her from pubis to diaphragm with a knife. This action is a privilege and not a duty. Many husbands are physically unable to do so; others are disinclined; still others mutilate their wives by cutting off the fleshy parts of their noses and let them go. One instance is known in Gzennaya of a man who thrust live coals into his wife's vagina and then released her. In at least half the cases, recently at any rate, no revenge is taken on the woman, her divorce and disgrace being considered ample punishment.

646 684 692 When the members of the tribal council hear of this event, they leave whatever they are doing and go as rapidly as possible to the adulterer's house. This they burn; they impose a fine of one thousand dollars or thereabouts, depending on the usage of the tribe, and on the importance of the *bone*. The fine is accepted either in cash, livestock, land, or in all three. When land and livestock are taken they are sold on the spot, not by bidding but by arbitrary prices, fair to the victim, placed on each animal or portion of land. If the proceeds of the sale exceed the amount of the fine, the balance is returned to the *bone* of the adulterer. If the adulterer and the adulteress belong to different *bones* the burden of the fine is shared between the *bones*. If the adulterer has survived the vengeance of the injured man he must leave the tribe forever. Women who survive go back to their families, forcibly divorced and forbidden to marry again.

T586 684 After the cash of the fine is in hand, it is divided among the *fifths*, each receiving an equal share, to be divided evenly among each *canton* composing the *fifth*. Thus the *canton* of the offenders receives back a portion of the money which some of its members have paid. It often refuses to accept this, in which case the money goes to the actual payers. *Cantons* friendly with that of the adulterer may likewise refuse to accept, and their money too is returned.

646 692 683 *Wounding.* When one man wounds another, the tribal council comes to the offender's house and exacts a fine of five hundred dollars after questioning the councillor or councillors belonging to the offending *bone*. The fine is always paid by the *bone* as a whole, whether the blood money is or not.

646 692 684 621 *Murder.* When one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If the man and his *bone* refuse to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which has refused has no allies, it seldom wins,

A gathering at Suk et Tnine, Beni Amart

Suk es Sebt of Targuist

Talking things over. Suk el Khemis, Ikaroen. Gasnaya

The house of the Council of the Great, Suk el Khemis, Ikaroen

623

1: Coon E-5 ~ (1926-1927) 1931

MX3 Rif MX3

110(A)

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

announced upon his arrival home that he had shot the man and returned undetected. The *amghār* soon learned the truth, and locked up his *akhammās* for three days without food or water. He then sent him packing, after cutting off his ears.

Under circumstances like these, in which even women did not dare go to work alone in the fields and in which men always had to carry their rifles to the mosque or to the market, it might seem, carrying Montagne's argument one step further, that no groupings larger than the *thārfiqth* could exist at all. They do exist, however, thanks to the mechanism of the *liff* alliance system, and the next one up the scale is the *jamā'ath* or *dshār*, the «village», a collection of both related and unrelated *thārfiqīn*. I use the word «village» advisedly, nevertheless; its geographical limits, known perfectly by the tribesmen themselves, are difficult for the outsider to discern owing to the linear nature of the terrain and the scattered house distribution. Its site may be determined by the excessive growth of one *thārfiqth*, by the proximity of a spring, by discords and internal struggles, or by any number of other causes. Its two principal requirements are a communal village mosque (there is often more than one mosque to a village) and a local assembly consisting of the headmen *(izdīfen*, sing. *azdīf)* of its component *thārfiqīn*. This assembly is still in large measure the governing body of the village, and it administrates village affairs largely according customary law *('urf)*; under its jurisdiction fall matters relating to individual and family order, theft of small articles such as eggs and poultry and olives and grapes, vigilance of orchards, reparation of irrigation ditches, and the like. It meets once a week in the courtyard of one of the village mosques, or under a wild olive tree, to hear and try cases of local importance. It elects the *faqīh* of the mosque, who gives Qur'anic instruction to the boys of the village, and the *shaikh arfiijāḥath* or *aquwwām* to direct work in the fields and to oversee the *tawīzas* or corvees working on irrigation projects (12). Today it also elects a moderator to direct and keep order during its meetings; he is usually the village *jārī* or headman. The mosque, school and cemetery are all communal property of the *jamā-*

(12) Paniagua y Santos, José María: «Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif». **Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos**, núm. 4, primer semestre, Madrid, Junio 1948, pp. 1-44. My references on p. 14 and pp. 20-21.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 623 *'ath*, as, in the mountains, is the olive press; the *jamā'ath* also retains an indefinable hold over saints' tombs *(amrābidh*, pl. *imrābdhen)* if there are any in the vicinity. Each village also has its communal pasture lands *(ḥarīm)* and its scrub forests *(ghāba)*; these may neither be sold nor divided up, and are maintained *pro indiviso* for the sole use of the inhabitants of the village in question. These lands, generally, surround the village, and form a vague line of demarcation between it and the next village; their situation and extension are such that a woman, for instance, can go out after sunrise to cut *ghāba* and return home before sunset (13).

631 The next unit up the scale is the minor political division called *farīqath*, which the Spanish administration refers to as «subfraction» This unit usually takes the form of a canton, a single hill-valley- or watershed-unit, comprising some four or five villages. The administration has brought this grouping into sharper relief by putting a *muqaddam* at its head; but this is for administrative purposes only and is not, except in a few cases, a true reflection of the tribal social structure. In the minds of the tribepeople the *farīqath* is ultimately [614] a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one *farīqath* in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the *farīqath* coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some *thārfiqīn* within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members of a canton together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque *(thamzīda n khuṭbath)* to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the *faqīh*. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, neverthless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements.

(13) Martos de Castro, José: «Lo bereber en Marruecos y sus relaciones con lo ibero». in Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos: **Labor de España en Africa**, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333. My references from pp. 328-333.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

of land under cultivation which he possesses; it also assures the collection of the market tax, a small tariff paid by each man to the market *amīn* on the animals and produce which he brings into the market to sell. The money is destined for «fractional» use entirely: upkeep of the market, digging a new well, or for any purpose which pertains to or is of interest to the «fraction» in general. The *shaikh* of the «fraction» is responsible to the *qā'id* for the assessment and collection of this money, while the *qā'id* himself takes direct charge of matters which involve the caidato as a whole. In another building in the market place, the *qāḍī*, also assisted by a *khalīfa*, administers the Sharī'ā, which at the present time has largely supplanted the old Riffian *'urf* or customary law.

This form of government, based entirely on the Arab system, has completely superseded the old regime of the *Akh Arba'īn*, of the *imghāren* (sing. *amghār*), the family and village headmen who, in each «fifth», used to make up its governing body in the days before 'Abd al-Karīm. The powers of the *imghāren*, who also used to meet in the market, were much more extensive than those of the modern «fractional» junta, and included assessment and collection of fines for theft of livestock, for talking to women in the market, for suspected but unproven adultery, and the collection of blood money (*dīyath*). These duties and the unwritten customary law which governed them have all been substantially assimilated by the legal jurisdiction of the Makhzin and by the Sharī'a.

Although in the old days there was no higher body politic than the *imghāren* of the «fifth», those of all five «fifths» used to meet together at a place called *aghrau* (p. *ighrāwen*), the location of of which had previously been announced in the market by the *barrāḥ* or market crier, in case a crisis arose which assumed tribal proportions. In case of adultery caught *in flagrante delicto*, the injured husband had, and still has, the traditional privilege of killing his wife and her lover with exemption from payment of blood money. In case of murder committed on profane ground, the murderer had to pay a fine (*ḥaqq*) of 5.000 pesetas to the *imghāren*, and blood money amounting to 6.000 pesetas to his victim's family, provided the latter chose to accept it. If they did not, as was usually the case, a feud was in full swing inmediately, and the council members, lea-

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

ving well enough alone, did not bother to interfere until after it was over, when the number of dead on each side was totaled up and excess blood money was paid to the party with the greater casualties. The *ḥaqq* was paid to the *imghāren* as well for the necessity of calling them together; but if one of the «fifths» failed to send its delegates to the *aghrau*, it received no money at all. A *sharīf* or *qāḍī* was always present at the peace negotiations to act as moderator, and he and the *imghāren* ate at the expense of and slept in the houses of the *thārfiqth* heads in the vicinity of the meeting site.

However, if a murder was committed on a Muslim feast day or in a market, or at a time when peace prevailed, the *imghāren* rushed in a body to the murderer's house to call him to account for his action. In case of murder on the road to or in the market itself, the *ḥaqq* was doubled to 10.000 pesetas, owing to the market's sacred character as a place of peaceful trade to which came not only Wuryāghlīs, but people from other tribes as well. If the murderer was unable or unwilling to pay this, which almost always meant that he had to sell all his property, the *imghāren* proceeded to burn down his house. (This was the case in the Bay of Alhucemas; among the mountain Wuryāghlīs and in northern Giznāya, a murderer had to suffer both *ḥaqq* and houseburning, the latter as a symbolic act of vengeance meted out to him by the whole tribe in the person of its body politic, for disturbing tribal peace as a whole and for committing his crime in an area which belonged to the tribe collectively.) If the murderer and his family still resisted, they had a war with the assembled *imghāren* on their hands as well as with the dead man's kin. If the *imghāren* and their cohorts won, as they usually did, they burned down the houses of the other members of the murderer's *thārfiqth* in addition, and the latter had to flee to another «fifth», another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely for a period of at least two years, when, if they made peace overtures in the proper manner, they might be permitted to come back. But the Riffians are a proud people; if they returned at all, it was most often with revenge in mind Needless to say, there are numerous little colonies of Riffian exiles all over Morocco; many Wuryāghlīs and their descendants are to be found both in Tangier and in Fez. It may thus be seen that it was

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

to the interest of the murderer and his family to come to terms quickly, for if they tried to go against the council, their days were numbered.

The *imghāren* were the real power in the land, and although the Sultan used to nominate *quyād* (pl. of *qā'id*), these were usually nothing but *imghāren* whose local prestige was slightly greater than that of their fellows. In Aith Wuryāghil, the *Bilād as-Saiba* par excellence, a *qā'id* could not govern in the same manner as he did an Arab tribe; if he tried to institute reforms without having the force to back them up, he was likely to be quietly done away with. It was the assembled *imghāren* of all the «fifths» who dictated policy if the tribe was threatened from outside. They declared war, treated for peace, and contracted alliances with other tribes, and they did so jointly. The Riffians are democratic almost to the point of anarchy, and if any man was considered better than his neighbor, it was only because he had more brothers or cousins to help him out in case a fight started. The excellent description given by Coon of what is apt to happen at the meeting of an *aghrau* affords us a wonderful insight into the Wuryāghlī character.

> «... The locality depends on mutual convenience. Each fifth occupies a section of the circle. A moderator talks to the members until a common attitude in regard to the subject of the meeting is agreed upon. The moderator now having received the instructions of his constituency, he approaches the center of the circle, and the councillors left on the outer ring finger their rifles and express their readiness to defend their spokesman if he gets into a violent argument. They discuss the matter at hand all talking at once or whenever they please, since there is no chief moderator, and for one member to bid another to be quiet would be ample excuse for murder. Moderators of a fifth usually agree within themselves and the argument soon develops into a consideration of how many fifths favor one opinion and how many the other. The moderator of one fifth may lead the moderator of another aside and whisper to him outside the ring, trying to bribe him to come over to his way of thinking. If the second moderator succumbs to this, he returns to the central ring and tries to change the attitude of the other representatives of his fifth. The parley goes on until a unanimous decision is reached or until the councillors begin fighting among themselves

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

623
623

and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In this case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay indemnity to the other. Even when the council ends peacefully it takes at least a week before they reach an agreement» (14).

To his may be appended a short but very apt summation of the situation by Col. Blanco: «En el Rif, donde todos son personajes, sólo una política de masas y no de individuos puede ser fructífera» (15).

618
616
620

In the Rīf, up to the advent of ʿAbd al-Karīm, the state of war was so permanent that it can truthfully be said that if is customary for Europeans or Americans to declare war, it was also customary for the Riffians to declare peace. We must remember that the *thārfiqth* was the unit of vengeance, and that feuds between *thārfīqīn* even within the same village were a commonplace. House-to-house fighting was the order of they day. If a feud kept going long enough, the result was that the other *thārfīqīn* in the same and in nearby villages eventually began to group themselves around either one of the two feuding parties, usually with the one which was closer kin to themselves. Thus we have the beginnings of a moiety organization, equivalent to the *ṣof* of the Kabyles of Algeria. If the members of one moiety gradually found themselves on the losing side, their representatives used to lead a bull to the mosque of a neutral village or *thārfīqth* the aid of which they desired, and the *faqīh* slaughtered it on the sill so that its blood spurted over the threshold. The fact that a bull was sacrificed whenever possible is significant in itself, as the Wuryāghlīs [262] are very poor and largely vegetarians by force of circumstances; a bull is the most expensive edible animal they can buy. The act of sacrifice worked as a powerful shame compulsion *(ʿār)*, and forced the members of the second group into alliance with the first, whether they were willing or not. This type of alliance was called *liff*, as mentioned above, and as the feud grew in size, so did the *liff*. If the feud remained localized, alliances were usually made anew after it was over; but if it spread enough to involve whole «fifths», the traditional *liff* alignment of the two opposing moieties of Aith Yūsuf and Aith ʿAlī came into play again. The clever manipulation of this

(14) Coon, 1931, p. 97.
(15) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 67.

5: Blanco Izaga MX3 Rif MX3

● 623

[For information on the community or village aspects of the jma'th, a collection of both related tharfiqins, see also Categories 621 and 613.]

596 613 114 in her role in the family the wife does not count nor is her name perpetuated, there is no doubt that the blood-tie is different, as among our "brothers" and "half-brothers", and I therefore believe this interpretation to be correct.[55]

In any event, the jajgu is an important social grouping, as much in questions of succession, inheritance and collective responsibility as in the division of benefits, fines and communal property. These questions are simple enough for a Rifian in his own mind; and he thinks the question of what jajgu or jma'ath he belongs to such a simple one that he is astonished if the investigator asks him why. To this he does not readily give an explanation; furthermore, even if he (himself) wants to learn, he sees no benefit in teaching (others). He understands his own affairs up to the precise limit which is necessary for him in order to safeguard his own rights and interests. Beyond this point, he is not interested.[56]

596 613 If the jajgu head is incapable of representing his group properly, there is always someone whose courage or polemical attitude may result in his being the spokesman. The headman of the jajgu is [623] called aziddif or aziddjif (pl. iziddifen or iziddjifen,[57] literally "head"), and, with other such headmen, the jma'ath or council[58] of the elementary social unit is formed. These iziddjifen are thus the authentic representatives of the blood or kin groups which in Rifian are called dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin), or "family group" (i.e. lineage).

613 5) Dharfiqth (pl. dharfiqin):---...When a Rifian says, "I am of the dharfiqth of so-and-so"[59], he means that so-and-so, in his own memory, is (usually) his most remote genealogical ascendant (on a step-by-step

613 basis). The dharfiqth is the fundamental unit in Rifian social organization, and it is erroneous to circumscribe it by defining it in terms of volume: so and so many houses, hearths or rifles.[60] The 613 dharfiqth, a kin group, is independent of the jma'ath, which is the 623 association of dharfiqin or parts of them, and thus the elemental unit of the social (read "political") organization, the most distinctive feature of which, in my opinion, is lack of kinship, a point soon to be proven when we speak of the organization of the grouping called jma'ath.[61]

613 114 According to Robert Montagne in his Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris 1930, p. 239, the Rifian dharfiqth is equivalent to the family (i.e. lineage) group called either ighs or ikhs, or "bone", in the Atlas. It contains a dozen houses, thirty or forty "hearths" (i.e. nubath), and is a group strong enough to defend itself. Its leaders call themselves amghar (pl. imgharen). Montagne says the word is derived etymologically from Arabic rafaqa, "a group or company of people", or that it may be a deformation of Arabic farqa (or fariqa), "division".[62] He thinks it possible to attribute the name "clan" to the unit which the Aith Waryaghar (and other Rifians) call dharfiqth because it is a larger and more durable family group than the ikhs of the Western High Atlas, while at the same time a kind of political unit, for it insures the fact that the blood tie exists between "hearths" of the same Rifian jma'ath.

My own opinion is that Montagne is in error here. Within the [623] dharfiqth, to be sure, there are indeed blood ties, but within the Rifian jma'ath there is no known kinship between its dharfiqin, for

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s,
614
623 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each other.[63]

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jajgu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, reception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the jma'th.

D) Position of Women:

562 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her
182 a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the can-
171 cellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains regards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance[64], when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look for friends to reinforce it.

562 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly
627 revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as
628 their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

684 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed,
171 while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their
562 houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads[65]. Women do not inherit
428 in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in
171 lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much (1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce
586 them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single
582 nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage.
[171] A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and
562 is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of <u>insurrection</u>
586 (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a <u>zawiya</u>
708 (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated
623 with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain
[171] to the <u>jma'th</u>, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather
627 through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration
171 of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslin <u>ukil</u> (legal
562

representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman) who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his

623 immaterial; for a jma'th which formerly contained only two dharfiqin
613 may now have three, four or five, and tomorrow even more, with a
621 proportionate increase in houses and rifles. What the jma'th is not, however, is a family group united by blood ties--it is not a dharfiqth.

623 .....The jma'th came into being because of the necessity of common
182 usufruct of elements essential to sustain life, such as water, pasture
621 lands, brushwood, etc., and because of the necessity of regulating relations, both material and spiritual, with one's neighbors (hence mosques, which come into being after such an association has been effected). The result was that when a group for any reason abandoned its original jma'th in order to establish itself elsewhere--insofar as its growth and development made it do so, it cut off relationships with its parent group and its point of origin to constitute a new and independent nucleus[71].

621 Many Rifians confuse dharfiqth with jma'th, and proof of this
623 is that when one asks the members of a given group where they are
613 from, it is the same to them to answer "From such and such a jma'th"
[829] or "From such and such a dharfiqth", because the dharfiqth in question forms part of the jma'th whence they originated. Jma'th has a geographical connotation, while dharfiqth smells of nomadism (sic)[72]. This also explains why in different places one may find jma'th-s having the same name but formed by different dharfiqin, because over the course of time other splinter-groups from other jma'th-s became associated with the initial splinter-group from the first jma'th.....

621 I am dubious about the value of the number of households as a cri-
623 terion in definition; but I think that the best single datum available
591

today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer. This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand; on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

621 The patrimony of the jma'th is made up exclusively of communal
623 lands. The jma'th is thus formed not only by people but by lands.
423 It thus has a territorial significance which the dharfiqth lacks, for it may have immovable property in another tribe[76], and acts committed by its members outside the "municipal terminus" are thus not handled by it exclusively. For this reason there is a need for another
614 social organ structured in an analogous manner, but of greater im-
621 portance and more extensive jurisdiction: the "fraction" (i.e. clan or
623 subclan.) This wider grouping, although it also has a localistic significance and a breadth wider than the village or hamlet of isolated homesteads or groups of homesteads that we have seen in the jma'th, has other more sharply defined characteristics. It alone intervenes in inter-jma'th matters, in most cases; for the custom of the jma'th itself is nothing more than inter-family (i.e. inter-lineage) custom.

3) The "fraction" (clan) is an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends; it is a state in miniature, an independent republic, and the true Rifian patria because it is within the limits of this unit that the Rifian lives out his life; where he finds what he needs, and where his law is made[77].

614 The clan has two distinctive features: its law and its market.
443 It is my opinion that places in tribal areas which the natives regard
[671] as ancient Christian[78] market sites are nothing but former "clan" markets which are no longer in use and the memory of which has not persisted through time. In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin,

In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin, Thimsaman, Aith 'Ammarth, Ibuqquyen, Ktama and Sanhaja Srir, each clan has its own market[79]. Only in a small tribe or in one with more or less artificial clans is this not the case. The clan, which occupies a well determined area topographically, as a rule (a large meseta, valley, mountain fold, etc.), is a rare one which does not have or did not formerly have its own market, where the clan representatives or imqqranen came together to agree upon and proclaim their law, their rules of coexistence, which in some cases were drawn up on paper and which form the basis of my La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte.

The clans of a tribe did not originate through accumulation of the association of jma'ths, but rather, the tribes which came to settle in the territory already contained three, four or five clans in their nomadic (sic) state, and the new lands were distributed equitably.[80] However, it is easier to follow the schematic representation of social groups from smaller to larger units, as the lineages characteristic of these are clearer and better defined. In the tribe, they are quite relaxed, and it is more difficult to see them, because the clans themselves are apt to show this by their patronymic designations, "sons of X"; but this opinion is provisional, as there are also names which are not genealogically based, as in the case of the clan names of Ibuqquyen (Izimmuren, Azghar and Thaghidhith) and in Ija'unen of Aith 'Ammarth; and the same might well be the case with the jma'ths, whose names are often geographical ones.[81]

In the clan, we have all the institutions, organisms, dependencies and economic specializations most necessary to sustain life: an amrabit or hermit saint venerated and besought for pilgrimages and miracles; a market for the provisions and supply and for the council

site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

614 latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or
[619] the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan
[616] has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are its customary law, its qanuns and its market (as in the qanun of the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

619 4) Tribe or Dhaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of
614 clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this
619 level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium
614 (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is
671 guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has
182 no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors, faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law
619 of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans
614 form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as
616 the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin
[613] of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It
[621] would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over
[623] and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes, while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

623 5) Councils and Tribesmen of Authority: All units under consideration up to now (the three "family" ones and the three "social" ones) have their relationships regulated by councils, which, although bearing different names, have similar and analogous functions. The council of the jma'th must undergo no formality in order to convene, and it has no president, although at times the agreements which it comes to are drawn up in writing. Any male (above the age of puberty) [885] [613] may attend and take part in its deliberations; but the personification of it is embodied in the iziddjifen or headmen of each dharfiqth, and these men together form an authentic and permanent council. This council above all legislates what the jma'th deems necessary, in conformance with custom and its agreements. The assembly itself or its representatives chosen for each particular case[86] make and execute all decisions. It is thus a legislative, consultative and executive body[87]. Its attributes, nonetheless, are constantly limited on the [614] one hand by family law, in the form of reprisals, and on the other by the power of the clan, which tries to keep it from prejudicing neighboring jma'th-s or the clan itself in its external politics. Thus, what it has is an administrative autonomy.

623 This council(s) elects its functionaries, the best defined of 793 which is the fqih of the mosque, who is in charge of leading the 212 prayer and of burial services; he is administrator of mosque property (habus)[88], as well as jural notary and council clerk and secretary. In large councils, however, these jobs may be handled by more or less ignorant tulba (sing. talib)[89], who pompously attribute to themselves 600 the qualifications of qadis. The fqih attended to the resources of the

623 793 411 The fqih attended to the resources of the mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 624 312 242 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural supervisors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as litigations over other matters.[92]

623 613 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this, [557] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his 623 578 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh 776 792 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.

623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collectively that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each representative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present-day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal administrators) to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to reappear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

The aziddjif or amghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

623
621
571
793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of
623
184
343
624 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

646
614
[623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in, and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

careful to state that all those at the convocation were the "majors" and the "minors" (los grandes y pequeños)[102] of such and such a place. The written titles or nominations of functionaries, and the pompous Arabic names of qa'id, qadi and mqaddim, with which some men like to adorn their names in order to astonish simpletons and impress strangers, are only of value inside their own houses (author's italics), just as the titles of doctor and coronel formerly were in certain South American republics! In the Rif, there was, in pre-'Abd al-Krim days, no qa'id and no qadi[103]; only imgharen and igrawn, iziddjifen, dharfiqin and turba, the last-mentioned being warlike amanuenses whose fingers are better suited to hilt or trigger than to pen, while the other names are the most definite external indices of the degree of Islamization[104] of those who possess them. We will not speak here of such fantastic personages as the bu-mwarith[105] or the ukil l-ghuyab[106] and other shadowy figures recently created by the Spanish protectoral administration, who will probably soon disappear if not taken proper care of!

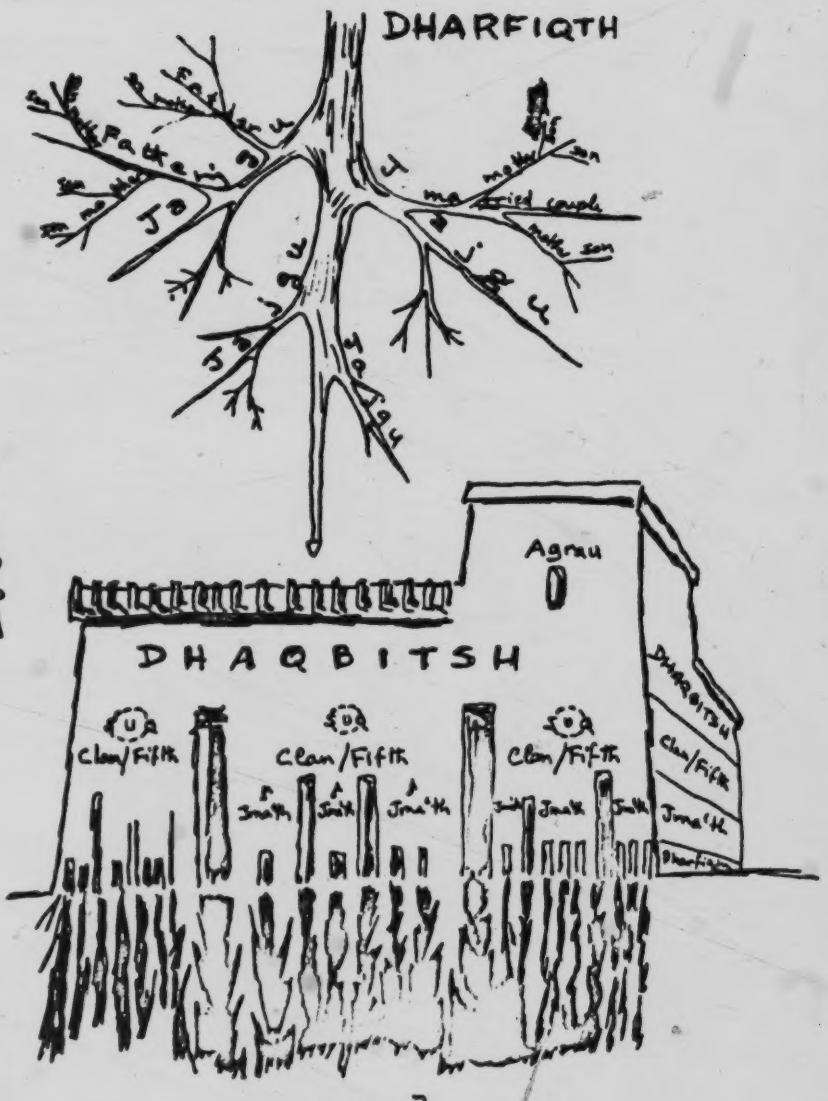
6) Resume of Rifian Tribal Functionaries (given even though Rifians tend to confuse them among themselves!):

a) the iziddjifen, "headmen", or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th.

b) the imqqranen, "big ones" (or imgharen, pl. of amghar), the representatives elected by the jma'th (author's italics) for its own prestige, and the delegates of the latter territorial unit in the clan council, whose habitual meeting site was the market, and whose job it was to make the law.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

613
596



619
613
614
623
646
621

[P. 127-A]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

594
596
613
621
623
646
619

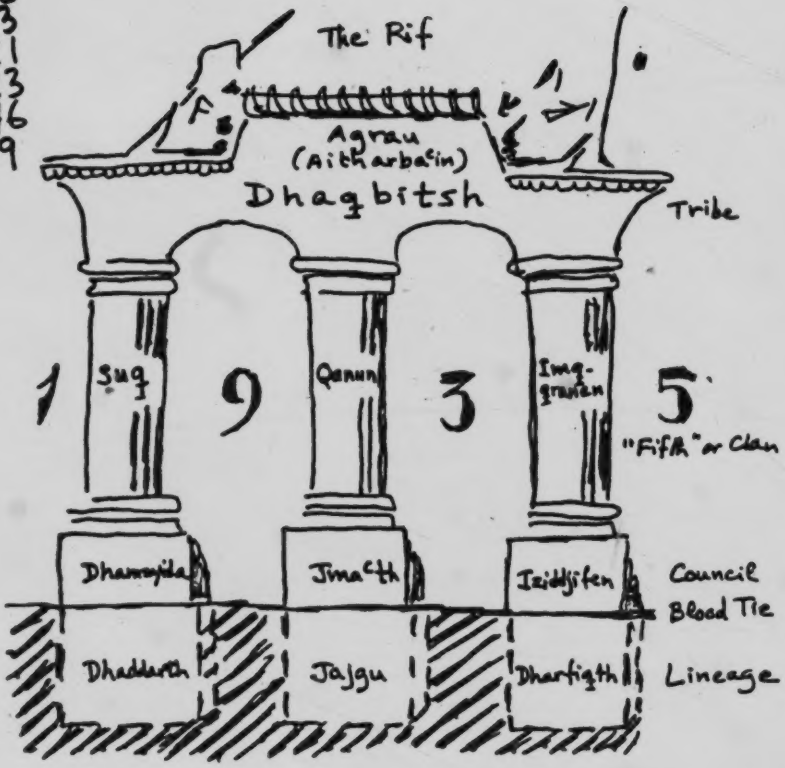


Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

536
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

FOOTNOTE: A

613
614
619
621
623
594
596
114

113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right, we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'th (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling islifen), "lineage headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A, [See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]

623 793 411 421 423 91--The comparison which Blanco makes here of the institution of habus to a rich widow is a challenging one; for after land has been donated to a mosque as habus, the question of who works it is resolved by the nadhir l-ahbas, or habus property administrator, of which there is one, at present, in each province of Morocco (with a central Ministry of Habus in Rabat). He goes to the tribal markets periodically and, through the market crier, auctions it off to the highest bidder, who in turn receives all the harvest for his own use. This system is in vogue at present and was also current during Spanish times. During the "Ripublik", however, in the days before there was a nadhir l-ahbas, the members of the jma'th concerned worked habus land, and, after selling the harvest, used the profits to buy mats for the mosque. Sometimes, also, the jma'th would designate a poor man to work habus land for a fixed share of the field (usually one-fifth or one-fourth), though this was not as common as the preceding arrangement.

000 [114] 92--Blanco is mistaken here, as there was, and still is, only one agricultural-irrigational expert, the aquwwam, whose judgment is generally sought in disputes over irrigation water.

[114] 93--Again in this instance one can detect the influence on Blanco of Robert Montagne, who devotes the whole last third of his book (Montagne, op. cit., 1930) to the "rise to personal power" of the three Grand Qa'ids (the Glawi, the Mtuggi and the Guntafi) in the Western Atlas, and cites the rise of 'Abd al-Krim in the Rif as a parallel case. Under the French, the Glawi soon eclipsed his two competitors to become a single "Lord of the Western Atlas", as well as Pasha of Marrakesh; while it was the presence of the Spaniards in the Eastern Rif which produced the Rifian "national" leader, 'Abd al-Krim. Montagne's argument for a kind of unidirectional political evolution, from the nameless members of a village council, in the middle and latter half of the 19th century, through to nationally known tribal or regional leaders' through a continuous scramble-for-power process of "top-dog-ism", is a very persuasive one. Whatever objections one may have to it, it is likely to remain the argument for a long time to come--because today, in the 1960's, the facts of the matter have become almost impossible to (re-)check; and the old men who remember such things are now all dead or dying off.

[613] 94--"Government by the few": possibly, if the lineage or clan headman can be so designated. However, each lineage head was in reality little more than a primus inter pares, and anyone who attained clan-wide recognition was just that much more primus. Once again we are faced with how badly the European shoe fits the Berber foot.

95--The Spanish original is absurdo.

96--The jma'th is not just an economic organism or organization, but a group of people, the majority of whom are genealogically related to each other, living together in a hamlet or village which bears its own name and forms a member group in a segmentally organized system of such jma'th-s, all of which belong to a territorial or segmental unit of a higher order. Relationships between member jma'th-s of the same order of segmentation are at once economic, social, political, legal, and religious.

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

[646] The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the [648] Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés 562 Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid, [113] May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes [171] of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. 443 Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the 562 Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, 114 they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the 562 men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

[621] 6) Means: its own functionaries and the contributions (taxes), in money or in kind, of its members (through profits, donations and fines).

7) Functionaries: are as enumerated below, duly grouped and classified for a primary and synthetic idea:

[623] a) Native and Permanent: the iziddjifen, who comprise the legislative body and whose nearest equivalent in European society would be "councillors in their own right" (concejales por derecho propio).

[646] b) Elective: the aitharbi'in, representatives to the outside world when occasion demands, and their auxiliaries, the aith amzzyan[2], and the trustees or administrators (umana).

c) Contracted: the fqih, for religious services; the mudarris, or teacher of the community's small boys in Koranic instruction; the amarras or storehouse (strawstack) guardian in the Eastern Rif; and the amzir or blacksmith.

d) Administrative: the mqaddim ("he who goes in front"), delegate of the Makhzin and linking agent; and the jari ("neighbor"), helper of the former in outlying communities or hamlets.

e) Recompensed: although this category, like the previous one, is not a normal jma'th category (but a Makhzin-created one), the tulba, and the notaries ('adul) and the aquwwam, or expert on matters pertaining to land and irrigation, all belong to it.

8) Mechanism: The jma'th was autonomous regarding all matters internal to it, economic questions as well as all others, and was co-sovereign in external matters, for it took part (as we shall see later) in the adoption of agreements and the carrying out of those accords necessary for the upper-level collectivities (i.e. sociopolitical units), in a way to be indicated later.

2--Possibly Blanco refers here to imzzyanen, "small people", in the same equivocal sense in which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 96) considered the council of the Rifian local community to be made up of teen-age boys, so that they would thus be prepared for governing in adult life. In our own experience, councillors are imgharen and imqqranen, "big men", not imzzyanen or "little ones".

623
621
671

9) The Community Charter: The principal function of the iziddjifen, among the many that fell to them, was to establish the norms of coexistence, the laws by which they had to regulate their social relations, the qanun or the haqq, as they call it, and to which we may refer as the community charter, which comes to be its equivalent.

671

This charter, whose archetypes, of a strong rudimentary beauty, I published in the year (not given: translator's note)[6], show very clearly its formative processes; and the matters which are codified are only those which it is convenient to recall periodically to the group as a whole for whatever the reason needed (neglect, modification or innovation), but not the only rules to be obeyed, for those admitted by Custom and followed in good faith, because of their applicability and convenience for the whole neighborhood, were not written down, as they were known to all and sundry. Thus, codifying them for the knowledge and satisfaction of outsiders would have been a waste of time.

The characteristics of these documents or agreements, which many people see only as simple lists of fines, can be resumed as follows: the drafting of the documents by the tulba, and the specification of the place concerned; those who attend; the reasons for the meeting and what is decided at it, i.e. transgressions, crimes and their penalties and sanctions; to whom this applies; the period of time that the agreement is to be in force; the individuals upon whom its fulfillment is incumbent; the neutral and prestigious personage who acts as mediator; and the saint or amrabit whose protection they invoke and under whose shadow they seek shelter.

6--The reference here is probably to La Ley Rifeña, 1939.

671 If aside from local community questions such as irrigation, hospitality and matters dealing with education, these community charters also deal with "crimes of blood" (delitos de sangre), one may see in them, more than the incumbency of these units (organisms), the necessity of providing for the lack of other upper-level associations which were lacking in this organized anarchy, which, in a happy phrase, may be attributed to those days when social disintegration attenuated the functioning of the upper-level units: clan (fracción) and tribe.

621 623 627 10) Security: Internally, security was guaranteed in normal times by the iziddjifen themselves, through the resolution of any incidents and the clearing up of any disputes which might arise, while in the internal political struggle of its council the popular spirit predominated. This was even more the case when within the council the 623 613 621 equilibrium between dharfiqin or agnatic lineages was broken and one lineage came to predominate, as now it was one of its representatives who, in the last analysis, came to achieve the delegation of the permanent executive function of security, under the pompous and strange designation of mqaddim or shaikh[7], who, satisfying his own personal vanity, brought about the envy of the iziddjifen, who were very jealous of their own prerogatives, who were paid in their jobs (sic)[8], and who were opposed to the notion of personal power for which the [671] struggle now began. In this respect the qanun of the jma'th of (Lower) Thamasind (Aith Waryaghar) is of interest.[9]

7--Again Blanco reveals an anti-Arab and a pro-Rifian bias, perhaps: he would obviously have preferred the designation amghar. However, and more to the point: he is also equally aware of the superfluity of such titles in a society as fiercely egalitarian as that of the Rifian tribes.

[114] 8--This was hardly the case: no tribal leaders (to say nothing of mere lineage headmen) in pre-Protectorate Morocco were ever paid in the formal sense of the word. Remuneration came through occasional "perks".

9--Cf. La Ley Rifeña, 1939, Chapter V.

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

798 front of men[27] are also rejected, as are ululations made by the women
585 on behalf of the groom when he enters the bride's room. (In the Bni Hmid[28], the bride is carried on the shoulders of volunteers to the groom's house; she does not, as elsewhere, ride a mule. In the same tribe, on the first day of the 'Aid, the men, on coming out of the mosque, greet the women, who are waiting for them in a line, one by one)

E) Procedure:

692 Jural proceedings in the Rif are conducted in front of the
623 jma'th, personalized by several individuals (in one qanun, that of the Imhauren of the Aith 'Ari clan, by a triumvirate) who meet daily[29] in a central location known to all; under a large tree (usually carob or wild olive), at some water point, or in the mosque. Here the men come with the iziddjifen, and the old and sick men, to sit in the sun, to talk, and perhaps to take a siesta.

695 Procedure is as follows: the plaintiff comes to the area chosen, and, in most cases, both contestants present themselves there, each explaining his reasons without, however, coming to the central point. If he is a stranger, boys and villagers accompany him to the site and there they give the reason for his presence. Ordinarily the question is apt to be settled amicably right there, if it is not an important one; but if this is not the case, for example, and if one of the parties does not agree, the proceedings are extended somewhat longer, as he might request an evaluation by a specialist in such matters, or offer to provide witnesses[30] or other modes of proof; and he sets the time--or
[623] one of them asks to swear. The jma'th, e.g. all of those men present (not all the men of the village nor even nearly all of them) lets the

695 623 participants speak, and from time to time, whoever wants to (there is no single judge, and all present have the right to question the litigants) barks out a question or a sentence at them, and another, and another, until, when the contestants get tired, fed up, angry or have no more to say, things get excited, as a result of the loaded questions and confused answers; a certainty pervades the air which further emphasizes the responsibility and even the judging members of the jma'th, for some abandon the defense of the man from their dharfiqth or liff as impossible, while others affirm their suspicions. The first judgment is not long in being pronounced, one of the most outstanding persons of the casually organized assembly (or jury) giving it as his opinion on the matter, and the rest adhering to it. In most instances, on seeing his case unanimously judged (in his disfavor), the individual responsible yields. If he does not, new people come into play and voice their opinions. If the matter is important enough to be a case which smacks of jurisprudence,[31] the meeting held the following Friday (in the mosque, prior to the noon prayer) is devoted in part to going over it again and adding up the greatest number of opinions (pro and con)--but not votes--in order to give wider publicity to the agreement and even to take it down in writing if necessary, if so stipulated.

[212] [794] If there is written proof, any talib hesitatingly deciphers the documentary evidence, but the members of the jma'th do not let him take a tr'ck (thus showing the power of the layman over the judge??) other than in a very discreet and impartial manner. Sometimes they agree to submit the matter to an arbiter outside the jma'th, for greater impartiality in the decision. At other times they decide to submit the

695 At other times they decide to submit the
696 resolution to the clan council on the next market day; but when the
623 judgment, which is both swift and free of charge, has been rendered, the individual responsible can only comply with the council's decision; and he must do so not only more than rapidly, but virtually explosively, or be sentenced by his neighbors and his peers. If he resists, his only recourse is to take up arms, as everybody else is now after him, and this in itself obliges him to do so. The proceedings are rapid and gratuitous, as aforestated, except if experts are called upon to intervene; they are given an honorarium, the amount of which is determined by the custom of the tribe in question, and consists of such and such a percentage of the value of the appraised object or the object of the litigation[32].

692 Thus, true jural procedure, for the Rifian, is to render public
695 any offense or injury he has suffered, and to gain adherents to his point of view. First his family or kin group wants to intervene on his behalf, then his social grouping (properly: his lineage), and finally his liff, his last recourse. This multiplies the various contingencies and unsuspected turns the case may take ad infinitum, and tends to render useless any reclamations against an offender who is more powerful than the injured party. The latter may not take any action against him, but will often afterwards wait in ambush for him in order to redress the wrong! It is a procedure which.....awakens manliness and courage.....

[671] A good example of the executive procedure in criminal law is the qanun
[613] between dharfiqin[33].

000 Bshara, or procedure of recuperation[34]. (No text here whatsoever: translator's note.)

695 F) Oaths (fragmentary):[35]

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pretensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has [562] no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a women against her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter[36], where does one find more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and 695 839 the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape[36a] A, etc., which, if not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

695 [671] [191] Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are 695 623 previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants [613] to[37]. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members of his dharfiqth[38].

695 829 181 Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to

A, [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

000 does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

684 f) Anyone who commits an act of bestiality must pay for the fodder of the assaulted animal for one day; and among the Aith Waryaghar, he must pay for its packsaddle as well as a 50-peseta fine, and he is cursed by the market crier in the market[74].....

2) Among the Aith 'Ammarth:

685 a) A blacksmith of....asked the qadi for a room to live in. It was given him, and in it he raised chickens, which began to eat the qadi's barley. The qadi claimed compensation from him, saying that he had to kill the chickens and leave the house. He refused to do so, 685 and made a reclamation to the shaikh, who said he was in the right. 692 Then a member of the qadi's family poisoned all the chickens, and the blacksmith complained to the mqaddim. The jma'th, as a result, met in the mosque and fined the qadi 18 duros, of which the blacksmith received only two or three.

582 b) In the village of Aith Finathen, clan of Aith r-Hasayin, one 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, a rich man, married his daughter to Muhammadi n Si Siddiq nd-Hajj Sriman, a poor man and one of his agnates (i.e. his brother's son), in order to keep him as a servant[75]. The young man 682 [619] eventually killed his uncle. The tribal council was convoked, and its members punished the dead man's sons by imposing a 6000-peseta fine on them; and they in turn killed Muhammadi and paid another fine....During 662 his lifetime, 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, as well as his five brothers, had 623 on various occasions paid 400 duros to the jma'th to excuse themselves from participation in tribal wars.

661 c) A poor man made a goatherd of one of his younger in-laws,

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

3. COUNCILS, WARFARE AND ALLIANCES

614
619
623
634

A) The Agraw:

The agraw is a meeting or convening of all the adult Rifian males in a clan or tribe who are capable of supporting their opinions by force of arms. It is an assembly of all men who carry rifles, and it has almost unlimited attributes, among which the major ones are:

a) Declaration of war and of all that this embodies (organization of attack and defense, organization of harka-s or war-parties, contingents which are levied up for distant expeditions, and establishment of agreements of friendship or alliance with neighboring tribes).

b) Guarding the security and honor of its component family and kin groups (making common cause with them, supporting them with force if necessary, and acting as mediators); thus, when the interests of any individual or of his kinsmen are harmed, and he is incapable of defending his rights, the councilmembers claim the resulting damages in his name, and, in order to obtain them, they either very soon have to take up arms, or wait and work out an alliance with other igrawn, or convoke the agraw of the group one step up the ladder.

The agraw may be on a village (or hamlet), "fractional" (or clan), or tribal level, and the only difference between these three levels lies in the number of councillors who attend the meeting on each one....The agraw is convoked by mqaddimin or shiyukh[1]; by word of mouth, by arqqas or messenger (gunshots by day or bonfires--thafgirth, pl. thifgirin--at night, in case of alarm, and in both instances by cries transmitted from hilltop to hilltop, from village to village, and from mountain to plain).

[202]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

634 Every man who carries a rifle drops whatever he is doing and
623 goes immediately to the council site, leaving his house, interests and
614 work in the fields to his women, who collect all their movable property,
619 animals and children, in case they have to move, and await the news,
562 quickly transmitted, with anxiety, while they decide upon their place
722 of retirement (usually the house of some relative) and form a line of sentries, together with the older children. Here they follow, with analogous emotions, the events of the fight, if there is one, and await its outcome....Once the men have arrived at the site of the
634 alarm, or more often at a generally determined meeting site (agraw),
623 they start to look, without orders or signals, for their kinsmen and
614 neighbors who have arrived or are just arriving. They are always
619 careful to seek a spatially dominant position, and remain grouped together some little distance from the other groups which are also being formed, completing a circle, in the interior of which only the chiefs, who are rapidly informed of the matter and of the opinions of their subordinates, may enter. Such opinions are impassioned ones, as they have been forged (in case of alarm) on the spur of the moment, on the basis of what those who echo them have heard, or on the basis of what is going on around them; one can distinguish the feverish voices of the kinsmen and friends of the injured party, who want immediate reparation.

634 In this heated atmosphere the delineation by the chiefs of the
623 matter at hand begins; they are attentive not so much to what happens
614 in their own little circle, but to the stormy atmosphere being created
619 on the outside one and pressing in on them....If the matter is one of
692

634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
619
692 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
681 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside circle).[2 & 3]

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
614 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
623 ....Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
628 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at
721 any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare.... Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities. This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared beforehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
(624) surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

own jma'ths; they were headed by men of their own localities; and 'Abd al-Krim only reserved for himself the right to nominate individuals in his confidence for top positions[5].

The contingents of each tribe were headed by the notables of that tribe, and were instructed independently within the whole harka agglomerate. The tribal notables received news of the objectives they had to attain; they took their contingents into battle; and afterwards, they abandoned the field and brought their harkas home.... Through their representatives in the agraw, the jma'ths knew the contingent which was requested, and they made the division and nominated the chiefs[6]. There were both volunteers and conscripts; but in each house, one man had to stay at home. An amghar or the amghar was the elected warchief, and he established his contingent....He did not abandon his house or agricultural tasks or coerce anyone to fight[7], and the jma'th saw to an equitable distribution of men under arms at all times. Only shurfa, old men, boys and individuals with physical defects were exempt from harka service.

Attempts were made to respect geographical order, and each contingent was called upon to engage in combat only on its natural front. The order of battle was traditionally known, and was answerable to political necessity. Coexistence was easier for harka members on their natural fronts, of course, in their own land; resistance was more effective, displacements were more rapid and dispersion was less serious. Knowing the country perfectly, they could send groups to defend passes or watersheds or gorges in relays, each one two or three hours behind the last, so that later arrivals could increase the

616 (social), for a man only goes to his liff when the other two types fail him. Thus we see individuals or groups, when they are helpless, calling for their liffs in defense of their rights or taking refuge with them when, conquered or routed, they abandon their own hearths.

601 621 Tribes and their clans, and jma'ths and their kin groups or dharfiqin are generally divided into two balanced, symmetrical and mutually hostile parties; and it is in such an equilibrium that we find the strength of each group, no matter how insignificant that group may appear, and the weakness of the whole tribe, which is only welded together if threatened from outside.

616 619 621 623 In essence, in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, the innumerable feuds between jma'ths are reduced to two parties, within each council, whose quarrel, perhaps rather than for hegemony, is a dispute of interests. But, in discussing parties, let us rid ourselves of the 642 795 notions which these have for Europeans, either in forms of government or in religion. In such simple questions, Republic[28] and Islam have been in agreement for a long time. The Rifian states were religious republics governed by laymen, we might say. Well and good: above and 616 beyond these quarrels and ferocious feuds, the Aith Waryaghar knew how to ally themselves, absolutely independently of these, to other groups, indicating that the motive forces which underlay each class of alli- 619 ance were different[29]. Thus we see, for example, how the five khmas (sing. khums) of the Aith Waryaghar were allied or opposed to each other, and how they constituted two mutually hostile bands; the Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abd Allah on one side, and the rest on the other[30]. In my opinion, these two bands represent the most obvious

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614
621 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
623 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an aristocracy known
619 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
646 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
437 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of
556
152 some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628
177 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613
623 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that somebody had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
687 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus public

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
687 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that
685 the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they
have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the
qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a
triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the
meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the
agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it
as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good,
natural and admirable feeling.

182 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
671 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
626 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
681
613

691 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

nor a bastardization of his office. It creates guarantees for the accused, protecting him from bloodfeuds; it indemnifies the social unit, the subclan of Imhauren, from injuries caused by some of its members, so that when the fine is donated to the habus of the village mosque, through the particular conceptualization and application of these funds in the Rif, a part of the money always came back to the jma'th in kind; and the eagerness for a reward, as among participating European functionaries, who multiply the fines by increasing their investigations and denunciations in proportion to their needs, was discarded.

It has--and why not?--among its other defects one which is certainly a simple defect in editing, although the frequency with which it is repeated makes this doubtful in several cases. The intention (author's italics) (Blanco: note f, in text) is punished, but how can it be proven? According only to the prudent arbitration of the popular tribunal formed by the two aforementioned individuals. A bad business.

Curious and noteworthy is the palpable demonstration of this municipal letter, of this qanun of a jma'th, which is careful not to overstep the bounds of adjacent institutions, such as those of personal status law (inheritance, etc.) or of those handled by the immediately superior social unit, the clan, with its qanun approved and drawn up in the markets (murders and woundings, etc.), a fact which reveals the interrelationship and interdependence of the different social units, and even their institutions and how they function.

This qanun is limited, logically, to neighborhood questions, among which there figures in first place that of public security (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property.

000 (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property. It[A] says nothing regarding
671 the question of irrigation, because within the territory of this subclan
312 there is not a single point of communal water available or usable only
614 by this jma'th, as happens in Thamasind (see Qanun of Tamasint); on the other hand, it forms part of a group of irrigating jma'ths subjected to the same norms which are described in detail in Chapter XIV, and, if it does not touch other points of coexistence and if it is observed in other qanuns, this is simply because such questions did not give rise to any disagreements, for all members of the subclan accepted the old and very well-known customs of their jma'th in good spirit.

000 And rough, practical men cannot lose time inventing or making things up, even though they may be capable of doing so.

671 This qanun, like almost all others, brings into relief the sweat, efforts and oversights of those who drew it up, in order to validate the precepts agreed upon and in order to satisfy, for those attending to them[37]; for, attentive to his individual interests, a man would wish to make an addendum if a mishap had occurred in his orchard the previous night, as in note i in the text. Amplifications or corrections were required, for, fearing that they were not understood by the hard-headed councilmembers, the plaintiff was accredited before the legislative assembly as proof of his presence at the legislative meeting even if only to legislate egotistically for his orchard.

623 With this, they accredited that under a severe and formalized
182 appearance, there was no more than childishness (sic) and incapacity to govern (sic): lost in small details, strongly addicted to minutiae, passionately influenced by the latest incident, working anarchically (sic), each person obsessed with his own problems, attentive to his

[A] [i.e., the qanun--Analyst]

623 182 own circumstantial interest, their councils and the agreements fallen back upon in them lacked that breadth and generality which would have been needed for a longer duration in any jural operation. In a short time, new, unspecified cases or prejudice among the influential men brought their usefulness to an end and necessitated their being redrafted, in which previous experience, the analysis of which was discarded in order to resolve the question of the moment, did not play a part.

671 212 For this reason written laws in the Rif are rare, of only relative value and minimal jural operation, which did not go beyond the time it took the minors (author's italics), the small ones, to forget the announcement of the majors (author's italics) by the criers in the markets to reach their hands.

671 They do not have the severity of European law which, even though drafted in moments of emotion, gathers up and encloses in itself principles of general usefulness, a usefulness which does not necessarily exist at the time of codification but which comes into play with possible and presumable variations which later times can introduce, by which, with the prolongation of their legal operation, their disclosure and exemplarity increase, resulting in the slow but sure advance of society.

5. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF TAMASINT (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 695 621 623 A) Qanun:

(Blanco: paragraph a) Praise be to God.--Copy.--In front of both witnesses testifying at the present act, those of the jama'a of Tamasint as-Sifli, Lower Thamasind, appeared for judgment, including:

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzumas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

671
623

2) Commentary:

This document, this community charter, as is customary with such writings, begins by enumerating the men who attended the meeting in which it was drawn up. This simple list of names reveals to us, in the first place, the supremacy of the laymen, with civil power, over the clerics, a fact which may be observed in the name of the man figuring in first place being ahead of that of the Talib Sidi Shu'aib. The order in which the names occur is not a casual one. The editors of the qanuns, profound psychologists who know to perfection the environment in which they operate, never dare to invert the terms of social protocol; they know with their eyes closed who must occupy the preferential place, and that the slightest transgression in this respect would tear down not only the agreement, through any quarrel which might take place, but also the effigy of the editors themselves[39].....

671
554
623

671
829
576
623

623

The first paragraph puts into relief just who are the representative men of the jma'th, the notables, the heads of the lineages making up the village, the iziddifen, who formed the council regulating neighborhood relations, the only council empowered to legislate in such questions (Blanco: paragraph i or j), and equivalent to the Spanish Consejo or Ayuntamiento.[40]

The agraw or council-meeting held on this occasion by the iziddifen had as its object, as the written qanun shows us, the legislation of neighborhood questions concerning the council, regulation of the coexistence of its lineage members, guaranteeing the free and peaceful usufruct of individual and communal (i.e. water) property,

623 the imposition of minimal social obligations (education and hospitality), the equal division of duties and work, and, finally, nomination of a man to represent the jma'th and to see that local law is enforced.

This jma'th and its representative were legitimate organs of the people, an authentic and faithful reflection of the feeling and convenience of its members, live and efficient organisms. Today a 623 179 182 rigid Arab framework and its imposed and despotic representatives has submerged the jma'th, without any alternative other than the hatred or scorn of its members, according to whether the chief is a tyrant, or a slave to his needs or whims.

436 681 For an analysis of the proportioning of the punishment, it is well to know the equivalents of the Rifian monetary system, as follows:[41]

Mithqal--2 Spanish pesetas

Bsita--0.60 Spanish pesetas

Rbi'a--0.50 Spanish pesetas

Uqiyya or Spanish onza, "ounce"--0.20 Spanish pesetas

Ujjhain (two muzunas)--0.10 Spanish pesetas

Muzuna or Spanish blanquillo, "little target"--0.05 Spanish pesetas.

681 673 With these data to hand, we may now establish the framework of fines which occur in the qanun commented upon, in the following order:

Theft by day, of cereals or fruits (figs, etc.)--100 pesetas

Theft by night, in the orchards or gardens--20 pesetas

Threats with firearms--20 pesetas

Thefts by day, in the orchards--10 pesetas

Threats with knives or daggers--5 pesetas

Damages to dams--5 pesetas

681
673

Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

673
623
685
423

An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

623
423
578

The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is, then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

623
(793)
(574)

Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

(623)
(681)
(564)

But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

623 554 legislate, but it is not maintained by conferring distinctions on them, converting them into a caste, nor by giving them stipends for their work. For this same reason, the council-members have, perhaps, greater esteem among their neighbors. On the other hand, the jma'th punishes [581] disobedience to its decrees, but it does not impose a penalty on those who disobey the shaikh, who is simply a representative of the people with outside denomination expressed in writing (i.e. in Arabic), in view of the difficulty of expressing this in his own language.[44] That [622] he is a simple titular and outside arbiter is shown by the fact that his function, in Arabic terminology and organization, would be that of a mqaddim.

671 554 623 [578] This qanun is an excellent example of the beginnings of a trend toward personal power concentrated in a single individual, the shaikh, charged with the representation of the jma'th and the execution of its agreements;.....and we may perceive indistinctly the intrigue and the deaf struggle between this personage and the rest of the community, who are jealous of his attributes. In the first draft, the document is declared valid (Blanco: paragraph f, in text); but in the oversights pointed up in the re-reading of the document, and certainly at the shaikh's request, they consent to the fact that obedience to him be recommended in the addenda; but they have been careful, in the preceding paragraph (paragraph i), to state that only they can make resolutions or define crimes and misdemeanors through enforcement of law and punishment, always granted, of course, that such enforcement be useful (author's italics); but neither the shaikh nor anyone else can invent or contrive more than his council, because only they are capable

671 of knowing the needs of the moment, not past or future needs which do
554
623 not mean anything to anybody. They are living laws designed for living people, for those present.

671 Paragraph b shows us how they embellish their law, taking aggra-
672 vating and attenuating circumstances into account. Among these are nocturnity and dwellings (where they guard their fig and grain re-
[682] serves). Attenuating and, even more, exemption from responsibility, homicide is legitimate if committed in self defense or in defense of one's property.

68 Paragraph c punishes intention, in order to avoid disputes,
554
661 and makes a small concession to personal power, permitting the shaikh
671 to keep for himself this fine destined for the common fund.

685 Paragraph d is concerned with injuries to crops by animals,
672 which are herded by children. The punishment is minimal.
671

In paragraph e, the law of the jma'th establishes and regulates
671 the social duty of hospitality, imposing the burden equally on all its
683 members. Guests learn that it is not only the shaikh who pays for
594 their upkeep, but all the members of the jma'th, even the poor ones.

623 Consider also the excessive number of voluntary servitors who
594 dance continued attendance on the guest with towels, basins and soap, and finally the amphitrion hands over to their expectant voracity all the remains of your meal, except for one small dish which, passing through the door, is submerged in the mysterious interior of the dwelling as a reward for the activity of the women or children who prepared it. When you leave, each member of the jma'th retires with whatever he presented for your comfort: pillows, blankets, soap, coffee pot or teapot, towel, glasses, candles, etc.

771 [671] Paragraph h shows us the guarantee of keeping the principal religious services (funerals, etc.) and of keeping their sons educated in the faith. Today, under a different pretext, it is not uncommon 771 178 to observe someone pretending to reject with disdain such a traditional [793] obligation, for which he must not claim protection. The reason for this, rather than being rooted in irreligiosity, must be sought in possible antagonisms with the fqih.

623 671 Paragraph i conditions the obligation of fulfilling the agreements with certain legalities: that so many individuals be present at the meeting, and that they be useful and not prejudicial. They are, thus, the colegislators, working freely and without limitation, without dependence on anyone. It urges obedience.

671 [554] Paragraph j recommends obedience to the shaikh.

In summation: this beautiful qanun of a jma'th establishes who 671 623 are the iziddifen or council-members, and what their attributes are: to establish statutes regarding damages to crops, education and hospitality, but not to concern themselves with murder, woundings and homicide, an affair of the clan, nor with personal status, a religious 623 matter. In the internal struggle within the jma'th, if, indeed, the 554 iziddifen consent and delegate the execution of their decisions to a representative (the shaikh) to whom they accord circumstantial rewards, at the same time, jealous of their prerogatives, they free themselves very easily from authorizing him to contrive misdemeanors and penalties for these.

554 Thus the shaikh, in reality, is only the guardian of the community.

6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH[45] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

671 443 [778] Praise be to the One God. The will and eternal power of Our Lord having decided thus, the congregation--in the Tuesday Market (Suq ath-Thulatha) (situated) at 'Ain Tihalalin[46], in the vicinity of (the tomb of) the holy emanator of blessings Sidi 'Amran[47]--of its owners, those of the clan of Bani 'Abdallah. (The latter) convened 623 443 692 681 (in the abovementioned market) with the idea of coming to agreement on their criteria and on the purity of their actions in behalf of the common good of all; and, as a consequence, they decided the amount of the fines to be imposed inasmuch as there should occur within the abovementioned market, or, indeed, outside it on the path (which leads to it), (Blanco: note a) incidents, premeditated or not, through error or imprudence, such as woundings and murders (which might happen) through gunshots, knifings, strangulations and stonings, (or, indeed), pillaging and sacking. (Blanco: note b) To anyone who kills in the 682 443 interior of the market and is caught (literally, "had"), rashsha' shall [696] be applied to him (i.e. he shall be shot). If he has not been captured owing to having fled to another tribe (literally, "other tribes"), (they shall impose upon him a fine of) 2000 duros and his house shall be burned down to its foundations. (If he should kill) on the path (which leads to the market) he shall also pay (a fine of) 2000 (duros). Whoever should wound (another), (he shall be fined) 1000 duros. Whoever (shoots) and misses (his target), (he shall pay a fine of) 500 duros. 683

682 (Blanco: note c) Whoever of the Bani 'Abdallah should commit murder on Tuesday (i.e. on market day, the day of the suq) within the

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
62 social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621
623 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
443 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
671 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan, an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in
[182] principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
614
776

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanuns, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

671 [62] [623] [614] We see in this clas qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

671 component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to
614 disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual
613 interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing in-
182 fluence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

671 7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)
693 A) Qanun:
695 Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the under-
623 621 signed notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya)
782 made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this
682 kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-
613 mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros.
682 This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55]
443 or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

The jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agreements are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2) differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled

671 224 [804] If, however, the animal should flee and be killed by another hunter, it (still) belongs to the one who discovered it, although he may not have shot or thrown at it, provided that the distance from the point where it fell to that where it was discovered can be covered by a stone's throw, done either by him himself or by another hunter designated by him, with, furthermore, the choice of either point as that of the stone-throw being open to him (either where the animal fell or where it got up). This is done in order to utilize the slope, if.....this distance had not been previously established.

671 223 224 8) An animal or bird flushed up by a hunter is his if he does not pass beyond a distance of forty feet counted from the point at which it was flushed, and even though the shot may have missed it or if it was overtaken by a dog (Sanhaja Srir).

[681] 9) If an animal or bird wounded by one hunting party is finished off and collected by another one, it belongs to the first party, to which it must be returned even though it may already be cooked; and if it has been eaten, the second party must pay the first 25 pesetas as compensation (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 623 10) Nests belong to whoever discovers them, and in the event that they are saved as bait in order to hunt the mother with a trap or net, the site must be shown to the jma'th, in order to insure priority rights.

G) Dogs:[191]

671 223 224 231 1) Animals or birds picked up by dogs are not for the owner of the dog, but for whoever takes them out of his mouth (Aith 'Ammarth). This is based upon the fact that if the dogs are not trained, they will

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is 621 622 659 appointed by the national government. While the appointment is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem 622 631 619 may and usually does have administrative responsibility over more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

623 [554] Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, 623 198 before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed [657] by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif mx 3

623 minor points of difference, the men let them arbitrate and set fines
867 of a few eggs or loaves of bread, for their own consumption. Having thus learned the routine of sitting in judgment and also some of the oral qanūns, the boys are ready for the serious business ahead.

623 Once a week, when the nearest market meets, the older men of
627 the neighboring villages, corresponding to the "brains" of the Kabyles, meet in a house just off the grounds, or in good weather, under a tree. Over glasses of tea they settle any disputes which may
628 come up in the market or which litigants may bring them. When
619 more serious matters arise, such as the trouble between the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmut, the councilors of a single geographical unit, consisting of several clans, come together. They must be fed, and it is in the interest of the feuding parties to make a speedy settlement, with fines and blood money. Fines go to the councilors, who eat part and divide the rest. Blood money goes to the kin of the wounded or dead. If these councilors cannot settle the problem, the "fifth" is invoked—the whole series of little valleys and watershed cantons which forms the next largest political unit. Some tribes have only one "fifth," but Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel each have five. If the "fifth" cannot settle the dispute, and the bloodshed spreads, then all the fifths join in. If the whole tribe is embroiled, the councilors of another tribe may invade and catch them unawares, to their great loss. The longer the fight remains unsettled the greater the number of participants, each new and larger body trying to capitalize on the confusion of the partisans.

It can be readily seen that few troubles reach intertribal proportions. This device of government in depth works. Feuding keeps the population down, and the fear of interference keeps the feud isolated and within bounds. Chronic troublemakers, and those who break the rules, must go. On the other hand when some outside force threatens more than a small portion of the Rif, the mechanism is at hand for all to unite, forcefully if ephemerally. The elders of one clan perform a compulsion of shame on another, thus forcing them into alliance, called *lif*, as elsewhere. As the danger grows, so
643 does the lif. In this manner 'Abd el-Krīm (who had been educated by
721 the Spaniards) set up a government of the whole Rif, which defeated Spain in two great battles in 1921 and 1924, and but for the use of aircraft and tanks by his enemy, might have held the French army indefinitely at bay. No sultan had ever been able to conquer this classic corner of the Land of Insolence, which is all the more remark-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER X

JUDICIAL AND CLERICAL OFFICERS; LAWS GOVERNING INHERITANCE

THERE are in the Rif two classes of officials who concern themselves with judicial and clerical functions: the "clerk," or *adl* (plural *adul*[1]), and the "judge," or *kadhi*. The former is something between a town clerk and minor judge, and the latter a supreme court of appeal. Both concern themselves only with civil, never with criminal, disputes.

The clerk is a former student who specialized in the cantonal mosque in the study of law, rather than in the usual study of magic and religion: some clerks, however, indulge in magical practices on the side as an additional source of income. The clerk takes pains to keep this second profession secret, lest he be expelled from office. Most clerks spend longer than the average period at study, and attend several different mosques in the course of their preparation.

There is at least one clerk in every *bone*. Any person who is qualified by his training may set up as a clerk, but must receive the consensus of local approval before he is entrusted with enough business to make this occupation profitable. A clerk must be dignified and pious.

The clerk is often the schoolmaster of the *bone* as well. In smaller *bones* it is usually an economic necessity for one man to fulfill these two offices, consequently the terms "schoolmaster" and "clerk" have become somewhat confused. A clerk is often called schoolmaster, but a schoolmaster who is not a clerk is never called clerk.

The duties of the clerk include writing and reading letters for illiterate persons, settling controversies as to ownership of property, making out and administering wills, and drawing up documents of sale for landed property and documents of marriage and divorce. He is also called upon to slaughter animals upon ceremonial occasions.

In making out a document of marriage, the clerk writes out the names of the bride and groom, and the amount paid for the bride. He gives the paper to the bride and makes a duplicate, which he keeps. His signature renders the document valid. He similarly makes out divorce papers, which he gives to the woman, who can thus prove that she is no longer under obligation to her husband.

When the clerk makes out the document for a land sale, he takes the old document from the seller, and gives both old and new papers to the purchaser. Each time a piece of land changes hands a new paper is made out, and the present owner has in his possession all of the extant bills of sale for that piece of land. When a piece is subdivided the heir of the owner of the original piece at the time of its subdivision keeps the papers recording transfers prior to this subdivision.

When a man wishes to sell some of the land which has been in his family since time immemorial, and for which there is no paper, he informs the clerk, who advertises for any other claim to this land, either written or oral, and finding none makes a bill of sale.

[1] The usual Arab notary.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

624 423 312 One of the clerk's most troublesome duties is keeping track of irrigation property. If a stream commences in the property of a certain man, that man has the right to build a ditch within his own property to irrigate his own fields, and that water belongs exclusively to him. If he wishes to sell the rights to some of the water to a neighbor, he allows the neighbor to lead water off the stream below the place at which he leads off his own water, and likewise allows this neighbor to build a ditch across his land to the purchaser's field. The purchaser must pay for the water rights and for the narrow strip of land on which the ditch runs. The clerk makes out papers for the transfer of these rights, and signs them.

He also makes out papers for other irrigation complications. One man may sell the right of one day's water per year to another man through whose land his ditch passes. If a ditch is led off from a large stream which flows through a number of villages, no one owns the original water, but any man who constructs a ditch from it has the right to the water which is led off, once he has paid for the land which the ditch crosses. Men who construct such ditches usually sell so many shares in it that in time it becomes almost communal. The shares are sold on the basis of so many day's water a year per man. If a dry year comes or the water is low, each man receives a reduced share of the water proportionate to his original allowance.

If a ditch owner has allowed another man to lead off part of his water into another ditch, under time limit or restriction, when a season of drought comes they take turns, day by day, so as to divide equally what little there is of it.

If in a series of step-terraces, built one above the other, an avalanche covers more than the top one, the owners of all the terraces in the series have to work together to remove the stones. If a cloudburst pushes these same terraces down the side of the mountain so that the top one has lowered its position, and the bottom one has fallen into the stream and its earth been washed away, the owners of the terraces go to the clerk and find out exactly how much of this particular terrace land each of them possessed. If they each owned a third, the clerk measures, with string, what arable land remains, and divides it up proportionately, so that the order of ascension is the same as before, but the area of each is proportionately reduced. If, however, the bottom one suffers loss through the action of the stream and nothing has happened to the upper ones, the owner of the bottom terrace has to suffer his loss alone. Any small loss of earth or manure due to a storm may not be recovered; the owner of the lower terrace into which it has been washed may keep it. If the boundary wall between two terraces has been broken in by the storm, and dirt has washed over the stones, making the boundary questionable, the clerk comes with the papers of the original sale and a cord, and measures the terraces anew. Then the owner of the upper terrace must build another retaining wall, and cannot recover the earth which he has lost, unless, as above stated, the upper boundary of his land has slumped downhill and the bottom terrace has fallen into the stream.

624 423 When a man's tree thrusts its branches over a boundary so that it hangs over another man's land and makes shade on it, preventing the growth of grain or vegetables, the owner of the shaded land may protest and demand that that part of the tree be removed. The clerk forbids cutting it, however, and orders the owner of the tree to give a fourth of its fruit to the other man.

624 471 The clerk also keeps track of the olive press, and of the succession of those entitled to use it. If a neighboring *bone* has no press he lets it use the one in his territory, before the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

actual owners of the machine are allowed to do so: and he collects from them the customary divisions of the oil which they squeeze. The village council of each *bone* makes out the list and the clerk writes it down and sees that it is followed.

Another duty of this latter official is making out papers of adoption for strangers who come into the *bone* to live and who wish to become affiliated with it.

The clerk also has charge of wills and inheritance. The head of each family may make a will on his deathbed, or at some time when he fears imminent death. To do this he summons the clerk, who writes down the terms of the bequests and takes the paper away with him. After the man has died he produces this paper, makes its contents public, and administers the estate.

Although most men, in making their wills, follow the traditional rules of inheritance, some bequeath their property unequally among their heirs, at times cutting individuals off entirely, and leave property to mosques or saints' tombs. No man is permitted, however, to disinherit his wife or wives.

In each tribe there is supposed to be a judge, appointed by the tribal council, and holding his office for life or good behavior. He has received a diploma from one of the four institutions previously mentioned. His appointment does not usually come, however, until long after his fulfilment of the requirements for this position. He is almost always a native of the tribe in which he is employed.

There was one in Beni Urriaghel, one in Beni Tuzin, and one in Gzennaya, at the time the Christians entered. The first judge in the Rif in modern times was Si Abd el Rahman of the Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya, who had dwelt long in Fez and married a Fezzi wife. The Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel decided, about fifty years ago, that they would like to have a judge, and therefore sent men of the Gzennaya to Fez to persuade Si Abd el Rahman to come. On the way back from Fez, the Beni Ulid, who did not know that he was a judge, attacked him and his bodyguard in the night, killing him and capturing his wife and children. What remained of the bodyguard returned to the Rif and called together a great council of the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Beni Ulishk, Beni Said, and Metalsa. All these councillors, with their retainers, invaded Beni Ulid and devastated it, taking back the prisoners and loot, and exacting a fine of four thousand five hundred dollars.

Si Abd el Rahman's eldest son was made judge in his place, after him his brother, and after his brother his sons, in turn. Beni Urriaghel and Beni Tuzin later each established a judge, certified by that of Beni Yunes. Several others were set up and deposed in later times.

Every year each *fifth* presents the judge with a cow, five or six goats, and large quantities of all staple agricultural products. The judge in this way receives a large income, but is expected to spend most or all of it on hospitality. He settles disputes concerning landed property. Contestants bring their papers of ownership to him, and he decides which one really owns the property, then signs and seals the paper of the winner. The plaintiffs bring him presents of meat and sugar — any further gift would be considered bribery.

In the Senhaja Sghir the Sherif of Targuist acts as judge, except in Taghzuth, where there has been a judge for generations. Until the time of Abd el Krim, however, the judge of Taghzuth was influenced by the Sherif of Targuist.

623
621
571
793
the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of
623
184
343
624
the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

646
614
[623]
The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in, and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646
The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
619
692 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
681 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside circle).[2 & 3]

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
614 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
623 ....Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
628 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at
721 any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare.... Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities. This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared beforehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
● (624) surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
687 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that
695 the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
629 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good, natural and admirable feeling.

182 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
671 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
626 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
681
613

691 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure [782] barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

104 624 [686] by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

000 172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

[613] 173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

[554] [648] [631] 176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

[614] 177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[224] [113] 179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

556 (423) (425)

under the Spanish, remained more or less a part of his tribe. His son continued to accumulate wealth but exclusively in terms of land, especially from Spaniards leaving the country. He maintained daily contact with his tribe, attended weddings of the more important people within the Beni Wariyaghar and although he lived in the city of Alhucemas, had close and intense connections with the countryside. This man's own son, an officer in the army, was visiting Alhucemas and was accused by the police chief of drinking in a public place. The police chief, a recent transfer from the southern zone, was unaware of the prominence of the boy and had him arrested. As soon as his father heard of this he obtained the immediate release of his son through the Ministry of Interior and the suspension of the police chief.

(689) (625)

These two examples are illustrative of the fact that wealth itself is not correlated with prestige or power. One might even suggest that analytically there are two sorts of wealth, each based on a different sort of operation in terms of accumulation and distribution. One sort of wealth, that which derives from the land, is a part of a greater complex in which social factors motivate economic action. The other sort of wealth generally operates free of these social factors and is motivated by the profit incentive.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 *Type 4.* This is called Zenatan, and is characteristic of the Beni Znassen. In the Rif it is employed in Kebdana and Beni Bu Yafer. It has likewise been used in Targuist in recent years as a partial imitation of the central Riffian technique. In Targuist its identity with the Zenatan type is purely a coincidence.

Type 5. The single cross on the left side of the nose is employed by men in the same area as that covered by the occurrence of Type 3 among women, but extends its distribution farther than the corresponding female decoration. It is found in Khebaba and Beni Mohammed of Gsennaya, sometimes in Shawia of the same tribe, in Masuna, Ait Shisher, and Kebdana. Throughout this area it is optional, except in Khebaba, where all the men use it.

Type 6. This is the modern rendering of Type 2, the modification being in the use of a cross instead of a hatched line on the forehead. Type 6 has come in during the present generation, totally displacing its predecessor, but losing ground in Galiya, where it is gradually being replaced by Type 3.

Where the tattooing on the face is of Type 1, 3, or 4, the rest of the body remains without permanent decoration; but where the facial tattooing is of Type 2 or 6, that is of central Riffian pattern, the body is likewise tattooed. Number 7 shows the design on the abdomen, thorax, and neck, number 8 on the legs, — a stripe up each side and a cross over the ankle, — and number 9 on the forearm. As a variant of number 9, and considered very stylish, are forked antennae coming off the corners of both the distal and proximal terminal bars. The tattooing on the neck reaches up to the chin, where it joins with the tattooing of the face in one continuous design reaching from the center of the lower lip almost to the navel. Care is taken in tattooing the upper of the two hatched single lines just below the breasts not to have the design encroach upon the actual skin of the breasts.

USE OF HENNA

302 Henna, that universal cosmetic stain, is used throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, as well as by all other peoples of Morocco. On each day of the wedding feast, the bride thrusts both hands and both feet up to the wrists and ankles into a bowl of stewed henna leaves. The groom similarly stains his hands, but not his feet. The Riffians make no geometric lines with this henna, as do the Arabs and Atlas Jews, but simply daub it on until the whole extremity is colored a consistent reddish-brown.

It is said that in the Rif henna was not used in former times, but that apple leaves and green walnut shells were employed in place of the henna leaves, which even today are entirely imported, the chief source of supply being the tribe of Dukkala, on the Atlantic seaboard of French Morocco.

[[71]] Although henna is today distributed throughout North Africa, the presence of this definite tradition would indicate that its diffusion into the Rif took place in fairly recent times, and that in the remoter sections its use was preceded by an imitative employment of other materials.

● 626 Another use of henna distinct from all ideas of beautification is as follows: when a man has shown himself cowardly in war, the women of the village seize him, rip off his shirt, and smear his back with the stain.

74--In the Aith Waryaghar, anyone who indulged in bestiality became the object of extreme derision; and as a market crier himself is a person of very low social standing, this in itself would have rubbed more salt in the wound.

75--Marriages with parallel cousins occur, but they are uncommon. In this particular instance, there was a good reason for it, as Blanco points out.

76--These cousins, again as indicated in note 17, were the boy's r-waratha, who could normally have inherited only if the boy's father had either died without issue or if he had left a daughter or daughters only. It is un-Qur'anic enough for the r-waratha to appropriate, as they often try to do, a daughter's share of the inheritance as well as their own, but for them to take over a son's share is expressly forbidden by the Shari'a, and may be regarded, in this instance, as the purest personal aggrandizement.

77--This should probably read "to one's tribe", as the notion of other tribes hardly enters the picture here. Except under an 'Abd al-Krim, how would it have been, or be, possible for a man of the Igzinnayen, for example, to feel any responsibility for a man from the Aith Waryaghar? This error may be due to a typographical error in the original text.

78--One could hardly label a sanction of 2000 duros for murder committed in a market as indicative of "lack of repressive organs". It is statements of this kind, which continually crop up, that, in conjunction with numerous factual errors, cast a small but ever-present cloud over Blanco's work, and mark him as an amateur ethnologist.

79--See La Ley Rifeña, pp. 47, 50.

they send out a couple of individuals to care for their relatives (in their absence) and tell them what has happened, and by day, they have to feed them, after which, once this is done, they start the march toward the enemy group in order to deliver the coup de main either at once or through careful skirmishing.

There is no top command, for, as the objective is clear, it is not needed. All that must be done is to write finis to the enemy. Individual desertion is shameful, booty is eagerly anticipated, and members of the war-party do not worry about the fact that there are neither rearguard services nor defense.

B) Harkas and their Formation (fragmentary):

The obligation to serve in a harka or war-party was general and accepted by all, and avoidance of harka duty was an object of censure and sanction. Any and all groups which were threatened (both internally and externally) provided variable contingents which were activated periodically. Until protectorate times, punitive expeditions organized by the Moroccan Sultans to chastise recalcitrant tribesmen were augmented by auxiliary harkas made up from the tribes through whose territory the expeditions passed. A good example was the foray undertaken by Bushta al-Baghdadi, one of the fin de siècle commanders of the Moroccan army, against the pirates of the Ibuqquyen in 1898[4]. More recently, 'Abd al-Krim solicited harkas for individual engagements; he maintained a reduced contingent, which was periodically increased, under arms. The system was one of partial mobilization with relief contingents, the number and amount of which were fixed by 'Abd al-Krim. Their recruitment and provisions were handled by their

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
687 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that
685 the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good, natural and admirable feeling.

182
671 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
626 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
681 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
613

671 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

792 annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure
794 of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a
575 member to donate to his zariwya.
[124]

788 Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of
484 wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of
[179] the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obli-
gations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz,
Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died.
[805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thir-
teenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu
[178] 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or
[509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc
which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage.
Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one
year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group.
[435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams,
depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in
[671] getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally
the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide
for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older,
[554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can
become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have
788 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, com-
484 pletely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of
626 the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of
pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and
general public disapproval, if he begs off the
pilgrimage.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Entertaining councillors of another tribe. If the councillors of a strange tribe stop at a village for the night, the local village council has charge of their entertainment. They first provide a house for the guests by expelling some childless man and his wife from their dwelling for the night. They then collect foodstuffs. Bread and all fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, and vegetables, are assessed from rich men without payment. Meat, sugar, tea, candles, oil, pepper, butter, and poultry are purchased from members of the *bone* willing to sell them. The boys of the council buy the poultry from widows, and eggs as well, if no one brings them voluntarily. Anyone refusing to supply the bread assessed him may be fined ten *soldi* a loaf; but since no one has ever been known to refuse, the fine is purely theoretical. If in buying those articles not given, the members of the council spend more money than they have in the fine treasury, they pay the excess amount themselves, later collecting it in equal portions from all the men of the *bone* who have been married one year or over. They themselves act as cooks for the visiting councillors.

Entering council chamber unbidden. If any member of the *bone* enters the council chamber while the council is deliberating, the intruder is told to remain and is given tea. When at length he departs, a member of the council is immediately sent out to call him back. This time he is reprimanded for having entered unbidden, and is fined between two and three dollars.

Conversing with women. If a man or boy speaks to a married woman belonging to a *bone* other than his own, on the path or in any other public place, except the market, the village council of the village to which the woman belongs summons the offender and fines him five dollars. If the offender repeatedly seeks out the woman, or loiters about places she is known to frequent in order to converse with her, the village council of the offender's own *bone* fines him between fifty and sixty dollars. If the offense takes place in market it is considered more serious, and comes before the council of the great.[1] These rules do not apply to unmarried women, who may be spoken to, in a respectful manner, by anyone.

Quarrels between women. When one woman injures another with a stone, stick, or other implement, the village council collects a fine of from five to six dollars from the husband of the aggressor. The council generally hears of such cases through gossip, since the husband of the injured woman is usually too ashamed to report it.

Entering a cemetery occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a cemetery when the women of the *bone* are convening there on a Friday or holiday, he is fined five dollars.

Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a saint's tomb in which women are convening, the village council fines him from fifty to a hundred dollars.

Fighting with the hands. If two men fight with their hands, without using any weapon, the village council determines which man started the fight and fines him an amount commensurate with the injury done.

Speaking to an enemy. If a man is caught conversing with a member of a hostile *bone*, at a time when war is either in progress or imminent, the village council of his own *bone* fines him fifty dollars.

In the tribes and territories where there is no village council, the rendering of justice in small affairs which is the work of this body is not performed. For example, one man may cut down another's tree or take his grass without any fine or other official reckoning; he can likewise speak to a woman of another *bone*; but if he does these things he incurs the wrath

[1] See below, p. 102.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

627 of the men affected, and may thus start a feud which will end in killings, after which it becomes the concern of the councillors to render justice.

In regions where the Arab form of government has supplanted the indigenous type, such affairs are decided by the sheikh.

DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT

623 This council, which is the governing body of the *canton*, does not convene as often as the village council, but comes together only in market and when some occasion demands it, its moderator then sending for the members. In *cantons* which have no markets, the council of the great has no regular meetings.

Supporting the village council. If anyone who has been fined by the village council refuses to pay it, that body sends a messenger to the moderator of the council of the great. The moderator sends for the members, who come armed to a place previously agreed upon and proceed in a body to the house of the offender. There they assess upon a him fine several times that originally imposed, amounting usually to between fifty and two hundred dollars, depending on the offense.

623 692 [685] *Theft of livestock.* A man who has stolen sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules, or horses is summoned before the councillors and fined between a hundred and two hundred dollars, besides being forced to restore to his victim the animals stolen, in cash or in kind. The theft of camels does not incur jurisdiction because of the lawless condition of the nomads who own them. Such a theft simply results in a fight.

[683] *Fighting with sticks.* The councillors decide which of the parties is at fault and fine him fifty dollars. If the *bone* of the injured man is a strong one, the councillors force the culprit to bring a goat, bread, tea, and sugar and go with them to the house of the injured man to present him with a feast. Such a feast, provided by visitors to the house, is a strong act of compulsive magic and cannot be disregarded. The recipient of such a favor must grant any request made and cease enmity against the giver. If the *bone* of the injured man is weak, no precaution of this nature is necessary.

[683] *Shooting at a man but missing him.* He who shoots at another without hitting him must pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the councillors.

[689] *Speaking to women in market.* This offense is considered greater than that of speaking to women in any other place. It is settled by the councillors of the *canton* in whose territory the market is held, and is punished by a hundred dollar fine.

Entering a women's market. For a man to enter a market which is restricted to women is an offense as serious as that of speaking to a woman in a common market, if not more so. It is punished by a fine of a hundred dollars, paid to the councillors.

623 692 684 *Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act.* If a husband hears that his wife has been unfaithful, but did not actually witness such an event, he is not allowed to kill the suspected man without incurring the penalty for ordinary murder. He has the privilege of bringing the matter before the councillors, who fine the suspect, if they are reasonably sure of his guilt, between a hundred and two hundred dollars. They forcibly divorce the woman from her husband, and forbid her to remarry him or any other man. Women so divorced return to their parents to live. Such a woman often becomes a prostitute, plying her trade with the greatest secrecy possible. If she is caught doing this, the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

but there are few *bones* without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The *bone* which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another *fifth*, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses being caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council.

A *bone* may thus be expelled from a tribe, permanently or temporarily. A *bone* which is continually making trouble and causing feuds may be the subject of a special meeting of the tribal council, which decides to exile it from the tribe either permanently or for a given number of years. Killing people on Mohammedan feast days or during the month of Ramadan is one of the strongest reasons for the expulsion of a *bone*.

This habit of exiling *bones* has been going on for so long that there are today numerous colonies of exiled Riffians living outside the Rif. Such are colonies of Beni Urriaghel in Oran and in Tangier; of Beni Amart in Ain Leuh, on the Wergha, of Beni Amart and Beni Hadifa at Armeila, on Wed Teheris; of Beni Tuzin at Zerhoun; of Temjunt of Gzennaya in Ain Mediuna (Beni Gzin); of Beni Yunes of Gzennaya at el Kob, in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Ulid; and the Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iherrushen of Gzennaya at el Mta outside of Fez. Most of these exiles could now go back if they so wished, but they have been away for so long, in many cases for generations, that they no longer have any desire to return.

Sometimes a murder spreads into a feud and from a feud into a war so rapidly that before a tribal council can come together to deliberate the councillors find themselves fighting on one side or another, in a tribal war.

Murder often leads to immediate revenge, and immediate revenge to a feud between *bones*. The feud may be a bitter one, in fact a pitched battle, in which may join other *bones* allied of old to one or other of the principal combatants. Most allies, however, are made anew on the occasion of each war. An alliance is called *liff*; it belongs more properly under the heading of magic than under that of political organization, but must be discussed at this point if the complexities of Riffian warfare are to be understood.

A *liff* is a shame-compulsion laid by one *bone* on another, a magical act which forces the second *bone* into alliance with, or at least toleration of, the other. By making *liff* with a number of other *bones*, a *bone* may increase its fighting force many times, and by both sides industriously making *liff* with others, a general war starts, in which there may not remain enough of the tribal council to make its convening worth while.

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

527 578 266 enemy's grave after he has killed him, cuts off a piece of his liver or tongue, and puts it into his own mouth, the vow being considered to be fulfilled through this act of symbolical cannibalism. Other vows in the Rif are to swear to kill an enemy and then to drink his blood, or to roast his liver and throw it to the dogs; but the person who has taken the former vow, on killing the enemy, only puts some of his blood into his own mouth and afterwards spits it out.

627 578 In many instances the promissory oath is a sworn vow either to refrain from an act or from acts of a certain kind until a certain design has been accomplished, or to do a thing in case a certain promise is not fulfilled or a certain wish is not complied with. In those parts of the country in which the blood-feud is rife it frequently happens that a relative of the murdered man makes a vow, silent or audible, to refrain from having his head shaved (Jbala, many Arabs of the plains, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Shloh of the Great Atlas and Aglu), from washing or changing his clothes (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager), from having matrimonial intercourse (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager), from slaughtering an animal (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or from going to the market (Ait Waryager), until revenge has been taken. Among the Ait Waryager the women of the [516] family in such a case also refrain from wearing silver ornaments round the head or the neck and from painting themselves with henna, and boys and unmarried men, who otherwise make use of henna at the feast of the Mulud and at weddings, refrain from doing so if their father has taken a vow of this kind.

789 [518] Besides the conditional self-imprecation, or oath, there are other conditional curses, which are directed, not against the curser himself, but against somebody else. This is the case with the 'ar and, in many cases, the 'ahd.

The word 'ar literally means "shame", but in Morocco it is used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request. If a person says to another, Ha l-'ar alik, "Here is 'ar upon you", or Hada 'ar 'alike, "This is 'ar upon you", it implies that if the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the 'ar. A stronger expression is to represent the 'ar cast on a person as 'ar on God, the Prophet, or some saint with an implicit request to curse the person if he does not do what is asked of him.

789 [519] I have even heard the belief that it is dangerous for a person to induce another to grant a request by casting 'ar[1] on him, since in such a case the curse is likely to affect the petitioner and not the individual appealed to (Ait Waryager).

627 [522] A refugee places himself in the 'ar of a woman by touching
728 her or sucking her breast (Hiaina, Ait Nder, Aglu, Igliwa)—by which he becomes as it were her son—or by sitting down in front of her or going behind her or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill (Ait Waryager); her husband or family will then have to help him, and if the woman with whom he seeks refuge is the pursuer's own wife, the persecution must cease.

[532] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager, if a manslayer who is pursued by the relatives of his victim takes refuge in somebody's house and seizes hold of the handmill, he is in the 'ar of the mistress of the household, who is the owner of the handmill; then the pursuers must stop firing and the inhabitants of the house are obliged to protect him and to take him in safety back to his own house. On the other hand, a person who has to avenge the death of a relative may induce the owner of a house in which he takes refuge to assist him in taking revenge by offering him some money, which, if accepted, is looked upon as 'ar. If one of their villages has been beaten in a blood-feud with another village and desires to make peace, some of its men go at night to the enemy's village with a sheep or a goat, which they kill outside the yard of the mosque and then throw into the yard. When the dead [533] animal is found there in the morning by the people of the village, they understand from whom it has come and send the schoolmaster to the enemy, who now expresses a wish to put an end to the hostilities. Some men from a third village are called to act as peace-makers, and blood-money—some thirty or forty dollars—is paid for the manslaughter which was the cuase of the feud. It may be added that the animal which was sacrificed as 'ar is only eaten by scribes who are not natives of the village in which it was killed, no native partaking of its meat. So also the Rifians have recourse to 'ar to put a stop to a war between two different tribes. Some men of the vanquished tribe (daqbilt) go before sunrise to one of the enemy's market-places, taking with them a cow or a bullock, which they slaughter there as 'ar. They then retire to a desolate place in the neighbourhood and remain there till they are fetched by

1 [For definition of 'ar see previous page.- Analyst]

627 one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was
728 made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, perhaps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

574 [537] The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the belief in the 'ar and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in the 'ar of his host, in accordance with the principle, "He who is in your house is in your 'ar".

[538] Among the Braber of the Ait Yusi and Ait Sadden, if two or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a guest (anbg i, plur. inbg aun), spending the night in the mosque if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; some one of the villagers brings food to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the fqi is not there, as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any person in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse. The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up; for l-'ain t at akul, "the eye is eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all.

842 [559] Among the Ait Waryager parents who have lost a child de-
765 posit its shirt at a shrine as 'ar in order that they shall be blessed with another child.

776 [561] Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in
696 the 'ar of God and Sidna Jebril, the master of mosques. Among the Ait Waryager, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a village is considered to be in the 'ar of the villagers and is therefore sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint will be unscrupulously killed.

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s.
614
623 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each other.[63]

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jajgu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, reception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the jma'th.

D) Position of Women:

562
182
171 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the cancellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains regards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance[64], when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look for friends to reinforce it.

562 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly
627 revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as
628 their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

684 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed,
171 while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their
562 houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads[65]. Women do not inherit
428 in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in
171 lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much (1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce
586 them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single
582 nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage.
[171] A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and
562 is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of <u>insurrection</u>
586 (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a <u>zawiya</u>
208 (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated
623 with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain
[171] to the <u>jma'th</u>, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather
629 through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration
171 of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslin <u>ukil</u> (legal
562

627 representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas
171 and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be
562 their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent
other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian
562 women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general,
[574] if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men
are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from
[443] their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example
of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where
transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets
are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a
[576] woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him
the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of
855 way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love
their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

432 In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th
[623] (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties
concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and
the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign
the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the
jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents
427 in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is
623 not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman)
426 who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies
686 in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his
627
623

426 part of the bargain, he is reminded to do so by the chief, and if he
686 refuses, they forcibly commit a theft of animals or property, so
627 that his jma'th will hear of it; and they thus oblige him to fulfill
623 his promises or give rise to the intervention of his jma'th, which will force him to start negotiations.

685 The property of thieves is sold as indemnity, and, if they
627 have gone or if this cannot be done, that of their kinsmen is sold, a fine is imposed, and the eyes of the recalcitrant individual are plucked out by a member of his family if he is caught[68].

623 None of the decisions of the jma'th are registered.

F) Social Organization:

1) The jma'th has generally been defined in terms of what it is not. It has been likened to the Roman forum, the Greek agora, and the Scottish clan[69]; and it has been considered the "cornerstone" or the "roof" of the "Berber house". It has been characterized as an administrative unit by some, and as a social, judicial (i.e. jural), religious or military unit by others. Some have taken the number of houses as a base point, others the fact of whether or not it contains a Friday ("cantonal") mosque. The etymology of the word--"assembly, meeting, council, junta"--has also been invoked as a basis for definition, but this, by itself, is also insufficient[70].

623 In my view, the jma'th is the elemental form of the association
621 of neighboring family groups oriented toward essentially economic ends.
[613] The actual number of such groups, whether two today or two hundred tomorrow, and whether occupying thirty or two hundred households, is

arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes, even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons, never quite complete.

16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem more nearly to fit the context.

17--Imrabdhen, sing. amrabidh (from Arabic murabit) are saints, living or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused with shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed, perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is (or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult to fathom.

19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the blad as-siba, and Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be extended to cover the whole notion of siba. In another publication we have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of this term, which goes back to Montagne, of siba as "anarchy", a notion which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--cf. André Adam, La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect, concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term, but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words, this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind when writing of "organized anarchy".

671 If aside from local community questions such as irrigation, hospitality and matters dealing with education, these community charters also deal with "crimes of blood" (delitos de sangre), one may see in them, more than the incumbency of these units (organisms), the necessity of providing for the lack of other upper-level associations which were lacking in this organized anarchy, which, in a happy phrase, may be attributed to those days when social disintegration attenuated the functioning of the upper-level units: clan (fracción) and tribe.

621 623 627 10) Security: Internally, security was guaranteed in normal times by the iziddjifen themselves, through the resolution of any incidents and the clearing up of any disputes which might arise, while in the internal political struggle of its council the popular spirit predominated. This was even more the case when within the council the 623 613 621 equilibrium between dharfiqin or agnatic lineages was broken and one lineage came to predominate, as now it was one of its representatives who, in the last analysis, came to achieve the delegation of the permanent executive function of security, under the pompous and strange designation of mqaddim or shaikh[7], who, satisfying his own personal vanity, brought about the envy of the iziddjifen, who were very jealous of their own prerogatives, who were paid in their jobs (sic)[8], and who were opposed to the notion of personal power for which the [671] struggle now began. In this respect the qanun of the jma'th of (Lower) Thamasind (Aith Waryaghar) is of interest.[9]

7--Again Blanco reveals an anti-Arab and a pro-Rifian bias, perhaps: he would obviously have preferred the designation amghar. However, and more to the point: he is also equally aware of the superfluity of such titles in a society as fiercely egalitarian as that of the Rifian tribes.

8--This was hardly the case: no tribal leaders (to say nothing of mere [114] lineage headmen) in pre-Protectorate Morocco were ever paid in the formal sense of the word. Remuneration came through occasional "perks".

9--Cf. La Ley Rifeña, 1939, Chapter V.

It may also be seen that here there appear no Arabic names of tribal functionaries, such as qa'id, qadi or mqaddim.

The notaries who sign the documents limit themselves, then, to the registry of acts passed by the lay committee or customary tribunal.[27]

This procedure clarifies the executive procedure in notes 5, 6, 7 and 8.

The notables and a coterie of friends, family or volunteers, or, simply, hungry men, fall like locusts upon the households of the lineage-mates (agnates) of the accused, and they do not budge until the matter is settled; either this, or they throw them out of doors.[28] Documents and lands, proofs and possessions; the accused's agnates must hand over all of these, as well as their very houses. They have violated the pact and the pledged word. They can only save their own persons, and this with difficulty, thanks to the force of vengeance, bloodfeud and reprisal, to the raqba[29], which may be taken by any member of the victim's family (i.e. any of the victim's agnates).

It is a rapid procedure, but not because the law or its executive organs are rapid, for, as among Europeans, as it is their own flesh which suffers, they are in no great hurry. In the Rif, the man who most strongly urges liquidation of these affairs is the one responsible for the crime, and his agnates. However, much beforehand accounts may be adjusted, the matter is over before they will see themselves free of the locusts in their quarters and before they will be able to save bread. After a few days, which are hard to stretch out, the provisions, already considerably reduced, will begin to get

627 very scarce and will soon give out altogether.

627 614 This period is that of smoothing over. Those responsible hide their possessions, assure (the imgharen) that they have nothing, only a goat and a cow and a tiny plot of land: this is all they can offer, along with their house. The rest had been mortgaged[30], etc. The imgharen, sure in their convictions, do not agree....The members of the victim's family deny having any more possessions.

The neighbors of those responsible for the crime who are also obliged to put up lodgers become impatient and denounce possible concealments. The imgharen continue without deciding, and then their buying begins. Finally a moment arrives in which they hear no more offers or denunciations of those responsible for the crime. All, including the coterie, grumble, become tired and begin to desert, finally going back 627 to their homes. The notables, satiated and fed up, see that this is 614 the time to stop in the struggle and investigations, because of what 613 they hurried to auction when it was taken over, the gross value of which they distribute equally among the lineages concerned in the [594] agreement, except for that of the man who violated it. This distribution, which the representatives of the lineages present parcel out among their lineage-mates, must in turn be parcelled out by the latter among the nuclear families, and by these among the members of each [262] family. And thus, one fine day, the imgharen and their numerous coterie, nourished with barley, bread, butter and hard-boiled eggs, abandon those places which they have left as clean as the palms of their hands; for Rifian notions of justice are now satisfied and the lineage responsible for the crime remains in misery.

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
687 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that
695 the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they
have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the
qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a
triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the
meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the
agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it
as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good,
natural and admirable feeling.

182
671 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
626 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
681 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
613

671 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

000 671 182 628 681 nor a bastardization of his office. It creates guarantees for the accused, protecting him from bloodfeuds; it indemnifies the social unit, the subclan of Imhauren, from injuries caused by some of its members, so that when the fine is donated to the habus of the village mosque, through the particular conceptualization and application of these funds in the Rif, a part of the money always came back to the jma'th in kind; and the eagerness for a reward, as among participating European functionaries, who multiply the fines by increasing their investigations and denunciations in proportion to their needs, was discarded.

671 681 627 It has--and why not?--among its other defects one which is certainly a simple defect in editing, although the frequency with which it is repeated makes this doubtful in several cases. The intention (author's italics) (Blanco: note f, in text) is punished, but how can it be proven? According only to the prudent arbitration of the popular tribunal formed by the two aforementioned individuals. A bad business.

671 621 623 614 182 Curious and noteworthy is the palpable demonstration of this municipal letter, of this qanun of a jma'th, which is careful not to overstep the bounds of adjacent institutions, such as those of personal status law (inheritance, etc.) or of those handled by the immediately superior social unit, the clan, with its qanun approved and drawn up in the markets (murders and woundings, etc.), a fact which reveals the interrelationship and interdependence of the different social units, and even their institutions and how they function.

671 627 182 This qanun is limited, logically, to neighborhood questions, among which there figures in first place that of public security (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property.

312 The
562 jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions
[623] of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of
[681] women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

312 The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly
695 among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agree-
[212] ments are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

[466] The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions
[333] on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

312 Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone
689 of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2)
241 differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled
242
627

312 689 [24] [242] [627] amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

312 621 624

The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

312 675 423

Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

312 571 [805]

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

671 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

000 223 224 629 578 671 [191] at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

671 223 224 411 4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 223 5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir). [572] [695]

671 223 224 6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "l-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar). [201]

224 671 aid was rendered with firearms, to pay a cartridge, and if rendered with a ferret, to surrender half of the animal taken, for the maintenance of ferrets, based on milk, eggs and bread with olive oil, is costly. The same holds true if he is lent a net; he must pay half of the animals he catches (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 689 Anyone who, if help is required of him, denies it and deliberately frightens the game away with shouts and gestures, in order to hunt it later on his own, is obliged to pay a fine of 25 pesetas for his selfishness.[192]

671 224 I) Snow:

The tracks of animals (largely hares and rabbits) and the footprints of hunters give rise to the following cases:

1) The animals are for whoever discovers them and follows their tracks from the point where these begin or further; this is thus a recognition of the greatest effort (Aith 'Ammarth).

2) This right may be yielded by the pursuer, for reasons of weariness, etc., to anyone whom he meets on the way; and in case he abandons the search, he loses his rights (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 423 3) After the den of an animal is discovered, the hunter makes a circle in the snow around it. This circle is a sign of priority rights to the animal within it, and it permits the hunter to follow new tracks even though he may not kill the animal within the burrow.

671 224 423 627 In case another man takes the animal from its den, the claim is examined in front of the mulu' by the first hunter taking oath to having made the circle in order to locate the animal first.

[681] If through lack of other proof and if afterward it comes to

671 224 423 627 681 be known that one of the parties involved obliged the other one to swear, even knowing that the latter was right, the first party is fined 25 pesetas over and above the value of the animal (Aith Waryaghar).[193]

671 224 4) Animals found on someone's plot of land belong to the man who catches them and not to the owner of the land (Aith 'Ammarth).[194]

J) Nets and Snares:

223 After threshing has been completed in the late summer, threshing floors somewhat distant from the villages are used in order to hunt partridges with nets.[195] The threshing floor is prepared for this purpose, with straw and grains wasted as fodder. It is then surrounded with a semi-circular fence, a sign that it is prepared for birds.

671 223 (685) On a threshing floor, the preferential right to any game caught is that of the owner of the floor. In a floor marked out as indicated above, only the indiviual who prepared it may hunt. Any other person who tries to do so is considered a thief, and the fine he must pay is calculated on the basis of the number of partridges in the net. This right is based upon the patient preparation and expense of fodder, as bait.

223 224 After the den of a rabbit or hare or the nest of a partridge has been discovered, the hunters sprinkle the path to it with the grain residues of threshing in order to gain the animal's confidence; and when they consider it gained, they put the trap hidden between the earth and the remains of the threshed straw.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif MX 3

623 minor points of difference, the men let them arbitrate and set fines
867 of a few eggs or loaves of bread, for their own consumption. Having thus learned the routine of sitting in judgment and also some of the oral qanūns, the boys are ready for the serious business ahead.

623 Once a week, when the nearest market meets, the older men of
627 the neighboring villages, corresponding to the "brains" of the Kabyles, meet in a house just off the grounds, or in good weather, under a tree. Over glasses of tea they settle any disputes which may
628 come up in the market or which litigants may bring them. When
619 more serious matters arise, such as the trouble between the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmut, the councilors of a single geographical unit, consisting of several clans, come together. They must be fed, and it is in the interest of the feuding parties to make a speedy settlement, with fines and blood money. Fines go to the councilors, who eat part and divide the rest. Blood money goes to the kin of the wounded or dead. If these councilors cannot settle the problem, the "fifth" is invoked—the whole series of little valleys and watershed cantons which forms the next largest political unit. Some tribes have only one "fifth," but Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel each have five. If the "fifth" cannot settle the dispute, and the bloodshed spreads, then all the fifths join in. If the whole tribe is embroiled, the councilors of another tribe may invade and catch them unawares, to their great loss. The longer the fight remains unsettled the greater the number of participants, each new and larger body trying to capitalize on the confusion of the partisans.

It can be readily seen that few troubles reach intertribal proportions. This device of government in depth works. Feuding keeps the population down, and the fear of interference keeps the feud isolated and within bounds. Chronic troublemakers, and those who break the rules, must go. On the other hand when some outside force threatens more than a small portion of the Rif, the mechanism is at hand for all to unite, forcefully if ephemerally. The elders of one clan perform a compulsion of shame on another, thus forcing them into alliance, called *lif*, as elsewhere. As the danger grows, so
643 does the lif. In this manner 'Abd el-Krīm (who had been educated by
721 the Spaniards) set up a government of the whole Rif, which defeated Spain in two great battles in 1921 and 1924, and but for the use of aircraft and tanks by his enemy, might have held the French army indefinitely at bay. No sultan had ever been able to conquer this classic corner of the Land of Insolence, which is all the more remark-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

man with whom she is involved is punished just as was the first convicted offender. If she has been publicly exposed several times as a prostitute, the men of her *bone* kidnap her, carry her into the mountains, and there kill her and hide her body. No notice is taken of her absence, and if the councillors hear about the affair they pretend not to have done so.

If a woman catches her husband in the act of adultery with another woman, she ordinarily goes back to her own people and tells them of it. The men of her family, her father, brothers, or paternal uncle, may bring the matter up before the councillors and have the husband fined and divorced. In many cases, however, the men of her *vein* persuade the woman to do nothing about it, thinking that to make a commotion would only cause the disruption of the *bone*. In case the woman has married outside her *bone*, whether or not action takes place depends largely upon the respect which her own *bone* has for that of her husband. In any case, the sacramental defilement of the man is not considered as great as that of the woman in the opposite situation.

Blood money. Although murders, woundings, and adultery caught in the act are offenses beyond the jurisdiction of the council of the great and are relegated to the tribal council, one consequence of them falls directly upon the councillors. This is the assessment and collection of the *diith*, or blood money. Whereas the tribal council has the right to impose the fine, the council of the great has charge of compensation to the injured family. This takes place after the tribal council has finished its judgment and punishment. Murder is atoned for by the payment of a sum between one and five hundred dollars. The amount varies from *canton* to *canton*, but within a *canton* is constant and inflexible. Wounds are paid for at the rate of twenty-five dollars a month for each month of convalescence, until the injured man is able to work again.

The man who committed the crime pays, if he is able. If he is unable to raise the money by selling his property, the *bone* pays. In some *bones* the group as a whole always pays, whether the guilty one is able to raise the money or not; in others a man other than the guilty one pays, with the understanding that he is to receive the total of the next blood-money payment to his *bone*.

In the *bones* which pay individually, receipts are given to the children of the deceased, and if he left no children, to his father. Children receive the money on the basis that one boy is equal to two girls. If the deceased leaves neither children nor father, it is divided among the members of the *bone*. Many *bones* refuse altogether to receive blood money, preferring to take it out in blood by killing a member of the hostile *bone*, in which case, after the punishment of the tribal council is finished, the account is considered by the councillors as settled. Frequently the injured *bone* accepts the blood money, then suffers a revulsion of feeling and takes blood vengeance in addition, in which case it is required to return the payment.

Murders within the *bone* rarely occur, and are considered unnatural crimes. No blood money is assessed, because such an offender is instantly killed by his own people if he is unable to escape. A man fleeing such a crime will not be harbored by any Riffian, and must continue until he has left the Rif altogether. Even in this case he must take care to go to some place to which Riffians do not ordinarily travel, lest revenge overtake him later.

Attending weddings outside the canton. Another duty of the council of the great, this time of a bloodless nature, is to attend weddings of other councillors or their sons in other *cantons* or *fifths*. This is done in order to foster friendly relations between the two groups.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

618 596 Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other, native *ijūjgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijūjgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfiqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfiqīn* of their own. All the families in the villages of Bū Zdūr and Marrūwī, and most of those of Thirkuzīn, in Aith 'Abdallāh, are of this type; they are still considered by the locals as foreigners from Aith 'Ammarth, although they banded together long ago to found a new *thārfiqth* of their own, Aith Ḥandu Dāwūd, which has now grown into a *farīqath* or canton.

In the Wuryāghlī sense of being a «whole family», the internal solidarity of the *thārfiqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijūjgha* of a *thārfiqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfiqth* as a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfiqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence. Although murders within the *thārfiqth* did occur, they were very rare and considered unnatural crimes; the local holy man, *sharīf* or *murābiṭ* was brought around at once to appease the bereaved and to act as moderator, and the offenders were either killed or exiled immediately to prevent a feud from spreading. To date, I know personally of only one case of one man killing another in the same *thārfiqth* (in Tharwa n Muḥammādi 'Alūsh, Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī): he was instantly shot by one of the sons of the dead man, and as he himself had no sons or brothers to carry on the feud, the problem ended then and there. Equilibrium was completely reestablished when the killer married his victim's sister, his own parallel cousin.

578 682 618 596

618 628 Each *thārfiqth*, however, was usually at war with its neighbors. Minor quarrels over ownership of land or of irrigation water could and did lead to blood feuds of such extraordinary savageness that on some occasions they did not stop until one or the other of the participating families was completely wiped out. The smaller the group,

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

the greater the number of powerful allies it had to have in order to survive. Periods of peace and quiet were very infrequent events; in the old days every house had a watch tower, forming a second story, in which the owner had a commanding view of the whole countryside. He could thus spot an unwary enemy and drop him dead in his tracks with the greatest of ease and pleasure. The poverty and infertility of the soil was a factor which contributed heavily to an atmosphere of eternal suspicion and mistrust of one's neighbor. Violence was so common that, analyzing it from an anthropological standpoint, Montagne remarks with considerable justification that the concept of the *thārfiqth* obscured and often even obliterated those of the larger political units above it (8). The acceptance of the *dīyath* or blood money by the murdered man's *thārfiqth* was a rare phenomenon; most families, particularly those of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, the political division which has the greatest fighting reputation of all, preferred to keep the feud going. I have been informed that in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh feuding assumed such extreme proportions that, to take one example, the village of Aith Bū Khrif knew *no peace at all* until the Spanish occupation. Another instance on record, cited both by Montagne (9) and Maldonado (10), tells of a feud which started between two *thārfiqīn* of Aith 'Abdallāh, Aith al-Qāsim and Iburāsan; I have personally verified their accounts by conversation with two of the participants.

The shooting began after the murder of a dog which belonged to the guest of the head man of Iburāsan, as the Aith al-Qāsim refused to pay the blood money (50 duros) claimed. Twelve men were killed in combat the first day; each side got its allies and soon the feud spread all through the *farīqas* of Ibunahāren and Aith 'Amar u Ḥmid. In the following years, 40 men died on one side and 62 on the other, in pitched battles alone. This does not take into account the even larger number of those who were shot down in ambush or poisoned with arsenic sold by merchants at Alhucemas. The con-

(8) Montagne, Robert: Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris 1930, p. 240.

(9) Montagne, 1930, pp. 239-240.

(10) Maldonado, Eduardo: El Regui, Tetuán 1952, pp. 33-34.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

quered group eventually decided to leave the country; almost no one was left but old men, women and children, who sought refuge in the sacred mountain of Zarhūn (where Mūlāy Idrīs, the first Sultan of Morocco, is buried), after having sold all their property in order to try to hire a man who would avenge their dead. The vengeance plan was carefully worked out, and the *'adūl* made the following stipulations: 10.000 riyāls if the bullet killed an enemy; 5.000 if it wounded one; and 2.500 if it missed its mark. In any event, the hired killer was usually found the next day with a bullet through his own head, due as often as not to the careful marksmanship of a small boy hidden behind a lentiscus bush.

To give further evidence of lengths which the people of Aith Wuryāghil used to go to put their enemies out of the way, I was told by one of my informants that someone had once insulted his father. The father, an *amghār* or councillor of considerable repute in his own village (Aith Mūsā u 'Amar of Aith 'Alī), would not brook the insult, and promised his *akhammās* a new *jillāb* (11) and a considerable sum of money if he disposed of the insulter. The *akhammās* went out on his master's errand, but seems to have had a change of heart somewhere during his journey, for he decided that he personally had no quarrel with the other party. Thus there was no reason to kill him. But, with the prospect of a fat reward in his pocket, he

(11) (Riffian **ajdab**): a woolen cloak with sleeves and hood worn by men. In the days before Abd al-Karim it was made of brown home-spun and reached the knees only; today ankle-length jillabs are much more in vogue, and the younger generation prefers them made of European cloth. The old woolen turban, **thaghrafth**, is also no longer worn, and has been replaced by a white cotton turban among the older men; the younger ones, particularly those who have traveled outside the Rif, prefer the tarbush. The trousers have become baggier in recent years as well; the only item of distinctly Riffian clothing which remains is the toe-strap sandal of esparto grass. It is interesting to note that the old short and decorated Riffian jillabs can only be seen today in the Ghumara.

Women's clothing on the other hand, is far more conservative. The women of Aith Wuryaghil wear a silken band around the head, tied in the back, over which is placed a cotton shawl; a long cotton or silk shirt (if cotton, it is white; if silk, red or yellow) coming to the knees, with blue trousers underneath, coming to halfway between knees and feet; and a heavy red woolen belt. Most women go barefoot, but some, like many of the men, have adopted Spanish sneakers (alpargatas). Both sexes wear babouches (Riffian **iharkusen**, Arabic **blaghi**) only on festival occasions, provided they are rich enough to afford them.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

announced upon his arrival home that he had shot the man and returned undetected. The *amghār* soon learned the truth, and locked up his *akhammās* for three days without food or water. He then sent him packing, after cutting off his ears.

Under circumstances like these, in which even women did not dare go to work alone in the fields and in which men always had to carry their rifles to the mosque or to the market, it might seem, carrying Montagne's argument one step further, that no groupings larger than the *thārfiqth* could exist at all. They do exist, however, thanks to the mechanism of the *liff* alliance system, and the next one up the scale is the *jamā'ath* or *dshār*, the «village», a collection of both related and unrelated *thārfiqin*. I use the word «village» advisedly, nevertheless; its geographical limits, known perfectly by the tribesmen themselves, are difficult for the outsider to discern owing to the linear nature of the terrain and the scattered house distribution. Its site may be determined by the excessive growth of one *thārfiqth*, by the proximity of a spring, by discords and internal struggles, or by any number of other causes. Its two principal requirements are a communal village mosque (there is often more than one mosque to a village) and a local assembly consisting of the headmen *(izdīfen*, sing. *azdīf)* of its component *thārfiqin*. This assembly is still in large measure the governing body of the village, and it administrates village affairs largely according customary law *('urf)*; under its jurisdiction fall matters relating to individual and family order, theft of small articles such as eggs and poultry and olives and grapes, vigilance of orchards, reparation of irrigation ditches, and the like. It meets once a week in the courtyard of one of the village mosques, or under a wild olive tree, to hear and try cases of local importance. It elects the *faqīh* of the mosque, who gives Qur'anic instruction to the boys of the village, and the *shaikh arfiiiāḥath* or *aquwwām* to direct work in the fields and to oversee the *tawīzas* or corvees working on irrigation projects (12). Today it also elects a moderator to direct and keep order during its meetings; he is usually the village *jārī* or headman. The mosque, school and cemetery are all communal property of the *jamā-*

(12) Paniagua y Santos, José María: «Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif». **Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos**, núm. 4, primer semestre, Madrid, Junio 1948, pp. 1-44. My references on p. 14 and pp. 20-21.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

to the interest of the murderer and his family to come to terms quickly, for if they tried to go against the council, their days were numbered.

The *imghāren* were the real power in the land, and although the Sultan used to nominate *quyād* (pl. of *qā'id*), these were usually nothing but *imghāren* whose local prestige was slightly greater than that of their fellows. In Aith Wuryāghil, the *Bilād as-Saiba* par excellence, a *qā'id* could not govern in the same manner as he did an Arab tribe; if he tried to institute reforms without having the force to back them up, he was likely to be quietly done away with. It was the assembled *imghāren* of all the «fifths» who dictated policy if the tribe was threatened from outside. They declared war, treated for peace, and contracted alliances with other tribes, and they did so jointly. The Riffians are democratic almost to the point of anarchy, and if any man was considered better than his neighbor, it was only because he had more brothers or cousins to help him out in case a fight started. The excellent description given by Coon of what is apt to happen at the meeting of an *aghrau* affords us a wonderful insight into the Wuryāghlī character.

> «... The locality depends on mutual convenience. Each fifth occupies a section of the circle. A moderator talks to the members until a common attitude in regard to the subject of the meeting is agreed upon. The moderator now having received the instructions of his constituency, he approaches the center of the circle, and the councillors left on the outer ring finger their rifles and express their readiness to defend their spokesman if he gets into a violent argument. They discuss the matter at hand all talking at once or whenever they please, since there is no chief moderator, and for one member to bid another to be quiet would be ample excuse for murder. Moderators of a fifth usually agree within themselves and the argument soon develops into a consideration of how many fifths favor one opinion and how many the other. The moderator of one fifth may lead the moderator of another aside and whisper to him outside the ring, trying to bribe him to come over to his way of thinking. If the second moderator succumbs to this, he returns to the central ring and tries to change the attitude of the other representatives of his fifth. The parley goes on until a unanimous decision is reached or until the councillors begin fighting among themselves

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

623
623

and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In this case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay indemnity to the other. Even when the council ends peacefully it takes at least a week before they reach an agreement» (14).

To his may be appended a short but very apt summation of the situation by Col. Blanco: «En el Rif, donde todos son personajes, sólo una política de masas y no de individuos puede ser fructífera» (15).

618
616
628

In the Rif, up to the advent of ʿAbd al-Karīm, the state of war was so permanent that it can truthfully be said that if is customary for Europeans or Americans to declare war, it was also customary for the Riffians to declare peace. We must remember that the *thārfiqth* was the unit of vengeance, and that feuds between *thārfiqīn* even within the same village were a commonplace. House-to-house fighting was the order of they day. If a feud kept going long enough, the result was that the other *thārfiqīn* in the same and in nearby villages eventually began to group themselves around either one of the two feuding parties, usually with the one which was closer kin to themselves. Thus we have the beginnings of a moiety organization, equivalent to the *ṣof* of the Kabyles of Algeria. If the members of one moiety gradually found themselves on the losing side, their representatives used to lead a bull to the mosque of a neutral village or *thārfiqth* the aid of which they desired, and the *faqīh* slaughtered it on the sill so that its blood spurted over the threshold. The fact that a bull was sacrificed whenever possible is significant in itself, as the Wuryāghlīs [262] are very poor and largely vegetarians by force of circumstances; a bull is the most expensive edible animal they can buy. The act of sacrifice worked as a powerful shame compulsion *(ʿār)*, and forced the members of the second group into alliance with the first, whether they were willing or not. This type of alliance was called *liff*, as mentioned above, and as the feud grew in size, so did the *liff*. If the feud remained localized, alliances were usually made anew after it was over; but if it spread enough to involve whole «fifths», the traditional *liff* alignment of the two opposing moieties of Aith Yūsuf and Aith ʿAlī came into play again. The clever manipulation of this

(14) Coon, 1931, p,. 97.
(15) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 67.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

system of alliances which 'Abd al-Karīm displayed during the early part oh his war was one of the major reasons for his successful unification of the Rīf (16).

It must the stated here, however, that it was unusual for most feuds to become anything more than shootings on a local scale. First of all, feuding kept the population down; sescondly, house burnings and exaction of fines by the *imghāren* were harsh repressive measures in themselves; thirdly, the constant fear of outside invasion by the councillors of another tribe (which occurred wen the *imghāren* of Aith 'Ammarth stepped in on the side of Aith Yūsuf to end a feud between the latter and Aith 'Alī, plus the standard alignment of other «fifths», which had been going on for seven years) tended to restrict the scope of the feud and to prevent it from spreading; and fourthly, individuals who were considered habitual troublemakers and soreheads even by Riffian standards were exiled. If they refused to accept the dictum of the *imghāren* they were unceremoniously put to death.

The above is a reflection of the Riffian political system and situation which prevailed up until the time of 'Abd al-Karīm. The governmental structure of Aith Wuryāghil followed to the letter the true Berber pattern of superimposed representative councils, with a few of the members of each deliberative body being chosen to participate in the council of the group a rung higher up the ladder. Furthermre, thanks to the *liff* alliance system, as Blanco says, the individual in the *thārfīqth*, the *thārfīqth* in the *jamā'ath*, the *jamā'ath* in the «fifth», the «fifth» in the tribe *(thaqbīt*, pl. *thaqbīr*, from Arabic *qabīla*, pl. *qabā'il)*, and the tribe in relation to other tribes all maintain an unstable equilibrium, expressed in terms of the linking of *rubū'* or of «fifths», and ultimately, in the two great rival moieties of Ṣinhāja and Ghumāra (17). As it happens in our particular case, Aith Wuryāghil was (and is) too large and powerful to need formal alliances with other tribes, its only active ally having been Aith 'Ammarth, for, as many old greybeards have told me, «We could still go out and eat Tamsamān or Aith Tuzīn any day of the week»; but for small tribes surrounded by big neighbors, such as Thafarsīth,

(16) Coon, 1951, p. 317.
(17) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 70.

181 Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the
178 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of
that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim
[421] in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on
[542] what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk,
who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segre-
[423] gated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one
[628] else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with
554 the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud,
464 which was once the dominant political institution of the society,
were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the
old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his
[464] mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until
1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons
in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration,
while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

181 The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Govern-
669 ment in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army
in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic in-
dication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apart-
ness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant
to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself
was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And
these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's
621 time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life
671 among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s.
614 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is
623 an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each other.[63]

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jajgu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, reception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the jma'th.

D) Position of Women:

562 182 171 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the cancellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains regards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance[64], when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look for friends to reinforce it.

562 627 628 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

423 A curious feature of Rifian society is that the territorial limits of its social units are to a certain extent elastic. An individual or a family, for example, may acquire land in another tribe, and his or their own clan or tribe does not appropriate for itself the territory he occupied previously; this remains fixed. But when [628] the properties of an individual or a kin group which are modified are bordering each other, then the jma'th, clan or tribe, or rather, its area of extension or its areal jurisdiction, follows an analogous variation, improvement or cutting-off, increase or loss, advance or retreat, as the case may be; and such instances bring about not a few 423 quarrels and altercations. This happened in Ibuqquyen, whose people 619 saw their neighbors of Aith Waryaghar creeping into their territory through slowly buying up all the good land around the middle course of the Buham River, at which point they opposed selling them any more terrain...This territorial elasticity, although it does not bring about great modifications because of the incessant watch which the tribes instinctively keep over their land, also derives, no doubt, from the ancient family concept of opposition to everything which could weaken it; and, as a result, such land returns most often to its tribe of origin through abandonment, new acquisition or exchange, if it has been alienated. Such elasticity tends to become lessened (with [131] consequently greater rigidity of tribal boundaries) when it coincides with natural boundaries, as, for example, in the middle and upper courses of the Nkur River, separating the tribes of Axt Tuzin and Aith Waryaghar; but even so, this play of property has nevertheless modified tribal frontiers as well delineated as this one.

621 628 [681] [794] These jma'ths, the internal lives of which were regulated by the custom governing the original mountain jma'th, continued as tributaries of the latter[133], enjoying the benefits of such a status (participation in the collection of fines, contributions to the fqih)[134] until, as we have seen, the new nucleus, beginning to stand out more and more as a result of its growth, importance and distance from the parent jma'th, succeeded in emancipating itself from the latter through its own discords and ambitions.[135]

621 But it is difficult to determine at precisely what moment the new jma'th came of age, as it is to determining everything else, even including finding out the designations in nomenclature of its representatives. 621 192 This designation is not that of amin, as among the Kabyles of Algeria, a word which, taken over from Arabic, is one which does not permit a confusion of its administrative significance, an individual function, with that of the jma'th, which has a collective mqaddim, a term also adopted from Arabic and employed by certain Berber groups in the Western Atlas, for the personage of the mqaddim also has that function as well as the inadmission of that of the shaikh, which more than one person in Aith Waryaghar attributes to himself and which 621 figures even in documents. These terms, however, do not demonstrate any more than the anarchy which the people have attained, and the forgetting of their own racial (sic!) characteristics[136]; as such words among Rifians can have no meaning nor can they be given any importance greater than those of "colonel" and "doctor" in the South [646] American republics. These are strange nicknames (sic), for to the [182] Rifian, as to any Berber, they say nothing if they are to be considered

619 Thirmamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyuririn.
614 Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.
621

d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyar, Tighza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waunkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

195 8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara. [628] It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal [616] struggles between Ifuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

195 — When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the
554 Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

arranged in spatial terms. The correspondence between a territorial system and a lineage system is always approximate, and sometimes, even, very close indeed, but it is, for a variety of reasons, never quite complete.

16--"Group" is hardly the right word to give to an institution or a socio-cultural category; but one can see that it was well intended and that Blanco was groping in the right direction. In most instances in which his choice of terms is obviously wrong, we have tried to rectify this by the substitution of other words which seem more nearly to fit the context.

17--Imrabdhen, sing. amrabidh (from Arabic murabit) are saints, living or dead, who, in the mind of the average Rifian, are often confused with shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet. The role of imrabdhen or shurfa as moderators in intra- or inter-tribal disputes is, indeed, perhaps the primary one which they (or some of them, for there are many who are functionally completely indistinguishable from ordinary tribesmen) play in Rifian society.

18--The role of Jews in the Rif is indeed a primarily economic one--they are jewelers and pack-saddle makers, and their social status is (or was, as there are none left there today) the humblest in the area, for they never carried arms and were always under the protection of a clan or lineage headman who, if necessary, would defend them to the death. In short, they were and are despised, but their services were needed. But why Blanco mentions them, an ethnic group, in the same breath with a series of economic institutions is a bit difficult to fathom.

19--As noted, the Rif formed an integral part of the blad as-siba, and Blanco's conceptualization of Rifian society as representing an "organized anarchy" may easily, in the traditionalist frame of reference, be extended to cover the whole notion of siba. In another publication we have already set forth our views on the usual French definition of this term, which goes back to Montagne, of siba as "anarchy", a notion which seems to us, in the last analysis, invalid, implying as it does a complete lack of government (cf. David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237). More recently, however (and a point which we overlooked in the abovementioned article), there has been a certain modification by at least one French scholar of this traditionally accepted viewpoint--cf. André Adam, La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, vol. XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 30, and personal communication, 1959. This modification, in effect, concedes that anarchy within Berber society is an inapplicable term, but that it is still valid if the society is viewed from without, or from above, because the highest organizational or structural stage which Berbers have attained is that of the tribe only, never that of the nation-state. And if we read between the lines of Blanco's words, this, or something akin to it, is very probably what he had in mind when writing of "organized anarchy".

000 152--This is true, and as Coon indicates, it is probably a hall-mark of considerable antiquity. See Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 19, for traditions of origin of the clans and subclans of the Igzinnayen, many of which conflict with those given by Blanco below.

153--True; but does this necessitate the employment of value judgments as to physical type and temperament?

154--According to our notes, the Dharwa Haddu are autochthonous to Igzinnayen.

155--According to Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 105), many people of the dharfiqth of Asht 'Abd r-Mumin in the village of Iharrushen, of Asht 'Asim Proper, went to l-Mta as exiles after their feud with the Asht Tadmuth; the Hajj Biqqish, in fact, was a moving spirit in banishing them, as one of their members shot three of the Asht Tadmuth on the feast day of the 'Aid l-Khir. Perhaps poverty was also a factor in the move to l-Mta of members of other lineages in the Asht 'Asim.

156--Ishillahan: our notes state that their origin traditions are not from Andalusia, but from the Eastern Rifian tribe on the Aith Wurishik, which would accord better with their "Berber" name.

157--Ihadhriyen: our notes say that they have nothing to do with the Jbarna, other than that they are members of the same tribe.

158--Thaghirasth is autochthonous to the Igzinnayen, according to our notes.

159--Asht r-'Arqub: our notes contain no reference to Sidi 'Azzuz, in connection with the lineage.

160--Ikhabbaben: our notes contain no reference, regarding them, to Branis.

161--Asht Hazim: our notes, regarding them, contain no reference to Aith Iznasan.

162--To our knowledge they are all local lineages.

163--The Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are more properly descended from Sidi Ahmad, the son of Sidi Musa bin Mshish, and known as Sidi Hand u Musa. He is buried in Swaiyar, in the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while his father is buried in Jbil 'Alam of Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Aru 'Aisa ('Ali u 'Aisa, or 'Ali bin 'Aisa) himself, the real apex of the lineage, is to be found some 11 generations later than Sidi Hand u Musa on the geneaology of these shurfa, whose authenticity is beyond question and is recognized in the right, which they exercise, to share in the annual proceeds of the box (sunduq) of Mulay Idris in Fez.

It is also said that 'Abd al-Krim was descended from the shurfa Sidi Hand u Musa of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa.

164--The Asht 'Asim and Imzdurar, each being the strongest representative of its respective liff, almost certainly formed the kernel of such a nucleus; but it seems to us that the Asht Yunis might be substituted for the Asht Marar, which is only a subclan of the Imzdurar.

was capable of facing the wrath of the members of a dharfiqth who thought themselves to have been wronged in a legal decision and who were now blocking his path?

The Rif is an area of warrior tulba; and the "poetry" of the Rifian Maghrib would have dealt with the firing of shots during the course of a feud or raqba[7] and the blood of victims whose bodies fall into canyons and gorges after sunset; for the qanun of the Tuesday market (now defunct) of the Aith 'Abd Allah clan establishes the validity of the agreement in question from the hours of dawn until dusk, on market day, after which time everyone shelters himself and his animals inside his house as fast as he can; and a guard is mounted with a rifle. The daily and weekly truce is over[7a]. And even in Spanish times, after the pacification, there is the story of the qadi who did not dare to return home unless accompanied by a pair of armed mkhazni-s[8], who represented the protection of the Makhzin in its most elementary form. And in the mahkama (tribunal building of qa'id or qadi), more than one qadi has been intimidated by exasperated litigants! If such things have happened during Spanish times, threats made during the "Republik" must have been far worse--"I'll hang you from a tree, mmis nj-haram!" or "I wonder what you'd look like without a head, mmis n-dhit!"[9]

As I see it, the Rifian follows the Shari'a in all instances in which customary law cannot help him, either because it has been forgotten or because in such and such a case it is no longer applied. As he is both a practical man and a believer, there is no reason for the Rifian to deny himself the advantages of the Shari'a, but when, instead of these, he encounters a situation which is prejudicial to him (such as

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his
682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally
696 meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill
him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept
[782] this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the
presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was
eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only
after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he
682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on
443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum
[114] (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine
(called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder
on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other
offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market
itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the
imgharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market
path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no
question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in
the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually
meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise
the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the
ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum
which was prohibitively high), the imgharen descended on him in a body
and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re-
682 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the mur-
628 derer. The imgharen, however, could not touch his property as long as
he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's
family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion
of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that
he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's ag-
nates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the
imgharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen
of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted,
as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circum-
stances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to
have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 56--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for
682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of
commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely stan-
dard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] 57--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the
[114] Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is ex-
pressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading
to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants,
[024] however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is
immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is
[628] assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the
murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and
a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted
up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

681 the side with the lesser. (This last piece of information comes from
682 some of the lowland clans of the Aith Waryaghar, and the highlanders
[628] of the same tribe deny it.)

000 58--The victim, if he is alive, receives the rqisas, and, if dead, his family gets the ddiyith--if they choose to accept it rather than take up their guns. It is barely possible that in the division of the rhaqq by the imgharen along segmentary lines, the victim's family might receive a tiny fraction of the total, although the chances are strongly against it. The rhaqq almost always goes into the pockets of the imgharen themselves, and when we say that it is divided along segmentary lines, what we mean is that it is the imgharen of each segment and subsegment, rather than the rank-and-file of either, who are the real beneficiaries.

However, this is not really the point, which, in any event, Blanco
[682] has missed entirely. The point is that a murderer pays bloodmoney to his victim's agnates and a fine to the council members (the latter only if the murder has taken place in the market or on a track leading to it).

[114] 59--Blanco is theoretically correct in saying that dharfiqin distribute their share of the fine to the nubath making them up (although in practice this almost never occurs, as the money which filters down, through the normal process of division, goes no further than the lineage heads!); but it is surprising that he does not start at the top levels of segmentation, the clans, as the imgharen themselves did, and work down from there (though even at this level the imgharen tended in practice to pocket the fines).

[114] 60--In this term, el poder ejecutivo, once again, we have a formalistic European notion, which, though certainly accurate in one sense, nonetheless ill befits the essential informality of the tribal council members who convened in the market to discuss the week's happenings and to assess, equally informally, any cases which came to them.

61--It may be stated categorically that such Qur'anically-inspired punishments as putting out a thief's eyes were completely unknown in the Rif and in the rest of Berber Morocco.

[839] 62--Though it is probably of frequent occurrence elsewhere, bestiality
[838] is not common in the Rif, and those who do practice it are always the object of derision. Furthermore, the Rif is probably one of the few regions of Morocco where homosexuality is nonexistent.

[113] 63--These notes of Blanco's on hunting are extremely fragmentary; for fuller information on Rifian hunting practices, see the final chapter in La Ley Rifeña on the hunting qanun or qanun r-rayah, as well as a recent summary of the same material in R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg, 16-17 September 1958 (mimeographed). Our own impression of Blanco's data on hunting is that
[114] although very complete, his description is at the same time unnecessarily complex.

64--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting may take place on any day of the week.

634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
619
692 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
681 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside circle).[2 & 3]

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
614
623 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
628 ....Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
721 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare.... Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities. This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared beforehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
624 surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

628 721 they send out a couple of individuals to care for their relatives (in their absence) and tell them what has happened, and by day, they have to feed them, after which, once this is done, they start the march toward the enemy group in order to deliver the coup de main either at once or through careful skirmishing.

There is no top command, for, as the objective is clear, it is not needed. All that must be done is to write finis to the enemy. Individual desertion is shameful, booty is eagerly anticipated, and members of the war-party do not worry about the fact that there are neither rearguard services nor defense.

B) Harkas and their Formation (fragmentary):

[701] [626] [689] The obligation to serve in a harka or war-party was general and accepted by all, and avoidance of harka duty was an object of censure and sanction. Any and all groups which were threatened (both internally and externally) provided variable contingents which were activated periodically. Until protectorate times, punitive expeditions organized by the Moroccan Sultans to chastise recalcitrant tribesmen were augmented by auxiliary harkas made up from the tribes through [648] whose territory the expeditions passed. A good example was the foray undertaken by Bushta al-Baghdadi, one of the fin de siècle commanders of the Moroccan army, against the pirates of the Ibuqquyen in 1898[4]. 701 More recently, 'Abd al-Krim solicited harkas for individual engagements; he maintained a reduced contingent, which was periodically increased, under arms. The system was one of partial mobilization with relief contingents, the number and amount of which were fixed by 'Abd al-Krim. Their recruitment and provisions were handled by their

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

616 The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping
614 their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members,
619 are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion
[621] on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known previously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these
616 182 628 two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

618 692 616 182 As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protectorate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

616 Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

or similar agglomerates. This might also perhaps explain the persistence in disorder up to exhaustion point, for thanks to an obscure family feud, a chain reaction would unleash violence throughout the whole region as fast as a burning cigarette can produce a forest fire[35].

There is no doubt that through their origins the tribes can be classified into two great groups, Sanhaja and Ghumara, which formed the two great Rifian alliances of the same names, and between which the Rifian tribes were distributed in an apparent equilibrium, as follows[36]:

Ghumara: Ibuqquyen, Aith Yittuft, Aith 'Ammarth, Mtiwa dyal Bhar (Mtiwa of the Sea), Ghmara Proper (Bni Rzin, Bni Khalid, Bni Silman, Bni Zjil, Bni Buzra, Bni Mansur, Bni Grir, Bni Smih and Bni Ziyat), Bni S'aid (of the Jbala, not the Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid), Bni Zarwal, Bni Zarwal, Bni Winjil, Slas, Hiyaina, Branis, Igzinnayen[37], Marnisa, Mtiwa dyal Uta (Mtiwa of the Plain), Bni Mstara and Ghzawa.

Sanhaja: Bni Bu Frah, Bni Gmil, Mistasa[38], Aith Waryaghar, l-Khmas, Bni Waryagil[39], Jaya, Mzzyat, Rgiwa, Dsul, Rhuna, and Sanhaja Srir (Ktama, Aith Siddat, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Aith Bu Nsar and Bni Bu Shibt).

However, it seems somewhat limited to attribute the basis of Rifian political preferences and the reason for alliances in the region to this dim and garbled tradition of the very distant past[40]. If, on the other hand, the form of government or religion were in dispute, it would be easier to explain its affinities to the European type[44]. Furthermore, if we discard as vaguely traditional such causes of union

A,[This should read "41" not "44"--Analyst]

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by iziddjifen or imgharen".

(682) 2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for instance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clans in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an agraw, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97, and Coon, Flesh of the Wild Ox, New York: Morrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igzinnayen, who pronounce the word ayraw.

(628) (114) 4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why: because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

5--The term harka did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a tabur), each one of which was under a qa'id designated by the number of men under his command--qa'id at-tn'ash (of 12), qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin (of 25), qa'id l-khamsin (of 50), qa'id l-Miya (of 100), and qa'id attabur (of a tabur, or 300).

(171) However, the idea of the harka had been there previously, even if the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

6--In actual fact, those imgharen already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

(602) 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native harkas in Spanish service.

(114) 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, todo el mundillo rifeño, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

616 619 642 114 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic", "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though

000

last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels, and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco [114] does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Montagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans [113] Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent it, they hardly succeeded!

27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be reactivated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactivation would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in [152] the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his [628] friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside it.

28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

619 30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of
616 the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into
114 five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be
619 said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams
616 khmās (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition indicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and
614 Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu 'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith 'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

2. THE INTER-LINEAGE PACT[9] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

671
628
613
728
[796]

Praise be to God...With the prolongation and extenuation of fire and discord between the sons of the celebrated saint Sidi 'Amar Bu Yawryan al-Yusifi al-Jilmami al-Ghalbzuri[10] of the subsegment (lit. farqa) of the Awlad Ukidar, and of that of the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, with the subsegment of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, their allies, their partisans among the Awlad Tahir Asrih al-Hishami, their patrilateral cousin the Murabit Sayyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar and their brother's sons supporting him, an intercession was initiated between both parties through which they desired to obtain the recompense of God by means of good acts, asking the two parties to incline toward reconciliation, which God qualifies by good work and promises to reward whomsoever puts it into practice; then they decided to initiate it for the space of one year from the present date until the same date of the following year.

In consequence, the first party, composed of the Faqih Muahammad Ashahbar Ukidar, his brothers by his father, his patrilateral cousins the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, such as his brother's son Hammu bin 'Abdallah, etc., appeared for judgment; after this, the second party, consisting of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, his father's brother Akuh, the patrilateral cousin of both the aforementioned, the Siyyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar, his brother's son and those of his party as well as those supporting the aforementioned second party of the subclan of Isrihan, the Awlad Tahir Asrich, such as Muhammad bin 'Aisa bin Tahir and all his patrilateral cousins, also appeared for judgment; they came to

671 agree to the abovementioned truce for one year starting from the present
628 date. All of them appeared for judgment in front of the shiyukh of the
613 Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') which exists in the vicinity of Sidi
728 Abu al-'Afif; attendance at this act was completely general, as there
[443] also came notables such as the blessed, distinguished and excellent
[686] sharif Sidi Ahmad the son of the celebrated saint Sidi Misa'ud, from whose grace God has let us avail ourselves; al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir al-'Abbasi; the shiyukh of Ajdir; the shiyukh of the Murabitin al-Jilmamiyin; and all in general, each of the parties arranging that in case either of them should break off the aforementioned truce in any way before the stipulated time of one year has elapsed, it shall pay a fine of 2000 duros (i.e. 20 x 100) to the shiyukh.

671 After responding with their goods and estates to the completed
628 arrangement, it was put into effect in the presence of the aforemen-
613 tioned shiyukh in the latters' shop in the aforementioned market; and it was accepted in full and in good faith, with neither party having the right to retract in either the present or the future, each one of them making itself responsible for the fulfillment of what has been set down and for which only those mentioned here have the responsibility.

(The obligation to) payment (of the fine) and the agreement are both complete, as indicated. (The undersigned witnesses) have testified to the testimonial capacity of everyone concerned, that on this day, in the interior of the aforementioned shop, each person concerned, among those known by sight and name, is of sound mind and memory and thus
[805] capable of testifying. On the first Wednesday of Rabi' al-Awwal of the Prophet, in the year 1335 (December 27, 1916).[11]

B) Commentary:

671 182 We have here a curious (sic) type of qanun, which, as we read it, reveals the decomposition which Rifian society had reached, the atomism to which its tribal anarchy led, the imperfection, or rather, the inefficacy, of its laws, the irregular coexistence, the demonstration of its independence.

628 613 728 The disputes between two lineages of the Aith Waryaghar threaten to exterminate them through the chain of blood-vengeance in the face of the indifferent attitude of their constituents, who are habituated to taking justice into their own hands in order to defend their own interests. Two rival groups of equal size attain, in their ferocious and persistent struggle, an equal number of losses, and they reach a stage of weariness, a moment of lassitude happily exploited in order to initiate a treaty of peace (author's italics), which will permit them to build up their resources; and this fact leads them to establish this agreement for one year. Those who will (686) see to it that the truce is kept are the shiyukh, to whose protection they submit and who are interested in the affair because of the inducement of the fine which the group must pay, if within this minimal space of time it contravenes what has been agreed upon in any way (author's italics).

671 613 628 728 554 This society lacks a strong executive power; it looked instinctively toward the web of lineages represented through its shiyukh or old chiefs (sic) (no one should believe that this title represented a step in any framework of governmental or judicial power) for a force which was neutral to its feuds and more powerful than itself, to which

671 613 628 728 554 by such a simple and voluntary act it was converted at the same time to an arbiter of incidents and an executor of decisions. The function is not gratuitous as in modern states, for if in the latter the contributor pays indirectly, he does so directly in the Rif. Their covetousness thus awakened, they evidently insured temporarily against feud renewal, but they also stipulated that it would revive the embers of their hatred.

671 613 628 182 [183] These agreements or inter-lineage truces obeyed a double mechanism originating from the vicious circle in which they were debated. On the one hand they originated a series of regulatory norms of coexistence which, gaining in amplitude of concept and extending their jurisdiction to the generalizing of their advantages and the persistence of their exemplarity, painfully came to gain the adhesion of other nearby and related lineages until they were adopted by larger social and territorial units, including districts or entire tribes; and this situation gave rise to some of those qanuns upon which we will comment further on. On the other hand, they represented the ultimate [728] step to which anarchy led, responding to those most curious periods of [195] their history in which one powerful group, having recourse to violence, broke the truce in defense of its own interests, the official recognition of this fact being given by the imgharen in the suq in the face of general consternation, with the tragic phrase War dha bu r-haqq.[12]

628 602 182 195 "Now there is no law"[13]: such was the official form of declaring the state of anarchy into which the Rifians so frequently fell, a phrase which obliged them to strengthen their kin group, without dismay and by all means in their power; for a man's kinsmen were his last refuge in case of social accident.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

195
181
628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628
613
619
134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443
182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443
671
182
(648) The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443
671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

671 interest were discussed; in the suq resolutions of more importance were
[443] made by significant individuals, more important than the place which gave them a legal character.

Thus, in order to be valid, agreements and decisions had to conform to the following conditions: 1) agreement of the imgharen[16]; 2) necessity of a witness of exceptional character (a personality of religious significance, known and respected throughout the district); 3) registry by the tulba; and 4) proclamation in the suq. The above seems to be the mechanism of Rifian law.[17]

443 And in the suq a double character may be seen: place of business
671 and temple of law, the latter more important than the former, because
614 if it were the other way around, each clan would have various market sites and not just one, it seems to us; and furthermore, some clans, by virtue of their commercial topography would have been lacking in markets, which is also not the case.[18] Thus we believe, as stated in the first part of this work[19], that there is a correspondence between the clan as a social unit and the suq; in fact, we may go so far as to say that the former was the real fatherland (patria) of the Rifian, his political unit, a small independent republic, the distinctive feature of which was the suq, the temple of Rifian law.

3. INTER-LINEAGE QANUN,[20] SHOWING EXECUTIVE PROCEDURE (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 A) Qanun:
628
613 Praise be to God.--Copy taken from the text of a document after legalization, extended for the bearer of some.

[682] Praise be to God.--Upon the reciprocal guarantee (Blanco: note 1) made by Ait 'Aisa, Ait Tzurakhth, Izubu'an, Ait Haddu u Sa'id and

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

671 Isaghwan[21] with (the) Awlad Siddiq[22], in the Wednesday Market (Suq
628 al-Arba') of Tawrirt, in the presence of their notables (Blanco:
613 note 2), agreeing there (to fulfill what has been pacted among them)
682 that anyone who should kill another by treachery or cunning (Blanco: note 3) shall pay a great fine, the amount of which (may) be as high as 4000 duros. This was also agreed to in their Saturday Market (Suq al-Sabt) in front of the notaries of both parties.

On the betrayal and killing (Blanco: note 4) by the above-mentioned Awlad Siddiq of Shu'aib bin al-Hajj 'Amar, the notables of both the abovementioned markets, accompanied by the rest of the people, went to their villages to look for them, camping there until the latter paid (Blanco: note 6), although they (e.g. the Awlad Siddiq) had agreed to this in their presence and in their abovementioned market (when the agreement took place) with respect to the fine expressed above (Blanco: note 7). Upon not finding any solution which would save them except that of handing over to them all their lands, both in the mountains and in Ait 'Aisa, their houses and their documents (Blanco: note 8), with which they remained free of the pressure which the notables and the rest of the people exercised over them (they opted for surrender).

[792] Then, everything which they handed over was valued at 1300 duros (Blanco: note 9) and after the estimate was made, the notables of both markets, including (Blanco: note 10) the sharif Sidi Ahmad bin Sidi al-Hajj Misa'ud[23], al-Hajj bin al-Hajj Am'awsh al-Tawrirti, 'Allal bin Haddu bin al-Hashimi u l-Fari (of the Axt Tuzin), Haddu bin Muhammad Amzyan al-Bu Khalafi[24], al-Talib al-Bukhamad al-Yunusi, Tuhami bin

671 al-Faqir Siddiq al-'Arusi, Muhammad ibn Tahra, Sidi Musa ibn al-Hajj
628 Sayyid 'Amar Tahtahi, Muhammad bin Bu Hammud Mulaidi; al-Hajj Sidi
613 Misa'ud al-Manduri; Sa'id bin al-Hajj Haddu al-Ufari, Muhammad bin
682 al-Faqir Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Barzi, Muhammad Bu Shu'an, and
[792] the rest of the notables of Tzurakhth (Blanco: note 11) sold all that was handed over to them to the brothers of the murdered man for the above sum, converting it into money.

(Blanco: note 12) The amount stated above was levied and the quantity (literally, price) was divided into four parts: 300 duros for the lineage of Izzugwaghen; the same for the Awlad al-Hajj 'Amar; the same for the Awlad Muhammad bin Muh bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Tazurakhti; and 150 duros for the Awlad Ahmad bin Taimunt (to be split) with Muhammad bin Tah, and the same for Muhammad bin Taimunt bin Misa'ud (to be split) with the Awlad Hammu Kabghith. One hundred (100) duros were divided in half between the son of Bukhalif, that is, Siddiq, and 'Abd al-Qadir Hashsha'.

(Blanco: note 13) Each of the abovementioned parties shall divide with its brothers (i.e. those of the same jurisdiction) the amount which it has exacted and with regard to the quantity of the same.

671 An irrevocable and non-retractable sale, effected (Blanco:
628 note 14) for repression and exemplary punishment. The sellers having
613 levied the total of the abovementioned sum, in the upper part of the
681 present qanun, from the hands of the buyers cited above, thus liberating
432 the sellers from all actions or reclamation regarding this matter and the above-cited buyer thus occupying (the lands) instead of the sellers, as his share. That is to say, occupying the place of the owner in the land, of the land which he buys and that of the owner of immovable

property in that belonging to him, in conformance with traditional law.[25]

Those who attended the present (act) brought their testimony to the above according to the requirements of the interested parties. --In the middle of Jumad al-Awwal of the year 1336 (February 27, 1918). --The 'adl, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hajj al-Warnuri.--Another, whose name is not known.--Another, Muhammad bin Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghamri.

B) Commentary:

The social disintegration which Rifian society has reached is proven by these individual agreements between dharfiqin (Blanco: note 1, corresponding to text of qanun). In the face of helplessness or irregular functioning of higher-level associations, the poor tribesmen, before falling into complete anarchy, hastened to conclude an agreement with a neighboring group in order to attenuate that anarchy, succeeding in the hard struggle for life on a poor soil. These agreements thus formed true islets of irregular and variable peace, anchored in functional (sic) anarchy.

The necessity of agreements between lower-level lineages, who were abandoned by the rudimentary organization, obeyed, according to my understanding, those most curious periods which followed the public declaration of anarchy in the suq, when one powerful group managed by force to sustain the punishment, breaking the truce.

As the dispute was generalized between two preponderant rivals, the unaffected groups, before falling into anarchy, and with that notable instinct of self-defense, worked to bring about these agreements,

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

628 "There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
616 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
[195] inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[203] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alliances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater efficacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

671 These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
628 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
728 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14) for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
721 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

671 628 613 728 Things went well, while the violators of the past were humble figures among the allied groups, incapacitated by their slight strength and the fact that they had few friends to abuse the pact by opposing themselves to other groups concerned; but when the equilibrium was upset or broken by the hatreds of the more distinguished lineage members, dragging their powerful lineages into the fray, the pact was wrecked and peace disappeared anew.

671 628 728 Observe in note 1 the guarantee of peace. In note 2, the formality of the agreement obtained. In note 3, the punishment. In note 4, the violation of the agreement. In note 5, the executive organ, the mass of the population. In note 6, the procedure. In note 7, the reason for the punishment, because it is a voluntary law. In notes 8 and 9, the fulfillment. In notes 10 and 11, the notables, the really significant personages, the Aitharbi'in. In notes 12 and and 13, with economic details, the democratic sensation of defective practice. In note 14, the Rifian illusion.

671 628 152 Notes 3 and 4 seem to show that Rifian custom is not designed to punish the loyal combatant, who, in an inflamed dispute, comes impulsively to make use of arms, incapable of dominating his instincts and always quick to defend his rights, but also to avoid treachery, cunning and hatred, or rather, vengeance, reprisal, from which the Rifians did not know how to free themselves, and which used up men and families. This is a notion which renders honors to manhood and stigmatizes the coward.

554 671 In notes 2, 10 and 11 it may be seen who the Rifians of significance are and that only these men, and not the ordinary tribesmen, are the executives and legislators. This proves what has been said

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
62 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an arictocracy known
623 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
619 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

628 pick up his rifle in defense of justice (a few days of visiting, free food, participation in the sharing of the fines, and even a raid, if this be the case). In the latter instance, everyone was (translator's italics) interested and desired to see justice done (with concomitant benefits of a meal and collecting one's own share of the fine).

671 Rifian law, according to note 7, is definitely superior (sic) to European law, because it obliges anyone who submits to it only to accept it and to agree to its fulfillment, accepting beforehand the santions which it establishes.

671 554 794 212 It is in these qanuns that Rifians may see sharply reflected who exactly are the men of prestige in the group to which they attach themselves and even the order of preference, by means of the names which figure in them; but we must not lose sight of the fact that they are edited by tulba of childish mentality (sic), a mentality deformed by their Islamic education; and that these tulba do not even translate Berber conceptualizations into their Arabic writing, as may be observed in other qanuns, thus altering the natural order in favor of their religious inclinations.[26]

578 794 212 671 Nobody believes, then, that such individuals cited in the first place figure in the documents for reasons of religiosity, but for the convenience of the ingharen who, jealous of their prestige, would have promoted interminable altercations in order to be first, in their jealous egalitarianism, and the necessity, which they saw themselves in order to avoid it, of putting above their disputes and petty jealousies individuals of neutral appearance, such as tulba, to officiate as the pacifying presidents of their stormy council-meetings (igrawn).

671 It may also be seen that here there appear no Arabic names of tribal functionaries, such as qa'id, qadi or mqaddim.

[693] The notaries who sign the documents limit themselves, then, to the registry of acts passed by the lay committee or customary tribunal.[27]

This procedure clarifies the executive procedure in notes 5, 6, 7 and 8.

627 The notables and a coterie of friends, family or volunteers,
613 or, simply, hungry men, fall like locusts upon the households of the lineage-mates (agnates) of the accused, and they do not budge until the matter is settled; either this, or they throw them out of doors.[28] Documents and lands, proofs and possessions; the accused's agnates must hand over all of these, as well as their very houses. They have violated the pact and the pledged word. They can only save their own [628] persons, and this with difficulty, thanks to the force of vengeance, bloodfeud and reprisal, to the raqba[29], which may be taken by any member of the victim's family (i.e. any of the victim's agnates).

627 It is a rapid procedure, but not because the law or its executive organs are rapid, for, as among Europeans, as it is their own flesh which suffers, they are in no great hurry. In the Rif, the man who most strongly urges liquidation of these affairs is the one responsible for the crime, and his agnates. However, much beforehand accounts may be adjusted, the matter is over before they will see themselves free of the locusts in their quarters and before they will be able to save bread. After a few days, which are hard to stretch out, the provisions, already considerably reduced, will begin to get

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
437 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of
556
152 some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628
177 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613
623 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that somebody had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
687 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus public

nor a bastardization of his office. It creates guarantees for the accused, protecting him from bloodfeuds; it indemnifies the social unit, the subclan of Imhauren, from injuries caused by some of its members, so that when the fine is donated to the habus of the village mosque, through the particular conceptualization and application of these funds in the Rif, a part of the money always came back to the jma'th in kind; and the eagerness for a reward, as among participating European functionaries, who multiply the fines by increasing their investigations and denunciations in proportion to their needs, was discarded.

It has--and why not?--among its other defects one which is certainly a simple defect in editing, although the frequency with which it is repeated makes this doubtful in several cases. The intention (author's italics) (Blanco: note f, in text) is punished, but how can it be proven? According only to the prudent arbitration of the popular tribunal formed by the two aforementioned individuals. A bad business.

Curious and noteworthy is the palpable demonstration of this municipal letter, of this qanun of a jma'th, which is careful not to overstep the bounds of adjacent institutions, such as those of personal status law (inheritance, etc.) or of those handled by the immediately superior social unit, the clan, with its qanun approved and drawn up in the markets (murders and woundings, etc.), a fact which reveals the interrelationship and interdependence of the different social units, and even their institutions and how they function.

This qanun is limited, logically, to neighborhood questions, among which there figures in first place that of public security (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property.

671 Paragraph e: This paragraph distinguishes principals from accomplices or auxiliaries.

671 181 Paragraph f: A virile and rural society distrusts the veracity of the so-called humanitarian sentiments, closing its doors to the intrigues which, under such a mask, provoke influential individuals to save their allies and other interested aspirations which mock the objectives that the law, to which they freely gave themselves, pursues.

671 609 628 Paragraph g: We have here a precise and exact detail, an excellent delimitation of a truce, a recognition of Rifian public law (i.e. jural procedure) and interest protecting the stranger, to whom this law guarantees a wide and sufficient time of commercial activity and a prudent warning that he leave an open field to the fierce internal bloodfeuding. We have here a manifestation of the social unit, the clan, which shows us its reality and consistency, which recognizes a common interest and one superior to its own intestinal vendettas; and this permits it to guarantee to the neutral, to the stranger, a free passage and activity throughout its whole territory (author's italics).

671 695 Paragraph h: Two important additions are made here to the hurried first draft. It is necessary, first, to guarantee the person of the accused against the passions of the moment, the outward appearances, the ill-will and the outright suspicions, by means of evident proof (author's italics), offering him the means of avoiding such passions by taking oath. And in the second addendum (Paragraph i) they list, furthermore, and completing it, the duration of the truce or time of peace.

671 771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [574] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 681 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

671
628 1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in
681 certain qanuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which
184
443 the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

681 In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the
619 reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place
443 reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681 For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is
681 therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly
628 made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine
682 for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the
614 Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or
619 agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith
443 Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and
613 a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
691 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

691 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to preserve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
685 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it ac-
673 cordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

226
389 Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

G) Recovery:

425 Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped (577) to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

H) Arbiters:

628
554 Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

628
628
554
67
642
115 Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

628 628 554 671 692 [115] to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting themselves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

628 554

I) Skills and Craft:

227 The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analo- [171] [177] gous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

501

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

224 Another agreement which is also apt to be made previously, if the hunting is not in shirka, is the case of l-'adaw[184], which is indicated further on, in order to find out if measurements must be taken from above or below.

Regarding the personnel of the hunt, these are generally organized into two groups: the hunters, who go along the lower areas, tracking and flushing game; and the beaters, located in the dominating area and indicating paths taken by the animals to the hunters. Any hunter who gets an animal must change places with a beater, to equalize the possibilities and give the members of the latter group a chance.

The hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) walk in groups or in a line. In the first instance, the dogs go ahead of the groups, and in a line, at the ends, but always with the larger group in order to cut the road better for the game and to preserve it, insofar as possible, from accidents. The disposition which the Aith Hadhifa adopt while hunting in shirka, for example, is in two bands: the local communities of Thizimmurin, Ihadduthen, Iharunen, Mishkur and Bihban from one, and those of Aith 'Amar u S'aid[185], Imrabdhen and Bashkra, the other[186]; and the meeting between both bands takes place in Aghir Inibdar, below Thizimmurin.

224 628

D) Arms:

224 411 [178] In the days of the Republik, Rifians hunted with firearms, ferrets, sticks, traps and net. Today they do not use firearms[187]; but practice and necessity have converted them into experts in the use of throwing sticks (r-mitrag). Each man carries two or three

224 619 689 114 182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

224 671 [114] [178] We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Republik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

224 628 613 614 186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Tharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.

A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]

Within the ar-rba
619 there was a council (jemas) held irregularly to discuss and
[628] settle judicial matters generally pertaining to the blood feud.
[554] Only the more important families within the ar-rba had representation on the council.

613 The first social unit which is directly reflective of kin ties is the dharfiqth. Whereas tribal and ar-rba names refer to place names generally, the dharfiqth invariably carries the name of a real person, i.e. Aith 'Abdallah or Aith al-Qasim. The members of this group consider that they have a common agnate although they may not be able to demonstrate the genealogical linkage to this ancestor. The group theoretically includes all the sons of the founding ancestor and their offspring. Some dharfiquin seem to have increased in number and power while others grew smaller either through decimation in feuds or from splintering into rival dharfiquin. Solidarity seems to have rested mainly on sentiment, and in such an explosive atmosphere this is perhaps too fragile a mechanism for maintaining agnatic descent groups.

613 The dharfiqth is made up of a varying number of jujgu
596 which are localized patrilineal extended families which may be regarded as minimal lineages. Each ijujga consists of a man, his wife or wives, his married sons and their wives and children, along with his unmarried sons and daughters. When the referent of the ijujga dies, all his sons form separate and new jujgu. The composition of the ijujga is today an idealization since few
000 households contain the above list of relatives. Neolocality is

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[a]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443] One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[b] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[c] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[a] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443. [113]

[b] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

[c] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley reñeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif n k 3

314 [village of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin] *Caravan*

173 628 Over two generations ago, the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin were exiled from their valley, but some of them returned. It is a long story;[8] a summary will suffice here.

It all started one chilly night when Amar the Scabhead shot a neighbor by mistake. Now the 'Abd el-Mumin had and still have neighbors, twenty-six families who call themselves Beni Tadmut, after their ancestress who was one of old 'Abd el-Mumin's daughters. It seems that the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had contracted an alliance by marriage with another clan over the ridge in the next tribe, the great and powerful Beni Urriaghel (later to produce the world-famous and still very much alive 'Abd el-Krīm). This Urriaghli clan was in trouble. Sorely pressed, it was besieged by a coalition of its neighbors, and hence sent a messenger with a goat over the ridge. This messenger sacrificed the goat on the sill of the mosque, so that blood spattered on its door, and this was a great shame compulsion, which no man of honor could refuse. Hence both the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmut, who shared the ancient mosque, went to the rescue.

They lifted the siege, but the enemy did not depart. One of the Tadmutis, creeping out on a reconnaissance by dim moonlight, was spotted by the aforementioned Amar the Scabhead, who shot him dead. At this a rumpus arose. Shots were exchanged, and with four parties involved it was hard to know who was shooting at whom. Sī 'Alī, the venerable and highly respected village schoolmaster, who served both clans as imām, was obviously the man to intervene, and he set forth from the huddled group of Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin in the direction of the Beni Tadmut, only a score of yards away. Unable to control their wrath, the Tadmutis shot him. At this point a hush fell over the scene, and by daybreak the two squadrons of kinsmen had gone home separately, carrying their dead. The Urriaghlis, over whom this trouble had arisen in the first place, fearing to stay at home, went along with the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin who, outnumbered two to one, were glad of their company.

When the dead had been buried, the combatants found a half a hundred men gathered solemnly in council beneath their olive trees. These were the members of the *Asht Arba'in*, the councilors from all the villages up and down the valley, who had heard of trouble and hastened to the spot to keep it from spreading (while enjoying

[8] Told at length in Carleton S. Coon, *Flesh of the Wild Ox* (New York, 1932).

1:Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif MK3

in anticipation the meat of the fines which they hoped to collect). 173
The moderator of the council was M'allim Muḥammad, the wealth- 628
iest and most venerable of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin, whose position placed his newly made enemies at a disadvantage. This they pointed out immediately.

It was clear that the Beni Tadmut were the greater offenders. The council decided that both sides should pay blood money to each other, but the sum paid by the Tadmutis would be the greater. Both should pay a fine to the council for having made it necessary to call them together. The Tadmutis, however, demanded also that the Urriaghlis should be forced to leave. The amghar of the next valley, one Ḥajj Bukkeish (later to become an unsuccessful rival of 'Abd el-Krīm's in the war against Spain) agreed with the Tadmutis and swung the council to this opinion. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin, however, refused, pointing out that their kinsmen whom they were protecting had already had their houses burnt down and their trees felled, and might starve should they go home—if they were not shot first.

The meeting broke up without decision and without the collection of a fine. However, Bukkeish and the other leaders resolved to call together a greater meeting, a council of all five sections of the tribal confederation, each consisting of several valleys; thus three levels of deliberative bodies would be involved. The guests whom the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin refused to eject were members of another and even more powerful confederation, and large-scale intertribal trouble might easily arise. Meanwhile, the day before the holy feast of el 'Aid el-Kabīr (when despite the trouble everyone was bustling around as we do on the day before Christmas) the schoolmaster of the Beni Tadmut appeared, unarmed, with a goat and two other unarmed men. Approaching the M'allim Muḥammad's house, he declared that he had come to make a truce, and invited the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin to come to the mosque and swear an oath.

After much deliberation and with some misgivings, the M'allim Muḥammad agreed, and set out with two of his sons. The Tadmutis, as feared, had led them into an ambush. First the Tadmutis killed Amar the Scabhead, then the M'allim Muḥammad shot two of them and was shot in turn, through the head. One son, the Ḥajj Muḥammad, escaped, wounded in the foot. He crawled up on the mountain and hid behind a rock. The next day, as the Beni Tadmut left their houses all dressed in their new clothes, to go to the big mosque up

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif mx3

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif MX3

623 minor points of difference, the men let them arbitrate and set fines
867 of a few eggs or loaves of bread, for their own consumption. Having thus learned the routine of sitting in judgment and also some of the oral qanūns, the boys are ready for the serious business ahead.

623 Once a week, when the nearest market meets, the older men of
627 the neighboring villages, corresponding to the "brains" of the Kabyles, meet in a house just off the grounds, or in good weather, under a tree. Over glasses of tea they settle any disputes which may
628 come up in the market or which litigants may bring them. When
619 more serious matters arise, such as the trouble between the Ulad ʿAbd el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmut, the councilors of a single geographical unit, consisting of several clans, come together. They must be fed, and it is in the interest of the feuding parties to make a speedy settlement, with fines and blood money. Fines go to the councilors, who eat part and divide the rest. Blood money goes to the kin of the wounded or dead. If these councilors cannot settle the problem, the "fifth" is invoked—the whole series of little valleys and watershed cantons which forms the next largest political unit. Some tribes have only one "fifth," but Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel each have five. If the "fifth" cannot settle the dispute, and the bloodshed spreads, then all the fifths join in. If the whole tribe is embroiled, the councilors of another tribe may invade and catch them unawares, to their great loss. The longer the fight remains unsettled the greater the number of participants, each new and larger body trying to capitalize on the confusion of the partisans.

It can be readily seen that few troubles reach intertribal proportions. This device of government in depth works. Feuding keeps the population down, and the fear of interference keeps the feud isolated and within bounds. Chronic troublemakers, and those who break the rules, must go. On the other hand when some outside force threatens more than a small portion of the Rif, the mechanism is at hand for all to unite, forcefully if ephemerally. The elders of one clan perform a compulsion of shame on another, thus forcing them into alliance, called *lif*, as elsewhere. As the danger grows, so
643 does the lif. In this manner ʿAbd el-Krīm (who had been educated by
721 the Spaniards) set up a government of the whole Rif, which defeated Spain in two great battles in 1921 and 1924, and but for the use of aircraft and tanks by his enemy, might have held the French army indefinitely at bay. No sultan had ever been able to conquer this classic corner of the Land of Insolence, which is all the more remark-

/239 cont./

621
613
614
114
171

/footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11. Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse origins there. On the other hand, the bond of blood exists among the households of the same Riffian jema^{c}a.

621
613
it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and becomes a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq" heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers" resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of extermination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of the Aït ^{c}Abdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

621
628
613
726

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, following the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ^{c}adoul; if the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

[722]
[435]

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat," which is respected for several months. This name is given to a
675 solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes, large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living grouped in hamlets. The "mouda^{c}" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to delib-
621 erate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

/240 cont./

628 182 642 But in these less wild regions, the periods of calm are nevertheless short and do not leave these rudimentary institutions /241/ time to perfect themselves. Anarchy and fights by families infuriated by vengeances have never permitted the Riffians to know a government by regularly elected leaders, changed in turn, or the use of common funds. Only the holy-war treasuries, organized by pious establishments, existed at all times. Hate for the Christian can indeed dominate the strongest feelings; whatever may be the violence of the disputes that divide them, the notables always agree enough to go shares in small sums of money intended for the purchase of bullets in order to go to aim at the detested soldiers of the "Peñon" /Rock/ of Alhucemas or Badès (1).

628 652 721 798 182

[113] 1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 89 and sqq.

000 XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- It is above all between the social organization of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the French conquest and that of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ that it is possible to multiply the comparisons in order to find profound analogies under the apparent differences. It is easy, as a matter of fact, to see that the small republics of the Tichka or of the Jbel Kest, sequestered in the high valleys of the South of Morocco, and the ones that have grown and prospered on the summits of the Djurjura live with similar institutions, share the same positive and limited ideal, suffer from identical ills, and are subject to the same rules of existence, to the same laws of development.

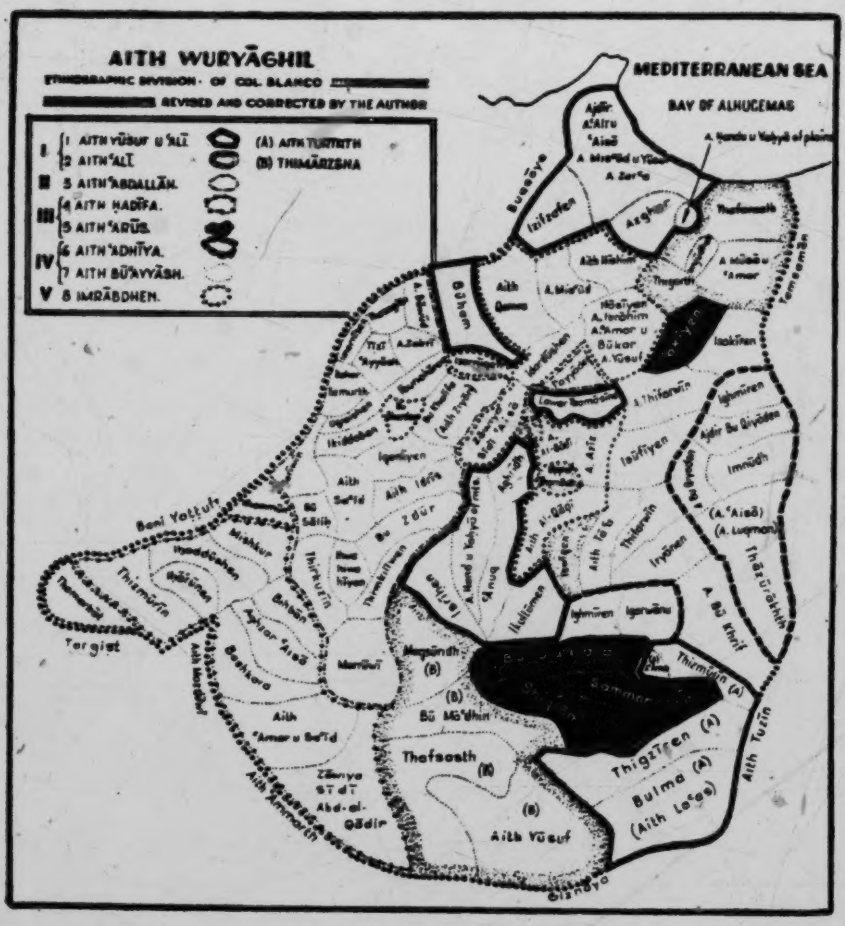
The territory of the "ᶜarch" is, as we have seen, equivalent to that of a small "taqbilt" of the Sous; both form, in the free state, autonomous and often even independent political units. But in one of the regions the slight density of the population of a country where human life is difficult, in the other the

[For additional information on the arrba, thakhammasth (pl. thikhammasin) or rba (pl. ruba), a major or primary section of the tribe, which has been variously described in the literature as maximal lineages, districts, khoms ("fourths" or "fifths" of the tribe), cantons (by Coon), groups of bones, fractions, or clan "fifths" (Blanco Izaga), see Categories 619, 614, and 634.]

[For additional information on the fariqath, a "sub-fraction" or canton composed of a single hill-valley or watershed unit, comprising 4 or 5 villages, the membership of which are related through a traditional rather than an actual ancestor, see also Categories 634 and 614.]

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MX3 Rif MX3

131
631


AITH WURYĀGHIL
ETHNOGRAPHIC DIVISION OF COL. BLANCO
REVISED AND CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR
I 1 AITH YŪSUF U 'ALĪ
2 AITH 'ALĪ
II 3 AITH 'ABDALLĀH.
III 4 AITH ḤADĪFA.
5 AITH 'ARŪS.
IV 6 AITH 'ADHĪYA.
7 AITH BŪ'AYYĀSH.
V 8 IMRĀBDHEN.
(A) AITH TURTHETH
(B) THIMĀRIZEMA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF ALHUCEMAS
Beni Yotfuth
Targist
Thafsaath
Aith Yūsuf
Aith 'Abd-el-Qādir
Aith 'Amar u Sa'īd
Aith Turīn
Thigzīren (A)
Bulma (A)
(Aith Lefa)
Sammar
Bū Khrif
Bū Ḥāmed
Aith Ḥalīfa
Aith Sa'īd
Zour
Bū Sālih
Aith Ḥamouth
Aith Ḥamouth
Aith Ḥamouth

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

announced upon his arrival home that he had shot the man and returned undetected. The *amghār* soon learned the truth, and locked up his *akhammās* for three days without food or water. He then sent him packing, after cutting off his ears.

Under circumstances like these, in which even women did not dare go to work alone in the fields and in which men always had to carry their rifles to the mosque or to the market, it might seem, carrying Montagne's argument one step further, that no groupings larger than the *thārfiqth* could exist at all. They do exist, however, thanks to the mechanism of the *liff* alliance system, and the next one up the scale is the *jamā'ath* or *dshār*, the «village», a collection of both related and unrelated *thārfiqīn*. I use the word «village» advisedly, nevertheless; its geographical limits, known perfectly by the tribesmen themselves, are difficult for the outsider to discern owing to the linear nature of the terrain and the scattered house distribution. Its site may be determined by the excessive growth of one *thārfiqth*, by the proximity of a spring, by discords and internal struggles, or by any number of other causes. Its two principal requirements are a communal village mosque (there is often more than one mosque to a village) and a local assembly consisting of the headmen *(izdīfen*, sing. *azdīf)* of its component *thārfiqīn*. This assembly is still in large measure the governing body of the village, and it administrates village affairs largely according customary law *('urf)*; under its jurisdiction fall matters relating to individual and family order, theft of small articles such as eggs and poultry and olives and grapes, vigilance of orchards, reparation of irrigation ditches, and the like. It meets once a week in the courtyard of one of the village mosques, or under a wild olive tree, to hear and try cases of local importance. It elects the *faqīh* of the mosque, who gives Qur'anic instruction to the boys of the village, and the *shaikh arfiiiāḥath* or *aquwwām* to direct work in the fields and to oversee the *tawīzas* or corvees working on irrigation projects (12). Today it also elects a moderator to direct and keep order during its meetings; he is usually the village *jārī* or headman. The mosque, school and cemetery are all communal property of the *jamā-*

(12) Paniagua y Santos, José María: «Notas sobre el derecho consuetudinario de la propiedad en el Rif». **Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos**, núm. 4, primer semestre, Madrid, Junio 1948, pp. 1-44. My references on p. 14 and pp. 20-21.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 623 *'ath*, as, in the mountains, is the olive press; the *jamā'ath* also retains an indefinable hold over saints' tombs *(amrābidh*, pl. *imrābdhen)* if there are any in the vicinity. Each village also has its communal pasture lands *(ḥarīm)* and its scrub forests *(ghāba)*; these may neither be sold nor divided up, and are maintained *pro indiviso* for the sole use of the inhabitants of the village in question. These lands, generally, surround the village, and form a vague line of demarcation between it and the next village; their situation and extension are such that a woman, for instance, can go out after sunrise to cut *ghāba* and return home before sunset (13).

631 The next unit up the scale is the minor political division called *farīqath*, which the Spanish administration refers to as «subfraction» This unit usually takes the form of a canton, a single hill-valley- or watershed-unit, comprising some four or five villages. The administration has brought this grouping into sharper relief by putting a *muqaddam* at its head; but this is for administrative purposes only and is not, except in a few cases, a true reflection of the tribal social structure. In the minds of the tribepeople the *farīqath* is ultimately [614] a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one *farīqath* in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the *farīqath* coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some *thārfiqīn* within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members of a canton together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque *(thamzīda n khuṭbath)* to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the *faqīh*. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, nevertheless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements.

(13) Martos de Castro, José: «Lo bereber en Marruecos y sus relaciones con lo ibero». in Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos: **Labor de España en Africa**, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333. My references from pp. 328-333.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Next on the list is the major or primary political section, called either *rba'* (pl. *rubū'*) or *thakhammāsth* (pl. *thikhammāsīn*), which literally mean «fourth» and «fifth», respectively. In Aith Wuryāghil, at any rate, these terms are virtually synonymous, although, functionally speaking, the latter is more applicable to the tribesmen's own concept of the political segmentation of their tribe. Aith Wuryāghil is considered as being divided into five major sections, each of which supposedly claims descent, in its turn, from a common ancestor. It is significant that the tribe as a unit does *not* claim such descent; its traditions of origin show it to be a grafting together of various elements, most of which came originally from Giznāya in very ancient times. But the fact that its people regard themselves as a tribe, as a single unit, in opposition to and when threatened by other tribes, we shall see presently. 631

The five major sections alluded to above are: 1) *Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī*, pronounced «Aith Yūsuf Wārī» (with *Aith Turīrth*) and *Aith 'Alī* pronounced «Aith 'Arī» (with *Thimārzgha*), the two of which traditionally constitute a single division, by virtue of their descent from two brothers, Yūsuf u 'Alī and 'Alī u 'Alī; 2) *Aith 'Abdallāh*; 3) *Aith 'Arūs* (with *Aith Ḥadīfa* and *I'akīyen*); 4) *Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh* (with *Aith 'Adhīya*); and 5) Imrābdhen. With the exception of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and Aith 'Abdallāh, who maintain their territorial holdings as solid blocs, all the other divisions have their principal lands in the mountains and enclaves in the plains, or vice versa, and the Imrābdhen, the descendants of Arab *shurfā* as their name, in Riffianized Arabic, indicates, form a supplementary division the segments of which are distributed throughout the whole tribal territory. We see in these divisions the historical basis of the two *liſūf* (sig. *liff*) or political moieties of Aith Wuryāghil, Aith Yūsuf and Aith 'Alī, which became crystallized through the struggles between the descendants of the two brothers Yūsuf and 'Alī; these descendants form, as we have seen, a single *thakhammāsth* or «fifth». In the first *liff*, headed by *Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī*, fall Imrābdhen, allied by marriage with the former since their beginnings Aith 'Arūs (with Aith Ḥadīfa and I'akiyen), half of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (the *farīqath* of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh), and, in case of an intertribal war, the tribe of Aith 'Ammarth; in the second *liff*, *Aith 'Alī*, are Aith 'Abdallāh and the other half of Aith

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

63| Bū 'Ayyāsh (the *farīqath* of Aith 'Adhīya). Although the second *liff* was the smaller of the two, its fighting strength was heavily reinforced by Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith 'Adhīya, both of which groups have very bellicose reputations. Aith Ḥadīfa and Imrābdhen are weaker sections, on the other hand, while the presence of half of the «fifth» of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh in each *liff* shows how divided within itself this biggest and most warlike of all the divisions used to be. It is also appropriate to point out that only in connection with «fifth» of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī (later to produce 'Abd al-Karīm) and Aith 'Alī does the term *rbā'*, in Wuryāghlī parlance, differ in political significance from *thakhammāsth*; Ait Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and Aith 'Alī are considered as separate *rubū'* belonging to the same *thakhammāsth*, implying, somewhat paradoxically, that a «fifth» is larger than a «fourth». In all the other major sections the terms are used interchangeably, although at the present time *rbā'* takes precedence, as. under the Spanish administration, there are six and not five administrative divisions in the tribe, two in each of three «caidatos». Referred to by the administrations as «fractions», these consist of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Imrābdhen in the caidato of Uṭa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Ḥadīfa in the caidato of the Upper Ghīs, and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and Jabal (Aith 'Arūs, Aith Turīrth of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Thimārzgha of Aith 'Alī) in the caidato of Nakūr.

Aith Wuryāghīl, being the biggest tribe in the Spanish Protectorate, has been given the status of a separate «comarcal» by the administration, and each of the three caidatos is governed by a *qā'id*, who is assisted in his duties by a *khalīfa*. Under and subject to him are the *shiyūkh* (sing. *shaikh*) of the rubū' or «fractions», each of whom is also assisted by a *khalīfa*. The qā'id presides over his tribunal (*maḥkāma*) every week in the principal market of the caidato In addition, special «fractional» juntas were created as of 1952 by the administration; these are made up of all the *muqaddamīn* (sing. *muqaddam*) of the «subfractions» (*farīqath*) and of all the representative (*ukīl*) of the villages, usually the village *jurā'ī* (sing. *jārī*). This junta, which meets every three months in the «fractional» market, is presided over by the *shaikh*. Its principal duty is to carry out the collection of the *tartīb*, the tax paid to the Makhzin in Tetuan by each farmer on each head of livestock and on each hectare

69|
65|

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

of land under cultivation which he possesses; it also assures the collection of the market tax, a small tariff paid by each man to the market *amīn* on the animals and produce which he brings into the market to sell. The money is destined for «fractional» use entirely: upkeep of the market, digging a new well, or for any purpose which pertains to or is of interest to the «fraction» in general. The *shaikh* of the «fraction» is responsible to the *qā'id* for the assessment and collection of this money, while the *qā'id* himself takes direct charge of matters which involve the caidato as a whole. In another building in the market place, the *qāḍī*, also assisted by a *khalīfa*, administers the Sharī'ā, which at the present time has largely supplanted the old Riffian *'urf* or customary law.

This form of government, based entirely on the Arab system, has completely superseded the old regime of the *Aith Arba'in*, of the *imghāren* (sing. *amghār*), the family and village headmen who, in each «fifth», used to make up its governing body in the days before 'Abd al-Karīm. The powers of the *imghāren*, who also used to meet in the market, were much more extensive than those of the modern «fractional» junta, and included assessment and collection of fines for theft of livestock, for talking to women in the market, for suspected but unproven adultery, and the collection of blood money (*dīyath*). These duties and the unwritten customary law which governed them have all been substantially assimilated by the legal jurisdiction of the Makhzin and by the Sharī'a.

Although in the old days there was no higher body politic than the *imghāren* of the «fifth», those of all five «fifths» used to meet together at a place called *aghrau* (p. *ighrāwen)*, the location of of which had previously been announced in the market by the *barrāḥ* or market crier, in case a crisis arose which assumed tribal proportions. In case of adultery caught *in flagrante delicto*, the injured husband had, and still has, the traditional privilege of killing his wife and her lover with exemption from payment of blood money. In case of murder committed on profane ground, the murderer had to pay a fine *(ḥaqq)* of 5.000 pesetas to the *imghāren*, and blood money amounting to 6.000 pesetas to his victim's family, provided the latter chose to accept it. If they did not, as was usually the case, a feud was in full swing immediately, and the council members, lea-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

system of alliances which 'Abd al-Karīm displayed during the early part oh his war was one of the major reasons for his successful unification of the Rīf (16).

It must the stated here, however, that it was unusual for most feuds to become anything more than shootings on a local scale. First of all, feuding kept the population down; sescondly, house burnings and exaction of fines by the *imghāren* were harsh repressive measures in themselves; thirdly, the constant fear of outside invasion by the councillors of another tribe (which occurred wen the *imghāren* of Aith 'Ammarth stepped in on the side of Aith Yūsuf to end a feud between the latter and Aith 'Alī, plus the standard alignment of other «fifths», which had been going on for seven years) tended to restrict the scope of the feud and to prevent it from spreading; and fourthly, individuals who were considered habitual troublemakers and soreheads even by Riffian standards were exiled. If they refused to accept the dictum of the *imghāren* they were unceremoniously put to death.

The above is a reflection of the Riffian political system and situation which prevailed up until the time of 'Abd al-Karīm. The governmental structure of Aith Wuryāghil followed to the letter the true Berber pattern of superimposed representative councils, with a few of the members of each deliberative body being chosen to participate in the council of the group a rung higher up the ladder. Furthermre, thanks to the *liff* alliance system, as Blanco says, the individual in the *thārfiqth*, the *thārfiqth* in the *jamā'ath*, the *jamā'ath* in the «fifth», the «fifth» in the tribe *(thaqbīt*, pl. *thaqbīr*, from Arabic *qabīla*, pl. *qabā'il)*, and the tribe in relation to other tribes all maintain an unstable equilibrium, expressed in terms of the linking of *rubū'* or of «fifths», and ultimately, in the two great rival moieties of Ṣinhāja and Ghumāra (17). As it happens in our particular case, Aith Wuryāghil was (and is) too large and powerful to need formal alliances with other tribes, its only active ally having been Aith 'Ammarth, for, as many old greybeards have told me, «We could still go out and eat Tamsamān or Aith Tuzīn any day of the week»; but for small tribes surrounded by big neighbors, such as Thafarsīth,

(16) Coon, 1951, p. 317.
(17) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 70.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 the *liff* mechanism was an absolute necessity, for if it did not exist they would have been swallowed up long ago.

619 175 178 The entrance of the Pretender Bū Ḥimāra into the Rīf in 1908 and the short war with Spain in 1909 brought about a disruption of some of the traditional alliances and the constitution of new ones. This had a particularly important effect upon Aith Wuryāghil because, for the first time, the tribe became truly united. Reinforced by contingents from Aith 'Ammarth, the warriors of Aith Wuryāghil banded together to resist the Rūghī and his *ḥarka* of Riffians from the east. They defeated him at the Battle of Imzūren and managed very effectively to check his progress in the Central Rīf.

619 We can thus see that tribal unity, dormant under normal conditions, is manifested when outside forces threaten to upset group equilibrium. The strongest allegiances are family and *thārfiqth* ties, but, in opposition to neighboring tribes, tribal allegiance is undivided. This has its reflection in tribal nomenclature: a man from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh is called Bū 'Ayyāshī only in the tribal territory of Aith Wuryāghil. Outside it he is called Wuryāghlī, and if he is outside the Rīf entirely he is usually just referred to as ar-Rīfī. This is how the Riffian really defines his tribe, by inferred comparison to and in opposition to other tribes. Writing about another tribal society, the Nuer of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Dr. E. E. Evans-Pritchard has defined a tribe as having: 1) a common and distinct name; 2) a common sentiment; 3) a common and distinct territory; 4) a moral obligation to unite in war, and 5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. It is precisely upon these criteria that the Aith Wuryāghil base their own concept of their tribe, as do all the other tribal groups as well. When menaced by Bū Ḥimāra, the Aith Wuryāghil were welded together by their common «we-feeling», and stopped him.

631 175 178 The ultimate result of Bū Ḥimāra's campaign in the Rīf was the rise to personal power of a number of petty *imghāren* who became absolute masters in their own bailiwicks. Such men were the Ḥājj Buqqaish in northern Giznāya, Muḥammad 'Abdallāh of Aith ar-Ḥāsain in Aith 'Ammarth, and, in Aith Wuryāghil itself, Muḥand Ḥaddū of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh, Sī Ziyān of Ajdīr (Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī), Ḥājj Ḥaddū of Aith 'Alī, Sīdī 'Amar of Imrābdhen, Mūḥand n Sī 'Amar of Aith

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Ḥadīfa, and ʿAmar n Ṭāhir of Aith ʿAbdallāh. This situation, with its concomitant *liff* alliances and wars between «fifths», prevailed until 1920, when Muḥammad n ʿAbd al-Karīm made his first appearance upon the Riffian scene. The story of ʿAbd al-Karīm, whose relatively obscure beginnings (his father was a *qāḍī* of Ajdīr and not the *qā'id* of Aith Wuryāghil, as is generally supposed) and sudden ascendancy first over his own tribe and then over the whole Rīf, the «Sultan» of which he then became, is too well known to students of Moroccan history to need recounting here. It is highly significant, however, in accounting, at least in part, for the Arabized type of governmental organization which exists among the tribes of the Rīf at the present day.

After ʿAbd al-Karīm took the reins of the jihād against Spain, it was necessary for him to start to consolidate his authority by installing individuals whom he could trust at all points, from the highest to the lowest, from «fifth» to village, in the political structure of his own and of the other nuclear Riffian tribes. The inner circle of men who made up his cabinet was composed almost entirely of his relatives and friends from Ajdīr, which became his capital: his brother Mḥammad was his khalīfa and the Commander of the Regular Riffian Army; his paternal uncle ʿAbd as-Salām was the Minister of Finance; his brother-in-law Muḥ Azarqan was the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Aḥmad Būdra, now the *qā'id* of the caidato of Nakūr, was the Minister of War. This move brought about considerable objection on the part of *imghāren* of some of the nearby tribes, who, by and large, considered ʿAbd al-Karīm to be a parvenu. He had, in fact, for some time previously been working for the Spanish Government in Melilla.

The separatist and explosive temperament of the central Riffians themselves had long fostered the maintenance of a decentralized type of government in which impetuous and trigger-happy council members were responsible as much for starting blood feuds as for stopping them. Feuding and the mechanism which served to maintain it, the inbred rivalry engendered by the *liff* alliance system, had to be silenced if the Riffians were to put up a united front against Spain. Tribal wars could only be abolished if the structure of political authority in the tribes themselves became more centralized. The traditional Berber political organization does not easily lend itself to administration from above, whereas the Arab type does. ʿAbd al-Karīm forced the

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 newer system on all the tribes in his domain if they did not have it
175 already. Although the *imghāren* loomed large in the early battles
178 of Ighrīben and Anwāl in 1921, their status had become reduced to that of *quyād al-miya* or *quyād al-miyatain* (*qā'idṣ* of 100 or 200 men) by the time the *Jumhūrīya Rīfīya* or Riffian State was officially created in 1924. Almost all the men in key position in the new government were from Aith Wuryāghīl but *quyād*, *shiyūkh* and *muqaddamīn* took the place of the old *imghāren;* some of the latter fell in with the new regime and became prominent military commanders, while others, like those of the Ghumāra, jealous of 'Abd al-Karīm's success, staged a revolt against him in 1924 and were quietly poisoned or taken off to die in the jails of Ajdīr and Thamāsīnd. By the time 'Abd al-Karīm had conquered the Jibāla and captured his rival Raisūlī in 1925, he was master of all northern Morocco.

692 The natural supplement to this Arabization of the old Riffian
671 political system was the substitution of the Sharī'a for the earlier
178 customary law. Before 1920, custom, or *'urf*, had been king. If a case had arisen which had previously been unprovided for in Riffian law, the *imghāren* met to discuss it. When they agreed upon a solution, which was usually expressed in terms of payment of such and such a fine, the local *sharīf* or any man whose piety and good sense was known and respected by all was called in to give his testimony and sanction to the law in question, if it did not run counter to the Sharī'a. After the law was passed it was registered by the *ṭulbā* or students in the Friday mosque, and proclaimed in the market by the *barrāḥ* (18). These were the only steps necessary to integrate that law into the corpus of tribal custom. It was, in all but the most serious offenses, as we have seen, the «fifth» or the *farīqath* or even the village rather than tribe collectively which made the law and carried it out.

As has been implied above, 'Abd al-Karīm greatly weakened the power of the *imghāren* by centralizing the political authority in himself as head of a new Muslim state. This state was set up to conform to an orthodox Islamic pattern, and therefore the old customary law had to go. It went, and the result was that the Sharī'a was administered according to the Mālikī rite by a *qāḍī* in each «fifth» of the tribe. The weekly markets, in addition to their earlier functions as

(18) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 20.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

commercial and governmental centers, became legal temples as well, when separate tribunals were also set up for the *qāḍīs*, their *khalīfas* and their *'adūl*. In the old days there had been *qāḍīs* too, but they operated on a far more informal basis; they held court in their own houses, and, in actual practice, they acted more as arbiters of Berber custom than as administrators of Islamic Law, while, as Blanco remarks (19), the *'adūl* limited themselves to registering acts passed by the customary tribunal. The *imghāren* were the people who counted, and, until 'Abd al-Karīm's time *qā'ids*, *qāḍīs*, *muqaddams* and other functionaries with Arab titles were largely negative concepts in Aith Wuryāghil and in the other tribes of the Central Rīf. Today, of course, the situation has been reversed; there are no more *imghāren*, while customary law operates on the village level alone, and plays second fiddle to the Sharī'a even there.

A political reorientation toward an Arab governmental prototype thus became a mechanism for the preservation of Riffian freedom. But 'Abd al-Karīm's carefully constructed Jumhūrīya Rīfīya was short-lived; it collapsed like a house of cards in 1926, two years after its foundation, when the tribal fastness of Aith Wuryāghil was itself invaded from the north by Spain and from the south by France, at which time the Wuryāghlī commanders in the Jibāla and on the Wargha River rushed back to defend their own homes. Nevertheless, in the framework of 'Abd al-Karīm's Riffian State the Spaniards found a ready-made administrative set-up which has continued, with only minor alterations, to the present day. When the Riffian leader first came to power, he installed *qā'ids* in the *rubū'* of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and in the «fifths» of Imrābdhen, Ait Ḥadīfa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh. Later on, when the French Army began to push up into the Central Rīf from the south, he added two more caidatos, Turīrth-Thimārzgha and Aith 'Arūs, to tighten up his control over the unruly mountaineers in the southeast part of the tribe. After the war the Spanish administration maintained this chain of command, setting up tribal «intervención» posts in Ajdīr, Thamāsīnd, Aith Ḥadīfa (Sūq ath-Thnain), Aith 'Amar u Sa'īd (Aith Ḥadīfa), Turīrth (Sūq al-Arba'), and Imnūdh (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh). In 1934, however, they subdivided the tribe into the three aforementioned

(19) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 26.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

caidatos of Uṭa, Upper Ghīs and Nakūr, this arrangement being the one which exists today. A far cry from the old *imghāren* of the *Bilād as-Saiba* days, each *qā'id* is now the representative in his caidato of the government of S. A. The Khalīfa Mūlāy al-Ḥasan in Tetuan. Most of the tribal functionaries have already been discussed, but in addition there are today in each caidato a *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, who takes charge of *ḥabūs* property, owned by most of the cantonal mosques. an *abū l-muwārith*, who turns over to the Makhzin the property of those Riffians who die intestate, and an *ukīl al-ghuyāb*, who handles the legal affairs of those of his fellow tribesmen who are not present to represent themselves. Considering that about eight thousand men go to Algeria to look for temporary employment every year during the harvesting season, the last mentioned official has a lot of work on his hands. The *qā'ids* and the *qāḍīs* each hold their respective *maḥkāmas* in the principal markets of each caidato: Sūq ath-Thnain of Aith Ḥadīfa in Upper Ghīs, Sūq al-Arba' of Turīrth in Nakūr, and Sūq as-Sibt of Imzūren in Uṭa.

These weekly markets *(sūq*, pl. *aswāq)*, held in the open air, are still among the most important of not only Riffian institutions, but those of tribal Morocco in general. There are six such markets spread throughout the tribe: the Sunday market at Thamāsīnd, the Monday markets at Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Izakīren) and Aith Ḥadīfa, the Wednesday market at Turīrth, the Thursday market of Imrābdhen, and the Saturday market of Imzūren, formerly the Wednesday market of Sīdī Bū Afīf. These markets are so situated that any tribesman can go to them, do his business and return, all in the same day. They serve not only for the circulation of local products (animals, grains, vegetables. fruits, eggs. butter, poultry, meat, milk hides, wool, salt, charcoal), but also as places of exchange for the fruit of local industry (plows, winnowing forks, wooden shovels, wooden pestles, stone hand mills of the rotary quern type, homemade rugs and other wool objects, mats, handmade pottery, and the esparto grass sandals so characteristic of the Central Rīf). In addition, the markets act as clearing houses for leather goods made in Tetuan and Tāghzūth (babuches, scrips and harness) and for objects of all kinds imported from Spain and from French Morocco: sugar, tea, soap, spices, henna, matches, candles, nails, thread, glassware, and bolts of brightly colo-

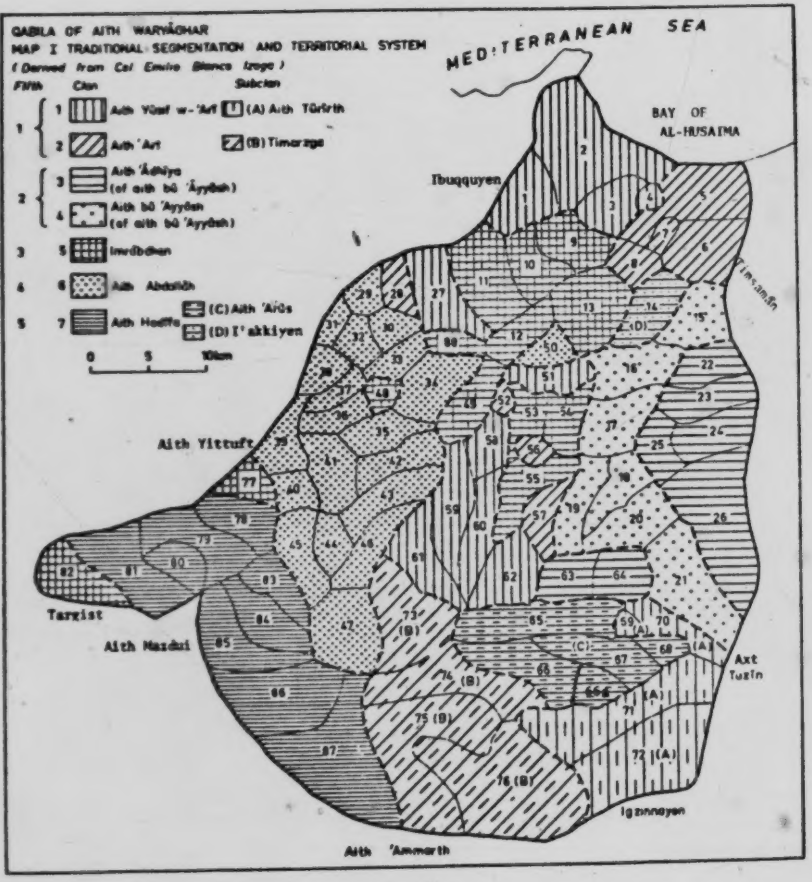
000 primera was low man, generally, on an administrative totem pole which went back through the interventor comarcal, then through the interventor regional, and finally back to the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas in Tetuan - and, ultimately, up to the High Commissioner. [631] Yet this same interventor was on a par with the tribal qaid, usually a man nearly twice his own age, who himself happened to be at the top of his own particular pyramid, consisting (administratively) of village or community mqaddim, clan or "fractional" shaikh, and, finally, qaid of the tribe, the ceiling administrative unit (except in the case of the Aith Waryaghar, who, until Emilio Blanco appeared, were rather too large for effective administration along normal lines...). But the break in the system occurred just at the qaid-interventor point, at the point, precisely, of foreign administrator and local strongman - and in theory, the latter could only pipeline messages back to the capital through the former - though in fact, if he were wise and should the situation require it, he generally had other methods of communication as well. (And since Independence, although the qaid is often a non-local civil servant, and although his local shaikhs and mqaddmin, of clans and villages respectively, depend, as he himself does, on the Ministry of Interior, their own particular abilities at "break-through" even to the local provincial authorities depend on the number of friends they have "at court", and on the local patronage-clientage network. Rifians, at least, state categorically that in Spanish times the qaid, whatever his shortcomings, was one of themselves, and, in retrospect, that the Spanish Intervención usually tended to choose the right man for the job.)

631
1975

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

102
631
613
619
614

BLANCO MAP I (1934)



102
631
613
619
614

KEY TO BLANCO MAP, 1934 - TRADITIONAL SEGMENTARY AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR (Derived from EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA)

N.B. Numbers of "fifths" and clans correspond to those, numbered 1-5 and 1-7 respectively, on the legend of the map, while nos. 1-88 represent local communities.

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

1. Izifzafen
2. Ajdir: Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, Aith Misa'ud u-Yusif, Aith Zara'
3. Azghar
4. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Plain

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

5. Tafrasth
6. Aith Musa w-'Amar
7. Imjjudhen
8. Tigarth

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(1) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

9. Aith Hishim
10. Aith Misa'ud
11. Aith Qamra
12. Idardushen
13. Ifasiyen, Aith Brahim, Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, Aith Yusif

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

14. (D). Subclan of I'AKKIYEN

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(4) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH

15. Izakiren
16. Aith Tfarwin
17. Isufiyen
18. Aith Tfarwin (again)
19. Aith Ta'a
20. Iriyanen
21. Aith Bu Khrif

102
631
613
619
614

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

22. Ighmiren
23. Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen
24. Imnudh
25. Aith Bu Qiyadhen (r-Rabda)
26. Tazurakhth: Aith 'Aisa, Aith Ruqman

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

27. Aith Buham

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

28. Aith Dawud

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

29. Tazaghin
30. Aith Zkri
31. Imarnisen
32. Tizi 'Ayyash
33. Ibunharen
34. Bu Khalifa (Aith Ziyyan)
35. Iqanniyen
36. Ikiddaben
37. Uqrishen
38. Dahar n-Zimmurth
39. Thariwin
40. Bu Sarah (Bu Salah)
41. Aith Sa'id
42. Aith Dris
43. Bu Zdur (Tigarth 'Ari)
44. Ihwahwahiyen
45. Thirkuzin (Tilkuzin)
46. Thimkiliwin
47. Marrui

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

48. Bu Ghardain
49. Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (Zawiya Sidi 'Aisa)

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

50. I'ayyaden

102
631
613
619
614

1 - "FIFTH" OF THE AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

51. Thamasind n-Waddai (Lower Thamasind)

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

52. Bu Minqad

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

53. Aith r-Qadi
54. Aith 'Aziz
55. Aith r-Qadi (again, I'athmanen

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

56. Thamasind n-Dara (Upper Thamasind)
57. Iswiqen

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

58. Aghridh (Aghlid)
59. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountains
60. 'Arnuq
61. Isrihan
62. Ikattshumen (Ikultumen)

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

63. Ighmiren (again)
64. Igar w-Anu

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

(C) - Subclan of AITH 'ARUS

(C) 65. Bu Sa'ida
(C) 66. Aith Tigarth (or simply Tigarth)
(C) 66a. Aith u-Maru (or simply Maru): "people of the shade"
(C) 67. Aith u-Sammar (or simply Sammar): "people of the sun"
(C) 68. Aith Juhra

102
631
613
619
614

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

(A) - Subclan of AITH TURIRTH

(A) 69. Aith 'Amar
(A) 70. Thizimmurin
(A) 71. Thigzirin
(A) 72. Bulma, Ignam, l-'Ass

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

(B) - Subclan of TIMARZGA

(B) 73. r-Maqsuridh
(B) 74. Bu Ma'dan
(B) 75. Thafsasth
(B) 76. Aith Yusif

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

77. Kammun

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH HADHIFA

78. Mishkur
79. Ihadduthen
80. Iharunen
81. Thizimmurin

3 - "FIFTH OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

82. Thamarkatt (Tamarkalt)

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

83. Bihban
84. Aghzar 'Aisa
85. Bashkra
86. Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id
87. Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar (Zawiya Sidi 'Abd l-Qadir)

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

88. Izarruqen

621
631
[619]

H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the [648] Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, [643] that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

621
631
131

1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari clan) is also

621 631 131 divided into two others of the same name, to which is added the geographical denomination of "mountain" or "plain", according to the location of each. Each one of these two divisions, like those of the Aith Mhand u Yihya, belongs to two different qa'idates: the mountain group, which is south of the women's market called Suq r-Had n-Timgharin (Sunday Women's Market")[117] at Iswiqen, to the Qa'idate of Nkur; and the plains group, in the vicinity of Imzuren, to the Qa'idate of l-Uta. The originating group is the mountain one.

3) Isrihan:--This jma'th (again of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), again, is divided into two others: the mountain part, in the folds of the Jbil Hamam[117a], belongs to the Qa'idate of Nkur, and the lowland part, in the Buham Plain and known as Isrihan n Buham, belongs to the Qa'idate of l-Uta[118].

4) Bu Minqadh:--This jma'th (of the clan of the Aith 'Ari) presents a further complication, that of a three-fold division: the founding and original section, in Sidi 'Abd Allah u Yusif, near the women's market at Iswiqen, is in the Qa'idate of Nkur; while of its two offshoots, both in the Qa'idate of l-Uta, one if near Thamasind and the other is found down in the plain near Imzuren. There is thus a Mountain Bu Minqadh, a Foothills Bu Minqadh, and a Plains Bu Minqadh.

5) Aith 'Aziz:--There are today two jma'ths (of the clan of the Imrabdhen) of this name, one in Thamasind and the other in Imzuren; and although both are located within the Qa'idate of l-Uta, this fact is purely coincidental.

621 6) Thamasind:--There are two jma'ths of this name: one is called Thamasind n Dara (Upper Thamasind), and the other, Thamasind n

Waddai (Lower Thamasind). These two have been spatially separated for a long time, although they both happen to be located in the Qa'idate of I-Uta[119].

Aside from these examples given above, we then have those jma'ths which, after their descent to the plain, lose their original names, such, for instance, as Ajdir, and acquire those of new geographical locations or founders without, however, losing their ties with the parent jma'th until these become relaxed with the passing of time or until new needs cause them to become independent, as we find them today, if in the inversion of roles the newly formed nucleus is not imposing itself on the original one, thus becoming converted into a tributary group. We have just seen that among the Aith Waryaghar there are traditional jma'ths which are found to be split, the displaced groups often occupying sites very distant from the original ones; and the fact that this displacement occurred long, long ago led them to become independent of the originating jma'th, and to constitute new jma'ths on their own or even to graft themselves onto the neighboring jma'ths when their importance or convenience so dictated.

By the same token, also, there are jma'ths which are not of the same origin and which may form the initial fusion of perhaps as many as twenty different kin groups and stranger accretions of the most diverse origins[120]. An example of this may be found in Swani, in which the lower part of the jma'th is made up of descendants of Sidi Mhand of Aith Hishim, of the clan of Imrabdhen, who are shurfa, and of the original founders, the people of Thafrasth, of the subclan

621 typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the
6446 Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have
182 depreciated and is now dormant.

621 The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign, [114] such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

131 Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order
●631 listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of I-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur
614 watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a
631 geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

614 certainly justified from a political and even from an ethnographic
631 standpoint. On the other hand, perhaps a greater simplification of the chain of command, brought by suppressing the khalifas of the qa'ids, a useless, retardatory and troublesome rung in the ladder, might be possible[139]; for the position of shaikh already exists, and in the absence of or in case of delegation of authority by the qa'ids.. ....the shiyukh can and do exercise the powers of the qa'id with all satisfaction, as has been observed in all cases and from all that has been told to me.

A chain of command without such useless steps would be restricted to qa'id and mqaddimin; but, nevertheless, the wide territorial extension which each of the clans of Aith Waryaghar has advises the retention of shaikhates in the manner expressed above; and the dispersion of the jma'ths advises in many cases the retention of the jwari (sing. jari)[140].

631 But these simplifications which are proposed in the framework
621 of authority in the tribe must be followed up with a stronger personality in the mqaddim which would make these jobs remunerative as well as having them, at the same time, fall on the shoulders of persons of true significance in the jma'th, so that the latter must listen to them, accepting procedures put forth by them and avoiding any chances that friendship, adhersion or mere servitude to the qa'id might annul this office, the one which is, in my opinion, the most important in a Berber tribe. It is certainly not advisable to try to accomplish this in one stroke; this patient revision of mqaddimin must be done without hurry on a jma'th-by-jma'th basis, if we wish to make a perfect

augmentation to the "building" or "house" of Rifian society (of which the traditional jma'th is the "cornerstone").[141]

Aith Waryaghar, then, could be organized in the following way:

I) QA'IDATE OF L-UTA: Shaikhate of Aith Yusif w 'Ari --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Imrabdhen --15 jma'ths

II) QA'IDATE OF NKUR: Shaikhate of Bni Bu 'Ayyash --16 jma'ths
Shaikhate of l-Jbil --16 jma'ths

III) QA'IDATE OF UPPER GHIS: Shaikhate of Bni Hadifa --12 jma'ths
Shaikhate of Bni 'Abd Allah --16 jma'ths

Total----87 jma'ths

If this organization is applied to the other tribes[142], the patron must be remembered in salary gradation, so that salaries do not turn out to be prejudiced as the Aith Waryaghar have been, up to now, both in salary and category of their office-holders and tribal authorities.

Ajdir, August 27, 1935.

I) Notes on the Igzinnayen:

1) Etymology and Language:--The word Gzinnaya (Rifian Igzinnayen) is derived from Berber gizna, meaning "libertine"[143]. The tribesmen of Igzinnayen are bilingual, although even so, Rifian speech has a far greater predominance over Arabic. Their men of letters (fqihs, etc.), although they know how to read and write Arabic, express themselves very poorly in that language, and their grammatical construction tends to be bad. Knowledge of French is extremely slight,

794 871 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an.... [872] [873] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some [829] [876] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 103 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 [631] 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

619 614 361 Today it may be said that there are no ostensible and important divisions among the different clans of the Igzinnayen.... The Igzinnayen are sedentary and inhabit fixed houses, which, as among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, are located along the edges of valleys, in fertile lands, and, in a word, wherever life is easier. Nevertheless, there is, aside from the tribal hamlet-villages, no agglomeration of importance....The tribe is divided 619 614 administratively into seven clans, each one headed by a shaikh except for Asht 'Asim, which is divided into three shaikhates. One of the [621] [631] latter is made up of the communities of Buridh, Tamjund and Imharrushen, another by those of Ifran, Iaqrru'an and Iharrasen, and the third by Inhanahan, Thara Tazzugwakhth and Iharshriyen[169]; all these 619 clans ("fractions") are headed by a qa'id. The tribe of Igzinnayen presents a line of penetration between the tribes of the Rif and those of the Eastern Gharb, as it has been utilized over a long period of time as a path for incursions by the mountaineers into the plain.

619 614 621 7) Political Division:--Qaid (1940): Si Bu Tahar n Mqaddim Saihi.

a) Clan ("fraction") of Jibarna: contains villages of Asht Hammu w 'Amar, I'athmanen (1-'Atamna), Dharwa Haddum Jibarna and Suyah. Shaikh (1940): Muhammed l-Mihdi Fars.

b) Clan ("fraction") of Ishawiyen (Shawiya): contains villages of Dharwa 'Abdallah, Dharwa n Tawunza, Bu Isri, Imrabdhen n Wawizaght[170], Aknul, Nadhur, Ihammuthen and Izimmuren. Shaikh (1940): Bushta nj-Qa'id Buhush.

c) Clan ("fraction") of Marar: contains villages of Thighzrathin, Tasharbant, Dharwa 'Ari, Zarhun, Fiddan l-Kbir, Thighambuyin,

181
114 However, we would still take a somewhat more charitable viewpoint, and question the somewhat ethnocentric notion that a tribal society is any more "anarchical", even in an "organized" sense, than that of a nation-state. In any event, all this terminology is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930).

000 20--Blanco uses the term ramo ascendiente, which, in the sense that a jajgu is conceived of as a branch (ramo)--the Rifians employ the term azwar, pl. izuran, "vein", in this connection--of a dharfiqth or or lineage group, is very apt. The use of a term such as "ascending", however, depends entirely on which way one looks at Rifian tribal segmentation: from the bottom up (nuclear family to tribe) or from the top down (tribe to family).

We have found, however, that, except in the single instance of the recitation of their own personal antecedents in unilinear progression to the ancestor who forms the "apex" of the lineage, Moroccan tribesmen invariably tend to give the segmentation of their own tribes starting from the top and working downwards. In the Rif, [631] indeed, this approach to the segmentary system is greatly reinforced [681] by the method of dividing up the fines (r-haqq) imposed upon murderers by the members of the tribal council. The division of such fines follows traditional segmentary lines as closely as possible; in such instances where this is not possible (and they are very few, only occurring in cases of territorial discontinuity among the larger lineages), it follows the next best thing, the territorial system, which is in essence nothing but the lineage system spread out spatially on the ground.

21--The term "canton" is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930), and is [634] also employed by Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African [114] Studies, vol. IX, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 91. It [113] is a valid enough designation for the watershed canyon, ravine and gorge-studded districts of the higher mountains in the Rif (Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen", in Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1956-1956, Vienna, 1957, pp. 485-527, also employs the term Talschaften for similar districts in the Western Atlas), but loses its force if one attempts to apply it to the Plain of Alhusaima or the open rolling country of the Eastern Rif.

22--Khums (Rifian dhakhammasth) means "fifth", and is used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments, such as the Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen (among whom, in fact, this alignment seems to have little functional significance), Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith Wurishik and Aith Sa'id. Furthermore, when it is said of any tribe that it "has five 'fifths'", this is an implicit admission that the tribe in question is a strong one. For a structural-functional analysis of the "fifth" among the Aith Waryaghar and elsewhere, see David M. Hart, "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65-95.

[114] Far more common in Rifian parlance, however, is ar-rba', pl. rurbu', literally "fourth" or "quarter", which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 91) has equated with "canton", and in doing so, has noted that,

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three
631 qa'idates (I-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all
131 questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or de-
443 cided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market
[646] when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the
[648] Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés
562 Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid,
[113] May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes
[191] of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir.
443 Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the
562 Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area,
114 they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the
562 men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

600 them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
62] social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623
443 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
671 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan, an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in [182] principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
614
796

000

[175] 129--Al-Mazimma was the port, in the 8th century A.D., for the City of Nakur. Modern Rifians do not confuse it with al-Husaima which, they say, aside from the present city and provincial capital of that name, covered the whole area from Badis in Bni Bu Frah to Ras Sidi Sh'aib in Thimsaman. It should also be noted that Sidd, in Arabic, means "dam".

[423] [432] 130--A translation of this document is given in Chapter XVII. It should be noted, in any case, that if a foreigner or anyone whose family does not traditionally irrigate in the area comes to buy land (and to build a house, etc.) in the Lower Ghis region, he has no right to irrigation water until he buys an irrigation turn. He must, furthermore, have a document proving that he bought his turn.

[712] [648] [175] [113] 131--The Jami' al-Mujahidin, or "mosque of the fighters of the faith", where the Aith Waryaghar mounted a permanent and perpetual guard against Spanish invasion, from 1673, when Spain occupied the Isle of al-Husaima, until 1926, when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas, Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47.

[175] [648] [631] 132--Both these men were of Ajdir, subclan of Aith Ughir Iyizan, clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi, a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim who during the Rifian War was pensioned by the Spaniards and in 1926 made qa'id of all Aith Waryaghar by them, died in 1936.

133--This statement needs some qualification. The four names under consideration here, although two of them (Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan) certainly correspond to lineage names, are in effect names of irrigation turns, for, on the other hand, Bu Mqathir and Zawith (the latter refers to the area around the Monday Women's Market, at Azghar, and not, as far as we know, to any particular zawiya) are both place names, and in both these instances, as indicated in the notation of participants in the Zawith turn, it is the lineages who form local groups in the area under consideration who have right to irrigation water, irrespective of their clan affiliations. In the Zawith turn, again, one of the participating ijujga is that of the Andrusen: this lineage, whose name means "Andalusians", has become a member segment of the subclan of Lower Imrabdhen, in the clan of the Imrabdhen; we say "has become" rather than "is", because, as in fact its name shows, it is made up of the descendants of "foreign shurfa" rather than of those of local ones. Another participating jajgu, the Ihaddallahan, is a lineage branch of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif of Ajdir, of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan in the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; while the Ushshannen are a branch of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, also of Ajdir. We have unfortunately been unable to establish the lineage affiliations of the Fisra and Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi; and, like Blanco's, our own notes on irrigation in the Lower Ghis (made in Imzuren in the autumn of 1953) have nothing to say regarding the lineage participating in the Bu Mqathir turn on the fifth day.

However, one point is very clear: that with the rotation over the first four days between Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan, and the additional fact that at least two lineages of Ajdir participate in the Zawith turn,

by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is 621 622 657 appointed by the national government. While the appointment is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent, and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem 622 631 619 may and usually does have administrative responsibility over more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

623 [554] Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, 623 178 before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed [657] by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off familes have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
594 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local
692 level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
631 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
692 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is
556 placed in the position of protector and is under traditional
554 obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form
571 of mutual support between local lords and the community was much

631 692 556 554 571 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally prominent man is generally efficacious since government representatives attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 648 556 619 The national government is well aware of the actual dual organization of political power in the country. While every Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

CONCLUSION

105 631 I shall now draw a résumé of the character of the Rif economy. The first factor which merits our attention is that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba, the land of insolence, as opposed to the bled as-makhzen. The central feature of the 105 631 latter was that a central political body integrated the economy, 648 extracting taxes, channeling production, and supervising trade. The central government ran the economy which, with its large estates, absentee landowners, and tax-supported upper class, presented a classical example of an Oriental style of economic integration.

105 631 The bled-as-siba presents quite another form of political integration and economic organization.[1] Politically, the Rif consisted of a number of small sub-units, each autonomous from the rest and each relying only on its own power for maintaining its political integrity and economic well-being.

---

[1] This holds true for only parts of the bled-as-siba. Other parts of the land outside the makhzen developed complex feudal political organization while at the same time remaining free of the Sultan. Examples from the current century include the Pasha of Marrakesh, el-Glaoui, and Raisuli in the northwest. As Benet noted, "The appearance of an internal proletariat in the Siba is a sure sign that it is developing an oligarchic tyranny of local character and a Makhzen of its own" (1957: 195).

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105 631 The economic system of the bled-as-siba reflected this preoccupation, each sub-unit incorporating both its economic activity and its social activity in a manner so that the two could rarely be separated.

105 648 [63] [178] The Rif, however, is no longer bled-as-siba. Since 1926 it has been integrated into political systems with centralized authority. Yet most of the elements of the traditional economic system continue to persist. Why? I think that along with geographical isolation a poverty in natural resources has helped to maintain the Rif free from outside interferences. Sultans were hesitant to send a sizable army into the Rif because it was questionable whether the army could live off the land. Spain was interested less for economic reasons than as an effort to recoup some of the colonial glory she had but recently lost in a war with the United States. Once Spain established her protectorate she only selectively exploited the country in such items as minerals and lumber. On the whole this had no effect on the indigenous economic system. Nor has the Rif fared better since independence. "By comparison, the inhabitants of the old Spanish zone, largely Riffian, are poor relations when contrasted with their compatriots to the south. Extremely limited agricultural possibilities and poor communication in rugged terrain combine to produce this situation" (Steward 1964:170). The Moroccan government has found that the incorporation of the north constitutes a drain on national resources, contributing little to the national economy while at the same time extracting

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebíes* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[a]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443] One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

195 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[b] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[c] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[a] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 489–443. [113]

[b] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

[c] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell* K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

531 171 In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of 342 Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local 171 variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can 171 fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[14] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

771 789 171 [772] [805] A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[15]

631 Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[16] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence [596] [614] and self-sufficiency.[17] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, 631 groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates 634 from each family.[18] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

---

[212] [713] cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[113] [14] Cf. the photograph of Sa'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[113] [15] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[113] [16] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[17] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[113] [18] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 .MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules.[112]

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[113]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[112] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[113] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

/175 cont./

000 a canton of the east and a canton of the west. During the last century their struggle was carried on without respite, with the backing of the neighboring tribes. When ʿAbd el Kerim, master of the Rif and of the Jbel, decided in 1925 to make Targist the redoubt of his defense, the memory of the internal divisions was still so alive that he had to name a "pasha" to the command of each of the hostile cantons.

631 634 619 XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- Perhaps, however, in this part of the Rif it is difficult to find out by means of what institution the canton preserves its personality and its own life; the underlying cause of this state of division of the country into small units of equal importance seems less apparent and more mysterious here than anywhere else. In fact, we no longer find councils of notables made up in so precise a way as in the western Jbel and the Moroccan South. In the high valleys that descend from the Tidighin, it is all the warriors under arms who come to be present at the deliberations of the village, of the "khoms," or of the tribe. The assembly then takes the name of "agrao" (1).

1. Berbère /Berber/ "agrao," plur. "igraoun," noun derived from the verb "grou," to meet (Biarnay, Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif /Study of the Berber Dialects of the Rif/, p. 70). The "agrao" corresponds to the "ajmoʿa" of the Ida Ou Tanan, to the "jemaʿa" of Kabylie /Kabylia/.

631 634 619 792 578 Discord and tumult would undoubtedly break out in it very quickly, if the marabouts of the family of the Khemalcha did not practice their arbitration between the hostile parties. Thanks to their pacifying role, these religious leaders colonized the whole country to their advantage and threw a sort of network of zaouïas over the mountains; they are, moreover, clever in the art of stirring up intrigues in order immediately to be able, thanks to their baraka, to stop the conflicts.

/175 cont./

631 In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni
619 Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still
634 looser (2).

2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. Moreover, the marabouts form a supplementary "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

[131]
[792]
[578]

In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^{c}," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

792 /176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the develop-
578 ment of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

/176 cont./

631 The "igraoun" become for all the family groups the occasion to
634 measure their strength, and it very often happens, when the tribe
619 is left to itself, that all government disappears to make way for domination by the most bellicose.

Nevertheless, even in these unfavorable circumstances, the feeling of the unity of the territory exists, and, despite private wars, the assembly of the clans that forms the council of the "khoms" still keeps, by a prodigy of collective memory, the precise notion of the territorial limits. One sees it reappear intact when the common interests are threatened.

631 There exist in the north of Morocco, as in the south, above
619 the tribes, larger groups that merit the name of confederations: they are, on the one hand, the Ghomara, made up of nine tribes, between the Ouringa, Chichaouen, and Tigissas, and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair around the Tidighin, who bring together ten. Those are the remains -- the witnesses, one might say -- of two ethnic masses -- Ghomara and Senhaja -- whose struggles have filled almost all the history of the country. We shall soon see how in our time, when the war between the two races is subsiding, there is appearing among the tribes detached from one or the other of the two confederations the idea of league or of political party, which is being substituted for the old belief in a common origin. It is nontheless interesting to observe here that these two confederations, which have best preserved the historic tradition of the two great enemy races of the Senhaja and Ghomara, are only, however, almost inorganic masses of tribes, which have only fragile and poorly defined bonds between them (1).

1. The Ghomara tribes are united above all by their historical traditions. They have, however, kept a meeting center, Aïn Hajer, and a hierarchical order (Beni Bouzra, Beni /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Gmil, Beni Khaled, Beni Selman, Beni Ziyat, Beni Zedjel, Beni Bzin, Beni Grir, Mtiwa).

/176 cont./

631
619
[191]

/Footnote 1 continued./ The tribes forming the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair have not, to our knowledge at least, any common institution. These two groups have partially submitted to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and sometimes received leaders who commanded nominally at least the totality of the tribes.

It seems that here again the confederations exist /177/ like empty cadres, in which the tribes and khoms live as they like and conclude alliances in complete independence, as if in the relative calm of our time, which succeeds the furious wars of the past, the weakest units were being constituted little by little and becoming conscious of their particular interests and their needs.

000 XVI. The Kabyle "taddert" and "ᶜarch." -- One of the most singular characteristics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/ is the existence of a population whose density is often greater than that of the French territory. Most often one does not find little hamlets of 20 to 30 hearths as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda, but rather large villages of 100 to 150 houses, which have maintained a surprising internal activity up to our day. Republican institutions are more developed there than in the South of Morocco, and the customary law has resisted, after 80 years of conquest, the political and economic transformation of the country (1).

1) Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun [kanoun, see p. 492]/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

In former times the villages were grouped, three or four in number, to form a tribe, "ᶜarch." The "ᶜarch" entered into an arrangement to constitute confederations to which the name of "qbila" was given.

/238 cont./

121 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of
631 political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where
121 the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill,
361 and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units,
621 such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits
632 difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the
[619] existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond
621 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we
613 have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 It seems that it might be permissible to give
613 the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni
614 Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more nu-
114 merous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according
[171] to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

S
*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
S families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
[121] their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

R XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
634 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
*631 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
171 sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

/401 cont./

000 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe; [578] after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his [619] brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert, Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and

175 631 669 648

175 /402 cont./
631 of the tribes of the vicinity. ᶜAbd el Kerim can easily tame the
669 revolts of the Rif fomented by the minor amghars of the Ghomara,
648 /403/ jealous of the development of his power; soon he completes his successes by the conquest of the Jbel and makes his rival Raisouli perish in prison.

175 Four years sufficed to make of the son of the cadi of Ajdir the
631 independent Sultan of the north of Morocco, who keeps the
554 armies of Spain at bay; carried away by his ambition, by the en-
[648] thusiasm and cupidity of his entourage, ᶜAbd el Kerim then dreams for an instant of conquering the towns of the Maghreb and becoming master of all the Mussulmans of Morocco, whose eyes turn toward him with growing admiration. Indeed, each day that passes increases his prestige; he becomes, in the eyes of western Islam, a new Moustapha /Mustafa/ Kemal; his name is known from the Indies to America, and people follow his victories and projects with a passionate interest; the large countries of Europe are stirred up by the importance that he is acquiring and, according to their interests, secretly desire his success or hope for his ruin.

175 A few weeks of well-directed military efforts moreover suffice
631 to get rid of the "Riffian State." But the conditions under which
182 this Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, so rapidly built up and at the same
648 time so fragile, suddenly collapses enable us to see its internal structure clearly.

During the first phase of the war, the struggle between the Rif, France, and Spain was carried on to the boundary of the tribes conquered and governed by the Beni Ouriaghel; so the efforts of two large modern armies remained in vain because the members of the Riffian Makhzen /makhzan/ always succeeded in constraining all the populations of the mountains of the north of Morocco to continue the holy war, the "jihad," without sparing their forces; but when the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel itself is threatened, the warriors of ᶜAbd el Kerim's tribe all abandon at the same time their external commands in the tribes of the Jbala and the Wergha in order to come to defend their own homes; the grip exerted by the tribal brothers of the "Sultan of the Rif" on all the small

R
175 /403 cont./
631 mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances
182 that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the
648 heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
121 IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From
171 the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of
*631 the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter
554 of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral
182 kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

/238 cont./

121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 361 621 632 [619] the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 613 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1);

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 114 It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

[171]

621 /240 cont./
628 reals: 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes, large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living grouped in hamlets. The "mouda^{c}" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to deliber-
621 ate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

633 [504] The area is administered today from the small port and provincial capital of Alhucemas. The growth of this urban center, fishing port, and tourist attraction is but a recent [175] phenomenon. The city, founded in 1925 with the invasion of a Spanish fleet, has been the focal point for whatever innovation that has occurred in the Central Rif in this century.

133 361 Directly behind the city of Alhucemas is a flat plain. Although the land here is rich it was uninhabited prior to the Spanish because the terrain was indefensible during times of feuds. The original population was situated in the foothills [712] and higher mountains. Here homesteads were scattered and since they also served as garrisons or fortresses they were located on hills or ridges which could be defended militarily.

133 The area is not well served by rivers, the principal ones being the Rhis and the Nekor. The former rises in the Sonhaja area and empties into the Mediterranean at Alhucemas. The latter starts in Igzinnayen territory to flow along the border of the Beni Wariyaghar and the Beni Tuzin, emptying into the bay at [312] Alhucemas. Both these rivers and their tributaries are used [161] for irrigation and the population density is higher along them. There are also a good many natural springs (generally regarded as holy sites) and wells have been successfully dug in some of the valleys.

132 Rainfall varies annually and at times disastrously. At the weather station in Alhucemas during the decade 1946-1955, rainfall ranged from 8.5 inches to 16.9 inches. Although the

[For additional information on the arrba, thakhammasth (pl. thikhammasin) or rba (pl. ruba), a major or primary section of the tribe, which has been variously described in the literature as maximal lineages, districts, khoms ("fourths" or "fifths" of the tribe), cantons (by Coon), groups of bones, fractions, or clan "fifths" (Blanco Izaga), see also Category 631.]

[For additional information on the fariqath, a "sub-fraction" composed of 4 or 5 related villages (related through a traditional rather than necessarily an actual common ancestor), and making up a single hill-valley or watershed unit, see Category 631.]

5: Blanco Izaga

MX3 Rif MX3

619
634

[For information on the Rifian "fraction", called a "clan" or "sub-clan" by Blanco Izàga, and defined as "... an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends ..., a state in miniature ..., an independent republic, and the true Rifian Patria ..." (p. 115), see Category 614.]

181
114 However, we would still take a somewhat more charitable viewpoint, and question the somewhat ethnocentric notion that a tribal society is any more "anarchical", even in an "organized" sense, than that of a nation-state. In any event, all this terminology is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930).

000 20--Blanco uses the term ramo ascendiente, which, in the sense that a jajgu is conceived of as a branch (ramo)--the Rifians employ the term azwar, pl. izuran, "vein", in this connection--of a dharfiqth or or lineage group, is very apt. The use of a term such as "ascending", however, depends entirely on which way one looks at Rifian tribal segmentation: from the bottom up (nuclear family to tribe) or from the top down (tribe to family).

We have found, however, that, except in the single instance of the recitation of their own personal antecedents in unilinear progression to the ancestor who forms the "apex" of the lineage, Moroccan tribesmen invariably tend to give the segmentation of their own tribes starting from the top and working downwards. In the Rif, [631] indeed, this approach to the segmentary system is greatly reinforced [681] by the method of dividing up the fines (r-haqq) imposed upon murderers by the members of the tribal council. The division of such fines follows traditional segmentary lines as closely as possible; in such instances where this is not possible (and they are very few, only occurring in cases of territorial discontinuity among the larger lineages), it follows the next best thing, the territorial system, which is in essence nothing but the lineage system spread out spatially on the ground.

21--The term "canton" is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930), and is [634] also employed by Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African [114] Studies, vol. IX, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 91. It [113] is a valid enough designation for the watershed canyon, ravine and gorge-studded districts of the higher mountains in the Rif (Konrad Niche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen", in Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1956-1956, Vienna 1957, pp. 485-527, also employs the term Talschaften for similar districts in the Western Atlas), but loses its force if one attempts to apply it to the Plain of Alhusaima or the open rolling country of the Eastern Rif.

22--Khums (Rifian dhakhammasth) means "fifth", and is used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments, such as the Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen (among whom, in fact, this alignment seems to have little functional significance), Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith Wurishik and Aith Sa'id. Furthermore, when it is said of any tribe that it "has five 'fifths'", this is an implicit admission that the tribe in question is a strong one. For a structural-functional analysis of the "fifth" among the Aith Waryaghar and elsewhere, see David M. Hart, "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65-95.

[114] Far more common in Rifian parlance, however, is ar-rba', pl. rurbu', literally "fourth" or "quarter", which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 91) has equated with "canton", and in doing so, has noted that,

3. COUNCILS, WARFARE AND ALLIANCES

614
619
623
634

A) The Agraw:

The agraw is a meeting or convening of all the adult Rifian males in a clan or tribe who are capable of supporting their opinions by force of arms. It is an assembly of all men who carry rifles, and it has almost unlimited attributes, among which the major ones are:

a) Declaration of war and of all that this embodies (organization of attack and defense, organization of harka-s or war-parties, contingents which are levied up for distant expeditions, and establishment of agreements of friendship or alliance with neighboring tribes).

b) Guarding the security and honor of its component family and kin groups (making common cause with them, supporting them with force if necessary, and acting as mediators); thus, when the interests of any individual or of his kinsmen are harmed, and he is incapable of defending his rights, the councilmembers claim the resulting damages in his name, and, in order to obtain them, they either very soon have to take up arms, or wait and work out an alliance with other igrawn, or convoke the agraw of the group one step up the ladder.

The agraw may be on a village (or hamlet), "fractional" (or clan), or tribal level, and the only difference between these three levels lies in the number of councillors who attend the meeting on each one....The agraw is convoked by mqaddimin or shiyukh[1]; by word of mouth, by arqqas or messenger (gunshots by day or bonfires--thafgirth, pl. thifgirin--at night, in case of alarm, and in both instances by cries transmitted from hilltop to hilltop, from village to village, and from mountain to plain).

[202]

5: Blanco Izaga / G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

634 623 614 619 562 722 Every man who carries a rifle drops whatever he is doing and goes immediately to the council site, leaving his house, interests and work in the fields to his women, who collect all their movable property, animals and children, in case they have to move, and await the news, quickly transmitted, with anxiety, while they decide upon their place of retirement (usually the house of some relative) and form a line of sentries, together with the older children. Here they follow, with analogous emotions, the events of the fight, if there is one, and await its outcome....Once the men have arrived at the site of the alarm, or more often at a generally determined meeting site (agraw), they start to look, without orders or signals, for their kinsmen and neighbors who have arrived or are just arriving. They are always careful to seek a spatially dominant position, and remain grouped together some little distance from the other groups which are also being formed, completing a circle, in the interior of which only the chiefs, who are rapidly informed of the matter and of the opinions of their subordinates, may enter. Such opinions are impassioned ones, as they have been forged (in case of alarm) on the spur of the moment, on the basis of what those who echo them have heard, or on the basis of what is going on around them; one can distinguish the feverish voices of the kinsmen and friends of the injured party, who want immediate reparation.

634 623 614 619 692 In this heated atmosphere the delineation by the chiefs of the matter at hand begins; they are attentive not so much to what happens in their own little circle, but to the stormy atmosphere being created on the outside one and pressing in on them....If the matter is one of

634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
619
692 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
681 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside circle).[2 & 3]

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
614
623 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
628 ....Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
721 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare.... Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities. This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared beforehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
(624) surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[14] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[15]

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[16] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency.[17] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family.[18] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

---

sians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[14] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[15] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[16] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[17] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[18] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[30]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[30] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[30] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

/175 cont./

000 a canton of the east and a canton of the west. During the last century their struggle was carried on without respite, with the backing of the neighboring tribes. When ʿAbd el Kerim, master of the Rif and of the Jbel, decided in 1925 to make Targist the redoubt of his defense, the memory of the internal divisions was still so alive that he had to name a "pasha" to the command of each of the hostile cantons.

631 634 619 XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- Perhaps, however, in this part of the Rif it is difficult to find out by means of what institution the canton preserves its personality and its own life; the underlying cause of this state of division of the country into small units of equal importance seems less apparent and more mysterious here than anywhere else. In fact, we no longer find councils of notables made up in so precise a way as in the western Jbel and the Moroccan South. In the high valleys that descend from the Tidighin, it is all the warriors under arms who come to be present at the deliberations of the village, of the "khoms," or of the tribe. The assembly then takes the name of "agrao" (1).

1. Berbère /Berber/ "agrao," plur. "igraoun," noun derived from the verb "grou," to meet (Biarnay, Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif /Study of the Berber Dialects of the Rif/, p. 70). The "agrao" corresponds to the "ajmoʿa" of the Ida Ou Tanan, to the "jemaʿa" of Kabylie /Kabylia/.

631 634 619 792 578 Discord and tumult would undoubtedly break out in it very quickly, if the marabouts of the family of the Khemalcha did not practice their arbitration between the hostile parties. Thanks to their pacifying role, these religious leaders colonized the whole country to their advantage and threw a sort of network of zaouïas over the mountains; they are, moreover, clever in the art of stirring up intrigues in order immediately to be able, thanks to their baraka, to stop the conflicts.

/175 cont./

631 619 634 In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still looser (2).

2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" [131] possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. Moreover, the marabouts form a supplementary [792] "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

[578] In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^{c}," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

792 578 /176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the development of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

/176 cont./

631 The "igraoun" become for all the family groups the occasion to
634 measure their strength, and it very often happens, when the tribe
619 is left to itself, that all government disappears to make way for domination by the most bellicose.

Nevertheless, even in these unfavorable circumstances, the feeling of the unity of the territory exists, and, despite private wars, the assembly of the clans that forms the council of the "khoms" still keeps, by a prodigy of collective memory, the precise notion of the territorial limits. One sees it reappear intact when the common interests are threatened.

631 There exist in the north of Morocco, as in the south, above
619 the tribes, larger groups that merit the name of confederations: they are, on the one hand, the Ghomara, made up of nine tribes, between the Ouringa, Chichaouen, and Tigissas, and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair around the Tidighin, who bring together ten. Those are the remains -- the witnesses, one might say -- of two ethnic masses -- Ghomara and Senhaja -- whose struggles have filled almost all the history of the country. We shall soon see how in our time, when the war between the two races is subsiding, there is appearing among the tribes detached from one or the other of the two confederations the idea of league or of political party, which is being substituted for the old belief in a common origin. It is nontheless interesting to observe here that these two confederations, which have best preserved the historic tradition of the two great enemy races of the Senhaja and Ghomara, are only, however, almost inorganic masses of tribes, which have only fragile and poorly defined bonds between them (1).

1. The Ghomara tribes are united above all by their historical traditions. They have, however, kept a meeting center, Aïn Hajer, and a hierarchical order (Beni Bouzra, Beni /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ Gmil, Beni Khaled, Beni Selman, Beni Ziyat, Beni Zedjel, Beni Rzin, Beni Grir, Mtiwa).

S
443
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
[681]

R
S
443
171

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

S
*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
S families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
[121] their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

R XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
•634 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
631 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
171 sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

/294 cont./

634 792 182 This expansion of the religious forces smothers the free political life of the mountain populations, and even when a family head succeeds in dominating the neighboring villages and becoming amghar of an entire khoms, he remains the respectful servant of the holy personages who maintain in the tribes the tradition of Islam, hate of the Christian, and direct, without ever appearing, the debates of the little assemblies.

/295/ It is only where the grip of the marabouts and shorfa relaxes for a time and in the regions that are not entirely given over to private wars that the ambition of the minor amghars can be given free rein for some years. Indeed, we see them appear on the north versant of the chain of the Rif, out of the reach of the zaouias established on the summits, in the tribes of the Ghomara, among the Beni Bou Frah, the Beni Gmil, the Mestasa, and to the south of the Jbel Hammam, in the country of the Gzennaya at the sources of the Nkor, or in the tribe of the Beni Amret.

634 619 Although the internal life of these tribes at the end of the nineteenth century is less well known to us than that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it is nevertheless possible to find again the conditions in which the amghars of the western Rif grew important, up to the moment when the effort attempted by ᶜAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ to constitute a Riffian State made them disappear at a single blow.

619 648 The anarchy in the country and disturbances that occurred in the tribe of the Boqqoya had made necessary, at the beginning of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the sending of a strong harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the organization of the tribes was entrusted to the kaid Boucheta el Baghdadi, of the guich /gish/ of the Sultan, who in our day has become Pasha of Fès /Fez/. The garrisons billeted in the old casbahs of Tafersit and Snada, supported by a small steamer of the sherifian fleet in the bay of Alhucémas, sufficed at this time to restore order. The [614] command of the tribal "khoms" was then entrusted to the chiefs of the most powerful clans, named sheiks for the occasion. The dissensions of the mountain "khoms," which had previously ended

/295 cont./
619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-[171] [681] [434] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] [581] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

/296 cont./

175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
554 succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
182 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
578 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ʿAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

631 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism
692 was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally promi-
556 nent man is generally efficacious since government representatives
554 attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation
571 between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 The national government is well aware of the actual dual
648 organization of political power in the country. While every
556 Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he
619 does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

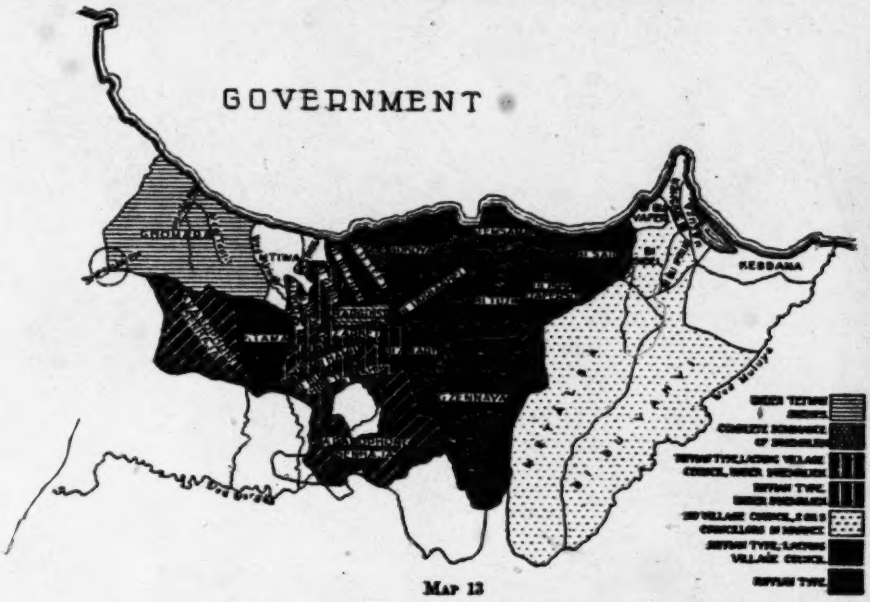
641 To partake in such leadership requires wealth since the trip
648 itself is expensive (the only form of public transportation
556 from the Rif to Rabat is by bus and these men eschew this in
619 favor of splitting the expense of a taxi ride of several hundred
[494] miles) and the per diem allowance is more a token than anything realistic.

Some men have gracefully retired from positions of community leadership because of expenses such as these. If over a period of years one declines to go to such ceremonies because of ill health or pressing familial affairs, the person is quietly dropped from the list of the invited and another local man is
556 substituted. Expenses for maintaining such a social position are not small in relationship to the amount of wealth available even to the better-off Berber. On the other hand, wealth alone does not qualify one for a position of political prominence and social prestige. The importance of a man is based not on his wealth per se but rather what sort of wealth it is and how he came by it. Wealth divorced from such critical factors cannot be translated by the Riffian into socially meaningful significance. To operate within the context of profit is to operate outside the complex of social responsibility and communal soli-
556 darity. Thus while there are entrepreneurs in the Rif, they do
472 not have the social prestige that goes with traditional wealth in land. This distinction could be illustrated by numerous examples but the following cases were selected because they

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 affairs of the *bone* and the council of the great, composed of councillors who concern themselves with the problems of the *canton* and go together to take part in the tribal council in 646 which the function of the *fifth* is to divide the councillors into preliminary alliances.

The type of government just described is limited to the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulichk, Taferait, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, most of Beni Amart (exclusive of the region immediately contiguous with Zarket and Beni Mesduy), and, curiously enough, the Senhajan tribe of Ktama.



MAP 13

619 The following tribes or parts of tribes have the same sort of government, except that the
● 642 village council is lacking, the minor duties accomplished by it in other regions being neglected or else taken over by the council of the great: the Asht Dris of Metalsa; Marnissa, Fenassa, Ulad Azam, Beni Kora, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Zrarka, Beni Krama, and Beni Wenjin, from the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; and all the Western Arabophone Senhaja.

In Targuist is the center of the temporal authority of the marabutic family of Ikhemrijen, who have absolute political control of that tribe, as well as of the northwesterly portion of Beni Mesduy; in Zarket, in the rest of Beni Mesduy, which counts with it, in Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Beni Berber, Taghsuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khemmas, Beni Seddath, and Beni Gmil, the same type of government as that described in the previous paragraph obtains except that the Ikhemrijen dictate to the councils what they shall do, and in fact keep the moderators of these bodies practically in vassalage. In these tribes

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

the Ikhemrijen forbid warfare and alliances, with a result that, as a natural outlet for bellicose exuberance, brigandage is rife.

In the northwestern part of Beni Amart, in the *canton* of Ijaonen, the power of the Ikhemrijen prevents warfare and alliance; otherwise the government is purely Riffian in type.

In the Ghomara the Arab system of government is employed, with the customary alignment of ḳaids (leaders of tribes), khalifas (leaders of *fifths*), and sheikhs (leaders of *cantons*), excepting that all these officers are under the jurisdiction of a marabutic family of Tetuan.

Metalsa, except Asht Dris, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, employ a hybrid form of government in which there is no village council and the council of the great consists only of two or three men who meet in the market to administer justice for the region near it.

Mtiwa, Mestassa, Beni Bu Yafer, Ait Shisher, Mazuza, Kebdana, Muziet, Rgheiwa, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Beni Ulid, Branes, and Burda had fallen completely under the Arab system before the time when Abd el Krim attempted to remodel the government. In the eastern section and in Mtiwa and Mestassa the ḳaid was euphemistically called by the Berber term *amghar* (councillor), and in the Senhajan tribes mentioned the sheikh was called *kebir el jama*, or "great one of the congregation."

DUTIES OF THE VILLAGE COUNCIL

The cases tried by this body and the matters it is required to regulate are as follows (the fines listed are only approximate):

Theft of eggs and of poultry. The thief must pay a fine of thirty dollars. If the culprit is a child, his father appears and pays it.

Theft of maize. Boys who steal early ripening maize are collectively fined five dollars. The injured farmer has the right to pick ripened ears from the terraces of the thieves' parents to the number which he has lost.

Cutting maize in adjoining terraces. Sometimes maize growing in adjoining terraces, owned by different men, ripens at different times. The owner of the later ripening maize may wish to prevent the owner of the other field from cutting his crop until both are ready, through fear that his own maize may be trampled in the process. This situation arises when it is necessary to enter one terrace by passing through the other. In this case the village council enjoins the owner of the early maize to wait until the other is ready.

Breaking branches of fruit trees. If goats or children break branches from a fruit tree, the owner of the tree brings the branch or branches to the mosque, where the village council counts the number of buds on the branch or branches. A *girch* (about five cents) is charged for each bud, the recompense to be paid the owner of the tree, and in addition a fine of twenty dollars must be paid.

Trampling vegetable gardens. This offense is punished by a fine of one to two dollars, with no restitution.

Policing orchards. During the harvest season the members of this body police the orchards of the *bons* during the night to prevent thefts.

Starting the grape picking. The village council, which has charge of allotting poor families to rich ones for the grape picking, exacts a fine of twenty dollars from anyone guilty of picking grapes before the signal is given.

623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collectively that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each representative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present-day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal administrators) to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to reappear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

623 621 571 793 The aziddjif or amghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

616 (social), for a man only goes to his liff when the other two types fail him. Thus we see individuals or groups, when they are helpless, calling for their liffs in defense of their rights or taking refuge with them when, conquered or routed, they abandon their own hearths.

61 621 Tribes and their clans, and jma'ths and their kin groups or dharfiqin are generally divided into two balanced, symmetrical and mutually hostile parties; and it is in such an equilibrium that we find the strength of each group, no matter how insignificant that group may appear, and the weakness of the whole tribe, which is only welded together if threatened from outside.

616 619 621 623 In essence, in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, the innumerable feuds between jma'ths are reduced to two parties, within each council, whose quarrel, perhaps rather than for hegemony, is a dispute of interests. But, in discussing parties, let us rid ourselves of the 642 795 notions which these have for Europeans, either in forms of government or in religion. In such simple questions, Republic[28] and Islam have been in agreement for a long time. The Rifian states were religious republics governed by laymen, we might say. Well and good: above and 616 beyond these quarrels and ferocious feuds, the Aith Waryaghar knew how to ally themselves, absolutely independently of these, to other groups, indicating that the motive forces which underlay each class of alli- 619 ance were different[29]. Thus we see, for example, how the five khmas (sing. khums) of the Aith Waryaghar were allied or opposed to each other, and how they constituted two mutually hostile bands; the Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abd Allah on one side, and the rest on the other[30]. In my opinion, these two bands represent the most obvious

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by iziddjifen or imgharen".

2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided
(682) up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for instance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clans in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an agraw, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97, and Coon, Flesh of the Wild Ox, New York: Morrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igzinnayen, who pronounce the word ayraw.

(628) 4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why:
(114) because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

5--The term harka did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a tabur), each one of which was under a qa'id designated by the number of men under his command--qa'id at-tn'ash (of 12), qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin (of 25), qa'id l-khamsin (of 50), qa'id l-Miya (of 100), and qa'id attabur (of a tabur, or 300).
(177) However, the idea of the harka had been there previously, even if the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

6--In actual fact, those imgharen already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

(602) 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native harkas in Spanish service.

(114) 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, todo el mundillo rifeño, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

616 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic",
619 "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several
642 previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though
114

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al-Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 60 829 [171] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [171] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[614] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 621 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

have just said, a personage who does not show up in any qanun as discharging his office or as even providing the most minimal and non-transcendent representation, for in the one qanun in which we finally discover him (the qanun commented upon here) we have already shown that he hides himself modestly and even effacingly behind the camouflage of two other shiyukh. The result is that not even in the big list, in the listing of "the fat ones" (i.e. the enumeration of the clan brothers of each of the imagharen of importance), does this ambitious man gain first prize, the individual who seizes this being an opulent and lay tribesman whose preeminence clearly gives a clue to the psychology of the talib who drafted the qanun as well as to that of his constituents.

And, reflecting upon bases like these, it is well to ask what reasons or exigencies the first protectorate functionaries felt, discounting both imitative and ignorant ones in order to orient their policies toward big qa'ids who, even if their stature has been diminished, are no longer to be seen for sure anywhere.

To impose upon the tribes more or less significant personalities, representatives of concentrated power, when, subdivided ad infinitum, they unite in their opposition to all types of personal power, is always an ungrateful undertaking and one full of surprises, as practice has shown us....when power is imposed from above.[84]

In the Rif, where all are personalities, only a mass-oriented political system, and not one oriented toward individuals, can bear fruit.[85] The enforced utilization of one or even several dozen persons of some importance serves no purpose if this does not benefit the mass, taking up its aspirations and satisfying its needs, anxious for freedom

R 642 and justice, and so opposed to sharifian and Qur'anic feudalism in theory and practice.....

S 671 9. QANUN OF THE TRIBE OF AITH SIDDAT[86]:

A) Qanun:

S 619 681 Praise be to God. The tribe of Bani Siddat convened to agree that (Blanco: note a) whoever should commit a murder in the above-mentioned tribe shall pay 500 duros, (Blanco: note b) but in case several (individuals should be involved in the commission) of the crime, each one shall pay the above quantity of 500 duros; (Blanco: note c) that, if a thief should penetrate the house of someone and be killed by the owner of the house, there shall be no way in which proceedings can be brought against the latter except if there should previously have existed some matter (of disagreement) between both, in which case (the abovementioned owner) shall have no recourse other than to make good what was established in the agreement; (Blanco: note d) any individual, in case he should attack someone, although the attack be frustrated, and in spite of the fact that he be repulsed and killed, shall pay what has been agreed upon, (Blanco: note e) and against the one who repulsed him there shall be no way in which proceedings can be brought; (Blanco: note f) whoever (should fire) a shot shall be fined one-fourth of the amount agreed upon above, and (Blanco: note g) whoever inflicts a wound shall be fined one-half; (Blanco: note h) whoever should attack with stones or wound his fellow man (literally, "brother") shall be fined 50 mithqals and 1 duro in the coinage of Makhzin; (Blanco: note i) whoever should insult a woman with obscene and dishonest words shall be fined 50 mithqals and 1 duro

121 related to subsistence are dictated by a different order of
556 practical considerations and ideological commitments than
433 obtain as the dominating factors in industrial society.

121 It has been an on-going dispute in anthropological
114 literature about whether such an economy as that of the Rif
433 is susceptible to the same sort of treatment that marks the study of market-oriented, industrial society. Polanyi began the dispute by pointing out that the rules of choice upon which most economic theory rests are based on a particular social and economic model which has only limited applicability. He noted that the economic behavior of the participants of an industrial society was largely induced by the institution of the market. The difficulty in such economic analysis comes, of course, when we study societies in which the market is not the primary focal point of the economy.

121 In Rif society the marketplace is peripheral to the
433 economy. This condition is due in part to historical and
443 ecological factors which have influenced the evolution of a particular kind of social organization in which each local community has grown inwardly dependent on its own social and economic resources. The Rif has, until recently, been part
121 433 of the bled-as-siba, or the land outside the administrative
642 control of the Moroccan government. Thus, one of the major social factors in the history of the Rif was the absence of centralized political authority. This lack of a political factor in integrating the economy has directly influenced the

121 system by which resources are distributed. In the absence of
433 such a factor, the economy developed as a reflection of the
642 social organization wherein well-being depended on relatives, friends, the good-will of the spirits and God, all supporting one another.

121 The data upon which this study is based were collected
[126] from two villages in adjoining tribes in the Central Rif. The economy of individual families within the villages was studied, as well as how these local communities articulate with each other and with the wider Moroccan social and economic structure. The principal foci of the investigation were the reciprocal relations between kinsmen and neighbors, the relation of property to prestige, ritual obligations and magical predilection, and the general effects of the indigenous system of social relations on the consumption and distribution of resources.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

/240 cont./

628 But in these less wild regions, the periods of calm are never-
182 theless short and do not leave these rudimentary institutions
642 /241/ time to perfect themselves. Anarchy and fights by fam-
ilies infuriated by vengeances have never permitted the Riffians
to know a government by regularly elected leaders, changed in
628 turn, or the use of common funds. Only the holy-war treasuries,
652 organized by pious establishments, existed at all times. Hate
721 for the Christian can indeed dominate the strongest feelings;
798 whatever may be the violence of the disputes that divide them,
182 the notables always agree enough to go shares in small sums of
money intended for the purchase of bullets in order to go to aim
at the detested soldiers of the "Peñon" /Rock/ of Alhucemas or
Badès (1).

[113] 1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 89 and sqq.

000 XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- It is above all between the social organization of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the French conquest and that of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ that it is possible to multiply the comparisons in order to find profound analogies under the apparent differences. It is easy, as a matter of fact, to see that the small republics of the Tichka or of the Jbel Kest, sequestered in the high valleys of the South of Morocco, and the ones that have grown and prospered on the summits of the Djurjura live with similar institutions, share the same positive and limited ideal, suffer from identical ills, and are subject to the same rules of existence, to the same laws of development.

The territory of the "ᶜarch" is, as we have seen, equivalent to that of a small "taqbilt" of the Sous; both form, in the free state, autonomous and often even independent political units. But in one of the regions the slight density of the population of a country where human life is difficult, in the other the

621
631
[619]

H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the [648] Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The [643] mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

621
631
131

1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari clan) is also

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif MX3

623 minor points of difference, the men let them arbitrate and set fines
867 of a few eggs or loaves of bread, for their own consumption. Having thus learned the routine of sitting in judgment and also some of the oral qanūns, the boys are ready for the serious business ahead.

623 Once a week, when the nearest market meets, the older men of
627 the neighboring villages, corresponding to the "brains" of the Kabyles, meet in a house just off the grounds, or in good weather, under a tree. Over glasses of tea they settle any disputes which may
628 come up in the market or which litigants may bring them. When
619 more serious matters arise, such as the trouble between the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmut, the councilors of a single geographical unit, consisting of several clans, come together. They must be fed, and it is in the interest of the feuding parties to make a speedy settlement, with fines and blood money. Fines go to the councilors, who eat part and divide the rest. Blood money goes to the kin of the wounded or dead. If these councilors cannot settle the problem, the "fifth" is invoked—the whole series of little valleys and watershed cantons which forms the next largest political unit. Some tribes have only one "fifth," but Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel each have five. If the "fifth" cannot settle the dispute, and the bloodshed spreads, then all the fifths join in. If the whole tribe is embroiled, the councilors of another tribe may invade and catch them unawares, to their great loss. The longer the fight remains unsettled the greater the number of participants, each new and larger body trying to capitalize on the confusion of the partisans.

It can be readily seen that few troubles reach intertribal proportions. This device of government in depth works. Feuding keeps the population down, and the fear of interference keeps the feud isolated and within bounds. Chronic troublemakers, and those who break the rules, must go. On the other hand when some outside force threatens more than a small portion of the Rif, the mechanism is at hand for all to unite, forcefully if ephemerally. The elders of one clan perform a compulsion of shame on another, thus forcing them into alliance, called *lif*, as elsewhere. As the danger grows, so
643 does the lif. In this manner 'Abd el-Krīm (who had been educated by
721 the Spaniards) set up a government of the whole Rif, which defeated Spain in two great battles in 1921 and 1924, and but for the use of aircraft and tanks by his enemy, might have held the French army indefinitely at bay. No sultan had ever been able to conquer this classic corner of the Land of Insolence, which is all the more remark-

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1

R
643
721
R
721
701

Rif mx 3
Pashtun

able since much of it is not mountain at all, but open rolling country.

The Riffians are tough fighters. They won Spain for Franco, on a promise of freedom given them on the Yellow Plain of Ktama. One of them, ʿAbd el-Krīm's jailer, once told me that he gave the Christian prisoners dirt mixed in their bread; this is nothing to what the Christians have done to them, which, out of deference to the sensitivity of my readers, I shall not print here. Needless to say, the Riffians buried no one alive in anthills, nor have their women hacked any prisoners to shreds. Having never visited the Pathans, I cannot make the same denial for them with as much conviction, but until shown otherwise I shall continue to believe that these tales come out of the same volume of fiction.

R
771
609
731

Reading about the Pathans, however, reminds me much of the Riffians, with a few differences. The Riffians live in wetter and more fertile country, with more vegetation, and, although good Muslims, make little display of their religious feelings. They keep the fast and all the main feasts, adding a few of their own. The older men refuse to smoke, and some even refuse tea. They confined Jews to a few coastal settlements, notably Bades and Melilla, while Christians were not admitted at all, before the days of ʿAbd el-Krīm, who let in Gordon Canning, Vincent Sheean, and a few others without demanding previous conversion. One is told that the Pathans are "fanatical," but this again may be a form of general xenophobia channeled through the symbolic mechanism of religion.

m
619
628

The Pathans also are organized in tribes, divided into subtribes, partitioned into sections, split into clans, which are made up of patrilineal extended families.[9] Each family, clan, section, and subtribe has its head man, who represents his group in the *jirga,* or representative council of the group just above him. Like the Asht Arbaʿin, these councils convene to attempt to settle matters of dispute between their constituent members. Irrigation quarrels and cattle rustling are the chief business of the smaller jirgas, while adultery and murder draw the full tribal council, presided over by its chief officer, the khan. Like the amīn of a Kabyle village, he is often no more than a moderator. In case of murder, the killer flees the tribal territory at

[9] See H. Hörhager, *Die Volkstumsgrundlagen der Indischen nordwest-grenz Provinz* (Heidelberg, 1943). M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies* (London, 1825). C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the Northwest Frontier, 1890-1908.*

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

son. In this way certain *veins* within each *bone* manage to control the seats of that *bone* within the council of the great, but if a man of great ability arises in a *vein* of eligible standing which has not previously sent a representative, the old men may be forced by expediency to send him rather than a member of their own *vein*, who may be of mediocre ability. Sometimes, however, a councillor is chosen who is exceptionally stupid and incapable of expressing himself well in deliberations. Such a councillor is chosen for his physical strength and fighting ability, since deliberations of these bodies often end in pitched battles; two or three intelligent men may be enough to bear the brunt of the mental labor involved, and the others can serve as valuable henchmen in a crisis.[1]

The council of the great meets in the common mosque of the *canton*, under the olive trees by a stream, in the house of one of its members, in market (see plate 30), or wherever it pleases the members to convene. The councillors elect a *mokaddem* as moderator and spokesman.

The councillors of each *canton* in the tribe go together, in time of crisis, to a place agreed upon, called the *ayarau* (which means also "tribal council"). This meeting place has no fixed locality, but depends upon mutual convenience. The councillors enter by groups and sit down on the ground huddled together, the various groups forming a circle. Each *fifth* occupies a section of the circle and its councils of *cantons* are contiguous. The moderator of each council talks, generally in a whisper, to its members, until a common attitude in regard to the subject of the meeting is agreed upon. The moderator now having, as it were, received the instructions of his constituency, approaches the center of the circle, where he squats down with the other moderators in a nuclear circle. The councillors left on the outer ring finger their rifles and generally express their readiness to defend their spokesman in case he enters into a violent argument; the moderators likewise hold their gun butts against the ground with their fingers clasping the trigger guard. They discuss the matter at hand, all talking at once or whenever they please, since there is no chief moderator at this meeting, and for one member to bid another be silent would be considered ample excuse for murder. The moderators of a *fifth* usually agree within themselves, and the argument soon devolves into consideration of how many *fifths* favor one opinion and how many the other. A moderator of one *fifth* may lead aside an influential moderator of another and whisper to him outside the ring of councillors, trying to win him over to his way of thinking by arguments and promises of bribery. If the moderator so entreated succumbs to this persuasion he returns to the central ring and tries to change the attitude of the other representatives of his *fifth*. In this way the parley goes on and on until an unanimous decision is reached or until the councillors begin fighting between themselves and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In the latter case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay an indemnity to the other. Even when the tribal council ends peacefully it often takes a week or more before an agreement is reached.

We thus see that the deliberative bodies in Riffian government are really composed of but two sets of members, the village council composed of adolescents who handle the small

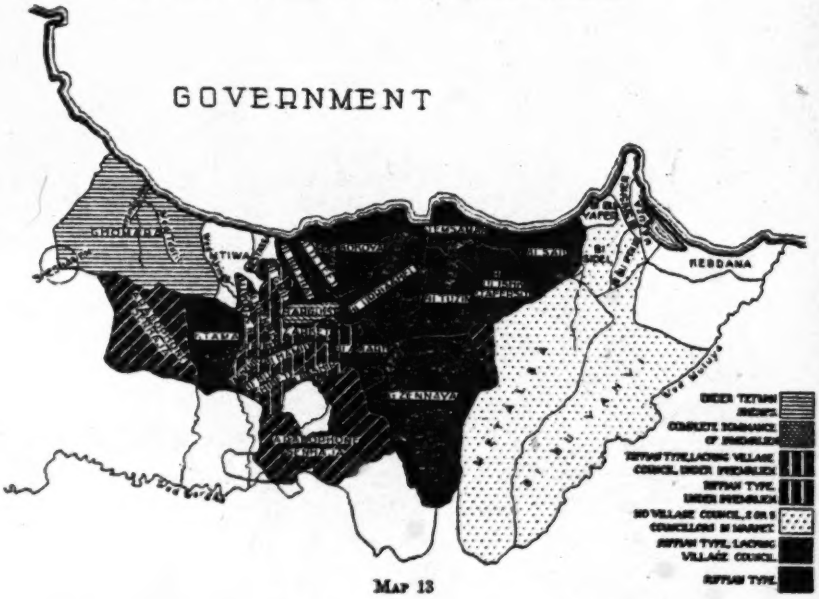
[1] During the combats with Spain in the last three decades, certain councillors have arisen from time to time who have acted as virtual dictators. Among these were Moh Aserkan of the Beni Urriaghel, Hajj Bukkeish of the Gaennaya, and, more widely known than the others, Abd el Krim. The rise of such dictators is psychologically un-Riffian; in these cases it was brought about by too late a realization of the necessity of union against a common foe.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 affairs of the *bone* and the council of the great, composed of councillors who concern themselves with the problems of the *canton* and go together to take part in the tribal council in which the function of the *fifth* is to divide the councillors into preliminary alliances.

646

The type of government just described is limited to the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Gsennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Bokoya, Beni Ittaft, Beni Bu Frah, most of Beni Amart (exclusive of the region immediately contiguous with Zarket and Beni Mesduy), and, curiously enough, the Senhajan tribe of Ktama.



MAP 13

619 The following tribes or parts of tribes have the same sort of government, except that the village council is lacking, the minor duties accomplished by it in other regions being neglected or else taken over by the council of the great: the Asht Dris of Metalsa; Marnissa, Fenassa, Ulad Azam, Beni Kora, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Zrarka, Beni Krama, and Beni Wenjin, from the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja; and all the Western Arabophone Senhaja.

642

In Targuist is the center of the temporal authority of the marabutic family of Ikhemrijen, who have absolute political control of that tribe, as well as of the northwesterly portion of Beni Mesduy; in Zarket, in the rest of Beni Mesduy, which counts with it, in Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Beni Berber, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Gmil, the same type of government as that described in the previous paragraph obtains except that the Ikhemrijen dictate to the councils what they shall do, and in fact keep the moderators of these bodies practically in vassalage. In these tribes

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 The councillors go in a body, taking with them twenty or more girls adept at singing and dancing, hired musicians, a bull or cow, two or three mules laden with bread, and quantities of tea, sugar, and candles. The cost of the presents and the fees of the musicians are paid out of money collected in fines.

DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 692 The task of the tribal council is to render judgment, exact fines, and destroy property in cases of adultery caught in the act, murder, and woundings; to make decisions as to tribal alliances in warfare; and to interfere with internal fights in other tribes.

Adultery caught in the act. A husband who surprises his wife in the act of adultery has 684 the traditional privilege of killing the man, removing his genitals and placing them in the mouth of his corpse, killing his wife, and ripping her from pubis to diaphragm with a knife. 837 This action is a privilege and not a duty. Many husbands are physically unable to do so; others are disinclined; still others mutilate their wives by cutting off the fleshy parts of their noses and let them go. One instance is known in Gzennaya of a man who thrust live coals into his wife's vagina and then released her. In at least half the cases, recently at any rate, no revenge is taken on the woman, her divorce and disgrace being considered ample punishment.

When the members of the tribal council hear of this event, they leave whatever they are 646 doing and go as rapidly as possible to the adulterer's house. This they burn; they impose a 684 fine of one thousand dollars or thereabouts, depending on the usage of the tribe, and on the importance of the *bone*. The fine is accepted either in cash, livestock, land, or in all three. 692 When land and livestock are taken they are sold on the spot, not by bidding but by arbitrary prices, fair to the victim, placed on each animal or portion of land. If the proceeds of the sale exceed the amount of the fine, the balance is returned to the *bone* of the adulterer. If the adulterer and the adulteress belong to different *bones* the burden of the fine is shared between the *bones*. If the adulterer has survived the vengeance of the injured man he must 586 leave the tribe forever. Women who survive go back to their families, forcibly divorced and forbidden to marry again.

After the cash of the fine is in hand, it is divided among the *fifths*, each receiving an 684 equal share, to be divided evenly among each *canton* composing the *fifth*. Thus the *canton* of the offenders receives back a portion of the money which some of its members have paid. It often refuses to accept this, in which case the money goes to the actual payers. *Cantons* friendly with that of the adulterer may likewise refuse to accept, and their money too is returned.

646 *Wounding.* When one man wounds another, the tribal council comes to the offender's 692 house and exacts a fine of five hundred dollars after questioning the councillor or councillors 683 belonging to the offending *bone*. The fine is always paid by the *bone* as a whole, whether the blood money is or not.

646 *Murder.* When one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts 692 down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If the man and his *bone* refuse to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members 683 of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several 621 months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which has refused has no allies, it seldom wins,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

but there are few *bones* without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The *bone* which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another *fifth*, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses being caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council.

A *bone* may thus be expelled from a tribe, permanently or temporarily. A *bone* which is continually making trouble and causing feuds may be the subject of a special meeting of the tribal council, which decides to exile it from the tribe either permanently or for a given number of years. Killing people on Mohammedan feast days or during the month of Ramadan is one of the strongest reasons for the expulsion of a *bone*.

This habit of exiling *bones* has been going on for so long that there are today numerous colonies of exiled Riffians living outside the Rif. Such are colonies of Beni Urriaghel in Oran and in Tangier; of Beni Amart in Ain Leuh, on the Wergha; of Beni Amart and Beni Hadifa at Arneila, on Wed Teheris; of Beni Tuzin at Zerhoun; of Temjunt of Gzennaya in Ain Mediuna (Beni Gzin); of Beni Yunes of Gzennaya at el Kob, in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Ulid; and the Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iherrushen of Gzennaya at el Mta outside of Fez. Most of these exiles could now go back if they so wished, but they have been away for so long, in many cases for generations, that they no longer have any desire to return.

Sometimes a murder spreads into a feud and from a feud into a war so rapidly that before a tribal council can come together to deliberate the councillors find themselves fighting on one side or another, in a tribal war.

Murder often leads to immediate revenge, and immediate revenge to a feud between *bones*. The feud may be a bitter one, in fact a pitched battle, in which may join other *bones* allied of old to one or other of the principal combatants. Most allies, however, are made anew on the occasion of each war. An alliance is called *liff*; it belongs more properly under the heading of magic than under that of political organization, but must be discussed at this point if the complexities of Riffian warfare are to be understood.

A *liff* is a shame-compulsion laid by one *bone* on another, a magical act which forces the second *bone* into alliance with, or at least toleration of, the other. By making *liff* with a number of other *bones*, a *bone* may increase its fighting force many times, and by both sides industriously making *liff* with others, a general war starts, in which there may not remain enough of the tribal council to make its convening worth while.

623
621
571
793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of
623
184 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who,
343
624 through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

646
614
[623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in, and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

646 authority could obtain for himself by entreaty the representation of
646 popular sovereignty. This representation gives him social prestige,
554 a prestige which in the Rif can only be won through bravery, ability or wealth. Beside it, the religious power, also represented by virtuous men, served most of the time only to decorate by their persons, to legalize by their presence, and to preserve with their spiritual power the most solemn agreements. Once such prestige was acquired, it could even be consecrated, as it were, in a written title (such as the Qanun of Lower Thamasint), but this meant ultimately the beginning of personal power and the abandonment of a democratic organization[101].....Such representation won through the personal courage and effort of those who wanted it was given a measure of authority and permanence, a fact which obliges (1935) extraordinary prudence in Spanish nominations of tribal notables--for the original lack of prestige of most functionaries of the Makhzin follows them all their lives as a shadow follows a body.....In a tribe which I
[123] once administered there appeared a new qa'id. The news reached me,
[124] and I wanted to find out in a superficial manner how the nomination had been received; but wherever and whenever I mentioned the word "qa'id", the people I talked to called the man amzir, or "blacksmith"--the Rifian is a master when it comes to establishing social categories!.....Another typical case: among the Aith Waryaghar it was very common in an agrau or council meeting for one of those attending to get to his feet suddenly and express his own opinion at an opportune moment. The igrawn were popular assemblies and many people attended them, each man coming armed and gesticulating with his rifle,

646 554 although not all of them with the same degree of forcefulness. Anyone may speak, although the majority, as elsewhere, are silent. A spontaneous speaker caused the same sensation, stupor and curiosity as those like him in Spain do in the bull-ring, and the result was almost the same. An amqqran or councilmember interrupted him, saying "You here, you have just made the gesture of a stupid idiot," and the poor man, reddened and embarrassed, was silent amid general noise and quarreling, which the ingenious councilmember smilingly recalled in later years.....Another incident: once a man whom I did not know was proposed to me as a candidate for a position of tribal authority, and I wanted to find out about him. I began a series of questions and reflections regarding the virtues which anyone nominated would have to possess, such as honor, ability, etc. I was, however, surprised to find the person to whom I was talking interrupt me, saying quickly, "No, no, no! You think he is like So-and-so?" (And So-and-so was a very short-statured men, as I myself am.) "Not at all, he is thus!" With this the speaker, a big, fat fellow, raised his shoulders up with a graphic gesture, thumping his chest and laughing, saying that nobody could willingly argue about his own authority.

646 554 124

Among Rifians, then, names of tribal functionaries seem literally and faithfully to interpret the idea of the function involved, as amghar and amqqran both convey the idea of "big, adult, old". This is reflected in the qanuns when, in reference to those attending a meeting, prior to inscribing a list of the names of the notables present, those who drew up the qanun in question were very

646 554 829 [671]

646 554 829 691 careful to state that all those at the convocation were the "majors" and the "minors" (los grandes y pequeños)[102] of such and such a place. The written titles or nominations of functionaries, and the pompous Arabic names of qa'id, qadi and mqaddim, with which some men like to adorn their names in order to astonish simpletons and impress strangers, are only of value inside their own houses (author's italics), just as the titles of doctor and coronel formerly were in certain South 554 American republics! In the Rif, there was, in pre-'Abd al-Krim days, no qa'id and no qadi[103]; only imgharen and igrawn, iziddjifen, dharfiqin and turba, the last-mentioned being warlike amanuenses whose fingers are better suited to hilt or trigger than to pen, while the other names are the most definite external indices of the degree 554 of Islamization[104] of those who possess them. We will not speak here 648 of such fantastic personages as the bu-mwarith[105] or the ukil l-ghuyab[106] and other shadowy figures recently created by the Spanish protectoral administration, who will probably soon disappear if not taken proper care of!

623 646 554 6) Resume of Rifian Tribal Functionaries (given even though Rifians tend to confuse them among themselves!):

a) the iziddjifen, "headmen", or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th.

b) the imqqranen, "big ones" (or imgharen, pl. of amghar), the representatives elected by the jma'th (author's italics) for its own prestige, and the delegates of the latter territorial unit in the clan council, whose habitual meeting site was the market, and whose job it was to make the law.

c) the aith(th)arba'in, or "people of the forty"[107], delegates representing the clan in the tribal council or agrau, which convened when circumstances required it (danger external to the clan or to the tribe, or murder). In theory, there were eight delegates from each khums (in tribes, which, like Aith Aryaghar were divided into five khmas), but they were given the same name even if they totaled less than forty.[108]

d) the amghar n-suq, or "market chief"[109], a person who by virtue of his position or energy took care, with his kinsmen, of policing the market, of small incidents which might occur within it, etc.

e) the abarrah, or market crier.[110]

f) the amarras, or silo guardian (in the Eastern Rif only).

G) Free Professions (fragmentary):

a) Low Class Public Functionaries: criers and weighers in markets.

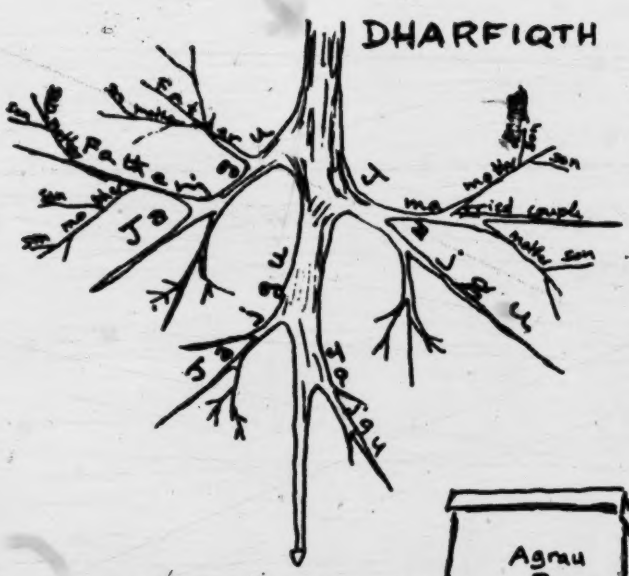
b) Free Professions: merchants, healers, weavers, carpenters and masons.

c) Lowest Scale: musicians and dancers.[111]

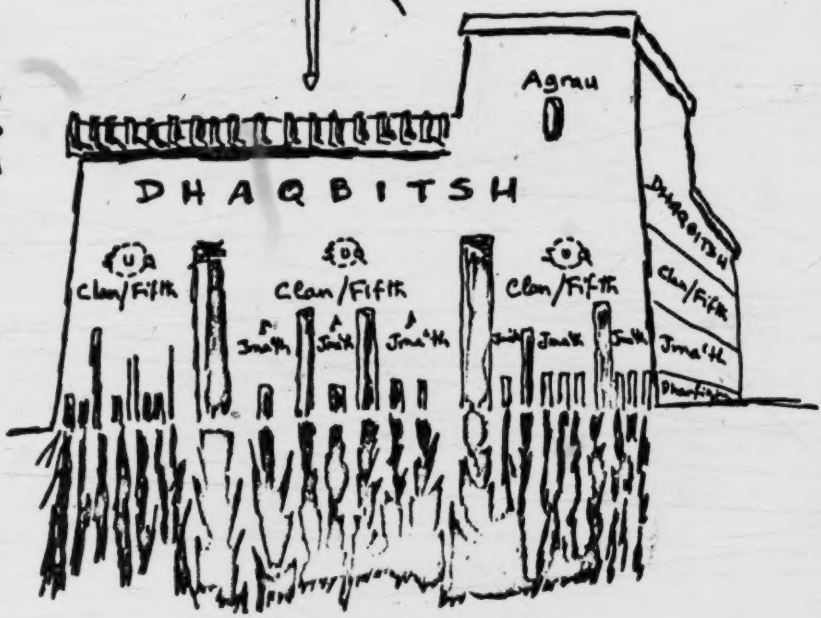
d) Ibarudiyen: real imqqranen, possibly the most highly regarded ones in the tribe. Invited to feasts, they enacted scenes of war. Generally, two of them faced each other and improvised dialogue, while firing off their rifles[112]. These ibarudiyen were the Rifian counterpart of dramatic actors; and even in this simple detail of lack of

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

613
596



619
613
614
623
646
621



[P. 127-A]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

594
596
613
621
623
646
619

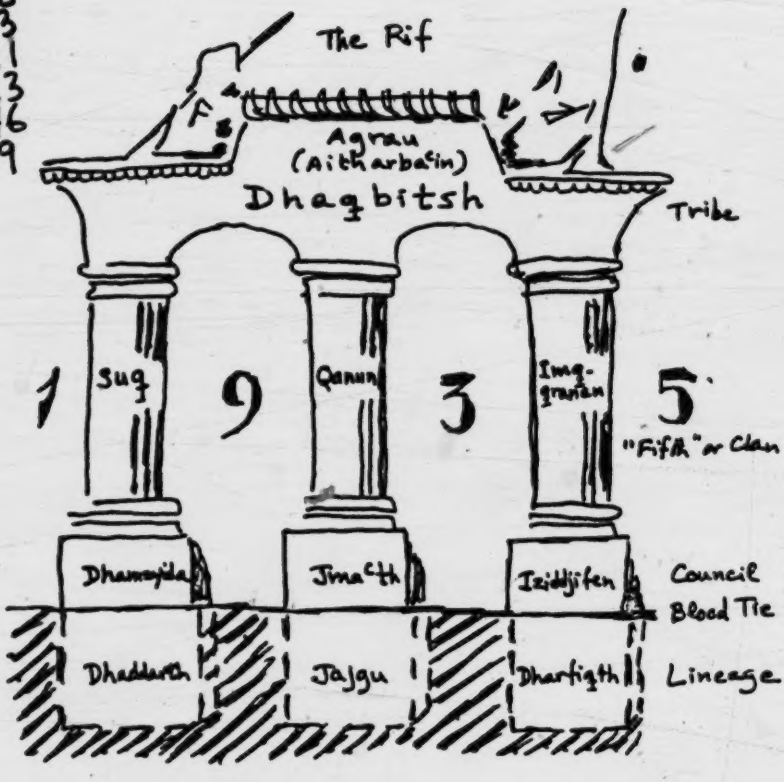


Diagram of Rifian Social Structure

[P. 127-B]

535
536
463
554
182

organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

613
594
596
182

We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

619
646
182

614
623
621
182

These jma'ths, the internal lives of which were regulated by the custom governing the original mountain jma'th, continued as tributaries of the latter[133], enjoying the benefits of such a status (participation in the collection of fines, contributions to the fqih)[134] until, as we have seen, the new nucleus, beginning to stand out more and more as a result of its growth, importance and distance from the parent jma'th, succeeded in emancipating itself from the latter through its own discords and ambitions.[135]

But it is difficult to determine at precisely what moment the new jma'th came of age, as it is to determining everything else, even including finding out the designations in nomenclature of its representatives. This designation is not that of amin, as among the Kabyles of Algeria, a word which, taken over from Arabic, is one which does not permit a confusion of its administrative significance, an individual function, with that of the jma'th, which has a collective mqaddim, a term also adopted from Arabic and employed by certain Berber groups in the Western Atlas, for the personage of the mqaddim also has that function as well as the inadmission of that of the shaikh, which more than one person in Aith Waryaghar attributes to himself and which figures even in documents. These terms, however, do not demonstrate any more than the anarchy which the people have attained, and the forgetting of their own racial (sic!) characteristics[136]; as such words among Rifians can have no meaning nor can they be given any importance greater than those of "colonel" and "doctor" in the South American republics. These are strange nicknames (sic), for to the Rifian, as to any Berber, they say nothing if they are to be considered

typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have depreciated and is now dormant.

The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign, such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of I-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

623 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north to Thamasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid, May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are forbidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 562 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

613 621 616 182 This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 701 Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

● 646 619 The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613 When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

---

[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
62 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an arictocracy known
623 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
619 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

175
● 648

[For a few brief historical notes on Morocco from the mid 16th century to 1912, see the MX3 Rif file, 5: Blanco Izaga, Category 116, pp. 16-18.]

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith Tuzin, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Banī 'Arūs in the Jībāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

443
648
771

tial functions of the market by supplying in with a permanent site has served to bring its very great cultural significance into even sharper relief (22).

Islām in Aith Wuryāghil is much the same as it is in the rest of Berber Morocco. The Wuryāghlis observe the «Five Pillars» (profession on faith, prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, legal almsgiving and the pilgrimage to Makka) as rigorously as they can, but extremely few have ever managed to make the long and costly trip to the holy places of Arabia. Riffian Islām is essentially a popular Islām, and is manifested chiefly by regular attendance at the cantonal mosque for the noonday prayer on Fridays, by veneration of local saints (Riffian *imrābdhen*, sig. *amrābidh*; Arabic *murābiṭīn*, sing. *murābiṭ*) and by belief in supernatural beings (angels, *jnūn* and a local ogress of hideous appearance called *thamza*, who eats babies and is more or less equivalent to the 'Ā'isha Qandīsha of the Moroccan Arabs). As elsewhere in the Muslim world, heathen survivals in religious ritual are numerous. The people of Aith Wuryāghil and of the Central Rīf in general are, however, not as ridden by superstition as those of the Jibāla and the Ghumāra. In the Rīf, Tamsamān enjoys a far more religious reputation than Aith Wuryāghil, whose name has always been linked more with warfare.

The principal zāwiyas (Ar. *zāwiya*, pl. *zuwāwī*) are those of Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir in Aith Ḥadīfa, Tashtīwen in Jabal Ḥammām (Iḥwaḥwaḥīyen of Aith 'Abdallāh), Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ḥājj Mis'ūd in Aith Turīrth (Aith La'ārs), Aith Fārs in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Ighmīren), Zāwiya 'Alāwīyīn in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (ar-Rabḍa), and Sīdī 'Aisā, Sīdī 'Amar u Būkar, Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā and Sīdī Yūsuf in Imrābdhen. In 'Abd al-Karīm's time the only one functioning as a *zāwiya* was Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā in Aith Hīshim, located on the point known as «The Hillock of the Saints»; today Sīdī Yūsuf and Zāwiya Iqannīyen, the local headquarters of the 'Alāwīyīn order, are the most active; all the rest, for the most part, have been reduced from functioning lodges of religious brotherhoods to simple schools or

(22) Fogg, Walter: «Villages, Tribal Markets and Towns: Some Considerations concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco», **The Sociological Review**, vol. XXXII, London, January-April 1940, pp. 85-107.

holders in the new protectorate administrations were given different titles in each zone, one is nonetheless tempted to imagine that their "job descriptions" must have resembled each other closely.

There was, however, one very important difference: the French administration was only partially military in character, while the Spanish one (except during the civilian years of the Spanish Republic, 1931-1936) was, to all intents and purposes, totally so. Indeed, one of the major roles of Spanish Morocco, one which was always assumed but seldom explicitly mentioned, was that of acting as a training ground for the Spanish Army. Hence the history of the protectorate and its up-and-down support and opposition in the Iberian Peninsula, which is not our concern here, is more closely linked to that of Spain itself than that of French Morocco is to metropolitan France.

Only the initial blueprints for the administration of the Spanish Zone were laid down in 1912-1913, however, because the pacification of the protectorate had to be taken care of before any ground rules could be made to apply in a positive manner. In grossly simplified terms, this involved first the subjugation (on a back-and-forth basis) of the notorious holy man-cum-bandit Raisuni and his cohorts in the Jbala region in 1913-1920; then the far more serious task of putting down (with French help) 'Abd al-Krim and the Rifians in 1921-1926; and finally, the mopping-up of the last pockets of resistance in the Sinhaja Srir and Ghmara areas, in the center of the zone, and between the Jbala and the Rif, in 1926-1927. Hence full-scale implementation of the new administrative structure could not begin until total tribal disarmament had been completed, in July 1927.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000

PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without 369 urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

● 648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 799 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collectively that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each representative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present-day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal administrators) to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to reappear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

623 621 591 793 The aziddjif or amghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

careful to state that all those at the convocation were the "majors" and the "minors" (los grandes y pequeños)[102] of such and such a place. The written titles or nominations of functionaries, and the pompous Arabic names of qa'id, qadi and mqaddim, with which some men like to adorn their names in order to astonish simpletons and impress strangers, are only of value inside their own houses (author's italics), just as the titles of doctor and coronel formerly were in certain South American republics! In the Rif, there was, in pre-'Abd al-Krim days, no qa'id and no qadi[103]; only imgharen and igrawn, iziddjifen, dharfiqin and turba, the last-mentioned being warlike amanuenses whose fingers are better suited to hilt or trigger than to pen, while the other names are the most definite external indices of the degree of Islamization[104] of those who possess them. We will not speak here of such fantastic personages as the bu-mwarith[105] or the ukil l-ghuyab[106] and other shadowy figures recently created by the Spanish protectoral administration, who will probably soon disappear if not taken proper care of!

6) Resume of Rifian Tribal Functionaries (given even though Rifians tend to confuse them among themselves!):

a) the iziddjifen, "headmen", or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th.

b) the imqqranen, "big ones" (or imgharen, pl. of amghar), the representatives elected by the jma'th (author's italics) for its own prestige, and the delegates of the latter territorial unit in the clan council, whose habitual meeting site was the market, and whose job it was to make the law.

621
631
[619] H) The Traditional Jma'ths of the Aith Waryaghar:

In the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, which possesses an extremely complex social structure[114].....the traditional jma'th contains nuclei so scattered that it is not rare to see them within all three qa'idates into which, at the present day (1935) and from an administrative viewpoint, the tribe is divided. Within the [648] Arab and Makhzin, or governmental, framework into which an attempt has been made to fit the organization of the Rifian tribes, this fact presupposes an almost insuperable administrative impossibility, [643] that of making them (i.e. the traditional jma'ths) revive. The mosaic of the traditional jma'ths was one over which the chief himself (e.g. 'Abd al-Krim) stumbled, and which he put aside instead of resolving, merely superimposing his own circumstantial wartime organization over it[115].

Let us look at a few of the pieces in this mosaic.

621
631
131 1) Aith Mhand u Yihya:--A jma'th (of the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari) which is found to be divided into two more jma'ths: one situated in the Plain of Alhucemas, and in the vicinity of the bridge over the Ghis River, and, for this reason, belonging to the Qa'idate of l-Uta (in Rifian, r-Udha, "plain"); and the other, the original, ancestral and founding one, situated south of the Suq r-Had or Sunday Market of Thisar[116], and belonging, administratively, to the Qa'idate of the Upper Ghis.

2) Ixatshumen (mountain pronunciation) or Ikttumen (Plain of Alhucemas pronunciation, and written in Arabic as Ikiltumen):--This traditional jma'th (also of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari clan) is also

191 if not non-existent[144].....In some of the tribal place names the in-
[101] flux of both Arabic and Berber may be noticeably discerned[145], which in some cases gives rise to a true amalgamation which its (i.e. the name's) Arab or Berber origin does not define with any certainty[146].

186 2) Origins:--The Igzinnayen are proud of their Berber origin and consider themselves to be of a superior race. The Rifian from Igzinnayen holds his Arab neighbor from the tribe of Branis in no little contempt[147].....In the tribe of Igzinnayen, one may observe
619 144 two nuclei of population which show great ethnic differences, one
184 situated north of Tizi Usli, between Azru Aqshar[148] and Axt Tuzin, in which there predominates, as much in physical type as in language and customs, the features characteristic of the Berber origin of this tribe; and the other nucleus, located to the southeast of the first, is of Arab origin[149]. The scorn which the Berbers felt for their
● 648 [186] Arab neighbors, combined with the fact that the latter recognized and obeyed the government of the Makhzin[150], gave rise to frequent feuds between the people of each region; and in these tribal wars, the "Berber" group was almost always victorious. During their liff strug-
619 648 gles, both the warring bands sought aid from among their next-door neighbors; for while the "berber" band received help from the Axt Tuzin, the "Arab" band was able to count upon the support of the Mtalsa (Rifian Ibdharsen) and Branis[151].

Up to the present time, it has not been possible to unravel
114 619 the ethnic origins of the Igzinnayen, which are highly confused[152]. Moulieras, who was never in Morocco, considers them Berbers for the simple reason that they speak Rifian dhamazighth, an essentially

175 554 unwillingly brought the rest of the tribe into Bu Hmara's camp.

Bu Hmara, leaving the tribal organization as he found it, limited himself to transforming the existing shiyukh into qa'ids. The names of some of these men have been preserved: Muhammad wuld 'Allal, Midbuh, Muhush Kahwi, Buhut r-'Asimi and 'Allal n Dahu. Divide in order to rule; such was Bu Hmara's idea, severe and brutal. Under his command the Igzinnayen came to swell up his contingents to fight in Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman; and they were finally put in check in front of Silwan.

After Bu Hmara was taken prisoner, brought to Fez and executed by Sultan Mulay Hafidh, in 1327 A.H. (1909 A.D.), he continued to weigh on the tribe, which did not want him....Then anarchy returned.[172] We now see the appearance of Sidi Hmid Midbuh, son and grandson of the Qa'id Midbuh, and also a qa'id himself, in the Jibarna. Faithful to the Rogi Bu Hmara, he defended himself against the Hajj Hammada, who, far from enjoying the favors of Bu Hmara, had been executive after what happened at Silwan. The two families, already divided, came to show an increase in the number of their partisans.

Evil instincts now had free rein. The agreeable life of pillage, theft and murder began anew, with its concomitant of the exclusive satisfaction of the strong. 'Abd al'Malik found the tribe in this situation in 1333 (1915). He got the best group on his side, 175 648 554 because of the fact that aside from the facilities of command which he was given, he received important subsidies from Germany; and he did not hesitate for a moment to utilize the ancient quarrels in order to make his authority more secure. At this point, French forces had begun to penetrate the Sharifian Empire.

175
648
554

The French advance in eastern Morocco hardly attracted the attention of the Igzinnayen in the beginning. The infidel was still far away, and, as for the rest, "God would provide." On their arrival at Minada, the events embroidered upon by market story-tellers increased their curiosity. One of their notables, the Hajj Hammada, presented himself to the French authorities. On their arrival at Msun, the Qa'id Midbuh, the Hajj Hammada, his nephew Muhand u Haddu, and all the rest of the notables of the southern Igzinnayen all went to look for them. Nevertheless, the French advance was a direct threat, and the Igzinnayen began to turn up as members of the harkas which fought against them. Importance was attributed to the numbers of these harkas, insofar as they came near the French, even without a definite order of battle.

At this point, 'Abd al-Malik, coming from Tetuan, entered the scene; thrown out by the Ghiyata, he succeeded in enlisting the cause of the Igzinnayen, especially those of Asht Yunis through his good relations with Si Hmid Ubarshan[173] and with Shaikh Hmid n 'Amar. He was spoken of throughout the mountains thanks to his open-handed palm-greasing, and thanks also to his tireless activity. He convoked the Igzinnayen in successive igrawn, the first at the Monday Market of Azru[174] and the second, a little later, along the banks of the Msun River, about 2 km. from the present gates of Kifan. The Qa'id Midbuh was frightened at this move, and after hiding by night with some fifteen of his agnates, he gained the French lines, while the Hajj Hammada, definitely conquered, received large compensations.

175
648
554

'Abd al-Malik, aided by his German collaborator Hermann, sought friendships through money, and spread his propaganda among the Dharwa Haddu through the Hajj Hammada and his son 'Abdssram. Dedicated to their desires, they swelled up the harkas and suffered heavy losses; but the Igzinnayen did not hesitate to abandon and betray 'Abd al-Malik on the day that fortune went against him. His favorite, the Hajj Biqqish, who had sung his praises louder than anyone else, was the very first to rob him when he came to seek refuge amonst the Asht 'Asim.

The Hajj Muhand Biqqish, a notable of Thiddas in Ikhuwanen of Asht 'Asim, takes up all the internal history of Igzinnayen before the French occupation and the domination of 'Abd al-Krim. Having risen to the top through his indisputable merits as a warchief, he extended his power over all of Igzinnayen and a part of the Aith Waryaghar[175]. In 1913 and 1914, we find him in the Jbil Shaushau (?) of Bu Nakris (?) at the head of a harka which fought the French in Msun, in Taza, and in bil-Qasim in the country of the Miknasa. In 1915 he put himself at the disposition of the Hajj Mamun ash-Shangiti.

An excellent administrator, and having on the other hand a constant care about his own person and a great deal of knowledge of tribal politics, the exercise of justice was a considerable source of income to him thanks to certain rights toward discounts which he claimed and pocketed, and other ways of assuaging his conscience; and he thus increased his resources very considerably. He got rich and acquired lands and fields. He inherited the family house from his father in Tighza (Ikhuwanen), and another in Thiddas, as well as land formerly belonging to the subclan of Thimarzga of Aith Waryaghar,

175 on the mountain of Afuzar. In the latter place he built a large house
● 648 with a huge wall around it, according to the locals; this house is
554 known as Thaddarth n Biqqish[176]. With 'Amar Hamidu, the qa'id of
648 Marnisa, he helped 'Abd al-Malik against the French. When the French
554 routed 'Abd al-Malik at Kifan on 13 Safar 1336 A.H. (November 28, 1917), the latter took refuge in Biqqish's house. 'Amar Hamidu became hostile to Biqqish over the possession of the Wednesday Market at Buridh, but when 'Abd al-Malik appeared at Sidi 'Ari n Dawud[177], they patched up their differences in order to help him, until the day that he took refuge in Thafarsith. This friendship between the two chiefs of Marnisa and Igzinnayen lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim. In 1921, Biqqish, advised by 'Amar Hamidu, refused to join the Rifians of 'Abd al-Krim in their struggle against Spain. In 1922, 'Abd al-Krim attacked him and, abandoned by more and more of his followers, Biqqish, vacillating, had almost decided to place himself under Spanish protection; but afterward he reconsidered and submitted to 'Abd al-Krim. His son Si Hmid then was given a qa'idship.

By 1924 the importance of the younger Biqqish, Si Hmid, had notably decreased. Finally, in 1925, at the time of the all-out attack on the French front, the elder Biqqish and his son were detained by 'Abd al-Krim for questioning. After three months, in order to ascertain the feelings of the taciturn and mysterious Biqqish, 'Abd al-Krim sent him to the region of Branis to inspect the front and to keep inciting the war against the Christians.

Sick and irreductible, the old man set himself up in the Friday Market of Branis and did nothing. He was denounced and brought

648
554 back to Ajdir, 'Abd al-Krim's capital in the Aith Waryaghar lowlands. 'Abd al-Krim let him return to live with his family and gave his son Si Hmid his freedom; but, furious at the capture of the Mahkama of Brabir (---Branis?), he got rid of the old man permanently by giving him a glass of poisoned tea at the Wednesday Market of Aith Turirth (Aith Waryaghar).[178] Si Hmid was detained during the occupation of Marnisa by French Moroccan troops and then set free in January 1926. He lives today (1940) in the Igzinnayen[179], and has a sister, Mimuna, married to the former qa'id and present (1940) khalifa of Arba' n Turirth, Muh n 'Amar nj-Mqaddim; and this woman, probably because of the spirit she inherited from her father, is the real ruler of the household.[180]

It should be stated that the irreducible enemy of the Biqqish family, the Qa'id Finnish of Iharrasen, died in combat on May 11, 1926, against the French in Izkrithen (in the Asht 'Asim) near Ikhwanen; he had been a principal cause of the persecution and death of the Hajj Muhand Biqqish, through his influence with 'Abd al-Krim.

FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as "institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the 'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

181 104 tion of French corvee), which underscores its mandatory character. Nuzi'a, in Arabic, refers to distribution on a prorata basis; but its Rifian derivative, r-uzi'ath, refers only to the dividing up of the meat of a ritually edible and ritually slaughtered animal, which has just died, and those who share in the division are expected to pay the owner of the animal back at a later date. Dhwara, a purely Rifian word which Blanco mistakenly gives as twala, thinking it, no doubt, an Arabic derivative, is synonymous with Arabic nuba and its Rifian derivative nubth, means "turn" in its widest sense: use of irrigation water in turn by each user; taking of barley to the fiqh or schoolmaster in the local mosque by each nuclear family within the scattered hamlet type of community, so much the Rifian norm in settlement morphology, in turn, etc. etc. (cf. Blanco's own very interesting and elucidating remarks on the Rifian conceptualization of turns in the chapter on Family Organization). And liff is a crucially important intra- or inter-tribal pattern of alliances.

181 114 3--All words which are rendered in quotations are Blanco's, and in no case does he define what he means by them. It should be noted here that Blanco, as well as the great majority of tribal administrators in French Morocco at the time, was heavily influenced by the thinking of the late Robert Montagne, Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930--to such an extent, in fact, that many of the "value judgments" which Blanco makes are indirectly those of Montagne. In all fairness to Blanco, however, it should be noted that he takes sharp exception to certain of Montagne's interpretations of Rifian political sociology; and these exceptions are for the most part fully justified.

● 648 677 668 4--Although the famous "Berber Dahir" of 1930 was enforced, of course, by the French up until the very end of their protectorate in Morocco in 1956, it never even had a chance in the Spanish Zone. This state of affairs was due not to any special decision-making on the part of the Spanish Protectorate administration (for much of the corps of tribal interventores was in favor of the dahir), but to the Rifian reformer 'Abd al-Krim, who had vigorously suppressed what he considered the most objectionable features of Customary Law in the Rif as early as 1921 or 1922. This was one of the ways, indeed, in which he was able to consolidate his position as leader of the Rifian war effort and as "President of the Rifian Republic", whereas, perhaps paradoxically, it is the pre-'Abd al-Krim era of "organized acephaly", of councillors and bloodfeuds, which is known, perhaps in retrospect as the 'Ripublik', and which is referred to elsewhere in Berber Morocco, and as a permanent condition, as siba. By the term "most objectionable features" we mean to say that he effectively stamped out any and all aspects of Rifian customary law (collective or plural oaths, in particular) which could in any outwardly discernible way be construed as being opposed to "bonafide" Muslim law. Thus, in short, what happened was at the end of the Rifian War in 1926, the Spaniards found that because of 'Abd al-Krim, orthodox Maliki law (for of the four Sunni, or "Orthodox", Islamic legal schools, it is the Maliki which predominates in North Africa) was already functioning in the Rif, even it overlay a solidly Berber jural base; and during their protectorate, though with some misgivings, they merely preserved 'Abd al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

∞∞

[114] 71--Blanco assigns the jma'th a predominants geographical or territorial role, while the dharfiqth is given a genealogical one. So far, so good; but, at the risk of adding to the confusion, I think that Blanco mistakes jma'th in this context with dshar, "village, hamlet, community", for jma'th invariably embodies the idea of "people". However, it does not embody any notion of genealogical relationships, and thus Blanco's error is minor, and thoroughly understandable.

[114] 72--Not, obviously, in a literal sense; but even though Blanco no doubt employed it to bolster his ideas on lineage and segment shifts, the word was badly chosen.

[411] [648] 73--Rifles turned in to the Spanish authorities (often with grave reluctance on their owners' part) after pacification of the Rif in 1926 often formed an index, in administrative reports, to a tribe's fighting strength.

74--We know of no mosque in the Rif which only serves a single family, well-to-do or not.

[212] 75--Qanun, pl. qawanin, is, in Rifian parlance, a document drawn up in Arabic which records decisions of the village or tribal council on matters of local interest; or, more often, it merely refers to such decisions themselves, without benefit of documentary evidence.

[619] 76--By this Blanco means that an offshoot of jma'th A which through the process of lineage scission has moved physically to tribe B will have property in tribe B. This stands to reason; but the only ties which the new jma'th retains with its "brother" in its former home are those of memory and sentiment. For all practical and functional purposes, it is now a naturalized subsegment of another tribe, and it must conform to the custom of that tribe.

[114] 77--Blanco's theory of clan autonomy is most interesting and challenging, and is discussed at some length in La Ley Rifeña. It has, however, one grave shortcoming: its omission of the fact that such clan autonomy is always relative to the tribe. Vide our article "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, p. 194.

[648] 78--Blanco does not say, but it is possible that such sites may be attributed to the "Portuguese", whom Rifians say once occupied the Rif until "our ancestors rose up against them and drove them out, brandishing sickles in their hands".

[114] 79--This is an error of fact, at least in part. Today, the Aith 'Ammarth and the Ibuqquyen have only one market apiece, the former on Mondays and the latter, at Ruwadi, on Sundays; and to my knowledge, except for one women's market which is now defunct, Aith 'Ammarth has always had only one market. Blanco's own market listing, furthermore, brings out this fact: I) Aith Waryaghar--Mondays at Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa; Tuesdays at Dharan n-Dhihlaliyin in the clan of Aith 'Abd Allah (this market no longer functions, having been superseded by the Monday market at Aith Hadhifa); Wednesday at Sidi Bu 'Afif in the clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ali (also no longer functioning and superseded by a newer market on Saturdays at Imzuren which was set up by the Spanish administration) and at Turirth for the three mountain subclans of Aith Turirth, Aith Timarzga and Aith 'Arus; Thursdays at Imrabdhen;

000 [114] 109--In the Rif, to our knowledge, there was never a special "market chief", although this office existed in certain parts of the Central Atlas.

[565] 110--The market crier, like the blacksmith and members of certain other occupational groups, occupied a very low rung on the Rifian social ladder, and can in no way be considered as a "tribal functionary".

[533] [534] 111--The imdhiyazen, or professional singers of couplets at weddings and players of the zammar (an instrument with two mouthpieces and two flaring ends, each of which is adorned with a cow's horn), the flute and the tambourine, who invariably come from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, own no property in their own rights, and double as mule and donkey breeders.

[113] 112--For a detailed account of the dance of the ibarudiyen of the Aith Waryaghar, see Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas, Africa, nos. 55, 46-7, 59-60, Madrid 1946, pp. 315-16, 414-19, and 547-51., as well as our own article, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", op. cit., 1958, pp. 232-37. This dance was stopped by order of 'Abd al-krim during the Rifian War in order to save cartridges, and was afterwards forcibly discontinued because of the post-protectoral prohibition of firearms in the Rif. Our account is only a translation of Blanco's, with comments.

[648]

(113--Diagram.)

[114] 114--The social structure of the Aith Waryaghar is indeed complex, and this admission by Blanco is a strange contrast to his earlier diagnosis of it as "rudimentary". Although in all essentials it is exactly the same as that of the other Rifian tribes, it is more intricate because of certain variations between the lineage structure and the territorial system. These variations are expressed in terms of spatial discontinuity between certain subsegments bearing the same names, as hinted at in Section F above; and it is this same discontinuity, virtually non-existent among the other Rifian tribes (and where it does exist, only in embryonic form at the level of the minor and minimal lineages), which is, in fact, one of the central arguments advanced by Blanco in the present section. Our own opinion is that it is intimately linked with the notion of lineage scission.

Among certain transhumants in the Eastern Atlas, notably the Ait 'Atta and Ait Saghrushshan (there are no doubt other well-authenticated examples as well), this kind of discontinuity assumes classic proportions, for it is elevated to the tribal level as well. The fact that it exists among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar, however, leads me to believe that it is not primarily connected with the economic organization under consideration (sedentarism or transhumance), but rather with gradual shifts, over time, of tribal clans.

115--The discontinuity alluded to in note 114 had long been an established fact when 'Abd al-Krim rose to power, and there was no reason for him to attempt to change it through, presumably, any regroupment of jma'ths. Such a change would in any event have been highly artificial, and it seems logical to assume that he was fully aware of this.

623 631 131 443 [646] 116--This market was located in the exact center of the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, at the point of convergence of all three qa'idates (1-Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) alluded to above, and all questions of import to the whole tribe were usually settled or decided there. Imgharen from all of Aith Waryaghar came to this market when the full tribal council was convoked.

The Sunday Market at Thisar has ceased to exist since the Spanish pacification of the Rif; the Spaniards moved it slightly north [648] to Thanasind, a market, also held on Sundays, which is attended only by members of the immediate subsegments in the vicinity, and which is much smaller, in size and status, than its predecessor.

443 562 [113] 117--For more detailed descriptions of women's markets, see Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel", Africa, Madrid, May 1943, pp. 22-23, as well as two works of our own, D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Waryaghar", Tamuda, vol. 2, no. 1, 1954, pp. 51-86, and "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif", Tamuda, vol. 6, no. 2, 1958, pp. 171-237. (Specific references in the two latter cases are from pp. 80-1 and pp. 201-3 respectively).

Some recapitulation, however, is necessary for the purposes of the present work. Special women's markets, which men are for- [191] bidden to attend, are not uniquely Rifian, for they are also reported for the tribe of Ihahan on the Sus coast between Mogador and Agadir. 443 Montagne (op. cit., 1930, pp. 251-2) thinks that because in both the 562 Sus and in the Rif they are more or less confined to the coastal area, they may, through their rigid segregation of the sexes, reflect a 114 greater degree of Islamization in these areas, for they are not to be found anywhere in the Atlas. Sánchez Pérez, who also cites the existence of women's markets in Ihahan, favors a diffusionist theory in accounting for their presence in such widely separated areas as the Rif and the Sus.

This kind of thinking must be relegated to the realm of idle speculation. More important, however, is the rationale which Sánchez Pérez gives for the existence of women's markets. He says that the Aith Waryaghar themselves cannot account for the origin of this phenomenon (which is true); but when he states that they ascribe it to the need for the continuance of commercial interchange during the Republik, when all segments and subsegments of the tribe were perpetually at feud, and when only women, as non-combatants, were respected and came, in effect, to handle normal business transactions during such emergencies, he is, I strongly suspect, putting words in their mouths. His argument falls of its own weight, for why, then, should regular weekly markets (i.e. non-women's markets) continue to function all through siba, as they did? He does not take into consideration the primary raison d'etre of the Rifian market, which Blanco correctly interprets as a "place of peace"; for market day was the one non-feuding day (with Friday, perhaps, a poor second) of the week!

443 562 The truth of the matter, very probably, is that because the men of the Aith Waryaghar have always zealously guarded their womenfolk and have never let them attend normal markets (although this has broken down somewhat as a result, possibly, of greater security

000
[114] 135--Although he does not couch them in anthropological language, Blanco here elucidates certain principles which are so common to most segmentary systems as to have become anthropological platitudes, since Evans-Pritchard's work among the Nuer. They were not, however, platitudes in 1935, and Blanco's perspicacity in stating them (even if obliquely) should be commended.

[113] 136--For competent discussions on the racial affiliations of the Rifians, see Carleton S. Coon, The Races of Europe, New York: Macmillan, 1939, and Coon, 1951, op. cit., pp. 156-7.

[144] But why should the Rifians be aware of their own racial affiliations well enough to "forget" them? They know they are whites, and they know they are Berbers (the latter example of self-knowledge is particularly well developed at the present day, since the independence of Morocco, and contains definite political overtones); and these facts, to them, are sufficient, genealogies and traditions explaining all the others.

137--Ghis, in Moroccan Arabic, means "mud", and a better name for the river in question could not be found.

138--The sixth "clan" of the Jbil is in reality made up of three subclans which are "brothers" of the members of two of the other five "ancient" clans which Blanco mentions above: Aith Turirth are "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Timarzga are "brothers" of Aith 'Ari (Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari in turn form the two top segments of one major clan, that of Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari--it has no proper name, on this level, of its own), and Aith 'Arus are "brothers" of Aith Hadhifa. These three subclans, being contiguous to each other in the mountain massif of the Jbil Hamam and discontiguous to their larger "clan brothers" mentioned above, formed a single administrative unit under a shaikh during Spanish times.

139--Blanco's recommendation to do away with the khalifa or representative of the qa'id in order to make for greater administrative simplicity was not acted upon by the Spanish authorities.

[622] [184] 140--The office of jari or village headman is one which exists only among the Aith Waryaghar. In all other tribes, the village headman is the mqaddim, who in Aith Waryaghar became the head of the administratively created "sub-fraction", while the "fraction" itself was under a shaikh. The creation and insertion by the Spaniards of another tribal [648] office-holder on a level between that of village and clan (where no such office-holder had existed previously) was their answer to the greater segmentary intricacy, larger territorial units and greater population of the Aith Waryaghar. And last, but not least, Blanco's division of the total tribal territory into three blocs, each under its own qa'id, and each perforce following territorial rather than segmentary lines (owing to the frequent geographical discontinuity of subsegments), was, in the last analysis, the best and indeed the only way to make for an effective tribal administration.

141--This phrase comes from Hanoteau and Letourneux' famous reference to the Thajm 'aith of Kabylia as "la pierre angulaire de l'edifice berbère".

423 never be made use of through such modest donations, so exact was the
794 objective for which they were turned over. And today they are obliged to be substituted by new constructions, as already we are finding instances in which the tribesmen are obliged to use part of their communal property in order to cover their minimal religious needs.

The traditional tribesman, a localistic and primitive soul, could never dream that his generous gesture and the fruit of his labor would be converted into utilization for and the beautifying of the vampire city, of that city which he knows only through its derisive attitude toward him and its desire to cheat him.[12]

651 621 b) Self-Taxation: This category was fulfilled in the jma'th through other classes of property, such as religious (properties), through voluntary contributions and through alms.

The 'ashur (Rif. dha'ashurth) or tithe from the harvests, which was received in kind by another amin (read mqaddim), also a lay (author's italics) tribesman expressly nominated by the jma'th to whom he was responsible, justifying payments and income, and guarding and administering voluntary donations.

651 ● 648 The respect for and knowledge of these good customs and primary institutions in the Rif has permitted us to utilize such sentiments of solidarity on diverse occasions, without excessive shifts from times of abundance to others of restriction, hence giving them the sensation of our constant solicitude and thus coming to establish in some jma'ath and 'bureaux' (oficinas) the idea of voluntary deposits (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

(648) 12--This paragraph, as well as the preceding one with its reference to the "urban mulay", clearly indicate that Blanco fully shared the prevailing view of the protectoral authorities of both zones of Morocco regarding the administrative wisdom inherent in the separation of Town and Tribe.

792 794 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 178 794 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 621 794 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th, for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits [514] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

423 ● 648 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

---

15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

423 the question have (interventors) had to abandon it unfinished, dis-
● 648 heartened to see the effort yielding so little result, and contemplat-
ing the manner in which the inventory of such properties had diminished.

423 Regarding these properties, I was recently told by some
648 Rifians about what happened in their tribal territory when, many years
124 ago, the protectorate authorities decided to plant a piece of communal
[203] land in the Eastern Rif with olive trees. The news spread through the
tribe with the usual deformation, and its members became alarmed. Some
of them, including my informant, decided to divide up all properties of
this type which remained to them, for fear of being deprived of them.
Did the Makhzin find out? Did it take any action? Is the news true?
I do not know.

000 The above notwithstanding, a new revision and classifica-
tion with every possible guarantee to allay alarm of this sort, and with
the object of restoring to the rural estates the creation and classifi-
cation of their patrimony, is possible. It is a task requiring effort,
tenacity, urgency and desirability, because if the appeal (which is
made) is not strong and healthy, neither will be the outcome. This
patrimony, or at least a part of it, must be made inalienable, as is
that of the habus. It should be made up of arable lands, fields and
fruit trees at the limit or boundary of the jma'th, with no known
owner, and should also include ghaba lands which are not regularly
worked. All this land, when the seed has arrived, should then be par-
celled out for plowing amonst the members of the jma'th; and some lands
should be earmarked for common plowing in order to obtain the means to
meet the obligations of hospitality, in this way removing the burden

from the individual member and, today, to subvention the most urgent needs of worship abandoned by the central authorities.

The Statute of the Jma'th

My long sojourns in tribal territory, at different levels of command, and my stumbling upon the jma'ath, surprised me at first, then made me take a second look, and finally made me appreciate them. The Rifian and the European (Spanish) authorities will find only profit in the observation, reception and revitalization of this institution. Whoever does not know the "play" of the jma'ath or does not utilize it is either building on sand or will become a despot whose alarms will disturb him and whose labors will not survive. I have reflected many times upon how little or nothing would remain, in case of a new revolt against all our improvisations and innocent classifications. No matter how many times the Rifian has declared himself to be in a state of rebellion, he has returned to take refuge in his jma'th with an extraordinary atavism which nothing would indicate has disappeared.[16]

For this reason I believe that any new legislative measure must aim at providing a channel in which the activity of the jma'th can develop, providing these localized political groupings with official status and interesting them in active collaboration (with the administration); and thus might be avoided the fact that they might torpedo the Makhzin's decisions. What is needed is to recognize that they have a personality and, in a word, to strengthen them, instead of ignoring

[669] [648] 16--In view of the events of the Aith Waryaghar rebellion against the central authorities of Independent Morocco in 1958-1959, this is a highly prophetic remark.

them, and to remove positions which might become complicated through useless centralization or confused through disadvantageous classification.

Today Rifian society lacks its own organs of expression, sheltering its ill humor from the picturesque pages of a partisan and slanderous (Spanish) press, a collector of those disaffected and rancorous individuals of poor mentality. In its turn the Makhzin becomes strengthened through a milieu which is hostile through incomprehension. It neutralizes its delegates (mqaddmin), the manner of their appointment, their mediating authority and their connection with the jma'th. Even should he like to do so, the mqaddim cannot, as in other positions, undertake to defend the Makhzin: it is possible that he does not know how, nor that it occurs to him, nor that he would even dare to do so. What, then, remains of his position? That of a local community guardian or of a poor (bad) or fearful informer, if not, indeed, tendentious for some individuals or for others. This is very little, and the progress made in the rural nuclei is nil: communal property is disappearing, and pastureland and brushwood-land are both getting further away and more reduced, while the mosques are cut into pieces, the (inter-community) paths are erased, the wells are emptied and the jma'th is becoming ruined, ceasing to act in its useful communal functions and endeavoring to become a paid or salaried parasite.

Nonetheless, even as strong as was Rifian Custom, so clear, simple and beneficial that it lasted for ages, it appears almost as if when the official and orderly crust was scratched, it (Custom) was unable to obtain the confidence of the tribes or even to fulfill

671 which the Rifians are deeply attached, and their attempts to codify it,
[797] in spite of Islamic law?...We are faced with the hypothesis that in
[177] times past their conversion to Islam was not complete, a situation
analogous to that prevailing in other Berber-speaking regions. Louis
671 Milliot in 1926 pointed to the survival of Kabyle qanuns in Algeria[5],
648 but in the Rif this is neither the only nor the principal factor, as
there was no long period of peace in the Rif, and the lack of this
experience gave the Spanish administration the option of recognizing
an "area of custom", which in the French Zone was the main reason for
the Berber Dahir of 1930.[6]

671 In the Rif, the main reason for the non-application of Islamic
177 law would seem to lie not so much in the degree of Rifian Islamization
but rather in the constant state of revolt of the area, which would
have rendered regular and dilatory (sic!) Muslim legal procedure in-
efficient or inefficacious. The basic question was far more one of the
impotence of the Rifians themselves in the face of this problem, rather
793 than one of their incompetence. Under these circumstances, we may
794 imagine that fqih-s, tulba and other religious personnel were forced,
177 in order not to die of hunger, to limit themselves to making amulets and
charms for women and to writing up and registering the decisions of the
671 imqqranen, "the Big Ones", the ones who counted. For the same reason,
177 shurfa and imrabdhen were unable to do anything else except resolve
conflicts and dictate sentences, which were up to the parties concerned
000 to accept or not, as they wanted. Where, then, could one have found a
qadi who, conscious of his duty and a disinterested judge of Muslim law,

000 was capable of facing the wrath of the members of a dharfiqth who thought themselves to have been wronged in a legal decision and who were now blocking his path?

628 443 [671] The Rif is an area of warrior tulba; and the "poetry" of the Rifian Maghrib would have dealt with the firing of shots during the course of a feud or raqba[7] and the blood of victims whose bodies fall into canyons and gorges after sunset; for the qanun of the Tuesday market (now defunct) of the Aith 'Abd Allah clan establishes the validity of the agreement in question from the hours of dawn until dusk, on market day, after which time everyone shelters himself and his animals inside his house as fast as he can; and a guard is mounted with a rifle. The daily and weekly truce is over[7a]. And even in Spanish times, after

628 692 671 [648] the pacification, there is the story of the qadi who did not dare to return home unless accompanied by a pair of armed mkhazni-s[8], who represented the protection of the Makhzin in its most elementary form. And in the mahkama (tribunal building of qa'id or qadi), more than one qadi has been intimidated by exasperated litigants! If such things have happened during Spanish times, threats made during the "Republik" must have been far worse--"I'll hang you from a tree, mmis nj-haram!" or "I wonder what you'd look like without a head, mmis n-dhit!"[9]

671 177 As I see it, the Rifian follows the Shari'a in all instances in which customary law cannot help him, either because it has been forgotten or because in such and such a case it is no longer applied. As he is both a practical man and a believer, there is no reason for the Rifian to deny himself the advantages of the Shari'a, but when, instead of these, he encounters a situation which is prejudicial to him (such as

26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event, as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish administration, people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the last 30 years or more.

27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala, the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first. As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator, it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch belonging to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanun in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan administration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.

000

65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since [648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, [656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being [124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says [114] above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi [788] r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide [593] remarks on inheritance of property by women). A What Blanco does not say, [848] however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

628 721 they send out a couple of individuals to care for their relatives (in their absence) and tell them what has happened, and by day, they have to feed them, after which, once this is done, they start the march toward the enemy group in order to deliver the coup de main either at once or through careful skirmishing.

There is no top command, for, as the objective is clear, it is not needed. All that must be done is to write finis to the enemy. Individual desertion is shameful, booty is eagerly anticipated, and members of the war-party do not worry about the fact that there are neither rearguard services nor defense.

B) Harkas and their Formation (fragmentary):

[701] [626] [689] The obligation to serve in a harka or war-party was general and accepted by all, and avoidance of harka duty was an object of censure and sanction. Any and all groups which were threatened (both internally and externally) provided variable contingents which were activated periodically. Until protectorate times, punitive expeditions organized by the Moroccan Sultans to chastise recalcitrant tribesmen were augmented by auxiliary harkas made up from the tribes through [648] whose territory the expeditions passed. A good example was the foray undertaken by Bushta al-Baghdadi, one of the fin de siècle commanders of the Moroccan army, against the pirates of the Ibuqquyen in 1898[4]. 701 More recently, 'Abd al-Krim solicited harkas for individual engagements; he maintained a reduced contingent, which was periodically increased, under arms. The system was one of partial mobilization with relief contingents, the number and amount of which were fixed by 'Abd al-Krim. Their recruitment and provisions were handled by their

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

619 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the
616 defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor
their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or in-
[181] stitution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and
security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10]
administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for
coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of
619 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with
616 its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or
182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and
dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13],
markets and qanun), could never have been justified alone, because the
Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances,
which they would do until another more powerful force from outside,
such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in re-
ducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups
when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of in-
dividual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threaten-
616 ing its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries
619 between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some
[614] instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself
616 over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja
619 and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent
648 confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also
173 bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

616 619 648 173 616 619 182 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

616 The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping
614 their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members,
619 are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion
[621] on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known pre-
616 viously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these
182 two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary
628 feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

● 618 As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protec-
692 torate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes
616 up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights
182 to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

616 Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

614 of Mulay Idris in Fez; and over this, they hedge, saying that they do
792 have this right, but that they have never yet exercised it because "Fez is so far away". This is, in effect, a tacit admission of proper imrabdhen and non-shurfa status.)

616 In having postulated a state of equilibrium between the two
614 moieties of the Aith Waryaghar prior to the arrival of the Imrabdhen, and in having postulated that the latter came in time to upset this equilibrium in structural terms, we have up to now left Faction A in a kind of structural limbo. How, one may well ask, did this faction regain its balance? Through the principle of transitiveness within limits, as defined in note 18, by enlisting the aid of one neighboring clan from each of two tribes, Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin. After Faction A made this move, one may assume, Faction B did the same thing with a neighboring clan of Aith 'Ammarth. And here, we feel, is the secondary key to the problem, for, in effect, the inequality of liff alignments of a permanent type within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar is cancelled out or, perhaps, rectified through the mechanism of transitiveness without; and balance is thus restored. And the interplay of the factors of permanence, transitiveness and the chain-link theory (by which, if Faction A gets the Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin, Faction B gets the Aith 'Ammarth) is evident throughout.

000 31-Bu Hmara, as his title r-Rogi indicates, was a false pretender to the Moroccan throne in the first decade of the 20th century. For full details, see Eduardo Maldonado, El Rogui, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, n.d. (ca. 1952).

● [648] 32--Jilali Mul al-Wudhu was a negro general of Bu Hmaram and his top man in the Eastern Rif when he set up headquarters in the qasba or fortress of Silwan in 1907, prior to trying to rally the Rifians to his cause. All of the tribes, in fact, did so rally, save Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth, who thought it very "shameful" that a black "slave" ('abid) should invade their territory; and so, on September 7, 1908, on the banks of the Nkur River, near Imzuren, they cut him and his army to pieces, after which the other tribes turned against him one by one and ambushed his rearguard.

33--Busta al-Baghdad's expedition took place in 1898. It should also be noted that any previous liff arrangement which may have existed between Aith 'Abd Allah and Ibuqquyen was purely and strictly ad hoc.

34--True; but the normal situation was as described in note 25. Only outside invasion could and did ever weld a whole tribe together; and the Aith Waryaghar were united for the very first (recorded) time in their history when Bu Hmara came to the Rif.

35--See note 18. The fact that Rifian liffs were transitive, but only up to and including neighboring clans of the next tribe, tended normally to isolate feuds and to keep them in bounds, to some extent, at least.

616 36--We have commented on the almost mythical Ghumara-Sanhaja war above.
619 The liff system at work in this particular case was at variance with
648 the traditional Rifian system, as described in note 18; although on the other hand, if we can accept the myth (which is doubtful), it points

A, [See p.257, #14--Analyst]
^

616 619 648 [114] [113] to a far earlier incidence of tribal unity, and on a much wider scale, than the events precipitated by Bu Hamara's invasion. Blanco's listing, however, is incomplete, for this feud encompassed not only the Rif, but all of Northern Morocco, centering, supposedly, on the Ghumara and Sanhaja, each of which had allies both to the west (Jbala) and to the east (Rif). There are other listings available, the most complete of which may be found in Montagne, op. cit., 1930, map facing p. 208. See also Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 17-8, and Jesus Ortoneda Jiménez, Estudio de la Region del Rif, Ceuta, 1930, p. 37, as well as Vademecum de Intervenciones Militares, Melilla 1928. None of these listings is in complete agreement with any of the others.

000 37--According to Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 18, the Igzinnayen were not in the Ghumara liff, but in the Sanhajan one, and, according to his informants, the fact that the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen were both on that side brought the Sanhaja the ultimate victory.

38--Until 1906, Bni Gmil and Mistasa formed a single tribe. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, Vademecum del Territorio del Rif, 1946, p. 81.

39--Bni Waryagil is a small tribe in the southern Jbala, and Rifian informants have all disclaimed any connection between it and the very much larger Aith Waryaghar of the Rif. Literate informants, moreover, point to the difference in orthography: the name of the Rifian tribe is written in Arabic with the letter ghain, while that of the Jbalan group is written with the gaf (kaf with three points above it).

40--It does indeed!

[114] 41--Why should it be necessary to "explain its affinities to the European type"? One feels that liffs, like any other institutions, can only be "explained" in their own terms!

[696] 42--What Blanco presumably refers to here, in an oblique manner, is, among other things, the fact that murderers must flee their own tribes.

[114] 43--It seems to us that Blanco is looking at this aspect of the problem upside down. If anything, an alliance and war of the Sanhaja-Ghumara type probably had its origins in the Rifian system discussed in note 18, rather than the other way around. It is, of course, also possible that problems and/or notions of this kind cut both ways.

44--This term refers to the western maritime tribes of the Rif, located around the early Islamic center of Badis.

616 619 114 45--There are three basic errors in this sentence. First, the Aith 'Abd Allah had only an ad hoc liff arrangement with the Ibuqquyen; this was directed against their own enemies within the Aith Waryaghar, namely, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and the Aith Hadhifa, the former of whom, in particular, the Ibuqquyen could never forgive for having accompanied Bushta al-Baghdadi's punitive expedition into their tribal territory. There was no question whatsoever of an alliance with either the Aith Yittuft or the Bni Bu Frah. The same applies to the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who were also (but very tenuously) allied, through the transitive principle, to the Axt Tuzin clan of Axt Tsafth, because their "brothers" and enemies the Aith 'Adhiya were in liff (again through the transitive principle)

671 clarify to us the efforts of one of the freest peoples to handle their own affairs and, jealous of their rights in an authentic democracy, to impose notions of conduct upon themselves voluntarily.

671 177 What could the Aith Waryaghar, as Rifians in that stage of society, have done with a law code on a European style? Just what many of them did: to refuse to understand it, to cry out against seeing themselves obliged to suffer it, to place themselves in Divine hands so as not to awaken involvements in its powerful and intricate meshes and so as not to empty their money bags to fill it with official papers. This would not have been worth anything to them, and a good proof of this is the slight service which their religious code can offer them for their convenience when they see themselves obliged to have recourse to persisting in such improvisations.

671 Here the Rifian qanuns remain, unknown or ignored by investigators, so that up to the present (1939), as far as I know, they have not had the honor of seeing themselves reproduced integrally and faithfully; and it does not seem that they have attracted men of laws, whose criticism and science is of another and higher order than the impassioned observations and common and individual interpretation of a [648] tribal administrator, to them. They would not fail to reap many benefits for us, and the greatest ambition for Spain: the respect and esteem which the efforts of her sons creates by their contribution to the development and improvement of humanity and by the scrupulousness in the fulfillment of her international duties.[8]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

195 181 628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 613 619 134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 671 182 [648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

have just said, a personage who does not show up in any qanun as discharging his office or as even providing the most minimal and non-transcendent representation, for in the one qanun in which we finally discover him (the qanun commented upon here) we have already shown that he hides himself modestly and even effacingly behind the camouflage of two other shiyukh. The result is that not even in the big list, in the listing of "the fat ones" (i.e. the enumeration of the clan brothers of each of the imagharen of importance), does this ambitious man gain first prize, the individual who seizes this being an opulent and lay tribesman whose preeminence clearly gives a clue to the psychology of the talib who drafted the qanun as well as to that of his constituents.

And, reflecting upon bases like these, it is well to ask what reasons or exigencies the first protectorate functionaries felt, discounting both imitative and ignorant ones in order to orient their policies toward big qa'ids who, even if their stature has been diminished, are no longer to be seen for sure anywhere.

To impose upon the tribes more or less significant personalities, representatives of concentrated power, when, subdivided ad infinitum, they unite in their opposition to all types of personal power, is always an ungrateful undertaking and one full of surprises, as practice has shown us....when power is imposed from above.[84]

In the Rif, where all are personalities, only a mass-oriented political system, and not one oriented toward individuals, can bear fruit.[85] The enforced utilization of one or even several dozen persons of some importance serves no purpose if this does not benefit the mass, taking up its aspirations and satisfying its needs, anxious for freedom

toward women and the exhortation which they conducted at all times with nobility and without wickedness.

On the other hand, we see that in contrast to their fellows of Aith Waryaghar, they neither list in detail nor excoriate cases of theft, a fact which might give rise to the notion that, among them, such actions were no longer considered pernicious. This is not the case at all. Poorer than the Aith Waryaghar, the Aith Siddat must preserve their property with greater zeal, from whence the right of legitimate defense against the aggressor who would try to seize something from them in a field or path, and the right to kill anyone who should penetrate their houses, the only place where they guard their possessions.[93]

The picking of fruit or vegetables in a field or garden in order that a poor man might eat has never been considered an offense by the Rifian, who puts waterjugs along the mountain paths for the thirsty traveler. In addition, the border market of the Aith Siddat and the fact that their geographical location lacks commercial roads are the reasons which, in our opinion, can explain the apparent oversight in listing actions which it is everywhere else desirable to curb.

10. EXAMPLE OF A LIFF[94] BETWEEN TWO TRIBES (BNI BU FRAH AND BNI GMIL):[95]

A) Qanun:

Praise be to God. In the presence of the witness instrumental to the present act and on the day of the date (below) in Dar al-Zikhlif, there appeared for judgment in front of the above notary certain determined members of the Awlad Sa'id of Bani Bu Frah, of the Awlad Ghadura and Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and his allies on the side of their brothers,

RS 631 619 687 648

the people of Bani Dar al-Zikhlif, the people of Agni, the people of the Awlad al-Hamdi ibn al-Qadi of Qubi'a, the people of Iharumen, the people of Igzinnayen[96] and the people of Bani Gmil, all agreeing among themselves, with respect to the defense of the border, (to impose) a fine of 2000 duros upon any of those mentioned who, in case of war in Dar al-Zikhlif, should flee through negligence (at a time when cooperation in border defense is needed) or should even proceed with cunning (in order not to fulfill the agreement), for which he shall pay the sum mentioned earlier in the present document.

RS 687 614 648

The allies of Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura who flee back to their homes in Dar al-Zikhlif shall pay the above amount to each one of the clans. A sum shall be levied from their hands by those indicated in the earlier part of the present document. Those of both clans mentioned who would appear for judgment in the act and combat against their own (people) remain exempt from payment[97], (the justification of) this procedure being that it is the only way to impose brotherhood and unity, and to cause extralimitation against them to cease.

000 He who attended the present agreement with both parties and heard from them what was agreed upon extended this to the requirement of those who solicited it.

At the end of the divine month of Rajab al-Fard of the year 1336 (May 9, 1918).

Servant of his God, (illegible).--(Signature).

B) Commentary:

RS 671 648

The above qanun, as a perusal of it indicates, represents an

alliance between the people of two distinct tribes, the Bni Bu Frah and the Bni Gmil, or, more specifically the clans of Agni and Ulah S'aid in the first tribe and their neighbor Bni Gmil[98], situated in the hollow of the upper basin of the Wad Bu Frah.

This alliance has as its objective more than just the defense of the border, as it points out, for it guarantees the lives and property of its constituents along the tribal frontiers, as these, in the Rif, do not have the stability which they do, for example, among European states, because purchasing of land, principally, renders them extremely mobile.[99]

These alliances (lfuf) have a significance and a mechanism among Rifians which we have already attempted to assess in the first part of this conference.

The liff, the origins of which are confusing and the development of which is complicated, is difficult for a European to understand; but nevertheless, it attracted us greatly as the center-piece in the life of the Rifian mountains.[100]

The way I view it, the liff is not a social institution, nor does it fit into the family institutions already considered with reference to the kin group; and this is because it binds together different social units, as in this instance, rather than individuals of different families.[101] The liff is more of a political institution and it represents in Rifian political life a complementary force of higher and intermittent action. Perhaps it may have been the real regulator (author's italics) of Rifian life, not coming into play until other forces became rarified or became disturbed. For this reason, to my way of thinking, it is so important.

616
613, survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian
619 Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were sur-
182 rounded by powerful neighbors.

616
182 Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family, the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616
121 I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616 It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

671
614 This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the
619 clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe. Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring
644
648 clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] [443] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 574 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

67 701 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

226
389 Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

G) Recovery:

425 Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped (517) to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

H) Arbiters:

628
554 Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

628
648
554
671
642
115 Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting themselves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analogous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

312
571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

312
675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of rivèrain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work
[181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for
[648] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

423
675 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the
312 essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which we are studying it, in which tribe, its clans and smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

312 of the beds, the Rifians were unable to think in terms of large irrigation developments to lead the ditch to some small and dried-up meseta; for the minimal amount of these in the interior of the country and the longitude of the ditch which they would have needed did not compensate for the effort and expense they would have had nor the loathing they would have incurred (i.e. from neighboring segments of [182] the tribes) in order to maintain the ditch as such. Nature has in no way favored the Rifians, who must gain everything they own through • 648 their own efforts. The men, the new men, the protectors (i.e. the 312 Spanish administration) can and must do something to help them, and thus they wait for it and trust them, although up to the present time (1935), and in this connection, nothing other than prejudices and injuries have occurred, as happens with the turn of water which they have been made to cede to the Granja Agricola (i.e. model farm) of Imzuren and to a half-dozen Europeans, who, placing their minute holdings in dry rather than irrigable lands, have by virtue of more modern methods converted them into irrigated terrain; and these appear today like minute green islets among the calcinated holdings of the natives, whose ill-will and adverse commentaries are just, logical and in no way flattering.[122] "Nubth nj-Makhzin", the "turn of the Government", as they say, which means that in order to sustain it a group of mkhaznis is necessary; and the salaries of these men added to those of the directors and work force are certainly far higher than the four bushels of vegetables which they manage to obtain and the unknown profits of other kinds which they do their best to make.

181
423 The Rifian admits anything which constitutes instruction or improvement; but naturally he wants no part of any division of his
312
648 holdings with strangers. This blessing of water which the official organ (i.e. the Spanish administration) as well as individuals receive, although the latter do so only to a limited degree, is not a product of technique, profitable or exemplary work as new developments would be, possible economic outlets or improvements in the present distributive net, but utilization of native labor in the style of some early-day anghar.

312
648 Rare are the days of the Makhzin irrigation turn in which the
695
[427] Mkhazniya does not present us (i.e. the administration) with some miserable akhamnas[123] accused of the terrible crime of having been surprised at night attempting to lead up a thread of water into his tiny, dried-up holding, a crystalline fiber which, if it even arrives there to irrigate, only God knows; and the nubth which the Europeans derive from it, dispute from it and gain from it, did not cost them the least effort to lead up nor did they do anything other than wait sitting down while the Makhzin appropriated it. And in such a case neither the Makhzin nor the European stands to gain anything; to the contrary, they have much to lose.

F) Irrigation in the Plain of Al-Husaima:

312
695 The usage of irrigation water from the Lower Ghis and Nkur Rivers has been, since time immemorial, the object of individual agreements among the irrigators, agreements which are usually put down in writing, for the flow of water, although variable, permits a regular distribution through permanent ditches, a distribution known

312
675
(648) to all and a distribution which tradition has affirmed. These principal ditches carry water all year round, and at the present time their utilization seldom gives rise to incidents, as their usage has been stabilized and regulated, except in the case of the newly arrived Spanish irrigators, whose despondent attempts to improve their lands with fanciful enlargements, amplifications or regularizations of turns gave rise to the only disputes, aside from the ill-will of the local population already mentioned above.

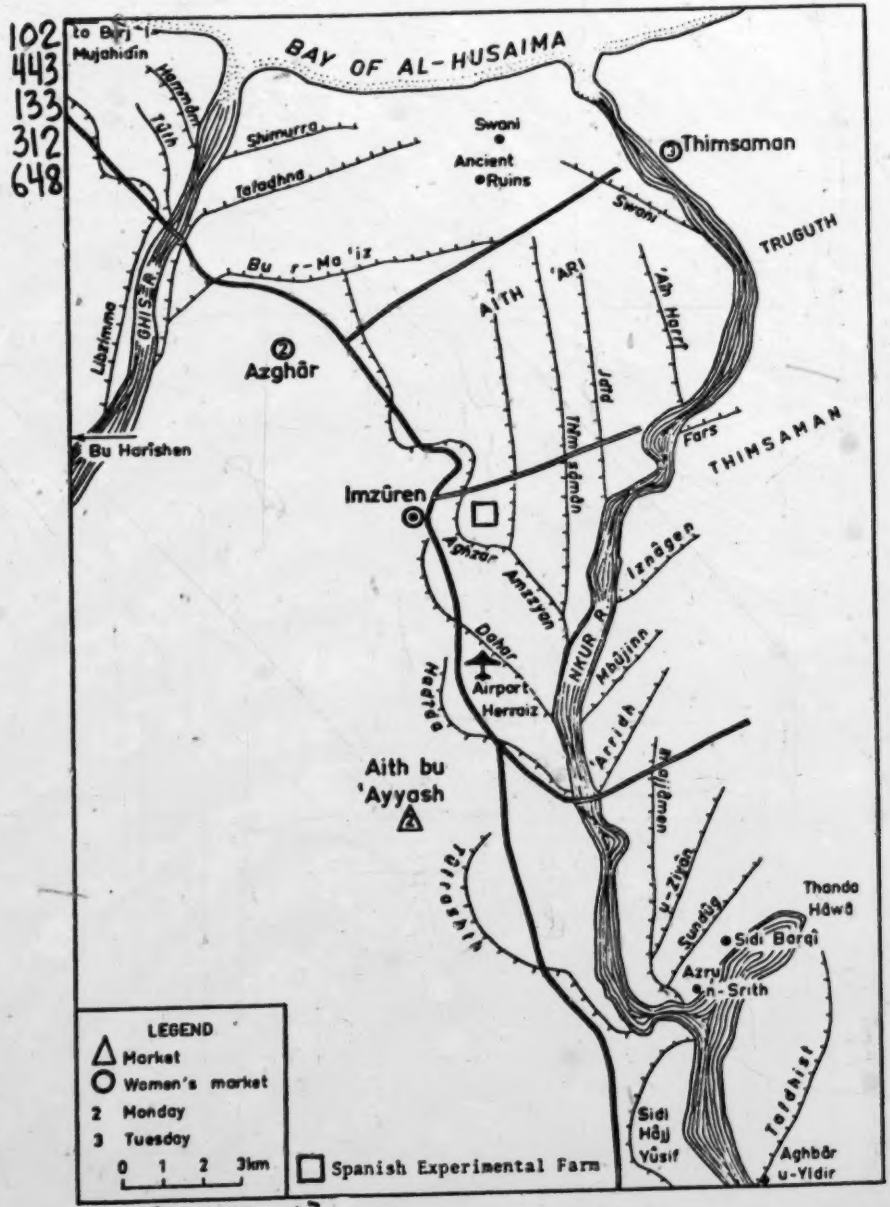
To be able to find something which leads us to the heart of the irrigation problem, it is necessary for us to look again among the individual agreements which are established by small groups of irrigators from both rivers, and descend through their steep beds to the widenings at their mouths, the journey over which has permitted us to observe the details of their irrigation system and to fix the principal idea which appears to preside over the distribution of the waters of both rivers into a diagram which we have made (see Irrigation Ditch Map of Plain of al-Husaima) for a better understanding and as a synthesis of their custom; and this is completed afterward with an outline of the network of ditches for each irrigated area and in these drawings is summarized our knowledge up to the present time.

312 The mechanism behind the distribution of irrigation water in Aith Waryaghar is simple, and up to the present time, it has satisfied local needs; it seems exact enough for the tribesmen, and so far they have shown no desire to modify it.

In the river beds there are certain points known to the people where the water always rises up; these are used as dams (uggug, pl.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

BLANCO MAP II (1939) - PLAIN OF AL-HUSAIMA



[P. 358-A]

15. THE QANUN OF THE LOWER GHIS RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 [133] From this river, the longest of those which bathe the Central Rif (more than 70 km.), as with its companion and eastern neighbor the Nkur, only the surface waters are used, and very imperfectly, by the Rifians in the small meanders which its narrow basin forms. For the [648] Rifians there is too much water and not enough land. Up to the present, the Spanish protectors have not attempted the slightest modification nor the study of the Ghis basin and its regimen with utilitarian ends in mind. It is a wealth which, like so many others, is lost. There is too much water and nevertheless the Rif is thirsty. [132] The Rifian spends the whole year looking at the sky, an attitude which has become contagious to the protectors, imploring a few drops to fall in order to save his miserable winter (author's italics) harvest[125].....

In all the long basin of the Ghis one does not perceive the handi-work of man. Neither bridges nor acqueducts, neither dams nor any [487] installations to raise up its waters. Paths wind along its pebbly and steep banks to hide themselves in the dried-up stony bed. Small [402] and winding irrigation furrows timorously make haste to return suddenly the flow which they secretly absorbed, under the shelter of thickets, after (providing water to) move some small and rudimentary turbine mill. Only at the height of Targist, military techniques with their trans-portation of water give such a pessimistic sight a chance to change. 312 133 It is necessary to descend kilometers and kilometers down the steep bed of the river, to about some three kilometers from where it empties

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!" Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

648

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

[181] [609]

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

[114]

000

22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

000 118--Malaria, of the "paludism" variety, was a considerable problem in the Rif of 1939, of which Blanco writes. In 1952-53, however, the [648] Spanish administration conducted a vigorous DDT campaign, which made [744] considerable strides in stamping out this disease.

119--Twiza is also often translated as "corvee". In Rifian, the word is dhiwiza, pl. dhiwizawin.

[466] 120--Any individual who failed to show up to take part in a twiza organized for repairing a ditch (of which he was--or is--one of the users) had to pay a fine ranging from about three to five duros. This fine, however, was not and is not paid to the aquwwam, but is levied as r-haqq by the jma'th in question, whose members buy and consume tea and sugar with the proceeds.

121--Irrigation turns, after the lots have been drawn to establish the order in which they occur, continue in the same order until something happens to the ditch, i.e. if it is washed out by a storm or if it loses water completely; and then lots are drawn again.

122--In 1953, the Granja Agricola had two days out of an eight day irrigation turn cycle, from the Dharga Hadhidha, on the left bank of [613] the Nkur River. The other six days, the following lineages irrigated from the same ditch: Bu Srama (Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen n Waddai (Isrihan, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Ihaddjiyen (Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), r-'Aramth (affiliation unknown), Aith 'Alla (Imhawren, in the Aith 'Ari) and Aith Bu Minqadh (a "foreign element", supposedly from the Sus, in the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari).

123--An akhammas is a poor sharecropper who receives one-fifth of the grain harvest of a richer individual with whom he has an annual verbal contract.

124--Blanco handles in a most able manner the whole question of the relationship of irrigation turns to lineage structure. Although by no means 100% accurate in all instances, his equation of the usage of secondary ditches by dharfiqin and of the smaller tertiary branches by the ijujga, or lineage branches, is certainly correct enough and widespread enough, in the Plain of al-Husaima in particular (where the distribution of irrigation turns is a very complicated affair), to be taken as a rule of thumb.

125--This seems a strange remark, particularly because it is italicized; as only plowing and sowing takes place in winter in the Rif, while the harvest is taken in mid-summer. However, it is possibly intended in irony, to show the poverty of the region.

126--Blanco refers here, in somewhat poetic and rhapsodic fashion, to the great topographical difference between the arid mountains along the upper course of the Ghis and the fertile alluvial Plain of al-Husaima which characterizes much of its lower course.

127--This number may have been 55 in 1939; it was certainly much higher in 1961.

128--Blanco mistranslates l-Bzimma, and, by extension, al-Masimma, as "the renowned".

000

[175] 129--Al-Mazimma was the port, in the 8th century A.D., for the City of Nakur. Modern Rifians do not confuse it with al-Husaima which, they say, aside from the present city and provincial capital of that name, covered the whole area from Badis in Bni Bu Frah to Ras Sidi Sh'aib in Thimsaman. It should also be noted that Sidd, in Arabic, means "dam".

[423] [432] 130--A translation of this document is given in Chapter XVII. It should be noted, in any case, that if a foreigner or anyone whose family does not traditionally irrigate in the area comes to buy land (and to build a house, etc.) in the Lower Ghis region, he has no right to irrigation water until he buys an irrigation turn. He must, furthermore, have a document proving that he bought his turn.

[712] [648] [175] [113] 131--The Jami' al-Mujahidin, or "mosque of the fighters of the faith", where the Aith Waryaghar mounted a permanent and perpetual guard against Spanish invasion, from 1673, when Spain occupied the Isle of al-Husaima, until 1926, when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas, Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47.

[175] [648] [631] 132--Both these men were of Ajdir, subclan of Aith Ughir Iyizan, clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi, a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim who during the Rifian War was pensioned by the Spaniards and in 1926 made qa'id of all Aith Waryaghar by them, died in 1936.

133--This statement needs some qualification. The four names under consideration here, although two of them (Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan) certainly correspond to lineage names, are in effect names of irrigation turns, for, on the other hand, Bu Mqathir and Zawith (the latter refers to the area around the Monday Women's Market, at Azghar, and not, as far as we know, to any particular zawiya) are both place names, and in both these instances, as indicated in the notation of participants in the Zawith turn, it is the lineages who form local groups in the area under consideration who have right to irrigation water, irrespective of their clan affiliations. In the Zawith turn, again, one of the participating ijujga is that of the Andrusen: this lineage, whose name means "Andalusians", has become a member segment of the subclan of Lower Imrabdhen, in the clan of the Imrabdhen; we say "has become" rather than "is", because, as in fact its name shows, it is made up of the descendants of "foreign shurfa" rather than of those of local ones. Another participating jajgu, the Ihaddallahan, is a lineage branch of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif of Ajdir, of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan in the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; while the Ushshannen are a branch of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, also of Ajdir. We have unfortunately been unable to establish the lineage affiliations of the Fisra and Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi; and, like Blanco's, our own notes on irrigation in the Lower Ghis (made in Imzuren in the autumn of 1953) have nothing to say regarding the lineage participating in the Bu Mqathir turn on the fifth day.

However, one point is very clear: that with the rotation over the first four days between Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan, and the additional fact that at least two lineages of Ajdir participate in the Zawith turn,

by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

132 mean would be somewhat higher in the highlands, the range of
[243] variation would be as great. Since the economic backbone of the area is the dry farming of cereals, low rainfall or drought causes serious difficulties.

175 The history of the Rif presents us with the strange paradox that it is better documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries than for the nineteenth. We have several written chronicles of the Arab city states established along the Mediterranean, such as Nekor which drops out of history in the eleventh century, and Bades which was captured by the Spanish in the sixteenth century. Of the Berbers in the hinterland we have
[113] little material with the exception of el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif (French translation by Colin, 1926) dated 1311, and el-Bekri's Description de l'Afrique septentrionale from the eleventh century. El-Bekri notes that already in that time most
[131] of the present tribes of the Rif were located in their present sites (Michaux-Bellaire, 1925: 180-181). Between these accounts,
[648] fragmentary at best, and the uncritical chronicles of Spaniards leading punitive expeditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Riffian history is rather blank.

175 Geographical circumstances made the Central Rif peripheral
648 to most events going on in Morocco. Only with the insistence of the Spanish government did the Moroccan Sultan send an expedition into the Rif in the late nineteenth century to punish the Ibuqquyen for piracy. During the early years of the present

175 century a pretender to the Sultan's throne, Bow Hamara, seeking
648 to consolidate his position in the north, invaded the Rif. He was halted in 1908 on the shores of the Nekor by the Beni Wariyaghar (Maldonado, n.d.:486) who united not to save a crown but to preserve their own autonomy.

175 What we do know of the early history of the Rif is not so much definite historical material whereby one can discuss the contents of an event and its eventual repercussions, but rather the sociocultural background of the tribes.

174 16 Regarding the original populating of the Rif there is no definite information. The people who live there today may have lived there prior to the Arabic invasion of the seventh century and certainly did live there by the second invasion of the eleventh century according to el-Bekri's account. They may have been pushed into this area by the first Arabic invasion or by other Berber tribes at earlier dates. The ruggedness of the terrain and the difficulty of earning even a subsistence suggests that migration to the Rif was not voluntary. The Rif mountains hardly constitute a promised land. Though it is only conjecture, I suspect that the Rif was first populated by small groups of kinsmen living in the lowlands of the Taza Province who were forced because of the blood feuds to leave their original homestead and take up residence in these inaccessible areas. There is a certain justification for this belief since the present population distribution in the Rif is due mainly to small segments of original lineages fleeing the consequences of the blood feud.

175 The social facts are, however, somewhat clearer. The
• 648 Berber tribes of the Central Rif were a part of the bled-as-siba,
651 or that area in which the central Moroccan government (bled-al-makhzen) failed to exercise effective control. The boundary between the one and the other was determined by whether within the area in question the makhzen could or could not collect taxes. If a tribe had voluntarily or involuntarily submitted to the payment of tribute, there would be a royal intermediary, a qaid, to collect revenue. In the Rif such dominancy was not present until the Spanish, or in the case of the Igzinnayen, the French, were able to assert supremacy.

619 A complimentary feature of the bled-as-siba, at least as
(648) it obtained in the Central Rif, was that not only were the tribes independent of the makhzen but within any particular tribe itself, the internal segments of which it consisted were independent in most instances from one another. There was no tradition of centralization in this region. Each tribe (taqbitch) was divided
619 into segments of varying degrees of inclusiveness. The maximal
613 lineages or ar-rba agreed that they belonged to a common social group which was socially, geographically, and to some extent linguistically distinct from other taqbitch. This social entity was evoked more in terms of space than of time. If one lived within the spacial limits of the tribe one was a member of that group. However, rights and duties within the taqbitch were nebulous and a Riffian would only use his tribal identity to someone who was unacquainted with local political sub-divisions. As a

631 692 556 554 571 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally prominent man is generally efficacious since government representatives attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 648 556 619 The national government is well aware of the actual dual organization of political power in the country. While every Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

641 To partake in such leadership requires wealth since the trip
648 itself is expensive (the only form of public transportation
556 from the Rif to Rabat is by bus and these men eschew this in
619 favor of splitting the expense of a taxi ride of several hundred
[494] miles) and the per diem allowance is more a token than anything realistic.

Some men have gracefully retired from positions of community leadership because of expenses such as these. If over a period of years one declines to go to such ceremonies because of ill health or pressing familial affairs, the person is quietly dropped from the list of the invited and another local man is
556 substituted. Expenses for maintaining such a social position are not small in relationship to the amount of wealth available even to the better-off Berber. On the other hand, wealth alone does not qualify one for a position of political prominence and social prestige. The importance of a man is based not on his wealth per se but rather what sort of wealth it is and how he came by it. Wealth divorced from such critical factors cannot be translated by the Riffian into socially meaningful significance. To operate within the context of profit is to operate outside the complex of social responsibility and communal soli-
556 darity. Thus while there are entrepreneurs in the Rif, they do
472 not have the social prestige that goes with traditional wealth in land. This distinction could be illustrated by numerous examples but the following cases were selected because they

443 On the market day itself, this changes. Merchants arrive on bus, mule, truck, or foot to set up their booths. By eight o'clock there is a small but steady flow of fellah entering the
443 market. At the main entrances of the suq taxes are collected.
651 For those who have certain articles to sell, a tax must be paid,
438 based on the quantity of the commodity. There are certain cases, to be discussed below, when commodities may enter the market free to be taxed later, at the moment of sale or after the goods have been accumulated but before they leave the market.

443 The tax of the market is, at present, the main source of
65 revenue that the government realizes from the Rif. Both the
648 Spanish and Moroccan governments found that the collection of taxes on the basis of market exchange was the most feasible way of extracting revenue from the Rif.[1] By walling off the market and stationing guards at the entrances the government is able to impose a stability on the collection process. "Conviene senalar que la recaudación de los impuestos del Majken en los Zocos se viene realizando por las intervenciones militares sin el menor obstáculo y con mucha más facilidad que puede efectuarse en las ciudades la recaudación de los arbitrios urbanos" (Albéniz 1930:118-119).

---

[1] The Spanish charged a tax (tertib) on the yield of the land and upon livestock. The tertib was discontinued after independence and a new tax "was so designed as to exempt the poorest 90 percent of farmers" (Morocco 1965:394). This excludes most of the fellah. For a discussion of the Spanish tax structure in Morocco see Hart 1956:253.

443 651 648 438 [123] Below is the official tax rate of the Spanish as given in Albéniz (1930:121-122). I have no schedule of my own because of a disinclination on the part of officials to give me such information.

Articles upon which a tax is paid entering the market:	
A load of fruit	0.75 Spanish pesetas
Basket of vegetables	0.75
Basket of fish	1.50
Kilo of honey or butter	0.40

Articles upon which a tax is paid upon leaving the market by the large-scale buyers:	
Wool	5% of total value
Straw mats	0.25 each
Dried cereal	0.50 quintal
Goat or lamb hide	0.20 each
Cattle hide	0.50 each

Articles upon which a tax is paid at the moment of exchange:	
Horses	5% of the value of the sale
Mules	5% of the value of the sale
Donkeys	5% of the value of the sale
Firewood, a quintal	5% of the value of the sale

Articles upon which a tax is charged when entering the market and again upon being sold:	
Basket of wool	.10 and .20
Chickens and wild fowl	.10 and .10
Eggs (dozen)	.10 and .10
Carbon (a sack)	.10 and .10

443 651 648 438 735 While Albéniz's list follows the general lines of present taxing policy, there have been some changes aimed at helping the poor. For example, small lots of fruit, vegetables, nuts and eggs can enter the market without paying a duty. Revenue is collected for

443 651 438 648 [735] [276] such items if they are purchased by the large middlemen merchants who pay the tax upon leaving the suq. Because of governmental tax and conservation laws, carbon is rarely sold in the free market but rather in the black market. The narcotic kif, which undoubtedly is a major trade item, also is in the province of the black marketeer. Missing from Albéniz's list are almonds, which have become an increasingly important cash crop. Almonds enter the market free in small lots, are bought by large-scale merchants and taxed upon departing from the market.

443 After paying his tax, the seller enters the market and goes to the area occupied by traders of his particular commodity. There are no market rules demanding that a seller go to a special place but areas have by custom been developed for each type of goods. Those people selling an unusual commodity or unique service set up shop wherever they desire as long as it does not interfere with the operation of the market.

443 438 In the following I shall outline the sorts of commodities brought to the market and the categories of people involved in marketing them. The composition of the agricultural products varies greatly with the season. Tomatoes, green peppers, and other vegetables are available only in the summer and early fall. For a short period during the fall, fruit is in overabundance. Potatoes, maize, garlic, and onions appear throughout the year, though again the supply varies. There are always large stacks of unmilled barley even though this is supposed to be the main crop of the region. That the fellah have to buy barley on

Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.

Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation, while pursued by the Thimsamen and Ibuqquyen tribes for several centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men, in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the poor.

Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local <u>suqs</u> are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

CONCLUSION

105 631 I shall now draw a résumé of the character of the Rif economy. The first factor which merits our attention is that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba, the land of insolence, as opposed to the bled as-makhzen. The central feature of the 105 631 latter was that a central political body integrated the economy, 648 extracting taxes, channeling production, and supervising trade. The central government ran the economy which, with its large estates, absentee landowners, and tax-supported upper class, presented a classical example of an Oriental style of economic integration.

105 631 The bled-as-siba presents quite another form of political integration and economic organization.[1] Politically, the Rif consisted of a number of small sub-units, each autonomous from the rest and each relying only on its own power for maintaining its political integrity and economic well-being.

---

[1] This holds true for only parts of the bled-as-siba. Other parts of the land outside the makhzen developed complex feudal political organization while at the same time remaining free of the Sultan. Examples from the current century include the Pasha of Marrakesh, el-Glaoui, and Raisuli in the northwest. As Benet noted, "The appearance of an internal proletariat in the Siba is a sure sign that it is developing an oligarchic tyranny of local character and a Makhzen of its own" (1957: 195).

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

105 The economic system of the bled-as-siba reflected this preoccupa-
631 tion, each sub-unit incorporating both its economic activity and its social activity in a manner so that the two could rarely be separated.

105 The Rif, however, is no longer bled-as-siba. Since 1926
• 648 it has been integrated into political systems with centralized
[631] authority. Yet most of the elements of the traditional economic
[178] system continue to persist. Why? I think that along with geographical isolation a poverty in natural resources has helped to maintain the Rif free from outside interferences. Sultans were hesitant to send a sizable army into the Rif because it was questionable whether the army could live off the land. Spain was interested less for economic reasons than as an effort to recoup some of the colonial glory she had but recently lost in a war with the United States. Once Spain established her protectorate she only selectively exploited the country in such items as minerals and lumber. On the whole this had no effect on the indigenous economic system. Nor has the Rif fared better since independence. "By comparison, the inhabitants of the old Spanish zone, largely Riffian, are poor relations when contrasted with their compatriots to the south. Extremely limited agricultural possibilities and poor communication in rugged terrain combine to produce this situation" (Steward 1964:170). The Moroccan government has found that the incorporation of the north constitutes a drain on national resources, contributing little to the national economy while at the same time extracting

105 a disproportionate share of the national income towards support-
648 ing the region. "On balance, the ex-Spanish zone brings little other than problems to the Moroccan administration and economy" (Ibid.:170).[1] Since it cannot be profitably exploited, the Rif is allowed to follow its own form of economic integration. This integration is based on an adaptation to the prevailing ecological and social conditions of the Rif. That the adaptation is successful is testified by its persistence.

105 In summary I shall sketch what seem to me the basic features of this economic system. I do not pretend that this is an exhaustive summation of all elements of the system nor is it adequate as a treatment of the new forms of economic organization which are emerging in the Rif (expanding wage labor, tourism, etc.). It does, however, serve as a guide towards understanding the major elements of this status economy and, it is hoped, deepens our perception of the economic life of nonindustrial society.

105 We may start with the element in the system which marks
43 the greatest point of departure from the economy of an industrial
182 society. Those resources of the fellah which are not devoted to subsistence are predominantly tied up in meeting needs arising from a combination of social and religious factors. Production

---

[1] The same is said about the Kabylia in Algeria. Yet it is unlikely that independence in either country could have been achieved as quickly as it came without the assistance of these dissentient Berber groups. Unfortunately, once independence is achieved they become a burden to the urban-oriented leaders.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

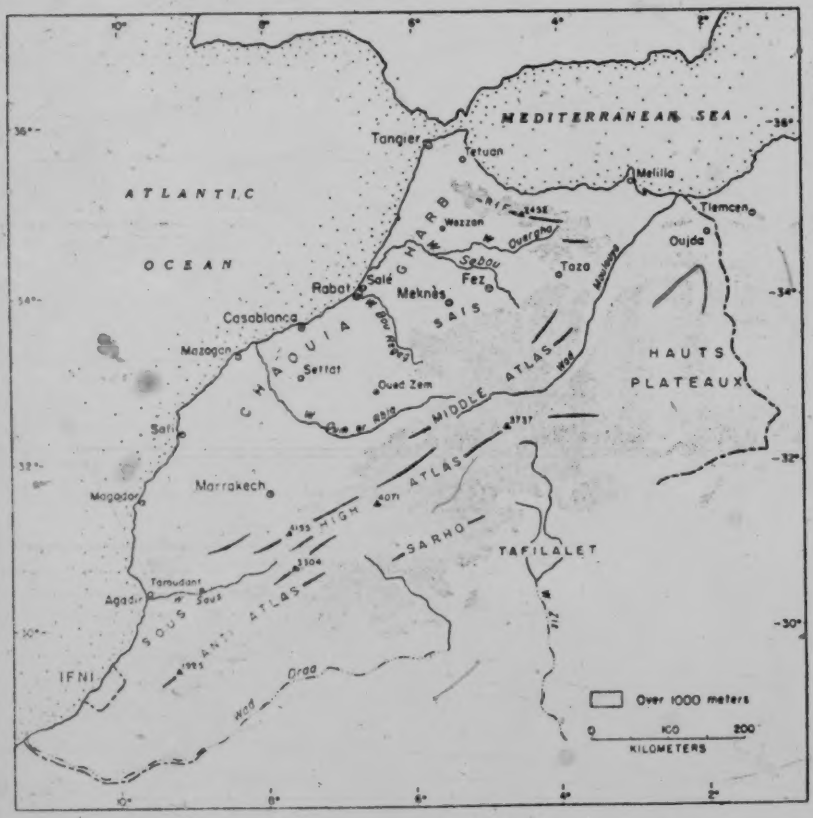
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE "NORTHERN ZONE"

101

MOROCCANS refer to their country as al-Maghrib al-Aqsa: the "Far West" of the Muslim world (fig. 1). From 1912 until 1956 it was divided into three zones: French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and the International Zone of Tangier. In March, 1956, a joint declaration was signed by representatives of France and

175 131 648



102 131 133

Fig. 1. Morocco: orientation map.

Morocco, restoring independence. Within a month Spain resigned its protectorate, and before the end of the year the international regime was abolished. Moroccan governors promptly replaced the European administrators. Spanish Morocco ceased to function as a separate political unit, although it continued to be recognized as the northern zone. In this study the expressions "northern Morocco" and "northern zone" refer to the area previously under Spanish and international control.

175 131 648 101 128

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.*

The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes† and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.‡ Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar,§ quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

* In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

† *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

‡ Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

favored the propagation of xerophytic and heliophilous plants, and thus enhanced the illusion of desiccation. The "tropical" animals pictured on Roman mosaics did not die out as a result of climatic change; they were exterminated by man. The last elephants probably disappeared in Roman time. Lions may have been in the Atlas Mountains until about 1900. Ostriches, antelopes, and other animals nearly extinct in the Sahara still survive along the upper reaches of the Saqiyah al-Hamra in Río de Oro. The arguments for and against desiccation in historic time have been debated at length, and the weight of evidence is against a significant change in climate.[3]

The Berbers

The autochthonous inhabitants of northern Africa are usually described as Berbers. In classical times this appellation, derived from Greek and Latin roots meaning "barbarian," was applied to individuals or groups living beyond the Orbis Romanus. Today Berber is applied as a general name, devoid of pejorative implication, to North Africans who are not Arabized. The people thus designated refer to themselves as *imazighen* (nobles). The European term serves a useful function if its application is determined by the persistence of Berber speech, but confusion results when it is given racial, moral, or psychological connotation. Romantic notions of the Berbers as "noble savages" may be found even in serious works.[4] The French had an instinctive liking for the Berbers, because they seemed more European than Oriental in physical appearance and mental outlook. But the policy of encouraging Berber languages, Berber law, and Berber traditions, as a means of checking Arab nationalism, had at best only temporary success.

The racial characteristics of the Berber-speaking peoples are far from uniform. In the Kabylie, Aurès, Rif, and Atlas mountains one may see dolichocephalic people, with blue or gray eyes, and light brown or even blond hair. Other Berber-speaking peoples are darker and have round heads. Many Berbers are of the classical Mediterranean type. The Tuareg form another group, tall and lean, with short bodies and long limbs. The physical characteristics of the indigenous peoples of northern Africa seem to have resulted from the crossing of several races during widely separated periods.[5]

The confusion surrounding the meaning of "Berber" is further complicated by the fact that French colonial policy called for a division of Morocco into Berber and Arab territories, each with a distinct system of local government and law.[6] In unreasoned protest against the implications of this policy, some authors, sympa-

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35)

[3] There are many discussions of this problem: Stéphane Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* (Paris: Hachette, 1913–1928), I, 44–99; Jean Despois, *La Tunisie orientale: Sahel et Basse Steppe* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1940), pp. 237 ff.; Rhoads Murphey, "The Decline of North Africa since the Roman Occupation: Climatic or Human?" Association of American Geographers, *Annals*, 41 (1951), 116–132; and K. W. Butzer, *Studien zum vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Landschaftswandel der Sahara* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1958), pp. 5–17.

[4] For an interesting example of Berber romanticism, see Edouard Brémond, *Berbères et arabes: la Berbérie est un pays européen* (Paris: Payot, 1950).

[5] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931); L. Cabot Briggs, "The Living Races of the Sahara Desert," Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 28 (1958).

[6] As recently as September, 1956, pamphlets urging the Berber tribes to revolt against "Arab imperialism" were distributed in Morocco. The Moroccan police promptly established that these tracts had been typed and mimeographed on machines used by an organization known as the "Présence Française." For the text of one of the tracts and the Moroccan reaction to it, see *Al-Istiqlal*, September 7, 1956, and the *Tangier Gazette*, September 14, 1956.

102
197
648
131

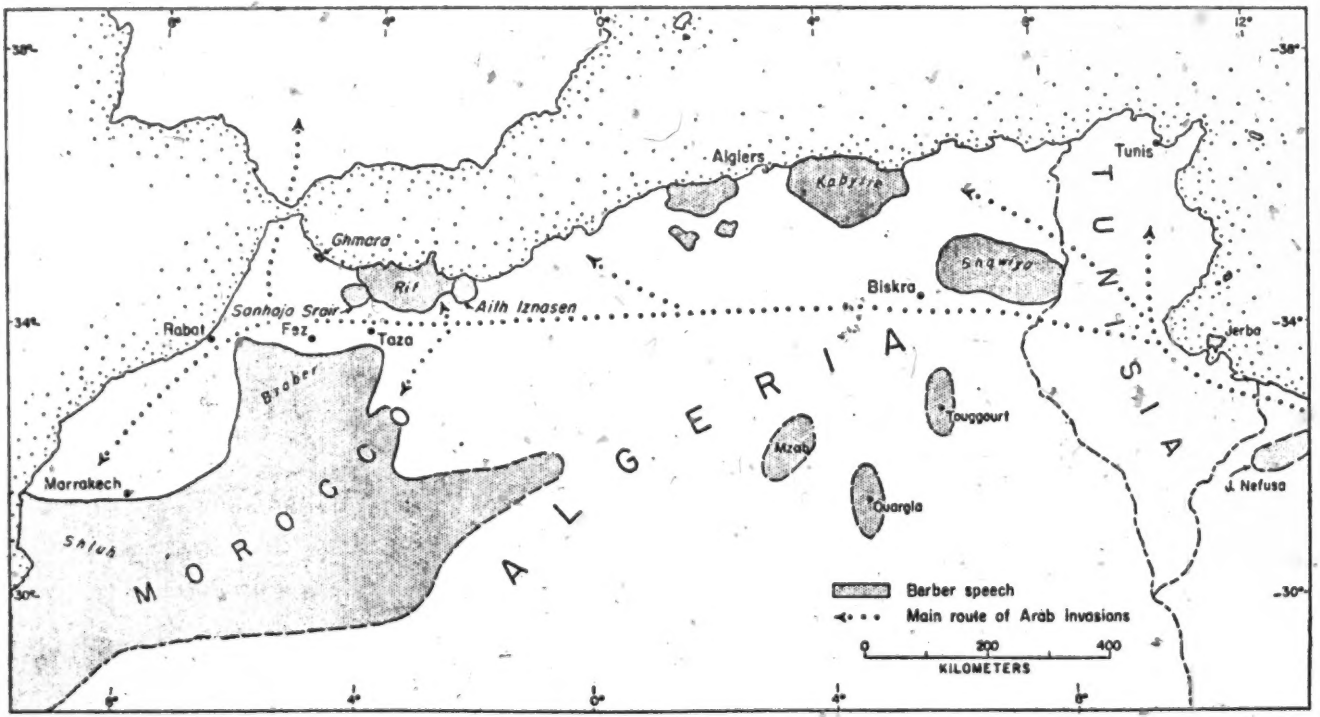


Fig. 9. North Africa; distribution of Berber speech.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Ip. 341

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The Spanish experienced even greater difficulty in their zone. The area between Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert was occupied in 1919, ten years after the siege had been lifted at Melilla. But at this time the Rifian highlands were still under tribal rule and most of Jbala was controlled by the brigand Raisuli.[11] When it seemed that the Spanish would at last be able to begin large-scale offensive action, they were defeated by the Rifian forces of Abd al-Krim.[12] Thanks to French intervention, the Rifian rebellion was suppressed in 1926, but the impoverished Spaniards were unable to bring their protectorate under effective control. The northern zone was completely neglected during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). Efforts to organize and develop the zone began in earnest only after the end of the Second World War, and these efforts were frustrated when Morocco regained its freedom in 1956.

These remarks are necessary to provide a proper focus for any image evoked by the expressions "French" or "Spanish" Morocco. Yet economic and cultural influence do not depend upon military occupation and the exercise of formal power. A decade before the Spanish gained control of Jbala, tribesmen of this province were wearing undergarments and waistcoats made of cotton spun at Manchester and Roubaix. When Sidi Muhammad ben Abdullah founded Mogador in 1765, he hoped that the new town would serve as a center for European traders and consuls. At the beginning of the twentieth century, eight ports—Tetuán (Río Martín), Tangier, Larache, Salé, Casablanca, Mazagan, Mogador, and Agadir—were open to foreign trade, and each received commodities destined to become important in Moroccan life. Tea, the foundation of Moroccan hospitality, was introduced by the English in the eighteenth century.[13] Tobacco came later, also as an article of European trade.[14] Spanish currency was widely circulated long before the Spanish themselves gained power. In his account of Peñón de Vélez, Leo Africanus relates that "Venetian galleys used to resort unto this isle, and to exchange their wares for the wares of the inhabitants, and sometimes to buy for ready cash."[15] Perhaps the best indication of the extent of European influence in northern Africa is the use by native peoples of a large number of European words.[16] The technical vocabulary of the fishermen on the Tunisian coast includes terms derived from Spanish, Catalan, various Italian dialects, and Maltese.[17]

[11] On Spain's difficulties with Raisuli, see W. B. Harris, *Morocco That Was* (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1921).

[12] The Rifian uprising became a major revolutionary war on July 21–22, 1921, when a large force under General Silvestre was defeated at Anual. For a full account of the war, see W. B. Harris, *France, Spain and the Rif* (London: Edward Arnold, 1927).

[13] A. Leriche, "De l'origine du thé au Maroc et au Sahara," *Bull. de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire*, Série A, 15 (1952), 731–735; J.-L. Miège, "Origine et développement de la consommation du thé au Maroc," *Bull. Economique et Social du Maroc*, 71 (1956), 377–398.

[14] Berthold Laufer *et al.*, "Tobacco and Its Use in Africa," *Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthro. Leaflets*, 29 (1930).

[15] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 519.

[16] Muhammad ibn Azzuz Hakim, *Glosario de mil quinientas voces españolas usadas entre los Marroquíes en el arabe vulgar* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1933); Mohammed Hadj-Sadok, "Dialectes arabes et francisation linguistique de l'Algérie," *Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales*, 13 (1955), 61–97.

[17] A. Gateau, "Introduction à l'étude du vocabulaire maritime en Tunisie," *Rev. Africaine*, 87 (1946), 140–183.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

313 The great wooden gates that used to guard the openings of every city wall
648 demonstrate the importance of the lumber trade. Only fragments of these gates
171 still exist, but it is certain that most of them were made of cedar. Logging operations were greatly expanded by the Spanish after the Rifian tribes had been pacified. It is not an exaggeration to say that the mineral deposits and cedar forests of northern Morocco were the only compensations for Spain's investment in colonial prestige. Reliable estimates of the amount of timber cut since the beginning of the protectorate cannot be found, possibly because the Spanish claimed to be conserving and restoring the forests in their zone. With the backing of military force, the Spanish were able to exercise some control over cutting by the native population, but their own work proceeded without interruption or apparent regulation. Spanish officials point out that the forests being exploited were private property and that the forestry service was concerned only with public domain.

In 1956 sawmills operated throughout the year at Tetuán and Targist, and during the summer months trucks heavily loaded with cedar logs could be seen on every mountain road. The fir forests on Jbil Tisuka and Jbil Leshab had not yet been heavily logged when Spanish "protection" came to an end, but the deciduous oaks on Jbil Buhashim had been cut in quantity for use as railroad ties. These operations may have been a brief chapter in the history of the Moroccan forest, but it is probable that the Spanish, with modern equipment, cut more trees in a decade than the local tribesmen could destroy in a century. The effects of Spanish logging are strikingly evident in the Sanhajan highlands, especially on Adrar Dahdoh, Adrar Tidighin, and Adrar Tizi Ifri.

313 This harsh judgment applies only to the exploitation of cedar and the decidu-
171 ous oaks. A modest amount of reforestation was undertaken. A plantation of
[185] *Eucalyptus* was established north of Larache; Aleppo pines were planted near Rincón, Alhucemas, Nador, and Melilla; and an effort was made to prevent premature stripping of the cork oak.[a]

Profiting from long experience in Algeria, the Service des Eaux et Forêts carried out an elaborate program in French Morocco. The system advocated and partly enforced was based upon periodic and progressive thinnings, which were intended to reconcile the interests of the tribesmen with good forestry practice. If effectively enforced, this method would have permitted the production of fuel without waiting for the normal age of exploitation, and would have improved pastoral conditions by facilitating the movement and supervision of livestock.[b]

314 Tannin is extracted from the roots and bark of all the Moroccan oaks, and
171 this operation frequently results in mutilation or death. The cork oak is espe-
311 cially vulnerable, for tannin is scraped from the delicate inner bark immediately after the corky tissue has been removed. Complete girdling destroys trees, and death may result if more than half of the circumference is damaged.[c] The tanners of Marrakech have been responsible for extensive deforestation in the

[113] [a] The program planned by the Spanish forestry service is described in González Vázquez, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–185, cited in note 34; and J. Ruiz de la Torre, *La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos y la elección de especies para su repoblación forestal* (Larache: Centro de Investigaciones Forestales, 1956).

[113] [b] For a brief account of French management, see J. P. Challot, "L'homme et la forêt marocaine," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 84 (1946), 233–261.

[c] Boudy, *op. cit.*, II (fasc. 1), 47 ff., cited in note 5.

/207 cont./

616
619
191

/footnote 2 continued/ Biqousasen (the green figs); Aït Oughgoummi : Ibougha (the foxes); Aït Tikiwit : Anziden (the argan-tree rats); Aït Tiyout : Id bou Ifedam (the palm fiber); Irasen : Ifkharen (the potters); Aït Tmighat : Tighitten (the goats); Aït Mrait : Tatten (the ewes), etc. ... These appellations are most often considered insulting.

000 Among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the center, in the region of the Beni Zerwal and the Senhaja of Srair, the hostility between the two parties appears less passionate than among the tribes in the vicinity of the Ocean, and it is transformed into a mere antipathy preserved as a memory of the furious fights of the past (3).

3. Among the Jbala of the East, such as Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja of Gheddo.

The two large leffs no longer play their role in the recent wars, and they have not been seen to oppose each other since the end of the last century. Still more to the East, between the Nkor and the Moulouya, the list of "Bou Tyour" is unknown; nevertheless the tribes still range themselves in one or the other of the two parties. The leffs are no more than a mere historical memory there.

616
648
194

In spite of the slight activity shown in our day by the leffs of the north of Morocco, it is nevertheless certain that the hostility of the Senhaja and the Ghomara in the past was very passionate. Beyond the historical evidence, we have proof of it in the fact that everyone still knows for a great distance the name of the tribes allied to his own. It is therefore much easier than in the Atlas of the Masmouda to reconstruct the general arrangement of the alliances, although each informant is scarcely acquainted with any territory except that of his own tribe.

/207 cont./

616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units. Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand,
[619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of
[131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah, around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/, plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

121 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the
178 Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Mo-
616 rocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched
131 over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

/208 cont./

619 131 'Alam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only [563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. [127] Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The [616] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the [648] other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

619 131 At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

/209 cont./

619 territory of the Koutama and of Taghzout. Badès, according to
131 Idrisi, was the eastern limit of the bloc of the Ghomara; the present Spanish name of Peñon de Vélez de la Gomera would suffice to prove that it was their port.

To the East were still found, between Badès and Ghassasa, in the vicinity of the cape Tres Forcas, Senhajian and Ghomarian populations, which, in the first centuries of the Hejira, had constituted the kingdom of Nekor of the Banou Salih, before the destruction of the town of Nekor at the beginning of the eleventh century (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 139.

[648] Moreover it is not impossible that the internal wars that deeply disturbed the life of this small State were caused by the permanent hostility of the two races.

175 What were the historic causes of the attack led by the Sen-
648 haja against the country of the Ghomara? Already at the time of Idrisi in the twelfth century, the latter had suffered a serious check, since their territory had been reduced toward the South, to the advantage of the Senhaja, by a just punishment from God, "because of their numerous sins, the weakness of their Islam, their perseverance in practicing adultery with complete freedom," and all their other crimes (3).

[113] 3. El Idrisi, Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne /Description of Africa and Spain/, text p. 170.

It is the succession of defeats that they suffered that is alluded to, as we have seen, in the classification of "Bou Tyour," /210/ in which the Ghomara are represented by animals "capable of being eaten."

But it is not possible to explain solely by the advance of Senhaja elements, who doubtless came originally from the Moyen Atlas /Middle Atlas/ for the acquisition of better lands,

/210 cont./

175 648 the present equilibrium of the tribes of the two leffs in the western part of the Jbala. First of all, elements foreign to the two races took part for one or the other of the adversaries, according to historical circumstances. Already in the eleventh century the Koutama were counting themselves with the Masmouda of the Habt; Nefzawa elements, such as the Soumata and the Ghessassa, small tribes of the group of the Aureba, such as the Jaya, Mezziat, Reghiwa, the group of the Branès, later some Zénète invaders, such as the Metalsa, had to choose a side and join one or the other of the alliances. Other groups, in submitting to the conqueror of the moment, even abandoned their leff of origin; thus it is that at present the Rhouna pass themselves off as Senhaja, whereas they belong to the other race. Koutama fractions were absorbed into the Senhaja of Srair; they are now part of their confederation; by contrast, the Boqqoya, Senhaja in origin, according to Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/, count themselves today in the "ʿalam" of the Ghomara. The Khlot, Arabs settled on the territory of the Beni Hassan, naturally attached themselves to the leff hostile to those whose place they were taking.

648 [174] It is easy, moreover, to imagine how, through the effect of internal divisions and local wars, the weakest groups were to detach themselves from the homogeneous mass of the tribes of their race and find themselves carried along little by little into new alliances more congenial to their inclinations or to their habitual interests. Still today, observes M. Michaux-Bellaire: "the small mountain tribes, incapable of defending themselves and preserving their independence, live under the protection and under the domination of a nearby large tribe to which they pay tribute ... [619] Two large tribes often dispute with arms the superiority over one of these little tribes and the little tribe at issue successively becomes Senhadjian or Ghomarian ..." (1).

1. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Habt /Some Mountain Tribes of the Habt Region/," p. 6.

/210 cont./

619 Thus it is that there is substituted, little by little, for the
648 idea of a struggle of races that of "ᶜalam," of political and military alliance. /211/ Examples of groups that have thus changed sides are given still in our day: the Mtiwa of the Rif, it is said at present, were formerly Senhaja, after having been Ghomara several centuries ago. They became Ghomara again; likewise, the Oulad Bou Slama, a small tribe formerly attached to the Senhaja of Srair, passed over to the Ghomari "ᶜalam"; by such changes of alliance, voluntary or forced, is thus doubtless explained the presence, in the center of the former country of the Ghomara, of groups of the Beni Ider, Beni Gorfet, Rehouna, of the Senhaji "ᶜalam."

619 Many points still remain obscure, it is true, in the distribu-
616 tion of the tribes of the Moroccan North between the two leffs.
648 The presence of Senhaja groups around Tétouan, the existence of two groups of Beni Saïd from the same leff on the coast at the two extremities of the Rif, the descent of the Senhaja of Srair toward Yallich, which they regard as their port, or the possession of Nekor by the Beni Ouriaghel are facts that seem to us poorly explained. Nevertheless it suffices to examine the map of the two "ᶜalam" in our time and to compare it with the indications of the Arab historians and geographers on the origin and ancient position of the tribes in order to be convinced of one important fact: by the normal interaction of the life of the sedentary tribes, the opposition that takes the form of war between two races tends to disappear; it becomes that of two large political leffs that little by little become balanced, fraction their units, so that in the chain of the Rif peopled with Senhaja and Ghomara the struggle of the tribes comes to grow similar, thanks to the forgetting of origins, to that of the cantons of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda (1).

1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 105, on the large leffs, Beni Snassen and Angad.

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

/294 cont./

634 792 182 This expansion of the religious forces smothers the free political life of the mountain populations, and even when a family head succeeds in dominating the neighboring villages and becoming amghar of an entire khoms, he remains the respectful servant of the holy personages who maintain in the tribes the tradition of Islam, hate of the Christian, and direct, without ever appearing, the debates of the little assemblies.

/295/ It is only where the grip of the marabouts and shorfa relaxes for a time and in the regions that are not entirely given over to private wars that the ambition of the minor amghars can be given free rein for some years. Indeed, we see them appear on the north versant of the chain of the Rif, out of the reach of the zaouias established on the summits, in the tribes of the Ghomara, among the Beni Bou Frah, the Beni Gmil, the Mestasa, and to the south of the Jbel Hammam, in the country of the Gzennaya at the sources of the Nkor, or in the tribe of the Beni Amret.

634 619 Although the internal life of these tribes at the end of the nineteenth century is less well known to us than that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it is nevertheless possible to find again the conditions in which the amghars of the western Rif grew important, up to the moment when the effort attempted by ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ to constitute a Riffian State made them disappear at a single blow.

619 648 The anarchy in the country and disturbances that occurred in the tribe of the Boqqoya had made necessary, at the beginning of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd el ʿAziz, the sending of a strong harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the organization of the tribes was entrusted to the kaid Boucheta el Baghdadi, of the guich /gish/ of the Sultan, who in our day has become Pasha of Fès /Fez/. The garrisons billeted in the old casbahs of Tafersit and Snada, supported by a small steamer of the sherifian fleet in the bay of Alhucémas, sufficed at this time to restore order. The [614] command of the tribal "khoms" was then entrusted to the chiefs of the most powerful clans, named sheiks for the occasion. The dissensions of the mountain "khoms," which had previously ended

/295 cont./

619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by [171] [681] [434] the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] [581] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Haji Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

/296 cont./

175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
554 succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
182 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
578 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ʿAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

/401 cont./

000 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe; [578] after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his [619] brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert, Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of 175 631 the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of 669 Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus 648 ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and

175 631 669 648 /402 cont./ of the tribes of the vicinity. ᶜAbd el Kerim can easily tame the revolts of the Rif fomented by the minor amghars of the Ghomara, /403/ jealous of the development of his power; soon he completes his successes by the conquest of the Jbel and makes his rival Raisouli perish in prison.

175 631 554 [648] Four years suffiçed to make of the son of the cadi of Ajdir the independent Sultan of the north of Morocco, who keeps the armies of Spain at bay; carried away by his ambition, by the enthusiasm and cupidity of his entourage, ᶜAbd el Kerim then dreams for an instant of conquering the towns of the Maghreb and becoming master of all the Mussulmans of Morocco, whose eyes turn toward him with growing admiration. Indeed, each day that passes increases his prestige; he becomes, in the eyes of western Islam, a new Moustapha /Mustafa/ Kemal; his name is known from the Indies to America, and people follow his victories and projects with a passionate interest; the large countries of Europe are stirred up by the importance that he is acquiring and, according to their interests, secretly desire his success or hope for his ruin.

175 631 182 648 A few weeks of well-directed military efforts moreover suffice to get rid of the "Riffian State." But the conditions under which this Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, so rapidly built up and at the same time so fragile, suddenly collapses enable us to see its internal structure clearly.

During the first phase of the war, the struggle between the Rif, France, and Spain was carried on to the boundary of the tribes conquered and governed by the Beni Ouriaghel; so the efforts of two large modern armies remained in vain because the members of the Riffian Makhzen /makhzan/ always succeeded in constraining all the populations of the mountains of the north of Morocco to continue the holy war, the "jihad," without sparing their forces; but when the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel itself is threatened, the warriors of ᶜAbd el Kerim's tribe all abandon at the same time their external commands in the tribes of the Jbala and the Wergha in order to come to defend their own homes; the grip exerted by the tribal brothers of the "Sultan of the Rif" on all the small

R
175
631
182
648

/403 cont./ mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

S
121
171
*631
554
182

IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

127 No student of the subject could possibly fail to recognize the tremendous value of maps such as these, which the then administration kindly lent me as an aid in my own work.

114 Civil war had now already broken out in Spain, and Emilio Blanco, like most of his fellow members of the corps of tribal interventores, was solidly pro-Nationalist. In July 1936, General Franco, after a historic meeting at the Yellow Plain of Ktama, won all the tribal elements of Spanish Morocco to his cause (not the least of which were the Aith Waryaghar who had fought so hard, with 'Abd al-Krim, against Spain only ten years earlier), was ready to march into his homeland as the Commander of the Spanish Nationalist Forces, now augmented with a large Moroccan contingent, one which, indeed, amounted to nearly half of the total Nationalist troops. Hence the then regional interventor of the Rif, Juan Bautista Sanchez Gonzalez, left Villa Sanjurjo to join Franco. Sanchez Gonzalez was succeeded by Major Blanco, and it was largely through Blanco's efforts and experience that the Rifians never once wavered in their allegiance to Franco during the next three years while Spain was wracked with strife. We refer anyone interested 114 in Blanco's attempts to improve the lot of the Rifians economically, 65 through public works and irrigation projects, and in his architectural projects (schools, mkhazni posts, market tribunals for qaids and qadis, and intervención offices - notably that of the "castle" at l-Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday Market of the Aith Turirth, on which depended the southeastern Aith Waryaghar highlanders) to Sierra Ochoa's article, cited above.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 692 *Picking windfall olives.* Similarly, the head of each family must pay a quarter of a dollar for each member of his family who starts picking up windfalls before the signal is given.

685 *Theft of olives.* The outright theft of olives is punished by a fine of ten dollars.

Trespassing in order to pick grass. If a man catches a woman picking or cutting grass for her cow on his land, he may report her, and her husband will be fined one dollar. But to make such a report is considered mean and few are willing to do so.

Stray goats and cattle in the cemetery. When goats or cattle, either with or without the intention of their guardian, enter a cemetery, their owner is fined a quarter of a dollar for each goat, and a dollar for each bull or cow which entered.

[689] *Repair of irrigation ditches.* If any farmer fails to send a man or men to work on a ditch, when he is required to do so, he is fined between two and three dollars per day per man.

Taking water illegally from irrigation ditches. This is considered a serious offense, and although it incurs but a five dollar fine, it always breeds bad feelings and often incites to murder.

[782] 623 692 688 *Regulating attendance at prayer.* To explain this function it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of religion. Each *bone* in the *canton* is required to send twenty-five men once a week to the common mosque of the *canton* to pray. The village council of each *bone* lists the names of all married men in the *bone*: a day is set for each *bone* to attend the mosque, and the *bone* keeps that day permanently. The first week the first twenty-five men on the list must go, the second week the second twenty-five, and so on until the list has been exhausted, when the procedure starts all over again. If the number of married men in the *bone* is not evenly divisible by twenty-five, those forming the remainder at the foot of the list are supplemented by enough at the head of it to fill the number, and the rotation starts anew. It is the task of the village council in whose territory the cantonal mosque is situated to see that twenty-five men appear from each *bone* on the allotted day. If a *bone* is so small that it does not contain twenty-five, it is combined with another *bone* for this purpose.

If the members of the village council of the mosque territory find that a quota is not full on a certain day, they fine the man who has defaulted five dollars. If this is not paid promptly the council of the great steps in and fines the guilty *bone* between two and three hundred dollars. If a man is away on a journey his name is temporarily stricken from the list and the following names are moved up one place; if he is ill or for some other reason unable to go, he is allowed to send a substitute. If a man falls ill on the way, becomes wounded, or is otherwise prevented from reaching the mosque when it is too late to obtain a substitute, his absence is excused.

The fines thus extracted, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the mosque, formerly consisted of walnuts, almonds, figs, or raisins. Later, when sugar was first imported, two sugar cones were assessed. Later still the money fine was introduced.

623 681 651 642 *Providing for exiles from other* fifths. When a man has been exiled by the tribal council for a year, two years, or more, he must pass to a different *fifth*, preferably to a *bone* in which he has friends. The village council of the *bone* collects an assessed portion of the crops of every farmer and gives it to him. This it does for the first year only. If he remains more than a year he must work as a share-laborer for a farmer and earn his living. If a farmer refuses to give his assessed portion it is taken by force, and twofold. Such refusals are, however, almost unknown.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Entertaining councillors of another tribe. If the councillors of a strange tribe stop at a village for the night, the local village council has charge of their entertainment. They first provide a house for the guests by expelling some childless man and his wife from their dwelling for the night. They then collect foodstuffs. Bread and all fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, and vegetables, are assessed from rich men without payment. Meat, sugar, tea, candles, oil, pepper, butter, and poultry are purchased from members of the *bone* willing to sell them. The boys of the council buy the poultry from widows, and eggs as well, if no one brings them voluntarily. Anyone refusing to supply the bread assessed him may be fined ten *soldi* a loaf; but since no one has ever been known to refuse, the fine is purely theoretical. If in buying those articles not given, the members of the council spend more money than they have in the fine treasury, they pay the excess amount themselves, later collecting it in equal portions from all the men of the *bone* who have been married one year or over. They themselves act as cooks for the visiting councillors.

Entering council chamber unbidden. If any member of the *bone* enters the council chamber while the council is deliberating, the intruder is told to remain and is given tea. When at length he departs, a member of the council is immediately sent out to call him back. This time he is reprimanded for having entered unbidden, and is fined between two and three dollars.

Conversing with women. If a man or boy speaks to a married woman belonging to a *bone* other than his own, on the path or in any other public place, except the market, the village council of the village to which the woman belongs summons the offender and fines him five dollars. If the offender repeatedly seeks out the woman, or loiters about places she is known to frequent in order to converse with her, the village council of the offender's own *bone* fines him between fifty and sixty dollars. If the offense takes place in market it is considered more serious, and comes before the council of the great.[1] These rules do not apply to unmarried women, who may be spoken to, in a respectful manner, by anyone.

Quarrels between women. When one woman injures another with a stone, stick, or other implement, the village council collects a fine of from five to six dollars from the husband of the aggressor. The council generally hears of such cases through gossip, since the husband of the injured woman is usually too ashamed to report it.

Entering a cemetery occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a cemetery when the women of the *bone* are convening there on a Friday or holiday, he is fined five dollars.

Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a saint's tomb in which women are convening, the village council fines him from fifty to a hundred dollars.

Fighting with the hands. If two men fight with their hands, without using any weapon, the village council determines which man started the fight and fines him an amount commensurate with the injury done.

Speaking to an enemy. If a man is caught conversing with a member of a hostile *bone*, at a time when war is either in progress or imminent, the village council of his own *bone* fines him fifty dollars.

In the tribes and territories where there is no village council, the rendering of justice in small affairs which is the work of this body is not performed. For example, one man may cut down another's tree or take his grass without any fine or other official reckoning; he can likewise speak to a woman of another *bone*; but if he does these things he incurs the wrath

[1] See below, p. 102.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

63| Bū 'Ayyāsh (the *farīqath* of Aith 'Adhīya). Although the second *liff* was the smaller of the two, its fighting strength was heavily reinforced by Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith 'Adhīya, both of which groups have very bellicose reputations. Aith Ḥadīfa and Imrābdhen are weaker sections, on the other hand, while the presence of half of the «fifth» of Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh in each *liff* shows how divided within itself this biggest and most warlike of all the divisions used to be. It is also appropriate to point out that only in connection with «fifth» of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī (later to produce 'Abd al-Karīm) and Aith 'Alī does the term *rbā'*, in Wuryāghlī parlance, differ in political significance from *thakhammāsth*; Ait Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and Aith 'Alī are considered as separate *rubū'* belonging to the same *thakhammāsth*, implying, somewhat paradoxically, that a «fifth» is larger than a «fourth». In all the other major sections the terms are used interchangeably, although at the present time *rbā'* takes precedence, as. under the Spanish administration, there are six and not five administrative divisions in the tribe, two in each of three «caidatos». Referred to by the administrations as «fractions», these consist of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Imrābdhen in the caidato of Uṭa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Ḥadīfa in the caidato of the Upper Ghīs, and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh and Jabal (Aith 'Arūs, Aith Turīrth of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Thimārzgha of Aith 'Alī) in the caidato of Nakūr.

Aith Wuryāghīl, being the biggest tribe in the Spanish Protectorate, has been given the status of a separate «comarcal» by the administration, and each of the three caidatos is governed by a *qā'id*, who is assisted in his duties by a *khalīfa*. Under and subject to him are the *shiyūkh* (sing. *shaikh)* of the rubū' or «fractions», each of whom is also assisted by a *khalīfa*. The qā'id presides over his tribunal *(maḥkāma)* every week in the principal market of the caidato In addition, special «fractional» juntas were created as of 1952 by the administration; these are made up of all the *muqaddamīn* (sing. *muqaddam)* of the «subfractions» *(farīqath)* and of all the representative (*ukīl*) of the villages, usually the village *jurā'ī* (sing. *jārī*). This junta, which meets every three months in the «fractional» market, is presided over by the *shaikh*. Its principal duty is to carry 69| 65| out the collection of the *tartīb*, the tax paid to the Makhzin in Tetuan by each farmer on each head of livestock and on each hectare

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

of land under cultivation which he possesses; it also assures the collection of the market tax, a small tariff paid by each man to the market *amīn* on the animals and produce which he brings into the market to sell. The money is destined for «fractional» use entirely: upkeep of the market, digging a new well, or for any purpose which pertains to or is of interest to the «fraction» in general. The *shaikh* of the «fraction» is responsible to the *qā'id* for the assessment and collection of this money, while the *qā'id* himself takes direct charge of matters which involve the caidato as a whole. In another building in the market place, the *qāḍī*, also assisted by a *khalīfa*, administers the Sharī'ā, which at the present time has largely supplanted the old Riffian *'urf* or customary law.

This form of government, based entirely on the Arab system, has completely superseded the old regime of the *Aiṭh Arba'īn*, of the *imghāren* (sing. *amghār*), the family and village headmen who, in each «fifth», used to make up its governing body in the days before 'Abd al-Karīm. The powers of the *imghāren*, who also used to meet in the market, were much more extensive than those of the modern «fractional» junta, and included assessment and collection of fines for theft of livestock, for talking to women in the market, for suspected but unproven adultery, and the collection of blood money (*dīyath*). These duties and the unwritten customary law which governed them have all been substantially assimilated by the legal jurisdiction of the Makhzin and by the Sharī'a.

Although in the old days there was no higher body politic than the *imghāren* of the «fifth», those of all five «fifths» used to meet together at a place called *aghrau* (p. *ighrāwen)*, the location of of which had previously been announced in the market by the *barrāḥ* or market crier, in case a crisis arose which assumed tribal proportions. In case of adultery caught *in flagrante delicto*, the injured husband had, and still has, the traditional privilege of killing his wife and her lover with exemption from payment of blood money. In case of murder committed on profane ground, the murderer had to pay a fine *(ḥaqq)* of 5.000 pesetas to the *imghāren*, and blood money amounting to 6.000 pesetas to his victim's family, provided the latter chose to accept it. If they did not, as was usually the case, a feud was in full swing inmediately, and the council members, lea-

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] 42--Dhwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in
[233] error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither
[857] a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this
[196] notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The
● [651] most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas
[671] that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for
[171] either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

423 never be made use of through such modest donations, so exact was the
794 objective for which they were turned over. And today they are obliged to be substituted by new constructions, as already we are finding instances in which the tribesmen are obliged to use part of their communal property in order to cover their minimal religious needs.

The traditional tribesman, a localistic and primitive soul, could never dream that his generous gesture and the fruit of his labor would be converted into utilization for and the beautifying of the vampire city, of that city which he knows only through its derisive attitude toward him and its desire to cheat him.[12]

651 b) Self-Taxation: This category was fulfilled in the jma'th
621 through other classes of property, such as religious (properties), through voluntary contributions and through alms.

The 'ashur (Rif. dha'ashurth) or tithe from the harvests, which was received in kind by another amin (read mqaddim), also a lay (author's italics) tribesman expressly nominated by the jma'th to whom he was responsible, justifying payments and income, and guarding and administering voluntary donations.

651 The respect for and knowledge of these good customs and
648 primary institutions in the Rif has permitted us to utilize such sentiments of solidarity on diverse occasions, without excessive shifts from times of abundance to others of restriction, hence giving them the sensation of our constant solicitude and thus coming to establish in some jma'ath and 'bureaux' (oficinas) the idea of voluntary deposits (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

[648] 12--This paragraph, as well as the preceding one with its reference to the "urban mulay", clearly indicate that Blanco fully shared the prevailing view of the protectoral authorities of both zones of Morocco regarding the administrative wisdom inherent in the separation of Town and Tribe.

000 (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

651
621 The 'ashur, a Koranic tax which was always collected by the Makhzin--even including "rebellious Makhzins" like that of 'Abd al-Krim--continued to be collected by the jma'th in its long periods of "anarchy", which to the jma'th concerned meant, of course, autonomy. From this stems the fact that although the tirtib today is the real Makhzin-imposed tax, the 'ashur, for the Rifian tribes, continues to retain its traditional character both of religious obligation and of application to the jma'th (author's italics), a tax which is accepted with such good grace as to leave the evaluation of how much is to be paid to the conscience of the reductions longed for by any Rifian; and this in just the same way as the tirtib is rejected and regarded as disagreeable. Hence the reform of the tirtib, or better yet, the reform of any system of tribute, might also be advisable with a view to freeing the product from any internal encumbrances.

Hence the voluntary alms (self-taxation) which Rifians call dha'ashurth (tithe), collected in kind (figs, raisins, walnuts, olive oil, barley, etc.) and turned over to the hands of the appropriately elected member of the local community, constituted the beneficial bases with which the jma'th fed its own poor and those in transit, without falling into the prodigalities, with relation to their means, of organizations set up in which there are real contests to be poor, with the result that their mean standard of living was higher than the sober mean of the jma'th, which organizations of this type should not surpass nor equal[13].

13--The allusion here has escaped us: it may possibly refer to some particular institution current in Spain in the 1930s. In any event, this is another of Blanco's tortuously meandering sentences.

871 621 793 c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

621 574 651 The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muna) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the 621 iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare 241 651 reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to [794] be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a 792 794 fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

---

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

671
701
681

Fines to be imposed:

Harka members: for each day of absence, two (days to be served) in the harka, and a fine of 2 duros.

Qa'ids of 25 men: the same, with a fine of 3 duros.

Qa'ids of 50 men: the same, with a fine of 4 duros.

Qa'ids of 100 men: the same, with a fine of 5 duros.

Qa'ids of 200 men: the same, with a fine of 6 duros.

This is an order emanating from the fortunate Makhzin (i.e. of 000 'Abd al-Krim). May God protect it. In Taghzut on Ramadan 23, 1344 (March 8, 1926). By order of 'Abd al-Karim bin Ziyan.[110]

12. DOCUMENT OF EXEMPTION FROM PAYMENT OF TAXES[111]:

212
• 651

Praise be to the one God. The blessings of God be upon our (lord) Muhammad, his family and friends.

It shall be known through the present document that we, taking into consideration the services rendered to the Makhzin and the taxes which because of hospitable attentions with warlike objectives (holy war) weigh upon the bearers, the sons of the late Si Ahmad bin Si 'Ali al-Tawti are exempted by us from the contributions concerned....The 'amil, in virtue of this, orders that they not be asked of them....And the peace.

Safar 18 of the year 1341 (October 10, 1922). Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, may God be with him, amen. (Signed and sealed).

471
501

13. QANUN OF THE SEA--AITH WARYAGHAR[112]:

A) The Boat Owner:

He owns the boat (agharrabu, pl. igharruba)[113], acquired by transfer, sale, already used or repaired by carpenters on the beach, of whom there are still a few[114].

175 648 651 The social facts are, however, somewhat clearer. The Berber tribes of the Central Rif were a part of the bled-as-siba, or that area in which the central Moroccan government (bled-al-makhzen) failed to exercise effective control. The boundary between the one and the other was determined by whether within the area in question the makhzen could or could not collect taxes. If a tribe had voluntarily or involuntarily submitted to the payment of tribute, there would be a royal intermediary, a qaid, to collect revenue. In the Rif such dominancy was not present until the Spanish, or in the case of the Igzinnayen, the French, were able to assert supremacy.

619 (648) A complimentary feature of the bled-as-siba, at least as it obtained in the Central Rif, was that not only were the tribes independent of the makhzen but within any particular tribe itself, the internal segments of which it consisted were independent in most instances from one another. There was no tradition of centralization in this region. Each tribe (taqbitch) was divided into segments of varying degrees of inclusiveness. The maximal lineages or ar-rba agreed that they belonged to a common social group which was socially, geographically, and to some extent linguistically distinct from other taqbitch. This social entity was evoked more in terms of space than of time. If one lived within the spacial limits of the tribe one was a member of that group. However, rights and duties within the taqbitch were nebulous and a Riffian would only use his tribal identity to someone who was unacquainted with local political sub-divisions. As a

619 613

443 182 571 [452] [554] He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

443 182 What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all <u>suqs</u> of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific <u>suq</u>. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturallement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

443 [651] [366] [312] Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

443 On the market day itself, this changes. Merchants arrive on bus, mule, truck, or foot to set up their booths. By eight o'clock there is a small but steady flow of fellah entering the
443 market. At the main entrances of the suq taxes are collected.
651 For those who have certain articles to sell, a tax must be paid,
438 based on the quantity of the commodity. There are certain cases, to be discussed below, when commodities may enter the market free to be taxed later, at the moment of sale or after the goods have been accumulated but before they leave the market.

443 The tax of the market is, at present, the main source of
651 revenue that the government realizes from the Rif. Both the
648 Spanish and Moroccan governments found that the collection of taxes on the basis of market exchange was the most feasible way of extracting revenue from the Rif.[1] By walling off the market and stationing guards at the entrances the government is able to impose a stability on the collection process. "Conviene senalar que la recaudación de los impuestos del Majken en los Zocos se viene realizando por las intervenciones militares sin el menor obstáculo y con mucha más facilidad que puede efectuarse en las ciudades la recaudación de los arbitrios urbanos" (Albéniz 1930:118-119).

---

[1] The Spanish charged a tax (tertib) on the yield of the land and upon livestock. The tertib was discontinued after independence and a new tax "was so designed as to exempt the poorest 90 percent of farmers" (Morocco 1965:394). This excludes most of the fellah. For a discussion of the Spanish tax structure in Morocco see Hart 1956:253.

443 Below is the official tax rate of the Spanish as given
651 in Albéniz (1930:121-122). I have no schedule of my own because
648
438 of a disinclination on the part of officials to give me such
[123] information.

Articles upon which a tax is paid entering the market:	
A load of fruit	0.75 Spanish pesetas
Basket of vegetables	0.75
Basket of fish	1.50
Kilo of honey or butter	0.40

Articles upon which a tax is paid upon leaving the market by the large-scale buyers:	
Wool	5% of total value
Straw mats	0.25 each
Dried cereal	0.50 quintal
Goat or lamb hide	0.20 each
Cattle hide	0.50 each

Articles upon which a tax is paid at the moment of exchange:	
Horses	5% of the value of the sale
Mules	5% of the value of the sale
Donkeys	5% of the value of the sale
Firewood, a quintal	5% of the value of the sale

Articles upon which a tax is charged when entering the market and again upon being sold:	
Basket of wool	.10 and .20
Chickens and wild fowl	.10 and .10
Eggs (dozen)	.10 and .10
Carbon (a sack)	.10 and .10

443 While Albéniz's list follows the general lines of present taxing
651 policy, there have been some changes aimed at helping the poor.
648 For example, small lots of fruit, vegetables, nuts and eggs can
438
735 enter the market without paying a duty. Revenue is collected for

443
651 such items if they are purchased by the large middlemen merchants
438 who pay the tax upon leaving the suq. Because of governmental
648 tax and conservation laws, carbon is rarely sold in the free
[735] market but rather in the black market. The narcotic kif, which
[276] undoubtedly is a major trade item, also is in the province of the black marketeer. Missing from Albéniz's list are almonds, which have become an increasingly important cash crop. Almonds enter the market free in small lots, are bought by large-scale merchants and taxed upon departing from the market.

443 After paying his tax, the seller enters the market and goes to the area occupied by traders of his particular commodity. There are no market rules demanding that a seller go to a special place but areas have by custom been developed for each type of goods. Those people selling an unusual commodity or unique service set up shop wherever they desire as long as it does not interfere with the operation of the market.

443
438 In the following I shall outline the sorts of commodities brought to the market and the categories of people involved in marketing them. The composition of the agricultural products varies greatly with the season. Tomatoes, green peppers, and other vegetables are available only in the summer and early fall. For a short period during the fall, fruit is in overabundance. Potatoes, maize, garlic, and onions appear throughout the year, though again the supply varies. There are always large stacks of unmilled barley even though this is supposed to be the main crop of the region. That the fellah have to buy barley on

443 gather up verbal information about the prevailing prices and the
442 supply of a commodity in the suq. Their operation is somewhat
434 more complex than the sellers who can quickly assess the supply
435 of the market since they need only evaluate the quantities of their competitors. The large-scale buyers do not have such early information and must rely on their "runners" to supply them with market conditions on the inpouring of a commodity into the market. The centers of these operations are quite exciting as information pours into them and the merchant sends out his buying price.
443 While the lot size of his purchases is uniformly small (buying
442 from the numerous fellah who have only small lots to sell), the large-scale merchant departs from the market with a sizable supply
442 of his good. At the end of market day he is assessed a tax based
[651] on the quantity he has purchased and transports the merchandise to urban centers where even larger firms purchase the good either to transform it into another sort of goods, through an industrial or factory process, or to break it down into small lots again to sell at a higher price. The principle behind his operation is simple. By his act of transporting commodities away from the area in which they were produced to another area in which they are scarce, he multiplies the value of the goods.

443 Amongst themselves such buyers have a rather accurate idea
435 of the prevailing prices among their competitors at the market-
442 place. Whatever price differential that exists at the market develops from the efficiency of information gathering. By this word-of-mouth information the buyer is able to estimate market

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[71] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[72]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[73] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[74] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[75] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[76] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[71] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[72] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[73] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[74] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[75] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[76] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes, large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living grouped in hamlets. The "mouda^{c}" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to delib-
621 erate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

/240 cont./

628 182 642 But in these less wild regions, the periods of calm are nevertheless short and do not leave these rudimentary institutions /241/ time to perfect themselves. Anarchy and fights by families infuriated by vengeances have never permitted the Riffians to know a government by regularly elected leaders, changed in turn, or the use of common funds. Only the holy-war treasuries, 628 652 721 798 182 organized by pious establishments, existed at all times. Hate for the Christian can indeed dominate the strongest feelings; whatever may be the violence of the disputes that divide them, the notables always agree enough to go shares in small sums of money intended for the purchase of bullets in order to go to aim at the detested soldiers of the "Peñon" /Rock/ of Alhucemas or Badès (1).

[113] 1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 89 and sqq.

000 XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- It is above all between the social organization of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the French conquest and that of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ that it is possible to multiply the comparisons in order to find profound analogies under the apparent differences. It is easy, as a matter of fact, to see that the small republics of the Tichka or of the Jbel Kest, sequestered in the high valleys of the South of Morocco, and the ones that have grown and prospered on the summits of the Djurjura live with similar institutions, share the same positive and limited ideal, suffer from identical ills, and are subject to the same rules of existence, to the same laws of development.

The territory of the "ᶜarch" is, as we have seen, equivalent to that of a small "taqbilt" of the Sous; both form, in the free state, autonomous and often even independent political units. But in one of the regions the slight density of the population of a country where human life is difficult, in the other the

000 26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event, [178] as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish administration, [656] people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the last 30 years or more.

[562] 27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

[535] 28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two [114] tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala, the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first. As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator, it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

[685] 32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch belonging to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanun in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

[648] The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan administration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

[113] Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.

000

65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since [648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, [656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being [124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says [114] above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi [788] r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide [593] remarks on inheritance of property by women). What Blanco does not say, [848] however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A, [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

000
[656] 187--Firearms have been prohibited in the Rif since 1926, and still are at date of writing (1961).

188--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, a hunting party always consists of at least four or five persons, more often ten to twenty; and it hunts the whole day, away from the village, returning home only at night. The catch, even if only one rabbit, is divided up equally among the hunters, no matter how many; and on the same principle, fines are equally shared by all members of a hunting party. The owner of a ferret (nims, pl. inimsan) which has caught an animal gets the head; and the owner of a trap (dhakhshifth, made of iron and generally reserved for larger animals) into which an animal has fallen has a right to the whole animal, even if someone else should discover it in the trap before the owner arrives. If an animal in flight passes through the land of any person, it still belongs to the hunter no matter who catches or kills it; this, however, presumably does not often happen, for hunting is always done away from the village.

[411] Rabbits and hares are always hunted with sticks, and in snow. Generally, the hunters wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing their sticks, because if a rabbit's face is smashed by a stick, the man who threw it is accused of being a poor hunter by his fellows.

[788] It is customary to pronounce the Muslim invocation "Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim!" ("In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate!") before throwing or shooting at an animal or before setting a trap, as this act renders the meat halal, or lawful for human consumption, the same as if its throat had been cut. If an animal is found dead (inwardhas, "dead animal"), it is thrown away.

189--What is presumably meant here are qadi's and other Muslim legal personnel.

190--As the catch is equally divided, so fines are equally shared, among the hunters.

191--The only dogs used for hunting in the Rif are a kind of greyhound or saluki, called in Rifian ushshai, pl. ushshayen. Hunting with greyhounds, however, is not done in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar.

192--This proves that hunting is indeed a corporate and cooperative venture, based on a principle of share and share alike.

193--In other words, it is the presence or absence of a circle around the burrow which denotes ownership and which is in fact the most visual and reliable proof of same.

194--And in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar as well.

[13] 195--Blanco and R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, O.F.M., Diccionario Español-Rifeño, Madrid 1944, p. 355, both give as the term for "partridge net" thinigmarth, pl. thinigmar (which also means "hunting"); and Ibáñez lists this as the term in use both in Ibuqquyen and in Iqar'ayen. In the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, however, a partridge net is termed dhabhyuth.

621 623 Each dchar has its own jemas to which all adult men are theoretically eligible. Its political powers are rather negligible at present and jemas meetings are held infrequently. The jemas meets to make decisions on the allotment of the community for the upkeep of the local mosque or to take up a local subscription to buy an animal for ceremonial purposes or to voice community feeling towards proposed projects of the provincial government. Each dchar is administered by a moqaddem who is 621 622 appointed by the national government. While the appointment 657 is made by the government it is always of a local notable, prominent and acceptable at the local level. The moqaddem 622 may and usually does have administrative responsibility over 631 more than one dchar. Taking again the Ibuqquyen as our example 619 we find that four moqaddems of the fraction of Izmourin are responsible for 9 dchars, that the three of Axgar are in charge of 13 dchars, and the two of Tagidit for 14 dchars.

623 [554] Although theoretically every adult male is supposed to have a voice in the local council, in practice the younger men or the poor do not play a very active role and decisions are for the most part guided by the local notables. In traditional days, 623 178 before pacification, these councils had a great deal of political power and were active in adjudicating quarrels, property settlements, and so on. Since these functions have now been assumed [657] by officials of the Moroccan government, the council's power has been considerably reduced although its decisions still carry a moral authority of some substance.

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
776 the djnoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The djnoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a djnoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the djnoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or
657 mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
743 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
755 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
[562] tional way. This is especially true of the women who are culturally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 djnoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the djnoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools (658) (178) which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by (425) some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. (782) Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet (241) some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who (212) has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. (794) He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth 793 in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

000 does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

684 f) Anyone who commits an act of bestiality must pay for the fodder of the assaulted animal for one day; and among the Aith Waryaghar, he must pay for its packsaddle as well as a 50-peseta fine, and he is cursed by the market crier in the market[74].....

2) Among the Aith 'Ammarth:

685 a) A blacksmith of....asked the qadi for a room to live in. It was given him, and in it he raised chickens, which began to eat the qadi's barley. The qadi claimed compensation from him, saying that he had to kill the chickens and leave the house. He refused to do so, 685 and made a reclamation to the shaikh, who said he was in the right. 692 Then a member of the qadi's family poisoned all the chickens, and the blacksmith complained to the mqaddim. The jma'th, as a result, met in the mosque and fined the qadi 18 duros, of which the blacksmith received only two or three.

582 b) In the village of Aith Finathen, clan of Aith r-Hasayin, one 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, a rich man, married his daughter to Muhammadi n Si Siddiq nd-Hajj Sriman, a poor man and one of his agnates (i.e. his 682 brother's son), in order to keep him as a servant[75]. The young man [619] eventually killed his uncle. The tribal council was convoked, and its members punished the dead man's sons by imposing a 6000-peseta fine on them; and they in turn killed Muhammadi and paid another fine....During 662 his lifetime, 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, as well as his five brothers, had 623 on various occasions paid 400 duros to the jma'th to excuse themselves from participation in tribal wars.

661 c) A poor man made a goatherd of one of his younger in-laws,

661 and made him pasture the few goats he had. The jma'th or its mqaddim needed money, and so one day they called him up and fined him 65 duros, accusing his mother of incest and saying that if he did not pay up, they would tell the rest of the tribe and it would cost him more. The boy ran away, out of shame.

428 d) Muhammad Hmidu n 'Abd Allah of Aith Finathen, on the
429 death of his father, was brought up by his grandmother, and when she
685 died, by his cousins, who periodically fed and clothed him in return for his acting as a goatherd for them. They kept and divided up his inheritance in land from his father, and did not give it back to him, in spite of the constant excitement of the qa'id over the matter[76].

J. Responsibility:

672 Collective responsibility as reflected in the qanuns is an
[671] amplification of responsibility to one's kin group and even...to the same social ties as those of other tribes (sic)[77]; this forces one's fellow tribesmen to comply with the duty of rectifying an injury or damage caused by one of their own people. It is an instinctive and necessary means of defense, and is done so that crimes will not go unpunished. This is all a consequence of the rudimentary social organization of the Rifians, of the difficulty of inquiry, of the lack of repressive organs[78] and of impartial and dispassionate individuals, such as judges. When independent states multiply and the extension of each one of them diminishes, such factors as the above make extradition (sic) more difficult and impunity more easy; and, for this reason, a group attribute is the obligation to educate (i.e. enculturate) and answer for its components. Thus, when the group publicly claims that

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
687 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that
685 the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good, natural and admirable feeling.

182
671 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
626 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
681 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
613

691 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

671 of knowing the needs of the moment, not past or future needs which do
554 not mean anything to anybody. They are living laws designed for living
623 people, for those present.

671 Paragraph b shows us how they embellish their law, taking aggra-
672 vating and attenuating circumstances into account. Among these are
nocturnity and dwellings (where they guard their fig and grain re-
[682] serves). Attenuating and, even more, exemption from responsibility,
homicide is legitimate if committed in self defense or in defense of
one's property.

681 Paragraph c punishes intention, in order to avoid disputes,
554 and makes a small concession to personal power, permitting the shaikh
● 661 to keep for himself this fine destined for the common fund.
671

685 Paragraph d is concerned with injuries to crops by animals,
672 which are herded by children. The punishment is minimal.
671

In paragraph e, the law of the jma'th establishes and regulates
671 the social duty of hospitality, imposing the burden equally on all its
623 members. Guests learn that it is not only the shaikh who pays for
574 their upkeep, but all the members of the jma'th, even the poor ones.

623 Consider also the excessive number of voluntary servitors who
574 dance continued attendance on the guest with towels, basins and soap,
and finally the amphitrion hands over to their expectant voracity all
the remains of your meal, except for one small dish which, passing
through the door, is submerged in the mysterious interior of the
dwelling as a reward for the activity of the women or children who
prepared it. When you leave, each member of the jma'th retires with
whatever he presented for your comfort: pillows, blankets, soap, coffee
pot or teapot, towel, glasses, candles, etc.

792 794 575 brotherhood, Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi (1869-1934) broke off from the organization to form his own association which is now the largest in the Rif. According to informant estimate, this brotherhood holds about 50% of those Berbers in the Rif who belong to brotherhoods. Its annual meeting which I attended in 1965 consisted of several thousand brothers from all parts of the Rif and from neighboring Algeria where the mother lodge is located.

792 794 575 178 The importance of these fraternal orders declined to a certain extent during the struggle for Moroccan independence because of their anti-nationalistic behavior. When they are criticized in the Rif it is not on theological grounds but political. The brotherhoods have been accused of accepting [662] bribes in order to influence their membership on how to vote in local elections and to act as spies for the government. Their cogency has also been reduced by the increase in secular as opposed to Koranic education. Nonetheless, they have a powerful residual following, as attested by the vehemency with which they are attacked.

792 794 575 [124] The fraternity supports itself on the annual contributions in kind extracted as membership fees from its adherents as well as the more or less regular visits to the key shrines and lodges where, again, donations are expected. The size of this contribution is most difficult to estimate, and my inquiries of lodge officials met with only our mutual exasperation. The amount seems to vary with the avarice of the local lodge, where 10% of

000 does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

684 f) Anyone who commits an act of bestiality must pay for the fodder of the assaulted animal for one day; and among the Aith Waryaghar, he must pay for its packsaddle as well as a 50-peseta fine, and he is cursed by the market crier in the market[74].....

2) Among the Aith 'Ammarth:

685 a) A blacksmith of....asked the qadi for a room to live in. It was given him, and in it he raised chickens, which began to eat the qadi's barley. The qadi claimed compensation from him, saying that he had to kill the chickens and leave the house. He refused to do so, 685 692 and made a reclamation to the shaikh, who said he was in the right. Then a member of the qadi's family poisoned all the chickens, and the blacksmith complained to the mqaddim. The jma'th, as a result, met in the mosque and fined the qadi 18 duros, of which the blacksmith received only two or three.

582 b) In the village of Aith Finathen, clan of Aith r-Hasayin, one 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, a rich man, married his daughter to Muhammadi n Si Siddiq nd-Hajj Sriman, a poor man and one of his agnates (i.e. his brother's son), in order to keep him as a servant[75]. The young man 682 [619] eventually killed his uncle. The tribal council was convoked, and its members punished the dead man's sons by imposing a 6000-peseta fine on them; and they in turn killed Muhammadi and paid another fine....During 662 623 his lifetime, 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, as well as his five brothers, had on various occasions paid 400 duros to the jma'th to excuse themselves from participation in tribal wars.

661 c) A poor man made a goatherd of one of his younger in-laws,

FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Governement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

181 tion of French corvee), which underscores its mandatory character.
104 Wuzi'a, in Arabic, refers to distribution on a prorata basis; but its Rifian derivative, r-uzi'ath, refers only to the dividing up of the meat of a ritually edible and ritually slaughtered animal, which has just died, and those who share in the division are expected to pay the owner of the animal back at a later date. Dhwara, a purely Rifian word which Blanco mistakenly gives as twala, thinking it, no doubt, an Arabic derivative, is synonymous with Arabic nuba and its Rifian derivative nubth, means "turn" in its widest sense: use of irrigation water in turn by each user; taking of barley to the fiqh or schoolmaster in the local mosque by each nuclear family within the scattered hamlet type of community, so much the Rifian norm in settlement morphology, in turn, etc. etc. (cf. Blanco's own very interesting and elucidating remarks on the Rifian conceptualization of turns in the chapter on Family Organization). And liff is a crucially important intra- or inter-tribal pattern of alliances.

181 3--All words which are rendered in quotations are Blanco's, and in
114 no case does he define what he means by them. It should be noted here that Blanco, as well as the great majority of tribal administrators in French Morocco at the time, was heavily influenced by the thinking of the late Robert Montagne, Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930--to such an extent, in fact, that many of the "value judgments" which Blanco makes are indirectly those of Montagne. In all fairness to Blanco, however, it should be noted that he takes sharp exception to certain of Montagne's interpretations of Rifian political sociology; and these exceptions are for the most part fully justified.

668 4--Although the famous "Berber Dahir" of 1930 was enforced, of course,
677 by the French up until the very end of their protectorate in Morocco
668 in 1956, it never even had a chance in the Spanish Zone. This state of affairs was due not to any special decision-making on the part of the Spanish Protectorate administration (for much of the corps of tribal interventores was in favor of the dahir), but to the Rifian reformer 'Abd al-Krim, who had vigorously suppressed what he considered the most objectionable features of Customary Law in the Rif as early as 1921 or 1922. This was one of the ways, indeed, in which he was able to consolidate his position as leader of the Rifian war effort and as "President of the Rifian Republic", whereas, perhaps paradoxically, it is the pre-'Abd al-Krim era of "organized acephaly", of councillors and bloodfeuds, which is known, perhaps in retrospect as the 'Ripublik', and which is referred to elsewhere in Berber Morocco, and as a permanent condition, as siba. By the term "most objectionable features" we mean to say that he effectively stamped out any and all aspects of Rifian customary law (collective or plural oaths, in particular) which could in any outwardly discernible way be construed as being opposed to "bonafide" Muslim law. Thus, in short, what happened was at the end of the Rifian War in 1926, the Spaniards found that because of 'Abd al-Krim, orthodox Maliki law (for of the four Sunni, or "Orthodox", Islamic legal schools, it is the Maliki which predominates in North Africa) was already functioning in the Rif, even it overlay a solidly Berber jural base; and, during their protectorate, though with some misgivings, they merely preserved 'Abd al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

000 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own, [613] but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[191] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence [113] on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts [668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the 428 return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religi- 114 ouse or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the 423 form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of [794] "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion [113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk, who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segregated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud, which was once the dominant political institution of the society, were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until 1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration, while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Government in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic indication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apartness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

000 50--The fact of whether or not women inherit (informants invariably say that they do, according to the Shari'a, but they tend, by thei: actions, to prove the contrary) is a crucial question in Berber [114] social organization. This has been nicely perceived by Blanco, whose opinions on the subject will be treated in their proper place.

[114] 51--This prognostication made by Blanco has yet to come true, as the [669] revolt in late 1958 and early 1959 staged by the Aith Waryaghar against the Moroccan government has abundantly proven. Tribal [086] "we-feeling" and "the sociopolitical importance of the group"--at whatever level of segmentation--seems to us to be as strong as ever.

[829] 52--This is a most interesting notion, and one which is never expressed as such by Rifians but implied in most of their actions, behavior and conversation.

[114] 53--Blanco is in effect trying to define each of the Rifian social units in a state of isolation, as it were, from the others, and trying to take them out of context. In so doing, he advocates, in effect, rigid definitions when what is called for is fluid ones. Small wonder, therefore, that he admits his task to be difficult!

54--In the original, ramas familiares--and, as I have stated earlier, what the jajgu is in fact is a lineage branch of the dharfiqth, and can only be adequately discussed in the light of the latter--or, in anthropological terms, in the light of a total system of segmentary lineage organization.

55--Blanco's argument, when boiled down, is as follows: the jajgu or azwar is a social unit which is essentially the result of polygyny, and if a man has descendants reckoned agnatically from three wives, each of these three sets of descendants form the nucleus of a jajgu which takes a uterine descent from the wife in question as its point of departure.

This, of course, is preposterous. Given a perfectly genuine situation, Blanco has drawn conclusions which are entirely erroneous. He would have us believe, in effect, that matrilineal descent may exist, under certain conditions, in a patrilineal society! Hardly. The fact of the matter is that 1) even though ijujga may originate from the descendants of different wives of the same man; and 2) even though one or more of these wives may come from a clan or tribe other than that of her or their husband--in which case the name of the jajgu may reflect her origin or even her name, although even so it is invariably preceded by that of her son; even in instances of this kind, descent is always reckoned through the male line, and the patrilineal principle obtains throughout. Polygyny is in no way a function of uterine descent, even though there may be evidences of matronymy; and the only mitigating factor in Blanco's hypothesis is that from an overall standpoint, he himself still entertains some doubts about its validity.

56--This is a very good and well-taken point indeed, and goes a considerable way toward explaining why, particularly with respect to issues of wider scope than those within, say, the clan, the statements of different informants (often) tend to vary so greatly. We would go even further: we believe that such ambiguity is absolutely inherent

from the individual member and, today, to subvention the most urgent needs of worship abandoned by the central authorities.

The Statute of the Jma'th

My long sojourns in tribal territory, at different levels of command, and my stumbling upon the jma'ath, surprised me at first, then made me take a second look, and finally made me appreciate them. The Rifian and the European (Spanish) authorities will find only profit in the observation, reception and revitalization of this institution. Whoever does not know the "play" of the jma'ath or does not utilize it is either building on sand or will become a despot whose alarms will disturb him and whose labors will not survive. I have reflected many times upon how little or nothing would remain, in case of a new revolt against all our improvisations and innocent classifications. No matter how many times the Rifian has declared himself to be in a state of rebellion, he has returned to take refuge in his jma'th with an extraordinary atavism which nothing would indicate has disappeared.[16]

For this reason I believe that any new legislative measure must aim at providing a channel in which the activity of the jma'th can develop, providing these localized political groupings with official status and interesting them in active collaboration (with the administration); and thus might be avoided the fact that they might torpedo the Makhzin's decisions. What is needed is to recognize that they have a personality and, in a word, to strengthen them, instead of ignoring

[669] [648] 16--In view of the events of the Aith Waryaghar rebellion against the central authorities of Independent Morocco in 1958-1959, this is a highly prophetic remark.

619 /295 cont./
648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were fol-
726 lowed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by
[648] the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted
[616] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country
[634] from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in
[171] their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-
[171] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by
[681] the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all
[434] when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from
[614] among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by
[581] marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 At the time of the great movement for a holy war against
721 Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian con-
634 tingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of
648 Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the
[669] command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

/296 cont./

175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
55 succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
182 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
578 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ʿAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

/401 cont./

000 day attached /402/ to their republican traditions and opposed by incessant wars. At least we may say that their appearance, almost unaccountable at first sight if one thinks of the loyalty maintained by the Kabyles to their egalitarian constitutions, is illuminated when one grants that the country in which they grew was divided into territorial leffs several centuries ago and was covered by a chessboard of small tribes opposed in two alliances, analogous to that of the western Atlas in our time. From then on, one can admit the same causes engendering the same effects, that amghars of cantons and tribes of Kabylie /Kabylia/ succeeded in rising, by means of leff ties, by forming principalities similar to the ones of the great kaids of the country of the Masmouda.

175 631 The most recent example that we can cite is also the one conforming most to our previous conclusions. Under our eyes, the last chief of Berbère /Berber/ independence, Mohammed ben ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/, has, as a matter of fact, just tried to create a state in the anarchic Rif, while obeying, doubtless without knowing it, principles that his predecessors must have followed in other regions of the Maghreb.

[648] The Riffian chief appears to us, in fact, from the first battles that precede the Spanish rout of 1921, as a mere notable of the Beni Ouriaghel; his Anoual victory makes of him only a "war leader," whose authority remains limited and precarious. At that moment there was nothing that could make his surprising career foreseen. But then he becomes aware of his mission. We see him first of all silencing the very keen rivalry of the soffs in his tribe; [578] after stopping the private wars among the Beni Ouriaghel, his brothers, he forms a Riffian Makhzen, to which the riparian tribes [619] of the bay of Alhucemas, Boqqoya, Beni Ouriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Touzin contribute their best elements, as the Masmouda of the Nefis formerly grouped themselves around Ibn Toumert, Mahdi of the Almohades. In the manner of the great chiefs of the Atlas, he then chooses his harka leaders and his caliphates from his tribe of origin; he makes warriors from his village of Ajdir his counselors and confidential men. Next, having thus ensured the fortune of his clan, of his village, of his tribe, and

175 631 669 648

175 /402 cont./
631 of the tribes of the vicinity, ᶜAbd el Kerim can easily tame the
669 revolts of the Rif fomented by the minor amghars of the Ghomara,
648 /403/ jealous of the development of his power; soon he completes his successes by the conquest of the Jbel and makes his rival Raisouli perish in prison.

175 Four years sufficed to make of the son of the cadi of Ajdir the
631 independent Sultan of the north of Morocco, who keeps the
554 armies of Spain at bay; carried away by his ambition, by the en-
[648] thusiasm and cupidity of his entourage, ᶜAbd el Kerim then dreams for an instant of conquering the towns of the Maghreb and becoming master of all the Mussulmans of Morocco, whose eyes turn toward him with growing admiration. Indeed, each day that passes increases his prestige; he becomes, in the eyes of western Islam, a new Moustapha /Mustafa/ Kemal; his name is known from the Indies to America, and people follow his victories and projects with a passionate interest; the large countries of Europe are stirred up by the importance that he is acquiring and, according to their interests, secretly desire his success or hope for his ruin.

175 A few weeks of well-directed military efforts moreover suffice
631 to get rid of the "Riffian State." But the conditions under which
182 this Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, so rapidly built up and at the same
648 time so fragile, suddenly collapses enable us to see its internal structure clearly.

During the first phase of the war, the struggle between the Rif, France, and Spain was carried on to the boundary of the tribes conquered and governed by the Beni Ouriaghel; so the efforts of two large modern armies remained in vain because the members of the Riffian Makhzen /makhzan/ always succeeded in constraining all the populations of the mountains of the north of Morocco to continue the holy war, the "jihad," without sparing their forces; but when the territory of the Beni Ouriaghel itself is threatened, the warriors of ᶜAbd el Kerim's tribe all abandon at the same time their external commands in the tribes of the Jbala and the Wergha in order to come to defend their own homes; the grip exerted by the tribal brothers of the "Sultan of the Rif" on all the small

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

mary to arrange a fixed place beforehand for washing and bathing. Each *jamā'ath* (village, council of notables) works out and agrees on fines for infractions of water rights, particularly with regard to freedom of women; a small boy is stationed at a prudent distance from the women's section of the water, to keep men away (4).

It was Col. Blanco, in his magnificent analysis of Riffian customary law (5) (which has served as an invaluable aid to me in the collection of my own notes on the subject), who first called attention to the fact that in the Bay of Alhucemas, the primary ditches have secondary branches which only take up water for twenty-four hours; if there are four such secondary branches, each one only takes up water every four days. Secondary ditches in turn have tertiary branches, which take up water only during the day, or at night. The tertiary branches lead to the very small ditches of individuals, which take up water for a few hours only, these hours usually being determined by those of the daily prayers. Distribution of water is based on the tribal social structure: a *thārfīqth*, the fundamental social unit, receives water from a secondary ditch on a twenty-four hour basis, while a *jājghū* or patrilineal extended family within the *thārfīqth* may use only a tertiary ditch. If one of these family groups, during one turn, gets its water during the day, it will receive it at night in the following round, and the first in one turn will be the last in the next. All ditches are subject to communal maintenance and all the families who use them must help repair them after heavy rains have washed them out.

Water rights are still carefully regulated by the *'urf*, or unwritten customary law, and custom in respect to water channeled off from the Ghīs is different from that of the Nakūr, owing to the different nature of the rivers themselves. In the Bay of Alhucemas, the best land in the tribe, the flow of water in the lower course of the Ghīs, although slight, is nevertheless constant. The problem created by the Ghīs is that although today its volume has been artificially increased with new concrete beds for the primary ditches of Thafadhna, Bulma'īz and Libzimma, there would still not be enough water to go around if

(4) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 101.
(5) Blanco Izaga, 1939, passim.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

adequate provisions, sanctioned by custom, for its apportionment had not been made long ago. Because of the relative constancy of its flow, those who irrigate with its waters know that the quantity they can expect is more or less the same at any time of year. Thus the *qānūns* dealing with irrigation in the Lower Ghīs specifically state that any man who purchases land there must buy his irrigation turn independently. Due to the fact that these *qānūns* have been drawn up in Arabic by the *'adūl* or notaries public for all to see and abide by, and to the additional fact that all the land on both banks of the river belongs to Aith Wuryāghil, disturbances of social equilibrium about irrigation water there, although far from uncommon, have been considerably less great than they might have been.

The Nakūr, however, is something else again. Although it irrigates about eight times as much land as the Ghīs, it nevertheless loses much of its potential through infiltration. While in winter I have seen it overflow its banks during a heavy storm, it becomes reduced to a muddy little creek in summer. Owing to its volume capacity, however, its irrigation *qānūns*, in this case unwritten, provide that anyone who buys land there automatically has a right to irrigation water as well, because most of the year there is a sufficient quantity for all. But the hitch is that Nakūr water irrigates not only Aith Wuryāghil but Aith Tuzīn and Tamsamān as well. Although the Spanish administration has fixed the river as the boundary between Aith Tuzīn and Ṭamsamān on the east bank and Aith Wuryāghil on the west, individuals and families from each of these three tribes still own land on the bank opposite them. In the past the river functioned less as a boundary than as a zone of transition, and because of the unclear but traditional and conservative application of customary law, there was ample opportunity for feuds to develop, which they did with great frequency, particularly in summer when the water supply was low. The *shaikh ar-fijjāḥath* (Ar. *shaikh al-fillāḥa*) or *aquwwām* of each of the opposing tribes met to parley in case of a blatant infraction of custom, such as getting water out of turn; he was backed up by his respective constituents, all of whom were armed to the teeth. In case of a general melee, Aith Wuryāghil, being the most powerful, usually won, particularly if Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn were in disagreement with one another.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

691 newer system on all the tribes in his domain if they did not have it
175 already. Although the *imghāren* loomed large in the early battles
178 of Ighrīben and Anwāl in 1921, their status had become reduced to that of *quyād al-miya* or *quyād al-miyatain* (*qā'ids* of 100 or 200 men) by the time the *Jumhūrīya Rīfīya* or Riffian State was officially created in 1924. Almost all the men in key position in the new government were from Aith Wuryāghīl but *quyād*, *shiyūkh* and *muqaddamīn* took the place of the old *imghāren;* some of the latter fell in with the new regime and became prominent military commanders, while others, like those of the Ghumāra, jealous of 'Abd al-Karīm's success, staged a revolt against him in 1924 and were quietly poisoned or taken off to die in the jails of Ajdīr and Thamāsīnd. By the time 'Abd al-Karīm had conquered the Jibāla and captured his rival Raisūlī in 1925, he was master of all northern Morocco.

692 The natural supplement to this Arabization of the old Riffian
●671 political system was the substitution of the Sharī'a for the earlier
178 customary law. Before 1920, custom, or *'urf*, had been king. If a case had arisen which had previously been unprovided for in Riffian law, the *imghāren* met to discuss it. When they agreed upon a solution, which was usually expressed in terms of payment of such and such a fine, the local *sharīf* or any man whose piety and good sense was known and respected by all was called in to give his testimony and sanction to the law in question, if it did not run counter to the Sharī'a. After the law was passed it was registered by the *ṭulbā* or students in the Friday mosque, and proclaimed in the market by the *barrāḥ* (18). These were the only steps necessary to integrate that law into the corpus of tribal custom. It was, in all but the most serious offenses, as we have seen, the «fifth» or the *farīqath* or even the village rather than tribe collectively which made the law and carried it out.

As has been implied above, 'Abd al-Karīm greatly weakened the power of the *imghāren* by centralizing the political authority in himself as head of a new Muslim state. This state was set up to conform to an orthodox Islamic pattern, and therefore the old customary law had to go. It went, and the result was that the Sharī'a was administered according to the Mālikī rite by a *qāḍī* in each «fifth» of the tribe. The weekly markets, in addition to their earlier functions as

(18) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 20.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

commercial and governmental centers, became legal temples as well, when separate tribunals were also set up for the *qāḍīs*, their *khalīfas* and their *'adūl*. In the old days there had been *qāḍīs* too, but they operated on a far more informal basis; they held court in their own houses, and, in actual practice, they acted more as arbiters of Berber custom than as administrators of Islamic Law, while, as Blanco remarks (19), the *'adūl* limited themselves to registering acts passed by the customary tribunal. The *imghāren* were the people who counted, and, until 'Abd al-Karīm's time *qā'ids*, *qāḍīs*, *muqaddams* and other functionaries with Arab titles were largely negative concepts in Aith Wuryāghil and in the other tribes of the Central Rīf. Today, of course, the situation has been reversed; there are no more *imghāren*, while customary law operates on the village level alone, and plays second fiddle to the Sharī'a even there.

A political reorientation toward an Arab governmental prototype thus became a mechanism for the preservation of Riffian freedom. But 'Abd al-Karīm's carefully constructed Jumhūrīya Rīfīya was short-lived; it collapsed like a house of cards in 1926, two years after its foundation, when the tribal fastness of Aith Wuryāghil was itself invaded from the north by Spain and from the south by France, at which time the Wuryāghlī commanders in the Jibāla and on the Wargha River rushed back to defend their own homes. Nevertheless, in the framework of 'Abd al-Karīm's Riffian State the Spaniards found a ready-made administrative set-up which has continued, with only minor alterations, to the present day. When the Riffian leader first came to power, he installed *qā'ids* in the *rubū'* of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and in the «fifths» of Imrābdhen, Ait Ḥadīfa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh. Later on, when the French Army began to push up into the Central Rīf from the south, he added two more caidatos, Turīrth-Thimārzgha and Aith 'Arūs, to tighten up his control over the unruly mountaineers in the southeast part of the tribe. After the war the Spanish administration maintained this chain of command, setting up tribal «intervención» posts in Ajdīr, Thamāsīnd, Aith Ḥadīfa (Sūq ath-Thnain), Aith 'Amar u Sa'īd (Aith Ḥadīfa), Turīrth (Sūq al-Arba'), and Imnūdh (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh). In 1934, however, they subdivided the tribe into the three aforementioned

(19) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 26.

and we feel that it merits translation and interpretation if only for this reason. This is so totally aside from the invaluable insights - some of which are occasional flashes of real brilliance - which it gives us into Rifian social structure and customary law, insights which all become evident in the main body of the work.

There is, too, another, wider reason for the translation of Emilio Blanco which is presented here. Berber social structure may be regarded in Morocco as an unfashionable field of study, and this is particularly true of Berber jural procedure, for, since the country became independent in 1956, its whole population, Arabs and Berbers alike, has come under the sway of Islamic Law. The net result of this, we venture to predict, is that the memory of Berber Common Law will die out entirely with the oldest surviving generation. The details of such law are still clearer among the Berbers of the Central Atlas than among Berbers elsewhere in Morocco, because the French administration was rigorous in its underwriting of such law until 1956 - despite storms of Arab protest over the 1930 "Berber Dahir". Present-day Rifians, even the oldest ones, on the other hand, only tend to remember primary jural principles, such as the number of co-jurors required in a case of suspected murder in the days of the 'Ripublik' - a term which Rifians use retrospectively to refer to the long period of violence, bloodfeud and what we have elsewhere labelled "organized acephaly"[27] which preceded the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim, and in no way to be confused with the latter's "Rifian Republic" -

27--Cf. D.M. Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography, to be published.

114 and, most important of all, what happened if a murder occurred in a
●671 market (a place of peaceful commercial exchange, as Blanco points out)
114 on market day (a day of peace, as Blanco again points out). For the
443 clan market, as Blanco makes very clear, set the tone for the relative
182 autonomy of the clan within the framework of the tribe of which it was part; and this was particularly the case amongst the Aith Waryaghar, a fact which Blanco, once again, did not miss. Hence, in his
114 671 682 fine analysis of the 'Qanun of the 'Fraction' of the Aith 'Adhiya' (in LR, pp. 10, 55), Blanco notes, regarding anyone who should commit a murder in the market, that "...all the above-mentioned communities of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his agnates; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as a fine".

114 671 443 182 In his comments on the qanuns of the clans of the Aith Khattab, Aith 'Abdallah and Aith 'Adhiya (all of the Aith Waryaghar), Blanco clearly brings out the fact of the market as the "preferential institution", both economic and social, and as the "temple of tribal law", where the clan councillors or ingharen convened in regular weekly meetings (called agraw) to settle disputes. Thus the jural aspect of the traditional Rifian market. Market day, in the Rif, absolutely had to be the one day of peace during the week, for if the market was "broken" through fighting and murder, the cry went up: "Now there is no law!" (Ur iddji shi r-haqq!) And this phrase, as Blanco graphically says, was "repeated in the humble dwellings perched on the mountain slopes; and soon the Rifian mountains returned to their harsh, restless and agitated life, as the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance reappeared

114 on the hillsides, bringing the cries of victims and the echo of rifle
67 shots in its train" (LR, p. 19). Blanco's work is shot through with
443 references to the clan (or, as he calls it, fraccion), with its mar-
182 ket, as the basic Rifian patria - which of course applies better to large tribes like the Aith Waryaghar than to small ones like the Thafarsith, "Rifian Switzerlands" surrounded by more powerful neighbors.

114 By 1960, some of the finer points of the Rifian qanuns or Cus-
671 tomary Law documents had been forgotten even by members of the oldest
[668] living generation, e.g., such as how much is to be paid if one shoots at a man and misses him, or if one threatens him with a dagger, but
114 does not stab him. Blanco, and to a lesser extent Carleton Coon[28],
127 have both set down many of these common-law niceties; and Blanco's
[671] work has the additional merit (and we refer here primarily to LR) of being a translation and an analysis of primary documents, some dating as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. These are invaluable source materials for the long and unbroken period of the Rifian 'Ripublik' (as opposed to 'Abd al-Krim's Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya, or "Rifian Republican State", 1921-1926, although he only constituted it "officially" early in 1923), which is today only a memory and, according to some, a skeleton in the Rifian closet. However, old tribesmen and even some younger ones who are less sophisticated - and who therefore generally make better informants - still grudgingly admit to admiring it and to looking upon it with nostalgia.

---

[113] 28--Cf. Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, Vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931. Coon's data on customary law come primarily from the tribe of the Igzinnayen, whereas the bulk of Blanco's come from their northern neighbors, the Aith Waryaghar.

Moreover, even though many jural details of life during the 'Ripublik' have now been forgotten, many attitudes and values of that era, which, as noted, lasted until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim in 1921, are still fully present. The Rifian keeps an iron grip on what belongs to him, and this applies particularly to his womenfolk, who, albeit highly respected, are kept equally secluded and segregated. Also, his land, poor as it may be, is his own and no one else's, in true "territorial imperative" style. But especially with the coming of the protectorate, the values underlying the bloodfeud, which was once the dominant political institution of the society, were channeled into the newer direction of labor migration: in the old days of the 'Ripublik', a man had to kill his enemy to make his mark, while more recently he had to go out and get a job. (Until 1962 and Algerian Independence, work on the farms of French colons in that country was the favored mode and region of labor migration, while since that time the current has shifted to Western Europe.)

The Aith Waryaghar uprising against the Indepent Moroccan Government in 1958-1959 - which was forcibly put down by the new Royal Army in its first post-Independence test of strength - was a graphic indication, at the tribal level, that the old values of Rifian "apartness" within the wider national Moroccan society are still resistant to change, for despite its "modern" objectives, the uprising itself was carried out in a "traditional", "take-to-the-hills" manner. And these same values are even more discernible, today as in Blanco's time, at the level of the jma'th, the local community. Community life among the Aith Waryaghar is both intense and inner-directed, as, for

621
671 example, the qanuns of Lower Thamasind, of Imhawren and the Inter-
114 Lineage Pact of Thazurakhth (all in LR) clearly show. And that such
621 community and inter-community life can also be constructive, as well
421 as vengeance-oriented and destructive, is amply shown by Blanco's truly excellent analysis of Aith Waryaghar irrigation rights, especially with respect to the "intermittent" and intercalated rights of a particular lineage in the Plain of al-Husaima to the water which three other lineages, all of a different clan from the first, traditionally receive from a given irrigation ditch (LR, pp. 115-116).

114 Very much more could be said about the good points in Blanco's overall analysis and output on Rifian social structure, for they outweigh the bad ones, and by far. He never specifically pointed to segmentation as a crucial structural principle, but one can feel that he sensed it. And although he did not recognize the fact that the principles behind the liff system of alliances often, in the Rif, cross-cut those of segmentation, his understanding of liffs per se was certainly sound enough, and was not unduly influenced by Montagne. He did tend to confuse the concept of diya or bloodwealth with the concept of haqq, the fine paid by a murderer to the councillors if he committed his murder in the market, thereby breaking the peace of the market; but although this distinction is crucial, Blanco's treatment of the whole context of facts nonetheless correctly highlights the Rifian keynote of bloodfeud at home and peace abroad. And this last is perhaps the dominant theme in Rifian society and culture.

PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

177 Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when
671 Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are compli-
777 mentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

181 5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

602 1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of
571 the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe, from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in
613 "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which
621 units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although
619 they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

571 2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted
(602) by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

621 today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of
623 nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant
571 than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in
621 others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as
623 a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and
571 as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but
794 only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer.
[613] This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

623 The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral
623 services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now
671 becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian
[613] customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

621 In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only
623 by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand;
463 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these
326 necessities are complemented.
323

000 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

621 623 423 The patrimony of the jma'th is made up exclusively of communal lands. The jma'th is thus formed not only by people but by lands. It thus has a territorial significance which the dharfiqth lacks, for it may have immovable property in another tribe[76], and acts committed by its members outside the "municipal terminus" are thus not handled by it exclusively. For this reason there is a need for another 614 621 623 social organ structured in an analogous manner, but of greater importance and more extensive jurisdiction: the "fraction" (i.e. clan or subclan.) This wider grouping, although it also has a localistic significance and a breadth wider than the village or hamlet of isolated homesteads or groups of homesteads that we have seen in the jma'th, has other more sharply defined characteristics. It alone intervenes in inter-jma'th matters, in most cases; for the custom of the jma'th itself is nothing more than inter-family (i.e. inter-lineage) custom.

3) The "fraction" (clan) is an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends; it is a state in miniature, an independent republic, and the true Rifian patria because it is within the limits of this unit that the Rifian lives out his life; where he finds what he needs, and where his law is made[77].

614 443 [671] The clan has two distinctive features: its law and its market. It is my opinion that places in tribal areas which the natives regard as ancient Christian[78] market sites are nothing but former "clan" markets which are no longer in use and the memory of which has not persisted through time. In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin,

614 latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or
[619] the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan
[616] has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are its customary law, its qanuns and its market (as in the qanun of the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

619 4) Tribe or Dhaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of
614 clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this
619 level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium
614 (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is
671 guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has
182 no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors, faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans
619 form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as
614 the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin
616 of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It
[613] would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over
[621] and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes,
[623] while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

(although not all of them with the same degree of forcefulness. Anyone may speak, although the majority, as elsewhere, are silent. A spontaneous speaker caused the same sensation, stupor and curiosity as those like him in Spain do in the bull-ring, and the result was almost the same. An amqqran or councilmember interrupted him, saying "You here, you have just made the gesture of a stupid idiot," and the poor man, reddened and embarrassed, was silent amid general noise and quarreling, which the ingenious councilmember smilingly recalled in later years.....Another incident: once a man whom I did not know was proposed to me as a candidate for a position of tribal authority, and I wanted to find out about him. I began a series of questions and reflections regarding the virtues which anyone nominated would have to possess, such as honor, ability, etc. I was, however, surprised to find the person to whom I was talking interrupt me, saying quickly, "No, no, no! You think he is like So-and-so?" (And So-and-so was a very short-statured men, as I myself am.) "Not at all, he is thus!" With this the speaker, a big, fat fellow, raised his shoulders up with a graphic gesture, thumping his chest and laughing, saying that nobody could willingly argue about his own authority.

Among Rifians, then, names of tribal functionaries seem literally and faithfully to interpret the idea of the function involved, as amghar and amqqran both convey the idea of "big, adult, old". This is reflected in the qanuns when, in reference to those attending a meeting, prior to inscribing a list of the names of the notables present, those who drew up the qanun in question were very

careful to state that all those at the convocation were the "majors" and the "minors" (los grandes y pequeños)[102] of such and such a place. The written titles or nominations of functionaries, and the pompous Arabic names of qa'id, qadi and mqaddim, with which some men like to adorn their names in order to astonish simpletons and impress strangers, are only of value inside their own houses (author's italics), just as the titles of doctor and coronel formerly were in certain South American republics! In the Rif, there was, in pre-'Abd al-Krim days, no qa'id and no qadi[103]; only imgharen and igrawn, iziddjifen, dharfiqin and turba, the last-mentioned being warlike amanuenses whose fingers are better suited to hilt or trigger than to pen, while the other names are the most definite external indices of the degree of Islamization[104] of those who possess them. We will not speak here of such fantastic personages as the bu-mwarith[105] or the ukil l-ghuyab[106] and other shadowy figures recently created by the Spanish protectoral administration, who will probably soon disappear if not taken proper care of!

6) Resume of Rifian Tribal Functionaries (given even though Rifians tend to confuse them among themselves!):

a) the iziddjifen, "headmen", or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th.

b) the imqqranen, "big ones" (or imgharen, pl. of amghar), the representatives elected by the jma'th (author's italics) for its own prestige, and the delegates of the latter territorial unit in the clan council, whose habitual meeting site was the market, and whose job it was to make the law.

FOOTNOTES:

101 671 114 1--This interpretation of a major sociological conceptualization of Moroccan political history, the dissident Berber tribal area, the area of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area under government control where Muslim law was administered, conforms in all respects to the views of the majority of French observers, who label siba as "anarchy" (which, indeed, it literally means: "anarchy, abandon") and who often overlook the fact that the rural areas of the Blad al-Makhzin were also organized on a tribal basis.

101 671 114 113 648 A later definition by Carleton Coon holds that the Blad al-Makhzin, the land over which the power of the Moroccan Sultans extended, was a "land of order", while the Blad as-Siba, whose inhabitants recognized the Sultan's authority spiritually while denying it temporally, was a "land of insolence" (cf. Carleton S; Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, New York: Henry Holt, 1951, pp. 295-323). This definition, though linguistically inexact, attains a higher degree of sociological sophistication than the preceding one because of and despite the fact that it pushes the analogy a step further.

More recently, Ernest Gellner has defined siba as"institutionalized dissidence" and "marginal or dissident tribalism" (Saints of the Atlas, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, pp. 2-5), and in a review article of two books by Moroccans who seek to interpret various aspects of their country's history ("The Struggle for Morocco's Past", The Middle East Journal, XV, 1, 1961, pp. 79-90, a review of Abdelaziz Benabdallah, Les Grands Courants de la Civilisation du Maghreb, Rabat 1958, and Mohammed Lahbabi, Le Gouvernement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle, Rabat 1958), he contrasts the traditional French view of the makhzin-siba dichotomy and a radically reinterpreted view advanced by Lahbabi in which "the same (Gellner's italics) facts, the existence of dissident areas, which were used by the French to illustrate the failure and impotence of Moroccan government are used...to provide the basis for a Consent (hence Anti-Absolutist) Theory of the Moroccan historic constitution." Thus the tribes on the shadowy borderland between the makhzin and siba spheres of influence were presented with a sort of Social Contract situation.

101 196 668 It must be noted that in the Rif the condition known elsewhere as siba was termed Ripublik, and that this not only has nothing to do with 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State" (Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya), but also predates it in time. A primary aim of the 'Rifian Republic", indeed, was to do away with the Ripublik.

181 104 2--Blanco does not define any of these terms at this point; he only does so later, in his MSS. chapter on Family Organization. All of them are loaded, as he hints, with institutional implications, and we propose to give here only thumbnail definitions for the reader's convenience. Twiza (Rifian dhiwiza) is perhaps best translated as "corvée", a group work project, generally organized for one day only, such as reparation of an irrigation ditch by those who use it, or voluntary assistance given by his neighbors to a man building a house, or, indeed, obligatory work of a communal nature (such as road repair) undertaken on behalf of the tribal notables or the government; this last, however, is usually termed rkwarfi (an Arabization and Rifianiza-

181 tion of French corvee), which underscores its mandatory character.
104 Wuzi'a, in Arabic, refers to distribution on a prorata basis; but its Rifian derivative, r-uzi'ath, refers only to the dividing up of the meat of a ritually edible and ritually slaughtered animal, which has just died, and those who share in the division are expected to pay the owner of the animal back at a later date. Dhwara, a purely Rifian word which Blanco mistakenly gives as twala, thinking it, no doubt, an Arabic derivative, is synonymous with Arabic nuba and its Rifian derivative nubth, means "turn" in its widest sense: use of irrigation water in turn by each user; taking of barley to the fiqh or schoolmaster in the local mosque by each nuclear family within the scattered hamlet type of community, so much the Rifian norm in settlement morphology, in turn, etc. etc. (cf. Blanco's own very interesting and elucidating remarks on the Rifian conceptualization of turns in the chapter on Family Organization). And liff is a crucially important intra- or inter-tribal pattern of alliances.

181 3--All words which are rendered in quotations are Blanco's, and in
114 no case does he define what he means by them. It should be noted here that Blanco, as well as the great majority of tribal administrators in French Morocco at the time, was heavily influenced by the thinking of the late Robert Montagne, Les Berberes et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930--to such an extent, in fact, that many of the "value judgments" which Blanco makes are indirectly those of Montagne. In all fairness to Blanco, however, it should be noted that he takes sharp exception to certain of Montagne's interpretations of Rifian political sociology; and these exceptions are for the most part fully justified.

668 4--Although the famous "Berber Dahir" of 1930 was enforced, of course,
● 671 by the French up until the very end of their protectorate in Morocco
668 in 1956, it never even had a chance in the Spanish Zone. This state of affairs was due not to any special decision-making on the part of the Spanish Protectorate administration (for much of the corps of tribal interventores was in favor of the dahir), but to the Rifian reformer 'Abd al-Krim, who had vigorously suppressed what he considered the most objectionable features of Customary Law in the Rif as early as 1921 or 1922. This was one of the ways, indeed, in which he was able to consolidate his position as leader of the Rifian war effort and as "President of the Rifian Republic", whereas, perhaps paradoxically, it is the pre-'Abd al-Krim era of "organized acephaly", of councillors and bloodfeuds, which is known, perhaps in retrospect as the 'Ripublik', and which is referred to elsewhere in Berber Morocco, and as a permanent condition, as siba. By the term "most objectionable features" we mean to say that he effectively stamped out any and all aspects of Rifian customary law (collective or plural oaths, in particular) which could in any outwardly discernible way be construed as being opposed to "bonafide" Muslim law. Thus, in short, what happened was at the end of the Rifian War in 1926, the Spaniards found that because of 'Abd al-Krim, orthodox Maliki law (for of the four Sunni, or "Orthodox", Islamic legal schools, it is the Maliki which predominates in North Africa) was already functioning in the Rif, even it overlay a solidly Berber jural base; and during their protectorate, though with some misgivings, they merely preserved 'Abd al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber-speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done [241] by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily [231] on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, [224] partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, [226] and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

[565] 36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous [463] and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[178] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the [294] national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves [286] and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men [114] are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] 42--Dhwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in
[233] error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither
[851] a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this
[196] notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to
[651] a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas
[671] that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for
[171] either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000

J) Note on the Rifian Jma'th (Noticia sobre la Yemáa)

N.B. Undated MSS., probably written 1934-1936, Catalogue No. M1/ñ, Sección Africa, National Library, Madrid.

"An old, confused and nostalgic tribal memory of which so many people are unaware, although they all utilize it and nobody expects it. How does it work, and how can it best be reactivated?"

Organs and Functions:

621 613 1) The jma'th is the association of several lineages (grupos familiares) or dharfiqin toward social ends and objectives. It constitutes the elementary unit of Rifian social structure.[1]

[671] 2) It is personified in the iziddjifen, the headmen of these lineage-groups and their authentic representatives, zealous guardians of Custom (qa'ida), which is often codified into written qanuns established during an agraw or council-meeting.

3) It is visibly manifested in the mosque, the local community and the lands which belong to it, all of which give rise to a spatial discontinuity and elastic boundaries, the origin of not a few quarrels.

4) Objectives: to regulate the coexistence of these (lineage) groups, to watch over them and to administrate their common patrimony.

5) Obligations: these were to attend to communal services and property (prayer,...education, hospitality, external relations, harka, prestations, collective responsibility and distribution of property, lands, irrigation, spoils of war, and fines), with the exception, in theory, of anything relating to personal and possessory status (marriage, inheritance).

---

[594] [114] 1--The elementary social unit, in the Rif as elsewhere, is the elementary or nuclear family, and hence Blanco is here, again, in error. A more easily defensible argument might have been a consideration of the jma'th as a kind of elementary political unit.

623
621
671

9) The Community Charter: The principal function of the iziddjifen, among the many that fell to them, was to establish the norms of coexistence, the laws by which they had to regulate their social relations, the qanun or the haqq, as they call it, and to which we may refer as the community charter, which comes to be its equivalent.

671

This charter, whose archetypes, of a strong rudimentary beauty, I published in the year (not given: translator's note)[6], show very clearly its formative processes; and the matters which are codified are only those which it is convenient to recall periodically to the group as a whole for whatever the reason needed (neglect, modification or innovation), but not the only rules to be obeyed, for those admitted by Custom and followed in good faith, because of their applicability and convenience for the whole neighborhood, were not written down, as they were known to all and sundry. Thus, codifying them for the knowledge and satisfaction of outsiders would have been a waste of time.

The characteristics of these documents or agreements, which many people see only as simple lists of fines, can be resumed as follows: the drafting of the documents by the tulba, and the specification of the place concerned; those who attend; the reasons for the meeting and what is decided at it, i.e. transgressions, crimes and their penalties and sanctions; to whom this applies; the period of time that the agreement is to be in force; the individuals upon whom its fulfillment is incumbent; the neutral and prestigious personage who acts as mediator; and the saint or amrabit whose protection they invoke and under whose shadow they seek shelter.

6--The reference here is probably to La Ley Rifeña, 1939.

671 If aside from local community questions such as irrigation, hospitality and matters dealing with education, these community charters also deal with "crimes of blood" (delitos de sangre), one may see in them, more than the incumbency of these units (organisms), the necessity of providing for the lack of other upper-level associations which were lacking in this organized anarchy, which, in a happy phrase, may be attributed to those days when social disintegration attenuated the functioning of the upper-level units: clan (fracción) and tribe.

621 623 627 10) Security: Internally, security was guaranteed in normal times by the iziddjifen themselves, through the resolution of any incidents and the clearing up of any disputes which might arise, while in the internal political struggle of its council the popular spirit predominated. This was even more the case when within the council the 623 613 621 equilibrium between dharfiqin or agnatic lineages was broken and one lineage came to predominate, as now it was one of its representatives who, in the last analysis, came to achieve the delegation of the permanent executive function of security, under the pompous and strange designation of mqaddim or shaikh[7], who, satisfying his own personal vanity, brought about the envy of the iziddjifen, who were very jealous of their own prerogatives, who were paid in their jobs (sic)[8], and who were opposed to the notion of personal power for which the [671] struggle now began. In this respect the qanun of the jma'th of (Lower) Thamasind (Aith Waryaghar) is of interest.[9]

7--Again Blanco reveals an anti-Arab and a pro-Rifian bias, perhaps: he would obviously have preferred the designation amghar. However, and more to the point: he is also equally aware of the superfluity of such titles in a society as fiercely egalitarian as that of the Rifian tribes.

[114] 8--This was hardly the case: no tribal leaders (to say nothing of mere lineage headmen) in pre-Protectorate Morocco were ever paid in the formal sense of the word. Remuneration came through occasional "perks".

9--Cf. La Ley Rifeña, 1939, Chapter V.

000 2. LEGAL DECISION PROCEDURE:

(Most of this section is made up of the Introduction, in manuscript form and unpublished, to La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte--Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939)

671 A) Characteristics: (fragmentary):

1) Sources of Customary Law:

a) Voluntary Pacts: agreements or conventions which individuals or kin groups establish among themselves, in writing, toward the attainment of specific ends.

b) Qanuns: tariffs or enumerations of fines for various infractions established by the various social units.

c) Local Custom: in effect, the "national" feeling of equity which may ultimately become fused and intertwined with religious law.

B) Berber Justice, with a Hypothesis on the Survival of Custom: (fragmentary):

671 179 I think it ridiculous of the Spanish administration in Morocco not to have kept the Rif from contamination by the Shari'a (Muslim religious law), which the French in their zone of Morocco and in Algeria have been able to do, among Berber populations existing in these areas[1]. ...I think that Spain, ultimately, has Arabized the Rifians through an ignorance of customary law[2].

[124] In April 1939, the late Si Hammadi nd-Hajj Sh'aib, of the local community of Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, of the clan of the Imrabdhen in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, told me: "The Shari'a did not intervene

671 177 124 in or interfere with our qanuns" (which I have already published) "because this had been so agreed previously. At that time, during the 'Ripublik', it only had jurisdiction over matters pertaining to land, marriage and divorce. In the clan of Sidi Yusif (i.e. Imrabdhen), there was always a qadi; but he only had to do with matters relating to property, marriages, divorces and other related items."

671 177 In my opinion, the survival of custom is clear, and it continues to be so today; and not through any lack of knowledge of Muslim law, either. What I do wonder is whether the Shari'a in the Rif is becoming Berberized, or whether custom is becoming Arabized, which is not the same thing.[3]

C) The Survival of Custom: An Explanation:

The Rifians were not and are not in the least unaware of the existence of the Shari'a, but there are reasons why they have in so many ways become estranged from it and have applied customary or common law, transmitted by tradition and revealed in not a few cases by written documents, through which they have tried many times to establish and to codify it.

A major factor here was the material impossibility, in which the Rifians found themselves, of applying Koranic precepts, owing to the constant state of revolt of the area, even though (author's italics) [175] these were reconcilable with custom...Also, we can by no means assume that throughout the recorded history of the Rif there were no men qualified to interpret the Shari'a, particularly in cities such as Badis and Nakur.[4]

671 To what, then, can we attribute the persistence of custom, to

671 which the Rifians are deeply attached, and their attempts to codify it, in spite of Islamic law?...We are faced with the hypothesis that in times past their conversion to Islam was not complete, a situation analogous to that prevailing in other Berber-speaking regions. Louis Milliot in 1926 pointed to the survival of Kabyle qanuns in Algeria[5], but in the Rif this is neither the only nor the principal factor, as there was no long period of peace in the Rif, and the lack of this experience gave the Spanish administration the option of recognizing an "area of custom", which in the French Zone was the main reason for the Berber Dahir of 1930.[6]

In the Rif, the main reason for the non-application of Islamic law would seem to lie not so much in the degree of Rifian Islamization but rather in the constant state of revolt of the area, which would have rendered regular and dilatory (sic!) Muslim legal procedure inefficient or inefficacious. The basic question was far more one of the impotence of the Rifians themselves in the face of this problem, rather than one of their incompetence. Under these circumstances, we may imagine that fqih-s, tulba and other religious personnel were forced, in order not to die of hunger, to limit themselves to making amulets and charms for women and to writing up and registering the decisions of the imqqranen, "the Big Ones", the ones who counted. For the same reason, shurfa and imrabdhen were unable to do anything else except resolve conflicts and dictate sentences, which were up to the parties concerned to accept or not, as they wanted. Where, then, could one have found a qadi who, conscious of his duty and a disinterested judge of Muslim law,

was capable of facing the wrath of the members of a dharfiqth who thought themselves to have been wronged in a legal decision and who were now blocking his path?

The Rif is an area of warrior tulba; and the "poetry" of the Rifian Maghrib would have dealt with the firing of shots during the course of a feud or raqba[7] and the blood of victims whose bodies fall into canyons and gorges after sunset; for the qanun of the Tuesday market (now defunct) of the Aith 'Abd Allah clan establishes the validity of the agreement in question from the hours of dawn until dusk, on market day, after which time everyone shelters himself and his animals inside his house as fast as he can; and a guard is mounted with a rifle. The daily and weekly truce is over[7a]. And even in Spanish times, after the pacification, there is the story of the qadi who did not dare to return home unless accompanied by a pair of armed mkhazni-s[8], who represented the protection of the Makhzin in its most elementary form. And in the mahkama (tribunal building of qa'id or qadi), more than one qadi has been intimidated by exasperated litigants! If such things have happened during Spanish times, threats made during the "Republik" must have been far worse--"I'll hang you from a tree, mmis nj-haram!" or "I wonder what you'd look like without a head, mmis n-dhit!"[9]

As I see it, the Rifian follows the Shari'a in all instances in which customary law cannot help him, either because it has been forgotten or because in such and such a case it is no longer applied. As he is both a practical man and a believer, there is no reason for the Rifian to deny himself the advantages of the Shari'a, but when, instead of these, he encounters a situation which is prejudicial to him (such as

671 [177] the Muslim ruling on inheritance by women), he finds it more convenient to bypass the Shari'a and invoke custom; for he will always find the means to allay any spiritual lack of scruples he might feel through coating his action with a veneer of pious intent (such as what is in effect a habus in favor of men) or of humanitarianism (such as asylum to divorced women, widow inheritance or sororate[10]), at the same time while he satisfies atavistic impulses.

671 114 It is very difficult to make any sort of rigorous comparison between the Shari'a and Rifian custom, owing to the great lack of data and documents dealing with the latter.[11] I might cite a few notes collected by del Nido[12], and some material of Sidi Ahmad bin Muhammad ar-Rhuni, former Minister of Justice and Chief Qadi of the Spanish Zone; but, then again, I am very doubtful that ar-Rhuni's material refers to the tribes of the Rif--certainly none of his documents are Rifian[13].

671 428 562 171 In matters of inheritance, Rifian custom elevates the condition of women more than the Shari'a does, by matching them with men and therefore by distributing the inheritance in equal parts instead of giving women only one-third (sic); but this is only in theory, and has to do with movable property[14]; in houses and in land, women, in fact, 671 428 562 get nothing. The basis of this distinction is not at all a capricious one, but obeys to the letter the strong Rifian idea which conceptualizes women as minors in age. For this reason they are given, within the house, such work and responsibility as do not require masculine effort or personnel, a fact which becomes apparent if one studies family organization. Work in the fields is a masculine occupation, as is

671 428 562 housebuilding, although here women help, in return for male protection. Women are disregarded here, for in these aspects of movable property, to the formation of which, in the last analysis, they have not ultimately contributed, they receive nothing. On the other hand, in such work as befits their sex, nothing is denied them (even including cereals, for they contribute to the harvest by reaping grain with a sickle and transporting it, on their backs, to the threshing floor.) This notion is linked with the manner of acquiring property through inheritance, purchase or even through force (i.e. blood vengeance)[15]. Property gained in any other way is illegitimate, and as men are the ones who gain it, they have no reason to divide ir or share it with women.

114 113 D) Points Regarding Arabic Work on Anti-Sunna Traits (fragmentary):

I hereby review a work in Arabic by Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Brahim Aqibli Amshali al-Susi[16], dated 1342 A.H. (1923-4 A.D.), and published by al-Fatimi ibn Muhammad al-Shagadi. In this work the author exhorts 114 798 Berbers to give up practices which are irreverent and contrary to the sunna, the Custom of the Prophet, and lists those which are to be condemned, as follows:

798 796 1) Irreverent Customs at the 'Ashura:[17] Carnivals. The author rejects all forms of bonfires, of costume and of representation, i.e. imitating animals, birds, old men and old women, as well as the use of obscene words and the wearing of transparent clothes. I have myself seen all this practiced in the Rif[18]. Regarding the use of bonfires, it seems that in the Rif they are lit up to smoke the trees as a possible disinfectant[19].

695 696 623 At other times they decide to submit the resolution to the clan council on the next market day; but when the judgment, which is both swift and free of charge, has been rendered, the individual responsible can only comply with the council's decision; and he must do so not only more than rapidly, but virtually explosively, or be sentenced by his neighbors and his peers. If he resists, his only recourse is to take up arms, as everybody else is now after him, and this in itself obliges him to do so. The proceedings are rapid and gratuitous, as aforestated, except if experts are called upon to intervene; they are given an honorarium, the amount of which is determined by the custom of the tribe in question, and consists of such and such a percentage of the value of the appraised object or the object of the litigation[32].

692 695 Thus, true jural procedure, for the Rifian, is to render public any offense or injury he has suffered, and to gain adherents to his point of view. First his family or kin group wants to intervene on his behalf, then his social grouping (properly: his lineage), and finally his liff, his last recourse. This multiplies the various contingencies and unsuspected turns the case may take ad infinitum, and tends to render useless any reclamations against an offender who is more powerful than the injured party. The latter may not take any action against him, but will often afterwards wait in ambush for him in order to redress the wrong! It is a procedure which.....awakens manliness and courage.....

[671] [613] A good example of the executive procedure in criminal law is the qanun between dharfiqin[33].

000 Bshara, or procedure of recuperation[34]. (No text here whatsoever: translator's note.)

695 F) Oaths (fragmentary):[35]

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pretensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has [562] no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a women against her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter[36], where does one find more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and 695 839 the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape[36a] A etc., which, if not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

695 [691] [191] Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are 695 623 previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants [613] to[37]. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members of his dharfiqth[38].

695 829 181 Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to

A [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

681 H) Sanctions: Further Notes (fragmentary):

1) Punishment: fine, exile, or death of person responsible, whether an individual or a family group[55].

[671] 2) Gradation: variable, according to stipulations in the various qanuns[56]. Rifian law recognizes the same degree of responsibility in [672] his accomplices as in the man who actually committed the crime, by assimilating them with his kin group[57].

681 613 [511] 3) Victim: receives no indemnity, except through what he or his kinsmen get as their share of the fine, which is equitably distributed among all the representatives of the dharfiqin[58], thus appearing more than anything else as a payment for services rendered; and the dharfiqin heads divided it up in the same way among their constituent nubath[59]. Thus, if the Rifian is encumbered with the responsibility of executive power[60] (all are obliged to stand against an aggressor), he still participates in the benefits of such power in a true popular sovereignty, and he never cedes his rights or duties.

000 4) Role of Jma'th in Application of Custom: to influence matters or conceal them, by money, force or politicking behind the scenes. Agrau or assembly of the aitarba'in; assessors and arbiters (tulba, shurfa and imrabdhen); role of liffs (aid to their liff-mates in payment of fines, etc.) (This subsection is completely fragmentary.)

682 683 In summation, three kinds of offenses were punished:

1) murder and woundings, with corresponding fines, and vengeance;

683 684 2) abuse of women (if voluntary on their part, each party had to pay 50 duros, and if it was purely and simply rape, the guilty man paid 50 duros);

685 3) theft, with corresponding fines, and even one of the thief's kinsmen putting out his eyes[61].

673 671 If there are certain crimes, known to all and carrying with them sanctions also known to all, which do not (translator's italics) appear in the qanuns (such as bestiality[52A], etc.), they are kept out purposely because of the shame, the hashuma, of those who formulate the decrees. In other instances (such as certain misdemeanors having to do with agriculture and fields), they are kept out because their inclusion is difficult and they are also sufficiently well known to and by all concerned so that they do not need to be put in. In still other cases, they are kept out because they are questions of custom which require consultation with men of laws or arbiters. Finally, these are all misdemeanors the nature of which, in one way or another, is inadequate to be put before the public in special announcements by market criers.

I) Miscellaneous Data on Fines for Lesser Offenses:

1) Among the Ibuqquyen:

224 a) Hunting[63]: Saturday is the day for hunting (rayāh or [689] thingimarth)[64]. Whoever does not attend pays a 5-peseta fine[65], and altercations during hunting are punished by a fine or by giving a meal to the other hunters. Animals killed do not belong to the man who kills [685] them but to the man who finds them[66]. Damages to cultivated lands are paid for by those who caused them. If it is not known who was responsible, the fine is divided up among all the hunters[67]. Any birds or eggs which are found by one of the hunters during the hunt are divided up [425] amongst them all. Any other objects found which are obviously lost articles of a third party are returned to their owners.

A [This should read "62" not "52"--Analyst]

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of action of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 684 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 695 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 793 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 231 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

661 and made him pasture the few goats he had. The jma'th or its mqaddim needed money, and so one day they called him up and fined him 65 duros, accusing his mother of incest and saying that if he did not pay up, they would tell the rest of the tribe and it would cost him more. The boy ran away, out of shame.

428 429 685 d) Muhammad Hmidu n 'Abd Allah of Aith Finathen, on the death of his father, was brought up by his grandmother, and when she died, by his cousins, who periodically fed and clothed him in return for his acting as a goatherd for them. They kept and divided up his inheritance in land from his father, and did not give it back to him, in spite of the constant excitement of the qa'id over the matter[76].

J. Responsibility:

672 [671] Collective responsibility as reflected in the qanuns is an amplification of responsibility to one's kin group and even...to the same social ties as those of other tribes (sic)[77]; this forces one's fellow tribesmen to comply with the duty of rectifying an injury or damage caused by one of their own people. It is an instinctive and necessary means of defense, and is done so that crimes will not go unpunished. This is all a consequence of the rudimentary social organization of the Rifians, of the difficulty of inquiry, of the lack of repressive organs[78] and of impartial and dispassionate individuals, such as judges. When independent states multiply and the extension of each one of them diminishes, such factors as the above make extradition (sic) more difficult and impunity more easy; and, for this reason, a group attribute is the obligation to educate (i.e. enculturate) and answer for its components. Thus, when the group publicly claims that

672 it will not answer for the individual, it remains exempt from the responsibilities and aspersions which might fall upon it....A freedom or state of tranquillity (i.e. truce or even peace) which the group could thus regain at such a high price as the public denial of one of its members was only undertaken when there was good reason for doing so (i.e. when a group feared the very certain reprisals of powerful families) and when the inconveniences were greater than the advantages.

Thus it is not the individual alone who is responsible for his acts; for his family, then his jma'th and in the last analysis his tribe will back him up. There is always someone responsible for [681] every crime. He never remains unpunished, nor does the penalty imposed [671] upon him lapse, even after many years. Rifian law is not charitable and it does not beg. It punishes, but it does not pardon; it exacts, but it does not implore. Thus there is an individual responsibility with a complementary and collective one behind it.

672 671 Does this responsibility, then, extend equally to all those who participate in a reprehensible act? No. There is, furthermore, the group (author's italics) exception already mentioned, when a group, by public announcement, rejects what could happen to it in the course of a punishable action committed by one of its members, attenuated by considerations of minority (i.e. if committed by a child or a woman), physical abnormality (if committed by a crazy person or an idiot), origin (if committed by a stranger), day or even hour of commission (see the qanun of the Aith 'Abd Allah, La Ley Rifeña, pp. 45-51), and it is exaggerated if committed at night (as in the qanun of Thmasind, La Ley Rifeña, pp. 37-44), by a stranger or infidel. There is also

671 [672] an exemption for homicide in defense of one's property (as in the qanun of Lower Thmasind).

It is not possible to think of a minute dosification of laws of great instability which were usually worked out as a response to a pressing need at a pressing time and which would in turn be negated or destroyed through the rise of new chiefs. For this reason, an isolated and superficial examination of the qanuns says little and induces error. They are not simple and incomplete tabulations of fines. Rather, they are the codification of Rifian custom, graphically worked out only for variable matters and not for permanent ones, such as personal law with its concomitant regulations regarding inheritance, etc. They are rules of coexistence which were formulated as events demanded, and not (translator's italics) with long-term ends in view. But even though they are embryonic, they are useful.

The qanun of the Aith 'Abd Allah distinguishes between doers and accomplices[79].

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--With varying degrees of success, most so in the Middle and Central Atlas, and least so in the Sus and Anti-Atlas. The inclusion of the Algerian Kabyles and Shawdya of the Auras in this connection invites other problems.

[114] 2--Blanco is mistaken here, for the Arabization of the Rif was the work not of Spain but of 'Abd al-Krim; and in view of this paramount fact, his plea for a return to a hypothetical state of "pure customary law", however eloquently expressed it may be, seems passe and academic.

3--Hardly. In any case, this is a more difficult and delicate problem than meets the eye, although even on an a priori basis it seems reasonably safe to assume that the Arabization of custom is the commoner of the two phenomena. However, for a documented example of Berberization of the Shari'a, see S. Biarnay, "Un Cas de Regression vers la Coutume Berbère chez une Tribu Arabe: Wadras", Archives Berbères, vol. I, no. 4, 1916, pp. 219-229. Wadras is an Arabic-speaking tribe, but one of indisputably Berber origin, in the Northwestern Jbala, between Tangier and Tetuan.

671 4--Most of the existing accounts of the political history of these 177 cities, insofar as it is known, are based on Ibn Khaldun, Histoire 195 des Berbères, translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris 113 1925-56. See E. Michaux-Bellaire, Le Rif, Paris 1925; Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 22-36; Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos Sobre Ciudades Rifeñas", Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el curso de Interventores, 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47, and, for a synopsis account of Nakur only, Angelo Ghirelli, Pueblos Arabes y Pueblos Arabizados, vol. II--Pueblos Arabizados, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, pp. 142-45. These last accounts have little 175 to add to Ibn Khaldun, although Sánchez Pérez was correctly able to locate the now entirely buried ruins of the city of Nakur within the village limits of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya within the clan territory of Aith Bu 'Ayyash in the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, on the west bank of the Nakur River some 25 km. from Alhucemas. This is [113] confirmed by a subsequent report of Ahmed el Mekinasi, in Tamuda, Año VII, Semestre II, 1959, pp. 156-8.

The city of Nakur, in fact, has the distinction of housing the first Muslim dynasty (even though on a local level only) in Morocco, as it was founded in 726 A.D. by an Arab from the Yemen, Salih ibn Mansur al-Himyari. Despite being sacked on two separate occasions (once by Norman pirates in 859-60, and again in 929-30 by Musa ibn Abi l-'Afya), Salih's descendants continued to hold, govern and rebuild the city aided and abetted by the Umayyads in Spain, until a complete sacking by the Almoravid sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfint in 1084 ended its career forever. Between this point and the end of the 19th century, the history of the Rif is an almost complete blank, and the chances of any documentary material in Arabic turning up to bridge the gap in any way are remote.

[131] Two points of general interest, however, emerge from ibn Khaldun's material (which dates from the 14th century and is in turn largely

000 10--Blanco does not, in fact, employ the terms "levirate" and "sororate", and here I confess to having taken liberties with the text; but his meaning is abundantly clear. To readers who want refresher definitions, levirate refers to the practice of a man marrying the widow of his brother (as Coon has pointed out, in the Rif this is usually a junior levirate, meaning that the brother who does the marrying is genereally a younger brother), while sororate refers to the practice of a man marrying his deceased wife's sister.

[128]

[113] 11--This is indeed true, and the only published work thus far specifically dealing with any aspect or aspects of Rifian custom, aside from Blanco's own La Ley Rifeña, is José Maria Peniagua, "Notas Sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif", Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos, no. 4, Madrid 1948, pp. 7-44 and ditto, La Prescripción y el Retracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. Paniagua's work, particularly the last-mentioned monograph, deals with problems which seem to be almost entirely constructs of a European legal mind, and have no basis in social reality; and such work cannot be considered serious contributions to the study of Berber jural systems.

12--We cannot identify the work to which Blanco refers here.

13--The only work of Sidi Ahmad ar-Rhuni which we know is the Spanish translation of his Historia de Tetuan, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, and this contains no allusions whatever, even remote ones, to Rifian custom.

671 428 191 114 562 14--This is not so. Under Shari'a regulations, women receive one-half of what men receive, in inheritance, and this is the case for both movable and real property. Granted, of course, that the point in the Rif is largely theoretical and that women in fact, as Blanco points out, generally get nothing (particularly insofar as real property is concerned), it still seems appropriate to correct this error. In any case, we have never heard of any customary variation of normal Shari'a usage, which would allot to women one-third of movable property; and neither have any of my informants. It is one-half in theory, and, as a rule, nothing in practice.

671 428 191 562 Besides the current practice of a woman's father or brothers appropriating, in effect, her share of the patrimony on her marriage (in order to keep it in family hands and to keep in-laws out), there is a second institution which reinforces the notion that women do not inherit. If a man dies leaving only his widow and a daughter or daughters (no sons), his r-waratha (sing. awrith) or remaining agnates stand to inherit, which they would not do even if he had only one son. According to Shari'a regulations, the man's widow gets one-eighth, and then, if he has only one daughter, the rest of the property is divided in half, the daughter getting one-half and the r-waratha getting the other. If, on the other hand, he has more than one daughter, the rest of the property is divided up into three parts, the daughters getting one and the r-waratha getting one. However, even if there is a son or not, certain r-waratha (e.g. mmis n 'azizi, pl. dharwa n 'azizi, father's brother's son), but not others (e.g. uma, pl. aithma, brother, and

671 'azizi, pl. aith 'azizi, father's brother), marry the daughter or
428 daughters in question. The result is, of course, that if they do so,
191 they wind up with the daughters' share in any case. However, although
562 father's brother's daughter marriage does occur in the Rif, it is not
the rule, and this is because the institution of shuf 'ath (called
shafa'a by Berbers in the Central Atlas, and referring to agnates prior-
ity rights over both land and women, especially fathers' brothers'
daughters) in the Rif applies to land only and not to women. Indeed,
(992) there is no single form of preferential marriage, and most people be-
lieve in marrying "further away" than their parallel cousins. As, on
the other hand, parallel cousin marriage is the norm in the Central
Atlas, the same institution there (where r-waratha are termed imkusa)
is more effective in depriving women of their share than it is in the
Rif, where conditions per se in the latter area are considerably less
favorable to such deprivation. The crux of the matter, perhaps, is
this: that the property of a man who leaves no sons, despite what
other heirs or offspring he may have, is always divided up among these
heirs (and here, in practice, is where daughters tend to be left in
the cold, even though informants invariably say that they get their
part), while on the other hand, if there is a single surviving son,
no matter if he is a tiny baby, the patrimony stays pro indiviso.

000 15--What Blanco seems to be getting at here is that men rather than
women inherit and purchase property, or acquire it by right of con-
quest, and that therefore property and its administration rests ex-
clusively in male hands. The contrast is effective, because such
movable property which is involved in the work and everyday tasks of
women (i.e. pottery, chickens, eggs, etc.) does belong to them, and
is not touched by men. Men, for example, may perfectly easily sell
chickens or eggs in the market, and they often do so; but they in-
variably turn the proceeds over to their wives, who have stayed away
from the market as good women should (although they may go to the
women's market two days later) and because of this have asked their
husbands to do these things for them.

16--From his name, a Berber himself, possibly from the Sus (as his
final sobriquet would suggest), but more likely from the Ilimshan
subclan of the southern Ait 'Atta, the so-called 'Iqibliyen" of the
southern slope of the Central Atlas. These facts are indicated in the
first and second point-of-origin designations Aqibli Amshali, the
last mentioned probably being a metathesis of Alimshi, an Arabized
singular form of Ilimshan.

17--The 'ashura refers to the 10th day of the first month of the Muslim
year, Muharram (itself called l-'Ashur in Morocco), and commemorates
the martyrdom of the Prophet's two grandsons, Hasan and Husayn. It is
also, in Morocco, the day when almsgiving (zakah or 'ashur) to the poor
is legally enjoined; this act is, indeed, along with the profession of
faith (Ashhadu an la ilaha illa 'llah wa Muhammad al-rasuluY'llah,
"I testify that there is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger
of God"), prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramadan,
and the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five arkan al-din, "pillars of
religion", or qawa'id al-Islam, "customs of Islam".

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his
682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally
696 meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill
him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept
[782] this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the
presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was
eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only
after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he
682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on
443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum
[114] (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine
(called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder
on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other
offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market
itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the
imgharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market
path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no
question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in
the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually
meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise
the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the
ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum
which was prohibitively high), the imgharen descended on him in a body
and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re-
682 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the mur-
628 derer. The imgharen, however, could not touch his property as long as
he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's
family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion
of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that
he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's ag-
nates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the
imgharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen
of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted,
as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circum-
stances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to
have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 56--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for
682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of
commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely stan-
dard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] 57--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the
[114] Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is ex-
pressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading
to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants,
[024] however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is
immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is
[628] assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the
murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and
a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted
up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

684 554 203 626 74--In the Aith Waryaghar, anyone who indulged in bestiality became the object of extreme derision; and as a market crier himself is a person of very low social standing, this in itself would have rubbed more salt in the wound.

000 75--Marriages with parallel cousins occur, but they are uncommon. In this particular instance, there was a good reason for it, as Blanco points out.

76--These cousins, again as indicated in note 17, were the boy's r-waratha, who could normally have inherited only if the boy's father had either died without issue or if he had left a daughter or daughters only. It is un-Qur'anic enough for the r-waratha to appropriate, as [671] they often try to do, a daughter's share of the inheritance as well as their own, but for them to take over a son's share is expressly forbidden by the Shari'a, and may be regarded, in this instance, as the purest personal aggrandizement.

[114] 77--This should probably read "to one's tribe", as the notion of other tribes hardly enters the picture here. Except under an 'Abd al-Krim, how would it have been, or be, possible for a man of the Igzinnayen, for example, to feel any responsibility for a man from the Aith Waryaghar? This error may be due to a typographical error in the original text.

[682] [114] 78--One could hardly label a sanction of 2000 duros for murder committed in a market as indicative of "lack of repressive organs". It is statements of this kind, which continually crop up, that, in conjunction with numerous factual errors, cast a small but ever-present cloud over Blanco's work, and mark him as an amateur ethnologist.

79--See La Ley Rifeña, pp. 47, 50.

121 of the old days which Arab and European writers have either neglected or toned down, if not falsified.

In the comments which the qanuns have suggested to me, I try to explain what they mean to the European reader, justifying the reason behind their precepts.

This, then, is a simple essay, a modest contribution toward a better knowledge of your preferences and virtues, so that those who live together with you in your land can understand you better[1].

114 In other studies in preparation, I shall continue the study of your fundamental institutions, economy and art, which are nonetheless interesting and worthy of publication even if they are modest.

124 My thanks are due to so many Rifians, over long and agreeable periods of time, who with courtesy and patience stimulated my curiosity and questions and tried to satisfy them, answer them and show me how they worked; and especially to Muhammad n Sh'aib Abuqquy, faithful interpreter of my thought.

The translations were done by the official interpreter D. Juan Gómez Jaén.

● 671 1. THE RIFIAN QANUNS, WITH COMMENTS:

The analysis of the Rifian qanuns, of these little pieces of paper which I give you to peruse, of these tiny sheets in which unaccustomed hands noted down, after bombastic introductions and flattering patronymics taking up three or four lines, offset by praises to the Divinity, a number of striking and rigorous precepts, the proclamation of which in the suq gave them the force and attributes of law; and it is these precepts which show us graphically and without any doubt that the Rif

671 must be considered and was one of the component parts of the Land of Custom, a fact which clarifies for us, at least ostensibly, many of the precepts referred to above.

When a superficial observer, Arab or Christian, believer or heretic (sic) sees in them no more than a simple tariff of fines (for various infractions), to which he attaches no importance, as in his opinion they say nothing because of not being even remotely dressed in the garb of the law, this shows only the narrowness and ethnocentrism of such a man or the lack of knowledge that analogous precepts are still followed in other areas, that they have been made the object of many studies, and that they have revealed not a few (different) social forms, up until the present poorly known and ignored, whose influence in the development of humanity have been very great and which show the latter's essential unity.[2]

But if this same observer, showing curiosity and a critical spirit, knows the preliminary act which originates them; if he is aware of the profound significance which this has; he will then stop to contemplate the efforts of an ancient race to perpetuate itself, of a primitive society to survive; and he will focus his attention upon the transcendence which these acts have in the lives of free peoples, among whom are forged, solemnly proclaimed and voluntarily accepted the law through which they must operate, for their own protection and development; and he would express then the same jubilation that these same good people, these courageous and valiant old farmers who originated them and heard them proclaimed in the shade of large-branched carob trees, secular evergreen oaks or humble and venerated saints' tombs, in front

671 of a compressed crowd which, hooded and silent in a semi-circle, hears its own echo in the voice of one of its constituents calling out to the four winds in a harsh thamazighth accent and with graphic gestures, while the black muzzles of rifles above their heads make the moment more solemn and the silence more impressive and represent the law, a strong, hard and impassioned law, the primitive law of the pastoral (sic) peoples. And if we ourselves might have had the good fortune to be eye-witnesses, perhaps we would have felt the chill of the anathema against our brethren for making them responsible for our acts.

[539] Qanun of the Sub-Clan of the Aith 'Adhiya: ".....all of the above-mentioned villages of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as fine".

671 829 609 Do not ask the Rifians about their qanuns, as they do not like to reveal them; they know them to be modest, they fear that they will not be understood and that they will be considered as a joke; they guard them and conceal them as carefully as the dearest members of their families, as their own tongue, with an understandable atavism; and so strong is the feeling of mistrust that it would be offensive and erroneous to attribute to them an inferiority complex; and if, in circumstantial preservation, you wanted to learn their language, they would invariably try to dissuade you with bitter phrases which they once might have heard, if not from your lips from those of your brother officers; and one does not know whether to think the sad reproach, the instinctive defense of the community or an absurd conviction is 829 the reason[3]. They speak disparagingly of their own language as of

829 their own dwellings, anticipating possible impertinences and discourtesies which, wounding their brittle and easily hurt amour propre, would not be able to reject their ways and customs; but if, at some time, and it would not often happen, their instinctive suspicion and simulated servility and docility are momentarily broken down, a single sentence or even a single word will reveal to you all the power and strength of their race, the pride in their ancestry and the consciousness of their superiority; for it is precisely the Rifian resistance to all innovations and to all submission which is one of their most fundamental characteristics![4] In support of this we may refer to the
177 829 152 case of a qa'id, of an old qa'id of a Rifian tribe, who in the company of others had to attend an official meeting at which protocol compelled
[123] a special dress to be worn. The only indication that I gave him that he had to change his clothes for the officers was an outrage to him, which I noticed on seeing his cheeks turn red. The game was lost and an adequate answer was forthcoming: "Do you think I am a little boy?" The other quyad (pl. of qa'id) intervened, but he paid no attention to them; if they wished, he would do so, if not, he would retire; and that old and dignified mountaineer went out with his clothes unchanged, showing himself in the natural and logical manner of his own protocol and not in that of the others, a manner in which, also, he has all his excellence.

671 If we turn our attention to these qanuns, if, after putting aside our European criteria of judgment, we diligently examine their badly constructed phrases and sentences, if we analyze their meaning with all possible affection and if we really desire to penetrate into the spirit

671 of those who made them, we shall see, increasing rapidly before our astonished eyes as if by magic, the breadth and amplitude of their conceptualization, the extent of their writings and the reason behind their precepts; we shall see in our imagination how these notions recovered all their rigor, all their old flavor, through divesting the words which make them up of the extraneous clothing in which, in such documents, the Arabic transcription disguises them.[5]

It is clear that these qanuns as tariffs of fines are simple, as are the questions which cause them to arise, the means of laying a base for them. Fortunately for Rifian social organization, its most outstanding characteristic is that of being gratis and free of charge, increasing the economy of its institutions lacking in functionaries charged with materializing, distinguishing, entangling, packing, collecting or gossiping.[6]

Thus there are no deceptions. The Rifian qanuns are what they had to be, because of their editors, rifle-carrying tulba whose hands trembled when they clutched reed pens and whose pulses were steady when their guns were in their hands. They have to be so, simple and uncomplicated, because so is the public toward whom they are directed and enforced. They are simple, synthetic, miserable (sic) gleams of primitive law, rudimentary (sic) law, a simple warning to criminals and malefactors which transports us to the beginnings of humanity (sic) and makes us understand better their sad transformation, documentary proofs of history, odds and ends of the history of our brethren, the history of all peoples, the human epic. Surely in order to awaken adventurous souls, those with illusions try to encompass the whole gamut of human

671 wickedness in a few lines; but this is only in appearance, for in the qanuns there only figure those principles which the Rifians want to remember collectively and with some frequency so that they will not be forgotten; but this does not mean to say that these minuscule qanuns were the only rules to which the coexistence and living together of Rifians was adjusted, rules which, it should be said, even though lacking written expression, were nonetheless rigorous, nonetheless observed. The qanuns may be the exponent of the rudimentary law of the Rif, but they are neither the whole of it nor its principal part. The documents to follow are no more than a reflection of the all-embracing power of the iziddjifen.[7]

None of the Rifian jurisconsults is worth the words which he originated and to which he gave birth, and none of the editors who perpetuated them with their foreign writing could dream that one day the qanuns would serve to be profaned by the sinful pens of a foreigner.

How could they retain in their hard minds and infantile (sic) memories....wider codifications or penalties and crimes which would not lend themselves to lamentable confusions of right and wrong, of what is prohibited and what is authorized, of what is principal and what is accessory?

Who can imagine that their law was out of tune with the rude environment in which it grew up and in which it was applied?

These are laws destined to be retained in the memory and not in large law books, pretentiously entangledin European legal terminology.

But if the attraction of the Rifian qanuns, from a European point of view, lies precisely in their simplicity, they then reveal to us and

671 clarify to us the efforts of one of the freest peoples to handle their own affairs and, jealous of their rights in an authentic democracy, to impose notions of conduct upon themselves voluntarily.

671 What could the Aith Waryaghar, as Rifians in that stage of society,
177 have done with a law code on a European style? Just what many of them did: to refuse to understand it, to cry out against seeing themselves obliged to suffer it, to place themselves in Divine hands so as not to awaken involvements in its powerful and intricate meshes and so as not to empty their money bags to fill it with official papers. This would not have been worth anything to them, and a good proof of this is the slight service which their religious code can offer them for their convenience when they see themselves obliged to have recourse to persisting in such improvisations.

671 Here the Rifian qanums remain, unknown or ignored by investigators, so that up to the present (1939), as far as I know, they have not had the honor of seeing themselves reproduced integrally and faithfully; and it does not seem that they have attracted men of laws, whose criticism and science is of another and higher order than the impassioned observations and common and individual interpretation of a
[648] tribal administrator, to them. They would not fail to reap many benefits for us, and the greatest ambition for Spain: the respect and esteem which the efforts of her sons creates by their contribution to the development and improvement of humanity and by the scrupulousness in the fulfillment of her international duties.[8]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

2. THE INTER-LINEAGE PACT[9] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

671
628
613
728
[796]

Praise be to God...With the prolongation and extenuation of fire and discord between the sons of the celebrated saint Sidi 'Amar Bu Yawryan al-Yusifi al-Jilmami al-Ghalbzuri[10] of the subsegment (lit. farqa) of the Awlad Ukidar, and of that of the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, with the subsegment of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, their allies, their partisans among the Awlad Tahir Asrih al-Hishami, their patrilateral cousin the Murabit Sayyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar and their brother's sons supporting him, an intercession was initiated between both parties through which they desired to obtain the recompense of God by means of good acts, asking the two parties to incline toward reconciliation, which God qualifies by good work and promises to reward whomsoever puts it into practice; then they decided to initiate it for the space of one year from the present date until the same date of the following year.

In consequence, the first party, composed of the Faqih Muahammad Ashahbar Ukidar, his brothers by his father, his patrilateral cousins the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, such as his brother's son Hammu bin 'Abdallah, etc., appeared for judgment; after this, the second party, consisting of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, his father's brother Akuh, the patrilateral cousin of both the aforementioned, the Siyyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar, his brother's son and those of his party as well as those supporting the aforementioned second party of the subclan of Isrihan, the Awlad Tahir Asrich, such as Muhammad bin 'Aisa bin Tahir and all his patrilateral cousins, also appeared for judgment; they came to

671 628 613 728 [443] [686] agree to the abovementioned truce for one year starting from the present date. All of them appeared for judgment in front of the shiyukh of the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') which exists in the vicinity of Sidi Abu al-'Afif; attendance at this act was completely general, as there also came notables such as the blessed, distinguished and excellent sharif Sidi Ahmad the son of the celebrated saint Sidi Misa'ud, from whose grace God has let us avail ourselves; al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir al-'Abbasi; the shiyukh of Ajdir; the shiyukh of the Murabitin al-Jilmamiyin; and all in general, each of the parties arranging that in case either of them should break off the aforementioned truce in any way before the stipulated time of one year has elapsed, it shall pay a fine of 2000 duros (i.e. 20 x 100) to the shiyukh.

671 628 613 After responding with their goods and estates to the completed arrangement, it was put into effect in the presence of the aforementioned shiyukh in the latters' shop in the aforementioned market; and it was accepted in full and in good faith, with neither party having the right to retract in either the present or the future, each one of them making itself responsible for the fulfillment of what has been set down and for which only those mentioned here have the responsibility.

(The obligation to) payment (of the fine) and the agreement are both complete, as indicated. (The undersigned witnesses) have testified to the testimonial capacity of everyone concerned, that on this day, in the interior of the aforementioned shop, each person concerned, among those known by sight and name, is of sound mind and memory and thus [805] capable of testifying. On the first Wednesday of Rabi' al-Awwal of the Prophet, in the year 1335 (December 27, 1916).[11]

B) Commentary:

671 182 We have here a curious (sic) type of qanun, which, as we read it, reveals the decomposition which Rifian society had reached, the atomism to which its tribal anarchy led, the imperfection, or rather, the inefficacy, of its laws, the irregular coexistence, the demonstration of its independence.

628 613 728 The disputes between two lineages of the Aith Waryaghar threaten to exterminate them through the chain of blood-vengeance in the face of the indifferent attitude of their constituents, who are habituated to taking justice into their own hands in order to defend their own interests. Two rival groups of equal size attain, in their ferocious and persistent struggle, an equal number of losses, and they reach a stage of weariness, a moment of lassitude happily exploited in order to initiate a treaty of peace (author's italics), which will permit them to build up their resources; and this fact leads them to establish this agreement for one year. Those who will (686) see to it that the truce is kept are the shiyukh, to whose protection they submit and who are interested in the affair because of the inducement of the fine which the group must pay, if within this minimal space of time it contravenes what has been agreed upon in any way (author's italics).

671 613 628 728 554 This society lacks a strong executive power; it looked instinctively toward the web of lineages represented through its shiyukh or old chiefs (sic) (no one should believe that this title represented a step in any framework of governmental or judicial power) for a force which was neutral to its feuds and more powerful than itself, to which

by such a simple and voluntary act it was converted at the same time to an arbiter of incidents and an executor of decisions. The function is not gratuitous as in modern states, for if in the latter the contributor pays indirectly, he does so directly in the Rif. Their covetousness thus awakened, they evidently insured temporarily against feud renewal, but they also stipulated that it would revive the embers of their hatred.

These agreements or inter-lineage truces obeyed a double mechanism originating from the vicious circle in which they were debated. On the one hand they originated a series of regulatory norms of coexistence which, gaining in amplitude of concept and extending their jurisdiction to the generalizing of their advantages and the persistence of their exemplarity, painfully came to gain the adhesion of other nearby and related lineages until they were adopted by larger social and territorial units, including districts or entire tribes; and this situation gave rise to some of those qanuns upon which we will comment further on. On the other hand, they represented the ultimate step to which anarchy led, responding to those most curious periods of their history in which one powerful group, having recourse to violence, broke the truce in defense of its own interests, the official recognition of this fact being given by the imgharen in the suq in the face of general consternation, with the tragic phrase War dha bu r-haqq.[12]

"Now there is no law"[13]: such was the official form of declaring the state of anarchy into which the Rifians so frequently fell, a phrase which obliged them to strengthen their kin group, without dismay and by all means in their power; for a man's kinsmen were his last refuge in case of social accident.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

195 181 628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

628 613 619 134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

443 182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

443 671 182 [648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

443 671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

671 [443] interest were discussed; in the suq resolutions of more importance were made by significant individuals, more important than the place which gave them a legal character.

Thus, in order to be valid, agreements and decisions had to conform to the following conditions: 1) agreement of the imgharen[16]; 2) necessity of a witness of exceptional character (a personality of religious significance, known and respected throughout the district); 3) registry by the tulba; and 4) proclamation in the suq. The above seems to be the mechanism of Rifian law.[17]

443 671 614 And in the suq a double character may be seen: place of business and temple of law, the latter more important than the former, because if it were the other way around, each clan would have various market sites and not just one, it seems to us; and furthermore, some clans, by virtue of their commercial topography would have been lacking in markets, which is also not the case.[18] Thus we believe, as stated in the first part of this work[19], that there is a correspondence between the clan as a social unit and the suq; in fact, we may go so far as to say that the former was the real fatherland (patria) of the Rifian, his political unit, a small independent republic, the distinctive feature of which was the suq, the temple of Rifian law.

3. INTER-LINEAGE QANUN,[20] SHOWING EXECUTIVE PROCEDURE (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 628 613 A) Qanun:

Praise be to God.--Copy taken from the text of a document after legalization, extended for the bearer of some.

[682] Praise be to God.--Upon the reciprocal guarantee (Blanco: note 1) made by Ait 'Aisa, Ait Tzurakhth, Izubu'an, Ait Haddu u Sa'id and

671 628 613 682 Isaghwan[21] with (the) Awlad Siddiq[22], in the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') of Tawrirt, in the presence of their notables (Blanco: note 2), agreeing there (to fulfill what has been pacted among them) that anyone who should kill another by treachery or cunning (Blanco: note 3) shall pay a great fine, the amount of which (may) be as high as 4000 duros. This was also agreed to in their Saturday Market (Suq al-Sabt) in front of the notaries of both parties.

On the betrayal and killing (Blanco: note 4) by the above-mentioned Awlad Siddiq of Shu'aib bin al-Hajj 'Amar, the notables of both the abovementioned markets, accompanied by the rest of the people, went to their villages to look for them, camping there until the latter paid (Blanco: note 6), although they (e.g. the Awlad Siddiq) had agreed to this in their presence and in their abovementioned market (when the agreement took place) with respect to the fine expressed above (Blanco: note 7). Upon not finding any solution which would save them except that of handing over to them all their lands, both in the mountains and in Ait 'Aisa, their houses and their documents (Blanco: note 8), with which they remained free of the pressure which the notables and the rest of the people exercised over them (they opted for surrender).

[792] Then, everything which they handed over was valued at 1300 duros (Blanco: note 9) and after the estimate was made, the notables of both markets, including (Blanco: note 10) the sharif Sidi Ahmad bin Sidi al-Hajj Misa'ud[23], al-Hajj bin al-Hajj Am'awsh al-Tawrirti, 'Allal bin Haddu bin al-Hashimi u l-Fari (of the Axt Tuzin), Haddu bin Muhammad Amzyan al-Bu Khalafi[24], al-Talib al-Bukhamad al-Yunusi, Tuhami bin

671 al-Faqir Siddiq al-'Arusi, Muhammad ibn Tahra, Sidi Musa ibn al-Hajj
628 Sayyid 'Amar Tahtahi, Muhammad bin Bu Hammud Mulaidi; al-Hajj Sidi
613 Misa'ud al-Manduri; Sa'id bin al-Hajj Haddu al-Ufari, Muhammad bin
682 al-Faqir Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Barzi, Muhammad Bu Shu'an, and
[792] the rest of the notables of Tzurakhth (Blanco: note 11) sold all that was handed over to them to the brothers of the murdered man for the above sum, converting it into money.

(Blanco: note 12) The amount stated above was levied and the quantity (literally, price) was divided into four parts: 300 duros for the lineage of Izzugwaghen; the same for the Awlad al-Hajj 'Amar; the same for the Awlad Muhammad bin Muh bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Tazurakhti; and 150 duros for the Awlad Ahmad bin Taimunt (to be split) with Muhammad bin Tah, and the same for Muhammad bin Taimunt bin Misa'ud (to be split) with the Awlad Hammu Kabghith. One hundred (100) duros were divided in half between the son of Bukhalif, that is, Siddiq, and 'Abd al-Qadir Hashsha'.

(Blanco: note 13) Each of the abovementioned parties shall divide with its brothers (i.e. those of the same jurisdiction) the amount which it has exacted and with regard to the quantity of the same.

671 An irrevocable and non-retractable sale, effected (Blanco:
628 note 14) for repression and exemplary punishment. The sellers having
613 levied the total of the abovementioned sum, in the upper part of the
681 present qanun, from the hands of the buyers cited above, thus liberating
432 the sellers from all actions or reclamation regarding this matter and the above-cited buyer thus occupying (the lands) instead of the sellers, as his share. That is to say, occupying the place of the owner in the land, of the land which he buys and that of the owner of immovable

671
628
613
68
432
property in that belonging to him, in conformance with traditional law.[25]

695 Those who attended the present (act) brought their testimony to the above according to the requirements of the interested parties.

805 --In the middle of Jumad al-Awwal of the year 1336 (February 27, 1918). --The 'adl, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hajj al-Warnuri.--Another, whose name is not known.--Another, Muhammad bin Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghamri.

B) Commentary:

182
628
613
The social disintegration which Rifian society has reached is proven by these individual agreements between dharfiqin (Blanco: note 1, corresponding to text of qanun). In the face of helplessness or irregular functioning of higher-level associations, the poor tribesmen, before falling into complete anarchy, hastened to conclude an agreement with a neighboring group in order to attenuate that anarchy, succeeding in the hard struggle for life on a poor soil. These agreements thus formed true islets of irregular and variable peace, anchored in functional (sic) anarchy.

628
613
728
The necessity of agreements between lower-level lineages, who were abandoned by the rudimentary organization, obeyed, according to my understanding, those most curious periods which followed the public declaration of anarchy in the suq, when one powerful group managed by force to sustain the punishment, breaking the truce.

614 As the dispute was generalized between two preponderant rivals, the unaffected groups, before falling into anarchy, and with that notable instinct of self-defense, worked to bring about these agreements,

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

628 "There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
616 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
[195] inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[203] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alliances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater efficacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

671 These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
628 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
728 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14) for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
721 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

671 628 613 728 Things went well, while the violators of the past were humble figures among the allied groups, incapacitated by their slight strength and the fact that they had few friends to abuse the pact by opposing themselves to other groups concerned; but when the equilibrium was upset or broken by the hatreds of the more distinguished lineage members, dragging their powerful lineages into the fray, the pact was wrecked and peace disappeared anew.

671 628 728 Observe in note 1 the guarantee of peace. In note 2, the formality of the agreement obtained. In note 3, the punishment. In note 4, the violation of the agreement. In note 5, the executive organ, the mass of the population. In note 6, the procedure. In note 7, the reason for the punishment, because it is a voluntary law. In notes 8 and 9, the fulfillment. In notes 10 and 11, the notables, the really significant personages, the Aitharbi'in. In notes 12 and and 13, with economic details, the democratic sensation of defective practice. In note 14, the Rifian illusion.

671 628 152 Notes 3 and 4 seem to show that Rifian custom is not designed to punish the loyal combatant, who, in an inflamed dispute, comes impulsively to make use of arms, incapable of dominating his instincts and always quick to defend his rights, but also to avoid treachery, cunning and hatred, or rather, vengeance, reprisal, from which the Rifians did not know how to free themselves, and which used up men and [577] [828] families. This is a notion which renders honors to manhood and stigmatizes the coward.

554 671 In notes 2, 10 and 11 it may be seen who the Rifians of significance are and that only these men, and not the ordinary tribesmen, are the executives and legislators. This proves what has been said

554 671 614 621 623 619 646 This proves what has been said regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true parliament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan, tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an arictocracy known as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.

614 671 [619] [554] This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan, through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even if they are of the same tribe.

[681]

681 [628] 671 628 [672] Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine, prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out. If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

pick up his rifle in defense of justice (a few days of visiting, free food, participation in the sharing of the fines, and even a raid, if this be the case). In the latter instance, everyone was (translator's italics) interested and desired to see justice done (with concomitant benefits of a meal and collecting one's own share of the fine).

Rifian law, according to note 7, is definitely superior (sic) to European law, because it obliges anyone who submits to it only to accept it and to agree to its fulfillment, accepting beforehand the santions which it establishes.

It is in these qanuns that Rifians may see sharply reflected who exactly are the men of prestige in the group to which they attach themselves and even the order of preference, by means of the names which figure in them; but we must not lose sight of the fact that they are edited by tulba of childish mentality (sic), a mentality deformed by their Islamic education; and that these tulba do not even translate Berber conceptualizations into their Arabic writing, as may be observed in other qanuns, thus altering the natural order in favor of their religious inclinations.[26]

Nobody believes, then, that such individuals cited in the first place figure in the documents for reasons of religiosity, but for the convenience of the imgharen who, jealous of their prestige, would have promoted interminable altercations in order to be first, in their jealous egalitarianism, and the necessity, which they saw themselves in order to avoid it, of putting above their disputes and petty jealousies individuals of neutral appearance, such as tulba, to officiate as the pacifying presidents of their stormy council-meetings (igrawn).

671 It may also be seen that here there appear no Arabic names of tribal functionaries, such as qa'id, qadi or mqaddim.

[693] The notaries who sign the documents limit themselves, then, to the registry of acts passed by the lay committee or customary tribunal.[27]

000 This procedure clarifies the executive procedure in notes 5, 6, 7 and 8.

627 613 The notables and a coterie of friends, family or volunteers, or, simply, hungry men, fall like locusts upon the households of the lineage-mates (agnates) of the accused, and they do not budge until the matter is settled; either this, or they throw them out of doors.[28] Documents and lands, proofs and possessions; the accused's agnates must hand over all of these, as well as their very houses. They have violated the pact and the pledged word. They can only save their own [628] persons, and this with difficulty, thanks to the force of vengeance, bloodfeud and reprisal, to the raqba[29], which may be taken by any member of the victim's family (i.e. any of the victim's agnates).

627 It is a rapid procedure, but not because the law or its executive organs are rapid, for, as among Europeans, as it is their own flesh which suffers, they are in no great hurry. In the Rif, the man who most strongly urges liquidation of these affairs is the one responsible for the crime, and his agnates. However, much beforehand accounts may be adjusted, the matter is over before they will see themselves free of the locusts in their quarters and before they will be able to save bread. After a few days, which are hard to stretch out, the provisions, already considerably reduced, will begin to get

695 Valid and complete testimony in virtue of which both instrumental witnesses bring testimony against them.

000 (Two illegible signatures follow.)

692 At the same time, they agreed that whoever should commit any of the wrongs (literally, "things") expressed herein, the case, together with him (the man who committed it) shall be taken to Sayyid Mhammad bin Musa[32] and Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Ali[33] (Blanco: note d).

685 Whoever enters an orchard with intent to rob shall pay 20 685 uqiyyas. If a bull should start to trample property adjacent to that 672 of its owner, the latter shall pay one peseta.

The guarantors (of the fulfillment of this agreement) are three. The Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah, and Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan (Blanco: note e).

[681] Regarding the amount (of the fines imposed) with respect to orchards in cases in which they are injured by animals, this will be donated to their mosque (Blanco: note f).

If they should break a branch of a fig or other tree belonging to anyone, the owner of the animals will pay 20 (uqiyyas).

000 A signature in Arabic follows, which appears to be al-Bu Jma' bin Muhammad (signed).

B) Commentary:

671 The reading of this qanun clearly indicates in its first para- 621 graph the names of those who have established it, all of them members of the jma'th of Imhauren, bordering the Island of Alhucemas, in the 624 plain of the same name. Every two or three headmen or iziddifen (sing., 613 554 aziddif, "head") are the visible representatives of the lineage groups

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
554 presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or
[182] ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its repre-
792 sentatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because
554 of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
212 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
671 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
527 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques),
521 such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the har-
571 vests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
687 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that
685 the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
629 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they
have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the
qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a
triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the
meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the
agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it
as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good,
natural and admirable feeling.

182 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
671 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
626 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
681
613

691 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

000 671 182 628 681 nor a bastardization of his office. It creates guarantees for the accused, protecting him from bloodfeuds; it indemnifies the social unit, the subclan of Imhauren, from injuries caused by some of its members, so that when the fine is donated to the habus of the village mosque, through the particular conceptualization and application of these funds in the Rif, a part of the money always came back to the jma'th in kind; and the eagerness for a reward, as among participating European functionaries, who multiply the fines by increasing their investigations and denunciations in proportion to their needs, was discarded.

671 681 627 It has--and why not?--among its other defects one which is certainly a simple defect in editing, although the frequency with which it is repeated makes this doubtful in several cases. The intention (author's italics) (Blanco: note f, in text) is punished, but how can it be proven? According only to the prudent arbitration of the popular tribunal formed by the two aforementioned individuals. A bad business.

671 621 623 614 182 Curious and noteworthy is the palpable demonstration of this municipal letter, of this qanun of a jma'th, which is careful not to overstep the bounds of adjacent institutions, such as those of personal status law (inheritance, etc.) or of those handled by the immediately superior social unit, the clan, with its qanun approved and drawn up in the markets (murders and woundings, etc.), a fact which reveals the interrelationship and interdependence of the different social units, and even their institutions and how they function.

671 627 182 This qanun is limited, logically, to neighborhood questions, among which there figures in first place that of public security (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property.

000 (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property. It$_{A}^{A}$ says nothing regarding
671 the question of irrigation, because within the territory of this subclan
312 there is not a single point of communal water available or usable only
614 by this jma'th, as happens in Thamasind (see Qanun of Tamasint); on the other hand, it forms part of a group of irrigating jma'ths subjected to the same norms which are described in detail in Chapter XIV, and, if it does not touch other points of coexistence and if it is observed in other qanuns, this is simply because such questions did not give rise to any disagreements, for all members of the subclan accepted the old and very well-known customs of their jma'th in good spirit.

000 And rough, practical men cannot lose time inventing or making things up, even though they may be capable of doing so.

671 This qanun, like almost all others, brings into relief the sweat, efforts and oversights of those who drew it up, in order to validate the precepts agreed upon and in order to satisfy, for those attending to them[37]; for, attentive to his individual interests, a man would wish to make an addendum if a mishap had occurred in his orchard the previous night, as in note i in the text. Amplifications or corrections [623] were required, for, fearing that they were not understood by the hard-headed councilmembers, the plaintiff was accredited before the legislative assembly as proof of his presence at the legislative meeting even if only to legislate egotistically for his orchard.

623 With this, they accredited that under a severe and formalized
182 appearance, there was no more than childishness (sic) and incapacity to govern (sic): lost in small details, strongly addicted to minutiae, passionately influenced by the latest incident, working anarchically (sic), each person obsessed with his own problems, attentive to his

623 182 own circumstantial interest, their councils and the agreements fallen back upon in them lacked that breadth and generality which would have been needed for a longer duration in any jural operation. In a short time, new, unspecified cases or prejudice among the influential men brought their usefulness to an end and necessitated their being re-drafted, in which previous experience, the analysis of which was discarded in order to resolve the question of the moment, did not play a part.

671 212 For this reason written laws in the Rif are rare, of only relative value and minimal jural operation, which did not go beyond the time it took the minors (author's italics), the small ones, to forget the announcement of the majors (author's italics) by the criers in the markets to reach their hands.

671 They do not have the severity of European law which, even though drafted in moments of emotion, gathers up and encloses in itself principles of general usefulness, a usefulness which does not necessarily exist at the time of codification but which comes into play with possible and presumable variations which later times can introduce, by which, with the prolongation of their legal operation, their disclosure and exemplarity increase, resulting in the slow but sure advance of society.

5. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF TAMASINT (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 695 621 623 A) Qanun:

(Blanco: paragraph a) Praise be to God.--Copy.--In front of both witnesses testifying at the present act, those of the jama'a of Tamasint as-Sifli, Lower Thamasind, appeared for judgment, including:

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzumas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

671
623

2) Commentary:

This document, this community charter, as is customary with such writings, begins by enumerating the men who attended the meeting in which it was drawn up. This simple list of names reveals to us, in the first place, the supremacy of the laymen, with civil power, over the clerics, a fact which may be observed in the name of the man figuring in first place being ahead of that of the Talib Sidi Shu'aib. The order in which the names occur is not a casual one. The editors of the qanuns, profound psychologists who know to perfection the environment in which they operate, never dare to invert the terms of social protocol; they know with their eyes closed who must occupy the preferential place, and that the slightest transgression in this respect would tear down not only the agreement, through any quarrel which might take place, but also the effigy of the editors themselves[39].....

671
554
623

671
829
576
623

623

The first paragraph puts into relief just who are the representative men of the jma'th, the notables, the heads of the lineages making up the village, the iziddifen, who formed the council regulating neighborhood relations, the only council empowered to legislate in such questions (Blanco: paragraph i or j), and equivalent to the Spanish Consejo or Ayuntamiento.[40]

The agraw or council-meeting held on this occasion by the iziddifen had as its object, as the written qanun shows us, the legislation of neighborhood questions concerning the council, regulation of the coexistence of its lineage members, guaranteeing the free and peaceful usufruct of individual and communal (i.e. water) property,

623 554 legislate, but it is not maintained by conferring distinctions on them, converting them into a caste, nor by giving them stipends for their work. For this same reason, the council-members have, perhaps, greater esteem among their neighbors. On the other hand, the jma'th punishes [581] disobedience to its decrees, but it does not impose a penalty on those who disobey the shaikh, who is simply a representative of the people with outside denomination expressed in writing (i.e. in Arabic), in view of the difficulty of expressing this in his own language.[44] That [622] he is a simple titular and outside arbiter is shown by the fact that his function, in Arabic terminology and organization, would be that of a mqaddim.

607 554 623 [578] This qanun is an excellent example of the beginnings of a trend toward personal power concentrated in a single individual, the shaikh, charged with the representation of the jma'th and the execution of its agreements;.....and we may perceive indistinctly the intrigue and the deaf struggle between this personage and the rest of the community, who are jealous of his attributes. In the first draft, the document is declared valid (Blanco: paragraph f, in text); but in the oversights pointed up in the re-reading of the document, and certainly at the shaikh's request, they consent to the fact that obedience to him be recommended in the addenda; but they have been careful, in the preceding paragraph (paragraph i), to state that only they can make resolutions or define crimes and misdemeanors through enforcement of law and punishment, always granted, of course, that such enforcement be useful (author's italics); but neither the shaikh nor anyone else can invent or contrive more than his council, because only they are capable

671 554 623 of knowing the needs of the moment, not past or future needs which do not mean anything to anybody. They are living laws designed for living people, for those present.

671 672 Paragraph b shows us how they embellish their law, taking aggravating and attenuating circumstances into account. Among these are nocturnity and dwellings (where they guard their fig and grain reserves). Attenuating and, even more, exemption from responsibility, [682] homicide is legitimate if committed in self defense or in defense of one's property.

68 554 661 671 Paragraph c punishes intention, in order to avoid disputes, and makes a small concession to personal power, permitting the shaikh to keep for himself this fine destined for the common fund.

685 672 671 Paragraph d is concerned with injuries to crops by animals, which are herded by children. The punishment is minimal.

671 623 574 In paragraph e, the law of the jma'th establishes and regulates the social duty of hospitality, imposing the burden equally on all its members. Guests learn that it is not only the shaikh who pays for their upkeep, but all the members of the jma'th, even the poor ones.

623 574 Consider also the excessive number of voluntary servitors who dance continued attendance on the guest with towels, basins and soap, and finally the amphitrion hands over to their expectant voracity all the remains of your meal, except for one small dish which, passing through the door, is submerged in the mysterious interior of the dwelling as a reward for the activity of the women or children who prepared it. When you leave, each member of the jma'th retires with whatever he presented for your comfort: pillows, blankets, soap, coffee pot or teapot, towel, glasses, candles, etc.

Paragraph h shows us the guarantee of keeping the principal religious services (funera's, etc.) and of keeping their sons educated in the faith. Today, under a different pretext, it is not uncommon to observe someone pretending to reject with disdain such a traditional obligation, for which he must not claim protection. The reason for this, rather than being rooted in irreligiosity, must be sought in possible antagonisms with the fqih.

Paragraph i conditions the obligation of fulfilling the agreements with certain legalities: that so many individuals be present at the meeting, and that they be useful and not prejudicial. They are, thus, the colegislators, working freely and without limitation, without dependence on anyone. It urges obedience.

Paragraph j recommends obedience to the shaikh.

In summation: this beautiful qanun of a jma'th establishes who are the iziddifen or council-members, and what their attributes are: to establish statutes regarding damages to crops, education and hospitality, but not to concern themselves with murder, woundings and homicide, an affair of the clan, nor with personal status, a religious matter. In the internal struggle within the jma'th, if, indeed, the iziddifen consent and delegate the execution of their decisions to a representative (the shaikh) to whom they accord circumstantial rewards, at the same time, jealous of their prerogatives, they free themselves very easily from authorizing him to contrive misdemeanors and penalties for these.

Thus the shaikh, in reality, is only the guardian of the community.

6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH[45] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

671 443 [778] Praise be to the One God. The will and eternal power of Our Lord having decided thus, the congregation--in the Tuesday Market (Suq ath-Thulatha) (situated) at 'Ain Tihalalin[46], in the vicinity of (the tomb of) the holy emanator of blessings Sidi 'Amran[47]--of its owners, those of the clan of Bani 'Abdallah. (The latter) convened 623 443 (in the abovementioned market) with the idea of coming to agreement on 692 their criteria and on the purity of their actions in behalf of the 681 common good of all; and, as a consequence, they decided the amount of the fines to be imposed inasmuch as there should occur within the abovementioned market, or, indeed, outside it on the path (which leads to it), (Blanco: note a) incidents, premeditated or not, through error or imprudence, such as woundings and murders (which might happen) through gunshots, knifings, strangulations and stonings, (or, indeed), 682 pillaging and sacking. (Blanco: note b) To anyone who kills in the 443 interior of the market and is caught (literally, "had"), rashsha' shall [696] be applied to him (i.e. he shall be shot). If he has not been captured owing to having fled to another tribe (literally, "other tribes"), (they shall impose upon him a fine of) 2000 duros and his house shall be burned down to its foundations. (If he should kill) on the path (which leads to the market) he shall also pay (a fine of) 2000 (duros). Who- 683 ever should wound (another), (he shall be fined) 1000 duros. Whoever (shoots) and misses (his target), (he shall pay a fine of) 500 duros.

682 (Blanco: note c) Whoever of the Bani 'Abdallah should commit murder on Tuesday (i.e. on market day, the day of the suq) within the

capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) in order to testify.

(Blanco: note h) If, regarding a murder, there is brought sufficient proof (against the guilty party), the abovementioned fine shall be imposed upon him, and in case sufficient proof does not exist, he shall swear (for acquittal).[48]

(Blanco: note i) Regarding the abovementioned beginning (i.e. on Tuesdays), it is ended at the hour of the 'isha (i.e. at the dinner hour or hour of the sunset prayer). Amen.

On the sixth day of Ramadan the Magnificent of the year 1335 (June 26, 1917). Servant of his God, may He be exalted, Muhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, "Abd as-Salam bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

Legalization by the qadi. Praise be to the One God. (Both 'udul) have put down its contents, which are accepted and to which I give faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Umar at-Tuzani, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

This qanun manifests in a clear way how social law is made among Rifians: where the legislators gathered to agree on it, how it was made public, whom it obligated, the jurisdiction in which it was exercised, the objective sought and the means of attaining it.

It enumerates the crimes and their sanctions, it distinguishes perpetrators and accomplices, provokers and auxiliaries, natives and stranger. It eschews pardon, it demands proof and it shows the reality of the social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator

[See p.306-- Analyst]

/

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
621 social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
443 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to
671 those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan, an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in
[182] principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
614
776

671 443 614 776 was drawn up, as the names of those who inspired it disappear into a convenient anonymity as the generic "those of the clan", under the otherworldly tutelage of Sidi 'Amran. As for being alive and present, 671 614 776 I consider that the jealous and rivalrous constituents of this saint would neither have consented, however great his sanctity might be, to figure expressly in this qanun; for such was the independent or anarchical spirit of this clan, that, having iziddifen or imgharen like all other clans, nobody wanted to see himself deferred or ordered around, 554 even in name only. There is no master nor, by the same token, are there servants, titles or honors. Only men and rifles, and only reality and harshness.

614 671 Nevertheless, the common good succeeds in putting the clan's ideas into effect (author's italics--i.e. "the common good makes them agree"), according to the expression of the first paragraph of the qanun, which reveals to us the amount of discussion and work that this would cost.

671 Rifian law grows, pacifying the minds of those who live by it, staisfying a need, not an ideal; and doing so as naturally as the waters of 'Ain Tihalalin, beside which it was made, slake the thirst of the wayfarer and even the clarity of both: the wayfarer and the law. For the function of the water and the function of the Rifian [182] legal system was analogous: to cure, even though the cure was not always successful.

671 443 Rifian society, as this qanun proves, establishes a place of peace, a place which is not (translator's italics) the temple of God, the place of prayer and that selected by almost all other peoples, but the market and its environs, the temple of the merchants. This proves

671 This proves
182 that Rifian law tended to satisfy a need and not an ideal, as we have
443 just said; for further on, the qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah points out
796 a truce to be held on a given day, on Tuesday, the market day, and not on Friday, the religious day and the day of attendance at the noon prayer in the mosque. The day of peace is thus a layman's day.....

671 The law is simple. And hard. And sufficient to be encrusted with obligatory relief in the most refractory cranium of a believer, an objective impossible to obtain among modern societies. Nobody pretended ignorance, as all are wont to do or swear today.

There are neither aggravators nor attenuators, only consummate (and consummated) acts.

Paragraph a: They discount intentions, so difficult to prove
[681] and needing so much patience to investigate. They attain results more easy to prove and more quick to sanction (i.e. castigate) and be sanctioned, in conformance with their rudimentary law.

671 Paragraph b: A hard punishment; the liquidation of the mur-
682 derer, with the loophole that after his flight, the law may fatten on him. But it does not give a heavy punishment to his agnates, although it avoids impunity. It does not cease to be more humanitarian than other analogous qanuns, if indeed this custom is followed in reality.
[681] The gradation of fines is simple and even attempted murder is penalized.

671 Paragraph c: A typical example of the fact that Rifian law is only concerned with the external manifestation of the crime.

[681] Paragraph d: And so that the gradation of the punishment follows that manifestation as a shadow does a body, from the time that it is initiated.

671 Paragraph e: This paragraph distinguishes principals from accomplices or auxiliaries.

671 181 Paragraph f: A virile and rural society distrusts the veracity of the so-called humanitarian sentiments, closing its doors to the intrigues which, under such a mask, provoke influential individuals to save their allies and other interested aspirations which mock the objectives that the law, to which they freely gave themselves, pursues.

671 609 628 Paragraph g: We have here a precise and exact detail, an excellent delimitation of a truce, a recognition of Rifian public law (i.e. jural procedure) and interest protecting the stranger, to whom this law guarantees a wide and sufficient time of commercial activity and a prudent warning that he leave an open field to the fierce internal bloodfeuding. We have here a manifestation of the social unit, 671 609 614 the clan, which shows us its reality and consistency, which recognizes a common interest and one superior to its own intestinal vendettas; and this permits it to guarantee to the neutral, to the stranger, a free passage and activity throughout its whole territory (author's italics).

671 695 Paragraph h: Two important additions are made here to the hurried first draft. It is necessary, first, to guarantee the person of the accused against the passions of the moment, the outward appearances, the ill-will and the outright suspicions, by means of evident proof (author's italics), offering him the means of avoiding such passions by taking oath. And in the second addendum (Paragraph i) they list, furthermore, and completing it, the duration of the truce or time of peace.

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanuns, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

671 [621] [623] [614] We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

671 614 613 182 component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing influence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

671 693 695 623 621 782 7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the undersigned notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya) made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros. This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55] or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

682 613 682 443

685 In the same way, they agreed to impose fines for all damages or injuries which are caused, such as theft, etc.

Whoever should steal a sheep or a goat shall be fined 10 duros, and whoever should steal barley, broad beans, etc., from someone else's land shall be fined 5 duros.

681 In summation, all injuries or damages caused by one of them (the Bani 'Adhiya) against another (of them), a fine shall be levied from him, whoever (the party guilty) of the injury or damage may be.

671 In accordance with the above, their declarations were put down, as they have been expressed and explained. Valid and complete testimony. The parties who took part in the present agreement know [693] the value of this agreement, and because of this, both the undersigned notaries testify to what is set down and to the fact that they (the Bani 'Adhiya) are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound minds and memories) and that they are known (personally) to them (the notaries).

805 On the second day of the divine month of Jumad ath-Thani of the 600 year 1332 (April 28, 1914). Servant of his God, may He be glorified, 'Abd as-Salam bin 'Abdallah at-Tafrasti, may God be benevolent toward him. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Aisa at-Taxurakhti, may God be benevolent toward him.

B) Commentary:

671 This synthetic qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya, drawn up in conformity with the dictates of the purest tradition, contains within it suggestions analogous to the rest of the documents which we have studied.

It is a pact (author's italics), by which those who have [771] agreed on it must in future regulate their coexistence and traditional

671 771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [514] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 681 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

671
628 1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in
681 certain qanuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which
184
443 the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the
681
619 reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place
443 reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681 For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is
681
628 therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly
682 made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine
614 for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the
619 Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or
443
613 agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
671 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

671 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

671 "when they were under God's protection") among the notables of the Bani Khattab situated on the seacoast[65], God made them assemble, both adults and minors (author's italics), and made them put their ideas and criteria into agreement. Then they established the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') in front of the tomb of the saint Sidi Bu 'Afif[66], so that it would be a benefit to the poor as well as to those who should desire prosperity.

May God make concord (and harmony) endure among them, and may He solidify (i.e. render prosperous) their market. The establishment (of the aforementioned market) was due to the blessed sharif Sayyidi Ahmad bin Sayyidi Misa'ud[67]--may God make the whole tribe happy--and to the following persons of Ajdir[68]: to the opulent and considerate Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, to the Qa'id Sayyid Bu Bakr bin al-Hajj Muhammad Ushshan, to the Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar al-'Azizi al-Ghalbzuri and to his neighbor Shaikh al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir u Musa w 'Amar, to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Shaikh Hammu Taqal'ait Amhawl, and to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Hajj Muhammadi. All these shuyukh are those who brought their criteria and aid (for the establishment of the market), and above all of them (is the worthy help) of the sharif Sidi Ahmad.

Each of the shuyukh designated those who had to help them in the aforementioned market; these helpers are their brothers (i.e. the people who fall under their jurisdiction) and have to be the first to arrive at the market and the last to leave, in order to safeguard it from prejudice, harm, danger, evil and brawls which might occur in it (i.e. within its limits).

000 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)

682 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)
443 and should kill him shall be fined 500 duros[69], and if, in attacking
he should miss him (i.e. if the bullet should fail to reach its mark),
685 he shall pay 200 duros. Whoever should take justice into his own hands
443 on the path to the market shall be fined 50 duros and shall return what-
689 ever object he made off with. Of those who should incite riots with
shouts and gunshots, as (happened) to the people of Tafrast, Ait Musa
w 'Amar (both in the clan of the Aith 'Ari) and to the people of Ajdir
(in the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), each one shall pay with his
689 death (literally, "with his neck"), that is, he must be shot. Whoever
443 should be discovered in the Monday Women's Market (Suq ath-Thnain n
562 Timgharin, at Azghar) shall be forced to pay 10 duros.

671 This is what has been decided (for fulfillment) of justice in
443 the above-mentioned market. May God, for the common good, put into
agreement His ideas and the criteria of His lords (of the market).
689 Punishment shall seek out anyone who should wish to provoke riots--
may God in His power make him meet his end.

000 The abovementioned shuyukh have worked with good intent, with
the idea of being useful. May God cause the miracles of the saints
to be manifested, and of the saint of the tomb situated in front of the
market (i.e. that of Sidi Bu 'Afif).

Each of the abovementioned shuyukh designated among his brothers
(i.e. among the men in his jurisdiction) those faithful to him (i.e.
those who constituted his escort and supported his decisions), as for
example: the Shaikh Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar designated among them
the Murabit bin Muhammad bin 'Abdallah Bu 'Azza; the Murabit Hammu bin
al-Hajj Muhammad w al-Qadi; 'Umar bin al-Hajj Tuhami Adardush; Muhammad

000 Taqal'ait; and Muhammad bin al-Hajj Hadidush. All these are faithful (adherents) who are under the orders of their shuyukh, each one (obeying) the orders and countermands of his shaikh. May God help them and put them into agreement (i.e. make them agree) for the common good, because in this is founded the pleasure of God; may God cause all to stay in power, with His protection and generosity.

[805] At the end of the divine month of Rabi' al-Thani of the year 1325 (June 10, 1907).

Servant of his God, may He be glorified, Mhammad bin Muhammad bin Mhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

671 This qanun, following the criteria by which the others have been analyzed, appears the least suggestive, due doubtless to the redundancy of patronyms which it contains, none of which the editor, who is a perfect chronicler of this society, dares suppress in his personal adulation, while he forgets to consign with analogous detail the principal material, the punishments of crimes which are the object of the industrious and complex body politic.

000 He would have beencapable of writing the names of all his constituents, surpassing his own record, which he undoubtedly left established with such an interminable list, the reading of which few could finish, from not doing it with the derisive tone and with the falsetto voice to which they are accustomed, revealing the affected, pompous, superficial and routine mentality of the Arabic schoolroom, very adherent to form but exempt of content[70], which the pure Rifian

knows how to listen to, attentively and curiously, with a composure, artfulness and incomprehension which is charming, so that he may interpret it later on according to his whim, and with such freedom that no one could recognize it if there were anyone in this happy land to whom the idea of losing time through research might occur.

The memory of Rifians is of a shocking fragility for whatever does not interest them or is lacking in precise outline.....

693 671 212 How many disputes and fights the talib-editor might have avoided if he had had the least idea of the transcendence of his writing and of his notarial function, and if he had listed, instead of his dull litany of names, that by which "they established a qanun for all in general", from which he shows no more than four examples (author's italics), and these very entangled!

693 212 Undoubtedly the first man to be convinced of his uselessness and transitoriness as a legal recorder was the neglected talib-editor himself. He would not judge it opportune to bother about this, knowing the slight value which Rifian society attached to proof written down by the cunning tulba, to whom it only apportioned snares and delusions. Perhaps intentionally in order to convert himself into the sacred repository of all the juridical sciences of the Aith Khattab, a pre-eminent post, he saw himself as an obligatory consultant for all the disputes among his forgetful constituents, for these would require his testimony and assure him of a certain measure of preponderance, especially sacerdotally, aside from an obligatory invitation to a final meal. All conjectures fit, from that of ignorance to that of gluttony. What is certain and unpardonable is that this voluntary omission deprives us today of tasting the needs which they felt and the form in which they sought to remedy them. -322-

000 sought to remedy them.

671 This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences
671 from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the
181 Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization,
[177] how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society.

181 In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from
369 the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means
554 of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes,
177 in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthen-
369 ing his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers
554 himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although
291 his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

369 The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders
829 on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

369 Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

671 554 Abundant in these ideas, we may observe how in the first lines of the qanun some names are adorned with the honorific titles of shaikh and even qa'id, titles which fit the members of this society as well as two pistols do a saint, for not only did they not realize nor did anyone admit the roles which in Arabic correspond to such titles, but, as can be appreciated, the nominal qa'id (i.e. Sayyid Bu Bakr bin Muhammad Ushshan) does not occupy the first place, which he not only had to yield to the opulent and considerable Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, but to crouch behind another, second shaikh, 'Ali Azarqan, and we finally discover him in third place modestly lost among the notables: the adults (author's italics), with this single, authentic and legitimate representation: that of his lineage (family group) or dharfiqth, and all the rest, of the social group or jma'th.

It may be observed that this is the only qanun in which the imaginary personage of the qa'id is expressly stated; his title and role are as unreal as all other Arab ones in the Rif, whether they be called bu mwarith, ukil l-ghuyab, shiyukh, mqaddimin and even qudat (pl. of qadi). These people did not look toward Fez nor toward the circumference of the Rif, but toward its center, toward the interior, toward their villages. There was no power other than the assembly, the agraw[75], the council of elders. For this reason Rifian society.... could have previously been considered concentric.[76]

181 614 121

We may also see the coincidence that this qanun, the only one in which the term qa'id appears, is also the only one which contains that of amghar among the last names (ninth to last) as well as that of ra'is[77], and it reveals to us how the tulba of the Aith Waryaghar, who

671 554 693

671 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike pro-
554 clivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their
693 real profession.

671 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite
779 recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code,
671 or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack,
683 he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor markmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect markmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

681 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all
443 to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the
[619] tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent
[673] death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

562 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among
671 the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed
183 today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only
794 one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon
443 discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering
689 the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him
178 over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's
562 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they
443 were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very
178 attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women
183 special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of
[184] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the funda-
(681) mentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these kin groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

671 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any in-
vader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed im-
potence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organiza-
tion and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

671 have just said, a personage who does not show up in any qanun as dis-
619 charging his office or as even providing the most minimal and non-
181 transcendent representation, for in the one qanun in which we finally discover him (the qanun commented upon here) we have already shown that he hides himself modestly and even effacingly behind the camouflage of
619 two other shiyukh. The result is that not even in the big list, in
554 the listing of "the fat ones" (i.e. the enumeration of the clan brothers of each of the imagharen of importance), does this ambitious man gain first prize, the individual who seizes this being an opulent and lay tribesman whose preeminence clearly gives a clue to the psychology of the talib who drafted the qanun as well as to that of his constituents.

619 And, reflecting upon bases like these, it is well to ask what
648 reasons or exigencies the first protectorate functionaries felt, discounting both imitative and ignorant ones in order to orient their policies toward big qa'ids who, even if their stature has been diminished, are no longer to be seen for sure anywhere.

To impose upon the tribes more or less significant personalities, representatives of concentrated power, when, subdivided ad infinitum, they unite in their opposition to all types of personal power, is always an ungrateful undertaking and one full of surprises, as practice has shown us....when power is imposed from above.[84]

642 In the Rif, where all are personalities, only a mass-oriented political system, and not one oriented toward individuals, can bear fruit.[85] The enforced utilization of one or even several dozen persons of some importance serves no purpose if this does not benefit the mass, taking up its aspirations and satisfying its needs, anxious for freedom

181
167 They were too good and honorable to see themselves die out, with no fear other than that of the market announcement and without guards of any sort, on a most miserable land, which their way of life made habitable only through emigration[92] and epidemics taking care of the surplus population.

Clearly, bound to necessity, it incited the envy of more than one individual, considering the very slight severity of the punishment, the possibility of concealing the offense and the difficulty of proof, for which reason the people took refuge in traveling to places unknown to them on days which were not market days, without taking natural precautions.

671
685 The qanun of the Aith Siddat shows us, in notation (c), the offense of house-breaking, with a concise and admirable clarity; it recognizes for the owner of the house the right of violent opposition, a previous guarantee to the society that neither a difference of opinion nor known resentment shall mediate between them.

671
682 By the same token, notation (b) indicates and punishes the accomplice with the same penalty in offenses in which blood is drawn as does notation (k) with 50 mithqals in the rest of the cases.

And finally, in notation (d), the right of legitimate defense is established without the slightest doubt.

671
562 If in each one of the qanuns in this volume it is easy to discover its characteristics and, knowing the region, to find out what each one conceals, to explain what it says and the reasons which it gives for doing so, we must point out, in the present qanun, the interest which the Aith Siddat maintained in enforcing public respect

92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

RS 671 619 687 648

the people of Bani Dar al-Zikhlif, the people of Agni, the people of the Awlad al-Hamdi ibn al-Qadi of Qubi'a, the people of Iharumen, the people of Igzinnayen[96] and the people of Bani Gmil, all agreeing among themselves, with respect to the defense of the border, (to impose) a fine of 2000 duros upon any of those mentioned who, in case of war in Dar al-Zikhlif, should flee through negligence (at a time when cooperation in border defense is needed) or should even proceed with cunning (in order not to fulfill the agreement), for which he shall pay the sum mentioned earlier in the present document.

RS 687 614 648

The allies of Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura who flee back to their homes in Dar al-Zikhlif shall pay the above amount to each one of the clans. A sum shall be levied from their hands by those indicated in the earlier part of the present document. Those of both clans mentioned who would appear for judgment in the act and combat against their own (people) remain exempt from payment[97], (the justification of) this procedure being that it is the only way to impose brotherhood and unity, and to cause extralimitation against them to cease.

000 He who attended the present agreement with both parties and heard from them what was agreed upon extended this to the requirement of those who solicited it.

At the end of the divine month of Rajab al-Fard of the year 1336 (May 9, 1918).

Servant of his God, (illegible).--(Signature).

RS 671 648

B) Commentary:

The above qanun, as a perusal of it indicates, represents an

R S 611 648

alliance between the people of two distinct tribes, the Bni Bu Frah and the Bni Gmil, or, more specifically the clans of Agni and Ulah S'aid in the first tribe and their neighbor Bni Gmil[98], situated in the hollow of the upper basin of the Wad Bu Frah.

R S 648

This alliance has as its objective more than just the defense of the border, as it points out, for it guarantees the lives and property of its constituents along the tribal frontiers, as these, in the Rif, do not have the stability which they do, for example, among European states, because purchasing of land, principally, renders them extremely mobile.[99]

R 616

These alliances (lfuf) have a significance and a mechanism among Rifians which we have already attempted to assess in the first part of this conference.

The liff, the origins of which are confusing and the development of which is complicated, is difficult for a European to understand; but nevertheless, it attracted us greatly as the center-piece in the life of the Rifian mountains.[100]

The way I view it, the liff is not a social institution, nor does it fit into the family institutions already considered with reference to the kin group; and this is because it binds together different social units, as in this instance, rather than individuals of different families.[101] The liff is more of a political institution and it represents in Rifian political life a complementary force of higher and intermittent action. Perhaps it may have been the real regulator (author's italics) of Rifian life, not coming into play until other forces became rarified or became disturbed. For this reason, to my way of thinking, it is so important.

616
613 survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian
619 Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were sur-
182 rounded by powerful neighbors.

616 Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family,
182 the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616 I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or
121 the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616 It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

671 This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the
614 clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe.
619 Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring
644 clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the
648 border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] [443] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 574 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

671 701 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

671
701
681

Fines to be imposed:

Harka members: for each day of absence, two (days to be served) in the harka, and a fine of 2 duros.

Qa'ids of 25 men: the same, with a fine of 3 duros.

Qa'ids of 50 men: the same, with a fine of 4 duros.

Qa'ids of 100 men: the same, with a fine of 5 duros.

Qa'ids of 200 men: the same, with a fine of 6 duros.

This is an order emanating from the fortunate Makhzin (i.e. of 000 'Abd al-Krim). May God protect it. In Taghzut on Ramadan 23, 1344 (March 8, 1926). By order of 'Abd al-Karim bin Ziyan.[110]

12. DOCUMENT OF EXEMPTION FROM PAYMENT OF TAXES[111]:

212
651

Praise be to the one God. The blessings of God be upon our (lord) Muhammad, his family and friends.

It shall be known through the present document that we, taking into consideration the services rendered to the Makhzin and the taxes which because of hospitable attentions with warlike objectives (holy war) weigh upon the bearers, the sons of the late Si Ahmad bin Si 'Ali al-Tawti are exempted by us from the contributions concerned....The 'amil, in virtue of this, orders that they not be asked of them....And the peace.

Safar 18 of the year 1341 (October 10, 1922). Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, may God be with him, amen. (Signed and sealed).

13. QANUN OF THE SEA--AITH WARYAGHAR[112]:

471
501

A) The Boat Owner:

He owns the boat (agharrabu, pl. igharruba)[113], acquired by transfer, sale, already used or repaired by carpenters on the beach, of whom there are still a few[114].

226
389

Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

425

G) Recovery:

Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

H) Arbiters:

628
554

Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

628
648
554
671
692
115

Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

628 to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the
628 verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine
554 and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the
671 same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and
692 finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting them-
[115] selves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this
628 qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen
554 is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, 1-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

227 The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analo-
[171] gous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the
[177] Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly
501 the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of 312 571 turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns 425 [432] of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or [805] [435] 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of 312 571 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns 805 was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Amhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their [821] tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

224 411 of these, and any Rifian worthy of his salt can knock down a partridge in full flight with noteworthy dexterity, and at a distance of fifteen to twenty-five meters.

(824) The sticks which they use are usually of wild olive wood, in the form of shepherds' crooks, backed by a few turns of copper wiring at each end and the upper third; and this at the same time increases resistence to breakage, facilitates throwing by its greater accuracy.... The net result is that the Rifian is as dangerous, or even more so, to game animals or birds than is the average European hunter with a double-barreled shotgun.

224 At the hour agreed upon, when every participant is provided with his corresponding weapon or dog, they all leave their houses and go toward the hunting site, crying "Haw-haw! Haw-haw!", which is the signal of hunting and reunion.

E) Ownership of Game Caught:[188]

Ownership of game which is caught follows certain rules which are based on a general principle attributing the game first to whoever discovers it; second, to whoever kills it; and finally, to whoever (578) collects it. In different (or individual) cases, disputes may take place, and these and the way they are resolved will be discussed (411) further on. The principal elements of judgment are the range of vision of the hunters, and the range of accuracy of the weapons, some fourteen stick-lengths, or forty feet in a stone's throw.

671 224 692 The customary law of Rifian society minutely anticipates how many cases may arise, and as, furthermore, it is inspired by reality, it is simple and useful, requiring of the judges, first, competence,

671 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

080
223
224
627
578
671
[171]

at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

671
223
224
411

4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

671
223

5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir).

[572]
[695]

671
223
224

6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

[201]

7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "l-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

671 224 [804] If, however, the animal should flee and be killed by another hunter, it (still) belongs to the one who discovered it, although he may not have shot or thrown at it, provided that the distance from the point where it fell to that where it was discovered can be covered by a stone's throw, done either by him himself or by another hunter designated by him, with, furthermore, the choice of either point as that of the stone-throw being open to him (either where the animal fell or where it got up). This is done in order to utilize the slope, if...this distance had not been previously established.

671 223 224 8) An animal or bird flushed up by a hunter is his if he does not pass beyond a distance of forty feet counted from the point at which it was flushed, and even though the shot may have missed it or if it was overtaken by a dog (Sanhaja Srir).

[681] 9) If an animal or bird wounded by one hunting party is finished off and collected by another one, it belongs to the first party, to which it must be returned even though it may already be cooked; and if it has been eaten, the second party must pay the first 25 pesetas as compensation (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 623 10) Nests belong to whoever discovers them, and in the event that they are saved as bait in order to hunt the mother with a trap or net, the site must be shown to the jma'th, in order to insure priority rights.

G) Dogs:[191]

671 223 224 231 1) Animals or birds picked up by dogs are not for the owner of the dog, but for whoever takes them out of his mouth (Aith 'Ammarth). This is based upon the fact that if the dogs are not trained, they will

671 223 224 231 eat the birds or animals instead of taking them to their masters. However, from another point of view, it is probably not a bad thing to let them taste meat once in their lives, for not everything in their diet must be bones!

[411] 2) If, at the moment it is flushed, an animal or bird is wounded with a gun or stick and then immediately caught by a dog, so that the result of the blow cannot be determined, it is for the hunter and not for the owner of the dog (Ibuqquyen).

[804] 3) Also for the hunter is any animal or bird which, wounded by him, continues to run and is overtaken by a dog within a radius of fourteen stick-lengths (dhigharya or dhigharyin, sing. dhaghrith, "stick"), counted from the site where the animal was wounded, provided that it shows a fracture. If it does not show a fracture or if it passes this radius, it belongs to the owner of the dog or to whoever picks it up (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

4) An animal pursued by a saluki which succeeds in hiding itself in a thicket or burrow belongs to the first man (i.e. the owner of the saluki), even though another hunter may come to get it (Ibuqquyen).

5) An animal or bird pursued by a saluki and brought to earth by a hunter is for the latter if it drops within the aforementioned radius of fourteen dhigharya (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

H) Aid During the Hunt:

671 224 Whoever discovers an animal in hiding can solicit aid in getting it or can get others to help him spontaneously, without losing his property (i.e. the animal) in either case; but he is obliged, if the

224 aid was rendered with firearms, to pay a cartridge, and if rendered
671 with a ferret, to surrender half of the animal taken, for the maintenance of ferrets, based on milk, eggs and bread with olive oil, is costly. The same holds true if he is lent a net; he must pay half of the animals he catches (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 Anyone who, if help is required of him, denies it and
224 deliberately frightens the game away with shouts and gestures, in
689 order to hunt it later on his own, is obliged to pay a fine of 25 pesetas for his selfishness.[192]

671 I) Snow:
224 The tracks of animals (largely hares and rabbits) and the footprints of hunters give rise to the following cases:

1) The animals are for whoever discovers them and follows their tracks from the point where these begin or further; this is thus a recognition of the greatest effort (Aith 'Ammarth).

2) This right may be yielded by the pursuer, for reasons of weariness, etc., to anyone whom he meets on the way; and in case he abandons the search, he loses his rights (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 3) After the den of an animal is discovered, the hunter makes
224 a circle in the snow around it. This circle is a sign of priority
423 rights to the animal within it, and it permits the hunter to follow new tracks even though he may not kill the animal within the burrow.
671 In case another man takes the animal from its den, the claim is
224 examined in front of the mulu' by the first hunter taking oath to
423 having made the circle in order to locate the animal first.
627
[681] If through lack of other proof and if afterward it comes to

671 224 423 627 681 be known that one of the parties involved obliged the other one to swear, even knowing that the latter was right, the first party is fined 25 pesetas over and above the value of the animal (Aith Waryaghar).[193]

671 224 4) Animals found on someone's plot of land belong to the man who catches them and not to the owner of the land (Aith 'Ammarth).[194]

J) Nets and Snares:

223 After threshing has been completed in the late summer, threshing floors somewhat distant from the villages are used in order to hunt partridges with nets.[195] The threshing floor is prepared for this purpose, with straw and grains wasted as fodder. It is then surrounded with a semi-circular fence, a sign that it is prepared for birds.

671 223 (685) On a threshing floor, the preferential right to any game caught is that of the owner of the floor. In a floor marked out as indicated above, only the indiviual who prepared it may hunt. Any other person who tries to do so is considered a thief, and the fine he must pay is calculated on the basis of the number of partridges in the net. This right is based upon the patient preparation and expense of fodder, as bait.

223 224 After the den of a rabbit or hare or the nest of a partridge has been discovered, the hunters sprinkle the path to it with the grain residues of threshing in order to gain the animal's confidence; and when they consider it gained, they put the trap hidden between the earth and the remains of the threshed straw.

223 If partridges are being hunted, the net has a truncated conical form. The smaller end is placed in front of the nest and the larger tied to the ground with string or rope. The more the partridge tries to move forward, the more imprisoned it is.

685 671 Theft of nets is generally punished by a fine in accordance with the written qanuns of the tribes.

224 K) Hunting of Jackals (Uhar), Wolves (Ushshan) and Foxes (Dhawardha):[196]

This is effected with an iron trap (dhakhshifth), with various strategems employed because of the cunning of the animals in question. Frequently one of these animals attacks the goats furthest away, and tears them into pieces before the goatherd can arrive. The remains of the goat are tied to a branch, and below them, hidden in the ground, the traps are placed in a circle. They are usually left there for a long time, for if their positions are changed, the animal or animals are apt to become wary. The jackal, after conscientious study and with maximum caution, succeeds most of the time in getting within the circle without harming himself, but the repeated jumps, each time with greater impulse, which he is obliged to make in order to get at the goat, end up with his getting caught in one of the traps (Zarqat).

224 184 825 In the Ibuqquyen, the bait is usually a reed tube full of horse-flies and covered with very rancid butter; this is hidden in the ground, and the traps are placed around it. The wary jackal usually gets inside the circle, attracted by the smell of the butter; but as the cautious animal scratches and bites, he is frightened by the flies, loses his head, and in one of his disorderly leaps, he lands on one of

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!" Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

648

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

[181] [609]

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

[114]

000 44--Which is unwritten in any case.

45--The Aith 'Abdallah are at once a clan and a "fifth" of the Aith Waryaghar.

46--In Rifian, Dhara n Tihrariyin, "the spring of the pure women(?)". The Tuesday Market once located there has not been functioning since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate, or earlier. The people of Aith 'Abdallah at present share a market, held on Mondays, with those of Aith Hadhifa; this market is located on the border of the two clan territories.

[614] 47--Sidi 'Amran is buried in the jma'th of Aith S'aid, in the subclan territory of Aith 'Aru Musa, one of two subclans of Aith 'Abdallah (the other being Aith Tmajurth).

[114] 48--Presumably with eleven of his agnates as cojurors, for twelve must swear in cases of suspected homicide; but there is no mention of this in the text and Blanco, whose knowledge of collective oaths in the Rif was sketchy, does not comment upon it.

[114] 49--Blanco's notions of Rifian segmentary lineage organization are somewhat deficient; for although the notion of a confederation of tribes might once have existed in the Rif (vide the liffs of Ghumara and Sinhaja), but during the "Republik" as described both by Blanco and myself, it most emphatically did not exist, nor does it exist today.

50--"Autonomous" would perhaps be a better word in this connection, for any segmentary system presupposes an interdependence of its component segments, upward, downward and laterally; and within the framework of such a system, maintained as it is by the principles of balance, oscillation and opposition, there is always some (and often very considerable) latitude for a (virtually or largely) autonomous existence on the part of individual segments, irrespective of the segmental level under consideration.

[619] 51--Because the Aith Waryaghar, in point of population, are the biggest tribe by far in the entire Rif (with the Igzinnayen following, at some distance), its clans may be functionally equated, in certain respects but not in others, with whole tribes elsewhere.

671 614 52--The Aith 'Adhiya are one of two subclans of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (the other being "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash), of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar. We have referred to it as Bani 'Adhiya rather than Aith 'Adhiya in the text itself, as this is how it appears in Arabic.

614 162 Although the Aith 'Adhiya are strictly speaking a subclan rather than a clan proper, as the Aith 'Abdallah are (see Chap. VI), they are nonetheless about the same size as the latter in point of population; and the whole clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with both subclans considered, is the biggest in the tribe, and by a rather wide margin (population 22,000 in 1960). This fact helps explain two things: 1) why the Aith 'Adhiya and the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash are in opposite liffs, and 2) why the qanun of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya deals with almost exactly the same matters as that of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah. Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash form one "fifth".

614 616 671 619

000 53--This is probably Aith Tizi, forming a part of the larger jma'th of Ighmiren, with Aith Fars.

54--Whether all the Aith 'Adhiya jointly sacrificed two bulls, or whether one each was sacrificed by the members of each liff is not indicated.

55--The market in question is the Monday Market of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[671] 56--In both this qanun and that of the Aith 'Abdallah we see how the fine for murder committed in the market is double that for murder elsewhere. Both qanuns also imply that not only must the fine be paid but that the murderer's house and crops will be burned as well. All informants from all over the Central Rif, however, said time and again that if the fine is paid, there is no houseburning. The root of the [735] discrepancy seems therefore to be an implicit assumption that the average murderer is too poor to pay the fine, which is in any event prohibitively high.

57--In some respects one can see what Blanco means here, but such a statement, particularly regarding the "superficiality" of Rifian Islam, is one which the Rifians themselves would hotly and vehemently deny. In their own eyes, they are extremely good Muslims!

[262] 58--Rifians tend to eat meat, as a rule, only on one day of the week: when they buy and bring it home from the market.

[114] [682] 59--Blanco here confuses the ddiyith, or blood money, to be paid to the victim's agnates, with the rhaqq, or fine for murder, to be paid (both payments being made by the murderer and his own agnates) to the council-members.

[682] 60--Blanco's point about 1000 duros being the fine for murder under normal circumstances (i.e. outside the market) and 2000 for murder inside it is very well taken; and, as he implies, these sums are indeed the norm all over the Rif. But once again, he confuses fines with blood-money, and they are entirely different.

61--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

62--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

[114] 63--This is an interestingly expressed idea, but the linkage with nomadism seems questionable.

[614] 64--As already indicated, the Aith Khattab include the two Waryaghar clans of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; and in this sense they might be considered a "super-clan", particularly if, as some have it (though this is nowhere indicated in the text of the qanun), they embrace the Aith 'Abdallah as well. In the same way, Aith Bu 'Ayyash, if it embraces, on the topmost level, the two clans of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa, may also be regarded as a "super-clan" of the same order of segmentation. However, the group in question is referred to as Bani Khattab, not Aith Khattab, in the text of the qanun.

65--As indicated, this qanun is valid only for the coastal Aith Khattab, those of both Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari who live in and around the Plain of Alhucemas, bordering the Mediterranean.

224 619 689 114 182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

224 671 [114] [178] We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

224 628 613 614 186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix. A A

A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]
A

584 depending on the hour, return to their respective homes or stay
583 overnight as guest of the bride's father.

584 Once the financial arrangement has been settled, the rep-
583 resentatives of both families go to the religious judge (qadi)
692 in Alhucemas or Targuist and present him with the list of obli-
gations the groom's family has accepted. The young couple are
also supposed to attend this meeting, and in the urban centers
it is obligatory. However, judges who serve tribal areas are
rather relaxed about such attendance and are satisfied if the
fathers are in agreement. It is a rule of thumb that judges
● [671] who serve rural Berber areas allow customary procedures to pre-
vail over civil law if the matter does not infringe upon the
security of the state.

584 At this point the groom's family begins to collect the
583 necessary goods for the wedding celebration. This process may
369 take some time, and over a year may pass between the initial
184 agreement and the completion of the stipulated requirements
of the groom. This is, however, quite rare and seems more
584 associated with Berbers living in the city. Among the fellah
585 the marriage has been contracted for good reason and it is
thought best to consummate it as rapidly as possible. Often
the marriage ceremony takes place less than a month after the
meeting to determine the expenses.

585 When all the money and goods have been collected, both
583 parties meet with the qadi again, two or three days before the
692 wedding ceremony. The qadi checks off all the items to make sure

annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes, large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
184 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living
621 grouped in hamlets. The "mouda^{c}" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to deliber-
621 ate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

681 H) Sanctions: Further Notes (fragmentary):

1) Punishment: fine, exile, or death of person responsible, whether an individual or a family group[55].

[671] 2) Gradation: variable, according to stipulations in the various qanuns[56]. Rifian law recognizes the same degree of responsibility in [672] his accomplices as in the man who actually committed the crime, by assimilating them with his kin group[57].

681 613 [571] 3) Victim: receives no indemnity, except through what he or his kinsmen get as their share of the fine, which is equitably distributed among all the representatives of the dharfiqin[58], thus appearing more than anything else as a payment for services rendered; and the dharfiqin heads divided it up in the same way among their constituent nubath[59]. Thus, if the Rifian is encumbered with the responsibility of executive power[60] (all are obliged to stand against an aggressor), he still participates in the benefits of such power in a true popular sovereignty, and he never cedes his rights or duties.

000 4) Role of Jma'th in Application of Custom: to influence matters or conceal them, by money, force or politicking behind the scenes. Agrau or assembly of the aitarba'in; assessors and arbiters (tulba, shurfa and imrabdhen); role of liffs (aid to their liff-mates in payment of fines, etc.) (This subsection is completely fragmentary.)

682 683 In summation, three kinds of offenses were punished:

1) murder and woundings, with corresponding fines, and vengeance;

683 684 2) abuse of women (if voluntary on their part, each party had to pay 50 duros, and if it was purely and simply rape, the guilty man paid 50 duros);

661 and made him pasture the few goats he had. The jma'th or its mqaddim needed money, and so one day they called him up and fined him 65 duros, accusing his mother of incest and saying that if he did not pay up, they would tell the rest of the tribe and it would cost him more. The boy ran away, out of shame.

428 429 685 d) Muhammad Hmidu n 'Abd Allah of Aith Finathen, on the death of his father, was brought up by his grandmother, and when she died, by his cousins, who periodically fed and clothed him in return for his acting as a goatherd for them. They kept and divided up his inheritance in land from his father, and did not give it back to him, in spite of the constant excitement of the qa'id over the matter[76].

J. Responsibility:

672 [671] Collective responsibility as reflected in the qanuns is an amplification of responsibility to one's kin group and even...to the same social ties as those of other tribes (sic)[77]; this forces one's fellow tribesmen to comply with the duty of rectifying an injury or damage caused by one of their own people. It is an instinctive and necessary means of defense, and is done so that crimes will not go unpunished. This is all a consequence of the rudimentary social organization of the Rifians, of the difficulty of inquiry, of the lack of repressive organs[78] and of impartial and dispassionate individuals, such as judges. When independent states multiply and the extension of each one of them diminishes, such factors as the above make extradition (sic) more difficult and impunity more easy; and, for this reason, a group attribute is the obligation to educate (i.e. enculturate) and answer for its components. Thus, when the group publicly claims that

672 it will not answer for the individual, it remains exempt from the responsibilities and aspersions which might fall upon it....A freedom or state of tranquillity (i.e. truce or even peace) which the group could thus regain at such a high price as the public denial of one of its members was only undertaken when there was good reason for doing so (i.e. when a group feared the very certain reprisals of powerful families) and when the inconveniences were greater than the advantages.

Thus it is not the individual alone who is responsible for his acts; for his family, then his jma'th and in the last analysis his tribe will back him up. There is always someone responsible for
[681] every crime. He never remains unpunished, nor does the penalty imposed
[671] upon him lapse, even after many years. Rifian law is not charitable and it does not beg. It punishes, but it does not pardon; it exacts, but it does not implore. Thus there is an individual responsibility with a complementary and collective one behind it.

672 671 Does this responsibility, then, extend equally to all those who participate in a reprehensible act? No. There is, furthermore, the group (author's italics) exception already mentioned, when a group, by public announcement, rejects what could happen to it in the course of a punishable action committed by one of its members, attenuated by considerations of minority (i.e. if committed by a child or a woman), physical abnormality (if committed by a crazy person or an idiot), origin (if committed by a stranger), day or even hour of commission (see the qanun of the Aith 'Abd Allah, La Ley Rifeña, pp. 45-51), and it is exaggerated if committed at night (as in the qanun of Thmasind, La Ley Rifeña, pp. 37-44), by a stranger or infidel. There is also

an exemption for homicide in defense of one's property (as in the qanun of Lower Thmasind).

It is not possible to think of a minute dosification of laws of great instability which were usually worked out as a response to a pressing need at a pressing time and which would in turn be negated or destroyed through the rise of new chiefs. For this reason, an isolated and superficial examination of the qanuns says little and induces error. They are not simple and incomplete tabulations of fines. Rather, they are the codification of Rifian custom, graphically worked out only for variable matters and not for permanent ones, such as personal law with its concomitant regulations regarding inheritance, etc. They are rules of coexistence which were formulated as events demanded, and not (translator's italics) with long-term ends in view. But even though they are embryonic, they are useful.

The qanun of the Aith 'Abd Allah distinguishes between doers and accomplices[79].

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
621 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an arictocracy known
623 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
619 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

695 Valid and complete testimony in virtue of which both instrumental witnesses bring testimony against them.

000 (Two illegible signatures follow.)

692 At the same time, they agreed that whoever should commit any of the wrongs (literally, "things") expressed herein, the case, together with him (the man who committed it) shall be taken to Sayyid Mhammad bin Musa[32] and Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Ali[33] (Blanco: note d).

685 Whoever enters an orchard with intent to rob shall pay 20 uqiyyas. If a bull should start to trample property adjacent to that 685 of its owner, the latter shall pay one peseta. 692

The guarantors (of the fulfillment of this agreement) are three. The Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah, and Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan (Blanco: note e).

[681] Regarding the amount (of the fines imposed) with respect to orchards in cases in which they are injured by animals, this will be donated to their mosque (Blanco: note f).

If they should break a branch of a fig or other tree belonging to anyone, the owner of the animals will pay 20 (uqiyyas).

000 A signature in Arabic follows, which appears to be al-Bu Jma' bin Muhammad (signed).

B) Commentary:

671 The reading of this qanun clearly indicates in its first para-
624 graph the names of those who have established it, all of them members of the jma'th of Imhauren, bordering the Island of Alhucemas, in the
624 plain of the same name. Every two or three headmen or iziddifen (sing.,
613 aziddif, "head") are the visible representatives of the lineage groups
554

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

of knowing the needs of the moment, not past or future needs which do not mean anything to anybody. They are living laws designed for living people, for those present.

Paragraph b shows us how they embellish their law, taking aggravating and attenuating circumstances into account. Among these are nocturnity and dwellings (where they guard their fig and grain reserves). Attenuating and, even more, exemption from responsibility, homicide is legitimate if committed in self defense or in defense of one's property.

Paragraph c punishes intention, in order to avoid disputes, and makes a small concession to personal power, permitting the shaikh to keep for himself this fine destined for the common fund.

Paragraph d is concerned with injuries to crops by animals, which are herded by children. The punishment is minimal.

In paragraph e, the law of the jma'th establishes and regulates the social duty of hospitality, imposing the burden equally on all its members. Guests learn that it is not only the shaikh who pays for their upkeep, but all the members of the jma'th, even the poor ones.

Consider also the excessive number of voluntary servitors who dance continued attendance on the guest with towels, basins and soap, and finally the amphitrion hands over to their expectant voracity all the remains of your meal, except for one small dish which, passing through the door, is submerged in the mysterious interior of the dwelling as a reward for the activity of the women or children who prepared it. When you leave, each member of the jma'th retires with whatever he presented for your comfort: pillows, blankets, soap, coffee pot or teapot, towel, glasses, candles, etc.

224 672 685 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the disposition of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the 224 672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 183 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

L) Taboos:

224 782 784 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh, [751] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 411 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VIII

MARKETS

DIFFERENT aspects of this subject have already been discussed in the chapters dealing with material culture, social organization, and government.[1] Since indeed the primary purpose of the market is economic, it is the seat of operation of an interesting social class, and likewise often the local administrative center. Hence, little remains for description save the general scheme and coördination of the whole.

A market meets weekly on a fixed day and in a fixed place. There is usually but one to a *canton*, although this rule, like all others, has its exceptions. The days and locations of markets are so correlated that it is possible for a person living in almost any place to reach a market on foot and return home again on any day of the week except Friday, when markets are never held. The word for market in both *thamazighth* and Arabic is *suḳ*, and markets are given the names of the days on which they are held. Thus all markets meeting on Thursday are called *suḳ el khemis*, or simply *el khemis*. Markets meeting on the same day are distinguished by the addition of the names of the places in which they are held.

Thursday markets are more important than the others, as a general rule, because Friday is the Mohammedan sabbath and provisions for it must be obtained in advance.

Each market is administered by the council of the great of the *canton*. This body has a house, or among the nomads, a tent, in or on the outskirts of the market. (See plate 30.) On market days it generally meets in a room of this edifice. Most such houses have a second room which is used as a rest-room for people attending the market, or as a guard-house for retainers of the councillors. Cases which have accumulated during the week are brought before the council of the great at this time, since defendants in situations which concern the councillors often prefer to postpone their appeals or complaints until market day rather than request the moderator of the council of the great to have a special meeting called for a single case.

Any offenses committed in market are considered more serious than if committed elsewhere, and are more heavily fined; offenses which would otherwise concern the village council are brought to the attention of the council of the great if committed in market.

The division of spoils among the members of a *canton* who have participated in a tribal war is often made in market.

In the markets under the authority of the Ikhemrijen, firearms must be left outside before their owners may enter. In other markets rifles were usually carried before the European occupation. Serious fights sometimes arose in markets, in some cases so severe that the tribal council convened and decreed the market closed forever, lest the sight of the place where kinsmen had died might in future remind members of the different *bones* of their mutual grievances and incite them to further violence.

The chief purpose of every market is of course the buying and selling of goods. (See plates 30, 31, and 32.) The vendors of different articles are segregated according to their wares, the cloth merchants, the women selling pottery, and so forth. The butchers are rele-

[1] Chapters IV–VII.

443 [673] [727] [p. 109]

685 3) theft, with corresponding fines, and even one of the thief's kinsmen putting out his eyes[61].

673 671 If there are certain crimes, known to all and carrying with them sanctions also known to all, which do not (translator's italics) appear in the qanuns (such as bestiality[52A], etc.), they are kept out purposely because of the shame, the hashuma, of those who formulate the decrees. In other instances (such as certain misdemeanors having to do with agriculture and fields), they are kept out because their inclusion is difficult and they are also sufficiently well known to and by all concerned so that they do not need to be put in. In still other cases, they are kept out because they are questions of custom which require consultation with men of laws or arbiters. Finally, these are all misdemeanors the nature of which, in one way or another, is inadequate to be put before the public in special announcements by market criers.

I) Miscellaneous Data on Fines for Lesser Offenses:

1) Among the Ibuqquyen:

224 a) Hunting[63]: Saturday is the day for hunting (rayāh or [689] thingimarth)[64]. Whoever does not attend pays a 5-peseta fine[65], and altercations during hunting are punished by a fine or by giving a meal to the other hunters. Animals killed do not belong to the man who kills [685] them but to the man who finds them[66]. Damages to cultivated lands are paid for by those who caused them. If it is not known who was responsible, the fine is divided up among all the hunters[67]. Any birds or eggs which are found by one of the hunters during the hunt are divided up [425] amongst them all. Any other objects found which are obviously lost articles of a third party are returned to their owners.

A, [This should read "62" not "52"--Analyst]

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 614 [693] Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A], and their brother Hammu. 621 692 693 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hannash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 689 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir 784 al-'Azizi attended the present act with them. Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

A, A ["83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
687 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that
695 the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good, natural and admirable feeling.

182 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
671 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
626 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
681
613

691 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

623 the imposition of minimal social obligations (education and hospitality), the equal division of duties and work, and, finally, nomination of a man to represent the jma'th and to see that local law is enforced.

This jma'th and its representative were legitimate organs of the people, an authentic and faithful reflection of the feeling and convenience of its members, live and efficient organisms. Today a 623 179 182 rigid Arab framework and its imposed and despotic representatives has submerged the jma'th, without any alternative other than the hatred or scorn of its members, according to whether the chief is a tyrant, or a slave to his needs or whims.

436 For an analysis of the proportioning of the punishment, it is 681 well to know the equivalents of the Rifian monetary system, as follows:[41]

Mithqal--2 Spanish pesetas

Bsita--0.60 Spanish pesetas

Rbi'a--0.50 Spanish pesetas

Uqiyya or Spanish onza, "ounce"--0.20 Spanish pesetas

Ujjhain (two muzunas)--0.10 Spanish pesetas

Muzuna or Spanish blanquillo, "little target"--0.05 Spanish pesetas.

681 With these data to hand, we may now establish the framework of 673 fines which occur in the qanun commented upon, in the following order:

Theft by day, of cereals or fruits (figs, etc.)--100 pesetas

Theft by night, in the orchards or gardens--20 pesetas

Threats with firearms--20 pesetas

Thefts by day, in the orchards--10 pesetas

Threats with knives or daggers--5 pesetas

Damages to dams--5 pesetas

681
673 Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

673 An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident
623 clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed
685 against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most
423 feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

623 The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is,
423 then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions
578 among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

623 Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least
[193] religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is
[574] purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

[623] But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as
[681] instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of
[554] European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
671 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

671 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

671 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike pro-
554 clivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their
693 real profession.

671 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite
779 recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code,
671 or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack,
683 he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor markmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect markmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

681 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all
443 to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the
[619] tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent
[673] death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

man with whom she is involved is punished just as was the first convicted offender. If she has been publicly exposed several times as a prostitute, the men of her *bone* kidnap her, carry her into the mountains, and there kill her and hide her body. No notice is taken of her absence, and if the councillors hear about the affair they pretend not to have done so.

If a woman catches her husband in the act of adultery with another woman, she ordinarily goes back to her own people and tells them of it. The men of her family, her father, brothers, or paternal uncle, may bring the matter up before the councillors and have the husband fined and divorced. In many cases, however, the men of her *vein* persuade the woman to do nothing about it, thinking that to make a commotion would only cause the disruption of the *bone*. In case the woman has married outside her *bone*, whether or not action takes place depends largely upon the respect which her own *bone* has for that of her husband. In any case, the sacramental defilement of the man is not considered as great as that of the woman in the opposite situation.

Blood money. Although murders, woundings, and adultery caught in the act are offenses beyond the jurisdiction of the council of the great and are relegated to the tribal council, one consequence of them falls directly upon the councillors. This is the assessment and collection of the *diith*, or blood money. Whereas the tribal council has the right to impose the fine, the council of the great has charge of compensation to the injured family. This takes place after the tribal council has finished its judgment and punishment. Murder is atoned for by the payment of a sum between one and five hundred dollars. The amount varies from *canton* to *canton*, but within a *canton* is constant and inflexible. Wounds are paid for at the rate of twenty-five dollars a month for each month of convalescence, until the injured man is able to work again.

The man who committed the crime pays, if he is able. If he is unable to raise the money by selling his property, the *bone* pays. In some *bones* the group as a whole always pays, whether the guilty one is able to raise the money or not; in others a man other than the guilty one pays, with the understanding that he is to receive the total of the next blood-money payment to his *bone*.

In the *bones* which pay individually, receipts are given to the children of the deceased, and if he left no children, to his father. Children receive the money on the basis that one boy is equal to two girls. If the deceased leaves neither children nor father, it is divided among the members of the *bone*. Many *bones* refuse altogether to receive blood money, preferring to take it out in blood by killing a member of the hostile *bone*, in which case, after the punishment of the tribal council is finished, the account is considered by the councillors as settled. Frequently the injured *bone* accepts the blood money, then suffers a revulsion of feeling and takes blood vengeance in addition, in which case it is required to return the payment.

Murders within the *bone* rarely occur, and are considered unnatural crimes. No blood money is assessed, because such an offender is instantly killed by his own people if he is unable to escape. A man fleeing such a crime will not be harbored by any Riffian, and must continue until he has left the Rif altogether. Even in this case he must take care to go to some place to which Riffians do not ordinarily travel, lest revenge overtake him later.

Attending weddings outside the canton. Another duty of the council of the great, this time of a bloodless nature, is to attend weddings of other councillors or their sons in other *cantons* or *fifths*. This is done in order to foster friendly relations between the two groups.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

721 Beni Bu Yafer has fought internally upon a number of occasions, but the other groups
727 do not interfere, since they have learned from experience that the Beni Bu Yafer do not submit until after an arduous struggle, at the end of which they do not possess enough property to pay a fine worth the trouble of interfering. In consequence of this, they are not allowed to send their councillors to other tribes.

For a considerable period of time there has been no fighting worthy of intervention in Mazuza, Ait Shisher, or Kebdana; this is perhaps due to the early influence of the Spaniards upon these regions.

When the fighting is in Beni Bu Yahyi or Metalsa no councillors bother to go, since the land is too difficult to travel in, and since there are no houses to burn, and no property to confiscate which cannot readily be moved away before their arrival. Banditry has always [579 been rife among these tribes, and active feuds between *bones* perpetual. Theft, in the Rif ●674] considered a crime unless practiced outside the tribe and its allies, is among the nomads an honorable profession when practiced between *bones*.

When the fight is between any of the tribal groups in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, the others of this group send their councillors and sheikhs, and Gzennaya as well sends councillors. In the meeting which follows Gzennaya plays the dominant rôle.

When the fight is within the Senhaja Sghir, the Sherif of Targuist betakes himself to the scene, accompanied by the councillors of the non-combatant tribes under his control. The Sherif collects the fine, keeping most of it, and distributes a small fraction of it among the councillors, who have nothing to say about the matter.

This rule does not apply to Ktama, which has never submitted to the authority of the Sherif. On account of its poverty and inaccessibility, Ktama is free from the intervention of councillors from other tribes; consequently it is in a constant state of turmoil, and banditry is common. This tribe has always been noted for its lawlessness, and has been generally avoided by travellers.

The tribes of the west, including the Western Arabophone Senhaja and the Ghomara, do not send representatives out to stop war and collect fines. This territory likewise enjoys a perennially bad reputation.

727 Some mention should be made of the ultimate disposal of money and other property taken by the various administrative bodies. Fines collected by the village council are kept by the moderator of that body for the entertainment of guests in the local mosque, for the purchase of tea, sugar, other foodstuffs, and candles for the council to use during its deliberations, and for cartridges and firearms to be used by members of the *bone* in time of war.

Fines collected by the council of the great are partly divided between the *bones*, partly given to the *fkih* or preceptor of the cantonal mosque, and partly expended upon the upkeep of, and hospitality in, this building.

Fines collected by the tribal council are divided equally among the *fifths* and then equally among *cantons* within the *fifths*. The moderator of each council of the great divides the money allotted his *canton* among the councillors who participated in the events which led to its collection, and among ordinary fighting men, if these were called upon to reënforce the councillors. The moderator distributes the money publicly at one time, giving more to the men who deported themselves bravely than to those who showed but mediocre interest in the fighting. Men who manifested cowardice and men who are absent from or come late to the division get nothing.

3; Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

near Sūq al-Arba' of Taurīrt. Olive oil, extracted from a communally owned olive grinder and oil press, is the essential fat (1).

The fields, orchards and vegetable gardens (the latter producing broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers and carrots, to mention only a few) of the Aith Wuryāghil are usually terraced near the houses, along the slopes of the mountains. The vineyards, whither the families repair in September to pick grapes, are further up; and along the crests are the communal goat pastures and the *ghāba* patches, where the women go to cut brushwood for their ovens and for the local mosque. Grape picking is the only important activity in September, which marks the end of the agricultural year; after this is done and after the barley has been reaped and threshed and the silos piled up, people make merry and get married before the first rains begin again and the time to plow and sow has started up once more.

Herding and agricultural contracts of a verbal nature are made between the wealthier and the poorer men of the community, those who have little hiring themselves out to those who have more (2). Individuals who own more animals than they can pasture themselves hire herders who, while the beasts are in their charge, receive all the milk and butter and half the young ones born, and, when the animals are sold, half the profits; if the contract concerns sheep, they receive half the wool as well. Vegetable gardens and orchards are cared for by hired gardeners *(rabbā')* who receive one-fourth of the fruit and vegetable crop; as their job entails setting up terraces, they sometimes get one-third of the vegetables if the land is difficult to work. These same men, if they also perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, are called *ikhammāsen* and receive one-fifth of the barley and wheat crop. The owner of the field supplies the seed, the animals (usually cows) and the plow as well in this type of contract, while the *akhammās* (sing. of *ikhammāsen*) provides only his muscles and a switch to keep the cattle moving while they are under the yoke. The *akhammās* contract is the most

(1) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Caravan, The Story of the Middle East**, New York 1951, p. 313.

(2) Sánchez Pérez, Andrés: **Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en las yemaas del Rif, Africa**, Madrid, Noviembre 1947, pp. 75-77.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The akhammās contract is the most
common type, but also current is a slightly different class of association, called *ifarādhen* (Arabic *bil-farḍ*): two farmers who own plots of land more or less equal in size, but who do not have enough equipment to plow them on their own, join forces; the harvest is divided equally between the two parties. This form is particularly prevalent if each man concerned only possesses one cow or one mule. A third kind of association, called *dhūrī*, is very common in irrigable land; in this, one man supplies the land and half the seed, and the other the rest of the seed and the plowing equipment (animals and plow). The actual work, which may be done by an *akhammās*, and the payment of other hired personnel to help with the reaping, is taken care of by both parties, and the net profit, deducting one-fifth for the *akhammās*, is divided in half.

Except in the Bay of Alhucemas, where irrigation is practiced without terracing, and in the valley of the Upper Ghīs, where there is much terracing but little irrigation, irrigation ditches (*tharga*, pl. *tharghiwīn*) and terraced fields, gardens and orchards are everywhere else to be found jointly in Aith Wuryāghil; the distribution of the one is virtually the same as that of the other. Ownership of irrigation water is largely dependent upon ownership of land, for in Aith Wuryāghil the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and the waters which pass through his territory belong to him. Water is utilized by human beings, animals, lands and industries; rights of preference are in that order, the industries being represented by water mills (3), the owners of which receive one-tenth of the grain which the mills grind as their commission.

The Rīf, however, is a land not favored by nature, and water is a perennial problem. In Aith Wuryāghil, the people in the mountains receive first use of the water, while those in the Bay of Alhucemas irrigate with the remainder. The turns of each family in getting water are based on the principle of equal distribution, and natural means are used to calculate the time. Men have first call on water consumption, and the rest is reserved for women, for whom it is custo-

(3) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: El Rif (2.ª parte-La Ley Rifeña): II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados, Ceuta 1939, pp. 101-138.

312 562 [623] [681] The jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

312 615 The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agreements [212] are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

[466] The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work [333] done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

312 689 241 242 627 Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2) differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled

amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

312
571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

312
675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of riverain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work [181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for [618] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

423
675 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the
312 essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which we are studying it, in which tribe, its clans and smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

that this would have rendered useless all demands and threats voiced by downstream groupings for the transfer of even a minimal amount of flow, and in our time things have not varied; those upstream use all the water that they can, and those downstream, the overflow; and it would not occur to anybody to vary this procedure, followed since time immemorial. To this procedure is very well adapted the regimen of the rivers in the Rif, in the dry beds of which water does not run on the surface, but rises up only in fixed points, each one of these forming, with the help of improvised dams, the sources or points of origin of successive irrigation ditches, making them seemingly independent.

In addition, the narrow fissures which form the beds of such torrential rivers, their irregular flow, their devastating overflows and floods, in short, opposed nature and men so that the latter would have some motive for doing this and even need it for their small irrigable crop and the bare necessities of life; for it did not and would not occur to anyone to work or cultivate any more land than that necessary for his own subsistence, as anything else, overflow aside, would have attracted the envy of neighbors and strangers, and this in turn would have led to blows. An association on such a large scale and for such modest objectives was, for this reason, impossible, inefficacious and unnecessary.

The river waters, in their upper courses, running between steep banks, scarcely need to be utilized even to a small degree on the minute riverain plots of land. In those beds, water, although actually slight in amount, is in fact overabundant, and land is lacking. Limited to the confines of the ditch by the topographical conditions

181
423 The Rifian admits anything which constitutes instruction or improvement; but naturally he wants no part of any division of his
312 holdings with strangers. T[illegible]s blessing of water which the official
648 organ (i.e. the Spanish administration) as well as individuals receive, although the latter do so only to a limited degree, is not a product of technique, profitable or exemplary work as new developments would be, possible economic outlets or improvements in the present distributive net, but utilization of native labor in the style of some early-day anghar.

312
Gar Rare are the days of the Makhzin irrigation turn in which the
695 Makhazniya does not present us (i.e. the administration) with some
[427] miserable akhammas[123] accused of the terrible crime of having been surprised at night attempting to lead up a thread of water into his tiny, dried-up holding, a crystalline fiber which, if it even arrives there to irrigate, only God knows; and the nubth which the Europeans derive from it, dispute from it and gain from it, did not cost them the least effort to lead up nor did they do anything other than wait sitting down while the Makhzin appropriated it. And in such a case neither the Makhzin nor the European stands to gain anything; to the contrary, they have much to lose.

F) Irrigation in the Plain of Al-Husaima:

312
675 The usage of irrigation water from the Lower Ghis and Nkur Rivers has been, since time immemorial, the object of individual agreements among the irrigators, agreements which are usually put down in writing, for the flow of water, although variable, permits a regular distribution through permanent ditches, a distribution known

312
675
(648)

to all and a distribution which tradition has affirmed. These principal ditches carry water all year round, and at the present time their utilization seldom gives rise to incidents, as their usage has been stabilized and regulated, except in the case of the newly arrived Spanish irrigators, whose despondent attempts to improve their lands with fanciful enlargements, amplifications or regularizations of turns gave rise to the only disputes, aside from the ill-will of the local population already mentioned above.

To be able to find something which leads us to the heart of the irrigation problem, it is necessary for us to look again among the individual agreements which are established by small groups of irrigators from both rivers, and descend through their steep beds to the widenings at their mouths, the journey over which has permitted us to observe the details of their irrigation system and to fix the principal idea which appears to preside over the distribution of the waters of both rivers into a diagram which we have made (see Irrigation Ditch Map of Plain of al-Husaima) for a better understanding and as a synthesis of their custom; and this is completed afterward with an outline of the network of ditches for each irrigated area and in these drawings is summarized our knowledge up to the present time.

312 The mechanism behind the distribution of irrigation water in Aith Waryaghar is simple, and up to the present time, it has satisfied local needs; it seems exact enough for the tribesmen, and so far they have shown no desire to modify it.

In the river beds there are certain points known to the people where the water always rises up; these are used as dams (uggug, pl.

312 591 613 [402] lead the water to which he has a right in any of the main ditches into these three smaller ones. The ditch of Tuth, when it has water, moves the mill of Dharwa nd-Hajj Mis'aud. The irrigators of the Tafadhna ditch, whether the turn is interrupted or not, have the right to use that of Shimurra, but giving first choice to those who use it regularly.

16. QANUN OF THE NKUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 675 The Nkur River has an irrigation regimen which is less exact than that of the Ghis, and the written agreements on the distribution of its waters are few and recent. One of them refers to the division of waters between the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intervention of the Bureau of the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir).[146] In any case, the establishment of such agreements is based upon the same notions and the same norms as in those pertaining to the Ghis. A

312 [621] In the Middle and Upper Nkur, there is more than enough water to irrigate the meanders which the river has created, through which it is easy to affix by-laws to the 'azibs[147] of the neighboring jma'ths which own land on its banks, given the small amount of land under irrigation. [241] There is even freedom and waste, and it is not uncommon to see, during harvest time, the formation of tiny threshing floors with capricious irrigation-furrows of 300 and 500 meters in the middle of the river bed.

[619] There are meanders like Dhaghzwith n Dasa (upstream, in the territory of Axt Tuzin, and near the bridge on the right bank) and Dhazurakhth (downstream, in the territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also right beside the same bridge, but on the left bank), which are of relatively large dimension and which have already stabilized turns; but the real difficulties and concomitant near-perfect solutions are

A, [See pp. 361-369--Analyst]

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front [402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills (Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168] [571] It has two turns, for the Thimsaman and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and [571] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'- [402] sudhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

104 Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")- anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 614 312 578 423 691 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Arhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174]), the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

675 578 through allegation, no litigation related to the water cited above. If any of them should demand the continuation of the debate through the presentation of proofs or arguments, everything would be null and void, for neither the present nor the future provides for this. Both parties have renounced all arguments, both public or private, which they could allege, as well as all the successive declarations (or reclamations) which could be brought forth to impede putting this agreement into effect.

600 A valid and executive arrangement. Both parties attending know the value of the present act, and, by virtue of it, the undersigned notaries, who know them to be in a perfect state of legal capacity (who know them to be of sound mind and memory), make their testimony. On 28 Qa'da al-Haram of the year 1250 (March 28, 1835).

A signature follows, illegible and signed. Another illegible signature follows the first.

Legalization by the qadi: Praise be to God.--I give faith (or testimony) to the above after both 'udul (notaries) have done so.--Servant of his God.--Signature (of qadi) illegible.

18. A SHAHADA ON WATERS: TRANSLATION:

695 312 (693) Praise be to God.

Both the undersigned notaries compile the testimonies presented by the respected 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Umar al-'Alawi, the honorable 'Umar bin 'Ali, the respected Talib 'Isa Ajtuh, and the honorable Muhammad al-'Arusi, all of the Bani Waryaghal, in which they testify (the testimony of God is the perfect one) that the water ditch, (the property) of 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Amhawil al-Khattabi al-Waryaghli[175]

464
465 Although the akhammas association is the most prevalent, it is only one of several such arrangements. Another sort of laborer is the amkari, who is hired for sowing and odd jobs about the house. His salary is not fixed and he is apparently paid in cash and clothing (Hart 1956:75). Another type of traditional [233] work association is the amikhan, who is a youth employed to herd a man's goats and sheep. He ". . . is hired for a fixed period . . . [and] gets a non-stipulated sum at the end of his contract" (Hart, ibid.:75). Such an arrangement is graphically portrayed in Bowles' translation of Charhadi's autobiographical novel, A Life Full of Holes. Another form of association is the arabba' who cultivates household gardens, orchards, and trees. He is given a fourth of the fruit and vegetable crops; if the terrain is difficult to terrace, his portion is adjusted (Hart 1956:75). [256] Most mill owners employ an assistant to do the grinding, and from the mill owner's portion the worker receives a fourth of the grain.

The common element of this sort of association seems to be that the salary the laborer earns is determined by customary regulations rather than by the supply and demand of workers. It [571] is an association between the elite and the poor which is based [565] on a fixed compensation and outside of any regulation by the market economy.

675 A correlate of this situation in which commercial arrangements are based on social factors is the irrelevance of written contracts. Whereas contractual agreement forms the basis of most

675 commercial transactions in an industrial society, legal surety in the Rif tends to be based on prestige, reputation, and status. Rights, privileges, duties, immunities, and liabilities are mostly non-contractual (excluding land titles and marriage documents). Thus working associations between the wealthier and poorer men of the community, whereby a laborer who provides all the work on another man's piece of property and receives one-fifth of the crop, are always verbal agreements. Likewise, agreements over such a critical area as water rights, including the rotation of rights of irrigation, are exclusively verbal. Partnerships, pledges, leases, warranties and so forth are rarely 'paperized' but based, rather, on verbal agreement.

In this chapter I have attempted to demonstrate how the social and cultural configuration of Berber existence affects the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Among the Riffians wealth as an abstract has little meaning. Wealth gains significance when it is an attribute of prestige (although prestige does not depend entirely on wealth). Prestige is gained from living by the code of the community and fulfilling one's obligations to the community. Those who fulfill such obligations have political prestige both in the realm of the Berber community and outside it. A direct consequence of this is that profit as a system of motivation has little operative or analytic value in determining what happens to material goods. Resources are not 'free'; they cannot be allocated in a social vacuum to obtain maximum financial rewards. On the contrary, resources are socially 'bound' by

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Contracts and Coöperation

675 464 171 241 When tribesmen are unable or unwilling to work their own land, contracts are made between the wealthier and the poorer members of a community; those who have little land or equipment hire themselves out to those who have more. Farmers who have more animals than they or their sons can manage, make agreements with others to care for the herd. The hired shepherds, while the animals are in their hands, receive part of the milk and butter, some of the young that are born, and, if the animals are sold, a share of the profit. The shepherd receives part, sometimes half, of the wool. Full-time employment as a shepherd is considered rather degrading, and for this reason it is the common occupation of exiles and orphans.

Vegetable gardens, orchards, and fields may be cared for by hired laborers. If their job entails the difficult task of setting up terraces, they may get up to a third of the crop. If they perform all the operations necessary for cereal cultivation, they receive a fifth of the crop. If the hired hand needs an assistant during the reaping, the latter is paid with a tenth of the harvest. Associations of this sort are not common; farm labor is ordinarily done by the landowner and his sons.

476 241 171 A second type of association takes place when two farmers own plots of about the same size but do not have enough animals or equipment to work their land independently. The two farmers join forces, each supplying his share, and the harvest is divided between them. This form of coöperation is common when a farmer has only one draft animal. In irrigated areas, one man may supply the land and part of the seed, and another the rest of the seed, the animals, and the plow. Since most communities are kinship groups, coöperation of this sort is usually among brothers or cousins.[15]

Inheritance

428 171 The inheritance of property[16] in most of Morocco follows standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. When a man dies his widow first receives one-eighth of his property and the remainder is divided among the sons and daughters. All sons inherit equally, as do all daughters. If a man dies leaving a widow and daughters only, the widow gets one-eighth and the remainder is divided into three parts, of which the daughters receive two and the father's brother one. If the father has no brothers, the rest (aside from the widow's share) goes to the daughters. If he does have brothers, and dies leaving only one daughter, she receives half of the property (minus the widow's share) and the brothers get the other half. If a man dies leaving no children, his widow receives a fourth of his property and the rest goes to the brothers. If a man with children dies prior to his father, the children have no right to the property and receive shares only if the grandfather agrees to such a division.

[423] Moroccans are very reluctant to divide up their land. When brothers inherit land they customarily work it jointly, the eldest brother acting as a substitute

[113] [15] On contracts and coöperation, see also A. Sánchez Pérez, "Aprovechamientos comunales y formas de cooperación en el Rif," *Selección de conferencias pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores durante el curso 1950–51* (Tetuán: Imprenta Cremades, 1951), pp. 95–104.

[113] [16] This paragraph is based upon the remarks of D. M. Hart in *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 141–143.

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes, large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living grouped in hamlets. The "mouda^{c}" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to deliber-
621 ate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

S
443
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
[681]

R
S
443
171

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 692 685 *Picking windfall olives.* Similarly, the head of each family must pay a quarter of a dollar for each member of his family who starts picking up windfalls before the signal is given.

Theft of olives. The outright theft of olives is punished by a fine of ten dollars.

Trespassing in order to pick grass. If a man catches a woman picking or cutting grass for her cow on his land, he may report her, and her husband will be fined one dollar. But to make such a report is considered mean and few are willing to do so.

Stray goats and cattle in the cemetery. When goats or cattle, either with or without the intention of their guardian, enter a cemetery, their owner is fined a quarter of a dollar for each goat, and a dollar for each bull or cow which entered.

[689] *Repair of irrigation ditches.* If any farmer fails to send a man or men to work on a ditch, when he is required to do so, he is fined between two and three dollars per day per man.

Taking water illegally from irrigation ditches. This is considered a serious offense, and although it incurs but a five dollar fine, it always breeds bad feelings and often incites to murder.

[782] 623 692 689 *Regulating attendance at prayer.* To explain this function it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of religion. Each *bone* in the *canton* is required to send twenty-five men once a week to the common mosque of the *canton* to pray. The village council of each *bone* lists the names of all married men in the *bone*: a day is set for each *bone* to attend the mosque, and the *bone* keeps that day permanently. The first week the first twenty-five men on the list must go, the second week the second twenty-five, and so on until the list has been exhausted, when the procedure starts all over again. If the number of married men in the *bone* is not evenly divisible by twenty-five, those forming the remainder at the foot of the list are supplemented by enough at the head of it to fill the number, and the rotation starts anew. It is the task of the village council in whose territory the cantonal mosque is situated to see that twenty-five men appear from each *bone* on the allotted day. If a *bone* is so small that it does not contain twenty-five, it is combined with another *bone* for this purpose.

If the members of the village council of the mosque territory find that a quota is not full on a certain day, they fine the man who has defaulted five dollars. If this is not paid promptly the council of the great steps in and fines the guilty *bone* between two and three hundred dollars. If a man is away on a journey his name is temporarily stricken from the list and the following names are moved up one place; if he is ill or for some other reason unable to go, he is allowed to send a substitute. If a man falls ill on the way, becomes wounded, or is otherwise prevented from reaching the mosque when it is too late to obtain a substitute, his absence is excused.

The fines thus extracted, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the mosque, formerly consisted of walnuts, almonds, figs, or raisins. Later, when sugar was first imported, two sugar cones were assessed. Later still the money fine was introduced.

623 681 651 642 *Providing for exiles from other fifths.* When a man has been exiled by the tribal council for a year, two years, or more, he must pass to a different *fifth*, preferably to a *bone* in which he has friends. The village council of the *bone* collects an assessed portion of the crops of every farmer and gives it to him. This it does for the first year only. If he remains more than a year he must work as a share-laborer for a farmer and earn his living. If a farmer refuses to give his assessed portion it is taken by force, and twofold. Such refusals are, however, almost unknown.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

man with whom she is involved is punished just as was the first convicted offender. If she has been publicly exposed several times as a prostitute, the men of her *bone* kidnap her, carry her into the mountains, and there kill her and hide her body. No notice is taken of her absence, and if the councillors hear about the affair they pretend not to have done so.

If a woman catches her husband in the act of adultery with another woman, she ordinarily goes back to her own people and tells them of it. The men of her family, her father, brothers, or paternal uncle, may bring the matter up before the councillors and have the husband fined and divorced. In many cases, however, the men of her *vein* persuade the woman to do nothing about it, thinking that to make a commotion would only cause the disruption of the *bone*. In case the woman has married outside her *bone*, whether or not action takes place depends largely upon the respect which her own *bone* has for that of her husband. In any case, the sacramental defilement of the man is not considered as great as that of the woman in the opposite situation.

Blood money. Although murders, woundings, and adultery caught in the act are offenses beyond the jurisdiction of the council of the great and are relegated to the tribal council, one consequence of them falls directly upon the councillors. This is the assessment and collection of the *diith*, or blood money. Whereas the tribal council has the right to impose the fine, the council of the great has charge of compensation to the injured family. This takes place after the tribal council has finished its judgment and punishment. Murder is atoned for by the payment of a sum between one and five hundred dollars. The amount varies from *canton* to *canton*, but within a *canton* is constant and inflexible. Wounds are paid for at the rate of twenty-five dollars a month for each month of convalescence, until the injured man is able to work again.

The man who committed the crime pays, if he is able. If he is unable to raise the money by selling his property, the *bone* pays. In some *bones* the group as a whole always pays, whether the guilty one is able to raise the money or not; in others a man other than the guilty one pays, with the understanding that he is to receive the total of the next blood-money payment to his *bone*.

In the *bones* which pay individually, receipts are given to the children of the deceased, and if he left no children, to his father. Children receive the money on the basis that one boy is equal to two girls. If the deceased leaves neither children nor father, it is divided among the members of the *bone*. Many *bones* refuse altogether to receive blood money, preferring to take it out in blood by killing a member of the hostile *bone*, in which case, after the punishment of the tribal council is finished, the account is considered by the councillors as settled. Frequently the injured *bone* accepts the blood money, then suffers a revulsion of feeling and takes blood vengeance in addition, in which case it is required to return the payment.

Murders within the *bone* rarely occur, and are considered unnatural crimes. No blood money is assessed, because such an offender is instantly killed by his own people if he is unable to escape. A man fleeing such a crime will not be harbored by any Riffian, and must continue until he has left the Rif altogether. Even in this case he must take care to go to some place to which Riffians do not ordinarily travel, lest revenge overtake him later.

Attending weddings outside the canton. Another duty of the council of the great, this time of a bloodless nature, is to attend weddings of other councillors or their sons in other *cantons* or *fifths*. This is done in order to foster friendly relations between the two groups.

776 778 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall [681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 515 789 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is wholesome to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 778 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with [754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

of land under cultivation which he possesses; it also assures the collection of the market tax, a small tariff paid by each man to the market *amīn* on the animals and produce which he brings into the market to sell. The money is destined for «fractional» use entirely: upkeep of the market, digging a new well, or for any purpose which pertains to or is of interest to the «fraction» in general. The *shaikh* of the «fraction» is responsible to the *qā'id* for the assessment and collection of this money, while the *qā'id* himself takes direct charge of matters which involve the caidato as a whole. In another building in the market place, the *qāḍī*, also assisted by a *khalīfa*, administers the Sharī'ā, which at the present time has largely supplanted the old Riffian *'urf* or customary law.

This form of government, based entirely on the Arab system, has completely superseded the old regime of the *Aith Arba'īn*, of the *imghāren* (sing. *amghār*), the family and village headmen who, in each «fifth», used to make up its governing body in the days before 'Abd al-Karīm. The powers of the *imghāren*, who also used to meet in the market, were much more extensive than those of the modern «fractional» junta, and included assessment and collection of fines for theft of livestock, for talking to women in the market, for suspected but unproven adultery, and the collection of blood money (*dīyath*). These duties and the unwritten customary law which governed them have all been substantially assimilated by the legal jurisdiction of the Makhzin and by the Sharī'a.

Although in the old days there was no higher body politic than the *imghāren* of the «fifth», those of all five «fifths» used to meet together at a place called *aghrau* (p. *ighrāwen*), the location of of which had previously been announced in the market by the *barrāḥ* or market crier, in case a crisis arose which assumed tribal proportions. In case of adultery caught *in flagrante delicto*, the injured husband had, and still has, the traditional privilege of killing his wife and her lover with exemption from payment of blood money. In case of murder committed on profane ground, the murderer had to pay a fine *(ḥaqq)* of 5.000 pesetas to the *imghāren*, and blood money amounting to 6.000 pesetas to his victim's family, provided the latter chose to accept it. If they did not, as was usually the case, a feud was in full swing inmediately, and the council members, lea-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

ving well enough alone, did not bother to interfere until after it was over, when the number of dead on each side was totaled up and excess blood money was paid to the party with the greater casualties. The *ḥaqq* was paid to the *īmghāren* as well for the necessity of calling them together; but if one of the «fifths» failed to send its delegates to the *aghrau*, it received no money at all. A *sharīf* or *qāḍī* was always present at the peace negotiations to act as moderator, and he and the *imghāren* ate at the expense of and slept in the houses of the *thārfiqth* heads in the vicinity of the meeting site.

However, if a murder was committed on a Muslim feast day or in a market, or at a time when peace prevailed, the *imghāren* rushed in a body to the murderer's house to call him to account for his action. In case of murder on the road to or in the market itself, the *ḥaqq* was doubled to 10.000 pesetas, owing to the market's sacred character as a place of peaceful trade to which came not only Wuryāghlīs, but people from other tribes as well. If the murderer was unable or unwilling to pay this, which almost always meant that he had to sell all his property, the *imghāren* proceeded to burn down his house. (This was the case in the Bay of Alhucemas; among the mountain Wuryāghlīs and in northern Giznāya, a murderer had to suffer both *ḥaqq* and houseburning, the latter as a symbolic act of vengeance meted out to him by the whole tribe in the person of its body politic, for disturbing tribal peace as a whole and for committing his crime in an area which belonged to the tribe collectively.) If the murderer and his family still resisted, they had a war with the assembled *imghāren* on their hands as well as with the dead man's kin. If the *imghāren* and their cohorts won, as they usually did, they burned down the houses of the other members of the murderer's *thārfiqth* in addition, and the latter had to flee to another «fifth», another tribe, or out of the Rīf entirely for a period of at least two years, when, if they made peace overtures in the proper manner, they might be permitted to come back. But the Riffians are a proud people; if they returned at all, it was most often with revenge in mind Needless to say, there are numerous little colonies of Riffian exiles all over Morocco; many Wuryāghlīs and their descendants are to be found both in Tangier and in Fez. It may thus be seen that it was

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

to the interest of the murderer and his family to come to terms quickly, for if they tried to go against the council, their days were numbered.

The *imghāren* were the real power in the land, and although the Sultan used to nominate *quyād* (pl. of *qā'id*), these were usually nothing but *imghāren* whose local prestige was slightly greater than that of their fellows. In Aith Wuryāghil, the *Bilād as-Saiba* par excellence, a *qā'id* could not govern in the same manner as he did an Arab tribe; if he tried to institute reforms without having the force to back them up, he was likely to be quietly done away with. It was the assembled *imghāren* of all the «fifths» who dictated policy if the tribe was threatened from outside. They declared war, treated for peace, and contracted alliances with other tribes, and they did so jointly. The Riffians are democratic almost to the point of anarchy, and if any man was considered better than his neighbor, it was only because he had more brothers or cousins to help him out in case a fight started. The excellent description given by Coon of what is apt to happen at the meeting of an *aghrau* affords us a wonderful insight into the Wuryāghlī character.

> «... The locality depends on mutual convenience. Each fifth occupies a section of the circle. A moderator talks to the members until a common attitude in regard to the subject of the meeting is agreed upon. The moderator now having received the instructions of his constituency, he approaches the center of the circle, and the councillors left on the outer ring finger their rifles and express their readiness to defend their spokesman if he gets into a violent argument. They discuss the matter at hand all talking at once or whenever they please, since there is no chief moderator, and for one member to bid another to be quiet would be ample excuse for murder. Moderators of a fifth usually agree within themselves and the argument soon develops into a consideration of how many fifths favor one opinion and how many the other. The moderator of one fifth may lead the moderator of another aside and whisper to him outside the ring, trying to bribe him to come over to his way of thinking. If the second moderator succumbs to this, he returns to the central ring and tries to change the attitude of the other representatives of his fifth. The parley goes on until a unanimous decision is reached or until the councillors begin fighting among themselves

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

system of alliances which 'Abd al-Karīm displayed during the early part oh his war was one of the major reasons for his successful unification of the Rīf (16).

It must the stated here, however, that it was unusual for most feuds to become anything more than shootings on a local scale. First of all, feuding kept the population down; sescondly, house burnings and exaction of fines by the *imghāren* were harsh repressive measures in themselves; thirdly, the constant fear of outside invasion by the councillors of another tribe (which occurred wen the *imghāren* of Aith 'Ammarth stepped in on the side of Aith Yūsuf to end a feud between the latter and Aith 'Alī, plus the standard alignment of other «fifths», which had been going on for seven years) tended to restrict the scope of the feud and to prevent it from spreading; and fourthly, individuals who were considered habitual troublemakers and soreheads even by Riffian standards were exiled. If they refused to accept the dictum of the *imghāren* they were unceremoniously put to death.

The above is a reflection of the Riffian political system and situation which prevailed up until the time of 'Abd al-Karīm. The governmental structure of Aith Wuryāghil followed to the letter the true Berber pattern of superimposed representative councils, with a few of the members of each deliberative body being chosen to participate in the council of the group a rung higher up the ladder. Furthermre, thanks to the *liff* alliance system, as Blanco says, the individual in the *thārfiqth*, the *thārfiqth* in the *jamā'ath*, the *jamā'ath* in the «fifth», the «fifth» in the tribe *(thaqbīt*, pl. *thaqbīr*, from Arabic *qabīla*, pl. *qabā'il)*, and the tribe in relation to other tribes all maintain an unstable equilibrium, expressed in terms of the linking of *rubū'* or of «fifths», and ultimately, in the two great rival moieties of Ṣinhāja and Ghumāra (17). As it happens in our particular case, Aith Wuryāghil was (and is) too large and powerful to need formal alliances with other tribes, its only active ally having been Aith 'Ammarth, for, as many old greybeards have told me, «We could still go out and eat Tamsamān or Aith Tuzīn any day of the week»; but for small tribes surrounded by big neighbors, such as Thafarsīth,

(16) Coon, 1951, p. 317.
(17) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 70.

114 671 443 182 on the hillsides, bringing the cries of victims and the echo of rifle shots in its train" (LR, p. 19). Blanco's work is shot through with references to the clan (or, as he calls it, fraccion), with its market, as the basic Rifian patria - which of course applies better to large tribes like the Aith Waryaghar than to small ones like the Thafarsith, "Rifian Switzerlands" surrounded by more powerful neighbors.

114 671 [68] By 1960, some of the finer points of the Rifian qanuns or Customary Law documents had been forgotten even by members of the oldest living generation, e.g., such as how much is to be paid if one shoots at a man and misses him, or if one threatens him with a dagger, but does not stab him. Blanco, and to a lesser extent Carleton Coon[28], have both set down many of these common-law niceties; and Blanco's work has the additional merit (and we refer here primarily to LR) of being a translation and an analysis of primary documents, some dating as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. These are invaluable source materials for the long and unbroken period of the Rifian 'Ripublik' (as opposed to 'Abd al-Krim's Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya, or "Rifian Republican State", 1921-1926, although he only constituted it "officially" early in 1923), which is today only a memory and, according to some, a skeleton in the Rifian closet. However, old tribesmen and even some younger ones who are less sophisticated - and who therefore generally make better informants - still grudgingly admit to admiring it and to looking upon it with nostalgia.

---

[113] 28--Cf. Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, Vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931. Coon's data on customary law come primarily from the tribe of the Igzinnayen, whereas the bulk of Blanco's come from their northern neighbors, the Aith Waryaghar.

These jma'ths, the internal lives of which were regulated by the custom governing the original mountain jma'th, continued as tributaries of the latter[133], enjoying the benefits of such a status (participation in the collection of fines, contributions to the fqih)[134] until, as we have seen, the new nucleus, beginning to stand out more and more as a result of its growth, importance and distance from the parent jma'th, succeeded in emancipating itself from the latter through its own discords and ambitions.[135]

But it is difficult to determine at precisely what moment the new jma'th came of age, as it is to determining everything else, even including finding out the designations in nomenclature of its representatives. This designation is not that of amin, as among the Kabyles of Algeria, a word which, taken over from Arabic, is one which does not permit a confusion of its administrative significance, an individual function, with that of the jma'th, which has a collective mqaddim, a term also adopted from Arabic and employed by certain Berber groups in the Western Atlas, for the personage of the mqaddim also has that function as well as the inadmission of that of the shaikh, which more than one person in Aith Waryaghar attributes to himself and which figures even in documents. These terms, however, do not demonstrate any more than the anarchy which the people have attained, and the forgetting of their own racial (sic!) characteristics[136]; as such words among Rifians can have no meaning nor can they be given any importance greater than those of "colonel" and "doctor" in the South American republics. These are strange nicknames (sic), for to the Rifian, as to any Berber, they say nothing if they are to be considered

181
114 However, we would still take a somewhat more charitable viewpoint, and question the somewhat ethnocentric notion that a tribal society is any more "anarchical", even in an "organized" sense, than that of a nation-state. In any event, all this terminology is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930).

000 20--Blanco uses the term ramo ascendiente, which, in the sense that a jajgu is conceived of as a branch (ramo)--the Rifians employ the term azwar, pl. izuran, "vein", in this connection--of a dharfiqth or or lineage group, is very apt. The use of a term such as "ascending", however, depends entirely on which way one looks at Rifian tribal segmentation: from the bottom up (nuclear family to tribe) or from the top down (tribe to family).

We have found, however, that, except in the single instance of the recitation of their own personal antecedents in unilinear progression to the ancestor who forms the "apex" of the lineage, Moroccan tribesmen invariably tend to give the segmentation of their own tribes starting from the top and working downwards. In the Rif, [631] indeed, this approach to the segmentary system is greatly reinforced [681] by the method of dividing up the fines (r-haqq) imposed upon murderers by the members of the tribal council. The division of such fines follows traditional segmentary lines as closely as possible; in such instances where this is not possible (and they are very few, only occurring in cases of territorial discontinuity among the larger lineages), it follows the next best thing, the territorial system, which is in essence nothing but the lineage system spread out spatially on the ground.

21--The term "canton" is taken from Montagne (op. cit., 1930), and is [634] also employed by Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African [114] Studies, vol. IX, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, p. 91. It [113] is a valid enough designation for the watershed canyon, ravine and gorge-studded districts of the higher mountains in the Rif (Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen", in Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1956-1956, Vienna 1957, pp. 485-527, also employs the term Talschaften for similar districts in the Western Atlas), but loses its force if one attempts to apply it to the Plain of Alhusaima or the open rolling country of the Eastern Rif.

22--Khums (Rifian dhakhammasth) means "fifth", and is used only in the case of tribes which have five clans or maximal segments, such as the Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen (among whom, in fact, this alignment seems to have little functional significance), Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith Wurishik and Aith Sa'id. Furthermore, when it is said of any tribe that it "has five 'fifths'", this is an implicit admission that the tribe in question is a strong one. For a structural-functional analysis of the "fifth" among the Aith Waryaghar and elsewhere, see David M. Hart, "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65-95.

[114] Far more common in Rifian parlance, however, is ar-rba', pl. rurbu', literally "fourth" or "quarter", which Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 91) has equated with "canton", and in doing so, has noted that,

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

● 681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49A], and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[443] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The
[574] Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

[49A] [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

681 Berber criminal law admits the death penalty, pecuniary sanctions (i.e. fines), reprisal (i.e. vengeance), despoliation, confiscation and the taking of hostages; but not maltreatment, confinement, talion[50], Koranic capital punishment[51] or mutilation. I should classify Berber sanctions or penalties as follows:

1) Pecuniary or Monetary Sanctions (fines, despoliation, confiscation of property)
2) Corporal Sanctions (death, plunder, taking of strangers as hostages)
3) Afflicting Moral Sanctions (banishment, adverse publicity)

[177] It is very probable (sic) that the Rifians knew of other such sanctions reflected in the Kabyle qanums of Algeria (such as the enforced shaving of beards and mustaches, a hirsute face being considered a manly attribute), but the memory of them has not remained [179] sufficiently clear[52]. It is very doubtful that they would ever have admitted whippings or beatings, or the cutting off of hands and feet for theft, as prescribed in the Koran[53]; for no dharfiqth would ever have allowed one of its members to submit to anything of the sort. Berber custom rejects punishment of this type.

The graded scale of fines is worked up according to the external manifestation of the crime, from its beginnings through its commission, and the coefficient of this scale is both the act and the consequences of the crime in question. But it turns out to be infantile (sic), for the manner in which the crime is committed is sanctioned rather than the basis, or the act itself. Thus, for example, from the time a man threatens to shoot a gun at someone, there is a penalty which increases until the bullet hits his adversary[54].

681 H) Sanctions: Further Notes (fragmentary):

1) Punishment: fine, exile, or death of person responsible, whether an individual or a family group[55].

[671] 2) Gradation: variable, according to stipulations in the various
[672] qanuns[56]. Rifian law recognizes the same degree of responsibility in his accomplices as in the man who actually committed the crime, by assimilating them with his kin group[57].

681 3) Victim: receives no indemnity, except through what he or
613 his kinsmen get as their share of the fine, which is equitably dis-
[591] tributed among all the representatives of the dharfiqin[58], thus appearing more than anything else as a payment for services rendered; and the dharfiqin heads divided it up in the same way among their constituent nubath[59]. Thus, if the Rifian is encumbered with the responsibility of executive power[60] (all are obliged to stand against an aggressor), he still participates in the benefits of such power in a true popular sovereignty, and he never cedes his rights or duties.

000 4) Role of Jma'th in Application of Custom: to influence matters or conceal them, by money, force or politicking behind the scenes. Agrau or assembly of the aitarba'in; assessors and arbiters (tulba, shurfa and imrabdhen); role of liffs (aid to their liff-mates in payment of fines, etc.) (This subsection is completely fragmentary.)

682 In summation, three kinds of offenses were punished:
683 1) murder and woundings, with corresponding fines, and vengeance;

683 2) abuse of women (if voluntary on their part, each party had to
684 pay 50 duros, and if it was purely and simply rape, the guilty man paid 50 duros);

672 it will not answer for the individual, it remains exempt from the responsibilities and aspersions which might fall upon it....A freedom or state of tranquillity (i.e. truce or even peace) which the group could thus regain at such a high price as the public denial of one of its members was only undertaken when there was good reason for doing so (i.e. when a group feared the very certain reprisals of powerful families) and when the inconveniences were greater than the advantages.

Thus it is not the individual alone who is responsible for his acts; for his family, then his jma'th and in the last analysis his tribe will back him up. There is always someone responsible for [681] every crime. He never remains unpunished, nor does the penalty imposed [671] upon him lapse, even after many years. Rifian law is not charitable and it does not beg. It punishes, but it does not pardon; it exacts, but it does not implore. Thus there is an individual responsibility with a complementary and collective one behind it.

672 671 Does this responsibility, then, extend equally to all those who participate in a reprehensible act? No. There is, furthermore, the group (author's italics) exception already mentioned, when a group, by public announcement, rejects what could happen to it in the course of a punishable action committed by one of its members, attenuated by considerations of minority (i.e. if committed by a child or a woman), physical abnormality (if committed by a crazy person or an idiot), origin (if committed by a stranger), day or even hour of commission (see the qanun of the Aith 'Abd Allah, La Ley Rifeña, pp. 45-51), and it is exaggerated if committed at night (as in the qanun of Thmasind, La Ley Rifeña, pp. 37-44), by a stranger or infidel. There is also

000 latter's kinsmen before he can get away. Even in this case, the killer could generally get off if he were able to pay a 2000-duro fine (rhaqq) to the imgharen on the spot, if he was lucky enough to be caught by them and not by his victim's agnates.

[114] [464] [167] 52--Why should the Rifians have been acquainted with the qanuns of the Algerian Kabyles? Granted that Rifian labor migration to Algeria, prior to 1955, was very extensive, it must be remembered that Rifians went to the plains and vineyards of western Algeria (not to Kabylia) to work and send remittances to their families, not to compare notes with their fellow Berbers in Kabylia!

53--This is entirely true, though we know of one case in which, in 1926, after 'Abd al-Krim's defeat, a man from one of the mountain clans of Aith Waryaghar was beaten to death, by order of a lowland qaid from the same tribe, for refusing to hand two rifles in his possession over to the Spaniards.

[171] 54--In the Central Atlas, half ddiyit (blood money to victim's agnates) is paid by a man for shooting at someone else and missing him, but full ddiyit for taking aim and not shooting (E. Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship", Philosophy of Science, vol. 27, no. 2, 1960, pp. 187-204.) In other words, what is punished is the intent to kill, and on this subject Blanco has some interesting remarks to make in the chapter on the qanuns of Dhmasind and of Aith 'Abd Allah in La Ley Rifeña (pp. 41-3, 47, 50). In the Rif, however, this is manifested in a different way under different circumstances: ddiyith is paid to the victim's family, under normal conditions, by the killer, who must also pay rqisas to the victim himself in case of wounding. The amount of the ddiyith is anything up to 1200 duros, while that of the rqisas, depends on the nature of the wound. However, there is no question at all of either ddiyith or rqisas being paid if the intended victim has not been harmed. This is the case if the attempted murder has taken place outside the market; but if it has taken place on market day and within the market (even though there is again an exemption from ddiyith and rqisas) the rhaqq or market fine must be paid in full (2000 duros) to the imgharen, because the would-be assassin is an amsasar (pl. imsasaren) or trouble-maker who has knowingly tried to "break" the market by flouting its regulations.

• 681 682 696 55--In case of murder, only the murderer himself went into exile. He did so immediately after the crime, so that he would not be killed in turn by his victim's agnates. Exile meant that he sought refuge, as an adhrib (pl. idhriben), (derived from Arabic talib, "enemy") in the territory of another tribe, whose members sheltered and protected him until such time (if ever) that he could go home. On occasion, as [613] Blanco suggests, whole lineages have been forced into exile; Coon, in Flesh of the Wild Ox (pp. 74-108), gives an example from the Igzinnayen. However, this particular instance was the result of a decree of the Aitharba'in after a long and bitter feud; and as such, it was exceptional. The rule was that only the murderer fled; he was not accompanied by nine of his agnates, as in the Central Atlas (even though these latter returned after three days in order to start making overtures for payment of ddiyit to the dead man's agnates).

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

681 682 696 [782] A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he 682 443 [114] had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine (called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the ingharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum which was prohibitively high), the ingharen descended on him in a body and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re- 682 628 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the murderer. The ingharen, however, could not touch his property as long as he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's agnates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the ingharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted, as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circumstances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 682 56--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely standard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] [114] [024] [628] 57--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is expressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants, however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

681 682 [628] 000 the side with the lesser. (This last piece of information comes from some of the lowland clans of the Aith Waryaghar, and the highlanders of the same tribe deny it.)

58--The victim, if he is alive, receives the rqisas, and, if dead, his family gets the ddiyith--if they choose to accept it rather than take up their guns. It is barely possible that in the division of the rhaqq by the imgharen along segmentary lines, the victim's family might receive a tiny fraction of the total, although the chances are strongly against it. The rhaqq almost always goes into the pockets of the imgharen themselves, and when we say that it is divided along segmentary lines, what we mean is that it is the imgharen of each segment and subsegment, rather than the rank-and-file of either, who are the real beneficiaries.

However, this is not really the point, which, in any event, Blanco [682] has missed entirely. The point is that a murderer pays bloodmoney to his victim's agnates and a fine to the council members (the latter only if the murder has taken place in the market or on a track leading to it).

[114] 59--Blanco is theoretically correct in saying that dharfiqin distribute their share of the fine to the nubath making them up (although in practice this almost never occurs, as the money which filters down, through the normal process of division, goes no further than the lineage heads!); but it is surprising that he does not start at the top levels of segmentation, the clans, as the imgharen themselves did, and work down from there (though even at this level the imgharen tended in practice to pocket the fines).

[114] 60--In this term, el poder ejecutivo, once again, we have a formalistic European notion, which, though certainly accurate in one sense, nonetheless ill befits the essential informality of the tribal council members who convened in the market to discuss the week's happenings and to assess, equally informally, any cases which came to them.

61--It may be stated categorically that such Qur'anically-inspired punishments as putting out a thief's eyes were completely unknown in the Rif and in the rest of Berber Morocco.

[839] 62--Though it is probably of frequent occurrence elsewhere, bestiality [838] is not common in the Rif, and those who do practice it are always the object of derision. Furthermore, the Rif is probably one of the few regions of Morocco where homosexuality is nonexistent.

[113] 63--These notes of Blanco's on hunting are extremely fragmentary; for fuller information on Rifian hunting practices, see the final chapter in La Ley Rifeña on the hunting qanun or qanun r-rayah, as well as a recent summary of the same material in R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg, 16-17 September 1958 [114] (mimeographed). Our own impression of Blanco's data on hunting is that although very complete, his description is at the same time unnecessarily complex.

64--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting may take place on any day of the week.

634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
619
692 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
681 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside circle).[2 & 3]

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
614 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
623 ....Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
628 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at
721 any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare.... Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities. This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared beforehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
(624) surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

671 al-Faqir Siddiq al-'Arusi, Muhammad ibn Tahra, Sidi Musa ibn al-Hajj
628 Sayyid 'Amar Tahtahi, Muhammad bin Bu Hammud Mulaidi; al-Hajj Sidi
613 Misa'ud al-Manduri; Sa'id bin al-Hajj Haddu al-Ufari, Muhammad bin
682 [792] al-Faqir Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Barzi, Muhammad Bu Shu'an, and the rest of the notables of Tzurakhth (Blanco: note 11) sold all that was handed over to them to the brothers of the murdered man for the above sum, converting it into money.

(Blanco: note 12) The amount stated above was levied and the quantity (literally, price) was divided into four parts: 300 duros for the lineage of Izzugwaghen; the same for the Awlad al-Hajj 'Amar; the same for the Awlad Muhammad bin Muh bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Tazurakhti; and 150 duros for the Awlad Ahmad bin Taimunt (to be split) with Muhammad bin Tah, and the same for Muhammad bin Taimunt bin Misa'ud (to be split) with the Awlad Hammu Kabghith. One hundred (100) duros were divided in half between the son of Bukhalif, that is, Siddiq, and 'Abd al-Qadir Hashsha'.

(Blanco: note 13) Each of the abovementioned parties shall divide with its brothers (i.e. those of the same jurisdiction) the amount which it has exacted and with regard to the quantity of the same.

671 An irrevocable and non-retractable sale, effected (Blanco:
628 note 14) for repression and exemplary punishment. The sellers having
613 levied the total of the abovementioned sum, in the upper part of the
681 present qanun, from the hands of the buyers cited above, thus liberating
432 the sellers from all actions or reclamation regarding this matter and the above-cited buyer thus occupying (the lands) instead of the sellers, as his share. That is to say, occupying the place of the owner in the land, of the land which he buys and that of the owner of immovable

671
628
613
68
432
property in that belonging to him, in conformance with traditional law.[25]

695 Those who attended the present (act) brought their testimony to the above according to the requirements of the interested parties.

805 --In the middle of Jumad al-Awwal of the year 1336 (February 27, 1918). --The 'adl, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hajj al-Warnuri.--Another, whose name is not known.--Another, Muhammad bin Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghazri.

B) Commentary:

182
628
613
The social disintegration which Rifian society has reached is proven by these individual agreements between dharfiqin (Blanco: note 1, corresponding to text of qanun). In the face of helplessness or irregular functioning of higher-level associations, the poor tribesmen, before falling into complete anarchy, hastened to conclude an agreement with a neighboring group in order to attenuate that anarchy, succeeding in the hard struggle for life on a poor soil. These agreements thus formed true islets of irregular and variable peace, anchored in functional (sic) anarchy.

628
613
728
The necessity of agreements between lower-level lineages, who were abandoned by the rudimentary organization, obeyed, according to my understanding, those most curious periods which followed the public declaration of anarchy in the suq, when one powerful group managed by force to sustain the punishment, breaking the truce.

614 As the dispute was generalized between two preponderant rivals, the unaffected groups, before falling into anarchy, and with that notable instinct of self-defense, worked to bring about these agreements,

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
62 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an aristocracy known
623 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
619 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

695 Valid and complete testimony in virtue of which both instrumental witnesses bring testimony against them.

600 (Two illegible signatures follow.)

692 At the same time, they agreed that whoever should commit any of the wrongs (literally, "things") expressed herein, the case, together with him (the man who committed it) shall be taken to Sayyid Mhammad bin Musa[32] and Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Ali[33] (Blanco: note d).

685 Whoever enters an orchard with intent to rob shall pay 20 uqiyyas. If a bull should start to trample property adjacent to that 685 of its owner, the latter shall pay one peseta. 672

The guarantors (of the fulfillment of this agreement) are three. The Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah, and Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan (Blanco: note e).

[681] Regarding the amount (of the fines imposed) with respect to orchards in cases in which they are injured by animals, this will be donated to their mosque (Blanco: note f).

If they should break a branch of a fig or other tree belonging to anyone, the owner of the animals will pay 20 (uqiyyas).

600 A signature in Arabic follows, which appears to be al-Bu Jma' bin Muhammad (signed).

B) Commentary:

671 The reading of this qanun clearly indicates in its first paragraph the names of those who have established it, all of them members 621 of the jma'th of Imhauren, bordering the Island of Alhucemas, in the 621 plain of the same name. Every two or three headmen or iziddifen (sing., 613 554 aziddif, "head") are the visible representatives of the lineage groups

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673
687 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
685 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good, natural and admirable feeling.

182
671 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
626 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
681 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
613

671 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

000 671 182 628 681 nor a bastardization of his office. It creates guarantees for the accused, protecting him from bloodfeuds; it indemnifies the social unit, the subclan of Imhauren, from injuries caused by some of its members, so that when the fine is donated to the habus of the village mosque, through the particular conceptualization and application of these funds in the Rif, a part of the money always came back to the jma'th in kind; and the eagerness for a reward, as among participating European functionaries, who multiply the fines by increasing their investigations and denunciations in proportion to their needs, was discarded.

671 It has--and why not?--among its other defects one which is certainly a simple defect in editing, although the frequency with which 681 it is repeated makes this doubtful in several cases. The intention (author's italics) (Blanco: note f, in text) is punished, but how can 627 it be proven? According only to the prudent arbitration of the popular tribunal formed by the two aforementioned individuals. A bad business.

671 621 623 614 182 Curious and noteworthy is the palpable demonstration of this municipal letter, of this qanun of a jma'th, which is careful not to overstep the bounds of adjacent institutions, such as those of personal status law (inheritance, etc.) or of those handled by the immediately superior social unit, the clan, with its qanun approved and drawn up in the markets (murders and woundings, etc.), a fact which reveals the interrelationship and interdependence of the different social units, and even their institutions and how they function.

671 627 182 This qanun is limited, logically, to neighborhood questions, among which there figures in first place that of public security (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property.

623 the imposition of minimal social obligations (education and hospitality), the equal division of duties and work, and, finally, nomination of a man to represent the jma'th and to see that local law is enforced.

This jma'th and its representative were legitimate organs of the people, an authentic and faithful reflection of the feeling and convenience of its members, live and efficient organisms. Today a 623 179 182 rigid Arab framework and its imposed and despotic representatives has submerged the jma'th, without any alternative other than the hatred or scorn of its members, according to whether the chief is a tyrant, or a slave to his needs or whims.

436 For an analysis of the proportioning of the punishment, it is 681 well to know the equivalents of the Rifian monetary system, as follows:[41]

Mithqal--2 Spanish pesetas

Bsita--0.60 Spanish pesetas

Rbi'a--0.50 Spanish pesetas

Uqiyya or Spanish onza, "ounce"--0.20 Spanish pesetas

Ujjhain (two muzunas)--0.10 Spanish pesetas

Muzuna or Spanish blanquillo, "little target"--0.05 Spanish pesetas.

With these data to hand, we may now establish the framework of 681 673 fines which occur in the qanun commented upon, in the following order:

Theft by day, of cereals or fruits (figs, etc.)--100 pesetas

Theft by night, in the orchards or gardens--20 pesetas

Threats with firearms--20 pesetas

Thefts by day, in the orchards--10 pesetas

Threats with knives or daggers--5 pesetas

Damages to dams--5 pesetas

681
673

Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

673
623
685
423

An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

623
423
578

The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is, then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

623
[793]

Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

[574]
[623]
[681]
[554]

But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

623 554 legislate, but it is not maintained by conferring distinctions on them, converting them into a caste, nor by giving them stipends for their work. For this same reason, the council-members have, perhaps, greater esteem among their neighbors. On the other hand, the jma'th punishes [581] disobedience to its decrees, but it does not impose a penalty on those who disobey the shaikh, who is simply a representative of the people with outside denomination expressed in writing (i.e. in Arabic), in view of the difficulty of expressing this in his own language.[44] That [622] he is a simple titular and outside arbiter is shown by the fact that his function, in Arabic terminology and organization, would be that of a mqaddim.

This qanun is an excellent example of the beginnings of a 607 554 623 trend toward personal power concentrated in a single individual, the [578] shaikh, charged with the representation of the jma'th and the execution of its agreements;.....and we may perceive indistinctly the intrigue and the deaf struggle between this personage and the rest of the community, who are jealous of his attributes. In the first draft, the document is declared valid (Blanco: paragraph f, in text); but in the oversights pointed up in the re-reading of the document, and certainly at the shaikh's request, they consent to the fact that obedience to him be recommended in the addenda; but they have been careful, in the preceding paragraph (paragraph i), to state that only they can make resolutions or define crimes and misdemeanors through enforcement of law and punishment, always granted, of course, that such enforcement be useful (author's italics); but neither the shaikh nor anyone else can invent or contrive more than his council, because only they are capable

671 of knowing the needs of the moment, not past or future needs which do
554 not mean anything to anybody. They are living laws designed for living
623 people, for those present.

671 Paragraph b shows us how they embellish their law, taking aggra-
672 vating and attenuating circumstances into account. Among these are
nocturnity and dwellings (where they guard their fig and grain re-
[682] serves). Attenuating and, even more, exemption from responsibility,
homicide is legitimate if committed in self defense or in defense of
one's property.

● 681 Paragraph c punishes intention, in order to avoid disputes,
554 and makes a small concession to personal power, permitting the shaikh
661 to keep for himself this fine destined for the common fund.
671

685 Paragraph d is concerned with injuries to crops by animals,
672 which are herded by children. The punishment is minimal.
671

In paragraph e, the law of the jma'th establishes and regulates
671 the social duty of hospitality, imposing the burden equally on all its
623 members. Guests learn that it is not only the shaikh who pays for
574 their upkeep, but all the members of the jma'th, even the poor ones.

623 Consider also the excessive number of voluntary servitors who
574 dance continued attendance on the guest with towels, basins and soap,
and finally the amphitrion hands over to their expectant voracity all
the remains of your meal, except for one small dish which, passing
through the door, is submerged in the mysterious interior of the
dwelling as a reward for the activity of the women or children who
prepared it. When you leave, each member of the jma'th retires with
whatever he presented for your comfort: pillows, blankets, soap, coffee
pot or teapot, towel, glasses, candles, etc.

6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH[45] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

671 Praise be to the One God. The will and eternal power of Our
443 Lord having decided thus, the congregation--in the Tuesday Market
[778] (Suq ath-Thulatha) (situated) at 'Ain Tihalalin[46], in the vicinity of (the tomb of) the holy emanator of blessings Sidi 'Amran[47]--of its owners, those of the clan of Bani 'Abdallah. (The latter) convened
623 (in the abovementioned market) with the idea of coming to agreement on
443 their criteria and on the purity of their actions in behalf of the
692 common good of all; and, as a consequence, they decided the amount of
681 the fines to be imposed inasmuch as there should occur within the abovementioned market, or, indeed, outside it on the path (which leads to it), (Blanco: note a) incidents, premeditated or not, through error or imprudence, such as woundings and murders (which might happen) through gunshots, knifings, strangulations and stonings, (or, indeed),
682 pillaging and sacking. (Blanco: note b) To anyone who kills in the
443 interior of the market and is caught (literally, "had"), rashsha' shall
[696] be applied to him (i.e. he shall be shot). If he has not been captured owing to having fled to another tribe (literally, "other tribes"), (they shall impose upon him a fine of) 2000 duros and his house shall be burned down to its foundations. (If he should kill) on the path (which leads to the market) he shall also pay (a fine of) 2000 (duros). Who-
683 ever should wound (another), (he shall be fined) 1000 duros. Whoever (shoots) and misses (his target), (he shall pay a fine of) 500 duros.
682 (Blanco: note c) Whoever of the Bani 'Abdallah should commit murder on Tuesday (i.e. on market day, the day of the suq) within the

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take
687 683 justice into his own hands (literally, "ransacking to collect a debt") shall pay 50 duros, and the same for whoever should attack another on
689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of
681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made
443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul)
693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

671 This proves
182 that Rifian law tended to satisfy a need and not an ideal, as we have
443 just said; for further on, the qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah points out
796 a truce to be held on a given day, on Tuesday, the market day, and not on Friday, the religious day and the day of attendance at the noon prayer in the mosque. The day of peace is thus a layman's day.....

671 The law is simple. And hard. And sufficient to be encrusted with obligatory relief in the most refractory cranium of a believer, an objective impossible to obtain among modern societies. Nobody pretended ignorance, as all are wont to do or swear today.

There are neither aggravators nor attenuators, only consummate (and consummated) acts.

Paragraph a: They discount intentions, so difficult to prove and needing so much patience to investigate. They attain results more [681] easy to prove and more quick to sanction (i.e. castigate) and be sanctioned, in conformance with their rudimentary law.

671 Paragraph b: A hard punishment; the liquidation of the mur-
682 derer, with the loophole that after his flight, the law may fatten on him. But it does not give a heavy punishment to his agnates, although it avoids impunity. It does not cease to be more humanitarian than other analogous qanums, if indeed this custom is followed in reality.
[681] The gradation of fines is simple and even attempted murder is penalized.

671 Paragraph c: A typical example of the fact that Rifian law is only concerned with the external manifestation of the crime.

[681] Paragraph d: And so that the gradation of the punishment follows that manifestation as a shadow does a body, from the time that it is initiated.

685 In the same way, they agreed to impose fines for all damages or injuries which are caused, such as theft, etc.

Whoever should steal a sheep or a goat shall be fined 10 duros, and whoever should steal barley, broad beans, etc., from someone else's land shall be fined 5 duros.

681 In summation, all injuries or damages caused by one of them (the Bani 'Adhiya) against another (of them), a fine shall be levied from him, whoever (the party guilty) of the injury or damage may be.

671 In accordance with the above, their declarations were put down, as they have been expressed and explained. Valid and complete testimony. The parties who took part in the present agreement know [693] the value of this agreement, and because of this, both the undersigned notaries testify to what is set down and to the fact that they (the Bani 'Adhiya) are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound minds and memories) and that they are known (personally) to them (the notaries).

805 On the second day of the divine month of Jumad ath-Thani of the 600 year 1332 (April 28, 1914). Servant of his God, may He be glorified, 'Abd as-Salam bin 'Abdallah at-Tafrasti, may God be benevolent toward him. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Aisa at-Taxurakhti, may God be benevolent toward him.

671 B) Commentary:

This synthetic qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya, drawn up in conformity with the dictates of the purest tradition, contains within it suggestions analogous to the rest of the documents which we have studied.

[771] It is a pact (author's italics), by which those who have agreed on it must in future regulate their coexistence and traditional

671 771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [514] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 681 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

671 628 681 184 443 1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in certain qanuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

681 619 443 In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681 For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is 681 628 682 614 619 443 613 therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
671 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

671 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to preserve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
685 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it ac-
673 cordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

671 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike pro-
554 clivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their
693 real profession.

671 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite
779 recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code, or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack, he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor markmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect markmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

671 683

681 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all
443 to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

[619] [673]

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

562 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among
671 the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed
183 today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only
794 one attempt to go against it, made by a young t[illegible]b of Ibuqquyen, soon
443 discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering
689 the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him
178 over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's
562 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they
443 were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very
178 attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women
183 special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of
[184] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the funda-
[681] mentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

Fines to be imposed:

Harka members: for each day of absence, two (days to be served) in the harka, and a fine of 2 duros.

Qa'ids of 25 men: the same, with a fine of 3 duros.

Qa'ids of 50 men: the same, with a fine of 4 duros.

Qa'ids of 100 men: the same, with a fine of 5 duros.

Qa'ids of 200 men: the same, with a fine of 6 duros.

This is an order emanating from the fortunate Makhzin (i.e. of 'Abd al-Krim). May God protect it. In Taghzut on Ramadan 23, 1344 (March 8, 1926). By order of 'Abd al-Karim bin Ziyan.[110]

12. DOCUMENT OF EXEMPTION FROM PAYMENT OF TAXES[111]:

Praise be to the one God. The blessings of God be upon our (lord) Muhammad, his family and friends.

It shall be known through the present document that we, taking into consideration the services rendered to the Makhzin and the taxes which because of hospitable attentions with warlike objectives (holy war) weigh upon the bearers, the sons of the late Si Ahmad bin Si 'Ali al-Tawti are exempted by us from the contributions concerned....The 'amil, in virtue of this, orders that they not be asked of them....And the peace.

Safar 18 of the year 1341 (October 10, 1922). Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, may God be with him, amen. (Signed and sealed).

13. QANUN OF THE SEA--AITH WARYAGHAR[112]:

A) The Boat Owner:

He owns the boat (agharrabu, pl. igharruba)[113], acquired by transfer, sale, already used or repaired by carpenters on the beach, of whom there are still a few[114].

The jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agreements are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2) differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled

671 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
● 681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoevef catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at onoe, it is divided among them (Aïth 'Ammarth).

671 224 [804] If, however, the animal should flee and be killed by another hunter, it (still) belongs to the one who discovered it, although he may not have shot or thrown at it, provided that the distance from the point where it fell to that where it was discovered can be covered by a stone's throw, done either by him himself or by another hunter designated by him, with, furthermore, the choice of either point as that of the stone-throw being open to him (either where the animal fell or where it got up). This is done in order to utilize the slope, if.....this distance had not been previously established.

671 223 224 8) An animal or bird flushed up by a hunter is his if he does not pass beyond a distance of forty feet counted from the point at which it was flushed, and even though the shot may have missed it or if it was overtaken by a dog (Sanhaja Srir).

[681] 9) If an animal or bird wounded by one hunting party is finished off and collected by another one, it belongs to the first party, to which it must be returned even though it may already be cooked; and if it has been eaten, the second party must pay the first 25 pesetas as compensation (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 623 10) Nests belong to whoever discovers them, and in the event that they are saved as bait in order to hunt the mother with a trap or net, the site must be shown to the jma'th, in order to insure priority rights.

G) Dogs:[191]

671 223 224 231 1) Animals or birds picked up by dogs are not for the owner of the dog, but for whoever takes them out of his mouth (Aith 'Ammarth). This is based upon the fact that if the dogs are not trained, they will

224 671 aid was rendered with firearms, to pay a cartridge, and if rendered with a ferret, to surrender half of the animal taken, for the maintenance of ferrets, based on milk, eggs and bread with olive oil, is costly. The same holds true if he is lent a net; he must pay half of the animals he catches (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 689 Anyone who, if help is required of him, denies it and deliberately frightens the game away with shouts and gestures, in order to hunt it later on his own, is obliged to pay a fine of 25 pesetas for his selfishness.[192]

671 224 I) Snow:

The tracks of animals (largely hares and rabbits) and the footprints of hunters give rise to the following cases:

1) The animals are for whoever discovers them and follows their tracks from the point where these begin or further; this is thus a recognition of the greatest effort (Aith 'Ammarth).

2) This right may be yielded by the pursuer, for reasons of weariness, etc., to anyone whom he meets on the way; and in case he abandons the search, he loses his rights (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 423 3) After the den of an animal is discovered, the hunter makes a circle in the snow around it. This circle is a sign of priority rights to the animal within it, and it permits the hunter to follow new tracks even though he may not kill the animal within the burrow.

671 224 423 627 In case another man takes the animal from its den, the claim is examined in front of the mulu' by the first hunter taking oath to having made the circle in order to locate the animal first.

[681] If through lack of other proof and if afterward it comes to

671 224 423 627 681 be known that one of the parties involved obliged the other one to swear, even knowing that the latter was right, the first party is fined 25 pesetas over and above the value of the animal (Aith Waryaghar).[193]

671 224 4) Animals found on someone's plot of land belong to the man who catches them and not to the owner of the land (Aith 'Ammarth).[194]

J) Nets and Snares:

223 After threshing has been completed in the late summer, threshing floors somewhat distant from the villages are used in order to hunt partridges with nets.[195] The threshing floor is prepared for this purpose, with straw and grains wasted as fodder. It is then surrounded with a semi-circular fence, a sign that it is prepared for birds.

671 223 (685) On a threshing floor, the preferential right to any game caught is that of the owner of the floor. In a floor marked out as indicated above, only the indiviual who prepared it may hunt. Any other person who tries to do so is considered a thief, and the fine he must pay is calculated on the basis of the number of partridges in the net. This right is based upon the patient preparation and expense of fodder, as bait.

223 224 After the den of a rabbit or hare or the nest of a partridge has been discovered, the hunters sprinkle the path to it with the grain residues of threshing in order to gain the animal's confidence; and when they consider it gained, they put the trap hidden between the earth and the remains of the threshed straw.

224
184
825

the traps and is stuck. In other tribes, instead of a reed tube, dried figs with flies are tied to the traps.[197]

L) Ferrets:

224
231

In hunting with ferrets, these sometimes stay in the burrows of the game for several days and eat the game. In order to get a ferret out of the hole, its owner usually takes a chicken to the mouth of the den and makes it squawk; and the ferret is attracted by the noise. If he does not succeed through using this technique, the owner puts the chicken in a leather bag, in which it is kept, with the bag open, beside the entrance. When the ferret comes out, it enters the bag or stays crouched beside it.

Ferrets are also employed in hunting jackals and wolves (sic). The hunters prepare snares at the entrance of the animal's lair. They put the ferret there, and it is held down by its testicles. Aside from the snare already prepared, the hunters are then ready to finish the jackal off with blows from their sticks as it comes out.

M) Damages:

A hunting party is not responsible for damages which the individual hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) might inflict in garden, orchards, or beehives, etc., but the latter are. The injured party, if he does not accuse a specific person through not knowing who did the damage, can demand that the hunting party denounce the guilty individual, and if it does not wish to do this, it must declare, by name, those who passed closest to the site of the damage occasioned.[198]

If the latter confess, they pay a fine, and in case of denial, they are obliged to swear that they have not done the damage and that they do not know the man or men who did.

[681]
[695]

000

22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and marriage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the "tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes, large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The "amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
184 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living
621 grouped in hamlets. The "mouda^{c}" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to delibe-
621 rate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

S
443
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
[681]

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

R
S
443
171

/295 cont./

619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-[171] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by [681] the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all [434] when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by [581] marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdif.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

man with whom she is involved is punished just as was the first convicted offender. If she has been publicly exposed several times as a prostitute, the men of her *bone* kidnap her, carry her into the mountains, and there kill her and hide her body. No notice is taken of her absence, and if the councillors hear about the affair they pretend not to have done so. 623 692 684

If a woman catches her husband in the act of adultery with another woman, she ordinarily goes back to her own people and tells them of it. The men of her family, her father, brothers, or paternal uncle, may bring the matter up before the councillors and have the husband fined and divorced. In many cases, however, the men of her *vein* persuade the woman to do nothing about it, thinking that to make a commotion would only cause the disruption of the *bone*. In case the woman has married outside her *bone*, whether or not action takes place depends largely upon the respect which her own *bone* has for that of her husband. In any case, the sacramental defilement of the man is not considered as great as that of the woman in the opposite situation.

Blood money. Although murders, woundings, and adultery caught in the act are offenses beyond the jurisdiction of the council of the great and are relegated to the tribal council, one consequence of them falls directly upon the councillors. This is the assessment and collection of the *diith*, or blood money. Whereas the tribal council has the right to impose the fine, the council of the great has charge of compensation to the injured family. This takes place after the tribal council has finished its judgment and punishment. Murder is atoned for by the payment of a sum between one and five hundred dollars. The amount varies from *canton* to *canton*, but within a *canton* is constant and inflexible. Wounds are paid for at the rate of twenty-five dollars a month for each month of convalescence, until the injured man is able to work again. 623 692 681

The man who committed the crime pays, if he is able. If he is unable to raise the money by selling his property, the *bone* pays. In some *bones* the group as a whole always pays, whether the guilty one is able to raise the money or not; in others a man other than the guilty one pays, with the understanding that he is to receive the total of the next blood-money payment to his *bone*. 681

In the *bones* which pay individually, receipts are given to the children of the deceased, and if he left no children, to his father. Children receive the money on the basis that one boy is equal to two girls. If the deceased leaves neither children nor father, it is divided among the members of the *bone*. Many *bones* refuse altogether to receive blood money, preferring to take it out in blood by killing a member of the hostile *bone*, in which case, after the punishment of the tribal council is finished, the account is considered by the councillors as settled. Frequently the injured *bone* accepts the blood money, then suffers a revulsion of feeling and takes blood vengeance in addition, in which case it is required to return the payment. 681 628

Murders within the *bone* rarely occur, and are considered unnatural crimes. No blood money is assessed, because such an offender is instantly killed by his own people if he is unable to escape. A man fleeing such a crime will not be harbored by any Riffian, and must continue until he has left the Rif altogether. Even in this case he must take care to go to some place to which Riffians do not ordinarily travel, lest revenge overtake him later. 674 682

Attending weddings outside the canton. Another duty of the council of the great, this time of a bloodless nature, is to attend weddings of other councillors or their sons in other *cantons* or *fifths*. This is done in order to foster friendly relations between the two groups. 623

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 The councillors go in a body, taking with them twenty or more girls adept at singing and dancing, hired musicians, a bull or cow, two or three mules laden with bread, and quantities of tea, sugar, and candles. The cost of the presents and the fees of the musicians are paid out of money collected in fines.

DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 692 The task of the tribal council is to render judgment, exact fines, and destroy property in cases of adultery caught in the act, murder, and woundings; to make decisions as to tribal alliances in warfare; and to interfere with internal fights in other tribes.

Adultery caught in the act. A husband who surprises his wife in the act of adultery has 684 the traditional privilege of killing the man, removing his genitals and placing them in the mouth of his corpse, killing his wife, and ripping her from pubis to diaphragm with a knife. 837 This action is a privilege and not a duty. Many husbands are physically unable to do so; others are disinclined; still others mutilate their wives by cutting off the fleshy parts of their noses and let them go. One instance is known in Gzennaya of a man who thrust live coals into his wife's vagina and then released her. In at least half the cases, recently at any rate, no revenge is taken on the woman, her divorce and disgrace being considered ample punishment.

646 When the members of the tribal council hear of this event, they leave whatever they are doing and go as rapidly as possible to the adulterer's house. This they burn; they impose a 684 fine of one thousand dollars or thereabouts, depending on the usage of the tribe, and on the importance of the *bone*. The fine is accepted either in cash, livestock, land, or in all three. 692 When land and livestock are taken they are sold on the spot, not by bidding but by arbitrary prices, fair to the victim, placed on each animal or portion of land. If the proceeds of the sale exceed the amount of the fine, the balance is returned to the *bone* of the adulterer. If the adulterer and the adulteress belong to different *bones* the burden of the fine is shared between the *bones*. If the adulterer has survived the vengeance of the injured man he must T586 leave the tribe forever. Women who survive go back to their families, forcibly divorced and forbidden to marry again.

After the cash of the fine is in hand, it is divided among the *fifths*, each receiving an 684 equal share, to be divided evenly among each *canton* composing the *fifth*. Thus the *canton* of the offenders receives back a portion of the money which some of its members have paid. It often refuses to accept this, in which case the money goes to the actual payers. *Cantons* friendly with that of the adulterer may likewise refuse to accept, and their money too is returned.

646 692 683 *Wounding.* When one man wounds another, the tribal council comes to the offender's house and exacts a fine of five hundred dollars after questioning the councillor or councillors belonging to the offending *bone*. The fine is always paid by the *bone* as a whole, whether the blood money is or not.

646 692 682 621 *Murder.* When one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If the man and his *bone* refuse to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which has refused has no allies, it seldom wins,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

but there are few *bones* without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The *bone* which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another *fifth*, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses being caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council.

A *bone* may thus be expelled from a tribe, permanently or temporarily. A *bone* which is continually making trouble and causing feuds may be the subject of a special meeting of the tribal council, which decides to exile it from the tribe either permanently or for a given number of years. Killing people on Mohammedan feast days or during the month of Ramadan is one of the strongest reasons for the expulsion of a *bone*.

This habit of exiling *bones* has been going on for so long that there are today numerous colonies of exiled Riffians living outside the Rif. Such are colonies of Beni Urriaghel in Oran and in Tangier; of Beni Amart in Ain Leuh, on the Wergha; of Beni Amart and Beni Hadifa at Armeila, on Wed Teheris; of Beni Tuzin at Zerhoun; of Temjunt of Gzennaya in Ain Mediuna (Beni Gzin); of Beni Yunes of Gzennaya at el Kob, in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Ulid; and the Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iherrushen of Gzennaya at el Mta outside of Fez. Most of these exiles could now go back if they so wished, but they have been away for so long, in many cases for generations, that they no longer have any desire to return.

Sometimes a murder spreads into a feud and from a feud into a war so rapidly that before a tribal council can come together to deliberate the councillors find themselves fighting on one side or another, in a tribal war.

Murder often leads to immediate revenge, and immediate revenge to a feud between *bones*. The feud may be a bitter one, in fact a pitched battle, in which may join other *bones* allied of old to one or other of the principal combatants. Most allies, however, are made anew on the occasion of each war. An alliance is called *liff*; it belongs more properly under the heading of magic than under that of political organization, but must be discussed at this point if the complexities of Riffian warfare are to be understood.

A *liff* is a shame-compulsion laid by one *bone* on another, a magical act which forces the second *bone* into alliance with, or at least toleration of, the other. By making *liff* with a number of other *bones*, a *bone* may increase its fighting force many times, and by both sides industriously making *liff* with others, a general war starts, in which there may not remain enough of the tribal council to make its convening worth while.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 Preceptor of Taghzuth: Taghzuth and Ktama.

875 Preceptor of Beni Bu Nsar: Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath.

In the rest of the region in which circumcision is performed by preceptors, all are local or resident. Preceptors build up reputations for dexterity in their trade, and their clientele of families grows or shrinks like that of family doctors. There are some families of Ajdir who send for the preceptor of Iherrushen instead of employing their own local practitioner, merely out of personal preference. Hence, due to the individual nature of the choice, the routes of the itinerant ones vary, while the distribution of the local ones remains the same.

304 In other tribes an illiterate man is employed. He performs the circumcision from the secular point of view of earning his living, rather than as an act of religious or magical virtue, as in the case of the preceptor. The lay practitioner is called by the name *akovani*, which means "illiterate" but has acquired the specialized meaning of "circumcisor" as well. The *akovani* is employed by the Kebdana, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, Mtiwa, Beni Bu Shibet. The Arabs of the plains normally use the *akovani*. In Fez, however, a preceptor is employed, as in the central Rif.

852 The preceptor when called to perform the operation, puts up a white flag on the roof of
304 the house before he enters it, leaving the flag there until the operation is over and he is ready to depart. He takes eight to ten students with him, whose business it is to read the Koran aloud while he is working.

The preceptor and his students enter a special room, taking with them the boy, who has just been washed by his mother. The parents of the child, all women, and all illiterate men are excluded from the room during the operation.

The preceptor greases the foreskin and gland with butter until all is soft and pliant, puts a goat dropping inside the foreskin, which he twists around over it, and cuts off the foreskin with scissors, in such a way that the goat dropping is cut in two during the process.

Then he takes two eggs, the shells of which have been cracked and the whites of which have been drawn off, and thrusts the penis through holes in the shells into the yolks of both. It is said that this is done to cauterize the wound, and any magical significance which this action may imply is probably forgotten. After this has been done an old woman, preferably the child's grandmother, enters and picks the child up, taking him out on her back.

After the operation the preceptor and his students are given a great feast to which many guests are invited.

On account of the danger of infection circumcising is a dangerous practice, and the number of practitioners is few. During the hegemony of Abd el Krim, the preceptor of Ajdir once cut off the end of the gland of a child he was circumcising. If it had not been for
[682] the intervention of Abd el Krim, who assessed five hundred dollars blood money, the preceptor would surely have been killed, since the child died shortly after the accident. On account of this incident many families of Ajdir call in the preceptor of Iherrushen, as has been previously noted.

304 The *akovani* is a different type of person from the preceptor. He is a rough, unlettered fellow, occupying a social position which, while not definitely degraded and certainly higher than that of blacksmiths and market-criers, is yet lower than that of the ordinary farmer. His occupation does not, however, imply Negro blood, and does not carry any social restrictions with it.

581 the community at large expect various benefits. For marriage is a
585 good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at any rate join in the feast (Ulad [10] Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager), and it is bad fal if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good fal if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the bas, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad fal to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shawia). So also the contrary belief that it is good fal to meet a funeral (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the bas; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier).

783 Manslayers are unclean.

755 [11] Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for stinging pain, in Arabic called nahsa, nogza, bab, or biban, among the Igliwa nnahst or nnogzt, among the Ait Warain tauwurt, among the Ait Waryager dauwort. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh.

783 [12] The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the
775 blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Ait
682 Waryager an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell.
884 Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken
682 anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes

884 and wearing a new bag (dajbirt); and he wears it not on his left side,
682 as usual, but on his right, to announce to all the people what he has done and to show that now he is a man. This is done whether the homicide took place in revenge or not. But though ordinary homicide
682 is admired, it is considered very bad to kill a scribe without sufficient reason because of his knowledge of the Koran, and it is also considered bad, though not in the same degree, to kill an unoffending shereef on account of his holy parentage; and if a man who has committed either of these cribes slaughters an animal, its meat will be difficult to digest. This indicates that the taboos imposed on manslayers have something to do with the moral side of the matter. And the same is obvious from the general view that it is neither sinful nor polluting to kill in war.

In other cases also wrongdoing contains magic energy productive
777 of evil.
789 [13] If the first person you meet in the morning when you set out
826 on a journey is one who does not observe his daily prayers, the best thing you can do is to turn back (Ait Waryager).

In Dukkala it is said that if a one-eyed person, a perfectly bald-headed person, and an albino meet in a boat it will not move.

The Ait Waryager say that the same will happen if a man who is blind, one who is bald, and one who has a sore under-lip meet on board a vessel.

[14] It is good fal for a man to have much hair on his chest (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager), evidently because it suggests strength; such hair is called s-sa'r de s-sbo'a, or "lion's hair".

777 [17] In Andjra, if anybody who is carrying something black meets
822 another person, he must put down what he is carrying while the other
789 one is passing; otherwise the latter will not pass at all but turn back, lest he should have some misfortune on that day. A similar custom prevails among the Shloh of Aglu and Glawi and among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; the person who is carrying the black object says when he puts it down, Hasak, or if he addresses more than one person, Hasakum, "With your permission", to which the answer is, 'Azk allah (in Rifian 'azzek allah), or if the person to whom it is said is a woman, 'Azkem allah, corresponding to our "pray".

789 [18] There are other cases in which people make use of the colour
822 black for their own benefit. It is used as a charm against the evil eye,
755

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

Although a *jājghū* of this type could take no part in the governmental activities of the village in which it was located, it had to assume as full responsibilities as the other, native *ijūjgha* in time of war. As many of the new *ijūjgha* considered this an unfair arrangement, they often broke away from the parent *thārfīqth* to found the nuclei of new *thārfīqīn* of their own. All the families in the villages of Bū Zdūr and Marrūwī, and most of those of Thirkuzīn, in Aith 'Abdallāh, are of this type; they are still considered by the locals as foreigners from Aith 'Ammarth, although they banded together long ago to found a new *thārfīqth* of their own, Aith Ḥandu Dāwūd, which has now grown into a *farīqath* or canton.

In the Wuryāghlī sense of being a «whole family», the internal solidarity of the *thārfīqth* is greatly strengthened not only by the kin ties of the native members, but by the fictional relationship of the stranger accretions as well. Thus, while the individual *ijūjgha* of a *thārfīqth* may be small in number of personnel, the *thārfīqth* as a whole can usually supply some fifty men of age to fast during Ramaḍān, therefore being capable of bearing arms in addition. It was the *thārfīqth* and not the *jājghū* which functioned as the unit of vengeance, as the unity of the whole family was an absolute necessity for its continued existence. Although murders within the *thārfīqth* did occur, they were very rare and considered unnatural crimes; the local holy man, *sharīf* or *murābiṭ* was brought around at once to appease the bereaved and to act as moderator, and the offenders were either killed or exiled immediately to prevent a feud from spreading. To date, I know personally of only one case of one man killing another in the same *thārfīqth* (in Tharwa n Muḥammādi 'Alūsh, Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī): he was instantly shot by one of the sons of the dead man, and as he himself had no sons or brothers to carry on the feud, the problem ended then and there. Equilibrium was completely reestablished when the killer married his victim's sister, his own parallel cousin.

Each *thārfīqth*, however, was usually at war with its neighbors. Minor quarrels over ownership of land or of irrigation water could and did lead to blood feuds of such extraordinary savageness that on some occasions they did not stop until one or the other of the participating families was completely wiped out. The smaller the group,

114 and, most important of all, what happened if a murder occurred in a
671 market (a place of peaceful commercial exchange, as Blanco points out)
114 on market day (a day of peace, as Blanco again points out). For the
443 clan market, as Blanco makes very clear, set the tone for the relative
182 autonomy of the clan within the framework of the tribe of which it was part; and this was particularly the case amongst the Aith Waryaghar, a fact which Blanco, once again, did not miss. Hence, in his
114 fine analysis of the 'Qanun of the 'Fraction' of the Aith 'Adhiya'
671 (in LR, pp. 10, 55), Blanco notes, regarding anyone who should commit
● 682 a murder in the market, that "...all the above-mentioned communities of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his agnates; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as a fine".

114 In his comments on the qanuns of the clans of the Aith Khattab,
671 Aith 'Abdallah and Aith 'Adhiya (all of the Aith Waryaghar), Blanco
443 clearly brings out the fact of the market as the "preferential in-
182 stitution", both economic and social, and as the "temple of tribal law", where the clan councillors or imgharen convened in regular weekly meetings (called agraw) to settle disputes. Thus the jural aspect of the traditional Rifian market. Market day, in the Rif, absolutely had to be the one day of peace during the week, for if the market was "broken" through fighting and murder, the cry went up: "Now there is no law!" (Ur iddji shi r-haqq!) And this phrase, as Blanco graphically says, was "repeated in the humble dwellings perched on the mountain slopes; and soon the Rifian mountains returned to their harsh, restless and agitated life, as the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance reappeared

681 H) Sanctions: Further Notes (fragmentary):

1) Punishment: fine, exile, or death of person responsible, whether an individual or a family group[55].

[671] 2) Gradation: variable, according to stipulations in the various qanuns[56]. Rifian law recognizes the same degree of responsibility in [672] his accomplices as in the man who actually committed the crime, by assimilating them with his kin group[57].

681 613 [591] 3) Victim: receives no indemnity, except through what he or his kinsmen get as their share of the fine, which is equitably distributed among all the representatives of the dharfiqin[58], thus appearing more than anything else as a payment for services rendered; and the dharfiqin heads divided it up in the same way among their constituent nubath[59]. Thus, if the Rifian is encumbered with the responsibility of executive power[60] (all are obliged to stand against an aggressor), he still participates in the benefits of such power in a true popular sovereignty, and he never cedes his rights or duties.

000 4) Role of Jma'th in Application of Custom: to influence matters or conceal them, by money, force or politicking behind the scenes. Agrau or assembly of the aitarba'in; assessors and arbiters (tulba, shurfa and imrabdhen); role of liffs (aid to their liff-mates in payment of fines, etc.) (This subsection is completely fragmentary.)

682 683 In summation, three kinds of offenses were punished:

1) murder and woundings, with corresponding fines, and vengeance;

683 684 2) abuse of women (if voluntary on their part, each party had to pay 50 duros, and if it was purely and simply rape, the guilty man paid 50 duros);

000 does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

684 f) Anyone who commits an act of bestiality must pay for the fodder of the assaulted animal for one day; and among the Aith Waryaghar, he must pay for its packsaddle as well as a 50-peseta fine, and he is cursed by the market crier in the market[74].....

2) Among the Aith 'Ammarth:

685 a) A blacksmith of....asked the qadi for a room to live in. It was given him, and in it he raised chickens, which began to eat the qadi's barley. The qadi claimed compensation from him, saying that he had to kill the chickens and leave the house. He refused to do so, 685 and made a reclamation to the shaikh, who said he was in the right. 692 Then a member of the qadi's family poisoned all the chickens, and the blacksmith complained to the mqaddim. The jma'th, as a result, met in the mosque and fined the qadi 18 duros, of which the blacksmith received only two or three.

582 b) In the village of Aith Finathen, clan of Aith r-Hasayin, one 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, a rich man, married his daughter to Muhammadi n Si Siddiq nd-Hajj Sriman, a poor man and one of his agnates (i.e. his brother's son), in order to keep him as a servant[75]. The young man 682 [619] eventually killed his uncle. The tribal council was convoked, and its members punished the dead man's sons by imposing a 6000-peseta fine on them; and they in turn killed Muhammadi and paid another fine....During 662 his lifetime, 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, as well as his five brothers, had 623 on various occasions paid 400 duros to the jma'th to excuse themselves from participation in tribal wars.

661 c) A poor man made a goatherd of one of his younger in-laws,

taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably L. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hesperis, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is harim; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.

000 latter's kinsmen before he can get away. Even in this case, the killer could generally get off if he were able to pay a 2000-duro fine (rhaqq) to the imgharen on the spot, if he was lucky enough to be caught by them and not by his victim's agnates.

[114] [464] [167] 52--Why should the Rifians have been acquainted with the qanuns of the Algerian Kabyles? Granted that Rifian labor migration to Algeria, prior to 1955, was very extensive, it must be remembered that Rifians went to the plains and vineyards of western Algeria (not to Kabylia) to work and send remittances to their families, not to compare notes with their fellow Berbers in Kabylia!

53--This is entirely true, though we know of one case in which, in 1926, after 'Abd al-Krim's defeat, a man from one of the mountain clans of Aith Waryaghar was beaten to death, by order of a lowland qaid from the same tribe, for refusing to hand two rifles in his possession over to the Spaniards.

[171] 54--In the Central Atlas, half ddiyit (blood money to victim's agnates) is paid by a man for shooting at someone else and missing him, but full ddiyit for taking aim and not shooting (E. Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship", Philosophy of Science, vol. 27, no. 2, 1960, pp. 187-204.) In other words, what is punished is the intent to kill, and on this subject Blanco has some interesting remarks to make in the chapter on the qanuns of Dhmasind and of Aith 'Abd Allah in La Ley Rifeña (pp. 41-3, 47, 50). In the Rif, however, this is manifested in a different way under different circumstances: ddiyith is paid to the victim's family, under normal conditions, by the killer, who must also pay rqisas to the victim himself in case of wounding. The amount of the ddiyith is anything up to 1200 duros, while that of the rqisas, depends on the nature of the wound. However, there is no question at all of either ddiyith or rqisas being paid if the intended victim has not been harmed. This is the case if the attempted murder has taken place outside the market; but if it has taken place on market day and within the market (even though there is again an exemption from ddiyith and rqisas) the rhaqq or market fine must be paid in full (2000 duros) to the imgharen, because the would-be assassin is an amsasar (pl. imsasaren) or trouble-maker who has knowingly tried to "break" the market by flouting its regulations.

681 682 696 [613] 55--In case of murder, only the murderer himself went into exile. He did so immediately after the crime, so that he would not be killed in turn by his victim's agnates. Exile meant that he sought refuge, as an adhrib (pl. idhriben), (derived from Arabic talib, "enemy") in the territory of another tribe, whose members sheltered and protected him until such time (if ever) that he could go home. On occasion, as Blanco suggests, whole lineages have been forced into exile; Coon, in Flesh of the Wild Ox (pp. 74-108), gives an example from the Igzinnayen. However, this particular instance was the result of a decree of the Aitharba'in after a long and bitter feud; and as such, it was exceptional. The rule was that only the murderer fled; he was not accompanied by nine of his agnates, as in the Central Atlas (even though these latter returned after three days in order to start making overtures for payment of ddiyit to the dead man's agnates).

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his
682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally
696 meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill
[782] him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he
682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on
443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum
[114] (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine (called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the imgharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum which was prohibitively high), the imgharen descended on him in a body and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re-
682 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the mur-
628 derer. The imgharen, however, could not touch his property as long as he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's agnates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the imgharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted, as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circumstances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 56--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for
682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely standard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] 57--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the
[114] Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is expressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants,
[124] however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is
[628] assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

681 the side with the lesser. (This last piece of information comes from
682 some of the lowland clans of the Aith Waryaghar, and the highlanders
[628] of the same tribe deny it.)
000 58--The victim, if he is alive, receives the rqisas, and, if dead, his family gets the ddiyith--if they choose to accept it rather than take up their guns. It is barely possible that in the division of the rhaqq by the imgharen along segmentary lines, the victim's family might receive a tiny fraction of the total, although the chances are strongly against it. The rhaqq almost always goes into the pockets of the imgharen themselves, and when we say that it is divided along segmentary lines, what we mean is that it is the imgharen of each segment and subsegment, rather than the rank-and-file of either, who are the real beneficiaries.

However, this is not really the point, which, in any event, Blanco [682] has missed entirely. The point is that a murderer pays bloodmoney to his victim's agnates and a fine to the council members (the latter only if the murder has taken place in the market or on a track leading to it).

[114] 59--Blanco is theoretically correct in saying that dharfiqin distribute their share of the fine to the nubath making them up (although in practice this almost never occurs, as the money which filters down, through the normal process of division, goes no further than the lineage heads!); but it is surprising that he does not start at the top levels of segmentation, the clans, as the imgharen themselves did, and work down from there (though even at this level the imgharen tended in practice to pocket the fines).

[114] 60--In this term, el poder ejecutivo, once again, we have a formalistic European notion, which, though certainly accurate in one sense, nonetheless ill befits the essential informality of the tribal council members who convened in the market to discuss the week's happenings and to assess, equally informally, any cases which came to them.

61--It may be stated categorically that such Qur'anically-inspired punishments as putting out a thief's eyes were completely unknown in the Rif and in the rest of Berber Morocco.

[839] 62--Though it is probably of frequent occurrence elsewhere, bestiality is not common in the Rif, and those who do practice it are always the [838] object of derision. Furthermore, the Rif is probably one of the few regions of Morocco where homosexuality is nonexistent.

[113] 63--These notes of Blanco's on hunting are extremely fragmentary; for fuller information on Rifian hunting practices, see the final chapter in La Ley Rifeña on the hunting qanun or qanun r-rayah, as well as a recent summary of the same material in R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg, 16-17 September 1958 [114] (mimeographed). Our own impression of Blanco's data on hunting is that although very complete, his description is at the same time unnecessarily complex.

64--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting may take place on any day of the week.

684 554 203 626 74--In the Aith Waryaghar, anyone who indulged in bestiality became the object of extreme derision; and as a market crier himself is a person of very low social standing, this in itself would have rubbed more salt in the wound.

000 75--Marriages with parallel cousins occur, but they are uncommon. In this particular instance, there was a good reason for it, as Blanco points out.

76--These cousins, again as indicated in note 17, were the boy's r-waratha, who could normally have inherited only if the boy's father had either died without issue or if he had left a daughter or daughters only. It is un-Qur'anic enough for the r-waratha to appropriate, as [671] they often try to do, a daughter's share of the inheritance as well as their own, but for them to take over a son's share is expressly forbidden by the Shari'a, and may be regarded, in this instance, as the purest personal aggrandizement.

[114] 77--This should probably read "to one's tribe", as the notion of other tribes hardly enters the picture here. Except under an 'Abd al-Krim, how would it have been, or be, possible for a man of the Igzinnayen, for example, to feel any responsibility for a man from the Aith Waryaghar? This error may be due to a typographical error in the original text.

[682] [114] 78--One could hardly label a sanction of 2000 duros for murder committed in a market as indicative of "lack of repressive organs". It is statements of this kind, which continually crop up, that, in conjunction with numerous factual errors, cast a small but ever-present cloud over Blanco's work, and mark him as an amateur ethnologist.

79--See La Ley Rifeña, pp. 47, 50.

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by iziddjifen or imgharen".

2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for in- (682) stance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clans in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an agraw, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97, and Coon, Flesh of the Wild Ox, New York: Morrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igzinnayen, who pronounce the word ayraw.

(628) 4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why: (114) because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

5--The term harka did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a tabur), each one of which was under a qa'id designated by the number of men under his command--qa'id at-tn'ash (of 12), qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin (of 25), qa'id l-khamsin (of 50), qa'id l-Miya (of 100), and qa'id attabur (of a tabur, or 300). However, the idea of the harka had been there previously, even if (177) the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

6--In actual fact, those imgharen already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

(602) 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native harkas in Spanish service.

(114) 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, todo el mundillo rifeño, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

616 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic",
619 "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several
642 previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though
114

616 619 726 (614) [728] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well. [563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and 000 expected to do.

[114] [729] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 [162] 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the [614] principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'unen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

671 interest were discussed; in the suq resolutions of more importance were
[443] made by significant individuals, more important than the place which gave them a legal character.

Thus, in order to be valid, agreements and decisions had to conform to the following conditions: 1) agreement of the imgharen[16]; 2) necessity of a witness of exceptional character (a personality of religious significance, known and respected throughout the district); 3) registry by the tulba; and 4) proclamation in the suq. The above seems to be the mechanism of Rifian law.[17]

443 And in the suq a double character may be seen: place of business
671 and temple of law, the latter more important than the former, because
614 if it were the other way around, each clan would have various market sites and not just one, it seems to us; and furthermore, some clans, by virtue of their commercial topography would have been lacking in markets, which is also not the case.[18] Thus we believe, as stated in the first part of this work[19], that there is a correspondence between the clan as a social unit and the suq; in fact, we may go so far as to say that the former was the real fatherland (patria) of the Rifian, his political unit, a small independent republic, the distinctive feature of which was the suq, the temple of Rifian law.

3. INTER-LINEAGE QANUN,[20] SHOWING EXECUTIVE PROCEDURE (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 A) Qanun:
628
613 Praise be to God.--Copy taken from the text of a document after legalization, extended for the bearer of some.

Praise be to God.--Upon the reciprocal guarantee (Blanco: note 1)
[682] made by Ait 'Aisa, Ait Tzurakhth, Izubu'an, Ait Haddu u Sa'id and

671 Isaghwan[21] with (the) Awlad Siddiq[22], in the Wednesday Market (Suq
628 al-Arba') of Tawrirt, in the presence of their notables (Blanco:
613 note 2), agreeing there (to fulfill what has been pacted among them)
682 that anyone who should kill another by treachery or cunning (Blanco:
note 3) shall pay a great fine, the amount of which (may) be as high
as 4000 duros. This was also agreed to in their Saturday Market
(Suq al-Sabt) in front of the notaries of both parties.

On the betrayal and killing (Blanco: note 4) by the above-mentioned Awlad Siddiq of Shu'aib bin al-Hajj 'Amar, the notables of both the abovementioned markets, accompanied by the rest of the people, went to their villages to look for them, camping there until the latter paid (Blanco: note 6), although they (e.g. the Awlad Siddiq) had agreed to this in their presence and in their abovementioned market (when the agreement took place) with respect to the fine expressed above (Blanco: note 7). Upon not finding any solution which would save them except that of handing over to them all their lands, both in the mountains and in Ait 'Aisa, their houses and their documents (Blanco: note 8), with which they remained free of the pressure which the notables and the rest of the people exercised over them (they opted for surrender).

[792] Then, everything which they handed over was valued at 1300 duros (Blanco: note 9) and after the estimate was made, the notables of both markets, including (Blanco: note 10) the sharif Sidi Ahmad bin Sidi al-Hajj Misa'ud[23], al-Hajj bin al-Hajj Am'awsh al-Tawrirti, 'Allal bin Haddu bin al-Hashimi u l-Fari (of the Axt Tuzin), Haddu bin Muhammad Amzyan al-Bu Khalafi[24], al-Talib al-Bukhmad al-Yunusi, Tuhami bin

671 al-Faqir Siddiq al-'Arusi, Muhammad ibn Tahra, Sidi Musa ibn al-Hajj
628 Sayyid 'Amar Tahtahi, Muhammad bin Bu Hammud Mulaidi; al-Hajj Sidi
613 Misa'ud al-Manduri; Sa'id bin al-Hajj Haddu al-Ufari, Muhammad bin
682 al-Faqir Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Barzi, Muhammad Bu Shu'an, and
[792] the rest of the notables of Tzurakhth (Blanco: note 11) sold all that was handed over to them to the brothers of the murdered man for the above sum, converting it into money.

(Blanco: note 12) The amount stated above was levied and the quantity (literally, price) was divided into four parts: 300 duros for the lineage of Izzugwaghen; the same for the Awlad al-Hajj 'Amar; the same for the Awlad Muhammad bin Muh bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Tazurakhti; and 150 duros for the Awlad Ahmad bin Taimunt (to be split) with Muhammad bin Tah, and the same for Muhammad bin Taimunt bin Misa'ud (to be split) with the Awlad Hammu Kabghith. One hundred (100) duros were divided in half between the son of Bukhalif, that is, Siddiq, and [illegible]d al-Qadir Hashsha'.

(Blanco: note 13) Each of the abovementioned parties shall divide with its brothers (i.e. those of the same jurisdiction) the amount which it has exacted and with regard to the quantity of the same.

671 An irrevocable and non-retractable sale, effected (Blanco:
628 note 14) for repression and exemplary punishment. The sellers having
613 levied the total of the abovementioned sum, in the upper part of the
681 present qanun, from the hands of the buyers cited above, thus liberating
432 the sellers from all actions or reclamation regarding this matter and the above-cited buyer thus occupying (the lands) instead of the sellers, as his share. That is to say, occupying the place of the owner in the land, of the land which he buys and that of the owner of immovable

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

• 682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

671 of knowing the needs of the moment, not past or future needs which do
554 not mean anything to anybody. They are living laws designed for living
623 people, for those present.

671 Paragraph b shows us how they embellish their law, taking aggra-
672 vating and attenuating circumstances into account. Among these are
nocturnity and dwellings (where they guard their fig and grain re-
(682) serves). Attenuating and, even more, exemption from responsibility,
homicide is legitimate if committed in self defense or in defense of
one's property.

681 Paragraph c punishes intention, in order to avoid disputes,
554 and makes a small concession to personal power, permitting the shaikh
661 to keep for himself this fine destined for the common fund.
671

685 Paragraph d is concerned with injuries to crops by animals,
672 which are herded by children. The punishment is minimal.
671

In paragraph e, the law of the jma'th establishes and regulates
671 the social duty of hospitality, imposing the burden equally on all its
623 members. Guests learn that it is not only the shaikh who pays for
574 their upkeep, but all the members of the jma'th, even the poor ones.

623 Consider also the excessive number of voluntary servitors who
574 dance continued attendance on the guest with towels, basins and soap,
and finally the amphitrion hands over to their expectant voracity all
the remains of your meal, except for one small dish which, passing
through the door, is submerged in the mysterious interior of the
dwelling as a reward for the activity of the women or children who
prepared it. When you leave, each member of the jma'th retires with
whatever he presented for your comfort: pillows, blankets, soap, coffee
pot or teapot, towel, glasses, candles, etc.

6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH[45] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

671 443 [778] Praise be to the One God. The will and eternal power of Our Lord having decided thus, the congregation--in the Tuesday Market (Suq ath-Thulatha) (situated) at 'Ain Tihalalin[46], in the vicinity of (the tomb of) the holy emanator of blessings Sidi 'Amran[47]--of its owners, those of the clan of Bani 'Abdallah. (The latter) convened 623 443 692 681 (in the abovementioned market) with the idea of coming to agreement on their criteria and on the purity of their actions in behalf of the common good of all; and, as a consequence, they decided the amount of the fines to be imposed inasmuch as there should occur within the abovementioned market, or, indeed, outside it on the path (which leads to it), (Blanco: note a) incidents, premeditated or not, through error or imprudence, such as woundings and murders (which might happen) through gunshots, knifings, strangulations and stonings, (or, indeed), 682 443 [696] pillaging and sacking. (Blanco: note b) To anyone who kills in the interior of the market and is caught (literally, "had"), rashsha' shall be applied to him (i.e. he shall be shot). If he has not been captured owing to having fled to another tribe (literally, "other tribes"), (they shall impose upon him a fine of) 2000 duros and his house shall be burned down to its foundations. (If he should kill) on the path (which leads to the market) he shall also pay (a fine of) 2000 (duros). Whoever should wound (another), (he shall be fined) 1000 duros. Whoever 683 (shoots) and misses (his target), (he shall pay a fine of) 500 duros.

682 (Blanco: note c) Whoever of the Bani 'Abdallah should commit murder on Tuesday (i.e. on market day, the day of the suq) within the

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed
687 it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take
683 justice into his own hands (literally, "ransacking to collect a debt") shall pay 50 duros, and the same for whoever should attack another on
689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of
681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made
443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul)
693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

695 693 capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) in order to testify.

(Blanco: note h) If, regarding a murder, there is brought sufficient proof (against the guilty party), the abovementioned fine shall be imposed upon him, and in case sufficient proof does not exist, he shall swear (for acquittal).[48]

805 443 782 (Blanco: note i) Regarding the abovementioned beginning (i.e. on Tuesdays), it is ended at the hour of the 'isha (i.e. at the dinner hour or hour of the sunset prayer). Amen.

805 000 On the sixth day of Ramadan the Magnificent of the year 1335 (June 26, 1917). Servant of his God, may He be exalted, Muhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, "Abd as-Salam bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

671 692 693 000 Legalization by the qadi. Praise be to the One God. (Both 'udul) have put down its contents, which are accepted and to which I give faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Umar at-Tuzani, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

671 This qanun manifests in a clear way how social law is made among Rifians: where the legislators gathered to agree on it, how it was made public, whom it obligated, the jurisdiction in which it was exercised, the objective sought and the means of attaining it.

It enumerates the crimes and their sanctions, it distinguishes perpetrators and accomplices, provokers and auxiliaries, natives and 000 stranger. It eschews pardon, it demands proof and it shows the reality of the social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator

A, [See p.306-- Analyst]

671 This proves
182 that Rifian law tended to satisfy a need and not an ideal, as we have
443 just said; for further on, the qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah points out
796 a truce to be held on a given day, on Tuesday, the market day, and not on Friday, the religious day and the day of attendance at the noon prayer in the mosque. The day of peace is thus a layman's day.....

671 The law is simple. And hard. And sufficient to be encrusted with obligatory relief in the most refractory cranium of a believer, an objective impossible to obtain among modern societies. Nobody pretended ignorance, as all are wont to do or swear today.

There are neither aggravators nor attenuators, only consummate (and consummated) acts.

Paragraph a: They discount intentions, so difficult to prove
[681] and needing so much patience to investigate. They attain results more easy to prove and more quick to sanction (i.e. castigate) and be sanctioned, in conformance with their rudimentary law.

671 Paragraph b: A hard punishment; the liquidation of the mur-
● 682 derer, with the loophole that after his flight, the law may fatten on him. But it does not give a heavy punishment to his agnates, although it avoids impunity. It does not cease to be more humanitariar than other analogous qanuns, if indeed this custom is followed in reality.
[681] The gradation of fines is simple and even attempted murder is penalized.

671 Paragraph c: A typical example of the fact that Rifian law is only concerned with the external manifestation of the crime.

[681] Paragraph d: And so that the gradation of the punishment follows that manifestation as a shadow does a body, from the time that it is initiated.

671 component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to
614 disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual
613 interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing in-
182 fluence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

671 7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)
693 A) Qanun:
695 Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the under-
623 signed notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya)
621 made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who consti-
782 tute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this
682 kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-
613 mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros.
682 This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55]
443 or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

671
628 1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in
681 certain ganuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which
184
443 the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the
681
619 reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place
443 reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681 For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is
681
628 therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly
682 made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine
614 for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the
619 Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or
443 agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith
613 Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

682 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)
443 and should kill him shall be fined 500 duros[69], and if, in attacking
he should miss him (i.e. if the bullet should fail to reach its mark),
685 he shall pay 200 duros. Whoever should take justice into his own hands
443 on the path to the market shall be fined 50 duros and shall return what-
ever object he made off with. Of those who should incite riots with
689 shouts and gunshots, as (happened) to the people of Tafrast, Ait Musa
w 'Amar (both in the clan of the Aith 'Ari) and to the people of Ajdir
(in the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), each one shall pay with his
689 death (literally, "with his neck"), that is, he must be shot. Whoever
443 should be discovered in the Monday Women's Market (Suq ath-Thnain n
562 Timgharin, at Azghar) shall be forced to pay 10 duros.

671 This is what has been decided (for fulfillment) of justice in
443 the above-mentioned market. May God, for the common good, put into
agreement His ideas and the criteria of His lords (of the market).
689 Punishment shall seek out anyone who should wish to provoke riots--
may God in His power make him meet his end.

000 The abovementioned shuyukh have worked with good intent, with
the idea of being useful. May God cause the miracles of the saints
to be manifested, and of the saint of the tomb situated in front of the
market (i.e. that of Sidi Bu 'Afif).

Each of the abovementioned shuyukh designated among his brothers
(i.e. among the men in his jurisdiction) those faithful to him (i.e.
those who constituted his escort and supported his decisions), as for
example: the Shaikh Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar designated among them
the Murabit bin Muhammad bin 'Abdallah Bu 'Azza; the Murabit Hammu bin
al-Hajj Muhammad w al-Qadi; 'Umar bin al-Hajj Tuhami Adardush; Muhammad

181
167 They were too good and honorable to see themselves die out, with no fear other than that of the market announcement and without guards of any sort, on a most miserable land, which their way of life made habitable only through emigration[92] and epidemics taking care of the surplus population.

Clearly, bound to necessity, it incited the envy of more than one individual, considering the very slight severity of the punishment, the possibility of concealing the offense and the difficulty of proof, for which reason the people took refuge in traveling to places unknown to them on days which were not market days, without taking natural precautions.

671
685 The qanun of the Aith Siddat shows us, in notation (c), the offense of house-breaking, with a concise and admirable clarity; it recognizes for the owner of the house the right of violent opposition, a previous guarantee to the society that neither a difference of opinion nor known resentment shall mediate between them.

671
682 By the same token, notation (b) indicates and punishes the accomplice with the same penalty in offenses in which blood is drawn as does notation (k) with 50 mithqals in the rest of the cases.

And finally, in notation (d), the right of legitimate defense is established without the slightest doubt.

671
562 If in each one of the qanuns in this volume it is easy to discover its characteristics and, knowing the region, to find out what each one conceals, to explain what it says and the reasons which it gives for doing so, we must point out, in the present qanun, the interest which the Aith Siddat maintained in enforcing public respect

92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] [443] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 574 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

671 701 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

000 53--This is probably Aith Tizi, forming a part of the larger jma'th of Ighmiren, with Aith Fars.

54--Whether all the Aith 'Adhiya jointly sacrificed two bulls, or whether one each was sacrificed by the members of each liff is not indicated.

55--The market in question is the Monday Market of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[671] 56--In both this qanun and that of the Aith 'Abdallah we see how the fine for murder committed in the market is double that for murder elsewhere. Both qanuns also imply that not only must the fine be paid but that the murderer's house and crops will be burned as well. All informants from all over the Central Rif, however, said time and again that if the fine is paid, there is no houseburning. The root of the [735] discrepancy seems therefore to be an implicit assumption that the average murderer is too poor to pay the fine, which is in any event prohibitively high.

57--In some respects one can see what Blanco means here, but such a statement, particularly regarding the "superficiality" of Rifian Islam, is one which the Rifians themselves would hotly and vehemently deny. In their own eyes, they are extremely good Muslims!

[262] 58--Rifians tend to eat meat, as a rule, only on one day of the week: when they buy and bring it home from the market.

[114] [682] 59--Blanco here confuses the ddiyith, or blood money, to be paid to the victim's agnates, with the rhaqq, or fine for murder, to be paid (both payments being made by the murderer and his own agnates) to the council-members.

[682] 60--Blanco's point about 1000 duros being the fine for murder under normal circumstances (i.e. outside the market) and 2000 for murder inside it is very well taken; and, as he implies, these sums are indeed the norm all over the Rif. But once again, he confuses fines with blood-money, and they are entirely different.

61--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

62--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

[114] 63--This is an interestingly expressed idea, but the linkage with nomadism seems questionable.

[614] 64--As already indicated, the Aith Khattab include the two Waryaghar clans of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; and in this sense they might be considered a "super-clan", particularly if, as some have it (though this is nowhere indicated in the text of the qanun), they embrace the Aith 'Abdallah as well. In the same way, Aith Bu 'Ayyash, if it embraces, on the topmost level, the two clans of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa, may also be regarded as a "super-clan" of the same order of segmentation. However, the group in question is referred to as Bani Khattab, not Aith Khattab, in the text of the qanun.

65--As indicated, this qanun is valid only for the coastal Aith Khattab, those of both Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari who live in and around the Plain of Alhucemas, bordering the Mediterranean.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rlf MX3

Entertaining councillors of another tribe. If the councillors of a strange tribe stop at a village for the night, the local village council has charge of their entertainment. They first provide a house for the guests by expelling some childless man and his wife from their dwelling for the night. They then collect foodstuffs. Bread and all fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, and vegetables, are assessed from rich men without payment. Meat, sugar, tea, candles, oil, pepper, butter, and poultry are purchased from members of the *bone* willing to sell them. The boys of the council buy the poultry from widows, and eggs as well, if no one brings them voluntarily. Anyone refusing to supply the bread assessed him may be fined ten *saldi* a loaf; but since no one has ever been known to refuse, the fine is purely theoretical. If in buying these articles not given, the members of the council spend more money than they have in the fine treasury, they pay the excess amount themselves, later collecting it in equal portions from all the men of the *bone* who have been married one year or over. They themselves act as cooks for the visiting councillors. 623 574 651 687 692

Entering council chamber unbidden. If any member of the *bone* enters the council chamber while the council is deliberating, the intruder is told to remain and is given tea. When at length he departs, a member of the council is immediately sent out to call him back. This time he is reprimanded for having entered unbidden, and is fined between two and three dollars. 623 687 692

Conversing with women. If a man or boy speaks to a married woman belonging to a *bone* other than his own, on the path or in any other public place, except the market, the village council of the village to which the woman belongs summons the offender and fines him five dollars. If the offender repeatedly seeks out the woman, or loiters about places she is known to frequent in order to converse with her, the village council of the offender's own *bone* fines him between fifty and sixty dollars. If the offense takes place in market it is considered more serious, and comes before the council of the great.[1] These rules do not apply to unmarried women, who may be spoken to, in a respectful manner, by anyone. 623 692 689

Quarrels between women. When one woman injures another with a stone, stick, or other implement, the village council collects a fine of from five to six dollars from the husband of the aggressor. The council generally hears of such cases through gossip, since the husband of the injured woman is usually too ashamed to report it. 623 692 [683]

Entering a cemetery occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a cemetery when the women of the *bone* are convening there on a Friday or holiday, he is fined five dollars. [689]

Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a saint's tomb in which women are convening, the village council fines him from fifty to a hundred dollars.

Fighting with the hands. If two men fight with their hands, without using any weapons, the village council determines which man started the fight and fines him an amount commensurate with the injury done. [683]

Speaking to an enemy. If a man is caught conversing with a member of a hostile *bone*, at a time when war is either in progress or imminent, the village council of his own *bone* fines him fifty dollars. [687]

In the tribes and territories where there is no village council, the rendering of justice in small affairs which is the work of this body is not performed. For example, one man may cut down another's tree or take his grass without any fine or other official reckoning; he can likewise speak to a woman of another *bone*; but if he does these things he incurs the wrath 627

[1] See below, p. 102.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

627 of the men affected, and may thus start a feud which will end in killings, after which it becomes the concern of the councillors to render justice.

In regions where the Arab form of government has supplanted the indigenous type, such affairs are decided by the sheikh.

DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT

623 This council, which is the governing body of the *canton*, does not convene as often as the village council, but comes together only in market and when some occasion demands it, its moderator then sending for the members. In *cantons* which have no markets, the council of the great has no regular meetings.

Supporting the village council. If anyone who has been fined by the village council refuses to pay it, that body sends a messenger to the moderator of the council of the great. The moderator sends for the members, who come armed to a place previously agreed upon and proceed in a body to the house of the offender. There they assess upon a him fine several times that originally imposed, amounting usually to between fifty and two hundred dollars, depending on the offense.

623 692 [685] *Theft of livestock.* A man who has stolen sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules, or horses is summoned before the councillors and fined between a hundred and two hundred dollars, besides being forced to restore to his victim the animals stolen, in cash or in kind. The theft of camels does not incur jurisdiction because of the lawless condition of the nomads who own them. Such a theft simply results in a fight.

[683] *Fighting with sticks.* The councillors decide which of the parties is at fault and fine him fifty dollars. If the *bone* of the injured man is a strong one, the councillors force the culprit to bring a goat, bread, tea, and sugar and go with them to the house of the injured man to present him with a feast. Such a feast, provided by visitors to the house, is a strong act of compulsive magic and cannot be disregarded. The recipient of such a favor must grant any request made and cease enmity against the giver. If the *bone* of the injured man is weak, no precaution of this nature is necessary.

[683] *Shooting at a man but missing him.* He who shoots at another without hitting him must pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the councillors.

[689] *Speaking to women in market.* This offense is considered greater than that of speaking to women in any other place. It is settled by the councillors of the *canton* in whose territory the market is held, and is punished by a hundred dollar fine.

Entering a women's market. For a man to enter a market which is restricted to women is an offense as serious as that of speaking to a woman in a common market, if not more so. It is punished by a fine of a hundred dollars, paid to the councillors.

623 692 684 *Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act.* If a husband hears that his wife has been unfaithful, but did not actually witness such an event, he is not allowed to kill the suspected man without incurring the penalty for ordinary murder. He has the privilege of bringing the matter before the councillors, who fine the suspect, if they are reasonably sure of his guilt, between a hundred and two hundred dollars. They forcibly divorce the woman from her husband, and forbid her to remarry him or any other man. Women so divorced return to their parents to live. Such a woman often becomes a prostitute, plying her trade with the greatest secrecy possible. If she is caught doing this, the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 The councillors go in a body, taking with them twenty or more girls adept at singing and dancing, hired musicians, a bull or cow, two or three mules laden with bread, and quantities of tea, sugar, and candles. The cost of the presents and the fees of the musicians are paid out of money collected in fines.

DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 692 The task of the tribal council is to render judgment, exact fines, and destroy property in cases of adultery caught in the act, murder, and woundings; to make decisions as to tribal alliances in warfare; and to interfere with internal fights in other tribes.

Adultery caught in the act. A husband who surprises his wife in the act of adultery has 684 the traditional privilege of killing the man, removing his genitals and placing them in the mouth of his corpse, killing his wife, and ripping her from pubis to diaphragm with a knife. 837 This action is a privilege and not a duty. Many husbands are physically unable to do so; others are disinclined; still others mutilate their wives by cutting off the fleshy parts of their noses and let them go. One instance is known in Gzennaya of a man who thrust live coals into his wife's vagina and then released her. In at least half the cases, recently at any rate, no revenge is taken on the woman, her divorce and disgrace being considered ample punishment.

When the members of the tribal council hear of this event, they leave whatever they are 646 doing and go as rapidly as possible to the adulterer's house. This they burn; they impose a 684 fine of one thousand dollars or thereabouts, depending on the usage of the tribe, and on the 692 importance of the *bone*. The fine is accepted either in cash, livestock, land, or in all three. When land and livestock are taken they are sold on the spot, not by bidding but by arbitrary prices, fair to the victim, placed on each animal or portion of land. If the proceeds of the sale exceed the amount of the fine, the balance is returned to the *bone* of the adulterer. If the adulterer and the adulteress belong to different *bones* the burden of the fine is shared between the *bones*. If the adulterer has survived the vengeance of the injured man he must T586 leave the tribe forever. Women who survive go back to their families, forcibly divorced and forbidden to marry again.

After the cash of the fine is in hand, it is divided among the *fifths*, each receiving an 684 equal share, to be divided evenly among each *canton* composing the *fifth*. Thus the *canton* of the offenders receives back a portion of the money which some of its members have paid. It often refuses to accept this, in which case the money goes to the actual payers. *Cantons* friendly with that of the adulterer may likewise refuse to accept, and their money too is returned.

646 *Wounding.* When one man wounds another, the tribal council comes to the offender's 692 house and exacts a fine of five hundred dollars after questioning the councillor or councillors belonging to the offending *bone*. The fine is always paid by the *bone* as a whole, whether the 683 blood money is or not.

Murder. When one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous 646 murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts 69- down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If the man and his *bone* refuse 68- to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members 621 of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which has refused has no allies, it seldom wins,

681 H) Sanctions: Further Notes (fragmentary):

1) Punishment: fine, exile, or death of person responsible, whether an individual or a family group[55].

[671] 2) Gradation: variable, according to stipulations in the various
[672] qamms[56]. Rifian law recognizes the same degree of responsibility in his accomplices as in the man who actually committed the crime, by assimilating them with his kin group[57].

681 613 [571] 3) Victim: receives no indemnity, except through what he or his kinsmen get as their share of the fine, which is equitably distributed among all the representatives of the dharfiqin[58], thus appearing more than anything else as a payment for services rendered; and the dharfiqin heads divided it up in the same way among their constituent nubath[59]. Thus, if the Rifian is encumbered with the responsibility of executive power[60] (all are obliged to stand against an aggressor), he still participates in the benefits of such power in a true popular sovereignty, and he never cedes his rights or duties.

000 4) Role of Jma'th in Application of Custom: to influence matters or conceal them, by money, force or politicking behind the scenes. Agrau or assembly of the aitarba'in; assessors and arbiters (tulba, shurfa and imrabdhen); role of liffs (aid to their liff-mates in payment of fines, etc.) (This subsection is completely fragmentary.)

682 In summation, three kinds of offenses were punished:

683 1) murder and woundings, with corresponding fines, and vengeance;

683 684 2) abuse of women (if voluntary on their part, each party had to pay 50 duros, and if it was purely and simply rape, the guilty man paid 50 duros);

6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH[45] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

671 Praise be to the One God. The will and eternal power of Our
443 Lord having decided thus, the congregation--in the Tuesday Market
[778] (Suq ath-Thulatha) (situated) at 'Ain Tihalalin[46], in the vicinity of (the tomb of) the holy emanator of blessings Sidi 'Amran[47]--of its owners, those of the clan of Bani 'Abdallah. (The latter) convened
623 (in the abovementioned market) with the idea of coming to agreement on
443 their criteria and on the purity of their actions in behalf of the
692 common good of all; and, as a consequence, they decided the amount of
681 the fines to be imposed inasmuch as there should occur within the abovementioned market, or, indeed, outside it on the path (which leads to it), (Blanco: note a) incidents, premeditated or not, through error or imprudence, such as woundings and murders (which might happen) through gunshots, knifings, strangulations and stonings, (or, indeed),
682 pillaging and sacking. (Blanco: note b) To anyone who kills in the
443 interior of the market and is caught (literally, "had"), rashsha' shall
[696] be applied to him (i.e. he shall be shot). If he has not been captured owing to having fled to another tribe (literally, "other tribes"), (they shall impose upon him a fine of) 2000 duros and his house shall be burned down to its foundations. (If he should kill) on the path (which leads to the market) he shall also pay (a fine of) 2000 (duros). Who-
683 ever should wound (another), (he shall be fined) 1000 duros. Whoever (shoots) and misses (his target), (he shall pay a fine of) 500 duros.
682 (Blanco: note c) Whoever of the Bani 'Abdallah should commit murder on Tuesday (i.e. on market day, the day of the suq) within the

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take
687
683 justice into his own hands (literally, "ransacking to collect a debt") shall pay 50 duros, and the same for whoever should attack another on
689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of
681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made
443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul)
693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

671 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike pro-
554 clivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their
693 real profession.

671 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite
799 recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code,
671 or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack,
683 he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor markmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect markmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

681 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all
443 to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the
[619] tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent
[673] death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

627 of the men affected, and may thus start a feud which will end in killings, after which it becomes the concern of the councillors to render justice.

In regions where the Arab form of government has supplanted the indigenous type, such affairs are decided by the sheikh.

DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT

623 This council, which is the governing body of the *canton*, does not convene as often as the village council, but comes together only in market and when some occasion demands it, its moderator then sending for the members. In *cantons* which have no markets, the council of the great has no regular meetings.

Supporting the village council. If anyone who has been fined by the village council refuses to pay it, that body sends a messenger to the moderator of the council of the great. The moderator sends for the members, who come armed to a place previously agreed upon and proceed in a body to the house of the offender. There they assess upon a him fine several times that originally imposed, amounting usually to between fifty and two hundred dollars, depending on the offense.

623 692 [683] *Theft of livestock.* A man who has stolen sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules, or horses is summoned before the councillors and fined between a hundred and two hundred dollars, besides being forced to restore to his victim the animals stolen, in cash or in kind. The theft of camels does not incur jurisdiction because of the lawless condition of the nomads who own them. Such a theft simply results in a fight.

[683] *Fighting with sticks.* The councillors decide which of the parties is at fault and fine him fifty dollars. If the *bone* of the injured man is a strong one, the councillors force the culprit to bring a goat, bread, tea, and sugar and go with them to the house of the injured man to present him with a feast. Such a feast, provided by visitors to the house, is a strong act of [689] compulsive magic and cannot be disregarded. The recipient of such a favor must grant any request made and cease enmity against the giver. If the *bone* of the injured man is weak, no precaution of this nature is necessary.

[683] *Shooting at a man but missing him.* He who shoots at another without hitting him must pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the councillors.

[689] *Speaking to women in market.* This offense is considered greater than that of speaking to women in any other place. It is settled by the councillors of the *canton* in whose territory the market is held, and is punished by a hundred dollar fine.

Entering a women's market. For a man to enter a market which is restricted to women is an offense as serious as that of speaking to a woman in a common market, if not more so. It is punished by a fine of a hundred dollars, paid to the councillors.

623 692 684 *Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act.* If a husband hears that his wife has been unfaithful, but did not actually witness such an event, he is not allowed to kill the suspected man without incurring the penalty for ordinary murder. He has the privilege of bringing the matter before the councillors, who fine the suspect, if they are reasonably sure of his guilt, between a hundred and two hundred dollars. They forcibly divorce the woman from her husband, and forbid her to remarry him or any other man. Women so divorced return to their parents to live. Such a woman often becomes a prostitute, plying her trade with the greatest secrecy possible. If she is caught doing this, the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

man with whom she is involved is punished just as was the first convicted offender. If she has been publicly exposed several times as a prostitute, the men of her *bone* kidnap her, carry her into the mountains, and there kill her and hide her body. No notice is taken of her absence, and if the councillors hear about the affair they pretend not to have done so.

If a woman catches her husband in the act of adultery with another woman, she ordinarily goes back to her own people and tells them of it. The men of her family, her father, brothers, or paternal uncle, may bring the matter up before the councillors and have the husband fined and divorced. In many cases, however, the men of her *vein* persuade the woman to do nothing about it, thinking that to make a commotion would only cause the disruption of the *bone*. In case the woman has married outside her *bone*, whether or not action takes place depends largely upon the respect which her own *bone* has for that of her husband. In any case, the sacramental defilement of the man is not considered as great as that of the woman in the opposite situation.

Blood money. Although murders, woundings, and adultery caught in the act are offenses beyond the jurisdiction of the council of the great and are relegated to the tribal council, one consequence of them falls directly upon the councillors. This is the assessment and collection of the *diith*, or blood money. Whereas the tribal council has the right to impose the fine, the council of the great has charge of compensation to the injured family. This takes place after the tribal council has finished its judgment and punishment. Murder is atoned for by the payment of a sum between one and five hundred dollars. The amount varies from *canton* to *canton*, but within a *canton* is constant and inflexible. Wounds are paid for at the rate of twenty-five dollars a month for each month of convalescence, until the injured man is able to work again.

The man who committed the crime pays, if he is able. If he is unable to raise the money by selling his property, the *bone* pays. In some *bones* the group as a whole always pays, whether the guilty one is able to raise the money or not; in others a man other than the guilty one pays, with the understanding that he is to receive the total of the next blood-money payment to his *bone*.

In the *bones* which pay individually, receipts are given to the children of the deceased, and if he left no children, to his father. Children receive the money on the basis that one boy is equal to two girls. If the deceased leaves neither children nor father, it is divided among the members of the *bone*. Many *bones* refuse altogether to receive blood money, preferring to take it out in blood by killing a member of the hostile *bone*, in which case, after the punishment of the tribal council is finished, the account is considered by the councillors as settled. Frequently the injured *bone* accepts the blood money, then suffers a revulsion of feeling and takes blood vengeance in addition, in which case it is required to return the payment.

Murders within the *bone* rarely occur, and are considered unnatural crimes. No blood money is assessed, because such an offender is instantly killed by his own people if he is unable to escape. A man fleeing such a crime will not be harbored by any Riffian, and must continue until he has left the Rif altogether. Even in this case he must take care to go to some place to which Riffians do not ordinarily travel, lest revenge overtake him later.

Attending weddings outside the canton. Another duty of the council of the great, this time of a bloodless nature, is to attend weddings of other councillors or their sons in other *cantons* or *fifths*. This is done in order to foster friendly relations between the two groups.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The councillors go in a body, taking with them twenty or more girls adept at singing and dancing, hired musicians, a bull or cow, two or three mules laden with bread, and quantities of tea, sugar, and candles. The cost of the presents and the fees of the musicians are paid out of money collected in fines.

DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

The task of the tribal council is to render judgment, exact fines, and destroy property in cases of adultery caught in the act, murder, and woundings; to make decisions as to tribal alliances in warfare; and to interfere with internal fights in other tribes.

Adultery caught in the act. A husband who surprises his wife in the act of adultery has the traditional privilege of killing the man, removing his genitals and placing them in the mouth of his corpse, killing his wife, and ripping her from pubis to diaphragm with a knife. This action is a privilege and not a duty. Many husbands are physically unable to do so; others are disinclined; still others mutilate their wives by cutting off the fleshy parts of their noses and let them go. One instance is known in Gzennaya of a man who thrust live coals into his wife's vagina and then released her. In at least half the cases, recently at any rate, no revenge is taken on the woman, her divorce and disgrace being considered ample punishment.

When the members of the tribal council hear of this event, they leave whatever they are doing and go as rapidly as possible to the adulterer's house. This they burn; they impose a fine of one thousand dollars or thereabouts, depending on the usage of the tribe, and on the importance of the *bone*. The fine is accepted either in cash, livestock, land, or in all three. When land and livestock are taken they are sold on the spot, not by bidding but by arbitrary prices, fair to the victim, placed on each animal or portion of land. If the proceeds of the sale exceed the amount of the fine, the balance is returned to the *bone* of the adulterer. If the adulterer and the adulteress belong to different *bones* the burden of the fine is shared between the *bones*. If the adulterer has survived the vengeance of the injured man he must leave the tribe forever. Women who survive go back to their families, forcibly divorced and forbidden to marry again.

After the cash of the fine is in hand, it is divided among the *fifths*, each receiving an equal share, to be divided evenly among each *canton* composing the *fifth*. Thus the *canton* of the offenders receives back a portion of the money which some of its members have paid. It often refuses to accept this, in which case the money goes to the actual payers. *Cantons* friendly with that of the adulterer may likewise refuse to accept, and their money too is returned.

Wounding. When one man wounds another, the tribal council comes to the offender's house and exacts a fine of five hundred dollars after questioning the councillor or councillors belonging to the offending *bone*. The fine is always paid by the *bone* as a whole, whether the blood money is or not.

Murder. When one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If the man and his *bone* refuse to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which has refused has no allies, it seldom wins,

1: Coor. E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

443
838
567
548
684
562
482
583

sales, although it is difficult to stamp out private transactions.[1] Boy markets are found in the Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ghomara, and Ktama (also, of course, in the rest of the so-called Jebala, and centered at Sheshawen and in the tribe of Beni Zerwal).

[1] The whole Jebalan area is permeated with this type of sexual depravity, which is practiced without mutual shame or any attempt at concealment. In the Rif persons sometimes live and die without knowledge of its existence, and those who have travelled and seen it cannot mention it at home without falling into disfavor. It was punished during the recent war, in at least two known instances, by soaking the culprits in gasoline and burning them alive.

This perversion, the only form known in this region, is accompanied in the Jebala by a low esteem for women, who perform the more arduous tasks of agriculture which in the Rif are done by men. A frequent sight in the Jebala is a troop of women marching long distances loaded down under heavy bundles of charcoal and other burdens, which in the Rif would be carried by mules or donkeys.

Bride purchase, a trait common to all Moroccans but the Jews, is in the Jebala literally applied, since here the wife becomes a definite chattel of her husband, not usually the case elsewhere.

The atmosphere created by this combination of cultural factors is in striking contrast to that of the Rif, which, although primitive, is wholesome and vigorous.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The *thārfiqth* is bound together not only by recognized kinship ties, but by those of common interest as well. The strongly cohesive character of the group as a social and an economic unit is reinforced by the institution of the levirate, in which a man marries his brother's widow and by that of the sororate, in which a widower marries his wife's sister; but there is no sororal polygyny, which is forbidden by Islām. The frequency with which the levirate, in particular, occurs can probably be correlated with the prevalence of blood feuds in the Rīf; it was a strong factor in reducing to a minimum disturbances of equilibrium within the group caused by the loss of one of its members. Polygyny in Aith Wuryāghil appears to been more often a result of the function of the levirate than a matter of personal choice, for most Wuryāghlis are monogamous through economic necessity; (7) the only cases of polygynous marriages which I know of personally are, generally speaking, those of important tribal functionaries: *jārīs, mugaddams, shaikhs, qā'ids* and *qāḍīs*. The status of women is much the same as in other tribal areas of the Muslim world; in day to day life, the wife is her husband's companion in the house and in the fields, and in the old days she even followed him into battle if necessary. She is given maximum consideration during motherhood, particularly when she presents sons to her spouse to continue the martial tradition of the group. Although she goes about unveiled, her husband is exceedingly jealous, and adultery caught in the act is still punishable by death.

The size and power of the *thārfiqth* is augmented by landless strangers who have emigrated from their own villages or tribes or fled from them because of some crime they have committed. These strangers contract work as *ikhammāsen* for the *jājghū* heads, and in time they may marry the latters' daughters. In this case the incipient *jājghū* which is formed when children are born is matronymic, taking the name of its mother rather than of its father because of his lack of prestige; rules of residence are then matrilocal, by the same token.

(7) Coon, Carleton Stevens: **Tribes of the Rif**, Harvard African Studies, vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Coon gives **awar** (properly **azwar**), or «vein», and **ighs**, or «bone», corresponding to **jajghu** and tharfiqth respectively, as the fundamental Riffian social units. The difference between his terminology and mine may be due to the fact that the bulk of his data comes from Giznaya. In Aith Wuryaghil the word **ighs** refers only to a bone in the body and emphatically not to a social grouping.

562 anyone, not even their families, nor can they leave their house to work, visit or travel, attend feasts, markets[39] or saints' tombs, without previous authorization from their husbands, who tell them how long [593] they may stay away from home. A man may correct his wife's faults [684] in any way he wishes, and if she is guilty of adultery, he may kill her[40]. If he has more than one wife, he sleeps with each in turn.

571 e) Concept of Turns:—(The notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" is a cardinal one in Rifian society.) There are "turns" of gift-giving (r-ghramth) at weddings, of the allocation of power (political hegemonies of families and even of tribes), of (usage of irrigation) water, or corvees (twiza), of theft (dhukkardha), of vengeance or reprisal (ar-raqba[41]), for (taking barley to) the fqih, or harkas (war-parties or punitive expeditions), of pasturage (dhwara)[42], and even of plows and animals during plowing time (if, as often was the case during the "Republik", there was only one pair of animals in the community). Rifian society is, thus, a turn-based society, and the term nubth (pl. nubath), in Rifianized Arabic, is so widespread as to include the inhabitants of a village.[43]

571 The case may be cited of a restless ex-qa'id (tribal chief 557 under the Spanish administration) who, desirous of returning to power, constantly pestered the administration with suggestions that he be [181] readmitted to office. As is logical and as a good Rifian, he wanted to be able to make a resounding exit, with his head held high, if he did not get the job. He wanted a responsible position in the regional government of the Territorio del Rif (in al-Husaima, then Villa Sanjurjo), and when he finally realized that his accusations

684 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed,
171 while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their
562 houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads[65]. Women do not inherit
428 in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in
171 lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much (1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce
586 them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single
582 nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage.
[171] A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and
562 is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of <u>insurrection</u>
586 (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a <u>zawiya</u>
708 (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated
623 with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain
[171] to the <u>jma'th</u>, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather
627 through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration
171 of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslin <u>ukil</u> (legal
562

681 H) Sanctions: Further Notes (fragmentary):

1) Punishment: fine, exile, or death of person responsible, whether an individual or a family group[55].

[671] 2) Gradation: variable, according to stipulations in the various
[672] qanuns[56]. Rifian law recognizes the same degree of responsibility in his accomplices as in the man who actually committed the crime, by assimilating them with his kin group[57].

681 3) Victim: receives no indemnity, except through what he or
613 his kinsmen get as their share of the fine, which is equitably dis-
[571] tributed among all the representatives of the dharfiqin[58], thus appearing more than anything else as a payment for services rendered; and the dharfiqin heads divided it up in the same way among their constituent nubath[59]. Thus, if the Rifian is encumbered with the responsibility of executive power[60] (all are obliged to stand against an aggressor), he still participates in the benefits of such power in a true popular sovereignty, and he never cedes his rights or duties.

000 4) Role of Jma'th in Application of Custom: to influence matters or conceal them, by money, force or politicking behind the scenes. Agrau or assembly of the aitarba'in; assessors and arbiters (tulba, shurfa and imrabdhen); role of liffs (aid to their liff-mates in payment of fines, etc.) (This subsection is completely fragmentary.)

682 In summation, three kinds of offenses were punished:
683 1) murder and woundings, with corresponding fines, and vengeance;

683 2) abuse of women (if voluntary on their part, each party had to
684 pay 50 duros, and if it was purely and simply rape, the guilty man paid 50 duros);

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of action of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest
684 abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no
695 proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn
793 comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in
231 dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

000 does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

684 f) Anyone who commits an act of bestiality must pay for the fodder of the assaulted animal for one day; and among the Aith Waryaghar, he must pay for its packsaddle as well as a 50-peseta fine, and he is cursed by the market crier in the market[74].....

2) Among the Aith 'Ammarth:

685 a) A blacksmith of....asked the qadi for a room to live in. It was given him, and in it he raised chickens, which began to eat the qadi's barley. The qadi claimed compensation from him, saying that he had to kill the chickens and leave the house. He refused to do so, 685 692 and made a reclamation to the shaikh, who said he was in the right. Then a member of the qadi's family poisoned all the chickens, and the blacksmith complained to the mqaddim. The jma'th, as a result, met in the mosque and fined the qadi 18 duros, of which the blacksmith received only two or three.

582 b) In the village of Aith Finathen, clan of Aith r-Hasayin, one 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, a rich man, married his daughter to Muhammadi n Si Siddiq nd-Hajj Sriman, a poor man and one of his agnates (i.e. his 682 [619] brother's son), in order to keep him as a servant[75]. The young man eventually killed his uncle. The tribal council was convoked, and its members punished the dead man's sons by imposing a 6000-peseta fine on them; and they in turn killed Muhammadi and paid another fine....During 662 623 his lifetime, 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, as well as his five brothers, had on various occasions paid 400 duros to the jma'th to excuse themselves from participation in tribal wars.

661 c) A poor man made a goatherd of one of his younger in-laws,

684 554 203 626 74--In the Aith Waryaghar, anyone who indulged in bestiality became the object of extreme derision; and as a market crier himself is a person of very low social standing, this in itself would have rubbed more salt in the wound.

000 75--Marriages with parallel cousins occur, but they are uncommon. In this particular instance, there was a good reason for it, as Blanco points out.

76--These cousins, again as indicated in note 17, were the boy's r-waratha, who could normally have inherited only if the boy's father had either died without issue or if he had left a daughter or daughters only. It is un-Qur'anic enough for the r-waratha to appropriate, as [671] they often try to do, a daughter's share of the inheritance as well as their own, but for them to take over a son's share is expressly forbidden by the Shari'a, and may be regarded, in this instance, as the purest personal aggrandizement.

[114] 77--This should probably read "to one's tribe", as the notion of other tribes hardly enters the picture here. Except under an 'Abd al-Krim, how would it have been, or be, possible for a man of the Igzinnayen, for example, to feel any responsibility for a man from the Aith Waryaghar? This error may be due to a typographical error in the original text.

[682] [114] 78--One could hardly label a sanction of 2000 duros for murder committed in a market as indicative of "lack of repressive organs". It is statements of this kind, which continually crop up, that, in conjunction with numerous factual errors, cast a small but ever-present cloud over Blanco's work, and mark him as an amateur ethnologist.

79--See La Ley Rifeña, pp. 47, 50.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

the Ikhemrijen forbid warfare and alliances, with a result that, as a natural outlet for bellicose exuberance, brigandage is rife. 619 642

In the northwestern part of Beni Amart, in the *canton* of Ijaonen, the power of the Ikhemrijen prevents warfare and alliance; otherwise the government is purely Riffian in type.

In the Ghomara the Arab system of government is employed, with the customary alignment of kaids (leaders of tribes), khalifas (leaders of *fifths*), and sheikhs (leaders of *cantons*), excepting that all these officers are under the jurisdiction of a marabutic family of Tetuan.

Metalsa, except Asht Dris, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, employ a hybrid form of government in which there is no village council and the council of the great consists only of two or three men who meet in the market to administer justice for the region near it.

Mtiwa, Mestassa, Beni Bu Yafer, Ait Shisher, Mazuza, Kebdana, Muziet, Rgheiwa, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Beni Ulid, Branes, and Burda had fallen completely under the Arab system before the time when Abd el Krim attempted to remodel the government. In the eastern section and in Mtiwa and Mestassa the kaid was euphemistically called by the Berber term *amghar* (councillor), and in the Senhajan tribes mentioned the sheikh was called *kebir el jama*, or "great one of the congregation."

DUTIES OF THE VILLAGE COUNCIL

The cases tried by this body and the matters it is required to regulate are as follows (the fines listed are only approximate): 623 672 685

Theft of eggs and of poultry. The thief must pay a fine of thirty dollars. If the culprit is a child, his father appears and pays it.

Theft of maize. Boys who steal early ripening maize are collectively fined five dollars. The injured farmer has the right to pick ripened ears from the terraces of the thieves' parents to the number which he has lost.

Cutting maize in adjoining terraces. Sometimes maize growing in adjoining terraces, owned by different men, ripens at different times. The owner of the later ripening maize may wish to prevent the owner of the other field from cutting his crop until both are ready, through fear that his own maize may be trampled in the process. This situation arises when it is necessary to enter one terrace by passing through the other. In this case the village council enjoins the owner of the early maize to wait until the other is ready.

Breaking branches of fruit trees. If goats or children break branches from a fruit tree, the owner of the tree brings the branch or branches to the mosque, where the village council counts the number of buds on the branch or branches. A *girch* (about five cents) is charged for each bud, the recompense to be paid the owner of the tree, and in addition a fine of twenty dollars must be paid.

Trampling vegetable gardens. This offense is punished by a fine of one to two dollars, with no restitution.

Policing orchards. During the harvest season the members of this body police the orchards of the *bone* during the night to prevent thefts.

Starting the grape picking. The village council, which has charge of allotting poor families to rich ones for the grape picking, exacts a fine of twenty dollars from anyone guilty of picking grapes before the signal is given.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 692 *Picking windfall olives.* Similarly, the head of each family must pay a quarter of a dollar for each member of his family who starts picking up windfalls before the signal is given.

●685 *Theft of olives.* The outright theft of olives is punished by a fine of ten dollars.

Trespassing in order to pick grass. If a man catches a woman picking or cutting grass for her cow on his land, he may report her, and her husband will be fined one dollar. But to make such a report is considered mean and few are willing to do so.

Stray goats and cattle in the cemetery. When goats or cattle, either with or without the intention of their guardian, enter a cemetery, their owner is fined a quarter of a dollar for each goat, and a dollar for each bull or cow which entered.

[689] *Repair of irrigation ditches.* If any farmer fails to send a man or men to work on a ditch, when he is required to do so, he is fined between two and three dollars per day per man.

Taking water illegally from irrigation ditches. This is considered a serious offense, and although it incurs but a five dollar fine, it always breeds bad feelings and often incites to murder.

[782] 623 692 689 *Regulating attendance at prayer.* To explain this function it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of religion. Each *bone* in the *canton* is required to send twenty-five men once a week to the common mosque of the *canton* to pray. The village council of each *bone* lists the names of all married men in the *bone*: a day is set for each *bone* to attend the mosque, and the *bone* keeps that day permanently. The first week the first twenty-five men on the list must go, the second week the second twenty-five, and so on until the list has been exhausted, when the procedure starts all over again. If the number of married men in the *bone* is not evenly divisible by twenty-five, those forming the remainder at the foot of the list are supplemented by enough at the head of it to fill the number, and the rotation starts anew. It is the task of the village council in whose territory the cantonal mosque is situated to see that twenty-five men appear from each *bone* on the allotted day. If a *bone* is so small that it does not contain twenty-five, it is combined with another *bone* for this purpose.

If the members of the village council of the mosque territory find that a quota is not full on a certain day, they fine the man who has defaulted five dollars. If this is not paid promptly the council of the great steps in and fines the guilty *bone* between two and three hundred dollars. If a man is away on a journey his name is temporarily stricken from the list and the following names are moved up one place; if he is ill or for some other reason unable to go, he is allowed to send a substitute. If a man falls ill on the way, becomes wounded, or is otherwise prevented from reaching the mosque when it is too late to obtain a substitute, his absence is excused.

The fines thus extracted, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the mosque, formerly consisted of walnuts, almonds, figs, or raisins. Later, when sugar was first imported, two sugar cones were assessed. Later still the money fine was introduced.

623 681 651 692 *Providing for exiles from other fifths.* When a man has been exiled by the tribal council for a year, two years, or more, he must pass to a different *fifth*, preferably to a *bone* in which he has friends. The village council of the *bone* collects an assessed portion of the crops of every farmer and gives it to him. This it does for the first year only. If he remains more than a year he must work as a share-laborer for a farmer and earn his living. If a farmer refuses to give his assessed portion it is taken by force, and twofold. Such refusals are, however, almost unknown.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

627 of the men affected, and may thus start a feud which will end in killings, after which it becomes the concern of the councillors to render justice.

In regions where the Arab form of government has supplanted the indigenous type, such affairs are decided by the sheikh.

DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT

623 This council, which is the governing body of the *canton*, does not convene as often as the village council, but comes together only in market and when some occasion demands it, its moderator then sending for the members. In *cantons* which have no markets, the council of the great has no regular meetings.

Supporting the village council. If anyone who has been fined by the village council refuses to pay it, that body sends a messenger to the moderator of the council of the great. The moderator sends for the members, who come armed to a place previously agreed upon and proceed in a body to the house of the offender. There they assess upon a him fine several times that originally imposed, amounting usually to between fifty and two hundred dollars, depending on the offense.

623 692 [685] *Theft of livestock.* A man who has stolen sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules, or horses is summoned before the councillors and fined between a hundred and two hundred dollars, besides being forced to restore to his victim the animals stolen, in cash or in kind. The theft of camels does not incur jurisdiction because of the lawless condition of the nomads who own them. Such a theft simply results in a fight.

[683] *Fighting with sticks.* The councillors decide which of the parties is at fault and fine him fifty dollars. If the *bone* of the injured man is a strong one, the councillors force the culprit to bring a goat, bread, tea, and sugar and go with them to the house of the injured man to present him with a feast. Such a feast, provided by visitors to the house, is a strong act of compulsive magic and cannot be disregarded. The recipient of such a favor must grant any request made and cease enmity against the giver. If the *bone* of the injured man is weak, no precaution of this nature is necessary.

[683] *Shooting at a man but missing him.* He who shoots at another without hitting him must pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the councillors.

[680] *Speaking to women in market.* This offense is considered greater than that of speaking to women in any other place. It is settled by the councillors of the *canton* in whose territory the market is held, and is punished by a hundred dollar fine.

Entering a women's market. For a man to enter a market which is restricted to women is an offense as serious as that of speaking to a woman in a common market, if not more so. It is punished by a fine of a hundred dollars, paid to the councillors.

623 692 684 *Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act.* If a husband hears that his wife has been unfaithful, but did not actually witness such an event, he is not allowed to kill the suspected man without incurring the penalty for ordinary murder. He has the privilege of bringing the matter before the councillors, who fine the suspect, if they are reasonably sure of his guilt, between a hundred and two hundred dollars. They forcibly divorce the woman from her husband, and forbid her to remarry him or any other man. Women so divorced return to their parents to live. Such a woman often becomes a prostitute, plying her trade with the greatest secrecy possible. If she is caught doing this, the

426 part of the bargain, he is reminded to do so by the chief, and if he
686 refuses, they forcibly commit a theft of animals or property, so
627 that his jma'th will hear of it; and they thus oblige him to fulfill
623 his promises or give rise to the intervention of his jma'th, which will force him to start negotiations.

685 The property of thieves is sold as indemnity, and, if they
627 have gone or if this cannot be done, that of their kinsmen is sold, a fine is imposed, and the eyes of the recalcitrant individual are plucked out by a member of his family if he is caught[68].

623 None of the decisions of the jma'th are registered.

F) Social Organization:

1) The jma'th has generally been defined in terms of what it is not. It has been likened to the Roman forum, the Greek agora, and the Scottish clan[69]; and it has been considered the "cornerstone" or the "roof" of the "Berber house". It has been characterized as an administrative unit by some, and as a social, judicial (i.e. jural), religious or military unit by others. Some have taken the number of houses as a base point, others the fact of whether or not it contains a Friday ("cantonal") mosque. The etymology of the word--"assembly, meeting, council, junta"--has also been invoked as a basis for definition, but this, by itself, is also insufficient[70].

623 In my view, the jma'th is the elemental form of the association
621 of neighboring family groups oriented toward essentially economic ends.
[613] The actual number of such groups, whether two today or two hundred tomorrow, and whether occupying thirty or two hundred households, is

695 829 [181] the individual, in most cases. It therefore seems natural that the group rather than the individual (contrary to Islamic Law) proclaims its innocence[39].

695 212 Although written proofs are admitted, they are not common, and are always submitted previously to a fqih for his consultation. Also, [685] certain tulba were known to take advantage of their essentially notary function in order to falsify documents (one man even wrote up false Sultan's dahirs, or imperial decrees, and was jailed in Tangier!); and this did not make for any great respect of written proofs in Arabic, a language which in any case the Rifians did not understand. [157] Even today (1935) a Rifian who possesses a document is always looking for people to translate it for him, as he is never satisfied with one man's word and always suspects that the man who drew it up for him either misrepresented him or lied to him. I have known Rifians who went to the French Zone and even to Spain in order to obtain proper interpretations of their personal papers! Only death will separate a Rifian from his r-kwaghadh![40]

695 Conciliation and arbitration are the preferential jural processes in this society, where victory is difficult and defeat is hard; and one is drawn to the idea that what actually takes place is more akin to "horse trading" than to justice, in the European sense of the word.

It seems to me that the collective oath is the Rifian equivalent of the European "word of honor", in its unadulterated sense[41]. It has [619] a social rather than a religious significance, and, in practice, very little ritual; it is carried out in the mosque under the eye of the rival or plaintiff, and of those who were in on the secret, a sufficient action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]

685 3) theft, with corresponding fines, and even one of the thief's kinsmen putting out his eyes[61].

673 671 If there are certain crimes, known to all and carrying with them sanctions also known to all, which do not (translator's italics) appear in the qanums (such as bestiality[52A], etc.), they are kept out purposely because of the shame, the hashuma, of those who formulate the decrees. In other instances (such as certain misdemeanors having to do with agriculture and fields), they are kept out because their inclusion is difficult and they are also sufficiently well known to and by all concerned so that they do not need to be put in. In still other cases, they are kept out because they are questions of custom which require consultation with men of laws or arbiters. Finally, these are all misdemeanors the nature of which, in one way or another, is inadequate to be put before the public in special announcements by market criers.

I) Miscellaneous Data on Fines for Lesser Offenses:

1) Among the Ibuqquyen:

224 a) Hunting[63]: Saturday is the day for hunting (rayah or [689] thingimarth)[64]. Whoever does not attend pays a 5-peseta fine[65], and altercations during hunting are punished by a fine or by giving a meal to the other hunters. Animals killed do not belong to the man who kills [685] them but to the man who finds them[66]. Damages to cultivated lands are paid for by those who caused them. If it is not known who was responsible, the fine is divided up among all the hunters[67]. Any birds or eggs which are found by one of the hunters during the hunt are divided up [425] amongst them all. Any other objects found which are obviously lost articles of a third party are returned to their owners.

A, [This should read "62" not "52"--Analyst]

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of action of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 684 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 695 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 793 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 231 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

000 does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

684 f) Anyone who commits an act of bestiality must pay for the fodder of the assaulted animal for one day; and among the Aith Waryaghar, he must pay for its packsaddle as well as a 50-peseta fine, and he is cursed by the market crier in the market[74].....

2) Among the Aith 'Ammarth:

685 a) A blacksmith of....asked the qadi for a room to live in. It was given him, and in it he raised chickens, which began to eat the qadi's barley. The qadi claimed compensation from him, saying that he had to kill the chickens and leave the house. He refused to do so, and made a reclamation to the shaikh, who said he was in the right. Then a member of the qadi's family poisoned all the chickens, and the blacksmith complained to the mqaddim. The jma'th, as a result, met in the mosque and fined the qadi 18 duros, of which the blacksmith received only two or three.

685 692

582 b) In the village of Aith Finathen, clan of Aith r-Hasayin, one 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, a rich man, married his daughter to Muhammadi n Si Siddiq nd-Hajj Sriman, a poor man and one of his agnates (i.e. his brother's son), in order to keep him as a servant[75]. The young man eventually killed his uncle. The tribal council was convoked, and its members punished the dead man's sons by imposing a 6000-peseta fine on them; and they in turn killed Muhammadi and paid another fine....During his lifetime, 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, as well as his five brothers, had on various occasions paid 400 duros to the jma'th to excuse themselves from participation in tribal wars.

682 [619]

662 623

661 c) A poor man made a goatherd of one of his younger in-laws,

661 and made him pasture the few goats he had. The jma'th or its mqaddim needed money, and so one day they called him up and fined him 65 duros, accusing his mother of incest and saying that if he did not pay up, they would tell the rest of the tribe and it would cost him more. The boy ran away, out of shame.

428 d) Muhammad Hmidu n 'Abd Allah of Aith Finathen, on the
429 death of his father, was brought up by his grandmother, and when she
685 died, by his cousins, who periodically fed and clothed him in return for his acting as a goatherd for them. They kept and divided up his inheritance in land from his father, and did not give it back to him, in spite of the constant excitement of the qa'id over the matter[76].

J. Responsibility:

672 Collective responsibility as reflected in the qanuns is an
[671] amplification of responsibility to one's kin group and even...to the same social ties as those of other tribes (sic)[77]; this forces one's fellow tribesmen to comply with the duty of rectifying an injury or damage caused by one of their own people. It is an instinctive and necessary means of defense, and is done so that crimes will not go unpunished. This is all a consequence of the rudimentary social organization of the Rifians, of the difficulty of inquiry, of the lack of repressive organs[78] and of impartial and dispassionate individuals, such as judges. When independent states multiply and the extension of each one of them diminishes, such factors as the above make extradition (sic) more difficult and impunity more easy; and, for this reason, a group attribute is the obligation to educate (i.e. enculturate) and answer for its components. Thus, when the group publicly claims that

000 26--During the Republik, when the bridal party arrived at the groom's house, after dismounting his sister from the mule she was riding, the bride's brother went into the room that she was to share with the groom and fired a shot in it in order to get rid of any evil magic which might have been there. This is not done today; and in any event, [178] [656] as firearms have been forbidden since the days of the Spanish administration, people have been throwing firecrackers at weddings for the last 30 years or more.

[562] 27--In the Rif, women dance for men, never with them.

[535] 28--We do not know just which Bni Hmid is meant, for there are two [114] tribes of this name: Bni (or Aith) Hmid, in the Sanhaja Srir west of the Rif, and Bni Hmid s-Surraq ("Bni Hmid the thieves"), in the Jbala, the second generally being considered to be an offshoot of the first. As the first falls into the boundary of the old Spanish Territorio del Rif (now Province of El Hoceima) of which Blanco was administrator, it is probably the group he means.

29--Not daily, but whenever they feel the need to do so, about once or twice a week.

30--In Berber law as elsewhere, the testimony of witnesses puts the seal on the defendant's guilt.

31--What Blanco probably means by this European legal circumlocution is any case which cannot be decided on the spot.

[685] 32--After a man accused of damages to a field or irrigation ditch belonging to another person admitted his guilt, the injured party called in the aquwwam or agricultural expert, who assessed the damage and was paid one-third of the fine money by the owner of the field or ditch.

33--Quoted in extenso in La Ley Rifeña, op. cit., pp. 21-8. The qanun in question comes from the tribe of Aith Waryaghar, and involves several lineages of Tazurakhth, in the subclan Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

34--The original meaning of the word is "announcement, good news". In jural-legal terms, it refers to a small sum of money (rbsharth) given by one man who has lost some article to another to watch out for it.

35--Collective or plural oaths, perhaps more than any other institution, are the touchstone of the Berber judicial process. It is unfortunate that available sources on this crucial subject are so few and far between.

[648] The French, who underwrote Berber customary law with every means at their disposal, fostered, protected and encouraged the institution of plural oaths; but after independence in 1956, the new Moroccan administration did away with custom and oaths in one fell swoop.

[113] Rifian oaths have not been in existence since the Ripublik. The only published reference to them, and it is a most inadequate one, is in Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 513-4.

36--A man accused by a woman of attempted rape had to swear to his innocence, but without cojurors, even during the Republik.

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 614 693 Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A], and their brother Hammu. 621 692 693 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hannash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 689 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Azizi attended the present act with them. 784 Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

A, A ["83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

695. Valid and complete testimony in virtue of which both instrumental witnesses bring testimony against them.

000 (Two illegible signatures follow.)

692 At the same time, they agreed that whoever should commit any of the wrongs (literally, "things") expressed herein, the case, together with him (the man who committed it) shall be taken to Sayyid Mhammad bin Musa[32] and Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Ali[33] (Blanco: note d).

685 Whoever enters an orchard with intent to rob shall pay 20 uqiyyas. If a bull should start to trample property adjacent to that of its owner, the latter shall pay one peseta.

685
672

The guarantors (of the fulfillment of this agreement) are three. The Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah, and Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan (Blanco: note e).

[681] Regarding the amount (of the fines imposed) with respect to orchards in cases in which they are injured by animals, this will be donated to their mosque (Blanco: note f).

If they should break a branch of a fig or other tree belonging to anyone, the owner of the animals will pay 20 (uqiyyas).

000 A signature in Arabic follows, which appears to be al-Bu Jma' bin Muhammad (signed).

B) Commentary:

671
621 The reading of this qanun clearly indicates in its first paragraph the names of those who have established it, all of them members of the jma'th of Imhauren, bordering the Island of Alhucemas, in the

621 plain of the same name. Every two or three headmen or iziddifen (sing.,
613
554 aziddif, "head") are the visible representatives of the lineage groups

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
437 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of
556
152 some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628
197 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613
623 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that somebody had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
689 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
● 685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus public

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673
687 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
685 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good, natural and admirable feeling.

182
671 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
626 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
681 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
613

671 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present
805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

681
673 Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

673 An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident
623 clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed
685 against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most
423 feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

623 The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is,
423 then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions
578 among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

623 Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least
[793] religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes
[574] toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

[623] But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as
[681] instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of
[554] European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

671 554 623 of knowing the needs of the moment, not past or future needs which do not mean anything to anybody. They are living laws designed for living people, for those present.

671 672 Paragraph b shows us how they embellish their law, taking aggravating and attenuating circumstances into account. Among these are nocturnity and dwellings (where they guard their fig and grain reserves). Attenuating and, even more, exemption from responsibility, [682] homicide is legitimate if committed in self defense or in defense of one's property.

681 554 661 671 Paragraph c punishes intention, in order to avoid disputes, and makes a small concession to personal power, permitting the shaikh to keep for himself this fine destined for the common fund.

685 672 671 Paragraph d is concerned with injuries to crops by animals, which are herded by children. The punishment is minimal.

In paragraph e, the law of the jma'th establishes and regulates 671 623 574 the social duty of hospitality, imposing the burden equally on all its members. Guests learn that it is not only the shaikh who pays for their upkeep, but all the members of the jma'th, even the poor ones.

623 574 Consider also the excessive number of voluntary servitors who dance continued attendance on the guest with towels, basins and soap, and finally the amphitrion hands over to their expectant voracity all the remains of your meal, except for one small dish which, passing through the door, is submerged in the mysterious interior of the dwelling as a reward for the activity of the women or children who prepared it. When you leave, each member of the jma'th retires with whatever he presented for your comfort: pillows, blankets, soap, coffee pot or tempot, towel, glasses, candles, etc.

685 In the same way, they agreed to impose fines for all damages or injuries which are caused, such as theft, etc.

Whoever should steal a sheep or a goat shall be fined 10 duros, and whoever should steal barley, broad beans, etc., from someone else's land shall be fined 5 duros.

681 In summation, all injuries or damages caused by one of them (the Bani 'Adhiya) against another (of them), a fine shall be levied from him, whoever (the party guilty) of the injury or damage may be.

671 In accordance with the above, their declarations were put down, as they have been expressed and explained. Valid and complete testimony. The parties who took part in the present agreement know [693] the value of this agreement, and because of this, both the undersigned notaries testify to what is set down and to the fact that they (the Bani 'Adhiya) are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound minds and memories) and that they are known (personally) to them (the notaries).

805 On the second day of the divine month of Jumad ath-Thani of the 600 year 1332 (April 28, 1914). Servant of his God, may He be glorified, 'Abd as-Salam bin 'Abdallah at-Tafrasti, may God be benevolent toward him. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Aisa at-Taxurakhti, may God be benevolent toward him.

B) Commentary:

671 This synthetic qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya, drawn up in conformity with the dictates of the purest tradition, contains within it suggestions analogous to the rest of the documents which we have studied.

[771] It is a pact (author's italics), by which those who have agreed on it must in future regulate their coexistence and traditional

628 After the fixing of the ddiyith[62], there is the most laborious
671 agreement and the most hurried need for its enforcement; and the rest
673 of the resolutions have no objective other than that of embellishing
681 this, establishing a graded scale in conformity with the external manifestations of lesser crimes, which the Rifians did not deem necessary to put down in detail in their qanuns, in order to facilitate an easier mnemonic retention of the principal transgressions and resultant fines.

671 It points out theft with an admirable simplicity, according to
685 what is stolen, and it doubles the fine for a rustler of domestic
231 animals, a fact which follows the logical economic notion of the
556 Rifians of presenting such animals as the most esteemed source of wealth, as among nomad tribes.[63] It should be remembered that in the
178 old Rifian society, the consumption of meat was limited by the scarcity
262 of pasturage to Fridays, the holidays and by physiological needs, and
231 was regulated by the common sacrifice of animals and by compensating
224 hunts on fixed days.

If the meat supply diminished and they considered it indispensable, it would be completely natural to take precautions to pre-
685 serve it.....For precisely this reason the Rifians judged the theft of
673 animals as a greater crime than that of grains, and sanctioned it accordingly.

671 8. QANUN OF THE AITH KHATTAB[64] (AITH WARYAGHAR), ESTABLISHING THE WEDNESDAY MARKET, AND GENERAL QANUN

A) Qanun:

Praise be to the One God. When peace reigned (literally,

682 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)
443 and should kill him shall be fined 500 duros[69], and if, in attacking
he should miss him (i.e. if the bullet should fail to reach its mark),
685 he shall pay 200 duros. Whoever should take justice into his own hands
443 on the path to the market shall be fined 50 duros and shall return what-
ever object he made off with. Of those who should incite riots with
689 shouts and gunshots, as (happened) to the people of Tafrast, Ait Musa
w 'Amar (both in the clan of the Aith 'Ari) and to the people of Ajdir
(in the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), each one shall pay with his
689 death (literally, "with his neck"), that is, he must be shot. Whoever
443 should be discovered in the Monday Women's Market (Suq ath-Thnain n
562 Timgharin, at Azghar) shall be forced to pay 10 duros.

671 This is what has been decided (for fulfillment) of justice in
443 the above-mentioned market. May God, for the common good, put into
agreement His ideas and the criteria of His lords (of the market).
689 Punishment shall seek out anyone who should wish to provoke riots--
may God in His power make him meet his end.

000 The abovementioned shuyukh have worked with good intent, with
the idea of being useful. May God cause the miracles of the saints
to be manifested, and of the saint of the tomb situated in front of the
market (i.e. that of Sidi Bu 'Afif).

Each of the abovementioned shuyukh designated among his brothers
(i.e. among the men in his jurisdiction) those faithful to him (i.e.
those who constituted his escort and supported his decisions), as for
example: the Shaikh Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar designated among them
the Murabit bin Muhammad bin 'Abdallah Bu 'Azza; the Murabit Hammu bin
al-Hajj Muhammad w al-Qadi; 'Umar bin al-Hajj Tuhami Adardush; Muhammad

181
167 They were too good and honorable to see themselves die out, with no fear other than that of the market announcement and without guards of any sort, on a most miserable land, which their way of life made habitable only through emigration[92] and epidemics taking care of the surplus population.

Clearly, bound to necessity, it incited the envy of more than one individual, considering the very slight severity of the punishment, the possibility of concealing the offense and the difficulty of proof, for which reason the people took refuge in traveling to places unknown to them on days which were not market days, without taking natural precautions.

671
685 The qanun of the Aith Siddat shows us, in notation (c), the offense of house-breaking, with a concise and admirable clarity; it recognizes for the owner of the house the right of violent opposition, a previous guarantee to the society that neither a difference of opinion nor known resentment shall mediate between them.

671
682 By the same token, notation (b) indicates and punishes the accomplice with the same penalty in offenses in which blood is drawn as does notation (k) with 50 mithqals in the rest of the cases.

And finally, in notation (d), the right of legitimate defense is established without the slightest doubt.

671
562 If in each one of the qanuns in this volume it is easy to discover its characteristics and, knowing the region, to find out what each one conceals, to explain what it says and the reasons which it gives for doing so, we must point out, in the present qanun, the interest which the Aith Siddat maintained in enforcing public respect

92--The reference here is primarily to Rifian labor migration in Algeria.

226 [619] tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 823 184 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 443 492 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are afterwards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 685 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

181
423 The Rifian admits anything which constitutes instruction or improvement; but naturally he wants no part of any division of his
312
648 holdings with strangers. This blessing of water which the official organ (i.e. the Spanish administration) as well as individuals receive, although the latter do so only to a limited degree, is not a product of technique, profitable or exemplary work as new developments would be, possible economic outlets or improvements in the present distributive net, but utilization of native labor in the style of some early-day amghar.

312
648 Rare are the days of the Makhzin irrigation turn in which the
685 Mkhazniya does not present us (i.e. the administration) with some
[427] miserable akhammas[123] accused of the terrible crime of having been surprised at night attempting to lead up a thread of water into his tiny, dried-up holding, a crystalline fiber which, if it even arrives there to irrigate, only God knows; and the nubth which the Europeans derive from it, dispute from it and gain from it, did not cost them the least effort to lead up nor did they do anything other than wait sitting down while the Makhzin appropriated it. And in such a case neither the Makhzin nor the European stands to gain anything; to the contrary, they have much to lose.

F) Irrigation in the Plain of Al-Husaima:

312
675 The usage of irrigation water from the Lower Ghis and Nkur Rivers has been, since time immemorial, the object of individual agreements among the irrigators, agreements which are usually put down in writing, for the flow of water, although variable, permits a regular distribution through permanent ditches, a distribution known

671 224 423 627 681 be known that one of the parties involved obliged the other one to swear, even knowing that the latter was right, the first party is fined 25 pesetas over and above the value of the animal (Aith Waryaghar).[193]

671 224 4) Animals found on someone's plot of land belong to the man who catches them and not to the owner of the land (Aith 'Ammarth).[194]

J) Nets and Snares:

223 After threshing has been completed in the late summer, threshing floors somewhat distant from the villages are used in order to hunt partridges with nets.[195] The threshing floor is prepared for this purpose, with straw and grains wasted as fodder. It is then surrounded with a semi-circular fence, a sign that it is prepared for birds.

671 223 On a threshing floor, the preferential right to any game caught is that of the owner of the floor. In a floor marked out as indicated above, only the indiviual who prepared it may hunt. Any other person (685) who tries to do so is considered a thief, and the fine he must pay is calculated on the basis of the number of partridges in the net. This right is based upon the patient preparation and expense of fodder, as bait.

223 224 After the den of a rabbit or hare or the nest of a partridge has been discovered, the hunters sprinkle the path to it with the grain residues of threshing in order to gain the animal's confidence; and when they consider it gained, they put the trap hidden between the earth and the remains of the threshed straw.

223 If partridges are being hunted, the net has a truncated conical form. The smaller end is placed in front of the nest and the larger tied to the ground with string or rope. The more the partridge tries to move forward, the more imprisoned it is.

685 671 Theft of nets is generally punished by a fine in accordance with the written qanums of the tribes.

224 K) Hunting of Jackals (Uhar), Wolves (Ushshan) and Foxes (Dhawardha):[196]

This is effected with an iron trap (dhakhshifth), with various strategems employed because of the cunning of the animals in question. Frequently one of these animals attacks the goats furthest away, and tears them into pieces before the goatherd can arrive. The remains of the goat are tied to a branch, and below them, hidden in the ground, the traps are placed in a circle. They are usually left there for a long time, for if their positions are changed, the animal or animals are apt to become wary. The jackal, after conscientious study and with maximum caution, succeeds most of the time in getting within the circle without harming himself, but the repeated jumps, each time with greater impulse, which he is obliged to make in order to get at the goat, end up with his getting caught in one of the traps (Zarqat).

224 184 825 In the Ibuqquyen, the bait is usually a reed tube full of horse-flies and covered with very rancid butter; this is hidden in the ground, and the traps are placed around it. The wary jackal usually gets inside the circle, attracted by the smell of the butter; but as the cautious animal scratches and bites, he is frightened by the flies, loses his head, and in one of his disorderly leaps, he lands on one of

224 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the
672 fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during
685 the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the dis-
224 position of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the
672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another
183 Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

224 L) Taboos:

782 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to
784 make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh,
[751] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated
411 by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way: she greets him first, lets him have the right of way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the documents in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman) who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his

426 part of the bargain, he is reminded to do so by the chief, and if he
686 refuses, they forcibly commit a theft of animals or property, so
627 that his jma'th will hear of it; and they thus oblige him to fulfill
623 his promises or give rise to the intervention of his jma'th, which will force him to start negotiations.

685 The property of thieves is sold as indemnity, and, if they
627 have gone or if this cannot be done, that of their kinsmen is sold, a fine is imposed, and the eyes of the recalcitrant individual are plucked out by a member of his family if he is caught[68].

623 None of the decisions of the jma'th are registered.

F) Social Organization:

1) The jma'th has generally been defined in terms of what it is not. It has been likened to the Roman forum, the Greek agora, and the Scottish clan[69]; and it has been considered the "cornerstone" or the "roof" of the "Berber house". It has been characterized as an administrative unit by some, and as a social, judicial (i.e. jural), religious or military unit by others. Some have taken the number of houses as a base point, others the fact of whether or not it contains a Friday ("cantonal") mosque. The etymology of the word--"assembly, meeting, council, junta"--has also been invoked as a basis for definition, but this, by itself, is also insufficient[70].

623 In my view, the jma'th is the elemental form of the association
621 of neighboring family groups oriented toward essentially economic ends.
[613] The actual number of such groups, whether two today or two hundred tomorrow, and whether occupying thirty or two hundred households, is

671 agree to the abovementioned truce for one year starting from the present
628 date. All of them appeared for judgment in front of the shiyukh of the
613 Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') which exists in the vicinity of Sidi
728 Abu al-'Afif; attendance at this act was completely general, as there
[443] also came notables such as the blessed, distinguished and excellent
[686] sharif Sidi Ahmad the son of the celebrated saint Sidi Misa'ud, from whose grace God has let us avail ourselves; al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir al-'Abbasi; the shiyukh of Ajdir; the shiyukh of the Murabitin al-Jilmamiyin; and all in general; each of the parties arranging that in case either of them should break off the aforementioned truce in any way before the stipulated time of one year has elapsed, it shall pay a fine of 2000 duros (i.e. 20 x 100) to the shiyukh.

671 After responding with their goods and estates to the completed
628 arrangement, it was put into effect in the presence of the aforemen-
613 tioned shiyukh in the latters' shop in the aforementioned market; and it was accepted in full and in good faith, with neither party having the right to retract in either the present or the future, each one of them making itself responsible for the fulfillment of what has been set down and for which only those mentioned here have the responsibility.

(The obligation to) payment (of the fine) and the agreement are both complete, as indicated. (The undersigned witnesses) have testified to the testimonial capacity of everyone concerned, that on this day, in the interior of the aforementioned shop, each person concerned, among those known by sight and name, is of sound mind and memory and thus
[805] capable of testifying. On the first Wednesday of Rabi' al-Awwal of the Prophet, in the year 1335 (December 27, 1916).[11]

B) Commentary:

671 182 We have here a curious (sic) type of qanun, which, as we read it, reveals the decomposition which Rifian society had reached, the atomism to which its tribal anarchy led, the imperfection, or rather, the inefficacy, of its laws, the irregular coexistence, the demonstration of its independence.

628 613 728 The disputes between two lineages of the Aith Waryaghar threaten to exterminate them through the chain of blood-vengeance in the face of the indifferent attitude of their constituents, who are habituated to taking justice into their own hands in order to defend their own interests. Two rival groups of equal size attain, in their ferocious and persistent struggle, an equal number of losses, and they reach a stage of weariness, a moment of lassitude happily exploited in order to initiate a treaty of peace (author's italics), which will permit them to build up their resources; and this fact leads them to establish this agreement for one year. Those who will (686) see to it that the truce is kept are the shiyukh, to whose protection they submit and who are interested in the affair because of the inducement of the fine which the group must pay, if within this minimal space of time it contravenes what has been agreed upon in any way (author's italics).

671 613 628 728 554 This society lacks a strong executive power; it looked instinctively toward the web of lineages represented through its shiyukh or old chiefs (sic) (no one should believe that this title represented a step in any framework of governmental or judicial power) for a force which was neutral to its feuds and more powerful than itself, to which

574 689 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 784 693 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 312 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done 693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present 805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Entertaining councillors of another tribe. If the councillors of a strange tribe stop at a village for the night, the local village council has charge of their entertainment. They first provide a house for the guests by expelling some childless man and his wife from their dwelling for the night. They then collect foodstuffs. Bread and all fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, and vegetables, are assessed from rich men without payment. Meat, sugar, tea, candles, oil, pepper, butter, and poultry are purchased from members of the *bone* willing to sell them. The boys of the council buy the poultry from widows, and eggs as well, if no one brings them voluntarily. Anyone refusing to supply the bread assessed him may be fined ten *soldi* a loaf; but since no one has ever been known to refuse, the fine is purely theoretical. If in buying those articles not given, the members of the council spend more money than they have in the fine treasury, they pay the excess amount themselves, later collecting it in equal portions from all the men of the *bone* who have been married one year or over. They themselves act as cooks for the visiting councillors.

Entering council chamber unbidden. If any member of the *bone* enters the council chamber while the council is deliberating, the intruder is told to remain and is given tea. When at length he departs, a member of the council is immediately sent out to call him back. This time he is reprimanded for having entered unbidden, and is fined between two and three dollars.

Conversing with women. If a man or boy speaks to a married woman belonging to a *bone* other than his own, on the path or in any other public place, except the market, the village council of the village to which the woman belongs summons the offender and fines him five dollars. If the offender repeatedly seeks out the woman, or loiters about places she is known to frequent in order to converse with her, the village council of the offender's own *bone* fines him between fifty and sixty dollars. If the offense takes place in market it is considered more serious, and comes before the council of the great.[1] These rules do not apply to unmarried women, who may be spoken to, in a respectful manner, by anyone.

Quarrels between women. When one woman injures another with a stone, stick, or other implement, the village council collects a fine of from five to six dollars from the husband of the aggressor. The council generally hears of such cases through gossip, since the husband of the injured woman is usually too ashamed to report it.

Entering a cemetery occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a cemetery when the women of the *bone* are convening there on a Friday or holiday, he is fined five dollars.

Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a saint's tomb in which women are convening, the village council fines him from fifty to a hundred dollars.

Fighting with the hands. If two men fight with their hands, without using any weapon, the village council determines which man started the fight and fines him an amount commensurate with the injury done.

Speaking to an enemy. If a man is caught conversing with a member of a hostile *bone*, at a time when war is either in progress or imminent, the village council of his own *bone* fines him fifty dollars.

In the tribes and territories where there is no village council, the rendering of justice in small affairs which is the work of this body is not performed. For example, one man may cut down another's tree or take his grass without any fine or other official reckoning; he can likewise speak to a woman of another *bone*; but if he does these things he incurs the wrath

[1] See below, p. 102.

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 614 [695] Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A], and their brother Hammu.

621 692 613 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hamnash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 687 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Azizi attended the present act with them.

784 Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

A, ["83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

000 they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down. Furthermore,
437 we may see the alarming case in which the commercial transactions of
556
152 some individuals with the Island of al-Husaima undergo a considerable increase; their gains, fabulously augmented through envy and general misery, permit their rivals to throw doubts and suspicion on the real origin of their opulence; having no other source of wealth, the latter impute frightful treacheries to them. Perhaps a bloodfeud or an
628
177 accusation deprived more than one Amhaw (sing. of Imhawren) of a large Spanish pension from the above island[34].....All this and the constant
613
623 inter-lineage hatreds charged the atmosphere in such a way that somebody had the idea, eagerly grasped by the rest, to hold a meeting in order to put an end to such a calamitous state of affairs.

623 When the date is established and has arrived, the meeting is held, without discussion of anything other than details, for in the preparatory work, as we have said, the participants have already reached the stage of assembling their criteria. There is no delay in expressing whatever must be considered a crime, nor even in the type and importance of the punishment, for as all of them committed sins or hoped for an occasion to do so, they had to establish a moderate punishment under a savage exterior, and, above all, a guarantee of not becoming enveloped in bloodfeuds.

623 For this reason, the popular assembly makes a collective and
687 graphic insult (Blanco: note b, in text), although afterwards this is
685 limited to a fine (Blanco" note c, in text) of fairly sizeable proportions which is imposed upon the smuggler and informer from al-Husaima Island or on a thief, in place of exterminating him. Thus public

623 Thus public
182 esteem and the ideas which such deeds provoke in others are regained;
673
687 they satisfy the mass of the people without having to resort to cru-
695 elty, for.....in a truly humane feeling, note c in the text shows that the author of the crime must have been caught in flagrante delicto.
627 Discounting possible vengeance and not very sure of having succeeded in
623 doing so, note e in the text shows the institution of a popular tri-
554 bunal formed by two neutral individuals, two men who neither take part
671 in the agreement nor are members of the jma'th, but the fact that they have prestige in it is a maximum guarantee of the workability of the qanun in question.

623 Furthermore, the jma'th as a social unit is personified not in
621 its mqaddim, in the Arab manner, but, hostile to personal power, in a triumvirate formed by three of the legislators who took part in the meeting and who remain obligated to watch over the fulfillment of the agreement. This executive organ of power is made up of laymen, and it as much as the aforementioned tribunal is the result of popular election.

671 In the few lines which this qanun has, aside from creating a
624 a code, a tribunal and a police force, all of which are, naturally,
182 gratuitous, it creates a rural exchequer, and all this with a good, natural and admirable feeling.

182
671 It restricts, through fear of fines, damages to the small social
626 unit it represents by guaranteeing the safety of property and discard-
681 ing cravings for economic expansion at the expense of member lineages.[35]
613

671 It creates lineage authorities whose jobs are gratuitous, and,
613 always suspicious, it avoids concentration of power in the hands of one
661 person, a fact which permits neither a shade of tyranny by the latter
182 nor a bastardization of his office.

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take
687
683 justice into his own hands (literally, "ransacking to collect a debt") shall pay 50 duros, and the same for whoever should attack another on
689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of
681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made
443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul)
693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these kin groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

671 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any in-
vader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed im-
potence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organiza-
tion and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

toward women and the exhortation which they conducted at all times with nobility and without wickedness.

On the other hand, we see that in contrast to their fellows of Aith Waryaghar, they neither list in detail nor excoriate cases of theft, a fact which might give rise to the notion that, among them, such actions were no longer considered pernicious. This is not the case at all. Poorer than the Aith Waryaghar, the Aith Siddat must preserve their property with greater zeal, from whence the right of legitimate defense against the aggressor who would try to seize something from them in a field or path, and the right to kill anyone who should penetrate their houses, the only place where they guard their possessions.[93]

The picking of fruit or vegetables in a field or garden in order that a poor man might eat has never been considered an offense by the Rifian, who puts waterjugs along the mountain paths for the thirsty traveler. In addition, the border market of the Aith Siddat and the fact that their geographical location lacks commercial roads are the reasons which, in our opinion, can explain the apparent oversight in listing actions which it is everywhere else desirable to curb.

10. EXAMPLE OF A LIFF[94] BETWEEN TWO TRIBES (BNI BU FRAH AND BNI GMIL):[95]

A) Qanun:

Praise be to God. In the presence of the witness instrumental to the present act and on the day of the date (below) in Dar al-Zikhlif, there appeared for judgment in front of the above notary certain determined members of the Awlad Sa'id of Bani Bu Frah, of the Awlad Ghadura and Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and his allies on the side of their brothers,

RS 671 619 687 648

the people of Bani Dar al-Zikhlif, the people of Agni, the people of the Awlad al-Hamdi ibn al-Qadi of Qubi'a, the people of Iharumen, the people of Igzinnayen[96] and the people of Bani Gmil, all agreeing among themselves, with respect to the defense of the border, (to impose) a fine of 2000 duros upon any of those mentioned who, in case of war in Dar al-Zikhlif, should flee through negligence (at a time when cooperation in border defense is needed) or should even proceed with cunning (in order not to fulfill the agreement), for which he shall pay the sum mentioned earlier in the present document.

RS 687 614 648

The allies of Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura who flee back to their homes in Dar al-Zikhlif shall pay the above amount to each one of the clans. A sum shall be levied from their hands by those indicated in the earlier part of the present document. Those of both clans mentioned who would appear for judgment in the act and combat against their own (people) remain exempt from payment[97], (the justification of) this procedure being that it is the only way to impose brotherhood and unity, and to cause extralimitation against them to cease.

000 He who attended the present agreement with both parties and heard from them what was agreed upon extended this to the requirement of those who solicited it.

At the end of the divine month of Rajab al-Fard of the year 1336 (May 9, 1918).

Servant of his God, (illegible).--(Signature).

RS 671 648

B) Commentary:

The above qanun, as a perusal of it indicates, represents an

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that [443] among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 574 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

67 70 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 692 685

Picking windfall olives. Similarly, the head of each family must pay a quarter of a dollar for each member of his family who starts picking up windfalls before the signal is given.

Theft of olives. The outright theft of olives is punished by a fine of ten dollars.

Trespassing in order to pick grass. If a man catches a woman picking or cutting grass for her cow on his land, he may report her, and her husband will be fined one dollar. But to make such a report is considered mean and few are willing to do so.

Stray goats and cattle in the cemetery. When goats or cattle, either with or without the intention of their guardian, enter a cemetery, their owner is fined a quarter of a dollar for each goat, and a dollar for each bull or cow which entered.

[689]

Repair of irrigation ditches. If any farmer fails to send a man or men to work on a ditch, when he is required to do so, he is fined between two and three dollars per day per man.

Taking water illegally from irrigation ditches. This is considered a serious offense, and although it incurs but a five dollar fine, it always breeds bad feelings and often incites to murder.

[782] 623 692 688

Regulating attendance at prayer. To explain this function it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of religion. Each *bone* in the *canton* is required to send twenty-five men once a week to the common mosque of the *canton* to pray. The village council of each *bone* lists the names of all married men in the *bone*: a day is set for each *bone* to attend the mosque, and the *bone* keeps that day permanently. The first week the first twenty-five men on the list must go, the second week the second twenty-five, and so on until the list has been exhausted, when the procedure starts all over again. If the number of married men in the *bone* is not evenly divisible by twenty-five, those forming the remainder at the foot of the list are supplemented by enough at the head of it to fill the number, and the rotation starts anew. It is the task of the village council in whose territory the cantonal mosque is situated to see that twenty-five men appear from each *bone* on the allotted day. If a *bone* is so small that it does not contain twenty-five, it is combined with another *bone* for this purpose.

If the members of the village council of the mosque territory find that a quota is not full on a certain day, they fine the man who has defaulted five dollars. If this is not paid promptly the council of the great steps in and fines the guilty *bone* between two and three hundred dollars. If a man is away on a journey his name is temporarily stricken from the list and the following names are moved up one place; if he is ill or for some other reason unable to go, he is allowed to send a substitute. If a man falls ill on the way, becomes wounded, or is otherwise prevented from reaching the mosque when it is too late to obtain a substitute, his absence is excused.

The fines thus extracted, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the mosque, formerly consisted of walnuts, almonds, figs, or raisins. Later, when sugar was first imported, two sugar cones were assessed. Later still the money fine was introduced.

623 681 651 692

Providing for exiles from other fifths. When a man has been exiled by the tribal council for a year, two years, or more, he must pass to a different *fifth*, preferably to a *bone* in which he has friends. The village council of the *bone* collects an assessed portion of the crops of every farmer and gives it to him. This it does for the first year only. If he remains more than a year he must work as a share-laborer for a farmer and earn his living. If a farmer refuses to give his assessed portion it is taken by force, and twofold. Such refusals are, however, almost unknown.

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of action of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 684 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 695 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 793 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 231 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these kin groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

671 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any in-
vader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed im-
potence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organiza-
tion and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rlf MX3

623 692 685 *Picking windfall olives.* Similarly, the head of each family must pay a quarter of a dollar for each member of his family who starts picking up windfalls before the signal is given.

Theft of olives. The outright theft of olives is punished by a fine of ten dollars.

Trespassing in order to pick grass. If a man catches a woman picking or cutting grass for her cow on his land, he may report her, and her husband will be fined one dollar. But to make such a report is considered mean and few are willing to do so.

Stray goats and cattle in the cemetery. When goats or cattle, either with or without the intention of their guardian, enter a cemetery, their owner is fined a quarter of a dollar for each goat, and a dollar for each bull or cow which entered.

[689] *Repair of irrigation ditches.* If any farmer fails to send a man or men to work on a ditch, when he is required to do so, he is fined between two and three dollars per day per man.

Taking water illegally from irrigation ditches. This is considered a serious offense, and although it incurs but a five dollar fine, it always breeds bad feelings and often incites to murder.

[782] 623 692 688 *Regulating attendance at prayer.* To explain this function it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of religion. Each *bone* in the *canton* is required to send twenty-five men once a week to the common mosque of the *canton* to pray. The village council of each *bone* lists the names of all married men in the *bone*: a day is set for each *bone* to attend the mosque, and the *bone* keeps that day permanently. The first week the first twenty-five men on the list must go, the second week the second twenty-five, and so on until the list has been exhausted, when the procedure starts all over again. If the number of married men in the *bone* is not evenly divisible by twenty-five, those forming the remainder at the foot of the list are supplemented by enough at the head of it to fill the number, and the rotation starts anew. It is the task of the village council in whose territory the cantonal mosque is situated to see that twenty-five men appear from each *bone* on the allotted day. If a *bone* is so small that it does not contain twenty-five, it is combined with another *bone* for this purpose.

If the members of the village council of the mosque territory find that a quota is not full on a certain day, they fine the man who has defaulted five dollars. If this is not paid promptly the council of the great steps in and fines the guilty *bone* between two and three hundred dollars. If a man is away on a journey his name is temporarily stricken from the list and the following names are moved up one place; if he is ill or for some other reason unable to go, he is allowed to send a substitute. If a man falls ill on the way, becomes wounded, or is otherwise prevented from reaching the mosque when it is too late to obtain a substitute, his absence is excused.

The fines thus extracted, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the mosque, formerly consisted of walnuts, almonds, figs, or raisins. Later, when sugar was first imported, two sugar cones were assessed. Later still the money fine was introduced.

623 681 651 692 *Providing for exiles from other fifths.* When a man has been exiled by the tribal council for a year, two years, or more, he must pass to a different *fifth*, preferably to a *bone* in which he has friends. The village council of the *bone* collects an assessed portion of the crops of every farmer and gives it to him. This it does for the first year only. If he remains more than a year he must work as a share-laborer for a farmer and earn his living. If a farmer refuses to give his assessed portion it is taken by force, and twofold. Such refusals are, however, almost unknown.

1: Coon E-5 · (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Entertaining councillors of another tribe. If the councillors of a strange tribe stop at a village for the night, the local village council has charge of their entertainment. They first provide a house for the guests by expelling some childless man and his wife from their dwelling for the night. They then collect foodstuffs. Bread and all fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, and vegetables, are assessed from rich men without payment. Meat, sugar, tea, candles, oil, pepper, butter, and poultry are purchased from members of the *bone* willing to sell them. The boys of the council buy the poultry from widows, and eggs as well, if no one brings them voluntarily. Anyone refusing to supply the bread assessed him may be fined ten *soldi* a loaf; but since no one has ever been known to refuse, the fine is purely theoretical. If in buying those articles not given, the members of the council spend more money than they have in the fine treasury, they pay the excess amount themselves, later collecting it in equal portions from all the men of the *bone* who have been married one year or over. They themselves act as cooks for the visiting councillors.

Entering council chamber unbidden. If any member of the *bone* enters the council chamber while the council is deliberating, the intruder is told to remain and is given tea. When at length he departs, a member of the council is immediately sent out to call him back. This time he is reprimanded for having entered unbidden, and is fined between two and three dollars.

Conversing with women. If a man or boy speaks to a married woman belonging to a *bone* other than his own, on the path or in any other public place, except the market, the village council of the village to which the woman belongs summons the offender and fines him five dollars. If the offender repeatedly seeks out the woman, or loiters about places she is known to frequent in order to converse with her, the village council of the offender's own *bone* fines him between fifty and sixty dollars. If the offense takes place in market it is considered more serious, and comes before the council of the great.[1] These rules do not apply to unmarried women, who may be spoken to, in a respectful manner, by anyone.

Quarrels between women. When one woman injures another with a stone, stick, or other implement, the village council collects a fine of from five to six dollars from the husband of the aggressor. The council generally hears of such cases through gossip, since the husband of the injured woman is usually too ashamed to report it.

Entering a cemetery occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a cemetery when the women of the *bone* are convening there on a Friday or holiday, he is fined five dollars.

Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a saint's tomb in which women are convening, the village council fines him from fifty to a hundred dollars.

Fighting with the hands. If two men fight with their hands, without using any weapon, the village council determines which man started the fight and fines him an amount commensurate with the injury done.

Speaking to an enemy. If a man is caught conversing with a member of a hostile *bone*, at a time when war is either in progress or imminent, the village council of his own *bone* fines him fifty dollars.

In the tribes and territories where there is no village council, the rendering of justice in small affairs which is the work of this body is not performed. For example, one man may cut down another's tree or take his grass without any fine or other official reckoning; he can likewise speak to a woman of another *bone*; but if he does these things he incurs the wrath

[1] See below, p. 102.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

627 of the men affected, and may thus start a feud which will end in killings, after which it becomes the concern of the councillors to render justice.

In regions where the Arab form of government has supplanted the indigenous type, such affairs are decided by the sheikh.

DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT

623 This council, which is the governing body of the *canton*, does not convene as often as the village council, but comes together only in market and when some occasion demands it, its moderator then sending for the members. In *cantons* which have no markets, the council of the great has no regular meetings.

Supporting the village council. If anyone who has been fined by the village council refuses to pay it, that body sends a messenger to the moderator of the council of the great. The moderator sends for the members, who come armed to a place previously agreed upon and proceed in a body to the house of the offender. There they assess upon a him fine several times that originally imposed, amounting usually to between fifty and two hundred dollars, depending on the offense.

623 692 [685] *Theft of livestock.* A man who has stolen sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules, or horses is summoned before the councillors and fined between a hundred and two hundred dollars, besides being forced to restore to his victim the animals stolen, in cash or in kind. The theft of camels does not incur jurisdiction because of the lawless condition of the nomads who own them. Such a theft simply results in a fight.

[683] *Fighting with sticks.* The councillors decide which of the parties is at fault and fine him fifty dollars. If the *bone* of the injured man is a strong one, the councillors force the culprit to bring a goat, bread, tea, and sugar and go with them to the house of the injured man to present him with a feast. Such a feast, provided by visitors to the house, is a strong act of compulsive magic and cannot be disregarded. The recipient of such a favor must grant any request made and cease enmity against the giver. If the *bone* of the injured man is weak, no precaution of this nature is necessary.

[683] *Shooting at a man but missing him.* He who shoots at another without hitting him must pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the councillors.

[689] *Speaking to women in market.* This offense is considered greater than that of speaking to women in any other place. It is settled by the councillors of the *canton* in whose territory the market is held, and is punished by a hundred dollar fine.

Entering a women's market. For a man to enter a market which is restricted to women is an offense as serious as that of speaking to a woman in a common market, if not more so. It is punished by a fine of a hundred dollars, paid to the councillors.

623 692 684 *Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act.* If a husband hears that his wife has been unfaithful, but did not actually witness such an event, he is not allowed to kill the suspected man without incurring the penalty for ordinary murder. He has the privilege of bringing the matter before the councillors, who fine the suspect, if they are reasonably sure of his guilt, between a hundred and two hundred dollars. They forcibly divorce the woman from her husband, and forbid her to remarry him or any other man. Women so divorced return to their parents to live. Such a woman often becomes a prostitute, plying her trade with the greatest secrecy possible. If she is caught doing this, the

784 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a per-
272 son receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be
296 squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the
262 prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-
432 speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by sell-
689 ing bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

778 [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but
784 also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the
[783] fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is
821 shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

262 "In the name of God, God is most great". This may be said before
[264] the breaking of the first egg only (Andjra), or before the breaking of each egg (Ait [363] Waryager).

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz unmarried men and girls refrain from eating the nose of any animal, lest they should have rain at their wedding. Among the same tribe scribes and boys who are studying the Koran must not eat an animal's throat, because the eating of it would make their voices hoarse. Among the Ait Waryager the same part is for a similar reason not given to children to eat. They also prohibit their women from eating the testicles of any male animal, which are eaten by the men; and they believe that if a child ate the kidney of an animal it would come out as lumps on the face and body of the child.

[364] A man who has killed an edible wild animal or bird eats its head in order to be successful in hunting (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he eats, for the same reason, both the head and the heart, though he may share them with his wife and children.

224 [365] Various customs relating to hunting, target-practice, and
689 guns have been mentioned in earlier chapters, but others may be added.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz in Dukkala, if one of the hunters misbehaves, the others draw round him a circle, a so-called gart r-rma, and he has to remain inside it until he pays a fine (haqq or d'aira), after which the hunters surround him and make fatha. An offence which makes a hunter subject to this treatment on the evening after the hunt is the shooting or killing of a hare which is asleep, in which case he will have to give a feast to his companions; for both in Dukkala and elsewhere (Ait Waryager) a hunter must not kill a sleeping hare because it deprives his companions and the grayhounds of the pleasure of hunting it.

[369] Among the Ait Waryager, if one of the rrma has misbehaved, the others punish him when they are shooting at targets by filling the hood of his cloak with stones and compelling him to sit at a distance from them; and they do not remove the stones and admit him to their company until he has repeated the prayer for the Prophet a certain number of times, fifty or a hundred or more, according to their discretion.

844 [370] When a woman is going to give birth to a child, or if her delivery proves difficult, certain practices are often resorted to in order to facilitate it.

556 (423) (425)

under the Spanish, remained more or less a part of his tribe. His son continued to accumulate wealth but exclusively in terms of land, especially from Spaniards leaving the country. He maintained daily contact with his tribe, attended weddings of the more important people within the Beni Wariyaghar although he lived in the city of Alhucemas, had close and intense connections with the countryside. This man's own son, an officer in the army, was visiting Alhucemas and was accused by the police chief of drinking in a public place. The police chief, a recent transfer from the southern zone, was unaware of the prominence of the boy and had him arrested. As soon as his father heard of this he obtained the immediate release of his son through the Ministry of Interior and the suspension of the police chief.

(689) (625)

These two examples are illustrative of the fact that wealth itself is not correlated with prestige or power. One might even suggest that analytically there are two sorts of wealth, each based on a different sort of operation in terms of accumulation and distribution. One sort of wealth, that which derives from the land, is a part of a greater complex in which social factors motivate economic action. The other sort of wealth generally operates free of these social factors and is motivated by the profit incentive.

685 3) theft, with corresponding fines, and even one of the thief's kinsmen putting out his eyes[61].

673 671 If there are certain crimes, known to all and carrying with them sanctions also known to all, which do not (translator's italics) appear in the qanuns (such as bestiality[52], etc.), they are kept out purposely because of the shame, the hashuma, of those who formulate the decrees. In other instances (such as certain misdemeanors having to do with agriculture and fields), they are kept out because their inclusion is difficult and they are also sufficiently well known to and by all concerned so that they do not need to be put in. In still other cases, they are kept out because they are questions of custom which require consultation with men of laws or arbiters. Finally, these are all misdemeanors the nature of which, in one way or another, is inadequate to be put before the public in special announcements by market criers.

I) Miscellaneous Data on Fines for Lesser Offenses:

1) Among the Ibuqquyen:

224 a) Hunting[63]: Saturday is the day for hunting (rayāh or [689] thingimarth)[64]. Whoever does not attend pays a 5-peseta fine[65], and altercations during hunting are punished by a fine or by giving a meal to the other hunters. Animals killed do not belong to the man who kills [685] them but to the man who finds them[66]. Damages to cultivated lands are paid for by those who caused them. If it is not known who was responsible, the fine is divided up among all the hunters[67]. Any birds or eggs which are found by one of the hunters during the hunt are divided up [425] amongst them all. Any other objects found which are obviously lost articles of a third party are returned to their owners.

A, [This should read "62" not "52"--Analyst]

628 721 they send out a couple of individuals to care for their relatives (in their absence) and tell them what has happened, and by day, they have to feed them, after which, once this is done, they start the march toward the enemy group in order to deliver the coup de main either at once or through careful skirmishing.

There is no top command, for, as the objective is clear, it is not needed. All that must be done is to write finis to the enemy. Individual desertion is shameful, booty is eagerly anticipated, and members of the war-party do not worry about the fact that there are neither rearguard services nor defense.

B) Harkas and their Formation (fragmentary):

[701] [626] [689] The obligation to serve in a harka or war-party was general and accepted by all, and avoidance of harka duty was an object of censure and sanction. Any and all groups which were threatened (both internally and externally) provided variable contingents which were activated periodically. Until protectorate times, punitive expeditions organized by the Moroccan Sultans to chastise recalcitrant tribesmen were augmented by auxiliary harkas made up from the tribes through [648] whose territory the expeditions passed. A good example was the foray undertaken by Bushta al-Baghdadi, one of the fin de siècle commanders of the Moroccan army, against the pirates of the Ibuqquyen in 1898[4]. 701 More recently, 'Abd al-Krim solicited harkas for individual engagements; he maintained a reduced contingent, which was periodically increased, under arms. The system was one of partial mobilization with relief contingents, the number and amount of which were fixed by 'Abd al-Krim. Their recruitment and provisions were handled by their

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present
805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take
687 683 justice into his own hands (literally, "ransacking to collect a debt") shall pay 50 duros, and the same for whoever should attack another on
689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of
681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made
443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul)
693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

682 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone,
443 and should kill him shall be fined 500 duros[69], and if, in attacking
he should miss him (i.e. if the bullet should fail to reach its mark),
685 he shall pay 200 duros. Whoever should take justice into his own hands
443 on the path to the market shall be fined 50 duros and shall return what-
ever object he made off with. Of those who should incite riots with
689 shouts and gunshots, as (happened) to the people of Tafrast, Ait Musa
w 'Amar (both in the clan of the Aith 'Ari) and to the people of Ajdir
(in the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), each one shall pay with his
689 death (literally, "with his neck"), that is, he must be shot. Whoever
443 should be discovered in the Monday Women's Market (Suq ath-Thnain n
562 Timgharin, at Azghar) shall be forced to pay 10 duros.

671 This is what has been decided (for fulfillment) of justice in
443 the above-mentioned market. May God, for the common good, put into
agreement His ideas and the criteria of His lords (of the market).
689 Punishment shall seek out anyone who should wish to provoke riots--
may God in His power make him meet his end.

000 The abovementioned shuyukh have worked with good intent, with
the idea of being useful. May God cause the miracles of the saints
to be manifested, and of the saint of the tomb situated in front of the
market (i.e. that of Sidi Bu 'Afif).

Each of the abovementioned shuyukh designated among his brothers
(i.e. among the men in his jurisdiction) those faithful to him (i.e.
those who constituted his escort and supported his decisions), as for
example: the Shaikh Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar designated among them
the Murabit bin Muhammad bin 'Abdallah Bu 'Azza; the Murabit Hammu bin
al-Hajj Muhammad w al-Qadi; 'Umar bin al-Hajj Tuhami Adardush; Muhammad

312 The
562 jma'ths agree on the amount of the fines to be imposed for infractions
[623] of these rules, especially those having to do with the freedom of
[681] women, forbidding the men either to come near them or to remain in those paths which lead to their washing or bathing sites. Ordinarily, in this case, a turn is set up for a boy to act as guard, at a prudent distance from the site, if the latter by its topographical situation or by its distance from the village renders such a move necessary.

D) Irrigation in General:

312 The utilization of water in the Central Rif, particularly
695 among the Aith Waryaghar, is the object, in both general and particular cases, of agreements between the users; these agreements are made at the beginning of the summer for those water points which have a small or intermittent flow and which are of short duration. These agree-
[212] ments are also usually unwritten, and they deal with the following points: 1) dams, 2) network of irrigation ditches, 3) repairs to ditches, 4) turns (nubth, pl. nubath) of those who irrigate, and 5) infractions and sanctions.

[466] The labor as well as the necessary repairs are done by compulsory personal service (twiza)[119] and proportional contributions on the part of the irrigators. Any ditches which need special work
[333] done on them, such as bridges or retaining dams, are previously agreed upon to be done by contract with master-masons, with the cost of the materials included.

312 Infractions are usually reduced to: 1) appropriation by anyone
689 of a turn or turns of water outside or exceeding his own, and 2)
241 differences and disputes which during the "Republik" were settled
242
627

312
689
[24]
[34]
[62]

amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

312
621
624

312
675
423

The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

312
57
[805]

Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

000 and he acquires a false idea of the environment in which he finds himself.

B) Days and Sites:

224 619 689 For this reason, all the tribes had fixed days for hunting during the week; it was obligatory for all able-bodied men, and those who eluded such an obligation were penalized.[182]

224 This obligation, like all those which this society imposed upon its members, was not capricious, but served a utilitarian end and responded to a basic need. When the number of the line of beaters was greater, so were the probabilities of yield in the hunt, insuring with good practical sense the flushing of a greater amount of game, the consumption of which was the hunt's object most of the time. In most cases, as today, the meat was to be eaten in common, and never sold; for the Rifian, outside of the times of prohibition, the hunt must be free of all bonds and impositions, for today (1939), it if were not for the understandable tolerance of the Spanish tribal administration, the law would become a privilege for the European hunter, reserving for him a distraction or gain at the cost of the need of the tribesmen.

[796] Even today, the Rifians still continue to hunt on fixed days, ordinarily on Saturdays, but never on Fridays (day of rest) nor on market days; even so hunting is not obligatory in most villages. In the clan of the Izimmuren, in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen, people hunt on Saturdays or Mondays; in the Aith 'Ammarth, on Wednesdays, Saturdays or Sundays; in the Aith Hadhifa clan (Aith Waryaghar), on Thursdays or Saturdays; etc.

224 671 aid was rendered with firearms, to pay a cartridge, and if rendered with a ferret, to surrender half of the animal taken, for the maintenance of ferrets, based on milk, eggs and bread with olive oil, is costly. The same holds true if he is lent a net; he must pay half of the animals he catches (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 689 Anyone who, if help is required of him, denies it and deliberately frightens the game away with shouts and gestures, in order to hunt it later on his own, is obliged to pay a fine of 25 pesetas for his selfishness.[192]

671 224 I) Snow:

The tracks of animals (largely hares and rabbits) and the footprints of hunters give rise to the following cases:

1) The animals are for whoever discovers them and follows their tracks from the point where these begin or further; this is thus a recognition of the greatest effort (Aith 'Ammarth).

2) This right may be yielded by the pursuer, for reasons of weariness, etc., to anyone whom he meets on the way; and in case he abandons the search, he loses his rights (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 224 423 3) After the den of an animal is discovered, the hunter makes a circle in the snow around it. This circle is a sign of priority rights to the animal within it, and it permits the hunter to follow new tracks even though he may not kill the animal within the burrow.

671 224 423 627 In case another man takes the animal from its den, the claim is examined in front of the mulu' by the first hunter taking oath to having made the circle in order to locate the animal first.

[681] If through lack of other proof and if afterward it comes to

224 619 689 114 182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

224 67 [114] [178] We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

224 628 613 614 186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix.

A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front
[402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills
(Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168]
[591] It has two turns, for the Thimsaman and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

[591] Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and
[402] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'-
audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid
n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

104 Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")-anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the
614 three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those
312 who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and
578 those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the
423 River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of
691 Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Arhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

the Ikhemrijen forbid warfare and alliances, with a result that, as a natural outlet for bellicose exuberance, brigandage is rife. 619 642

In the northwestern part of Beni Amart, in the *canton* of Ijaonen, the power of the Ikhemrijen prevents warfare and alliance; otherwise the government is purely Riffian in type.

In the Ghomara the Arab system of government is employed, with the customary alignment of kaids (leaders of tribes), khalifas (leaders of *fifths*), and sheikhs (leaders of *cantons*), excepting that all these officers are under the jurisdiction of a marabutic family of Tetuan.

Metalsa, except Asht Dris, Beni Bu Yahyi, and Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, employ a hybrid form of government in which there is no village council and the council of the great consists only of two or three men who meet in the market to administer justice for the region near it.

Mtiwa, Mestassa, Beni Bu Yafer, Ait Shisher, Masuza, Kebdana, Muziet, Rgheiwa, Ain Mediuna, Bab Wendar, Beni Ulid, Branes, and Burda had fallen completely under the Arab system before the time when Abd el Krim attempted to remodel the government. In the eastern section and in Mtiwa and Mestassa the kaid was euphemistically called by the Berber term *amghar* (councillor), and in the Senhajan tribes mentioned the sheikh was called *kebir el jama*, or "great one of the congregation."

DUTIES OF THE VILLAGE COUNCIL

The cases tried by this body and the matters it is required to regulate are as follows (the fines listed are only approximate): 623 692 685

Theft of eggs and of poultry. The thief must pay a fine of thirty dollars. If the culprit is a child, his father appears and pays it.

Theft of maize. Boys who steal early ripening maize are collectively fined five dollars. The injured farmer has the right to pick ripened ears from the terraces of the thieves' parents to the number which he has lost.

Cutting maize in adjoining terraces. Sometimes maize growing in adjoining terraces, owned by different men, ripens at different times. The owner of the later ripening maize may wish to prevent the owner of the other field from cutting his crop until both are ready, through fear that his own maize may be trampled in the process. This situation arises when it is necessary to enter one terrace by passing through the other. In this case the village council enjoins the owner of the early maize to wait until the other is ready.

Breaking branches of fruit trees. If goats or children break branches from a fruit tree, the owner of the tree brings the branch or branches to the mosque, where the village council counts the number of buds on the branch or branches. A *girch* (about five cents) is charged for each bud, the recompense to be paid the owner of the tree, and in addition a fine of twenty dollars must be paid.

Trampling vegetable gardens. This offense is punished by a fine of one to two dollars, with no restitution.

Policing orchards. During the harvest season the members of this body police the orchards of the *bons* during the night to prevent thefts.

Starting the grape picking. The village council, which has charge of allotting poor families to rich ones for the grape picking, exacts a fine of twenty dollars from anyone guilty of picking grapes before the signal is given.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 692 685

Picking windfall olives. Similarly, the head of each family must pay a quarter of a dollar for each member of his family who starts picking up windfalls before the signal is given.

Theft of olives. The outright theft of olives is punished by a fine of ten dollars.

Trespassing in order to pick grass. If a man catches a woman picking or cutting grass for her cow on his land, he may report her, and her husband will be fined one dollar. But to make such a report is considered mean and few are willing to do so.

Stray goats and cattle in the cemetery. When goats or cattle, either with or without the intention of their guardian, enter a cemetery, their owner is fined a quarter of a dollar for each goat, and a dollar for each bull or cow which entered.

[689]

Repair of irrigation ditches. If any farmer fails to send a man or men to work on a ditch, when he is required to do so, he is fined between two and three dollars per day per man.

Taking water illegally from irrigation ditches. This is considered a serious offense, and although it incurs but a five dollar fine, it always breeds bad feelings and often incites to murder.

[782] 623 692 688

Regulating attendance at prayer. To explain this function it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of religion. Each *bone* in the *canton* is required to send twenty-five men once a week to the common mosque of the *canton* to pray. The village council of each *bone* lists the names of all married men in the *bone*; a day is set for each *bone* to attend the mosque, and the *bone* keeps that day permanently. The first week the first twenty-five men on the list must go, the second week the second twenty-five, and so on until the list has been exhausted, when the procedure starts all over again. If the number of married men in the *bone* is not evenly divisible by twenty-five, those forming the remainder at the foot of the list are supplemented by enough at the head of it to fill the number, and the rotation starts anew. It is the task of the village council in whose territory the cantonal mosque is situated to see that twenty-five men appear from each *bone* on the allotted day. If a *bone* is so small that it does not contain twenty-five, it is combined with another *bone* for this purpose.

If the members of the village council of the mosque territory find that a quota is not full on a certain day, they fine the man who has defaulted five dollars. If this is not paid promptly the council of the great steps in and fines the guilty *bone* between two and three hundred dollars. If a man is away on a journey his name is temporarily stricken from the list and the following names are moved up one place; if he is ill or for some other reason unable to go, he is allowed to send a substitute. If a man falls ill on the way, becomes wounded, or is otherwise prevented from reaching the mosque when it is too late to obtain a substitute, his absence is excused.

The fines thus extracted, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the mosque, formerly consisted of walnuts, almonds, figs, or raisins. Later, when sugar was first imported, two sugar cones were assessed. Later still the money fine was introduced.

623 681 651 692

Providing for exiles from other fifths. When a man has been exiled by the tribal council for a year, two years, or more, he must pass to a different *fifth*, preferably to a *bone* in which he has friends. The village council of the *bone* collects an assessed portion of the crops of every farmer and gives it to him. This it does for the first year only. If he remains more than a year he must work as a share-laborer for a farmer and earn his living. If a farmer refuses to give his assessed portion it is taken by force, and twofold. Such refusals are, however, almost unknown.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Entertaining councillors of another tribe. If the councillors of a strange tribe stop at a village for the night, the local village council has charge of their entertainment. They first provide a house for the guests by expelling some childless man and his wife from their dwelling for the night. They then collect foodstuffs. Bread and all fruits, both fresh and dried, nuts, and vegetables, are assessed from rich men without payment. Meat, sugar, tea, candles, oil, pepper, butter, and poultry are purchased from members of the *bone* willing to sell them. The boys of the council buy the poultry from widows, and eggs as well, if no one brings them voluntarily. Anyone refusing to supply the bread assessed him may be fined ten *soldi* a loaf; but since no one has ever been known to refuse, the fine is purely theoretical. If in buying those articles not given, the members of the council spend more money than they have in the fine treasury, they pay the excess amount themselves, later collecting it in equal portions from all the men of the *bone* who have been married one year or over. They themselves act as cooks for the visiting councillors. 623 574 651 687 692

Entering council chamber unbidden. If any member of the *bone* enters the council chamber while the council is deliberating, the intruder is told to remain and is given tea. When at length he departs, a member of the council is immediately sent out to call him back. This time he is reprimanded for having entered unbidden, and is fined between two and three dollars. 623 687 692

Conversing with women. If a man or boy speaks to a married woman belonging to a *bone* other than his own, on the path or in any other public place, except the market, the village council of the village to which the woman belongs summons the offender and fines him five dollars. If the offender repeatedly seeks out the woman, or loiters about places she is known to frequent in order to converse with her, the village council of the offender's own *bone* fines him between fifty and sixty dollars. If the offense takes place in market it is considered more serious, and comes before the council of the great.[1] These rules do not apply to unmarried women, who may be spoken to, in a respectful manner, by anyone. 623 692 689

Quarrels between women. When one woman injures another with a stone, stick, or other implement, the village council collects a fine of from five to six dollars from the husband of the aggressor. The council generally hears of such cases through gossip, since the husband of the injured woman is usually too ashamed to report it. 623 692 [683]

Entering a cemetery occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a cemetery when the women of the *bone* are convening there on a Friday or holiday, he is fined five dollars. [689]

Entering a saint's tomb occupied by women. If a man or boy enters a saint's tomb in which women are convening, the village council fines him from fifty to a hundred dollars.

Fighting with the hands. If two men fight with their hands, without using any weapon, the village council determines which man started the fight and fines him an amount commensurate with the injury done. [683]

Speaking to an enemy. If a man is caught conversing with a member of a hostile *bone*, at a time when war is either in progress or imminent, the village council of his own *bone* fines him fifty dollars. [687]

In the tribes and territories where there is no village council, the rendering of justice in small affairs which is the work of this body is not performed. For example, one man may cut down another's tree or take his grass without any fine or other official reckoning; he can likewise speak to a woman of another *bone*; but if he does these things he incurs the wrath 627

[1] See below, p. 102.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

627 of the men affected, and may thus start a feud which will end in killings, after which it becomes the concern of the councillors to render justice.

In regions where the Arab form of government has supplanted the indigenous type, such affairs are decided by the sheikh.

DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT

623 This council, which is the governing body of the *canton*, does not convene as often as the village council, but comes together only in market and when some occasion demands it, its moderator then sending for the members. In *cantons* which have no markets, the council of the great has no regular meetings.

Supporting the village council. If anyone who has been fined by the village council refuses to pay it, that body sends a messenger to the moderator of the council of the great. The moderator sends for the members, who come armed to a place previously agreed upon and proceed in a body to the house of the offender. There they assess upon a him fine several times that originally imposed, amounting usually to between fifty and two hundred dollars, depending on the offense.

623 692 [685] *Theft of livestock.* A man who has stolen sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules, or horses is summoned before the councillors and fined between a hundred and two hundred dollars, besides being forced to restore to his victim the animals stolen, in cash or in kind. The theft of camels does not incur jurisdiction because of the lawless condition of the nomads who own them. Such a theft simply results in a fight.

[683] *Fighting with sticks.* The councillors decide which of the parties is at fault and fine him fifty dollars. If the *bone* of the injured man is a strong one, the councillors force the culprit to bring a goat, bread, tea, and sugar and go with them to the house of the injured man to present him with a feast. Such a feast, provided by visitors to the house, is a strong act of compulsive magic and cannot be disregarded. The recipient of such a favor must grant any request made and cease enmity against the giver. If the *bone* of the injured man is weak, no precaution of this nature is necessary.

[689] *Shooting at a man but missing him.* He who shoots at another without hitting him must pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the councillors.

[683] *Speaking to women in market.* This offense is considered greater than that of speaking to women in any other place. It is settled by the councillors of the *canton* in whose territory the market is held, and is punished by a hundred dollar fine.

[689] *Entering a women's market.* For a man to enter a market which is restricted to women is an offense as serious as that of speaking to a woman in a common market, if not more so. It is punished by a fine of a hundred dollars, paid to the councillors.

623 692 684 *Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act.* If a husband hears that his wife has been unfaithful, but did not actually witness such an event, he is not allowed to kill the suspected man without incurring the penalty for ordinary murder. He has the privilege of bringing the matter before the councillors, who fine the suspect, if they are reasonably sure of his guilt, between a hundred and two hundred dollars. They forcibly divorce the woman from her husband, and forbid her to remarry him or any other man. Women so divorced return to their parents to live. Such a woman often becomes a prostitute, plying her trade with the greatest secrecy possible. If she is caught doing this, the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

man with whom she is involved is punished just as was the first convicted offender. If she has been publicly exposed several times as a prostitute, the men of her *bone* kidnap her, carry her into the mountains, and there kill her and hide her body. No notice is taken of her absence, and if the councillors hear about the affair they pretend not to have done so.

If a woman catches her husband in the act of adultery with another woman, she ordinarily goes back to her own people and tells them of it. The men of her family, her father, brothers, or paternal uncle, may bring the matter up before the councillors and have the husband fined and divorced. In many cases, however, the men of her *rein* persuade the woman to do nothing about it, thinking that to make a commotion would only cause the disruption of the *bone*. In case the woman has married outside her *bone*, whether or not action takes place depends largely upon the respect which her own *bone* has for that of her husband. In any case, the sacramental defilement of the man is not considered as great as that of the woman in the opposite situation.

Blood money. Although murders, woundings, and adultery caught in the act are offenses beyond the jurisdiction of the council of the great and are relegated to the tribal council, one consequence of them falls directly upon the councillors. This is the assessment and collection of the *diith*, or blood money. Whereas the tribal council has the right to impose the fine, the council of the great has charge of compensation to the injured family. This takes place after the tribal council has finished its judgment and punishment. Murder is atoned for by the payment of a sum between one and five hundred dollars. The amount varies from *canton* to *canton*, but within a *canton* is constant and inflexible. Wounds are paid for at the rate of twenty-five dollars a month for each month of convalescence, until the injured man is able to work again.

The man who committed the crime pays, if he is able. If he is unable to raise the money by selling his property, the *bone* pays. In some *bones* the group as a whole always pays, whether the guilty one is able to raise the money or not; in others a man other than the guilty one pays, with the understanding that he is to receive the total of the next blood-money payment to his *bone*.

In the *bones* which pay individually, receipts are given to the children of the deceased, and if he left no children, to his father. Children receive the money on the basis that one boy is equal to two girls. If the deceased leaves neither children nor father, it is divided among the members of the *bone*. Many *bones* refuse altogether to receive blood money, preferring to take it out in blood by killing a member of the hostile *bone*, in which case, after the punishment of the tribal council is finished, the account is considered by the councillors as settled. Frequently the injured *bone* accepts the blood money, then suffers a revulsion of feeling and takes blood vengeance in addition, in which case it is required to return the payment.

Murders within the *bone* rarely occur, and are considered unnatural crimes. No blood money is assessed, because such an offender is instantly killed by his own people if he is unable to escape. A man fleeing such a crime will not be harbored by any Riffian, and must continue until he has left the Rif altogether. Even in this case he must take care to go to some place to which Riffians do not ordinarily travel, lest revenge overtake him later.

Attending weddings outside the canton. Another duty of the council of the great, this time of a bloodless nature, is to attend weddings of other councillors or their sons in other *cantons* or *fifths*. This is done in order to foster friendly relations between the two groups.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 The councillors go in a body, taking with them twenty or more girls adept at singing and dancing, hired musicians, a bull or cow, two or three mules laden with bread, and quantities of tea, sugar, and candles. The cost of the presents and the fees of the musicians are paid out of money collected in fines.

DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 692 The task of the tribal council is to render judgment, exact fines, and destroy property in cases of adultery caught in the act, murder, and woundings; to make decisions as to tribal alliances in warfare; and to interfere with internal fights in other tribes.

684 837 *Adultery caught in the act.* A husband who surprises his wife in the act of adultery has the traditional privilege of killing the man, removing his genitals and placing them in the mouth of his corpse, killing his wife, and ripping her from pubis to diaphragm with a knife. This action is a privilege and not a duty. Many husbands are physically unable to do so; others are disinclined; still others mutilate their wives by cutting off the fleshy parts of their noses and let them go. One instance is known in Gzemmaya of a man who thrust live coals into his wife's vagina and then released her. In at least half the cases, recently at any rate, no revenge is taken on the woman, her divorce and disgrace being considered ample punishment.

646 684 692 When the members of the tribal council hear of this event, they leave whatever they are doing and go as rapidly as possible to the adulterer's house. This they burn; they impose a fine of one thousand dollars or thereabouts, depending on the usage of the tribe, and on the importance of the *bone*. The fine is accepted either in cash, livestock, land, or in all three. When land and livestock are taken they are sold on the spot, not by bidding but by arbitrary prices, fair to the victim, placed on each animal or portion of land. If the proceeds of the sale exceed the amount of the fine, the balance is returned to the *bone* of the adulterer. If the adulterer and the adulteress belong to different *bones* the burden of the fine is shared between the *bones*. If the adulterer has survived the vengeance of the injured man he must leave the tribe forever. Women who survive go back to their families, forcibly divorced and forbidden to marry again.

T586

684 After the cash of the fine is in hand, it is divided among the *fifths*, each receiving an equal share, to be divided evenly among each *canton* composing the *fifth*. Thus the *canton* of the offenders receives back a portion of the money which some of its members have paid. It often refuses to accept this, in which case the money goes to the actual payers. *Cantons* friendly with that of the adulterer may likewise refuse to accept, and their money too is returned.

646 692 683 *Wounding.* When one man wounds another, the tribal council comes to the offender's house and exacts a fine of five hundred dollars after questioning the councillor or councillors belonging to the offending *bone*. The fine is always paid by the *bone* as a whole, whether the blood money is or not.

646 692 683 621 *Murder.* When one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If the man and his *bone* refuse to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which has refused has no allies, it seldom wins,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

but there are few *bones* without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The *bone* which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another *fifth*, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses being caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council.

A *bone* may thus be expelled from a tribe, permanently or temporarily. A *bone* which is continually making trouble and causing feuds may be the subject of a special meeting of the tribal council, which decides to exile it from the tribe either permanently or for a given number of years. Killing people on Mohammedan feast days or during the month of Ramadan is one of the strongest reasons for the expulsion of a *bone*.

This habit of exiling *bones* has been going on for so long that there are today numerous colonies of exiled Riffians living outside the Rif. Such are colonies of Beni Urriaghel in Oran and in Tangier; of Beni Amart in Ain Leuh, on the Wergha, of Beni Amart and Beni Hadifa at Armeila, on Wed Teheris; of Beni Tuzin at Zerhoun; of Temjunt of Gzennaya in Ain Mediuna (Beni Gzin); of Beni Yunes of Gzennaya at el Kob, in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Ulid; and the Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iherrushen of Gzennaya at el Mta outside of Fez. Most of these exiles could now go back if they so wished, but they have been away for so long, in many cases for generations, that they no longer have any desire to return.

Sometimes a murder spreads into a feud and from a feud into a war so rapidly that before a tribal council can come together to deliberate the councillors find themselves fighting on one side or another, in a tribal war.

Murder often leads to immediate revenge, and immediate revenge to a feud between *bones*. The feud may be a bitter one, in fact a pitched battle, in which may join other *bones* allied of old to one or other of the principal combatants. Most allies, however, are made anew on the occasion of each war. An alliance is called *liff*; it belongs more properly under the heading of magic than under that of political organization, but must be discussed at this point if the complexities of Riffian warfare are to be understood.

A *liff* is a shame-compulsion laid by one *bone* on another, a magical act which forces the second *bone* into alliance with, or at least toleration of, the other. By making *liff* with a number of other *bones*, a *bone* may increase its fighting force many times, and by both sides industriously making *liff* with others, a general war starts, in which there may not remain enough of the tribal council to make its convening worth while.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

of land under cultivation which he possesses; it also assures the collection of the market tax, a small tariff paid by each man to the market *amīn* on the animals and produce which he brings into the market to sell. The money is destined for «fractional» use entirely: upkeep of the market, digging a new well, or for any purpose which pertains to or is of interest to the «fraction» in general. The *shaikh* of the «fraction» is responsible to the *qā'id* for the assessment and collection of this money, while the *qā'id* himself takes direct charge of matters which involve the caidato as a whole. In another building in the market place, the *qāḍī*, also assisted by a *khalīfa*, administers the Sharī'ā, which at the present time has largely supplanted the old Riffian *'urf* or customary law.

This form of government, based entirely on the Arab system, has completely superseded the old regime of the *Aith Arba'in*, of the *imghāren* (sing. *amghār*), the family and village headmen who, in each «fifth», used to make up its governing body in the days before 'Abd al-Karīm. The powers of the *imghāren*, who also used to meet in the market, were much more extensive than those of the modern «fractional» junta, and included assessment and collection of fines for theft of livestock, for talking to women in the market, for suspected but unproven adultery, and the collection of blood money (*dīyath*). These duties and the unwritten customary law which governed them have all been substantially assimilated by the legal jurisdiction of the Makhzin and by the Sharī'a.

Although in the old days there was no higher body politic than the *imghāren* of the «fifth», those of all five «fifths» used to meet together at a place called *aghrau* (p. *ighrāwen)*, the location of of which had previously been announced in the market by the *barrāḥ* or market crier, in case a crisis arose which assumed tribal proportions. In case of adultery caught *in flagrante delicto*, the injured husband had, and still has, the traditional privilege of killing his wife and her lover with exemption from payment of blood money. In case of murder committed on profane ground, the murderer had to pay a fine *(ḥaqq)* of 5.000 pesetas to the *imghāren*, and blood money amounting to 6.000 pesetas to his victim's family, provided the latter chose to accept it. If they did not, as was usually the case, a feud was in full swing inmediately, and the council members, lea-

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

newer system on all the tribes in his domain if they did not have it already. Although the *imghāren* loomed large in the early battles of Ighrīben and Anwāl in 1921, their status had become reduced to that of *quyād al-miya* or *quyād al-miyatain* (*qā'ids* of 100 or 200 men) by the time the *Jumhūrīya Rīfīya* or Riffian State was officially created in 1924. Almost all the men in key position in the new government were from Aith Wuryāghīl but *quyād*, *shiyūkh* and *muqaddamīn* took the place of the old *imghāren;* some of the latter fell in with the new regime and became prominent military commanders, while others, like those of the Ghumāra, jealous of 'Abd al-Karīm's success, staged a revolt against him in 1924 and were quietly poisoned or taken off to die in the jails of Ajdīr and Thamāsīnd. By the time 'Abd al-Karīm had conquered the Jibāla and captured his rival Raisūlī in 1925, he was master of all northern Morocco.

The natural supplement to this Arabization of the old Riffian political system was the substitution of the Sharī'a for the earlier customary law. Before 1920, custom, or *'urf*, had been king. If a case had arisen which had previously been unprovided for in Riffian law, the *imghāren* met to discuss it. When they agreed upon a solution, which was usually expressed in terms of payment of such and such a fine, the local *sharīf* or any man whose piety and good sense was known and respected by all was called in to give his testimony and sanction to the law in question, if it did not run counter to the Sharī'a. After the law was passed it was registered by the *ṭulbā* or students in the Friday mosque, and proclaimed in the market by the *barrāḥ* (18). These were the only steps necessary to integrate that law into the corpus of tribal custom. It was, in all but the most serious offenses, as we have seen, the «fifth» or the *farīqath* or even the village rather than tribe collectively which made the law and carried it out.

As has been implied above, 'Abd al-Karīm greatly weakened the power of the *imghāren* by centralizing the political authority in himself as head of a new Muslim state. This state was set up to conform to an orthodox Islamic pattern, and therefore the old customary law had to go. It went, and the result was that the Sharī'a was administered according to the Mālikī rite by a *qāḍī* in each «fifth» of the tribe. The weekly markets, in addition to their earlier functions as

(18) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 20.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

commercial and governmental centers, became legal temples as well, when separate tribunals were also set up for the *qāḍīs*, their *khalīfas* and their *'adūl*. In the old days there had been *qāḍīs* too, but they operated on a far more informal basis; they held court in their own houses, and, in actual practice, they acted more as arbiters of Berber custom than as administrators of Islamic Law, while, as Blanco remarks (19), the *'adūl* limited themselves to registering acts passed by the customary tribunal. The *imghāren* were the people who counted, and, until 'Abd al-Karīm's time *qā'ids*, *qāḍīs*, *muqaddams* and other functionaries with Arab titles were largely negative concepts in Aith Wuryāghil and in the other tribes of the Central Rīf. Today, of course, the situation has been reversed; there are no more *imghāren*, while customary law operates on the village level alone, and plays second fiddle to the Sharī'a even there.

A political reorientation toward an Arab governmental prototype thus became a mechanism for the preservation of Riffian freedom. But 'Abd al-Karīm's carefully constructed Jumhūrīya Rīfiya was short-lived; it collapsed like a house of cards in 1926, two years after its foundation, when the tribal fastness of Aith Wuryāghil was itself invaded from the north by Spain and from the south by France, at which time the Wuryāghlī commanders in the Jibāla and on the Wargha River rushed back to defend their own homes. Nevertheless, in the framework of 'Abd al-Karīm's Riffian State the Spaniards found a ready-made administrative set-up which has continued, with only minor alterations, to the present day. When the Riffian leader first came to power, he installed *qā'ids* in the *rubū'* of Aith Yūsuf u 'Alī and Aith 'Alī and in the «fifths» of Imrābdhen, Ait Ḥadīfa, Aith 'Abdallāh and Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh. Later on, when the French Army began to push up into the Central Rīf from the south, he added two more caidatos, Turīrth-Thimārzgha and Aith 'Arūs, to tighten up his control over the unruly mountaineers in the southeast part of the tribe. After the war the Spanish administration maintained this chain of command, setting up tribal «intervención» posts in Ajdīr, Thamāsīnd, Aith Ḥadīfa (Sūq ath-Thnain), Aith 'Amar u Sa'īd (Aith Ḥadīfa), Turīrth (Sūq al-Arba'), and Imnūdh (Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh). In 1934, however, they subdivided the tribe into the three aforementioned

(19) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 26.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

rīrth in the mountains, specializing both in grapes and, until recently, in contraband, for to it come many people from over the border of the French Protectorate, in Giznāya.

Important as is the commercial aspect of the weekly market, its underlying significance as a social and political center is perhaps even greater. Its opportunities for social intercourse are obvious, while the *barrāḥ*, who belongs to a debased and endogamous caste of gypsy musicians called *Imdhiyāzen* (sig. *amdhiyāz*) from Aith Tuzīn, wanders through the *sūq* announcing to the listening throng the latest decisions of the *qā'id's* tribunal and the noteworthy news items of the day. Storytellers and itinerant members of religious brotherhoods, such as tre Buhālīyīn of Bani 'Arūs in the Jībāla, put on shows for the people's benefit. As the site of the market is usually near a saint's tomb, visits to the shrine and contacts with living *shurfā* present serve to reawaken religious enthusiasm. The *maḥkāma* of the *qā'id* meets in a special building, and in another one the *qāḍī* judges individual cases according to the Sharī'a, while his *'adūl* are busy drawing up legal documents concerned with wills, inheritance, marriage, divorce, property and irrigation rights.

Since the Spanish occupation, the role of markets in tribal life has, if anything, increased in importance. In the old days, although the market was a thriving economic and social institution as such, there was little or nothing aside from the knowledge of the local people to indicate its location on days of the week when it was not being held. After the surrender of 'Abd al-Karīm, however, many market sites became headquarters for the «interventor», or Spanish tribal administrator. There are three such in Aith Wuryāghil today: Imzūren (Uṭa), Aith Ḥadīfa (Upper Ghīs), and Turīrth (Nakūr), while Ajdīr, overlooking the Bay of Alhucemas and formerly the seat of 'Abd al-Karīm's government, now functions as capital of the whole «Comarcal de Beni Urriaguel». In all these market sites, villages with a permanent Muslim and Spanish population have mushroomed up around the seats of «intervención». With the extension of their earlier functions as social, economic and political centers, the markets have at the same time become points of tribal control on the part of the Spanish administration. A reemphasis on the essen-

794 871 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an....

[872] [873] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some

[829] [876] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 103 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 [631] 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

000 [114] paradoxically, a "fifth" is larger than a "fourth"--so he employs "canton" to avoid confusion. He has failed to see that essentially, the two terms are interchangeable (a fact which once again underlines the fluidity of Berber and Arabic social unit terminology) and that ar-rba', which is almost always used to denote maximal segments in tribes possessing less than five of these, is also employed, more often than is khums, to designate the five maximal segments of tribes which do have "fifths".

[343] [114] [113] 23--There are no collective storehouses in the Rif proper, as there are all over the Atlas, and here Blanco has committed a major error. However, Montagne has signalled their presence in parts of the Ghmara, to the west of the Rif. See R. Montagne, Un Grenier Collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikoumka, Paris: Larose, 1930.

24--It is somewhat difficult to understand precisely what Blanco means in this connection. However, his MSS. chapters on religion and economics were only evidently projected, and never written.

25--Dhaddarth is properly "house", and dhimssi (lit. "fire") is "hearth", whereas the normal word for nuclear family is nubth, pl. nubath, lit. "turn".

26--In the original, la major fuerza y derecho es el de los mas fuertes. Indeed, Rifians themselves generally conceptualize the cultural goals of their society during the 'Ripublik' in very similar terms.

27--In the original, un contrato de compraventa. Marriage is indeed conceptualized contractually in the Rif, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, but it need hardly be pointed out that compraventa, "buying and selling", is highly misleading.

28--The word "absolute" is, in this connection, of course, extreme; but, considering the position of women in Spain itself at the time, it is interesting that a Spaniard should have employed it.

29--The marriage contract document, or zujiya, is written (both today and as far back into the past as any Rifian's memory goes), in conformity with the Shari'a. It says, in effect, that A, son of B, has married X, daughter of Y, in the presence of C, D, and E, and is signed by a qadi (judge of Shari'a law) and two 'adul (sing. 'adl), [114] or notaries public. Blanco is in error in saying that the zujiya document was unwritten until recent times, because during the "Republik" period, the fqih or schoolmaster of the local mosque--a man who was and is usually only slightly more literate than his constituents--drew it up. It is in any case axiomatic in the Rif that whatever other cases (primarily criminal) that he did not handle, [692] a qadi invariably resolved all matters pertaining to: a) marriage, b) divorce, and c) land. This means, in turn, that in all these cases, the necessary documents were drawn up in Arabic--at least theoretically!

[114] 30--This is not so today, nor, we suspect, was it so in the past. Every Rifian has a number of documents, all carefully guarded in his house; and, in addition, most holy men or shurfa have always had genealogical family trees to prove the "genuineness" of their own pedigree.

000 was capable of facing the wrath of the members of a dharfiqth who thought themselves to have been wronged in a legal decision and who were now blocking his path?

628 443 [691] The Rif is an area of warrior tulba; and the "poetry" of the Rifian Maghrib would have dealt with the firing of shots during the course of a feud or raqba[7] and the blood of victims whose bodies fall into canyons and gorges after sunset; for the qanun of the Tuesday market (now defunct) of the Aith 'Abd Allah clan establishes the validity of the agreement in question from the hours of dawn until dusk, on market day, after which time everyone shelters himself and his animals inside his house as fast as he can; and a guard is mounted with a rifle. The daily and weekly truce is over[7a]. And even in Spanish times, after 628 692 671 [648] the pacification, there is the story of the qadi who did not dare to return home unless accompanied by a pair of armed mkhazni-s[8], who represented the protection of the Makhzin in its most elementary form. And in the mahkama (tribunal building of qa'id or qadi), more than one qadi has been intimidated by exasperated litigants! If such things have happened during Spanish times, threats made during the "Republik" must have been far worse--"I'll hang you from a tree, mmis nj-haram!" or "I wonder what you'd look like without a head, mmis n-dhit!"[9]

671 177 As I see it, the Rifian follows the Shari'a in all instances in which customary law cannot help him, either because it has been forgotten or because in such and such a case it is no longer applied. As he is both a practical man and a believer, there is no reason for the Rifian to deny himself the advantages of the Shari'a, but when, instead of these, he encounters a situation which is prejudicial to him (such as

798 front of men[27] are also rejected, as are ululations made by the women
585 on behalf of the groom when he enters the bride's room. (In the Bni Hmid[28], the bride is carried on the shoulders of volunteers to the groom's house; she does not, as elsewhere, ride a mule. In the same tribe, on the first day of the 'Aid, the men, on coming out of the mosque, greet the women, who are waiting for them in a line, one by one)

E) Procedure:

692 Jural proceedings in the Rif are conducted in front of the
623 jma'th, personalized by several individuals (in one qanun, that of the Imhauren of the Aith 'Ari clan, by a triumvirate) who meet daily[29] in a central location known to all; under a large tree (usually carob or wild olive), at some water point, or in the mosque. Here the men come with the iziddjifen, and the old and sick men, to sit in the sun, to talk, and perhaps to take a siesta.

695 Procedure is as follows: the plaintiff comes to the area chosen, and, in most cases, both contestants present themselves there, each explaining his reasons without, however, coming to the central point. If he is a stranger, boys and villagers accompany him to the site and there they give the reason for his presence. Ordinarily the question is apt to be settled amicably right there, if it is not an important one; but if this is not the case, for example, and if one of the parties does not agree, the proceedings are extended somewhat longer, as he might request an evaluation by a specialist in such matters, or offer to provide witnesses[30] or other modes of proof; and he sets the time--or
[623] one of them asks to swear. The jma'th, e.g. all of those men present (not all the men of the village nor even nearly all of them) lets the

695 696 623 At other times they decide to submit the resolution to the clan council on the next market day; but when the judgment, which is both swift and free of charge, has been rendered, the individual responsible can only comply with the council's decision; and he must do so not only more than rapidly, but virtually explosively, or be sentenced by his neighbors and his peers. If he resists, his only recourse is to take up arms, as everybody else is now after him, and this in itself obliges him to do so. The proceedings are rapid and gratuitous, as aforestated, except if experts are called upon to intervene; they are given an honorarium, the amount of which is determined by the custom of the tribe in question, and consists of such and such a percentage of the value of the appraised object or the object of the litigation[32].

692 695 Thus, true jural procedure, for the Rifian, is to render public any offense or injury he has suffered, and to gain adherents to his point of view. First his family or kin group wants to intervene on his behalf, then his social grouping (properly: his lineage), and finally his liff, his last recourse. This multiplies the various contingencies and unsuspected turns the case may take ad infinitum, and tends to render useless any reclamations against an offender who is more powerful than the injured party. The latter may not take any action against him, but will often afterwards wait in ambush for him in order to redress the wrong! It is a procedure which.....awakens manliness and courage.....

[691] [613] A good example of the executive procedure in criminal law is the qanun between dharfiqin[33].

000 Bshara, or procedure of recuperation[34]. (No text here whatsoever: translator's note.)

000 does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

684 f) Anyone who commits an act of bestiality must pay for the fodder of the assaulted animal for one day; and among the Aith Waryaghar, he must pay for its packsaddle as well as a 50-peseta fine, and he is cursed by the market crier in the market[74].....

2) Among the Aith 'Ammarth:

685 a) A blacksmith of....asked the qadi for a room to live in. It was given him, and in it he raised chickens, which began to eat the qadi's barley. The qadi claimed compensation from him, saying that he had to kill the chickens and leave the house. He refused to do so, 685 and made a reclamation to the shaikh, who said he was in the right. 692 Then a member of the qadi's family poisoned all the chickens, and the blacksmith complained to the mqaddim. The jma'th, as a result, met in the mosque and fined the qadi 18 duros, of which the blacksmith received only two or three.

582 b) In the village of Aith Finathen, clan of Aith r-Hasayin, one 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, a rich man, married his daughter to Muhammadi n Si Siddiq nd-Hajj Sriman, a poor man and one of his agnates (i.e. his brother's son), in order to keep him as a servant[75]. The young man 682 [619] eventually killed his uncle. The tribal council was convoked, and its members punished the dead man's sons by imposing a 6000-peseta fine on them; and they in turn killed Muhammadi and paid another fine....During 662 his lifetime, 'Amar nd-Hajj Sriman, as well as his five brothers, had 623 on various occasions paid 400 duros to the jma'th to excuse themselves from participation in tribal wars.

661 c) A poor man made a goatherd of one of his younger in-laws,

000
[114] 37--The jma'th, contrary to Blanco's statement, had absolutely nothing to do with the selection of cojurors by a man accused of a crime. He selected them himself, among his agnates, and if he did not have enough to fill the full complement, he got the remainder from that neighboring dharfiqth which was most closely related, patrilaterally, to his own.

695
[114] 38--The accused always chose his own cojurors, and here Blanco has made a serious error. An even more serious error, and one which appears to us almost classic among French writers on the subject, is a persistent tendency to confuse cojurors (izudjen or yuxshin n rimin) with witnesses (rshuhudh). The distinction between the two should be obvious to anyone, but apparently it has not been: if there is a witness or witnesses to any crime (and the Shari'a states that there must be either 12 ordinary witnesses or 2 'udul or notaries public, the testimony of one 'adl being worth that of six ordinary men), there is, ipso facto, no oath; for the accusatory testimony of witnesses always (quite naturally) overrides the denials of the accused and his cojurors. Furthermore, though the number of witnesses and the number of cojurors (in a murder case) are exactly the same, there is another paramount difference between these two categories of persons, wholly aside from the fact that the function of the ones is to accuse and that of the others is to deny: witnesses had to come from a different lineage or different lineages from that of the accused, while the cojurors of the latter were his agnates and thus his fellow lineage mates, aithmas, "his brothers", or aith 'azizi, or ibin 'azizithen, "the people or sons of his paternal uncles". The fact that the same number of individuals, twelve, was needed in each case may or may not have been fortuitous; but, in any event, it seems of entirely secondary importance.

A summary recapitulation of collective oaths (thzaddjith or rimin) as practiced among the tribes of the Central Rif will not be out of
[692] place. First of all, if one man accused another of any crime or misdemeanor, and the accused man denied it, they both agreed to go to their cantonal or Friday mosque, or any other mosque named by the plaintiff (izidjith), on the following Friday before the noon prayer so that the accused (izudj or yuxshar n rimin) could take oath. The plaintiff, furthermore, stipulated how many cojurors the accused should bring with him.

It appears that the number of cojurors was almost always either six (the accused himself plus five agnates) or twelve (the accused himself plus eleven agnates), the former amount of men being required in less important matters, such as theft of irrigation water or of livestock, or damage to the accuser's property, and the latter in cases of murder,
[114] as aforementioned. (When Blanco says five and ten, respectively, he is in error as to the exact amount, but correct regarding the proportion and the doubled number in suspected homicides.) Twelve was ordinarily the maximum number of cojurors, and murder the maximum offense necessitating this number, among the members of one tribe; but if an oath involved members of two different tribes, over matters such as large scale land disputes involving tribal boundaries, or intertribal murder cases, the number of cojurors which the accused had to bring was elevated to fifty (the defendant plus forty-nine agnates or fellow clansmen or tribesmen, the latter being far more ready to help out one of their own men in an extra-tribal crisis than in an intra-clan or even an intra-

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

634 Every man who carries a rifle drops whatever he is doing and
623 goes immediately to the council site, leaving his house, interests and
614 work in the fields to his women, who collect all their movable property,
619 animals and children, in case they have to move, and await the news,
562 quickly transmitted, with anxiety, while they decide upon their place
722 of retirement (usually the house of some relative) and form a line of sentries, together with the older children. Here they follow, with analogous emotions, the events of the fight, if there is one, and await its outcome....Once the men have arrived at the site of the
634 alarm, or more often at a generally determined meeting site (agraw),
623 they start to look, without orders or signals, for their kinsmen and
614 neighbors who have arrived or are just arriving. They are always
619 careful to seek a spatially dominant position, and remain grouped together some little distance from the other groups which are also being formed, completing a circle, in the interior of which only the chiefs, who are rapidly informed of the matter and of the opinions of their subordinates, may enter. Such opinions are impassioned ones, as they have been forged (in case of alarm) on the spur of the moment, on the basis of what those who echo them have heard, or on the basis of what is going on around them; one can distinguish the feverish voices of the kinsmen and friends of the injured party, who want immediate reparation.

634 In this heated atmosphere the delineation by the chiefs of the
623 matter at hand begins; they are attentive not so much to what happens
614 in their own little circle, but to the stormy atmosphere being created
619 on the outside one and pressing in on them....If the matter is one of
692

634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
619
692 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
681 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside circle).[2 & 3]

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
614 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
623 ....Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
628 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at
721 any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare.... Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities. This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared beforehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
(624) surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

616 The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping
614 their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members,
619 are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion
(621) on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known pre-
616 viously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these
182 two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary
628 feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

648 As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protec-
692 torate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes
616 up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights
182 to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

616 Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 644 [693] Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A], and their brother Hammu.

621 692 693 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hannash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 687 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Azizi attended the present act with them. Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

784

A, [A "83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

695 Valid and complete testimony in virtue of which both instrumental witnesses bring testimony against them.

000 (Two illegible signatures follow.)

692 At the same time, they agreed that whoever should commit any of the wrongs (literally, "things") expressed herein, the case, together with him (the man who committed it) shall be taken to Sayyid Mhammad bin Musa[32] and Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Ali[33] (Blanco: note d).

685 Whoever enters an orchard with intent to rob shall pay 20 uqiyyas. If a bull should start to trample property adjacent to that 685 of its owner, the latter shall pay one peseta. 672

The guarantors (of the fulfillment of this agreement) are three. The Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah, and Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan (Blanco: note e).

[681] Regarding the amount (of the fines imposed) with respect to orchards in cases in which they are injured by animals, this will be donated to their mosque (Blanco: note f).

If they should break a branch of a fig or other tree belonging to anyone, the owner of the animals will pay 20 (uqiyyas).

000 A signature in Arabic follows, which appears to be al-Bu Jma' bin Muhammad (signed).

B) Commentary:

671 The reading of this qanun clearly indicates in its first para- 621 graph the names of those who have established it, all of them members of the jma'th of Imhauren, bordering the Island of Alhucemas, in the 621 plain of the same name. Every two or three headmen or iziddifen (sing., 613 554 aziddif, "head") are the visible representatives of the lineage groups

which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most influential and respected members of the community. Without any presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its representatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting; they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH[45] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

671 443 [778] Praise be to the One God. The will and eternal power of Our Lord having decided thus, the congregation--in the Tuesday Market (Suq ath-Thulatha) (situated) at 'Ain Tihalalin[46], in the vicinity of (the tomb of) the holy emanator of blessings Sidi 'Amran[47]--of its owners, those of the clan of Bani 'Abdallah. (The latter) convened 623 443 (in the abovementioned market) with the idea of coming to agreement on 692 their criteria and on the purity of their actions in behalf of the 681 common good of all; and, as a consequence, they decided the amount of the fines to be imposed inasmuch as there should occur within the abovementioned market, or, indeed, outside it on the path (which leads to it), (Blanco: note a) incidents, premeditated or not, through error or imprudence, such as woundings and murders (which might happen) through gunshots, knifings, strangulations and stonings, (or, indeed), 682 pillaging and sacking. (Blanco: note b) To anyone who kills in the 443 interior of the market and is caught (literally, "had"), rashsha' shall [696] be applied to him (i.e. he shall be shot). If he has not been captured owing to having fled to another tribe (literally, "other tribes"), (they shall impose upon him a fine of) 2000 duros and his house shall be burned down to its foundations. (If he should kill) on the path (which leads to the market) he shall also pay (a fine of) 2000 (duros). Who- 683 ever should wound (another), (he shall be fined) 1000 duros. Whoever (shoots) and misses (his target), (he shall pay a fine of) 500 duros.

682 (Blanco: note c) Whoever of the Bani 'Abdallah should commit murder on Tuesday (i.e. on market day, the day of the suq) within the

695 693 capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) in order to testify.

(Blanco: note h) If, regarding a murder, there is brought sufficient proof (against the guilty party), the abovementioned fine shall be imposed upon him, and in case sufficient proof does not exist, he shall swear (for acquittal).[48]

805 443 782 (Blanco: note i) Regarding the abovementioned beginning (i.e. on Tuesdays), it is ended at the hour of the 'isha (i.e. at the dinner hour or hour of the sunset prayer). Amen.

805 000 On the sixth day of Ramadan the Magnificent of the year 1335 (June 26, 1917). Servant of his God, may He be exalted, Muhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, "Abd as-Salam bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

671 692 693 000 Legalization by the qadi. Praise be to the One God. (Both 'udul) have put down its contents, which are accepted and to which I give faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Umar at-Tuzani, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

671 This qanun manifests in a clear way how social law is made among Rifians: where the legislators gathered to agree on it, how it was made public, whom it obligated, the jurisdiction in which it was exercised, the objective sought and the means of attaining it.

It enumerates the crimes and their sanctions, it distinguishes perpetrators and accomplices, provokers and auxiliaries, natives and 000 stranger. It eschews pardon, it demands proof and it shows the reality of the social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator

[See p.306-- Analyst]

226
389

Any fisherman with dynamite is the owner of the fish and site of the explosion while he remains there. Fishermen with lines may not enter the radius of action of dynamite fishermen.

In fishing with explosives, the man who first sees the fish and stays to wait for them is entitled to remain in the spot observed. Nobody who has just arrived can shoot. For this reason, fishermen with explosives keep out of each others' way.

425

G) Recovery:

Any object without a known owner which is abandoned or tossed up on the beach by the sea is the property of whoever finds it.

Any object floating in the sea is the property of whoever picks it up; and if there are several people who put their hands on it in order to hoist it onto the boat or drag it onto the beach, it, or the proceeds from it, are divided equally among all who have worked, in the last instance, among the crew and the boat owners; but a man who sees it from the sea, for example, has no right to it, as he has not helped to get it on board or ashore. Work, and not vision, is rewarded.

(517)

H) Arbiters:

628
554

Arbiters are men who are skilled in maritime questions and excellent mediators whose reputation, in addition to the reduced coastal limits of their tribe(s), is known and commented upon in all the villages of the neighboring tribes; and to them the inhabitants of these villages go voluntarily in order to submit their differences of opinion when these deal with matters relating to the sea.

628
648
554
671
642
115

Those who had most fame in the Rifian coast were, long ago, the Ghmara, to whose ports of Taghza and Tigisas it was not uncommon

to see rival Rifian feluccas betaking themselves and respecting the verdict settled by some old seawolf, until they took over the doctrine and set up new clauses in the customary law and applied it with the same success spreading it in later times even to the Iqar'ayen; and finally one could see the Ibuqquyen going to Ajdir, submitting themselves to the arbitration of the so-called rm'addjim (Ar. m'allim), or master, who later reached the maximum position of being 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of Marine, during the Rifian War, this individual being the one who has provided me with most of the data to be found in this qanun. Among the Iqar'ayen the Ra'is Muhand n Bu Tahar of I'azzanen is well-known, and among the Ibuqquyen there is the pilot of Gardiner's yacht, l-Hadi n Dadi[117], and other old fisherman of the Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen. These individuals were appealed to when the solutions of the ruyas (pl. of ra'is, or boat-masters) did not satisfy any of the parties in question.

I) Skills and Craft:

The net is an apparatus called dhrarsha. The procedure is analogous to that of Malaga, which renders its description unnecessary; the Rifians undoubtedly copied this through many trips to the latter place. I have seen it used in Badis and Qal'a Yirish, and the cut is exactly the same. The boat, called agharrabu, is a simple fishing boat; it weighs about a ton; its bow and stern are both well raised up and on a level with each other; it has two benches, a keel and a lateen sail, a mobile rudder; and it is some six meters in length. It is manned by four crew members and the master. On land, a sixth man is needed to put the cable down.

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Arhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

224 411 of these, and any Rifian worthy of his salt can knock down a partridge in full flight with noteworthy dexterity, and at a distance of fifteen to twenty-five meters.

(824) The sticks which they use are usually of wild olive wood, in the form of shepherds' crooks, backed by a few turns of copper wiring at each end and the upper third; and this at the same time increases resistence to breakage, facilitates throwing by its greater accuracy.... The net result is that the Rifian is as dangerous, or even more so, to game animals or birds than is the average European hunter with a double-barreled shotgun.

224 At the hour agreed upon, when every participant is provided with his corresponding weapon or dog, they all leave their houses and go toward the hunting site, crying "Haw-haw! Haw-haw!", which is the signal of hunting and reunion.

E) Ownership of Game Caught:[188]

Ownership of game which is caught follows certain rules which are based on a general principle attributing the game first to whoever discovers it; second, to whoever kills it; and finally, to whoever (578) collects it. In different (or individual) cases, disputes may take place, and these and the way they are resolved will be discussed (411) further on. The principal elements of judgment are the range of vision of the hunters, and the range of accuracy of the weapons, some fourteen stick-lengths, or forty feet in a stone's throw.

671 224 692 The customary law of Rifian society minutely anticipates how many cases may arise, and as, furthermore, it is inspired by reality, it is simple and useful, requiring of the judges, first, competence,

and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, diligence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters, it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

000 unlike the Central Atlas, there is no special time limit on repayment.

[614] 31--Imhawlen is the literal transliteration from the Arabic text, rather than the Rifian form Imhawren. The Imhawren are one of three subclans of the clan of the Aith 'Ari, of the lowland Aith Waryaghar; and the clan of the Aith 'Ari, along with that of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, form a single khums or "fifth" in that tribe.

776 692 32--Sidi Mhand u Musa (died 1254 A.H., or 1838-39 A.D., according to one informant), the apex of the lineage of Izziqiwen of the clan of the Imrabdhen. Sidi Mhand u Musa is buried in Aith Hishim and is one of the most important saints of the Aith Waryaghar. As the text indicates, he adjudicated disputes and settled feuds (between the Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari clans); and he is said to have had a great deal of baraka, which, in accordance with Rifian notions of baraka-transmission, was successively passed down to only one descendant at a time: from Sidi Mhand u Musa to his grandson Sidi Misa'ud, bypassing his own son Sidi Siddiq; then to Sidi Misa'ud's son Sidi Hmid n Sidi Misa'ud; then to Sidi Siddiq's son, Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq; on the latter's death, to his son Sidi Muhand; on the latter's death to his son Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar, who was made qa'id of Imrabdhen by the Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz; and then to his brother Sidi Muhand.

776 792 Some informants say that Sidi Mhand u Musa and his descendants are the only true shurfa among all the Imrabdhen in the Aith Waryaghar, and that they have the right to their share in the sunduq or box of Mulay Idris for this reason. The share in question is divided up every year at the time of the Mulud: either a representative of the Dharwa n Sidi Mhand u Musa goes to Fez to get it, or, as the descendants of Mulay Idris are said to have a complete listing of those entitled to such shares, they sent them out. The shares are the same every year, but informants were unable to tell me the amount (a fact which in itself casts suspicion on the legitimacy of their claim to be shurfa). When the allotted amount arrives in Aith Waryaghar, it is divided into four parts: one for the descendants of Sidi Misa'ud ("Burjila") n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (the Iburjilathen of Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (also in Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi Haddu n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Zawith n Tashtiwin, in the subclan of Aith Tmajurth, in the clan territory of Aith 'Abdallah, and in Swani, where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the Mediterranean at the mouth of the Nkur River, in the clan territory of the Aith 'Ari), and one for the descendants of Sidi Muhammad n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Aith Hishim).

000 33--The reference here is probably to Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari n Sidi Musa n Sidi Hmid l-Qurumi, the father of Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnau, of the lineage of Aith 'Aziz in the subclan of Upper Imrabdhen. Both father and son are buried in the Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar, located in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan territory of Aith Hadhifa.

Once again, with Sidi Mhand u Musa and Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari, both subclans of Imrabdhen are represented, no doubt in order to give greater validity to their roles as adjudicators, but also to the qanun itself.

o Joseph r-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 R1t MX3

584 depending on the hour, return to their respective homes or stay
583 overnight as guest of the bride's father.

584 Once the financial arrangement has been settled, the rep-
583 resentatives of both families go to the religious judge (qadi)
692 in Alhucemas or Targuist and present him with the list of obli-
gations the groom's family has accepted. The young couple are
also supposed to attend this meeting, and in the urban centers
it is obligatory. However, judges who serve tribal areas are
rather relaxed about such attendance and are satisfied if the
fathers are in agreement. It is a rule of thumb that judges
[671] who serve rural Berber areas allow customary procedures to pre-
vail over civil law if the matter does not infringe upon the
security of the state.

584 At this point the groom's family begins to collect the
583 necessary goods for the wedding celebration. This process may
369 take some time, and over a year may pass between the initial
184 agreement and the completion of the stipulated requirements
of the groom. This is, however, quite rare and seems more
584 associated with Berbers living in the city. Among the fellah
585 the marriage has been contracted for good reason and it is
thought best to consummate it as rapidly as possible Often
the marriage ceremony takes place less than a month after the
meeting to determine the expenses.

585 When all the money and goods have been collected, both
583 parties meet with the qadi again, two or three days before the
692 wedding ceremony. The qadi checks off all the items to make sure

585 that the groom's side has complied with the original agreement.
[583] Once he has satisfied himself that all is in order, he signs
[692] the necessary marriage document. At this point the couple are
[184] legally married and many poor urban matches terminate here. In
[369] the Rif, however, the marriage is not socially sanctioned until the wedding ceremony is held.

585 By now, the groom's family has incurred several different
583 types of expense, although none of them is exactly 'bride-price'
431 or a payment to the bride's family to compensate for her loss. The first sort of payment is the gift, or zattat, given to the father to put him in a receptive mood. This places the recipient in obligation to the giver, although the Riffians seem to attach no binding commitment arising from this and a father can receive such gifts from an unlimited number of suitors. The second expense is the sdaq, which is in cash and devoted, at least in the Central Rif, exclusively for the purchase of objects to set up the new household. The final type of expense involves ceremonial costs for the wedding party.

585 - - The wedding celebration or thamagra is held in the late
[221] summer and early autumn after the harvesting of the cereals and while the weather is temperate. For several days prior to the
585 ceremony both the bride and groom, separately but with a group
574 of their friends, go from house to house within their dchar. Often the two parties go on a circuit of the same houses at the same time, although this is not always followed. When they do go to the same houses, the girl's party precedes the male group

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off families have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
574 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
556 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
554 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each
571 Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local
692 level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
631 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
692 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is
556 placed in the position of protector and is under traditional
554 obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form
571 of mutual support between local lords and the community was much

631 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism
692 was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally promi-
556 nent man is generally efficacious since government representatives
554 attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation
571 between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 The national government is well aware of the actual dual
648 organization of political power in the country. While every
556 Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he
619 does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

S
443
562
834
184
[114]
S
[171]

/252 cont./

/Footnote 1 continued./ Doutté thinks, on the contrary, that it is a matter of a purely Berbère /Berber/ institution and one that is explained by the sacred and redoubtable character of the woman.

Several markets reserved for women exist among the Beni Ouriaghel of the Rif in a very Islamized region.

R
443
675
R
[692]

In the Rif, where anarchy develops spontaneously and spreads much farther than in the South of Morocco, the protection of the markets is the occasion chosen by the tribes of the vicinity to conclude an alliance, a "ribat." But here again in these meetings appear leaders charged with judging the differences that can arise in this turbulent assemblage of armed men.

R
443
634
675
203

For example, the Targist market, which has particular importance since it is found at the crossing of the principle routes of passage in the region of the Haut-Ghis, is under the supervision of "amghars" especially designated by three neighboring tribes, the Beni Mesdwi, Targist, Zerqet. These chiefs hold their meetings in an isolated "tahanout," and on their initiative the public crier announces to all the established rule: "O Mussulmans! Know that there /253/ exists among us an agreement concerning the souq /sook/ of the Oued, valid for three days, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. He who kills someone must pay 2,000 Spanish douros; if he only wounds him, he gives 1,000 douros. He who stops a drover of beasts during these three days must give back the other's property and pay 500 douros in fines; for our market is a market where peace prevails, O Mussulmans! and each one can verify this with his own eyes. May God blind the one who does not wish to see!" In spite of these precautions, however, shots burst out sometimes and the souq is broken up; when incidents occur again, the market disappears, to the great loss of the inhabitants of the country (1).

R
[681]

1. It is known that likewise in Kabylie /Kabylia/ the surveillance and the policing of markets are

R
S
443
171

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER X

JUDICIAL AND CLERICAL OFFICERS; LAWS GOVERNING INHERITANCE

THERE are in the Rif two classes of officials who concern themselves with judicial and clerical functions: the "clerk," or *adl* (plural *adul*[1]), and the "judge," or *kedhi*. The former is something between a town clerk and minor judge, and the latter a supreme court of appeal. Both concern themselves only with civil, never with criminal, disputes.

The clerk is a former student who specialized in the cantonal mosque in the study of law, rather than in the usual study of magic and religion: some clerks, however, indulge in magical practices on the side as an additional source of income. The clerk takes pains to keep this second profession secret, lest he be expelled from office. Most clerks spend longer than the average period at study, and attend several different mosques in the course of their preparation.

There is at least one clerk in every *bone*. Any person who is qualified by his training may set up as a clerk, but must receive the consensus of local approval before he is entrusted with enough business to make this occupation profitable. A clerk must be dignified and pious.

The clerk is often the schoolmaster of the *bone* as well. In smaller *bones* it is usually an economic necessity for one man to fulfill these two offices, consequently the terms "schoolmaster" and "clerk" have become somewhat confused. A clerk is often called schoolmaster, but a schoolmaster who is not a clerk is never called clerk.

The duties of the clerk include writing and reading letters for illiterate persons, settling controversies as to ownership of property, making out and administering wills, and drawing up documents of sale for landed property and documents of marriage and divorce. He is also called upon to slaughter animals upon ceremonial occasions.

In making out a document of marriage, the clerk writes out the names of the bride and groom, and the amount paid for the bride. He gives the paper to the bride and makes a duplicate, which he keeps. His signature renders the document valid. He similarly makes out divorce papers, which he gives to the woman, who can thus prove that she is no longer under obligation to her husband.

When the clerk makes out the document for a land sale, he takes the old document from the seller, and gives both old and new papers to the purchaser. Each time a piece of land changes hands a new paper is made out, and the present owner has in his possession all of the extant bills of sale for that piece of land. When a piece is subdivided the heir of the owner of the original piece at the time of its subdivision keeps the papers recording transfers prior to this subdivision.

When a man wishes to sell some of the land which has been in his family since time immemorial, and for which there is no paper, he informs the clerk, who advertises for any other claim to this land, either written or oral, and finding none makes a bill of sale.

[1] The usual Arab notary.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

actual owners of the machine are allowed to do so; and he collects from them the customary divisions of the oil which they squeeze. The village council of each *bone* makes out the list and the clerk writes it down and sees that it is followed.

Another duty of this latter official is making out papers of adoption for strangers who come into the *bone* to live and who wish to become affiliated with it.

The clerk also has charge of wills and inheritance. The head of each family may make a will on his deathbed, or at some time when he fears imminent death. To do this he summons the clerk, who writes down the terms of the bequests and takes the paper away with him. After the man has died he produces this paper, makes its contents public, and administers the estate.

Although most men, in making their wills, follow the traditional rules of inheritance, some bequeath their property unequally among their heirs, at times cutting individuals off entirely, and leave property to mosques or saints' tombs. No man is permitted, however, to disinherit his wife or wives.

In each tribe there is supposed to be a judge, appointed by the tribal council, and holding his office for life or good behavior. He has received a diploma from one of the four institutions previously mentioned. His appointment does not usually come, however, until long after his fulfilment of the requirements for this position. He is almost always a native of the tribe in which he is employed.

There was one in Beni Urriaghel, one in Beni Tuzin, and one in Gzennaya, at the time the Christians entered. The first judge in the Rif in modern times was Si Abd el Rahman of the Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya, who had dwelt long in Fez and married a Fezzi wife. The Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel decided, about fifty years ago, that they would like to have a judge, and therefore sent men of the Gzennaya to Fez to persuade Si Abd el Rahman to come. On the way back from Fez, the Beni Ulid, who did not know that he was a judge, attacked him and his bodyguard in the night, killing him and capturing his wife and children. What remained of the bodyguard returned to the Rif and called together a great council of the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Beni Ulishk, Beni Said, and Metalsa. All these councillors, with their retainers, invaded Beni Ulid and devastated it, taking back the prisoners and loot, and exacting a fine of four thousand five hundred dollars.

Si Abd el Rahman's eldest son was made judge in his place, after him his brother, and after his brother his sons, in turn. Beni Urriaghel and Beni Tuzin later each established a judge, certified by that of Beni Yunes. Several others were set up and deposed in later times.

Every year each *fifth* presents the judge with a cow, five or six goats, and large quantities of all staple agricultural products. The judge in this way receives a large income, but is expected to spend most or all of it on hospitality. He settles disputes concerning landed property. Contestants bring their papers of ownership to him, and he decides which one really owns the property, then signs and seals the paper of the winner. The plaintiffs bring him presents of meat and sugar — any further gift would be considered bribery.

In the Senhaja Sghir the Sherif of Targuist acts as judge, except in Taghzuth, where there has been a judge for generations. Until the time of Abd el Krim, however, the judge of Taghzuth was influenced by the Sherif of Targuist.

It may also be seen that here there appear no Arabic names of tribal functionaries, such as qa'id, qadi or mqaddim.

The notaries who sign the documents limit themselves, then, to the registry of acts passed by the lay committee or customary tribunal.[27]

This procedure clarifies the executive procedure in notes 5, 6, 7 and 8.

The notables and a coterie of friends, family or volunteers, or, simply, hungry men, fall like locusts upon the households of the lineage-mates (agnates) of the accused, and they do not budge until the matter is settled; either this, or they throw them out of doors.[28] Documents and lands, proofs and possessions; the accused's agnates must hand over all of these, as well as their very houses. They have violated the pact and the pledged word. They can only save their own persons, and this with difficulty, thanks to the force of vengeance, bloodfeud and reprisal, to the raqba[29], which may be taken by any member of the victim's family (i.e. any of the victim's agnates).

It is a rapid procedure, but not because the law or its executive organs are rapid, for, as among Europeans, as it is their own flesh which suffers, they are in no great hurry. In the Rif, the man who most strongly urges liquidation of these affairs is the one responsible for the crime, and his agnates. However, much beforehand accounts may be adjusted, the matter is over before they will see themselves free of the locusts in their quarters and before they will be able to save bread. After a few days, which are hard to stretch out, the provisions, already considerably reduced, will begin to get

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 614 [695] Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A]; and their brother Hammu.

621 692 673 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hannash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 687 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir

784 al-'Azizi attended the present act with them. Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

A, [A "83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present
805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take
687 683 justice into his own hands (literally, "ransacking to collect a debt") shall pay 50 duros, and the same for whoever should attack another on
689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of
681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made
443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul)
693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

695 693 capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) in order to testify.

(Blanco: note h) If, regarding a murder, there is brought sufficient proof (against the guilty party), the abovementioned fine shall be imposed upon him, and in case sufficient proof does not exist, he shall swear (for acquittal).[48]

805 443 782 (Blanco: note i) Regarding the abovementioned beginning (i.e. on Tuesdays), it is ended at the hour of the 'isha (i.e. at the dinner hour or hour of the sunset prayer). Amen.

805 000 On the sixth day of Ramadan the Magnificent of the year 1335 (June 26, 1917). Servant of his God, may He be exalted, Muhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, "Abd as-Salam bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

671 692 693 000 Legalization by the qadi. Praise be to the One God. (Both 'udul) have put down its contents, which are accepted and to which I give faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Umar at-Tuzani, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

671 This qanun manifests in a clear way how social law is made among Rifians: where the legislators gathered to agree on it, how it was made public, whom it obligated, the jurisdiction in which it was exercised, the objective sought and the means of attaining it.

It enumerates the crimes and their sanctions, it distinguishes perpetrators and accomplices, provokers and auxiliaries, natives and stranger. It eschews pardon, it demands proof and it shows the reality of the social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator

A [See p.306-- Analyst]

671 component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to
614 disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual
613 interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing in-
182 fluence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

671 7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

693 A) Qanun:

695 Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the under-
623 signed notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya)
621 made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who consti-
782 tute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this
682 kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-
613 mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros.
682 This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55]
443 or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

685 In the same way, they agreed to impose fines for all damages or injuries which are caused, such as theft, etc.

Whoever should steal a sheep or a goat shall be fined 10 duros, and whoever should steal barley, broad beans, etc., from someone else's land shall be fined 5 duros.

681 In summation, all injuries or damages caused by one of them (the Bani 'Adhiya) against another (of them), a fine shall be levied from him, whoever (the party guilty) of the injury or damage may be.

671 In accordance with the above, their declarations were put down, as they have been expressed and explained. Valid and complete testimony. The parties who took part in the present agreement know [693] the value of this agreement, and because of this, both the undersigned notaries testify to what is set down and to the fact that they (the Bani 'Adhiya) are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound minds and memories) and that they are known (personally) to them (the notaries).

805 On the second day of the divine month of Jumad ath-Thani of the 600 year 1332 (April 28, 1914). Servant of his God, may He be glorified, 'Abd as-Salam bin 'Abdallah at-Tafrasti, may God be benevolent toward him. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Aisa at-Taxurakhti, may God be benevolent toward him.

B) Commentary:

671 This synthetic qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya, drawn up in conformity with the dictates of the purest tradition, contains within it suggestions analogous to the rest of the documents which we have studied.

[771] It is a pact (author's italics), by which those who have agreed on it must in future regulate their coexistence and traditional

000 knows how to listen to, attentively and curiously, with a composure, artfulness and incomprehension which is charming, so that he may interpret it later on according to his whim, and with such freedom that no one could recognize it if there were anyone in this happy land to whom the idea of losing time through research might occ-

The memory of Rifians is of a shocking fragility for whatever does not interest them or is lacking in precise outline.....

693 671 212 How many disputes and fights the talib-editor might have avoided if he had had the least idea of the transcendence of his writing and of his notarial function, and if he had listed, instead of his dull litany of names, that by which "they established a qanun for all in general", from which he shows no more than four examples (author's italics), and these very entangled!

693 212 Undoubtedly the first man to be convinced of his uselessness and transitoriness as a legal recorder was the neglected talib-editor himself. He would not judge it opportune to bother about this, knowing the slight value which Rifian society attached to proof written down by the cunning tulba, to whom it only apportioned snares and delusions. Perhaps intentionally in order to convert himself into the sacred repository of all the juridical sciences of the Aith Khattab, a pre-eminent post, he saw himself as an obligatory consultant for all the disputes among his forgetful constituents, for these would require his testimony and assure him of a certain measure of preponderance, especially sacerdotally, aside from an obligatory invitation to a final meal. All conjectures fit, from that of ignorance to that of gluttony. What is certain and unpardonable is that this voluntary omission deprives us today of tasting the needs which they felt and the form in which they sought to remedy them. -322-

671 554 Abundant in these ideas, we may observe how in the first lines of the qanun some names are adorned with the honorific titles of shaikh and even qa'id, titles which fit the members of this society as well as two pistols do a saint, for not only did they not realize nor did anyone admit the roles which in Arabic correspond to such titles, but, as can be appreciated, the nominal qa'id (i.e. Sayyid Bu Bakr bin Muhammad Ushshan) does not occupy the first place, which he not only had to yield to the opulent and considerable Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, but to crouch behind another, second shaikh, 'Ali Azarqan, and we finally discover him in third place modestly lost among the notables: the adults (author's italics), with this single, authentic and legitimate representation: that of his lineage (family group) or dharfiqth, and all the rest, of the social group or jma'th.

It may be observed that this is the only qanun in which the imaginary personage of the qa'id is expressly stated; his title and role are as unreal as all other Arab ones in the Rif, whether they be called bu mwarith, ukil l-ghuyab, shiyukh, mqaddimin and even qudat 181 (pl. of qadi). These people did not look toward Fez nor toward the circumference of the Rif, but toward its center, toward the interior, 614 toward their villages. There was no power other than the assembly, 121 the agraw, the council of elders. For this reason Rifian society.... could have previously been considered concentric.[76]

671 554 693 We may also see the coincidence that this qanun, the only one in which the term qa'id appears, is also the only one which contains that of amghar among the last names (ninth to last) as well as that of ra'is[77], and it reveals to us how the tulba of the Aith Waryaghar, who

671 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike pro-
554 clivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their
693 real profession.

671 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite
779 recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code, 671 or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack, 683 he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor markmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect markmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

681 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all
443 to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the
[619] tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent
[673] death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

675
578 through allegation, no litigation related to the water cited above. If any of them should demand the continuation of the debate through the presentation of proofs or arguments, everything would be null and void, for neither the present nor the future provides for this. Both parties have renounced all arguments, both public or private, which they could allege, as well as all the successive declarations (or reclamations) which could be brought forth to impede putting this agreement into effect.

600 A valid and executive arrangement. Both parties attending know the value of the present act, and, by virtue of it, the undersigned notaries, who know them to be in a perfect state of legal capacity (who know them to be of sound mind and memory), make their testimony. On 28 Qa'da al-Haram of the year 1250 (March 28, 1835).

A signature follows, illegible and signed. Another illegible signature follows the first.

Legalization by the qadi: Praise be to God.--I give faith (or testimony) to the above after both 'udul (notaries) have done so.--Servant of his God.--Signature (of qadi) illegible.

18. A SHAHADA ON WATERS: TRANSLATION:

695
312 Praise be to God.

[693] Both the undersigned notaries compile the testimonies presented by the respected 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Umar al-'Alawi, the honorable 'Umar bin 'Ali, the respected Talib 'Isa Ajtuh, and the honorable Muhammad al-'Arusi, all of the Bani Waryaghal, in which they testify (the testimony of God is the perfect one) that the water ditch, (the property) of 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Amhawil al-Khattabi al-Waryaghli[175]

695 is to be found situated above the ditch of 'Umar bin Yusif al-Waryaghli.
312
[693] This is what the witnesses of the present (act) certify without there being (any) doubt existing in it. A complete attestation.

693 The undersigned notaries who have compiled (the testimonies which
695 these individuals afforded) from them testify that the latter are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) to testify, and they know them (i.e. personally).

[805] On the 21st day of the blessed Sha'ban of the year 1150 (December 13, 1737). Two illegible signatures follow.

19. PURCHASE AND SALE OF AN IRRIGATION TURN: TRANSLATION:

Praise be to the one God.

312 The Qa'id Sulaiman bin Muhammad al-Waryaghli al-Khattabi al-Ajdiri[176]
571
432 buys, with the power and force of God, from the one who sells it, Siddiq bin Muhammad bin Siddiq al-'Abdallawi[177], one-fourth (of a part) of the irrigation ditch of Bulma'iz, (in his turn) by day or by night, his turn reappearing about (once) every nine days; on some occasions
432 he gets it during the day, and on others at night. A valid, definitive
[435] and firm purchase, so much down, without conditions of resale or op-
[436] tions (to anything) other than that assigned here), for a price the sum of which is 100 duros, in Spanish money (i.e. 500 pesetas). This amount the abovementioned seller has taken from the abovementioned buyer, thus recognizing it in front of both witnesses instrumental to the present act, freeing the buyer from it, who took over his purchase with complete possession, occupying it in his place of ownership in conformity with the traditional law and the right of rehibitory action

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

798 front of men[27] are also rejected, as are ululations made by the women
585 on behalf of the groom when he enters the bride's room. (In the Bni Hmid[28], the bride is carried on the shoulders of volunteers to the groom's house; she does not, as elsewhere, ride a mule. In the same tribe, on the first day of the 'Aid, the men, on coming out of the mosque, greet the women, who are waiting for them in a line, one by one)

E) Procedure:

692 623 Jural proceedings in the Rif are conducted in front of the jma'th, personalized by several individuals (in one qanum, that of the Imhauren of the Aith 'Ari clan, by a triumvirate) who meet daily[29] in a central location known to all; under a large tree (usually carob or wild olive), at some water point, or in the mosque. Here the men come with the iziddjifen, and the old and sick men, to sit in the sun, to talk, and perhaps to take a siesta.

695 Procedure is as follows: the plaintiff comes to the area chosen, and, in most cases, both contestants present themselves there, each explaining his reasons without, however, coming to the central point. If he is a stranger, boys and villagers accompany him to the site and there they give the reason for his presence. Ordinarily the question is apt to be settled amicably right there, if it is not an important one; but if this is not the case, for example, and if one of the parties does not agree, the proceedings are extended somewhat longer, as he might request an evaluation by a specialist in such matters, or offer to provide witnesses[30] or other modes of proof; and he sets the time--or [623] one of them asks to swear. The jma'th, e.g. all of those men present (not all the men of the village nor even nearly all of them) lets the

695
623 participants speak, and from time to time, whoever wants to (there is no single judge, and all present have the right to question the litigants) barks out a question or a sentence at them, and another, and another, until, when the contestants get tired, fed up, angry or have no more to say, things get excited, as a result of the loaded questions and confused answers; a certainty pervades the air which further emphasizes the responsibility and even the judging members of the jma'th, for some abandon the defense of the man from their dharfiqth or liff as impossible, while others affirm their suspicions. The first judgment is not long in being pronounced, one of the most outstanding persons of the casually organized assembly (or jury) giving it as his opinion on the matter, and the rest adhering to it. In most instances, on seeing his case unanimously judged (in his disfavor), the individual responsible yields. If he does not, new people come into play and voice their opinions. If the matter is important enough to be a case which smacks of jurisprudence,[31] the meeting held the following Friday (in the mosque, prior to the noon prayer) is devoted in part to going over it again and adding up the greatest number of opinions (pro and con)--but not votes--in order to give wider publicity to the agreement and even to take it down in writing if necessary, if so stipulated.

[212]
[794] If there is written proof, any talib hesitatingly deciphers the documentary evidence, but the members of the jma'th do not let him take a trick (thus showing the power of the layman over the judge??) other than in a very discreet and impartial manner. Sometimes they agree to submit the matter to an arbiter outside the jma'th, for greater impartiality in the decision. At other times they decide to submit the

695 At other times they decide to submit the
696 resolution to the clan council on the next market day; but when the
623 judgment, which is both swift and free of charge, has been rendered, the individual responsible can only comply with the council's decision; and he must do so not only more than rapidly, but virtually explosively, or be sentenced by his neighbors and his peers. If he resists, his only recourse is to take up arms, as everybody else is now after him, and this in itself obliges him to do so. The proceedings are rapid and gratuitous, as aforestated, except if experts are called upon to intervene; they are given an honorarium, the amount of which is determined by the custom of the tribe in question, and consists of such and such a percentage of the value of the appraised object or the object of the litigation[32].

692 Thus, true jural procedure, for the Rifian, is to render public
695 any offense or injury he has suffered, and to gain adherents to his point of view. First his family or kin group wants to intervene on his behalf, then his social grouping (properly: his lineage), and finally his liff, his last recourse. This multiplies the various contingencies and unsuspected turns the case may take ad infinitum, and tends to render useless any reclamations against an offender who is more powerful than the injured party. The latter may not take any action against him, but will often afterwards wait in ambush for him in order to redress the wrong! It is a procedure which.....awakens manliness and courage.....

[671] A good example of the executive procedure in criminal law is the qanun
[613] between dharfiqin[33].

000 Bshara, or procedure of recuperation[34]. (No text here whatsoever: translator's note.)

695 F) Oaths (fragmentary):[35]

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pretensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has [562] no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a women against her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter[36], where does one find more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and 695 839 the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape[36a] etc., which, if not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

695 [671] [191] Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are 695 623 previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants [613] to[37]. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members of his dharfiqth[38].

695 829 181 Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to

A, [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

695 829 [181] the individual, in most cases. It therefore seems natural that the group rather than the individual (contrary to Islamic Law) proclaims its innocence[39].

695 212 [685] Although written proofs are admitted, they are not common, and are always submitted previously to a fqih for his consultation. Also, certain tulba were known to take advantage of their essentially notary function in order to falsify documents (one man even wrote up false Sultan's dahirs, or imperial decrees, and was jailed in Tangier!); and this did not make for any great respect of written proofs in Arabic, a language which in any case the Rifians did not understand. [157] Even today (1935) a Rifian who possesses a document is always looking for people to translate it for him, as he is never satisfied with one man's word and always suspects that the man who drew it up for him either misrepresented him or lied to him. I have known Rifians who want to the French Zone and even to Spain in order to obtain proper interpretations of their personal papers! Only death will separate a Rifian from his r-kwaghadh![40]

695 Conciliation and arbitration are the preferential jural processes in this society, where victory is difficult and defeat is hard; and one is drawn to the idea that what actually takes place is more akin to "horse trading" than to justice, in the European sense of the word.

It seems to me that the collective oath is the Rifian equivalent of the European "word of honor", in its unadulterated sense[41]. It has [619] a social rather than a religious significance, and, in practice, very little ritual; it is carried out in the mosque under the eye of the rival or plaintiff, and of those who were in on the secret, a sufficient action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49 A], and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right
[443] path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[514] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

A, [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of action of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 684 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 695 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 793 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 231 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

[114] 37--The jma'th, contrary to Blanco's statement, had absolutely nothing to do with the selection of cojurors by a man accused of a crime. He selected them himself, among his agnates, and if he did not have enough to fill the full complement, he got the remainder from that neighboring dharfiqth which was most closely related, patrilaterally, to his own.

[114] 38--The accused always chose his own cojurors, and here Blanco has made a serious error. An even more serious error, and one which appears to us almost classic among French writers on the subject, is a persistent tendency to confuse cojurors (izudjen or yuxshin n rimin) with witnesses (rshuhudh). The distinction between the two should be obvious to anyone, but apparently it has not been: if there is a witness or witnesses to any crime (and the Shari'a states that there must be either 12 ordinary witnesses or 2 'udul or notaries public, the testimony of one 'adl being worth that of six ordinary men), there is, ipso facto, no oath; for the accusatory testimony of witnesses always (quite naturally) overrides the denials of the accused and his cojurors. Furthermore, though the number of witnesses and the number of cojurors (in a murder case) are exactly the same, there is another paramount difference between these two categories of persons, wholly aside from the fact that the function of the ones is to accuse and that of the others is to deny: witnesses had to come from a different lineage or different lineages from that of the accused, while the cojurors of the latter were his agnates and thus his fellow lineage mates, aithmas, "his brothers", or aith 'azizi, or ibin 'azizithen, "the people or sons of his paternal uncles". The fact that the same number of individuals, twelve, was needed in each case may or may not have been fortuitous; but, in any event, it seems of entirely secondary importance.

A summary recapitulation of collective oaths (thzaddjith or rimin) as practiced among the tribes of the Central Rif will not be out of place. First of all, if one man accused another of any crime or misdemeanor, and the accused man denied it, they both agreed to go to their cantonal or Friday mosque, or any other mosque named by the plaintiff (izidjith), on the following Friday before the noon prayer so that the accused (izudj or yuxshar n rimin) could take oath. The plaintiff, furthermore, stipulated how many cojurors the accused should bring with him.

[692]

It appears that the number of cojurors was almost always either six (the accused himself plus five agnates) or twelve (the accused himself plus eleven agnates), the former amount of men being required in less important matters, such as theft of irrigation water or of livestock, or damage to the accuser's property, and the latter in cases of murder, as aforementioned. (When Blanco says five and ten, respectively, he is in error as to the exact amount, but correct regarding the proportion and the doubled number in suspected homicides.) Twelve was ordinarily the maximum number of cojurors, and murder the maximum offense necessitating this number, among the members of one tribe; but if an oath involved members of two different tribes, over matters such as large scale land disputes involving tribal boundaries, or intertribal murder cases, the number of cojurors which the accused had to bring was elevated to fifty (the defendant plus forty-nine agnates or fellow clansmen or tribesmen, the latter being far more ready to help out one of their own men in an extra-tribal crisis than in an intra-clan or even an intra-

[114]

695 tribal one). To be able to swear, a cojuror had to be old enough to fast during Ramadan (i.e. to have attained puberty); and women did not swear.

The plaintiff had to be present at the mosque (and each tribe or clan generally had at least one mosque at which it was customary to take oath) when the accused and his cojurors arrived. When the latter arrived, they removed their footgear and weapons, as the plaintiff had done before them. Then the fqih of the mosque asked them what they were going to swear; they told him; and he made each one of them repeat it on the mushaf (Koran) after saying the oath formula "Bi-llahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa!" (With God, of whom there is none other than He), the accused swearing first. The accused placed his right hand on the mushaf while taking oath, and each of his cojurors, in turn, did the same.

[793]

There were, however, instances in which the mushaf was not employed as a vehicle for swearing; and some say that these instances were more the rule than the exception, and that in them the oath formula was restricted to "Bi-llah" (With God) only. Others deride the practice and say that it was followed only by "ignorant people"; but, even so, the mere fact of its existence tends to place Rifian oaths at more or less of a midpoint between those in the Sus and Western Atlas, where the mushaf was always, without exception, employed, and those of the Middle and Central Atlases, where it was completely unheard of. It is in the latter areas that Berber oaths in Morocco reached their greatest purity and complexity. However, it should be said that in the Rif, unlike the Central Atlas region, the fqih, if the need demanded, repeated the oath as many times as was necessary for all the cojurors to understand it and say it after him; whereas in the Central Atlas, a different official, the anahkam, only repeated it once (the formula there was, in addition, more complicated than the Rifian one), and if any cojuror tripped up over it or got it wrong, the oath was broken; and the same applied if any of a group of assembled bystanders, whose function it was, in effect, to heckle the cojurors, succeeded in making him falter or stumble over the words, by yelling "'Auh! 'Auh! 'Auh!" (In the Rif, there was no such heckling, even though oaths, for obvious reasons, had to be taken publicly.) A further distinction was that in the Central Atlas, all important oaths were taken not at mosques, but at saints' tombs. There were many other differences in detail as well, such as number of cojurors required for various offenses and in the ramifications of the question of who pays in the event that some cojurors were either recusant or missing; but finally, and perhaps most relevant of all, the oath system in the Rif, encompassing fewer tribes and far less territory than in the Atlas, showed a far greater tribe-to-tribe uniformity.

695 184 171

To return now to the oath itself: after it was taken, the fqih, who had witnessed it, drew up a document (tibriyith, "letter") in Arabic certifying that the defendant, whom he named, had sworn on such and such a date to the effect that he had not committed such and such a crime: he (the fqih) then appended the names of the latter's cojurors, as well as that of the plaintiff. Finally, he gave this document to the defendant so that the latter could produce written evidence of his innocence.

695 793 212

695 [184] It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-[184] appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if [191] one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 [114] 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] [181] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

[191] [577] [114] 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an amghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

property in that belonging to him, in conformance with traditional law.[25]

Those who attended the present (act) brought their testimony to the above according to the requirements of the interested parties. --In the middle of Jumad al-Awwal of the year 1336 (February 27, 1918). --The 'adl, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hajj al-Warnuri.--Another, whose name is not known.--Another, Muhammad bin Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghamri.

B) Commentary:

The social disintegration which Rifian society has reached is proven by these individual agreements between dharfiqin (Blanco: note 1, corresponding to text of qanun). In the face of helplessness or irregular functioning of higher-level associations, the poor tribesmen, before falling into complete anarchy, hastened to conclude an agreement with a neighboring group in order to attenuate that anarchy, succeeding in the hard struggle for life on a poor soil. These agreements thus formed true islets of irregular and variable peace, anchored in functional (sic) anarchy.

The necessity of agreements between lower-level lineages, who were abandoned by the rudimentary organization, obeyed, according to my understanding, those most curious periods which followed the public declaration of anarchy in the suq, when one powerful group managed by force to sustain the punishment, breaking the truce.

As the dispute was generalized between two preponderant rivals, the unaffected groups, before falling into anarchy, and with that notable instinct of self-defense, worked to bring about these agreements,

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 614 [695] Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A], and their brother Hammu. 621 692 673 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hannash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 689 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Azizi attended the present act with them. Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

784

A, ["83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

695 Valid and complete testimony in virtue of which both instrumental witnesses bring testimony against them.

000 (Two illegible signatures follow.)

692 At the same time, they agreed that whoever should commit any of the wrongs (literally, "things") expressed herein, the case, together with him (the man who committed it) shall be taken to Sayyid Mhammad bin Musa[32] and Sayyid Ahmad bin 'Ali[33] (Blanco: note d).

685 Whoever enters an orchard with intent to rob shall pay 20 685 uqiyyas. If a bull should start to trample property adjacent to that 672 of its owner, the latter shall pay one peseta.

The guarantors (of the fulfillment of this agreement) are three. The Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad, Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdallah, and Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan (Blanco: note e).

[681] Regarding the amount (of the fines imposed) with respect to orchards in cases in which they are injured by animals, this will be donated to their mosque (Blanco: note f).

If they should break a branch of a fig or other tree belonging to anyone, the owner of the animals will pay 20 (uqiyyas).

000 A signature in Arabic follows, which appears to be al-Bu Jma' bin Muhammad (signed).

B) Commentary:

671 The reading of this qanun clearly indicates in its first para- 621 graph the names of those who have established it, all of them members of the jma'th of Imhauren, bordering the Island of Alhucemas, in the 621 plain of the same name. Every two or three headmen or iziddifen (sing., 613 554 aziddif, "head") are the visible representatives of the lineage groups

623 182 own circumstantial interest, their councils and the agreements fallen back upon in them lacked that breadth and generality which would have been needed for a longer duration in any jural operation. In a short time, new, unspecified cases or prejudice among the influential men brought their usefulness to an end and necessitated their being redrafted, in which previous experience, the analysis of which was discarded in order to resolve the question of the moment, did not play a part.

671 212 For this reason written laws in the Rif are rare, of only relative value and minimal jural operation, which did not go beyond the time it took the minors (author's italics), the small ones, to forget the announcement of the majors (author's italics) by the criers in the markets to reach their hands.

671 They do not have the severity of European law which, even though drafted in moments of emotion, gathers up and encloses in itself principles of general usefulness, a usefulness which does not necessarily exist at the time of codification but which comes into play with possible and presumable variations which later times can introduce, by which, with the prolongation of their legal operation, their disclosure and exemplarity increase, resulting in the slow but sure advance of society.

5. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF TAMASINT (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 695 621 623 A) Qanun:

(Blanco: paragraph a) Praise be to God.--Copy.--In front of both witnesses testifying at the present act, those of the jama'a of Tamasint as-Sifli, Lower Thamasind, appeared for judgment, including:

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present
805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take
687 justice into his own hands (literally, "ransacking to collect a debt")
683 shall pay 50 duros, and the same for whoever should attack another on
689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of
681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made
443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul)
693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

695 693 capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) in order to testify.

(Blanco: note h) If, regarding a murder, there is brought sufficient proof (against the guilty party), the abovementioned fine shall be imposed upon him, and in case sufficient proof does not exist, he shall swear (for acquittal).[48]

805 443 782 (Blanco: note i) Regarding the abovementioned beginning (i.e. on Tuesdays), it is ended at the hour of the 'isha (i.e. at the dinner hour or hour of the sunset prayer). Amen.

805 000 On the sixth day of Ramadan the Magnificent of the year 1335 (June 26, 1917). Servant of his God, may He be exalted, Muhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, "Abd as-Salam bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

671 692 693 000 Legalization by the qadi. Praise be to the One God. (Both 'udul) have put down its contents, which are accepted and to which I give faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Umar at-Tuzani, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

671 This qanun manifests in a clear way how social law is made among Rifians: where the legislators gathered to agree on it, how it was made public, whom it obligated, the jurisdiction in which it was exercised, the objective sought and the means of attaining it.

It enumerates the crimes and their sanctions, it distinguishes perpetrators and accomplices, provokers and auxiliaries, natives and 000 stranger. It eschews pardon, it demands proof and it shows the reality of the social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator

A, [See p.306-- Analyst]

671 Paragraph e: This paragraph distinguishes principals from accomplices or auxiliaries.

671 181 Paragraph f: A virile and rural society distrusts the veracity of the so-called humanitarian sentiments, closing its doors to the intrigues which, under such a mask, provoke influential individuals to save their allies and other interested aspirations which mock the objectives that the law, to which they freely gave themselves, pursues.

671 609 628 Paragraph g: We have here a precise and exact detail, an excellent delimitation of a truce, a recognition of Rifian public law (i.e. jural procedure) and interest protecting the stranger, to whom this law guarantees a wide and sufficient time of commercial activity and a prudent warning that he leave an open field to the fierce internal bloodfeuding. We have here a manifestation of the social unit, 671 609 614 the clan, which shows us its reality and consistency, which recognizes a common interest and one superior to its own intestinal vendettas; and this permits it to guarantee to the neutral, to the stranger, a free passage and activity throughout its whole territory (author's italics).

671 695 Paragraph h: Two important additions are made here to the hurried first draft. It is necessary, first, to guarantee the person of the accused against the passions of the moment, the outward appearances, the ill-will and the outright suspicions, by means of evident proof (author's italics), offering him the means of avoiding such passions by taking oath. And in the second addendum (Paragraph i) they list, furthermore, and completing it, the duration of the truce or time of peace.

671 component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to
614 disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual
613 interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing in-
182 fluence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

671 7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)
693
695
623
621
782 A) Qanun:

Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the undersigned notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya) made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this
682 kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-
613 mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros.
682 This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55]
443 or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

through allegation, no litigation related to the water cited above. If any of them should demand the continuation of the debate through the presentation of proofs or arguments, everything would be null and void, for neither the present nor the future provides for this. Both parties have renounced all arguments, both public or private, which they could allege, as well as all the successive declarations (or reclamations) which could be brought forth to impede putting this agreement into effect.

A valid and executive arrangement. Both parties attending know the value of the present act, and, by virtue of it, the undersigned notaries, who know them to be in a perfect state of legal capacity (who know them to be of sound mind and memory), make their testimony. On 28 Qa'da al-Haram of the year 1250 (March 28, 1835).

A signature follows, illegible and signed. Another illegible signature follows the first.

Legalization by the qadi: Praise be to God.--I give faith (or testimony) to the above after both 'udul (notaries) have done so.--Servant of his God.--Signature (of qadi) illegible.

18. A SHAHADA ON WATERS: TRANSLATION:

Praise be to God.

Both the undersigned notaries compile the testimonies presented by the respected 'Abd al-Qadir bin 'Umar al-'Alawi, the honorable 'Umar bin 'Ali, the respected Talib 'Isa Ajtuh, and the honorable Muhammad al-'Arusi, all of the Bani Waryaghal, in which they testify (the testimony of God is the perfect one) that the water ditch, (the property) of 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Amhawil al-Khattabi al-Waryaghli[175]

695 is to be found situated above the ditch of 'Umar bin Yusif al-Waryaghli.
312
[693] This is what the witnesses of the present (act) certify without there being (any) doubt existing in it. A complete attestation.

693 The undersigned notaries who have compiled (the testimonies which
695 these individuals afforded) from them testify that the latter are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) to testify, and they know them (i.e. personally).

[805] On the 21st day of the blessed Sha'ban of the year 1150 (December 13, 1737). Two illegible signatures follow.

19. PURCHASE AND SALE OF AN IRRIGATION TURN: TRANSLATION:

Praise be to the one God.

312
571
432 The Qa'id Sulaiman bin Muhammad al-Waryaghli al-Khattabi al-Ajdiri[176] buys, with the power and force of God, from the one who sells it, Siddiq bin Muhammad bin Siddiq al-'Abdallawi[177], one-fourth (of a part) of the irrigation ditch of Bulma'iz, (in his turn) by day or by night, his turn reappearing about (once) every nine days; on some occasions
432 he gets it during the day, and on others at night. A valid, definitive
[435] and firm purchase, so much down, without conditions of resale or op-
[436] tions (to anything) other than that assigned here), for a price the sum of which is 100 duros, in Spanish money (i.e. 500 pesetas). This amount the abovementioned seller has taken from the abovementioned buyer, thus recognizing it in front of both witnesses instrumental to the present act, freeing the buyer from it, who took over his purchase with complete possession, occupying it in his place of ownership in conformity with the traditional law and the right of rehibitory action

691 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

000 223 224 622 578 671 [191] at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth). In the Sanhaja Srir, the mulu' sometimes resolves the question of ownership by hefting the sticks of those who are disputing and giving it to the man whose stick weighs most.

3) Animals or birds disputed about without sufficient proof of ownership are taken away from both parties and handed over to the mulu' (Ibuqquyen).

671 223 224 411 4) An animal or bird hit both by a shot and by a stick belongs to the man with the stick if it falls less than twenty steps from where the latter threw, and to the man with the gun if the distance is over twenty steps (Aith 'Ammarth).

671 223 5) A bird hit by a shot and caught by another hunter in whose vicinity it falls belongs, if it falls down dead, to the man who fired the shot, and to the other man if it is only wounded and if he pursues it and finishes it off. If there are no witnesses, whoever gets it [572] must say if it fell down alive or not, and an oath to this effect can [695] be demanded of him (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 224 6) Any bird or animal which has fallen outside the range of vision of a hunter belongs to whoever finds it if he is going hunting also; and if he is not, it belongs to whoever wounded it (in the same way that in the method of acquiring property by vivification, this case shows a recompense for physical effort, denying rights of recovery to a goatherd or a traveler whom luck might favor instead of the hunter)

[201] 7) A bird or animal sitting in a thicket or in its den belongs to whoever discovers it; and the latter must make his discovery known by raising his stick and crying out "l-'adaw", these both being signs of recovery (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

224
184
825 the traps and is stuck. In other tribes, instead of a reed tube, dried figs with flies are tied to the traps.[197]

224
231 L) Ferrets:

In hunting with ferrets, these sometimes stay in the burrows of the game for several days and eat the game. In order to get a ferret out of the hole, its owner usually takes a chicken to the mouth of the den and makes it squawk; and the ferret is attracted by the noise. If he does not succeed through using this technique, the owner puts the chicken in a leather bag, in which it is kept, with the bag open, beside the entrance. When the ferret comes out, it enters the bag or stays crouched beside it.

Ferrets are also employed in hunting jackals and wolves (sic). The hunters prepare snares at the entrance of the animal's lair. They put the ferret there, and it is held down by its testicles. Aside from the snare already prepared, the hunters are then ready to finish the jackal off with blows from their sticks as it comes out.

M) Damages:

A hunting party is not responsible for damages which the individual hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) might inflict in garden, orchards, or beehives, etc., but the latter are. The injured party, if he does not accuse a specific person through not knowing who did the damage, can demand that the hunting party denounce the guilty individual, and if it does not wish to do this, it must declare, by name, those who passed closest to the site of the damage occasioned.[198]

[681]
[695] If the latter confess, they pay a fine, and in case of denial, they are obliged to swear that they have not done the damage and that they do not know the man or men who did.

824 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka
778 of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit [Igliwa], zzest [Temsaman]) may be so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan-
[842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power
[843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall be good-looking (Tangier).

[109] Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words
755 from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul,
778 Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

[110] At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura (Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura, sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case
[231] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or, on the 17th of May (mut l-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame. A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines,
842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the morning on an empty stomach.

841] [111] Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro; Berb. fadis [Temsaman] or fadis [Ait Waryager]) is eaten by women suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 [112] The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand)
824 as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow.
696 Some scribes recite over it something from the [113] Koran, knot seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

696
778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Igliwa], tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager], tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[172] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have baraka.

627 one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was
728 made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, perhaps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

574 [537] The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the belief in the 'ar and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in the 'ar of his host, in accordance with the principle, "He who is in your house is in your 'ar".

[538] Among the Braber of the Ait Yusi and Ait Sadden, if two or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a guest (anbg i, plur. inbg aun), spending the night in the mosque if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; some one of the villagers brings food to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the fqi is not there, as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any person in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse. The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up; for l-'ain t at akul, "the eye is eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all.

842 [559] Among the Ait Waryager parents who have lost a child de-
765 posit its shirt at a shrine as 'ar in order that they shall be blessed with another child.

776 [561] Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in
696 the 'ar of God and Sidna Jebril, the master of mosques. Among the Ait Waryager, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a village is considered to be in the 'ar of the villagers and is therefore sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint will be unscrupulously killed.

695 At other times they decide to submit the
696 resolution to the clan council on the next market day; but when the
623 judgment, which is both swift and free of charge, has been rendered, the individual responsible can only comply with the council's decision; and he must do so not only more than rapidly, but virtually explosively, or be sentenced by his neighbors and his peers. If he resists, his only recourse is to take up arms, as everybody else is now after him, and this in itself obliges him to do so. The proceedings are rapid and gratuitous, as aforestated, except if experts are called upon to intervene; they are given an honorarium, the amount of which is determined by the custom of the tribe in question, and consists of such and such a percentage of the value of the appraised object or the object of the litigation[32].

692 Thus, true jural procedure, for the Rifian, is to render public
695 any offense or injury he has suffered, and to gain adherents to his point of view. First his family or kin group wants to intervene on his behalf, then his social grouping (properly: his lineage), and finally his liff, his last recourse. This multiplies the various contingencies and unsuspected turns the case may take ad infinitum, and tends to render useless any reclamations against an offender who is more powerful than the injured party. The latter may not take any action against him, but will often afterwards wait in ambush for him in order to redress the wrong! It is a procedure which.....awakens manliness and courage.....

[671] A good example of the executive procedure in criminal law is the qanun
[613] between dharfiqin[33].

000 Bshara, or procedure of recuperation[34]. (No text here whatsoever: translator's note.)

000 latter's kinsmen before he can get away. Even in this case, the killer could generally get off if he were able to pay a 2000-duro fine (rhaqq) to the imgharen on the spot, if he was lucky enough to be caught by them and not by his victim's agnates.

[114] [464] [167] 52--Why should the Rifians have been acquainted with the qanums of the Algerian Kabyles? Granted that Rifian labor migration to Algeria, prior to 1955, was very extensive, it must be remembered that Rifians went to the plains and vineyards of western Algeria (not to Kabylia) to work and send remittances to their families, not to compare notes with their fellow Berbers in Kabylia!

53--This is entirely true, though we know of one case in which, in 1926, after 'Abd al-Krim's defeat, a man from one of the mountain clans of Aith Waryaghar was beaten to death, by order of a lowland qaid from the same tribe, for refusing to hand two rifles in his possession over to the Spaniards.

[171] 54--In the Central Atlas, half ddiyit (blood money to victim's agnates) is paid by a man for shooting at someone else and missing him, but full ddiyit for taking aim and not shooting (E. Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship", Philosophy of Science, vol. 27, no. 2, 1960, pp. 187-204.) In other words, what is punished is the intent to kill, and on this subject Blanco has some interesting remarks to make in the chapter on the qanums of Dhmasind and of Aith 'Abd Allah in La Ley Rifeña (pp. 41-3, 47, 50). In the Rif, however, this is manifested in a different way under different circumstances: ddiyith is paid to the victim's family, under normal conditions, by the killer, who must also pay rqisas to the victim himself in case of wounding. The amount of the ddiyith is anything up to 1200 duros, while that of the rqisas, depends on the nature of the wound. However, there is no question at all of either ddiyith or rqisas being paid if the intended victim has not been harmed. This is the case if the attempted murder has taken place outside the market; but if it has taken place on market day and within the market (even though there is again an exemption from ddiyith and rqisas) the rhaqq or market fine must be paid in full (2000 duros) to the imgharen, because the would-be assassin is an amsasar (pl. imsasaren) or trouble-maker who has knowingly tried to "break" the market by flouting its regulations.

681 682 696 [613] 55--In case of murder, only the murderer himself went into exile. He did so immediately after the crime, so that he would not be killed in turn by his victim's agnates. Exile meant that he sought refuge, as an adhrib (pl. idhriben), (derived from Arabic talib, "enemy") in the territory of another tribe, whose members sheltered and protected him until such time (if ever) that he could go home. On occasion, as Blanco suggests, whole lineages have been forced into exile; Coon, in Flesh of the Wild Ox (pp. 74-108), gives an example from the Igzinnayen. However, this particular instance was the result of a decree of the Aitharba'in after a long and bitter feud; and as such, it was exceptional. The rule was that only the murderer fled; he was not accompanied by nine of his agnates, as in the Central Atlas (even though these latter returned after three days in order to start making overtures for payment of ddiyit to the dead man's agnates).

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his
682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally
meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill
696 him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept
this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the
[182] presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was
eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only
after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he
682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on
443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum
[114] (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine
(called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder
on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other
offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market
itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the
imgharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market
path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no
question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in
the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually
meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise
the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the
ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum
which was prohibitively high), the imgharen descended on him in a body
and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re-
682 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the mur-
628 derer. The imgharen, however, could not touch his property as long as
he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's
family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion
of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that
he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's ag-
nates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the
imgharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen
of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted,
as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circum-
stances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to
have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 56--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for
682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of
commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely stan-
dard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] 57--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the
[114] Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is ex-
pressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading
to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants,
[124] however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is
immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is
[628] assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the
murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and
a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted
up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

616 to a far earlier incidence of tribal unity, and on a much wider scale,
619 than the events precipitated by Bu Hamara's invasion. Blanco's listing,
648 however, is incomplete, for this feud encompassed not only the Rif,
[114] but all of Northern Morocco, centering, supposedly, on the Ghumara and
[113] Sanhaja, each of which had allies both to the west (Jbala) and to the east (Rif). There are other listings available, the most complete of which may be found in Montagne, op. cit., 1930, map facing p. 208. See also Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 17-8, and Jesus Ortoneda Jiménez, Estudio de la Region del Rif, Ceuta, 1930, p. 37, as well as Vademecum de Intervenciones Militares, Melilla 1928. None of these listings is in complete agreement with any of the others.

000 37--According to Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 18, the Igzinnayen were not in the Ghumara liff, but in the Sanhajan one, and, according to his informants, the fact that the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen were both on that side brought the Sanhaja the ultimate victory.

38--Until 1906, Bni Gmil and Mistasa formed a single tribe. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, Vademecum del Territorio del Rif, 1946, p. 81.

39--Bni Waryagil is a small tribe in the southern Jbala, and Rifian informants have all disclaimed any connection between it and the very much larger Aith Waryaghar of the Rif. Literate informants, moreover, point to the difference in orthography: the name of the Rifian tribe is written in Arabic with the letter ghain, while that of the Jbalan group is written with the gaf (kaf with three points above it).

40--It does indeed!

[114] 41--Why should it be necessary to "explain its affinities to the European type"? One feels that liffs, like any other institutions, can only be "explained" in their own terms!

[696] 42--What Blanco presumably refers to here, in an oblique manner, is, among other things, the fact that murderers must flee their own tribes.

[114] 43--It seems to us that Blanco is looking at this aspect of the problem upside down. If anything, an alliance and war of the Sanhaja-Ghumara type probably had its origins in the Rifian system discussed in note 18, rather than the other way around. It is, of course, also possible that problems and/or notions of this kind cut both ways.

44--This term refers to the western maritime tribes of the Rif, located around the early Islamic center of Badis.

616 45--There are three basic errors in this sentence. First, the Aith 'Abd
619 Allah had only an ad hoc liff arrangement with the Ibuqquyen; this was
114 directed against their own enemies within the Aith Waryaghar, namely, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and the Aith Hadhifa, the former of whom, in particular, the Ibuqquyen could never forgive for having accompanied Bushta al-Baghdadi's punitive expedition into their tribal territory. There was no question whatsoever of an alliance with either the Aith Yittuft or the Bni Bu Frah. The same applies to the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who were also (but very tenuously) allied, through the transitive principle, to the Axt Tuzin clan of Axt Tsafth, because their "brothers" and enemies the Aith 'Adhiya were in liff (again through the transitive principle)

6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH[45] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

671 Praise be to the One God. The will and eternal power of Our
443 Lord having decided thus, the congregation--in the Tuesday Market
[778] (Suq ath-Thulatha) (situated) at 'Ain Tihalalin[46], in the vicinity of (the tomb of) the holy emanator of blessings Sidi 'Amran[47]--of its owners, those of the clan of Bani 'Abdallah. (The latter) convened
623 (in the abovementioned market) with the idea of coming to agreement on
443 their criteria and on the purity of their actions in behalf of the
692 common good of all; and, as a consequence, they decided the amount of
681 the fines to be imposed inasmuch as there should occur within the abovementioned market, or, indeed, outside it on the path (which leads to it), (Blanco: note a) incidents, premeditated or not, through error or imprudence, such as woundings and murders (which might happen) through gunshots, knifings, strangulations and stonings, (or, indeed),
682 pillaging and sacking. (Blanco: note b) To anyone who kills in the
443 interior of the market and is caught (literally, "had"), rashsha' shall
[696] be applied to him (i.e. he shall be shot). If he has not been captured owing to having fled to another tribe (literally, "other tribes"), (they shall impose upon him a fine of) 2000 duros and his house shall be burned down to its foundations. (If he should kill) on the path (which leads to the market) he shall also pay (a fine of) 2000 (duros). Who-
683 ever should wound (another), (he shall be fined) 1000 duros. Whoever (shoots) and misses (his target), (he shall pay a fine of) 500 duros.
682 (Blanco: note c) Whoever of the Bani 'Abdallah should commit murder on Tuesday (i.e. on market day, the day of the suq) within the

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49A], and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right
[443] path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[574] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

A, [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

613 621 616 182 This internal equilibrium between charfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 701 Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

6446 619 The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613 When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

---

[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

628 721 they send out a couple of individuals to care for their relatives (in their absence) and tell them what has happened, and by day, they have to feed them, after which, once this is done, they start the march toward the enemy group in order to deliver the coup de main either at once or through careful skirmishing.

There is no top command, for, as the objective is clear, it is not needed. All that must be done is to write finis to the enemy. Individual desertion is shameful, booty is eagerly anticipated, and members of the war-party do not worry about the fact that there are neither rearguard services nor defense.

B) Harkas and their Formation (fragmentary):

[701] [626] [689] The obligation to serve in a harka or war-party was general and accepted by all, and avoidance of harka duty was an object of censure and sanction. Any and all groups which were threatened (both internally and externally) provided variable contingents which were activated periodically. Until protectorate times, punitive expeditions organized by the Moroccan Sultans to chastise recalcitrant tribesmen were augmented by auxiliary harkas made up from the tribes through [648] whose territory the expeditions passed. A good example was the foray undertaken by Bushta al-Baghdadi, one of the fin de siècle commanders of the Moroccan army, against the pirates of the Ibuqquyen in 1898[4]. 701 More recently, 'Abd al-Krim solicited harkas for individual engagements; he maintained a reduced contingent, which was periodically increased, under arms. The system was one of partial mobilization with relief contingents, the number and amount of which were fixed by 'Abd al-Krim. Their recruitment and provisions were handled by their

701 own jma'ths; they were headed by men of their own localities; and 'Abd al-Krim only reserved for himself the right to nominate individuals in his confidence for top positions[5].

[619] The contingents of each tribe were headed by the notables of that tribe, and were instructed independently within the whole harka

619 agglomerate. The tribal notables received news of the objectives
726 they had to attain; they took their contingents into battle; and
701 afterwards, they abandoned the field and brought their harkas home....
[621] Through their representatives in the agraw, the jma'ths knew the
[623] contingent which was requested, and they made the division and nomin-
701 ated the chiefs[6]. There were both volunteers and conscripts; but in
[702] each house, one man had to stay at home. An amghar or the amghar was the elected warchief, and he established his contingent....He did not
[621] abandon his house or agricultural tasks or coerce anyone to fight[7],
[623] and the jma'th saw to an equitable distribution of men under arms at all times. Only shurfa, old men, boys and individuals with physical defects were exempt from harka service.

726 Attempts were made to respect geographical order, and each contingent was called upon to engage in combat only on its natural front. The order of battle was traditionally known, and was answerable to political necessity. Coexistence was easier for harka members on their natural fronts, of course, in their own land; resistance was more effective, displacements were more rapid and dispersion was less serious. Knowing the country perfectly, they could send groups to defend passes or watersheds or gorges in relays, each one two or three hours behind the last, so that later arrivals could increase the

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that [443] among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 574 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

671 701 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

671
701
681

Fines to be imposed:

Harka members: for each day of absence, two (days to be served) in the harka, and a fine of 2 duros.

Qa'ids of 25 men: the same, with a fine of 3 duros.

Qa'ids of 50 men: the same, with a fine of 4 duros.

Qa'ids of 100 men: the same, with a fine of 5 duros.

Qa'ids of 200 men: the same, with a fine of 6 duros.

This is an order emanating from the fortunate Makhzin (i.e. of 'Abd al-Krim). May God protect it. In Targhzut on Ramadan 23, 1344 (March 8, 1926). By order of 'Abd al-Karim bin Ziyan.[110]

12. DOCUMENT OF EXEMPTION FROM PAYMENT OF TAXES[111]:

212
651

Praise be to the one God. The blessings of God be upon our (lord) Muhammad, his family and friends.

It shall be known through the present document that we, taking into consideration the services rendered to the Makhzin and the taxes which because of hospitable attentions with warlike objectives (holy war) weigh upon the bearers, the sons of the late Si Ahmad bin Si 'Ali al-Tawti are exempted by us from the contributions concerned....The 'amil, in virtue of this, orders that they not be asked of them....And the peace.

Safar 18 of the year 1341 (October 10, 1922). Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Khattabi, may God be with him, amen. (Signed and sealed).

471
501

13. QANUN OF THE SEA--AITH WARYAGHAR[112]:

A) The Boat Owner:

He owns the boat (agharrabu, pl. igharruba)[113], acquired by transfer, sale, already used or repaired by carpenters on the beach, of whom there are still a few[114].

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

The pattern of colonization was different in the French zone.[28] Drawn by the classic motivations of the time—trade, new land, promise of quick profits, adventure, and dissatisfaction with conditions at home—French colonists poured into Morocco by the thousands. In each of the main areas of *colon* activity—i.e., the plains of the lower Sebou, the Gharb, and the area around Oujda—European colonization necessitated displacement of native farmers and pastoralists. The resulting confusion and conflict were important factors in the development of Moroccan nationalism.[29] In 1955 French settlers owned about 7 per cent of Morocco's productive land, but this land was exceptionally fertile and accounted for 40 per cent of the national income from agriculture.[30] In comparison, the extent of agricultural development in Spanish Morocco seems negligible.

If rural colonization was negligible in Spanish Morocco, the military occupation was not. Since its inception, the Spanish protectorate functioned as a military training ground. During most of the period of effective Spanish occupation, at least 200,000 troops were stationed in the northern zone. This force included the *mehalla*, or Khalifian army, of about 10,000 native troops, and large concentrations of the Spanish army. The more accessible rural areas were patrolled by the *makhzaniya*, or rural police, a force patterned after the Spanish *guardia civil*. Rifians, especially the Aith Wariyaghar, were eager to serve in one of the military forces, and the Spanish, who valued their obedience and hardiness, were just as eager to enlist them. Rifian troops formed a substantial part of Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War. Military service under Spanish officers or "instructors" led to acceptance of some aspects of Iberian culture. The most striking evidence of such acceptance is the widespread use of Spanish as a second language in the Rif.

Contact between Spaniards and the rural population took place also at the scattered outposts of the Delegación de Asuntos Indígenas. At the head of each outpost was an army officer called an *interventor*. His function was to act as overseer of tribal government. Most *intervenciones* had a school, with a Spanish teacher, and a few had doctors and veterinarians. The Spaniards led a rather sedentary life, and did not attempt to intervene in the routine events of tribal life. But they could impose fines or make arrests if necessary, and the tribal authorities were obliged to implement Spanish directives if they wished to remain in power.

In Morocco, as in most colonial areas, the extent of road building and improvement in communications is a reliable measure of European influence. In Spanish Morocco the first roads were constructed to facilitate pacification and administration. Once this network was established, little effort was made to add tributary lines for more efficient movement of goods. In 1956 Spanish Morocco had about 1,000 kilometers of primary roads, but only half of this distance was surfaced. The track from Bab Taza to Alhucemas was the only durable link between the western and the eastern sector of the zone, and it was blocked for days or even

[28] M. M. Knight, *Morocco as a French Economic Venture: A Study of Open Door Imperialism* (New York: Appleton, 1937).

[29] Comité d'Action Marocaine, *Plan de réformes marocaines* (Paris: privately published, 1934).

[30] On European holdings in French Morocco, see Planche 33 b, "Exploitations rurales européennes," *Atlas du Maroc* (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1

R 643 721 R 721 701

able since much of it is not mountain at all, but open rolling country.

The Riffians are tough fighters. They won Spain for Franco, on a promise of freedom given them on the Yellow Plain of Ktama. One of them, ʿAbd el-Krīm's jailer, once told me that he gave the Christian prisoners dirt mixed in their bread; this is nothing to what the Christians have done to them, which, out of deference to the sensitivity of my readers, I shall not print here. Needless to say, the Riffians buried no one alive in anthills, nor have their women hacked any prisoners to shreds. Having never visited the Pathans, I cannot make the same denial for them with as much conviction, but until shown otherwise I shall continue to believe that these tales come out of the same volume of fiction.

R 771 609 731

Reading about the Pathans, however, reminds me much of the Riffians, with a few differences. The Riffians live in wetter and more fertile country, with more vegetation, and, although good Muslims, make little display of their religious feelings. They keep the fast and all the main feasts, adding a few of their own. The older men refuse to smoke, and some even refuse tea. They confined Jews to a few coastal settlements, notably Bades and Melilla, while Christians were not admitted at all, before the days of ʿAbd el-Krīm, who let in Gordon Canning, Vincent Sheean, and a few others without demanding previous conversion. One is told that the Pathans are "fanatical," but this again may be a form of general xenophobia channeled through the symbolic mechanism of religion.

m 619 628

The Pathans also are organized in tribes, divided into subtribes, partitioned into sections, split into clans, which are made up of patrilineal extended families.[9] Each family, clan, section, and subtribe has its head man, who represents his group in the *jirga,* or representative council of the group just above him. Like the Asht Arbaʿin, these councils convene to attempt to settle matters of dispute between their constituent members. Irrigation quarrels and cattle rustling are the chief business of the smaller jirgas, while adultery and murder draw the full tribal council, presided over by its chief officer, the khan. Like the amīn of a Kabyle village, he is often no more than a moderator. In case of murder, the killer flees the tribal territory at

[9] See H. Hörhager, *Die Volkstumsgrundlagen der Indischen nordwest-grenz Provinz* (Heidelberg, 1943). M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies* (London, 1825). C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the Northwest Frontier, 1890-1908.*

701 own jma'ths; they were headed by men of their own localities; and 'Abd al-Krim only reserved for himself the right to nominate individuals in his confidence for top positions[5].

[619] The contingents of each tribe were headed by the notables of that tribe, and were instructed independently within the whole harka

619 agglomerate. The tribal notables received news of the objectives
726 they had to attain; they took their contingents into battle; and
701 afterwards, they abandoned the field and brought their harkas home....

[621] Through their representatives in the agraw, the jma'ths knew the
[623] contingent which was requested, and they made the division and nomin-
701 ated the chiefs[6]. There were both volunteers and conscripts; but in
[702] each house, one man had to stay at home. An amghar or the amghar was

[621] the elected warchief, and he established his contingent....He did not
[623] abandon his house or agricultural tasks or coerce anyone to fight[7], and the jma'th saw to an equitable distribution of men under arms at all times. Only shurfa, old men, boys and individuals with physical defects were exempt from harka service.

726 Attempts were made to respect geographical order, and each contingent was called upon to engage in combat only on its natural front. The order of battle was traditionally known, and was answerable to political necessity. Coexistence was easier for harka members on their natural fronts, of course, in their own land; resistance was more effective, displacements were more rapid and dispersion was less serious. Knowing the country perfectly, they could send groups to defend passes or watersheds or gorges in relays, each one two or three hours behind the last, so that later arrivals could increase the

in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

000

[175] 129--Al-Mazimma was the port, in the 8th century A.D., for the City of Nakur. Modern Rifians do not confuse it with al-Husaima which, they say, aside from the present city and provincial capital of that name, covered the whole area from Badis in Bni Bu Frah to Ras Sidi Sh'aib in Thimsaman. It should also be noted that Sidd, in Arabic, means "dam".

[423] [432] 130--A translation of this document is given in Chapter XVII. It should be noted, in any case, that if a foreigner or anyone whose family does not traditionally irrigate in the area comes to buy land (and to build a house, etc.) in the Lower Ghis region, he has no right to irrigation water until he buys an irrigation turn. He must, furthermore, have a document proving that he bought his turn.

[712] [648] [175] [113] 131--The Jami' al-Mujahidin, or "mosque of the fighters of the faith", where the Aith Waryaghar mounted a permanent and perpetual guard against Spanish invasion, from 1673, when Spain occupied the Isle of al-Husaima, until 1926, when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas, Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52, Tetuan 1952, pp. 29-47.

[175] [648] [631] 132--Both these men were of Ajdir, subclan of Aith Ughir Iyizan, clan of Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The Qa'id Sriman r-Khattabi, a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim who during the Rifian War was pensioned by the Spaniards and in 1926 made qa'id of all Aith Waryaghar by them, died in 1936.

133--This statement needs some qualification. The four names under consideration here, although two of them (Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan) certainly correspond to lineage names, are in effect names of irrigation turns, for, on the other hand, Bu Mqathir and Zawith (the latter refers to the area around the Monday Women's Market, at Azghar, and not, as far as we know, to any particular zawiya) are both place names, and in both these instances, as indicated in the notation of participants in the Zawith turn, it is the lineages who form local groups in the area under consideration who have right to irrigation water, irrespective of their clan affiliations. In the Zawith turn, again, one of the participating ijujga is that of the Andrusen: this lineage, whose name means "Andalusians", has become a member segment of the subclan of Lower Imrabdhen, in the clan of the Imrabdhen; we say "has become" rather than "is", because, as in fact its name shows, it is made up of the descendants of "foreign shurfa" rather than of those of local ones. Another participating jajgu, the Ihaddallahan, is a lineage branch of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif of Ajdir, of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan in the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; while the Ushshannen are a branch of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, also of Ajdir. We have unfortunately been unable to establish the lineage affiliations of the Fisra and Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi; and, like Blanco's, our own notes on irrigation in the Lower Ghis (made in Imzuren in the autumn of 1953) have nothing to say regarding the lineage participating in the Bu Mqathir turn on the fifth day.

However, one point is very clear: that with the rotation over the first four days between Ajdir and Ughir Iyizan, and the additional fact that at least two lineages of Ajdir participate in the Zawith turn,

633 [504] The area is administered today from the small port and provincial capital of Alhucemas. The growth of this urban center, fishing port, and tourist attraction is but a recent [175] phenomenon. The city, founded in 1925 with the invasion of a Spanish fleet, has been the focal point for whatever innovation that has occurred in the Central Rif in this century.

133 361 Directly behind the city of Alhucemas is a flat plain. Although the land here is rich it was uninhabited prior to the Spanish because the terrain was indefensible during times of feuds. The original population was situated in the foothills [712] and higher mountains. Here homesteads were scattered and since they also served as garrisons or fortresses they were located on hills or ridges which could be defended militarily.

133 The area is not well served by rivers, the principal ones being the Rhis and the Nekor. The former rises in the Sonhaja area and empties into the Mediterranean at Alhucemas. The latter starts in Igzinnayen territory to flow along the border of the Beni Wariyaghar and the Beni Tuzin, emptying into the bay at [312] [161] Alhucemas. Both these rivers and their tributaries are used for irrigation and the population density is higher along them. There are also a good many natural springs (generally regarded as holy sites) and wells have been successfully dug in some of the valleys.

132 Rainfall varies annually and at times disastrously. At the weather station in Alhucemas during the decade 1946-1955, rainfall ranged from 8.5 inches to 16.9 inches. Although the

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[a]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [439] [443] One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[b] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[c] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [571] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[a] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443. [113]

[b] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

[c] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[8] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[9] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[10]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[11]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[8] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[9] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[10] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[11] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

delta. The course of the Ghis slants southwestward from Targuist, while the Nekor flows directly northward through sharp canyons from the mountain of Kuin in Gzennaya, to separate, farther along, Temsaman and Beni Tuzin from Beni Urriaghel. On the other side of the promontory of Temsaman empties the Amkaran, or Wed el Kebir, which commences a short distance away in the mountains of Beni Tuzin. Next to the Amkaran lies an unimportant stream called the Tasagin, coming down from the Dhar O Baran in Beni Ulishk. Beyond this there are none but the important arteries of the Kert and the Muluya, the former of which originates in Gzennaya, the seeming umbilicus of the Rif, and the latter of which flows northward from distant Tafilelt, where its head lies near that of the Draa, a lengthy watercourse emptying into the Atlantic nearly opposite the Canary Islands.

Such is the catalogue of rivers, the waters of which are jealously guarded and conserved, and which have been the cause of many of the local wars in the Rif.

The mountains of the Rif are supposed to be fabulously rich in minerals, including coal, iron, gold, and petroleum. None of these, however, have been extracted by the present inhabitants of the country, and hence they do not concern us here. Suspicion engendered by the presence of the minerals does more to hamper travel and research in the Rif than all other factors combined.

VEGETATION

It is too early in the course of Riffian research to give a complete list of botanical species from that country; no systematic botanist, as far as I know, has published any description of its flora. It will therefore have to suffice in this volume to present merely a very fragmentary roster of some of the more noticeable wild trees and bushes, such as readily meet the eye of the traveler, with local names and tentative identifications, made by observation and by analogy with the rest of North Africa.

CONIFERS

taidha, a tall, straight-growing conifer, with a large globular cone. This tree is much prized for house-building material.

taidha temjda, a similar tree, relatively stunted, with thick, wide branches. The *taidha* is found on the upper slopes of mountains; the *taidha temjda* grows on the mountain-tops and in the passes, where it is exposed to the elements: hence both may belong to the same species. (Plate I shows examples of both.)

Justinard calls the *taidha* a pine.[1] Hanoteau and Letourneau list for Algeria four species of terebinths; *Pistacia terebinthus L.*, *P. Atlantica Desf.*, *P. Lentiscus L.*, and *Rhus pentaphylla Desf.*[2]

takka, another conifer, with a small, compact cone. The wood of this tree is used in making tar. (Perhaps its name is related to the Ntifa word for terebinth.[3]) Justinard calls this a juniper.[4]

afesaz, the scrub juniper (not to be confused with *afesas*). Laoust postulates that the Berber root zz indicates the idea of spines or thorns, and cites other words, in Berber dialects, which contain this root and mean juniper.[5]

[1] Commandant Justinard, *Manuel de Berbère Marocain (Dialecte Rifain)*, p. 48.
[2] A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneau, *La Kabylie*, vol. 1, pp. 82–83.
[3] E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses Berbères*, p. 457. [4] Page 131. [5] Page 522.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

but there are few *bones* without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The *bone* which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the *bone* as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The *bone* then flees in a body to another *fifth*, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses being caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many *bones* are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council.

A *bone* may thus be expelled from a tribe, permanently or temporarily. A *bone* which is continually making trouble and causing feuds may be the subject of a special meeting of the tribal council, which decides to exile it from the tribe either permanently or for a given number of years. Killing people on Mohammedan feast days or during the month of Ramadan is one of the strongest reasons for the expulsion of a *bone*.

This habit of exiling *bones* has been going on for so long that there are today numerous colonies of exiled Riffians living outside the Rif. Such are colonies of Beni Urriaghel in Oran and in Tangier; of Beni Amart in Ain Leuh, on the Wergha; of Beni Amart and Beni Hadifa at Armeila, on Wed Teberis; of Beni Tuzin at Zerhoun; of Temjunt of Gzennaya in Ain Mediuna (Beni Gsin); of Beni Yunes of Gsennaya at el Kob, in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Ulid; and the Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iherrushen of Gsennaya at el Mta outside of Fez. Most of these exiles could now go back if they so wished, but they have been away for so long, in many cases for generations, that they no longer have any desire to return.

Sometimes a murder spreads into a feud and from a feud into a war so rapidly that before a tribal council can come together to deliberate the councillors find themselves fighting on one side or another, in a tribal war.

Murder often leads to immediate revenge, and immediate revenge to a feud between *bones*. The feud may be a bitter one, in fact a pitched battle, in which may join other *bones* allied of old to one or other of the principal combatants. Most allies, however, are made anew on the occasion of each war. An alliance is called *liff*; it belongs more properly under the heading of magic than under that of political organization, but must be discussed at this point if the complexities of Riffian warfare are to be understood.

A *liff* is a shame-compulsion laid by one *bone* on another, a magical act which forces the second *bone* into alliance with, or at least toleration of, the other. By making *liff* with a number of other *bones*, a *bone* may increase its fighting force many times, and by both sides industriously making *liff* with others, a general war starts, in which there may not remain enough of the tribal council to make its convening worth while.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rlf MX3

721 A tribal war seldom has time, however, to work itself out to its own conclusion, since other tribes in the neighborhood soon see that to take an active interest in the affair will be to their advantage.

INTER-TRIBAL WARFARE

721 If a lively internal war has broken out in the tribe as a result of the refusal to pay a fine
727 imposed by the tribal council, or through a series of reciprocal murders and resultant alliances, made before the tribal council could intervene, the surrounding tribes call together their tribal councils which go to the territory of the warring tribe and meet as a great council of tribes in the middle of it, in a village, or in the open country. They summon the tribal council of the warring tribe to answer for its action. If the tribal council comes, the assembled tribal councils (the great council of tribes) assess a fine of from two to three thousand dollars, which they divide, giving each tribe with five *fifths* five parts, and each tribe with only one *fifth* one part. Then the subdivisions within the *fifths* and single tribes take place and the councillors go home.

If, however, the tribal council of the fighting tribe refuses to come and pay a fine, the tribe patches up its difference quickly and presents an united front against the invaders. In this case the councillors of the other tribes send home for retainers, each *fifth* separately, specifying the number of men to come from each *fifth*, from each *canton*, and from each *bone*. The old men, retired councillors, select the warriors and their judgment is final. The reënforcements come as soon as possible and there ensues a war between the erstwhile internally warring tribe and those which have come to punish it. If the alliance wins, it does so by defeating *canton* after *canton*, imposing a fine upon each when it submits; the fine levied on the first *canton* is about five thousand dollars, and the amount increases until the last *canton* to submit has to pay about fifteen thousand dollars. As each *canton* submits it must join the victors in fighting the rest of its own tribe, in return for which it receives its share of the fines paid as each of the other *cantons* submits. In this way all defeated *cantons* pay, and all but the last, which pays the most, receive shares of the spoils.

When the internal war is in Beni Urriaghel, Gsennaya is the first tribe to send its councillors, then Beni Amart, usually on the same day; the next day Zarket and Bokoya send their contingents, and later the *canton* Tisera n Jakhatha of Beni Tuzin and that of Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman. Sometimes Beni Said sends two or three councillors to join the others. Gsennaya, Beni Amart, and Bokoya usually sent all their councillors, whereas Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, and Zarket, as well as Beni Said, seldom send more than a few each. If the great council of tribes succeeds without further fighting, the councillors of Zarket, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, and Beni Said receive one or two hundred dollars per tribe. This money the individual councillors keep. The tribes which have come in full strength get their usual shares. If, however, it is necessary to send for reënforcements, the tribes poorly represented send for men with the rest, and after the affair has been settled their tribes receive their full shares, which are communally divided.

The tribes mentioned do not all necessarily interfere when Beni Urriaghel is fighting internally, but only if the combat promises to be extensive. The Gsennaya councillors, however, always go, and sometimes succeed in handling the situation alone. The Beni Urriaghel always band together immediately when other tribes step in, postponing settlement of their local differences until later. Beni Hadifa, nominally a *fifth* of Beni Urriaghel,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

is not required to pay its portion of the fines imposed upon Beni Urriaghel unless it has actually been involved. 721

When Temsaman fights internally, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Gzennaya, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit send their councillors to the great council of tribes; Beni Ulishk and Tafersit count as one in the division of the spoils. Beni Urriaghel does not send councillors to Temsaman, partly because the others will not allow it, and partly because the tribe is afraid of retaliation. 727

When the war is in Gzennaya, the Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Marnissa, Metalsa, and Jebarna (the latter, although part of the Gzennaya, do not count as such in time of war, since they are recent immigrants from the Branes) send councillors. When the fight is centered in the *fifth* of Imsdurar, Branes also sends her representatives. Temsaman sends a single councillor if the fight promises to assume large proportions.

When Beni Tuzin occupies the center of the stage, the councillors of Gzennaya, Metalsa, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and Beni Said go, and Beni Amart sends a few representatives.

When the war is in Beni Amart, Gzennaya, Marnissa, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Hadifa (acting as a separate body), and chosen members of Zarket, Bokoya, and Beni Tuzin participate.

When Bokoya is involved, the councillors of Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, and selected members from Gzennaya, Mestassa, and Mtiwa of the Rif attend the great council of tribes. The Sherif of Targuist also is sometimes present at the final settlement, taking ten men with him as bodyguard. He does not take part in any of the fighting, but tries to use his religious influence as a means of putting an end to the bloodshed. When the fine is collected, he is usually given twenty or thirty dollars. Sometimes, however, he is ignored. Shorfa of Targuist have in the past attempted to interfere in Beni Urriaghel and Gzennaya, but without success or remuneration, for which reason they have for some time ceased paying attention to wars within these tribes. [728]

When the fight is in Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, or Mtiwa, the others of this group send their envoys, and those from Bokoya and Beni Gmil attend as well; when the fight is in Mtiwa, Beni Khennus and Beni Seddath also participate.

When the fight is in Beni Ulishk or Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Temsaman, Beni Said, and Beni Mohammed and Khebaba of the Gzennaya take part.

When it is in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Bu Ifrur, Beni Sidel, and Gzennaya send representatives. Beni Said is the only tribe which has recognised the value of such mediation when actually in trouble, since it sends for the Gzennaya councillors to come and settle it for them. They have seldom resisted the intervention of the great council of tribes, preferring to pay the fine rather than continue a destructive internal quarrel.

Beni Bu Ifrur has not fought internally for a long time, since it is all one related group. Beni Sidel has been known to fall into such a difficulty, and Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Ifrur, send councillors, while the sheikhs of Ait Shisher and Mazuza also come. These sheikhs are given none of the proceeds. Beni Said wields the greatest influence in such gatherings.

When Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur fight together, the same alignment appears, and with the others go the sheikhs of Ulad Stut.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

721 Beni Bu Yafer has fought internally upon a number of occasions, but the other groups
727 do not interfere, since they have learned from experience that the Beni Bu Yafer do not submit until after an arduous struggle, at the end of which they do not possess enough property to pay a fine worth the trouble of interfering. In consequence of this, they are not allowed to send their councillors to other tribes.

For a considerable period of time there has been no fighting worthy of intervention in Mazuza, Ait Shisher, or Kebdana; this is perhaps due to the early influence of the Spaniards upon these regions.

When the fighting is in Beni Bu Yahyi or Metalsa no councillors bother to go, since the land is too difficult to travel in, and since there are no houses to burn, and no property to confiscate which cannot readily be moved away before their arrival. Banditry has always
[579 been rife among these tribes, and active feuds between *bones* perpetual. Theft, in the Rif
674] considered a crime unless practiced outside the tribe and its allies, is among the nomads an honorable profession when practiced between *bones*.

When the fight is between any of the tribal groups in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, the others of this group send their councillors and sheikhs, and Gzennaya as well sends councillors. In the meeting which follows Gzennaya plays the dominant rôle.

When the fight is within the Senhaja Sghir, the Sherif of Targuist betakes himself to the scene, accompanied by the councillors of the non-combatant tribes under his control. The Sherif collects the fine, keeping most of it, and distributes a small fraction of it among the councillors, who have nothing to say about the matter.

This rule does not apply to Ktama, which has never submitted to the authority of the Sherif. On account of its poverty and inaccessibility, Ktama is free from the intervention of councillors from other tribes; consequently it is in a constant state of turmoil, and banditry is common. This tribe has always been noted for its lawlessness, and has been generally avoided by travellers.

The tribes of the west, including the Western Arabophone Senhaja and the Ghomara, do not send representatives out to stop war and collect fines. This territory likewise enjoys a perennially bad reputation.

727 Some mention should be made of the ultimate disposal of money and other property taken by the various administrative bodies. Fines collected by the village council are kept by the moderator of that body for the entertainment of guests in the local mosque, for the purchase of tea, sugar, other foodstuffs, and candles for the council to use during its deliberations, and for cartridges and firearms to be used by members of the *bone* in time of war.

Fines collected by the council of the great are partly divided between the *bones*, partly given to the *fkih* or preceptor of the cantonal mosque, and partly expended upon the upkeep of, and hospitality in, this building.

Fines collected by the tribal council are divided equally among the *fifths* and then equally among *cantons* within the *fifths*. The moderator of each council of the great divides the money allotted his *canton* among the councillors who participated in the events which led to its collection, and among ordinary fighting men, if these were called upon to reënforce the councillors. The moderator distributes the money publicly at one time, giving more to the men who deported themselves bravely than to those who showed but mediocre interest in the fighting. Men who manifested cowardice and men who are absent from or come late to the division get nothing.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

actual owners of the machine are allowed to do so; and he collects from them the customary divisions of the oil which they squeeze. The village council of each *bone* makes out the list and the clerk writes it down and sees that it is followed.

Another duty of this latter official is making out papers of adoption for strangers who come into the *bone* to live and who wish to become affiliated with it.

The clerk also has charge of wills and inheritance. The head of each family may make a will on his deathbed, or at some time when he fears imminent death. To do this he summons the clerk, who writes down the terms of the bequests and takes the paper away with him. After the man has died he produces this paper, makes its contents public, and administers the estate.

Although most men, in making their wills, follow the traditional rules of inheritance, some bequeath their property unequally among their heirs, at times cutting individuals off entirely, and leave property to mosques or saints' tombs. No man is permitted, however, to disinherit his wife or wives.

In each tribe there is supposed to be a judge, appointed by the tribal council, and holding his office for life or good behavior. He has received a diploma from one of the four institutions previously mentioned. His appointment does not usually come, however, until long after his fulfilment of the requirements for this position. He is almost always a native of the tribe in which he is employed.

There was one in Beni Urriaghel, one in Beni Tuzin, and one in Gzennaya, at the time the Christians entered. The first judge in the Rif in modern times was Si Abd el Rahman of the Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya, who had dwelt long in Fez and married a Fezzi wife. The Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel decided, about fifty years ago, that they would like to have a judge, and therefore sent men of the Gzennaya to Fez to persuade Si Abd el Rahman to come. On the way back from Fez, the Beni Ulid, who did not know that he was a judge, attacked him and his bodyguard in the night, killing him and capturing his wife and children. What remained of the bodyguard returned to the Rif and called together a great council of the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Beni Ulishk, Beni Said, and Metalsa. All these councillors, with their retainers, invaded Beni Ulid and devastated it, taking back the prisoners and loot, and exacting a fine of four thousand five hundred dollars.

Si Abd el Rahman's eldest son was made judge in his place, after him his brother, and after his brother his sons, in turn. Beni Urriaghel and Beni Tuzin later each established a judge, certified by that of Beni Yunes. Several others were set up and deposed in later times.

Every year each *fifth* presents the judge with a cow, five or six goats, and large quantities of all staple agricultural products. The judge in this way receives a large income, but is expected to spend most or all of it on hospitality. He settles disputes concerning landed property. Contestants bring their papers of ownership to him, and he decides which one really owns the property, then signs and seals the paper of the winner. The plaintiffs bring him presents of meat and sugar — any further gift would be considered bribery.

In the Senhaja Sghir the Sherif of Targuist acts as judge, except in Taghsuth, where there has been a judge for generations. Until the time of Abd el Krim, however, the judge of Taghsuth was influenced by the Sherif of Targuist.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

adequate provisions, sanctioned by custom, for its apportionment had not been made long ago. Because of the relative constancy of its flow, those who irrigate with its waters know that the quantity they can expect is more or less the same at any time of year. Thus the *qānūns* dealing with irrigation in the Lower Ghīs specifically state that any man who purchases land there must buy his irrigation turn independently. Due to the fact that these *qānūns* have been drawn up in Arabic by the *'adūl* or notaries public for all to see and abide by, and to the additional fact that all the land on both banks of the river belongs to Aith Wuryāghil, disturbances of social equilibrium about irrigation water there, although far from uncommon, have been considerably less great than they might have been.

The Nakūr, however, is something else again. Although it irrigates about eight times as much land as the Ghīs, it nevertheless loses much of its potential through infiltration. While in winter I have seen it overflow its banks during a heavy storm, it becomes reduced to a muddy little creek in summer. Owing to its volume capacity, however, its irrigation *qānūns*, in this case unwritten, provide that anyone who buys land there automatically has a right to irrigation water as well, because most of the year there is a sufficient quantity for all. But the hitch is that Nakūr water irrigates not only Aith Wuryāghil but Aith Tuzīn and Tamsamān as well. Although the Spanish administration has fixed the river as the boundary between Aith Tuzīn and Ṭamsamān on the east bank and Aith Wuryāghil on the west, individuals and families from each of these three tribes still own land on the bank opposite them. In the past the river functioned less as a boundary than as a zone of transition, and because of the unclear but traditional and conservative application of customary law, there was ample opportunity for feuds to develop, which they did with great frequency, particularly in summer when the water supply was low. The *shaikh ar-fijjāḥath* (Ar. *shaikh al-fillāḥa*) or *aqaiwwām* of each of the opposing tribes met to parley in case of a blatant infraction of custom, such as getting water out of turn; he was backed up by his respective constituents, all of whom were armed to the teeth. In case of a general melee, Aith Wuryāghil, being the most powerful, usually won, particularly if Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn were in disagreement with one another.

613 621 616 182 This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 701 Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

616 619 The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of ingharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613 When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

---

[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

721 621 613 was imposed by the tribe or the clan: it was based on distribution amongst the several dharfiqin comprising the jma'th in question, while the place and date where and when they had to present themselves was communicated to them by the leader of the expedition, who also examined cases of exemption and desertion.

Thus, both in theory and in reality, all the operations of recruitment of our European municipalities were incumbent upon the jma'th; while relief and provisions, the personal and complementary obligation of the dharfiqth, were sometimes assumed by the jma'th when the earlier operations failed, as a kind of advance.

721 182 This natural system, alleviating the principal one of a number of onerous chores which are discharged by (military) services in European bureaucracies, permitted the Rifians to give their full attention both to military operations and to politics. It bound all of them together, the front and the rearguard, in a common interest, principally economic, which in lieu of discipline was what reinforced local spirit. The economic interest (the saving of ammunition in combat and sobriety in eating--for the individual had to pay for both out of his own pocket), apart from avoiding not a little dissatisfaction and worry, afforded the harka a high degree of addiction to rapine, given the fact that its members had to live on their own account in enemy territory in order to compensate for the woebegone consignments of the wretched rearguard, justifying through its well-known raids its desire to fill its stomach, the clearest of all its bellicose undertakings. Such that, once the booty was obtained, the harka was dissolved on more than one occasion.

634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
619
692 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
681 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside circle).[2 & 3]

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
614
623 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
628 ....Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
721 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare.... Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities. This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared beforehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
(624) surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

they send out a couple of individuals to care for their relatives (in their absence) and tell them what has happened, and by day, they have to feed them, after which, once this is done, they start the march toward the enemy group in order to deliver the coup de main either at once or through careful skirmishing.

There is no top command, for, as the objective is clear, it is not needed. All that must be done is to write finis to the enemy. Individual desertion is shameful, booty is eagerly anticipated, and members of the war-party do not worry about the fact that there are neither rearguard services nor defense.

B) Harkas and their Formation (fragmentary):

The obligation to serve in a harka or war-party was general and accepted by all, and avoidance of harka duty was an object of censure and sanction. Any and all groups which were threatened (both internally and externally) provided variable contingents which were activated periodically. Until protectorate times, punitive expeditions organized by the Moroccan Sultans to chastise recalcitrant tribesmen were augmented by auxiliary harkas made up from the tribes through whose territory the expeditions passed. A good example was the foray undertaken by Bushta al-Baghdadi, one of the fin de siècle commanders of the Moroccan army, against the pirates of the Ibuqquyen in 1898[4]. More recently, 'Abd al-Krim solicited harkas for individual engagements; he maintained a reduced contingent, which was periodically increased, under arms. The system was one of partial mobilization with relief contingents, the number and amount of which were fixed by 'Abd al-Krim. Their recruitment and provisions were handled by their

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

628 "There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
616 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
[195] inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[203] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alliances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater efficacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

671 These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
628 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
728 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14) for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
721 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif MX3

623 minor points of difference, the men let them arbitrate and set fines
867 of a few eggs or loaves of bread, for their own consumption. Having thus learned the routine of sitting in judgment and also some of the oral qanūns, the boys are ready for the serious business ahead.

623 Once a week, when the nearest market meets, the older men of
627 the neighboring villages, corresponding to the "brains" of the Kabyles, meet in a house just off the grounds, or in good weather, under a tree. Over glasses of tea they settle any disputes which may
628 come up in the market or which litigants may bring them. When
619 more serious matters arise, such as the trouble between the Ulad ʿAbd el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmut, the councilors of a single geographical unit, consisting of several clans, come together. They must be fed, and it is in the interest of the feuding parties to make a speedy settlement, with fines and blood money. Fines go to the councilors, who eat part and divide the rest. Blood money goes to the kin of the wounded or dead. If these councilors cannot settle the problem, the "fifth" is invoked—the whole series of little valleys and watershed cantons which forms the next largest political unit. Some tribes have only one "fifth," but Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel each have five. If the "fifth" cannot settle the dispute, and the bloodshed spreads, then all the fifths join in. If the whole tribe is embroiled, the councilors of another tribe may invade and catch them unawares, to their great loss. The longer the fight remains unsettled the greater the number of participants, each new and larger body trying to capitalize on the confusion of the partisans.

It can be readily seen that few troubles reach intertribal proportions. This device of government in depth works. Feuding keeps the population down, and the fear of interference keeps the feud isolated and within bounds. Chronic troublemakers, and those who break the rules, must go. On the other hand when some outside force threatens more than a small portion of the Rif, the mechanism is at hand for all to unite, forcefully if ephemerally. The elders of one clan perform a compulsion of shame on another, thus forcing them into alliance, called *lif*, as elsewhere. As the danger grows, so
643 does the lif. In this manner ʿAbd el-Krīm (who had been educated by
721 the Spaniards) set up a government of the whole Rif, which defeated Spain in two great battles in 1921 and 1924, and but for the use of aircraft and tanks by his enemy, might have held the French army indefinitely at bay. No sultan had ever been able to conquer this classic corner of the Land of Insolence, which is all the more remark-

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1

R 643 721 R 721 701 Rif mx 3 Pashtun Caravan

able since much of it is not mountain at all, but open rolling country.

The Riffians are tough fighters. They won Spain for Franco, on a promise of freedom given them on the Yellow Plain of Ktama. One of them, ʿAbd el-Krīm's jailer, once told me that he gave the Christian prisoners dirt mixed in their bread; this is nothing to what the Christians have done to them, which, out of deference to the sensitivity of my readers, I shall not print here. Needless to say, the Riffians buried no one alive in anthills, nor have their women hacked any prisoners to shreds. Having never visited the Pathans, I cannot make the same denial for them with as much conviction, but until shown otherwise I shall continue to believe that these tales come out of the same volume of fiction.

R 771 609 731

Reading about the Pathans, however, reminds me much of the Riffians, with a few differences. The Riffians live in wetter and more fertile country, with more vegetation, and, although good Muslims, make little display of their religious feelings. They keep the fast and all the main feasts, adding a few of their own. The older men refuse to smoke, and some even refuse tea. They confined Jews to a few coastal settlements, notably Bades and Melilla, while Christians were not admitted at all, before the days of ʿAbd el-Krīm, who let in Gordon Canning, Vincent Sheean, and a few others without demanding previous conversion. One is told that the Pathans are "fanatical," but this again may be a form of general xenophobia channeled through the symbolic mechanism of religion.

m 619 628

The Pathans also are organized in tribes, divided into subtribes, partitioned into sections, split into clans, which are made up of patrilineal extended families.[9] Each family, clan, section, and subtribe has its head man, who represents his group in the *jirga*, or representative council of the group just above him. Like the Asht Arbaʿin, these councils convene to attempt to settle matters of dispute between their constituent members. Irrigation quarrels and cattle rustling are the chief business of the smaller jirgas, while adultery and murder draw the full tribal council, presided over by its chief officer, the khan. Like the amīn of a Kabyle village, he is often no more than a moderator. In case of murder, the killer flees the tribal territory at

[9] See H. Hörhager, *Die Volkstumsgrundlagen der Indischen nordwest-grenz Provinz* (Heidelberg, 1943). M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies* (London, 1825). C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the Northwest Frontier, 1890-1908.*

/240 cont./

628 182 642 But in these less wild regions, the periods of calm are nevertheless short and do not leave these rudimentary institutions /241/ time to perfect themselves. Anarchy and fights by families infuriated by vengeances have never permitted the Riffians to know a government by regularly elected leaders, changed in turn, or the use of common funds. Only the holy-war treasuries, organized by pious establishments, existed at all times. Hate for the Christian can indeed dominate the strongest feelings; whatever may be the violence of the disputes that divide them, the notables always agree enough to go shares in small sums of money intended for the purchase of bullets in order to go to aim at the detested soldiers of the "Peñon" /Rock/ of Alhucemas or Badès (1).

628 652 721 798 182

[113] 1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 89 and sqq.

000 XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- It is above all between the social organization of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the French conquest and that of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ that it is possible to multiply the comparisons in order to find profound analogies under the apparent differences. It is easy, as a matter of fact, to see that the small republics of the Tichka or of the Jbel Kest, sequestered in the high valleys of the South of Morocco, and the ones that have grown and prospered on the summits of the Djurjura live with similar institutions, share the same positive and limited ideal, suffer from identical ills, and are subject to the same rules of existence, to the same laws of development.

The territory of the "ᶜarch" is, as we have seen, equivalent to that of a small "taqbilt" of the Sous; both form, in the free state, autonomous and often even independent political units. But in one of the regions the slight density of the population of a country where human life is difficult, in the other the

/295 cont./

619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-[171] [681] [434] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] [581] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

/296 cont./

175 against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try
721 to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will
634 direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work
648 of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they
669 will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

634 In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can
554 succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains pre-
182 carious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of
578 unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true
[721] tribe. ʿAbd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces,
[648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Masmouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous. Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

634 Every man who carries a rifle drops whatever he is doing and
623 goes immediately to the council site, leaving his house, interests and
614 work in the fields to his women, who collect all their movable property,
619 animals and children, in case they have to move, and await the news,
562 quickly transmitted, with anxiety, while they decide upon their place
722 of retirement (usually the house of some relative) and form a line of sentries, together with the older children. Here they follow, with analogous emotions, the events of the fight, if there is one, and
634 await its outcome....Once the men have arrived at the site of the
623 alarm, or more often at a generally determined meeting site (agraw),
614 they start to look, without orders or signals, for their kinsmen and
619 neighbors who have arrived or are just arriving. They are always careful to seek a spatially dominant position, and remain grouped together some little distance from the other groups which are also being formed, completing a circle, in the interior of which only the chiefs, who are rapidly informed of the matter and of the opinions of their subordinates, may enter. Such opinions are impassioned ones, as they have been forged (in case of alarm) on the spur of the moment, on the basis of what those who echo them have heard, or on the basis of what is going on around them; one can distinguish the feverish voices of the kinsmen and friends of the injured party, who want immediate reparation.

634 In this heated atmosphere the delineation by the chiefs of the
623 matter at hand begins; they are attentive not so much to what happens
614 in their own little circle, but to the stormy atmosphere being created
619 on the outside one and pressing in on them....If the matter is one of
692

/239 cont./

621 613 614 114 171 /footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11. Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse origins there. On the other hand, the bond of blood exists among the households of the same Riffian jema^{c}a.

621 613 it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and becomes a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq" heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers" 621 resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they 628 take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring 613 hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of exter- 726 mination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of the Aït ^{c}Abdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, following the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the [722] country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under [435] which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ^{c}adoul; if the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

59 i) Summary:--The Rifian family is patriarchal and patrilineal, agnatic and polygamous (i.e. polygynous). It needs to be large because of possible loss through feuds or lack of hygiene. Although 562 428 legally a woman inherits one-half of what a man does (i.e. sons inherit twice as much as daughters), Rifians interpret Muslim inheritance laws in their own way, through customs such as "men's habus"[49], or the return to her house of a divorced woman, whether this be Koranically sanctioned or not. A woman does not inherit but is, in effect, inherited[50]; she bears children but cannot give them her name. She works, but cannot buy or sell; she exists to give pleasure to her husband, and is maltreated in return; but she is probably happier 000 than many of her European counterparts.....In my own opinion, the (Spanish) Protectorate has improved the status of women...and I think that if the Rifians consider men to be the superior of the sexes, this is so undoubtedly because men had to protect their womenfolk constantly, with rifle in hand. They saw in them a cause of weakness, but recognized them as being necessary to group survival (sic!). The Rifian family needed a headman with unquestioned authority, rigorous discipline without sentimentality, and an automatic ability 562 to heal breaches. Women were exempt from feuding and had at their disposition their own markets, reserved for them exclusively; in a sense, they formed a society which was semi-independent from that of [926] men. In battle, they incited men to combat. The shift today (1935) [178] toward Koranic norms is more apparent than real, and is taking place at the cost of parallel diminution, at the same time, of the socio-political importance of the group.[51]

701 own jma'ths; they were headed by men of their own localities; and 'Abd al-Krim only reserved for himself the right to nominate individuals in his confidence for top positions[5].

[619] The contingents of each tribe were headed by the notables of that tribe, and were instructed independently within the whole harka

619 agglomerate. The tribal notables received news of the objectives
726 they had to attain; they took their contingents into battle; and
701 afterwards, they abandoned the field and brought their harkas home....

[621] Through their representatives in the agraw, the jma'ths knew the
[623] contingent which was requested, and they made the division and nomin-
701 ated the chiefs[6]. There were both volunteers and conscripts; but in
[702] each house, one man had to stay at home. An amghar or the amghar was the elected warchief, and he established his contingent....He did not
[621] abandon his house or agricultural tasks or coerce anyone to fight[7],
[623] and the jma'th saw to an equitable distribution of men under arms at all times. Only shurfa, old men, boys and individuals with physical defects were exempt from harka service.

726 Attempts were made to respect geographical order, and each contingent was called upon to engage in combat only on its natural front. The order of battle was traditionally known, and was answerable to political necessity. Coexistence was easier for harka members on their natural fronts, of course, in their own land; resistance was more effective, displacements were more rapid and dispersion was less serious. Knowing the country perfectly, they could send groups to defend passes or watersheds or gorges in relays, each one two or three hours behind the last, so that later arrivals could increase the

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

616 619 726 (614) [728] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well. [563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and 000 expected to do.

[114] [729] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 [162] 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the [614] principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'unen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

/239 cont./

621 613 614 114 171 /footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11. Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse origins there. On the other hand, the bond of blood exists among the households of the same Riffian jema^{c}a.

621 613 it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and becomes a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq" heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers" 621 resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they 628 take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring 613 hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of extermination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the 726 vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of the Aït ^{c}Abdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, following the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the [722] country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under [435] which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ^{c}adoul; if the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

621 /240 cont./
628 reals; 5,000 if it only wounded him; if the bullet missed its
613 goal, 2,500. The marksman, however, fortunate or awkward,
726 perished the next day, struck perhaps by a child hidden with a
[435] gun in a thicket of lentiscus.

It is understandable that under these conditions the notion of
613 "khoms" is often obscure; the only group that can exist then is
619 the family, around which assemble by bonds of adoption and mar-
riage the weakest groups and the outsiders so as to form the
"tarfiq."

613 Discords sometimes become so violent that material life
628 frequently stops; only the women then dare to go out into the
fields; the men come to pray at the mosque without abandoning
613 their guns. In these circumstances, the family heads of the
628 whole country gather together in order to decide on a "ribat,"
675 which is respected for several months. This name is given to a
solemn agreement that binds all the members of the neighboring
tribes to repress, by means of very high fines, murders, rapes,
large thefts, aggressions at the markets or on the roads leading to
[681] them. The sums paid by the guilty, which can climb to several
thousand douros, are divided among the contracting tribes. The
"amghars," heads of the most powerful families, have only the
small personal part that goes to them just as to mere individuals.

628 Among the less turbulent tribes of the Rif, as at Targist, at
184 Zerqet, among the Beni Gmil, private wars have not reached as
621 great a development since the inhabitants still succeed in living
grouped in hamlets. The "mouda[6]" or subfractions and even the
632 "khoms" sometimes summon all the warriors in order to deliber-
621 ate common affairs. This meeting, to which each one comes
613 armed, takes the name "agrao" as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
and the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Sometimes the chiefs of
[681] each of the important families put at the head of the khoms an
[671] amghar whose role is to see to the application of the customary
law, to have the fines, or "insaf," paid, with which crimes are
punished according to rules known by all, but not written. Like
[652] the moqaddem in the western Atlas, this amghar collects one
third of the "insaf"; the other two parts go to the tribe.

/295 cont./

619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-[171] [681] [434] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] [581] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

721 A tribal war seldom has time, however, to work itself out to its own conclusion, since other tribes in the neighborhood soon see that to take an active interest in the affair will be to their advantage.

INTER-TRIBAL WARFARE

721 If a lively internal war has broken out in the tribe as a result of the refusal to pay a fine
727 imposed by the tribal council, or through a series of reciprocal murders and resultant alliances, made before the tribal council could intervene, the surrounding tribes call together their tribal councils which go to the territory of the warring tribe and meet as a great council of tribes in the middle of it, in a village, or in the open country. They summon the tribal council of the warring tribe to answer for its action. If the tribal council comes, the assembled tribal councils (the great council of tribes) assess a fine of from two to three thousand dollars, which they divide, giving each tribe with five *fifths* five parts, and each tribe with only one *fifth* one part. Then the subdivisions within the *fifths* and single tribes take place and the councillors go home.

If, however, the tribal council of the fighting tribe refuses to come and pay a fine, the tribe patches up its difference quickly and presents an united front against the invaders. In this case the councillors of the other tribes send home for retainers, each *fifth* separately, specifying the number of men to come from each *fifth*, from each *canton*, and from each *bone*. The old men, retired councillors, select the warriors and their judgment is final. The reënforcements come as soon as possible and there ensues a war between the erstwhile internally warring tribe and those which have come to punish it. If the alliance wins, it does so by defeating *canton* after *canton*, imposing a fine upon each when it submits; the fine levied on the first *canton* is about five thousand dollars, and the amount increases until the last *canton* to submit has to pay about fifteen thousand dollars. As each *canton* submits it must join the victors in fighting the rest of its own tribe, in return for which it receives its share of the fines paid as each of the other *cantons* submits. In this way all defeated *cantons* pay, and all but the last, which pays the most, receive shares of the spoils.

When the internal war is in Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya is the first tribe to send its councillors, then Beni Amart, usually on the same day; the next day Zarket and Bokoya send their contingents, and later the *canton* Tizera n Jakhatha of Beni Tuzin and that of Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman. Sometimes Beni Said sends two or three councillors to join the others. Gzennaya, Beni Amart, and Bokoya usually sent all their councillors, whereas Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, and Zarket, as well as Beni Said, seldom send more than a few each. If the great council of tribes succeeds without further fighting, the councillors of Zarket, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, and Beni Said receive one or two hundred dollars per tribe. This money the individual councillors keep. The tribes which have come in full strength get their usual shares. If, however, it is necessary to send for reënforcements, the tribes poorly represented send for men with the rest, and after the affair has been settled their tribes receive their full shares, which are communally divided.

The tribes mentioned do not all necessarily interfere when Beni Urriaghel is fighting internally, but only if the combat promises to be extensive. The Gzennaya councillors, however, always go, and sometimes succeed in handling the situation alone. The Beni Urriaghel always band together immediately when other tribes step in, postponing settlement of their local differences until later. Beni Hadifa, nominally a *fifth* of Beni Urriaghel,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

is not required to pay its portion of the fines imposed upon Beni Urriaghel unless it has actually been involved. 721

When Temsaman fights internally, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Gzennaya, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit send their councillors to the great council of tribes; Beni Ulishk and Tafersit count as one in the division of the spoils. Beni Urriaghel does not send councillors to Temsaman, partly because the others will not allow it, and partly because the tribe is afraid of retaliation. 727

When the war is in Gzennaya, the Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Marnissa, Metalsa, and Jebarna (the latter, although part of the Gzennaya, do not count as such in time of war, since they are recent immigrants from the Branes) send councillors. When the fight is centered in the *fifth* of Imsdurar, Branes also sends her representatives. Temsaman sends a single councillor if the fight promises to assume large proportions.

When Beni Tuzin occupies the center of the stage, the councillors of Gzennaya, Metalsa, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and Beni Said go, and Beni Amart sends a few representatives.

When the war is in Beni Amart, Gzennaya, Marnissa, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Hadifa (acting as a separate body), and chosen members of Zarket, Bokoya, and Beni Tuzin participate.

When Bokoya is involved, the councillors of Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, and selected members from Gzennaya, Mestassa, and Mtiwa of the Rif attend the great council of tribes. The Sherif of Targuist also is sometimes present at the final settlement, taking ten men with him as bodyguard. He does not take part in any of the fighting, but tries to use his religious influence as a means of putting an end to the bloodshed. When the fine is collected, he is usually given twenty or thirty dollars. Sometimes, however, he is ignored. Shorfa of Targuist have in the past attempted to interfere in Beni Urriaghel and Gzennaya, but without success or remuneration, for which reason they have for some time ceased paying attention to wars within these tribes. [728]

When the fight is in Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, or Mtiwa, the others of this group send their envoys, and those from Bokoya and Beni Gmil attend as well; when the fight is in Mtiwa, Beni Khennus and Beni Seddath also participate.

When the fight is in Beni Ulishk or Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Temsaman, Beni Said, and Beni Mohammed and Khebaba of the Gzennaya take part.

When it is in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Bu Ifrur, Beni Sidel, and Gzennaya send representatives. Beni Said is the only tribe which has recognised the value of such mediation when actually in trouble, since it sends for the Gzennaya councillors to come and settle it for them. They have seldom resisted the intervention of the great council of tribes, preferring to pay the fine rather than continue a destructive internal quarrel.

Beni Bu Ifrur has not fought internally for a long time, since it is all one related group. Beni Sidel has been known to fall into such a difficulty, and Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Ifrur, send councillors, while the sheikhs of Ait Shisher and Masuza also come. These sheikhs are given none of the proceeds. Beni Said wields the greatest influence in such gatherings.

When Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur fight together, the same alignment appears, and with the others go the sheikhs of Ulad Stut.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Beni Bu Yafer has fought internally upon a number of occasions, but the other groups do not interfere, since they have learned from experience that the Beni Bu Yafer do not submit until after an arduous struggle, at the end of which they do not possess enough property to pay a fine worth the trouble of interfering. In consequence of this, they are not allowed to send their councillors to other tribes.

For a considerable period of time there has been no fighting worthy of intervention in Mazuza, Ait Shisher, or Kebdana; this is perhaps due to the early influence of the Spaniards upon these regions.

When the fighting is in Beni Bu Yahyi or Metalsa no councillors bother to go, since the land is too difficult to travel in, and since there are no houses to burn, and no property to confiscate which cannot readily be moved away before their arrival. Banditry has always been rife among these tribes, and active feuds between *bones* perpetual. Theft, in the Rif considered a crime unless practiced outside the tribe and its allies, is among the nomads an honorable profession when practiced between *bones*.

When the fight is between any of the tribal groups in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, the others of this group send their councillors and sheikhs, and Gzennaya as well sends councillors. In the meeting which follows Gzennaya plays the dominant rôle.

When the fight is within the Senhaja Sghir, the Sherif of Targuist betakes himself to the scene, accompanied by the councillors of the non-combatant tribes under his control. The Sherif collects the fine, keeping most of it, and distributes a small fraction of it among the councillors, who have nothing to say about the matter.

This rule does not apply to Ktama, which has never submitted to the authority of the Sherif. On account of its poverty and inaccessibility, Ktama is free from the intervention of councillors from other tribes; consequently it is in a constant state of turmoil, and banditry is common. This tribe has always been noted for its lawlessness, and has been generally avoided by travellers.

The tribes of the west, including the Western Arabophone Senhaja and the Ghomara, do not send representatives out to stop war and collect fines. This territory likewise enjoys a perennially bad reputation.

Some mention should be made of the ultimate disposal of money and other property taken by the various administrative bodies. Fines collected by the village council are kept by the moderator of that body for the entertainment of guests in the local mosque, for the purchase of tea, sugar, other foodstuffs, and candles for the council to use during its deliberations, and for cartridges and firearms to be used by members of the *bone* in time of war.

Fines collected by the council of the great are partly divided between the *bones*, partly given to the *fkih* or preceptor of the cantonal mosque, and partly expended upon the upkeep of, and hospitality in, this building.

Fines collected by the tribal council are divided equally among the *fifths* and then equally among *cantons* within the *fifths*. The moderator of each council of the great divides the money allotted his *canton* among the councillors who participated in the events which led to its collection, and among ordinary fighting men, if these were called upon to reënforce the councillors. The moderator distributes the money publicly at one time, giving more to the men who deported themselves bravely than to those who showed but mediocre interest in the fighting. Men who manifested cowardice and men who are absent from or come late to the division get nothing.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VIII

MARKETS

DIFFERENT aspects of this subject have already been discussed in the chapters dealing with material culture, social organization, and government.[1] Since indeed the primary purpose of the market is economic, it is the seat of operation of an interesting social class, and likewise often the local administrative center. Hence, little remains for description save the general scheme and coördination of the whole.

A market meets weekly on a fixed day and in a fixed place. There is usually but one to a *canton*, although this rule, like all others, has its exceptions. The days and locations of markets are so correlated that it is possible for a person living in almost any place to reach a market on foot and return home again on any day of the week except Friday, when markets are never held. The word for market in both *thamazighth* and Arabic is *suḳ*, and markets are given the names of the days on which they are held. Thus all markets meeting on Thursday are called *suḳ el khemis*, or simply *el khemis*. Markets meeting on the same day are distinguished by the addition of the names of the places in which they are held.

Thursday markets are more important than the others, as a general rule, because Friday is the Mohammedan sabbath and provisions for it must be obtained in advance.

Each market is administered by the council of the great of the *canton*. This body has a house, or among the nomads, a tent, in or on the outskirts of the market. (See plate 30.) On market days it generally meets in a room of this edifice. Most such houses have a second room which is used as a rest-room for people attending the market, or as a guard-house for retainers of the councillors. Cases which have accumulated during the week are brought before the council of the great at this time, since defendants in situations which concern the councillors often prefer to postpone their appeals or complaints until market day rather than request the moderator of the council of the great to have a special meeting called for a single case.

Any offenses committed in market are considered more serious than if committed elsewhere, and are more heavily fined; offenses which would otherwise concern the village council are brought to the attention of the council of the great if committed in market.

The division of spoils among the members of a *canton* who have participated in a tribal war is often made in market.

In the markets under the authority of the Ikhemrijen, firearms must be left outside before their owners may enter. In other markets rifles were usually carried before the European occupation. Serious fights sometimes arose in markets, in some cases so severe that the tribal council convened and decreed the market closed forever, lest the sight of the place where kinsmen had died might in future remind members of the different *bones* of their mutual grievances and incite them to further violence.

The chief purpose of every market is of course the buying and selling of goods. (See plates 30, 31, and 32.) The vendors of different articles are segregated according to their wares, the cloth merchants, the women selling pottery, and so forth. The butchers are rele-

[1] Chapters IV–VII.

443 [673] [727] [p. 109]

616 619 726 [614] [728] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well. [563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and 000 expected to do.

[114] [729] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 [162] [614] 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'umen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

is not required to pay its portion of the fines imposed upon Beni Urriaghel unless it has actually been involved. 721

When Temsaman fights internally, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Gzennaya, Beni Ulishk, and Tafersit send their councillors to the great council of tribes; Beni Ulishk and Tafersit count as one in the division of the spoils. Beni Urriaghel does not send councillors to Temsaman, partly because the others will not allow it, and partly because the tribe is afraid of retaliation. 727

When the war is in Gzennaya, the Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Marnissa, Metalsa, and Jebarna (the latter, although part of the Gzennaya, do not count as such in time of war, since they are recent immigrants from the Branes) send councillors. When the fight is centered in the *fifth* of Imsdurar, Branes also sends her representatives. Temsaman sends a single councillor if the fight promises to assume large proportions.

When Beni Tuzin occupies the center of the stage, the councillors of Gzennaya, Metalsa, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and Beni Said go, and Beni Amart sends a few representatives.

When the war is in Beni Amart, Gzennaya, Marnissa, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Hadifa (acting as a separate body), and chosen members of Zarket, Bokoya, and Beni Tuzin participate.

When Bokoya is involved, the councillors of Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, and selected members from Gzennaya, Mestassa, and Mtiwa of the Rif attend the great council of tribes. The Sherif of Targuist also is sometimes present at the final settlement, taking ten men with him as bodyguard. He does not take part in any of the fighting, but tries to use his religious influence as a means of putting an end to the bloodshed. When the fine is collected, he is usually given twenty or thirty dollars. Sometimes, however, he is ignored. Shorfa of Targuist have in the past attempted to interfere in Beni Urriaghel and Gzennaya, but without success or remuneration, for which reason they have for some time ceased paying attention to wars within these tribes. [728]

When the fight is in Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, or Mtiwa, the others of this group send their envoys, and those from Bokoya and Beni Gmil attend as well; when the fight is in Mtiwa, Beni Khennus and Beni Seddath also participate.

When the fight is in Beni Ulishk or Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Temsaman, Beni Said, and Beni Mohammed and Khebaba of the Gzennaya take part.

When it is in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Bu Ifrur, Beni Sidel, and Gzennaya send representatives. Beni Said is the only tribe which has recognised the value of such mediation when actually in trouble, since it sends for the Gzennaya councillors to come and settle it for them. They have seldom resisted the intervention of the great council of tribes, preferring to pay the fine rather than continue a destructive internal quarrel.

Beni Bu Ifrur has not fought internally for a long time, since it is all one related group. Beni Sidel has been known to fall into such a difficulty, and Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Ifrur, send councillors, while the sheikhs of Ait Shisher and Masuza also come. These sheikhs are given none of the proceeds. Beni Said wields the greatest influence in such gatherings.

When Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur fight together, the same alignment appears, and with the others go the sheikhs of Ulad Stut.

789 [519] I have even heard the belief that it is dangerous for a person to induce another to grant a request by casting 'ar[1] on him, since in such a case the curse is likely to affect the petitioner and not the individual appealed to (Ait Waryager).

627 728 [522] A refugee places himself in the 'ar of a woman by touching her or sucking her breast (Hiaina, Ait Nder, Aglu, Igliwa)—by which he becomes as it were her son—or by sitting down in front of her or going behind her or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill (Ait Waryager); her husband or family will then have to help him, and if the woman with whom he seeks refuge is the pursuer's own wife, the persecution must cease.

[532] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager, if a manslayer who is pursued by the relatives of his victim takes refuge in somebody's house and seizes hold of the handmill, he is in the 'ar of the mistress of the household, who is the owner of the handmill; then the pursuers must stop firing and the inhabitants of the house are obliged to protect him and to take him in safety back to his own house. On the other hand, a person who has to avenge the death of a relative may induce the owner of a house in which he takes refuge to assist him in taking revenge by offering him some money, which, if accepted, is looked upon as 'ar. If one of their villages has been beaten in a blood-feud with another village and desires to make peace, some of its men go at night to the enemy's village with a sheep or a goat, which they kill outside the yard of the mosque and then throw into the yard. When the dead [533] animal is found there in the morning by the people of the village, they understand from whom it has come and send the schoolmaster to the enemy, who now expresses a wish to put an end to the hostilities. Some men from a third village are called to act as peace-makers, and blood-money—some thirty or forty dollars—is paid for the manslaughter which was the cuase of the feud. It may be added that the animal which was sacrificed as 'ar is only eaten by scribes who are not natives of the village in which it was killed, no native partaking of its meat. So also the Rifians have recourse to 'ar to put a stop to a war between two different tribes. Some men of the vanquished tribe (daqbilt) go before sunrise to one of the enemy's market-places, taking with them a cow or a bullock, which they slaughter there as 'ar. They then retire to a desolate place in the neighbourhood and remain there till they are fetched by

1 [For definition of 'ar see previous page.- Analyst]

627 one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was
628 made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, perhaps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

574 [537] The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the belief in the 'ar and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in the 'ar of his host, in accordance with the principle, "He who is in your house is in your 'ar".

[538] Among the Braber of the Ait Yusi and Ait Sadden, if two or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a guest (anbg i, plur. inbg aun), spending the night in the mosque if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; some one of the villagers brings food to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the fqi is not there, as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any person in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse. The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up; for l-'ain t at akul, "the eye is eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all.

842 765 [559] Among the Ait Waryager parents who have lost a child deposit its shirt at a shrine as 'ar in order that they shall be blessed with another child.

778 696 [561] Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in the 'ar of God and Sidna Jebril, the master of mosques. Among the Ait Waryager, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a village is considered to be in the 'ar of the villagers and is therefore sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint will be unscrupulously killed.

616 Ibuqquyen, the Aith Yittuft and the Bni Bu Frah on the one hand, while
619 the second unites with the Axt Turin and the Thimsaman on the other,
101 thus giving rise to a curious small and narrow passage across the territory of the Sanhajan (sic) tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, through which the Ghumaran tribes can communicate[45]. This might be borne out through other possible passages of the same type which, if found, would widen our political conceptualizations of this problem and might explain the apparent anomaly of ethnographic islets[46]. But in this, before it can be attempted, there must be an agreement on the basic affinities of the tribes in each band, Sanhajan or Ghumaran, and even among the Zanatans[47].

616 The liffs also seem to show, and manifestly, the reason for this progressive increase observed in the concentration of groups struggling in order to obtain the successive enlistment of possible far-away liff adherents.....so that their support would be required or attracted by the idea of burning of houses, etc., and their sudden disappearance, as if the earth might have swallowed them up, on the retreat of such far-flung allies....and thus creating the vacuum which one might label post-ta'rqiba[48] (author's italics), in order to astonish superficial observers, and coming to doubt the veracity of confidences and trusts, as well as of the enemy whom they had in front of them, and
616 of the sincerity of the peace testimony....And nevertheless, a sub-
728 mission must be accepted as effective for those who are about to make it, or for the next enemy group, seeing that it does not naturally endanger the lives of the warriors, who voluntarily defended the territorial integrity of their part of their liff. The ta'rqiba of this

616 group is not and cannot represent the surrender or submission of the
728 chain which, immediately unfurled if a single link is lost, maintains and preserves all those who remain within it in the desirable state of resistance[49].

616 619 114 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the Thimsamān. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian. Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are notoften those of the next!)

616 ●728 184 782 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 [175] 49--Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts, Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Ammarth contingents who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

2. THE INTER-LINEAGE PACT[9] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

671
628
613
728
[776]

Praise be to God...With the prolongation and extenuation of fi[illegible] discord between the sons of the celebrated saint Sidi 'Amar Bu Yawryan al-Yusifi al-Jilmami al-Ghalbzuri[10] of the subsegment (lit. farqa) of the Awlad Ukidar, and of that of the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, with the subsegment of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, their allies, their partisans among the Awlad Tahir Asrih al-Hishami, their patrilateral cousin the Murabit Sayyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar and their brother's sons supporting him, an intercession was initiated between both parties through which they desired to obtain the recompense of God by means of good acts, asking the two parties to incline toward reconciliation, which God qualifies by good work and promises to reward whomsoever puts it into practice; then they decided to initiate it for the space of one year from the present date until the same date of the following year.

In consequence, the first party, composed of the Faqih Muahammad Ashahbar Ukidar, his brothers by his father, his patrilateral cousins the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, such as his brother's son Hammu bin 'Abdallah, etc., appeared for judgment; after this, the second party, consisting of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, his father's brother Akuh, the patrilateral cousin of both the aforementioned, the Siyyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar, his brother's son and those of his party as well as those supporting the aforementioned second party of the subclan of Isrihan, the Awlad Tahir Asrich, such as Muhammad bin 'Aisa bin Tahir and all his patrilateral cousins, also appeared for judgment; they came to

671 628 613 728 [443] [686] agree to the abovementioned truce for one year starting from the present date. All of them appeared for judgment in front of the shiyukh of the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') which exists in the vicinity of Sidi Abu al-'Afif; attendance at this act was completely general, as there also came notables such as the blessed, distinguished and excellent sharif Sidi Ahmad the son of the celebrated saint Sidi Misa'ud, from whose grace God has let us avail ourselves; al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir al-'Abbasi; the shiyukh of Ajdir; the shiyukh of the Murabitin al-Jilmamiyin; and all in general, each of the parties arranging that in case either of them should break off the aforementioned truce in any way before the stipulated time of one year has elapsed, it shall pay a fine of 2000 duros (i.e. 20 x 100) to the shiyukh.

671 628 613 After responding with their goods and estates to the completed arrangement, it was put into effect in the presence of the aforementioned shiyukh in the latters' shop in the aforementioned market; and it was accepted in full and in good faith, with neither party having the right to retract in either the present or the future, each one of them making itself responsible for the fulfillment of what has been set down and for which only those mentioned here have the responsibility.

(The obligation to) payment (of the fine) and the agreement are both complete, as indicated. (The undersigned witnesses) have testified to the testimonial capacity of everyone concerned, that on this day, in the interior of the aforementioned shop, each person concerned, among those known by sight and name, is of sound mind and memory and thus [805] capable of testifying. On the first Wednesday of Rabi' al-Awwal of the Prophet, in the year 1335 (December 27, 1916).[11]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

B) Commentary:

671 182 We have here a curious (sic) type of qanun, which, as we read it, reveals the decomposition which Rifian society had reached, the atomism to which its tribal anarchy led, the imperfection, or rather, the inefficacy, of its laws, the irregular coexistence, the demonstration of its independence.

628 613 728 The disputes between two lineages of the Aith Waryaghar threaten to exterminate them through the chain of blood-vengeance in the face of the indifferent attitude of their constituents, who are habituated to taking justice into their own hands in order to defend their own interests. Two rival groups of equal size attain, in their ferocious and persistent struggle, an equal number of losses, and they reach a stage of weariness, a moment of lassitude happily exploited in order to initiate a treaty of peace (author's italics), which will permit them to build up their resources; and this fact leads them to establish this agreement for one year. Those who will (686) see to it that the truce is kept are the shiyukh, to whose protection they submit and who are interested in the affair because of the inducement of the fine which the group must pay, if within this minimal space of time it contravenes what has been agreed upon in any way (author's italics).

671 613 628 728 554 This society lacks a strong executive power; it looked instinctively toward the web of lineages represented through its shiyukh or old chiefs (sic) (no one should believe that this title represented a step in any framework of governmental or judicial power) for a force which was neutral to its feuds and more powerful than itself, to which

671 613 628 728 554 by such a simple and voluntary act it was converted at the same time to an arbiter of incidents and an executor of decisions. The function is not gratuitous as in modern states, for if in the latter the contributor pays indirectly, he does so directly in the Rif. Their covetousness thus awakened, they evidently insured temporarily against feud renewal, but they also stipulated that it would revive the embers of their hatred.

671 613 628 182 [183] These agreements or inter-lineage truces obeyed a double mechanism originating from the vicious circle in which they were debated. On the one hand they originated a series of regulatory norms of coexistence which, gaining in amplitude of concept and extending their jurisdiction to the generalizing of their advantages and the persistence of their exemplarity, painfully came to gain the adhesion of other nearby and related lineages until they were adopted by larger social and territorial units, including districts or entire tribes; and this situation gave rise to some of those qanuns upon which we will comment further on. On the other hand, they represented the ultimate [728] [195] step to which anarchy led, responding to those most curious periods of their history in which one powerful group, having recourse to violence, broke the truce in defense of its own interests, the official recognition of this fact being given by the imgharen in the suq in the face of general consternation, with the tragic phrase War dha bu r-haqq.[12]

628 602 182 195 "Now there is no law"[13]: such was the official form of declaring the state of anarchy into which the Rifians so frequently fell, a phrase which obliged them to strengthen their kin group, without dismay and by all means in their power; for a man's kinsmen were his last refuge in case of social accident.

property in that belonging to him, in conformance with traditional law.[25]

Those who attended the present (act) brought their testimony to the above according to the requirements of the interested parties. --In the middle of Jumad al-Awwal of the year 1336 (February 27, 1918). --The 'adl, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hajj al-Warnuri.--Another, whose name is not known.--Another, Muhammad bin Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghamri.

B) Commentary:

The social disintegration which Rifian society has reached is proven by these individual agreements between dharfiqin (Blanco: note 1, corresponding to text of qanun). In the face of helplessness or irregular functioning of higher-level associations, the poor tribesmen, before falling into complete anarchy, hastened to conclude an agreement with a neighboring group in order to attenuate that anarchy, succeeding in the hard struggle for life on a poor soil. These agreements thus formed true islets of irregular and variable peace, anchored in functional (sic) anarchy.

The necessity of agreements between lower-level lineages, who were abandoned by the rudimentary organization, obeyed, according to my understanding, those most curious periods which followed the public declaration of anarchy in the suq, when one powerful group managed by force to sustain the punishment, breaking the truce.

As the dispute was generalized between two preponderant rivals, the unaffected groups, before falling into anarchy, and with that notable instinct of self-defense, worked to bring about these agreements,

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

"There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
628 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
616 inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[195] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alli-
[203] ances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater effi-
cacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
671 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
628 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14)
728 for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
829 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
721 independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ
[182] of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
671 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
628 over it.
728

671 628 613 728 Things went well, while the violators of the past were humble figures among the allied groups, incapacitated by their slight strength and the fact that they had few friends to abuse the pact by opposing themselves to other groups concerned; but when the equilibrium was upset or broken by the hatreds of the more distinguished lineage members, dragging their powerful lineages into the fray, the pact was wrecked and peace disappeared anew.

671 628 728 Observe in note 1 the guarantee of peace. In note 2, the formality of the agreement obtained. In note 3, the punishment. In note 4, the violation of the agreement. In note 5, the executive organ, the mass of the population. In note 6, the procedure. In note 7, the reason for the punishment, because it is a voluntary law. In notes 8 and 9, the fulfillment. In notes 10 and 11, the notables, the really significant personages, the Aitharbi'in. In notes 12 and and 13, with economic details, the democratic sensation of defective practice. In note 14, the Rifian illusion.

671 628 152 Notes 3 and 4 seem to show that Rifian custom is not designed to punish the loyal combatant, who, in an inflamed dispute, comes impulsively to make use of arms, incapable of dominating his instincts and always quick to defend his rights, but also to avoid treachery, cunning and hatred, or rather, vengeance, reprisal, from which the Rifians did not know how to free themselves, and which used up men and families. This is a notion which renders honors to manhood and stigmatizes the coward.

554 671 In notes 2, 10 and 11 it may be seen who the Rifians of significance are and that only these men, and not the ordinary tribesmen, are the executives and legislators. This proves what has been said

000

22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

425
423
183
556
(131)

given to one's sons. However, in times of extended drought and famine as in the mid 'forties and again in the late 'fifties, selling of land and migration to the urban centers have taken place on a fairly wide scale. In such a situation the property owner can sell to a stranger but he must give relatives first option and, if they are unwilling to exercise their right, he should give the option to someone inside the community. To buy land under such conditions is considered not only honorable but a community service in that it maintains the integrity of the community by preventing outsiders from becoming members. However, neither the buyer nor the community regards such a purchase as speculation for economic profit. Rather, they see it as community service and a socially approved method of advancing one's children. The acquisition of land under such circumstances is not a part of the motivation system based on profit but part of the same complex which includes social duty and community solidarity.

Land is, of course, one of the factors of production. But whether the Riffian regards this aspect as being the primary attribute of land can be questioned. A man of my acquaintance whose grandfather and father had made sizable land purchases held at the time more land than he could profitably cultivate and manage. Yet he was quite ashamed that he had not been able to buy more land so as to increase the legacy for his own children. To him the economic value of the land was secondary to its pres-

000 tige function. Nash's remark about property among the Maya

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

R 101 619 197 [443] [199] presence of an influential family of *shurfa*, alleged descendants of the Prophet, who encouraged a shift from Berber to Arabic speech. Rifian is spoken in the hamlet of the Aith Azza, but the weekly market of Targist has functioned traditionally as a trading center for the Sanhajan tribes, especially Zarqat. The Aith Mazduwi also appear to be of mixed origin, for both the Sanhajan and Rifian dialects are spoken by this tribe.

R S 619 101 [631] [197] Sanhajans and Ghmarans generally regard all tribes to the east of them as Rifian, but among the Aith Bu Yihyi and other tribes of the Kert and Moulouya valleys this appellation is restricted to the tribes of the basin of Wad Nkour. It is useful to think of a zone of transition between the "true Rif"—Aith Wariyaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Igzinnayen, Aith Tuzin, Thimsaman—and the eastern frontier of the northern zone. The Ulad Stut are intrusive bedawin, like the Khlut of the Atlantic littoral. The remaining tribes may be described as "eastern Rifians." Two minor confederations are recognized within this group. The first, "Iqar'ayen" in Rifian and "Gal'aya" in Arabic, includes five tribes: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Imazujen, Aith Bu Gafar, and Aith Shikar. The second, called "Garet" or "Gart" in Arabic, is formed of Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi. The dialect of the Aith Iznasen is intelligible to most Rifians, but there seems to be general agreement that the Rif, even in a broad sense, does not extend beyond Wad Moulouya.

Land and Livelihood

R 133 In the total context of geography, northern Morocco should be described as an isolated and generally inhospitable area. Moving from the Atlantic coast toward the east, the traveler is confronted with an abrupt transition from alluvial plains and terraces to a wild and chaotic zone of steep slopes and narrow ridges. The eastern lowlands are more favorable from a physiographic point of view, but the Rif chain creates a rain shadow, and the tribesmen of the eastern Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya suffer from meager and erratic rainfall. Cut off to the south by the Rif chain and to the north by inhospitable coasts, northern Morocco cannot compare with Greece, Italy, southern France, or Andalusia as a breeding place for advanced civilization. It is a rampart and a place of refuge.

R 241 [197] The tribesmen of northern Morocco share an agricultural heritage derived in part from contacts with Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, and Europeans. Farming methods are primitive, for the mountain tribes learned centuries ago how to grow the maximum amount of food on tiny terraces, and the size of their fields and the steepness of slopes discourage mechanization. Barley and wheat constitute the most important crops. Wherever water is available for irrigation, the cereals, which are dry-farmed, are supplemented by summer crops of maize, legumes, and vegetables. Horticulture provides precious additional food, and during the spring, when cereal stocks are low, raisins, figs, and nuts are staples. In the semiarid lowlands east of the Rif chain, only cereal farming is possible, and famine may be experienced when rains are meager or arrive too late. The great seasonal migration from this area toward the French farms of eastern Algeria resulted from an imbalance between population and food supply.

R [243] [731] [221]

B S 241 182 Variations in crop combinations and diet are partly conditioned by environmental factors, and hence will be considered in greater detail in chapter ii. A

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

surplus food for lean years. Many tribesmen, especially the Rifians and the inhabitants of Garet and Gal'aya, live under the constant threat of famine. Every failure of the cereal crop causes great suffering. Even with resources developed to the limit, these areas would still be unable to provide full employment or full nutrition for their expanding populations. The rate of population growth through-

TABLE 5

VALUE OF TRADE AT REGIONAL MARKETS IN 1949

Market	Volume of trade (pesetas)
Jbala—Lukkus	
Sebt Bani Said	43,000,000
Tlata Jbil Habib	89,000,000
Jema Zinat	80,000,000
Khemis Anjra	60,000,000
Tnine Sidi Yamani	117,000,000
Tlata Reisana	102,000,000
Sebt Bani Gurfat	82,500,000
Arba Aicha	68,500,000
Ghmara—Sanhaja as-Srair	
Had Bani Dercul	57,000,000
Tlata Bani Hmid	84,000,000
Tlata Ktama	65,000,000
Arba Targist	166,000,000
Rif—Garet—Gal'aya	
Tlata Aith Hadhifa	88,000,000
Arba Turirth	122,000,000
Tnine Aith Bu Ayyash	109,000,000
Tnine Aith Ammarth	65,000,000
Arba Aith Sidar	105,000,000
Khemis-Jema Driuch	138,000,000
Khemis Ain Zorah	107,000,000
Had-Tlata-Khemis Thimsaman	240,000,000
Tlata Ikibdhanen	104,000,000
Had Jbil Arruwi	101,000,000
Taine-Khemis Thafarsith	78,000,000
Khemis Zaio	90,000,000

SOURCE: J. Cabello Alcaraz, *Apuntes de geografía de Marruecos* (Tetuán: Editora Marroquí, 1951), pp. 167–169.

out northern Africa must be described as alarming. In Morocco the mean annual increase is 1.5 per cent. This rapid increase creates serious economic problems, all the more so on account of the youth of the population, of whom 41 per cent are less than fifteen years old.[a] The spread of preventive medicine and the persistence of such social practices as early marriage and easy repudiation of sterile wives accentuate this trend. The cultivated area of northern Morocco has doubled in the last three decades,[b] but many tribes still find it impossible to grow enough food.

[a] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 81.

[b] *Anuario estadístico, 1958–59*, p. 91, cited in note 1.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1

able since much of it is not mountain at all, but open rolling country.

The Riffians are tough fighters. They won Spain for Franco, on a promise of freedom given them on the Yellow Plain of Ktama. One of them, ʿAbd el-Krīm's jailer, once told me that he gave the Christian prisoners dirt mixed in their bread; this is nothing to what the Christians have done to them, which, out of deference to the sensitivity of my readers, I shall not print here. Needless to say, the Riffians buried no one alive in anthills, nor have their women hacked any prisoners to shreds. Having never visited the Pathans, I cannot make the same denial for them with as much conviction, but until shown otherwise I shall continue to believe that these tales come out of the same volume of fiction.

Reading about the Pathans, however, reminds me much of the Riffians, with a few differences. The Riffians live in wetter and more fertile country, with more vegetation, and, although good Muslims, make little display of their religious feelings. They keep the fast and all the main feasts, adding a few of their own. The older men refuse to smoke, and some even refuse tea. They confined Jews to a few coastal settlements, notably Bades and Melilla, while Christians were not admitted at all, before the days of ʿAbd el-Krīm, who let in Gordon Canning, Vincent Sheean, and a few others without demanding previous conversion. One is told that the Pathans are "fanatical," but this again may be a form of general xenophobia channeled through the symbolic mechanism of religion.

The Pathans also are organized in tribes, divided into subtribes, partitioned into sections, split into clans, which are made up of patrilineal extended families.[9] Each family, clan, section, and subtribe has its head man, who represents his group in the *jirga*, or representative council of the group just above him. Like the Asht Arbaʿin, these councils convene to attempt to settle matters of dispute between their constituent members. Irrigation quarrels and cattle rustling are the chief business of the smaller jirgas, while adultery and murder draw the full tribal council, presided over by its chief officer, the khan. Like the amīn of a Kabyle village, he is often no more than a moderator. In case of murder, the killer flees the tribal territory at

[9] See H. Hörhager, *Die Volkstumsgrundlagen der Indischen nordwest-grenz Provinz* (Heidelberg, 1943). M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies* (London, 1825). C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the Northwest Frontier, 1890-1908.*

000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.

[976] [732] 67--This saint, nicknamed Bu Rjila, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of baraka were legendary.

[613] [614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.

69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.

70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.

71--The jillab is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.

72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.

[464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.

[114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.

75--Blanco actually means aitharba'in rather than agraw in this particular context.

[113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.

77--Ra'is in Arabic is "headman", from ras, "head".

[792] [113] 78--Mulay Ahmad al-Raisuli was a sharif from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, The Sultan of the Mountains, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

312 construction requires a great amount of skill. Where the sides of the valley are precipitous and rocky, the ditches are led around through olive logs hollowed out with the adze and supported by long wooden props; at times ditches are led even from one side of the valley to the other by means of these olive-wood troughs. The distribution of the *targa* coincides with that of *tikerathin*, or terraces, except in the lowland alluvial plains of Ajdir, Tiguisas, and other Mediterranean deltas, where irrigation is carried on without terraces. Irrigation is locally supposed to have been invented by the men of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen in the northern Gzennaya, and expert *targa* makers from these places are sent for to construct and repair ditches all over the Rif.

hassi, the well. Wells are constructed by itinerant craftsmen from the region of the 463 Drna, who wander about throughout the Rif seeking employment. They are never molested, since they are considered benefactors of mankind, and are paid well for their work. These 465 men generally earn as much as twenty dollars for the construction of an average well, and find employment chiefly in flat arid country where there are no springs and where wells are a necessity.

241 **Communism in Agriculture.** The Riffians, living as they do close to the soil and often not distantly removed from the prospect of starvation, have developed several social de- ●735 vices whereby the poor may be prevented from perishing and the rich compelled partially to support them. These charitable practices are so ingrained that no one able to act as a 476 benefactor to the poor would venture to criticize them in public or refuse to take part in them. They concern the three vegetable products which seem most deeply entwined with Riffian life: rye, grapes, and olives.

When a man wishes to sow rye on a mountain slope, he invites as many men as wish to do so to help him. Most men who have nothing else of importance to do accept the offer, and no one refuses without an adequate excuse. In this way a man of moderate means is assured of a plentiful crop of rye, to make up for his lack of other foodstuffs.

The crew works diligently from sunrise to sunset, after which they climb downhill to the house of the owner of the rye. The latter's womenfolk have meanwhile busied themselves preparing as ample a meal for the workers as the family's means will allow, and all eat and spend the evening together. If the family cannot provide very abundant rations, the workers seldom complain, since they consider their participation in the work as a form of charity, and their partaking of the food as a social gratification to the providers of it.

Similarly, in reaping season, anyone who wishes may come unbidden and help gather in the grain, whether it be rye, barley, or wheat, and is assured of an adequate meal at the end of the day in payment. In this way people who have finished their own work may be fed without drawing on their own supplies. Gleaning is left to the poor of the village.

241 If two farmers who own adjoining fields or terraces possess each but a single cow, they 476 yoke these together and plough their land in common. No family is without a cow, and since ploughs are constructed by the farmers themselves, or by neighbors especially adept at the art, without payment, the situation of a man with land and no cow or plough does not arise.

241 Irrigation ditches which water the tillage of more than one man are subject to communal 312 care. Each farmer is assigned a definite amount of water during each season when it is required, the amount depending on the amount of land requiring irrigation. The water is measured by days and half-days. Each season the farmer must send out a man for every

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rlf MX3

day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathi* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.
3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.
4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Any oil remaining over the three or four cups so given is the property of the man who has pressed it, unless a poor man without trees comes to the press and asks for some. Such demands cannot be refused and each suppliant must be given a cup.

Besides charitable assistance and work done in anticipation of remunerative charity, there are two types of definite agricultural contract by which one man who has not enough land to support himself and his family may acquire sufficient provender to last his household through the winter. The first is that by which a poor man binds himself to assist a richer farmer in all agricultural tasks in which he may engage. In return for this he receives a fifth of the total grain crop, a fourth of the leguminous plants and vegetables harvested, a third of the product of the fruit, olive, and nut trees, and a third of the grapes.

The rich farmer hires these share-laborers (who are called *akhemes*,[1] plural *ikhemesen* or "fifths," because of their return in grain) because he is not able to care for all of his land himself, owing to its extensive size. If the property of a rich farmer is so extensive that he is unable to cultivate it with the aid of one share-laborer, he will hire two, and these will split a fifth, a fourth, and a third of the various types of produce. No matter how many men a farmer employs he never gives more than the stipulated fractions, which are equally divided among the workers.

When a man owns property which he has no intention of working himself, he can rent it out in return for one half of the produce. This type of contract is used by the Beni Bu Yahyi in renting out the northerly portions of their territory to farmers who come down from Galiya to work the land, the Beni Bu Yahyi not being as interested in agriculture.

The share-laborer is often a stranger in the village of his employment, having left his home through shame of having his poverty advertised in his own village, or more often through fear of punishment for some crime. The migrations of these share-laborers has done more to cause infiltrations of blood from tribe to tribe than any other factor, since the immigrant usually marries into the group of his adoption.

Wealth is not a stable thing in the Rif, any more than it is in more modern types of society. Despite charitable practices and opportunities for outside work, many families find themselves on the verge of starvation in or near January and February, and are willing to sell anything within reason to obtain enough food to last them until the next harvest. Others, more industrious, who have worked their land to its limit and spent the rest of their time helping others for pay, may have more food than they require and be willing to sell some of it, at a premium. They generally demand land in payment. Working this land to its limit the following year, they may pile up an even greater surplus than before, and thus before many years may become large landowners and relatively rich men, ready, in their turn, to hire as share-laborers the people from whom they bought the land.

Thus the retention of property depends upon whether or not it is worked diligently, and positions of wealth may be reversed in less than a generation.

FOOD PREPARATION AND EATING

The different types of food, including their methods of preparation, may be classified as follows: (1) cereal preparations antedating bread, (2) bread and breadmaking, (3) preparation of vegetable products alone, (4) dishes containing meat, (5) fish, (6) eggs, (7) milk and

[1] The feminine form of this word signifies a political division. See p. 92.

796 782 [120] It is the rule that as soon as the animal[1] is killed its head and feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, At Ubahti). In Dukkala it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances it is only partaken of [252] on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), as also the heart (Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), are partaken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz) and the feet (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Amanuz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Ait Sadden), and the head and th the feet on the first (ibid.) or the third (Ait Waryager). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day.

[262] [121] Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel.

[251] What remains of the meat is made into qaddid (or geddid [Ulad Bu 'aziz], lqaddid [Igliwa], rqaddid [Temsaman, Ait Waryager], tiqqaddidin [Ait Sadden], asawar [Ait Yusi], tagarin [Aglu], tifiyi iqorn [Amanuz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips.

●[735] A portion of the qaddid is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following 'asura. Among the Ait Waryager some qaddid must be preserved till the following mulud.

[1] [i.e. - sacrificial, - Analyst]

796 805 jebha, 18th-31st July; l-harat an (l-haratan), 1st-13th August; s-sarfa, 14th-26th August; l-'auwa, 27th August-8th September; s-samak, 9th-21st September; l-gafar (l-gafar), 22nd September-4th October; j-janaban, 5th-17th October; l-iklil, 18th-30th October; l-qalb, 31st October-12th November; s-saula, 13th-25th November; n-nu'aim, 26th November-8th December; sa'd l-belda, 9th-21st December; d-dabeh, 22nd December-3rd January; sa'd bla' (sa'd l-bula'), 4th-16th January; sa'd s'oud (sa'd s-su'ud), 17th-29th January; l'ahbiya, 30th January-11th February; farg l-moqaddam, 12th-24th February; farg l-mohhar (farg l-mu'ahhar), 25th February-9th March; batna l-hot, 10th-22nd March.

The year has four seasons (fosol, sing. fasl). Spring (fasl ar-rbe'a) commences on 15th February, summer (s-saif) on 17th May, autumn (l-hrif) on 17th August, winter (s-set wa) on 16th November. The forty days between 12th December and 20th January inclusive are called liali, and the forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive are called s-smaim or s-smaim.

To various dates of the solar year magical qualities are ascribed, and this leads to the observance of many positive rites and taboos.

796 [162] The Ait Waryager call the last day of the old year and the first day of the new imgaren, "sheikhs".

[166] The Bni 'Aros eat siyoha on New Year's eve and sfen j on the next day. The Ait Waryager eat eggs and wheaten bread on the former occasion and seksu with fowl on the following evening.

[169] Among the Ait Waryager women who have cows and are in the habit of making butter go on New Year's day to a scribe and procure from him a charm which he writes with a needle on a bullet; this charm is hung on the wooden hook (ashum) from which the earthenware churn (aqasror) is suspended, and is left there till the following New Year as a protection against witchcraft.

[765] [735] [174] The Ait Waryager, again, take on New Year's morning iuzan, or porridge, to the graves of their deceased relatives and distribute it in charity to children and poor people.

[178] At the same time I have also found quite the contrary belief, that it serves as a protection against snakes and scorpions by making them blind if it touches their eyes (Tetuan, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Tsul, Ait Sadden) or even killing them (Tetuan, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain), whereas if there is no rain in the nisan their eyes are said to become like fisan (hoes) and their mouths like kisan (cups).

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

canvas tents in the Market of the Righteous, as they would do in any ordinary tribal market (*sūq*). They sell just the same articles, from clothing and bill-hooks (I purchased two of the latter here) to soap and matches, as they do in the regular markets, and some of them also sell sheep to be ritually slaughtered for the 'Aid al-Kabīr on the following day. As in a normal market, also, men and women remain sharply segregated.

Among the pilgrims are numerous *ṭulbā* or students of the Qur'ān, who, after visiting the tomb, where they recite the Holy Book from beginning to end, proceed to the Market of the Righteous to ask the faithful for contributions (*ma'rūf*), which are placed in a box beside the tomb put there for the purpose. The money is later counted up by the tribal authorities and divided equally among all the ṭulbā attending (1).

The 'imārah of Sīdī Bū Khiyār has also, within the last two decades, become a focal point in the activities of the local members of the brotherhood of the 'Alawiyyīn, who maintain a not insignificant following in Timarzga and Aith 'Arūs, although they do not have a lodge in either of these districts. After paying their respects to the saint, they congregate for their *miima'*, or reunion, at a spot between the ādhān grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and a half to two hours, they go through the litany (*dhikr*) required by their order. This consists of a constant repetition of the formula *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, «There is no god but God», over and over, while the brethren are standing in a circle. The litany is followed by the *'imrah*, a form of rhythmic breathing designed to induce ecstasy: and the 'imrah of the 'Alawiyyīn (the word is *not* to be confused with *'imārah*) progresses through the following routines, in which the underlined and accented vocalizations denote outgo, and the non-underlined ones, intake, of breath:

(1) In 1955, there were 99 ṭulbā from the Ibīl (Timarzga-Turīrth, Aith 'Arūs) of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 717.75 pesetas: 96 from Aith 'Abd Allāh of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 696.00 ptas.; 87 from Aith 'Ammarth, who got 630.75 ptas.; 75 from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh of Aith Wariyāghir, who got 471.25 ptas.; 39 from Aith Hadhīfah of Aith Warivāghir, who received 282.75 ptas.; 15 from Imrābdhen of Aith Warivāghir, who got 108.75 ptas.; and 10 from Izzinnāven, who received 72.50 ptas. Total ṭulbā attending were 421, and total money collected was 2990.25 pesetas.

[Text continues on p. 243]

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

708
778
171

This is all that happens at the shrine of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, and no more. There is a complete lack of the «sensational» aspects of certain other Moroccan pilgrimages, and even the behavior of the 'Alawiyyīn is fully under control. The whole thing is carried off with a maximum of correctness and decorum: the tribesmen gravely pay their respects to the memory of their saint by placing a *ziyārah* in money, which is later distributed among the ṭulbā as charity, in the box beside his tomb; and then they pray. Nevertheless, the fact that they do so haltingly and imperfectly, in a language which is foreign to them, is, in a sense, a reflection of the Berber outlook on Islam as a whole: although they have taken to it unanimously and unquestioningly, their acceptance of it has, in the long run, been very largely, if not entirely, on their own terms and conditioned by their own culture.

[735]

OOC 53--This is probably Aith Tizi, forming a part of the larger jma'th of Ighmiren, with Aith Fars.

54--Whether all the Aith 'Adhiya jointly sacrificed two bulls, or whether one each was sacrificed by the members of each liff is not indicated.

55--The market in question is the Monday Market of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[671] 56--In both this qanun and that of the Aith 'Abdallah we see how the fine for murder committed in the market is double that for murder elsewhere. Both qanuns also imply that not only must the fine be paid but that the murderer's house and crops will be burned as well. All informants from all over the Central Rif, however, said time and again that if the fine is paid, there is no houseburning. The root of the [735] discrepancy seems therefore to be an implicit assumption that the average murderer is too poor to pay the fine, which is in any event prohibitively high.

57--In some respects one can see what Blanco means here, but such a statement, particularly regarding the "superficiality" of Rifian Islam, is one which the Rifians themselves would hotly and vehemently deny. In their own eyes, they are extremely good Muslims!

[262] 58--Rifians tend to eat meat, as a rule, only on one day of the week: when they buy and bring it home from the market.

[114] [682] 59--Blanco here confuses the ddiyith, or blood money, to be paid to the victim's agnates, with the rhaqq, or fine for murder, to be paid (both payments being made by the murderer and his own agnates) to the council-members.

[682] 60--Blanco's point about 1000 duros being the fine for murder under normal circumstances (i.e. outside the market) and 2000 for murder inside it is very well taken; and, as he implies, these sums are indeed the norm all over the Rif. But once again, he confuses fines with blood-money, and they are entirely different.

61--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

62--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

[114] 63--This is an interestingly expressed idea, but the linkage with nomadism seems questionable.

[614] 64--As already indicated, the Aith Khattab include the two Waryaghar clans of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; and in this sense they might be considered a "super-clan", particularly if, as some have it (though this is nowhere indicated in the text of the qanun), they embrace the Aith 'Abdallah as well. In the same way, Aith Bu 'Ayyash, if it embraces, on the topmost level, the two clans of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa, may also be regarded as a "super-clan" of the same order of segmentation. However, the group in question is referred to as Bani Khattab, not Aith Khattab, in the text of the qanun.

65--As indicated, this qanun is valid only for the coastal Aith Khattab, those of both Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari who live in and around the Plain of Alhucemas, bordering the Mediterranean.

792 (real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from
796 a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the
792 death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a per-
796 manent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the
798 Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek rem-
788 edy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

792 The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors.
796 There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to
798 be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the
788 more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint
782 will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third
[794] goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine,
[735] and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

788 As an example of the costs involved in even a short pil-
778 grimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a
435 group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

443 651 648 438 [123] Below is the official tax rate of the Spanish as given in Albéniz (1930:121-122). I have no schedule of my own because of a disinclination on the part of officials to give me such information.

Articles upon which a tax is paid entering the market:	
A load of fruit	0.75 Spanish pesetas
Basket of vegetables	0.75
Basket of fish	1.50
Kilo of honey or butter	0.40

Articles upon which a tax is paid upon leaving the market by the large-scale buyers:	
Wool	5% of total value
Straw mats	0.25 each
Dried cereal	0.50 quintal
Goat or lamb hide	0.20 each
Cattle hide	0.50 each

Articles upon which a tax is paid at the moment of exchange:	
Horses	5% of the value of the sale
Mules	5% of the value of the sale
Donkeys	5% of the value of the sale
Firewood, a quintal	5% of the value of the sale

Articles upon which a tax is charged when entering the market and again upon being sold:	
Basket of wool	.10 and .20
Chickens and wild fowl	.10 and .10
Eggs (dozen)	.10 and .10
Carbon (a sack)	.10 and .10

443 651 648 438 ● 735 While Albéniz's list follows the general lines of present taxing policy, there have been some changes aimed at helping the poor. For example, small lots of fruit, vegetables, nuts and eggs can enter the market without paying a duty. Revenue is collected for

443 651 438 648 [735] [276] such items if they are purchased by the large middlemen merchants who pay the tax upon leaving the suq. Because of governmental tax and conservation laws, carbon is rarely sold in the free market but rather in the black market. The narcotic kif, which undoubtedly is a major trade item, also is in the province of the black marketeer. Missing from Albéniz's list are almonds, which have become an increasingly important cash crop. Almonds enter the market free in small lots, are bought by large-scale merchants and taxed upon departing from the market.

443 After paying his tax, the seller enters the market and goes to the area occupied by traders of his particular commodity. There are no market rules demanding that a seller go to a special place but areas have by custom been developed for each type of goods. Those people selling an unusual commodity or unique service set up shop wherever they desire as long as it does not interfere with the operation of the market.

443 438 In the following I shall outline the sorts of commodities brought to the market and the categories of people involved in marketing them. The composition of the agricultural products varies greatly with the season. Tomatoes, green peppers, and other vegetables are available only in the summer and early fall. For a short period during the fall, fruit is in overabundance. Potatoes, maize, garlic, and onions appear throughout the year, though again the supply varies. There are always large stacks of unmilled barley even though this is supposed to be the main crop of the region. That the fellah have to buy barley on

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social
occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides
the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
• (735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of
Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is pro-
hibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren,
or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary,
are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought
to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are
wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since
loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is
plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca." The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues."

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique." It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain." It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time." The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila." The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

" D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khlyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

" Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

" The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

" G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

" Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

" André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

leaving them there until the whole Koran has been recited; the leaves are subsequently made into ropes, by which they suspend their churns in order to impart baraka to the butter.

[99] When Ramadan has come to an end and the dawn of day no longer is a signal to abstain from food and drink, the breaking of the taboo is to be preceded by a rite which [100] obviously serves the purpose of removing the danger attending it. Sidi Halil says that it is an obligation on the faithful to give special alms, called fitr, to the poor on this occasion, by preference on the first evening of the festival following upon the month of Ramadan or at the dawn of the next day. These alms should consist of those food-stuffs which the giver habitually uses; their amount should be proporionate to the number of dependents comprised in the household; and the quantity of grain to be given should be one sa'—that is, slightly less than half a bushel—for each Muhammadan member of it. It is said in Morocco that if no fetra, as these alms are called there, is given, Ramadan will be hanging between heaven and earth.

[101] Among the Ait Waryager the fetra of a suckling is set aside on the previous evening. Among these Berbers the fetra consists of all kinds of dry vegetable food which they have been eating during Ramadan, including even a few almonds, raisins, and other dried fruits, if they happen to have them in the house. It is measured out with a so-called rmudd ne nnbi, made either of wood (in which case it has been brought from Mecca) or of earthen ware; and absent and [102] deceased members of the household are also remembered on this occasion. The fetra is afterwards taken to the mosque and presented to the fqi, except a small portion of it which is left in the house to be given to poor people and schoolboys calling for it. The men who carry the fetra to the mosque also bring with them some food for breakfast, which is partaken of in common by all the men and bigger boys of the village. The fqi gives one portion of the fetra of his own household to the schoolboys in the mosque, while the other portion is distributed to the poor people calling at his house. Nobody can, of course, eat of the fetra of his own household.

[106] On the tenth day of the month Du 'l-hijjah, the last month of the year, the Muhammadan world celebrates its yearly sacrificial feast, known under different names in different Moslem countries. In Morocco the Arabic-speaking population call it l-'id l-kbir, "the

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
776 the djnoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The djnoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a djnoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the djnoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 djnoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the djnoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

000 118--Malaria, of the "paludism" variety, was a considerable problem in the Rif of 1939, of which Blanco writes. In 1952-53, however, the Spanish administration conducted a vigorous DDT campaign, which made considerable strides in stamping out this disease.

119--Twiza is also often translated as "corvee". In Rifian, the word is dhiwiza, pl. dhiwizawin.

120--Any individual who failed to show up to take part in a twiza organized for repairing a ditch (of which he was--or is--one of the users) had to pay a fine ranging from about three to five duros. This fine, however, was not and is not paid to the aquwwam, but is levied as r-haqq by the jma'th in question, whose members buy and consume tea and sugar with the proceeds.

121--Irrigation turns, after the lots have been drawn to establish the order in which they occur, continue in the same order until something happens to the ditch, i.e. if it is washed out by a storm or if it loses water completely; and then lots are drawn again.

122--In 1953, the Granja Agricola had two days out of an eight day irrigation turn cycle, from the Dharga Hadhidha, on the left bank of the Nkur River. The other six days, the following lineages irrigated from the same ditch: Bu Srama (Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen n Waddai (Isrihan, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Ihaddjiyen (Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), r-'Aramth (affiliation unknown), Aith 'Alla (Imhawren, in the Aith 'Ari) and Aith Bu Minqadh (a "foreign element", supposedly from the Sus, in the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari).

123--An akhammas is a poor sharecropper who receives one-fifth of the grain harvest of a richer individual with whom he has an annual verbal contract.

124--Blanco handles in a most able manner the whole question of the relationship of irrigation turns to lineage structure. Although by no means 100% accurate in all instances, his equation of the usage of secondary ditches by dharfiqin and of the smaller tertiary branches by the ijujga, or lineage branches, is certainly correct enough and widespread enough, in the Plain of al-Husaima in particular (where the distribution of irrigation turns is a very complicated affair), to be taken as a rule of thumb.

125--This seems a strange remark, particularly because it is italicized; as only plowing and sowing takes place in winter in the Rif, while the harvest is taken in mid-summer. However, it is possibly intended in irony, to show the poverty of the region.

126--Blanco refers here, in somewhat poetic and rhapsodic fashion, to the great topographical difference between the arid mountains along the upper course of the Ghis and the fertile alluvial Plain of al-Husaima which characterizes much of its lower course.

127--This number may have been 55 in 1939; it was certainly much higher in 1961.

128--Blanco mistranslates l-Bzimma, and, by extension, al-Masimma, as "the renowned".

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

ariyeri, the oleander. This plant is important in the manufacture of magical concoctions. Laoust [1] and Justinard [2] support this identification.

tuzelt, a bush resembling a high-bush blueberry. It bears a red pod, like a rose-pod, which is eaten. Laoust [3] calls this *Frazinus dimorpha*.

aghanim, a reed, used extensively in basket making. Laoust supports this identification.[4]

tharuqwith, a bush with a red flower, much frequented by bees.

sui, a bush bearing a white flower, with peppery-tasting leaves. The latter are used as medicine for stomach-ache.

r-knuafer, a bush or low tree which produces a bud resembling a clove. The buds are put into tea as a spice, and are used as a stomach-ache cure for children.

asir, a bush the leaves of which are used in the brewing of a tea alleged to be beneficial in fever.

isarshi, forsythia. Women cut pieces of its stem and tie them in their belts to prevent boils. This identification is purely personal and lacks confirmation.

thakhfa, a wild rose, the pods of which are sometimes eaten in times of famine. Hanoteau and Letourneau [5] give *Rosa sempervirens* for the Kabyle *thaafert*.

Luxurious forests of conifers are said by the inhabitants of the country to have once covered most of the region, but today they are confined to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar, Taghsuth, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarket, and the upland reaches of Mtiwa. Patches of this forest remain on Mt. Kuin in Gzennaya, in parts of Beni Amart, at Aswil, where the Nekor passes from the Gzennaya into Beni Urriaghel, and on the cresta of Beni Tuzin. The *taidha* grows chiefly in the Senhajan tribes, but the *thuya* is found not only there but also farther to the east, in Gzennaya and Beni Tusin.

After climbing from the hot barrenness of the eastern Rif, one finds the forests of the Senhaja Sghir most beautiful and satisfying. On the mountain between Beni Bu Nsar and Taghsuth, it is difficult to realise that one is in Morocco. The whole of this section reminds one of temperate forests, such as are found in the northern United States and Canada; especially is this true in the long, flat plateau-valley of Beni Seddath, where a lush meadow is variegated with frequent clumps of *taidha*. Even in midsummer this region retains an exhilarating chilliness of atmosphere. (See plate 1.)

CLIMATE

The slopes of the Mediterranean border of this region are rugged, mostly deforested, hillsides, with a climate similar to northern Mexico or our own Southwest. Farther to the east, in the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and parts of Galiya, the country becomes rolling and its slope relatively gentle, and grain is grown on it without terracing or irrigation. Farther south, however, stretches the arid expanse of the Garet, that waterless waste whereon the Metalsa and Beni Yahyi shift about from camp to camp. This desert stretches into parts of Beni Said and Galiya, and oversteps the boundary of Beni Ulishk and Tafersit. Here in the Garet grows a sparse crop of grass, and quantities of that coarse grass called *halfa*, resembling our own marsh or beach grass, from which the nomadic peoples, and the Gzennaya and other Riffians as well, make sandals, pack-saddles, ropes, and all sorts - containers.

[1] Page 484.
[2] Page 483.
[3] Page 136.
[4] Page 48.
[5] Pages 493, 499.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XIII

MAGIC

THE types of magic employed in the Rif can be divided into four categories: (1) the *baraka* of alleged descendants of the Prophet; (2) *theira*, or magic requiring the use of written charms and based on the mystic interpretation of the Koran; (3) *theira* of the *jnun*, a type similar in form but involving the participation of the *jnun*, and the use of books other than the Koran; (4) *sohor*, or old women's magic, which does not involve the use of writing. To these may be added as allied topics: (5) the *ar* or shame-compulsion; (6) the *'ahd* or oath; (7) methods of counteracting the evil eye; and (8) the interpretation of dreams.

Both the shame-compulsion and the oath are essentially magical, and are therefore included in this chapter. The treatment of religious and magical phenomena in separate chapters is for convenience only and implies no generic distinction.

BARAKA

Baraka, or *er fthair* is usually confined to supposed descendants of the Prophet, and is dependent upon their possession of a magical emanation supposedly transmitted to them by him. *Baraka* is a force, a power, like the tabu of the Polynesians, and more like the *mana* of the Melanesians. A man possessing it is equipped with supernatural powers; he is able to predict the future, to perform miracles, and to heal or destroy by touch, or, through extension, by employing some object which has been in contact with his body, such as a part of his clothing, a piece of bread, or an egg which he has kissed.

A client wishing to know his future comes to the sherif at Targuist and presents his problem. On the ensuing night the sherif dreams about it, and in the morning tells his client what the future will contain. The client then pays a fee approximating five dollars and departs. The sherif is not limited to a single dream each night; he dreams as many as are required.

Not all Riffians believe in this magic, and only the inhabitants of Targuist and the Senhajan tribes under the control of the Ikhemrijen patronize the sherif regularly.

Persons suffering from any ailment whatever go to him to be touched. The sherif strokes the affected part, and exacts a fee of from thirty to fifty dollars. If the patient does not recover he and his relatives do not blame the sherif, but hold that the fatality is the *mektub*, or established fate, and that the soul's time has expired.

The sherif gives away pieces of cloth torn from his cast-off garments, which are taken away by the credulous and hung in their houses to prevent mischief from entering. In the *suwia* at Targuist are baked tiny loaves of bread, supposedly full of *baraka*; they are given away, the recipients being told that a quarter of a loaf will fill them completely. Eating this bread is a prophylactic against illness and any mischance.

The sherif, and ordinary saints as well, give away eggs previously received as presents or fees, for which they have no use. The eggs are considered to be full of *baraka*, and men take them home to eat with their wives, thinking thus to avert calamity.

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

796 [182] The 24th of June, or Midsummer day (Old Style), is called in Arabic l-'ansara (l-ansra); and in Berber l'ansart (Shloh, Ait Warain), l'ansart (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), or t'ainsa (Temsaman).

On that day, or sometimes the evening before, smouldering fires are made in many different parts of Morocco.

[185] On the evening of Midsummer day the Ait Waryager make in their yards fires with poplar (asafsaf) leaves, pennyroyal, and barley straw, over which the people leap.

[187] Besides smoke and fire customs, water ceremonies are [188] frequently practised at Midsummer.

[515] [189] Among the Ait Waryager the people take their bath before sunrise, and those who refrain from doing so are supposed to remain unclean.

796 245 [190] "O God, pray for the sake of the Prophet, the chosen one; dust is better than male figs".

The last-mentioned phrase alludes to the custom, found at Midsummer in various northern tribes (Fahs, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), of hanging bunches of male figs in the female trees. This is said to prevent the fruit from dropping or to make it good, although it really serves as a means of fertilising the female figs by the aid of a very small hymenopter, Blastophaga grossorum, which lays its eggs in the interior of the figs. I was told by a scribe from the Rif that one insect is sufficient to make forty figs good by going in and out of them. The male figs hung in the female trees are wrapped up in straw, esparto (ariy; Ait Waryager), or pennyroyal (flaiyu; Andjra), the smell of which is considered good for the trees. The Rif Berbers and Andjra mountaineers also make a few cuts in the trunks of their fig trees so that the sap oozes out, in order to keep the tree from getting dry and the fruit from falling; and some of them, moreover, hang [754] oleander twigs in their fig trees as a charm against the evil eye. To protect their apple and pear trees from the same enemy, the people of Andjra on Midsummer day suspend from them stone weights stolen from the market-place or hang on them thistles (amgil) taken from the same place.

751 796 [192] The Ait Waryager on Midsummer day press the juice of a grape or two into their eyes to prevent their getting diseased; and in order to rid themselves of fleas they put a flea inside a grape and bury it in the dungheap (dazubait).

825 787 [335] The Ait Waryager maintain that the hooting of an owl outside a house indicates that somebody in that or a neighbouring house will die, and they drive the bird away by throwing at it a sooty piece of a broken old earthenware pan or fire at it with a gun.

825 [337] A wild-dove once saved the life of the Prophet when he was persecuted by Christians, by telling them that he had gone one way although he had gone another, and for this reason the faithful were forbidden to kill any bird of its species.

[777] 825 755 The Ait Waryager consider it unlucky if doves are living in a house, because they want to make it empty. In the same tribe, if a person suffers from fever, the dried dung of pigeons is burned, the smoke is made to pass underneath his clothes, and he inhales it as it comes through.

[751] [340] A person keeps his eyes in a good condition by [341] touching the inside of the eyelid with a raw and unbroken egg of a swallow or with a young bird newly hatched (Ait Waryager).

[342] A tortoise is never killed except for medicinal or magical purposes, and water tortoises, I believe, are not killed in any circumstances. People are afraid of them, as they are frequently supposed to be jnun; but when living in a spring or pond connected with a saint-shrine they are regarded as the servants of the saint and help to cure patients visiting the place.

Among the Ait Waryager the boiled flesh of a tortoise, prepared with salt, is eaten by sick people.

825 [343] A tortoise may have an evil effect on cows, sheep, and goats. [231] Among the Ait Waryager, if the owner of a cow which has calved does not give the cowherd the usual meal of bread and salt butter, the latter takes revenge by throwing a tortoise at the cow, which in consequence will never again give birth to a calf.

[344] There is a general fear of killing a frog or toad. At Aglu a man killed one with a stone, and his arm became paralysed. Among the Igliwa a person who killed a frog had fever for a year, and elsewhere also fever is supposed to be the consequence of such an act (Ait Waryager, &c.).

[348] The Ulad Bu'aziz believe that a snake which appears at the place where people are pitching a tent may be mul le-mkan, "the master of the place". They ask it politely to go away, and if it does not do so they kill it; but if they dream of the snake in their sleep they

224 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the
672 fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during
685 the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the dis-
224 position of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the
672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another
183 Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

224 L) Taboos:
782 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to
784 make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh,
[751] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated
411 by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
776 the djnoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The djnoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a djnoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the djnoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 djnoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the djnoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major
556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as
152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the djnoun
[753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of
[776] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The djnoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye,
amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[793] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who
[435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

751 435 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams. Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

796 241 789 821 One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed, the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins [533] [539] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community, singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nia-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawah- n-ahala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food. [782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary bab lmakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[787] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 852 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355] t- Teida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child.

825 In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound ● [752] caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra [824] [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[854] [357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 264 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts
[224] of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
●[753] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
834 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

776 264 practices and beliefs it was said that a person who sees meat and is not allowed to taste it gets angry and is therefore attacked by the jnun haunting the meat, and also that the jnun haunting the person may hurt him because they do not get the meat they are longing for. We must not expect very clear ideas with regard to haunted objects; yet both explanations well agree with the fact that some of the customs in question have particular reference to women and children, who are more than others exposed to the attacks of jnun. If a person offers another meat the latter must accept it, even though he does not want to eat it; only an enemy can refuse such an offer, since a refusal would be attended with very serious consequences for the person who offered it—he may even die (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Sadden). But I have also heard that the bas, or evil, will fall upon the person who refuses to accept the meat (Hiaina), or that both parties will have to suffer (Ait Waryager).

776 514 753 [280] Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for food are extremely haunted. The Ait Waryager say that there are Jewish jnun in the dung-heap (dazubait, in Arabic zebbala) of the household; and water-closets and drains are favourite abodes of jnun. In this connection some beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour may be mentioned in addition to those noticed before. When a person does his needs he should cover his head with his hayek or the hood (qobb) of his jellaba, he must look neither right nor left, and if he speaks his children will be qora, that is, affected with ringworm (Fez). If a boy does his needs on the road—nobody but a boy can do such a thing—he will have boils (Ulad Bu aziz); the Ait Waryager say that he must be a bastard (mmis rahram). If a person makes water on the road, the bas enters underneath his nails and and makes them diseased (Andjra) or he will have hangnails (Ait Waryager) or he will be forgetful (Fez).

776 372 513 [293] Jnun also haunt the fire and the fire-place (in Arabic l-kanun; in Berber takat or takkat [Sheiha], almssi [Ait Sadden], tahfurt n tmssi [Ait Warain], dagandort [Ait Waryager]). If a person sleeps with his head near the fireplace, he is very liable to be struck by them; some people say that he will never get well again, while according to others he will have a headache or be troubled with bad dreams.

776 372 [294] To throw out a brand from the fire-place when it is raining makes the angels blind (Hiaina); indeed, fire ought never to be thrown

787 have a long life; this belief is particularly prevalent in connection with the sacrifice at the Great Feast, but it also applies to the slaughter of animals on other occasions (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager). So also, if you throw something on the ground and it falls in an upright position you will have a long life—your "luck remained standing"; and the same is the case if a match continues to burn after you have thrown it away (Tangier). If you throw down a stone which you find on the road you will become ill; the idea is evidently that you will have to lie down like the stone (Ait Waryager).

789 753 [604] In other cases the spoken word is supposed to produce a magical effect by communicating an evil from which the speaker suffers to the person spoken to. It is a general belief that if a sick person speaks to another about his illness the other one will become ill, unless special precautions are taken. Before he speaks of it he should say, Smah li ma skit 'alik, leh la iwurrik bas, "Pardon me, I did not complain to you, may God let you have no evil"; and if no such apology is made the person spoken to says or whispers, Basak f rasak ma t ski si 'aliya, "May your evil be on your head, do not complain to me" (Andjra, Tangier). Or if a person complains of being ill in another person's presence, the latter says, Ski 'ala t-treq, dzidek l-hareq, "Complain to the road, may it increase for you the pain"; or Jnun l-marsa temma yersa, "[Complain to] the jnun of the harbour, there it (that is, the illness) will remain" (Fez); or, "Complain to the stones, may God increase it (that is, the illness) for you" (Ait Waryager).

[606] If a sick person sells his clothes his illness will be transferred to the person who buys and wears them, but if he gives them away in charity the recipient will not get his illness, although he himself will get rid of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

789 [607] The death to which a person is exposed may, as it were, be transferred to an animal by slaughtering it. The killing of a fowl on the birth of a child is expressly said to safeguard its life by removing its bas, and the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat in connection with the naming of the child serves a similar purpose.

[608] So also the accidental death of an animal is supposed to a save its owner or his family from misfortune (Dukkala, Andjra, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu).

551 As the first son is called after the Prophet, so the first daughter is called after his daughter Fatimah, the wife of 'Ali and the mother of al-Hasan and al-Husain, from whom are descended the posterity of the Prophet known as Saiyids. Her name—which is in Morocco pronounced Fatuma, Fatma, Fatma, Fatna, or (by some Berbers) Fadma—is generally given to the eldest daughter, even though it be the name of the mother, which is otherwise avoided; but among the Ait Waryager the daughter is in such a case called Fattos.

[407] In Berber tribes Arabic names given to children are altered in ordinary conversation. Muhammed is changed into Muhand (Ait Yusi), Mohand (Ait Sadden), Mohand (Ait Waryager, in the case of a scribe or a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), Momoh (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), Mahha (Ait Sadden), Moha (ibid.), or Moh (Ait Waryager).

302 [408] At Fez no child of either sex must be shaved until it is one year of age; while among the Ait Waryager a boy is shaved a year after his birth and a girl never.

[409] Some hair, however, is always left on the head, in accordance with the custom of the family. In all families it is the custom to leave an 'orf, consisting of a narrow line from front to back, but in some families a garn, or tuft, is in addition left on the right side, and in others a garn on the left side as well.

[753] [414] It is believed that if the shaving of a person's head is left unfinished, because the razor is not sharp enough or for some other reason, his head will be affected (Ulad Bu'aziz) or he will become ill in one way or another (Ait Waryager).

[415] In Morocco there is a belief that if it is the custom of a family to leave a garn on the head of a child, the latter will become ill and most probably die if this custom is not observed. The Ait Warain and the Ait Sadden maintain that the same will happen to a boy if the garn left on his head is ever shaved. The Ait Waryager say that if it is shaved before the death of his parents, either the father, the mother, or the boy will die.

852 304 [416] The next important event in the life of a boy is his circumcision. The age at which it takes place varies greatly.

[417] I was told that among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager boys are as a rule circumcised when they are about one year old, but that there are instances of boys being circumcised a few months after their birth. This is the earliest age I have heard of anywhere in Morocco.

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
776 the dinoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The dinoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a dinoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the dinoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 dinoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the dinoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major
556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as
152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the dinoun
[753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of
[776] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The dinoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye, amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[793] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who
[435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

183 between us." If there are two groups of people "making *'ahd*" together, as many of each group as there is room for face each other across the grave. When these have made *'ahd* others fill their places, until all have taken part. An *'ahd* cannot be broken without retribution falling afterwards in some unforeseen way. The following list covers some of the situations which call for the making of *'ahd*.

1. Two men wish to make a covenant not to harm one another.
2. A man fears that a friend will deceive him with his wife, and asks the friend to make *'ahd* with him. This is done at times by men about to start on journeys.
3. One man hires another to commit murder; the two may confirm the agreement by making *'ahd*.
4. A man makes *'ahd* with his wife so that they will have confidence in each other.
5. Adulteresses make *'ahd* together to insure mutual secrecy.
6. *Bones* which have been allied in *liff* and which begin to mistrust each other make *'ahd* as groups. This involves breaking bread at the tomb and exchanging the pieces.
7. *Fifths* allied in *liff* make *'ahd* to continue that condition, under the agreement that the first *bone* to break it will be punished by the destruction of its property and by exile. This punishment, of course, implies the consent of the tribal council. In making this type of *'ahd* the councillors of the two *fifths* meet in a saint's tomb, and not only break and exchange bread but also sacrifice a bull.

Besides the serious *'ahd*-making of grown-ups, children build toy graves of pebbles or small stones and play at making *'ahd* over them.

THE EVIL EYE

●154 The evil eye is thought to exert its baleful influence mainly against vegetable gardens and women and children. An old soot-blackened pot, a mule's skull, or a black cloth is put up on a pole in the garden, and acts as a prophylactic. In red-pepper patches goat droppings are tied up when the peppers are in flower.

Pairs of goat horns are tied on pomegranate trees to keep the flowers from falling when a person with the evil eye looks at them.

To keep the evil eye from harming a child, a boar's tooth may be hung about its neck on a string. Women protect themselves by tying cowrie-shells into their belts.

INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS

781 In the Rif it is thought that dreams dreamed in the summer will come true, while those dreamed in winter will not, since the world is turned around at that time. Dreams of an ominous nature are mostly symbolical. The following are a few examples:

1. If you dream that you see a man naked, poverty will befall him. If you dream that you yourself are naked, no harm will result.
2. If you dream that you see a wedding company disporting themselves in the house of one of your relatives, then one of your relatives, not necessarily the same one, will soon die.
3. If you dream that you or someone else falls into a stream or a stream-bed, the government will shortly make trouble for you.

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. Thepati ent goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and [87] he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 8+2] the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
● [754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

821 from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, Allah
789 itahhlek alina be r-rahha u l-hena, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry thing", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkala, Ait Waryager).

821 [129] Every man on earth has his star (Arab. nejima, plur. njum;
789 Berb. itri, plur. itran or itran [Shloh, Ait Warain], itri, plur. itran
778 or itran [Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager], itri, plur itran [Temsaman]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, Allah italla nejmak, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, Allah itaiyah nejmak, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a jedwal with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is in-
[755] tended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to
[754] be used for witchcraft (shor)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the tabe a, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a rehi it is exposed to the wind, if he is a mawi it is put in water, if he is a t orabi it is buried in earth, if he is a nari it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's tabe a. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them baraka by shining on them.

776 778 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall [681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 515 789 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is wholesome to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 778 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with [754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

704 272 A person who in the evening is going to carry milk from his own house or tent to that of somebody else, puts a little salt in it to protect it from jnun (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he drops into it a green grass-blade as a charm which will avert evil from the cows (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk is given to a neighbor he must not return the vessel empty but he must put something into it, for example, flour, or salt, or grass, or water; otherwise the house or tent of its owner will also become empty (Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Temsaman). But if a person takes milk out of his house or tent to give it to some one to drink, he must not take back there anything of it which is left, but should drink it himself or give it to some poor person or a dog, or pour it out in a place where nobody walks; should he take it back with him his cows, or his family as well, would have to suffer for it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, At Ubahti). If a person who is carrying milk meets another on the road, he must offer him a drink of it, and, as said above, the latter is obliged to accept the offer or, at least, to dip a finger, generally the little finger of the right hand, which is the cleanest, into the milk, putting it then into his mouth or touching his forehead with it. The offering of milk serves as a safeguard against [754] the evil eye, and will besides benefit the offerer in a more positive manner owing to the blessing pronounced on him by the recipient, which will make his animals thrive. But I have also heard that you should offer milk even to a person who does not know that you are [244] carrying such a thing; for if you conceal milk from him God will always conceal it from you (Andjra). The custom in question seems to prevail all over Morocco; but sometimes I was told that it is only observed in the morning (Ait Nder), or not between enemies (Ait Waryager). While gratuitous offering of milk is thus in certain cir- [432] cumstances prescribed by custom, the sale of milk is forbidden (Temsaman): he who sells milk will not have much of it (Andjra), something bad will happen to his cows (Ulad Bu aziz), or he will leave his children destitute (Ait Warain). This rule is often broken, especially in towns where there are European residents; but during my stay in Marraksh I often found people unwilling to sell milk. A gratuity, however, is readily accepted for the milk offered to a stranger of note who passes through the village. When it is offered to the Sultan on horseback he dips the little finger of his right hand into it, wipes off the milk on the neck of his horse, and tells his amin,

776 [409] Among the Ait Waryager, if a party of hunters are in vain
789 hunting for hares and rabbits, they all simultaneously throw the sticks
224 made of olive branches which they habitually use on such occasions on the ground, saying, Allah in'al ssitan rharami, "God damn Satan the villain", and spit; they thus flog the devil, who is evidently looked upon as the cause of their ill-luck, and spit on him so as to drive him away.

754 [414] Besides the jnun the evil eye is a very frequent cause of misfortune. It is said that "the evil eye owns two-thirds of the graveyard"—L-'ain 'anda t ult ayin fe l-mqabar; or that "one half of mankind dies from the evil eye"—N-nuss fe bnadem kaimut be l-'ain; or or that at any rate one-third of all living beings are killed by the same enemy. There is another saying, that "the evil eye empties the castles (or 'houses') and fills the graves"—L-'ain t uhli l-qosor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Fez), or L-'ain t hli d-duyor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Tangier). So firmly is the evil eye believed in, that if some accident happens at a wedding or any other feast where a person reputed to have an evil eye is present, it is attributed to him and he may have to pay damages; and if such a person looks at another's animal and it shortly afterwards dies, he is likewise held responsible for the loss.

[421] I have heard some people say that the eyes of Christians are not dangerous to Muhammadans (Andjra, Ulad Bu 'aziz) and vice versa (Andjra), but there are others who have expressed different views (Fez, Ait Waryager). It is believed that dogs and cats can injure a person who is eating by covetously looking at him. This is quite in accordance with a saying attributed to the Prophet himself.

[423] A person who is reputed to have an evil eye is generally shunned, and is not allowed to take part in feasts or gatherings. Among the Ulad Bu'aziz he must not pitch his tent near the tents of others. Among the Igliwa his neighbours sometimes move from the place; and among the Ait Waryager he may himself have to leave the village if he is only a poor man. Attempts are also made to escape the [424] danger by curing the evil-doer. For this purpose the bridle of a mule is put into his mouth and then pulled by somebody. At Fez I was told that three pulls will cure him. In Andjra it is believed that if he makes a noise he will get worse, whereas silence on his part is taken as a sign that he will no longer have the evil eye.

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust) [822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must [585] [292] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

716 754 301 789 [440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows
● older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

2: Westermarck--49 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[570] CHAPTER XI

WITCHCRAFT—HOMŒOPATHIC INFLUENCES—THE TRANSFERENCE OF EVIL

754 Besides the evil eye and the curse there are other mysterious malign influences which are due to envy or ill-will, namely practices called shor (or shor), that is, witchcraft. The plural shor is much more frequently heard than the singular sahr or sehr, the latter of which is, to my knowledge, only used by scribes. A person who practises shor is called sahhar or sahhar (plur sahharin or sahhara), if a man, and sahhara or sahhara, if a woman. The Berbers have berberised forms of these words, such as sshor (Ait Waryager), sshor (Ait Sadden), or ssehar (Ait Warain); ssahhar (plur. ssahhara; Ait Waryager), ashhar (plur. ishharn; Ait Sadden), or ashhar (plur. ishharn; Igliwa); ssahhara (plur. ssahharat; Ait Waryager), tashhart (plur. tishharin; Ait Sadden), or tashhart (plur. tishharin; Igliwa).

[572] Among the Ait Waryager, if a bridegroom on the day of "the great henna", rhanni amaqran, is not sufficiently liberal to the scribes, it may happen that one of the latter takes revenge in the following manner. He writes something on the blade of a clasp-knife, goes into the room in which the bridegroom is sitting, with the knife hidden underneath his clothes, and shuts it up at the moment when he salutes him. He subsequently ties up the knife so that it shall remain well shut, buries it in a desolate place, and makes a cairn over it; and the husband will now be incapable of having intercourse with his wife. He will, however, be easily cured by inducing the mischiefmaker, whom he will soon find out, to undo the enchantment; but, of course, he has to pay for it. The guilty scribe digs up and unties the knife, writes something from the Koran on a paper, and gives the paper to the bewitched husband, who pours water over it and then drinks the water.

[578] Shor may also be practised without reference to any particular individual. If a band of scribes are in need of money, one of them feigns to be dead and the others cover him up with a blanket, sit down round him, and read over him as if he were dead. The effect of this sham funeral is that there will soon be a death which will bring them

754 profit; a funeral is welcome to the scribes, it is called their wedding (Ait Waryager). For the same purpose they knock the bier which is kept in the mosque, telling it to get up to work: —Qum t hdem 'ala rasak; and they believe that somebody will die within three days (Andjra). Among the Ait Waryager they beat the bier three times at night, saying Kar athadmed ya rmahmer, "Get up to work, O bier". And when they want a feast they take the empty palmetto or esparto mat (dasfirt) on which they keep their food when [579] they have a meal and give it a good beating, so that it shall help them to what they want (Ait Waryager). It is also shor when a person for wicked and selfish purposes tries to stop or prevent rain, when needed by the community, by ploughing with two cats "yoked" to a toy-plough.

787 [580] If a person accidentally bites his tongue while eating, he will eat meat (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If a man spills food (Andjra), or gets a piece of a straw or some other trifle (Ait Waryager), into his beard, he will have a guest.

832 [581] At Fez I heard of the following methods by which a man may strengthen his sexual power. He puts some chick-peas (hammos) into water and, when they have got soft and swollen, drinks the water; this, I was told, makes him so strong that he in one night might even deflower seventy-two virgin cows. Or he eats on three successive mornings before breakfast shelled almonds pounded with cinnamon and m mixed with honey, which is said to produce a lasting effect. Elsewhere also chick-peas (Tangier, where they are called hommes) and almonds (ibid., Ait Waryager) are used for the same purpose; and so are earth-nuts (biyanat or kaukau; Tangier Fez) and beans (Ait Waryager). The efficacy attributed to them is of course due to their suggestive shape.

585 832 At weddings there are many homœopathic rites intended to ensure or facilitate the consummation of the marriage, which is not surprising considering the frequency of enchantments wrought for the contrary purpose. Among the Ait Waryager, before the arrival of the bride, it is the custom for the bridegroom's mother to place in the yard a mug (daqdeht) upside down with a so-called didli (an ornament consisting of dollar and half-dollar pieces threaded on a string of horsehair and worn by women round the forehead) and an egg on the top of it, and for the bridegroom to break both the mug and the egg with a kick, as I was told, "to destroy the evil", which undoubtedly meant any

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember [261] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth [272] (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-871 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a 754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events 857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect"— alam n-nbi waqaf, —that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

796 [182] The 24th of June, or Midsummer day (Old Style), is called in Arabic l-'ansara (l-ansra); and in Berber l'ansart (Shloh, Ait Warain), l'ansart (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), or t'ainsa (Temsaman).

On that day, or sometimes the evening before, smouldering fires are made in many different parts of Morocco.

[185] On the evening of Midsummer day the Ait Waryager make in their yards fires with poplar (asafsaf) leaves, pennyroyal, and barley straw, over which the people leap.

[187] Besides smoke and fire customs, water ceremonies are [188] frequently practised at Midsummer.

[515] [189] Among the Ait Waryager the people take their bath before sunrise, and those who refrain from doing so are supposed to remain unclean.

796 245 [190] "O God, pray for the sake of the Prophet, the chosen one; dust is better than male figs".

The last-mentioned phrase alludes to the custom, found at Midsummer in various northern tribes (Fahs, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), of hanging bunches of male figs in the female trees. This is said to prevent the fruit from dropping or to make it good, although it really serves as a means of fertilising the female figs by the aid of a very small hymenopter, Blastophaga grossorum, which lays its eggs in the interior of the figs. I was told by a scribe from the Rif that one insect is sufficient to make forty figs good by going in and out of them. The male figs hung in the female trees are wrapped up in straw, esparto (ariy; Ait Waryager), or pennyroyal (flaiyu; Andjra), the smell of which is considered good for the trees. The Rif Berbers and Andjra mountaineers also make a few cuts in the trunks of their fig trees so that the sap oozes out, in order to keep the tree from getting dry and the fruit from falling; and some of them, moreover, hang ●[754] oleander twigs in their fig trees as a charm against the evil eye. To protect their apple and pear trees from the same enemy, the people of Andjra on Midsummer day suspend from them stone weights stolen from the market-place or hang on them thistles (amgil) taken from the same place.

751 796 [192] The Ait Waryager on Midsummer day press the juice of a grape or two into their eyes to prevent their getting diseased; and in order to rid themselves of fleas they put a flea inside a grape and bury it in the dungheap (dazubait).

825 [262] The wild-boar, as well as the domestic pig, is an unclean animal and must not be used for food; swine's flesh is strictly forbidden to Moslems in four different places in the [313] Koran.

[317] It is generally believed that the hyena possesses the power of fascinating people with a view to devouring them, a belief which is also found in the East and is spoken of by Pliny as existing in classical antiquity. If a hyena makes water on a person (Casablanca, Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Aglu) or wets its tail and then sprinkles him with the urine (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or when seeking him makes a noise (Ait Waryager), he becomes enchanted or loses his senses and follows the animal to its den, where it eats him.

[755] [319] The jackal contains much medicinal and magic virtue.

[842] [320] Childless men and women who are desirous of offspring burn the dried intestines of a jackal and fumigate themselves with the smoke, letting it pass underneath their clothes (Ait Waryager).

Among the Ait Waryager a person who is going out to steal puts the ear of a jackal in his bag in order to keep the dogs from barking; they will scent the smell of the jackal, of which they are much afraid.

[787] [321] To meet a jackal when you start on a journey is by some people said to be a good omen (Hiaina, Ait Waryager), but by others a bad one (Andjra, Aglu).

755 The fox contains 366 medicines.

825 [322] In other tribes the powder made of a charred fox, mixed with honey, or with honey, butter, and spices, is taken in the morning before breakfast as a cure for an affection of the heart (Ait Waryager) or for lberd (Ait Nder). Men who have been made impotent by witchcraft burn the penis of a fox and fumigate their own with the smoke.

● [754] The gall of a fox is used by women for practising witchcraft, for example, with a view to inducing a man to divorce a rival wife.

[787] [323] Among the Ait Waryager the barking of a fox is supposed to indicate that the wind will be westerly, in Andjra and the Garb that it will be easterly. Charms are written on the skin of a fox.

The weasel is used as a medicine for horses and mules and, less often, for men. It is dried and burned, and the sick animal (Ulad Bu'aziz, Hiaina, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) or person (Temsaman) is made to inhale the smoke.

[324] The blood of a hedgehog is smeared on the head of a boy suffering from ringworm (daqassar), so that it shall be covered with hair as the hedgehog is covered with bristles (Ait Waryager).

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the profes- [533] sional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 594 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

585 524 591 431 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay, or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grama. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (viziers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and viziers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however, quite certain since both Coon (1931:134-135) and Benisio (1932:146-150) report it.

[154] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male guests they sing in Arabic,

[533] [539]

sabhain er-razik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyia in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a djnoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[782] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi, where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, especially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrimage is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa. (A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

754 791 789 793 443 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Tolbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 754 789 435 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may [755] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One [755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi- [554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to 000 curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
776 the djnoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The djnoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a djnoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the djnoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 djnoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the djnoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

• 754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major
556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as
152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the dinoun
[753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of
[776] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The dinoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye, amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[793] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who
[435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XIII

MAGIC

THE types of magic employed in the Rif can be divided into four categories: (1) the *baraka* of alleged descendants of the Prophet; (2) *theira*, or magic requiring the use of written charms and based on the mystic interpretation of the Koran; (3) *theira* of the *jnun*, a type similar in form but involving the participation of the *jnun*, and the use of books other than the Koran; (4) *sohor*, or old women's magic, which does not involve the use of writing. To these may be added as allied topics: (5) the *ar* or shame-compulsion; (6) the *'ahd* or oath; (7) methods of counteracting the evil eye; and (8) the interpretation of dreams. 789

Both the shame-compulsion and the oath are essentially magical, and are therefore included in this chapter. The treatment of religious and magical phenomena in separate chapters is for convenience only and implies no generic distinction.

BARAKA

Baraka, or *er fihair* is usually confined to supposed descendants of the Prophet, and is dependent upon their possession of a magical emanation supposedly transmitted to them by him. *Baraka* is a force, a power, like the tabu of the Polynesians, and more like the *mana* of the Melanesians. A man possessing it is equipped with supernatural powers; he is able to predict the future, to perform miracles, and to heal or destroy by touch, or, through extension, by employing some object which has been in contact with his body, such as a part of his clothing, a piece of bread, or an egg which he has kissed. 789 778

A client wishing to know his future comes to the sherif at Targuist and presents his problem. On the ensuing night the sherif dreams about it, and in the morning tells his client what the future will contain. The client then pays a fee approximating five dollars and departs. The sherif is not limited to a single dream each night; he dreams as many as are required. 791

Not all Riffians believe in this magic, and only the inhabitants of Targuist and the Senhajan tribes under the control of the Ikhemrijen patronise the sherif regularly.

Persons suffering from any ailment whatever go to him to be touched. The sherif strokes the affected part, and exacts a fee of from thirty to fifty dollars. If the patient does not recover he and his relatives do not blame the sherif, but hold that the fatality is the *maktub*, or established fate, and that the soul's time has expired. 791 755

The sherif gives away pieces of cloth torn from his cast-off garments, which are taken away by the credulous and hung in their houses to prevent mischief from entering. In the *souia* at Targuist are baked tiny loaves of bread, supposedly full of *baraka*; they are given away, the recipients being told that a quarter of a loaf will fill them completely. Eating this bread is a prophylactic against illness and any mischance. 791 751

The sherif, and ordinary saints as well, give away eggs previously received as presents or fees, for which they have no use. The eggs are considered to be full of *baraka*, and men take them home to eat with their wives, thinking thus to avert calamity. 791

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Women bring their children, ailing or otherwise, to the sherif, who chews a piece of salt and spits it into the child's mouth, whereupon the mother goes away satisfied.

Some of the shorfa are illiterate and ignorant, knowing little of the Koran. They are supported by their fees and by gifts of food constantly brought them.

The *baraka* is transmitted by heredity, but not to all the sherif's offspring. Some of the latter, disgusted with their father's trumpery, work and earn a living like ordinary men. Others stay in the house at all times and pose as examples of propriety and behavior, in order to carry on the traditional calling. A sherif who fights loses his *baraka* by so doing, and the same is true of ordinary saints,[1] few of whom nowadays are credited with supernatural powers. Even the Sherif of Targuist was said to have lost his *baraka* for capitulating with the French and Spanish after the surrender of Abd el Krim in 1926.

THEIRA

The type of magic depending upon writing for its efficacy is called *theira*. The students learn it in the cantonal mosque, and practice it while attending this institution and after they have finished their studies there.

Each student must make anew or copy his own manual, from which he is able to extract the charms fitting for each circumstance requiring magical treatment. He goes through the Koran listing all the nouns which have no direct reference to religion when read alone. He then matches beside each noun the phrase with which it is connected in the text, or the *sura* in which it is found each time it occurs. In this way each noun will have several different phrases or chapters following it in the finished catalogue. When a person requests a charm for a specific purpose, the student looks up the name of that purpose in his book and finds what phrases go with it. He must know the name of the person and the name of his or her mother, which he also looks up.

By a combination of the corollaries of the various nouns, including the purpose of the charm and the names of the participants, the student is able to decide which formula he shall write upon the charm, with what liquid and on what material; whether or not objects in intimate contact with the person to be protected or with the victim, or the hair of such a person, are needed; and by what means the charm shall be administered or used. The materials and methods used are listed below.

Liquids.

Ink made of burnt goat's horn boiled in olive oil. Christian ink will not work.
Blood of hoopoes.
Blood of owls.
Blood of bats.

Materials.

Paper of any kind.
Scapula, rib, or patella of a fox.
Scapula, rib, patella, or mandible of a hedgehog.
Snout of a wild boar.
Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight olive leaves.
A peeled stick of female wild olive wood.

[1] See above, p. 145.

778 [823] [70] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [71] (the so-called l-hajra de l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 411 [842] [755] [73] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[74] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 755 [84] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[85] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [86] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.

[825] 782 The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. Thepati ent goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and [87] he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 842] the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
[754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

824 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka
778 of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit /Igliwa/, zzest /Temsaman/) may be so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan-
[842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power
[843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall be good-looking (Tangier).

/109/ Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words
●755 from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul,
778 Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

/110/ At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura (Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura, sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case
[231] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or, on the 17th of May (mut 1-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame. A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines,
842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the morning on an empty stomach.

[841] /111/ Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro; Berb. fadis /Temsaman/ or fadis /Ait Waryager/) is eaten by women suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 /112/ The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand)
824 as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow.
696 Some scribes recite over it something from the /113/ Koran, knot seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

778
823 Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an
[755] empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 [117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

821 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in
775 a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 [118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman [Igliwa], usm, plur. usmän [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [Igliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

821 [119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [Igliwa],
789 tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

821 789 from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, Allah itahhlek alina be r-rahha u l-hena, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry things", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkala, Ait Waryager).

821 789 778 [129] Every man on earth has his star (Arab. nejima, plur. njum; Berb. itri, plur. itran or itran [Shloh, Ait Warain], itri, plur. itran or itran [Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager], itri, plur itran [Temsaman]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, Allah italla nejmak, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, Allah itaiyah nejmak, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a jedwal with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is in-
● [755] tended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to
[754] be used for witchcraft (shor)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the tabe a, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a rehi it is exposed to the wind, if he is a mawi it is put in water, if he is a t orabi it is buried in earth, if he is a nari it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's tabe a. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them baraka by shining on them.

778 372 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[755] [132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 778 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direction of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[833] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 772 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology, as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 778 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [534] [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 796 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners. To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

778 [199] The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable.

[342] [200] When the Ait Waryager are building ahouse they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

[204] The baraka of mosques is also used for various purposes.

[354] [205] Among the Ait Waryager a new lamp (rqandir) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its baraka.

[208] The baraka of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic herz (or horz; plur. hruz) or hejab (or hajab; plur. hjabat). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as lharz (plur. lahruz) and lhejab (plur. lhejabat) in the Shelha of Tazerwalt, rahajab (plur. rahajabat) in the Rifian of the Ait Waryager, and rhaz (plur. rhruz) in that of the Ait Temsaman.

Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative,
[789] or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called t ebrid (by the Ait Waryager).

778 [211] Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a pro-
755 tection against the jnun and the evil eye, and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former or other illnesses.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other.

When [212] a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a herz is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plate, and water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[261] If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Ait Waryager).

778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
●755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts
[224] of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
[153] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
834 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

776 jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke
789 of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsis-
776 tencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place
778 where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the baraka
784 possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

776 [315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is
789 to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[342] [317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat
782] is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[312] [321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the
[782] place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

776 [324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person,
● 755 attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means
789 used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

776 [325] The Ait Waryager rub pounded bitter almonds (ddauz mazag)
755 mixed with oil and salt on the affected part of the body of a person
789 who is troubled with le-ryah.

[328] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from an illness caused by jnun, a scribe writes a charm for him on a loaf of bread or on a paper, which is then put in the open in a place where no animal can get at it; it is left there over night so that the stars shall shine on it, and on the next day the patient eats the loaf or hangs the paper round his neck.

776 [356] Among the Ait Waryager there are women, called
791 dizuhriyin (sing. dazuhrit), who are likewise able to tell people about secret things and future events owing to the information they derive from jnun.

832 [361] A mahabba, or love-charm, may contain either the names of Muhammadan jnun, as well as something from the Koran, or the names of sayatin. This is a way in which such a charm is used: the man who wants to be loved by a certain woman goes to the neighbourhood of her house, puts the charm between the forefinger and middle finger of his right hand, and moves the fingers with the charm three times in the direction of the house, at the same time whispering the woman's name. Then he burns the charm between his fingers and goes away; and now she will love him (Ait Waryager). The following practice serves the purpose of overcoming a woman's objection to marrying a man who wants to marry her. A scribe writes a charm and keeps it in his house for seven days, fumigating it every evening with the smoke of pepper and saffron. During this period he must refrain from salted food, so that jnun—muminin—may speak to him. He then ties the charm to an olive tree with a hair of the woman, which has been rpocured by the man who wants to marry her. When the wind makes it flutter the woman will lose her senses, and she will remain in that condition until the scribe removes the charm from the tree and takes it to his house. As soon as this is done she not only comes to her wits again, but gets fond of the man, and [362] they soon become husband and wife (ibid.).

776 [396] A jenniya whose name is widely known in Morocco is the Gola. She is said to be very big and have the appearance of a woman, although she has also been seen with her extremities looking like the feet of a goat and with very much hair all over the body and the face.

595 possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage; it is
32 significant that the bride puts on the didli on the morning after her first intercourse withher husband.

787 [586] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person gets a sty some
355 woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

787 An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic in-
843 fluences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Warain). At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (sfarjel) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere, is found the belief that if a pregnant woman [587] (Hiaina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Ait Waryager), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birthmark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Ait Sadden).

787 [590] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the
777 sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [593] Rezq (razq, rezq) means all sorts of good things contributing
356 to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a per-
[312] son cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own rezq (Fez).

You may also sweep away your rezq. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Hiaina, Dukkala, Tangier, Andjra, Tsul, Ait Waryager), or even after 'asar (At Ubahti); and the Rifians of Temsaman consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon.

[595] Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. settaba; Berb. tasttabt [Ait Warain], tastta [Temsaman], disagwust [Ait Waryager]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Ait Waryager).

581 the community at large expect various benefits. For marriage is a
585 good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at any rate join in the feast (Ulad [10] Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager), and it is bad fal if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good fal if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the bas, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad fal to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shawia). So also the contrary belief that it is good fal to meet a funeral (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the bas; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier).

783 Manslayers are unclean.

755 [11] Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for stinging pain, in Arabic called nahsa, nogza, bab, or biban, among the Igliwa nnahst or nnogzt, among the Ait Warain tauwurt, among the Ait Waryager dauwort. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh.

783 [12] The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the
775 blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Ait
682 Waryager an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell.
284 Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken
682 anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes

884 and wearing a new bag (dajbirt); and he wears it not on his left side,
682 as usual, but on his right, to announce to all the people what he has done and to show that now he is a man. This is done whether the homicide took place in revenge or not. But though ordinary homicide
682 is admired, it is considered very bad to kill a scribe without sufficient reason because of his knowledge of the Koran, and it is also considered bad, though not in the same degree, to kill an unoffending shereef on account of his holy parentage; and if a man who has committed either of these cribes slaughters an animal, its meat will be difficult to digest. This indicates that the taboos imposed on manslayers have something to do with the moral side of the matter. And the same is obvious from the general view that it is neither sinful nor polluting to kill in war.

In other cases also wrongdoing contains magic energy productive
777 of evil.
789 If the first person you meet in [13] the morning when you set out
826 on a journey is one who does not observe his daily prayers, the best thing you can do is to turn back (Ait Waryager).

In Dukkala it is said that if a one-eyed person, a perfectly bald-headed person, and an albino meet in a boat it will not move.

The Ait Waryager say that the same will happen if a man who is blind, one who is bald, and one who has a sore under-lip meet on board a vessel.

[14] It is good fal for a man to have much hair on his chest (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager), evidently because it suggests strength; such hair is called s-sa'r de s-sbo'a, or "lion's hair".

777 [17] In Andjra, if anybody who is carrying something black meets
822 another person, he must put down what he is carrying while the other
789 one is passing; otherwise the latter will not pass at all but turn back, lest he should have some misfortune on that day. A similar custom prevails among the Shloh of Aglu and Glawi and among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; the person who is carrying the black object says when he puts it down, Hasak, or if he addresses more than one person, Hasakum, "With your permission", to which the answer is, 'Azk allah (in Rifian 'azzek allah), or if the person to whom it is said is a woman, 'Azkem allah, corresponding to our "pray".

789 [18] There are other cases in which people make use of the colour
822 black for their own benefit. It is used as a charm against the evil eye,
755

789 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathie magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough. Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

789 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it by having a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops [514] at once and makes water on them.

777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Ait Waryager).

796 782 755 [122] The holiness of the victim is also utilised in other ways. Magic propensities are ascribed to its blood.

A very common custom is for persons who have chapped skin on the feet, or who want to prevent the skin from being chapped, to dip them into the blood fallen on the ground (Dukkala, Ait Mjild, Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

The blood of the sacrificed animal is frequently used as a means of keeping off or expelling jnun. Among the Ait Waryager it is drunk by persons who are troubled with such spirits; whilst, as a precaution against them, the corners of the walls of the room inhabited by the owner of the sacrificed animal are sprinkled with its blood.

796 782 [123] The gall-bladder of the sacrificed animal is commonly hung up inside the house or tent, often over the fire-place; there is much baraka in it.

Among the Ait Waryager the person who removes the gall-bladder from the slaughtered animal throws it into the yard (azqaq), where the animals are kept, after first spitting on it.

[124] The right shoulder-blade is often preserved at least till the following Great Feast, being sometimes hung up in the tent or house, and sometimes buried among the corn which is kept there (Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager); but there are people who thus preserve it only in case it has been found to contain a good omen.

[125] Among the Ait Waryager slices cut from the horns are thrown into the fire when a snake is seen inside the house, the smoke being supposed to drive it away.

[126] In various Berber tribes (Ait Nder, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager) the barley which is found in the stomach of the sacrificed sheep is dried and afterwards sown in a special place in the field. The grain of the crop resulting from it is called "the barley of the Prophet" and regarded as holy. It is either sown separately or together with other seed, or, if there is much of it, partly used for food.

[128] Very commonly fortune is read in the right shoulder-blade 787 of the sacrificed sheep (Fez, Tangier, Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Amanuz, Aglu, Demnat, Igliwa, and other Shloh of the Great Atlas).

The shoulder-blade is supposed to tell whether the year will be good or bad, whether there will be much rain or drought, whether the food will be cheap or dear, whether the Sultan will be strong or

231 755 [288] The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (dmaggit; Ait Waryager); and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Ait Waryager). It is also used as a remedy [859] for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (ibid.).

231 839 [289] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Ait Waryager); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Ait Waryager, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn.

231 777 [292] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion.

262 [295] The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic hlib or halib; and in Berber akfai (Amanuz), takfit (Igliwa), aggu akffa (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi (At Ubahti), asaffai (Ait Waryager), asffai (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Buttermilk is called in Arabic lben; and in Berber agu (Amanuz, Igliwa), aggu anddu (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi asemmam (At Ubahti), agiy (Ait Waryager), agi (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Curded milk is called in Arabic rayib or raib; and in Berber ikkil (Ait Sadden), ekkir (Ait Yusi), aklil (Ait Warain), attsil (At Ubahti), assir (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[297] Fresh butter is called in Arabic zebda; and in Berber tudit (Amanuz), tamudit (Igliwa), udi (Ait Warain), tlussi (At Ubahti), drussi (Ait Waryager), trussi (Temsaman). Salt butter is called in Arabic smen; and in Berber udi (Amanuz, Igliwa, Aglu, Ait Warain), ddhen (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

252 [298] The Ait Waryager hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the aqasror, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before.

231 [307] Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a considerable number of sheep or goats he slaughters one of them so that there shall be much baraka in the animals and they shall be very fertile.

[303] Among the Ait Waryager whooping-cough is cured with the [755] milk of a perfectly black she-goat, which is taken in the morning on an empty stomach warm as it comes from the udder.

[304] If a dog eats from a vessel or licks it the vessel will break, unless it is washed seven times with hot water (Andjra); or it must be washed with water into which seven stones have been put in order to make it clean (Ait Waryager).

[305] If a dog or a cat steals food belonging to the scribes of the mosque it will have the itch (Ait Waryager). If the dog eats the flesh or blood of a camel it will become blind or die (Ulad Bu'aziz); and if it eats the blood of a person it will lose its hair (Andjra) or it is bad for the person (Ait Waryager). If a bitch is addicted to stealing food, its owner puts its pups on the road leading to the market-place so that passers-by shall take them up and teach them how to behave; then their mother will cease to steal (ibid.).

[308] Unlike other dogs the greyhound is regarded, not as unclean, but as possessed of baraka.

The cat, also, has some baraka. It is good to eat food of which [755] a cat has eaten before. This is a cure for nervousness (Andjra); and so it is to wash oneself with water from which a cat has drunk (Tangier), or to eat the flesh of a cat (Ait Waryager).

[309] A cat has seven lives; hence to kill one is as bad as to kill seven men (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[310] A person who eats the liver of a fowl is supposed to become a coward (Igliwa, etc.); hence it is not eaten by men and boys (Aglu, Ait Warain) or is not given to young boys to eat (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

A person, or at least a child (Ait Waryager), who eats the head of a fowl will become night-blind, because the fowl is unable to see [311] in the dark.

If a hen does not lay eggs, it is hung in a tree with the head downwards while it is raining (ibid.), or oil is put into its mouth and genitals (Ait Waryager).

[312] We have seen that baraka is ascribed to the bee and to honey, and noticed many observances connected with the idea of their holiness.

825 [262] The wild-boar, as well as the domestic pig, is an unclean animal and must not be used for food; swine's flesh is strictly forbidden to Moslems in four different places in the [313] Koran.

[317] It is generally believed that the hyena possesses the power of fascinating people with a view to devouring them, a belief which is also found in the East and is spoken of by Pliny as existing in classical antiquity. If a hyena makes water on a person (Casablanca, Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Aglu) or wets its tail and then sprinkles him with the urine (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or when seeking him makes a noise (Ait Waryager), he becomes enchanted or loses his senses and follows the animal to its den, where it eats him.

[755] [842] [319] The jackal contains much medicinal and magic virtue. [320] Childless men and women who are desirous of offspring burn the dried intestines of a jackal and fumigate themselves with the smoke, letting it pass underneath their clothes (Ait Waryager).

Among the Ait Waryager a person who is going out to steal puts the ear of a jackal in his bag in order to keep the dogs from barking; they will scent the smell of the jackal, of which they are much afraid.

[787] [321] To meet a jackal when you start on a journey is by some people said to be a good omen (Hiaina, Ait Waryager), but by others a bad one (Andjra, Aglu).

755 The fox contains 366 medicines.

825 [322] In other tribes the powder made of a charred fox, mixed with honey, or with honey, butter, and spices, is taken in the morning before breakfast as a cure for an affection of the heart (Ait Waryager) or for lberd (Ait Nder). Men who have been made impotent by witchcraft burn the penis of a fox and fumigate their own with the smoke.

[754] The gall of a fox is used by women for practising witchcraft, for example, with a view to inducing a man to divorce a rival wife.

[787] [323] Among the Ait Waryager the barking of a fox is supposed to indicate that the wind will be westerly, in Andjra and the Garb that it will be easterly. Charms are written on the skin of a fox.

The weasel is used as a medicine for horses and mules and, less often, for men. It is dried and burned, and the sick animal (Ulad Bu'aziz, Hiaina, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) or person (Temsaman) is made to inhale the smoke.

[324] The blood of a hedgehog is smeared on the head of a boy suffering from ringworm (daqassar), so that it shall be covered with hair as the hedgehog is covered with bristles (Ait Waryager).

825 The roasted and pounded liver of a hedgehog, mixed with honey, is also given to schoolboys to eat in the morning on an empty stomach in order that they may remember their lessons (Ait Waryager).

[326] The hare is said to have been once an old woman, who was transformed into a hare because she acted as a panderess (Ait Sadden). It menstruates like a woman and is therefore an unclean animal which [262] should not be eaten; but this rule is not strictly observed. It is eaten both as food and for magical and medicinal purposes.

825 [327] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from night-
755 blindness (butallis), the liver of a hare is roasted and cut into three pieces by the schoolmaster of the village, who then writes something from the Koran on them. The patient takes one of the pieces and goes with it in the evening after sunset to the dung-heap (dazubait) of the house, calls a dog, and eats the piece of the liver, giving little bits of it to the dog as well. On the two following evenings he does the same with the other pieces of the liver; and then he will get rid of his complaint.

[787] If you go anywhere in the morning and meet a hare it is a bad omen (Dukkala, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa), especially if the hare is asleep and wakes up and runs ahead of you (Hiaina).

[328] The bat is used as medicine for fever. It is dried and burned and the smoke is made to pass underneath the clothes of the patient (Ait Waryager).

825 [331] To shoot a raven may also be attended with evil consequences. I was told of two men among the Bni Msauwar who did so and whose guns burst, and similar things are said to happen among the Ait Waryager.

[787] [333] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person goes somewhere at any hour of the day, it is a bad omen to see one raven ahead of him but a good one to see two.

[334] The eye of an owl is used as a means of preventing a person from falling asleep.

Both eyes are also removed and put into water. I was told that one of them always sinks and the other one floats; but while some people sew up the eye which sinks in a small leather case and wear it as a charm to prevent sleepiness (Ait Nder), others eat the eye which floats for the same purpose (Ait Waryager).

825 787 [335] The Ait Waryager maintain that the hooting of an owl outside a house indicates that somebody in that or a neighbouring house will die, and they drive the bird away by throwing at it a sooty piece of a broken old earthenware pan or fire at it with a gun.

825 [337] A wild-dove once saved the life of the Prophet when he was persecuted by Christians, by telling them that he had gone one way although he had gone another, and for this reason the faithful were forbidden to kill any bird of its species.

[777] The Ait Waryager consider it unlucky if doves are living in a house, because they want to make it empty. In the same tribe, if a person 825 ● 755 suffers from fever, the dried dung of pigeons is burned, the smoke is made to pass underneath his clothes, and he inhales it as it comes through.

[751] [340] A person keeps his eyes in a good condition by [341] touching the inside of the eyelid with a raw and unbroken egg of a swallow or with a young bird newly hatched (Ait Waryager).

[342] A tortoise is never killed except for medicinal or magical purposes, and water tortoises, I believe, are not killed in any circumstances. People are afraid of them, as they are frequently supposed to be jnun; but when living in a spring or pond connected with a saint-shrine they are regarded as the servants of the saint and help to cure patients visiting the place.

Among the Ait Waryager the boiled flesh of a tortoise, prepared with salt, is eaten by sick people.

825 [343] A tortoise may have an evil effect on cows, sheep, and goats. Among the Ait Waryager, if the owner of a cow which has calved [231] does not give the cowherd the usual meal of bread and salt butter, the latter takes revenge by throwing a tortoise at the cow, which in consequence will never again give birth to a calf.

[344] There is a general fear of killing a frog or toad. At Aglu a man killed one with a stone, and his arm became paralysed. Among the Igliwa a person who killed a frog had fever for a year, and elsewhere also fever is supposed to be the consequence of such an act (Ait Waryager, &c.).

[348] The Ulad Bu'aziz believe that a snake which appears at the place where people are pitching a tent may be mul le-mkan, "the master of the place". They ask it politely to go away, and if it does not do so they kill it; but if they dream of the snake in their sleep they

852 553 goat with the assistance of his wife; but if he does not know how to slaughter an animal in the proper manner, the ceremony is performed by the fqi of the village. The meat of the animal is served at the feast which is given on this occasion, the scribes being entertained in the mosque, the other men outside the house, where they amuse themselves with shooting at targets, and the women inside the house. The liver is eaten by the members of the household, the head is given to the midwife, and the skin is sold. I was told that if this sacrifice were not made the child would die. The mother must present some money to the schoolboys of the village to induce the fqi to give them a holiday. On the previous day the nearest relatives brought boiled meat, bread, and butter as presents to the parents.

853 [401] It is a widespread belief that if a pregnant woman suckles a child the suckling will get an illness called la-gyel (l-gyel)— which literally means "the sucking of a pregnant woman", —from which many children die in Morocco (Tangier, Fez, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

755 [404] Among theAit Waryager women take their sick children to a mother of triplets, who cures the child by making cuts on its head and chest and the sides of its body, so that blood issues, and by pricking the top of its head with a red-hot oleander twig.

551 The name of the child is in certain cases fixed by custom. If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this is a very general and stringent rule. Moreover, if a saint has been invoked by the parents to help them to a son, the latter is in most cases called by the name of the saint, who is then supposed to become his protector.

The first-born son is very frequently called Muhammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Ait Waryager).

In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Muhammed. This is a very widespread practice; and it is believed that if the son were called after a living father whose name is not Muhammed, either the father or the son would soon die (Tangier, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[405] Among the Ait Waryager it seems to be the rule that if a man has more than one wife the eldest son of each wife is named Muhammed.

775 [546] Dead saints may appear to the living in human or animal shapes; but as to ordinary dead people I have been assured over and over again that the dead do not walk, and I remember how heartily my friends in the tribe of Jbel Hbib laughed when I told them that many Christians believe in ghosts. The dead may come and see their friends; but on these occasions they cannot themselves be seen by anybody, and they come not as enemies but as friends.

Among the Ait Waryager men who have fallen in war with the Christians come to their relatives at night, but they do so only in kindness.

[547] The Ait Waryager believe that graveyards are haunted both by the dead and by jnun who come out of the ground in the dark.

[548] The place where a person has been found killed is regarded as haunted, whether he is buried there—as is often the case with a stranger or one who has no family—or not. Everywhere in Morocco it is marked with a small cairn of stones.

In some parts of the country travellers passing such a cairn often add a stone to it (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Aglu), whereas in other parts of the country there is no such custom.

[550] In Andjra I was told that the place where a person has been killed is meskun, or haunted by jnun. A scribe from the Ait Waryager denied that it is meskun, but admitted that his people are afraid of it.

789 [552] In Northern Morocco, if a married woman is afraid that her [832] husband is in love with somebody else, she secures the assistance of an old woman, who goes in the night to a cemetery with a dish of seksu, unearths the hand of a newly buried corpse, and stirs the seksu with it. Among the Ait Waryager the old woman cuts off the right hand of the corpse and brings it to the jealous wife, who uses it in the said manner, not only once but several times, when she is making seksu.

[556] The magic energy inherent in a corpse, however, is used not only in witchcraft but for prophylactic and curative purposes as well. [755] Among the Ait Waryager one who has decayed teeth rubs them with the forefinger of a dead person's right hand before or while he is washed.

[557] Among the Ait Waryager it often happens that when a grave has been dug, but before the dead body has been lowered into it, a man lies down full length in the grave in order to acquire strength, [755] whether he be ill or not. Among the same Rifians a person who suffers from a bad headache goes to the grave of a stranger (who may be a holy man) before sunrise, places some bread or figs on it, and ties there a piece of his clothes as a little flag; and on the two following mornings he again visits the grave but without putting anything there.

000 18--These carnivals are impromptu affairs put on particular feast days ('Ansra, 'Aid l-Kbir, but not on 'Ashura as far as we know) by the people themselves, who are given the name ishwiyikhen when they dress up. A full description may be found in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 152-4. [114] Such carnivals still occur among the Igzinnayen, and possibly among the Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman as well, but are (and were) unknown among the Aith Waryaghar, contrary to Coon's statement regarding their distribution.

[755] 19--The lighting of bonfires was practiced all over the Rif on the day of the 'Ansra, or summer solstice festival, on June 24 (Julian, or agricultural, calendar); women and children used to jump over these fires to cure themselves of any ills. The custom was, however, looked on very much askance, if not actually outlawed, by 'Abd al-Krim; and no one indulges in it today, although it seems that the mountaineers of the subclan of Timarzga in the Aith Waryaghar followed it as late as 1950.

[114] 20--The shroud of a corpse is not pierced in any way in the Rif, nor is a stick nailed perpendicularly to the grave. Perhaps what is meant in the latter instance is the Rifian practice of placing the footstone of a woman's grave perpendicular to the headstone, to differentiate it from a man's grave, in which both stones are parallel to each other.

21--A Hizb, pl. hizib, is one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran.

[796] 22--In the muslim year, there are two feasts called 'aid: the 'Aid s-Sghir, or "Little Feast", which occurs just after Ramadan, and the 'Aid l-Kbir, or "Big Feast", on the 8th through 10th days of the last month of the year, the Dhu l-Hijja. It is to the 'Aid l-Kbir that the text refers here. These three days are those when pilgrims at Mecca [788] undergo the rites of pilgrimage, and when Muslims all over Islam must [782] sacrifice a sheep in commemoration of the sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

23--An imam is a prayer leader in the mosque, who stands before the congregation.

[796] 23a--On the day before 'Aid l-Kbir (i.e. day of 'Arafa), women visit cemeteries and take food with them, which they eat there, while the men go to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar (an amrabidh of Algerian origin, from Tlemcen, who is buried in Bu Ma'dhan, in the subclan of Timarzga, at the highest point--1930 meters--in the whole tribe of the Aith Waryaghar). While there, they watch the litany and ritual of the religious brotherhood of the 'Alawiyin, after which they distribute alms to the tulba (who attend in droves), pray en masse, and go home to sacrifice their sheep the following day (the 'Aid l-Kbir proper) in the bosoms of their families. See our article, "An 'Imarah in the Central Rif: the annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar", Tamuda, Año V, Semestre II, 1957, pp. 239-245; my report is based on field notes taken at the ceremony itself in 1955.

[114] 24--This is not so. Women visit cemeteries on feast days, but that is all.

25--It is not.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

[755] [782]

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyis in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a dinoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[782] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi, where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, especially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrimage is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of volintary association of such prominence in north Africa. (A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

754 791 789 793 443 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 754 789 435 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may [755] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One [755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi- [554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to 000 curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
776 the djnoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The djnoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a djnoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the djnoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 djnoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the djnoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[m]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus*, *C. laurifolius*, *C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[n] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[m] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[n] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

445 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes
565
423 but find their occupation more remmerative.

443 In addition to these small merchants there is an assort-
445 ment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician. The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occa- (159) sionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs, stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather peripheral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers,
443 the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital
472 so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation, who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

852
304 [429] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager circumcision often takes place on the twelfth day of the month of the Mulud, "the day of the feast", at least when the family is fairly well-to-do, and it is performed by an expert, accompanying a band of scribes. It is considered of importance that there should be scribes present to make recitations from the Koran in the room where the operation is made. This is not the room inhabited by the boy's own family—which on this occasion is occupied by the women—but another room in the same house; the Ait Waryager live in houses containing several rooms, each of which is inhabited by one family. On the day when the boy is circumcised his father kills a sheep or a goat or, if he cannot afford that, some fowls; the scribes have to be entertained with food, and rewarded with money as well. Contrary to the custom at Aglu, the father is present in the room where the boy is circumcised, but not the mother. The boy is dressed in new clothes, a belt (rahzam) is wound round the top of his head, and just before the operation is performed his eyes are blackened with antimony. If his father is a man of means, a silver bangle (ahalhal) is also put round the boy's ankle, or round each of his ankles, and is left there until he grows older, to be used again for the next son when he is circumcised. The wounded part of the penis is dipped into the yolk of an egg, which is then thrown away. The foreskin is put in some "clean" place, where nobody can walk over it. The boy is removed to his father's room, where he is confined for seven days.

[434] RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH DEATH

763 If a person is very ill and his death is held to be immanent, his near relatives living in the same town or village assemble in the room in which he is lying. Should any of them fail to appear, the family of the dying person would look upon it as a sign of enmity and would make it a cause of quarrel. In country places a message may also be sent to relatives in neighbouring villages, who likewise hasten to the death-bed of their friend. No menstruating woman, however, should enter the room, nor any woman who has omitted to clean herself after sexual intercourse.

If the family of the dying person can afford it scribes are called in to recite a chapter of the Koran, unless some one of the assembled

763 friends is capable of performing this task. The recitation should be continued till the moment of death, but no longer, its object being to shorten the agony. The chapter considered most suitable for this occasion is the suratu 'r-ra'd, which is called s-sahliya because it makes death easier. For a similar purpose a little honey is put into the mouth of the dying person, and at the last moment some water is dripped into it to moisten his throat. If his teeth are clenched, which is sometimes supposed to indicate that he has led a sinful life (Ait Waryager), some cotton or [435] wool is soaked in water mixed with honey and then pressed against his teeth.

When life is extinct, or sometimes when a person is at the point of death, his eyes and mouth, if open, are closed. It is believed that if he dies with open eyes or, at all events, if they are left open, somebody else of his family or kin will die before long (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden).

[436] Among the Ait Waryager, also, the women of the family and those who come to condole only weep in another room.

[442] As soon as the death becomes known it is the custom for friends to pay a visit of condolence to the family of the deceased.

[443] Among the Ait Waryager the women who come to the house bring flour, while the male condolers assist the men of the family in their preparations for the funeral.

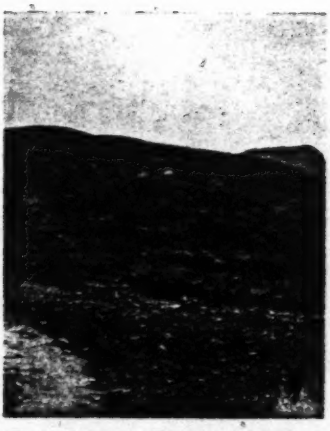
764 Very shortly after death the body of the deceased is washed, at least if he died at so early an hour that the burial can take place on the same day.

[445] The body is washed with warm water, and certain parts of it with soap or scented soap-stone (gasul). The person who performs the act, after washing his own hands, says the bismillah and states inwardly his intention to wash the dead one: — Allahumma inni nawit gasl l-miyit . He then washes the genital region very carefully with a towel, which is left there. He washes the lips and the teeth three times, and the nose the same number of times. All these parts of the body are washed with the left hand. He washes with both hands the face and the right and the left hand and arm to the elbow, all three times. He passes his wet hands once from the forehead to the nape and back again. After again wetting his fingers he puts the forefingers into the ears and passes the thumbs behind their backs. Taking water with the right hand he washes with the left the feet as

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

HOUSE TYPES 3

342
346



Cantonal mosque, Iberrasen, Gzennaya

Village mosque, left, and school, right, Tezarin, Taghzuth

764]

Zouia of the Ikemrijen, on Tisi Ifri between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir, showing wooden *amijimath*

Ornate saint's tomb, Suk et Tnine, Taghzuth

[p.66 (B)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

342 shelters. Even the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who live entirely in tents, do not make them.

When a house is being built, neighbors come in from all sides to help, especially with transporting heavy logs and setting them into place. These workers are rewarded for their voluntary services by a huge repast cooked every night by the owner of the house. When the lintel of the door is put in place, the owner of the house slaughters a hen under it in the doorway, so that the blood spatters the threshold and the lintel. This action is followed by a delay in work while a special feast is eaten. Similarly, when the ridgepole has been set in place, the owner climbs astride it with a goat, or, if he be poor, with a hen, and slaughters the animal, holding it in such a way that its blood will spatter the ridgepole. After this he throws the carcass down, and the meat is made into festive food.

The interiors of all houses are whitewashed more or less frequently, and the beams too are generally whitewashed. Sometimes a streak of the whitewash is put around the rims of the windows on the outside. Only in the case of mosques and marabutic tombs, however, is the outside of a building ever completely whitewashed, and then it is obligatory. When one sees a mosque or tomb without this distinctive feature one may be sure that the structure has been abandoned for a long time.

Intrusive Features, Usually Associated with Mosques. *The Moorish arch* in doors and windows is found only in the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil. It is probably an innovation recently brought from Fez or Sheshawen, and may be used on dwellings as well as on religious structures.

Domes are found on saints' tombs in Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Tafersit, Ajidir, Bokoya, Targuist, Beni Itteft, and Beni Bu Frah. Since domed tombs were built entirely by Spanish "renegados," or fugitives who entered the Rif and became Riffianized in religion and culture, they can hardly be regarded as a Riffian cultural feature. (See plate 22.)

Tiled roofs are found only in Zawia et-Tifah of Ikhemrijen, in Targuist. These tiles, of the same green-glazed variety as those found in the cities of Arab Morocco, were brought from Fez and were set up by "renegados." (See plate 22.)

Minarets. The only minaret in the Rif, to my knowledge, is that connected with the Zawia et-Tifah at Targuist — obviously an imported feature. (See page 22.)

Mosques differ from ordinary habitations not only in the possession of an external coat of whitewash, but also in that they are seldom built so as to form a courtyard, the rooms being frequently strung out in a line or in irregular order. In this way the porches, which in ordinary houses face on the courtyard only, are visible from the outside.

Tents. The Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi live in tents made of woven goat hair and *halfa* braids, the *halfa* serving as warp and the goat hair as weft in this peculiar fabric. The Beni Bu Bekar and the Ait Driss, members of the Metalsa living near Beni Mohammed of the Gzennaya, inhabit houses built like those of Beni Mohammed instead of tents. (See plate 22.)

The tent cloth, rectangular, its length greatly exceeding its breadth, is held up by a three-pole arrangement resembling the Greek letter π. The two upright sticks, which are socketed into the top one, are called *iamuthen*, and the top stick, or ridgepole, is called the *aghiur n usun*, or tent-donkey; its length equals about half the breadth of the tent. These three relatively short pieces of timber can be taken apart when the tent is dismantled, and take up very little room. The tent is held down on the sides by pegs, called *izhashen*, sepa-

I: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

MOSQUES AND SAINTS' TOMBS

346 THERE are three types of building which serve both social and religious purposes: the *thamεyitha n jkhothbath*, or cantonal mosque,[1] the *thamεajoth*, or village mosque,[2] and the *amrabi* (plural *imrabten*) or saint's tomb.[3]

The first, the cantonal mosque, is a large edifice, common to the whole *canton*, and to it come all the people of the *canton* for worship. It can be readily distinguished from lesser mosques by the fact that it bears a flag, green in the morning and white in the afternoon.

The second is the mosque of the *bone*, and there is one for each *bone* in the *canton*.

764 778 The third, the saint's tomb, may be a structure of some magnitude, a mere pile of stones, or simply an unmarked but nevertheless well-known place. It is supposed to be the grave of a saint, although often it is merely some place noted for the possession of some unusual natural feature, such as a large boulder, a spring, or a clump of trees, revered long before the advent of Islam. Whether it be a definite building, a marker, or merely a place, in any case it fulfills a definite function.

358 346 In each of these three types of religious edifice there is one man who has been appointed to take care of it, the *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*) or "warden,"[4] who may be a man of learning or, in some cases, illiterate. He is the janitor and general caretaker. He brushes the floor, sees that the mats on them are in good repair, hoists the flag on the cantonal mosque, and occasionally substitutes as muezzin for the incumbent of this mosque.

428 794 The mosques and saints' tombs acquire land in a number of ways. When a man dies childless, and is displeased with his wife for having borne him no sons, or for some other reason, he may will a share of his land to the cantonal or village mosque or to a local saint's tomb. If he has sons but is not pleased with them, he may leave a share of his property to a mosque or tomb and the rest to his children.

[764] If, when about to die, he wishes to be buried within the mosque, he may buy his burial place with land to be given the mosque after his death. In this way he is interred under the floor of one of the rooms, and the warden has charge of the property so willed.

794 358 The warden of each public edifice has charge of the land belonging to it, and receives a portion of the produce. He does the farming on the land and cares for the trees, but if there is too much for him to do the village council enlists poor people to work with him, as previously related.

794 1485 Any mosque, be it of the *canton* or merely of the *bone*, and any saint's tomb capable of providing shelter, serves as a free hotel for Riffians travelling from tribe to tribe. Lay

[1] From the Arabic *masjida el khutba*, meaning the "mosque of the Friday sermon."

[2] Likewise from *masjida*, and meaning literally "mosque."

[3] From the Arabic *mura'bat*. This word means either "living saint" or "dead saint"; the meaning given applies to the deceased variety and to the superstructure erected over his remains.

[4] This Arabic word is also employed to designate the "moderator" of the village council, as well as the "moderator" of the council of the great. See p. 96.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

use them when in the presence of Arabs, lest the purpose of these names be misunderstood, for the Arabs would think that a man bearing his mother's name was illegitimate, and would ridicule him. For this reason the use of matronyms will probably soon die out.

Besides regular names, certain titles are in use. *Si* is prefixed to a man's name if he be a preceptor, schoolmaster, or clerk, or even a student proficient in reading and writing. *Sidi* is applied only to a reputed descendant of the prophet. The equivalent title *Mulai* is not known in the Rif, but is in use in the Senhaja Sghir, especially in Taghzuth, where a large part of the population, justly or otherwise, claims Sherifian blood.

THE FIRST HAIRCUT

The next event of importance in the life of the child is its first haircut. In the central tribes and the Senhaja it occurs after the expiration of a year; among the others, after six months. The former is the case in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Gzennaya, and all the Senhaja.

On the day decided on for the first haircut, the father takes a goat to the cantonal mosque and gives it to the students, who sacrifice and eat it. One of the students returns with the father and shaves the child's head, leaving a single lock standing out on the occiput. With some of the hair he makes a necklace, which is tied around the child's neck; the rest he takes out with him and buries secretly. After this the father and mother and immediate family, generally the entire *tein*, hold a small feast.

The scalp lock which the student has left is kept uncut until the death of the individual, and after that event is used by the students washing the body as a convenient handle wherewith to turn the corpse without touching the flesh. The origin of the Berber scalp lock is lost in antiquity, since it is one of the earliest features of Berber culture to be recorded in history.[1]

The position of the lock on the occiput differs among the tribes, there being three places where it may be left; the right occiput, the left occiput, and the center of the occiput, just below lambda. The lock when worn on the left is called *thazhtoshth*, when on the right *thai'iyeshth*, when in the middle *themzurth*.

Distribution of the left scalp lock: Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Shawia, Jebarna. It is also worn by the Ulad Stut, Beni Ukil, the Arabs of Msun, and the Beni Znassen. It is called the Zenatan type.

Distribution of the right scalp lock: Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, rest of Gzennaya, some in Tafersit, Targuist, Western and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Hamid. This is called the Senhajan type, and is worn by the Beni Zerwal, the Mtiwa dial Jbil, and by what few individuals of the Ghomara occasionally leave this lock. It is likewise worn by certain families of Fezzis, and by all of the Braber, who claim Senhajan origin.

Distribution of the median scalp lock: Beni Urriaghel,[2] Beni Amart, Bokoya, Maritimes, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Shibet, and Beni Mesduy.

[1] Bates, pp. 134–137.

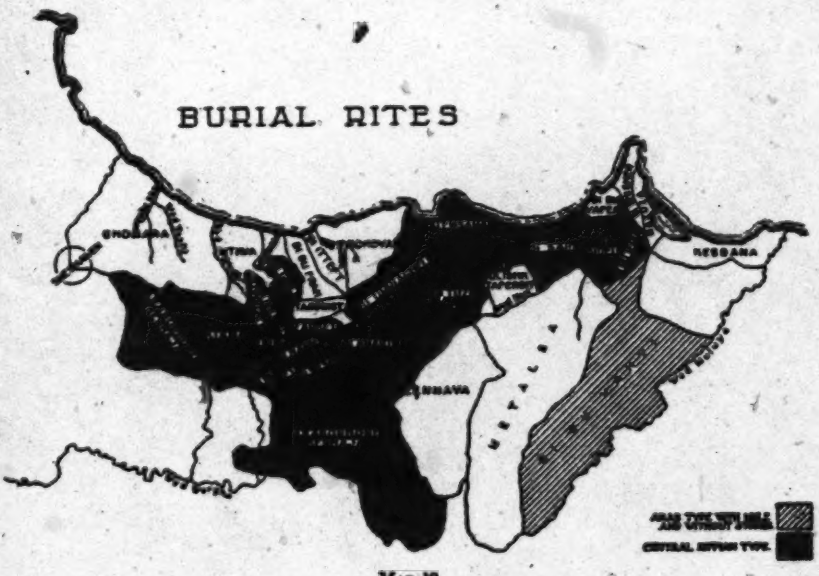
[2] Westermarck (p. 413) states that the Beni Urriaghel wear the lock on the *right* side, and that this lock is called *themzurt*. I have never seen an Urriaghli with his scalp lock anywhere but in the middle of his occiput; and the word which Westermarck uses to denote the right lock is really the name of the median lock.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

DEATH AND BURIAL

When a man or a woman has died, the first consideration is to have the corpse washed. In the case of a man, this is done by an old man whose person and clothes are clean, or by a student from the cantonal mosque. Two or three students stand by to assist him in bringing water and throwing it on the corpse. In the case of a woman it is an old woman who does the washing with other women helping. The corpse is first washed in hot water, then cold water is thrown on. The washing is done with a woolen cloth, which is afterward

764



MAP 19

thrown away, along with the pot which held the water for washing. After this the corpse is wrapped in a sheet, formerly wool and now cotton.

If the victim dies early enough so that his burial may be effected by *el asr*, or four o'clock in the afternoon, he is buried on the day of his decease; if he dies too late his corpse must be kept in the house all night in its shroud. The corpse must not be left in the dark, so a light is left burning with it.

Students are summoned, as many as the family can afford, to sit in the room with the corpse and chant most of the night. They must chant sixty *hoiseb*, or four times sixty chapters of the Koran, since a *hoiseb* is four chapters; they thus chant the whole book. Each one is assigned a different part to chant, so that they may cover the ground the more quickly. If the family be poor and only a few students have been summoned, they may not

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

764 get through the whole Koran in time. The family supplies them with food which they eat when tired of chanting.

When the corpse is ready for burial, be it on the day of decease or the next day, the whole village comes out to attend the procession and funeral. The women are represented only by the older married women.

The corpse, resting on the door of the village mosque, is carried by four men, constantly changing, so that everyone in the village may be said to have borne it part of the way. Each man runs up and takes a corner of the door for a few feet, when he is replaced by another. In this way the corpse is carried to the cemetery. If, as often happens, the mosque door comes apart on the way (for it is but loosely tied together), the corpse must be set on the ground while the door is being repaired. In each place where the corpse is thus laid a stone must be set up.

[804] Arrived at the place of burial, some of the men busy themselves with digging the grave. It consists of two holes, one inside the other. The upper hole must be twelve foot-measures long, a leg-straddle wide, and navel deep. The inner hole must be one span wide, the length of the corpse, measured with a rope, and knee deep. The corpse is put in the inner hole on its left side, its feet to the east. If the corpse is too thick to fit into the span-wide hole, it must be forced into it, since it is considered very bad for a corpse to be given a wider grave. When necessary, however, the ditch is widened, but at the expense of the soul of the deceased. Seven flat slabs of slate or other sedimentary stone are brought, having been shaped when necessary. They are laid over the inner grave crosswise, and dirt is piled in above them and the outer grave filled. While the corpse is resting on the bank, just before being set into the grave, the students chant the burial ritual from the Koran. As soon as the body is in the grave the women go away, and the men collect together in a circle and pray.

The pre-Islamic graves in the cemetery at Beni Hozmar, on the road between Sheshawen and Tetuan, can be distinguished from the later ones in the same cemetery by the fact that the former are orientated north and south. The graves at Aswil, on the border between the Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel, are similarly orientated. These graves are said to be pre-Islamic. I witnessed a funeral at Taghzuth, at which the grave was dug north and south, and the corpse buried with its head to the south. Three Riffians who were with me objected to this orientation, but their objection was not heeded. The men taking part in the interment argued that the direction was east and west, obviously an evasion, since at that moment the sun was about to set directly at right angles to the axis of the grave. Since this burial took place during the week of the summer solstice, the orientation must have been almost due north and south. On account of the sensitiveness of the Taghzuthis on this point I was unable to obtain any but visual information concerning the persistence of this custom.

A flat stone, usually artifically shaped, is erected at head and feet; in the case of a man the stones are parallel to each other, and at right angles to the axis of the body; in the case of a woman, the headstone is set in the axis line and at right angles to the footstone.

764 171 The type of burial described above is typical of the central regions of the Rif. In the east, and among the maritime tribes, the custom in use is that employed in the Arabised section of Morocco in general. The body is buried at any time desired, no hesitation being felt at burying it in the night, or at leaving it alone and in the dark. It is carried to the grave on a rug by four paid pall-bearers, accompanied by two paid grave-diggers carrying hoes. The immediate family may attend the burial, but the village as a whole does not.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

764 171

There are no students and no food is served in the house of the deceased afterwards, as is the case in the central Rif. According to the second method the grave is not measured by the navel, straddle, span, knee, and rope, but by rope alone. The first hole is estimated and the second is measured with a rope to fit the corpse. No compunction is felt at making the hole too large or small. The stones put at head and feet are round and the same for men and women. The body is not set down en route, since it is carried on a rug, hence there is no occasion for planting stones along the way. Under this system there is no prayer at the grave.

A third usage is that of the Beni Bu Yahyi, who carry their dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey, and bury it in a shallow hole with the surrounding dirt scraped over it into a mound. No stones are used, probably because stones are very rare in that country. The central Riffian type is found in Beni Bu Ifrur; Beni Sidel; Beni Said; that portion of Beni Ulishk lying near Temsaman; all of Beni Tusin except the village of el Azib of Meidhar; Beni Urriaghel; Temsaman; Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Al Fars, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Iherrassen, Ikaroen, Ihershliyen, Temjunt, Bured, Inhanahan, Beni Yunes, and Beni Mohammed of Gsennaya; Beni Amart; and all the Senhaja and Ghomara.

The second type is found in Kebdana; Mazuza, Ait Shisher, Beni Bu Yafer; Metalsa; that part of Beni Ulishk near Dar Driush; el Azib of Meidhar of Beni Tuzin; Tafersit; Shawia, Imsdurar, and Khebaba of Gsennaya; Beni Meeduy; Targuist; Bokoya; Beni Itteft; Beni Bu Frah; Mestasa; and Mtiwa.

The type in which the corpse is carried on a mule is practiced among the Riffians only by the Beni Bu Yahyi; the nearby Arabs of the Ulad Bu Rima, however, use that method.

Although all the factors connected with death and burial which have been described seem to fit together as opposing complexes without overlapping, there is one other trait which has a different distribution. All of the men in the *bone* must sleep in the house for seven days after the death. Any stranger who is in the house at the actual time of the death must sleep there with them. During the seven days, members of neighboring *bones* which are well disposed towards that of the deceased must visit the house to express their condolences to the family.

The women express their grief by weeping and sometimes by scratching their faces and disarranging their hair, but do not put on any costume which marks them as widows. Among the Beni Amart the widows frequently entertain visitors with long recitations of the virtues of their husbands.

763 friends is capable of performing this task. The recitation should be continued till the moment of death, but no longer, its object being to shorten the agony. The chapter considered most suitable for this occasion is the suratu 'r-ra'd, which is called s-sahliya because it makes death easier. For a similar purpose a little honey is put into the mouth of the dying person, and at the last moment some water is dripped into it to moisten his throat. If his teeth are clenched, which is sometimes supposed to indicate that he has led a sinful life (Ait Waryager), some cotton or [435] wool is soaked in water mixed with honey and then pressed against his teeth.

When life is extinct, or sometimes when a person is at the point of death, his eyes and mouth, if open, are closed. It is believed that if he dies with open eyes or, at all events, if they are left open, somebody else of his family or kin will die before long (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden).

[436] Among the Ait Waryager, also, the women of the family and those who come to condole only weep in another room.

[442] As soon as the death becomes known it is the custom for friends to pay a visit of condolence to the family of the deceased.

[443] Among the Ait Waryager the women who come to the house bring flour, while the male condolers assist the men of the family in their preparations for the funeral.

764 Very shortly after death the body of the deceased is washed, at least if he died at so early an hour that the burial can take place on the same day.

[445] The body is washed with warm water, and certain parts of it with soap or scented soap-stone (gasul). The person who performs the act, after washing his own hands, says the bismillah and states inwardly his intention to wash the dead one: —Allahumma inni nawit gasl l-miyit . He then washes the genital region very carefully with a towel, which is left there. He washes the lips and the teeth three times, and the nose the same number of times. All these parts of the body are washed with the left hand. He washes with both hands the face and the right and the left hand and arm to the elbow, all three times. He passes his wet hands once from the forehead to the nape and back again. After again wetting his fingers he puts the forefingers into the ears and passes the thumbs behind their backs. Taking water with the right hand he washes with the left the feet as

764 as high as the ankles, first the right and then the left, three times apiece or more if they are dirty. He then recites the profession of the fatih, unless he has, prematurely, done so before, when passing his hands over the crown and back of the head. This ablution, which is called l-wudu, is followed by the so-called gasl l-miyit . The upper part of the dead body is raised into a sitting position. The washer fills his open hands with water three times and washes the head. With his right hand he washes the inside of the right ear and with his left hand that of the left ear, and washes in a similar manner the backs of the ears. With water poured out by his assistant he then washes the remaining parts of the body in the following order: the right and the left sides from the neck to the knee; the back; the foreside from the chin [446] downwards to the end of the stomach, giving particular attention to the navel; and the right and the left leg from the knee to the ankle. After this he recites once more the profession of the faith. These ablutions must be performed on the day when the dead person is to be buried, even though he had died and been washed on the day before. In such a case, however, the first washing is generally of a very simple character. There may also be a preliminary washing if the death and the burial take place on the same day.

Precautions have to be taken with the water which has been used for the washing of the corpse. It is bad to tread on it. If anybody does so the skin of his feet will chap (Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[447] When the body has been washed it is dressed. Once more the big toes are, in many cases, tied together, and the jaws are bound up.

[448] Among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman the body is dressed in "drawers" (ssarwar, ssawar), "shirt" (ssammir, ttsammir), "turban" (da'mand, arazzet), and "slippers" (iharkusen, ihakas), and is then wrapped up in a shroud (rehfen, resfen).

[450] Among the Ait Temsaman scribes are reciting the tabarak while the body is being washed and dressed, but no recitations are made at night. The case is different among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Sadden, as also in the Hiaina, if the family can afford to employ scribes for nightly recitations.

[451] The time when the deceased is buried depends on the hour of his death.

164 The dead person is said to be anxious to be buried as soon as possible and to "complain of his family" if it is not done. Among the Ait Waryager there is the [452] opposite belief: the departed is too fond of his old home to like to be hurried into the grave, though his people want to bury him quickly. The burial is among them postponed till the following day even if the death occurred shortly after mid-day, and it is said never to take place after 'asar.

[454] Among the Ait Waryager, also, the bier, after being carried out of the house by four men including some member of the family, is placed in the yard (azqaq), from which all the animals have been previously removed so as not to see or hear the dead person; it is believed that he is weeping and that animals can hear it, though men can not, and that they would become sorry if they heard it. The scribes recite the hezb yastabsiruna, contained in the fourth chapter of the Koran (suratu 'n-nisa'), and nobody is then allowed either to weep or talk. After the recitation all the people make fatha, one of the scribes asking God to be merciful to the dead person and to bestow his blessings on the living. Four persons take hold of the bier, and the women begin to cry. But if the departed was a bachelor or an unmarried girl one of the women, instead of crying, trills the zgarit, here called sriwriwen. Before the bier is carried out of the house a meal of meat and bread made of barley without yeast is served in the yard to the scribes and all others who are there on this occasion. But many persons do not like to partake of food served at a funeral, as such food is said to remain in the stomach for forty days.

[455] Everywhere it is considered meritorious to accompany a dead person to his grave; there is charity in every step—kull halfa b hasana. At Fez, Tangier, and other towns no women take part in the procession, and the same is very frequently the case in the country—for example, in Andjra and among the Bni 'Aros and other Arabic-speaking mountain tribes, among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager.

[456] In many other places the procession is headed by a band of scribes, and after them come the men carrying the corpse (Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ulad Bu'aziz, Amanuz); but among the Ait Waryager the bearers go first, after them the scribes, and then the other men and boys.

164 In some country places it is believed that if an accident happens
197 to the bier on the way to the cemetery (Ulad Bu'aziz), or if the funeral

764 [787] procession stops (Ait Waryager), somebody else in the village will soon die. Among the Ait Waryager, when the procession passes a house, some water is thrown from it on the bier and the [457] men carrying it, in order to avert the pollution of death from the house.

On the arrival at the cemetery imadran [Ait Waryager], the bier is placed at the side of the grave andar [Ait Waryager], ander [Temsaman] [Temsaman], and the prayer for the dead is said, unless it has been already done at a mosque.

[458] The body is laid in the grave on its right side with the face turned towards Mecca, the shroud is opened at head and foot, other bandages are also untied, and in the case of a man the "turban" which has been drawn over the face is removed from it. Among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman the fqi fills his hand with earth and keeps it closed over the dead person's face, reciting in a low voice a chapter of the Koran, one of his own choice, and, still continuing the recitation, strews the earth on the face and on the shroud covering the other parts of the body; but if water from the well Zemzem is available he sprinkles the face and the shroud with the water instead of earth, and in such a case no recitation from the Koran is made.

Boards or flat stones—called in Arabic lahd and in Berber lalhud (Ait Sadden), a jah (Temsaman), ikfafn (Amanuz)—are placed across the ledges formed by the narrow trough, at the bottom of the grave, in which the body is lying, without touching it. Their number should be an odd one—three, five, seven, or nine, according to their size; if, for example, four were sufficient to cover the body, a small one would nevertheless be added in order to avoid the even number (Ait Sadden). Among the Ait Waryager seven boards are used, and they [459] believe that if this number were exceeded there would soon be another death.

Among the Ait Waryager water is poured on the grave either when closed or on the following morning; and if any water is left from the occasion when the body was washed, it is taken to the cemetery to be poured out together with the other water.

[460] An upright stone, or sometimes a board, is placed at the head of the grave, and very frequently another one at the foot; such a stone or board, or that at the head only, is called in Arabic l-meshad or s-sahed, "the witness", and in Berber ssahad (Aid Sadden), damenzwit (Ait Waryager), or tamenzust (Temsaman).

764 Among the Ait Waryager the bamboo cane with which the body was measured is broken and the pieces are put on the grave.

764 767 [464] The washers of the body are paid in towns and many places in the country (Bni 'Aros, Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager), but in other places they do their work gratuitously (Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Amanuz, Aglu). Among the Ait Waryager the clothes of the dead person are taken to the cemetery and given to the fqi and the other scribes, who sell them on the spot and divide the money they get for them, as well as the other money given to them by the family. The latter are afraid of using them, said a man from a neighbouring tribe, the Ait Temsaman, but among his own people there is no such fear. Very frequently the clothes of the deceased are given away in charity or sold.

765 767 776] When all other persons have left the cemetery the fqi remains there to perform an important function. On the first night the dead person spends in his grave—called lilt l-wahdaniya, or "the night of solitude"—he is supposed to be visited by angels, who come and examine him and, if they find fault with him, punish him by flogging. At Fez these so-called mlaik swal, or "angels of asking", are, in agreement with the general Muhammadan belief, said to be Sidna Nakir and Munkir, but most people speak of the former only. The scribes of Dukkala are somewhat uncertain as to their number; I was told that the shab s-swal, "the friends of asking", may be three or two or only one—who can know? But the questions were said to be asked in the grave, and the punishment inflicted, by Sidna 'Azrain, that is 'Azra'il, the angel of death, mentioned in the Koran under the title of malaku 'l-maut, who comes to a man at the [465] hour of death to carry his soul away from the body. The same popular belief is found elsewhere (Tangier, Ait Waryager); at Marraksh I was told that the angel 'Azrain examines the dead in their graves and, if dissatisfied with the answers, beats them with an iron rod. It is thus of great importance that the dead person should know how to answer the questions put to him, and it is in order to instruct him in this that the fqi remains at the grave. He bows down over it and, in giving his instructions, addresses the deceased as the son or daughter of such or such a woman, mentioning the mother's name only. The answers may before the interment have been written on a paper, and this so-called msaula put underneath the dead person's head when he was buried, but this does

765 not make the oral instruction of the fqi superfluous. He should
767 answer his examiner thus: Allahu rabbi wa l-islamu dini wa l-ka'batu qiblati wa l-qor'anu imami wa Muhammadun nabiyi, "Allah is my Lord and Islam is my religion and the Ka'bah is my qiblah and the Koran is my director and Muhammad is my prophet". It is said that if the dead man was a scribe the Koran will give the answers on his behalf (Ulad Bu'aziz, Tangier, Ait Waryager.

In some parts of the country I found the belief that the dead person is examined on the first night, even though he still remains in his home (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

764 [468] In many places, on the other hand, there is no general funeral banquet after the burial on the same day. In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the family of the deceased, if in good circumstances, may ask the scribes to come back to the house to recite the fedya or to make recitations from the Koran or even to read the whole of it during the night, and a meal—in Andjra called t-ta'am de 'asa l-qbar—is given to them; but this meal forms part of their fee.

765 [469] After the day of burial there are still various customs and rites observed in connection with the deceased.

[470] Among the Amanuz no food must be cooked in the house on the day of burial and the two following days, neighbours providing the family with food, and I was told of a similar taboo at Amzmiz. The Ait Waryager refrain from making seksu and bread with yeast during those days.

[471] I was also told in Dukkala that no wedding must be celebrated by a near relative of the deceased within forty days, and the same rule is observed in many other places (Fez, Tetuan, Tangier, Bni 'Aros, Sahel, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz). Among the Ait Waryager there must be no wedding in the whole village.

[472] Among various tribes the family of the deceased must for forty days refrain from changing their clothes or washing them, at least with soap (Andjra, Sahel, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz), the men from having their heads shaved (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz).

[473] A widow's mourning (l-adda) lasts, according to the Muhammadan law, four months and ten days; but in some places in Morocco it has been reduced by custom to four months (Aglu, Ait Waryager), three months and ten days (Ait Waryager).

798
764 2) Funeral Rites Contrary to Sunna: the funeral chant invoking the name of God which is started up when the body is lifted up to be taken to the cemetery (and this is done in the Rif) is rejected as bad (sic). A man should not place himself facing Mecca during the funeral prayer (at the grave) (sic); nor should the body be oriented in this direction (sic) nor should its shroud be pierced (in the Rif, in Ibuq-quyen, a hold is pierced in the nose of the shroud), nor can a stick be nailed perpendicularly to the grave (this is done in the Rif[20]); and the catching...in the act by someone of the body being buried or of the recitation of the hizb[21] of the Koran is like lighting the three lights in agony.[22]

798
302 3) Deceits and Frauds in the 'Aid: men should not put henna on
562 their hands and should not shake hands with women, as this is sinful.
794 Getting meals in the mosque is very bad, as are petitions (of gifts)
769 to the imam[23] after the prayer of the 'Aid; and visiting the cemetery on feast days is also bad, as these are days of happiness[23a]. (In the Rif all these practices are observed[24]).

798
585 4) Weddings: It is very bad to mark the doors of the house of either the bride or the groom with blood (this is done in the Rif[25]), and so is firing rifle shots in the bride's room on the day that the marriage is consummated[26]; so is touching the bride's clothing, or helping her mount the mule which is to take her to the groom's house, or helping her alight on arrival, or mounting the same animal behind her; and equally bad is someone showing up at the moment of union of the newly married couple or staying so near to them that he can hear them talking. Also, men playing in front of women and women dancing in

121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
[553] tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
[585] the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
[844] sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.
[852]
[764]

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she
sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
[602] may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
[782] (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
[556] While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
[574] bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so.
However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially
a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is
not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
553 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially
574 the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
602 On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
[114] his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during
553 which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the
574 child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to
602 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed
431 but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by pre-
vious obligations established by gifts that the giver has received
from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money,
20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

627 one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was
728 made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, perhaps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

574 [537] The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the belief in the 'ar and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in the 'ar of his host, in accordance with the principle, "He who is in your house is in your 'ar".

[538] Among the Braber of the Ait Yusi and Ait Sadden, if two or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a guest (anbg i, plur. inbg aun), spending the night in the mosque if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; some one of the villagers brings food to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the fqi is not there, as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any person in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse. The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up; for l-'ain t at akul, "the eye is eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all.

842 [559] Among the Ait Waryager parents who have lost a child de-
● 765 posit its shirt at a shrine as 'ar in order that they shall be blessed with another child.

778 [561] Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in
696 the 'ar of God and Sidna Jebril, the master of mosques. Among the Ait Waryager, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a village is considered to be in the 'ar of the villagers and is therefore sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint will be unscrupulously killed.

777 Among various tribes no hen is said to be allowed to sit on her eggs
784 in this month, because if chicks were hatched during it they would
796 drink of the water with which some dead body has been washed—in other words, somebody in the house or tent would die (Hiaina, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager). But I have also heard another explanation of this taboo, namely, that the chicks would die.

765 Various mourning taboos have to be observed in the month of the
585 'Asur. It is a widespread rule that there must be no weddings during it (Fez, Tangier, Andjra, Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

[77] The women refrain from the use of henna on the 'asura day (Bni (Bni 'Aros), or on the first three (Tsul) or ten (Tangier, Amanuz) days of the month, or on other days as well (Fez, Ait Waryager).

[78] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager, however, it is popularly believed that the Prophet died and was buried on this day, and that it is he who is mourned for, especially by his descendants, the shereefs.

796 [96] There is one night in Ramadan which, according to Islam, is of much more importance than any other, namely, lailatu l-qadr, "the night of power", on which the Koran is said to have been sent down to the Prophet. It is of more value than a thousand months. On this night "Gabriel comes down in a crowd of angels, supplicates and asks grace for every servant, sitting or standing in remembering God". He who then says the prayers "with faith and the hope of reward shall be pardoned of all his past sins". This night is one of the last ten nights of Ramadan, but its exact date[97] has not been discovered by any but the Prophet himself and some of the Companions. A tradition fixes it to be one of the odd nights—the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, or 29th, —and it is generally believed to be the 27th, that is, the night preceding the 27th day.

Among the Arabs of Dukkala and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager the whole Koran is likewise recited during that night.

The Ait Waryager slaughter a number of goats and eat the meat, with oil and bread, in the mosque in the course of the night; this is the only evening in Ramadan when persons other than scribes take a meal in the mosque, because they are afraid of going out in the dark on account of the blood-feud, which is always rife among them. Those who have milch-animals take some dry palmetto leaves to the mosque and put them in the rmahrab where the imam is praying,

796 805 jebha, 18th-31st July; l-harat an (l-haratan), 1st-13th August; s-sarfa, 14th-26th August; l-'auwa, 27th August-8th September; s-samak, 9th-21st September; l-gafar (l-gafar), 22nd September-4th October; j-janaban, 5th-17th October; l-iklil, 18th-30th October; l-qalb, 31st October-12th November; s-saula, 13th-25th November; n-nu'aim, 26th November-8th December; sa'd l-belda, 9th-21st December; d-dabeh, 22nd December-3rd January; sa'd bla' (sa'd l-bula'), 4th-16th January; sa'd s'oud (sa'd s-su'ud), 17th-29th January; l'ahbiya, 30th January-11th February; farg l-moqaddam, 12th-24th February; farg l-mohhar (farg l-mu'ahhar), 25th February-9th March; batna l-hot, 10th-22nd March.

The year has four seasons (fosol, sing. fasl). Spring (fasl ar-rbe'a) commences on 15th February, summer (s-saif) on 17th May, autumn (l-hrif) on 17th August, winter (s-set wa) on 16th November. The forty days between 12th December and 20th January inclusive are called liali, and the forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive are called s-smaim or s-smaim.

To various dates of the solar year magical qualities are ascribed, and this leads to the observance of many positive rites and taboos.

796 [162] The Ait Waryager call the last day of the old year and the first day of the new imgaren, "sheikhs".

[166] The Bni 'Aros eat siyoha on New Year's eve and sfen j on the next day. The Ait Waryager eat eggs and wheaten bread on the former occasion and seksu with fowl on the following evening.

[169] Among the Ait Waryager women who have cows and are in the habit of making butter go on New Year's day to a scribe and procure from him a charm which he writes with a needle on a bullet; this charm is hung on the wooden hook (ashum) from which the earthenware churn (aqasror) is suspended, and is left there till the following New Year as a protection against witchcraft.

[765] [735] [174] The Ait Waryager, again, take on New Year's morning iuzan, or porridge, to the graves of their deceased relatives and distribute it in charity to children and poor people.

[178] At the same time I have also found quite the contrary belief, that it serves as a protection against snakes and scorpions by making them blind if it touches their eyes (Tetuan, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Tsul, Ait Sadden) or even killing them (Tetuan, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain), whereas if there is no rain in the nisan their eyes are said to become like fisan (hoes) and their mouths like kisan (cups).

764 Among the Ait Waryager the bamboo cane with which the body was measured is broken and the pieces are put on the grave.

764 767 [464] The washers of the body are paid in towns and many places in the country (Bni 'Aros, Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager), but in other places they do their work gratuitously (Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Amanuz, Aglu). Among the Ait Waryager the clothes of the dead person are taken to the cemetery and given to the fqi and the other scribes, who sell them on the spot and divide the money they get for them, as well as the other money given to them by the family. The latter are afraid of using them, said a man from a neighbouring tribe, the Ait Temsaman, but among his own people there is no such fear. Very frequently the clothes of the deceased are given away in charity or sold.

765 767 776] When all other persons have left the cemetery the fqi remains there to perform an important function. On the first night the dead person spends in his grave—called lilt l-wahdaniya, or "the night of solitude"—he is supposed to be visited by angels, who come and examine him and, if they find fault with him, punish him by flogging. At Fez these so-called mlaik swal, or "angels of asking", are, in agreement with the general Muhammadan belief, said to be Sidna Nakir and Munkir, but most people speak of the former only. The scribes of Dukkala are somewhat uncertain as to their number; I was told that the shab s-swal, "the friends of asking", may be three or two or only one—who can know? But the questions were said to be asked in the grave, and the punishment inflicted, by Sidna 'Azrain, that is 'Azra'il, the angel of death, mentioned in the Koran under the title of malaku 'l-maut, who comes to a man at the [465] hour of death to carry his soul away from the body. The same popular belief is found elsewhere (Tangier, Ait Waryager); at Marraksh I was told that the angel 'Azrain examines the dead in their graves and, if dissatisfied with the answers, beats them with an iron rod. It is thus of great importance that the dead person should know how to answer the questions put to him, and it is in order to instruct him in this that the fqi remains at the grave. He bows down over it and, in giving his instructions, addresses the deceased as the son or daughter of such or such a woman, mentioning the mother's name only. The answers may before the interment have been written on a paper, and this so-called msaula put underneath the dead person's head when he was buried, but this does

765 not make the oral instruction of the fqi superfluous. He should
767 answer his examiner thus: Allahu rabbi wa l-islamu dini wa l-ka'baṭu qiblati wa l-qor'anu imami wa Muhammadun nabiyi, "Allah is my Lord and Islam is my religion and the Ka'bah is my qiblah and the Koran is my director and Muhammad is my prophet". It is said that if the dead man was a scribe the Koran will give the answers on his behalf (Ulad Bu'aziz, Tangier, Ait Waryager.

In some parts of the country I found the belief that the dead person is examined on the first night, even though he still remains in his home (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

764 [468] In many places, on the other hand, there is no general funeral banquet after the burial on the same day. In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the family of the deceased, if in good circumstances, may ask the scribes to come back to the house to recite the fedya or to make recitations from the Koran or even to read the whole of it during the night, and a meal—in Andjra called t-ta'am de 'asa l-qbar—is given to them; but this meal forms part of their fee.

765 [469] After the day of burial there are still various customs and rites observed in connection with the deceased.

[470] Among the Amanuz no food must be cooked in the house on the day of burial and the two following days, neighbours providing the family with food, and I was told of a similar taboo at Amzmiz. The Ait Waryager refrain from making seksu and bread with yeast during those days.

[471] I was also told in Dukkala that no wedding must be celebrated by a near relative of the deceased within forty days, and the same rule is observed in many other places (Fez, Tetuan, Tangier, Bni 'Aros, Sahel, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz). Among the Ait Waryager there must be no wedding in the whole village.

[472] Among various tribes the family of the deceased must for forty days refrain from changing their clothes or washing them, at least with soap (Andjra, Sahel, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz), the men from having their heads shaved (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz).

[473] A widow's mourning (l-adda) lasts, according to the Muhammadan law, four months and ten days; but in some places in Morocco it has been reduced by custom to four months (Aglu, Ait Waryager), three months and ten days (Ait Waryager).

765 A widow who is pregnant by her former husband is nowhere permitted to marry until she has given birth to the child.

Besides being prohibited from re-marrying, a widow is subject to various other rules during her period of mourning. She must refrain from the use of cosmetics and finery, and is not allowed to attend any wedding or other feast. She should be dressed in plain white (Fez, Tangier, Ulad Bu'aziz, Bni 'Aros, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[475] In Andjra and among the Bni 'Aros, the Ait Waryager, and the Ait Temsaman scribes likewise make recitations from the Koran at the grave on the first three mornings after the burial.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, water is poured over the grave on the third day, and the scribes are then entertained with bread and meat in the house of mourning after finishing their recitations.

[476] Among the Amanuz, on the third morning after the day of burial, a meal of seksu with meat, called lma'ruf, is given at the grave to scribes and poor people; the scribes make fatha, but there are no recitations from the Koran. Among the Ait Waryager, on the same morning, the women of the dead person's family offer iuzan [477] —that is, porridge made of pounded barley boiled in water and mixed with salt butter—to the people who come to the grave, without eating of it themselves; and it is believed that if no meal were given at the grave the deceased would have earth in his mouth. The scribes, however, do not partake of this meal but, as said above, are entertained in the house of the family after they have finished their reading at the grave.

[478] Certain rites are often performed on the fortieth day after the burial.

Among the Ait Waryager there is reading both at the grave and in the house of mourning. The family slaughter a goat or sheep or a small ox and offer some of the meat together with bread at the grave; on this occasion neither the members of the family [479] nor the scribes eat anything, but after reciting a chapter of the Koran the latter go to the house and are entertained there with food.

[480] To visit the graves on Fridays or Thursday afternoons is in fact a very widespread custom (Tetuan, At Ubahti, etc.).

Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager the graves are visited by women, rarely by men; and among the latter bread or figs are given to people found at the cemetery, or water is poured at the head of the grave.

765 [481] On the 'asura day much attention is bestowed on the dead.

[482] Among the Ait Waryager, on the 'asura morning, men and women go to the graves of their dead relatives and have there a meal of seksu, bread, and figs; but they only eat food which has been brought by others, not their own food. If there is water in the neighbourhood they also pour water on the graves. It is said that if alms are not given in the cemetery on this day, the dead will suffer from hunger and thirst and weep in their graves; and should children then refrain from visiting the graves of their parents, they would be cursed by them.

[483] The graves of deceased members of the family are also visited on the twenty-sixth (Tangier, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Amanuz) or twenty-seventh (Igliwa, Aglu) day of Ramadan; on the 'Arafa day preceding the Great Feast (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Igliwa, Amanuz) or on the second day of that feast (Bni 'Aros); and sometimes at the Little Feast or on the day preceding it (Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) and at the mulud (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager).

[484] There are yet other occasions on which alms should be given on behalf of the dead, either at their graves or otherwise, namely, when they appear to their living friends in dreams (Ait Waryager, Hiaina), or when the latter dream of figs or other kinds of dried fruit (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[485] There are persons who arrange their own funeral in [486] advance, for fear that otherwise it might not be conducted in the proper manner. Such a person buys his grave-clothing and invites scribes to his house or tent.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz and the Ait Waryager the scribes likewise make their recitations with the grave-clothing in front or in the midst of them, and they are lavishly entertained.

775 [534] The dead are said to visit their former homes on Thursdays, though nobody can see them (Tangier, Andjra); and in Andjra their families should therefore have good food for supper every Thursday. The soul of a dead person is, moreover, supposed to be in his grave every Friday (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Warain), or to come there on Thursday at 'asar (Tangier, Bni 'Aros)—some people say as early as Thursday morning (Ait Waryager) or on Wednesday at 'asar (Andjra)—and leave it on Friday at 'asar (ibid., Ait Waryager) or sunset (Tangier) or as soon as the grave has been visited by members of the family (Bni 'Aros).

000

[114] 43--There are several errors here. First of all, the oath formula is not as Blanco gives it at all, but Billahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa, as discussed in note 50. Secondly, this is the recognized formula for oaths as given in the Shari'a, and as such, the Arab formula as well. Thirdly, although it is quite true that oaths are as important among Arabs as they are among Berbers, the Prophet Muhammad, in effect, "decollectivized" them among his Hijazi constituents much as 'Abd al-Krim did among Rifians--for the collective oath, far from being an exclusively "Berber" institution, was current in pre-Islamic Arabia. Blanco fails to distinguish between the singular character of the Shari'a oath and the plural character of the oaths of certain nominally Muslim societies whom the Shari'a, in some respects, has not quite reached.

44--This is in no way remarkable, for it is up to the plaintiff not only to demand that the accused take oath, but to stipulate when, where and with how many of his agnates.

45--Men certainly swear during the day, in fact on Fridays just before noon; but women did not swear during the 'Ripublik', although today they may do so. However, they must do so not at night but during the day, and at home, not in the mosque, although their oaths, like those of men, must be made on the mushaf.

[463] 46--A Jew accused of a crime against a Muslim or against a coreligionist was, indeed, forced to walk around the market with a packsaddle on his back, and to swear in this fashion, for packsaddle-making and silversmithing are the two traditional occupations of Jews in northern Morocco; but he took the oath itself in the synagogue.

47--There were no jails in the Rif until 'Abd al-Krim introduced them; he had three, at Ajdir, at Aith Qamra and at Thmasind, all in the Aith Waryaghar.

48--The Koranic sirat al-mustaqim, as given in the Surat al-Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Muslim Book.

[178] 49--This is true, but not quite for the reasons given. Women in the Aith Waryaghar have their own markets in order to keep them secluded from strange men and because it is shameful for them, and indeed forbidden (although this is beginning to break down today) for them to enter ordinary markets. The same goes for their "feasts": they visit saints' tombs and cemeteries on Sundays, as a rule, when they know no men will be there.

[165]

[114] 50--This is a contradiction in terms. If Berber law admits bloodvengeance (which is in any case excessively common in the Rif), why does it not admit talion?

[114] 51--Again, a contradiction in terms. If the death penalty is admitted, as Blanco says, why not capital punishment? In actual fact, although murder and feuding were the rule, the death penalty per se was rare: the only instance I can think of (outside of cases in which it was inflicted by 'Abd al-Krim during the Rifian War, and administered by his huffadh or personal bodyguard, who tied the offender backwards on a donkey, paraded him around the market three times while the crier made his crime public, and then stood him up against the wall and shot him) is that in which a man kills another in a market and is caught by the

764 Among the Ait Waryager the bamboo cane with which the body was measured is broken and the pieces are put on the grave.

764 767 [464] The washers of the body are paid in towns and many places in the country (Bni 'Aros, Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager), but in other places they do their work gratuitously (Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Amanuz, Aglu). Among the Ait Waryager the clothes of the dead person are taken to the cemetery and given to the fqi and the other scribes, who sell them on the spot and divide the money they get for them, as well as the other money given to them by the family. The latter are afraid of using them, said a man from a neighbouring tribe, the Ait Temsaman, but among his own people there is no such fear. Very frequently the clothes of the deceased are given away in charity or sold.

765 767 When all other persons have left the cemetery the fqi remains there to perform an important function. On the first night the dead person spends in his grave—called lilt l-wahdaniya, or "the night 776] of solitude"—he is supposed to be visited by angels, who come and examine him and, if they find fault with him, punish him by flogging. At Fez these so-called mlaik swal, or "angels of asking", are, in agreement with the general Muhammadan belief, said to be Sidna Nakir and Munkir, but most people speak of the former only. The scribes of Dukkala are somewhat uncertain as to their number; I was told that the shab s-swal, "the friends of asking", may be three or two or only one—who can know? But the questions were said to be asked in the grave, and the punishment inflicted, by Sidna 'Azrain, that is 'Azra'il, the angel of death, mentioned in the Koran under the title of malaku 'l-maut, who comes to a man at the [465] hour of death to carry his soul away from the body. The same popular belief is found elsewhere (Tangier, Ait Waryager); at Marraksh I was told that the angel 'Azrain examines the dead in their graves and, if dissatisfied with the answers, beats them with an iron rod. It is thus of great importance that the dead person should know how to answer the questions put to him, and it is in order to instruct him in this that the fqi remains at the grave. He bows down over it and, in giving his instructions, addresses the deceased as the son or daughter of such or such a woman, mentioning the mother's name only. The answers may before the interment have been written on a paper, and this so-called msaula put underneath the dead person's head when he was buried, but this does

765 not make the oral instruction of the fqi superfluous. He should
767 answer his examiner thus: Allahu rabbi wa l-islamu dini wa l-ka'batu qiblati wa l-qor'anu imami wa Muhammadun nabiyi, "Allah is my Lord and Islam is my religion and the Ka'bah is my qiblah and the Koran is my director and Muhammad is my prophet". It is said that if the dead man was a scribe the Koran will give the answers on his behalf (Ulad Bu'aziz, Tangier, Ait Waryager.

In some parts of the country I found the belief that the dead person is examined on the first night, even though he still remains in his home (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

764 [468] In many places, on the other hand, there is no general funeral banquet after the burial on the same day. In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the family of the deceased, if in good circumstances, may ask the scribes to come back to the house to recite the fedya or to make recitations from the Koran or even to read the whole of it during the night, and a meal—in Andjra called t-ta'am de 'asa l-qbar—is given to them; but this meal forms part of their fee.

765 [469] After the day of burial there are still various customs and rites observed in connection with the deceased.

[470] Among the Amanuz no food must be cooked in the house on the day of burial and the two following days, neighbours providing the family with food, and I was told of a similar taboo at Amzmiz. The Ait Waryager refrain from making seksu and bread with yeast during those days.

[471] I was also told in Dukkala that no wedding must be celebrated by a near relative of the deceased within forty days, and the same rule is observed in many other places (Fez, Tetuan, Tangier, Bni 'Aros, Sahel, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz). Among the Ait Waryager there must be no wedding in the whole village.

[472] Among various tribes the family of the deceased must for forty days refrain from changing their clothes or washing them, at least with soap (Andjra, Sahel, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz), the men from having their heads shaved (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain, Amanuz).

[473] A widow's mourning (l-adda) lasts, according to the Muhammadan law, four months and ten days; but in some places in Morocco it has been reduced by custom to four months (Aglu, Ait Waryager), three months and ten days (Ait Waryager).

against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities, he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be composed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives, and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

423 Property going to females, either to widows or daughters,
428 tends not to be disruptive since their control over their inher-
562 itance is minimized by law and social custom. Because of the
[587] practice of levirate, traditionally the widow's property was merely transferred from the effective management of one brother to that of another. Whether or not the widow marries a brother of her deceased husband, she can in no case sell her property without the permission of her husband's family.

562 The case of daughter inheritance is somewhat more dis-
428 ruptive. While widows generally remain within their deceased
● [768] husband's family for the protection this affords, daughters marry out. Thus the daughter as another man's wife has a male champion to press claims for use or sale of the inheritance. To the question of should a man come to farm the land of his wife or demand a portion of its production, my informants state that technically he could do so but that no man would want to do this and that to their knowledge no man has ever done so.

428 The prevailing mechanism for avoiding disputes over the
431 inheritance of a daughter is a gift exchange between a man and
578 his sister's husband. If, for example, A's sister has married B,
182 B holds certain theoretical rights over his wife's land. A, on
607 the other hand, generally cultivates the land. B does not exer-
562 cise his claim, and indeed the community would disapprove if he did so. However, it is also considered appropriate for A when he visits his sister, to give B's household certain goods, processed barley, fruit, or whatever, which compensate for B's

798
764 2) Funeral Rites Contrary to Sunna: the funeral chant invoking the name of God which is started up when the body is lifted up to be taken to the cemetery (and this is done in the Rif) is rejected as bad (sic). A man should not place himself facing Mecca during the funeral prayer (at the grave) (sic); nor should the body be oriented in this direction (sic) nor should its shroud be pierced (in the Rif, in Ibuquyen, a hold is pierced in the nose of the shroud), nor can a stick be nailed perpendicularly to the grave (this is done in the Rif[20]); and the catching...in the act by someone of the body being buried or of the recitation of the hizb[21] of the Koran is like lighting the three lights in agony.[22]

798
[302] 3) Deceits and Frauds in the 'Aid: men should not put henna on
[562] their hands and should not shake hands with women, as this is sinful.
[794] Getting meals in the mosque is very bad, as are petitions (of gifts)
[769] to the imam[23] after the prayer of the 'Aid; and visiting the cemetery on feast days is also bad, as these are days of happiness[23a]. (In the Rif all these practices are observed[24]).

798
585 4) Weddings: It is very bad to mark the doors of the house of either the bride or the groom with blood (this is done in the Rif[25]), and so is firing rifle shots in the bride's room on the day that the marriage is consummated[26]; so is touching the bride's clothing, or helping her mount the mule which is to take her to the groom's house, or helping her alight on arrival, or mounting the same animal behind her; and equally bad is someone showing up at the moment of union of the newly married couple or staying so near to them that he can hear them talking. Also, men playing in front of women and women dancing in

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION

771 RIFFIAN religion, although of course officially Islam, is a blend of that faith with old heathen ideas, and with factors apparently Christian and Jewish, some of which may antedate the arrival of Islam. The kings of Nekor were rigid adherents to the Malekite rite,[1] and the Islam of the Riffians from that time to this has been officially orthodox.

782 794 The visible practice of orthodox religion consists in the sending by each *bone* of twenty-five men on a set day each week to the cantonal mosque to pray, and in public attendance of Friday sermons there. The preceptor delivers this sermon in the morning, standing before the worshippers and leaning on a cane. He criticises local happenings and gives out the agricultural forecast for the week, besides expounding the Koran.

Most of the men of the *canton* who are married and of serious purpose attend this service. Old women also attend, sitting in a separate room, where they can hear but cannot be seen. Young women do not go, and indeed seldom take the trouble to pray, since religion is almost wholly a masculine concern. When they do pray they do it at home. As an outlet of religious energy, or more often as a holiday excursion, they take food to the saint's tomb and eat it there with their children. Students, apparently immune to the prohibition against men's going to the tomb, do so and are given food by the women. Women also go to cemeteries on Fridays, and enjoy themselves despite their surroundings.

773 A common legend prevalent in many parts of Morocco is that after the Christians have had their way with the Muslimin for a certain length of time, Sidna Ali will come and smite them with the sword. After this Sidna Aissa, or Jesus, will appear and convert the Christians to Islam.

This legend is narrated in the Jebala, where a special intensity is given to the part of Jesus in the drama. The Jebalans claim that when Sidna Aissa comes wolves will lie down with lambs, and that stones, streams, and roads will speak. Ali, who is said by the Jebalans to have been scab-headed, and Jesus, who is probably their most important religious personage, especially in Taghzuth, are the only two historical characters reputed not to have died, but to be living on, awaiting return to earth. This is not said of the Prophet, whose personality hovers in the background as the legitimate but unemphasized pivot of the religion.

At Taghzuth I was told the stories of Jonah and the whale, and the Flood. In the latter legend, the ark was made to land at Tangier. This belief is also held in the Rif. A variant version popular there is that in the beginning of time Banu Adam (a collective name meaning "Children of Adam," or "mankind," but here used to denote an individual) saw that a flood was coming and built a boat, taking into it his wife, his daughter, his dog, his cat, his donkey, and seven men. When the flood was over the boat landed on a mountain. At that time the seven men began quarrelling over Banu Adam's daughter, since each of them

[1] See p. 22.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

tial functions of the market by supplying in with a permanent site has served to bring its very great cultural significance into even sharper relief (22).

Islām in Aith Wuryāghil is much the same as it is in the rest of Berber Morocco. The Wuryāghlis observe the «Five Pillars» (profession on faith, prayer five times a day, fasting during the month of Ramaḍān, legal almsgiving and the pilgrimage to Makka) as rigorously as they can, but extremely few have ever managed to make the long and costly trip to the holy places of Arabia. Riffian Islām is essentially a popular Islām, and is manifested chiefly by regular attendance at the cantonal mosque for the noonday prayer on Fridays, by veneration of local saints (Rīffian *imrābdhen*, sig. *amrābidh*; Arabic *murābiṭīn*, sing. *murābiṭ*) and by belief in supernatural beings (angels, *jnūn* and a local ogress of hideous appearance called *thamza*, who eats babies and is more or less equivalent to the 'Ā'isha Qandīsha of the Moroccan Arabs). As elsewhere in the Muslim world, heathen survivals in religious ritual are numerous. The people of Aith Wuryāghil and of the Central Rīf in general are, however, not as ridden by superstition as those of the Jibāla and the Ghumāra. In the Rīf, Tamsamān enjoys a far more religious reputation than Aith Wuryāghil, whose name has always been linked more with warfare.

The principal zāwiyas (Ar. *zāwiya*, pl. *zuwāwī*) are those of Sīdī 'Abd al-Qādir in Aith Ḥadīfa, Tashtīwen in Jabal Ḥammām (Iḥwaḥwaḥiyen of Aith 'Abdallāh), Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ḥājj Mis'ūd in Aith Turīrth (Aith La'ārs), Aith Fārs in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Ighmīren), Zāwiya 'Alāwīyīn in Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (ar-Rabḍa), and Sīdī 'Aisā, Sīdī 'Amar u Būkar, Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā and Sīdī Yūsuf in Imrābdhen. In 'Abd al-Karīm's time the only one functioning as a *zāwiya* was Sīdī Muḥand u Mūsā in Aith Hīshim, located on the point known as «The Hillock of the Saints»; today Sīdī Yūsuf and Zāwiya Iqannīyen, the local headquarters of the 'Alāwīyīn order, are the most active; all the rest, for the most part, have been reduced from functioning lodges of religious brotherhoods to simple schools or

(22) Fogg, Walter: «Villages, Tribal Markets and Towns: Some Considerations concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco», The Sociological Review, vol. XXXII, London, January-April 1940, pp. 85-107.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

771 saints' tombs (23). Ṣūfī brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'Alāwīyīn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, Tijānīyīn and Naṣirīyīn have each gained a number of aherents the first-mentioned predominates at the presen time and the second was the most popular before the Riffian War.

778 Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descendend from *shurfā*, it has completely lost its *baraka* (a wonderwoking power not unlike the Melanesian *mana*) through participation in feuds. Both these families, as well as the rest of Imrābdhen, lebong to distant ramifications of the *Shurfā* Idrīsīyīn. The *shurfā* alone and not even all of them possess the quality of *baraka*, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

796 The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, *Maulid*), 'Īd aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Īd al-Kabīr (called 'Aid th-Amzyān and 'Aid th-Amqrān in the Rīf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or *'ām al-fillāḥ*: the 'Anṣra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Ḥagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is [788] the annual one to the tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, in Bū Mā'dhīn, Thimārzgha, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-Kabīr. There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

142 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Riffians, about 40% of the Aith Wuryāghil are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Riffians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas),

(23) Rodríguez Padilla, Isaías: **Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios.**, Ceuta 1930, p. 24.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788
B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781
C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 575 795
D) Same as B) above. 778
E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Ḥamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 778 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 788 782

Paragraph h shows us the guarantee of keeping the principal religious services (funerals, etc.) and of keeping their sons educated in the faith. Today, under a different pretext, it is not uncommon to observe someone pretending to reject with disdain such a traditional obligation, for which he must not claim protection. The reason for this, rather than being rooted in irreligiosity, must be sought in possible antagonisms with the fqih.

Paragraph i conditions the obligation of fulfilling the agreements with certain legalities: that so many individuals be present at the meeting, and that they be useful and not prejudicial. They are, thus, the colegislators, working freely and without limitation, without dependence on anyone. It urges obedience.

Paragraph j recommends obedience to the shaikh.

In summation: this beautiful qanun of a jma'th establishes who are the iziddifen or council-members, and what their attributes are: to establish statutes regarding damages to crops, education and hospitality, but not to concern themselves with murder, woundings and homicide, an affair of the clan, nor with personal status, a religious matter. In the internal struggle within the jma'th, if, indeed, the iziddifen consent and delegate the execution of their decisions to a representative (the shaikh) to whom they accord circumstantial rewards, at the same time, jealous of their prerogatives, they free themselves very easily from authorizing him to contrive misdemeanors and penalties for these.

Thus the shaikh, in reality, is only the guardian of the community.

685 In the same way, they agreed to impose fines for all damages or injuries which are caused, such as theft, etc.

Whoever should steal a sheep or a goat shall be fined 10 duros, and whoever should steal barley, broad beans, etc., from someone else's land shall be fined 5 duros.

681 In summation, all injuries or damages caused by one of them (the Bani 'Adhiya) against another (of them), a fine shall be levied from him, whoever (the party guilty) of the injury or damage may be.

671 In accordance with the above, their declarations were put down, as they have been expressed and explained. Valid and complete testimony. The parties who took part in the present agreement know [693] the value of this agreement, and because of this, both the undersigned notaries testify to what is set down and to the fact that they (the Bani 'Adhiya) are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound minds and memories) and that they are known (personally) to them (the notaries).

805 On the second day of the divine month of Jumad ath-Thani of the 600 year 1332 (April 28, 1914). Servant of his God, may He be glorified, 'Abd as-Salam bin 'Abdallah at-Tafrasti, may God be benevolent toward him. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Aisa at-Taxurakhti, may God be benevolent toward him.

B) Commentary:

671 This synthetic qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya, drawn up in conformity with the dictates of the purest tradition, contains within it suggestions analogous to the rest of the documents which we have studied.

It is a pact (author's italics), by which those who have [771] agreed on it must in future regulate their coexistence and traditional

671 771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [514] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhamasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 681 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[791] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless, impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
433 435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
[171] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif, which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 435 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

771 guidance from the Book and the various interpretations of the
[779] Book made by a body of literate scholars. But it also serves as a vehicle for the spiritual expression of the illiterate and the superstitious. The needs of the one community, though not necessarily incompatible with the other, are of a different
771 nature. To meet the needs of the rural tribesmen, a cult of
776 saints has long existed in Morocco. The earliest reference to
794 this phenomenon in the Rif can be found in the work of 'Abd el-Haqq el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif, dated 1311 and translated from Arabic to French by G. S. Colin (1926). The more formal aspects of Islam whereby a morality is derived from dialectic interpretation of Koranic scripture did not have the power of explanation among the tribesmen as mysticism. As Colin points out in his introduction to el-Badisi's work:

> Il s'agit donc, en somme, d'un effort de vulgarisation de la science religieuse et, plus spécialement, du mysticisme, dans le but de rendre ce dernier plus populaire et plus pittoresque, et de permettre par là aux ames simples d'y prendre intérêt et de s'y attacher. (Ibid.:8)

792 A man became a saint because of various miracles performed
796 during his lifetime which, according to the beliefs of the tribesmen, signify that the man had a closer connection with the spiritual world. In most areas of Morocco the saint was also a sharif or descendent of the Prophet. This does not seem to be a vital criterion for sainthood in the Rif. El-Bakiri lists only one of the saints in his hagiography as being a sharif (1926:11).

The tribesmen came to the saint during his lifetime for advice in spiritual and secular affairs. According to his success

796 241 789 821 seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be 556 454 791 brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[1]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[2] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[3] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[1] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[3] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut.[*] The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[*] The Senhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dahdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1

able since much of it is not mountain at all, but open rolling country.

The Riffians are tough fighters. They won Spain for Franco, on a promise of freedom given them on the Yellow Plain of Ktama. One of them, ʿAbd el-Krīm's jailer, once told me that he gave the Christian prisoners dirt mixed in their bread; this is nothing to what the Christians have done to them, which, out of deference to the sensitivity of my readers, I shall not print here. Needless to say, the Riffians buried no one alive in anthills, nor have their women hacked any prisoners to shreds. Having never visited the Pathans, I cannot make the same denial for them with as much conviction, but until shown otherwise I shall continue to believe that these tales come out of the same volume of fiction.

Reading about the Pathans, however, reminds me much of the Riffians, with a few differences. The Riffians live in wetter and more fertile country, with more vegetation, and, although good Muslims, make little display of their religious feelings. They keep the fast and all the main feasts, adding a few of their own. The older men refuse to smoke, and some even refuse tea. They confined Jews to a few coastal settlements, notably Bades and Melilla, while Christians were not admitted at all, before the days of ʿAbd el-Krīm, who let in Gordon Canning, Vincent Sheean, and a few others without demanding previous conversion. One is told that the Pathans are "fanatical," but this again may be a form of general xenophobia channeled through the symbolic mechanism of religion.

The Pathans also are organized in tribes, divided into subtribes, partitioned into sections, split into clans, which are made up of patrilineal extended families.[9] Each family, clan, section, and subtribe has its head man, who represents his group in the *jirga*, or representative council of the group just above him. Like the Asht Arbaʿin, these councils convene to attempt to settle matters of dispute between their constituent members. Irrigation quarrels and cattle rustling are the chief business of the smaller jirgas, while adultery and murder draw the full tribal council, presided over by its chief officer, the khan. Like the amīn of a Kabyle village, he is often no more than a moderator. In case of murder, the killer flees the tribal territory at

[9] See H. Hörhager, *Die Volkstumsgrundlagen der Indischen nordwest-grenz Provinz* (Heidelberg, 1943). M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies* (London, 1825). C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the Northwest Frontier, 1890-1908.*

696
778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Igliwa], tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager], tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[172] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have baraka.

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
[155] unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[14] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[15]

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[16] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency.[17] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family.[18] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[14] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[15] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[16] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[17] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[18] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION

771 RIFFIAN religion, although of course officially Islam, is a blend of that faith with old heathen ideas, and with factors apparently Christian and Jewish, some of which may antedate the arrival of Islam. The kings of Nekor were rigid adherents to the Malekite rite,[1] and the Islam of the Riffians from that time to this has been officially orthodox.

782 794 The visible practice of orthodox religion consists in the sending by each *bone* of twenty-five men on a set day each week to the cantonal mosque to pray, and in public attendance of Friday sermons there. The preceptor delivers this sermon in the morning, standing before the worshippers and leaning on a cane. He criticises local happenings and gives out the agricultural forecast for the week, besides expounding the Koran.

Most of the men of the *canton* who are married and of serious purpose attend this service. Old women also attend, sitting in a separate room, where they can hear but cannot be seen: Young women do not go, and indeed seldom take the trouble to pray, since religion is almost wholly a masculine concern. When they do pray they do it at home. As an outlet of religious energy, or more often as a holiday excursion, they take food to the saint's tomb and eat it there with their children. Students, apparently immune to the prohibition against men's going to the tomb, do so and are given food by the women. Women also go to cemeteries on Fridays, and enjoy themselves despite their surroundings.

●773 A common legend prevalent in many parts of Morocco is that after the Christians have had their way with the Muslimin for a certain length of time, Sidna Ali will come and smite them with the sword. After this Sidna Aissa, or Jesus, will appear and convert the Christians to Islam.

This legend is narrated in the Jebala, where a special intensity is given to the part of Jesus in the drama. The Jebalans claim that when Sidna Aissa comes wolves will lie down with lambs, and that stones, streams, and roads will speak. Ali, who is said by the Jebalans to have been scab-headed, and Jesus, who is probably their most important religious personage, especially in Taghzuth, are the only two historical characters reputed not to have died, but to be living on, awaiting return to earth. This is not said of the Prophet, whose personality hovers in the background as the legitimate but unemphasised pivot of the religion.

At Taghzuth I was told the stories of Jonah and the whale, and the Flood. In the latter legend, the ark was made to land at Tangier. This belief is also held in the Rif. A variant version popular there is that in the beginning of time Banu Adam (a collective name meaning "Children of Adam," or "mankind," but here used to denote an individual) saw that a flood was coming and built a boat, taking into it his wife, his daughter, his dog, his cat, his donkey, and seven men. When the flood was over the boat landed on a mountain. At that time the seven men began quarrelling over Banu Adam's daughter, since each of them

[1] See p. 32.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

wanted her, and the quarrel grew into a fight. Banu Adam was perturbed at this, and sat up all night making *fatḥa* and other prayers. In the morning he found that instead of one daughter he had seven, each like the next, so that he could not tell which of them was the original. He also discovered that his dog, cat, and donkey were missing, hence he naturally concluded that each of these animals had been turned into two daughters. Each man married one of the daughters, and all mankind is descended from these unions.

All women since that time have been divided into four classes: (1) those who are always fighting and making a noise, and interfering in other people's affairs—descended from the dog; (2) those sly, deceitful, and unfaithful—descended from the cat; (3) the stupid, stolid, and slow—descended from the donkey; (4) the quiet, capable, agreeable, truthful, and faithful. These last are descended from the true daughter of Banu Adam, and are rare.

In the Rif, the Ali and Jesus prediction is replaced by the legend that a man, identity unknown, will come and smite both the Muslimin and the Christians until but a tenth of each remains. Then the slayer will introduce a new religion, the nature of which has not yet been revealed. He will come across the sky with the sun from the East in a single day.

RELIGIOUS BROTHERHOODS

Just before the European conquest of the Rif, members of heterodox religious brotherhoods began to come into the territory, teaching and making converts, and Riffians who had lived outside came home bringing these doctrines with them. These sects are the Bokhariin, Derkawa, Tijaniin, and Nasiriin. All four of them now have adherents all over the Rif. The adherents are called *fakir* (plural *fokara*). The *fokara* refuse to go to the mosques or saint's tombs, but will convene for religious purposes only in the house of their local *mokaddem*. Here they pray and work themselves into religious ecstasies by monotonous chants and gruntings, accompanied by rhythmic movements of the body. In these meetings they pretend to see, or believe they see, the Prophet or the founder of their order going by in the form of a cat, a dove, or some other animal, and delivering a message on the way. They are ardent bead-tellers, and delight in expounding distinctions between the *ḥarram* and the *ḥallal*, or the forbidden unclean and the lawful. They are held in low local repute.

There are neither Aissawa [1] nor Hamadcha [2] in the Rif, and no local Hedawa.[3] The only Hedawa in the Rif are devotees, infrequently to be seen begging their way. They are distrusted, and are not encouraged to remain.

[1] The Aissawa are devotees of Sidi Mohammed ben Aissa, whose remains lie outside the walls at Meknas. They follow an extravagant cult the practices of which have often been described by Europeans. Accounts may be found in René Brunel's *Essai sur la Confrérie Religieuse des Aissaoua au Maroc*, and *Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, by Octave Depont and Xavier Coppolani.

[2] The Hamadcha are a sub-sect of the Aissawa. They are commonly known as the "head-choppers," on account of their practice of slashing their own heads with axes, and banging them with clubs, at their annual celebrations. References to them will be found in the two works listed above.

[3] The Hedawa are the followers of Sidi Heddi, a deceased saint of the Jebala. At his tomb there are said to be two horses which plough the fields belonging to the sanctuary, without guidance. The Hedawa do not wash or shave, and go around in rags or sometimes naked. They smoke large pipes of *kif*, and are almost continually under the influence of that drug. They claim that they can foretell the future while under its influence. They can be seen in greatest numbers at Moúlai Yakub, a sulphur bath northwest of Fez, accessible by motor.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj [755] Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure [782] barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

778
823 Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an
[755] empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 [117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

821 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in
● 775 a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 [118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman [Igliwa], usm, plur. usmän [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [Igliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

821 [119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [Igliwa],
783 tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

581 the community at large expect various benefits. For marriage is a
585 good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness
/ and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at any rate join in the feast (Ulad [10] Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager), and it is bad fal if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good fal if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the bas, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad fal to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shawia). So also the contrary belief that it is good fal to meet a funeral (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the bas; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier).

783 Manslayers are unclean.

755 [11] Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for stinging pain, in Arabic called nahsa, nogza, bab, or biban, among the Igliwa nnahst or nnogzt, among the Ait Warain tauwurt, among the Ait Waryager dauwort. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh.

783 [12] The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the
775 blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Ait
682 Waryager an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell.
884 Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken
682 anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes

765 [481] On the 'asura day much attention is bestowed on the dead.

[482] Among the Ait Waryager, on the 'asura morning, men and women go to the graves of their dead relatives and have there a meal of seksu, bread, and figs; but they only eat food which has been brought by others, not their own food. If there is water in the neighbourhood they also pour water on the graves. It is said that if alms are not given in the cemetery on this day, the dead will suffer from hunger and thirst and weep in their graves; and should children then refrain from visiting the graves of their parents, they would be cursed by them.

[483] The graves of deceased members of the family are also visited on the twenty-sixth (Tangier, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Amanuz) or twenty-seventh (Igliwa, Aglu) day of Ramadan; on the 'Arafa day preceding the Great Feast (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Igliwa, Amanuz) or on the second day of that feast (Bni 'Aros); and sometimes at the Little Feast or on the day preceding it (Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) and at the mulud (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager).

[484] There are yet other occasions on which alms should be given on behalf of the dead, either at their graves or otherwise, namely, when they appear to their living friends in dreams (Ait Waryager, Hiaina), or when the latter dream of figs or other kinds of dried fruit (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[485] There are persons who arrange their own funeral in [486] advance, for fear that otherwise it might not be conducted in the proper manner. Such a person buys his grave-clothing and invites scribes to his house or tent.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz and the Ait Waryager the scribes likewise make their recitations with the grave-clothing in front or in the midst of them, and they are lavishly entertained.

775 [534] The dead are said to visit their former homes on Thursdays, though nobody can see them (Tangier, Andjra); and in Andjra their families should therefore have good food for supper every Thursday. The soul of a dead person is, moreover, supposed to be in his grave every Friday (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Warain), or to come there on Thursday at 'asar (Tangier, Bni 'Aros)—some people say as early as Thursday morning (Ait Waryager) or on Wednesday at 'asar (Andjra)—and leave it on Friday at 'asar (ibid., Ait Waryager) or sunset (Tangier) or as soon as the grave has been visited by members of the family (Bni 'Aros).

775 [546] Dead saints may appear to the living in human or animal shapes; but as to ordinary dead people I have been assured over and over again that the dead do not walk, and I remember how heartily my friends in the tribe of Jbel Hbib laughed when I told them that many Christians believe in ghosts. The dead may come and see their friends; but on these occasions they cannot themselves be seen by anybody, and they come not as enemies but as friends.

Among the Ait Waryager men who have fallen in war with the Christians come to their relatives at night, but they do so only in kindness.

[547] The Ait Waryager believe that graveyards are haunted both by the dead and by jnun who come out of the ground in the dark.

[548] The place where a person has been found killed is regarded as haunted, whether he is buried there—as is often the case with a stranger or one who has no family—or not. Everywhere in Morocco it is marked with a small cairn of stones.

In some parts of the country travellers passing such a cairn often add a stone to it (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Aglu), whereas in other parts of the country there is no such custom.

[550] In Andjra I was told that the place where a person has been killed is meskun, or haunted by jnun. A scribe from the Ait Waryager denied that it is meskun, but admitted that his people are afraid of it.

789 [552] In Northern Morocco, if a married woman is afraid that her [832] husband is in love with somebody else, she secures the assistance of an old woman, who goes in the night to a cemetery with a dish of seksu, unearths the hand of a newly buried corpse, and stirs the seksu with it. Among the Ait Waryager the old woman cuts off the right hand of the corpse and brings it to the jealous wife, who uses it in the said manner, not only once but several times, when she is making seksu.

[556] The magic energy inherent in a corpse, however, is used not only in witchcraft but for prophylactic and curative purposes as well. [755] Among the Ait Waryager one who has decayed teeth rubs them with the forefinger of a dead person's right hand before or while he is washed.

[557] Among the Ait Waryager it often happens that when a grave has been dug, but before the dead body has been lowered into it, a man lies down full length in the grave in order to acquire strength, [755] whether he be ill or not. Among the same Rifians a person who suffers from a bad headache goes to the grave of a stranger (who may be a holy man) before sunrise, places some bread or figs on it, and ties there a piece of his clothes as a little flag; and on the two following mornings he again visits the grave but without putting anything there.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

796 536

While this is happening all the rest of the animals come running in and attack the Jews, who throw down their ashes and wooden guns and run away to hide. The animals, when the Jews have disappeared, are herded into a corner by their drivers. Then the Christians come in talking together loudly in a gibberish of extemporised sounds; an interpreter pretends to translate what they are saying to the audience, and accredits them with ludicrous and obscene conversation. He announces that the Christians have ordered all the attractive Moslem girls brought to the headquarters, one girl each day, for the enjoyment of the *ḥakim*, as the officer in charge of a tribal bureau is called.

After this the Christians dance with their wives, and then sit down and pretend to eat from bits of broken crockery which they have brought with them. The situation of people eating from separate utensils is in itself highly ludicrous to the Riffians.

After the meal the Christians and their wives dance again, after which the *ḥakim* performs his duties of administration. Prisoners are brought in, interviewed, and sentenced, and Muslimin who are not prisoners come in and try to sell things to the officers. Neither side understands the other, the Muslimin speaking *thamaṣight* and the Christians still jabbering their gibberish. They begin to fight, and the tribal council convenes. The councillors appoint a crier, who shouts, "There is no god but God; O Muslimin, let us make holy war."

Then the *jihad*, or holy war, commences, both sides throwing ashes at each other, and the Christians dragging in cannon. While the fight is going on the Jews sneak out of hiding and going over to the Christian and Mohammedan women sitting on the side steal from them the eggs, meat, and bread which they are holding. One of the Jews makes a speech excusing this theft, saying that the ancestors of the Jews formerly had a great city and a great empire, but that the wild animals came in and destroyed their places and drove them out. Now they must steal to get a little of their property back. The Jews then go around the audience and collect eggs, almonds, sugar, and money.

Meanwhile the war is going on, all of the participants being by this time covered with ashes. Some of the contestants pretend to die or be wounded, and the women of their sides pick them up and take them to a corner, where they bandage the wounded. When most or all of them have simulated death, one woman from each side goes over to the corner where they are lying and touches all of her own kind, bringing them to life again. Finally the Muslimin win, and the Christians depart. The crier announces that the Christians have departed and that government and justice will be restored to the land.

Then the animals and their drivers come to the fore again, the drivers attempt to mount and are thrown, and the cow is milked.

After this they go to another house and give the performance again.

The *ishuikhen* perform once in each house in the village, excepting in those of "soured" individuals who do not approve of this vulgarity and will not permit it on their premises.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

● 776

Besides the Deity and the historic characters concerned with the Semitic religions, such as the prophets and the *soḥaba*, the Riffians commonly believe in nine types of supernatural being, only two of which are intimately associated with Islam. These are as follows:

1. *malakin*, the Semitic angels.

2. *jnun*, the jinns or genii, including the *afarit* and the *shaiyatin*. This class also includes the *ṯajinnisḥth*, a female jinn in the form of a beautiful woman, who meets men on

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

the path or in the wilderness at night and seduces them. She usually leads them to a room beneath a stream, entered by a staircase running down through the water. Before allowing the man she has seduced to depart she exacts from him a promise never to reveal the place where her chamber is hidden. A man who breaks his promise will die as soon as the words have left his mouth.

The *jnun* which disturb the Riffians most are those which take the forms of dogs or jackals. Dogs with light eyes are believed to be *jnun*, and fierce jackals, transformed *jnun*, are said to guard treasure hidden in the bottoms of caves. Doors and shutters are closed at night to prevent *jnun* from entering and possessing the occupants. Hydrophobia is thought to indicate the entrance of a *jinni* into a man's body.

3. *er khier*, a ghost. Ghosts are said to be very tall and thin, and to travel about at night, especially in the neighborhood of cemeteries. They are sometimes able to strike at men with tongues of fire, and can appear and disappear at will.

4. *thasardunth imkran*, a she-mule, decked with bells. It comes out of cemeteries at night and eats people.

5. *er riah*, a hot whirlwind which comes in summer, and is supposed to be a baleful supernatural being.

6. *thamza*, or *sfuf*, an ogress. She is described as an ugly woman with long trailing breasts that touch the ground and squirt milk as she walks, long slobbering lips, and long, tangled, curly hair. She is able to change her form and appear as an enticing damsel, luring people to her house in order to eat them, and takes great delight in crunching and gnawing on human bones. This ogress lives in a house on a deserted part of a mountain.

7. *amziw* is the husband or male sex of the *thamza*. He resembles her in the configuration of his lips and in the form and condition of his hair. The *amziw* is also able to change his form and appear as a normal man, sometimes as an old man, and sometimes as a Negro. The *amziw* carries on the same means of livelihood as his wife, luring people to his house and eating them. The *amziw* is less frequently referred to in Riffian folklore than the *thamza*, and is apparently considered less common and less dangerous.

8. *bu seba ijjithen*, the Father of Seven Heads, is a creature large as a mule, possessing seven human heads. Its hind legs are those of an animal, and its front legs terminate in human hands. When travelling about the animal runs on all fours, but when in proximity to human beings rises on its hind legs and attacks its victims with its hands. From the nostrils and mouths of its seven heads it breathes fire. It eats its victims in the wilderness where it finds them, since it has no dwelling, wandering about and sleeping in deserted country. There is no mention of sex as applied to the *bu seba ijjithen*, wherefore one is led to conclude that it is either masculine or asexual. The *thamza*, *amziw*, and *bu seba ijjithen* are said to have been mortal, and to be long extinct.

9. *hajuj u majuj*, dwarfs, or gnomes. They live in subterranean caverns without exits to the surface. These creatures are as small as two-year-old children, bandy-legged, pigeon-toed, long-bearded, neckless, and bearing their heads directly on their shoulders. They are hunch-backed and wrinkled, and present every sign of senility, even while in infancy. They all go naked. Each day the dwarfs dig a passage upwards, with the intention of breaking through the earth's crust, issuing forth, destroying mankind, and taking possession of the earth. Each evening, however, they become tired, and say, "It is night now, and we are tired, let us go back to the center of the earth and sleep; there is not much work left

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

●776 for us to do; tomorrow we will finish the hole and get out." Each morning, however, when they go back to work, they find the hole which they made on the previous day filled with earth, and have to commence their work over again. The reason that their hole is filled each night is that in declaring that they will emerge the next day they neglect to say "*In sha'a Allah*," or "If God wills it." If once they should hit upon the idea of saying *in sha'a Allah*, the next day they would succeed in breaking out and would overrun the earth.

There is another legend concerning the dwarfs, which gives them quite a different interpretation. It says that far to the East where the sun rises is a land bounded on the west by an iron wall. On the east side of the wall live the *hajuj u majuj*, described as above, who are more numerous than mankind. If they should ever break down the wall they would overrun the earth. Both legends state definitely that their release would cause the extinction of mankind. The first version implies a gnome-like type of creature, and the second seems to take its inspiration from China. I heard the first in the Gaennaya and the second in Beni Bu Nsar.

Although these supernatural creatures are used mainly as subjects of folklore told to children by their mothers, they are nevertheless believed in by the adults, apparently without exception.

789 [95] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Igliwa); among the Ait Waryager he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger—among the Ait Waryager the forefinger of the right hand—with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz).

825 776 778 [97] The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much baraka in it; it is of high blood (d-demm l-kbir); it is like a shereef. It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; l-hail u l-hair wahed, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulad Bu'aziz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Ait Waryager). The sayatin, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Ait Waryager). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager); it says, L-haer liya u l sidi, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Hiaina).

[103] Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean, a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of baraka. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by jnun (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

824 778 241 [105] As certain animal species so also certain species of the [106] vegetable kingdom are possessed of baraka. This is above all the case with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and seksu. The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Ait Waryager). It is the baraka of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.

824 778 Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber idea, since the date-palm (Arab. nahla; Berb. ainiu or tainiut [Igliwa], tini [Temsaman]) has been known to the Berbers from a very ancient period; but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia. Another holy tree, like- [107] wise held sacred in the East, is the olive (Arab. s-sejara de z-zeit un; Berb. tazzitunt [Igliwa], zzeitun [Temsaman]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times. It is said that it has one of the names

696
778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Igliwa], tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager], tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[177] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have baraka.

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
[155] unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

●776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

776 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each
178 other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall
[681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

178 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is whole-
515 some to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same
789 vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a
778 wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with
[754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

778
821 by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

784
233 [258] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasror, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti).
[252] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

776 [262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

●776 against you by God and the religious law", so as to drive it away if it is a jenn or a saint, or to prevent the jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager). A single raven seen in the morning by a person who sets out on a journey is sometimes said to be a jenn (Temsaman).

[271] Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of jnun, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits [264] saying the bismillah before eating, jnun or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks [272] standing (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or eats with his left hand (Ait Waryager), jnun are eating or drinking with him.

[782] If a person when he is praying does not bow down so low that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, jnun or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

776 262 [263] [278] Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted and consequently in many cases a source of danger. As already said, a person who gets angry with raw meat in his hand is very liable to be struck by jnun. The same is the case with one who is beaten by such a person (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager).

No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shawia, Andjra, Ait Waryager, etc.) or generally to the person who has given it; it would be bad for both parties (Ait Waryager).

If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market and his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them (Ait Waryager), since otherwise they will be hurt by jnun (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Sadden).

[843] [279] If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she aks, because otherwise the fetus (Ait Waryager) or the woman as well (Ulad Bu aziz) will die; should he refuse, her husband might complain of it to his governor, who would compel him to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for (ibid.).

776 264 If a person eats meat in the presence of some one else he must let him have a share of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden; for l-lham auwaj l-hanak, "meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it]", he will be made ill by jnun (Dukkala)). In explanation of these

776 practices and beliefs it was said that a person who sees meat and is not
264 allowed to taste it gets angry and is therefore attacked by the jnun haunting the meat, and also that the jnun haunting the person may hurt him because they do not get the meat they are longing for. We must not expect very clear ideas with regard to haunted objects; yet both explanations well agree with the fact that some of the customs in question have particular reference to women and children, who are more than others exposed to the attacks of jnun. If a person offers another meat the latter must accept it, even though he does not want to eat it; only an enemy can refuse such an offer, since a refusal would be attended with very serious consequences for the person who offered it—he may even die (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Sadden). But I have also heard that the bas, or evil, will fall upon the person who refuses to accept the meat (Hiaina), or that both parties will have to suffer (Ait Waryager).

776 514 753 [280] Excrements of men and of animals which are not used for food are extremely haunted. The Ait Waryager say that there are Jewish jnun in the dung-heap (dazubait, in Arabic, zebbala) of the household; and water-closets and drains are favourite abodes of jnun. In this connection some beliefs and practices relating to improper behaviour may be mentioned in addition to those noticed before. When a person does his needs he should cover his head with his hayek or the hood (qobb) of his jellaba, he must look neither right nor left, and if he speaks his children will be qora, that is, affected with ringworm (Fez). If a boy does his needs on the road—nobody but a boy can do such a thing—he will have boils (Ulad Bu aziz); the Ait Waryager say that he must be a bastard (mmis rahram). If a person makes water on the road, the bas enters underneath his nails and and makes them diseased (Andjra) or he will have hangnails (Ait Waryager) or he will be forgetful (Fez).

776 372 513 [293] Jnun also haunt the fire and the fire-place (in Arabic l-kanun; in Berber takat or takkat [Sheiha], almssi [Ait Sadden], tahfurt n tmssi [Ait Warain], dagandort [Ait Waryager]). If a person sleeps with his head near the fireplace, he is very liable to be struck by them; some people say that he will never get well again, while according to others he will have a headache or be troubled with bad dreams.

776 372 [294] To throw out a brand from the fire-place when it is raining makes the angels blind (Hiaina); indeed, fire ought never to be thrown

776 372 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 776 784 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis, [585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 784 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between [264] asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 776 272 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent jnun from drinking of it.

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water[1] since
●776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama q:lil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health". A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [309] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [307] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
789 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. —Analyst]

776 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] [304] Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

[305] For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[184] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[307] The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

[308] The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] [309] Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsistencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the baraka possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

[315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

[324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person, attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

776 755 789 [325] The Ait Waryager rub pounded bitter almonds (ddauz mazag) mixed with oil and salt on the affected part of the body of a person who is troubled with le-ryah.

[328] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from an illness caused by jnun, a scribe writes a charm for him on a loaf of bread or on a paper, which is then put in the open in a place where no animal can get at it; it is left there over night so that the stars shall shine on it, and on the next day the patient eats the loaf or hangs the paper round his neck.

776 781 [356] Among the Ait Waryager there are women, called dizuhriyin (sing. dazuhrit), who are likewise able to tell people about secret things and future events owing to the information they derive from jnun.

832 [361] A mahabba, or love-charm, may contain either the names of Muhammadan jnun, as well as something from the Koran, or the names of sayatin. This is a way in which such a charm is used: the man who wants to be loved by a certain woman goes to the neighbourhood of her house, puts the charm between the forefinger and middle finger of his right hand, and moves the fingers with the charm three times in the direction of the house, at the same time whispering the woman's name. Then he burns the charm between his fingers and goes away; and now she will love him (Ait Waryager). The following practice serves the purpose of overcoming a woman's objection to marrying a man who wants to marry her. A scribe writes a charm and keeps it in his house for seven days, fumigating it every evening with the smoke of pepper and saffron. During this period he must refrain from salted food, so that jnun—muminin—may speak to him. He then ties the charm to an olive tree with a hair of the woman, which has been rpocured by the man who wants to marry her. When the wind makes it flutter the woman will lose her senses, and she will remain in that condition until the scribe removes the charm from the tree and takes it to his house. As soon as this is done she not only comes to her wits again, but gets fond of the man, and [362] they soon become husband and wife (ibid.).

776 [396] A jenniya whose name is widely known in Morocco is the Gola. She is said to be very big and have the appearance of a woman, although she has also been seen with her extremities looking like the feet of a goat and with very much hair all over the body and the face.

776 She speaks gently to people and thus allures them to come to her, but at the same time she is very dangerous: when she has got hold of a person she kills and eats him.

[398] A jenniya of the same type is Sbuha, mentioned to me by a scribe from the Ait Waryager. She appears sometimes as a woman and at other times as a she-animal—a mule or donkey or bitch—or in any shape she pleases. Her breasts and lower lip are very long and pendant. She lives in some desert place, from which she comes and frightens people; and those who see her go mad. I have also heard of her at Tangier.

The Gola is the Gule or Gul mentioned in old Arabic literature and Arabic tales as the name for a female demon of a most dangerous disposition, who is fond of eating men; the word comes from a root signifying "to destroy", perhaps originally "to assault". She passes a solitary existence in the deserts, or lies in wait at some place where men are destined to perish; thus she appears to persons travelling alone in the night, and being supposed by them to be herself a traveller, lures them out of their way. She not only converses with the travellers, but sometimes prostitutes herself to them. She has the power of changing her shape. She may appear in the role of a young wife who gives a sleeping-draught to her husband, or as a girl weeping on the roadside. But usually she is described as an ugly woman with [399] long pendant breasts, which she sometimes throws back over her shoulders, or as a hideous monster with the feet of an ass or with hairy skin resembling that of a dog.

[404] Among the Berbers there is the belief in a female demon who lives in cemeteries. The Ait Waryager maintain that [405] every cemetery has a dajennit, or jenniya, who appears in the evening in the shape of a mule and therefore is called dasardund, or "mule". She is very seldom seen, but several persons have heard her voice, which is like that of an ordinary mule, and the rattling noise of something made of silver or iron which she carries round her neck. It is a bad omen to see or hear her: it means illness or madness or death.

[406] The most famous of all jnun is Sitan (s-Sitan, s-Sitan, s-Sitan, s-Seitan; I shall use the form Sitan, without the definite article, as I heard the name being used in Fez) or Iblis (Iblis, Yeblis), that is, Satan or the devil, who is [407] regarded as the chief of the evil jnun—the sayatin or ibales.

776 Sitan is everywhere, except in mosques. He may assume all sorts of shapes, hence he has gained the epithet abribas, or "vari-coloured". But at the same time a few definite bodily characteristics are given to him. He has seven hairs on his chin, and is blind in the right eye. It was put out by Siyidna Idris, the prophet, who was a tailor. Sitan once came to him with an egg in his hand and told him that God had shaped the world like an egg. Siyidna Idris was enraged by this blasphemous talk and answered, "No, God made the world like the eye of this needle, look here". When Sitan looked at the needle the prophet thrust it into his eye. An old scribe told me that Sitan has a penis on the inner side of his right thigh and a vulva on the inner side of his left; to produce offspring he needs therefore only to close his thighs, and this he does all day long, which explains why there are so many sayatin in the world. But from other scribes I hear that Sitan has a wife by name Sitanah (s-Sitana, s-Seitana) or Sa dana.

Sitan is the great tempter. He induces people to refrain from praying, from reciting the Koran, from fasting in Ramadan, from giving alms, and from fulfilling other duties prescribed by God. He makes men and women indulge in lustfulness, tempts brothers to have illicit intercourse with their sisters, causes quarrels between husbands and wives, incites men to fight and curse and kill each other. He finds pleasure in seeing people do what is hateful to God. He rejoices when a man dies unmarried, and weeps when a young man takes to himself a wife. If anybody pollutes a mosque or uses unclean liquid for his ablutions, or treats the Koran disrespectfully, he may be sure to gain Iblis' favour. Sitan is anxious to enter into the bodies of men through their [408] mouth or nostrils or ears or eyes, to induce them to do wrong. If a person behaves badly it is said that he has Sitan in him, fih s-sitan, or that he is himself Sitan; and bad people are called sayatin. They are even worse than Sitan: — S-sitan men j-jenn ula s-sitan men bnadem, or, L-wuswas ("the tempter") men l-jenn wala men bnadem.

776 787 Sitan makes himself unpleasant to men in many ways. He inflames them with anger and inspires them with fear. He deceives them with false dreams. If a person omits saying his evening prayer his dreams will not be trustworthy, because they are sent by Sitan (Fez). In the first ploughing season dreams are not to be trusted (Shiadma, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder), because Sitan turns them topsy-turvy as the plough turns the earth (Tangier).

776 [409] Among the Ait Waryager, if a party of hunters are in vain 789 hunting for hares and rabbits, they all simultaneously throw the sticks 224 made of olive branches which they habitually use on such occasions on the ground, saying, Allah in'al ssitan rharami, "God damn Satan the villain", and spit; they thus flog the devil, who is evidently looked upon as the cause of their ill-luck, and spit on him so as to drive him away.

754 [414] Besides the jnun the evil eye is a very frequent cause of misfortune. It is said that "the evil eye owns two-thirds of the graveyard"—L-'ain 'anda t ult ayin fe l-mqabar; or that "one half of mankind dies from the evil eye"—N-nuss fe bnadem kaimut be l-'ain; or or that at any rate one-third of all living beings are killed by the same enemy. There is another saying, that "the evil eye empties the castles (or 'houses') and fills the graves"—L-'ain t uhli l-qosor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Fez), or L-'ain t hli d-duyor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Tangier). So firmly is the evil eye believed in, that if some accident happens at a wedding or any other feast where a person reputed to have an evil eye is present, it is attributed to him and he may have to pay damages; and if such a person looks at another's animal and it shortly afterwards dies, he is likewise held responsible for the loss.

[421] I have heard some people say that the eyes of Christians are not dangerous to Muhammadans (Andjra, Ulad Bu 'aziz) and vice versa (Andjra), but there are others who have expressed different views (Fez, Ait Waryager). It is believed that dogs and cats can injure a person who is eating by covetously looking at him. This is quite in accordance with a saying attributed to the Prophet himself.

[423] A person who is reputed to have an evil eye is generally shunned, and is not allowed to take part in feasts or gatherings. Among the Ulad Bu'aziz he must not pitch his tent near the tents of others. Among the Igliwa his neighbours sometimes move from the place; and among the Ait Waryager he may himself have to leave the village if he is only a poor man. Attempts are also made to escape the [424] danger by curing the evil-doer. For this purpose the bridle of a mule is put into his mouth and then pulled by somebody. At Fez I was told that three pulls will cure him. In Andjra it is believed that if he makes a noise he will get worse, whereas silence on his part is taken as a sign that he will no longer have the evil eye.

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust) [822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must [585] [292] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

● 776 754 501 789 [440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

[242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in
251 subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

251 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread
778 being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

●776 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or
778 earthenware vessel in which money is buried—tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid
[783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

4/2 The sieve—called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)—which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

764 Among the Ait Waryager the bamboo cane with which the body was measured is broken and the pieces are put on the grave.

764 767 [464] The washers of the body are paid in towns and many places in the country (Bni 'Aros, Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager), but in other places they do their work gratuitously (Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Amanuz, Aglu). Among the Ait Waryager the clothes of the dead person are taken to the cemetery and given to the fqi and the other scribes, who sell them on the spot and divide the money they get for them, as well as the other money given to them by the family. The latter are afraid of using them, said a man from a neighbouring tribe, the Ait Temsaman, but among his own people there is no such fear. Very frequently the clothes of the deceased are given away in charity or sold.

765 767 When all other persons have left the cemetery the fqi remains there to perform an important function. On the first night the dead person spends in his grave—called lilt l-wahdaniya, or "the night of solitude"—he is supposed to be visited by angels, who come and examine him and, if they find fault with him, punish him by flogging. At Fez these so-called mlaik swal, or "angels of asking", are, in agreement with the general Muhammadan belief, said to be Sidna Nakir and Munkir, but most people speak of the former only. The scribes of Dukkala are somewhat uncertain as to their number; I was told that the shab s-swal, "the friends of asking", may be three or two or only one—who can know? But the questions were said to be asked in the grave, and the punishment inflicted, by Sidna 'Azrain, that is 'Azra'il, the angel of death, mentioned in the Koran under the title of malaku 'l-maut, who comes to a man at the [465] hour of death to carry his soul away from the body. The same popular belief is found elsewhere (Tangier, Ait Waryager); at Marraksh I was told that the angel 'Azrain examines the dead in their graves and, if dissatisfied with the answers, beats them with an iron rod. It is thus of great importance that the dead person should know how to answer the questions put to him, and it is in order to instruct him in this that the fqi remains at the grave. He bows down over it and, in giving his instructions, addresses the deceased as the son or daughter of such or such a woman, mentioning the mother's name only. The answers may before the interment have been written on a paper, and this so-called msaula put underneath the dead person's head when he was buried, but this does

571 and orient a Rifian's activities and maintain...the safeguard of the interests which the community of his constituents does not guarantee him. While his social units are of a patriarchal, democratic and lay type, his political groupings are of a "military" type, true [562] alliances which join men together and not territories. While the social unit, minuscule as it is, has its proper jurisdiction over a territory and the people who live in it, whether men, women or children, linking together lands and families, the political unit only links individuals together, and these individuals are men only (author's italics)[15].

776 792 3) The "religious group"[16] satisfies the small (sic) spiritual needs of the rest of the Rifians and at the same time utilizes these needs for benefiting the tribe: they are the imrabdhen[17], who want to keep out of the Rifian's quarrels so that they can be effective mediators and arbitrators for him--and it satisfies the Rifian cult for the individual himself, and lends some distinction to his society, to which he never shows himself averse.

44 4) The "economic group"....is characterized in the Rif by markets, Jews[18], the twiza, wuzi's and dhwara, all of which suffice to fulfill the Rifian's principal needs, as much in terms of personal interests as in beneficial or humanitarian ones.

181 C) Family Organization:

1) Rifian society is an organized anarchy, with all the antagonisms and contradictions which are inherent in such a concept; and these may essentially be reduced to the "instinct of defense" and its derivative, the "spirit of association"[19].

623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.[92]

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this,
[557] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his
623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.

623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

000 [114] [311] 165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616] [578] 173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616] [619] 175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613] [616] The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[176] [178] 177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

2. THE INTER-LINEAGE PACT[9] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

671
628
613
728
[776]

Praise be to God...With the prolongation and extenuation of fire and discord between the sons of the celebrated saint Sidi 'Amar Bu Yawryan al-Yusifi al-Jilmami al-Ghalbzuri[10] of the subsegment (lit. farqa) of the Awlad Ukidar, and of that of the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, with the subsegment of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, their allies, their partisans among the Awlad Tahir Asrih al-Hishami, their patrilateral cousin the Murabit Sayyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar and their brother's sons supporting him, an intercession was initiated between both parties through which they desired to obtain the recompense of God by means of good acts, asking the two parties to incline toward reconciliation, which God qualifies by good work and promises to reward whomsoever puts it into practice; then they decided to initiate it for the space of one year from the present date until the same date of the following year.

In consequence, the first party, composed of the Faqih Muahammad Ashahbar Ukidar, his brothers by his father, his patrilateral cousins the Awlad bin 'Abdallah, such as his brother's son Hammu bin 'Abdallah, etc., appeared for judgment; after this, the second party, consisting of al-'Aziz bin Muhammad, his father's brother Akuh, the patrilateral cousin of both the aforementioned, the Siyyid Muhammad bin al-Hajj 'Amar, his brother's son and those of his party as well as those supporting the aforementioned second party of the subclan of Isrihan, the Awlad Tahir Asrich, such as Muhammad bin 'Aisa bin Tahir and all his patrilateral cousins, also appeared for judgment; they came to

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
62 social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
443 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to
671 those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan, an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in
[182] principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
614
776

671 443 614 776 was drawn up, as the names of those who inspired it disappear into a convenient anonymity as the generic "those of the clan", under the otherworldly tutelage of Sidi 'Amran. As for being alive and present, 671 614 776 I consider that the jealous and rivalrous constituents of this saint would neither have consented, however great his sanctity might be, to figure expressly in this qanun; for such was the independent or anarchical spirit of this clan, that, having iziddifen or imgharen like all other clans, nobody wanted to see himself deferred or ordered around, 554 even in name only. There is no master nor, by the same token, are there servants, titles or honors. Only men and rifles, and only reality and harshness.

614 671 Nevertheless, the common good succeeds in putting the clan's ideas into effect (author's italics--i.e. "the common good makes them agree"), according to the expression of the first paragraph of the qanun, which reveals to us the amount of discussion and work that this would cost.

671 Rifian law grows, pacifying the minds of those who live by it, satisfying a need, not an ideal; and doing so as naturally as the waters of 'Ain Tihalalin, beside which it was made, slake the thirst of the wayfarer and even the clarity of both: the wayfarer and the law. For the function of the water and the function of the Rifian [182] legal system was analogous: to cure, even though the cure was not always successful.

671 443 Rifian society, as this qanun proves, establishes a place of peace, a place which is not (translator's italics) the temple of God, the place of prayer and that selected by almost all other peoples, but the market and its environs, the temple of the merchants. This proves

000 unlike the Central Atlas, there is no special time limit on repayment.

[614] 31--Imhawlen is the literal transliteration from the Arabic text, rather than the Rifian form Imhawren. The Imhawren are one of three subclans of the clan of the Aith 'Ari, of the lowland Aith Waryaghar; and the clan of the Aith 'Ari, along with that of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, form a single khums or "fifth" in that tribe.

776 692 32--Sidi Mhand u Musa (died 1254 A.H., or 1838-39 A.D., according to one informant), the apex of the lineage of Izziqiwen of the clan of the Imrabdhen. Sidi Mhand u Musa is buried in Aith Hishim and is one of the most important saints of the Aith Waryaghar. As the text indicates, he adjudicated disputes and settled feuds (between the Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari clans); and he is said to have had a great deal of baraka, which, in accordance with Rifian notions of baraka-transmission, was successively passed down to only one descendant at a time: from Sidi Mhand u Musa to his grandson Sidi Misa'ud, bypassing his own son Sidi Siddiq; then to Sidi Misa'ud's son Sidi Hmid n Sidi Misa'ud; then to Sidi Siddiq's son, Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq; on the latter's death, to his son Sidi Muhand; on the latter's death to his son Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar, who was made qa'id of Imrabdhen by the Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz; and then to his brother Sidi Muhand.

776 792 Some informants say that Sidi Mhand u Musa and his descendants are the only true shurfa among all the Imrabdhen in the Aith Waryaghar, and that they have the right to their share in the sunduq or box of Mulay Idris for this reason. The share in question is divided up every year at the time of the Mulud: either a representative of the Dharwa n Sidi Mhand u Musa goes to Fez to get it, or, as the descendants of Mulay Idris are said to have a complete listing of those entitled to such shares, they sent them out. The shares are the same every year, but informants were unable to tell me the amount (a fact which in itself casts suspicion on the legitimacy of their claim to be shurfa). When the allotted amount arrives in Aith Waryaghar, it is divided into four parts: one for the descendants of Sidi Misa'ud ("Burjila") n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (the Iburjilathen of Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (also in Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi Haddu n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Zawith n Tashtiwin, in the subclan of Aith Tmajurth, in the clan territory of Aith 'Abdallah, and in Swani, where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the Mediterranean at the mouth of the Nkur River, in the clan territory of the Aith 'Ari), and one for the descendants of Sidi Muhammad n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Aith Hishim).

000 33--The reference here is probably to Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari n Sidi Musa n Sidi Hmid l-Quruni, the father of Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnau, of the lineage of Aith 'Aziz in the subclan of Upper Imrabdhen. Both father and son are buried in the Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar, located in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan territory of Aith Hadhifa.

Once again, with Sidi Mhand u Musa and Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari, both subclans of Imrabdhen are represented, no doubt in order to give greater validity to their roles as adjudicators, but also to the qanun itself.

000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.

[776] [732] 67--This saint, nicknamed Bu Rjila, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of baraka were legendary.

[613] [614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.

69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.

70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.

71--The jillab is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.

72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.

[464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.

[114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.

75--Blanco actually means aitharba'in rather than agraw in this particular context.

[113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.

77--Ra'is in Arabic is "headman", from ras, "head".

[792] [113] 78--Mulay Admad al-Raisuli was a sharif from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, The Sultan of the Mountains, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj [755] [782] Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arrich irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

48

771 guidance from the Book and the various interpretations of the
[779] Book made by a body of literate scholars. But it also serves as a vehicle for the spiritual expression of the illiterate and the superstitious. The needs of the one community, though not necessarily incompatible with the other, are of a different
771 nature. To meet the needs of the rural tribesmen, a cult of
• 776 saints has long existed in Morocco. The earliest reference to
794 this phenomenon in the Rif can be found in the work of 'Abd el-Haqq el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif, dated 1311 and translated from Arabic to French by G. S. Colin (1926). The more formal aspects of Islam whereby a morality is derived from dialectic interpretation of Koranic scripture did not have the power of explanation among the tribesmen as mysticism. As Colin points out in his introduction to el-Badisi's work:

> Il s'agit donc, en somme, d'un effort de vulgarisation de la science religieuse et, plus spécialement, du mysticisme, dans le but de rendre ce dernier plus populaire et plus pittoresque, et de permettre par là aux ames simples d'y prendre intérêt et de s'y attacher. (Ibid.:8)

792 A man became a saint because of various miracles performed
776 during his lifetime which, according to the beliefs of the tribesmen, signify that the man had a closer connection with the spiritual world. In most areas of Morocco the saint was also a sharif or descendent of the Prophet. This does not seem to be a vital criterion for sainthood in the Rif. El-Bakiri lists only one of the saints in his hagiography as being a sharif (1926:11).

The tribesmen came to the saint during his lifetime for advice in spiritual and secular affairs. According to his success

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

792 1949.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all
794 founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of
575 the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator.
[778] These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic
[554] leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

792 Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint
794 have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends
● 776 to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's
575 abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God [779] in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee.

792 These religious associations are for the most part volun-
794 tary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a
575 son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
776 the dinoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The dinoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a dinoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the dinoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 dinoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the dinoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major
556 principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as
152 a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the dinoun
[753] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of
[776] death and disease, there is one critical difference. The dinoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye, amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[993] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who
[435] inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

7: Mikese'' K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[4]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[5] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[6] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[4] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[5] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[6] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: [illegible]ractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. Thepati ent goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and [87] he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 8+3] the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
[754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

778
823
[755] Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
●[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 [117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

821 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in
775 a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 [118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman [Igliwa], usm, plur. usmăn [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [Igliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

821 [119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [Igliwa],
783 tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

595 possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage; it is
832 significant that the bride puts on the didli on the morning after her first intercourse withher husband.

787 [586] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person gets a sty some
755 woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

787 An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic in-
843 fluences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Warain). At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (sfarjel) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere, is found the belief that if a pregnant woman [587] (Hiaina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Ait Waryager), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birthmark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Ait Sadden).

787 [590] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the
●777 sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [593] Rezq (razq, rezq) means all sorts of good things contributing
356 to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a per-
[312] son cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own rezq (Fez).

You may also sweep away your rezq. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Hiaina, Dukkala, Tangier, Andjra, Tsul, Ait Waryager), or even after 'asar (At Ubahti); and the Rifians of Temsaman consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon.

[595] Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. settaba; Berb. tasttabt [Ait Warain], tastta [Temsaman], disagwust [Ait Waryager]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Ait Waryager).

777 356 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 291 789 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion. If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 576 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

2: Westermarck--56 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[1]

VOL. II

CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS MAGICAL INFLUENCES AND OMENS—DREAMS

789 In the last chapter we noticed many instances of the belief that
787 qualities, acts, and events have a mysterious power of producing more
777 or less similar effects. In other cases of magic causation the effect is more indefinite or more unlike its cause. Yet even then we very frequently find the law of association of ideas by similarity operating in combining agreeable qualities or events with agreeable, and disagreeable qualities or events with disagreeable, consequences. And there is a parallel combination in the case of omens, which are often hardly distinguishable from magical influences.

777 [7] If a man meets an old woman on his way he should say, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate"; and if he meets her in the morning when he sets out on a journey he should not proceed on that day but turn back (Ait Waryager). It is also unlucky to meet a widow or a barren woman in the morning (Igliwa), and so it is to meet a widow in the evening as well (Ait Waryager).

585 [8] It is bad fal to meet a bridal procession on the road (Shawia,
787 Andjra, Ait Waryager). In Andjra it is believed that if two bridal processions meet, one of the brides will die, being affected by the other one's bas; and among the Ait Waryager it is the custom for the women of both parties to throw stones at each other to drive away the evil. At Tangier I was told that it is bad fal if two 'ammariyat (more often called a'mamer), or bridal boxes, meet, or if anybody meets one in the morning, because the 'ammariya means a bier. But this explanation cannot apply to the tribes mentioned above, among whom a woman's bier is not made to resemble an 'ammariya or, as in the Shawia and among the Ait Waryager, 'ammariyat are not used at weddings.

585 [9] But although a bride is looked upon with some suspicion and
581 a wedding is not without its dangers, benign magic virtue is on the other hand ascribed both to bride and bridegroom, and the wedding is a blessed occasion from which those who take part in it and even

884 and wearing a new bag (dajbirt); and he wears it not on his left side,
682 as usual, but on his right, to announce to all the people what he has done and to show that now he is a man. This is done whether the homicide took place in revenge or not. But though ordinary homicide
682 is admired, it is considered very bad to kill a scribe without sufficient reason because of his knowledge of the Koran, and it is also considered bad, though not in the same degree, to kill an unoffending shereef on account of his holy parentage; and if a man who has committed either of these cribes slaughters an animal, its meat will be difficult to digest. This indicates that the taboos imposed on manslayers have something to do with the moral side of the matter. And the same is obvious from the general view that it is neither sinful nor polluting to kill in war.

In other cases also wrongdoing contains magic energy productive
777 of evil.
789 If the first person you meet in [13] the morning when you set out
826 on a journey is one who does not observe his daily prayers, the best thing you can do is to turn back (Ait Waryager).

In Dukkala it is said that if a one-eyed person, a perfectly bald-headed person, and an albino meet in a boat it will not move.

The Ait Waryager say that the same will happen if a man who is blind, one who is bald, and one who has a sore under-lip meet on board a vessel.

[14] It is good fal for a man to have much hair on his chest (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager), evidently because it suggests strength; such hair is called s-sa'r de s-sbo'a, or "lion's hair".

777 [17] In Andjra, if anybody who is carrying something black meets
822 another person, he must put down what he is carrying while the other
789 one is passing; otherwise the latter will not pass at all but turn back, lest he should have some misfortune on that day. A similar custom prevails among the Shloh of Aglu and Glawi and among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; the person who is carrying the black object says when he puts it down, Hasak, or if he addresses more than one person, Hasakum, "With your permission", to which the answer is, 'Azk allah (in Rifian 'azzek allah), or if the person to whom it is said is a woman, 'Azkem allah, corresponding to our "pray".

789 [18] There are other cases in which people make use of the colour
822 black for their own benefit. It is used as a charm against the evil eye,
755

789 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathic magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough. Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

789 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it by having a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops at once and makes water on them.

[514]

● 777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Ait Waryager).

625 [27] Among the Ait Waryager a fox is styled si Ali, as though it were a scribe, other persons of that name being called 'Allus. They say that the fox was once a scribe, which is indicated by its Arabic name t a'leb—a confusion between t a'leb and taleb.

777 [30] There are auspicious words as well as inauspicious ones. It is
787 a good omen for a person who sets out on a journey in the morning to
192 hear the words mbarak, "blessed", or mes'ud, "lucky"; and if persons who are intent on robbery at night hear either of these words, which are also used as names for people, cried out, they are encouraged by it to carry out their evil intentions (Dukkala). The Ait Waryager regard it as good fal for one who starts on a journey in the morning to hear the names 'Absram ('Abdsslam) or Moh (Muhammed), but as bad fal to hear 'Esa or Musa. In other cases omens are drawn from words or statements which are by themselves neither lucky nor unlucky, but may become good or bad fal in accordance with the circumstances in which they are heard. If a person is speaking of something which he intends to do, and a stranger is at the same moment heard saying something which might be applied to the object of the conversation, then that which is said is regarded as fal. For example, if he says that he is going to travel or to marry, and somebody is heard saying "No", he should refrain from doing it (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [32] If a person starts on a journey or goes to the market and finds that he has left something behind or is called back, he should not turn back, or if he does he should not make another start on that day (Shawia, Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager) or he should eat a little flour before he sets out afresh (At Ubahti); otherwise he will have some misfortune. Hence if some one at home notices the thing left behind he should not ask the other one to return, but call out to make him stop and then take the thing to him.

To do something which is contrary to custom, and therefore improper, is followed by misfortune and, as we have noticed above, is often associated with the activity of [33] jnun or the devil. It is bad fal to light a candle or a lamp in the daytime (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[292] It is likewise bad to wear a garment with the inside out—such a
[784] thing is only done by Jews. Of him who does it people say that "his religion is reversed" (Ait Waryager).

It is bad to walk with one slipper only (Igliwa); it is said that he who does so is like the devil, who has only one foot (Andjra), or like a one-eyed person (Ait Waryager).

777 It is bad fal to eat or drink standing, to drink water from one hand
[264] only instead of drinking from both hands united (Andjra, Hiaina), and to drink with the mouth [34] in the water like an animal (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager); if you drink in the latter manner the water will go out through your anus.

[787] If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, his father or grandfather or some other relative of his will die (Ait Waryager).

777 The house will also be deserted by the angels (Tangier). It is
784 forbidden to whistle in a mosque or on a threshing-floor, and bad fal to do it on the road (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager). But it is the
533 custom for the shepherd to whistle; he thereby drives away evil influences from the animals (Hiaina, Ait Waryager). From a passage in the Koran it is understood that whistling was in the days of ignorance one of the idolatrous rites in the Meccan temple, and it is therefore generally held to be unlawful for pious Moslems.

787 [35] The twitches of muscles and itchings are interpreted as omens,
827 which are in most cases considered good or bad according as they occur on the right or the left side of the body. Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow (Hiaina, Tangier, Aglu, Igliwa, Ait Waryager).

According to a scribe from the Ait Waryager, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow.

[36] If the sole of one of your feet (Hiaina, Igliwa, Ait Waryager) or of your right foot (Dukkala, Shawia, Aglu) itches you will travel.

Some people also believe that you will travel if you feel itching between the toes (Ait Waryager).

777 [40] There are magical influences of many kinds in the various days of the week. I have previously spoken of beliefs relating to Friday, the holy day of the Muhammadan world, as also of the abstinence from work on Sundays observed by the women in some Berber tribes. Sunday is generally considered the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some places even

777 the only lucky day for it, being the first day of the week. In several tribes the reaping also begins on that day, and in some tribes the threshing. In fact, it is a good day for the beginning of any enterprise (Tangier). It is a favourite day for the [41] fetching of the bride to her new home (Tangier, Andjra, Igliwa, Ait Tameldu, Aglu), matrimonial intercourse being very auspicious on the night between Sunday and Monday (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); it is said that a boy conceived on that night, or on the eve of Friday, will become a mujahed (Hiaina).

Monday is also in some tribes considered a favourable day for the commencement of the autumn ploughing, reaping, and threshing. The Ait Waryager maintain that it is a good day for the beginning of any kind of work. Both among them and the Ait Sadden it is one of the two most suitable days for the fetching of the bride.

[42] Tuesday is in Andjra, like Friday, one of the days chosen for the commencement of the sowing of maize and durra. Among the Ait Waryager it is a good day for visiting saint-shrines.

[43] The Ait Waryager consider Wednesday, like Monday, to be a good day for beginning work of any description.

[44] Thursday is in some tribes held to be a favourable day for the commencement of the autumn ploughing, the reaping, and the threshing; the At Ubahti consider it even a better day than Sunday for the beginning of the ploughing. It is a very suitable day for the fetching of the bride (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Igliwa, Ait Tameldu), the eve of Friday being an excellent time for [45] matrimonial intercourse (Fez, Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Igliwa).

It is a good day for blood-letting (Fez, Tangier, Igliwa) and shaving (Ait Waryager).

[46] On the whole, Saturday, like Tuesday, is an evil day. It is held unfortunate to be born on a Saturday (Fez, Tangier, and elsewhere), though some people are of the very opposite opinion (Ait Waryager).

787 Sometimes a disagreeable dream is looked upon as a punishment. A person who has neglected his prayers is liable to dream that he is bitten or persecuted by a snake (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[47] If you dream of bees you should offer food to the scribes in the mosque, the bees representing the Koran (Ait Waryager).

If you dream of a dog somebody is speaking badly about you, barking as it were (Ait Waryager).

787 Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder, Aglu). In the /55/ first ploughing season, however, dreams are generally untrustworthy, because Sitan then turns them topsy-turvey as the plough turns the earth.

777 805 796 [58] Muharram, the first month of the Muhammadan year, is in Morocco called s-shar de l-'asur (l-asor, l-'asur), "the month of the 'Asur", or simply l-'asur (l-'asor, l-'asur) or, among the Berbers, by some Berberised form of the same word. It has derived this name from the feast on the tenth day of the month. This day, called nhar (or yaum) 'asura ('asora, 'asura) or nhar l-'asur, is practically the Muhammadan New Year's day. Much less notice is taken of the first day of the month; but from a ritual point of view the first ten days sometimes form a period by itself. Townspeople call the first day ras l'am, whereas among country-folks this term is used for the first day of the solar year.

777 796 The month of the 'Asur is rich in magical qualities. According to Sidi Halil the ninth and particularly the tenth day are blessed days, and on the latter many sacred or wonderful events are said to have taken place in the past. In Morocco baraka is also generally ascribed to those days. Magic, good or evil, is extensively practised on the 'asura [59] day and on the preceding night (lilt 'asura), which is said to favour the witches.

[73] I was told that among the Ait Waryager the farmers give on the 'asura day a tenth part of their sheep and goats to the scribes as zzka ra'sor, believing that there otherwise would be no baraka in their flocks.

[75] The Ait Waryager consider it very meritorious to hoe the ground on their fields or in their gardens on the 'asura day, even though it be only a little, but they do no other agricultural work on that day. The schools are generally, I believe, closed for three days.

777 784 796 [76] Among the Ait Temsaman no brooms must be made on the 'asura day. It is necessary to refrain from sleeping in the daytime on that day (Tangier, Ait Warain); he who does not observe this rule will become ill or be sleepy throughout the year (Ait Waryager).

In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager there is a similar taboo of longer duration, lasting for the first ten days of the month; the latter maintain that a child conceived in that period would be deaf and dumb, and they consider it advisable to refrain from sexual intercourse even till the end of the month.

777 Among various tribes no hen is said to be allowed to sit on her eggs
784 in this month, because if chicks were hatched during it they would
796 drink of the water with which some dead body has been washed—in other words, somebody in the house or tent would die (Hiaina, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager). But I have also heard another explanation of this taboo, namely, that the chicks would die.

765 Various mourning taboos have to be observed in the month of the
585 'Asur. It is a widespread rule that there must be no weddings during it (Fez, Tangier, Andjra, Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

[77] The women refrain from the use of henna on the 'asura day (Bni (Bni 'Aros), or on the first three (Tsul) or ten (Tangier, Amanuz) days of the month, or on other days as well (Fez, Ait Waryager).

[78] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager, however, it is popularly believed that the Prophet died and was buried on this day, and that it is he who is mourned for, especially by his descendants, the shereefs.

796 [96] There is one night in Ramadan which, according to Islam, is of much more importance than any other, namely, lailatu l-qadr, "the night of power", on which the Koran is said to have been sent down to the Prophet. It is of more value than a thousand months. On this night "Gabriel comes down in a crowd of angels, supplicates and asks grace for every servant, sitting or standing in remembering God". He who then says the prayers "with faith and the hope of reward shall be pardoned of all his past sins". This night is one of the last ten nights of Ramadan, but its exact date[97] has not been discovered by any but the Prophet himself and some of the Companions. A tradition fixes it to be one of the odd nights—the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, or 29th, —and it is generally believed to be the 27th, that is, the night preceding the 27th day.

Among the Arabs of Dukkala and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager the whole Koran is likewise recited during that night.

The Ait Waryager slaughter a number of goats and eat the meat, with oil and bread, in the mosque in the course of the night; this is the only evening in Ramadan when persons other than scribes take a meal in the mosque, because they are afraid of going out in the dark on account of the blood-feud, which is always rife among them. Those who have milch-animals take some dry palmetto leaves to the mosque and put them in the rmahrab where the imam is praying,

789 evening prayer in the mosque, pray there a thousand times for the Prophet, each of them keeping count of his prayers by placing a pebble in front of him after the completion of every hundred.

/266/ The custom of using a ladle as a rain-charm is common among the various Berber groups. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif the women dress up a wooden ladle (aganja) in women's clothes and walk with it to the village mosque or some shrine, praying for rain.

[372] /276/ As water extinguishes fire, so fire is also supposed to destroy the rain. Among the Ait Waryager rain is stopped by a man whose name is 'Esa boiling some rain-water in an earthenware pan (anahadam) ordinarily used for the baking of bread, and then discharging a loaded gun in the air.

/279/ Among the Ait Waryager, if there is too much rain, scribes write on a board the names of either ninety-nine or one hundred and one saints, and place the board on the roof of the village mosque.

/282/ The Ait Waryager, again, stop a westerly gale by girdling a dog with a woollen belt, which is left on it as long as the gale lasts.

/283/ BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS RELATION TO ANIMALS

231 /284/ In some tribes it is the custom for a man who buys a stallion to kill a sheep or goat and invite the men of the village to a meal; after they have eaten they make fatha, calling down blessings on the host and his animal (Ait Yusi, Ait Waryager).

/285/ Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a horse, mule, donkey, bullock, or cow, or some sheep or goats at the market, he treats those who accompanied him there with grapes, raisins, figs, or other eatables, and they in return call down blessings on him and the animal or animals he bought.

Among the Ait Waryager a person who has bought a mare or some other female animal puts a silver bracelet (damqayyast) or a pair of silver brooches (dibzimin, sing. dabzind), such as women wear over their breast, at the entrance to the yard (azqaq) and makes the animal walk over it, in order that it shall be fertile and good and not run away.

[177] /287/ Among the Ait Waryager donkeys, as also horses and mules, with black spots in their mouths are not bought by anybody, and a white spot on the forehead of a donkey or a mule, but not on that of a horse, is likewise considered bad fal.

231 755 [288] The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (dmaggit; Ait Waryager); and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Ait Waryager). It is also used as a remedy [853] for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (ibid.).

231 839 [289] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Ait Waryager); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Ait Waryager, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn.

231 777 [292] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion.

262 [295] The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic hlib or halib; and in Berber akfai (Amanuz), takfit (Igliwa), aggu akffa (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi (At Ubahti), asaffai (Ait Waryager), asffai (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Buttermilk is called in Arabic lben; and in Berber agu (Amanuz, Igliwa), aggu anddu (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi asemmam (At Ubahti), agiy (Ait Waryager), agi (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Curded milk is called in Arabic rayib or raib; and in Berber ikkil (Ait Sadden), ekkir (Ait Yusi), aklil (Ait Warain), attsil (At Ubahti), assir (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[297] Fresh butter is called in Arabic zebda; and in Berber tudit (Amanuz), tamudit (Igliwa), udi (Ait Warain), tlussi (At Ubahti), drussi (Ait Waryager), trussi (Temsaman). Salt butter is called in Arabic smen; and in Berber udi (Amanuz, Igliwa, Aglu, Ait Warain), ddhen (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

252 [298] The Ait Waryager hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the aqasror, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before.

825 787 [335] The Ait Waryager maintain that the hooting of an owl outside a house indicates that somebody in that or a neighbouring house will die, and they drive the bird away by throwing at it a sooty piece of a broken old earthenware pan or fire at it with a gun.

825 [337] A wild-dove once saved the life of the Prophet when he was persecuted by Christians, by telling them that he had gone one way although he had gone another, and for this reason the faithful were forbidden to kill any bird of its species.

● [777] 825 755 The Ait Waryager consider it unlucky if doves are living in a house, because they want to make it empty. In the same tribe, if a person suffers from fever, the dried dung of pigeons is burned, the smoke is made to pass underneath his clothes, and he inhales it as it comes through.

[751] [340] A person keeps his eyes in a good condition by [341] touching the inside of the eyelid with a raw and unbroken egg of a swallow or with a young bird newly hatched (Ait Waryager).

[342] A tortoise is never killed except for medicinal or magical purposes, and water tortoises, I believe, are not killed in any circumstances. People are afraid of them, as they are frequently supposed to be jnun; but when living in a spring or pond connected with a saint-shrine they are regarded as the servants of the saint and help to cure patients visiting the place.

Among the Ait Waryager the boiled flesh of a tortoise, prepared with salt, is eaten by sick people.

825 [343] A tortoise may have an evil effect on cows, sheep, and goats. [231] Among the Ait Waryager, if the owner of a cow which has calved does not give the cowherd the usual meal of bread and salt butter, the latter takes revenge by throwing a tortoise at the cow, which in consequence will never again give birth to a calf.

[344] There is a general fear of killing a frog or toad. At Aglu a man killed one with a stone, and his arm became paralysed. Among the Igliwa a person who killed a frog had fever for a year, and elsewhere also fever is supposed to be the consequence of such an act (Ait Waryager, &c.).

[348] The Ulad Bu'aziz believe that a snake which appears at the place where people are pitching a tent may be mul le-mkan, "the master of the place". They ask it politely to go away, and if it does not do so they kill it; but if they dream of the snake in their sleep they

585 221 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 241 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop. [461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. Perhaps it is this unending sameness [777] which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is [262] not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is [556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of [559] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which [471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps 231 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is 796 vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 312 day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

241 735 476 At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathi* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

241 735 All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

252 471 Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he

252 794 is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.

[872] 3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.

[778] 4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

MOSQUES AND SAINTS' TOMBS

346 THERE are three types of building which serve both social and religious purposes: the *thamεyitha n jkhothbath*, or cantonal mosque,[1] the *thamεajoth*, or village mosque,[2] and the *amrabi* (plural *imrabten*) or saint's tomb.[3]

The first, the cantonal mosque, is a large edifice, common to the whole *canton*, and to it come all the people of the *canton* for worship. It can be readily distinguished from lesser mosques by the fact that it bears a flag, green in the morning and white in the afternoon.

The second is the mosque of the *bone*, and there is one for each *bone* in the *canton*.

764 The third, the saint's tomb, may be a structure of some magnitude, a mere pile of stones,
● 778 or simply an unmarked but nevertheless well-known place. It is supposed to be the grave of a saint, although often it is merely some place noted for the possession of some unusual natural feature, such as a large boulder, a spring, or a clump of trees, revered long before the advent of Islam. Whether it be a definite building, a marker, or merely a place, in any case it fulfills a definite function.

358 In each of these three types of religious edifice there is one man who has been appointed
346 to take care of it, the *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*) or "warden,"[4] who may be a man of learning or, in some cases, illiterate. He is the janitor and general caretaker. He brushes the floor, sees that the mats on them are in good repair, hoists the flag on the cantonal mosque, and occasionally substitutes as muezzin for the incumbent of this mosque.

428 The mosques and saints' tombs acquire land in a number of ways. When a man dies
794 childless, and is displeased with his wife for having borne him no sons, or for some other reason, he may will a share of his land to the cantonal or village mosque or to a local saint's tomb. If he has sons but is not pleased with them, he may leave a share of his property to a mosque or tomb and the rest to his children.

[764] If, when about to die, he wishes to be buried within the mosque, he may buy his burial place with land to be given the mosque after his death. In this way he is interred under the floor of one of the rooms, and the warden has charge of the property so willed.

794 The warden of each public edifice has charge of the land belonging to it, and receives a
358 portion of the produce. He does the farming on the land and cares for the trees, but if there is too much for him to do the village council enlists poor people to work with him, as previously related.

794 Any mosque, be it of the *canton* or merely of the *bone*, and any saint's tomb capable of
485 providing shelter, serves as a free hotel for Riffians travelling from tribe to tribe. Lay

[1] From the Arabic *masjida el khutba*, meaning the "mosque of the Friday sermon."

[2] Likewise from *masjida*, and meaning literally "mosque."

[3] From the Arabic *mura'bat*. This word means either "living saint" or "dead saint"; the meaning given applies to the deceased variety and to the superstructure erected over his remains.

[4] This Arabic word is also employed to designate the "moderator" of the village council, as well as the "moderator" of the council of the great. See p. 90.

1: Coon / E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

travellers go to both types of mosque but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuḳaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-hor*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *haggus*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 100.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Gzennaya it is equivalent to 16 kiles, in Beni Urriaghel 40, in Beni Tusin 13, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 30.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

SAINTS

792 T78

Imrabten, or saints, live in some of the tribes and receive local veneration. A saint is a man who possesses *baraka*, a form of magical emanation comparable to *mana*, and usually derived through descent from the Prophet. It is through its possession that he is enabled to perform supernatural acts, and his person, being charged with it, may heal persons who touch him; hence anything which he has touched has partaken of the *baraka* and is a valuable object. By exploiting the belief in these superstitions the saints make their living.

Shorfa, or alleged descendants of the Prophet, have a virtual monopoly of this business, although holy men with no claims to such descent may acquire *baraka* through their manner of living or through religious insanity. In such cases pedigrees are often doctored up for them later.

A sherif or other possessor of *baraka* may lose it through participation in warfare, breaking of religious tabus, friendly traffic with Christians, or simply ceasing to exercise it. Shorfa recently established in the Rif for the most part still possess and exploit their *baraka*, whereas those of long residence have usually lost it and become like the rest of the Riffians. In a family of shorfa one brother may choose to exploit this quality and the other brothers to live as ordinary people.

The foremost shorfa of the Rif are the family of Ikhemrijen, originally from Fez, who are established at Targuist, at Snada of the Beni Bu Frah, in the Beni Bu Shibet, and at Tizi Ifri, between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir. The headquarters of the family are at Targuist, at the Zawiat et Tifah, where Sidi Mohammed n Suddik is the present incumbent. Sidi Hamidu at Snada and the incumbent at Tizi Ifri are likewise said to possess *baraka*, but are not as popular as their relative. The incumbent in the Beni Bu Shibet has in some way lost his *baraka*. When I was at Targuist in 1926 I was told that Sidi Mohammed had lost his *baraka* through eating with the Spanish officers and carrying on friendly relations with them, but when I was there again in 1928 I received no further confirmation of this.

At each of the establishments of this family is a *zawia*, or school, a place of instruction comparable to a cantonal mosque with the presiding sherif as head of it.

In Beni Said there is a living saint named Sidi Mohammed who came from outside the Rif, and who has established a large *zawia*. He is an emissary of the Nasirriin, and *fokara* of this sect come once every three months from all over the Rif to pay him tribute.

In Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya dwells a delegate of the Derkawa, named Sidi Mohammed el Khok. He is a recent arrival, and has a document from the head of the sect in Fez authorizing him to establish a sanctuary in the Rif, to which Riffian Derkawa may repair so as to avoid the long journey to Fez.

Besides these active and first generation saints, there are many families descended from others long dead. Some of them do not fight and are immune from attack, and others fight and are attacked. The former are thought to possess *baraka* in a very dilute form; such is the case with the descendants of Sidi Bu Jiddain, a Zenatan, in the Beni Tuzin. Sidi Bu Jiddain owned a mule with which he conversed. Once he went to Fez, where the sultan ordered him sent to jail, at which the mule cried: "That sultan is crazy." The sultan was so frightened that he ordered Sidi Bu Jiddain out of the city. Today his descendants run a *zawia* at his tomb and live on public credulity and charity.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

All of the Ulad Alu ben Aissa of the Gsennaya claim descent from Sidi Hend u Musa, a local saint in the wall of whose tomb an old sword is stuck. It is said that when this sword is drawn the Muslimin will defeat the Christians and drive them from the land. Men have tried for years to pull it out, but no one has yet been successful. There is a *zawia* to this same saint in Beni Said; he is said to have written books foretelling the recent invasion of the Rif by the Christians, predicting that the last place to submit would be his tomb, and that while the defenders were holding out they would lack salt, and that men would kill each other for it. The Gsennaya claim that this prophecy was fulfilled. His descendants fight, even with each other, and are thought to have lost their *baraka*. A few individuals, however, such as the present Sidi Amar, have a recurrence of it. Sidi Amar is an insane man of the Ulad Alu ben Aissa who when a boy worked as share-laborer in the Beni Amart. One cold morning his mistress told him to go to the spring to fetch water, and Sidi Amar cursed the spring, expressing the wish that it should dry up. The spring did dry up, or is said to have done so, and Sidi Amar has been feared and respected ever since. His chief pleasure is going to market, where he chases women with a stick, being a confirmed misogynist. Sidi Amar went on a pilgrimage to Mekka, and when he got home claimed that he had flown through the air on the way back, and that his return journey had taken him but two days. He was laughed at until two later pilgrims came home with the story that they had checked the date of his departure from Mekka and found it to have been just two days before his arrival. After this everyone believed it, and his reputation increased. Sidi Amar, humorously called the Kaid Amar, at present has no fixed abode, but enters any house he wishes and is given food and shelter. When a man has been wounded Sidi Amar comes in and sits by him, refusing to eat until the patient is out of danger. He is reputed to have effected many cures in this way. When Sidi Amar dies, he will probably have a tomb erected on his grave, to which people will come for its *baraka*, for he has established a sufficiently miraculous reputation already to assure this.

In Iherrassen are the descendants of Sidi Hamid, saints without *baraka*. Their ancestor, a great wizard, used to write charms and then burn them, after which everyone present could see on the wall a moving picture of men walking by with guns, dogs, and mules.

In the Beni Amart live the descendants of Sidi Abd el Kadher Agenau, related to the saints of Beni Urriaghel. Those in Beni Amart have lost their *baraka* and fight continually.

The so-called *Imrabten* of Beni Urriaghel, who have taken the generic word for saints as their patronym, fight and yet preserve a portion of their *baraka*; anyone attacking them is liable to a severe spell of sickness. Their ancestor, Sidi Hamid el Kroni, grew horns on his head with which to fight, so the bellicose quality of these saints started with the first generation.

The Ulad Sidi el Hajj Misaud, saints of Taurirt in Beni Urriaghel, do not fight, yet their *baraka* seems to have "turned sour"; they are considered dangerous, and are not admitted as guests by other *bonas*. Parents will not let their children look at them. There are estimated to be twelve hundred saints in Beni Urriaghel.

Sidi Shaib u el Ftah, whose tomb is at the harbor of Temsaman, has left descendants who teach music and dancing in the *zawia*. Men who would like to learn to play the flute or *zammar*, and women who wish to improve their dancing, stay there seven days and are supposed to learn what they came for in that space of time, partly through the instructors and

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

partly through the *baraka* of the saint. The saints who teach music here are of a higher class than the itinerant musicians whom they instruct.

Among the saints of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja are those at Khunduktamda, descended from Sidi Abdullah el Kholani, from whom some of the Ikhuanen of the Gsennaya also claim descent. The latter send ambassadors once a year to build a fire in his tomb. At Aghbalu are saints who are students, but who fight and have no *baraka*. At Sidi Ali ben Daud in Marnissa and at Sidi Mehend u Ghulbusur are similar saints. The students of Amshesh, who have no *baraka*, are yet classed as saints and refuse to fight.

Former saints who have died without leaving descendants are remembered by tombs, usually kept by wardens living on the produce of the tomb property. Other tombs have been deserted and allowed to fall into ruins. Sometimes a pile of stones, an ordinary grave, or merely a tradition, establishes the burial-place of a saint. Tombs are often located near a great rock, a spring, a grove, or at some other place of distinctive natural appearance, such as a cave, and this indicates that the hagiolatry of the Rif, like that of other Mediterranean countries and regions, is a survival of an older nature worship. Such places are credited with special magical powers attributed to the lingering *baraka* of the saint.

The tomb of Sidi Mohammed near Bured in the Gsennaya will serve as an example. This is located in a dense clump of bushes reputed to be full of wild animals, and the home of a venerable lion. Sidi Mohammed had a lion which served him, and followed him whenever he called him. While at Fes, Sidi Mohammed heard that a lion owned by the Sultan had fought and defeated all animals put in a ring with it, and boasted publicly that his lion could vanquish that of the Sultan. For this he was put in jail. While there he sent his servant to the Rif to get his lion, which would come if the words *a seba dh' amendud* were said before the clump of bushes. The servant recited this formula and led the lion to Fes, where it defeated all the others there. The Sultan then released Sidi Mohammed with a present, and the saint returned to the Rif with the lion. After he died his tomb was built in the clump of bushes, and no one has dared to enter the bushes for many years. The warden of the tomb does not enter, but farms the land around it.

At Sidi Merj in Bokoya is a *zawia* near a swampy pond full of lush vegetation. Students staying in the *zawia* declare that they have seen cats and dogs go in and out of the water at night, and that these animals are *jnun*. No one goes any nearer the pond than necessary.

The cantonal mosque of Iherrushen in Gsennaya is accredited with the power to cause pregnancy, through the *baraka* of Sidi Misaud, who is buried there. Women come from other tribes to sleep in the mosque, since the *baraka* works during the night.

There are hundreds of these places scattered throughout the Rif and all Morocco. Although most Riffians believe in their efficacious powers, some do not, and there are many who do not believe in the powers of the Ikhemrijen shorfa and other imported saints. The people living east of Targuist do not credit them, while the Senhaja to the west of them do.

CELEBRATIONS

Celebrations of a religious character fall into two divisions, according to whether they are dated by the solar or lunar calendar. The former are considered by the Riffians to have nothing to do with Islam, but in accordance with the general hypocrisy of the people,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XIII

MAGIC

THE types of magic employed in the Rif can be divided into four categories: (1) the *baraka* of alleged descendants of the Prophet; (2) *theira*, or magic requiring the use of written charms and based on the mystic interpretation of the Koran; (3) *theira* of the *jnun*, a type similar in form but involving the participation of the *jnun*, and the use of books other than the Koran; (4) *sohor*, or old women's magic, which does not involve the use of writing. To these may be added as allied topics: (5) the *ar* or shame-compulsion; (6) the *'ahd* or oath; (7) methods of counteracting the evil eye; and (8) the interpretation of dreams.

Both the shame-compulsion and the oath are essentially magical, and are therefore included in this chapter. The treatment of religious and magical phenomena in separate chapters is for convenience only and implies no generic distinction.

BARAKA

Baraka, or *er fhair* is usually confined to supposed descendants of the Prophet, and is dependent upon their possession of a magical emanation supposedly transmitted to them by him. *Baraka* is a force, a power, like the tabu of the Polynesians, and more like the *mana* of the Melanesians. A man possessing it is equipped with supernatural powers; he is able to predict the future, to perform miracles, and to heal or destroy by touch, or, through extension, by employing some object which has been in contact with his body, such as a part of his clothing, a piece of bread, or an egg which he has kissed.

A client wishing to know his future comes to the sherif at Targuist and presents his problem. On the ensuing night the sherif dreams about it, and in the morning tells his client what the future will contain. The client then pays a fee approximating five dollars and departs. The sherif is not limited to a single dream each night; he dreams as many as are required.

Not all Riffians believe in this magic, and only the inhabitants of Targuist and the Senhajan tribes under the control of the Ikhemrijen patronize the sherif regularly.

Persons suffering from any ailment whatever go to him to be touched. The sherif strokes the affected part, and exacts a fee of from thirty to fifty dollars. If the patient does not recover he and his relatives do not blame the sherif, but hold that the fatality is the *mektub*, or established fate, and that the soul's time has expired.

The sherif gives away pieces of cloth torn from his cast-off garments, which are taken away by the credulous and hung in their houses to prevent mischief from entering. In the *zawia* at Targuist are baked tiny loaves of bread, supposedly full of *baraka*; they are given away, the recipients being told that a quarter of a loaf will fill them completely. Eating this bread is a prophylactic against illness and any mischance.

The sherif, and ordinary saints as well, give away eggs previously received as presents or fees, for which they have no use. The eggs are considered to be full of *baraka*, and men take them home to eat with their wives, thinking thus to avert calamity.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Women bring their children, ailing or otherwise, to the sherif, who chews a piece of salt and spits it into the child's mouth, whereupon the mother goes away satisfied.

Some of the shorfa are illiterate and ignorant, knowing little of the Koran. They are supported by their fees and by gifts of food constantly brought them.

The *baraka* is transmitted by heredity, but not to all the sherif's offspring. Some of the latter, disgusted with their father's trumpery, work and earn a living like ordinary men. Others stay in the house at all times and pose as examples of propriety and behavior, in order to carry on the traditional calling. A sherif who fights loses his *baraka* by so doing, and the same is true of ordinary saints,[1] few of whom nowadays are credited with supernatural powers. Even the Sherif of Targuist was said to have lost his *baraka* for capitulating with the French and Spanish after the surrender of Abd el Krim in 1926.

THEIRA

The type of magic depending upon writing for its efficacy is called *theira*. The students learn it in the cantonal mosque, and practice it while attending this institution and after they have finished their studies there.

Each student must make anew or copy his own manual, from which he is able to extract the charms fitting for each circumstance requiring magical treatment. He goes through the Koran listing all the nouns which have no direct reference to religion when read alone. He then matches beside each noun the phrase with which it is connected in the text, or the *sura* in which it is found each time it occurs. In this way each noun will have several different phrases or chapters following it in the finished catalogue. When a person requests a charm for a specific purpose, the student looks up the name of that purpose in his book and finds what phrases go with it. He must know the name of the person and the name of his or her mother, which he also looks up.

By a combination of the corollaries of the various nouns, including the purpose of the charm and the names of the participants, the student is able to decide which formula he shall write upon the charm, with what liquid and on what material; whether or not objects in intimate contact with the person to be protected or with the victim, or the hair of such a person, are needed; and by what means the charm shall be administered or used. The materials and methods used are listed below.

Liquids.

Ink made of burnt goat's horn boiled in olive oil. Christian ink will not work.
Blood of hoopoes.
Blood of owls.
Blood of bats.

Materials.

Paper of any kind.
Scapula, rib, or patella of a fox.
Scapula, rib, patella, or mandible of a hedgehog.
Snout of a wild boar.
Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight olive leaves.
A peeled stick of female wild olive wood.

[1] See above, p. 148.

2: Westermarck--17 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[35] CHAPTER I

THE BARAKA (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS PREVALENCE

770 792 196 The Arabic word baraka means "blessing". In Morocco it is used to denote a mysterious wonder-working force which is looked upon as a blessing from God, a "blessed virtue". It may be conveniently translated into English by the word "holiness".

A person who possesses baraka in an exceptional degree is called by a term corresponding to our "saint".

[36] The Berbers have berberised forms of the Arabic terms, such as ssiyid, ssaleh, and lwali; but among many of them the usual or exclusive name for a saint is amrabad or amrabd (plur. imrabden; Ait Waryager, Temsaman, At Ubahti, Ait Sadden), derived from the Arabic mrabat or mrabt, which, as we shall soon see, is not used in Morocco as a general term for saints, but only for a certain class of saints and their descendants.

[62] It is interesting to notice that certain terms for saints are also used to denote places connected with them; this shows how intimate the connection between them really is. Thus the word siyid is applied to a place where a saint is [63] buried, whether it be indicated by a qobba or bit or haus or in any other way, and some people use the same term for a place which is venerated because a saint has prayed or rested there; in Fez, however, the latter would be called the mzara or halwa of the siyid So-and-so. Other words which are used both for saints and their sanctuaries are fqer (Dukkala), agurram (Shloh), and amrabd or amrabad (Ait Sadden, Temsaman, Ait Waryager).

[64] The sanctity of a saint is communicated not only to the building in which he is buried and the objects contained in it, but to everything inside his horm or harm, that is, the sacred domain of the saint. The horm may be restricted to the building over his grave, but it may also extend far beyond it.

[65] A still more comprehensive term than horm is zawia (Berb. zzawit [Shloh], zzawit [Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager], zzaust [Temsaman]), in one of the senses in which this word is used. The town or village round the shrine of some great saint is often called his zawia.

778 [823] [70] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [71] (the so-called l-hajra de l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 411 [842] [755] [73] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[74] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 755 [84] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[85] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [86] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.

825 782 The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. Thepati ent goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and [87] he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 842] the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
[754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

789 [95] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Igliwa); among the Ait Waryager he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger--among the Ait Waryager the forefinger of the right hand--with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz).

825 776 778 [97] The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much baraka in it; it is of high blood (d-demm l-kbir); it is like a shereef. It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; l-hail u l-hair wahed, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulad Bu'aziz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Ait Waryager). The sayatin, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Ait Waryager). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager); it says, L-haer liya u l sidi, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Hiaina).

[103] Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean, a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of baraka. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by jnun (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

824 778 241 [105] As certain animal species so also certain species of the [106] vegetable kingdom are possessed of baraka. This is above all the case with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and seksu. The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Ait Waryager). It is the baraka of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.

824 778 Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber idea, since the date-palm (Arab. nahla; Berb. ainiu or tainiut [Igliwa], tini [Temsaman]) has been known to the Berbers from a very ancient period; but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia. Another holy tree, like- [107] wise held sacred in the East, is the olive (Arab. s-sejara de z-zeit un; Berb. tazzitunt [Igliwa], zzeitun [Temsaman]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times. It is said that it has one of the names

824 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka
778 of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit [igliwa], zzest [temsaman]) may be
so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan-
[842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power
[843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall
be good-looking (Tangier).

[109] Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-
called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words
755 from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul,
778 Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same
species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the
smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

[110] At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large
number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or
medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura
(Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura,
sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been
gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has
made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain
one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons
suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case
[231] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or,
on the 17th of May (mut l-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame.
A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines,
[842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in
the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the
morning on an empty stomach.

[841] [111] Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro;
Berb. fadis [temsaman] or fadis [Ait Waryager]) is eaten by women
suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 [112] The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand)
824 as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow.
696 Some scribes recite over it something from the [113] Koran, knot
seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to
the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which
the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the
thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

696
778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Igliwa], tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager], tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[177] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have baraka.

778
823 Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an
[755] empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 [117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

821 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in
775 a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 [118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman [Igliwa], usm, plur. usmän [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [Igliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

821 [119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [Igliwa],
783 tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

821 789 from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, Allah itahhlek alina be r-rahha u l-hena, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry things", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkala, Ait Waryager).

821 789 778 [129] Every man on earth has his star (Arab. nejima, plur. njum; Berb. itri, plur. itran or itran [Shloh, Ait Warain], itri, plur. itran or itran [Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager], itri, plur itran [Temsaman]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, Allah italla nejmak, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, Allah itaiyah nejmak, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a jedwal with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is in-
[755] tended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to
[754] be used for witchcraft (shor)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the tabe a, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a rehi it is exposed to the wind, if he is a mawi it is put in water, if he is a t orabi it is buried in earth, if he is a nari it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's tabe a. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them baraka by shining on them.

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
[155] unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiya among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

776 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each
778 other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places,
as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall
[681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is whole-
515 some to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same
789 vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a
778 wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with
[754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

•778 [199] The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable.

[342] [200] When the Ait Waryager are building ahouse they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

[204] The baraka of mosques is also used for various purposes.

[354] [205] Among the Ait Waryager a new lamp (rqandir) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its baraka.

[208] The baraka of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic herz (or horz; plur. hruz) or hejab (or hajab; plur. hjabat). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as lharz (plur. lahruz) and lhejab (plur. lhejabat) in the Shelha of Tazerwalt, rahajab (plur. rahajabat) in the Rifian of the Ait Waryager, and rhaz (plur. rhruz) in that of the Ait Temsaman.

Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative, [789] or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called t ebrid (by the Ait Waryager).

778 [211] Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a pro-755 tection against the jnun and the evil eye, and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former or other illnesses.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other.

When [212] a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a herz is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plate, and water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[2.61] If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Ait Waryager).

778 755 [276] A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred" or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] [224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad [753] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 778 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 834 778 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean indi vidual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

784 since the barley would otherwise be bad for the animal, and when he
778 gives it he should say the bismillah; I was told that these rules owe
834 their origin to the baraka of the barley (Hiaina). When you stroke the back of such an animal you should not do it with your palm but with the outer side of your hand, since the palm may be unclean (ibid.).

514 [234] Like sexual uncleanness, excremental impurity is injurious
784 to baraka. A person ought not to sleep inside a mosque, because
778 during sleep he may have a nightly pollution or break wind or make water. If anybody breaks wind in a mosque he kills thereby the angels in it or makes them blind, or at any rate displeases them, and he will himself fall ill or become poor. I have seen men remove their trousers before prayer, since no prayer will be accepted from a person in a state of uncleanness. Nobody is allowed to pray in a place where there are excrements of any other animals but such as are used for food, that is, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Urination and evacuation must not take place in the direction of Mecca; in the case of the former the person should have his face turned westward, in the case of the latter north- or south-wards. It is forbidden to do one's needs or urinate in the sea. It is also forbidden to do such things in a river or a pond. He who urinates in water will be struck by a jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden) or urinate blood after his death (Ait Waryager).

784 [239] Baraka may be spoiled by contact with the ground and its
778 impurities. The prayer-place of a Muhammadan must be clean;
782 hence a Moor of the better class often carried under his arm a coloured felt-cloth on which he kneels when he says his prayers, or a cloak is for the same purpose spread on the ground. Yet people may pray on the bare ground if the sun is shining on it. Neither the Koran, nor any other book containing the name of God, nor the writing-boards of schoolboys, must be placed on the ground, at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place; and even where the ground is clean a scribe would not leave on it the book which he consults when he writes a charm, for fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy. A t ebrid loses its power if it falls to the ground. Another written charm may perhaps in similar circumstances retain its efficacy if it is at once put in wheat or barley to be purified, but if anybody has trampled upon it its baraka is irremediably lost (Ait Waryager).

784 [243] Milk and butter are very liable to be injured by the evil
272 eye, witchcraft, or other evil influences, and are therefore in need of many precautions.

784 272 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a person receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 296 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 262 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by selling bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

432 689

778 784 [783] [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 821 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

778 821 by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

784 233 [258] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasror, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti).

[252] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

776 [262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

776 jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke
789 of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsis-
776 tencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place
778 where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the baraka
789 possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

776 [315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is
789 to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[342] [317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat
[782] is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[312] [321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the
[782] place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

776 [324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person,
755 attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means
789 used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

627 one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was
728 made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, perhaps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

574 [537] The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the belief in the 'ar and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in the 'ar of his host, in accordance with the principle, "He who is in your house is in your 'ar".

[538] Among the Braber of the Ait Yusi and Ait Sadden, if two or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a guest (anbg i, plur. inbg aun), spending the night in the mosque if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; some one of the villagers brings food to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the fqi is not there, as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any person in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse. The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up; for l-'ain t at akul, "the eye is eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all.

842 [559] Among the Ait Waryager parents who have lost a child de-
765 posit its shirt at a shrine as 'ar in order that they shall be blessed with another child.

● 778 [561] Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in
696 the 'ar of God and Sidna Jebril, the master of mosques. Among the Ait Waryager, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a village is considered to be in the 'ar of the villagers and is therefore sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint will be unscrupulously killed.

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

251 [242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

251 778 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

776 778 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried—tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid [783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

4/2 The sieve—called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)—which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID M. HART

AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF: THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR

ANNUAL pilgrimages, or *'imārāt* (sing. *'imārah*), to the tombs of certain saints are a major feature not only of the saint cult in Morocco, but of Maghribi Islam in general. A few of these, such as the *Naskhah*, occurring on 15 Sha'bān, to the shrine of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mshīsh in Banī 'Arūs in the Jbālah, or the visits to the sepulchres of Mūlāi Idrīs in Zarhūn or Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Aisā in Meknes, are events to which the faithful gather from all over the country. Seven successive pilgrimages to the tombs both of Mūlāi Idrīs and Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām equal, according to Moroccans, one to Mecca. The pilgrimage in these instances is supplemented by the activities of members of, variously, the Haddāwa (at Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām), 'Aisāwa or Ḥamādsha (in Meknes) brotherhoods, who smoke *kīf* (*Cannabis indica*, a narcotic not unlike marijuana), beat drums, chew and swallow live coals, put skewers through their cheeks and work themselves into a frenzy in order to identify themselves with the spirit of the saint with whose tomb they are associated; and, if possible, to merge with the Infinite.

There are many other saints, however, mostly of a more local and less national character, whose devotees show far more restraint in their behavior than the members of the brotherhoods mentioned above. One of these is Sīdī Bū Khiyār, buried in the southern mountains of the Central Rifian tribe of Aith Wariyāghir; and nothing like the above occurs at the annual pilgrimage to his tomb, for the members of these orders are held in very low repute in the Rif and are not encouraged to come there. A description of this pilgrimage, wich I witnessed on 1 August 1955, is, I think, of ethnographic interest not only for its own sake but because of the light it sheds on the Berber attitude toward Islam.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

Sīdī Bū Khiyār («My Lord the Father of the Cucumber») was, according to tradition, an itinerant *murābiṭ* or holy man from the Sahara who reached the Central Rif completely destitute, without family, servants or possessions. Of when this event occurred, or from what part of the Sahara he originated, we have absolutely no indication. Rifians today say that he was not a *sharīf* (pl. *shurfā*), or descendant of the Prophet, and this is negatively and locally confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of him in the genealogies of the Imrabdhen section (*ar-rbaʿ* or *thakhammasth*, according to the context) of the tribe (*thaqbīssh*) of Aith Wariyāghir, who, despite their sobriquet, are shurfā descended from Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Aʿraj («My Lord Abraham the Lame»), whose own lineage ascends to Mūlāi Idrīs. We may note here, parenthetically, that although the Rifians make a genealogical and functional distinction between *shurfā* and *murābiṭīn* (pl. of *murābiṭ*), they do not differentiate between them terminologically; in the Rifian dialect of Berber, both are called *imrābdhen*, derived from Arabic *murābiṭīn*.

In any event, Sīdī Bū Khiyār was to become far more important in the religious aspects of tribal life than most of the Imrābdhen, for no organized visits have ever been made to any of the latters' tombs. After settling on the windswept and desolate mountain peak which bears his name, Sīdī Bū Khiyār became famous as a spellbinder who could attract crowds of lesser murābiṭīn from as far as ten to fifteen days' journey away. He never married, and he died without issue on his mountain top; but the name Bū Khiyār is one wich many mountain Rifians are given to this day.

The pilgrimage to Sīdī Bū Khiyār's grave is today a local festival entirely, albeit the most important and significant one in the Central Rif. The only religious brotherhood involved is that of the ʿAlawiyyīn, a recently formed order of Algerian origin, whose members bear no relationship to the saint other than the fact that some of them happen to live in the area, and whose litany is a far more toned-down and sedate affair than those of any of the orders mentioned above, as we shall see.

The tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is situated on the summit which overlooks the Turīrth-Timarzga-Aith ʿAmmarth Pass and dominates the massif of the Jbil Ḥamām, The Mountain of Doves, which, at

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 R11 MX

an altitude of 6500 feet, is the highest point in the whole tribe of Aith Wariyāghir. It is located above the village (*adshār*) of Bū Ma'dān, in the district (*r'ayyith*) of Timarzga. The tomb itself, a simple structure unadorned with the usual white cupola, was, in time, supplemented with a small mosque of mud and stone, today in a state of disrepair owing to the ravages of wind, snow, sleet and ice. The actual pinnacle of the massif is not the site of the tomb proper, but a point about 150 feet above it, called Tamrābit. Upon ascending this point, after a spine-shattering journey by jeep up the tortuously winding *piste* from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turīrth (Spanish *Zoco de Arbaa Taurirt*), one realizes that one is at the top of the Central Rif. Almost all of Aith Wariyāghir is below one to the north, and only one or two of the Azru Uqshar peaks in the tribe of Igzinnāyen to the southeast, discernible in outline on a clear day, are higher. Just east of the tomb-mosque complex is a flat space measuring about 600 feet by 300 feet, used for prayer, and just above and north of this is a small grove of *ādhān* (from, by association, the Arabic for «prayer-call»?) trees; and between the mosque and the tomb itself is a small open area called the *Sūq al-Ṣāliḥīn* the Market of the Righteous.

The pilgrimage takes place on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah, one day before the 'Aid al-Kabīr or Great Feast of Islam, called *r-'Aid Umquran* by the Rifians. People come from all over the southern mountain districts of Aith Wariyāghir, as well as from the neighboring tribes of Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnāyen, to attend it. The greatest number are locals from Timarzga (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), after which come those from Aith 'Arūs (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), Aith 'Ammarth, Aith Bū 'Avyāsh (Aith Wariyāghir), Zāwīth n Sīdī 'Abd r-Qādir of the Imrābdhen of Aith Ḥadhīfah (Aith Wariyāghir), Mārruwī in Aith 'Abd Allāh (Aith Wariyāghir), Iṣrīḥan in Aith Yūsif w 'Arī (Aith Wariyāghir), and Igzinnāyen. In 1955, all the tribal authorities of the Nkūr qaidate of Aith Wariyāghir (Ait Bū 'Avvāsh and Jbil), as well as the Spanish *interventores* both of Aith Wariyāghir and Aith 'Ammarth, were also present.

By about 10:00 A. M., most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, have assembled on the mountain top, where their first act is to visit the shrine. Merchants are busy setting up their small

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

canvas tents in the Market of the Righteous, as they would do in any ordinary tribal market (*sūq*). They sell just the same articles, from clothing and bill-hooks (I purchased two of the latter here) to soap and matches, as they do in the regular markets, and some of them also sell sheep to be ritually slaughtered for the 'Aid al-Kabīr on the following day. As in a normal market, also, men and women remain sharply segregated.

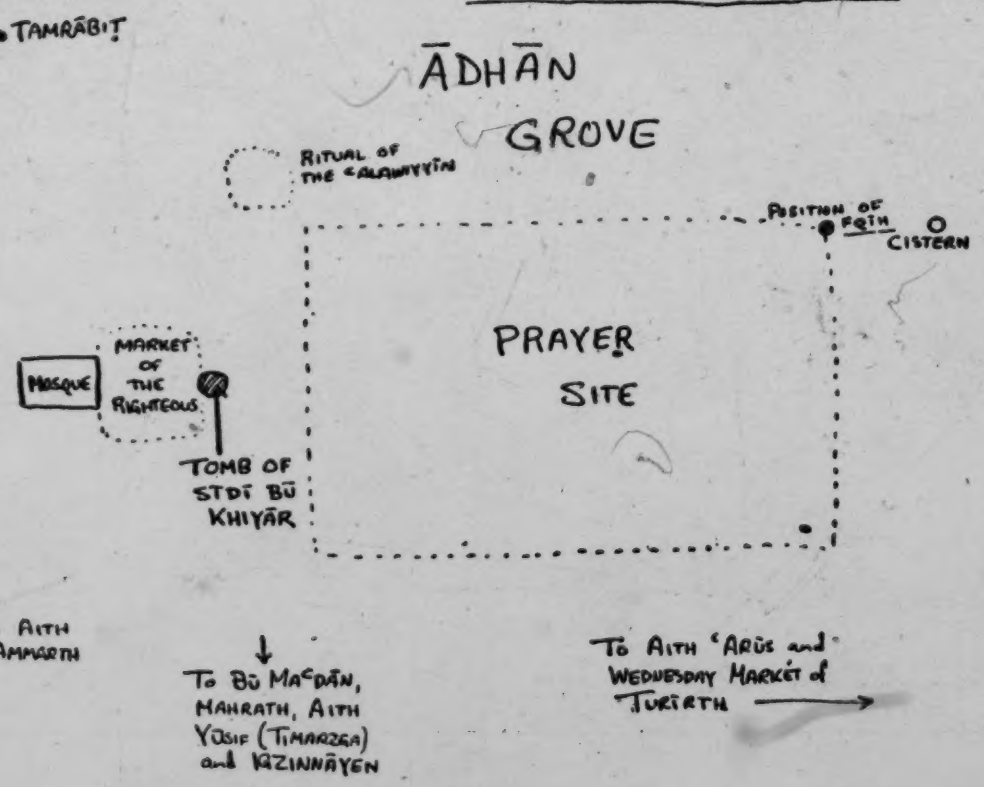
Among the pilgrims are numerous *ṭulbā* or students of the Qur'ān, who, after visiting the tomb, where they recite the Holy Book from beginning to end, proceed to the Market of the Righteous to ask the faithful for contributions (*ma'rūf*), which are placed in a box beside the tomb put there for the purpose. The money is later counted up by the tribal authorities and divided equally among all the ṭulbā attending (1).

The 'imārah of Sīdī Bū Khiyār has also, within the last two decades, become a focal point in the activities of the local members of the brotherhood of the 'Alawiyyīn, who maintain a not insignificant following in Timarzga and Aith 'Arūs, although they do not have a lodge in either of these districts. After paying their respects to the saint, they congregate for their *miima'*, or reunion, at a spot between the ādhān grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and a half to two hours, they go through the litany (*dhikr*) required by their order. This consists of a constant repetition of the formula *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, «There is no god but God», over and over, while the brethren are standing in a circle. The litany is followed by the *'imrah*, a form of rhythmic breathing designed to induce ecstasy: and the 'imrah of the 'Alawiyyīn (the word is *not* to be confused with *'imārah*) progresses through the following routines, in which the underlined and accented vocalizations denote outgo, and the non-underlined ones, intake, of breath:

(1) In 1955, there were 99 ṭulbā from the Ibil (Timarzga-Turirth-Aith 'Arūs) of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 717.75 pesetas: 96 from Aith 'Abd Allāh of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 696.00 ptas.; 87 from Aith 'Ammarth, who got 630.75 ptas.; 75 from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh of Aith Warivāghir, who got 471.25 ptas.; 39 from Aith Hadhīfah of Aith Warivāghir, who received 282.75 ptas.; 15 from Imrābdhen of Aith Warivāghir, who got 108.75 ptas.; and 10 from Iezinnāven, who received 72.50 ptas. Total ṭulbā attending were 421, and total money collected was 2990.25 pesetas.

[Text continues on p. 243]

SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR : PLAN



17—Tamuda

[P. 242 (A)]

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788

B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781

C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 575 795

D) Same as B) above. 778

E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Ḥamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 778 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 788 782

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

788 778 782 a *fqīh*, a schoolmaster from the cantonal mosque of Timarzga, who stands at the northeast corner of the prayer site, between the site itself and a cistern a few yards away. The men about to pray form long parallel lines, of over a hundred to each line, all the way back to the tomb.

The act of prayer in this particular place and on this particular occasion was one which, in my opinion, was unparalleled in simple dignity. The reverence which overcame the worshippers was something very personal and something very startling in its intensity. Here the Rifian was as close to and as intimate with his God as he would ever be, probably, during his life on earth.

The words of the prayer-call, familiar to all who have studied Arabic, became, on this occasion, as I heard them from the ādhān grove, blurred into a monotonous sea of vocalisms, rising and falling as the call was relayed back from line to line. Each line of men has its *musammi'*, who repeats to the men in his row what the fqīh has said, so they will hear it more distinctly. They all come through loud and clear on the *takbīr* (*Allāhu Akbar*, «God is Most Great»), but the rest of it tends to degenerate into a jumble, for, outside [191] the fqīh, there is only about one man in five hundred who speaks, writes or understands Arabic with any fluency at all; and the rest must perforce try to catch the words of the very, very few who comprehend what is being said. There are always, also, a few old women and widows who pray, but they do so apart from the men entirely, on the other side of the grove; and it is doubtful whether they can hear the fqīh at all.

Although some pilgrims bring food with them which they eat either before or after praying, the prayer is the last item on the agenda. After it is over, everyone goes home, to kill his sheep in the bosom of his family the next day. By mid-afternoon, most people have saddled up their donkeys and departed, and the peak of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is as bare and desolate as it was before.

788 778 [222] If the 'imārah falls at the end of summer, at the time that the grapes in the mountains begin to ripen, grape-picking may begin immediately after the 'Aid al-Kabīr, with no signal given by the village headmen.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

768
778
171

This is all that happens at the shrine of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, and no more. There is a complete lack of the «sensational» aspects of certain other Moroccan pilgrimages, and even the behavior of the 'Alawiyyīn is fully under control. The whole thing is carried off with a maximum of correctness and decorum: the tribesmen gravely pay their respects to the memory of their saint by placing a *ziyārah* [735] in money, which is later distributed among the ṭulbā as charity, in the box beside his tomb; and then they pray. Nevertheless, the fact that they do so haltingly and imperfectly, in a language which is foreign to them, is, in a sense, a reflection of the Berber outlook on Islam as a whole: although they have taken to it unanimously and unquestioningly, their acceptance of it has, in the long run, been very largely, if not entirely, on their own terms and conditioned by their own culture.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

red cloth and silk to be tailored into shirts for the women. These European articles are all sold by itinerant vendors who go from market to market setting up their white canvas tents to transact the business of the day. In the Wednesday market at Turīrth I saw one merchant who even displayed a row of balloons.

As may readily be imagined, the market is a beehive of activity except during the month of Ramaḍān, when it is at best only half full. Beside the entrance is a row of market buses and just within it a few *Imzīren* may be seen plying their trades of blacksmithing and ironworking to the accompaniment of the clanging of hammers upon anvils; they are special people from Aith Tuzīn who form an endogamous class of socially inferior status. The tribespeople, from Aith Tuzīn or Tamsamān or Giznāya or Banī Yaṭṭuft (according to the location of the particular market under consideration) as well as from Aith Wuryāghil, filter in in groups, unload their mules and donkeys in the funduq, and start to seek customers for their produce. Although a country boy, the Wuryāghlī is a hard man to swindle, and his itching trigger finger was responsible in the past for turning many a market into a battleground («breaking» the market, in local parlance), despite the fact that markets, like saints' tombs, are considered inviolable and sacred territory, and that, as we have seen, the fine for killing a man in a market was doubled.

In one corner of the market a tribesman is showing the teeth of his mule to a prospective buyer, while in another is the meat market, where a throng of people stand making a bid for a goat, sheep or ox, the carcass of which may be seen suspended from a hook in the roof; just behind it is the *gūrna* or slaughterhouse, where the butchers slit the throats of their charges in the traditional sacrificial manner, under the vigilant eye of a Spanish veterinarian. In the center a group of old women are assembled; they are selling eggs, poultry, bread and handmade pots with a light brown slip and black, painted geometric designs. In the Saturday market at Imzūren the women who sell pottery are mostly negresses from the *thārfiqth* of Isimghān («Blacks», sing. *asmigh*) of Aith 'Alī u 'Aisā in Ajdīr, formerly a client family of the Aith Hājj 'Abd al-Karīm (no kin to the ex-Riffian leader); to the anthropologist, this purely negro group seems to live just like the Riffians around them, and, although they are

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

771 saints' tombs (23). Ṣūfi brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'Alāwīyīn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, Tijānīyīn and Naṣirīyīn have each gained a number of aherents the first-mentioned predominates at the presen time and the second was the most popular before the Riffian War.

778 Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descendend from *shurfā*, it has completely lost its *baraka* (a wonderwoking power not unlike the Melanesian *mana*) through participation in feuds. Both these families, as well as the rest of Imrābdhen, lebong to distant ramifications of the *Shurfā* Idrīsīyīn. The *shurfā* alone and not even all of them possess the quality of *baraka*, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

796 The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, *Maulid*), 'Īd aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Īd al-Kabīr (called 'Aid th-Amzyān and 'Aid th-Amqrān in the Rīf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or *'ām al-fillāḥ*: the 'Anṣra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Ḥagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is [788] the annual one to the tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, in Bū Mā'dhin, Thimārzgha, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-Kabīr. There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

142 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Riffians, about 40% of the Aith Wuryāghil are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Riffians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas),

(23) Rodríguez Padilla, Isaías: **Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios.**, Ceuta 1930, p. 24.

684 171 As to adultery, in Kabylia and the Rif, the offending woman is killed, while the Braber of the Middle Atlas and the Bedouins of Mauritania take care of the matter with a fine.

I recall hearing of young Rifian women "martyrized", roasted over a fire, whipped, enchained, hung from the main beams of their houses, or with a pick stuck in their heads[65]. Women do not inherit in Kabylia, nor even in the Rif, in practice; if they do, it is in lesser proportion, and only in movable property. Among the Aith Ndhir of the Middle Atlas, on the other hand, a woman and her daughters can be inherited, and even Muslim law has not done much (1935) to modify this fact in that tribe.

562 428 171

Women are divorced whenever their husbands want to divorce them, and they are even put in the position of being neither single nor married, i.e. a general or conditional prohibition of marriage. A woman's husband must give her authorization to marry again, even though he is separated from her; this happens often in Kabylia and is not rare in the Rif. Custom gives women the right of insurrection (Blanco's italics) or refuge in their fathers' homes or in a zawiya (residence of a virtuous or holy personage, and invariably associated with a saint's tomb); and it gives their husbands the right to complain to the jma'th, a right which women cannot exercise themselves in Kabylia and which they can in the Rif and among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, although, however, they must make such complaints at a respectful distance from the council meeting or rather through crying them out. This is always preferable to registration of complaints through a Kabyle intermediary or a Muslim ukil (legal

562 586 582 [171] 562 586 708 623 [171] 627 171 562

000
[114]
[311]
165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616]
[578] 173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj-Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616]
[619] 175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613]
[616] The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[176]
[178] 177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

6. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ABDALLAH[45] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

671 443 [778] Praise be to the One God. The will and eternal power of Our Lord having decided thus, the congregation--in the Tuesday Market (Suq ath-Thulatha) (situated) at 'Ain Tihalalin[46], in the vicinity of (the tomb of) the holy emanator of blessings Sidi 'Amran[47]--of its owners, those of the clan of Bani 'Abdallah. (The latter) convened 623 443 (in the abovementioned market) with the idea of coming to agreement on 692 their criteria and on the purity of their actions in behalf of the 681 common good of all; and, as a consequence, they decided the amount of the fines to be imposed inasmuch as there should occur within the abovementioned market, or, indeed, outside it on the path (which leads to it), (Blanco: note a) incidents, premeditated or not, through error or imprudence, such as woundings and murders (which might happen) through gunshots, knifings, strangulations and stonings, (or, indeed), 682 pillaging and sacking. (Blanco: note b) To anyone who kills in the 443 interior of the market and is caught (literally, "had"), rashsha' shall [696] be applied to him (i.e. he shall be shot). If he has not been captured owing to having fled to another tribe (literally, "other tribes"), (they shall impose upon him a fine of) 2000 duros and his house shall be burned down to its foundations. (If he should kill) on the path (which leads to the market) he shall also pay (a fine of) 2000 (duros). Who- 683 ever should wound (another), (he shall be fined) 1000 duros. Whoever (shoots) and misses (his target), (he shall pay a fine of) 500 duros.

682 (Blanco: note c) Whoever of the Bani 'Abdallah should commit murder on Tuesday (i.e. on market day, the day of the suq) within the

671 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred
771 Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian
182 appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for tran-
[778] scendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition
[782] to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice,
[779] the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian,
[514] an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of
182 the khums (Rifian thakhamasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic
614 practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in
619 writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the
182 maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting in-
628 delibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount
681 of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and
[511] it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which
628 can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real
681 ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality,
184 differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at
443

671 "when they were under God's protection") among the notables of the Bani Khattab situated on the seacoast[65], God made them assemble, both adults and minors (author's italics), and made them put their ideas and criteria into agreement. Then they established the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') in front of the tomb of the saint Sidi Bu 'Afif[66], so that it would be a benefit to the poor as well as to those who should desire prosperity.

May God make concord (and harmony) endure among them, and may He solidify (i.e. render prosperous) their market. The establishment (of the aforementioned market) was due to the blessed sharif Sayyidi Ahmad bin Sayyidi Misa'ud[67]--may God make the whole tribe happy--and to the following persons of Ajdir[68]: to the opulent and considerate Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, to the Qa'id Sayyid Bu Bakr bin al-Hajj Muhammad Ushshan, to the Murabit Muhammad Ashahbar al-'Aziri al-Ghalbzuri and to his neighbor Shaikh al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir u Musa w 'Amar, to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Shaikh Hammu Taqal'ait Amhawl, and to Shaikh Haddu bin al-Hajj Muhammadi. All these shuyukh are those who brought their criteria and aid (for the establishment of the market), and above all of them (is the worthy help) of the sharif Sidi Ahmad.

Each of the shuyukh designated those who had to help them in the aforementioned market; these helpers are their brothers (i.e. the people who fall under their jurisdiction) and have to be the first to arrive at the market and the last to leave, in order to safeguard it from prejudice, harm, danger, evil and brawls which might occur in it (i.e. within its limits).

000 For example: whoever, in the market, should attack (someone)

000 unlike the Central Atlas, there is no special time limit on repayment.

(614) 31--Imhawlen is the literal transliteration from the Arabic text, rather than the Rifian form Imhawren. The Imhawren are one of three subclans of the clan of the Aith 'Ari, of the lowland Aith Waryaghar; and the clan of the Aith 'Ari, along with that of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, form a single khums or "fifth" in that tribe.

776 692 32--Sidi Mhand u Musa (died 1254 A.H., or 1838-39 A.D., according to one informant), the apex of the lineage of Izziqiwen of the clan of the Imrabdhen. Sidi Mhand u Musa is buried in Aith Hishim and is one of the most important saints of the Aith Waryaghar. As the text indicates, he adjudicated disputes and settled feuds (between the Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari clans); and he is said to have had a great deal of baraka, which, in accordance with Rifian notions of baraka-transmission, was successively passed down to only one descendant at a time: from Sidi Mhand u Musa to his grandson Sidi Misa'ud, bypassing his own son Sidi Siddiq; then to Sidi Misa'ud's son Sidi Hmid n Sidi Misa'ud; then to Sidi Siddiq's son, Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq; on the latter's death, to his son Sidi Muhand; on the latter's death to his son Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar, who was made qa'id of Imrabdhen by the Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz; and then to his brother Sidi Muhand.

776 792 Some informants say that Sidi Mhand u Musa and his descendants are the only true shurfa among all the Imrabdhen in the Aith Waryaghar, and that they have the right to their share in the sunduq or box of Mulay Idris for this reason. The share in question is divided up every year at the time of the Mulud: either a representative of the Dharwa n Sidi Mhand u Musa goes to Fez to get it, or, as the descendants of Mulay Idris are said to have a complete listing of those entitled to such shares, they sent them out. The shares are the same every year, but informants were unable to tell me the amount (a fact which in itself casts suspicion on the legitimacy of their claim to be shurfa). When the allotted amount arrives in Aith Waryaghar, it is divided into four parts: one for the descendants of Sidi Misa'ud ("Burjila") n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (the Iburjilathen of Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (also in Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi Haddu n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Zawith n Tashtiwin, in the subclan of Aith Tmajurth, in the clan territory of Aith 'Abdallah, and in Swani, where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the Mediterranean at the mouth of the Nkur River, in the clan territory of the Aith 'Ari), and one for the descendants of Sidi Muhammad n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Aith Hishim).

000 33--The reference here is probably to Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari n Sidi Musa n Sidi Hmid l-Quruni, the father of Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnau, of the lineage of Aith 'Aziz in the subclan of Upper Imrabdhen. Both father and son are buried in the Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar, located in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan territory of Aith Hadhifa.

Once again, with Sidi Mhand u Musa and Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari, both subclans of Imrabdhen are represented, no doubt in order to give greater validity to their roles as adjudicators, but also to the qanun itself.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure [755] [782] barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyis in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a dinoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[494] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi,
[782] where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed
at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of
Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated
fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from
Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas
to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and
another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The
chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a
cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at
least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, espe-
cially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah
family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense
would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrim-
age is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such
instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa.
(A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

792 794 575 [778] [554] 1949.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator. These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

792 794 795 575 Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God [779] in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee.

792 794 575 These religious associations are for the most part voluntary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

7: Mikesell . K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[m] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[n] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[o] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wad Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

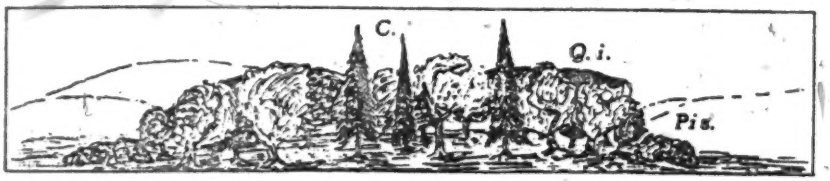
[m] *Marruecos, zona jalifiana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[n] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognized by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* . . . , II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est déterminée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[o] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of *doum*.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

S
798
139
311

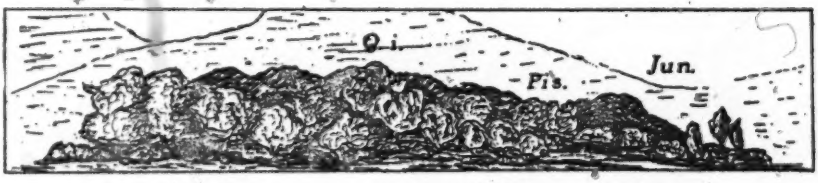


A. Sidi al-Hajj Yacub (Aith Seddath)

J
798
139
311

B. Sidi Mahadri (near Tetuán)

J
R
798
139
311



C. Km. 194, Tetuán–Melilla route

J
798
139
311

D. Km. 55, Tangier–Larache route

000

E. Bani Dercul F. Sidi Loraichi (Bani Arus)

Fig. 25. Profiles of vegetation on sacred sites.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

the stunted form of this tree. The same remarks apply to dwarf forms of thuya and oleaster. On protected sites even the palmetto may become a tree and, when disturbance is manifest, dwarf forms of cedar develop.

Vegetation on Sacred Sites

Throughout Morocco and to some extent elsewhere in the Muslim world, cemeteries are regarded as sacred ground. Sanctity is ascribed also to the areas adjacent to tombs or shrines of saints (*murabitin*). The cult of saints has been an important factor in Moroccan history, and tombs or shrines are found in the territory of each tribe.[a]

Sacred sites often constitute islands of verdure. This correlation is not unique. In *The Golden Bough* Sir James Frazer describes sacred woods in many parts of the world.[b] The interesting feature of the Moroccan situation is that such groves are extraordinarily numerous and that the veneration relates to the ground in which plants grow and not to the plants themselves.[c] Protected growth is usually more dense than the growth on adjacent profane land, and the height and girth of individual plants exceed those of plants growing on unprotected land. Some species (e.g., *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*) rarely achieve arborescent forms on unprotected sites.

The nature of the protected growth varies from a single shrub or tree to thickets and groves. Figure 25 shows the silhouettes of vegetation on a few sacred sites. These examples, selected from hundreds, illustrate the general pattern (cf. pl. 9, *a* and *b*).

Figure 25, *a*, shows a few mature cedars surrounded by a dense growth of holly oak. The prevalent vegetation in this area is a shrub formation dominated by *Cistus laurifolius*. There are no other cedars within a radius of several hundred meters, and holly oaks, apart from those on sacred sites, are in scrub form. It is evident that succession has resulted in a retrogression from cedar to oak forest and then to a sparse cover of shrubs.

Figure 25, *b*, illustrates a protected formation dominated by oleasters (cf. pl. 9, *a*). *Pistacia lentiscus* becomes prominent where oleasters are widely spaced and light reaches the ground freely. Palmetto and thuya, even more heliophilous, are confined to the edges of the protected growth. In the surrounding area the vegetation is limited to shrubs. Numerous other examples of oleaster groves fringed with pistacia and palmetto could be described. A handsome grove appears at the tomb of Sidi Manari on Cape Malabata opposite Tangier. Five groves appear on one ridge between Tangier and Tetuán. Others appear on the marine terraces between Tangier and Arcila, and on the lower slopes of the limestone mountains

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 110]

[a] E. Lévi-Provençal, "Marabout," in H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), pp. 325–326; Emile Dermenghem, *Le Culte des saints dans l'Islam maghrébin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1954); Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926).

[b] Sir James Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935). Part I of *The Golden Bough*.

[c] J. Cola Alberich, *Cultos primitivos de Marruecos* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1954), refers to tree worship (*dendrolatría*), but the evidence he cites relates to popular ideas of the medicinal and magical qualities of plant material (leaves, seeds, acorns, etc.) and not to the sanctity of plants as such. It is possible, for example, to recognize magical qualities in pine cones and yet have no reluctance to destroy or mutilate pine trees. In Morocco the important consideration is not what qualities a plant may possess but *where* it grows.

A. [See p. 133--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

south of Tetuán. There are at least a hundred oleaster groves in the area west of Ceuta and Ksar al-Kebir. In some areas oleasters mark every cemetery. Faced with this evidence, we can hardly avoid the inference that the primordial cover of the lowlands of northwestern Morocco was a woodland formation of oleaster and pistacia, and that the present cover of palmetto scrub represents degradation.

Figure 25, *c*, shows a protected stand of holly oak. The central part of the sacred grove consists of tall trees. *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Juniperus Oxycedrus* form a ring around the protected trees. Holly oaks are scattered throughout the central highlands (cf. fig. 8), but closed stands similar to the one depicted here are found only on sacred sites.

In figure 25, *d*, the evidence suggests, not a retrogression from forest species to scrub, but, rather, that two species which usually appear as shrubs, *Pistacia lentiscus* and *Chamaerops humilis*, may have an arborescent form. The density of the protected formation and the height of its components differ markedly from the scrub cover of the surrounding land.

The cluster of cork oaks shown in figure 25, *e*, is preserved in an area of extensive clearing. Most of the nearby land has been burned during the last decade. The only conspicuous plants are *Cistus monspeliensis* in fallow fields and *Nerium oleander* along stream channels. This cluster of trees gives some indication of the plant cover of the area before it was cleared, and indicates the course of regeneration (cf. pl. 9, *b*).

In figure 25, *f*, a shrine is marked by two plants, an oleaster and a fig tree. This sketch illustrates on a small scale what the others show in greater detail. Most of the area surrounding the shrine is cultivated. Fallow fields are covered with *Asphodelus microcarpus, Urginea maritima,* and palmetto. The nearest oleaster, seven kilometers away, also grows on a sacred site.

Extent of Deforestation

Trends in plant ecology, viewed in the light of human relationships, take one of two courses, improvement or deterioration. The evidence examined thus far clearly indicates deterioration. What is the magnitude of change? This question cannot be answered in detail. Change is perceived through comparison, and the only reliable source of plant data is the visible pattern of today. Figure 26 gives a synoptic view of the distribution of forest. Figure 27, the basis for comparison, shows inferred primordial or potential forests. The first map is objective; it is a cartographic record of the distribution of forest in the sixth decade of the twentieth century. The second map is subjective, and its usefulness is conditioned by the quality of the evidence presented thus far.

The details of these maps are less important than their general outlines. The implication is clear that the present wooded area constitutes only a small part of the primordial forest. Many forest species, now stunted and widely spaced, may once have been taller and more closely spaced. Under undisturbed conditions the exceptionally xerophytic or heliophilous species would probably be confined to sunny slopes in the western sector or be limited to the semiarid eastern plains. Under optimum conditions the area covered by pyrophytic shrubs would be greatly reduced, and there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

limit in the area east of Wad Nkour. Emberger believes that most of the eastern lowlands were once covered with thuya.[44] According to another study, undertaken by an engineer of the Spanish forestry service, the natural range of the thuya extended to all areas of residual soil from the Nkour Valley to Wad Moulouya.[45] These interpretations may be sound, but the evidence presented here suggests that the primordial cover of most of the eastern sector was a mixed formation of *Pistacia atlantica* and *Rhus pentaphylla* with scattered clumps of oleaster. The effect of prolonged disturbance has been to reduce the area covered by these species and to favor the expansion of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*), dwarf sage (*Artemisia Herba alba*), and camel thorn (*Zizyphus lotus*).

There has been no study of plant succession in the arid and semiarid parts of northern Africa comparable in scope to Aubréville's monumental treatise on the effects of burning, clearing, and pasturing in tropical Africa.[46] Deterioration of ranges and "xerophytism" have been reported for most of the pre-Saharan zone, but it is not yet possible to determine the extent of change. The American statesman-scholar George P. Marsh argued long ago "that forests would soon cover many parts of the Arabian and African deserts, if man and domestic animals, especially the goat and camel, were banished from them."[47] In recent years a number of French scholars have expressed doubts concerning the theory that the vast formations of alfa grass and dwarf sage on the Algerian plateaus developed as a result of the semiarid climate.[48] After careful study of scattered stands of *Acacia gummifera* on the arid littoral of Morocco, south of Agadir, Charles Sauvage questions whether the zone between Anti Atlas and Wad Dra should be described as asylvatic.[49] Basing his conclusions on the wide occurrence of acacias in the desert, one author speaks of the primordial forests of the Sahara.[50] Sixty years ago another naturalist discovered that many of the wadis in the Egyptian desert were named after trees that had since disappeared.[51] Thus we have evidence that the effects of human disturbance have been felt even in the Sahara, and that aridity does not prevent the growth of some trees.

In the semiarid sector of northern Morocco it is possible to reconstruct vegetational changes with the aid of relict formations preserved on sacred sites. At the shrine of Sidi Seddic, on the border of the territories of Ulad Stut and Aith Bu Yihyi, a majestic oleaster, surrounded by sumac, is in striking contrast to the prevalent cover of dwarf sage. *Pistacia atlantica*, one of the few trees of northern Africa that can grow on heavy alluvial soils, appears on several sacred sites in

[44] Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, pp. 71–78.

[45] J. Ruíz de la Torre, "La vegetación natural del norte de Marruecos," *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 30–33.

[46] André Aubréville, *Climats, forêts et désertification de l'Afrique tropicale* (Paris: Editions Maritimes et Coloniales, 1949).

[47] George P. Marsh, *The Earth as Modified by Human Action: A Last Edition of "Man and Nature"* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1885), p. 149.

[48] According to Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc*, p. 68, "Les prairies d'halfa peuvent représenter d'anciennes forêts de *Juniperus phoenicia*, parfois même de *Callitris* et même de *Quercus Ilex*." Buffault, "Le déboisement de l'Afrique du Nord," p. 481, cited in note 15, also accepts the notion of a primordial forest on the Hauts-Plateaux.

[49] Ch. Sauvage, "Les environs de Goulimine: carrefour botanique," in *Volume jubilaire de la Société des Sciences Naturelles du Maroc* (Rabat, 1948), pp. 107–146.

[50] L. Lavauden, "Les forêts du Sahara," *Rev. des Eaux et Forêts*, 65 (1927), 265–277.

[51] E. A. Floyer, "Disappearance of Desert Plants in Egypt," *Kew Bull. Miscell. Information*, 72 (1892).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

the valleys of Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert.[a] The Aleppo pines preserved on the Melilla peninsula tell a similar story of general destruction and rare survival. Elderly tribesmen of Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut remember a time when great thickets of sumac covered the plains of Garet.

The evidence examined in this chapter supports the thesis, now accepted by most students of Mediterranean vegetation, that the prevalent maqui and garrigue formations are produced and maintained by man. The pattern of succession in the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco depends upon ecologic processes that are not yet thoroughly understood. The theory that this area was once wooded may or may not be sound, but there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover included a high proportion of tussock grass, zizyphus, or other animal-resistant plants. Any projection of current trends, whether in the drier or the wetter areas, suggests a large degree of change. This introduces new problems, for the inevitable result of biotic disturbance is a modification of the soil.

Erosion

The steep slopes of northern Morocco favor rapid runoff and prevent the formation of deep residual soils. Moreover, torrential rains in winter and spring follow vigorous mechanical weathering during the dry summer months. It would be hard to imagine an area more vulnerable to destructive erosion. Few slopes have an adequate plant cover, and forest now covers only about a tenth of its primordial range. In view of these natural and artificial conditions, it is not surprising that soil forms a deep and continuous mantle only in the coastal plains, and that most of the highlands are bare.

A useful point of departure is to locate areas that are virtually without soil. This is the situation in the calcareous highlands. From Jbil Musa to Ibuqquyen the horizon is dominated by a wall of bare limestone. It is possible that soil never was formed on the steepest slopes. On moderate slopes there are small and discontinuous patches of clay, but most of the calcareous zone has been stripped of fine material and only cobbles remain. Here and there are tiny mounds of soil preserved by the roots of a palmetto (pl. 11, *b*). On some slopes, particularly in the range of Jbil Kelti, lines of stone have been built up when there was enough soil to justify clearing and cultivation.

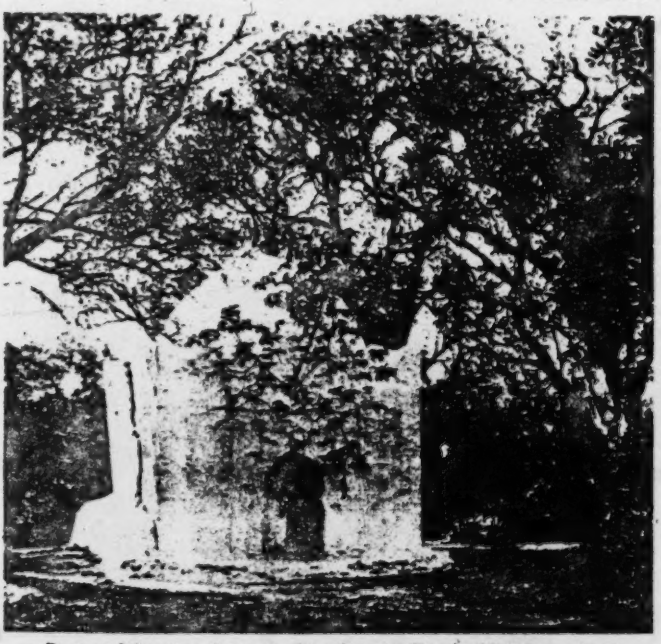
The rate of erosion in any storm depends on the force with which raindrops stir up the soil and the amount and speed of the runoff. Deforestation, particularly on steep slopes, accelerates degradation, and the combination of cutting, burning, and browsing prevents any reëstablishment of protective cover. Although the calcareous highlands were probably once covered with forests of holly oak (cf. figs. 5 and 27), today, vast areas lack even herbaceous growth. In the karstic highlands the only conspicuous plants are palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

Erosion is not quite so serious in the highland areas formed of schist and sandstone. Protected stands of cedar, cork, and deciduous oaks are associated with abundant litter and about eighteen inches of clay or sandy loam. But in cleared areas there is abundant evidence of loss of topsoil (pl. 10, *b*). Since it is common

[a] *Pistacia atlantica* has been used to stabilize slopes in Israel. G. F. Gindel, "Afforestation of the Semi-arid and Arid Areas in Palestine," *Empire Forestry Rev.*, 25 (1946), 213–221.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

978
137
311
346



a. Protected forest at the tomb of a saint near Tetuán. Mature specimens of *Olea, Callitris,* and *Pistacia lentiscus*. Cf. fig. 25, *b*.

978
137
311

b. Sacred clump of cork oak on the site of a shrine near Shawen. *Cistus monspeliensis* appears in foreground.

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif MX3

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrījen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

MX3 Rif MX3

● 779

[For information on the Sharía (Islamic law), see Category 671.]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without 369 urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 779 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are complimentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe, from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

al-Krim's status quo in this respect.

Emilio Blanco, however, often expresses strong reservations about the efficacy of the Shari'a in the Rif, and--like the "Berber sentimentalist" he often betrays himself to be--actually chides the administration (but only in his unpublished work) for not reintroducing customary law to the Rif. Blanco's thoughts on this matter may have never reached the publication stage, but it is easy to see that he was deeply concerned about it. This is again, perhaps, a function of the (almost unconscious) influence of Montagne's Les Berbères et le Makhzen upon his work and thought.

5--The umbrella (Rifian rmdhar) is the hallmark, rain or shine, of any important personage, actual or self-styled, in the Rif. However, why Blanco brought it into this particular context, we have no idea.

6--The divergence between "Islamic Law" and "Custom" in the Rif is, in an overall sense, less noticeable, certainly, than in other Berber-speaking areas of Morocco, especially the Middle and Central Atlas; and, as aforementioned, we have 'Abd al-Krim to thank for the theoretically harmonious equilibrium and, indeed, blend, between the two.

That, in a general way, it is the Shari'a which is followed (more or less) in all matters pertaining to 1) land, 2) marriage, and 3) divorce, while the elusive "Custom" tends to dictate any cases which do not have to do with these conceptualizations, will soon become apparent.

7--For further "value judgments" on this question, see David M. Hart and José R. Erola, "Rifian Morals", in Vergilius Ferm, Ed., Encyclopedia of Morals, New York; Philosophical Library, 1956, pp. 481-490.

8--i.e. by Western standards: another value judgment.

9--The dharfiqth, pl. dharfiqin, is, in the Rif, the patrilineal (and patrilocal) lineage par excellence, and although Blanco translates it as "grupo familiar", I shall refer to it as "lineage" henceforth, in both text and notes. Varying in both membership and depth, it may trace its 'apical" ancestor from, say, four up to as many as eight ascending generations removed from the speaker. Almost never, unless he is a sharif (in Rifian, amrabidh), or descendant of the Prophet Muhammad--whether de facto or de jure is in this case immaterial--and often not even then, can a Rifian trace his ancestry in a step-by-step progression beyond this particular apex, whatever its generational depth. The various lineage branches of the dharfiqth are also conceptualized as such by Rifians, and are called jajgu, pl. ijujga in Aith Waryaghar, and jij, pl. ijajjen in Igzinnayen and Aith 'Ammarth.

10--Jma'th (from Moroccan Arabic jma'a) is the term generally employed to refer to all the people in a given local community. The Rifians do not use it in the sense which it is given in Arabic (as well as that accorded it by the former Spanish administration), that of "council, assembly", a sense which is more restrictive. However, the triliteral root jm' in Arabic, meaning "to come together, congregate, collect, add up", is ultimately permissive of both notions, for from it is also derived the noun jum'a, "Friday", as well as jami', "mosque". One may

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

681 Berber criminal law admits the death penalty, pecuniary sanctions (i.e. fines), reprisal (i.e. vengeance), despoliation, confiscation and the taking of hostages; but not maltreatment, confinement, talion[50], Koranic capital punishment[51] or mutilation. I should classify Berber sanctions or penalties as follows:

1) Pecuniary or Monetary Sanctions (fines, despoliation, confiscation of property)
2) Corporal Sanctions (death, plunder, taking of strangers as hostages)
3) Afflicting Moral Sanctions (banishment, adverse publicity)

[1777] It is very probable (sic) that the Rifians knew of other such sanctions reflected in the Kabyle qanuns of Algeria (such as the enforced shaving of beards and mustaches, a hirsute face being considered a manly attribute), but the memory of them has not remained [1779] sufficiently clear[52]. It is very doubtful that they would ever have admitted whippings or beatings, or the cutting off of hands and feet for theft, as prescribed in the Koran[53]; for no dharfiqth would ever have allowed one of its members to submit to anything of the sort. Berber custom rejects punishment of this type.

The graded scale of fines is worked up according to the external manifestation of the crime, from its beginnings through its commission, and the coefficient of this scale is both the act and the consequences of the crime in question. But it turns out to be infantile (sic), for the manner in which the crime is committed is sanctioned rather than the basis, or the act itself. Thus, for example, from the time a man threatens to shoot a gun at someone, there is a penalty which increases until the bullet hits his adversary[54].

671 771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [514] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 681 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

671 554 693 surprised Raisuli so much later on[78] when he saw their warlike proclivities, were employed in an executive capacity so far from their real profession.

671 779 If we consider the time in which they were drawn up, quite recently, this would show us these apparent confusions as a more advanced state of Islamization.

671 Going further in the reading of the qanun, we notice a confused editorship or translation in the examples which it gives us. We do not know if we are commenting on a qanun, the Rifian penal code, or a shooting match. Why is it that if a man wounds someone in attack, he must pay a fine of 100 duros, and if he misses him, he must pay double that amount? Because of his poor markmanship? But then instead of limiting aggressions, of tending to diminish damages and injuries to the individual and to society, were the Rifians thus impelled to aggravate them with this exhortation to perfect markmanship, a stimulus to murder? Undoubtedly there is much confusion here, and I myself am not certain how to explain it.

671 683

681 443 Common prestige and experience arm them and cause them all to watch over and keep their guard against each other, stipulating the severest punishment, above their own individual interests, for those who attack in the market. They consider this a crime against the tribe, the worst crime in Rifian society, which is paid with violent death, without admission of the compensation which another qanun of the Aith Waryaghar[79] mentions, although this does not do so.

[619] [673]

671 This qanun also shows us a very curious aspect of Berber society, in general and of Rifian society in particular, as we have commented above.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

616
613 While relationships with one's own and neighboring lineages, regulated by tradition, were maintained, the liff did not plead permanence as a hope of reward, but whenever injustice or violence, ripping up their pact or norms of coexistence, left an individual or his lineage-mates helpless, these latter attained in the liff a final support for their rights and in all cases a secure material refuge for their persons and possessions.

616
779 The liff must not be compared to European political parties (author's italics), for these are activated under a religious aegis or under a governmental form, both things being ones which did not enter into the preoccupations of the Rifians, for whom republics and Islam were points which did not admit controversy even in the slightest degree. Destined to a rude struggle for existence in a harsh and miserable environment, the speculations of the spirit had neither place nor occasion to make themselves felt in the fact of the other, primordial and undeferable.

616
182 To any presumed victims the liff was the best guarantee and forewarning, as through it individuals and social units were forced to bring about the alliances (author's italics) which they deemed necessary in order to oppose adverse forces; and thus they insured their own existence.

616
613
619
182 The mechanism of the liff worked the miracle, in the anarchical (sic) state of Rifian society, of permitting the coexistence of the family or kin group or social unit (i.e. the lineage, on whatever level), as small as it might be, among others more numerous in point of population with no diminution of its integrity; and this fact permitted the

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Arhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

771 guidance from the Book and the various interpretations of the
[779] Book made by a body of literate scholars. But it also serves as a vehicle for the spiritual expression of the illiterate and the superstitious. The needs of the one community, though not necessarily incompatible with the other, are of a different
771 nature. To meet the needs of the rural tribesmen, a cult of
776 saints has long existed in Morocco. The earliest reference to
794 this phenomenon in the Rif can be found in the work of 'Abd el-Haqq el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif, dated 1311 and translated from Arabic to French by G. S. Colin (1926). The more formal aspects of Islam whereby a morality is derived from dialectic interpretation of Koranic scripture did not have the power of explanation among the tribesmen as mysticism. As Colin points out in his introduction to el-Badisi's work:

> Il s'agit donc, en somme, d'un effort de vulgarisation de la science religieuse et, plus spécialement, du mysticisme, dans le but de rendre ce dernier plus populaire et plus pittoresque, et de permettre par là aux ames simples d'y prendre interêt et de s'y attacher. (Ibid.:8)

792 A man became a saint because of various miracles performed
776 during his lifetime which, according to the beliefs of the tribesmen, signify that the man had a closer connection with the spiritual world. In most areas of Morocco the saint was also a sharif or descendent of the Prophet. This does not seem to be a vital criterion for sainthood in the Rif. El-Bakiri lists only one of the saints in his hagiography as being a sharif (1926:11).

The tribesmen came to the saint during his lifetime for advice in spiritual and secular affairs. According to his success

792 794 575 [778] [554] 1949.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator. These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

792 794 795 575 Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee. [779]

792 794 575 These religious associations are for the most part voluntary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

792 annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure
794 of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a
575 member to donate to his zariwya.
[124]

788 Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of
484 wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of
[179] the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died.
[805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu
[178] 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or
[509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group.
[435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in
[671] getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older,
[554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have
788 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, com-
484 pletely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of
626 the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

793 794 465 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 789 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in 791 754 Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif [793] [789] society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female 754 791 562 witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. [888] This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

754 791 789 793 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood [443] from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut.[70] The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[70] The Sanhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dabdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[11] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[12]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[13] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[14] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[15] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[16] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[11] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[12] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[13] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[14] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[15] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[16] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

canvas tents in the Market of the Righteous, as they would do in any ordinary tribal market (*sūq*). They sell just the same articles, from clothing and bill-hooks (I purchased two of the latter here) to soap and matches, as they do in the regular markets, and some of them also sell sheep to be ritually slaughtered for the 'Aid al-Kabīr on the following day. As in a normal market, also, men and women remain sharply segregated.

Among the pilgrims are numerous *ṭulbā* or students of the Qur'ān, who, after visiting the tomb, where they recite the Holy Book from beginning to end, proceed to the Market of the Righteous to ask the faithful for contributions (*ma'rūf*), which are placed in a box beside the tomb put there for the purpose. The money is later counted up by the tribal authorities and divided equally among all the ṭulbā attending (1).

The 'imārah of Sīdī Bū Khiyār has also, within the last two decades, become a focal point in the activities of the local members of the brotherhood of the 'Alawiyyīn, who maintain a not insignificant following in Timarzga and Aith 'Arūs, although they do not have a lodge in either of these districts. After paying their respects to the saint, they congregate for their *miima'*, or reunion, at a spot between the ādhān grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and a half to two hours, they go through the litany (*dhikr*) required by their order. This consists of a constant repetition of the formula *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, «There is no god but God», over and over, while the brethren are standing in a circle. The litany is followed by the *'imrah*, a form of rhythmic breathing designed to induce ecstasy: and the 'imrah of the 'Alawiyyīn (the word is *not* to be confused with *'imārah*) progresses through the following routines, in which the underlined and accented vocalizations denote outgo, and the non-underlined ones, intake, of breath:

(1) In 1955, there were 99 ṭulbā from the Ibil (Timarzga-Turīrth-Aith 'Arūs) of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 717.75 pesetas: 96 from Aith 'Abd Allāh of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 696.00 ptas.; 87 from Aith 'Ammarth, who got 630.75 ptas.; 75 from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh of Aith Wariyāghir, who got 471.25 ptas.; 39 from Aith Ḥadhīfah of Aith Warivāghir, who received 282.75 ptas.; 15 from Imrābdhen of Aith Warivāghir, who got 108.75 ptas.; and 10 from Izzinnāven, who received 72.50 ptas. Total ṭulbā attending were 421, and total money collected was 2990.25 pesetas.

[Text continues on p. 243]

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788

B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781

C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 575 795

D) Same as B) above. 778

E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Ḥamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

778 The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 788 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 782

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

231 [782] Cattle are used for meat, milk, hides, and traction. Bulls are kept for sacrificial purposes, since several forms of ritual require the sacrifice of a bull. They are never castrated, the same being true of horses and all other domestic animals.

Swine. The problem of the domestication of swine opens up the most difficult aspect of Riffian culture with which one has to deal. Riffians have kept and probably still do keep swine, but they are extraordinarily secretive about it. For some strange reason, they are as ashamed to discuss the matter with a Christian as with an Arab. The practice is as wrapped in secrecy as the witches' sabbat of the Middle Ages. Families which keep swine never bring them to market, never admit that they keep them, and take them out of the house before guests arrive.

Swine were formerly raised in most of the nuclear mountain area of the Rif — in Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, and the Senhaja Sghir. A generation ago the people of Iherrushen and Ikhuanen of northern Gzennaya discontinued the practice, as the result of a pilgrimage to Mekka performed by one of their prominent men. Within the last six years swine have been kept at Inhanahan, in Gzennaya.

Whether swine are still owned anywhere in the Rif or Senhaja I cannot say, but I suspect that they are. They are not the descendants of any long-domesticated breed, but are bred from individuals caught in traps on the mountains; seldom does a litter have a domestic history of more than two or three generations. When all have been killed off, more are caught and bred. Thus swine domestication is, or was, either in an incipient stage or in the last stage of decadence. The animals are kept in the house, but are confined in a separate room, the door of which is closed at night. In the daytime they are taken out on the mountain slopes to feed on acorns and roots. When they are slaughtered, no *hallala* is performed.

Hens, happily, are kept openly, and present no such difficulties to the investigator as do swine. Their presence is manifest throughout the house and the courtyard, and especially on and about the refuse pile, which is located at some distance. They are the exclusive [462] property of the women, who sell them and their eggs independently of their husbands; they keep the money thus earned, but husbands have the right to demand a hen or two on the occasion of a guest's arrival. Widows who live alone often support themselves entirely by keeping hens, since persons charitably inclined buy them from widows by preference.

Bees provide an important article of local diet. The Riffians are expert in the art of caring for bees, building hives of basketry, wood, and cork. Sometimes hollow logs are used, and the scooped-out bases of yucca plants. The hives are usually kept in caves or in crannies in the cliffs above the villages. In the spring the bee farmer transports his swarm to new hives and removes what honey is left from the winter, since he does not take it out in the fall. Honey is separated from the wax and is kept in jars. Apiculture is most commonly practised in Gzennaya. In many parts of the Senhaja Sghir bees are not kept on account of the cold.

[463] Individual owners of bees do not as a rule care for their own hives, but put them in charge of a bee expert, who takes a previously agreed portion of the honey as his payment. There is generally but one such bee farmer in the village, although most of the families own at least one hive apiece.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

565 called the Ulad el Hani, claim Arab origin, although they are plainly Negroid, and speak
563 Arabic domestically, employing *thamazighth* only with outsiders. They are at present con-
463 sidered the best smiths in the Rif.

While the four groups of smiths just mentioned are all sedentary, the smiths to the east and the west are often journeymen, going in winter to the encampments of Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi, who have no local craftsmen, and to villages of Beni Urriaghel, Gzennaya, and Beni Amart to set up shop. These immigrant smiths are distinguished from the local ones of long standing by the fact that they send home for their women and keep up a permanent connection with their home bases. They are considered by the villagers as temporary residents.

All the smiths, both sedentary and itinerant, have certain tasks and duties. They must go to Melilla or to Fes from time to time to buy iron. This gives them an opportunity to see something of the outside world and to become more sophisticated than most of their social superiors. They go to markets, in which they set up shop and shoe horses and mules brought to them; they are given complete charge of the secular slaughtering of domestic animals.

565 At this point a distinction might be made between the various types of slaughtering.
563 Although the technique is the same in all cases, except with wild animals killed in hunting,
463 the sentiment differs widely. Sacrificing, or killing an animal at a religious feast, at a house-
554 building, or as an act of magical compulsion in warfare, is an honorable task and must not
782 be performed by one of the Shameless Ones. This is the duty of the father of the household, the head of the *vein*, or of the schoolmaster of the *bone*, according to how large a group is concerned. It is highly desirable in any case that it be done by a literate man. The flaying and cutting up of game is subject to no restrictions as to person, the hunter usually doing it himself. The slaughtering and flaying of domestic animals for consumption alone, without religious or magical connotation, is considered a shameful and unclean task, to be performed by a man of good standing only when he cannot find one of the Shameless Ones to do it for him.

565 **Pipers**,[1] or *imṯhiyasen* (singular *amṯhiyaz*), play upon the *zammar*, a reed instrument
463 consisting of double pipes of cane, with numerous stops and with a fixed bass, and ending
534 in the horns of the aoudad. They are as debased as the smiths, if not more so. The pipers are concentrated at Sidi Bu Daud and Sidi Shaib of Temsaman, Bu Hfora and Meidhar of Beni Turin, Ighsa Urieri and Mauru of Beni Said, Anual and Sidi Misaud of Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Nador, Azgangen, and Suk el Arbaa of Beni Sidel.

They wander over a wide territory, playing at weddings and other festivals. The area
565 covered by them in pursuit of trade may be seen on the map entitled Marriage Traits No. 2
463 (p. 137); under the topic of weddings[2] their functions will be discussed more fully. Their social position is if anything lower than that of the blacksmiths, and whereas the latter are sometimes trusted and in a way respected, musicians never are. Neither are allowed any part in the government.

Market Criers[3] and **Weighers**, *iberraḥen* (singular *aberraḥ*) and *isheqairen* (singular *asheqair*), who form the third class of Shameless Ones, both come from the same families,

[1] So translated here because of their profession. [2] See below, p. 128 seq.

[3] The ordinary meaning is "public criers." I have given them the English equivalent "market criers" because the market is their seat of operation.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 692 *Picking windfall olives.* Similarly, the head of each family must pay a quarter of a dollar for each member of his family who starts picking up windfalls before the signal is given.

685 *Theft of olives.* The outright theft of olives is punished by a fine of ten dollars.

Trespassing in order to pick grass. If a man catches a woman picking or cutting grass for her cow on his land, he may report her, and her husband will be fined one dollar. But to make such a report is considered mean and few are willing to do so.

Stray goats and cattle in the cemetery. When goats or cattle, either with or without the intention of their guardian, enter a cemetery, their owner is fined a quarter of a dollar for each goat, and a dollar for each bull or cow which entered.

[689] *Repair of irrigation ditches.* If any farmer fails to send a man or men to work on a ditch, when he is required to do so, he is fined between two and three dollars per day per man.

Taking water illegally from irrigation ditches. This is considered a serious offense, and although it incurs but a five dollar fine, it always breeds bad feelings and often incites to murder.

●[782] 623 692 688 *Regulating attendance at prayer.* To explain this function it is necessary to anticipate the discussion of religion. Each *bone* in the *canton* is required to send twenty-five men once a week to the common mosque of the *canton* to pray. The village council of each *bone* lists the names of all married men in the *bone*: a day is set for each *bone* to attend the mosque, and the *bone* keeps that day permanently. The first week the first twenty-five men on the list must go, the second week the second twenty-five, and so on until the list has been exhausted, when the procedure starts all over again. If the number of married men in the *bone* is not evenly divisible by twenty-five, those forming the remainder at the foot of the list are supplemented by enough at the head of it to fill the number, and the rotation starts anew. It is the task of the village council in whose territory the cantonal mosque is situated to see that twenty-five men appear from each *bone* on the allotted day. If a *bone* is so small that it does not contain twenty-five, it is combined with another *bone* for this purpose.

If the members of the village council of the mosque territory find that a quota is not full on a certain day, they fine the man who has defaulted five dollars. If this is not paid promptly the council of the great steps in and fines the guilty *bone* between two and three hundred dollars. If a man is away on a journey his name is temporarily stricken from the list and the following names are moved up one place; if he is ill or for some other reason unable to go, he is allowed to send a substitute. If a man falls ill on the way, becomes wounded, or is otherwise prevented from reaching the mosque when it is too late to obtain a substitute, his absence is excused.

The fines thus extracted, the proceeds of which go for the upkeep of the mosque, formerly consisted of walnuts, almonds, figs, or raisins. Later, when sugar was first imported, two sugar cones were assessed. Later still the money fine was introduced.

623 681 651 692 *Providing for exiles from other fifths.* When a man has been exiled by the tribal council for a year, two years, or more, he must pass to a different *fifth*, preferably to a *bone* in which he has friends. The village council of the *bone* collects an assessed portion of the crops of every farmer and gives it to him. This it does for the first year only. If he remains more than a year he must work as a share-laborer for a farmer and earn his living. If a farmer refuses to give his assessed portion it is taken by force, and twofold. Such refusals are, however, almost unknown.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

844
554
[845]

care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

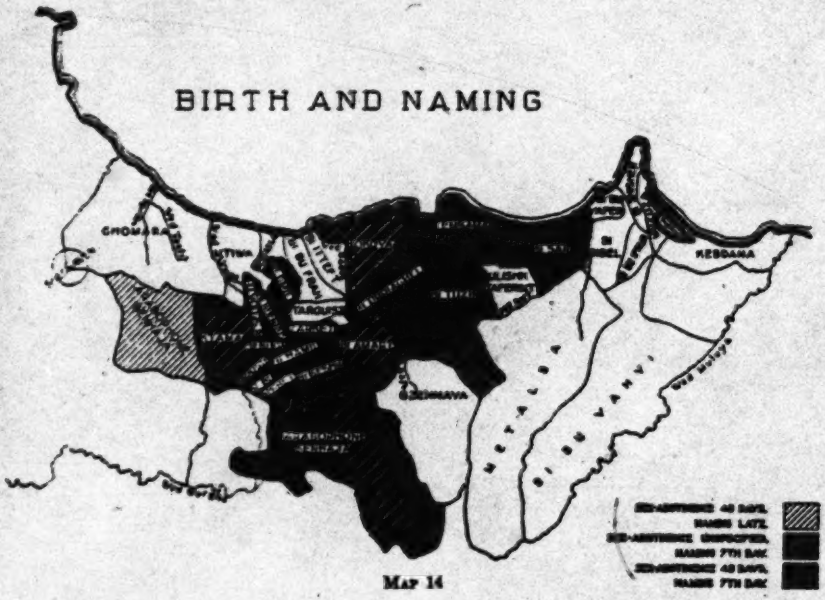
The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

853
582
608

If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden.

BIRTH AND NAMING

844
553



MAP 14

844

Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard.

844
782

Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *sekau*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea.

844

This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION

771 RIFFIAN religion, although of course officially Islam, is a blend of that faith with old heathen ideas, and with factors apparently Christian and Jewish, some of which may antedate the arrival of Islam. The kings of Nekor were rigid adherents to the Malekite rite,[1] and the Islam of the Riffians from that time to this has been officially orthodox.

782 794 The visible practice of orthodox religion consists in the sending by each *kone* of twenty-five men on a set day each week to the cantonal mosque to pray, and in public attendance of Friday sermons there. The preceptor delivers this sermon in the morning, standing before the worshippers and leaning on a cane. He criticises local happenings and gives out the agricultural forecast for the week, besides expounding the Koran.

Most of the men of the *canton* who are married and of serious purpose attend this service. Old women also attend, sitting in a separate room, where they can hear but cannot be seen. Young women do not go, and indeed seldom take the trouble to pray, since religion is almost wholly a masculine concern. When they do pray they do it at home. As an outlet of religious energy, or more often as a holiday excursion, they take food to the saint's tomb and eat it there with their children. Students, apparently immune to the prohibition against men's going to the tomb, do so and are given food by the women. Women also go to cemeteries on Fridays, and enjoy themselves despite their surroundings.

773 A common legend prevalent in many parts of Morocco is that after the Christians have had their way with the Muslimin for a certain length of time, Sidna Ali will come and smite them with the sword. After this Sidna Aissa, or Jesus, will appear and convert the Christians to Islam.

This legend is narrated in the Jebala, where a special intensity is given to the part of Jesus in the drama. The Jebalans claim that when Sidna Aissa comes wolves will lie down with lambs, and that stones, streams, and roads will speak. Ali, who is said by the Jebalans to have been scab-headed, and Jesus, who is probably their most important religious personage, especially in Taghzuth, are the only two historical characters reputed not to have died, but to be living on, awaiting return to earth. This is not said of the Prophet, whose personality hovers in the background as the legitimate but unemphasised pivot of the religion.

At Taghzuth I was told the stories of Jonah and the whale, and the Flood. In the latter legend, the ark was made to land at Tangier. This belief is also held in the Rif. A variant version popular there is that in the beginning of time Banu Adam (a collective name meaning "Children of Adam," or "mankind," but here used to denote an individual) saw that a flood was coming and built a boat, taking into it his wife, his daughter, his dog, his cat, his donkey, and seven men. When the flood was over the boat landed on a mountain. At that time the seven men began quarrelling over Banu Adam's daughter, since each of them

[1] See p. 32.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

is at Tangier. Westermarck plots a wide distribution for the custom,[1] and shows that it is a survival of a midsummer rite.[2]

The religious feasts of Mohammedan origin celebrated in the Rif are *el Ashor*, *el Mulud*, the month of *Ramadan*, the *Aid es Sghir* at the end of this month, and the *Aid el Kebir*.

The *Ashor* serves chiefly as a vacation for the school children, and is not otherwise important. Many do not even know when it is in force.

On the *Mulud* the women of the *bone* cook coarsely ground barley into a mush and carry it to the mosque, early in the morning, where all the children of the *bone* eat it together. In the evening the men buy a bull or cow by subscription and sacrifice it in front of the mosque so that blood will spurt on the door, then cut it up by the door and divide it, each man taking his share home to eat.

Ramadan is kept strictly by the Riffians, who do not deviate from the orthodox regulations in any way. Those who ordinarily eat pork, smoke, or drink, abstain from these practices during *Ramadan*, and scour with ashes any cooking or eating vessel which has been used for unclean food at other times. On the twenty-seventh night of this fast they believe that the sky opens and that a man who gazes fixedly at it may see God. If he does he dies instantly and is carried to heaven. On the last night, which is the *Aid es Sghir*, everyone washes well and dresses in clean clothing. The father measures out with his hands three double handfuls of barley for each person in the house. He then sends for a poor woman to come and take it, before which no one in the house may eat.

On each day of the *Aid el Kebir*, which lasts three days, each household kills a sheep and eats it. The men and women go about from house to house in the *bone*, the men dividing into age groups, and the women all banding together. The unmarried boys form two groups, the very young and the adolescent, and play games, wrestle, and play at government. They imitate the councils, also Arab forms of government, appointing a *kaid*, a *pasha*,[3] and *mokhazniya*.[4] The boys hold mock trials and send each other to jail. The young married men form a third group, the chief diversion of which is the exchange of obscene stories. The last group consists of the middle-aged and old men, who amuse themselves by reminiscing and narrating legends.

Each night comes the dramatic presentation by the *ishuikhen*, unmarried men who dress themselves up to represent certain characters and act out parts. The dramas are always comic and inevitably obscene. Staid persons who at any other time would be shocked at the sight or description of any obscene or sacrilegious act cast aside their repressions and enter heartily into the fun.

The scenes and situations enacted differ from tribe to tribe and at times change, but the general type and technique are always the same. A description of the carnival presented in parts of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Tuzin, follows. Descriptions of others may be found in Moulieras [5] and Westermarck.[6]

[1] Pages 182, 203–204.

[2] Pages 199–206. Westermarck eliminates the strong association with the idea of Jews by calling it *ex post facto*, and by bringing in parallels from other regions. For the present purpose, whether the Jewish factor be original or superimposed, as Westermarck has well demonstrated, in either case it indicates a degree of Jewish influence at some period of time.

[3] This Turkish title is applied in Morocco to mayors of cities.

[4] Guards, gendarmes, or retainers.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 106–111.

[6] Vol. II, pp. 133–158.

778 [823] [707] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [717] (the so-called l-hajra de l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 [737] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints.

411 [842] [755] Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[747] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 755 [847] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[857] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [867] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.

825 782 The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

778
823 Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an
[755] empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 [117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

821 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in
775 a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 [118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman [Igliwa], usm, plur. usmăn [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [Igliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

821 [119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [Igliwa],
789 tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
●[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

784 778 834 since the barley would otherwise be bad for the animal, and when he gives it he should say the bismillah; I was told that these rules owe their origin to the baraka of the barley (Hiaina). When you stroke the back of such an animal you should not do it with your palm but with the outer side of your hand, since the palm may be unclean (ibid.).

514 784 778 [234] Like sexual uncleanness, excremental impurity is injurious to baraka. A person ought not to sleep inside a mosque, because during sleep he may have a nightly pollution or break wind or make water. If anybody breaks wind in a mosque he kills thereby the angels in it or makes them blind, or at any rate displeases them, and he will himself fall ill or become poor. I have seen men remove their trousers before prayer, since no prayer will be accepted from a person in a state of uncleanness. Nobody is allowed to pray in a place where there are excrements of any other animals but such as are used for food, that is, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Urination and evacuation must not take place in the direction of Mecca; in the case of the former the person should have his face turned westward, in the case of the latter north- or south-wards. It is forbidden to do one's needs or urinate in the sea. It is also forbidden to do such things in a river or a pond. He who urinates in water will be struck by a jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden) or urinate blood after his death (Ait Waryager).

784 778 782 [239] Baraka may be spoiled by contact with the ground and its impurities. The prayer-place of a Muhammadan must be clean; hence a Moor of the better class often carried under his arm a coloured felt-cloth on which he kneels when he says his prayers, or a cloak is for the same purpose spread on the ground. Yet people may pray on the bare ground if the sun is shining on it. Neither the Koran, nor any other book containing the name of God, nor the writing-boards of schoolboys, must be placed on the ground, at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place; and even where the ground is clean a scribe would not leave on it the book which he consults when he writes a charm, for fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy. A t ebrid loses its power if it falls to the ground. Another written charm may perhaps in similar circumstances retain its efficacy if it is at once put in wheat or barley to be purified, but if anybody has trampled upon it its baraka is irremediably lost (Ait Waryager).

784 272 [243] Milk and butter are very liable to be injured by the evil eye, witchcraft, or other evil influences, and are therefore in need of many precautions.

against you by God and the religious law", so as to drive it away if it is a jenn or a saint, or to prevent the jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager). A single raven seen in the morning by a person who sets out on a journey is sometimes said to be a jenn (Temsaman).

[271] Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of jnun, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits saying the bismillah before eating, jnun or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks [272] standing (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or eats with his left hand (Ait Waryager), jnun are eating or drinking with him.

If a person when he is praying does not bow down so low that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, jnun or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[278] Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted and consequently in many cases a source of danger. As already said, a person who gets angry with raw meat in his hand is very liable to be struck by jnun. The same is the case with one who is beaten by such a person (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager).

No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shawia, Andjra, Ait Waryager, etc.) or generally to the person who has given it; it would be bad for both parties (Ait Waryager).

If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market and his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them (Ait Waryager), since otherwise they will be hurt by jnun (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Sadden).

[279] If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she aks, because otherwise the fetus (Ait Waryager) or the woman as well (Ulad Bu aziz) will die; should he refuse, her husband might complain of it to his governor, who would compel him to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for (ibid.).

If a person eats meat in the presence of some one else he must let him have a share of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden; for l-lham auwaj l-hanak, "meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it]", he will be made ill by jnun (Dukkala)). In explanation of these

776 jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke
789 of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsis-
776 tencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place
778 where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the baraka
789 possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

776 [315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is
789 to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[342] [317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat
● 782] is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[312] [321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the
[782] place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

776 [324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person,
755 attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means
789 used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

796 [120] It is the rule that as soon as the animal is killed its head and
782 feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and
singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, At Ubahti). In Dukkala it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances it is only partaken of
[252] on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), as also the heart (Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), are partaken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz) and the feet (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Amanuz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Ait Sadden), and the head and th the feet on the first (ibid.) or the third (Ait Waryager). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day.

[262] [121] Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel.

[251] What remains of the meat is made into qaddid (or geddid [Ulad Bu 'aziz], lqaddid [Igliwa], rqaddid [Temsaman, Ait Waryager], tiqqaddidin [Ait Sadden], asawar [Ait Yusi], tagarin [Aglu], tifiyi iqorn [Amanuz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips.

[735] A portion of the qaddid is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following 'asura. Among the Ait Waryager some qaddid must be preserved till the following mulud.

1 [i.e. - sacrificial, - Analyst]

796
782
755 [122] The holiness of the victim is also utilised in other ways. Magic propensities are ascribed to its blood.

A very common custom is for persons who have chapped skin on the feet, or who want to prevent the skin from being chapped, to dip them into the blood fallen on the ground (Dukkala, Ait Mjild, Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

The blood of the sacrificed animal is frequently used as a means of keeping off or expelling jnun. Among the Ait Waryager it is drunk by persons who are troubled with such spirits; whilst, as a precaution against them, the corners of the walls of the room inhabited by the owner of the sacrificed animal are sprinkled with its blood.

796 [123] The gall-bladder of the sacrificed animal is commonly
782 hung up inside the house or tent, often over the fire-place; there is much baraka in it.

Among the Ait Waryager the person who removes the gall-bladder from the slaughtered animal throws it into the yard (azqaq), where the animals are kept, after first spitting on it.

[124] The right shoulder-blade is often preserved at least till the following Great Feast, being sometimes hung up in the tent or house, and sometimes buried among the corn which is kept there (Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager); but there are people who thus preserve it only in case it has been found to contain a good omen.

[125] Among the Ait Waryager slices cut from the horns are thrown into the fire when a snake is seen inside the house, the smoke being supposed to drive it away.

[126] In various Berber tribes (Ait Nder, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager) the barley which is found in the stomach of the sacrificed sheep is dried and afterwards sown in a special place in the field. The grain of the crop resulting from it is called "the barley of the Prophet" and regarded as holy. It is either sown separately or together with other seed, or, if there is much of it, partly used for food.

[128] Very commonly fortune is read in the right shoulder-blade
787 of the sacrificed sheep (Fez, Tangier, Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Amanuz, Aglu, Demnat, Igliwa, and other Shloh of the Great Atlas).

The shoulder-blade is supposed to tell whether the year will be good or bad, whether there will be much rain or drought, whether the food will be cheap or dear, whether the Sultan will be strong or

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788

B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781

C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 515 795

D) Same as B) above. 778

E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Ḥamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

778

The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 788 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 782

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

788 778 782 a *fqīh*, a schoolmaster from the cantonal mosque of Timarzga, who stands at the northeast corner of the prayer site, between the site itself and a cistern a few yards away. The men about to pray form long parallel lines, of over a hundred to each line, all the way back to the tomb.

The act of prayer in this particular place and on this particular occasion was one which, in my opinion, was unparalleled in simple dignity. The reverence which overcame the worshippers was something very personal and something very startling in its intensity. Here the Rifian was as close to and as intimate with his God as he would ever be, probably, during his life on earth.

The words of the prayer-call, familiar to all who have studied Arabic, became, on this occasion, as I heard them from the ādhān grove, blurred into a monotonous sea of vocalisms, rising and falling as the call was relayed back from line to line. Each line of men has its *musammi'*, who repeats to the men in his row what the fqīh has said, so they will hear it more distinctly. They all come through loud and clear on the *takbīr* (*Allāhu Akbar*, «God is Most Great»), but the rest of it tends to degenerate into a jumble, for, outside [191] the fqīh, there is only about one man in five hundred who speaks, writes or understands Arabic with any fluency at all; and the rest must perforce try to catch the words of the very, very few who comprehend what is being said. There are always, also, a few old women and widows who pray, but they do so apart from the men entirely, on the other side of the grove; and it is doubtful whether they can hear the fqīh at all.

Although some pilgrims bring food with them which they eat either before or after praying, the prayer is the last item on the agenda. After it is over, everyone goes home, to kill his sheep in the bosom of his family the next day. By mid-afternoon, most people have saddled up their donkeys and departed, and the peak of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is as bare and desolate as it was before.

788 778 [222] If the 'imārah falls at the end of summer, at the time that the grapes in the mountains begin to ripen, grape-picking may begin immediately after the 'Aid al-Kabīr, with no signal given by the village headmen.

000 18--These carnivals are impromptu affairs put on particular feast days ('Ansra, 'Aid l-Kbir, but not on 'Ashura as far as we know) by the people themselves, who are given the name ishwiyikhen when they dress up. A full description may be found in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 152-4. [114] Such carnivals still occur among the Igzinnayen, and possibly among the Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman as well, but are (and were) unknown among the Aith Waryaghar, contrary to Coon's statement regarding their distribution.

[155] 19--The lighting of bonfires was practiced all over the Rif on the day of the 'Ansra, or summer solstice festival, on June 24 (Julian, or agricultural, calendar); women and children used to jump over these fires to cure themselves of any ills. The custom was, however, looked on very much askance, if not actually outlawed, by 'Abd al-Krim; and no one indulges in it today, although it seems that the mountaineers of the subclan of Timarzga in the Aith Waryaghar followed it as late as 1950.

[114] 20--The shroud of a corpse is not pierced in any way in the Rif, nor is a stick nailed perpendicularly to the grave. Perhaps what is meant in the latter instance is the Rifian practice of placing the footstone of a woman's grave perpendicular to the headstone, to differentiate it from a man's grave, in which both stones are parallel to each other.

21--A Hizb, pl. hizib, is one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran.

[196] 22--In the muslim year, there are two feasts called 'aid: the 'Aid s-Sghir, or "Little Feast", which occurs just after Ramadan, and the 'Aid l-Kbir, or "Big Feast", on the 8th through 10th days of the last month of the year, the Dhu l-Hijja. It is to the 'Aid l-Kbir that the [188] text refers here. These three days are those when pilgrims at Mecca [182] undergo the rites of pilgrimage, and when Muslims all over Islam must sacrifice a sheep in commemoration of the sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

23--An imam is a prayer leader in the mosque, who stands before the congregation.

[196] 23a--On the day before 'Aid l-Kbir (i.e. day of 'Arafa), women visit cemeteries and take food with them, which they eat there, while the men go to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar (an amrabidh of Algerian origin, from Tlemcen, who is buried in Bu Ma'dhan, in the subclan of Timarzga, at the highest point--1930 meters--in the whole tribe of the Aith Waryaghar). While there, they watch the litany and ritual of the religious brotherhood of the 'Alawiyin, after which they distribute alms to the tulba (who attend in droves), pray en masse, and go home to sacrifice their sheep the following day (the 'Aid l-Kbir proper) in the bosoms of their families. See our article, "An 'Imarah in the Central Rif: the annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar", Tamuda, Año V, Semestre II, 1957, pp. 239-245; my report is based on field notes taken at the ceremony itself in 1955.

[114] 24--This is not so. Women visit cemeteries on feast days, but that is all.

25--It is not.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

681 A murderer in the Rif had to stay in exile until such time as his
682 victim's family would consent to accept bloodmoney, and this generally
696 meant at least one or two years, by which time their desire to kill
him might have cooled down. If they were eventually persuaded to accept
[782] this sum, the murderer's own agnates, at home, went to them and, in the
presence of a holy man, sacrificed a goat to them. After the goat was
eaten, the terms of the ddiyith were discussed and arrived at; and only
after it was paid could the murderer return home. Furthermore, if he
682 had committed his crime on a market path or in the market itself, on
443 market day, as aforementioned, he had to pay an entirely different sum
[114] (which Blanco often confuses with the ddiyith), the rhaqq or market fine
(called r-insaf in the Eastern Rif), consisting of 1000 duros for murder
on a path leading to the market and 2000 duros for a murder or any other
offense grave enough to upset the peace of the market, in the market
itself. This fine was only levied on market day, and payable to the
imgharen of the market. (If a murder was committed away from a market
path or from the market on a day other than market day, there was no
question of fine-paying, which was instituted purely to keep peace in
the suq.) It could be paid in money and/or in kind, and it usually
meant that the murderer had to sell the bulk of his property to raise
the necessary sum, which he handed over at the same time as he did the
ddiyith; but if he could not or would not pay it (and it was a sum
which was prohibitively high), the imgharen descended on him in a body
and burned his house, trees and fields. In addition, many people re-
682 fused to accept the ddiyith, which meant permanent exile for the mur-
628 derer. The imgharen, however, could not touch his property as long as
he was in exile; though he was expected to pay in full if his victim's
family relented and let him return. However, a murderer whose opinion
of himself was so elevated (and there were many such in the Rif) that
he refused to flee, refused to pay the ddiyith to the dead man's ag-
nates and (perhaps worst of all) refused to pay the rhaqq to the
imgharen could expect no mercy; he was attacked by the enraged kinsmen
of his victim and by the council members whose authority he had flouted,
as well--and the feud was on. His own agnates, under these circum-
stances, if they helped him (as they always did) could also expect to
have their own houses and property burnt to cinders.

681 56--There was some variation for minor offenses, but the fines for
682 murder, always with the same careful stipulation of time and place of
commission (market path or market on market day) were absolutely stan-
dard throughout the Central Rifian area.

[671] 57--There is some disagreement on this question. In the qanun of the
[114] Aith 'Abd Allah, cited by Blanco in La Ley Rifeña (p. 47), it is ex-
pressly stated that if two people commit a murder on a path leading
to the market, each of them is fined 1000 duros. Our own informants,
[124] however, stated that the number of people participating in a murder is
immaterial; what counts is the number of dead, each one of whom is
[628] assessed at either 1000 or 2000 duros, always according to where the
murder took place, a head. In the same way, after a feud is over and
a truce has been arranged, the number of dead on each side are counted
up, and the side with the greater number receives excess ddiyith from

616 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the
619 Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because
114 tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian. Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are not often those of the next!)

616 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side
728 which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it
184 involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality
● 782 is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 49-- Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to
[175] be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts, Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Amarth contingents who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) in order to testify.

(Blanco: note h) If, regarding a murder, there is brought sufficient proof (against the guilty party), the abovementioned fine shall be imposed upon hi[illegible] and in case sufficient proof does not exist, he shall swear (for acquittal).[48]

(Blanco: note i) Regarding the abovementioned beginning (i.e. on Tuesdays), it is ended at the hour of the 'isha (i.e. at the dinner hour or hour of the sunset prayer). Amen.

On the sixth day of Ramadan the Magnificent of the year 1335 (June 26, 1917). Servant of his God, may He be exalted, Muhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, "Abd as-Salam bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

Legalization by the qadi. Praise be to the One God. (Both 'udul) have put down its contents, which are accepted and to which I give faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Umar at-Tuzani, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

This qanun manifests in a clear way how social law is made among Rifians: where the legislators gathered to agree on it, how it was made public, whom it obligated, the jurisdiction in which it was exercised, the objective sought and the means of attaining it.

It enumerates the crimes and their sanctions, it distinguishes perpetrators and accomplices, provokers and auxiliaries, natives and stranger. It eschews pardon, it demands proof and it shows the reality of the social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator

[See p.306-- Analyst]

component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing influence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the undersigned notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya) made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros. This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55] or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

671 771 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 182 [778] [782] [779] [574] This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for transcendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice, the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian, an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 182 614 619 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 182 628 681 [511] It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting indelibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 628 68 184 443 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality, differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at

21. THE QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH):[179]

224 The data which follow have been gathered principally among hunters
619 from the tribes of the Ibuqquyen, Aith Hadhifa (Aith Waryaghar), Zarqat, Targist, Aith 'Ammarth and Aith (or Bni) Mazduci; and they can be considered as general hunting qanuns for the region.

A) Significance:

224
182 Hunting in the Rif was neither a sport nor a profession in the European manner. It was a physiological necessity, and it is still
134 considered so today. A poor soil, accidented and dry, rendered it
312 difficult for the tribesmen to utilize its scarce sources of water;
262 and the consumption of meat was limited, because of the scarcity of animals (i.e. both domestic and wild) to Fridays, feast days, days on which pacts were concluded, days of illness, etc., and to market
262 days. As the Rifian is by necessity a vegetarian[180], sacrifices of
782 animals acquire the status of a rite, and they form a fundamental ceremony in the most transcendental and important acts of his life. Peace and war, pacts, births and deaths, rogations, etc., have to be
224 sealed with meat for greater solemnity and efficacy. In hunting,
782 therefore, Rifian society finds a physiological compensation in no
182 way negligible to its sober life and ancestral appetite for meat, the sacrifice in common and equitable distribution of which is subject to strict rules[181], the object of the most rigorous tradition and fiscalization in order not to squander the slender reserves, which are
000 appraised in a manner unsuspected by European minds. The European visitor who is entertained in a Rifian household is not in a position to appreciate sufficiently the hospitality which is offered to him,

224 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the
672 fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during
685 the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the dis-
224 position of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the
672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another
183 Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

L) Taboos:

224 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to
782 make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their
784 throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh,
[75] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated
411 by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

224 262 782 783 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah invocation must be eaten; but as, unfortunately, a mouse or some other ritually unclean animal might fall in, and as the owner of the trap would have to eat it, hunters prefer not to pronounce the invocation. They would prefer to wait until the next morning, trusting to luck to find the animal alive, if indeed it has not escaped from the trap.

The hunters must see the animals alive and pronounce the invocation in order to be able to eat them.

[231] For this reason, an animal caught by a dog, as well as one captured by a ferret, must be seen by the hunters in order that it be ritually permissible for them to eat. In the case of the ferret, if the animal turns up dead in its burrow and has not been seen previously by the ferret, it is also rejected, since death might have taken place earlier.

104 M) Vocabulary:

1) hunt, hunting--Arabic rayah, Rifian dhagimmarth, dhingimarth or dhingmarth
2) hunters--Arabic mruyah, Rifian igimmaren (sing. agimmar), or ingmarn (sing. angmar)
3) signal of game--Haw-haw-haw! (repeated)
4) hunting in company--shirka, shurka
5) signal for attention and flushing of game--L-'adaw!; and if the game in question is partridge--Birraw!
6) sticks--dhigharya (Iqar'qyen dhigNaryin), sing. dhaghrith, in the Ibuqquyen and in all the Aith Waryaghar save the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil, where a hunting stick is called r-mitrag and a walking stick dhqabut.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj [155] Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure [182] barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

231 There are practically no communal events,
796 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[791] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless,
433 impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
[191] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif, which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
435

121 the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domes-
553 tic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of
585 the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumci-
844 sion and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.
852
764

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather
844 insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she
sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives
602 may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon
782 (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed.
556 While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assem-
574 bled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so.
However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially
a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is
not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming
553
574 ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially
602 the second most important initiation ceremony in the society.
114 On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of
553 his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during
574 which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the
602 child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to
431 be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed
but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by pre-
vious obligations established by gifts that the giver has received
from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money,
20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

553 cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially
574 father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this cere-
602 mony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the
431 family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right
(578) to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day
782 the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended
574 to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is
621 expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the
553 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of
556 food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys.
574 Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, how-
(571) ever, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to empha-
553 size their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
[521] circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family. If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are, however, the majority.

584 562 586 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initiating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advantages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 [782] [571] Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match, the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of [593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as [464] [427] akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such circumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 581 582 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyia in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[954] evil eye or a djnoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi,
• [782] where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed
at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of
Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated
fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from
Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas
to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and
another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The
chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a
cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at
least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, espe-
cially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah
family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense
would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrim-
age is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such
instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa.
(A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
597 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and distribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

Before turning from religious activities to magical practices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools (658) [178] which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by (425) some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. [782] Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet [241] some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who (212) has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. [794] He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

753 Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,
796 the dinoun. These creatures are held responsible for malaria,
[164] epileptic and paralytic seizures, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, cholera, whooping cough, smallpox, and so forth. The dinoun themselves are usually invisible but can take the shape of an animal or human. When a person falls ill it is believed that either a dinoun has possessed him or he has been given the evil eye.

755 There are various methods of purging oneself of the dinoun,
782 generally involving animal sacrifice either at a saint's tomb or mosque. Although the Moroccan government has set up medical
657 facilities in the rural areas, the local doctors and nurses
743 admit that the vast majority of illness is treated in the tradi-
755 tional way. This is especially true of the women who are cul-
[562] turally prohibited from going before a stranger for a medical examination.

751 Investment is not only made to remedy the effects of the
782 dinoun after the fact, but also as a preventive of such effects. To prevent the evil effects of the dinoun an animal is sacrificed before the building of a new house (Westermarck 1920:34), when the digging of a well commences, and again when water is reached (Ibid.:71).

754 Another form of magic over which the Riffian is much disposed to worry is the evil eye. Most people in this society believe that a glance or stare from certain persons can produce an evil spell. Everyone has the potential to give the evil eye

751 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams.
435 Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

796 One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic
241 directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed,
789 the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain
821 received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins
[533] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community,
[539] singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nis-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawah- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food.
[782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[71] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[72]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[73] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[74] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[75] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[76] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[71] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[72] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[73] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[74] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[75] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[76] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. Thepati ent goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and [87] he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her
842 body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
[754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

778
823 Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an
[755] empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 [117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

821 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in
775 a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 [118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. ṭraq; Berb. usman [gliwa], usm, plur. usmân [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [gliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

821 [119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [gliwa],
● 783 tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

821 for an hour or two; whilst one who has been struck by the sun may cure
789 himself by exposing his head to the light of the moon (Fez). The sun may be dangerous. You should avoid sleeping in the [120] sun, especially with the sun in your face, lest it should strike your head. You should never point at the sun.

821 I also found the custom of throwing a tooth towards the sun among the Shlöh of Glawi and Aglu—Rifians from the Ait Waryager and Temsaman said that they had never heard of anything of the kind among their own people.

821 [121] The ninety-first chapter of the Koran, called suratu s-sams,
789 "the Chapter of the Sun", which begins with a conjuration by the sun and its noonday brightness, is frequently used in magic rites. In Morocco it is recited by scribes when acting as doctors, and by persons approaching a strange village for the purpose of keeping off the dogs; in the latter case every word ending with aha is followed by a repetition of the same sound (Tangier, etc.). Among the Ait Waryager a band of dissatisfied scribes, who have in vain asked a wealthy man to give them a feast, take revenge on him by writing the said surah on a piece of olive wood, and knocking the latter into the road along which his animals walk, as this is supposed to cause many deaths among the animals.

821 [123] An eclipse of the sun (kusuf) is supposed to indicate that the
787 Sultan is (Andjra) or will become (Fez) ill or has died (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or that some great saint has died (Fez, Hiaina, Temsaman), or that there will be dearth in the country (Fez), or generally that some evil will befall the world (Igliwa, Ait Waryager). These beliefs are founded on pre-islamic superstitions, which also probably prevailed among the Berbers, as they with certainty did among the Arabs.

821 [124] The moon (Arab. qamar, qmar, or gamra; Berb. aiyur
789 [Igliwa], ayur [Ait Sadden], yur [Ait Warain], daziri [Ait Waryager], taziri [Temsaman]) receiyes more attention than the sun. In all parts of Morocco some rite is performed at the first sight of the new moon (Arab. s-shar, or l-hilal; Berb. yur [Temsaman]). In Andjra the person who sees it takes some grass from the ground and throws it towards the moon, saying, Siyibna 'alik l-hadura ma t wurrina la sarr wa la drura, "We threw at you green stuff, don't show us either or harm". He then makes fat ha, reciting perhaps a few passages

784 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a per-
272 son receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be
296 squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the
262 prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-
432 speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by sell-
689 ing bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

778 [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but
784 also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the
[783] fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is
821 shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

581 the community at large expect various benefits. For marriage is a
585 good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at any rate join in the feast (Ulad [107] Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager), and it is bad fal if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good fal if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the bas, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad fal to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shawia). So also the contrary belief that it is good fal to meet a funeral (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the bas; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier).

●783 Manslayers are unclean.

755 [117] Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for stinging pain, in Arabic called nahsa, nogza, bab, or biban, among the Igliwa nnahst or nnogzt, among the Ait Warain tauwurt, among the Ait Waryager dauwort. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh.

783 [127] The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the
775 blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Ait
682 Waryager an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell.
884 Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken
682 anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes

796 Great Feast", and the Berber-speaking tribes by names such as l'id mqqorn (Amanuz), l'id amqqran (Ait Warain), l'id amqqoran (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), or r'id amqqran (Temsaman), meaning the same. In this case, as in the case of the 'asur, the mulud, and the 'id s-sger, the name of the feast is popularly given to the whole month in which it is celebrated.

796 302 789 [107] An important preparation for the feast is the use of henna, which I have found among all the country people of whose customs I have obtained information, with the exception of the Rifians of Temsaman; and, as has been said above, henna is used not merely as a cosmetic but as a means of protection against evil influences.

Grown-up or married men abstain from it altogether (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Sadden, Aglu), or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers (At Ubahti), or dip the little finger of their right hand (Dukkala) or its nail (Ait Waryager) into it.

796 [231] [108] Greyhounds have henna applied to their foreheads (Ait Yusi), or to their chests and feet as well (Hiaina, Ait Sadden); while the Ait Waryager, who are great hunters, smear it on the feet of the greyhounds only, and on no other animal, on account of its being scarce among them.

[110] Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make seksu, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish damreqt, a kind of porridge made of dried beans.

[112] Among the Ait Waryager the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

796 783 [116] Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly subjected to certain forms of purification or sanctification.

[117] The At Ubahti put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal; the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman some yeast. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and henna is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Hiaina told me that it takes away the bas from the house.

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

251 [242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

251 718 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

776 778 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried—tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid [783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

4/2 The sieve—called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)—which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788

B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781

C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 575 795

D) Same as B) above. 778

E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Ḥamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 778 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 788 782

Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah invocation must be eaten; but as, unfortunately, a mouse or some other ritually unclean animal might fall in, and as the owner of the trap would have to eat it, hunters prefer not to pronounce the invocation. They would prefer to wait until the next morning, trusting to luck to find the animal alive, if indeed it has not escaped from the trap.

The hunters must see the animals alive and pronounce the invocation in order to be able to eat them.

For this reason, an animal caught by a dog, as well as one captured by a ferret, must be seen by the hunters in order that it be ritually permissible for them to eat. In the case of the ferret, if the animal turns up dead in its burrow and has not been seen previously by the ferret, it is also rejected, since death might have taken place earlier.

M) Vocabulary:

1) hunt, hunting--Arabic rayah, Rifian dhagimmarth, dhingimarth or dhingmarth
2) hunters--Arabic mruyah, Rifian igimmaren (sing. agimmar), or ingmarn (sing. angmar)
3) signal of game--Haw-haw-haw! (repeated)
4) hunting in company--shirka, shurka
5) signal for attention and flushing of game--L-'adaw!; and if the game in question is partridge--Birraw!
6) sticks--dhigharya (Iqar'qyen dhigharyin), sing. dhaghrith, in the Ibuqquyen and in all the Aith Waryaghar save the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil, where a hunting stick is called r-mitrag and a walking stick dhqabut.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[n] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[n]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[n] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[n] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[n] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[n] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[n] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khlyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[n] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[n] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[n] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[n] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[n] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts
[224] of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
[753] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
834 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

784 778 834 since the barley would otherwise be bad for the animal, and when he gives it he should say the bismillah; I was told that these rules owe their origin to the baraka of the barley (Hiaina). When you stroke the back of such an animal you should not do it with your palm but with the outer side of your hand, since the palm may be unclean (ibid.).

514 784 778 [234] Like sexual uncleanness, excremental impurity is injurious to baraka. A person ought not to sleep inside a mosque, because during sleep he may have a nightly pollution or break wind or make water. If anybody breaks wind in a mosque he kills thereby the angels in it or makes them blind, or at any rate displeases them, and he will himself fall ill or become poor. I have seen men remove their trousers before prayer, since no prayer will be accepted from a person in a state of uncleanness. Nobody is allowed to pray in a place where there are excrements of any other animals but such as are used for food, that is, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Urination and evacuation must not take place in the direction of Mecca; in the case of the former the person should have his face turned westward, in the case of the latter north- or south-wards. It is forbidden to do one's needs or urinate in the sea. It is also forbidden to do such things in a river or a pond. He who urinates in water will be struck by a jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden) or urinate blood after his death (Ait Waryager).

784 778 782 [239] Baraka may be spoiled by contact with the ground and its impurities. The prayer-place of a Muhammadan must be clean; hence a Moor of the better class often carried under his arm a coloured felt-cloth on which he kneels when he says his prayers, or a cloak is for the same purpose spread on the ground. Yet people may pray on the bare ground if the sun is shining on it. Neither the Koran, nor any other book containing the name of God, nor the writing-boards of schoolboys, must be placed on the ground, at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place; and even where the ground is clean a scribe would not leave on it the book which he consults when he writes a charm, for fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy. A t ebrid loses its power if it falls to the ground. Another written charm may perhaps in similar circumstances retain its efficacy if it is at once put in wheat or barley to be purified, but if anybody has trampled upon it its baraka is irremediably lost (Ait Waryager).

784 272 [243] Milk and butter are very liable to be injured by the evil eye, witchcraft, or other evil influences, and are therefore in need of many precautions.

● 704 272 A person who in the evening is going to carry milk from his own house or tent to that of somebody else, puts a little salt in it to protect it from jnun (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he drops into it a green grass-blade as a charm which will avert evil from the cows (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk is given to a neighbor he must not return the vessel empty but he must put something into it, for example, flour, or salt, or grass, or water; otherwise the house or tent of its owner will also become empty (Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Temsaman). But if a person takes milk out of his house or tent to give it to some one to drink, he must not take back there anything of it which is left, but should drink it himself or give it to some poor person or a dog, or pour it out in a place where nobody walks; should he take it back with him his cows, or his family as well, would have to suffer for it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, At Ubahti). If a person who is carrying milk meets another on the road, he must offer him a drink of it, and, as said above, the latter is obliged to accept the offer or, at least, to dip a finger, generally the little finger of the right hand, which is the cleanest, into the milk, putting it then into his mouth or touching his forehead with it. The offering of milk serves as a safeguard against [754] the evil eye, and will besides benefit the offerer in a more positive manner owing to the blessing pronounced on him by the recipient, which will make his animals thrive. But I have also heard that you should offer milk even to a person who does not know that you are [244] carrying such a thing; for if you conceal milk from him God will always conceal it from you (Andjra). The custom in question seems to prevail all over Morocco; but sometimes I was told that it is only observed in the morning (Ait Nder), or not between enemies (Ait Waryager). While gratuitous offering of milk is thus in certain cir- [132] cumstances prescribed by custom, the sale of milk is forbidden (Temsaman): he who sells milk will not have much of it (Andjra), something bad will happen to his cows (Ulad Bu aziz), or he will leave his children destitute (Ait Warain). This rule is often broken, especially in towns where there are European residents; but during my stay in Marraksh I often found people unwilling to sell milk. A gratuity, however, is readily accepted for the milk offered to a stranger of note who passes through the village. When it is offered to the Sultan on horseback he dips the little finger of his right hand into it, wipes off the milk on the neck of his horse, and tells his amin,

784 272 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a person receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 296 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 262 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by selling bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

432 689

778 784 [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 821 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

778
821 by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

●784 233 [258] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasror, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti).
[252] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

776 [262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

776 372 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 776 784 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis, [585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 784 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between [264] asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 776 272 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent jnun from drinking of it.

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water,[1] since
776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama q- lil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health". A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [307] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [307] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
789 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. —Analyst]

716 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] [304] Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

[305] For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

●[784] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[307] The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

[308] The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] [309] Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

625 [27] Among the Ait Waryager a fox is styled si Ali, as though it were a scribe, other persons of that name being called 'Allus. They say that the fox was once a scribe, which is indicated by its Arabic name t a'leb—a confusion between t a'leb and taleb.

777 [30] There are auspicious words as well as inauspicious ones. It is
787 a good omen for a person who sets out on a journey in the morning to
192 hear the words mbarak, "blessed", or mes'ud, "lucky"; and if persons who are intent on robbery at night hear either of these words, which are also used as names for people, cried out, they are encouraged by it to carry out their evil intentions (Dukkala). The Ait Waryager regard it as good fal for one who starts on a journey in the morning to hear the names 'Absram ('Abdsslam) or Moh (Muhammed), but as bad fal to hear 'Esa or Musa. In other cases omens are drawn from words or statements which are by themselves neither lucky nor unlucky, but may become good or bad fal in accordance with the circumstances in which they are heard. If a person is speaking of something which he intends to do, and a stranger is at the same moment heard saying something which might be applied to the object of the conversation, then that which is said is regarded as fal. For example, if he says that he is going to travel or to marry, and somebody is heard saying "No", he should refrain from doing it (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [32] If a person starts on a journey or goes to the market and finds that he has left something behind or is called back, he should not turn back, or if he does he should not make another start on that day (Shawia, Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager) or he should eat a little flour before he sets out afresh (At Ubahti); otherwise he will have some misfortune. Hence if some one at home notices the thing left behind he should not ask the other one to return, but call out to make him stop and then take the thing to him.

To do something which is contrary to custom, and therefore improper, is followed by misfortune and, as we have noticed above, is often associated with the activity of [33] jnun or the devil. It is bad fal to light a candle or a lamp in the daytime (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[292] It is likewise bad to wear a garment with the inside out—such a
[784] thing is only done by Jews. Of him who does it people say that "his religion is reversed" (Ait Waryager).

It is bad to walk with one slipper only (Igliwa); it is said that he who does so is like the devil, who has only one foot (Andjra), or like a one-eyed person (Ait Waryager).

777 It is bad fal to eat or drink standing, to drink water from one hand
[264] only instead of drinking from both hands united (Andjra, Hiaina), and to drink with the mouth [34] in the water like an animal (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager); if you drink in the latter manner the water will go out through your anus.

[787] If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, his father or grandfather or some other relative of his will die (Ait Waryager).

777 The house will also be deserted by the angels (Tangier). It is
784 forbidden to whistle in a mosque or on a threshing-floor, and bad fal to do it on the road (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager). But it is the
533 custom for the shepherd to whistle; he thereby drives away evil influences from the animals (Hiaina, Ait Waryager). From a passage in the Koran it is understood that whistling was in the days of ignorance one of the idolatrous rites in the Meccan temple, and it is therefore generally held to be unlawful for pious Moslems.

787 [35] The twitches of muscles and itchings are interpreted as omens,
827 which are in most cases considered good or bad according as they occur on the right or the left side of the body. Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow (Hiaina, Tangier, Aglu, Igliwa, Ait Waryager).

According to a scribe from the Ait Waryager, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow.

[36] If the sole of one of your feet (Hiaina, Igliwa, Ait Waryager) or of your right foot (Dukkala, Shawia, Aglu) itches you will travel. Some people also believe that you will travel if you feel itching between the toes (Ait Waryager).

777 [40] There are magical influences of many kinds in the various days of the week. I have previously spoken of beliefs relating to Friday, the holy day of the Muhammadan world, as also of the abstinence from work on Sundays observed by the women in some Berber tribes. Sunday is generally considered the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some places even

787 Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder, Aglu). In the /55/ first ploughing season, however, dreams are generally untrustworthy, because Sitan then turns them topsy-turvey as the plough turns the earth.

777 [58] Muharram, the first month of the Muhammadan year, is in
805 Morocco called s-shar de l-'asur (l-asor, l-'asur), "the month of the
796 'Asur", or simply l-'asur (l-'asor, l-'asur) or, among the Berbers, by some Berberised form of the same word. It has derived this name from the feast on the tenth day of the month. This day, called nhar (or yaum) 'asura ('asora, 'asura) or nhar l-'asur, is practically the Muhammadan New Year's day. Much less notice is taken of the first day of the month; but from a ritual point of view the first ten days sometimes form a period by itself. Townspeople call the first day ras l'am, whereas among country-folks this term is used for the first day of the solar year.

777 The month of the 'Asur is rich in magical qualities. According to
796 Sidi Halil the ninth and particularly the tenth day are blessed days, and on the latter many sacred or wonderful events are said to have taken place in the past. In Morocco baraka is also generally ascribed to those days. Magic, good or evil, is extensively practised on the 'asura [59] day and on the preceding night (lilt 'asura), which is said to favour the witches.

[73] I was told that among the Ait Waryager the farmers give on the 'asura day a tenth part of their sheep and goats to the scribes as zzka ra'sor, believing that there otherwise would be no baraka in their flocks.

[75] The Ait Waryager consider it very meritorious to hoe the ground on their fields or in their gardens on the 'asura day, even though it be only a little, but they do no other agricultural work on that day. The schools are generally, I believe, closed for three days.

777 [76] Among the Ait Temsaman no brooms must be made on the
● 784 'asura day. It is necessary to refrain from sleeping in the daytime on
796 that day (Tangier, Ait Warain); he who does not observe this rule will become ill or be sleepy throughout the year (Ait Waryager).

In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager there is a similar taboo of longer duration, lasting for the first ten days of the month; the latter maintain that a child conceived in that period would be deaf and dumb, and they consider it advisable to refrain from sexual intercourse even till the end of the month.

777 Among various tribes no hen is said to be allowed to sit on her eggs
784 in this month, because if chicks were hatched during it they would
796 drink of the water with which some dead body has been washed—in other words, somebody in the house or tent would die (Hiaina, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager). But I have also heard another explanation of this taboo, namely, that the chicks would die.

765 Various mourning taboos have to be observed in the month of the
585 'Asur. It is a widespread rule that there must be no weddings during it (Fez, Tangier, Andjra, Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

[77] The women refrain from the use of henna on the 'asura day (Bni (Bni 'Aros), or on the first three (Tsul) or ten (Tangier, Amanuz) days of the month, or on other days as well (Fez, Ait Waryager).

[78] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager, however, it is popularly believed that the Prophet died and was buried on this day, and that it is he who is mourned for, especially by his descendants, the shereefs.

796 [96] There is one night in Ramadan which, according to Islam, is of much more importance than any other, namely, lailatu l-qadr, "the night of power", on which the Koran is said to have been sent down to the Prophet. It is of more value than a thousand months. On this night "Gabriel comes down in a crowd of angels, supplicates and asks grace for every servant, sitting or standing in remembering God". He who then says the prayers "with faith and the hope of reward shall be pardoned of all his past sins". This night is one of the last ten nights of Ramadan, but its exact date[97] has not been discovered by any but the Prophet himself and some of the Companions. A tradition fixes it to be one of the odd nights—the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, or 29th, —and it is generally believed to be the 27th, that is, the night preceding the 27th day.

Among the Arabs of Dukkala and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager the whole Koran is likewise recited during that night.

The Ait Waryager slaughter a number of goats and eat the meat, with oil and bread, in the mosque in the course of the night; this is the only evening in Ramadan when persons other than scribes take a meal in the mosque, because they are afraid of going out in the dark on account of the blood-feud, which is always rife among them. Those who have milch-animals take some dry palmetto leaves to the mosque and put them in the rmahrab where the imam is praying.

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

251 [242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

251 778 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

776 778 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried---tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid [783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

4/2 The sieve---called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)---which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably E. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hespéris, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is harim; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.

695 [784] It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-[184] appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if [191] one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 [114] 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] [181] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

[171] [597] [114] 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an amghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 614 [693] Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A], and their brother Hammu. 621 692 693 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hannash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 687 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Azizi attended the present act with them. 784 Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

A, ["83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present
805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

224 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the
672 fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during
685 the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the dis-
224 position of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the
672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another
183 Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

224 L) Taboos:

782 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to
784 make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh,
[751] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated
411 by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

556 illustrate that this distinction is recognized not only within
472 the community but by outside authorities.

556 a) A tribesman of the Beni Said had migrated to Alhucemas
485 and worked for Spaniards during the Protectorate. He
472 had purchased the hotel of a Spaniard when the latter
sold on the eve of national independence. While it is
[275] illegal for a Muslim to operate a bar, he continued to
[784] do so with tacit approval from local officials. He
opened several other enterprises accommodating Berber
transients and Western tourists. Although he came from
a poor family he had accumulated considerable capital.
However, his values were oriented almost entirely to
city life and he visited his tribe only once or twice
a year. He did not attempt to translate any of his
556 economic power into social status in his tribe. When
485 an European-sponsored hotel opened in the city, the
472 management regarded this entrepreneur as a competitive
477 threat (he was underselling the new hotel by 50%).
They complained to the police (it was rumored that
generous bribes were offered and accepted) and they
promptly closed the Riffian's bar. He complained to
the Ministry of Interior in Rabat and was told he could
reopen once the tourist season was over.

556 b) A Berber of the Beni Wariyaghar was the son of a
prominent man who had sided with the Spanish against
Ab-del Krim. The man, although he held political office

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

is at Tangier. Westermarck plots a wide distribution for the custom,[1] and shows that it is a survival of a midsummer rite.[2]

The religious feasts of Mohammedan origin celebrated in the Rif are *el Ashor*, *el Mulud*, the month of *Ramadan*, the *Aid es Sghir* at the end of this month, and the *Aid el Kebir*.

The *Ashor* serves chiefly as a vacation for the school children, and is not otherwise important. Many do not even know when it is in force.

On the *Mulud* the women of the *bone* cook coarsely ground barley into a mush and carry it to the mosque, early in the morning, where all the children of the *bone* eat it together. In the evening the men buy a bull or cow by subscription and sacrifice it in front of the mosque so that blood will spurt on the door, then cut it up by the door and divide it, each man taking his share home to eat.

Ramadan is kept strictly by the Riffians, who do not deviate from the orthodox regulations in any way. Those who ordinarily eat pork, smoke, or drink, abstain from these practices during *Ramadan*, and scour with ashes any cooking or eating vessel which has been used for unclean food at other times. On the twenty-seventh night of this fast they believe that the sky opens and that a man who gazes fixedly at it may see God. If he does he dies instantly and is carried to heaven. On the last night, which is the *Aid es Sghir*, everyone washes well and dresses in clean clothing. The father measures out with his hands three double handfuls of barley for each person in the house. He then sends for a poor woman to come and take it, before which no one in the house may eat.

On each day of the *Aid el Kebir*, which lasts three days, each household kills a sheep and eats it. The men and women go about from house to house in the *bone*, the men dividing into age groups, and the women all banding together. The unmarried boys form two groups, the very young and the adolescent, and play games, wrestle, and play at government. They imitate the councils, also Arab forms of government, appointing a *kaid*, a *pasha*,[3] and *mokhazniya*.[4] The boys hold mock trials and send each other to jail. The young married men form a third group, the chief diversion of which is the exchange of obscene stories. The last group consists of the middle-aged and old men, who amuse themselves by reminiscing and narrating legends.

Each night comes the dramatic presentation by the *ishuikhen*, unmarried men who dress themselves up to represent certain characters and act out parts. The dramas are always comic and inevitably obscene. Staid persons who at any other time would be shocked at the sight or description of any obscene or sacrilegious act cast aside their repressions and enter heartily into the fun.

The scenes and situations enacted differ from tribe to tribe and at times change, but the general type and technique are always the same. A description of the carnival presented in parts of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Tuzin, follows. Descriptions of others may be found in Moulieras [5] and Westermarck.[6]

[1] Pages 182, 203–204.

[2] Pages 199–206. Westermarck eliminates the strong association with the idea of Jews by calling it *ex post facto*, and by bringing in parallels from other regions. For the present purpose, whether the Jewish factor be original or superimposed, as Westermarck has well demonstrated, in either case it indicates a degree of Jewish influence at some period of time.

[3] This Turkish title is applied in Morocco to mayors of cities.

[4] Guards, gendarmes, or retainers.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 106–111.

[6] Vol. II, pp. 133–138.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID M. HART

AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF: THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR

ANNUAL pilgrimages, or *'imārāt* (sing. *'imārah*), to the tombs of certain saints are a major feature not only of the saint cult in Morocco, but of Maghribi Islam in general. A few of these, such as the *Naskhah,* occurring on 15 Sha'bān, to the shrine of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mshīsh in Banī 'Arūs in the Jbālah, or the visits to the sepulchres of Mūlāi Idrīs in Zarhūn or Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Aisā in Meknes, are events to which the faithful gather from all over the country. Seven successive pilgrimages to the tombs both of Mūlāi Idrīs and Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām equal, according to Moroccans, one to Mecca. The pilgrimage in these instances is supplemented by the activities of members of, variously, the Haddāwa (at Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām), 'Aisāwa or Ḥamādsha (in Meknes) brotherhoods, who smoke *kif* (*Cannabis indica,* a narcotic not unlike marijuana), beat drums, chew and swallow live coals, put skewers through their cheeks and work themselves into a frenzy in order to identify themselves with the spirit of the saint with whose tomb they are associated; and, if possible, to merge with the Infinite.

There are many other saints, however, mostly of a more local and less national character, whose devotees show far more restraint in their behavior than the members of the brotherhoods mentioned above. One of these is Sīdī Bū Khiyār, buried in the southern mountains of the Central Rifian tribe of Aith Wariyāghir; and nothing like the above occurs at the annual pilgrimage to his tomb, for the members of these orders are held in very low repute in the Rif and are not encouraged to come there. A description of this pilgrimage, wich I witnessed on 1 August 1955, is, I think, of ethnographic interest not only for its own sake but because of the light it sheds on the Berber attitude toward Islam.

592 593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age 883 [785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time. [584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage, 885 593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in [591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the [594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own. 883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and 885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council 623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he 616 794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].

575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced 593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there 586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible. [461] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work [369] pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs 785 at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during 472 443 Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare [265] and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for 796 the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the 785 Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

796 Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations
785 of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying
[574] numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it
[432] is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the
[431] community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where
[794] they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men
[782] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and dis-
[014] tribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

346 Before turning from religious activities to magical prac-
794 tices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is prohibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren, or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary, are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

their numbers as rapidly as possible so as to swell their fighting forces and replace losses. Often this desire caused the marriage of youthful couples who themselves were not yet old enough to desire it. At present, however, since warfare is forbidden, the incentive is lacking.

The price of brides in Taghzuth, as well as in other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir, is fixed at seven dollars.

When the identity of the couple has been established by the consent, at least, of their parents, and in most cases by their own unofficial mutual consent, the groom goes to the clerk in order to obtain the necessary papers, one of which is given to the bride. The wedding cannot be held until the price agreed upon and stipulated in the written contract has been paid. This does not frequently cause a serious delay, because if the groom cannot produce the money some other member of his family will do it for him, expecting him to pay it back later in kind or in labor. Boys who have purchased their wives at the expense of an elder brother may live with that brother afterwards until payment has been made, and until they have built or bought houses of their own.

As soon as betrothal is certain, when the papers have been made out and the money paid, the bride is tattooed. The designs have already been discussed under the subject of material culture, and their distribution shown on a map.[1] The tattooing is usually done gratis by an old woman of the bride's *tein* who is adept at the art. If there is no one in the *tein* competent to do this a woman is called in from some other *tein* and is paid for her work.

This operation is done as soon as possible, because it is desirable that the skin should heal before the wedding. On the other hand, families are usually careful not to have their daughters tattooed until there is no chance of having the wedding called off, since to have an unmarried tattooed daughter on their hands would be as shameful as having an untattooed wife.

The date of the wedding is in some regions limited to a certain season of year, and in others is purely voluntary. Among the central tribes of the Rif, and much of the Senhaja, these festive ceremonies take place only in the month of September, when most of the crops are in, and while the grape picking is going on. Grape picking is a season of carnival; the people sleep in the vineyards, and after and between intervals in weddings the men and women go up to the vineyards, where they joke, shout and shoot off guns, and play games; the men wrestle together, and the women and men form sides and throw stones at each other. The whole aspect of the celebration is one of license, although by this I do not wish to imply that there is a definite practice of a license night. It is only natural, however, that this should be the season for weddings, when spirits are running higher than at any other time of the year. September weddings are the rule in Temsaman, northern Beni Ulishk, all of Beni Tuzin except el Azib of Meidhar, Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, all the Senhaja Sghir except Beni Gmil, Beni Koraa, Bu Adl, Khunduktamda, Fenassa, Beni Wenjin, Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Ulad Azam. In the rest of the Rif, Senhaja, and in Ghomara, weddings take place not only in September but also at other times. In some parts of the September area, this arrangement has begun to break down since the war.

As soon as a groom determines when he is to be married, he chooses a number of his friends and schoolmates, usually about twenty, to act as *iuziren*, a word derived from the Arabic *wazir*, with the implication that the groom is a sultan and the chosen friends his

[1] See above, p. 87.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

183 between us." If there are two groups of people "making *'ahd*" together, as many of each group as there is room for face each other across the grave. When these have made *'ahd* others fill their places, until all have taken part. An *'ahd* cannot be broken without retribution falling afterwards in some unforeseen way. The following list covers some of the situations which call for the making of *'ahd*.

1. Two men wish to make a covenant not to harm one another.
2. A man fears that a friend will deceive him with his wife, and asks the friend to make *'ahd* with him. This is done at times by men about to start on journeys.
3. One man hires another to commit murder; the two may confirm the agreement by making *'ahd*.
4. A man makes *'ahd* with his wife so that they will have confidence in each other.
5. Adulteresses make *'ahd* together to insure mutual secrecy.
6. *Bones* which have been allied in *liff* and which begin to mistrust each other make *'ahd* as groups. This involves breaking bread at the tomb and exchanging the pieces.
7. *Fifths* allied in *liff* make *'ahd* to continue that condition, under the agreement that the first *bone* to break it will be punished by the destruction of its property and by exile. This punishment, of course, implies the consent of the tribal council. In making this type of *'ahd* the councillors of the two *fifths* meet in a saint's tomb, and not only break and exchange bread but also sacrifice a bull.

Besides the serious *'ahd*-making of grown-ups, children build toy graves of pebbles or small stones and play at making *'ahd* over them.

THE EVIL EYE

154 The evil eye is thought to exert its baleful influence mainly against vegetable gardens and women and children. An old soot-blackened pot, a mule's skull, or a black cloth is put up on a pole in the garden, and acts as a prophylactic. In red-pepper patches goat droppings are tied up when the peppers are in flower.

Pairs of goat horns are tied on pomegranate trees to keep the flowers from falling when a person with the evil eye looks at them.

To keep the evil eye from harming a child, a boar's tooth may be hung about its neck on a string. Women protect themselves by tying cowrie-shells into their belts.

INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS

● 781 In the Rif it is thought that dreams dreamed in the summer will come true, while those dreamed in winter will not, since the world is turned around at that time. Dreams of an ominous nature are mostly symbolical. The following are a few examples:

1. If you dream that you see a man naked, poverty will befall him. If you dream that you yourself are naked, no harm will result.
2. If you dream that you see a wedding company disporting themselves in the house of one of your relatives, then one of your relatives, not necessarily the same one, will soon die.
3. If you dream that you or someone else falls into a stream or a stream-bed, the government will shortly make trouble for you.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

4. When you dream that you mount a horse, or that someone else mounts, whoever mounted it will soon die. 787

5. When you dream that a snake bites you, you will fall ill.

6. When you dream that you talk with a man who has previously died, and that man asks you for some possession of yours, and you give it to him, then your son or brother will die.

7. If you dream that a procession of dogs, walking in single file, marches out of the door of your house, then a member of your house will die.

It is explained by those relating this superstition that nakedness is equivalent to poverty, weddings and horses are synonymous with death, snakes with illness, dogs with mourners, streams with the government, and that to have something taken from you is to have your son or brother taken.

821 for an hour or two; whilst one who has been struck by the sun may cure
789 himself by exposing his head to the light of the moon (Fez). The sun may be dangerous. You should avoid sleeping in the [120] sun, especially with the sun in your face, lest it should strike your head. You should never point at the sun.

821 I also found the custom of throwing a tooth towards the sun among the Shlöh of Glawi and Aglu—Rifians from the Ait Waryager and Temsaman said that they had never heard of anything of the kind among their own people.

821 [121] The ninety-first chapter of the Koran, called suratu s-sams,
789 "the Chapter of the Sun", which begins with a conjuration by the sun and its noonday brightness, is frequently used in magic rites. In Morocco it is recited by scribes when acting as doctors, and by persons approaching a strange village for the purpose of keeping off the dogs; in the latter case every word ending with aha is followed by a repetition of the same sound (Tangier, etc.). Among the Ait Waryager a band of dissatisfied scribes, who have in vain asked a wealthy man to give them a feast, take revenge on him by writing the said surah on a piece of olive wood, and knocking the latter into the road along which his animals walk, as this is supposed to cause many deaths among the animals.

821 [123] An eclipse of the sun (kusuf) is supposed to indicate that the
789 Sultan is (Andjra) or will become (Fez) ill or has died (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or that some great saint has died (Fez, Hiaina, Temsaman), or that there will be dearth in the country (Fez), or generally that some evil will befall the world (Igliwa, Ait Waryager). These beliefs are founded on pre-islamic superstitions, which also probably prevailed among the Berbers, as they with certainty did among the Arabs.

821 [124] The moon (Arab. qamar, qmar, or gamra; Berb. aiyur
789 [Igliwa], ayur [Ait Sadden], yur [Ait Warain], daziri [Ait Waryager], taziri [Temsaman]) receives more attention than the sun. In all parts of Morocco some rite is performed at the first sight of the new moon (Arab. s-shar, or l-hilal; Berb. yur [Temsaman]). In Andjra the person who sees it takes some grass from the ground and throws it towards the moon, saying, Siyibna 'alik l-hadura ma t wurrina la sarr wa la drura, "We threw at you green stuff, don't show us either or harm". He then makes fat ha, reciting perhaps a few passages

776 Sitan is everywhere, except in mosques. He may assume all sorts of shapes, hence he has gained the epithet abribas, or "vari-coloured". But at the same time a few definite bodily characteristics are given to him. He has seven hairs on his chin, and is blind in the right eye. It was put out by Siyidna Idris, the prophet, who was a tailor. Sitan once came to him with an egg in his hand and told him that God had shaped the world like an egg. Siyidna Idris was enraged by this blasphemous talk and answered, "No, God made the world like the eye of this needle, look here". When Sitan looked at the needle the prophet thrust it into his eye. An old scribe told me that Sitan has a penis on the inner side of his right thigh and a vulva on the inner side of his left; to produce offspring he needs therefore only to close his thighs, and this he does all day long, which explains why there are so many sayatin in the world. But from other scribes I hear that Sitan has a wife by name Sitanah (s-Sitana, s-Seitana) or Sa dana.

Sitan is the great tempter. He induces people to refrain from praying, from reciting the Koran, from fasting in Ramadan, from giving alms, and from fulfilling other duties prescribed by God. He makes men and women indulge in lustfulness, tempts brothers to have illicit intercourse with their sisters, causes quarrels between husbands and wives, incites men to fight and curse and kill each other. He finds pleasure in seeing people do what is hateful to God. He rejoices when a man dies unmarried, and weeps when a young man takes to himself a wife. If anybody pollutes a mosque or uses unclean liquid for his ablutions, or treats the Koran disrespectfully, he may be sure to gain Iblis' favour. Sitan is anxious to enter into the bodies of men through their [408] mouth or nostrils or ears or eyes, to induce them to do wrong. If a person behaves badly it is said that he has Sitan in him, fih s-sitan, or that he is himself Sitan; and bad people are called sayatin. They are even worse than Sitan: — S-sitan men j-jenn ula s-sitan men bnadem, or, L-wuswas ("the tempter") men l-jenn wala men bnadem.

776 Sitan makes himself unpleasant to men in many ways. He inflames
787 them with anger and inspires them with fear. He deceives them with false dreams. If a person omits saying his evening prayer his dreams will not be trustworthy, because they are sent by Sitan (Fez). In the first ploughing season dreams are not to be trusted (Shiadma, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder), because Sitan turns them topsy-turvy as the plough turns the earth (Tangier).

754 profit; a funeral is welcome to the scribes, it is called their wedding (Ait Waryager). For the same purpose they knock the bier which is kept in the mosque, telling it to get up to work: —Qum t hdem 'ala rasak; and they believe that somebody will die within three days (Andjra). Among the Ait Waryager they beat the bier three times at night, saying, Kar athadmed ya rmahmer, "Get up to work, O bier". And when they want a feast they take the empty palmetto or esparto mat (dasfirt) on which they keep their food when [579] they have a meal and give it a good beating, so that it shall help them to what they want (Ait Waryager). It is also shor when a person for wicked and selfish purposes tries to stop or prevent rain, when needed by the community, by ploughing with two cats "yoked" to a toy-plough.

787 [580] If a person accidentally bites his tongue while eating, he will eat meat (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If a man spills food (Andjra), or gets a piece of a straw or some other trifle (Ait Waryager), into his beard, he will have a guest.

832 [581] At Fez I heard of the following methods by which a man may strengthen his sexual power. He puts some chick-peas (hammos) into water and, when they have got soft and swollen, drinks the water; this, I was told, makes him so strong that he in one night might even deflower seventy-two virgin cows. Or he eats on three successive mornings before breakfast shelled almonds pounded with cinnamon and m mixed with honey, which is said to produce a lasting effect. Elsewhere also chick-peas (Tangier, where they are called hommes) and almonds (ibid., Ait Waryager) are used for the same purpose; and so are earth-nuts (biyanat or kaukau; Tangier Fez) and beans (Ait Waryager). The efficacy attributed to them is of course due to their suggestive shape.

585 832 At weddings there are many homœopathic rites intended to ensure or facilitate the consummation of the marriage, which is not surprising considering the frequency of enchantments wrought for the contrary purpose. Among the Ait Waryager, before the arrival of the bride, it is the custom for the bridegroom's mother to place in the yard a mug (daqdeht) upside down with a so-called didli (an ornament consisting of dollar and half-dollar pieces threaded on a string of horsehair and worn by women round the forehead) and an egg on the top of it, and for the bridegroom to break both the mug and the egg with a kick, as I was told, "to destroy the evil", which undoubtedly meant any

585 possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage; it is
32 significant that the bride puts on the didli on the morning after her first intercourse withher husband.

●787 [586] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person gets a sty some
755 woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

787 An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic in-
843 fluences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Warain). At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (sfarjel) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere, is found the belief that if a pregnant woman [587] (Hiaina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Ait Waryager), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birthmark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Ait Sadden).

787 [590] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the
777 sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [593] Rezq (razq, rezq) means all sorts of good things contributing
356 to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a per-
[312] son cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own rezq (Fez).

You may also sweep away your rezq. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Hiaina, Dukkala, Tangier, Andjra, Tsul, Ait Waryager), or even after 'asar (At Ubahti); and the Rifians of Temsaman consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon.

[595] Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. settaba; Berb. tasttabt [Ait Warain], tastta [Temsaman], disagwust [Ait Waryager]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Ait Waryager).

777 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising
356 to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion.
291 If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the
789 other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and
576 his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember
[261] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth
[272] (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-
871 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a
754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events
857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect" — alam n-nbi waqaf, —that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

787 have a long life; this belief is particularly prevalent in connection with the sacrifice at the Great Feast, but it also applies to the slaughter of animals on other occasions (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager). So also, if you throw something on the ground and it falls in an upright position you will have a long life—your "luck remained standing"; and the same is the case if a match continues to burn after you have thrown it away (Tangier). If you throw down a stone which you find on the road you will become ill; the idea is evidently that you will have to lie down like the stone (Ait Waryager).

789 753 [604] In other cases the spoken word is supposed to produce a magical effect by communicating an evil from which the speaker suffers to the person spoken to. It is a general belief that if a sick person speaks to another about his illness the other one will become ill, unless special precautions are taken. Before he speaks of it he should say, Smah li ma skit 'alik, leh la iwurrik bas, "Pardon me, I did not complain to you, may God let you have no evil"; and if no such apology is made the person spoken to says or whispers, Basak f. rasak ma t ski si 'aliya, "May your evil be on your head, do not complain to me" (Andjra, Tangier). Or if a person complains of being ill in another person's presence, the latter says, Ski 'ala t-treq, dzidek l-hareq, "Complain to the road, may it increase for you the pain"; or Jnun l-marsa temma yersa, "[Complain to] the jnun of the harbour, there it (that is, the illness) will remain" (Fez); or, "Complain to the stones, may God increase it (that is, the illness) for you" (Ait Waryager).

[606] If a sick person sells his clothes his illness will be transferred to the person who buys and wears them, but if he gives them away in charity the recipient will not get his illness, although he himself will get rid of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

789 [607] The death to which a person is exposed may, as it were, be transferred to an animal by slaughtering it. The killing of a fowl on the birth of a child is expressly said to safeguard its life by removing its bas, and the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat in connection with the naming of the child serves a similar purpose.

[608] So also the accidental death of an animal is supposed to a save its owner or his family from misfortune (Dukkala, Andjra, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu).

787
789 A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, assured me that to break a stick is an evil omen for its owner; and to break something behind the back of an unwelcome person when he leaves is a method of preventing his return, which will be as impossible as the restoration of the broken object (Tangier).

2: Westermarck--56 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[1]

VOL. II

CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS MAGICAL INFLUENCES AND OMENS—DREAMS

789 In the last chapter we noticed many instances of the belief that
787 qualities, acts, and events have a mysterious power of producing more
777 or less similar effects. In other cases of magic causation the effect is more indefinite or more unlike its cause. Yet even then we very frequently find the law of association of ideas by similarity operating in combining agreeable qualities or events with agreeable, and disagreeable qualities or events with disagreeable, consequences. And there is a parallel combination in the case of omens, which are often hardly distinguishable from magical influences.

777 [7] If a man meets an old woman on his way he should say, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate"; and if he meets her in the morning when he sets out on a journey he should not proceed on that day but turn back (Ait Waryager). It is also unlucky to meet a widow or a barren woman in the morning (Igliwa), and so it is to meet a widow in the evening as well (Ait Waryager).

585 [8] It is bad fal to meet a bridal procession on the road (Shawia,
787 Andjra, Ait Waryager). In Andjra it is believed that if two bridal processions meet, one of the brides will die, being affected by the other one's bas; and among the Ait Waryager it is the custom for the women of both parties to throw stones at each other to drive away the evil. At Tangier I was told that it is bad fal if two 'ammariyat (more often called a'mamer), or bridal boxes, meet, or if anybody meets one in the morning, because the 'ammariya means a bier. But this explanation cannot apply to the tribes mentioned above, among whom a woman's bier is not made to resemble an 'ammariya or, as in the Shawia and among the Ait Waryager, 'ammariyat are not used at weddings.

585 [9] But although a bride is looked upon with some suspicion and
581 a wedding is not without its dangers, benign magic virtue is on the other hand ascribed both to bride and bridegroom, and the wedding is a blessed occasion from which those who take part in it and even

625 [27] Among the Ait Waryager a fox is styled si Ali, as though it were a scribe, other persons of that name being called 'Allus. They say that the fox was once a scribe, which is indicated by its Arabic name t a'leb—a confusion between t a'leb and taleb.

777 [30] There are auspicious words as well as inauspicious ones. It is
787 a good omen for a person who sets out on a journey in the morning to
192 hear the words mbarak, "blessed", or mes'ud, "lucky"; and if persons who are intent on robbery at night hear either of these words, which are also used as names for people, cried out, they are encouraged by it to carry out their evil intentions (Dukkala). The Ait Waryager regard it as good fal for one who starts on a journey in the morning to hear the names 'Absram ('Abdsslam) or Moh (Muhammed), but as bad fal to hear 'Esa or Musa. In other cases omens are drawn from words or statements which are by themselves neither lucky nor unlucky, but may become good or bad fal in accordance with the circumstances in which they are heard. If a person is speaking of something which he intends to do, and a stranger is at the same moment heard saying something which might be applied to the object of the conversation, then that which is said is regarded as fal. For example, if he says that he is going to travel or to marry, and somebody is heard saying "No", he should refrain from doing it (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [32] If a person starts on a journey or goes to the market and finds that he has left something behind or is called back, he should not turn back, or if he does he should not make another start on that day (Shawia, Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager) or he should eat a little flour before he sets out afresh (At Ubahti); otherwise he will have some misfortune. Hence if some one at home notices the thing left behind he should not ask the other one to return, but call out to make him stop and then take the thing to him.

To do something which is contrary to custom, and therefore improper, is followed by misfortune and, as we have noticed above, is often associated with the activity of [33] jnun or the devil. It is bad fal to light a candle or a lamp in the daytime (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[292] It is likewise bad to wear a garment with the inside out—such a
[784] thing is only done by Jews. Of him who does it people say that "his religion is reversed" (Ait Waryager).

It is bad to walk with one slipper only (Igliwa); it is said that he who does so is like the devil, who has only one foot (Andjra), or like a one-eyed person (Ait Waryager).

777 It is bad fal to eat or drink standing, to drink water from one hand
[264] only instead of drinking from both hands united (Andjra, Hiaina), and to drink with the mouth [34] in the water like an animal (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager); if you drink in the latter manner the water will go out through your anus.

[787] If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, his father or grandfather or some other relative of his will die (Ait Waryager).

777 The house will also be deserted by the angels (Tangier). It is
784 forbidden to whistle in a mosque or on a threshing-floor, and bad fal to do it on the road (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager). But it is the
533 custom for the shepherd to whistle; he thereby drives away evil influences from the animals (Hiaina, Ait Waryager). From a passage in the Koran it is understood that whistling was in the days of ignorance one of the idolatrous rites in the Meccan temple, and it is therefore generally held to be unlawful for pious Moslems.

787 [35] The twitches of muscles and itchings are interpreted as omens,
827 which are in most cases considered good or bad according as they occur on the right or the left side of the body. Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow (Hiaina, Tangier, Aglu, Igliwa, Ait Waryager).

According to a scribe from the Ait Waryager, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow.

[36] If the sole of one of your feet (Hiaina, Igliwa, Ait Waryager) or of your right foot (Dukkala, Shawia, Aglu) itches you will travel.

Some people also believe that you will travel if you feel itching between the toes (Ait Waryager).

777 [40] There are magical influences of many kinds in the various days of the week. I have previously spoken of beliefs relating to Friday, the holy day of the Muhammadan world, as also of the abstinence from work on Sundays observed by the women in some Berber tribes. Sunday is generally considered the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some places even

777 the only lucky day for it, being the first day of the week. In several tribes the reaping also begins on that day, and in some tribes the threshing. In fact, it is a good day for the beginning of any enterprise (Tangier). It is a favourite day for the [41] fetching of the bride to her new home (Tangier, Andjra, Igliwa, Ait Tameldu, Aglu), matrimonial intercourse being very auspicious on the night between Sunday and Monday (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); it is said that a boy conceived on that night, or on the eve of Friday, will become a mujahed (Hiaina).

Monday is also in some tribes considered a favourable day for the commencement of the autumn ploughing, reaping, and threshing. The Ait Waryager maintain that it is a good day for the beginning of any kind of work. Both among them and the Ait Sadden it is one of the two most suitable days for the fetching of the bride.

[42] Tuesday is in Andjra, like Friday, one of the days chosen for the commencement of the sowing of maize and durra. Among the Ait Waryager it is a good day for visiting saint-shrines.

[43] The Ait Waryager consider Wednesday, like Monday, to be a good day for beginning work of any description.

[44] Thursday is in some tribes held to be a favourable day for the commencement of the autumn ploughing, the reaping, and the threshing; the At Ubahti consider it even a better day than Sunday for the beginning of the ploughing. It is a very suitable day for the fetching of the bride (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Igliwa, Ait Tameldu), the eve of Friday being an excellent time for [45] matrimonial intercourse (Fez, Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Igliwa).

It is a good day for blood-letting (Fez, Tangier, Igliwa) and shaving (Ait Waryager).

[46] On the whole, Saturday, like Tuesday, is an evil day. It is held unfortunate to be born on a Saturday (Fez, Tangier, and elsewhere), though some people are of the very opposite opinion (Ait Waryager).

787 Sometimes a disagreeable dream is looked upon as a punishment. A person who has neglected his prayers is liable to dream that he is bitten or persecuted by a snake (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[47] If you dream of bees you should offer food to the scribes in the mosque, the bees representing the Koran (Ait Waryager).

If you dream of a dog somebody is speaking badly about you, barking as it were (Ait Waryager).

787 [48] Again, if you mention to anybody a good dream you have had it will lose its efficacy (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

Sometimes you must yourself do something to make your dream effective. If you dream of having connection with a woman of whom you are fond and then turn your cloak—a Moor generally sleeps in his cloak—she will also dream of you and the love will be mutual (Ait Waryager).

[49] If you dream that one of your teeth falls out, some relative of yours will die (Andjra)—a child or unmarried young person if it is a foretooth and a grown-up person if it is a molar (Tangier); or in the former case a relative will die and in the latter an enemy (Ait Waryager).

To dream of eating fresh figs (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) or grapes (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Nder) means rain, because they are juicy; or to dream of eating grapes means rain if they are black, and sunshine if they are white (Ait Waryager).

If you dream of eating seksu, you will have much corn (ibid.); or your children will have smallpox, professedly on account of the resemblance between seksu and smallpox (Hiaina); or there will be fighting with the firing of guns (Ait Waryager), probably because seksu makes one think of powder. If you dream that you eat, or that somebody gives to you, durra or bread made of it, you will have a lot of boils (ibid.).

[50] If you dream that you receive silver money you will have much barley, which has the colour of silver, and if you dream that you receive copper coins you will have much wheat, which has the colour of copper (Ait Nder); but according to other interpretations copper coins in a dream mean poverty (Hiaina, Andjra), and silver means wealth (Ait Waryager).

If you see a camel in your dream some [51] member of your family will die, the camel representing a bier (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa).

If a person dreams of riding a black horse he will be put in prison (Dukkala), the black colour being bad fal in dreams as otherwise (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Dukkala [black grapes or figs]).

If you dream of eating meat you will speak badly about somebody on the next day, "eating" him as it were (Andjra); but I have also heard that although it is a bad foreboding to dream of eating raw meat, it is good fal to dream of eating meat which has been cooked (Ait Waryager).

787 [52] If you dream of being drowned while swimming, some evil will befall you (Tangier). Otherwise it is good fal to dream of water, because "there is safety in water" (Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager).

To dream of fire is bad (ibid., Ait Waryager).

Some people say that he who dreams of a Christian will have to suffer from hunger (Ait Waryager).

[53] In many cases the interpretations of dreams do not follow the rule of homœopathic magic but are based on an association of ideas by contrast; in other words, the dream is supposed to foretell or cause an event which is more or less contrary to that which is dreamed of. That dreams so often go by contraries, in Morocco and elsewhere, is no doubt connected with the fact that night is the opposite of day.

Thus if you dream that you or somebody else dies or is dead, you or that person will have a long life (Shawia, Dukkala, Hiaina, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Nder, Igliwa). To dream of sorrow or weeping means happiness, and to dream of happiness or laughter means sorrow (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder, Igliwa). To dream of a funeral is good fal (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager), but to dream of a wedding is bad fal (Hiaina); somebody in the tent or house where the wedding is celebrated will die (Ulad Bu'aziz, Dukkala, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Nder).

[54] To see a Jew in dream is according to some people a bad omen (Tangier), but according to others a good one because the Jew represents a saint (Hiaina, Ait Waryager); and if you dream that he gives you something, a saint will give it to you (Ait Nder). If you dream of eating sweetmeats, honey, or raisins you will quarrel with somebody (Ait Waryager), which is the opposite of "sweetness".

To dream of cats is bad fal, and so it is to dream of fowls (Ait Waryager).

The belief in a certain interpretation of a dream needs not be shaken by facts which are contrary to it. There are false dreams as well as true dreams. Sitan constantly deceives people with false dreams. If a person does not observe his religion, and particularly if he omits saying his evening prayer (Fez), his dreams are sent by the devil and therefore not to be trusted; whereas the dreams of the religious man who never neglects his prayers are true (Tangier,

●787 Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder, Aglu). In the /55/ first ploughing season, however, dreams are generally untrustworthy, because Sitan then turns them topsy-turvey as the plough turns the earth.

777 [58] Muharram, the first month of the Muhammadan year, is in
805 Morocco called s-shar de l-'asur (l-asor, l-'asur), "the month of the
796 'Asur", or simply l-'asur (l-'asor, l-'asur) or, among the Berbers, by some Berberised form of the same word. It has derived this name from the feast on the tenth day of the month. This day, called nhar (or yaum) 'asura ('asora, 'asura) or nhar l-'asur, is practically the Muhammadan New Year's day. Much less notice is taken of the first day of the month; but from a ritual point of view the first ten days sometimes form a period by itself. Townspeople call the first day ras l'am, whereas among country-folks this term is used for the first day of the solar year.

777 The month of the 'Asur is rich in magical qualities. According to
796 Sidi Halil the ninth and particularly the tenth day are blessed days, and on the latter many sacred or wonderful events are said to have taken place in the past. In Morocco baraka is also generally ascribed to those days. Magic, good or evil, is extensively practised on the 'asura [59] day and on the preceding night (lilt 'asura), which is said to favour the witches.

[73] I was told that among the Ait Waryager the farmers give on the 'asura day a tenth part of their sheep and goats to the scribes as zzka ra'sor, believing that there otherwise would be no baraka in their flocks.

[75] The Ait Waryager consider it very meritorious to hoe the ground on their fields or in their gardens on the 'asura day, even though it be only a little, but they do no other agricultural work on that day. The schools are generally, I believe, closed for three days.

777 [76] Among the Ait Temsaman no brooms must be made on the
784 'asura day. It is necessary to refrain from sleeping in the daytime on
796 that day (Tangier, Ait Warain); he who does not observe this rule will become ill or be sleepy throughout the year (Ait Waryager).

In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager there is a similar taboo of longer duration, lasting for the first ten days of the month; the latter maintain that a child conceived in that period would be deaf and dumb, and they consider it advisable to refrain from sexual intercourse even till the end of the month.

796 782 755 [122] The holiness of the victim is also utilised in other ways. Magic propensities are ascribed to its blood.

A very common custom is for persons who have chapped skin on the feet, or who want to prevent the skin from being chapped, to dip them into the blood fallen on the ground (Dukkala, Ait Mjild, Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

The blood of the sacrificed animal is frequently used as a means of keeping off or expelling jnun. Among the Ait Waryager it is drunk by persons who are troubled with such spirits; whilst, as a precaution against them, the corners of the walls of the room inhabited by the owner of the sacrificed animal are sprinkled with its blood.

796 782 [123] The gall-bladder of the sacrificed animal is commonly hung up inside the house or tent, often over the fire-place; there is much baraka in it.

Among the Ait Waryager the person who removes the gall-bladder from the slaughtered animal throws it into the yard (azqaq), where the animals are kept, after first spitting on it.

[124] The right shoulder-blade is often preserved at least till the following Great Feast, being sometimes hung up in the tent or house, and sometimes buried among the corn which is kept there (Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager); but there are people who thus preserve it only in case it has been found to contain a good omen.

[125] Among the Ait Waryager slices cut from the horns are thrown into the fire when a snake is seen inside the house, the smoke being supposed to drive it away.

[126] In various Berber tribes (Ait Nder, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager) the barley which is found in the stomach of the sacrificed sheep is dried and afterwards sown in a special place in the field. The grain of the crop resulting from it is called "the barley of the Prophet" and regarded as holy. It is either sown separately or together with other seed, or, if there is much of it, partly used for food.

787 [128] Very commonly fortune is read in the right shoulder-blade of the sacrificed sheep (Fez, Tangier, Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Amanuz, Aglu, Demnat, Igliwa, and other Shloh of the Great Atlas).

The shoulder-blade is supposed to tell whether the year will be good or bad, whether there will be much rain or drought, whether the food will be cheap or dear, whether the Sultan will be strong or

787 powerless, whether the Christians will trouble the country or leave it in peace, and whether the people will keep in good health or there will be many deaths. As to the manner in which this kind of divination is practised, none of the many Arab and Berber scribes whom I have asked about it has been able to tell anything beyond the general statement that it is done much in the same way as is the fortune-reading in the blood. But I presume that it must be more complicated, as [791] there are only special persons, called kett afa (sing. kett af, from kt ef, "shoulder"), who are versed in it.

[159]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH CERTAIN DATES OF THE SOLAR YEAR

796 While the Muhammadan year is a lunar year, the Moors are also 805 familiar with the Julian calendar, especially in country places, where the principal occupations of the people are regulated by the seasons. They call the months by their Latin names, more or less modified. January is called yennayer or yennair (Fez), nnair (Ait Sadden, Igliwa), inneir (Aglu); February, yebrayer (Fez), hobrair (Ait Sadden), kobrair (Ait Warain), brair (Igliwa); March, mars (Fez), mars (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); April, yebril (Fez), ibril (Ait Sadden), ibril (Igliwa); May, miyyu (Fez), maiyu (ibid., Ait Sadden), maiyu (Igliwa); June, yunyuh (Fez), yunyuh (Ait Sadden), nunyuh (Igliwa); July, yulyuz (Fez), yulyuz (Ait Sadden), lulyuz (Igliwa); August, gust (Fez), gust (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); September, sut anbir (Fez), sutenbir (Ait Sadden), sutanbir (Igliwa); October, kt ubar (Fez), htobar (Ait Sadden), ktobar (Ait Warain), ktubr (Igliwa); November, nouwanbir (Fez), nuwenbir (Ait Sadden), nuwanbir (Igliwa); December, dujanbir (Fez), dujenbir (Ait Sadden), dujanbir (Igliwa).

The solar year is divided into twenty-eight manazil (sing. menzla), each containing thirteen days, with the exception of the jebha (18th-31st July), which contains fourteen. [160] The first menzla is n-natah (in the written language of the scribes n-natah), from 23rd March to 4th April. The following ones are l-butain (5th-17th April); t uriya (t-turiya), 18th-30th April; d-dabaran, 1st-13th May; l-haq'a, 14th-26th May; l-han'a, 27th May-8th June; d-dira', 9th-21st June; n-net ra (n-natirah), 22nd June-4th July; tarfah, 5th-17th July;

796 In many parts of Morocco certain eating ceremonies take place on Midsummer day.

[193] The Ait Waryager make imsihan (the Arabic siyoha) by boiling wheat which has been soaked over night, and adding to it salt, as also butter if they have any.

796 [206] The forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive
787 (Old Style) form the period of s-smaim, or "the great heat". It is a
821 time of omens. Thunder in the smaim is supposed to indicate sickness or death among men or domestic animals (Fez, Hiaina, Tsul, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager).

In Andjra continual east wind in the smaim is taken for a sign of much rain in the earlier ploughing season, whilst the Ait Waryager expect a wet ploughing season if there is much west wind in the smaim.

[208]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH AGRICULTURE

241 The first ploughing season nominally commences on 17th October (Old Style), but the ploughing may begin earlier or later depending on the autumn rains, which must first soak the ground. It is called in Arabic hart l-bekri, l-hart de l-bekri, or simply l-bekri; and in Berber dayarza damanzuit (Ait Waryager), tayaza tamanzust (Temsaman), taharratt umenzu (Ait Nder), amenzu (Ait Yusi), amenzui (Amanuz). During this season wheat,(1) barley (2), beans (3),

1. In Arabic gemah or gmah, and, in Northern Morocco, by preference zra', a word which farther south denotes both wheat and barley; in Berber irden (Shloh), erden (Ait Yusi), erden (Ait Waryager). On the wide extension of this Berber term see Laoust, op. cit. p. 265 sq.

2. In Arabic s'er; in Berber timzin (Shloh), tumzin (Amanuz), timzin (Ait Yusi), a term which is very widely used in North Africa (Laoust, op. cit. p. 264). I have not, however, found it in the dialects of the Rif, where the word for barley is imendi.

825 [262] The wild-boar, as well as the domestic pig, is an unclean animal and must not be used for food; swine's flesh is strictly forbidden to Moslems in four different places in the [313] Koran.

[317] It is generally believed that the hyena possesses the power of fascinating people with a view to devouring them, a belief which is also found in the East and is spoken of by Pliny as existing in classical antiquity. If a hyena makes water on a person (Casablanca, Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Aglu) or wets its tail and then sprinkles him with the urine (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or when seeking him makes a noise (Ait Waryager), he becomes enchanted or loses his senses and follows the animal to its den, where it eats him.

[755] [842] [319] The jackal contains much medicinal and magic virtue.

[320] Childless men and women who are desirous of offspring burn the dried intestines of a jackal and fumigate themselves with the smoke, letting it pass underneath their clothes (Ait Waryager).

Among the Ait Waryager a person who is going out to steal puts the ear of a jackal in his bag in order to keep the dogs from barking; they will scent the smell of the jackal, of which they are much afraid.

[787] [321] To meet a jackal when you start on a journey is by some people said to be a good omen (Hiaina, Ait Waryager), but by others a bad one (Andjra, Aglu).

755 The fox contains 366 medicines.

825 [322] In other tribes the powder made of a charred fox, mixed with honey, or with honey, butter, and spices, is taken in the morning before breakfast as a cure for an affection of the heart (Ait Waryager) or for Iberd (Ait Nder). Men who have been made impotent by witchcraft burn the penis of a fox and fumigate their own with the smoke.

[754] The gall of a fox is used by women for practising witchcraft, for example, with a view to inducing a man to divorce a rival wife.

[787] [323] Among the Ait Waryager the barking of a fox is supposed to indicate that the wind will be westerly, in Andjra and the Garb that it will be easterly. Charms are written on the skin of a fox.

The weasel is used as a medicine for horses and mules and, less often, for men. It is dried and burned, and the sick animal (Ulad Bu'aziz, Hiaina, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) or person (Temsaman) is made to inhale the smoke.

[324] The blood of a hedgehog is smeared on the head of a boy suffering from ringworm (daqassar), so that it shall be covered with hair as the hedgehog is covered with bristles (Ait Waryager).

825 The roasted and pounded liver of a hedgehog, mixed with honey, is also given to schoolboys to eat in the morning on an empty stomach in order that they may remember their lessons (Ait Waryager).

[326] The hare is said to have been once an old woman, who was transformed into a hare because she acted as a panderess (Ait Sadden). It menstruates like a woman and is therefore an unclean animal which [262] should not be eaten; but this rule is not strictly observed. It is eaten both as food and for magical and medicinal purposes.

825 755 [327] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from night-blindness (butallis), the liver of a hare is roasted and cut into three pieces by the schoolmaster of the village, who then writes something from the Koran on them. The patient takes one of the pieces and goes with it in the evening after sunset to the dung-heap (dazubait) of the house, calls a dog, and eats the piece of the liver, giving little bits of it to the dog as well. On the two following evenings he does the same with the other pieces of the liver; and then he will get rid of his complaint.

[787] If you go anywhere in the morning and meet a hare it is a bad omen (Dukkala, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa), especially if the hare is asleep and wakes up and runs ahead of you (Hiaina).

[328] The bat is used as medicine for fever. It is dried and burned and the smoke is made to pass underneath the clothes of the patient (Ait Waryager).

825 [331] To shoot a raven may also be attended with evil consequences. I was told of two men among the Bni Msauwar who did so and whose guns burst, and similar things are said to happen among the Ait Waryager.

[787] [333] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person goes somewhere at any hour of the day, it is a bad omen to see one raven ahead of him but a good one to see two.

[334] The eye of an owl is used as a means of preventing a person from falling asleep.

Both eyes are also removed and put into water. I was told that one of them always sinks and the other one floats; but while some people sew up the eye which sinks in a small leather case and wear it as a charm to prevent sleepiness (Ait Nder), others eat the eye which floats for the same purpose (Ait Waryager).

825 [335] The Ait Waryager maintain that the hooting of an owl out-
787 side a house indicates that somebody in that or a neighbouring house will die, and they drive the bird away by throwing at it a sooty piece of a broken old earthenware pan or fire at it with a gun.

825 [337] A wild-dove once saved the life of the Prophet when he was persecuted by Christians, by telling them that he had gone one way although he had gone another, and for this reason the faithful were forbidden to kill any bird of its species.

[777] The Ait Waryager consider it unlucky if doves are living in a house,
825 because they want to make it empty. In the same tribe, if a person
755 suffers from fever, the dried dung of pigeons is burned, the smoke is made to pass underneath his clothes, and he inhales it as it comes through.

[751] [340] A person keeps his eyes in a good condition by [341] touching the inside of the eyelid with a raw and unbroken egg of a swallow or with a young bird newly hatched (Ait Waryager).

[342] A tortoise is never killed except for medicinal or magical purposes, and water tortoises, I believe, are not killed in any circumstances. People are afraid of them, as they are frequently supposed to be jnun; but when living in a spring or pond connected with a saint-shrine they are regarded as the servants of the saint and help to cure patients visiting the place.

Among the Ait Waryager the boiled flesh of a tortoise, prepared with salt, is eaten by sick people.

825 [343] A tortoise may have an evil effect on cows, sheep, and goats.
[231] Among the Ait Waryager, if the owner of a cow which has calved does not give the cowherd the usual meal of bread and salt butter, the latter takes revenge by throwing a tortoise at the cow, which in consequence will never again give birth to a calf.

[344] There is a general fear of killing a frog or toad. At Aglu a man killed one with a stone, and his arm became paralysed. Among the Igliwa a person who killed a frog had fever for a year, and elsewhere also fever is supposed to be the consequence of such an act (Ait Waryager, &c.).

[348] The Ulad Bu'aziz believe that a snake which appears at the place where people are pitching a tent may be mul le-mkan, "the master of the place". They ask it politely to go away, and if it does not do so they kill it; but if they dream of the snake in their sleep they

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary bab lmakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[781] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 852 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355] t- Teida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child.

825 [752] [824] In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[854] [357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 264 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

764 The dead person is said to be anxious to be buried as soon as possible and to "complain of his family" if it is not done. Among the Ait Waryager there is the [452] opposite belief: the departed is too fond of his old home to like to be hurried into the grave, though his people want to bury him quickly. The burial is among them postponed till the following day even if the death occurred shortly after mid-day, and it is said never to take place after 'asar.

[454] Among the Ait Waryager, also, the bier, after being carried out of the house by four men including some member of the family, is placed in the yard (azqaq), from which all the animals have been previously removed so as not to see or hear the dead person; it is believed that he is weeping and that animals can hear it, though men can not, and that they would become sorry if they heard it. The scribes recite the hezb yastabsiruna, contained in the fourth chapter of the Koran (suratu 'n-nisa'), and nobody is then allowed either to weep or talk. After the recitation all the people make fatha, one of the scribes asking God to be merciful to the dead person and to bestow his blessings on the living. Four persons take hold of the bier, and the women begin to cry. But if the departed was a bachelor or an unmarried girl one of the women, instead of crying, trills the zgarit, here called sriwriwen. Before the bier is carried out of the house a meal of meat and bread made of barley without yeast is served in the yard to the scribes and all others who are there on this occasion. But many persons do not like to partake of food served at a funeral, as such food is said to remain in the stomach for forty days.

[455] Everywhere it is considered meritorious to accompany a dead person to his grave; there is charity in every step—kull halfa b hasana. At Fez, Tangier, and other towns no women take part in the procession, and the same is very frequently the case in the country—for example, in Andjra and among the Bni 'Aros and other Arabic-speaking mountain tribes, among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager.

[456] In many other places the procession is headed by a band of scribes, and after them come the men carrying the corpse (Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ulad Bu'aziz, Amanuz); but among the Ait Waryager the bearers go first, after them the scribes, and then the other men and boys.

164 In some country places it is believed that if an accident happens
797 to the bier on the way to the cemetery (Ulad Bu'aziz), or if the funeral

764 [787] procession stops (Ait Waryager), somebody else in the village will soon die. Among the Ait Waryager, when the procession passes a house, some water is thrown from it on the bier and the [457] men carrying it, in order to avert the pollution of death from the house.

On the arrival at the cemetery imadran [Ait Waryager], the bier is placed at the side of the grave andar [Ait Waryager], ander [Temsaman] [Temsaman], and the prayer for the dead is said, unless it has been already done at a mosque.

[458] The body is laid in the grave on its right side with the face turned towards Mecca, the shroud is opened at head and foot, other bandages are also untied, and in the case of a man the "turban" which has been drawn over the face is removed from it. Among the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman the fqi fills his hand with earth and keeps it closed over the dead person's face, reciting in a low voice a chapter of the Koran, one of his own choice, and, still continuing the recitation, strews the earth on the face and on the shroud covering the other parts of the body; but if water from the well Zemzem is available he sprinkles the face and the shroud with the water instead of earth, and in such a case no recitation from the Koran is made.

Boards or flat stones—called in Arabic lahd and in Berber lalhud (Ait Sadden), a jah (Temsaman), ikfafn (Amanuz)—are placed across the ledges formed by the narrow trough, at the bottom of the grave, in which the body is lying, without touching it. Their number should be an odd one—three, five, seven, or nine, according to their size; if, for example, four were sufficient to cover the body, a small one would nevertheless be added in order to avoid the even number (Ait Sadden). Among the Ait Waryager seven boards are used, and they [459] believe that if this number were exceeded there would soon be another death.

Among the Ait Waryager water is poured on the grave either when closed or on the following morning; and if any water is left from the occasion when the body was washed, it is taken to the cemetery to be poured out together with the other water.

[460] An upright stone, or sometimes a board, is placed at the head of the grave, and very frequently another one at the foot; such a stone or board, or that at the head only, is called in Arabic l-meshad or s-sahed, "the witness", and in Berber ssahad (Aid Sadden), damenzwit (Ait Waryager), or tamenzust (Temsaman).

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

771 saints' tombs (23). Ṣūfī brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'Alāwīyīn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, Tijānīyīn and Naṣirīyīn have each gained a number of aherents the first-mentioned predominates at the presen time and the second was the most popular before the Riffian War.

778 Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descendend from *shurfā*, it has completely lost its *baraka* (a wonderwoking power not unlike the Melanesian *mana*) through participation in feuds. Both these families, as well as the rest of Imrābdhen, lebong to distant ramifications of the *Shurfā* Idrīsīyīn. The *shurfā* alone and not even all of them possess the quality of *baraka*, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

796 The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, *Maulid*), 'Īd aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Īd al-Kabīr (called 'Aid th-Amzyān and 'Aid th-Amqrān in the Rīf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or *'ām al-fillāḥ*: the 'Anṣra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Ḥagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is [788] the annual one to the tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, in Bū Mā'dhīn, Thimārzgha, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-Kabīr. There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

142 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Riffians, about 40% of the Aith Wuryāghil are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Riffians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas),

(23) Rodríguez Padilla, Isaías: **Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios.**, Ceuta 1930, p. 24.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID M. HART

AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF: THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR

ANNUAL pilgrimages, or *'imārāt* (sing. *'imārah*), to the tombs of certain saints are a major feature not only of the saint cult in Morocco, but of Maghribi Islam in general. A few of these, such as the *Naskhah*, occurring on 15 Sha'bān, to the shrine of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mshīsh in Banī 'Arūs in the Jbālah, or the visits to the sepulchres of Mūlāi Idrīs in Zarhūn or Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Aisā in Meknes, are events to which the faithful gather from all over the country. Seven successive pilgrimages to the tombs both of Mūlāi Idrīs and Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām equal, according to Moroccans, one to Mecca. The pilgrimage in these instances is supplemented by the activities of members of, variously, the Haddāwa (at Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām), 'Aisāwa or Ḥamādsha (in Meknes) brotherhoods, who smoke *kīf* (*Cannabis indica*, a narcotic not unlike marijuana), beat drums, chew and swallow live coals, put skewers through their cheeks and work themselves into a frenzy in order to identify themselves with the spirit of the saint with whose tomb they are associated; and, if possible, to merge with the Infinite.

There are many other saints, however, mostly of a more local and less national character, whose devotees show far more restraint in their behavior than the members of the brotherhoods mentioned above. One of these is Sīdī Bū Khiyār, buried in the southern mountains of the Central Rifian tribe of Aith Wariyāghir; and nothing like the above occurs at the annual pilgrimage to his tomb, for the members of these orders are held in very low repute in the Rif and are not encouraged to come there. A description of this pilgrimage, wich I witnessed on 1 August 1955, is, I think, of ethnographic interest not only for its own sake but because of the light it sheds on the Berber attitude toward Islam.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

Sīdī Bū Khiyār («My Lord the Father of the Cucumber») was, according to tradition, an itinerant *murābiṭ* or holy man from the Sahara who reached the Central Rif completely destitute, without family, servants or possessions. Of when this event occurred, or from what part of the Sahara he originated, we have absolutely no indication. Rifians today say that he was not a *sharīf* (pl. *shurfā*), or descendant of the Prophet, and this is negatively and locally confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of him in the genealogies of the Imrabdhen section (*ar-rbaʿ* or *thakhammasth*, according to the context) of the tribe (*thaqbītsh*) of Aith Wariyāghir, who, despite their sobriquet, are shurfā descended from Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Aʿraj («My Lord Abraham the Lame»), whose own lineage ascends to Mūlāi Idrīs. We may note here, parenthetically, that although the Rifians make a genealogical and functional distinction between *shurfā* and *murābiṭīn* (pl. of *murābiṭ*), they do not differentiate between them terminologically; in the Rifian dialect of Berber, both are called *imrābdhen*, derived from Arabic *murābiṭīn*.

In any event, Sīdī Bū Khiyār was to become far more important in the religious aspects of tribal life than most of the Imrābdhen, for no organized visits have ever been made to any of the latters' tombs. After settling on the windswept and desolate mountain peak which bears his name, Sīdī Bū Khiyār became famous as a spellbinder who could attract crowds of lesser murābiṭīn from as far as ten to fifteen days' journey away. He never married, and he died without issue on his mountain top; but the name Bū Khiyār is one wich many mountain Rifians are given to this day.

The pilgrimage to Sīdī Bū Khiyār's grave is today a local festival entirely, albeit the most important and significant one in the Central Rif. The only religious brotherhood involved is that of the ʿAlawiyyīn, a recently formed order of Algerian origin, whose members bear no relationship to the saint other than the fact that some of them happen to live in the area, and whose litany is a far more toned-down and sedate affair than those of any of the orders mentioned above, as we shall see.

The tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is situated on the summit which overlooks the Turīrth-Timarzga-Aith ʿAmmarth Pass and dominates the massif of the Jbil Ḥamām, The Mountain of Doves, which, at

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Ri MX

an altitude of 6500 feet, is the highest point in the whole tribe of Aith Wariyāghir. It is located above the village (*adshār*) of Bū Ma'dān, in the district (*r'ayyith*) of Timarzga. The tomb itself, a simple structure unadorned with the usual white cupola, was, in time, supplemented with a small mosque of mud and stone, today in a state of disrepair owing to the ravages of wind, snow, sleet and ice. The actual pinnacle of the massif is not the site of the tomb proper, but a point about 150 feet above it, called Tamrābiṭ. Upon ascending this point, after a spine-shattering journey by jeep up the tortuously winding *piste* from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turīrth (Spanish *Zoco de Arbaa Taurirt*), one realizes that one is at the top of the Central Rif. Almost all of Aith Wariyāghir is below one to the north, and only one or two of the Azru Uqshar peaks in the tribe of Igzinnāyen to the southeast, discernible in outline on a clear day, are higher. Just east of the tomb-mosque complex is a flat space measuring about 600 feet by 300 feet, used for prayer, and just above and north of this is a small grove of *ādhān* (from, by association, the Arabic for «prayer-call»?) trees; and between the mosque and the tomb itself is a small open area called the *Sūq al-Ṣāliḥīn* the Market of the Righteous.

The pilgrimage takes place on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah, one day before the 'Aid al-Kabīr or Great Feast of Islam, called *r-'Aid Umqqran* by the Rifians. People come from all over the southern mountain districts of Aith Wariyāghir, as well as from the neighboring tribes of Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnāyen, to attend it. The greatest number are locals from Timarzga (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), after which come those from Aith 'Arūs (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), Aith 'Ammarth, Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh (Aith Wariyāghir), Zāwīth n Sīdī 'Abd r-Qādir of the Imrābdhen of Aith Ḥadhīfah (Aith Wariyāghir), Mārruwī in Aith 'Abd Allāh (Aith Wariyāghir), Isrīḥan in Aith Yūsif w 'Arī (Aith Wariyāghir), and Igzinnāyen. In 1955, all the tribal authorities of the Nkūr qaidate of Aith Wariyāghir (Ait Bū 'Ayyāsh and Jbil), as well as the Spanish *interventores* both of Aith Wariyāghir and Aith 'Ammarth, were also present.

By about 10:00 A. M., most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, have assembled on the mountain top, where their first act is to visit the shrine. Merchants are busy setting up their small

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

778 canvas tents in the Market of the Righteous, as they would do in
●788 any ordinary tribal market (*sūq*). They sell just the same articles,
443 from clothing and bill-hooks (I purchased two of the latter here)
to soap and matches, as they do in the regular markets, and some
of them also sell sheep to be ritually slaughtered for the 'Aid
[562] al-Kabīr on the following day. As in a normal market, also, men
and women remain sharply segregated.

788 Among the pilgrims are numerous *ṭulbā* or students of the
735 Qur'ān, who, after visiting the tomb, where they recite the Holy
Book from beginning to end, proceed to the Market of the Righteous
to ask the faithful for contributions (*ma'rūf*), which are placed in
a box beside the tomb put there for the purpose. The money is later
counted up by the tribal authorities and divided equally among all the
ṭulbā attending (1).

788 The 'imārah of Sīdī Bū Khiyār has also, within the last two
778 decades, become a focal point in the activities of the local members
795 of the brotherhood of the 'Alawiyyīn, who maintain a not insignifi-
575 cant following in Timarzga and Aith 'Arūs, although they do not
781 have a lodge in either of these districts. After paying their respects
to the saint, they congregate for their *miima'*, or reunion, at a spot
between the ādhān grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and
a half to two hours, they go through the litany (*dhikr*) required by
their order. This consists of a constant repetition of the formula
Lā ilāha illā 'llāh, «There is no god but God», over and over, while
the brethren are standing in a circle. The litany is followed by the
'imrah, a form of rhythmic breathing designed to induce ecstasy:
and the 'imrah of the 'Alawiyyīn (the word is *not* to be confused
with *'imārah*) progresses through the following routines, in which
the underlined and accented vocalizations denote outgo, and the
non-underlined ones, intake, of breath:

(1) In 1955, there were 99 tulbā from the Ibil (Timarzga-Tuzirth-Aith 'Arūs) of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 717.75 pesetas: 96 from Aith 'Abd Allāh of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 696.00 ptas.; 87 from Aith 'Ammarth, who got 630.75 ptas.; 75 from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh of Aith Warivāghir, who got 471.25 ptas.; 39 from Aith Hadhīfah of Aith Warivāghir, who received 282.75 ptas.; 15 from Imrābdhen of Aith Warivāghir, who got 108.75 ptas.; and 10 from Iezinnāven, who received 72.50 ptas. Total tulbā attending were 421, and total money collected was 2990.25 pesetas.

[Text continues on p. 243]

[41]

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788

B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781

C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 575 795

D) Same as B) above. 778

E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Ḥamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

778

The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 788 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 782

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

a *fqīh*, a schoolmaster from the cantonal mosque of Timarzga, who stands at the northeast corner of the prayer site, between the site itself and a cistern a few yards away. The men about to pray form long parallel lines, of over a hundred to each line, all the way back to the tomb.

The act of prayer in this particular place and on this particular occasion was one which, in my opinion, was unparalleled in simple dignity. The reverence which overcame the worshippers was something very personal and something very startling in its intensity. Here the Rifian was as close to and as intimate with his God as he would ever be, probably, during his life on earth.

The words of the prayer-call, familiar to all who have studied Arabic, became, on this occasion, as I heard them from the ādhān grove, blurred into a monotonous sea of vocalisms, rising and falling as the call was relayed back from line to line. Each line of men has its *musammi'*, who repeats to the men in his row what the fqīh has said, so they will hear it more distinctly. They all come through loud and clear on the *takbīr* (*Allāhu Akbar*, «God is Most Great»), but the rest of it tends to degenerate into a jumble, for, outside
[191] the fqīh, there is only about one man in five hundred who speaks, writes or understands Arabic with any fluency at all; and the rest must perforce try to catch the words of the very, very few who comprehend what is being said. There are always, also, a few old women and widows who pray, but they do so apart from the men entirely, on the other side of the grove; and it is doubtful whether they can hear the fqīh at all.

Although some pilgrims bring food with them which they eat either before or after praying, the prayer is the last item on the agenda. After it is over, everyone goes home, to kill his sheep in the bosom of his family the next day. By mid-afternoon, most people have saddled up their donkeys and departed, and the peak of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is as bare and desolate as it was before.

If the 'imārah falls at the end of summer, at the time that the grapes in the mountains begin to ripen, grape-picking may begin immediately after the 'Aid al-Kabīr, with no signal given by the [222] village headmen.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

708 778 171

This is all that happens at the shrine of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, and no more. There is a complete lack of the «sensational» aspects of certain other Moroccan pilgrimages, and even the behavior of the 'Alawiyyīn is fully under control. The whole thing is carried off with a maximum of correctness and decorum: the tribesmen gravely pay their respects to the memory of their saint by placing a *ziyārah* [735] in money, which is later distributed among the ṭulbā as charity, in the box beside his tomb; and then they pray. Nevertheless, the fact that they do so haltingly and imperfectly, in a language which is foreign to them, is, in a sense, a reflection of the Berber outlook on Islam as a whole: although they have taken to it unanimously and unquestioningly, their acceptance of it has, in the long run, been very largely, if not entirely, on their own terms and conditioned by their own culture.

000 18--These carnivals are impromptu affairs put on particular feast days ('Ansra, 'Aid l-Kbir, but not on 'Ashura as far as we know) by the people themselves, who are given the name ishwiyikhen when they dress up. A full description may be found in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 152-4. [114] Such carnivals still occur among the Igzinnayen, and possibly among the Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman as well, but are (and were) unknown among the Aith Waryaghar, contrary to Coon's statement regarding their distribution.

[155] 19--The lighting of bonfires was practiced all over the Rif on the day of the 'Ansra, or summer solstice festival, on June 24 (Julian, or agricultural, calendar); women and children used to jump over these fires to cure themselves of any ills. The custom was, however, looked on very much askance, if not actually outlawed, by 'Abd al-Krim; and no one indulges in it today, although it seems that the mountaineers of the subclan of Timarzga in the Aith Waryaghar followed it as late as 1950.

[114] 20--The shroud of a corpse is not pierced in any way in the Rif, nor is a stick nailed perpendicularly to the grave. Perhaps what is meant in the latter instance is the Rifian practice of placing the footstone of a woman's grave perpendicular to the headstone, to differentiate it from a man's grave, in which both stones are parallel to each other.

21--A Hizb, pl. hizib, is one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran.

[196] 22--In the muslim year, there are two feasts called 'aid: the 'Aid s-Sghir, or "Little Feast", which occurs just after Ramadan, and the 'Aid l-Kbir, or "Big Feast", on the 8th through 10th days of the last month of the year, the Dhu l-Hijja. It is to the 'Aid l-Kbir that the text refers here. These three days are those when pilgrims at Mecca [188] undergo the rites of pilgrimage, and when Muslims all over Islam must [182] sacrifice a sheep in commemoration of the sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

23--An imam is a prayer leader in the mosque, who stands before the congregation.

[196] 23a--On the day before 'Aid l-Kbir (i.e. day of 'Arafa), women visit cemeteries and take food with them, which they eat there, while the men go to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar (an amrabidh of Algerian origin, from Tlemcen, who is buried in Bu Ma'dhan, in the subclan of Timarzga, at the highest point--1930 meters--in the whole tribe of the Aith Waryaghar). While there, they watch the litany and ritual of the religious brotherhood of the 'Alawiyin, after which they distribute alms to the tulba (who attend in droves), pray en masse, and go home to sacrifice their sheep the following day (the 'Aid l-Kbir proper) in the bosoms of their families. See our article, "An 'Imarah in the Central Rif: the annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar", Tamuda, Año V, Semestre II, 1957, pp. 239-245; my report is based on field notes taken at the ceremony itself in 1955.

[114] 24--This is not so. Women visit cemeteries on feast days, but that is all.

25--It is not.

000

65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since [648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, [656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being [124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

[114] It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) [788] before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide [593] remarks on inheritance of property by women). What Blanco does not say, [848] however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A, [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

000
[656] 187--Firearms have been prohibited in the Rif since 1926, and still are at date of writing (1961).

188--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, a hunting party always consists of at least four or five persons, more often ten to twenty; and it hunts the whole day, away from the village, returning home only at night. The catch, even if only one rabbit, is divided up equally among the hunters, no matter how many; and on the same principle, fines are equally shared by all members of a hunting party. The owner of a ferret (nims, pl. inimsan) which has caught an animal gets the head; and the owner of a trap (dhakhshifth, made of iron and generally reserved for larger animals) into which an animal has fallen has a right to the whole animal, even if someone else should discover it in the trap before the owner arrives. If an animal in flight passes through the land of any person, it still belongs to the hunter no matter who catches or kills it; this, however, presumably does not often happen, for hunting is always done away from the village.

[411] Rabbits and hares are always hunted with sticks, and in snow. Generally, the hunters wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing their sticks, because if a rabbit's face is smashed by a stick, the man who threw it is accused of being a poor hunter by his fellows.

[788] It is customary to pronounce the Muslim invocation "Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim!" ("In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate!") before throwing or shooting at an animal or before setting a trap, as this act renders the meat halal, or lawful for human consumption, the same as if its throat had been cut. If an animal is found dead (imwardhas, "dead animal"), it is thrown away.

189--What is presumably meant here are qadi's and other Muslim legal personnel.

190--As the catch is equally divided, so fines are equally shared, among the hunters.

191--The only dogs used for hunting in the Rif are a kind of greyhound or saluki, called in Rifian ushshai, pl. ushshayen. Hunting with greyhounds, however, is not done in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar.

192--This proves that hunting is indeed a corporate and cooperative venture, based on a principle of share and share alike.

193--In other words, it is the presence or absence of a circle around the burrow which denotes ownership and which is in fact the most visual and reliable proof of same.

194--And in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar as well.

[13] 195--Blanco and R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, O.F.M., Diccionario Español-Rifeño, Madrid 1944, p. 355, both give as the term for "partridge net" thinigmarth, pl. thinigmar (which also means "hunting"); and Ibáñez lists this as the term in use both in Ibuqquyen and in Iqar'ayen. In the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, however, a partridge net is termed dhabhyuth.

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyia in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a dinoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[782] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi,
where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed
at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of
Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated
fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from
Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas
to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and
another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The
chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a
cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at
least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, espe-
cially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah
family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense
would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrim-
age is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such
instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa.
(A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

792 794 575 [124] annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

788 484 [179] Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. [805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or [178] [509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. [435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in [671] getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, [554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have 788 484 626 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
57] anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

S 197 Tidighin and Adrar Taghzut.[10] The rest of the Ktama, who are more exposed to outside influences, have abandoned Sanhajan speech.

R S 197 In Morocco as a whole, Berber is still the language of the mountains, but most of the foothill zone has been Arabized. This generalization applies to the Sanhajan tribes south of the Rifian chain and to the southern parts of Igzinnayen, Ibdharsen, and Aith Bu Yihyi. Since the transition is from Berber speech to bilingual habit and then to Arabic alone, the tribes that are now bilingual indicate the direction of current and future change. In the areas of Ghmaran and Sanhajan speech the traveler has no trouble finding someone who can understand Arabic. The same comment can be made for the southern and eastern margins of the Rif. But as one moves from the marginal areas toward the heart of the Rif one finds fewer and fewer persons who speak Arabic; in Aith Wariyaghar and Thimsaman it is understood only by the educated elite.

R 175 771 Adoption of Arabic speech is only one aspect of Arabization. Many Berber groups resisted Islam at first, but by two or three centuries after the Arab invasion they were all Muslims, at least in name. Yet, while eventually converting the Berbers to Islam, the Arabs failed to control them politically. The Berber attitude toward new ideas is and presumably was one of partial or conditional acceptance. Pre-Islamic traditions emphasizing the Berber spirit of freedom and self-sufficiency could not be completely erased. Rifians and Sanhajans promptly submitted to Allah, but they did not welcome Arab tyranny or the demand of the central government for taxes. Berber tribesmen eagerly responded to any appeal for a *jihad*, or holy war, but in accepting Islam they never abandoned faith in animism and in their local saints. These two features still give a distinctive flavor to Moroccan Islam, especially in contrast to the puritanical dogma of Saudi Arabia.

R 175 779 Islamization and Arabization cannot be regarded as omnipotent forces capable of erasing Berber culture. A case in point is the reluctance of the Berbers to accept the Arab pattern of tribal organization. When the European occupation began, most of the mountain tribes maintained their tradition of government by popular assemblies. Prior to the European occupation, the extent of the Arab form of government was no larger than that of the central government itself. With no roads in the modern sense and with overland travel limited to riding and pack animals, it was impossible for any sultan to keep all his domain under effective control. The land of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) was confined to the lowlands where communications were easy to establish and maintain. The foothill zones retained their assemblies, although tribute was paid by some tribes through the intermediacy of the *qaid* of a subdued tribe. The boundaries of the *bilad al-makhzen* were forever fluctuating, depending on the strength or weakness of the central government, but the main areas of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*) remained independent until the advent of European control.

R 177 175 779 [788] Berber tribes generally accepted the Five Pillars of Islam: profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage. But each "pillar" was modified somewhat to suit local traditions and tastes. Many Berbers think of pilgrimage in terms of their local shrines. Indeed, according to some Moroccans, seven succes-

[10] The Sanhajan dialect is spoken also at Ain Ighumad, on the north slope of Adrar Dahdoh, but this sector of Ktama has its main contact with the Berber-speakers of Aith Seddath.

7: Mikesell, K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

sive pilgrimages to the tombs of both Mulai Idris and Mulai Abd al-Salam are equal to one to Mecca.[11] The fast of Ramadan is strictly observed even in the remote highlands, but many Berbers are extremely casual about prayer, and the idea of almsgiving, in the sense of an income or head tax, was never accepted by free tribes. On the other hand, most tribes promptly accepted the Qur'anic distinction between what is *halal* (clean, or permitted) and *haram* (unclean, or forbidden). Thus carnivorous animals and birds of prey were excluded as food, and also eels and mackerel, since they were supposed to be unclean feeders. Consumption of wine ceased, although vineyards are still numerous and raisins are an important food. A generation ago the Berbers probably hunted the wild boar and may even have kept domestic pigs, but there is evidence that the latter practice continues.[12]

There is nothing blind or unreasonable about Berber conservatism. Once the value of an innovation has been established, it is accepted without reservation. Berber agriculture today is a blend of crops and methods derived from diverse contacts during millennia. Some of the contributions of the Arabs are easy to discern; others are not. The Romans and Phoenicians both contributed to North African skill in irrigation, but the Arabs added refinements in technique.[13] It is not known whether the Arabs or the Romans introduced the Persian system of underground infiltration tunnels (*foggara*), but the Arabs seem to have brought this system to Spain.[14] It cannot be asserted that the Arabs introduced the date palm, for there is reason to believe that palms were cultivated in the Fezzan in classical time.[15] The Latin name for the pomegranate, *Malum punicum* (apple of Carthage), suggests that it was cultivated in northern Africa long before the Arabs arrived. Barley and wheat, the basic cereals, were cultivated before the arrival of the Phoenicians. The Arabs may have been responsible for the introduction of hard wheat (*Triticum durum*), which is still used for semolina. *Triticum dicoccum* has been found in the Roman ruins of Timgad and Djemila.[16] The ubiquitous wheat at present is *T. aestivum*. The initial dispersal of rye seems to have been as a weed in wheat fields, and it was probably carried to northern Africa by the Phoenicians or the Romans. Sorghum was cultivated in eastern and west-central Africa in Neolithic time. The races of sorghum now cultivated in Morocco (*Sorghum vulgare ssp. dura* and *ssp. cernuum*) presumably originated in Egypt or the Upper Nile; it is not known when they arrived in Barbary. The introduction of barley may have taken place in prehistoric time, perhaps when the Berbers themselves arrived. The Arabs may have been responsible for new dispersals of the dromedary (which had been brought to Tunisia by the Romans), but the other domestic animals were known throughout northern Africa in Neolithic time.

Thus the basic elements of north African agriculture were already present

[11] D. M. Hart, "An Imarah in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, 4 (1957), 239–245.

[12] Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," p. 41, cited in note 4.

[13] The Spanish word for "irrigation ditch," *acequia*, shows little change from the Arabic *al-saqiyah*.

[14] G. B. Cressey, "Qanats, Karez, and Foggaras," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 27–44.

[15] Herodotus, *History*, IV, 183. See also Aug. Chevalier, "Les productions végétales du Sahara," *Revue de Botanique Appliquée et d'Agriculture Tropicale*, 12 (1932), 711 ff.

[16] André Haudricourt and Louis Hedin, *L'Homme et les plantes cultivées* (4th ed., Paris: Gallimard, 1943), p. 115.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

ariyeri, the oleander. This plant is important in the manufacture of magical concoctions. Laoust [1] and Justinard [2] support this identification.

tuzzelt, a bush resembling a high-bush blueberry. It bears a red pod, like a rose-pod, which is eaten. Laoust [3] calls this *Fraxinus dimorpha*.

aghanim, a reed, used extensively in basket making. Laoust supports this identification.[4]

tharugwith, a bush with a red flower, much frequented by bees.

zui, a bush bearing a white flower, with peppery-tasting leaves. The latter are used as medicine for stomach-ache.

r-knuafer, a bush or low tree which produces a bud resembling a clove. The buds are put into tea as a spice, and are used as a stomach-ache cure for children.

azir, a bush the leaves of which are used in the brewing of a tea alleged to be beneficial in fever.

izarshi, forsythia. Women cut pieces of its stem and tie them in their belts to prevent boils. This identification is purely personal and lacks confirmation.

thakhfa, a wild rose, the pods of which are sometimes eaten in times of famine. Hanoteau and Letourneau [5] give *Rosa sempervirens* for the Kabyle *thaafert*.

Luxurious forests of conifers are said by the inhabitants of the country to have once covered most of the region, but today they are confined to the mountains of Beni Bu Nsar, Taghzuth, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, Ktama, Zarket, and the upland reaches of Mtiwa. Patches of this forest remain on Mt. Kuin in Gzennaya, in parts of Beni Amart, at Aswil, where the Nekor passes from the Gzennaya into Beni Urriaghel, and on the crests of Beni Tuzin. The *taidha* grows chiefly in the Senhajan tribes, but the *thuya* is found not only there but also farther to the east, in Gzennaya and Beni Tuzin.

After climbing from the hot barrenness of the eastern Rif, one finds the forests of the Senhaja Sghir most beautiful and satisfying. On the mountain between Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth, it is difficult to realise that one is in Morocco. The whole of this section reminds one of temperate forests, such as are found in the northern United States and Canada; especially is this true in the long, flat plateau-valley of Beni Seddath, where a lush meadow is variegated with frequent clumps of *taidha*. Even in midsummer this region retains an exhilarating chilliness of atmosphere. (See plate 1.)

CLIMATE

The slopes of the Mediterranean border of this region are rugged, mostly deforested, hillsides, with a climate similar to northern Mexico or our own Southwest. Farther to the east, in the tribes of Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, and parts of Galiya, the country becomes rolling and its slope relatively gentle, and grain is grown on it without terracing or irrigation. Farther south, however, stretches the arid expanse of the Garet, that waterless waste whereon the Metalsa and Beni Yahyi shift about from camp to camp. This desert stretches into parts of Beni Said and Galiya, and oversteps the boundary of Beni Ulishk and Tafersit. Here in the Garet grows a sparse crop of grass, and quantities of that coarse grass called *halfa*, resembling our own marsh or beach grass, from which the nomadic peoples, and the Gzennaya and other Riffians as well, make sandals, pack-saddles, ropes, and all sorts

[1] Page 484.
[2] Page 136.
[3] Pages 493, 499.
[4] Page 483.
[5] Page 48.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The gathering of wild vegetable products is traditionally considered to antedate agriculture. Tales are told of the times when the Riffians subsisted on these products and game alone. In Ktama, where agriculture is difficult, the gathering of wild plants, especially *tuzzelt*, forms an important occupation. At the end of winter, when the dried fruit is gone and when the larders are low, many Riffian families would die of hunger if their womenfolk did not go out on the mountain slopes and up the watercourses looking for these natural foods.

The green plants, such as watercress and asparagus, are subject to a dietary sex tabu. Woman only may eat them. The reason given for this distinction is that they produce blood, fat, and soft flesh, desirable in women but not in men.

Mulberries and cherries were probably introduced by the Arabs and later abandoned. Mulberries are not considered good food and are seldom eaten except through necessity. Tomatoes were probably introduced from Spain and then given up.

Cultivation of Fruit and Nut Trees and of Vineyards. *zilon* (male), *misola* (female), the domestic olive tree. The male tree produces large olives low in oil content, which are preserved in lemon juice and eaten as a relish. The fruit of the female tree is pressed into oil. As a rule all the male trees in an olive yard are cut down with the exception of one, which is left to fertilize the female trees. The olives are called by the names of the trees which bear them.

arman, the pomegranate tree. The Riffians recognize sex differences in pomegranates, considering that the fruit with a thick skin and large, hard seeds in the granules is produced by the male tree, whereas the better fruit is produced by females. As a rule, the male trees are all cut down but one, which is left for fertilizing the others. Sometimes male trees are left, so that the fruit may be sold in markets frequented by people unacquainted with the difference. The fruit and tree bear the same name.

er ghas, the fig tree. There are four varieties of fig trees, *aseiri*, *aghudani*, *awar n aksi*, and *abaran*. The fruit borne by the *aseiri* is round, with longitudinal purple and green lines; that of the *aghudani* is long, pear-shaped, and purple: that of the *awar n aksi* is round and light green. There are two varieties of *abaran*, one of which is round and green and the other long with black or purple lines. The three first varieties bear twice a year, in June and in September. The June figs, called *er bashor*, are eaten but not dried, except for use as medicine, since they contain but little sugar. The September figs, called *thezath*, are dried. The *abaran* varieties bear only in September. The Riffians say that the *abaran* types are the only indigenous strains, and that the *aseiri* and *awar n aksi* came originally from the Arabs, whereas the *aghudani* is derived from the Negroes.

shukwar, a wild fig. Planted, it is said, by birds that have eaten cultivated figs, this fruit is useless for eating, but is employed for magical purposes. Each year the women and children go out and gather the wild figs when ripe, tie them together in pairs with grass, and hang them on the branches of the domesticated fig trees. There are said to be insects in the wild figs which come out and touch the buds of the domestic figs. It is thought that if these wild figs were not so hung and if the insects from them did not touch the buds, the cultivated figs would not bear.[1]

[1] Westermarck (p. 190) states that the Riffians hang male figs in female trees, in order to fertilise their fruit. A small insect, *Blastophaga grossorum*, bores in and out of the figs, fertilizing them. Westermarck refers to Elfving's *De Vigtigaste Kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1895), p. 74.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

627 of the men affected, and may thus start a feud which will end in killings, after which it becomes the concern of the councillors to render justice.

In regions where the Arab form of government has supplanted the indigenous type, such affairs are decided by the sheikh.

DUTIES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GREAT

623 This council, which is the governing body of the *canton*, does not convene as often as the village council, but comes together only in market and when some occasion demands it, its moderator then sending for the members. In *cantons* which have no markets, the council of the great has no regular meetings.

Supporting the village council. If anyone who has been fined by the village council refuses to pay it, that body sends a messenger to the moderator of the council of the great. The moderator sends for the members, who come armed to a place previously agreed upon and proceed in a body to the house of the offender. There they assess upon a him fine several times that originally imposed, amounting usually to between fifty and two hundred dollars, depending on the offense.

623 692 [685] *Theft of livestock.* A man who has stolen sheep, goats, cattle, donkeys, mules, or horses is summoned before the councillors and fined between a hundred and two hundred dollars, besides being forced to restore to his victim the animals stolen, in cash or in kind. The theft of camels does not incur jurisdiction because of the lawless condition of the nomads who own them. Such a theft simply results in a fight.

[683] *Fighting with sticks.* The councillors decide which of the parties is at fault and fine him fifty dollars. If the *bone* of the injured man is a strong one, the councillors force the culprit to bring a goat, bread, tea, and sugar and go with them to the house of the injured man to present him with a feast. Such a feast, provided by visitors to the house, is a strong act of compulsive magic and cannot be disregarded. The recipient of such a favor must grant any request made and cease enmity against the giver. If the *bone* of the injured man is weak, no precaution of this nature is necessary.

[683] *Shooting at a man but missing him.* He who shoots at another without hitting him must pay a fine of one hundred dollars to the councillors.

[689] *Speaking to women in market.* This offense is considered greater than that of speaking to women in any other place. It is settled by the councillors of the *canton* in whose territory the market is held, and is punished by a hundred dollar fine.

Entering a women's market. For a man to enter a market which is restricted to women is an offense as serious as that of speaking to a woman in a common market, if not more so. It is punished by a fine of a hundred dollars, paid to the councillors.

623 692 684 *Adultery which the injured husband does not discover in the act.* If a husband hears that his wife has been unfaithful, but did not actually witness such an event, he is not allowed to kill the suspected man without incurring the penalty for ordinary murder. He has the privilege of bringing the matter before the councillors, who fine the suspect, if they are reasonably sure of his guilt, between a hundred and two hundred dollars. They forcibly divorce the woman from her husband, and forbid her to remarry him or any other man. Women so divorced return to their parents to live. Such a woman often becomes a prostitute, plying her trade with the greatest secrecy possible. If she is caught doing this, the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 872 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 794 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 574 431 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[212 ●789] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolbe*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XIII

MAGIC

THE types of magic employed in the Rif can be divided into four categories: (1) the *baraka* of alleged descendants of the Prophet; (2) *theira*, or magic requiring the use of written charms and based on the mystic interpretation of the Koran; (3) *theira* of the *jnun*, a type similar in form but involving the participation of the *jnun*, and the use of books other than the Koran; (4) *sohor*, or old women's magic, which does not involve the use of writing. To these may be added as allied topics: (5) the *ar* or shame-compulsion; (6) the *'ahd* or oath; (7) methods of counteracting the evil eye; and (8) the interpretation of dreams.

Both the shame-compulsion and the oath are essentially magical, and are therefore included in this chapter. The treatment of religious and magical phenomena in separate chapters is for convenience only and implies no generic distinction.

BARAKA

Baraka, or *er fthair* is usually confined to supposed descendants of the Prophet, and is dependent upon their possession of a magical emanation supposedly transmitted to them by him. *Baraka* is a force, a power, like the tabu of the Polynesians, and more like the *mana* of the Melanesians. A man possessing it is equipped with supernatural powers; he is able to predict the future, to perform miracles, and to heal or destroy by touch, or, through extension, by employing some object which has been in contact with his body, such as a part of his clothing, a piece of bread, or an egg which he has kissed.

A client wishing to know his future comes to the sherif at Targuist and presents his problem. On the ensuing night the sherif dreams about it, and in the morning tells his client what the future will contain. The client then pays a fee approximating five dollars and departs. The sherif is not limited to a single dream each night; he dreams as many as are required.

Not all Riffians believe in this magic, and only the inhabitants of Targuist and the Senhajan tribes under the control of the Ikhemrijen patronize the sherif regularly.

Persons suffering from any ailment whatever go to him to be touched. The sherif strokes the affected part, and exacts a fee of from thirty to fifty dollars. If the patient does not recover he and his relatives do not blame the sherif, but hold that the fatality is the *mektub*, or established fate, and that the soul's time has expired.

The sherif gives away pieces of cloth torn from his cast-off garments, which are taken away by the credulous and hung in their houses to prevent mischief from entering. In the *zawia* at Targuist are baked tiny loaves of bread, supposedly full of *baraka*; they are given away, the recipients being told that a quarter of a loaf will fill them completely. Eating this bread is a prophylactic against illness and any mischance.

The sherif, and ordinary saints as well, give away eggs previously received as presents or fees, for which they have no use. The eggs are considered to be full of *baraka*, and men take them home to eat with their wives, thinking thus to avert calamity.

[p.157]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Women bring their children, ailing or otherwise, to the sherif, who chews a piece of salt and spits it into the child's mouth, whereupon the mother goes away satisfied.

Some of the shorfa are illiterate and ignorant, knowing little of the Koran. They are supported by their fees and by gifts of food constantly brought them.

The *baraka* is transmitted by heredity, but not to all the sherif's offspring. Some of the latter, disgusted with their father's trumpery, work and earn a living like ordinary men. Others stay in the house at all times and pose as examples of propriety and behavior, in order to carry on the traditional calling. A sherif who fights loses his *baraka* by so doing, and the same is true of ordinary saints,[1] few of whom nowadays are credited with supernatural powers. Even the Sherif of Targuist was said to have lost his *baraka* for capitulating with the French and Spanish after the surrender of Abd el Krim in 1926.

THEIRA

The type of magic depending upon writing for its efficacy is called *theira*. The students learn it in the cantonal mosque, and practice it while attending this institution and after they have finished their studies there.

Each student must make anew or copy his own manual, from which he is able to extract the charms fitting for each circumstance requiring magical treatment. He goes through the Koran listing all the nouns which have no direct reference to religion when read alone. He then matches beside each noun the phrase with which it is connected in the text, or the *sura* in which it is found each time it occurs. In this way each noun will have several different phrases or chapters following it in the finished catalogue. When a person requests a charm for a specific purpose, the student looks up the name of that purpose in his book and finds what phrases go with it. He must know the name of the person and the name of his or her mother, which he also looks up.

By a combination of the corollaries of the various nouns, including the purpose of the charm and the names of the participants, the student is able to decide which formula he shall write upon the charm, with what liquid and on what material; whether or not objects in intimate contact with the person to be protected or with the victim, or the hair of such a person, are needed; and by what means the charm shall be administered or used. The materials and methods used are listed below.

Liquids.

Ink made of burnt goat's horn boiled in olive oil. Christian ink will not work.
Blood of hoopoes.
Blood of owls.
Blood of bats.

Materials.

Paper of any kind.
Scapula, rib, or patella of a fox.
Scapula, rib, patella, or mandible of a hedgehog.
Snout of a wild boar.
Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight olive leaves.
A peeled stick of female wild olive wood.

[1] See above, p. 148.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

789

Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight leaves from the "sultan of oleander," an oleander the leaves of which grow in clusters of four instead of three.
A peeled pomegranate stick, three, five, or seven spans in length.
Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight leaves of the reed.
Between one and seven split sections of reed. No single length of reed may be split in more than six sections.
One or three eggs.
A beaten-out strip of lead.

Parts of body or objects in intimate contact with it.
Hair cut from the head, the right or left side, depending upon the circumstances.
A bit of cloth from the victim's clothing.

Methods of disposal or application of the amulet.
Soaking it off and drinking the water or giving it to the victim. It is given to women in childbirth, and to women by their admirers to make them discontented with their husbands.
Burning it so that the smoke will be smelt by the victim, or, if he is asleep, inhaled. This is done to make a woman leave her husband or a husband divorce his wife.
Giving it to a person to eat. This is done only with the snout of a wild boar, which is cut into small pieces and mixed with food. The act is intended to cause anger between the one who eats it and some other specified person. This method is used by plural wives to throw other wives into disfavor with their husbands.
Burying it under the door or in the floor where a person sleeps. This will make the person who walks or sleeps over it rise up insane in the night and depart.
Shaking a stick. If someone shakes a pomegranate stick, prepared as specified, at a conceited man, the latter will boast so extravagantly as to get himself into trouble or make himself a laughing-stock.
Tying it in a tree near the victim's house. The woman who passes under or by it will become distressed, act as if mad, and go to the house of her parents. The wind must be moving the amulet at the time she passes for it to be efficacious.
Tying it to parts of the body. This is done to protect the person purchasing the amulet, to cure ailments, or to attract specified persons to the purchaser. A woman ties a hedgehog's jaw to her belt to insure her husband's fidelity; reeds or sticks may be tied over the stomach, and paper amulets on the forehead, neck, and upper arm. Amulets tied to the forehead are intended to cure headaches and to cause sexual attraction; on the neck, to cure ailments in that place and for attraction. Very rarely, women tie paper amulets about their ankles for attraction.

There is no special use for each kind of writing fluid; any one may be used with any type of material and for any purpose, depending on the details of the situation.

Paper may be used for amulets to be attached to any part of the body except the stomach or abdomen, for tying in a tree, for burying, for soaking off and drinking, or for burning.

Scapulae may be used for burning only.

Ribs, which are rarely used, are employed only for burning or for hanging in trees.

The patella is used only for tying over the abdomen.

The mandible of a hedgehog is used only for tying in a woman's belt.

The snout of a wild boar may be used both for soaking off and drinking and for cutting up and eating.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

789

Olive leaves may be used only for soaking off or for burning.

Oleander leaves may be used for soaking off or for burning. They are used especially in the treatment of malaria.

Pomegranate sticks are used only for shaking at a man to make him boast.

Split reeds are used only for burning.

Leaves of the reed have the same restrictions and use as those of the oleander.

Eggs are used only in the cure of sore eyes. The student passes the egg seven times around the orbit of the patient, then breaks the egg, finds a white speck of albumen in it, and throws the egg away. He claims that the speck of albumen is the illness of the eye, which he has removed. In bad cases he uses three eggs, one on each consecutive day for three days.

1837

Amulets written on lead are used as protection agains *jnun* while walking alone at night and against bullets in battle, and are worn by women to prevent their husbands from doing them bodily harm should they be caught in adultery. When used for the last-named purpose they are very expensive.

Hair cut from the head is used as string to tie amulets to trees, and cloth cut from garments is used to wrap the amulet or to burn with it.

The type of amulet used for attachment to the body is rendered impotent if borne over a major stream, such as the Bayu, Nekor, Ghis, Kert, Muluya, or Wergha, or over the sea. Branches of streams do not count. There are two ways to prevent this: by putting the amulet in a loaf of bread with salt before crossing, and by sewing a sprig of an herb called *er hamr* in its case. This herb is rare, and is sold in markets for an exorbitant price.

In all cases in which more than one amulet, such as seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight leaves, must be employed, for burning, soaking, or the like, one must be used on each consecutive day after and including the first day; otherwise the charm will not work.

The price of the materials used in the charm is not included in the fee charged by the student. He requires the applicant to go out and get anything needed; he must kill a bat or hoopoe if the blood of either is necessary. Payment is not made until the treatment is finished, and only in case of success. Such is the complexity of the formulae employed and so great are the possibilities of error that failures are attributed to mistakes in technique.

This type of magical practice is not approved by everyone, and such actions are performed in secret. A clerk loses his position if he is caught writing amulets.

THEIRA OF THE *JNUN*

This is the same type of magic as ordinary *theira*, except that the formulae are obtained from various books. Only one half the data in the manuals is obtained from the Koran; the other half is extracted from other books, which deal with the *jnun*; these are very rare, and are kept hidden. This type of *theira* is more sinister and dangerous than the other, and is concerned, among other things, with the prevention of sexual intercourse among newly married couples. The following are typical examples:

1. The student writes on the palm of an applicant's right hand. The applicant looks at this until he sees *jnun* walking across it, in the forms of dogs, cats, and black men with evil faces, and clothed only in tall turbans.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

2. The student writes on the applicant's forehead, and the latter looks into a bowl of water until he sees the same spectacle as in (1). Sometimes, although rarely, he sees a battle.

3. A student cuts a piece of paper the shape of a silver Spanish or Hassani dollar, and by some privately known means transforms it into a real silver coin, which will remain silver for several hours, after which it will turn back to paper. He must get rid of it immediately and get away before it turns.

4. When a student wishes to find buried treasure he writes an amulet and cuts it into sixty pieces, one of which bears on it a certain indication. He goes to the place where the treasure is supposed to be, throws the sixty pieces of paper in the air, and digs under the place where the specially marked piece lands.

5. To retrieve a stolen cow, the loser hires a student to write an amulet on a piece of paper or on the stake to which the cow was habitually tied. If it is written on paper he ties this to the stake. He sets the stake where the cow was stolen, and leaves it there until the thief, as a result of this magic, becomes terrified and does not dare lead the cow out to pasture. The culprit becomes more and more frightened until he leads the cow out in the night, ties it in an occupied place, and sends a messenger to tell the owner where it is.

6. When a groom about to be married does not make a present to the students at the cantonal mosque, they coerce or take revenge upon him in the following manner. They write a formula on a new jack-knife blade, and sit by a path where the groom is expected to walk. One of the students holds the knife open, but concealed from view. When the groom passes, the student holding the knife calls to him by name, and while the groom is replying, snaps the knife shut. As a result, the groom will not have an erection until the knife has been opened again. If he encounters this difficulty on the final night of the marriage and suspects the cause, he may persuade the students to open the knife by giving them whatever presents they demand.

7. If a boy and a girl are lovers, and the girl is forced into a marriage with another, the boy may go to a student with a loaf of bread. The student writes on it and breaks it into seven pieces. The boy takes these to the bride, who eats one each day of the seven days of the feast. The groom will then be unable to have an erection with that girl until he can find a student to write a counter-charm, which is very difficult. It is said that this procedure will almost inevitably cause the groom to divorce his bride.

8. A man who wishes to marry another man's wife may give an old copper *soldi* to an old woman intimate with the object of his desires, or to the sister of the wife, if he can persuade the sister to be in league with him. The woman who has taken the *soldi* arranges to sleep in the room with the wife, and during the night, while the latter is asleep, passes the coin into her vagina and out again. She then cuts off some of the wife's hair, and the next day gives the *soldi* and hair to the man who gave her the coin. He takes the two objects to a student, who writes on the *soldi*. The man then drives a stake into an irrigation ditch and ties the *soldi* to it with the hair. When the coin commences moving back and forth with the flow of the stream, the wife will commence menstruating, and as long as the coin remains in the stream and keeps moving she will continue to do so. When the husband has become exasperated at this and has divorced her, the man removes the coin from the stream, whereupon the woman ceases menstruating. The man may then ask for her in marriage.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

OLD WOMEN'S MAGIC

789 This type of magic, known as *sohor*, does not involve the use of writing, and is not performed by students. It is the exclusive property of women. The following will serve as examples:

1. When rain falls during a wedding, old women take a bit of the bride's headcloth and stick seven needles into it. They then fasten it to a pole and set it on the roof. This is supposed to stop the rain immediately.

2. When, on the other hand, rain is desired, old women take a *thefeiru*, or wooden breadshovel, and dress it as a bride in the clothes of a bride who has recently been married for the first time. The unmarried girls carry the shovel around to all the houses, and to the mosque and saint's tomb, if there is one, shouting a request for God to send rain. When they have taken it to all the houses in the village they set it up in a grain field, preferably a field of barley. Although they do not expressly say so in the formula which they chant, their idea is to induce the rain to take its bride.[1]

3. When women of one family are jealous of the women of another at a wedding, and wish to exceed them in skill at singing and dancing, an old woman of the first family chews up a mouthful of salt and oil and spits this into the drum-warming fire. This will cause the rival women to fight together and leave the wedding.

4. When a young couple are in love and the boy changes his affection and marries another girl, the mother of the slighted girl invites the boy to enter her house. She sits in a corner holding two wool-cards with unwashed wool between them. She calls out the boy's name, and as he answers takes a stroke with the cards. She does this three times, and if he has answered each time she locks the cards together and puts them up in the rafters. As long as the cards remain there he will be unable to have an erection. In this case the wool serves as a symbol of softness.

SHAME-COMPULSIONS

183 The shame-compulsion, called *ar*, is claimed by the Riffians to have no sorcery in it, but to be based on the use of shame as an effective agent. Its principle lies in one man's doing something ceremonially which will shame another into doing something against his will. The shame-compulsion is connected with hospitality. Just as it is unthinkable to refuse to give food to a guest who enters your house, or to refuse food offered in the house of another, so it is unthinkable to refuse to comply to a shame-compulsion.

If a man should refuse a shame-compulsion some great calamity would befall him; he or one of his family would die, and all mankind would cease to respect him. He would lose his entire social standing. Examples of the shame-compulsion follow:

1. A *bone* hard pressed in a feud, wishing to ally itself to another *bone*, passes *in toto* men, women, and children, to the village mosque of the other *bone*, leading with them a bull if possible, otherwise a cow or a goat. The schoolmaster of the first *bone*, or one of its members who is a student at the cantonal mosque, slaughters the animal sacrificially in front of the mosque, in such a way that the blood will spurt out and hit the door. If this fails to

[1] S. Biarnay (*Etude sur les Dialectes Berbères du Rif*, pp. 174–178), in a text written in the dialect of the Bokoya, gives a complete account of this ceremony. My account is from the Gzennaya in particular, although this rite is practiced in many tribes of the Rif.

789 [95] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Igliwa); among the Ait Waryager he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger--among the Ait Waryager the forefinger of the right hand--with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz).

825 776 778 [97] The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much baraka in it; it is of high blood (d-demm l-kbir); it is like a shereef. It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; l-hail u l-hair wahed, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulad Bu'aziz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Ait Waryager). The sayatin, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Ait Waryager). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager); it says, L-haer liya u l sidi, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Hiaina).

[103] Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean, a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of baraka. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by jnun (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

824 778 241 [105] As certain animal species so also certain species of the [106] vegetable kingdom are possessed of baraka. This is above all the case with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and seksu. The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Ait Waryager). It is the baraka of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.

824 778 Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber idea, since the date-palm (Arab. nahla; Berb. ainiu or tainiut [Igliwa], tini [Temsaman]) has been known to the Berbers from a very ancient period; but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia. Another holy tree, like [107] wise held sacred in the East, is the olive (Arab. s-sejara de z-zeit un; Berb. tazzitunt [Igliwa], zzeitun [Temsaman]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times. It is said that it has one of the names

821 for an hour or two; whilst one who has been struck by the sun may cure
783 himself by exposing his head to the light of the moon (Fez). The sun may be dangerous. You should avoid sleeping in the [120] sun, especially with the sun in your face, lest it should strike your head. You should never point at the sun.

821 I also found the custom of throwing a tooth towards the sun among the Shlöh of Glawi and Aglu—Rifians from the Ait Waryager and Temsaman said that they had never heard of anything of the kind among their own people.

821 [121] The ninety-first chapter of the Koran, called suratu s-sams,
789 "the Chapter of the Sun", which begins with a conjuration by the sun and its noonday brightness, is frequently used in magic rites. In Morocco it is recited by scribes when acting as doctors, and by persons approaching a strange village for the purpose of keeping off the dogs; in the latter case every word ending with aha is followed by a repetition of the same sound (Tangier, etc.). Among the Ait Waryager a band of dissatisfied scribes, who have in vain asked a wealthy man to give them a feast, take revenge on him by writing the said surah on a piece of olive wood, and knocking the latter into the road along which his animals walk, as this is supposed to cause many deaths among the animals.

821 [123] An eclipse of the sun (kusuf) is supposed to indicate that the
787 Sultan is (Andjra) or will become (Fez) ill or has died (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or that some great saint has died (Fez, Hiaina, Temsaman), or that there will be dearth in the country (Fez), or generally that some evil will befall the world (Igliwa, Ait Waryager). These beliefs are founded on pre-islamic superstitions, which also probably prevailed among the Berbers, as they with certainty did among the Arabs.

821 [124] The moon (Arab. qamar, qmar, or gamra; Berb. aiyur
789 [Igliwa], ayur [Ait Sadden], yur [Ait Warain], daziri [Ait Waryager], taziri [Temsaman]) receives more attention than the sun. In all parts of Morocco some rite is performed at the first sight of the new moon (Arab. s-shar, or l-hilal; Berb. yur [Temsaman]). In Andjra the person who sees it takes some grass from the ground and throws it towards the moon, saying, Siyibna 'alik l-hadura ma t wurrina la sarr wa la drura, "We threw at you green stuff, don't show us either or harm". He then makes fat ha, reciting perhaps a few passages

821 789 from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, Allah itahhlek alina be r-rahha u l-hena, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry things", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkala, Ait Waryager).

821 789 778 [129] Every man on earth has his star (Arab. nejima, plur. njum; Berb. itri, plur. itran or itran [Shloh, Ait Warain], itri, plur. itran or itran [Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager], itri, plur itran [Temsaman]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, Allah italla nejmak, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, Allah itaiyah nejmak, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a jedwal with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is in-
[755] tended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to
[754] be used for witchcraft (shor)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the tabe a, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a rehi it is exposed to the wind, if he is a mawi it is put in water, if he is a t orabi it is buried in earth, if he is a nari it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's tabe a. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them baraka by shining on them.

776 778 [188] The dead saints generally live on amicable terms with each other, and form a society by themselves. They meet at certain places, as, for example, —

Sidi Ahmed Marrui's qobba among the Ait Waryager.

[190] Of a certain Rif saint I was told that when a man once went to his grave to steal corn he fired off a shot which killed the robber, though no bullet was afterwards found in the dead body. Another Rif saint, Sidi Buhaiyar of the Ait Waryager, is said to make stones fall [681] down from the sky and kill anybody who is guilty of theft, homicide, or any other offence inside his horm; and should anybody attempt to take away earth from the mountain on which Sidi Buhaiyar has his grave, the saint would make him blind.

[196] There are saints who do not allow women to visit their shrines. This is, for example, the case with Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager.

778 515 789 [197] The water in which a saint has washed his hands is wholesome to drink, and in Fez people like to wash their hands in the same vessel as has been previously used by a shereef. It is also believed that if a schoolboy drinks the water in which scribes have cleansed their hands after a meal, or the water with which he has cleaned his writing-board, he will more easily learn the Koran; but I have also heard that water in which a shereef or a scribe has washed his hands is only good to drink in case it is done without his knowledge, because otherwise he would object to it (Ait Waryager).

585 778 [198] The baraka of the bride and bridgroom, again, makes a wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, and even other people, expect to derive certain benefits. When milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness, and the milk is then mixed with [754] other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft (Ait Waryager), or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful (Andjra). The bread and dried fruit which on her arrival at the bridegroom's place is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor (ibid.); or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley (Ait Waryager).

778 [199] The benefits derived from contact, direct or indirect, with saintly places are innumerable.

[342] [200] When the Ait Waryager are building ahouse they put a stone from a shrine inside the walls.

[204] The baraka of mosques is also used for various purposes.

[354] [205] Among the Ait Waryager a new lamp (rqandir) is taken to a mosque to be filled there with oil the first time so as to get the benefit of its baraka.

[208] The baraka of sacred words and passages of the Koran is very extensively used in the writing of charms. A written charm is called in Arabic herz (or horz; plur. hruz) or hejab (or hajab; plur. hjabat). In the Berber dialects there are berberised forms of these words, such as lharz (plur. lahruz) and lhejab (plur. lhejabat) in the Shelha of Tazerwalt, rahajab (plur. rahajabat) in the Rifian of the Ait Waryager, and rhaz (plur. rhruz) in that of the Ait Temsaman.

Charms are written for a variety of purposes—preventive, curative, [789] or more positive purposes of some kind or other. The most precious of all purely preventive charms is the so-called t ebrid (by the Ait Waryager).

778 [211] Charms containing passages of the Koran are used as a pro-755 tection against the jnun and the evil eye, and as a remedy for illnesses caused by the former or other illnesses.

Among the Ait Waryager, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the sick person drinks the water or his body is washed with it.

There are many charms written against particular illnesses or defects of some kind or other.

When [212] a pregnant woman does not give birth to the child in due time, or when a person suffers from stomach-ache, a herz is written on a writing-board or a bowl or plate, and water is poured over it and drunk as medicine (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

[261] If a child is fond of eating earth a charm is written on a small loaf of bread and another one on a hard-boiled egg after the shell has been removed; the loaf and the egg are then given to the child to eat, with the result that it loses its taste for earth (Ait Waryager).

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water,[1] since
776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama qalil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health". A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [307] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [307] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
789 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. —Analyst]

716 789 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment. Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] /304/ Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

/305/ For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[784] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

/307/ The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

/308/ The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] /309/ Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

776 jnun but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke
789 of it makes a person who is possessed with jnun weep (Andjra).

[313] In their relations to baraka there are indeed many inconsis-
776 tencies. Sayatin, if not Muhammadan jnun, are said to avoid a place
778 where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the baraka
789 possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Waryager); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have baraka, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

776 [315] One of the most common methods of warding off jnun is
789 to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

[342] [317] The Ait Waryager put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat
[782] is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

[312] [321] Among the Ait Waryager a goat or a fowl is killed at the
[782] place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are ar upon the ayitbab umhan, and their object, I was told, is to prevent those spirits from striking the workmen.

776 [324] When a jenn or jnun have actually got hold of a person,
788 attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means
789 used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of tar.

The Ait Waryager put tar on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by jnun, and burn tar and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through.

776 755 789 [325] The Ait Waryager rub pounded bitter almonds (ddauz mazag) mixed with oil and salt on the affected part of the body of a person who is troubled with le-ryah.

[328] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from an illness caused by jnun, a scribe writes a charm for him on a loaf of bread or on a paper, which is then put in the open in a place where no animal can get at it; it is left there over night so that the stars shall shine on it, and on the next day the patient eats the loaf or hangs the paper round his neck.

776 781 [356] Among the Ait Waryager there are women, called dizuhriyin (sing. dazuhrit), who are likewise able to tell people about secret things and future events owing to the information they derive from jnun.

832 [361] A mahabba, or love-charm, may contain either the names of Muhammadan jnun, as well as something from the Koran, or the names of sayatin. This is a way in which such a charm is used: the man who wants to be loved by a certain woman goes to the neighbourhood of her house, puts the charm between the forefinger and middle finger of his right hand, and moves the fingers with the charm three times in the direction of the house, at the same time whispering the woman's name. Then he burns the charm between his fingers and goes away; and now she will love him (Ait Waryager). The following practice serves the purpose of overcoming a woman's objection to marrying a man who wants to marry her. A scribe writes a charm and keeps it in his house for seven days, fumigating it every evening with the smoke of pepper and saffron. During this period he must refrain from salted food, so that jnun—muminin—may speak to him. He then ties the charm to an olive tree with a hair of the woman, which has been rpocured by the man who wants to marry her. When the wind makes it flutter the woman will lose her senses, and she will remain in that condition until the scribe removes the charm from the tree and takes it to his house. As soon as this is done she not only comes to her wits again, but gets fond of the man, and [362] they soon become husband and wife (ibid.).

776 [396] A jenniya whose name is widely known in Morocco is the Gola. She is said to be very big and have the appearance of a woman, although she has also been seen with her extremities looking like the feet of a goat and with very much hair all over the body and the face.

776 [409] Among the Ait Waryager, if a party of hunters are in vain
789 hunting for hares and rabbits, they all simultaneously throw the sticks
224 made of olive branches which they habitually use on such occasions on the ground, saying, Allah in'al ssitan rharami, "God damn Satan the villain", and spit; they thus flog the devil, who is evidently looked upon as the cause of their ill-luck, and spit on him so as to drive him away.

754 [414] Besides the jnun the evil eye is a very frequent cause of misfortune. It is said that "the evil eye owns two-thirds of the graveyard"—L-'ain 'anda t ult ayin fe l-mqabar; or that "one half of mankind dies from the evil eye"—N-nuss fe bnadem kaimut be l-'ain; or or that at any rate one-third of all living beings are killed by the same enemy. There is another saying, that "the evil eye empties the castles (or 'houses') and fills the graves"—L-'ain t uhli l-qosor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Fez), or L-'ain t hli d-duyor wa t u'ammir l-qobor (Tangier). So firmly is the evil eye believed in, that if some accident happens at a wedding or any other feast where a person reputed to have an evil eye is present, it is attributed to him and he may have to pay damages; and if such a person looks at another's animal and it shortly afterwards dies, he is likewise held responsible for the loss.

[421] I have heard some people say that the eyes of Christians are not dangerous to Muhammadans (Andjra, Ulad Bu 'aziz) and vice versa (Andjra), but there are others who have expressed different views (Fez, Ait Waryager). It is believed that dogs and cats can injure a person who is eating by covetously looking at him. This is quite in accordance with a saying attributed to the Prophet himself.

[423] A person who is reputed to have an evil eye is generally shunned, and is not allowed to take part in feasts or gatherings. Among the Ulad Bu'aziz he must not pitch his tent near the tents of others. Among the Igliwa his neighbours sometimes move from the place; and among the Ait Waryager he may himself have to leave the village if he is only a poor man. Attempts are also made to escape the [424] danger by curing the evil-doer. For this purpose the bridle of a mule is put into his mouth and then pulled by somebody. At Fez I was told that three pulls will cure him. In Andjra it is believed that if he makes a noise he will get worse, whereas silence on his part is taken as a sign that he will no longer have the evil eye.

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust) [822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must [585] [292] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

776 754 301 789 [440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

527 578 266 enemy's grave after he has killed him, cuts off a piece of his liver or tongue, and puts it into his own mouth, the vow being considered to be fulfilled through this act of symbolical cannibalism. Other vows in the Rif are to swear to kill an enemy and then to drink his blood, or to roast his liver and throw it to the dogs; but the person who has taken the former vow, on killing the enemy, only puts some of his blood into his own mouth and afterwards spits it out.

627 578 In many instances the promissory oath is a sworn vow either to refrain from an act or from acts of a certain kind until a certain design has been accomplished, or to do a thing in case a certain promise is not fulfilled or a certain wish is not complied with. In those parts of the country in which the blood-feud is rife it frequently happens that a relative of the murdered man makes a vow, silent or audible, to refrain from having his head shaved (Jbala, many Arabs of the plains, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden, Shloh of the Great Atlas and Aglu), from washing or changing his clothes (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager), from having matrimonial intercourse (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager), from slaughtering an animal (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or from going to the market (Ait Waryager), until revenge has been taken. Among the Ait Waryager the women of the [516] family in such a case also refrain from wearing silver ornaments round the head or the neck and from painting themselves with henna, and boys and unmarried men, who otherwise make use of henna at the feast of the Mulud and at weddings, refrain from doing so if their father has taken a vow of this kind.

789 [518] Besides the conditional self-imprecation, or oath, there are other conditional curses, which are directed, not against the curser himself, but against somebody else. This is the case with the 'ar and, in many cases, the 'ahd.

The word 'ar literally means "shame", but in Morocco it is used to denote an act which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request. If a person says to another, Ha l-'ar alik, "Here is 'ar upon you", or Hada 'ar 'alike, "This is 'ar upon you", it implies that if the latter does not grant the request some misfortune will befall him on account of the conditional curse contained in the 'ar. A stronger expression is to represent the 'ar cast on a person as 'ar on God, the Prophet, or some saint with an implicit request to curse the person if he does not do what is asked of him.

789 [519] I have even heard the belief that it is dangerous for a person to induce another to grant a request by casting 'ar[1] on him, since in such a case the curse is likely to affect the petitioner and not the individual appealed to (Ait Waryager).

627 728 [522] A refugee places himself in the 'ar of a woman by touching her or sucking her breast (Hiaina, Ait Nder, Aglu, Igliwa)—by which he becomes as it were her son—or by sitting down in front of her or going behind her or running into her house and taking hold of the handmill (Ait Waryager); her husband or family will then have to help him, and if the woman with whom he seeks refuge is the pursuer's own wife, the persecution must cease.

[532] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager, if a manslayer who is pursued by the relatives of his victim takes refuge in somebody's house and seizes hold of the handmill, he is in the 'ar of the mistress of the household, who is the owner of the handmill; then the pursuers must stop firing and the inhabitants of the house are obliged to protect him and to take him in safety back to his own house. On the other hand, a person who has to avenge the death of a relative may induce the owner of a house in which he takes refuge to assist him in taking revenge by offering him some money, which, if accepted, is looked upon as 'ar. If one of their villages has been beaten in a blood-feud with another village and desires to make peace, some of its men go at night to the enemy's village with a sheep or a goat, which they kill outside the yard of the mosque and then throw into the yard. When the dead [533] animal is found there in the morning by the people of the village, they understand from whom it has come and send the schoolmaster to the enemy, who now expresses a wish to put an end to the hostilities. Some men from a third village are called to act as peace-makers, and blood-money—some thirty or forty dollars—is paid for the manslaughter which was the cuase of the feud. It may be added that the animal which was sacrificed as 'ar is only eaten by scribes who are not natives of the village in which it was killed, no native partaking of its meat. So also the Rifians have recourse to 'ar to put a stop to a war between two different tribes. Some men of the vanquished tribe (daqbilt) go before sunrise to one of the enemy's market-places, taking with them a cow or a bullock, which they slaughter there as 'ar. They then retire to a desolate place in the neighbourhood and remain there till they are fetched by

[1] [For definition of 'ar see previous page.- Analyst]

777 356 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 291 789 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion. If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 576 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember [261] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth [272] (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-871 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a 754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events 857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect" — alam n-nbi waqaf, —that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

787 have a long life; this belief is particularly prevalent in connection with the sacrifice at the Great Feast, but it also applies to the slaughter of animals on other occasions (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager). So also, if you throw something on the ground and it falls in an upright position you will have a long life—your "luck remained standing"; and the same is the case if a match continues to burn after you have thrown it away (Tangier). If you throw down a stone which you find on the road you will become ill; the idea is evidently that you will have to lie down like the stone (Ait Waryager).

789 753 [604] In other cases the spoken word is supposed to produce a magical effect by communicating an evil from which the speaker suffers to the person spoken to. It is a general belief that if a sick person speaks to another about his illness the other one will become ill, unless special precautions are taken. Before he speaks of it he should say, Smah li ma skit 'alik, leh la iwurrik bas, "Pardon me, I did not complain to you, may God let you have no evil"; and if no such apology is made the person spoken to says or whispers, Basak f rasak ma t ski si 'aliya, "May your evil be on your head, do not complain to me" (Andjra, Tangier). Or if a person complains of being ill in another person's presence, the latter says, Ski 'ala t-treq dzidek l-hareq, "Complain to the road, may it increase for you the pain"; or Jnun l-marsa temma yersa, "[Complain to] the jnun of the harbour, there it (that is, the illness) will remain" (Fez); or, "Complain to the stones, may God increase it (that is, the illness) for you" (Ait Waryager).

[606] If a sick person sells his clothes his illness will be transferred to the person who buys and wears them, but if he gives them away in charity the recipient will not get his illness, although he himself will get rid of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

789 [607] The death to which a person is exposed may, as it were, be transferred to an animal by slaughtering it. The killing of a fowl on the birth of a child is expressly said to safeguard its life by removing its bas, and the sacrifice of a sheep or a goat in connection with the naming of the child serves a similar purpose.

[608] So also the accidental death of an animal is supposed to a save its owner or his family from misfortune (Dukkala, Andjra, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu).

787
789
● A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, assured me that to break a stick is an evil omen for its owner; and to break something behind the back of an unwelcome person when he leaves is a method of preventing his return, which will be as impossible as the restoration of the broken object (Tangier).

2: Westermarck--56 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[1]

VOL. II

CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS MAGICAL INFLUENCES AND OMENS—DREAMS

789 In the last chapter we noticed many instances of the belief that
787 qualities, acts, and events have a mysterious power of producing more
777 or less similar effects. In other cases of magic causation the effect is more indefinite or more unlike its cause. Yet even then we very frequently find the law of association of ideas by similarity operating in combining agreeable qualities or events with agreeable, and disagreeable qualities or events with disagreeable, consequences. And there is a parallel combination in the case of omens, which are often hardly distinguishable from magical influences.

777 [7] If a man meets an old woman on his way he should say, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate"; and if he meets her in the morning when he sets out on a journey he should not proceed on that day but turn back (Ait Waryager). It is also unlucky to meet a widow or a barren woman in the morning (Igliwa), and so it is to meet a widow in the evening as well (Ait Waryager).

585 [8] It is bad fal to meet a bridal procession on the road (Shawia,
787 Andjra, Ait Waryager). In Andjra it is believed that if two bridal processions meet, one of the brides will die, being affected by the other one's bas; and among the Ait Waryager it is the custom for the women of both parties to throw stones at each other to drive away the evil. At Tangier I was told that it is bad fal if two 'ammariyat (more often called a'mamer), or bridal boxes, meet, or if anybody meets one in the morning, because the 'ammariya means a bier. But this explanation cannot apply to the tribes mentioned above, among whom a woman's bier is not made to resemble an 'ammariya or, as in the Shawia and among the Ait Waryager, 'ammariyat are not used at weddings.

585 [9] But although a bride is looked upon with some suspicion and
581 a wedding is not without its dangers, benign magic virtue is on the other hand ascribed both to bride and bridegroom, and the wedding is a blessed occasion from which those who take part in it and even

884 and wearing a new bag (dajbirt); and he wears it not on his left side,
682 as usual, but on his right, to announce to all the people what he has done and to show that now he is a man. This is done whether the homicide took place in revenge or not. But though ordinary homicide
682 is admired, it is considered very bad to kill a scribe without sufficient reason because of his knowledge of the Koran, and it is also considered bad, though not in the same degree, to kill an unoffending shereef on account of his holy parentage; and if a man who has committed either of these cribes slaughters an animal, its meat will be difficult to digest. This indicates that the taboos imposed on manslayers have something to do with the moral side of the matter. And the same is obvious from the general view that it is neither sinful nor polluting to kill in war.

In other cases also wrongdoing contains magic energy productive
777 of evil.
●789 If the first person you meet in [13] the morning when you set out
826 on a journey is one who does not observe his daily prayers, the best thing you can do is to turn back (Ait Waryager).

In Dukkala it is said that if a one-eyed person, a perfectly bald-headed person, and an albino meet in a boat it will not move.

The Ait Waryager say that the same will happen if a man who is blind, one who is bald, and one who has a sore under-lip meet on board a vessel.

[14] It is good fal for a man to have much hair on his chest (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager), evidently because it suggests strength; such hair is called s-sa'r de s-sbo'a, or "lion's hair".

777 [17] In Andjra, if anybody who is carrying something black meets
822 another person, he must put down what he is carrying while the other
789 one is passing; otherwise the latter will not pass at all but turn back, lest he should have some misfortune on that day. A similar custom prevails among the Shloh of Aglu and Glawi and among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; the person who is carrying the black object says when he puts it down, Hasak, or if he addresses more than one person, Hasakum, "With your permission", to which the answer is, 'Azk allah (in Rifian 'azzek allah), or if the person to whom it is said is a woman, 'Azkem allah, corresponding to our "pray".

789 [18] There are other cases in which people make use of the colour
822 black for their own benefit. It is used as a charm against the evil eye,
755

709 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathie magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough. Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

709 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it by having a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops at once and makes water on them.

[514]

777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Ait Waryager).

796 Great Feast", and the Berber-speaking tribes by names such as l'id mqqorn (Amanuz), l'id amqqran (Ait Warain), l'id amqqoran (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), or r'id amqqran (Temsaman), meaning the same. In this case, as in the case of the 'asur, the mulud, and the 'id s-sger, the name of the feast is popularly given to the whole month in which it is celebrated.

796 302 789 [107] An important preparation for the feast is the use of henna, which I have found among all the country people of whose customs I have obtained information, with the exception of the Rifians of Temsaman; and, as has been said above, henna is used not merely as a cosmetic but as a means of protection against evil influences.

Grown-up or married men abstain from it altogether (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Sadden, Aglu), or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers (At Ubahti), or dip the little finger of their right hand (Dukkala) or its nail (Ait Waryager) into it.

796 [231] [108] Greyhounds have henna applied to their foreheads (Ait Yusi), or to their chests and feet as well (Hiaina, Ait Sadden); while the Ait Waryager, who are great hunters, smear it on the feet of the greyhounds only, and on no other animal, on account of its being scarce among them.

[110] Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make seksu, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish damreqt, a kind of porridge made of dried beans.

[112] Among the Ait Waryager the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

796 783 [116] Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly subjected to certain forms of purification or sanctification.

[117] The At Ubahti put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal; the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman some yeast. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and henna is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Hiaina told me that it takes away the bas from the house.

412 231 On the other hand, the sieve is also used as a fertility charm. Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought some sheep or goats, he puts a sieve at the entrance to the yard and makes the animals walk over it with a view to rendering them very fertile; and he then sprinkles the sieve with water to expel any evil influences which may cling to them.

244 [251] There are, moreover, certain superstitions and ceremonies connected with the vegetable garden.

The Ait Waryager believe that [252] a woman's presence in a vegetable garden would make it dry.

[254]

RITES PRACTISED FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCING THE WEATHER

789 In Morocco the failure of the crops is mostly due not to the lack of sunshine or too much rain, but to drought, and to avert this danger many different methods are resorted to.

The orthodox method is to perform the so-called salat al-istisqa in the morning at the musalla, or public place of prayer outside the town or village. This ceremony consists of two rek'at, or ordinary forms of prayer, two hotbat, or sermons, and one du'a, or supplication in which God is asked to send rain. In the prayer, however, the formula of takbir (allahu akbar, "God is most great") is replaced by the phrase istagfir allah, "implore the pardon of God", in accordance with the saying of the Koran, "Ask God's pardon, for he is merciful and will give you abundant rain; he has placed the rain as a reward for him who begs forgiveness for his faults". After the first hotba the preacher changes his mantle from the right to the left shoulder and vice versa, and the same is done by the congregation. That this is intrinsically a magical act calculated to bring about a change in the weather is apparent from the statement of the commentators that it is meant to show God the desire of the [255] faithful to see the threatening famine "turned" into abundance.

[257] Among the Ait Waryager the people go to the mosque of the village or a shrine, walk three times round it, sacrifice a sheep or goat, and make fatha. If this does not produce the desired effect the more religious members of the community, after they have said their

789 evening prayer in the mosque, pray there a thousand times for the Prophet, each of them keeping count of his prayers by placing a pebble in front of him after the completion of every hundred.

[266] The custom of using a ladle as a rain-charm is common among the various Berber groups. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif the women dress up a wooden ladle (aganja) in women's clothes and walk with it to the village mosque or some shrine, praying for rain.

[312] [276] As water extinguishes fire, so fire is also supposed to destroy the rain. Among the Ait Waryager rain is stopped by a man whose name is 'Esa boiling some rain-water in an earthenware pan (anahadam) ordinarily used for the baking of bread, and then discharging a loaded gun in the air.

[279] Among the Ait Waryager, if there is too much rain, scribes write on a board the names of either ninety-nine or one hundred and one saints, and place the board on the roof of the village mosque.

[282] The Ait Waryager, again, stop a westerly gale by girdling a dog with a woollen belt, which is left on it as long as the gale lasts.

[283] BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS RELATION TO ANIMALS

231 [284] In some tribes it is the custom for a man who buys a stallion to kill a sheep or goat and invite the men of the village to a meal; after they have eaten they make fatha, calling down blessings on the host and his animal (Ait Yusi, Ait Waryager).

[285] Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought a horse, mule, donkey, bullock, or cow, or some sheep or goats at the market, he treats those who accompanied him there with grapes, raisins, figs, or other eatables, and they in return call down blessings on him and the animal or animals he bought.

Among the Ait Waryager a person who has bought a mare or some other female animal puts a silver bracelet (damqayyast) or a pair of silver brooches (dibzimin, sing. dabzind), such as women wear over their breast, at the entrance to the yard (azqaq) and makes the animal walk over it, in order that it shall be fertile and good and not run away.

[177] [287] Among the Ait Waryager donkeys, as also horses and mules, with black spots in their mouths are not bought by anybody, and a white spot on the forehead of a donkey or a mule, but not on that of a horse, is likewise considered bad fal.

775 [546] Dead saints may appear to the living in human or animal shapes; but as to ordinary dead people I have been assured over and over again that the dead do not walk, and I remember how heartily my friends in the tribe of Jbel Hbib laughed when I told them that many Christians believe in ghosts. The dead may come and see their friends; but on these occasions they cannot themselves be seen by anybody, and they come not as enemies but as friends.

Among the Ait Waryager men who have fallen in war with the Christians come to their relatives at night, but they do so only in kindness.

[547] The Ait Waryager believe that graveyards are haunted both by the dead and by jnun who come out of the ground in the dark.

[548] The place where a person has been found killed is regarded as haunted, whether he is buried there—as is often the case with a stranger or one who has no family—or not. Everywhere in Morocco it is marked with a small cairn of stones.

In some parts of the country travellers passing such a cairn often add a stone to it (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Aglu), whereas in other parts of the country there is no such custom.

[550] In Andjra I was told that the place where a person has been killed is meskun, or haunted by jnun. A scribe from the Ait Waryager denied that it is meskun, but admitted that his people are afraid of it.

● 789 [552] In Northern Morocco, if a married woman is afraid that her [832] husband is in love with somebody else, she secures the assistance of an old woman, who goes in the night to a cemetery with a dish of seksu, unearths the hand of a newly buried corpse, and stirs the seksu with it. Among the Ait Waryager the old woman cuts off the right hand of the corpse and brings it to the jealous wife, who uses it in the said manner, not only once but several times, when she is making seksu.

[556] The magic energy inherent in a corpse, however, is used not only in witchcraft but for prophylactic and curative purposes as well. [755] Among the Ait Waryager one who has decayed teeth rubs them with the forefinger of a dead person's right hand before or while he is washed.

[557] Among the Ait Waryager it often happens that when a grave has been dug, but before the dead body has been lowered into it, a man lies down full length in the grave in order to acquire strength, [755] whether he be ill or not. Among the same Rifians a person who suffers from a bad headache goes to the grave of a stranger (who may be a holy man) before sunrise, places some bread or figs on it, and ties there a piece of his clothes as a little flag; and on the two following mornings he again visits the grave but without putting anything there.

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih dispersees charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

754 791 789 793 443 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 754 789 435 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may [755] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One [755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi- [554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] 000 As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

751 435 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams. Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

796 241 789 821 One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed, the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins [533] [539] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community, singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nia-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawah- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food. [782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

531 171 In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of 342 Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local 191 variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can 171 fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[14] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

771 789 191 [772] [805] A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[15]

631 Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[16] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence [596] and self-sufficiency.[17] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed [614] clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, 631 groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates 634 from each family.[18] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

[212] [113] cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[113] [14] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[113] [15] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[113] [16] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[17] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[113] [18] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER X

JUDICIAL AND CLERICAL OFFICERS; LAWS GOVERNING INHERITANCE

THERE are in the Rif two classes of officials who concern themselves with judicial and clerical functions: the "clerk," or *adl* (plural *adul*[1]), and the "judge," or *ḳadhi*. The former is something between a town clerk and minor judge, and the latter a supreme court of appeal. Both concern themselves only with civil, never with criminal, disputes.

The clerk is a former student who specialized in the cantonal mosque in the study of law, rather than in the usual study of magic and religion: some clerks, however, indulge in magical practices on the side as an additional source of income. The clerk takes pains to keep this second profession secret, lest he be expelled from office. Most clerks spend longer than the average period at study, and attend several different mosques in the course of their preparation.

There is at least one clerk in every *bone*. Any person who is qualified by his training may set up as a clerk, but must receive the consensus of local approval before he is entrusted with enough business to make this occupation profitable. A clerk must be dignified and pious.

The clerk is often the schoolmaster of the *bone* as well. In smaller *bones* it is usually an economic necessity for one man to fulfill these two offices, consequently the terms "schoolmaster" and "clerk" have become somewhat confused. A clerk is often called schoolmaster, but a schoolmaster who is not a clerk is never called clerk.

The duties of the clerk include writing and reading letters for illiterate persons, settling controversies as to ownership of property, making out and administering wills, and drawing up documents of sale for landed property and documents of marriage and divorce. He is also called upon to slaughter animals upon ceremonial occasions.

In making out a document of marriage, the clerk writes out the names of the bride and groom, and the amount paid for the bride. He gives the paper to the bride and makes a duplicate, which he keeps. His signature renders the document valid. He similarly makes out divorce papers, which he gives to the woman, who can thus prove that she is no longer under obligation to her husband.

When the clerk makes out the document for a land sale, he takes the old document from the seller, and gives both old and new papers to the purchaser. Each time a piece of land changes hands a new paper is made out, and the present owner has in his possession all of the extant bills of sale for that piece of land. When a piece is subdivided the heir of the owner of the original piece at the time of its subdivision keeps the papers recording transfers prior to this subdivision.

When a man wishes to sell some of the land which has been in his family since time immemorial, and for which there is no paper, he informs the clerk, who advertises for any other claim to this land, either written or oral, and finding none makes a bill of sale.

[1] The usual Arab notary.

693 624 [700] 624 [875] [211] [585] [586] 624 432 [p. 117]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XIII

MAGIC

THE types of magic employed in the Rif can be divided into four categories: (1) the *baraka* of alleged descendants of the Prophet; (2) *theira*, or magic requiring the use of written charms and based on the mystic interpretation of the Koran; (3) *theira* of the *jnun*, a type similar in form but involving the participation of the *jnun*, and the use of books other than the Koran; (4) *sehar*, or old women's magic, which does not involve the use of writing. To these may be added as allied topics: (5) the *ar* or shame-compulsion; (6) the *'ahd* or oath; (7) methods of counteracting the evil eye; and (8) the interpretation of dreams. 789

Both the shame-compulsion and the oath are essentially magical, and are therefore included in this chapter. The treatment of religious and magical phenomena in separate chapters is for convenience only and implies no generic distinction.

BARAKA

Baraka, or *er fthair* is usually confined to supposed descendants of the Prophet, and is dependent upon their possession of a magical emanation supposedly transmitted to them by him. *Baraka* is a force, a power, like the tabu of the Polynesians, and more like the *mana* of the Melanesians. A man possessing it is equipped with supernatural powers; he is able to predict the future, to perform miracles, and to heal or destroy by touch, or, through extension, by employing some object which has been in contact with his body, such as a part of his clothing, a piece of bread, or an egg which he has kissed. 789 718

A client wishing to know his future comes to the sherif at Targuist and presents his problem. On the ensuing night the sherif dreams about it, and in the morning tells his client what the future will contain. The client then pays a fee approximating five dollars and departs. The sherif is not limited to a single dream each night; he dreams as many as are required. 791

Not all Riffians believe in this magic, and only the inhabitants of Targuist and the Senhajan tribes under the control of the Ikbemrijen patronise the sherif regularly.

Persons suffering from any ailment whatever go to him to be touched. The sherif strokes the affected part, and exacts a fee of from thirty to fifty dollars. If the patient does not recover he and his relatives do not blame the sherif, but hold that the fatality is the *mektub*, or established fate, and that the soul's time has expired. 791 755

The sherif gives away pieces of cloth torn from his cast-off garments, which are taken away by the credulous and hung in their houses to prevent mischief from entering. In the *zouia* at Targuist are baked tiny loaves of bread, supposedly full of *baraka*; they are given away, the recipients being told that a quarter of a loaf will fill them completely. Eating this bread is a prophylactic against illness and any mischance. 791 751

The sherif, and ordinary saints as well, give away eggs previously received as presents or fees, for which they have no use. The eggs are considered to be full of *baraka*, and men take them home to eat with their wives, thinking thus to avert calamity. 791

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Women bring their children, ailing or otherwise, to the sherif, who chews a piece of salt and spits it into the child's mouth, whereupon the mother goes away satisfied.

Some of the shorfa are illiterate and ignorant, knowing little of the Koran. They are supported by their fees and by gifts of food constantly brought them.

The *baraka* is transmitted by heredity, but not to all the sherif's offspring. Some of the latter, disgusted with their father's trumpery, work and earn a living like ordinary men. Others stay in the house at all times and pose as examples of propriety and behavior, in order to carry on the traditional calling. A sherif who fights loses his *baraka* by so doing, and the same is true of ordinary saints,[1] few of whom nowadays are credited with supernatural powers. Even the Sherif of Targuist was said to have lost his *baraka* for capitulating with the French and Spanish after the surrender of Abd el Krim in 1926.

THEIRA

The type of magic depending upon writing for its efficacy is called *theira*. The students learn it in the cantonal mosque, and practice it while attending this institution and after they have finished their studies there.

Each student must make anew or copy his own manual, from which he is able to extract the charms fitting for each circumstance requiring magical treatment. He goes through the Koran listing all the nouns which have no direct reference to religion when read alone. He then matches beside each noun the phrase with which it is connected in the text, or the *sura* in which it is found each time it occurs. In this way each noun will have several different phrases or chapters following it in the finished catalogue. When a person requests a charm for a specific purpose, the student looks up the name of that purpose in his book and finds what phrases go with it. He must know the name of the person and the name of his or her mother, which he also looks up.

By a combination of the corollaries of the various nouns, including the purpose of the charm and the names of the participants, the student is able to decide which formula he shall write upon the charm, with what liquid and on what material; whether or not objects in intimate contact with the person to be protected or with the victim, or the hair of such a person, are needed; and by what means the charm shall be administered or used. The materials and methods used are listed below.

Liquids.

Ink made of burnt goat's horn boiled in olive oil. Christian ink will not work.
Blood of hoopoes.
Blood of owls.
Blood of bats.

Materials.

Paper of any kind.
Scapula, rib, or patella of a fox.
Scapula, rib, patella, or mandible of a hedgehog.
Snout of a wild boar.
Seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight olive leaves.
A peeled stick of female wild olive wood.

[1] See above, p. 148.

776 [325] The Ait Waryager rub pounded bitter almonds (ddauz mazag)
755 mixed with oil and salt on the affected part of the body of a person
789 who is troubled with le-ryah.

[328] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from an illness caused by jnun, a scribe writes a charm for him on a loaf of bread or on a paper, which is then put in the open in a place where no animal can get at it; it is left there over night so that the stars shall shine on it, and on the next day the patient eats the loaf or hangs the paper round his neck.

776 [356] Among the Ait Waryager there are women, called
791 dizuhriyin (sing. dazuhrit), who are likewise able to tell people about secret things and future events owing to the information they derive from jnun.

832 [361] A mahabba, or love-charm, may contain either the names of Muhammadan jnun, as well as something from the Koran, or the names of sayatin. This is a way in which such a charm is used: the man who wants to be loved by a certain woman goes to the neighbourhood of her house, puts the charm between the forefinger and middle finger of his right hand, and moves the fingers with the charm three times in the direction of the house, at the same time whispering the woman's name. Then he burns the charm between his fingers and goes away; and now she will love him (Ait Waryager). The following practice serves the purpose of overcoming a woman's objection to marrying a man who wants to marry her. A scribe writes a charm and keeps it in his house for seven days, fumigating it every evening with the smoke of pepper and saffron. During this period he must refrain from salted food, so that jnun—muminin—may speak to him. He then ties the charm to an olive tree with a hair of the woman, which has been rpocured by the man who wants to marry her. When the wind makes it flutter the woman will lose her senses, and she will remain in that condition until the scribe removes the charm from the tree and takes it to his house. As soon as this is done she not only comes to her wits again, but gets fond of the man, and [362] they soon become husband and wife (ibid.).

776 [396] A jenniya whose name is widely known in Morocco is the Gola. She is said to be very big and have the appearance of a woman, although she has also been seen with her extremities looking like the feet of a goat and with very much hair all over the body and the face.

787 powerless, whether the Christians will trouble the country or leave it in peace, and whether the people will keep in good health or there will be many deaths. As to the manner in which this kind of divination is practised, none of the many Arab and Berber scribes whom I have asked about it has been able to tell anything beyond the general statement that it is done much in the same way as is the fortune-reading in the blood. But I presume that it must be more complicated, as [791] there are only special persons, called kett afa (sing. kett af, from kt ef, "shoulder"), who are versed in it.

[159]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH CERTAIN DATES OF THE SOLAR YEAR

796 While the Muhammadan year is a lunar year, the Moors are also 805 familiar with the Julian calendar, especially in country places, where the principal occupations of the people are regulated by the seasons. They call the months by their Latin names, more or less modified. January is called yennayer or yennair (Fez), nnair (Ait Sadden, Igliwa), inneir (Aglu); February, yebrayer (Fez), hobrair (Ait Sadden), kobrair (Ait Warain), brair (Igliwa); March, mars (Fez), mars (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); April, yebril (Fez), ibril (Ait Sadden), ibril (Igliwa); May, miyyu (Fez), maiyu (ibid., Ait Sadden), maiyu (Igliwa); June, yunyuh (Fez), yunyuh (Ait Sadden), nunyuh (Igliwa); July, yulyuz (Fez), yulyuz (Ait Sadden), lulyuz (Igliwa); August, gust (Fez), gust (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); September, sut anbir (Fez), sutenbir (Ait Sadden), sutanbir (Igliwa); October, kt ubar (Fez), htobar (Ait Sadden), ktobar (Ait Warain), ktubr (Igliwa); November, nouwanbir (Fez), nuwenbir (Ait Sadden), nuwanbir (Igliwa); December, dujanbir (Fez), dujenbir (Ait Sadden), dujanbir (Igliwa).

The solar year is divided into twenty-eight manazil (sing. menzla), each containing thirteen days,* with the exception of the jebha (18th-31st July), which contains fourteen. [160] The first menzla is n-natah (in the written language of the scribes n-natah), from 23rd March to 4th April. The following ones are l-butain (5th-17th April); t uriya (t-turiya), 18th-30th April; d-dabaran, 1st-13th May; l-haq'a, 14th-26th May; l-han'a, 27th May-8th June; d-dira', 9th-21st June; n-net ra (n-natirah), 22nd June-4th July; tarfah, 5th-17th July;

793 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property
794 owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his
465 services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is
789 not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in
791 Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif
754 society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his
[793] knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are
[789] embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female
754 witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed
791 on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches
562 although the female quality is believed to have magical potency.
[888] This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

754 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical tech-
791 niques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages
789 from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qual-
793 ities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood
[443] from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

754
791 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms
789 in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same
793
443 market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary
754 with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in
789 kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal.
435 Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a
[755] liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One
[755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The magi-
[554] cians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to
000 curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

SAINTS

792
778

Imrabten, or saints, live in some of the tribes and receive local veneration. A saint is a man who posseeses *baraka*, a form of magical emanation comparable to *mana*, and usually derived through descent from the Prophet. It is through its possession that he is enabled to perform supernatural acts, and his person, being charged with it, may heal persons who touch him; hence anything which he has touched has partaken of the *baraka* and is a valuable object. By exploiting the belief in these superstitions the saints make their living.

Shorfa, or alleged descendants of the Prophet, have a virtual monopoly of this business, although holy men with no claims to such descent may acquire *baraka* through their manner of living or through religious insanity. In such cases pedigrees are often doctored up for them later.

A sherif or other possessor of *baraka* may lose it through participation in warfare, breaking of religious tabus, friendly traffic with Christians, or simply ceasing to exercise it. Shorfa recently established in the Rif for the most part still possess and exploit their *baraka*, whereas those of long residence have usually lost it and become like the rest of the Riffians. In a family of shorfa one brother may choose to exploit this quality and the other brothers to live as ordinary people.

The foremost shorfa of the Rif are the family of Ikhemrijen, originally from Fez, who are established at Targuist, at Snada of the Beni Bu Frah, in the Beni Bu Shibet, and at Tizi Ifri, between Beni Amart and Beni Beshir. The headquarters of the family are at Targuist, at the Zawiat et Tifah, where Sidi Mohammed n Suddik is the present incumbent. Sidi Hamidu at Snada and the incumbent at Tizi Ifri are likewise said to possess *baraka*, but are not as popular as their relative. The incumbent in the Beni Bu Shibet has in some way lost his *baraka*. When I was at Targuist in 1926 I was told that Sidi Mohammed had lost his *baraka* through eating with the Spanish officers and carrying on friendly relations with them, but when I was there again in 1928 I received no further confirmation of this.

At each of the establishments of this family is a *zawia*, or school, a place of instruction comparable to a cantonal mosque with the presiding sherif as head of it.

In Beni Said there is a living saint named Sidi Mohammed who came from outside the Rif, and who has established a large *zawia*. He is an emissary of the Nasirriin, and *fokara* of this sect come once every three months from all over the Rif to pay him tribute.

In Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya dwells a delegate of the Derkawa, named Sidi Mohammed el Khok. He is a recent arrival, and has a document from the head of the sect in Fez authorizing him to establish a sanctuary in the Rif, to which Riffian Derkawa may repair so as to avoid the long journey to Fez.

Besides these active and first generation saints, there are many families descended from others long dead. Some of them do not fight and are immune from attack, and others fight and are attacked. The former are thought to possess *baraka* in a very dilute form; such is the case with the descendants of Sidi Bu Jiddain, a Zenatan, in the Beni Tusin. Sidi Bu Jiddain owned a mule with which he conversed. Once he went to Fez, where the sultan ordered him sent to jail, at which the mule cried: "That sultan is crasy." The sultan was so frightened that he ordered Sidi Bu Jiddain out of the city. Today his descendants run a *zawia* at his tomb and live on public credulity and charity.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

All of the Ulad Alu ben Aissa of the Gsennaya claim descent from Sidi Hend u Musa, a local saint in the wall of whose tomb an old sword is stuck. It is said that when this sword is drawn the Muslimin will defeat the Christians and drive them from the land. Men have tried for years to pull it out, but no one has yet been successful. There is a *zawia* to this same saint in Beni Said; he is said to have written books foretelling the recent invasion of the Rif by the Christians, predicting that the last place to submit would be his tomb, and that while the defenders were holding out they would lack salt, and that men would kill each other for it. The Gsennaya claim that this prophecy was fulfilled. His descendants fight, even with each other, and are thought to have lost their *baraka*. A few individuals, however, such as the present Sidi Amar, have a recurrence of it. Sidi Amar is an insane man of the Ulad Alu ben Aissa who when a boy worked as share-laborer in the Beni Amart. One cold morning his mistress told him to go to the spring to fetch water, and Sidi Amar cursed the spring, expressing the wish that it should dry up. The spring did dry up, or is said to have done so, and Sidi Amar has been feared and respected ever since. His chief pleasure is going to market, where he chases women with a stick, being a confirmed misogynist. Sidi Amar went on a pilgrimage to Mekka, and when he got home claimed that he had flown through the air on the way back, and that his return journey had taken him but two days. He was laughed at until two later pilgrims came home with the story that they had checked the date of his departure from Mekka and found it to have been just two days before his arrival. After this everyone believed it, and his reputation increased. Sidi Amar, humorously called the Kaid Amar, at present has no fixed abode, but enters any house he wishes and is given food and shelter. When a man has been wounded Sidi Amar comes in and sits by him, refusing to eat until the patient is out of danger. He is reputed to have effected many cures in this way. When Sidi Amar dies, he will probably have a tomb erected on his grave, to which people will come for its *baraka*, for he has established a sufficiently miraculous reputation already to assure this.

In Iherrassen are the descendants of Sidi Hamid, saints without *baraka*. Their ancestor, a great wizard, used to write charms and then burn them, after which everyone present could see on the wall a moving picture of men walking by with guns, dogs, and mules.

In the Beni Amart live the descendants of Sidi Abd el Kadher Agenau, related to the saints of Beni Urriaghel. Those in Beni Amart have lost their *baraka* and fight continually.

The so-called *Imrabten* of Beni Urriaghel, who have taken the generic word for saints as their patronym, fight and yet preserve a portion of their *baraka*; anyone attacking them is liable to a severe spell of sickness. Their ancestor, Sidi Hamid el Kroni, grew horns on his head with which to fight, so the bellicose quality of these saints started with the first generation.

The Ulad Sidi el Hajj Misaud, saints of Taurirt in Beni Urriaghel, do not fight, yet their *baraka* seems to have "turned sour"; they are considered dangerous, and are not admitted as guests by other *bones*. Parents will not let their children look at them. There are estimated to be twelve hundred saints in Beni Urriaghel.

Sidi Shaib u el Ftah, whose tomb is at the harbor of Temsaman, has left descendants who teach music and dancing in the *zawia*. Men who would like to learn to play the flute or *zammar*, and women who wish to improve their dancing, stay there seven days and are supposed to learn what they came for in that space of time, partly through the instructors and

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

792 778 partly through the *baraka* of the saint. The saints who teach music here are of a higher class than the itinerant musicians whom they instruct.

Among the saints of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja are those at Khunduktamda, descended from Sidi Abdullah el Kholani, from whom some of the Ikhuanen of the Gsennaya also claim descent. The latter send ambassadors once a year to build a fire in his tomb. At Aghbalu are saints who are students, but who fight and have no *baraka*. At Sidi Ali ben Daud in Marnissa and at Sidi Mebend u Ghulbunur are similar saints. The students of Amshesh, who have no *baraka*, are yet classed as saints and refuse to fight.

Former saints who have died without leaving descendants are remembered by tombs, usually kept by wardens living on the produce of the tomb property. Other tombs have been deserted and allowed to fall into ruins. Sometimes a pile of stones, an ordinary grave, or merely a tradition, establishes the burial-place of a saint. Tombs are often located near a great rock, a spring, a grove, or at some other place of distinctive natural appearance, such as a cave, and this indicates that the hagiolatry of the Rif, like that of other Mediterranean countries and regions, is a survival of an older nature worship. Such places are credited with special magical powers attributed to the lingering *baraka* of the saint.

The tomb of Sidi Mohammed near Bured in the Gsennaya will serve as an example. This is located in a dense clump of bushes reputed to be full of wild animals, and the home of a venerable lion. Sidi Mohammed had a lion which served him, and followed him whenever he called him. While at Fez, Sidi Mohammed heard that a lion owned by the Sultan had fought and defeated all animals put in a ring with it, and boasted publicly that his lion could vanquish that of the Sultan. For this he was put in jail. While there he sent his servant to the Rif to get his lion, which would come if the words *a seba dh' amendud* were said before the clump of bushes. The servant recited this formula and led the lion to Fez, where it defeated all the others there. The Sultan then released Sidi Mohammed with a present, and the saint returned to the Rif with the lion. After he died his tomb was built in the clump of bushes, and no one has dared to enter the bushes for many years. The warden of the tomb does not enter, but farms the land around it.

At Sidi Merj in Bokoya is a *zawia* near a swampy pond full of lush vegetation. Students staying in the *zawia* declare that they have seen cats and dogs go in and out of the water at night, and that these animals are *jnun*. No one goes any nearer the pond than necessary.

[842] The cantonal mosque of Iherrushen in Gsennaya is accredited with the power to cause pregnancy, through the *baraka* of Sidi Misaud, who is buried there. Women come from other tribes to sleep in the mosque, since the *baraka* works during the night.

There are hundreds of these places scattered throughout the Rif and all Morocco. Although most Riffians believe in their efficacious powers, some do not, and there are many who do not believe in the powers of the Ikhemrijen shorfa and other imported saints. The people living east of Targuist do not credit them, while the Senhaja to the west of them do.

CELEBRATIONS

796 Celebrations of a religious character fall into two divisions, according to whether they are dated by the solar or lunar calendar. The former are considered by the Riffians to have nothing to do with Islam, but in accordance with the general hypocrisy of the people,

2: Westermarck--17 E-5 (1898-1926) 1926 MX3 Rif MX3

[35] CHAPTER I

THE BARAKA (HOLINESS OR BLESSED VIRTUE): ITS PREVALENCE

778 ●792 196 The Arabic word baraka means "blessing". In Morocco it is used to denote a mysterious wonder-working force which is looked upon as a blessing from God, a "blessed virtue". It may be conveniently translated into English by the word "holiness".

A person who possesses baraka in an exceptional degree is called by a term corresponding to our "saint".

[36] The Berbers have berberised forms of the Arabic terms, such as ssiyid, ssaleh, and lwali; but among many of them the usual or exclusive name for a saint is amrabad or amrabd (plur. imrabden; Ait Waryager, Temsaman, At Ubahti, Ait Sadden), derived from the Arabic mrabat or mrabt, which, as we shall soon see, is not used in Morocco as a general term for saints, but only for a certain class of saints and their descendants.

[62] It is interesting to notice that certain terms for saints are also used to denote places connected with them; this shows how intimate the connection between them really is. Thus the word siyid is applied to a place where a saint is [63] buried, whether it be indicated by a qobba or bit or haus or in any other way, and some people use the same term for a place which is venerated because a saint has prayed or rested there; in Fez, however, the latter would be called the mzara or halwa of the siyid So-and-so. Other words which are used both for saints and their sanctuaries are fqer (Dukkala), agurram (Shloh), and amrabd or amrabad (Ait Sadden, Temsaman, Ait Waryager).

[64] The sanctity of a saint is communicated not only to the building in which he is buried and the objects contained in it, but to everything inside his horm or harm, that is, the sacred domain of the saint. The horm may be restricted to the building over his grave, but it may also extend far beyond it.

[65] A still more comprehensive term than horm is zawia (Berb. zzawit [Shloh], zzawit [Ait Sadden, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager], zzaust [Temsaman]), in one of the senses in which this word is used. The town or village round the shrine of some great saint is often called his zawia.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

Sīdī Bū Khiyār («My Lord the Father of the Cucumber») was, according to tradition, an itinerant *murābiṭ* or holy man from the Sahara who reached the Central Rif completely destitute, without family, servants or possessions. Of when this event occurred, or from what part of the Sahara he originated, we have absolutely no indication. Rifians today say that he was not a *sharīf* (pl. *shurfā*), or descendant of the Prophet, and this is negatively and locally confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of him in the genealogies of the Imrabdhen section (*ar-rbaʿ* or *thakhammasth*, according to the context) of the tribe (*thaqbīsh*) of Aith Wariyāghir, who, despite their sobriquet, are shurfā descended from Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Aʿraj («My Lord Abraham the Lame»), whose own lineage ascends to Mūlāi Idrīs. We may note here, parenthetically, that although the Rifians make a genealogical and functional distinction between *shurfā* and *murābiṭīn* (pl. of *murābiṭ*), they do not differentiate between them terminologically; in the Rifian dialect of Berber, both are called *imrābdhen*, derived from Arabic *murābiṭīn*.

In any event, Sīdī Bū Khiyār was to become far more important in the religious aspects of tribal life than most of the Imrābdhen, for no organized visits have ever been made to any of the latters' tombs. After settling on the windswept and desolate mountain peak which bears his name, Sīdī Bū Khiyār became famous as a spellbinder who could attract crowds of lesser murābiṭīn from as far as ten to fifteen days' journey away. He never married, and he died without issue on his mountain top; but the name Bū Khiyār is one wich many mountain Rifians are given to this day.

The pilgrimage to Sīdī Bū Khiyār's grave is today a local festival entirely, albeit the most important and significant one in the Central Rif. The only religious brotherhood involved is that of the ʿAlawiyyīn, a recently formed order of Algerian origin, whose members bear no relationship to the saint other than the fact that some of them happen to live in the area, and whose litany is a far more toned-down and sedate affair than those of any of the orders mentioned above, as we shall see.

The tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is situated on the summit which overlooks the Turīrth-Timarzga-Aith ʿAmmarth Pass and dominates the massif of the Jbil Ḥamām, The Mountain of Doves, which, at

571 and orient a Rifian's activities and maintain...the safeguard of the interests which the community of his constituents does not guarantee him. While his social units are of a patriarchal, democratic and lay type, his political groupings are of a "military" type, true [562] alliances which join men together and not territories. While the social unit, minuscule as it is, has its proper jurisdiction over a territory and the people who live in it, whether men, women or children, linking together lands and families, the political unit only links individuals together, and these individuals are men only (author's italics)[15].

776 3) The "religious group"[16] satisfies the small (sic) spiritual 792 needs of the rest of the Rifians and at the same time utilizes these needs for benefiting the tribe: they are the imrabdhen[17], who want to keep out of the Rifian's quarrels so that they can be effective mediators and arbitrators for him--and it satisfies the Rifian cult for the individual himself, and lends some distinction to his society, to which he never shows himself averse.

44 4) The "economic group"....is characterized in the Rif by markets, Jews[18], the twiza, wuzi's and dhwara, all of which suffice to fulfill the Rifian's principal needs, as much in terms of personal interests as in beneficial or humanitarian ones.

181 C) Family Organization:

1) Rifian society is an organized anarchy, with all the antagonisms and contradictions which are inherent in such a concept; and these may essentially be reduced to the "instinct of defense" and its derivative, the "spirit of association"[19].

623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.[92]

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this,
[557] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his
623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.

623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muna) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

792 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and
794 harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on
423 198 794 the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th,
423 621 794 for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits
[594] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

423 648 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

---

15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top Segment I is labeled Aith Khattab, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari (plus Aith 'Ari) and Aith 'Abd Allah, while Top Segment II consists of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments of these top segments are aligned into their component liffs, as above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the problem, therefore, is the khums of Imrabdhen, the presence of which, in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above). The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top imgharen of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a khums, and their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqqiwen of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the dispensing of baraka (which, it might be added, could only be inherited by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent liff alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally, "fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary and liff systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative, as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance, between holy and adjudicating imrabdhen, the 10% minority, and lay and warrior imrabdhen, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrabdhen as a clan: whether they are shurfa or not--and here again, one runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say "no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are genuine shurfa, although it is possible that these are, at least in part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the sunduq or box

614 of Mulay Idris in Fez; and over this, they hedge, saying that they do
792 have this right, but that they have never yet exercised it because "Fez is so far away". This is, in effect, a tacit admission of proper imrabdhen and non-shurfa status.)

616 In having postulated a state of equilibrium between the two
614 moieties of the Aith Waryaghar prior to the arrival of the Imrabdhen, and in having postulated that the latter came in time to upset this equilibrium in structural terms, we have up to now left Faction A in a kind of structural limbo. How, one may well ask, did this faction regain its balance? Through the principle of transitiveness within limits, as defined in note 18, by enlisting the aid of one neighboring clan from each of two tribes, Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin. After Faction A made this move, one may assume, Faction B did the same thing with a neighboring clan of Aith 'Ammarth. And here, we feel, is the secondary key to the problem, for, in effect, the inequality of liff alignments of a permanent type within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar is cancelled out or, perhaps, rectified through the mechanism of transitiveness without; and balance is thus restored. And the interplay of the factors of permanence, transitiveness and the chain-link theory (by which, if Faction A gets the Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin, Faction B gets the Aith 'Ammarth) is evident throughout.

000 31-Bu Hmara, as his title r-Rogi indicates, was a false pretender to the Moroccan throne in the first decade of the 20th century. For full details, see Eduardo Maldonado, El Rogui, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, n.d. (ca. 1952).

[648] 32--Jilali Mul al-Wudhu was a negro general of Bu Hmaram and his top man in the Eastern Rif when he set up headquarters in the qasba or fortress of Silwan in 1907, prior to trying to rally the Rifians to his cause. All of the tribes, in fact, did so rally, save Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth, who thought it very "shameful" that a black "slave" ('abid) should invade their territory; and so, on September 7, 1908, on the banks of the Nkur River, near Imzuren, they cut him and his army to pieces, after which the other tribes turned against him one by one and ambushed his rearguard.

33--Busta al-Baghdad's expedition took place in 1898. It should also be noted that any previous liff arrangement which may have existed between Aith 'Abd Allah and Ibuqquyen was purely and strictly ad hoc.

34--True; but the normal situation was as described in note 25. Only outside invasion could and did ever weld a whole tribe together; and the Aith Waryaghar were united for the very first (recorded) time in their history when Bu Hmara came to the Rif.

35--See note 18. The fact that Rifian liffs were transitive, but only up to and including neighboring clans of the next tribe, tended normally to isolate feuds and to keep them in bounds, to some extent, at least.

616 36--We have commented on the almost mythical Ghumara-Sanhaja war above.
619 The liff system at work in this particular case was at variance with
648 the traditional Rifian system, as described in note 18; although on the other hand, if we can accept the myth (which is doubtful), it points

A,[See p.257, #14--Analyst]

671 628 613 682 Isaghwan[21] with (the) Awlad Siddiq[22], in the Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') of Tawrirt, in the presence of their notables (Blanco: note 2), agreeing there (to fulfill what has been pacted among them) that anyone who should kill another by treachery or cunning (Blanco: note 3) shall pay a great fine, the amount of which (may) be as high as 4000 duros. This was also agreed to in their Saturday Market (Suq al-Sabt) in front of the notaries of both parties.

On the betrayal and killing (Blanco: note 4) by the above-mentioned Awlad Siddiq of Shu'aib bin al-Hajj 'Amar, the notables of both the abovementioned markets, accompanied by the rest of the people, went to their villages to look for them, camping there until the latter paid (Blanco: note 6), although they (e.g. the Awlad Siddiq) had agreed to this in their presence and in their abovementioned market (when the agreement took place) with respect to the fine expressed above (Blanco: note 7). Upon not finding any solution which would save them except that of handing over to them all their lands, both in the mountains and in Ait 'Aisa, their houses and their documents (Blanco: note 8), with which they remained free of the pressure which the notables and the rest of the people exercised over them (they opted for surrender).

[792] Then, everything which they handed over was valued at 1300 duros (Blanco: note 9) and after the estimate was made, the notables of both markets, including (Blanco: note 10) the sharif Sidi Ahmad bin Sidi al-Hajj Misa'ud[23], al-Hajj bin al-Hajj Am'awsh al-Tawrirti, 'Allal bin Haddu bin al-Hashimi u l-Fari (of the Axt Tuzin), Haddu bin Muhammad Amzyan al-Bu Khalafi[24], al-Talib al-Bukhamad al-Yunusi, Tuhami bin

671 al-Faqir Siddiq al-'Arusi, Muhammad ibn Tahra, Sidi Musa ibn al-Hajj
628 Sayyid 'Amar Tahtahi, Muhammad bin Bu Hammud Mulaidi; al-Hajj Sidi
613 Misa'ud al-Manduri; Sa'id bin al-Hajj Haddu al-Ufari, Muhammad bin
682 [792] al-Faqir Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Barzi, Muhammad Bu Shu'an, and the rest of the notables of Tzurakhth (Blanco: note 11) sold all that was handed over to them to the brothers of the murdered man for the above sum; converting it into money.

(Blanco: note 12) The amount stated above was levied and the quantity (literally, price) was divided into four parts: 300 duros for the lineage of Izzugwaghen; the same for the Awlad al-Hajj 'Amar; the same for the Awlad Muhammad bin Muh bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Tazurakhti; and 150 duros for the Awlad Ahmad bin Taimunt (to be split) with Muhammad bin Tah, and the same for Muhammad bin Taimunt bin Misa'ud (to be split) with the Awlad Hammu Kabghith. One hundred (100) duros were divided in half between the son of Bukhalif, that is, Siddiq and 'Abd al-Qadir Hashsha'.

(Blanco: note 13) Each of the abovementioned parties shall divide with its brothers (i.e. those of the same jurisdiction) the amount which it has exacted and with regard to the quantity of the same.

671 An irrevocable and non-retractable sale, effected (Blanco:
628 note 14) for repression and exemplary punishment. The sellers having
613 levied the total of the abovementioned sum, in the upper part of the
681 present qanun, from the hands of the buyers cited above, thus liberating
432 the sellers from all actions or reclamation regarding this matter and the above-cited buyer thus occupying (the lands) instead of the sellers, as his share. That is to say, occupying the place of the owner in the land, of the land which he buys and that of the owner of immovable

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
613 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
554 presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or
[182] ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its representatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
792 621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
692 554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
692 212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
671 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
521 571 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

000

[614] [114] 22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a [681] crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual [728] ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

[648] 24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities [115] because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

[792] 26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man figures in any given qanun, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

[114] 29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

[426] [423] 30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

000 unlike the Central Atlas, there is no special time limit on repayment.

[614] 31--Imhawlen is the literal transliteration from the Arabic text, rather than the Rifian form Imhawren. The Imhawren are one of three subclans of the clan of the Aith 'Ari, of the lowland Aith Waryaghar; and the clan of the Aith 'Ari, along with that of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, form a single khums or "fifth" in that tribe.

776 692 32--Sidi Mhand u Musa (died 1254 A.H., or 1838-39 A.D., according to one informant), the apex of the lineage of Izziqiwen of the clan of the Imrabdhen. Sidi Mhand u Musa is buried in Aith Hishim and is one of the most important saints of the Aith Waryaghar. As the text 776 778 692 indicates, he adjudicated disputes and settled feuds (between the Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari clans); and he is said to have had a great deal of baraka, which, in accordance with Rifian notions of baraka-transmission, was successively passed down to only one descendant at a time: from Sidi Mhand u Musa to his grandson Sidi Misa'ud, bypassing his own son Sidi Siddiq; then to Sidi Misa'ud's son Sidi Hmid n Sidi Misa'ud; then to Sidi Siddiq's son, Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq; on the latter's death, to his son Sidi Muhand; on the latter's death to his son Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar, who was made qa'id of Imrabdhen by the Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz; and then to his brother Sidi Muhand.

776 792 Some informants say that Sidi Mhand u Musa and his descendants are the only true shurfa among all the Imrabdhen in the Aith Waryaghar, and that they have the right to their share in the sunduq or box of Mulay Idris for this reason. The share in question is divided up every year at the time of the Mulud: either a representative of the Dharwa n Sidi Mhand u Musa goes to Fez to get it, or, as the descendants of Mulay Idris are said to have a complete listing of those entitled to such shares, they sent them out. The shares are the same every year, but informants were unable to tell me the amount (a fact which in itself casts suspicion on the legitimacy of their claim to be shurfa). When the allotted amount arrives in Aith Waryaghar, it is divided into four parts: one for the descendants of Sidi Misa'ud ("Burjila") n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (the Iburjilathen of Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (also in Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi Haddu n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Zawith n Tashtiwin, in the subclan of Aith Tmajurth, in the clan territory of Aith 'Abdallah, and in Swani, where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the Mediterranean at the mouth of the Nkur River, in the clan territory of the Aith 'Ari), and one for the descendants of Sidi Muhammad n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Aith Hishim).

000 33--The reference here is probably to Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari n Sidi Musa n Sidi Hmid l-Qurumi, the father of Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnau, of the lineage of Aith 'Aziz in the subclan of Upper Imrabdhen. Both father and son are buried in the Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar, located in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan territory of Aith Hadhifa.

Once again, with Sidi Mhand u Musa and Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari, both subclans of Imrabdhen are represented, no doubt in order to give greater validity to their roles as adjudicators, but also to the qanun itself.

000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.

[776] [732] 67--This saint, nicknamed Bu Rjila, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of baraka were legendary.

[613] [614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.

69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.

70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.

71--The jillab is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.

72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.

[464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.

[114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.

75--Blanco actually means aitharba'in rather than agraw in this particular context.

[113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.

77--Ra'is in Arabic is "headman", from ras, "head".

[792] [113] 78--Mulay Ahmad al-Raisuli was a sharif from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, The Sultan of the Mountains, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated [178] and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of [621] the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with [595] multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The [369] urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the [593] man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society [571] was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- [602] ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is [178] guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy [571] overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into 792

565 582 792 other shorfa families. However, the shorfa have never been a solid social class in the Rif because of the large and economically varied numbers of people who claim, with varying degrees of reliability, such descent. Whatever endogamy that exists [556] among the shorfa is between shorfa who are also men of means. Such families as possess both qualities do have a marked propensity towards marrying among themselves. There is also a 556 565 582 class of men who own more land than the average and do not do their own labor but hire others to do it. There is then a very loosely defined economic class which tends to marry within its own circle. It is very rare for a family of this class to marry a girl to a family with small holdings who hire out as laborers. They prefer to marry shorfa women, thus raising their prominence in both economic and religious terms. The majority of people, the small landholders who do their own labor or hire out to others, do not have any noticeable pattern of preference.

582 Aside from a loose class endogamy, marriage in the Rif is relatively freely constructed. There is no guiding principle whereby people placed in certain structural relationships marry because of their location within the structure. Aside from incest rules which prohibit marriage with one's mother, father's sister, mother's sister, sister's daughter, brother's daughter, wife's mother, stepdaughter, grandmother, daughter, foster sister, or any child who was suckled by mother, marriage can be contracted with anyone inside or outside the dchar.[1] Within any one dharfiqth

[114] [1] Murdock's information (1959:117) that Riffians do not marry their father's brother's daughter is inaccurate, although the percentage

771 guidance from the Book and the various interpretations of the
[779] Book made by a body of literate scholars. But it also serves as a vehicle for the spiritual expression of the illiterate and the superstitious. The needs of the one community, though not necessarily incompatible with the other, are of a different
771 nature. To meet the needs of the rural tribesmen, a cult of
776 saints has long existed in Morocco. The earliest reference to
794 this phenomenon in the Rif can be found in the work of 'Abd el-Haqq el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif, dated 1311 and translated from Arabic to French by G. S. Colin (1926). The more formal aspects of Islam whereby a morality is derived from dialectic interpretation of Koranic scripture did not have the power of explanation among the tribesmen as mysticism. As Colin points out in his introduction to el-Badisi's work:

> Il s'agit donc, en somme, d'un effort de vulgarisation de la science religieuse et, plus spécialement, du mysticisme, dans le but de rendre ce dernier plus populaire et plus pittoresque, et de permettre par là aux ames simples d'y prendre intérêt et de s'y attacher. (Ibid.:8)

• 792 A man became a saint because of various miracles performed
776 during his lifetime which, according to the beliefs of the tribesmen, signify that the man had a closer connection with the spiritual world. In most areas of Morocco the saint was also a sharif or descendent of the Prophet. This does not seem to be a vital criterion for sainthood in the Rif. El-Bakiri lists only one of the saints in his hagiography as being a sharif (1926:11).

The tribesmen came to the saint during his lifetime for advice in spiritual and secular affairs. According to his success

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Ruadi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyia in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[954] evil eye or a djnoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[782] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Ruadi, where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, especially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrimage is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

• 792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of such prominence in north Africa. (A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

792 794 575 [778] [554] 1949.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator. These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

792 794 795 575 Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God [779] in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee.

792 794 575 These religious associations are for the most part voluntary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

792 794 575 brotherhood, Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi (1869-1934) broke off from the organization to form his own association which is now the largest in the Rif. According to informant estimate, this brotherhood holds about 50% of those Berbers in the Rif who belong to brotherhoods. Its annual meeting which I attended in 1965 consisted of several thousand brothers from all parts of the Rif and from neighboring Algeria where the mother lodge is located.

792 794 575 178 [662] The importance of these fraternal orders declined to a certain extent during the struggle for Moroccan independence because of their anti-nationalistic behavior. When they are criticized in the Rif it is not on theological grounds but political. The brotherhoods have been accused of accepting bribes in order to influence their membership on how to vote in local elections and to act as spies for the government. Their cogency has also been reduced by the increase in secular as opposed to Koranic education. Nonetheless, they have a powerful residual following, as attested by the vehemency with which they are attacked.

792 794 575 [124] The fraternity supports itself on the annual contributions in kind extracted as membership fees from its adherents as well as the more or less regular visits to the key shrines and lodges where, again, donations are expected. The size of this contribution is most difficult to estimate, and my inquiries of lodge officials met with only our mutual exasperation. The amount seems to vary with the avarice of the local lodge, where 10% of

annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

/175 cont./

000 a canton of the east and a canton of the west. During the last century their struggle was carried on without respite, with the backing of the neighboring tribes. When ʿAbd el Kerim, master of the Rif and of the Jbel, decided in 1925 to make Targist the redoubt of his defense, the memory of the internal divisions was still so alive that he had to name a "pasha" to the command of each of the hostile cantons.

631 634 619 XV. The khoms in the anarchic Rif. -- Perhaps, however, in this part of the Rif it is difficult to find out by means of what institution the canton preserves its personality and its own life; the underlying cause of this state of division of the country into small units of equal importance seems less apparent and more mysterious here than anywhere else. In fact, we no longer find councils of notables made up in so precise a way as in the western Jbel and the Moroccan South. In the high valleys that descend from the Tidighin, it is all the warriors under arms who come to be present at the deliberations of the village, of the "khoms," or of the tribe. The assembly then takes the name of "agrao" (1).

1. Berbère /Berber/ "agrao," plur. "igraoun," noun derived from the verb "grou," to meet (Biarnay, Étude sur les dialectes berbères du Rif /Study of the Berber Dialects of the Rif/, p. 70). The "agrao" corresponds to the "ajmoʿa" of the Ida Ou Tanan, to the "jemaʿa" of Kabylie /Kabylia/.

631 634 619 •792 578 Discord and tumult would undoubtedly break out in it very quickly, if the marabouts of the family of the Khemalcha did not practice their arbitration between the hostile parties. Thanks to their pacifying role, these religious leaders colonized the whole country to their advantage and threw a sort of network of zaouïas over the mountains; they are, moreover, clever in the art of stirring up intrigues in order immediately to be able, thanks to their baraka, to stop the conflicts.

/175 cont./

631 619 634 In the heart of the Rif, among the Beni Ouriaghel, the Beni Touzin, and part of the Boqqoya, the organization is still looser (2).

2. The tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, divided into five "khoms," presents a rather complicated social structure, which results both from the state of permanent war in which the families usually lived and the infertility of the soil, which disperses the inhabitants. Each "khoms" possesses a principal territory in the mountains and enclaves in the plain or inversely. Moreover, the marabouts form a supplementary "khoms" scattered throughout the country. /This footnote is continued on the next page in the original source./

[131]

[792]

[578]

In spite of this confusion and despite the habitual hostility of the family groups within the "khoms" and the "mouda^{c}," the boundaries of each fraction remain perfectly well known and it frequently happens that the internal quarrels subside in order to permit each khoms to enter into a struggle against a neighbor.

In all the Rif, only the Beni Ouriaghel have "khoms" whose territory is made up of separated parcels. Everywhere else, among the tribes of the Mtiwa, Beni Bou Frah, Beni Itteft, Boqqoya, Temsaman, the division into "khoms," very evident, cuts the country up into small units visibly equal in strength and area, whatever may be the geographic conditions of life.

792 578 /176/ The marabouts become incapable of opposing the development of anarchy; armed themselves, divided among themselves, like the common people, by private wars, they no longer have the necessary authority to make peace prevail in the assemblies.

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

•792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemaicha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

/294 cont./

634 This expansion of the religious forces smothers the free
•792 political life of the mountain populations, and even when a
182 family head succeeds in dominating the neighboring villages and becoming amghar of an entire khoms, he remains the respectful servant of the holy personages who maintain in the tribes the tradition of Islam, hate of the Christian, and direct, without ever appearing, the debates of the little assemblies.

/295/ It is only where the grip of the marabouts and shorfa relaxes for a time and in the regions that are not entirely given over to private wars that the ambition of the minor amghars can be given free rein for some years. Indeed, we see them appear on the north versant of the chain of the Rif, out of the reach of the zaouias established on the summits, in the tribes of the Ghomara, among the Beni Bou Frah, the Beni Gmil, the Mestasa, and to the south of the Jbel Hammam, in the country of the Gzennaya at the sources of the Nkor, or in the tribe of the Beni Amret.

634 Although the internal life of these tribes at the end of the
619 nineteenth century is less well known to us than that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it is nevertheless possible to find again the conditions in which the amghars of the western Rif grew important, up to the moment when the effort attempted by ʿAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ to constitute a Riffian State made them disappear at a single blow.

619 The anarchy in the country and disturbances that occurred in
648 the tribe of the Boqqoya had made necessary, at the beginning of the reign of Moulay ʿAbd el ʿAziz, the sending of a strong harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the organization of the tribes was entrusted to the kaid Boucheta el Baghdadi, of the guich /gish/ of the Sultan, who in our day has become Pasha of Fès /Fez/. The garrisons billeted in the old casbahs of Tafersit and Snada, supported by a small steamer of the sherifian fleet in the bay of Alhucémas, sufficed at this time to restore order. The
[614] command of the tribal "khoms" was then entrusted to the chiefs of the most powerful clans, named sheiks for the occasion. The dissensions of the mountain "khoms," which had previously ended

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 [252]

for several weeks. At the end of this time the poison is supposed to be washed out, and the product is dried and eaten.

thinifin, peas, *ibauen*, broad beans, and *er athis*, lentils, like *shasana*, are grown as grains.

241 805 T93

The Calendric Cycle of Agricultural Events. Agriculture in the Rif and in the Senhaja country is conducted on the basis of the old Roman calendar, the names of the months surviving in a form very little altered from its original character. I was unable to transcribe these names exactly since I could find no one who knew them accurately and was willing to reveal them. Knowledge of them is confined to the *fkih*, the preceptor or religious head of each group of villages, and to his students. The *fkih*, while delivering sermons at the mosque on Fridays, reveals the agricultural program for the following week and tells the farmers just what activities the season merits. To reveal this calendar system and the agricultural annotations which go with it woud be to relinquish a portion of the awe in which the religious leader is held.

The preceptor likewise knows the Arabic lunar calendar and is the only one able to tell when religious feasts of Arab origin are due. The farmers reckon only by the four seasons, a solar conception which may well antedate either the Roman or the Arabic system. They know, however, about when each activity is due, since they are in the habit of repeating the program every year. and could probably get along as well without the learned assistance of the *fkih* as with it.

241 805

A rough outline of the year's activities follows.

January. In this month the farmers plough their land. (See plate 9.) When this has been finished they sow barley and *shasana*, and later broad beans and lentils.

February. If the bean and lentil sowing has not been finished in January, it continues over into early February. Sometimes it continues until the end of the month.

March. About the first of March the farmers hoe the mountain slopes and sow rye and peas.

April. On the first of April they commence planting the vegetable gardens with potatoes, beans, carrots, turnips, onions, and peppers.

May. This is the month for trees. The farmers dig around the roots, fertilize them with manure, and water them. After the trees have been cared for in this way and pruned, the soil about the grapevines is loosened and fertilized with manure, without water. At this time the grapevines are also pruned.

June. Toward the beginning of June, or sometimes during the last week of May, the farmers reap the *shasana*, lentils, barley, and peas, in the order named. The barley is cut with sickles; the others are pulled up by the roots and laid aside for threshing. After this has been done the farmers irrigate the terraces in which the *shasana*, lentils, peas, and barley have been growing (see plate 9) and plant them with maize. The plants previously reaped are then threshed, first the *shasana*, which is the most susceptible to insect pests and cannot wait, then the lentils and peas, and finally the barley. All this threshing is done with cattle, donkeys, or mules, which are forced to trot around a circular threshing floor. (See plates 10 and 11.) Toward the last of June the rye is cut, and the women thresh it by hitting the heads of the sheaves against sticks held in the hand. It is tabu to thresh rye with cattle, just as rye is never planted by means of domestic animals or the plough. The whole rye complex seems to antedate or at least to be negatively associated with the cattle and plough complex.

623 5) Councils and Tribesmen of Authority: All units under consideration up to now (the three "family" ones and the three "social" ones) have their relationships regulated by councils, which, although bearing different names, have similar and analogous functions. The council of the jma'th must undergo no formality in order to convene, and it has no president, although at times the agreements which it comes to are drawn up in writing. Any male (above the age of puberty) [885] [613] may attend and take part in its deliberations; but the personification of it is embodied in the iziddjifen or headmen of each dharfiqth, and these men together form an authentic and permanent council. This council above all legislates what the jma'th deems necessary, in conformance with custom and its agreements. The assembly itself or its representatives chosen for each particular case[86] make and execute all decisions. It is thus a legislative, consultative and executive body[87]. Its attributes, nonetheless, are constantly limited on the [614] one hand by family law, in the form of reprisals, and on the other by the power of the clan, which tries to keep it from prejudicing neighboring jma'th-s or the clan itself in its external politics. Thus, what it has is an administrative autonomy.

623 This council(s) elects its functionaries, the best defined of 793 which is the fqih of the mosque, who is in charge of leading the 212 prayer and of burial services; he is administrator of mosque property (habus)[88], as well as jural notary and council clerk and secretary. In large councils, however, these jobs may be handled by more or less ignorant tulba (sing. talib)[89], who pompously attribute to themselves 600 the qualifications of qadis. The fqih attended to the resources of the

623 The fqih attended to the resources of the
793 mosque and the necessities of the cult; and the others usually bought
411 arms and ammunition which were lent out in necessary cases.[90] A man thus favored rarely returned his weapon, as the habus was considered to be a "rich widow".[91]

623 The council of the jma'th also maintained agricultural super-
624 visors, usually two who retained this office in perpetuity, even though
312 masters in the art could be called up in necessary instances, such as
242 litigations over other matters.[92]

623 The zealous equality and jealousy of the dharfiqin making up
613 the jma'th were generally responsible for the fact that the latter did not have an individual official representative who presided at meetings or imposed the executive of its decisions; but, at times, when one dharfiqth succeeded in acquiring, through cunning, bravery or money, some degree of preponderance, it generally came to an agreement with the others, and they all designated a representative. After this,
[557] the struggle began between the representative himself, inching his way toward personal power[93], and the jma'th, which was jealous of his
623 attributes and reputation. There were also religious struggles in
578 these minuscule nuclear social units, between, for example, an amrabidh
776 desirous of politico-religious influence and the jma'th, or "power of
792 the laymen", which, through cunning, always knew how to keep him away from the benefits of power, and also excluded him from responsibilities.
623 The representatives took the title which pleased them most, usually shaikh, but they were also known as iziddjifen (sing. aziddjif, literally "head"), or "headmen", and as imqqranen (sing. amqqran, literally "big"), or "big ones". Thus the same anarchy and confusion which we

623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collectively that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each representative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present-day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal administrators) to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to reappear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

623 621 571 793 The aziddjif or amghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

623
621
571
793
623
184
343
624

the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

646
614
[623]

The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.

646

The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

619
613
614 The ("holy" clan of the) Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are descended from Sidi Musa bin Mshish[163], the brother of one of the "poles" of Western Islam, Sidi 'Abd al-Salam bin Mshish, who is buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Sidi Musa is buried among the Khmid(?) (unidentifiable).

The principal idea to be extracted from the foregoing is the following: around a principal nucleus consisting of Asht 'Asim, Imzdurar and Asht Marar[164], clans which are known to and recognized by all the Igzinnayen, there came over the course of time an infinite number of lineages originating from very diverse points of northern Morocco; and these lineages intermingled with the above. Their motives for so doing varied between hunger and war. They were brought to the Rif either because there was no room for them elsewhere or because the possibilities of living well there attracted them.....It is probably necessary to look for their origins in regions which are particularly barren and unproductive, such as the Khuld of Huwara or the northern part of the Angad Plain, in the case of elements from the Aith Bu Yihyi; the Tafrata for the Ahl Rashida, the clayey hills of Mtalsa, and, in general, all the places more or less bordering the Mulwiya River, which, even if they are by no means paradises, are at least hospitable (sic)[165].

794
871 3) Qur'anic Instruction: --This is organized in exactly the same way as it is among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, and is largely beyond the control of the Administration....There is
[193] usually a school in each village, the fqih of which is paid annually and in kind by its inhabitants. Instruction is carried out almost

623 793 411 421 423 91--The comparison which Blanco makes here of the institution of habus to a rich widow is a challenging one; for after land has been donated to a mosque as habus, the question of who works it is resolved by the nadhir l-ahbas, or habus property administrator, of which there is one, at present, in each province of Morocco (with a central Ministry of Habus in Rabat). He goes to the tribal markets periodically and, through the market crier, auctions it off to the highest bidder, who in turn receives all the harvest for his own use. This system is in vogue at present and was also current during Spanish times. During the "Ripublik", however, in the days before there was a nadhir l-ahbas, the members of the jma'th concerned worked habus land, and, after selling the harvest, used the profits to buy mats for the mosque. Sometimes, also, the jma'th would designate a poor man to work habus land for a fixed share of the field (usually one-fifth or one-fourth), though this was not as common as the preceding arrangement.

000 [114] 92--Blanco is mistaken here, as there was, and still is, only one agricultural-irrigational expert, the aquwwam, whose judgment is generally sought in disputes over irrigation water.

[114] 93--Again in this instance one can detect the influence on Blanco of Robert Montagne, who devotes the whole last third of his book (Montagne, op. cit., 1930) to the "rise to personal power" of the three Grand Qa'ids (the Glawi, the Mtuggi and the Guntafi) in the Western Atlas, and cites the rise of 'Abd al-Krim in the Rif as a parallel case. Under the French, the Glawi soon eclipsed his two competitors to become a single "Lord of the Western Atlas", as well as Pasha of Marrakesh; while it was the presence of the Spaniards in the Eastern Rif which produced the Rifian "national" leader, 'Abd al-Krim. Montagne's argument for a kind of unidirectional political evolution, from the nameless members of a village council, in the middle and latter half of the 19th century, through to nationally known tribal or regional leaders' through a continuous scramble-for-power process of "top-dog-ism", is a very persuasive one. Whatever objections one may have to it, it is likely to remain the argument for a long time to come--because today, in the 1960's, the facts of the matter have become almost impossible to (re-)check; and the old men who remember such things are now all dead or dying off.

[613] 94--"Government by the few": possibly, if the lineage or clan headman can be so designated. However, each lineage head was in reality little more than a primus inter pares, and anyone who attained clan-wide recognition was just that much more primus. Once again we are faced with how badly the European shoe fits the Berber foot.

95--The Spanish original is absurdo.

96--The jma'th is not just an economic organism or organization, but a group of people, the majority of whom are genealogically related to each other, living together in a hamlet or village which bears its own name and forms a member group in a segmentally organized system of such jma'th-s, all of which belong to a territorial or segmental unit of a higher order. Relationships between member jma'th-s of the same order of segmentation are at once economic, social, political, legal, and religious.

621
423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794
793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The re-
[423] sources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income.

794
[429] The administration of these properties was the job of
[251] a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

427
241
621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

A, [See p. 183--Analyst]

person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the acquisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muna) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

671 which the Rifians are deeply attached, and their attempts to codify it,
[797] in spite of Islamic law?...We are faced with the hypothesis that in
[177] times past their conversion to Islam was not complete, a situation
analogous to that prevailing in other Berber-speaking regions. Louis
671 Milliot in 1926 pointed to the survival of Kabyle qanuns in Algeria[5],
648 but in the Rif this is neither the only nor the principal factor, as
there was no long period of peace in the Rif, and the lack of this
experience gave the Spanish administration the option of recognizing
an "area of custom", which in the French Zone was the main reason for
the Berber Dahir of 1930.[6]

671 In the Rif, the main reason for the non-application of Islamic
177 law would seem to lie not so much in the degree of Rifian Islamization
but rather in the constant state of revolt of the area, which would
have rendered regular and dilatory (sic!) Muslim legal procedure in-
efficient or inefficacious. The basic question was far more one of the
impotence of the Rifians themselves in the face of this problem, rather
793 than one of their incompetence. Under these circumstances, we may
794 imagine that fqih-s, tulba and other religious personnel were forced,
177 in order not to die of hunger, to limit themselves to making amulets and
charms for women and to writing up and registering the decisions of the
671 imqqranen, "the Big Ones", the ones who counted. For the same reason,
177 shurfa and imrabdhen were unable to do anything else except resolve
conflicts and dictate sentences, which were up to the parties concerned
000 to accept or not, as they wanted. Where, then, could one have found a
qadi who, conscious of his duty and a disinterested judge of Muslim law,

223 Nests and young birds are not respected, and are taken just as adults are.

224 In the mountains (Jbil) of the Aith Waryaghar, when a hunter (anigmar, pl. inigmarn) going over snow follows the tracks of an animal to a thicket or cave, he walks around it, leaving his footprints and making a circle in order to show that it is his property and that he will explore it on his return. Any other hunter or party respects this. Any animal which falls within the radius of action of the weapon used[68] is the property of whoever killed it.

671 684 b) Personal Law: If a woman accuses someone of dishonest abuse to her person, her testimony is admitted....A woman who is illegally pregnant pays 50 duros from her own property as a fine. If she was forced against her will, and the man who forced her appears, he pays. If she submitted to him willingly, he and she each pay 25 duros[69]. If she has no property, her brothers or male agnates pay[70].

685 695 c) Fine for Theft inside a House: 50 duros. If there is no proof, five adult and trustworthy agnates of the accused must swear to his innocence[71], at least if they have publicly announced in the market not to make themselves jointly liable.

688 793 d) Whoever fails to provide food for the fqih when his turn comes up to do so must pay 2 pesetas[72].

685 231 e) A herdboy who has animals stolen from him while in dhwara[73] must pay for them if he has not seen them stolen. The same holds true for injuries which the animals might suffer....Whoever does not pasture the animals of his jma'th when his turn comes up pays 2 pesetas and one loaf of bread, and has to give a meal to the person who does it for him, or to the jma'th if no one does so.

695 tribal one). To be able to swear, a cojuror had to be old enough to fast during Ramadan (i.e. to have attained puberty); and women did not swear.

The plaintiff had to be present at the mosque (and each tribe or clan generally had at least one mosque at which it was customary to take oath) when the accused and his cojurors arrived. When the latter arrived, they removed their footgear and weapons, as the plaintiff had done before them. Then the fqih of the mosque asked them what they were going to swear; they told him; and he made each one of them repeat it on the mushaf (Koran) after saying the oath formula "Bi-llahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa!" (With God, of whom there is none other than He), the accused swearing first. The accused placed his right hand on the mushaf while taking oath, and each of his cojurors, in turn, did the same.

There were, however, instances in which the mushaf was not employed as a vehicle for swearing; and some say that these instances were more the rule than the exception, and that in them the oath formula was restricted to "Bi-llah" (With God) only. Others deride the practice and say that it was followed only by "ignorant people"; but, even so, the mere fact of its existence tends to place Rifian oaths at more or less of a midpoint between those in the Sus and Western Atlas, where the mushaf was always, without exception, employed, and those of the Middle and Central Atlases, where it was completely unheard of. It is in the latter areas that Berber oaths in Morocco reached their greatest purity and complexity. However, it should be said that in the Rif, unlike the Central Atlas region, the fqih, if the need demanded, repeated the oath as many times as was necessary for all the cojurors to understand it and say it after him; whereas in the Central Atlas, a different official, the anahkam, only repeated it once (the formula there was, in addition, more complicated than the Rifian one), and if any cojuror tripped up over it or got it wrong, the oath was broken; and the same applied if any of a group of assembled bystanders, whose function it was, in effect, to heckle the cojurors, succeeded in making him falter or stumble over the words, by yelling "'Auh! 'Auh! 'Auh!" (In the Rif, there was no such heckling, even though oaths, for obvious reasons, had to be taken publicly.) A further distinction was that in the Central Atlas, all important oaths were taken not at mosques, but at saints' tombs. There were many other differences in detail as well, such as number of cojurors required for various offenses and in the ramifications of the question of who pays in the event that some cojurors were either recusant or missing; but finally, and perhaps most relevant of all, the oath system in the Rif, encompassing fewer tribes and far less territory than in the Atlas, showed a far greater tribe-to-tribe uniformity.

695 793 212 To return now to the oath itself: after it was taken, the fqih, who had witnessed it, drew up a document (tibriyith, "letter") in Arabic certifying that the defendant, whom he named, had sworn on such and such a date to the effect that he had not committed such and such a crime: he (the fqih) then appended the names of the latter's cojurors, as well as that of the plaintiff. Finally, he gave this document to the defendant so that the latter could produce written evidence of his innocence.

681
673

Recalcitrance toward hospitality--5 pesetas

Disobedience to other agreements of the iziddifen--5 pesetas

Incompletion of contractual obligations to the schoolmaster--2 pesetas

Damages to irrigation ditches--2 pesetas

Damages caused by animals in land just sown--0.50 pesetas

673
623
685
423

An examination of this graded scale shows us with evident clarity the importance which the jma'th attributed to acts committed against it, those against property emerging as the gravest and most feared; for the property of the jma'th was its support and sustenance, and its members placed the strongest penalty upon possible theft of its scarce food reserves in order to avoid such temptations.

623
423
578

The principal obsession of the jma'th as an institution is, then, the defense of its property and the avoidance of agressions among its members (author's italics), whose simple intention (author's italics) it punishes, in order to avoid quarrels.

623
(793)

Although rudimentary, it aims to fulfill the defensive needs of the whole social unit. It is not warlike, nor is it in the least religious, if we consider the very slight importance which it concedes toward sustenance of the fqih (two pesetas of the fine).[42] It is purely and simply a social unit which places much more importance on the duties of hospitality to guests, for example.[43]

(574)
(623)
(681)
(554)

But it is humane. There are no lashings or mutilations, as instituted by Muslim law, with or without Qur'anic ceremonial; nor is there any deprivation whatsoever of personal liberty in the manner of European codes. Neither is it proud, converting the legislators into demi-gods, thanks to immunities and other profits....It aids them to

Paragraph h shows us the guarantee of keeping the principal religious services (funerals, etc.) and of keeping their sons educated in the faith. Today, under a different pretext, it is not uncommon to observe someone pretending to reject with disdain such a traditional obligation, for which he must not claim protection. The reason for this, rather than being rooted in irreligiosity, must be sought in possible antagonisms with the fqih.

Paragraph i conditions the obligation of fulfilling the agreements with certain legalities: that so many individuals be present at the meeting, and that they be useful and not prejudicial. They are, thus, the colegislators, working freely and without limitation, without dependence on anyone. It urges obedience.

Paragraph j recommends obedience to the shaikh.

In summation: this beautiful qanun of a jma'th establishes who are the iziddifen or council-members, and what their attributes are: to establish statutes regarding damages to crops, education and hospitality, but not to concern themselves with murder, woundings and homicide, an affair of the clan, nor with personal status, a religious matter. In the internal struggle within the jma'th, if, indeed, the iziddifen consent and delegate the execution of their decisions to a representative (the shaikh) to whom they accord circumstantial rewards, at the same time, jealous of their prerogatives, they free themselves very easily from authorizing him to contrive misdemeanors and penalties for these.

Thus the shaikh, in reality, is only the guardian of the community.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools [658] [178] which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by [425] some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. [782] Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet [241] some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who [212] has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. [794] He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 793 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

793 794 465 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 789 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

791 754 [793] [789] 754 791 562 [888]

754 791 789 793 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

[443]

754 791 789 793 443 wares in public, while the fqihs are busily selling their charms in the seclusion of the tea and hashish shops that ring the same market.

To the best of my knowledge Justinard was the first to describe the phenomenon in the Rif:

> Les Rifains croient beaucoup aux amulettes et aux sortilèges, aux pratiques occultes qui servent à nuire à un ennemi, à le faire mourir, à forcer l'amour, à obtenir une guérison. C'est surtout l'affaire des Telbas [fqih] et des vieilles femmes (1926:57).

791 754 789 435 The costs of the services of such magical specialists vary with the seriousness of the difficulty. Women generally pay in kind since they have such meager resources at their disposal. Men usually pay cash. A love potion may cost no more than a liter of olive oil or a dime. Prolonged medical healing may [755] require several thousand dirhams and accommodation for the sorcerer in food and lodging over a lengthy period of time. One [755] of my informants kept a pair of magicians in his house for six months in an attempt to restore his mother's eyesight. Another informant, a woman who herself was regarded as having supernatural power, estimated that she had spent the equivalent of fifty dollars over a decade to ward off various evil eyes. The [554] magicians of the Rif are, however, not known for their potency and for special problems, magicians or holy men are imported from the Ghomara or the Sus.

[755] 000 As can be seen from the above, much magic is devoted to curing illness. Most sickness is attributed to evil spirits,

754 and one can get it not only from people who dislike you but from
[152] people who love you. The eye is thought to most often result from jealousy, and one of the social mechanisms for constraining hubris is that pride over secular success will bring disaster upon the individual.

754 556 152 The fear of the evil eye runs counter to another major principle in the Rif, the conspicuous display of prosperity as a mechanism to increase prestige. The balance between avoiding jealousy and being successful is rather difficult to maintain. In any economic action the aspect of success has a countervailing feature of disaster. Although the evil eye resembles the dinoun
[753] [776] in that it conveys the same sort of misfortune in the form of death and disease, there is one critical difference. The dinoun is regarded as an independent agent operating of its own volition, while the evil eye operates through a specific human agent.
[578] The evil eye is the more dangerous of the two because it increases friction within the community between families or within the same family. The incentive to earn profit is curbed by the fear of attracting misfortune through the evil eye. One man who had set up a small store to sell tea, oil, sugar, and the like, dressed his children in increasingly scruffy clothing in order that his economic success would not attract envy.

751 Aside from the avoidance patterns caused by the evil eye, amulets are considered particularly efficacious as a protective
[793] [435] device. The amulets are generally prepared by the fqih, who inscribes them with sayings from the Koran. Prices for these

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathis* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.
3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.
4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

MOSQUES AND SAINTS' TOMBS

346 THERE are three types of building which serve both social and religious purposes: the *thamsyitha n jkhothbath*, or cantonal mosque,[1] the *thamsajoth*, or village mosque,[2] and the *amrabi* (plural *imrabten*) or saint's tomb.[3]

The first, the cantonal mosque, is a large edifice, common to the whole *canton*, and to it come all the people of the *canton* for worship. It can be readily distinguished from lesser mosques by the fact that it bears a flag, green in the morning and white in the afternoon.

The second is the mosque of the *bone*, and there is one for each *bone* in the *canton*.

764 The third, the saint's tomb, may be a structure of some magnitude, a mere pile of stones,
778 or simply an unmarked but nevertheless well-known place. It is supposed to be the grave of a saint, although often it is merely some place noted for the possession of some unusual natural feature, such as a large boulder, a spring, or a clump of trees, revered long before the advent of Islam. Whether it be a definite building, a marker, or merely a place, in any case it fulfills a definite function.

358 In each of these three types of religious edifice there is one man who has been appointed
346 to take care of it, the *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*) or "warden,"[4] who may be a man of learning or, in some cases, illiterate. He is the janitor and general caretaker. He brushes the floor, sees that the mats on them are in good repair, hoists the flag on the cantonal mosque, and occasionally substitutes as muezzin for the incumbent of this mosque.

428 The mosques and saints' tombs acquire land in a number of ways. When a man dies
794 childless, and is displeased with his wife for having borne him no sons, or for some other reason, he may will a share of his land to the cantonal or village mosque or to a local saint's tomb. If he has sons but is not pleased with them, he may leave a share of his property to a mosque or tomb and the rest to his children.

[764] If, when about to die, he wishes to be buried within the mosque, he may buy his burial place with land to be given the mosque after his death. In this way he is interred under the floor of one of the rooms, and the warden has charge of the property so willed.

794 The warden of each public edifice has charge of the land belonging to it, and receives a
358 portion of the produce. He does the farming on the land and cares for the trees, but if there is too much for him to do the village council enlists poor people to work with him, as previously related.

794 Any mosque, be it of the *canton* or merely of the *bone*, and any saint's tomb capable of
485 providing shelter, serves as a free hotel for Riffians travelling from tribe to tribe. Lay

[1] From the Arabic *masjida el khutba*, meaning the "mosque of the Friday sermon."

[2] Likewise from *masjida*, and meaning literally "mosque."

[3] From the Arabic *mura'bat*. This word means either "living saint" or "dead saint"; the meaning given applies to the deceased variety and to the superstructure erected over his remains.

[4] This Arabic word is also employed to designate the "moderator" of the village council, as well as the "moderator" of the council of the great. See p. 90.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

travellers go to both types of mosque but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuḳaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-har*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *haggus*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 100.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Gzennaya it is equivalent to 16 kilos, in Beni Urriaghel 40, in Beni Tusin 13, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 30.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 872 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghruthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 ●794 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 574 431 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[212 789] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolba*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION

771 RIFFIAN religion, although of course officially Islam, is a blend of that faith with old heathen ideas, and with factors apparently Christian and Jewish, some of which may antedate the arrival of Islam. The kings of Nekor were rigid adherents to the Malekite rite,[1] and the Islam of the Riffians from that time to this has been officially orthodox.

782 The visible practice of orthodox religion consists in the sending by each *bone* of twenty-
794 five men on a set day each week to the cantonal mosque to pray, and in public attendance of Friday sermons there. The preceptor delivers this sermon in the morning, standing before the worshippers and leaning on a cane. He criticises local happenings and gives out the agricultural forecast for the week, besides expounding the Koran.

Most of the men of the *canton* who are married and of serious purpose attend this service. Old women also attend, sitting in a separate room, where they can hear but cannot be seen. Young women do not go, and indeed seldom take the trouble to pray, since religion is almost wholly a masculine concern. When they do pray they do it at home. As an outlet of religious energy, or more often as a holiday excursion, they take food to the saint's tomb and eat it there with their children. Students, apparently immune to the prohibition against men's going to the tomb, do so and are given food by the women. Women also go to cemeteries on Fridays, and enjoy themselves despite their surroundings.

773 A common legend prevalent in many parts of Morocco is that after the Christians have had their way with the Muslimin for a certain length of time, Sidna Ali will come and smite them with the sword. After this Sidna Aissa, or Jesus, will appear and convert the Christians to Islam.

This legend is narrated in the Jebala, where a special intensity is given to the part of Jesus in the drama. The Jebalans claim that when Sidna Aissa comes wolves will lie down with lambs, and that stones, streams, and roads will speak. Ali, who is said by the Jebalans to have been scab-headed, and Jesus, who is probably their most important religious personage, especially in Taghzuth, are the only two historical characters reputed not to have died, but to be living on, awaiting return to earth. This is not said of the Prophet, whose personality hovers in the background as the legitimate but unemphasized pivot of the religion.

At Taghzuth I was told the stories of Jonah and the whale, and the Flood. In the latter legend, the ark was made to land at Tangier. This belief is also held in the Rif. A variant version popular there is that in the beginning of time Banu Adam (a collective name meaning "Children of Adam," or "mankind," but here used to denote an individual) saw that a flood was coming and built a boat, taking into it his wife, his daughter, his dog, his cat, his donkey, and seven men. When the flood was over the boat landed on a mountain. At that time the seven men began quarrelling over Banu Adam's daughter, since each of them

[1] See p. 32.

592
593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age
883
[785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time.
[584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage,
885
593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in
[591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the
[594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own.
883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and
885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council
623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he
616
794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].
575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced
593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there
586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

621 today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of
623 nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant
571 than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in
621 others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as
623 a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and
571 794 as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but
[613] only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer. This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

623 The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral
623 services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now
671 becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian
[613] customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

621 In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only
623 by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand;
463 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subolan) these
326 necessities are complemented.
323

621 628 [681] [794] These jma'ths, the internal lives of which were regulated by the custom governing the original mountain jma'th, continued as tributaries of the latter[133], enjoying the benefits of such a status (participation in the collection of fines, contributions to the fqih)[134] until, as we have seen, the new nucleus, beginning to stand out more and more as a result of its growth, importance and distance from the parent jma'th, succeeded in emancipating itself from the latter through its own discords and ambitions.[135]

621 But it is difficult to determine at precisely what moment the new jma'th came of age, as it is to determining everything else, even including finding out the designations in nomenclature of its representatives. This designation is not that of amin, as among the Kabyles of Algeria, a word which, taken over from Arabic, is one which does not permit a confusion of its administrative significance, an individual function, with that of the jma'th, which has a collective mqaddim, a term also adopted from Arabic and employed by certain Berber groups in the Western Atlas, for the personage of the mqaddim also has that function as well as the inadmission of that of the shaikh, which more than one person in Aith Waryaghar attributes to himself and which figures even in documents. These terms, however, do not demonstrate any more than the anarchy which the people have attained, and the forgetting of their own racial (sic!) characteristics[136]; as such words among Rifians can have no meaning nor can they be given any importance greater than those of "colonel" and "doctor" in the South American republics. These are strange nicknames (sic), for to the Rifian, as to any Berber, they say nothing if they are to be considered

621 192 621 [646] [182]

619 The ("holy" clan of the) Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are descended from
613 Sidi Musa bin Mshish[163], the brother of one of the "poles" of Western
614 Islam, Sidi 'Abd al-Salam bin Mshish, who is buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Sidi Musa is buried among the Khmid(?) (unidentifiable).

The principal idea to be extracted from the foregoing is the following: around a principal nucleus consisting of Asht 'Asim, Imzdurar and Asht Marar[164], clans which are known to and recognized by all the Igzinnayen, there came over the course of time an infinite number of lineages originating from very diverse points of northern Morocco; and these lineages intermingled with the above. Their motives for so doing varied between hunger and war. They were brought to the Rif either because there was no room for them elsewhere or because the possibilities of living well there attracted them.....It is probably necessary to look for their origins in regions which are particularly barren and unproductive, such as the Khuld of Huwwara or the northern part of the Angad Plain, in the case of elements from the Aith Bu Yihyi; the Tafrata for the Ahl Rashida, the clayey hills of Mtalsa, and, in general, all the places more or less bordering the Mulwiya River, which, even if they are by no means paradises, are at least hospitable (sic)[165].

794 3) Qur'anic Instruction: --This is organized in exactly the
871 same way as it is among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, and is largely beyond the control of the Administration....There is
[993] usually a school in each village, the fqih of which is paid annually and in kind by its inhabitants. Instruction is carried out almost

794 871 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an....

[872] [873] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some

[829] [876] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family...The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 103 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 [631] 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

000 [613] 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own, but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[191] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of [113] brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts [668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that 'Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 428 114 423 [794] 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religious house or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion [113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

000 huge tribe like the Aith Waryaghar possessed its own qanun, whereas a small tribe like the Aith Siddat in the Sanhaja Srir had only one qanun for the lot of them.

[114] 85--The idea which Blanco conveys here, i.e. that the whole Rif is in the last analysis split into two opposed liffs, is completely exaggerated. It is certainly true that each Rifian tribe is split more or less down the middle and contains two hostile factions, which are not always equal in size; but, on the outside, each of these tends to be allied only with that combination of clans in the next tribe which is politically favorable to it. The system thus tends to appear like a series of interlocking concentric circles rather than like a chessboard, as in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, if Montagne, op. cit., 1930, is correct. (More recently, however, some reservations [113] have been recorded by Jacques Berque on the overall validity of Montagne's liff theory: vide J. Berque, Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, pp. 42 sq.) A further difference is the size factor: in the Rif, far larger blocs of man-units are involved in each alliance than in the Western Atlas, though the territory encompassed may in fact be much smaller.

[171] 86--This is true among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, who have a very complex system of election of chiefs, but not for those of the Rif, where headmanship and chieftainship have always been a "dog-eat-dog" proposition, and where a councilmember attended council meetings until he was murdered.

[114] 87--This kind of legal terminology has always been in vogue in French and Spanish monographs and administrative reports about Berbers. To be sure, it describes the situation with reasonable accuracy, but in our view tends to put it far too neatly into a Western conceptual straitjacket.

[114] 88--The fqih has nothing to do with habus property, which was looked after by the mqaddim n-tmzidha or caretaker of the mosque, and ultim- [794] ately still is, on the local level, although at the provincial level the ndzir l-ahbas or habus administrator, has fulfilled this function since protectorate times.

89--The functions of a talib and those of a fqih are, in the Rif, almost interchangeable; indeed, the plural form of fqih, to most Rifians, is tulba. Technically speaking, a fqih is a teacher in a mosque, while a talib is a sort of post-graduate student, a "seeker after (Koranic) knowledge"; but the experience and abilities of the two are just about the same. Both are called upon to write out charms of all kinds, etc., and both are always addressed by the term Si ("Mr."), followed by their names, e.g. Si Muhammad, Si Mhand, Si 'Ammar, Si Hmid, in recognition of their (relative) literacy in Arabic.

[114] 90--To our knowledge, each man who had them kept his own arms and [346] ammunition in his house. A mosque, after all, is a house of peace, not an arsenal!

621
423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794
793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The re-
[423] sources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income.

794
[429] The administration of these properties was the job of a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he
[251] had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

427
241
621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

A, [See p. 183--Analyst]

427 241 621 person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of 621 623 grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the ac- 465 793 622 quisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice 794 623 621 613 given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these 794 423 properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation 423 794 and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus 177 (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

interested in doing field research may see. What happened was that the jma'ath, given their natural lack of confidence and their fear of our innocent decrees, disclosed to us a part (of what had happened), reserving for themselves exactly what was needed in order to assure themselves, in the worst cases, of the maintenance of worship and the dhamzyidha, the social and religious link.

With this estate, with this "bank", the poor jma'ath, in their hazardous existence, were able to save themselves in hard times, either in times of famine or drought, with advances of grain, or in times of violence, with advances of fines, muna-s (food) to harka-s in transit, acquisition of arms and ammunition, etc.

With the new centralizing system of a shocking and unanimous complaint, there is no rural mosque which is looked after; the fiscalization of accounts does not have that (degree of) efficiency; and, outside of its bureaucracy, the profits may only be revealed in the ostentatious and less accommodating urban mosques, given that if the latter were nests of preachers, and loafers, and rebels, the former acted as places of asylum, banks, storehouses, councils, clubs and schools. But the worst is that such a procedure mocks the will of the donor and falsifies management of the donation, for the property which the devout and rustic tribesman turned over were destined for lay administration and for the profit of his humble dhamzyidha, and with it for his family and for the small social nucleus within which his life developed. It was not in order to cover up the leaks of the mosque, whether large or small, nor to enlighten any urban mulay, whose surplus resources, religiosity and the prodigality of whose adherents could

423 never be made use of through such modest donations, so exact was the
794 objective for which they were turned over. And today they are obliged to be substituted by new constructions, as already we are finding instances in which the tribesmen are obliged to use part of their communal property in order to cover their minimal religious needs.

The traditional tribesman, a localistic and primitive soul, could never dream that his generous gesture and the fruit of his labor would be converted into utilization for and the beautifying of the vampire city, of that city which he knows only through its derisive attitude toward him and its desire to cheat him.[12]

651 b) Self-Taxation: This category was fulfilled in the jma'th
621 through other classes of property, such as religious (properties), through voluntary contributions and through alms.

The 'ashur (Rif. dha'ashurth) or tithe from the harvests, which was received in kind by another amin (read mqaddim), also a lay (author's italics) tribesman expressly nominated by the jma'th to whom he was responsible, justifying payments and income, and guarding and administering voluntary donations.

The respect for and knowledge of these good customs and
651 primary institutions in the Rif has permitted us to utilize such
648 sentiments of solidarity on diverse occasions, without excessive shifts from times of abundance to others of restriction, hence giving them the sensation of our constant solicitude and thus coming to establish in some jma'ath and 'bureaux' (oficinas) the idea of voluntary deposits (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

(648) 12--This paragraph, as well as the preceding one with its reference to the "urban mulay", clearly indicate that Blanco fully shared the prevailing view of the protectoral authorities of both zones of Morocco regarding the administrative wisdom inherent in the separation of Town and Tribe.

871 621 793 c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

621 574 651 The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muna) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the 621 241 651 iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to [194] be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a 792 794 fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

792 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and
794 harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on
178 the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such
794 individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th,
621 for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other
794 admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits
[574] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

423 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more
648 complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

---

15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

which the Rifians are deeply attached, and their attempts to codify it, in spite of Islamic law?...We are faced with the hypothesis that in times past their conversion to Islam was not complete, a situation analogous to that prevailing in other Berber-speaking regions. Louis Milliot in 1926 pointed to the survival of Kabyle qanuns in Algeria[5], but in the Rif this is neither the only nor the principal factor, as there was no long period of peace in the Rif, and the lack of this experience gave the Spanish administration the option of recognizing an "area of custom", which in the French Zone was the main reason for the Berber Dahir of 1930.[6]

In the Rif, the main reason for the non-application of Islamic law would seem to lie not so much in the degree of Rifian Islamization but rather in the constant state of revolt of the area, which would have rendered regular and dilatory (sic!) Muslim legal procedure inefficient or inefficacious. The basic question was far more one of the impotence of the Rifians themselves in the face of this problem, rather than one of their incompetence. Under these circumstances, we may imagine that fqih-s, tulba and other religious personnel were forced, in order not to die of hunger, to limit themselves to making amulets and charms for women and to writing up and registering the decisions of the imqqranen, "the Big Ones", the ones who counted. For the same reason, shurfa and imrabdhen were unable to do anything else except resolve conflicts and dictate sentences, which were up to the parties concerned to accept or not, as they wanted. Where, then, could one have found a qadi who, conscious of his duty and a disinterested judge of Muslim law,

798
764 2) Funeral Rites Contrary to Sunna: the funeral chant invoking the name of God which is started up when the body is lifted up to be taken to the cemetery (and this is done in the Rif) is rejected as bad (sic). A man should not place himself facing Mecca during the funeral prayer (at the grave) (sic); nor should the body be oriented in this direction (sic) nor should its shroud be pierced (in the Rif, in Ibuq-quyen, a hold is pierced in the nose of the shroud), nor can a stick be nailed perpendicularly to the grave (this is done in the Rif[20]); and the catching...in the act by someone of the body being buried or of the recitation of the hizb[21] of the Koran is like lighting the three lights in agony.[22]

798
[302] 3) Deceits and Frauds in the 'Aid: men should not put henna on
[562] their hands and should not shake hands with women, as this is sinful.
[794] Getting meals in the mosque is very bad, as are petitions (of gifts)
[769] to the imam[23] after the prayer of the 'Aid; and visiting the cemetery on feast days is also bad, as these are days of happiness[23a]. (In the Rif all these practices are observed[24]).

798
585 4) Weddings: It is very bad to mark the doors of the house of either the bride or the groom with blood (this is done in the Rif[25]), and so is firing rifle shots in the bride's room on the day that the marriage is consummated[26]; so is touching the bride's clothing, or helping her mount the mule which is to take her to the groom's house, or helping her alight on arrival, or mounting the same animal behind her; and equally bad is someone showing up at the moment of union of the newly married couple or staying so near to them that he can hear them talking. Also, men playing in front of women and women dancing in

695 623 participants speak, and from time to time, whoever wants to (there is no single judge, and all present have the right to question the litigants) barks out a question or a sentence at them, and another, and another, until, when the contestants get tired, fed up, angry or have no more to say, things get excited, as a result of the loaded questions and confused answers; a certainty pervades the air which further emphasizes the responsibility and even the judging members of the jma'th, for some abandon the defense of the man from their dharfiqth or liff as impossible, while others affirm their suspicions. The first judgment is not long in being pronounced, one of the most outstanding persons of the casually organized assembly (or jury) giving it as his opinion on the matter, and the rest adhering to it. In most instances, on seeing his case unanimously judged (in his disfavor), the individual responsible yields. If he does not, new people come into play and voice their opinions. If the matter is important enough to be a case which smacks of jurisprudence,[31] the meeting held the following Friday (in the mosque, prior to the noon prayer) is devoted in part to going over it again and adding up the greatest number of opinions (pro and con)--but not votes--in order to give wider publicity to the agreement and even to take it down in writing if necessary, if so stipulated. [212] [794] If there is written proof, any talib hesitatingly deciphers the documentary evidence, but the members of the jma'th do not let him take a trick (thus showing the power of the layman over the judge??) other than in a very discreet and impartial manner. Sometimes they agree to submit the matter to an arbiter outside the jma'th, for greater impartiality in the decision. At other times they decide to submit the

pick up his rifle in defense of justice (a few days of visiting, free food, participation in the sharing of the fines, and even a raid, if this be the case). In the latter instance, everyone was (translator's italics) interested and desired to see justice done (with concomitant benefits of a meal and collecting one's own share of the fine).

Rifian law, according to note 7, is definitely superior (sic) to European law, because it obliges anyone who submits to it only to accept it and to agree to its fulfillment, accepting beforehand the santions which it establishes.

It is in these qanuns that Rifians may see sharply reflected who exactly are the men of prestige in the group to which they attach themselves and even the order of preference, by means of the names which figure in them; but we must not lose sight of the fact that they are edited by tulba of childish mentality (sic), a mentality deformed by their Islamic education; and that these tulba do not even translate Berber conceptualizations into their Arabic writing, as may be observed in other qanuns, thus altering the natural order in favor of their religious inclinations.[26]

Nobody believes, then, that such individuals cited in the first place figure in the documents for reasons of religiosity, but for the convenience of the imgharen who, jealous of their prestige, would have promoted interminable altercations in order to be first, in their jealous egalitarianism, and the necessity, which they saw themselves in order to avoid it, of putting above their disputes and petty jealousies individuals of neutral appearance, such as tulba, to officiate as the pacifying presidents of their stormy council-meetings (igrawn).

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanuns, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 621 623 614

It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 183

So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

671 614 613 182

562 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among
671 the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed
183 today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only
794 one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon
443 discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering
689 the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him
178 over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's
562 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they
443 were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very
178 attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women
183 special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of
[184] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the fun-
(681) damentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

guidance from the Book and the various interpretations of the Book made by a body of literate scholars. But it also serves as a vehicle for the spiritual expression of the illiterate and the superstitious. The needs of the one community, though not necessarily incompatible with the other, are of a different nature. To meet the needs of the rural tribesmen, a cult of saints has long existed in Morocco. The earliest reference to this phenomenon in the Rif can be found in the work of 'Abd el-Haqq el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif, dated 1311 and translated from Arabic to French by G. S. Colin (1926). The more formal aspects of Islam whereby a morality is derived from dialectic interpretation of Koranic scripture did not have the power of explanation among the tribesmen as mysticism. As Colin points out in his introduction to el-Badisi's work:

> Il s'agit donc, en somme, d'un effort de vulgarisation de la science religieuse et, plus spécialement, du mysticisme, dans le but de rendre ce dernier plus populaire et plus pittoresque, et de permettre par là aux ames simples d'y prendre intérêt et de s'y attacher. (Ibid.:8)

A man became a saint because of various miracles performed during his lifetime which, according to the beliefs of the tribesmen, signify that the man had a closer connection with the spiritual world. In most areas of Morocco the saint was also a sharif or descendent of the Prophet. This does not seem to be a vital criterion for sainthood in the Rif. El-Bakiri lists only one of the saints in his hagiography as being a sharif (1926:11).

The tribesmen came to the saint during his lifetime for advice in spiritual and secular affairs. According to his success

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Rusdi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyis in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a djnoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[782] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Rusdi,
where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed
at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of
Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated
fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from
Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas
to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and
another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The
chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a
cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at
least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, espe-
cially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah
family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense
would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrim-
age is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such
instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of much prominence in north Africa.
(A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

6 Joseph E-S (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

792 1949.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all
794 founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of
575 the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator.
[778] These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic
[554] leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

792 Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint
794 have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends
776 to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's
575 abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God [779] in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee.

792 These religious associations are for the most part volun-
794 tary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a
575 son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

792 brotherhood, Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi (1869-1934) broke off from
794 the organization to form his own association which is now the
575 largest in the Rif. According to informant estimate, this brotherhood holds about 50% of those Berbers in the Rif who belong to brotherhoods. Its annual meeting which I attended in 1965 consisted of several thousand brothers from all parts of the Rif and from neighboring Algeria where the mother lodge is located.

792 The importance of these fraternal orders declined to a
794 certain extent during the struggle for Moroccan independence
575 because of their anti-nationalistic behavior. When they are
178 criticized in the Rif it is not on theological grounds but political. The brotherhoods have been accused of accepting [662] bribes in order to influence their membership on how to vote in local elections and to act as spies for the government. Their cogency has also been reduced by the increase in secular as opposed to Koranic education. Nonetheless, they have a powerful residual following, as attested by the vehemency with which they are attacked.

792 The fraternity supports itself on the annual contributions
794 in kind extracted as membership fees from its adherents as well
575 as the more or less regular visits to the key shrines and lodges [124] where, again, donations are expected. The size of this contribution is most difficult to estimate, and my inquiries of lodge officials met with only our mutual exasperation. The amount seems to vary with the avarice of the local lodge, where 10% of

792 794 575 [124] annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

788 484 [179] Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. [805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or [178] [509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. [435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in [671] getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, [554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have 788 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, com- 484 pletely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of 626 the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

796 Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations
785 of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying
[574] numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it
[432] is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the
[431] community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where
[794] they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men
[782] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and dis-
[014] tribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

346 Before turning from religious activities to magical prac-
794 tices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools (658) (178) which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by (425) some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. (782) Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet (241) some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who (212) has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. (794) He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth 793 in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

793 794 465 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 789 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in 791 754 Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif [793] [799] society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female 754 791 witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed 562 on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. [888] This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

754 791 789 793 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood [443] from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

wanted her, and the quarrel grew into a fight. Banu Adam was perturbed at this, and sat up all night making *fatḥa* and other prayers. In the morning he found that instead of one daughter he had seven, each like the next, so that he could not tell which of them was the original. He also discovered that his dog, cat, and donkey were missing, hence he naturally concluded that each of these animals had been turned into two daughters. Each man married one of the daughters, and all mankind is descended from these unions. 773

All women since that time have been divided into four classes: (1) those who are always fighting and making a noise, and interfering in other people's affairs—descended from the dog; (2) those sly, deceitful, and unfaithful—descended from the cat; (3) the stupid, stolid, and slow—descended from the donkey; (4) the quiet, capable, agreeable, truthful, and faithful. These last are descended from the true daughter of Banu Adam, and are rare.

In the Rif, the Ali and Jesus prediction is replaced by the legend that a man, identity unknown, will come and smite both the Muslimin and the Christians until but a tenth of each remains. Then the slayer will introduce a new religion, the nature of which has not yet been revealed. He will come across the sky with the sun from the East in a single day.

RELIGIOUS BROTHERHOODS

Just before the European conquest of the Rif, members of heterodox religious brotherhoods began to come into the territory, teaching and making converts, and Riffians who had lived outside came home bringing these doctrines with them. These sects are the Bokhariin, Derkawa, Tijaniin, and Nasiriin. All four of them now have adherents all over the Rif. The adherents are called *fakir* (plural *fokara*). The *fokara* refuse to go to the mosques or saint's tombs, but will convene for religious purposes only in the house of their local *mokaddem*. Here they pray and work themselves into religious ecstasies by monotonous chants and gruntings, accompanied by rhythmic movements of the body. In these meetings they pretend to see, or believe they see, the Prophet or the founder of their order going by in the form of a cat, a dove, or some other animal, and delivering a message on the way. They are ardent bead-tellers, and delight in expounding distinctions between the *ḥarram* and the *ḥallal*, or the forbidden unclean and the lawful. They are held in low local repute. 795

There are neither Aissawa [1] nor Hamadcha [2] in the Rif, and no local Hedawa.[3] The only Hedawa in the Rif are devotees, infrequently to be seen begging their way. They are distrusted, and are not encouraged to remain.

[1] The Aissawa are devotees of Sidi Mohammed ben Aissa, whose remains lie outside the walls at Meknes. They follow an extravagant cult the practices of which have often been described by Europeans. Accounts may be found in René Brunel's *Essai sur la Confrérie Religieuse des Aissaoua au Maroc*, and *Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, by Octave Depont and Xavier Coppolani.

[2] The Hamadcha are a sub-sect of the Aissawa. They are commonly known as the "head-choppers," on account of their practice of slashing their own heads with axes, and banging them with clubs, at their annual celebrations. References to them will be found in the two works listed above.

[3] The Hedawa are the followers of Sidi Heddi, a deceased saint of the Jebala. At his tomb there are said to be two horses which plough the fields belonging to the sanctuary, without guidance. The Hedawa do not wash or shave, and go around in rags or sometimes naked. They smoke large pipes of *kif*, and are almost continually under the influence of that drug. They claim that they can foretell the future while under its influence. They can be seen in greatest numbers at Mulai Yakub, a sulphur bath northwest of Fez, accessible by motor.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

DAVID M. HART

AN 'IMĀRAH IN THE CENTRAL RIF: THE ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE TO SĪDĪ BŪ KHIYĀR

ANNUAL pilgrimages, or *'imārāt* (sing. *'imārah*), to the tombs of certain saints are a major feature not only of the saint cult in Morocco, but of Maghribi Islam in general. A few of these, such as the *Naskhah*, occurring on 15 Sha'bān, to the shrine of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām ibn Mshīsh in Banī 'Arūs in the Jbālah, or the visits to the sepulchres of Mūlāi Idrīs in Zarhūn or Sīdī Muḥammad ibn 'Aisā in Meknes, are events to which the faithful gather from all over the country. Seven successive pilgrimages to the tombs both of Mūlāi Idrīs and Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām equal, according to Moroccans, one to Mecca. The pilgrimage in these instances is supplemented by the activities of members of, variously, the Haddāwa (at Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām), 'Aisāwa or Ḥamādsha (in Meknes) brotherhoods, who smoke *kīf* (*Cannabis indica*, a narcotic not unlike marijuana), beat drums, chew and swallow live coals, put skewers through their cheeks and work themselves into a frenzy in order to identify themselves with the spirit of the saint with whose tomb they are associated; and, if possible, to merge with the Infinite.

There are many other saints, however, mostly of a more local and less national character, whose devotees show far more restraint in their behavior than the members of the brotherhoods mentioned above. One of these is Sīdī Bū Khiyār, buried in the southern mountains of the Central Rifian tribe of Aith Wariyāghir; and nothing like the above occurs at the annual pilgrimage to his tomb, for the members of these orders are held in very low repute in the Rif and are not encouraged to come there. A description of this pilgrimage, wich I witnessed on 1 August 1955, is, I think, of ethnographic interest not only for its own sake but because of the light it sheds on the Berber attitude toward Islam.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

Sīdī Bū Khiyār («My Lord the Father of the Cucumber») was, according to tradition, an itinerant *murābiṭ* or holy man from the Sahara who reached the Central Rif completely destitute, without family, servants or possessions. Of when this event occurred, or from what part of the Sahara he originated, we have absolutely no indication. Rifians today say that he was not a *sharīf* (pl. *shurfā*), or descendant of the Prophet, and this is negatively and locally confirmed by the fact that no mention is made of him in the genealogies of the Imrabdhen section (*ar-rbaʿ* or *thakhammasth*, according to the context) of the tribe (*thaqbītsh*) of Aith Wariyāghir, who, despite their sobriquet, are shurfā descended from Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-A'raj («My Lord Abraham the Lame»), whose own lineage ascends to Mūlāi Idrīs. We may note here, parenthetically, that although the Rifians make a genealogical and functional distinction between *shurfā* and *murābiṭīn* (pl. of *murābiṭ*), they do not differentiate between them terminologically; in the Rifian dialect of Berber, both are called *imrābdhen*, derived from Arabic *murābiṭīn*.

In any event, Sīdī Bū Khiyār was to become far more important in the religious aspects of tribal life than most of the Imrābdhen, for no organized visits have ever been made to any of the latters' tombs. After settling on the windswept and desolate mountain peak which bears his name, Sīdī Bū Khiyār became famous as a spellbinder who could attract crowds of lesser murābiṭīn from as far as ten to fifteen days' journey away. He never married, and he died without issue on his mountain top; but the name Bū Khiyār is one wich many mountain Rifians are given to this day.

The pilgrimage to Sīdī Bū Khiyār's grave is today a local festival entirely, albeit the most important and significant one in the Central Rif. The only religious brotherhood involved is that of the 'Alawiyyīn, a recently formed order of Algerian origin, whose members bear no relationship to the saint other than the fact that some of them happen to live in the area, and whose litany is a far more toned-down and sedate affair than those of any of the orders mentioned above, as we shall see.

The tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār is situated on the summit which overlooks the Turīrth-Timarzga-Aith 'Ammarth Pass and dominates the massif of the Jbil Ḥamām, The Mountain of Doves, which, at

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

canvas tents in the Market of the Righteous, as they would do in any ordinary tribal market (*sūq*). They sell just the same articles, from clothing and bill-hooks (I purchased two of the latter here) to soap and matches, as they do in the regular markets, and some of them also sell sheep to be ritually slaughtered for the 'Aid al-Kabīr on the following day. As in a normal market, also, men and women remain sharply segregated.

Among the pilgrims are numerous *ṭulbā* or students of the Qur'ān, who, after visiting the tomb, where they recite the Holy Book from beginning to end, proceed to the Market of the Righteous to ask the faithful for contributions (*ma'rūf*), which are placed in a box beside the tomb put there for the purpose. The money is later counted up by the tribal authorities and divided equally among all the ṭulbā attending (1).

The 'imārah of Sīdī Bū Khiyār has also, within the last two decades, become a focal point in the activities of the local members of the brotherhood of the 'Alawiyyīn, who maintain a not insignificant following in Timarzga and Aith 'Arūs, although they do not have a lodge in either of these districts. After paying their respects to the saint, they congregate for their *miima'*, or reunion, at a spot between the ādhān grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and a half to two hours, they go through the litany (*dhikr*) required by their order. This consists of a constant repetition of the formula *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, «There is no god but God», over and over, while the brethren are standing in a circle. The litany is followed by the *'imrah*, a form of rhythmic breathing designed to induce ecstasy: and the 'imrah of the 'Alawiyyīn (the word is *not* to be confused with *'imārah*) progresses through the following routines, in which the underlined and accented vocalizations denote outgo, and the non-underlined ones, intake, of breath:

(1) In 1955, there were 99 tulbā from the Ibil (Timarzga-Turīrh-Aith 'Arūs) of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 717.75 pesetas: 96 from Aith 'Abd Allāh of Aith Warivāghir, who collected 696.00 ptas.; 87 from Aith 'Ammarth, who got 630.75 ptas.; 75 from Aith Bū 'Ayyāsh of Aith Wariyāghir, who got 471.25 ptas.; 39 from Aith Ḥadhīfah of Aith Warivāghir, who received 282.75 ptas.; 15 from Imrābdhen of Aith Warivāghir, who got 108.75 ptas.; and 10 from Iezinnāven, who received 72.50 ptas. Total tulbā attending were 421, and total money collected was 2990.25 pesetas.

[Text continues on p. 243]

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX3

A) Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! 788

B) Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! Hunh! Hunh! Húnh! Húnh! 781

C) Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! Hunh! Húnh! 575 795

D) Same as B) above. 778

E) Same as C) above.

When I arrived at Sīdī Bū Khiyār, about noon, the show which the 'Alawiyyīn put on was just ending, so I unfortunately saw almost nothing of it. What little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawī litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical condition; for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of the breathing routines given above. It was, however, a very far cry from the howling and self-flagellation indulged in by the 'Aisāwa and Hamādsha to induce trances. Furthermore, after the 'Alawi litany was over, all the participants got up and went about their business without further ado; no one seemed to be recovering from the effects of a self-induced trance. It had merely been good healthy exercise.

Of even greater interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, [771] one of mild curiosity followed by almost complete indifference, an attitude which not only marks the Rifian's outlook on religious brotherhoods in general, for he is not apt to join them, but toward most features of alien cultures which he has no desire to assimilate.

After the ṭulbā have finished collecting their ma'rūf, and the 788 'Alawiyyīn have terminated their ritual, the whole having lasted 778 some two to three hours, the pilgrims all perform their ablutions [783] prior to prayer. Some have, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the pinnacle of Tamrābiṭ; there seems to be nothing particularly meritorious in so doing, for the holiest feature of the point is its name, although it may once have been of some ceremonial significance.

778

The common prayer, held on the flat prayer site just below 788 Sīdī Bū Khiyār's tomb, is the focal point of the 'imārah. It is led by 782

616 (social), for a man only goes to his liff when the other two types fail him. Thus we see individuals or groups, when they are helpless, calling for their liffs in defense of their rights or taking refuge with them when, conquered or routed, they abandon their own hearths.

61 621 Tribes and their clans, and jma'ths and their kin groups or dharfiqin are generally divided into two balanced, symmetrical and mutually hostile parties; and it is in such an equilibrium that we find the strength of each group, no matter how insignificant that group may appear, and the weakness of the whole tribe, which is only welded together if threatened from outside.

616 619 621 623 In essence, in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, the innumerable feuds between jma'ths are reduced to two parties, within each council, whose quarrel, perhaps rather than for hegemony, is a dispute of interests. But, in discussing parties, let us rid ourselves of the notions which these have for Europeans, either in forms of government or in religion. In such simple questions, Republic[28] and Islam have been in agreement for a long time. The Rifian states were religious republics governed by laymen, we might say. Well and good: above and beyond these quarrels and ferocious feuds, the Aith Waryaghar knew how to ally themselves, absolutely independently of these, to other groups, indicating that the motive forces which underlay each class of alliance were different[29]. Thus we see, for example, how the five khmas (sing. khums) of the Aith Waryaghar were allied or opposed to each other, and how they constituted two mutually hostile bands; the Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abd Allah on one side, and the rest on the other[30]. In my opinion, these two bands represent the most obvious

642 795 616 619

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

few notes here will suffice to illustrate the range of difference. The Sanhajans are masters of terracing and irrigation, but in horticultural skill they yield to the Rifians, who are noted also for honey and grapes. The Ulad Stut, thanks to their bedawin origin, are expert in the preparation of milk products. The Ghmarans are northern Morocco's best fishermen, but their skill is limited to the use of skiffs and seines. The Sanhajans are most interested in freshwater fishing, and they may also be the best hunters in the northern zone. These points will be elaborated in chapter vi.

Cultural Uniformity and Diversity

In order to place northern Morocco in proper perspective, we must consider two classes of culture traits: those that are ubiquitous and those that are limited to certain parts of this zone. For example, the Rifian is in many respects quite different from the Ghmaran or Jbalan. He speaks a different language, has different ideas of honor and shame, wears his turban differently, and builds a different type of house. Yet as Moroccans the Rifians, Ghmarans, and Jbalans share ideas and objects that are rare or unknown in other parts of the Muslim world.

All Moroccans, at least in theory, are good Muslims. Islam does not confine itself to ideas and their influence on the spirit of man: it is a religion of force and authority, a system of law, and a basis of government. The influence of Islam is evident in institutions and patterns of behavior that affect the form and function of every village and farmstead. To say that Moroccans are Muslims is to assert that they share ideas and institutions common to the entire Muslim world. Yet it is also true that Islam in Morocco has many unusual features. It is a common saying that Berber culture constitutes the foundation of the Moroccan house, while Arab customs and religion are only the whitewash on the walls.[3]

A distinguishing feature of Moroccan Islam is the elaborate development of brotherhoods and the cult of saints. These heterodox developments seem in part to reflect pre-Islamic beliefs. The Berber tribesman, though he may be ignorant of Arabic, yields to no one in the belief that he is pious and correct. He prays, keeps the fast of Ramadan, and honors those of his tribe who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In this sense he is like all Muslims, but, as Hart aptly remarks, he retains local saints to comfort him and local jinns to plague and torment him.[4] One aspect of these beliefs is the superstition that relates to the sanctity of cemeteries and shrines. In chapter vii it will be shown that there is often a marked contrast between the plant cover of sacred land and that of profane land.

Berber kinship terminology, like that of the Arabs, is a bifurcate collateral type.[5] The terms for mother's brother and for father's brother are different, as are the terms for mother's sister and for father's sister. The inheritance of property follows the standard Maliki practice, which allots a share to each son equal to that falling to two daughters. Descent is patrilineal, and the number of pa-

[3] D. M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, 7 (1959), 45–54.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 46.
[5] D. M. Hart, *Morocco: Subcontractor's Monograph* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1956), pp. 136a–140.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

792 partly through the *baraka* of the saint. The saints who teach music here are of a higher class than the itinerant musicians whom they instruct.

798 Among the saints of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja are those at Khunduktamda, descended from Sidi Abdullah el Kholani, from whom some of the Ikhuanen of the Gzennaya also claim descent. The latter send ambassadors once a year to build a fire in his tomb. At Aghbalu are saints who are students, but who fight and have no *baraka*. At Sidi Ali ben Daud in Marnissa and at Sidi Mehend u Ghulbusur are similar saints. The students of Amsheeh, who have no *baraka*, are yet classed as saints and refuse to fight.

Former saints who have died without leaving descendants are remembered by tombs, usually kept by wardens living on the produce of the tomb property. Other tombs have been deserted and allowed to fall into ruins. Sometimes a pile of stones, an ordinary grave, or merely a tradition, establishes the burial-place of a saint. Tombs are often located near a great rock, a spring, a grove, or at some other place of distinctive natural appearance, such as a cave, and this indicates that the hagiolatry of the Rif, like that of other Mediterranean countries and regions, is a survival of an older nature worship. Such places are credited with special magical powers attributed to the lingering *baraka* of the saint.

The tomb of Sidi Mohammed near Bured in the Gzennaya will serve as an example. This is located in a dense clump of bushes reputed to be full of wild animals, and the home of a venerable lion. Sidi Mohammed had a lion which served him, and followed him whenever he called him. While at Fez, Sidi Mohammed heard that a lion owned by the Sultan had fought and defeated all animals put in a ring with it, and boasted publicly that his lion could vanquish that of the Sultan. For this he was put in jail. While there he sent his servant to the Rif to get his lion, which would come if the words *a seba dh' amendud* were said before the clump of bushes. The servant recited this formula and led the lion to Fez, where it defeated all the others there. The Sultan then released Sidi Mohammed with a present, and the saint returned to the Rif with the lion. After he died his tomb was built in the clump of bushes, and no one has dared to enter the bushes for many years. The warden of the tomb does not enter, but farms the land around it.

At Sidi Merj in Bokoya is a *zawia* near a swampy pond full of lush vegetation. Students staying in the *zawia* declare that they have seen cats and dogs go in and out of the water at night, and that these animals are *jnun*. No one goes any nearer the pond than necessary.

[847] The cantonal mosque of Iherrushen in Gzennaya is accredited with the power to cause pregnancy, through the *baraka* of Sidi Misaud, who is buried there. Women come from other tribes to sleep in the mosque, since the *baraka* works during the night.

There are hundreds of these places scattered throughout the Rif and all Morocco. Although most Riffians believe in their efficacious powers, some do not, and there are many who do not believe in the powers of the Ikhemrijen shorfa and other imported saints. The people living east of Targuist do not credit them, while the Senhaja to the west of them do.

CELEBRATIONS

● 796 Celebrations of a religious character fall into two divisions, according to whether they are dated by the solar or lunar calendar. The former are considered by the Riffians to have nothing to do with Islam, but in accordance with the general hypocrisy of the people,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

796

who wish to retain their own practices while enjoying the benefits of Islam, they are rigorously observed.

Two such non-Islamic feasts are the *ḥagus* and the *'anṣara*.

The *ḥagus* falls on the 31st of December, according to the old-style calendar to which they adhere.[1] Married men take their wives and children to the homes of their wives' parents, where they remain seven days if they have no children, and three if they have them. They take with them meat, either fresh or cooked, nuts, honey, and other food. They never include animals for slaughter. In the central Riffian area the men bring sausages prepared for the occasion.[2] During this feast they wander among the houses of friends bringing presents of food.

A branch of fir or cedar is hung up over each door, and more branches and almond flowers are tied to the rafters. This is a time of feasting and merriment, with little or nothing to indicate the usual religious attitude. At night a dramatic presentation is given, similar to that of the *Aid el Kebir*.[3]

Westermarck associates the *ḥagus* with the celebration of the New Year.[4] He finds that in other parts of Morocco it is observed a day later, on the first of January.[4] The tribes celebrating the *ḥagus* are the Mountain Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikhuanen, Iherrushen, Temjunt, Ikaroen, Beni Tuzin, and all Senhaja. According to Westermarck the *ḥagus* is found throughout the Jebala,[5] hence its distribution in the Rif seems to tie up with the country to the west.

The *'anṣara* comes on the 24th of June, old style.[6] On this day the Riffians cut a twig from every kind of tree they can find, both wild and cultivated. They also cut stalks and leaves of all plants and herbs with which they are acquainted. Bringing these together they make piles of them, and after the sun has set, light the piles and jump over them through the smoke, which is plentiful on account of the green wood. Everyone jumps twice — men, women, and children, mothers holding their babies in their arms while leaping. When all have jumped the men go to the nearest stream and wash thoroughly every part of their bodies. The women and children go into the houses and do the same with bowls of water. This is called *siarth ẖudeshth*, or the washing-out of the "Jewishness," or "Jewess."[7] The explanation of the ceremony is that the fires are lit in honor of a Jewish prophet of old, and that all traces of "Jewishness" must then be removed.[8]

This practice is found everywhere in the Rif except among the Nomads and Maritime tribes, and throughout the Jebala to the Atlantic; the only place where I have witnessed it

[1] In this I am relying upon Westermarck, since my own data concerning the date are inexact. See Westermarck, pp. 161–162.

[2] See p. 60. [3] See pp. 152 sqq. [4] Westermarck, pp. 160–161.

[4] For a detailed description of this ceremony and a discussion of its significance, see Westermarck, pp. 160–174.

[5] Again I am relying on Westermarck (p. 182).

[7] Westermarck (p. 180) says that they wash out the "Jewesses," but does not give the Berber equivalent. H̱udeshth might be translated "Jewess" as well as "Jewishness."

[8] While I was travelling through the Atlas in 1926, two Riffians attached to the expedition attended services at a synagogue in the mellah of Zerukten, in order to satisfy their curiosity and also to obtain some of the strong drink being served as part of the ceremony. After returning from the synagogue they expressed strong remorse for their action, and declared that it would take forty days for the "Jewishness" they had contracted to wear off. Each day for forty days they calculated how many more days they had to go, and when the fortieth day had passed expressed great delight. They said that should they die before the expiration of that period, they would be buried as Jews and considered as Jews on Judgment Day.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

is at Tangier. Westermarck plots a wide distribution for the custom,[1] and shows that it is a survival of a midsummer rite.[2]

The religious feasts of Mohammedan origin celebrated in the Rif are *el Ashor*, *el Muhud*, the month of *Ramadan*, the *Aid es Sghir* at the end of this month, and the *Aid el Kebir*.

The *Ashor* serves chiefly as a vacation for the school children, and is not otherwise important. Many do not even know when it is in force.

On the *Mulud* the women of the *bone* cook coarsely ground barley into a mush and carry it to the mosque, early in the morning, where all the children of the *bone* eat it together. In the evening the men buy a bull or cow by subscription and sacrifice it in front of the mosque so that blood will spurt on the door, then cut it up by the door and divide it, each man taking his share home to eat.

Ramadan is kept strictly by the Riffians, who do not deviate from the orthodox regulations in any way. Those who ordinarily eat pork, smoke, or drink, abstain from these practices during *Ramadan*, and scour with ashes any cooking or eating vessel which has been used for unclean food at other times. On the twenty-seventh night of this fast they believe that the sky opens and that a man who gazes fixedly at it may see God. If he does he dies instantly and is carried to heaven. On the last night, which is the *Aid es Sghir*, everyone washes well and dresses in clean clothing. The father measures out with his hands three double handfuls of barley for each person in the house. He then sends for a poor woman to come and take it, before which no one in the house may eat.

On each day of the *Aid el Kebir*, which lasts three days, each household kills a sheep and eats it. The men and women go about from house to house in the *bone*, the men dividing into age groups, and the women all banding together. The unmarried boys form two groups, the very young and the adolescent, and play games, wrestle, and play at government. They imitate the councils, also Arab forms of government, appointing a *kaid*, a *pasha*,[3] and *mokhazniya*.[4] The boys hold mock trials and send each other to jail. The young married men form a third group, the chief diversion of which is the exchange of obscene stories. The last group consists of the middle-aged and old men, who amuse themselves by reminiscing and narrating legends.

Each night comes the dramatic presentation by the *ishuikhen*, unmarried men who dress themselves up to represent certain characters and act out parts. The dramas are always comic and inevitably obscene. Staid persons who at any other time would be shocked at the sight or description of any obscene or sacrilegious act cast aside their repressions and enter heartily into the fun.

The scenes and situations enacted differ from tribe to tribe and at times change, but the general type and technique are always the same. A description of the carnival presented in parts of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Tuzin, follows. Descriptions of others may be found in Moulieras [5] and Westermarck.[6]

[1] Pages 182, 203–204.

[2] Pages 196–206. Westermarck eliminates the strong association with the idea of Jews by calling it *ex post facto*, and by bringing in parallels from other regions. For the present purpose, whether the Jewish factor be original or superimposed, as Westermarck has well demonstrated, in either case it indicates a degree of Jewish influence at some period of time.

[3] This Turkish title is applied in Morocco to mayors of cities.

[4] Guards, gendarmes, or retainers.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 106–111.

[6] Vol. II, pp. 135–158.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

There are eight rôles enacted by the *ishuikhen*; the Christians, the Christian women, the Jews, the Jewish women, the animals, their drivers, the Muslimin, and their wives. Those representing Christians imitate Christian clothing as best they can with cloth tied, not sewed together. They stick on moustaches of goats' hair, and put on leggings of grass matting. They carve great hats with broad brims out of yucca blades, make bandoliers from split strands of it, and attach small mirrors to their breasts in imitation of medals.

The "Christian women" imitate luxuriant hair with the woolen braids used by Riffian women. On top of their heads they attach white cloths with feathers sticking out of them. A yucca-cord belt is tied around the waist so tightly that it can be drawn in no farther, and onions or pomegranates are thrust under the shirt to look like breasts.

The "Jews" wear long beards of wool stuck on with a mixture of flour and eggs. They drape long white or black cloths around their bodies and tie red or black kerchiefs on the backs of their heads.

Those representing Jewish women wear long black cloths reaching to the ground.

The "animals," — lions, jackals, donkeys, cows, calves, and dogs — wear tails to which have been tied feathers and tufts of goat hair. The "donkey" wears over his face a donkey skull so cut as to allow his face partly to enter it. The "dog" has a long muzzle made of cork, wood, or cloth, and often has a jackal skin tied on his back. The "lions" disguise their faces only by smearing them with black and red pigments. A wooden phallus with onions or pomegranates for testes is attached to each "animal" excepting the "cow," who has a cloth udder with pendant cloth nipples fastened about his groins, and wears real cow horns tied to his head.

Those playing the parts of Muslimin wear large scrips full of ashes, representing gunpowder, and carry wooden rifles. The Jews and Christians carry these as well, and some of the latter drag log cannons.

The most effeminate looking youths are chosen to represent the wives of the Muslimin. They shave, use rouge and kohl, and draw the conventional tattoo marks on their faces with ink. They wear earrings and false hair.

The identity and preparations of the actors are kept secret beforehand. The *ishuikhen* dress and make up in the mosque or in a predetermined house; when ready they enter the houses of the *bone*, one after another, and stage their performance. Crowds follow them from house to house and witness the act over and over again.

First the Jews and their wives come in. They pair off in couples and dance over the floor, carrying on ribald conversation, snatching away each other's wives, approaching with wooden phalli, the women dancing with other men and throwing ashes out of scrips at each other.

After this has gone on for some time the Jews hold a wedding. While this is in progress the donkey and his driver enter. The Jews set the bride upon the donkey's back, and the donkey throws her off, whereupon the Jews become angry and shout incoherently. They then kneel down to hold a prayer, which a Judge leads. The Judge faces west and the Jews in all directions. In the prayer the Judge expounds the *harram* and the *ḥallal* in a loud voice, reversing everything from its normal condition, calling it permissible to eat pork, permissible to commit adultery with a good-looking woman, and forbidden to do so with an ugly one. The extent of these *harram* and *ḥallal* distinctions is limited only by the imagination of the Judge.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

796 536

While this is happening all the rest of the animals come running in and attack the Jews, who throw down their ashes and wooden guns and run away to hide. The animals, when the Jews have disappeared, are herded into a corner by their drivers. Then the Christians come in talking together loudly in a gibberish of extemporized sounds; an interpreter pretends to translate what they are saying to the audience, and accredits them with ludicrous and obscene conversation. He announces that the Christians have ordered all the attractive Moslem girls brought to the headquarters, one girl each day, for the enjoyment of the *ḥakim*, as the officer in charge of a tribal bureau is called.

After this the Christians dance with their wives, and then sit down and pretend to eat from bits of broken crockery which they have brought with them. The situation of people eating from separate utensils is in itself highly ludicrous to the Riffians.

After the meal the Christians and their wives dance again, after which the *ḥakim* performs his duties of administration. Prisoners are brought in, interviewed, and sentenced, and Muslimin who are not prisoners come in and try to sell things to the officers. Neither side understands the other, the Muslimin speaking *thamazighth* and the Christians still jabbering their gibberish. They begin to fight, and the tribal council convenes. The councillors appoint a crier, who shouts, "There is no god but God; O Muslimin, let us make holy war."

Then the *jihad*, or holy war, commences, both sides throwing ashes at each other, and the Christians dragging in cannon. While the fight is going on the Jews sneak out of hiding and going over to the Christian and Mohammedan women sitting on the side steal from them the eggs, meat, and bread which they are holding. One of the Jews makes a speech excusing this theft, saying that the ancestors of the Jews formerly had a great city and a great empire, but that the wild animals came in and destroyed their places and drove them out. Now they must steal to get a little of their property back. The Jews then go around the audience and collect eggs, almonds, sugar, and money.

Meanwhile the war is going on, all of the participants being by this time covered with ashes. Some of the contestants pretend to die or be wounded, and the women of their sides pick them up and take them to a corner, where they bandage the wounded. When most or all of them have simulated death, one woman from each side goes over to the corner where they are lying and touches all of her own kind, bringing them to life again. Finally the Muslimin win, and the Christians depart. The crier announces that the Christians have departed and that government and justice will be restored to the land.

Then the animals and their drivers come to the fore again, the drivers attempt to mount and are thrown, and the cow is milked.

After this they go to another house and give the performance again.

The *ishuikhen* perform once in each house in the village, excepting in those of "soured" individuals who do not approve of this vulgarity and will not permit it on their premises.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

776

Besides the Deity and the historic characters concerned with the Semitic religions, such as the prophets and the *soḥaba*, the Riffians commonly believe in nine types of supernatural being, only two of which are intimately associated with Islam. These are as follows:

1. *malakin*, the Semitic angels.

2. *jnun*, the jinns or genii, including the *afarit* and the *shaiyaṭin*. This class also includes the *thajinnishth*, a female jinn in the form of a beautiful woman, who meets men on

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
[155] unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[833] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

787 Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder, Aglu). In the /55/ first ploughing season, however, dreams are generally untrustworthy, because Sitan then turns them topsy-turvey as the plough turns the earth.

777 [58] Muharram, the first month of the Muhammadan year, is in
805 Morocco called s-shar de l-'asur (l-asor, l-'asur), "the month of the
796 'Asur", or simply l-'asur (l-'asor, l-'asur) or, among the Berbers, by some Berberised form of the same word. It has derived this name from the feast on the tenth day of the month. This day, called nhar (or yaum) 'asura ('asora, 'asura) or nhar l-'asur, is practically the Muhammadan New Year's day. Much less notice is taken of the first day of the month; but from a ritual point of view the first ten days sometimes form a period by itself. Townspeople call the first day ras l'am, whereas among country-folks this term is used for the first day of the solar year.

777 The month of the 'Asur is rich in magical qualities. According to
796 Sidi Halil the ninth and particularly the tenth day are blessed days, and on the latter many sacred or wonderful events are said to have taken place in the past. In Morocco baraka is also generally ascribed to those days. Magic, good or evil, is extensively practised on the 'asura [59] day and on the preceding night (lilt 'asura), which is said to favour the witches.

[73] I was told that among the Ait Waryager the farmers give on the 'asura day a tenth part of their sheep and goats to the scribes as zzka ra'sor, believing that there otherwise would be no baraka in their flocks.

[75] The Ait Waryager consider it very meritorious to hoe the ground on their fields or in their gardens on the 'asura day, even though it be only a little, but they do no other agricultural work on that day. The schools are generally, I believe, closed for three days.

777 [76] Among the Ait Temsaman no brooms must be made on the
784 'asura day. It is necessary to refrain from sleeping in the daytime on
796 that day (Tangier, Ait Warain); he who does not observe this rule will become ill or be sleepy throughout the year (Ait Waryager).

In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager there is a similar taboo of longer duration, lasting for the first ten days of the month; the latter maintain that a child conceived in that period would be deaf and dumb, and they consider it advisable to refrain from sexual intercourse even till the end of the month.

777 Among various tribes no hen is said to be allowed to sit on her eggs
784 in this month, because if chicks were hatched during it they would
796 drink of the water with which some dead body has been washed—in other words, somebody in the house or tent would die (Hiaina, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager). But I have also heard another explanation of this taboo, namely, that the chicks would die.

765 Various mourning taboos have to be observed in the month of the
585 'Asur. It is a widespread rule that there must be no weddings during it (Fez, Tangier, Andjra, Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

[77] The women refrain from the use of henna on the 'asura day (Bni (Bni 'Aros), or on the first three (Tsul) or ten (Tangier, Amanuz) days of the month, or on other days as well (Fez, Ait Waryager).

[78] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager, however, it is popularly believed that the Prophet died and was buried on this day, and that it is he who is mourned for, especially by his descendants, the shereefs.

796 [96] There is one night in Ramadan which, according to Islam, is of much more importance than any other, namely, lailatu l-qadr, "the night of power", on which the Koran is said to have been sent down to the Prophet. It is of more value than a thousand months. On this night "Gabriel comes down in a crowd of angels, supplicates and asks grace for every servant, sitting or standing in remembering God". He who then says the prayers "with faith and the hope of reward shall be pardoned of all his past sins". This night is one of the last ten nights of Ramadan, but its exact date[97] has not been discovered by any but the Prophet himself and some of the Companions. A tradition fixes it to be one of the odd nights—the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, or 29th, —and it is generally believed to be the 27th, that is, the night preceding the 27th day.

Among the Arabs of Dukkala and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager the whole Koran is likewise recited during that night.

The Ait Waryager slaughter a number of goats and eat the meat, with oil and bread, in the mosque in the course of the night; this is the only evening in Ramadan when persons other than scribes take a meal in the mosque, because they are afraid of going out in the dark on account of the blood-feud, which is always rife among them. Those who have milch-animals take some dry palmetto leaves to the mosque and put them in the rmahrab where the imam is praying.

796 leaving them there until the whole Koran has been recited; the leaves are subsequently made into ropes, by which they suspend their churns in order to impart baraka to the butter.

796 736 [99] When Ramadan has come to an end and the dawn of day no longer is a signal to abstain from food and drink, the breaking of the taboo is to be preceded by a rite which [100] obviously serves the purpose of removing the danger attending it. Sidi Halil says that it is an obligation on the faithful to give special alms, called fitr, to the poor on this occasion, by preference on the first evening of the festival following upon the month of Ramadan or at the dawn of the next day. These alms should consist of those food-stuffs which the giver habitually uses; their amount should be proporionate to the number of dependents comprised in the household; and the quantity of grain to be given should be one sa'—that is, slightly less than half a bushel—for each Muhammadan member of it. It is said in Morocco that if no fetra, as these alms are called there, is given, Ramadan will be hanging between heaven and earth.

796 [101] Among the Ait Waryager the fetra of a suckling is set aside on the previous evening. Among these Berbers the fetra consists of all kinds of dry vegetable food which they have been eating during Ramadan, including even a few almonds, raisins, and other dried fruits, if they happen to have them in the house. It is measured out with a so-called rmudd ne nnbi, made either of wood (in which case it has been brought from Mecca) or of earthen ware; and absent and [102] deceased members of the household are also remembered on this occasion. The fetra is afterwards taken to the mosque and presented to the fqi, except a small portion of it which is left in the house to be given to poor people and schoolboys calling for it. The men who carry the fetra to the mosque also bring with them some food for breakfast, which is partaken of in common by all the men and bigger boys of the village. The fqi gives one portion of the fetra of his own household to the schoolboys in the mosque, while the other portion is distributed to the poor people calling at his house. Nobody can, of course, eat of the fetra of his own household.

[106] On the tenth day of the month Du 'l-hijjah, the last month of the year, the Muhammadan world celebrates its yearly sacrificial feast, known under different names in different Moslem countries. In Morocco the Arabic-speaking population call it l-'id l-kbir, "the

796 Great Feast", and the Berber-speaking tribes by names such as l'id mqqorn (Amanuz), l'id amqqran (Ait Warain), l'id amqqoran (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), or r'id amqqran (Temsaman), meaning the same. In this case, as in the case of the 'asur, the mulud, and the 'id s-sger, the name of the feast is popularly given to the whole month in which it is celebrated.

796 302 789 [107] An important preparation for the feast is the use of henna, which I have found among all the country people of whose customs I have obtained information, with the exception of the Rifians of Temsaman; and, as has been said above, henna is used not merely as a cosmetic but as a means of protection against evil influences.

Grown-up or married men abstain from it altogether (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Sadden, Aglu), or only smear it on the palms of their hands or the tips of their fingers (At Ubahti), or dip the little finger of their right hand (Dukkala) or its nail (Ait Waryager) into it.

796 [231] [108] Greyhounds have henna applied to their foreheads (Ait Yusi), or to their chests and feet as well (Hiaina, Ait Sadden); while the Ait Waryager, who are great hunters, smear it on the feet of the greyhounds only, and on no other animal, on account of its being scarce among them.

[110] Among the same tribe nobody is allowed to make seksu, their staple food, on the eve of the feast; and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager abstain on that evening, and as long as the feast lasts, both from this food and from their ordinary daily dish damreqt, a kind of porridge made of dried beans.

[112] Among the Ait Waryager the men have a common meal in the village mosque not only on the first morning of the feast but on the previous morning as well; and on this occasion the women take their breakfast in the cemetery of the village.

796 783 [116] Like the people, the sacrificial animal is commonly subjected to certain forms of purification or sanctification.

[117] The At Ubahti put into the animal's mouth barley, salt, and a piece of charcoal; the Ait Waryager and the Ait Temsaman some yeast. The main object of the corn, flour, yeast, and henna is no doubt to purify or sanctify the victim, and that of the salt and charcoal to drive away evil spirits. But it appears from the words which are said on this occasion that the food given to the animal is also supposed directly to benefit the people; and an old man from the Hiaina told me that it takes away the bas from the house.

796 782 [120] It is the rule that as soon as the animal is killed its head and feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, At Ubahti). In Dukkala it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances it is only partaken of [252] on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), as also the heart (Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), are par ken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, nasara, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz) and the feet (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Amanuz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Ait Sadden), and the head and th the feet on the first (ibid.) or the third (Ait Waryager). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day.

[262] [121] Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel.

[251] What remains of the meat is made into qaddid (or geddid [Ulad Bu 'aziz], lqaddid [Igliwa], rqaddid [Temsaman, Ait Waryager], tiqqaddidin [Ait Sadden], asawar [Ait Yusi], tagarin [Aglu], tifiyi iqorn [Amanuz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips.

[735] A portion of the qaddid is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following 'asura. Among the Ait Waryager some qaddid must be preserved till the following mulud.

1 [1 e-sacrificial.- Analyst]

796 782 755 [122] The holiness of the victim is also utilised in other ways. Magic propensities are ascribed to its blood.

A very common custom is for persons who have chapped skin on the feet, or who want to prevent the skin from being chapped, to dip them into the blood fallen on the ground (Dukkala, Ait Mjild, Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

The blood of the sacrificed animal is frequently used as a means of keeping off or expelling jnun. Among the Ait Waryager it is drunk by persons who are troubled with such spirits; whilst, as a precaution against them, the corners of the walls of the room inhabited by the owner of the sacrificed animal are sprinkled with its blood.

796 782 [123] The gall-bladder of the sacrificed animal is commonly hung up inside the house or tent, often over the fire-place; there is much baraka in it.

Among the Ait Waryager the person who removes the gall-bladder from the slaughtered animal throws it into the yard (azqaq), where the animals are kept, after first spitting on it.

[124] The right shoulder-blade is often preserved at least till the following Great Feast, being sometimes hung up in the tent or house, and sometimes buried among the corn which is kept there (Ait Yusi, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager); but there are people who thus preserve it only in case it has been found to contain a good omen.

[125] Among the Ait Waryager slices cut from the horns are thrown into the fire when a snake is seen inside the house, the smoke being supposed to drive it away.

[126] In various Berber tribes (Ait Nder, Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager) the barley which is found in the stomach of the sacrificed sheep is dried and afterwards sown in a special place in the field. The grain of the crop resulting from it is called "the barley of the Prophet" and regarded as holy. It is either sown separately or together with other seed, or, if there is much of it, partly used for food.

[128] Very commonly fortune is read in the right shoulder-blade 787 of the sacrificed sheep (Fez, Tangier, Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Yusi, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Amanuz, Aglu, Demnat, Igliwa, and other Shloh of the Great Atlas).

The shoulder-blade is supposed to tell whether the year will be good or bad, whether there will be much rain or drought, whether the food will be cheap or dear, whether the Sultan will be strong or

787 powerless, whether the Christians will trouble the country or leave it in peace, and whether the people will keep in good health or there will be many deaths. As to the manner in which this kind of divination is practised, none of the many Arab and Berber scribes whom I have asked about it has been able to tell anything beyond the general statement that it is done much in the same way as is the fortune-reading in the blood. But I presume that it must be more complicated, as [791] there are only special persons, called kett afa (sing. kett af, from kt ef, "shoulder"), who are versed in it.

[159]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH CERTAIN DATES OF THE SOLAR YEAR

●796 805 While the Muhammadan year is a lunar year, the Moors are also familiar with the Julian calendar, especially in country places, where the principal occupations of the people are regulated by the seasons. They call the months by their Latin names, more or less modified. January is called yennayer or yennair (Fez), nnair (Ait Sadden, Igliwa), inneir (Aglu); February, yebrayer (Fez), hobrair (Ait Sadden), kobrair (Ait Warain), brair (Igliwa); March, mars (Fez), mars (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); April, yebril (Fez), ibril (Ait Sadden), ibril (Igliwa); May, miyyu (Fez), maiyu (ibid., Ait Sadden), maiyu (Igliwa); June, yunyuh (Fez), yunyuh (Ait Sadden), nunyuh (Igliwa); July, yulyuz (Fez), yulyuz (Ait Sadden), lulyuz (Igliwa); August, gust (Fez), gust (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); September, sut anbir (Fez), sutenbir (Ait Sadden), sutanbir (Igliwa); October, kt ubar (Fez), htobar (Ait Sadden), ktobar (Ait Warain), ktubr (Igliwa); November, nouwanbir (Fez), nuwenbir (Ait Sadden), nuwanbir (Igliwa); December, dujanbir (Fez), dujenbir (Ait Sadden), dujanbir (Igliwa).

The solar year is divided into twenty-eight manazil (sing. menzla), each containing thirteen days, with the exception of the jebha (18th-31st July), which contains fourteen. [160] The first menzla is n-natah (in the written language of the scribes n-natah), from 23rd March to 4th April. The following ones are l-butain (5th-17th April); t uriya (t-turiya), 18th-30th April; d-dabaran, 1st-13th May; l-haq'a, 14th-26th May; l-han'a, 27th May-8th June; d-dira', 9th-21st June; n-net ra (n-natirah), 22nd June-4th July; tarfah, 5th-17th July;

796 805 jebha, 18th-31st July; l-harat an (l-haratan), 1st-13th August; s-sarfa, 14th-26th August; l-'auwa, 27th August-8th September; s-samak, 9th-21st September; l-gafar (i-gafar), 22nd September-4th October; j-janaban, 5th-17th October; l-iklil, 18th-30th October; l-qalb, 31st October-12th November; s-saula, 13th-25th November; n-nu'aim, 26th November-8th December; sa'd l-belda, 9th-21st December; d-dabeh, 22nd December-3rd January; sa'd bla' (sa'd l-bula'), 4th-16th January; sa'd s'oud (sa'd s-su'ud), 17th-29th January; l'ahbiya, 30th January-11th February; farg l-moqaddam, 12th-24th February; farg l-mohhar (farg l-mu'ahhar), 25th February-9th March; batna l-hot, 10th-22nd March.

The year has four seasons (fosol, sing. fasl). Spring (fasl ar-rbe'a) commences on 15th February, summer (s-saif) on 17th May, autumn (l-hrif) on 17th August, winter (s-set wa) on 16th November. The forty days between 12th December and 20th January inclusive are called liali, and the forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive are called s-smaim or s-smaim.

To various dates of the solar year magical qualities are ascribed, and this leads to the observance of many positive rites and taboos.

796 [162] The Ait Waryager call the last day of the old year and the first day of the new imgaren, "sheikhs".

[166] The Bni 'Aros eat siyoha on New Year's eve and sfen j on the next day. The Ait Waryager eat eggs and wheaten bread on the former occasion and seksu with fowl on the following evening.

[169] Among the Ait Waryager women who have cows and are in the habit of making butter go on New Year's day to a scribe and procure from him a charm which he writes with a needle on a bullet; this charm is hung on the wooden hook (ashum) from which the earthenware churn (aqasror) is suspended, and is left there till the following New Year as a protection against witchcraft.

[765] [735] [174] The Ait Waryager, again, take on New Year's morning iuzan, or porridge, to the graves of their deceased relatives and distribute it in charity to children and poor people.

[178] At the same time I have also found quite the contrary belief, that it serves as a protection against snakes and scorpions by making them blind if it touches their eyes (Tetuan, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Tsul, Ait Sadden) or even killing them (Tetuan, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain), whereas if there is no rain in the nisan their eyes are said to become like fisan (hoes) and their mouths like kisan (cups).

796 [182] The 24th of June, or Midsummer day (Old Style), is called in Arabic l-'ansara (l-ansra); and in Berber l'ansart (Shloh, Ait Warain), l'ansart (Ait Nder, Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden), or t'ainsa (Temsaman).

On that day, or sometimes the evening before, smouldering fires are made in many different parts of Morocco.

[185] On the evening of Midsummer day the Ait Waryager make in their yards fires with poplar (asafsaf) leaves, pennyroyal, and barley straw, over which the people leap.

[187] Besides smoke and fire customs, water ceremonies are [188] frequently practised at Midsummer.

[189] Among the Ait Waryager the people take their bath before [515] sunrise, and those who refrain from doing so are supposed to remain unclean.

796 [190] "O God, pray for the sake of the Prophet, the chosen one;
245 dust is better than male figs".

The last-mentioned phrase alludes to the custom, found at Midsummer in various northern tribes (Fahs, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), of hanging bunches of male figs in the female trees. This is said to prevent the fruit from dropping or to make it good, although it really serves as a means of fertilising the female figs by the aid of a very small hymenopter, Blastophaga grossorum, which lays its eggs in the interior of the figs. I was told by a scribe from the Rif that one insect is sufficient to make forty figs good by going in and out of them. The male figs hung in the female trees are wrapped up in straw, esparto (ariy; Ait Waryager), or pennyroyal (flaiyu; Andjra), the smell of which is considered good for the trees. The Rif Berbers and Andjra mountaineers also make a few cuts in the trunks of their fig trees so that the sap oozes out, in order to keep the tree from getting dry and the fruit from falling; and some of them, moreover, hang [754] oleander twigs in their fig trees as a charm against the evil eye. To protect their apple and pear trees from the same enemy, the people of Andjra on Midsummer day suspend from them stone weights stolen from the market-place or hang on them thistles (amgil) taken from the same place.

751 [192] The Ait Waryager on Midsummer day press the juice of a
796 grape or two into their eyes to prevent their getting diseased; and in order to rid themselves of fleas they put a flea inside a grape and bury it in the dungheap (dazubait).

796 In many parts of Morocco certain eating ceremonies take place on Midsummer day.

[193] The Ait Waryager make imsihan (the Arabic siyoha) by boiling wheat which has been soaked over night, and adding to it salt, as also butter if they have any.

796 787 821 [206] The forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive (Old Style) form the period of s-smaim, or "the great heat". It is a time of omens. Thunder in the smaim is supposed to indicate sickness or death among men or domestic animals (Fez, Hiaina, Tsul, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager).

In Andjra continual east wind in the smaim is taken for a sign of much rain in the earlier ploughing season, whilst the Ait Waryager expect a wet ploughing season if there is much west wind in the smaim.

[208]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH AGRICULTURE

241 The first ploughing season nominally commences on 17th October (Old Style), but the ploughing may begin earlier or later depending on the autumn rains, which must first soak the ground. It is called in Arabic hart l-bekri, l-hart de l-bekri, or simply l-bekri; and in Berber dayarza damanzuit (Ait Waryager), tayaza tamanzust (Temsaman), taharratt umenzu (Ait Nder), amenzu (Ait Yusi), amenzui (Amanuz). During this season wheat,(1) barley (2), beans (3),

1. In Arabic gemah or gmah, and, in Northern Morocco, by preference zra', a word which farther south denotes both wheat and barley; in Berber irden (Shloh), erden (Ait Yusi), erden (Ait Waryager). On the wide extension of this Berber term see Laoust, op. cit. p. 265 sq.

2. In Arabic s'er; in Berber timzin (Shloh), tumzin (Amanuz), timzin (Ait Yusi), a term which is very widely used in North Africa (Laoust, op. cit. p. 264). I have not, however, found it in the dialects of the Rif, where the word for barley is imendi.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

771 saints' tombs (23). Ṣūfī brotherhoods have never been widespread although the 'Alāwīyīn (a recent order centered in Mustaghānim, in Algeria), Darqāwa, Tijānīyīn and Naṣirīyīn have each gained a number of aherents the first-mentioned predominates at the presen time and the second was the most popular before the Riffian War.

778 Although the whole «fifth» of Imrābdhen, technically speaking, is descendend from *shurfā*, it has completely lost its *baraka* (a wonderwoking power not unlike the Melanesian *mana*) through participation in feuds. Both these families, as well as the rest of Imrābdhen, lebong to distant ramifications of the *Shurfā* Idrīsīyīn. The *shurfā* alone and not even all of them possess the quality of *baraka*, upon which they capitalize; it is said that they can cure sick babies by spitting in their mouths.

796 The usual Muslim festivals are observed: 'Āshūrā, Mūlud (in classical Arabic, *Maulid*), 'Īd aṣ-Ṣaghīr and 'Īd al-Kabīr (called 'Aid th-Amzyān and 'Aid th-Amqrān in the Rīf), while two pre-Islamic events are still celebrated in the agricultural calendar or *'ām al-fillāḥ*: the 'Anṣra, on June 24, a survival of the summer solstice rite, and the Ḥagūz, on December 31. The only local religious pilgrimage is [788] the annual one to the tomb of Sīdī Bū Khiyār, in Bū Mā'dhīn, Thimārzgha, in the mountains, at the time of the 'Īd al-Kabīr. There are many other saints' tombs in the tribe, but they are only of minor importance and too numerous to mention here.

142 A word still needs to be said about racial characteristics and ethnic personality. Like all the Central Riffians, about 40% of the Aith Wuryāghil are standard Mediterraneans, with the usual Mediterranean racial attributes: short to medium stature, legs long in comparison to trunk, long heads, narrow faces, small teeth, prominent noses, dark hair, brown eyes and fairly heavy body hair. But, like all Mediterraneans, they show a persistent minority trend toward blondism; this tendency toward light brown hair and blue eyes is, among the Central Riffians, slightly higher than the usual 25% among other Mediterranean peoples. Coon believes this slight excess to be due to isolation in a mountain refuge area (for most of the blond Wuryāghlīs live in the mountains and not in the Bay of Alhucemas),

(23) Rodríguez Padilla, Isaías: **Cofradías Religiosas en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios.**, Ceuta 1930, p. 24.

4: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MX3 Rif MX

an altitude of 6500 feet, is the highest point in the whole tribe of Aith Wariyāghir. It is located above the village (*adshār*) of Bū Ma'dān, in the district (*r'ayyith*) of Timarzga. The tomb itself, a simple structure unadorned with the usual white cupola, was, in time, supplemented with a small mosque of mud and stone, today in a state of disrepair owing to the ravages of wind, snow, sleet and ice. The actual pinnacle of the massif is not the site of the tomb proper, but a point about 150 feet above it, called Tamrābiṭ. Upon ascending this point, after a spine-shattering journey by jeep up the tortuously winding *piste* from the Wednesday Market of Aith Turīrth (Spanish *Zoco de Arbaa Taurirt*), one realizes that one is at the top of the Central Rif. Almost all of Aith Wariyāghir is below one to the north, and only one or two of the Azru Uqshar peaks in the tribe of Igzinnāyen to the southeast, discernible in outline on a clear day, are higher. Just east of the tomb-mosque complex is a flat space measuring about 600 feet by 300 feet, used for prayer, and just above and north of this is a small grove of *ādhān* (from, by association, the Arabic for «prayer-call»?) trees; and between the mosque and the tomb itself is a small open area called the *Sūq al-Ṣāliḥīn* the Market of the Righteous.

The pilgrimage takes place on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah, one day before the 'Aid al-Kabīr or Great Feast of Islam, called *r-'Aid Umqqran* by the Rifians. People come from all over the southern mountain districts of Aith Wariyāghir, as well as from the neighboring tribes of Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnāyen, to attend it. The greatest number are locals from Timarzga (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), after which come those from Aith 'Arūs (Jbil, Aith Wariyāghir), Aith 'Ammarth, Aith Bū 'Avyāsh (Aith Wariyāghir), Zāwīth n Sīdī 'Abd r-Qādir of the Imrābdhen of Aith Ḥadhīfah (Aith Wariyāghir), Mārruwī in Aith 'Abd Allāh (Aith Wariyāghir), Isrīḥan in Aith Yūsif w 'Arī (Aith Wariyāghir), and Igzinnāyen. In 1955, all the tribal authorities of the Nkūr qaidate of Aith Wariyāghir (Ait Bū 'Avvāsh and Jbil), as well as the Spanish *interventores* both of Aith Wariyāghir and Aith 'Ammarth, were also present.

By about 10:00 A. M., most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, have assembled on the mountain top, where their first act is to visit the shrine. Merchants are busy setting up their small

614 site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
616 elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

671 428 562 housebuilding, although here women help, in return for male protection. Women are disregarded here, for in these aspects of movable property, to the formation of which, in the last analysis, they have not ultimately contributed, they receive nothing. On the other hand, in such work as befits their sex, nothing is denied them (even including cereals, for they contribute to the harvest by reaping grain with a sickle and transporting it, on their backs, to the threshing floor.) This notion is linked with the manner of acquiring property through inheritance, purchase or even through force (i.e. blood vengeance)[15]. Property gained in any other way is illegitimate, and as men are the ones who gain it, they have no reason to divide ir or share it with women.

114 113 D) Points Regarding Arabic Work on Anti-Sunna Traits (fragmentary):

I hereby review a work in Arabic by Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Brahim Aqibli Amshali al-Susi[16], dated 1342 A.H. (1923-4 A.D.), and published by al-Fatimi ibn Muhammad al-Shagadi. In this work the author exhorts 114 798 Berbers to give up practices which are irreverent and contrary to the sunna, the Custom of the Prophet, and lists those which are to be condemned, as follows:

798 796 1) Irreverent Customs at the 'Ashura:[17] Carnivals. The author rejects all forms of bonfires, of costume and of representation, i.e. imitating animals, birds, old men and old women, as well as the use of obscene words and the wearing of transparent clothes. I have myself seen all this practiced in the Rif[18]. Regarding the use of bonfires, it seems that in the Rif they are lit up to smoke the trees as a possible disinfectant[19].

000 18--These carnivals are impromptu affairs put on particular feast days ('Ansra, 'Aid l-Kbir, but not on 'Ashura as far as we know) by the people themselves, who are given the name ishwiyikhen when they dress up. A full description may be found in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 152-4. Such carnivals still occur among the Igzinnayen, and possibly among the [114] Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman as well, but are (and were) unknown among the Aith Waryaghar, contrary to Coon's statement regarding their distribution.

[155] 19--The lighting of bonfires was practiced all over the Rif on the day of the 'Ansra, or summer solstice festival, on June 24 (Julian, or agricultural, calendar); women and children used to jump over these fires to cure themselves of any ills. The custom was, however, looked on very much askance, if not actually outlawed, by 'Abd al-Krim; and no one indulges in it today, although it seems that the mountaineers of the subclan of Timarzga in the Aith Waryaghar followed it as late as 1950.

[114] 20--The shroud of a corpse is not pierced in any way in the Rif, nor is a stick nailed perpendicularly to the grave. Perhaps what is meant in the latter instance is the Rifian practice of placing the footstone of a woman's grave perpendicular to the headstone, to differentiate it from a man's grave, in which both stones are parallel to each other.

21--A Hizb, pl. hizib, is one of the 60 subdivisions of the Koran.

[796] 22--In the muslim year, there are two feasts called 'aid: the 'Aid s-Sghir, or "Little Feast", which occurs just after Ramadan, and the 'Aid l-Kbir, or "Big Feast", on the 8th through 10th days of the last month of the year, the Dhu l-Hijja. It is to the 'Aid l-Kbir that the [788] text refers here. These three days are those when pilgrims at Mecca [782] undergo the rites of pilgrimage, and when Muslims all over Islam must sacrifice a sheep in commemoration of the sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

23--An imam is a prayer leader in the mosque, who stands before the congregation.

[796] 23a--On the day before 'Aid l-Kbir (i.e. day of 'Arafa), women visit cemeteries and take food with them, which they eat there, while the men go to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar (an amrabidh of Algerian origin, from Tlemcen, who is buried in Bu Ma'dhan, in the subclan of Timarzga, at the highest point--1930 meters--in the whole tribe of the Aith Waryaghar). While there, they watch the litany and ritual of the religious brotherhood of the 'Alawiyin, after which they distribute alms to the tulba (who attend in droves), pray en masse, and go home to sacrifice their sheep the following day (the 'Aid l-Kbir proper) in the bosoms of their families. See our article, "An 'Imarah in the Central Rif: the annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar", Tamuda, Año V, Semestre II, 1957, pp. 239-245; my report is based on field notes taken at the ceremony itself in 1955.

[114] 24--This is not so. Women visit cemeteries on feast days, but that is all.

25--It is not.

671 This proves
182 that Rifian law tended to satisfy a need and not an ideal, as we have
443 just said; for further on, the qanun of the Aith 'Abdallah points out
796 a truce to be held on a given day, on Tuesday, the market day, and not on Friday, the religious day and the day of attendance at the noon prayer in the mosque. The day of peace is thus a layman's day.....

671 The law is simple. And hard. And sufficient to be encrusted with obligatory relief in the most refractory cranium of a believer, an objective impossible to obtain among modern societies. Nobody pretended ignorance, as all are wont to do or swear today.

There are neither aggravators nor attenuators, only consummate (and consummated) acts.

Paragraph a: They discount intentions, so difficult to prove
[681] and needing so much patience to investigate. They attain results more easy to prove and more quick to sanction (i.e. castigate) and be sanctioned, in conformance with their rudimentary law.

671 Paragraph b: A hard punishment: the liquidation of the mur-
682 derer, with the loophole that after his flight, the law may fatten on him. But it does not give a heavy punishment to his agnates, although it avoids impunity. It does not cease to be more humanitarian than other analogous qanuns, if indeed this custom is followed in reality.
[681] The gradation of fines is simple and even attempted murder is penalized.

671 Paragraph c: A typical example of the fact that Rifian law is only concerned with the external manifestation of the crime.

[681] Paragraph d: And so that the gradation of the punishment follows that manifestation as a shadow does a body, from the time that it is initiated.

000 and he acquires a false idea of the environment in which he finds himself.

B) Days and Sites:

224 619 689 For this reason, all the tribes had fixed days for hunting during the week; it was obligatory for all able-bodied men, and those who eluded such an obligation were penalized.[182]

224 This obligation, like all those which this society imposed upon its members, was not capricious, but served a utilitarian end and responded to a basic need. When the number of the line of beaters was greater, so were the probabilities of yield in the hunt, insuring with good practical sense the flushing of a greater amount of game, the consumption of which was the hunt's object most of the time. In most cases, as today, the meat was to be eaten in common, and never sold; for the Rifian, outside of the times of prohibition, the hunt must be free of all bonds and impositions, for today (1939), it if were not for the understandable tolerance of the Spanish tribal administration, the law would become a privilege for the European hunter, reserving for him a distraction or gain at the cost of the need of the tribesmen.

[196] Even today, the Rifians still continue to hunt on fixed days, ordinarily on Saturdays, but never on Fridays (day of rest) nor on market days; even so hunting is not obligatory in most villages. In the clan of the Izimmuren, in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen, people hunt on Saturdays or Mondays; in the Aith 'Ammarth, on Wednesdays, Saturdays or Sundays; in the Aith Hadhifa clan (Aith Waryaghar), on Thursdays or Saturdays; etc.

585 available and the weather is most propitious for holding the
221 giant outside wedding ceremonies common in the Central Rif.

221 After the wedding season, the cycle resumes and with the
241 first autumn rains the land is ploughed anew for the next crop.
[461] This process begins for most men when they are but 12 or 13, and continues with monotonous regularity until they die or become too enfeebled to do the work. Perhaps it is this unending sameness
[999] which contributes to some of the fatalistic beliefs held by the tribesmen.

231 Although the Berber of the Central Rif mountains is primarily an agriculturalist, he also maintains a stock of assorted animals. Most families have a herd of goats, a few sheep, and some chickens. If the household has some wealth they will also have a cow and either a mule or donkey. Although livestock is
[262] not the primary food source, it is a very important secondary supply, providing milk, butter, eggs, and meat. Livestock is
[556] also an important source of material and social wealth and of
[581] prestige. Animals serve as reserve capital on the hoof which
[471] can be converted into hard cash at the weekly market. Perhaps
231 most important is the ritual value of animals. While grain is
796 vital for subsistence there is very little social significance attached to it. On the other hand, while animals are secondary to subsistence they are the essence of the ceremonial and ritual life of the Riffian. There are practically no communal events,

231 There are practically no communal events,
996 and few pertaining to individual life crises, which can be accom-
782 plished without the sacrifice of an animal. Perhaps this social
231 and ceremonial significance of animals among a sedentary, horti-
182 cultural people can be explained by the fact that they live by a
[771] religion whose manifest forms of spiritual observation developed among pastoral transhumants. I do not mean to imply that goats and sheep are as important in the lives of the Berbers as are camels to the Bedouin or cattle to the Nuer. The economic base of the Riffian is perhaps too diversified for such psychological domination to take place. Nor were there the same sort of feuds between goat herdsmen as exist with camel or cattle. If, however, we regard livestock as merely secondary food sources in the economic sphere, we shall miss its importance to the social life and institutional structure of the Rif and hence misevaluate its true economic significance.

121 In the discourse which follows I shall be dealing with economic units of extremely small scale. To a reader oriented to the scale of economic transaction which takes place in post-industrial society, the examples used may seem irrelevant to an examination of economic organization. My problem, nonetheless,
433 impels me to use such examples. Waterson (1962:4) estimates that
435 the annual per capita output of the fellah in traditional
[191] Moroccan agriculture is 30,000 francs or $60. In the Rif, which is regarded as one of the poorest sections of Morocco,
231 the figure is probably lower. Yet my data on the average prices
435

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
571 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

796 435 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 785 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset. [461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible. [461] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work [369] pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting 796 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs 785 at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during 472 443 Ramadan, the suqs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare [265] and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for 796 the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the 785 Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

796 785 [574] [432] [431] [794] Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men [782] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and distribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

346 794 Before turning from religious activities to magical practices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

751 435 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams. Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

• 796 241 789 821 One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed, the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins [533] [539] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community, singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nia-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawah- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food. [782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.

Chapter 6

THE MARKETPLACE

128
443 While the preceding chapters have been devoted to distribution of wealth according to imperatives or bias arising from the social conditions of Berber life, this concluding section is devoted to exchanges which take place within the market. In it I describe the composition of the market and the interactions of its participants. I conclude with an analysis of the role of the local market in the economic and social life of the Riffian and in what ways the local Berber economy articulates with the national economy of Morocco. By doing this I hope to present a coherent picture of the integration between the indigenous exchange system and the larger national economy.

443 The characteristic form of the market, or suq, in the Rif is for buyers and sellers to come together once a week at a permanent location within each tribe or large tribal section. By holding their markets on separate days, the tribes have produced a system of staggering weekly markets all across the Rif. [196] Thus a merchant can travel to a different suq every day of the week except Friday, the Muslim sabbath. The fellah, however, rarely engage in any market activity except at the local suq. A study of the reasons behind this will divulge many of the

443 buy animals from the local tribesmen, have them inspected by a
445 local official (a practicante; there is no word in tamazight for
463 this innovation introduced by the Spanish), kill them, cut the
231 meat up and sell it. Since it is impractical for most Riffians
(556) to kill an animal for meat unless there is a special social occasion, this service of packaging meat in small lots provides the better-off fellah family with the only meat it eats during
(735) the week. The poor, of course, cannot even afford this luxury.
443 Besides the butchers, there are also barbers, blacksmiths, sol-
445 derers, shoe repairmen, and food vendors. The latter consist
(265) of a group of men located to one side of the market who prepare
(785) and sell fried green peppers, eggs, and sardines. They are the
(796) market group most severely affected by the religious month of Ramadan, since eating food during the days of that month is prohibited, and they go on a monthlong vacation. People engaged in
445 services of this sort, iron workers, blacksmiths, shoe repairmen,
565 and weighers of grain, form a special social class of imziren, or shameless ones. Such public occupations, while necessary, are socially disapproved of and members of this group are thought to have relinquished all connections with their tribe and are wandering about from market to market in search of a living.
445 The most common explanation (given by the fellah not the imziren)
565 for their being where they are is that they have lost their land
423 sometime in the past and must engage in such occupations. Since loss of land through feuding did take place, this explanation is plausible. On the other hand, some imziren musicians with whom

which the Rifians are deeply attached, and their attempts to codify it, in spite of Islamic law?...We are faced with the hypothesis that in times past their conversion to Islam was not complete, a situation analogous to that prevailing in other Berber-speaking regions. Louis Milliot in 1926 pointed to the survival of Kabyle qanuns in Algeria[5], but in the Rif this is neither the only nor the principal factor, as there was no long period of peace in the Rif, and the lack of this experience gave the Spanish administration the option of recognizing an "area of custom", which in the French Zone was the main reason for the Berber Dahir of 1930.[6]

In the Rif, the main reason for the non-application of Islamic law would seem to lie not so much in the degree of Rifian Islamization but rather in the constant state of revolt of the area, which would have rendered regular and dilatory (sic!) Muslim legal procedure inefficient or inefficacious. The basic question was far more one of the impotence of the Rifians themselves in the face of this problem, rather than one of their incompetence. Under these circumstances, we may imagine that fqih-s, tulba and other religious personnel were forced, in order not to die of hunger, to limit themselves to making amulets and charms for women and to writing up and registering the decisions of the imqqranen, "the Big Ones", the ones who counted. For the same reason, shurfa and imrabdhen were unable to do anything else except resolve conflicts and dictate sentences, which were up to the parties concerned to accept or not, as they wanted. Where, then, could one have found a qadi who, conscious of his duty and a disinterested judge of Muslim law,

housebuilding, although here women help, in return for male protection. Women are disregarded here, for in these aspects of movable property, to the formation of which, in the last analysis, they have not ultimately contributed, they receive nothing. On the other hand, in such work as befits their sex, nothing is denied them (even including cereals, for they contribute to the harvest by reaping grain with a sickle and transporting it, on their backs, to the threshing floor.) This notion is linked with the manner of acquiring property through inheritance, purchase or even through force (i.e. blood vengeance)[15]. Property gained in any other way is illegitimate, and as men are the ones who gain it, they have no reason to divide ir or share it with women.

D) Points Regarding Arabic Work on Anti-Sunna Traits (fragmentary):

I hereby review a work in Arabic by Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Brahim Aqibli Amshali al-Susi[16], dated 1342 A.H. (1923-4 A.D.), and published by al-Fatimi ibn Muhammad al-Shagadi. In this work the author exhorts Berbers to give up practices which are irreverent and contrary to the sunna, the Custom of the Prophet, and lists those which are to be condemned, as follows:

1) Irreverent Customs at the 'Ashura:[17] Carnivals. The author rejects all forms of bonfires, of costume and of representation, i.e. imitating animals, birds, old men and old women, as well as the use of obscene words and the wearing of transparent clothes. I have myself seen all this practiced in the Rif[18]. Regarding the use of bonfires, it seems that in the Rif they are lit up to smoke the trees as a possible disinfectant[19].

798
764 2) Funeral Rites Contrary to Sunna: the funeral chant invoking the name of God which is started up when the body is lifted up to be taken to the cemetery (and this is done in the Rif) is rejected as bad (sic). A man should not place himself facing Mecca during the funeral prayer (at the grave) (sic); nor should the body be oriented in this direction (sic) nor should its shroud be pierced (in the Rif, in Ibuqquyen, a hold is pierced in the nose of the shroud), nor can a stick be nailed perpendicularly to the grave (this is done in the Rif[20]); and the catching...in the act by someone of the body being buried or of the recitation of the hizb[21] of the Koran is like lighting the three lights in agony.[22]

798
[302] 3) Deceits and Frauds in the 'Aid: men should not put henna on
[562] their hands and should not shake hands with women, as this is sinful.
[794] Getting meals in the mosque is very bad, as are petitions (of gifts)
[769] to the imam[23] after the prayer of the 'Aid; and visiting the cemetery on feast days is also bad, as these are days of happiness[23a]. (In the Rif all these practices are observed[24]).

798
585 4) Weddings: It is very bad to mark the doors of the house of either the bride or the groom with blood (this is done in the Rif[25]), and so is firing rifle shots in the bride's room on the day that the marriage is consummated[26]; so is touching the bride's clothing, or helping her mount the mule which is to take her to the groom's house, or helping her alight on arrival, or mounting the same animal behind her; and equally bad is someone showing up at the moment of union of the newly married couple or staying so near to them that he can hear them talking. Also, men playing in front of women and women dancing in

798 front of men[27] are also rejected, as are ululations made by the women
585 on behalf of the groom when he enters the bride's room. (In the Bni Hmid[28], the bride is carried on the shoulders of volunteers to the groom's house; she does not, as elsewhere, ride a mule. In the same tribe, on the first day of the 'Aid, the men, on coming out of the mosque, greet the women, who are waiting for them in a line, one by one.)

E) Procedure:

692 Jural proceedings in the Rif are conducted in front of the
623 jma'th, personalized by several individuals (in one qanun, that of the Imhauren of the Aith 'Ari clan, by a triumvirate) who meet daily[29] in a central location known to all; under a large tree (usually carob or wild olive), at some water point, or in the mosque. Here the men come with the iziddjifen, and the old and sick men, to sit in the sun, to talk, and perhaps to take a siesta.

695 Procedure is as follows: the plaintiff comes to the area chosen, and, in most cases, both contestants present themselves there, each explaining his reasons without, however, coming to the central point. If he is a stranger, boys and villagers accompany him to the site and there they give the reason for his presence. Ordinarily the question is apt to be settled amicably right there, if it is not an important one; but if this is not the case, for example, and if one of the parties does not agree, the proceedings are extended somewhat longer, as he might request an evaluation by a specialist in such matters, or offer to provide witnesses[30] or other modes of proof; and he sets the time--or
[623] one of them asks to swear. The jma'th, e.g. all of those men present (not all the men of the village nor even nearly all of them) lets the

778 372 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[155] [132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 778 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direction of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 772 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology, as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 778 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [534] [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi 'Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 796 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners. To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyat among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

621 [801] This autonomy in the questions which were imposed by the number five[3] rendered necessary an arbitration and a management of resources, and a creation of functionaries, although generally these 000 latter were unpaid. All this created such a solidarity and such benefits, lost today, that one might wonder if it would not be advantageous, in the undeveloped and rural stage in which the Rifians still exist, to resuscitate some of these practices or revitalize those of them whose survival is an indication of the need for them, through their codification in a jma'a statute (author's italics), the transcendency of which seems to us to be basic because it is a matter of foundations and not of retouches on roofs or walls, as we are tired of observing in the copious and unoriginal legislation of both zones of this torn land that is Morocco.

This neglect of the countryside (campo), of which these matters are yet another index, would not be admissible but might be excusable in an industrialized Morocco, but never in a land which, like 121 this one, is essentially agrarian and maritime.[4] Contrary, then, to 621 habitual writings on Morocco, we will venture once again on the humble but complicated paths of Rifian social structure, with a view to analyzing it, and intentionally putting aside that chorus of reciters with a more or less "sharifian" genealogy[5], and proceed to an analysis of the functions of the jma'th.

3--The reference to the number five in this connection is curious: is it supposed to refer, for instance, to the concept of "five fifths"?

[114] 4--Blanco reverses the order of these two adjectives in the original text, but we only need point out that Morocco's maritime vocation makes a very poor second, if that, to its agricultural one.

[114] 5--Why Blanco should manifest this evident prejudice against the holders of holy genealogies is not clear, though possibly because he held such geneaologies to be more "Arab" than "Berber" or "Rifian".

776 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun
372 at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house,
776 namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold
784 of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis,
[585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

● 802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor,
784 taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between
[264] asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water
776 which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to
272 prevent jnun from drinking of it.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

MARKETS 3

443

Butcher's section, Suk el Artna, Kasba Selwan, on the Mazuza-Krbdana border

Shluh butcher with goat's skin inflated before flaying. This method is also employed in the Rif

●[804]

Women selling bread. Ajdir

One of the *isheqiyen* (weighers) weighing grapes against a stone. Gzennaya

Selling salted sardines. Tiguissa, Ghomara

[p. 110 (c)]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

764 get through the whole Koran in time. The family supplies them with food which they eat when tired of chanting.

When the corpse is ready for burial, be it on the day of decease or the next day, the whole village comes out to attend the procession and funeral. The women are represented only by the older married women.

The corpse, resting on the door of the village mosque, is carried by four men, constantly changing, so that everyone in the village may be said to have borne it part of the way. Each man runs up and takes a corner of the door for a few feet, when he is replaced by another. In this way the corpse is carried to the cemetery. If, as often happens, the mosque door comes apart on the way (for it is but loosely tied together), the corpse must be set on the ground while the door is being repaired. In each place where the corpse is thus laid a stone must be set up.

Arrived at the place of burial, some of the men busy themselves with digging the grave. [804] It consists of two holes, one inside the other. The upper hole must be twelve foot-measures long, a leg-straddle wide, and navel deep. The inner hole must be one span wide, the length of the corpse, measured with a rope, and knee deep. The corpse is put in the inner hole on its left side, its feet to the east. If the corpse is too thick to fit into the span-wide hole, it must be forced into it, since it is considered very bad for a corpse to be given a wider grave. When necessary, however, the ditch is widened, but at the expense of the soul of the deceased. Seven flat slabs of slate or other sedimentary stone are brought, having been shaped when necessary. They are laid over the inner grave crosswise, and dirt is piled in above them and the outer grave filled. While the corpse is resting on the bank, just before being set into the grave, the students chant the burial ritual from the Koran. As soon as the body is in the grave the women go away, and the men collect together in a circle and pray.

The pre-Islamic graves in the cemetery at Beni Hozmar, on the road between Sheshawen and Tetuan, can be distinguished from the later ones in the same cemetery by the fact that the former are orientated north and south. The graves at Aswil, on the border between the Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel, are similarly orientated. These graves are said to be pre-Islamic. I witnessed a funeral at Taghzuth, at which the grave was dug north and south, and the corpse buried with its head to the south. Three Riffians who were with me objected to this orientation, but their objection was not heeded. The men taking part in the interment argued that the direction was east and west, obviously an evasion, since at that moment the sun was about to set directly at right angles to the axis of the grave. Since this burial took place during the week of the summer solstice, the orientation must have been almost due north and south. On account of the sensitiveness of the Taghzuthis on this point I was unable to obtain any but visual information concerning the persistence of this custom.

A flat stone, usually artifically shaped, is erected at head and feet; in the case of a man the stones are parallel to each other, and at right angles to the axis of the body; in the case of a woman, the headstone is set in the axis line and at right angles to the footstone.

764 171 The type of burial described above is typical of the central regions of the Rif. In the east, and among the maritime tribes, the custom in use is that employed in the Arabized section of Morocco in general. The body is buried at any time desired, no hesitation being felt at burying it in the night, or at leaving it alone and in the dark. It is carried to the grave on a rug by four paid pall-bearers, accompanied by two paid grave-diggers carrying hoes. The immediate family may attend the burial, but the village as a whole does not.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000
[465] 97--The fqih is paid by each nuclear family of the jma'th in barley every year, but he receives absolutely nothing from property in habus.

[251] 98--The office of amarras is nonexistent in the Central Rif, where storehouses, either individual or collective, are unknown, and each man keeps his grain reserves in an underground deposit (thasrafth) in the patio of his house.

[804] [114] 99--In the days of the Republik, a mudd was reckoned at 48 kilos; in Spanish times, 50; and since independence, 56. This puts some doubt on the accuracy of Blanco's figures.

[114] 100--Blanco erroneously thought that collective storehouses once existed in the Rif, and he cites Ajdir and an unnamed place in the Sanhajan tribe of the Bni Hmid as examples; and he also thought that the institution should be revived, as a sort of bank or treasury or center of credit.

101--What Blanco no doubt means to say here is that the notables whose names are written down in this qanun are ipso facto no longer anonymous, and that the first step on the rise to personal power is the shedding off of anonymity.

[114] [562] 102--In Rifian, imqqranen dh-imzzyanen, and in the Arabic of qanuns, "al-kibar wa al-sighar": the terms refer to all the men and youths (or boys) of a given locality. Perhaps this is the root of Blanco's interesting, if in some ways rather questionable, notion of women, who do not have the same status as their menfolk, as minors.

103--The notion of qa'id came in with 'Abd al-Krim, but no Rifian living can remember the day when there was no qadi, even if only matters pertaining to marriage, divorce and land fell under his jurisdiction.

[114] [199] 104--What Blanco probably means to say here is "Arabization" rather than "Islamization"; there is much more than just a subtle distinction between the two, and even during the period of the "Republik", a Rifian would have been mortally offended if anyone did not consider him a good Muslim.

105--Bu-mwarith: an official who takes over in the name of the government the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs.

106--Ukil l-ghuyab: inheritance or property representative for absentees; the man's function is a literal translation of his title.

107--This traditionally given etymology seems highly doubtful, for the Rif at least, and the term should rather read aitarba'in or aitharba'in (sing. utharba'in), which changes the meaning to the far more plausible one of "people of the people".

[114] 108--This seems to be purely an ex post facto explanation on Blanco's part and has no relation to reality. The notion of Ait-arba'in as people of the forty, in which there literally were 40 councilmembers, d o es e x i s t in some areas (i.e. the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara), but it is unknown in the Rif.

671 224 [804] If, however, the animal should flee and be killed by another hunter, it (still) belongs to the one who discovered it, although he may not have shot or thrown at it, provided that the distance from the point where it fell to that where it was discovered can be covered by a stone's throw, done either by him himself or by another hunter designated by him, with, furthermore, the choice of either point as that of the stone-throw being open to him (either where the animal fell or where it got up). This is done in order to utilize the slope, if.....this distance had not been previously established.

671 223 224 8) An animal or bird flushed up by a hunter is his if he does not pass beyond a distance of forty feet counted from the point at which it was flushed, and even though the shot may have missed it or if it was overtaken by a dog (Sanhaja Srir).

[681] 9) If an animal or bird wounded by one hunting party is finished off and collected by another one, it belongs to the first party, to which it must be returned even though it may already be cooked; and if it has been eaten, the second party must pay the first 25 pesetas as compensation (Sanhaja Srir).

671 223 623 10) Nests belong to whoever discovers them, and in the event that they are saved as bait in order to hunt the mother with a trap or net, the site must be shown to the jma'th, in order to insure priority rights.

G) Dogs:[191]

671 223 224 231 1) Animals or birds picked up by dogs are not for the owner of the dog, but for whoever takes them out of his mouth (Aith 'Ammarth). This is based upon the fact that if the dogs are not trained, they will

eat the birds or animals instead of taking them to their masters. However, from another point of view, it is probably not a bad thing to let them taste meat once in their lives, for not everything in their diet must be bones!

2) If, at the moment it is flushed, an animal or bird is wounded with a gun or stick and then immediately caught by a dog, so that the result of the blow cannot be determined, it is for the hunter and not for the owner of the dog (Ibuqquyen).

3) Also for the hunter is any animal or bird which, wounded by him, continues to run and is overtaken by a dog within a radius of fourteen stick-lengths (dhigharya or dhigharyin, sing. dhaghrith, "stick"), counted from the site where the animal was wounded, provided that it shows a fracture. If it does not show a fracture or if it passes this radius, it belongs to the owner of the dog or to whoever picks it up (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

4) An animal pursued by a saluki which succeeds in hiding itself in a thicket or burrow belongs to the first man (i.e. the owner of the saluki), even though another hunter may come to get it (Ibuqquyen).

5) An animal or bird pursued by a saluki and brought to earth by a hunter is for the latter if it drops within the aforementioned radius of fourteen dhigharya (Ibuqquyen and Aith Waryaghar).

H) Aid During the Hunt:

Whoever discovers an animal in hiding can solicit aid in getting it or can get others to help him spontaneously, without losing his property (i.e. the animal) in either case; but he is obliged, if the

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

243 [352] 241 805 793 241 805

for several weeks. At the end of this time the poison is supposed to be washed out, and the product is dried and eaten.

thinifin, peas, *ibauen*, broad beans, and *er athis*, lentils, like *shasana*, are grown as grains.

The Calendric Cycle of Agricultural Events. Agriculture in the Rif and in the Senhaja country is conducted on the basis of the old Roman calendar, the names of the months surviving in a form very little altered from its original character. I was unable to transcribe these names exactly since I could find no one who knew them accurately and was willing to reveal them. Knowledge of them is confined to the *fkih*, the preceptor or religious head of each group of villages, and to his students. The *fkih*, while delivering sermons at the mosque on Fridays, reveals the agricultural program for the following week and tells the farmers just what activities the season merits. To reveal this calendar system and the agricultural annotations which go with it woud be to relinquish a portion of the awe in which the religious leader is held.

The preceptor likewise knows the Arabic lunar calendar and is the only one able to tell when religious feasts of Arab origin are due. The farmers reckon only by the four seasons, a solar conception which may well antedate either the Roman or the Arabic system. They know, however, about when each activity is due, since they are in the habit of repeating the program every year. and could probably get along as well without the learned assistance of the *fkih* as with it.

A rough outline of the year's activities follows.

January. In this month the farmers plough their land. (See plate 9.) When this has been finished they sow barley and *shasana*, and later broad beans and lentils.

February. If the bean and lentil sowing has not been finished in January, it continues over into early February. Sometimes it continues until the end of the month.

March. About the first of March the farmers hoe the mountain slopes and sow rye and peas.

April. On the first of April they commence planting the vegetable gardens with potatoes, beans, carrots, turnips, onions, and peppers.

May. This is the month for trees. The farmers dig around the roots, fertilize them with manure, and water them. After the trees have been cared for in this way and pruned, the soil about the grapevines is loosened and fertilized with manure, without water. At this time the grapevines are also pruned.

June. Toward the beginning of June, or sometimes during the last week of May, the farmers reap the *shasana*, lentils, barley, and peas, in the order named. The barley is cut with sickles; the others are pulled up by the roots and laid aside for threshing. After this has been done the farmers irrigate the terraces in which the *shasana*, lentils, peas, and barley have been growing (see plate 9) and plant them with maize. The plants previously reaped are then threshed, first the *shasana*, which is the most susceptible to insect pests and cannot wait, then the lentils and peas, and finally the barley. All this threshing is done with cattle, donkeys, or mules, which are forced to trot around a circular threshing floor. (See plates 10 and 11.) Toward the last of June the rye is cut, and the women thresh it by hitting the heads of the sheaves against sticks held in the hand. It is tabu to thresh rye with cattle, just as rye is never planted by means of domestic animals or the plough. The whole rye complex seems to antedate or at least to be negatively associated with the cattle and plough complex.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241
805

July. In July, forty-five days after having planted the maize, the farmers reap it, fertilize and water the terraces, and set out the second crop. This second maize is a different variety from the first, and grows more rapidly. After it has ripened it is left in the ground until December or January, when it is removed in time for the next season's ploughing. Towards the end of July the almonds and walnuts are picked and stored away.

August. About the first of August, after the second crop of maize has been planted and the almonds and walnuts picked, the farmers gather the turnips, potatoes, and small beans, planting in their stead more potatoes, more turnips, and black beans. They likewise set the onion seed out in beds, and after the shoots arrive cover them with manure and branches to keep them warm during the winter. Toward the last of August the late figs are picked, split, and set to dry. Figs intended for sale rather than for local consumption are not split, but are spitted on sticks of wood. At this time the farmers also pick pomegranates and carob beans.

September. September is the grape season. Whole families repair to the precipitous vineyards with baskets to pick, sleeping in the vineyards at night, and feasting and playing games. This is the season of festival, and likewise the time when weddings take place. At this time, when the families are sleeping in the vineyards, raw garlic is eaten plentifully, since this is the only time of year in which people do not live in the house, and it is considered shameful to have an odor of garlic about the house. After the grapes have been picked the women gather the root called *fathis*, which they burn. The ashes, mixed with water, are used to wash the grapes before these are set out to dry. Grapes washed in this way are said to dry more rapidly, not to rot, and to form better raisins.

[262]
[251]

October. Toward the end of October the olives are picked and stored away packed in salt until the farmers find leisure in which to grind them. Olives can be kept two years in storage without detriment.

[251]

November. In November the farmers graft trees, using beeswax in the process just as it is used among modern farmers. They tie the waxed joints with cloths, which they leave on until the following spring. In October and November the men cut wood and brush for their fires, enough to last them through the winter. The women and children help them to bring this wood in on their backs.

December. Toward the end of this month and in early January, those farmers who possess orange trees pick the fruit. Some of it is eaten, but much is sent to Fez to be sold. During the winter months, when it is stormy outside and farming is ended, the men sit inside the house working with wood, fashioning spoons, hoe-handles, and ploughs, and do what repairing is necessary upon their houses.

This calendar of events keeps the Riffian farmers very busy most of the time, and as a rule they are most industrious and energetic workers.

In the regions where there is no terraced irrigation (left white upon map 2[1]) only one crop of maize is grown, and but one crop of vegetables. This is compensated for by the relatively greater abundance of arable land in the east and other low-lying districts. The mountain people depend to a great extent upon vegetables, especially the leguminous varieties, and dried fruits and nuts, while the lowlanders go in more extensively for wheat and barley.

[1] See p. 52.

J: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 852 875 gives it back. The *akovani*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two; among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

585 The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

584 Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost [836] secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

582 584 By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at fourteen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of [805] fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

582 Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

787 Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder, Aglu). In the /55/ first ploughing season, however, dreams are generally untrustworthy, because Sitan then turns them topsy-turvey as the plough turns the earth.

777 [58] Muharram, the first month of the Muhammadan year, is in
805 Morocco called s-shar de l-'asur (l-asor, l-'asur), "the month of the
796 'Asur", or simply l-'asur (l-'asor, l-'asur) or, among the Berbers, by some Berberised form of the same word. It has derived this name from the feast on the tenth day of the month. This day, called nhar (or yaum) 'asura ('asora, 'asura) or nhar l-'asur, is practically the Muhammadan New Year's day. Much less notice is taken of the first day of the month; but from a ritual point of view the first ten days sometimes form a period by itself. Townspeople call the first day ras l'am, whereas among country-folks this term is used for the first day of the solar year.

777 The month of the 'Asur is rich in magical qualities. According to
796 Sidi Halil the ninth and particularly the tenth day are blessed days, and on the latter many sacred or wonderful events are said to have taken place in the past. In Morocco baraka is also generally ascribed to those days. Magic, good or evil, is extensively practised on the 'asura [59] day and on the preceding night (lilt 'asura), which is said to favour the witches.

[73] I was told that among the Ait Waryager the farmers give on the 'asura day a tenth part of their sheep and goats to the scribes as zzka ra'sor, believing that there otherwise would be no baraka in their flocks.

[75] The Ait Waryager consider it very meritorious to hoe the ground on their fields or in their gardens on the 'asura day, even though it be only a little, but they do no other agricultural work on that day. The schools are generally, I believe, closed for three days.

777 [76] Among the Ait Temsaman no brooms must be made on the
784 'asura day. It is necessary to refrain from sleeping in the daytime on
796 that day (Tangier, Ait Warain); he who does not observe this rule will become ill or be sleepy throughout the year (Ait Waryager).

In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager there is a similar taboo of longer duration, lasting for the first ten days of the month; the latter maintain that a child conceived in that period would be deaf and dumb, and they consider it advisable to refrain from sexual intercourse even till the end of the month.

787 powerless, whether the Christians will trouble the country or leave it in peace, and whether the people will keep in good health or there will be many deaths. As to the manner in which this kind of divination is practised, none of the many Arab and Berber scribes whom I have asked about it has been able to tell anything beyond the general statement that it is done much in the same way as is the fortune-reading in the blood. But I presume that it must be more complicated, as [791] there are only special persons, called kett afa (sing. kett af, from kt ef, "shoulder"), who are versed in it.

[159]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH CERTAIN DATES OF THE SOLAR YEAR

796 While the Muhammadan year is a lunar year, the Moors are also 805 familiar with the Julian calendar, especially in country places, where the principal occupations of the people are regulated by the seasons. They call the months by their Latin names, more or less modified. January is called yennayer or yennair (Fez), nnair (Ait Sadden, Igliwa), inneir (Aglu); February, yebrayer (Fez), hobrair (Ait Sadden), kobrair (Ait Warain), brair (Igliwa); March, mars (Fez), mars (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); April, yebril (Fez), ibril (Ait Sadden), ibril (Igliwa); May, miyyu (Fez), maiyu (ibid., Ait Sadden), maiyu (Igliwa); June, yunyuh (Fez), yunyuh (Ait Sadden), nunyuh (Igliwa); July, yulyuz (Fez), yulyuz (Ait Sadden), lulyuz (Igliwa); August, gust (Fez), gust (Ait Sadden, Igliwa); September, sut anbir (Fez), sutenbir (Ait Sadden), sutanbir (Igliwa); October, kt ubar (Fez), htobar (Ait Sadden), ktobar (Ait Warain), ktubr (Igliwa); November, nouwanbir (Fez), nuwenbir (Ait Sadden), nuwanbir (Igliwa); December, dujanbir (Fez), dujenbir (Ait Sadden), dujanbir (Igliwa).

The solar year is divided into twenty-eight manazil (sing. menzla), each containing thirteen days, with the exception of the jebha (18th-31st July), which contains fourteen. [160] The first menzla is n-natah (in the written language of the scribes n-natah), from 23rd March to 4th April. The following ones are l-butain (5th-17th April); t uriya (t-turiya), 18th-30th April; d-dabaran, 1st-13th May; l-haq'a, 14th-26th May; l-han'a, 27th May-8th June; d-dira', 9th-21st June; n-net ra (n-natirah), 22nd June-4th July; tarfah, 5th-17th July;

796 805 jebha, 18th-31st July; l-harat an (l-haratan), 1st-13th August; s-sarfa, 14th-26th August; l-'auwa, 27th August-8th September; s-samak, 9th-21st September; l-gafar (i-gafar), 22nd September-4th October; j-janaban, 5th-17th October; l-iklil, 18th-30th October; l-qalb, 31st October-12th November; s-saula, 13th-25th November; n-nu'aim, 26th November-8th December; sa'd l-belda, 9th-21st December; d-dabeh, 22nd December-3rd January; sa'd bla' (sa'd l-bula'), 4th-16th January; sa'd s'oud (sa'd s-su'ud), 17th-29th January; l'ahbiya, 30th January-11th February; farg l-moqaddam, 12th-24th February; farg l-mohhar (farg l-mu'ahhar), 25th February-9th March; batna l-hot, 10th-22nd March.

The year has four seasons (fosol, sing. fasl). Spring (fasl ar-rbe'a) commences on 15th February, summer (s-saif) on 17th May, autumn (l-hrif) on 17th August, winter (s-set wa) on 16th November. The forty days between 12th December and 20th January inclusive are called liali, and the forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive are called s-smaim or s-smaim.

To various dates of the solar year magical qualities are ascribed, and this leads to the observance of many positive rites and taboos.

796 [162] The Ait Waryager call the last day of the old year and the first day of the new imgaren, "sheikhs".

[166] The Bni 'Aros eat siyoha on New Year's eve and sfen j on the next day. The Ait Waryager eat eggs and wheaten bread on the former occasion and seksu with fowl on the following evening.

[169] Among the Ait Waryager women who have cows and are in the habit of making butter go on New Year's day to a scribe and procure from him a charm which he writes with a needle on a bullet; this charm is hung on the wooden hook (ashum) from which the earthenware churn (aqasror) is suspended, and is left there till the following New Year as a protection against witchcraft.

[765] [735] [174] The Ait Waryager, again, take on New Year's morning iuzan, or porridge, to the graves of their deceased relatives and distribute it in charity to children and poor people.

[178] At the same time I have also found quite the contrary belief, that it serves as a protection against snakes and scorpions by making them blind if it touches their eyes (Tetuan, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Tsul, Ait Sadden) or even killing them (Tetuan, Ait Waryager, Ait Warain), whereas if there is no rain in the nisan their eyes are said to become like fisan (hoes) and their mouths like kisan (cups).

671 agree to the abovementioned truce for one year starting from the present
628 date. All of them appeared for judgment in front of the shiyukh of the
613 Wednesday Market (Suq al-Arba') which exists in the vicinity of Sidi
728 Abu al-'Afif; attendance at this act was completely general, as there
[443] also came notables such as the blessed, distinguished and excellent
[686] sharif Sidi Ahmad the son of the celebrated saint Sidi Misa'ud, from whose grace God has let us avail ourselves; al-Hajj Haddu bin Tahir al-'Abbasi; the shiyukh of Ajdir; the shiyukh of the Murabitin al-Jilmamiyin; and all in general, each of the parties arranging that in case either of them should break off the aforementioned truce in any way before the stipulated time of one year has elapsed, it shall pay a fine of 2000 duros (i.e. 20 x 100) to the shiyukh.

671 After responding with their goods and estates to the completed
628 arrangement, it was put into effect in the presence of the aforemen-
613 tioned shiyukh in the latters' shop in the aforementioned market; and it was accepted in full and in good faith, with neither party having the right to retract in either the present or the future, each one of them making itself responsible for the fulfillment of what has been set down and for which only those mentioned here have the responsibility.

(The obligation to) payment (of the fine) and the agreement are both complete, as indicated. (The undersigned witnesses) have testified to the testimonial capacity of everyone concerned, that on this day, in the interior of the aforementioned shop, each person concerned, among those known by sight and name, is of sound mind and memory and thus
[805] capable of testifying. On the first Wednesday of Rabi' al-Awwal of the Prophet, in the year 1335 (December 27, 1916).[11]

671
628
613
681
432
property in that belonging to him, in conformance with traditional law.[25]

695 Those who attended the present (act) brought their testimony to the above according to the requirements of the interested parties. 805 --In the middle of Jumad al-Awwal of the year 1336 (February 27, 1918). --The 'adl, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hajj al-Warnuri.--Another, whose name is not known.--Another, Muhammad bin Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghamri.

B) Commentary:

182
628
613
The social disintegration which Rifian society has reached is proven by these individual agreements between dharfiqin (Blanco: note 1, corresponding to text of qanun). In the face of helplessness or irregular functioning of higher-level associations, the poor tribesmen, before falling into complete anarchy, hastened to conclude an agreement with a neighboring group in order to attenuate that anarchy, succeeding in the hard struggle for life on a poor soil. These agreements thus formed true islets of irregular and variable peace, anchored in functional (sic) anarchy.

628
613
728
The necessity of agreements between lower-level lineages, who were abandoned by the rudimentary organization, obeyed, according to my understanding, those most curious periods which followed the public declaration of anarchy in the suq, when one powerful group managed by force to sustain the punishment, breaking the truce.

614 As the dispute was generalized between two preponderant rivals, the unaffected groups, before falling into anarchy, and with that notable instinct of self-defense, worked to bring about these agreements,

574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present
805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

682 limits of his land (i.e. within the limits of the clan territory of the Bani 'Abdallah) shall pay (a fine of) 2000 duros; (this shall be the fine) if he committed the deed alone; but if several (men) committed it, each one (shall pay a fine of) 2000 duros. Whoever should take
687 683 justice into his own hands (literally, "ransacking to collect a debt") shall pay 50 duros, and the same for whoever should attack another on
689 the path. Whoever should provoke an incident in the market (shall pay) 10 duros.

683 (Blanco: note d) Whoever should unsheath a dagger, making it glitter, with intent to attack (literally, "injure"), shall pay 5 duros. Whoever should wound the head of another with stones (shall pay) 5 duros. Whoever should attack another with a stick, causing blood to flow and provoking a scandal, (shall pay) 15 duros, and if he should not cause blood to flow, (he shall pay) 10 duros.

613 (Blanco: note e) Whoever should come to the defense of one of
681 his brothers (i.e. agnates) or of any other person, as is customary among those of the same party (i.e. same lineage), (shall pay) 5 duros.

681 (Blanco: note f) No request (for pardon) shall be listened to, nor shall mercy be granted to any of those who have incurred the above (punishments).

805 (Blanco: note g) For the application of what has been made
443 manifest above, it shall be considered that Tuesday begins at dawn and ends with the sunset; this is to apply to them (those of the Bani 'Abdallah) and for strangers (regarding the application of the above), market (day) shall be considered as having a duration of three days.

695 With regard to the above, the testimony (which both 'udul)
693 registered took place, the witnesses being in a perfect state of legal

capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) in order to testify.

(Blanco: note h) If, regarding a murder, there is brought sufficient proof (against the guilty party), the abovementioned fine shall be imposed upon him, and in case sufficient proof does not exist, he shall swear (for acquittal).[48]

(Blanco: note i) Regarding the abovementioned beginning (i.e. on Tuesdays), it is ended at the hour of the 'isha (i.e. at the dinner hour or hour of the sunset prayer). Amen.

On the sixth day of Ramadan the Magnificent of the year 1335 (June 26, 1917). Servant of his God, may He be exalted, Muhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature). Servant of his God, "Abd as-Salam bin al-Hajj Muhammadi al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

Legalization by the qadi. Praise be to the One God. (Both 'udul) have put down its contents, which are accepted and to which I give faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Umar at-Tuzani, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

This qanun manifests in a clear way how social law is made among Rifians: where the legislators gathered to agree on it, how it was made public, whom it obligated, the jurisdiction in which it was exercised, the objective sought and the means of attaining it.

It enumerates the crimes and their sanctions, it distinguishes perpetrators and accomplices, provokers and auxiliaries, natives and stranger. It eschews pardon, it demands proof and it shows the reality of the social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator

A, [See p.306-- Analyst]

685 In the same way, they agreed to impose fines for all damages or injuries which are caused, such as theft, etc.

Whoever should steal a sheep or a goat shall be fined 10 duros, and whoever should steal barley, broad beans, etc., from someone else's land shall be fined 5 duros.

681 In summation, all injuries or damages caused by one of them (the Bani 'Adhiya) against another (of them), a fine shall be levied from him, whoever (the party guilty) of the injury or damage may be.

671 In accordance with the above, their declarations were put down, as they have been expressed and explained. Valid and complete testimony. The parties who took part in the present agreement know [693] the value of this agreement, and because of this, both the undersigned notaries testify to what is set down and to the fact that they (the Bani 'Adhiya) are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound minds and memories) and that they are known (personally) to them (the notaries).

805 On the second day of the divine month of Jumad ath-Thani of the 600 year 1332 (April 28, 1914). Servant of his God, may He be glorified, 'Abd as-Salam bin 'Abdallah at-Tafrasti, may God be benevolent toward him. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin 'Aisa at-Taxurakhti, may God be benevolent toward him.

B) Commentary:

671 This synthetic qanun of the Aith 'Adhiya, drawn up in conformity with the dictates of the purest tradition, contains within it suggestions analogous to the rest of the documents which we have studied.

[771] It is a pact (author's italics), by which those who have agreed on it must in future regulate their coexistence and traditional

Taqal'ait; and Muhammad bin al-Hajj Hadidush. All these are faithful (adherents) who are under the orders of their shuyukh, each one (obeying) the orders and countermands of his shaikh. May God help them and put them into agreement (i.e. make them agree) for the common good, because in this is founded the pleasure of God; may God cause all to stay in power, with His protection and generosity.

[805] At the end of the divine month of Rabi' al-Thani of the year 1325 (June 10, 1907).

Servant of his God, may He be glorified, Mhammad bin Muhammad bin Mhammad al-Ghalbzuri, may God be benevolent toward him. (Signature).

B) Commentary:

671 This qanun, following the criteria by which the others have been analyzed, appears the least suggestive, due doubtless to the redundancy of patronyms which it contains, none of which the editor, who is a perfect chronicler of this society, dares suppress in his personal adulation, while he forgets to consign with analogous detail the principal material, the punishments of crimes which are the object of the industrious and complex body politic.

He would have beencapable of writing the names of all his constituents, surpassing his own record, which he undoubtedly left established with such an interminable list, the reading of which few could finish, from not doing it with the derisive tone and with the falsetto voice to which they are accustomed, revealing the affected, pompous, superficial and routine mentality of the Arabic schoolroom, very adherent to form but exempt of content[70], which the pure Rifian

312
689
[24]
[342
[627] amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwām, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation
312
621
624 ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

312
675
423 The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

312
571
[805] Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

312 uggugen) for the source or origin of irrigation ditches and as partitions of the waters on both banks. After a dam has been set up, built to hold as much water as possible, it is converted into a ditch-head, in which the necessary outlets are made, and it thus acts as the point of origin of the principal or primary ditches which have a permanent flow of water; these are usually two or three in number. Although [183] these outlets are irregular, the Rifians say that a half or a third of the water is utilized in distribution; and although this is what happens in practice, in theory the distribution is far from perfect, as the tribesmen do not take into account the width nor the depth of the outlets; and these are improvised, if not actually variable. The primary ditches are distributed and divided in this way into secondary branches, if these are necessary, in which the irrigation turns proper are initiated, which means that they only take up water for twenty-four hours; therefore, if there are four secondary ditches, each one [805] will take up water every four days. These secondary ditches are subdivided in turn into other tertiary branches, also of periodic or intermittent flow, which do not take up water other than during the day or at night; and these originate the irrigation furrows of individuals which do not take up any water other than at certain hours, which are determined by those of the principal daily prayers.

312 591 613 596 This distribution of irrigation water is intimately linked to the Rifian lineage system, to the dharfiqth (which tends to have a 24-hour turn) and its component ijujga, and it is completed with one order of turns begun in the tertiary ditches through which if one of these ditches, during its turn, takes up water during the daytime,

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

312 591 613 596 It has a turn cycle of six days, which are distributed among the four lineages (dharfiqin), these in turn dividing their turns among their respective branches (ijujga), in the following order:

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Hammu; U Haddu)

2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Xikhrif; U Yihya u Musa)

3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Mis'aud u Yusif; W 'Alla w Ujdir)

4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Dris; W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan)

5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir

6th Day (24 hours): Zawith (Fisra and Andrusen--Ushannen--Thaddallahan--Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi)[133]

On the seventh day, the sequence is repeated.

Sidd Dharga n-Bulma'iz: on the right bank. It begins, as does l-Bzimma, at Bu Harishen, crossing the river in order to divide its water with Dharga n Tfadhna, and each one of these three ditches receives one-third of the permanent flow taken in at Bu Harishen. It runs for a few kilometers and reaches the sea at Swani Waddai (Lower [402] Swani). It moves three mills; the first belonging to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and 'Abdinnbi, the second to I'arhuthen and the third to Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru.[134]

It has a turn cycle of three days for the three dharfiqin indicated, and they in turn distribute the water among their ijujga, which make [805] them up in their own way. The turn begins at the maghrib, or sunset prayer.

1st Day (24 hours): Imhauren: Aith 'Aru Hmid
Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid
Aith Muhand u Hmid
Aith Bu Dhimmus (only when water is scarce)[135]

695 is to be found situated above the ditch of 'Umar bin Yusif al-Waryaghli.
312
[693] This is what the witnesses of the present (act) certify without there being (any) doubt existing in it. A complete attestation.

693 The undersigned notaries who have compiled (the testimonies which
695 these individuals afforded) from them testify that the latter are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) to testify, and they know them (i.e. personally).

[805] On the 21st day of the blessed Sha'ban of the year 1150 (December 13, 1737). Two illegible signatures follow.

19. PURCHASE AND SALE OF AN IRRIGATION TURN: TRANSLATION:

Praise be to the one God.

312
571
432 The Qa'id Sulaiman bin Muhammad al-Waryaghli al-Khattabi al-Ajdiri[176] buys, with the power and force of God, from the one who sells it, Siddiq bin Muhammad bin Siddiq al-'Abdallawi[177], one-fourth (of a part) of the irrigation ditch of Bulma'iz, (in his turn) by day or by night, his turn reappearing about (once) every nine days; on some occasions he gets it during the day, and on others at night. A valid, definitive
432 and firm purchase, so much down, without conditions of resale or op-
[435] tions (to anything) other than that assigned here), for a price the
[436] sum of which is 100 duros, in Spanish money (i.e. 500 pesetas). This amount the abovementioned seller has taken from the abovementioned buyer, thus recognizing it in front of both witnesses instrumental to the present act, freeing the buyer from it, who took over his purchase with complete possession, occupying it in his place of ownership in conformity with the traditional law and the right of rehibitory action

432 (against this sale which was put into effect) after the sight, pleasure and knowledge of his capability as required.

Both parties concerned know the value of the present act, and, by virtue of this, the undersigned witnesses testify to the declarations of both, for both buyer and seller are in a perfect state of legal capacity (of sound mind and memory) to agree; and the witnesses know them both by sight and by name. In the first part of Rabi' al-Thani of the year 1347 (August 19, 1928).

(805)

000 Servant of his God, 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, may God be benevolent toward him, amen (signature). Servant of his God, 'Abd al-Karim bin 'Umar al-Khattabi, may God be benevolent toward him, amen. (signature).

Stamp of approval of the qadi: Both 'udul have borne witness (with respect to the above), which he (i.e. the qadi) accepts and to which he gives faith. Servant of his God, Muhammad bin al-Hajj Ahmad al-Bu-Dhimmusi[178], may God be benevolent toward him. Amen. (Signature).

20. SUMMARY OF IRRIGATION:

312 133 In a few words we may show the present day importance and interest of irrigation in the Aith Waryaghar, as tourists from time to time cross this splendid Plain of al-Husaima....

This Plain, under rudimentary cultivation even today (1938), as no one has succeeded or even proposed to amplify it, is completely criss-crossed by an intricate net of tiny irrigation ditches which in general do not feel the touch of water more than every eight days, and some even every eighteen days; and this for winter cultivation.

annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, completely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[14] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[15]

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[16] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency.[17] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family.[18] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[14] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[15] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[16] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhsen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[17] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[18] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

The Agricultural Calendar

Moroccan agriculture is conducted on the basis of the Julian almanac, and the Latin names for the months have passed with but slight changes into Arabic and Berber. In most of northern Morocco the agricultural cycle involves a combination of dry farming, horticulture, and the cultivation of small irrigated plots. Dry farming as practiced in the Mediterranean region is essentially a matter of farming the same land every other year and of tilling it during the fallow period. In this way as much moisture as possible is kept in the ground for the next year. Since few communities can produce enough grain during the alternate seasons to allow for the fallow years, dry farming requires constant clearing of new land.

In the hilly areas of Jbala and Ghmara the beginning of the agricultural year is marked by fires set to clear new fields, and the haze of smoke lingers until the arrival of the first rains. By the end of the summer drought, animals are weakened by the scarcity of feed; and wherever the soil is clayey the drought-hardened surface is difficult to plow. So the farmer waits for the first rains for plowing and the second for seeding. After the soil has been turned, cereals, usually barley or hard wheat, are broadcast. Then the soil is again worked with the plow and, since Moroccans do not use the harrow, clods are broken with clubs or hoes.

In the western half of the northern zone, plowing usually begins toward the end of September, and sowing is completed by the beginning of November. In the eastern sector the first heavy rains may not come until March or April. In this event, no further thought is given to barley or wheat, and a desperate effort is made to prepare the soil for a summer crop of sorghum. When cereals are sown, the feverish activity of autumn gives way to a period of virtual hibernation. Only the women keep busy, for there is always need for fodder and fuel.

In frost-free areas, February marks the beginning of the work of planting, pruning, grafting, and fertilizing the fruit and nut trees. This task continues through March and April. In the lower areas of the Rif the most common trees are the fig, pomegranate, almond, and olive. In the highlands walnuts are most important. Trees are cared for assiduously, for dried figs, raisins, and nuts constitute the principal food reserves after the cereals have been consumed. Since they do not have to be watered, figs and vines usually occupy the higher and steeper slopes. New olive trees are usually obtained by grafting on the oleaster. The olives are often left so long in heaps on the ground that they begin to ferment, and the oil is very rancid when the fruit is eventually pressed.

The arduous task of rebuilding terraces, dams, and ditches begins in March. This work is not yet finished when it is time to begin the harvest of the cereals. The shortage of manpower at this time is offset by the women, who reap the grain with sickles and carry it to threshing floors. There it remains until the men have completed the planting of the summer crops. Then all effort is devoted to threshing and winnowing. This work begins in July and in bountiful years it may still be in progress when the first rains fall. Threshing takes place on communal floors, which may or may not be paved. These are always in an exposed position, and when the mixture of grain and straw is thrown in the air, it is separated

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93]

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.

Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 Ml Middle East Ml
Shluh
R.f 811.3

M
621
619
631
642

themselves appointed qā'id. With imperial sanction and modern rifles, they conquered tribe after tribe, dissolving the assemblies and setting out khalīfas and shaikhs in the neighboring valleys to carry out their orders.

These qā'ids settled down into three houses, those of the Glawi, Gundafi, and Mtugi, reading from east to west along the Atlas. (The family of the Glawi, now in its third generation, is headed by the powerful el Ḥajj Thāmi [Tihāmi], also pasha of Marrakesh.) These three absolute autocrats have so crushed the mountaineers under their control that only the oldest remember the earlier system of government. Each of them has a huge fortress, strategically located near the crest of the divide, as for example that of Telwet, which is the Glawi's stronghold. Inside high walls are a number of castles, with an inner court. Great granaries hold the tribute brought by the farmers; dungeons hide the starving bodies of bandits captured on the roads. Mountain Jews and Negro retainers throng the courtyard, and privileged visitors (I was one in 1927) eat in the guest chambers.

Delegating power to the three great qā'ids is one way of ruling without effort. These men, controlling private armies, could make or break sultans, and they have also figured in the politics of the French Protectorate in a fashion similar to the fabulously wealthy princes of India under the British. Robert Montagne speaks with feeling when he states that Native Affairs officers were able to take over the direction of the small confederation of Ida U Tanan before the Mtugi could swallow it.

Ruling by delegating power to a local autocrat is something new in Morocco, but farther east it is an old system, which we have already seen in operation in western Asia; this is the way both Romans and Sassanian Persians controlled the Nabatean Arabs. This is also the way that the shahs of Iran (when they have been strong enough) have dealt with the Bakhtiari and other tribesmen. The Iranian tribesmen, however, have a reason for unity, the need for order in their annual migration. The Shluh need no more unity than they had in 1860, at the price they have paid for it. What the French think of this system is not easy to discover.

R
[114]
278
813

By now the reader is ready to join me in entering the Rif, as I first did in 1926, the year of 'Abd el-Krīm's surrender. On the way into the tribe of Gzennaya we noticed that our dog was growing ill. He

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East

Rif mts

[278] soon died. Someone had poisoned him, not out of malice but as part
813 of a scientific experiment—to test a new batch of poison before using it on the intended human victim. This feeling for science is strong among the Riffians. Once in a local feud a warrior shot a hydrocephalic opponent, not because he was a dangerous foe but in order to see what was inside his head. At great risk of life the warrior crawled over an exposed bank to retrieve the body. With his kinsmen he carried it to the mosque, where the schoolmaster trephined the grotesque skull. Draining out some of the liquid, he tasted it with his finger. "It is a little salty," he said. Then they all went back to their fighting.

133 The village where this took place was hardly a village at all, since it
361 consisted of only thirteen houses in 1926. These were scattered along
621 both sides of the small but tumultuous mountain stream called the Water of Iherrushen, just above where it joined a larger river, the Bayu, which flowed swiftly out of a perpendicular-walled canyon. As one sees this country from above, the flattest ground is near the crest of the divide; consequently the villages are more frequent here than where it is steeper lower down. The upstream people also get the first use of the water, vital for irrigation.

346 If we look closely we will see that one of the houses is a mosque.
368 It has no minaret, but a white flag flying from the roof peak pro-
173 claims its holy purpose, which the whitewash on the porch and
621 around the outer rims of the windows confirms. Legend has it that the ancestor of the inhabitants of this village, one 'Abd el-Mumin (in Arabic al-Mu'min, from whom they and the village derive their name, Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin) walked up the waters of the Iherrushen one afternoon just as the sun was setting over the divide to the west, his wife and his cow and his dog wading with him. Silhouetted against the sunlight he saw this mosque, newly built and empty, its door open, standing before him. Faced with this miracle he scuffed off the grass sandals with which he had been protecting his feet from the sharp stones, and entered the holy place to pray. He and his sons hewed and walled terraces along the valley, felled some trees and planted others, and all lived peacefully until the valley was full and men fell to quarreling over fruit trees, women, and water.

621 The twelve houses which we saw held ten men with their thirteen
595 wives, nineteen sons, and fifteen daughters. That three men had two wives at once is no wonder, since six out of nine of their fathers

778
823 Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an
[755] empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 [117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I
● have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

821 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in
775 a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 [118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman [Igliwa], usm, plur. usmăn [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [Igliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

821 [119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [Igliwa],
783 tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

821 783 for an hour or two; whilst one who has been struck by the sun may cure himself by exposing his head to the light of the moon (Fez). The sun may be dangerous. You should avoid sleeping in the [120] sun, especially with the sun in your face, lest it should strike your head. You should never point at the sun.

821 I also found the custom of throwing a tooth towards the sun among the Shlöh of Glawi and Aglu—Rifians from the Ait Waryager and Temsaman said that they had never heard of anything of the kind among their own people.

821 789 [121] The ninety-first chapter of the Koran, called suratu s-sams, "the Chapter of the Sun", which begins with a conjuration by the sun and its noonday brightness, is frequently used in magic rites. In Morocco it is recited by scribes when acting as doctors, and by persons approaching a strange village for the purpose of keeping off the dogs; in the latter case every word ending with aha is followed by a repetition of the same sound (Tangier, etc.). Among the Ait Waryager a band of dissatisfied scribes, who have in vain asked a wealthy man to give them a feast, take revenge on him by writing the said surah on a piece of olive wood, and knocking the latter into the road along which his animals walk, as this is supposed to cause many deaths among the animals.

821 787 [123] An eclipse of the sun (kusuf) is supposed to indicate that the Sultan is (Andjra) or will become (Fez) ill or has died (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or that some great saint has died (Fez, Hiaina, Temsaman), or that there will be dearth in the country (Fez), or generally that some evil will befall the world (Igliwa, Ait Waryager). These beliefs are founded on pre-islamic superstitions, which also probably prevailed among the Berbers, as they with certainty did among the Arabs.

821 789 [124] The moon (Arab. qamar, qmar, or gamra; Berb. aiyur [Igliwa], ayur [Ait Sadden], yur [Ait Warain], daziri [Ait Waryager], taziri [Temsaman]) receives more attention than the sun. In all parts of Morocco some rite is performed at the first sight of the new moon (Arab. s-shar, or l-hilal; Berb. yur [Temsaman]). In Andjra the person who sees it takes some grass from the ground and throws it towards the moon, saying, Siyibna 'alik l-hadura ma t wurrina la sarr wa la drura, "We threw at you green stuff, don't show us either or harm". He then makes fat ha, reciting perhaps a few passages

821 789 from the Koran, and finishes up the ceremony by saying, Allah itahhlek alina be r-rahha u l-hena, "May God let you bring us rest and quietness". In other tribes the people offer the new moon "dry things", and ask it to give them "green things" in return (Dukkala, Ait Waryager).

821 789 778 [129] Every man on earth has his star (Arab. nejima, plur. njum; Berb. itri, plur. itran or itran [Shloh, Ait Warain], itri, plur. itran or itran [Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager], itri, plur itran [Temsaman]) in the sky, which exercises a mysterious influence upon his life, either propitious or unpropitious. A person may bless another by saying to him, Allah italla nejmak, "May God make your star rise"; and he may curse him by saying, Allah itaiyah nejmak, "May God make your star fall". There are learned scribes who, by knowing a person's own name and his mother's name, can find out which is his star, and this knowledge enables the scribe to make for him a powerful charm. He mounts a house-top to watch the nightly sky, and as soon as the star in question becomes visible he begins to write the charm, consisting of a jedwal with words or passages from the Koran, varying according to the object of the charm. If the charm is long he may finish it on the following day; the essential thing is that the writing should commence when the star rises. If the charm is in-
[155] tended to cure an illness it is hung on the patient; whereas if it is to
[154] be used for witchcraft (shor)—for example, to excite love in a woman, or to make her dislike her husband, or to induce people to fight—it is put in a place which is chosen according to the tabe a, or "nature", of the person whom it is intended to bewitch. If he is a rehi it is exposed to the wind, if he is a mawi it is put in water, if he is a t orabi it is buried in earth, if he is a nari it is put in hot ashes; a scribe who knows a person's name and his mother's name can from his book find out that person's tabe a. Before such a charm is put in water or ashes it is provided with a covering of tin, and before it is buried in earth it is wrapped up in a piece of calico; but if it is to be exposed to the wind it is simply tied with a string to a tree or a window (Fez). Many charms have to be written when the stars, or some particular star, are shining, or, when newly written, are put out-of-door at night so that the stars shall give them baraka by shining on them.

784 272 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a person receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 296 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 262 432 689 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by selling bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

778 784 [783] [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 821 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

778
821 by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

784
233 [258] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasror, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti).
[252] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

776 [262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

796 In many parts of Morocco certain eating ceremonies take place on Midsummer day.

[193] The Ait Waryager make imsihan (the Arabic siyoha) by boiling wheat which has been soaked over night, and adding to it salt, as also butter if they have any.

796 787 821 [206] The forty days between 12th July and 20th August inclusive (Old Style) form the period of s-smaim, or "the great heat". It is a time of omens. Thunder in the smaim is supposed to indicate sickness or death among men or domestic animals (Fez, Hiaina, Tsul, Andjra, Bni 'Aros, Ait Waryager).

In Andjra continual east wind in the smaim is taken for a sign of much rain in the earlier ploughing season, whilst the Ait Waryager expect a wet ploughing season if there is much west wind in the smaim.

[208]

RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH AGRICULTURE

241 The first ploughing season nominally commences on 17th October (Old Style), but the ploughing may begin earlier or later depending on the autumn rains, which must first soak the ground. It is called in Arabic hart l-bekri, l-hart de l-bekri, or simply l-bekri; and in Berber dayarza damanzuit (Ait Waryager), tayaza tamanzust (Temsaman), taharratt umenzu (Ait Nder), amenzu (Ait Yusi), amenzui (Amanuz). During this season wheat,(1) barley (2), beans (3),

1. In Arabic gemah or gmah, and, in Northern Morocco, by preference zra', a word which farther south denotes both wheat and barley; in Berber irden (Shloh), erden (Ait Yusi), erden (Ait Waryager). On the wide extension of this Berber term see Laoust, op. cit. p. 265 sq.

2. In Arabic s'er; in Berber timzin (Shloh), tumzin (Amanuz), timzin (Ait Yusi), a term which is very widely used in North Africa (Laoust, op. cit. p. 264). I have not, however, found it in the dialects of the Rif, where the word for barley is imendi.

671 Muhammad bin Muhammad; at-Talib Sidi Shu'aib bin al-Faqir Misa'ud;
695 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin Muhammad al-'Attabi; 'Ali bin
621 al-Faqir Muhammad Azifzaf; Muhammad bin Muhammad of Ait Bu Bakr;
623 Misa'ud bin Muhammad; Sa'id bin 'Azzuz; Muhammad bin Muhammad; Muhammad bin ash-Shaikh 'Ali; and Muhammad bin Muhammad bin 'Ayad Amti; and giving respect to 'Ali bin 'Azzuz bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz, (recognizing) that he is their shaikh, and, by the same token, the shaikh of the jama'a of Tamasint.

685 (Blanco: paragraph b) At the same time, regarding the orchards
821 and gardens, they agreed that if anyone be detained (while stealing) during the night, (he shall pay a fine of) 10 mithqals, and if he should do so during the day, he shall pay 50 uqiyyas. If he should steal cereals or fruits (literally, "figs"), he shall be punished in the prescribed manner with respect to orchards. If he should steal during the day, he shall pay 50 mithqals in money. If he should die
685 during and because of committing theft, there shall in no case be any indemnity to be paid.

682 (Blanco: paragraph c) If anyone should unsheath his dagger (with intent to attack), he shall pay one duro.[38] If he should point his rifle at someone of the aforementioned jama'a, he shall pay 10 mithqals to the shaikh.

685 (Blanco: paragraph d) If (the entrance) of (his) animals, such
672 as goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys, should take place in the cereal (fields) of his neighbor, he shall pay 10 muzunas.

574 (Blanco: paragraph e) If someone should spend the night as a
689 guest in the jama'a of Tamasint, all shall go to where he is staying

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 671 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their [821] tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who [578] killed it or not. Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

751 vary greatly, from less than a dirham to several hundred dirhams.
435 Although it is impossible to estimate how much money goes for investments of this sort, the qualitative importance of investments to prevent misfortune from the evil eye is great.

796 One other rite ought to be mentioned of imitative magic
241 directly related to production. Since crops are dry farmed,
789 the success of any one year depends on the amount of rain
821 received in that year. Unfortunately, the Rif is not blessed with a stable rainfall. When there is drought or even the fear of impending drought, each community in the Central Rif has a Bride-of-the-Rain ceremony (thasrith anzar). For such a ceremony a ladle normally used to put bread into the household ovens is dressed in the costume of a bride. The young female virgins
[533] carry this 'bride' from house to house within their community,
[539] singing the refrain,

a-reeth-nia-la
arabe ya-sidi
atawah- n-shala

Give us Oh God
Give us water quickly
Make water quickly.

They stop at each household to receive coins and prepared food.
[782] At the same time, all the men go to the communal mosque or a nearby saint's tomb where they sacrifice a bull purchased with contributions for everyone in the community. After the ceremony the meat is distributed among the participants. Although this example is related to both consumption and production, it would

6: Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

seem that no technical analysis of it based on markets, price mechanisms or entrepreneur skill will offer satisfactory results.

The strands of the argument in this chapter may now be brought together. One of the forces that is influential in determining how wealth shall be used is located in the world of the supernatural. Motivated by mysticism, by religious duty and by fear, the Berber of the Rif seeks succor in a wide variety of activities. All such activities require outlays of wealth which are, on the whole, economically nonproductive (in that one does not have a chance of economic reward from one's investment) but are socially satisfying and beneficial. Such moral and magical imperatives create an incentive towards investment, which is relatively unimportant in industrial society.

754 Among the Ait Waryager he is taken seven times round the straw-stack (atmun) of the household.

If anybody shows a great liking for a thing belonging to another person, wanting, for instance, to buy his horse or his gun, it is best to let him have it, since otherwise an accident is likely to happen to the object of his desire—the horse may be stolen or die. A scribe from the Ait Waryager [425] told me that a proposal to that effect must on no account be refused if the person who wants to buy the article goes to the owner's house and asks him to sell it.

[431] At Fez gum-ammoniac is burned and inhaled by a person who is supposed to have been hurt by the evil eye, among the Ait Waryager benzoin.

[434] Among the Igliwa and the Ait Waryager some earth is thrown at a person who is suspected of having the evil eye.

In the Fahs and the Sahel some sukt mgela is burned and the smoke of it inhaled by one who is believed to have been injured by the evil eye; and the Ait Waryager [435] carry the same thorny plant, sewn up in leather, as a charm.

[436] To turn the tip of the tongue backwards is a method of turning off the evil glance in other parts of Morocco as well. It may be done either secretly, with closed lips (At Ubahti) or with the mouth open (Marraksh, Ait Waryager). Among the Ait Waryager the person who thus turns his tongue, showing the lower side of it, says at the same time, "In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, may his eyes be made blind".

[437] The Ait Temsaman not only hang a black pipkin (taqnust) [822] in their gardens, but regard the colour black generally as a charm against the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager the bridegroom must [585] [292] wear a black cloak (aje jab), contrary to the general rule in Morocco, which requires that he shall be dressed in white.

[440] Among the Ait Warain, if children die in their infancy, a 776 silver ring is often inserted in the right ear of every child in the family 754 who is born afterwards, whether boy or girl; and among the Ait 301 Waryager, if a man loses his little sons, the next born is provided with 784 such a ring (dhorsit), which is subsequently worn by his younger brother.

In Andjra and at Tangier a ring (hat em) of silver [441] round the little finger of the right hand is used as a protection both against jnun and the evil eye. Among the Ait Waryager rings of silver or brass are for the same purposes worn by men and women.

and wearing a new bag (dajbirt); and he wears it not on his left side, as usual, but on his right, to announce to all the people what he has done and to show that now he is a man. This is done whether the homicide took place in revenge or not. But though ordinary homicide is admired, it is considered very bad to kill a scribe without sufficient reason because of his knowledge of the Koran, and it is also considered bad, though not in the same degree, to kill an unoffending shereef on account of his holy parentage; and if a man who has committed either of these cribes slaughters an animal, its meat will be difficult to digest. This indicates that the taboos imposed on manslayers have something to do with the moral side of the matter. And the same is obvious from the general view that it is neither sinful nor polluting to kill in war.

In other cases also wrongdoing contains magic energy productive of evil.

[13] If the first person you meet in the morning when you set out on a journey is one who does not observe his daily prayers, the best thing you can do is to turn back (Ait Waryager).

In Dukkala it is said that if a one-eyed person, a perfectly bald-headed person, and an albino meet in a boat it will not move.

The Ait Waryager say that the same will happen if a man who is blind, one who is bald, and one who has a sore under-lip meet on board a vessel.

[14] It is good fal for a man to have much hair on his chest (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager), evidently because it suggests strength; such hair is called s-sa'r de s-sbo'a, or "lion's hair".

[17] In Andjra, if anybody who is carrying something black meets another person, he must put down what he is carrying while the other one is passing; otherwise the latter will not pass at all but turn back, lest he should have some misfortune on that day. A similar custom prevails among the Shloh of Aglu and Glawi and among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; the person who is carrying the black object says when he puts it down, Hasak, or if he addresses more than one person, Hasakum, "With your permission", to which the answer is, 'Azk allah (in Rifian 'azzek allah), or if the person to whom it is said is a woman, 'Azkem allah, corresponding to our "pray".

[18] There are other cases in which people make use of the colour black for their own benefit. It is used as a charm against the evil eye,

789 and as a means of influencing the weather in accordance with the
822 principle of homœopathie magic. To have intercourse with a black
755 woman is a cure for back-ache (Garbiya, Ait Waryager, &c.) and gonorrhea (Tangier, &c.). The gall of a black cow is a medicine for leucoma, which is characterised by whiteness of the eye. The milk of a perfectly black she-goat is drunk as a remedy for whooping-cough. Cats which are perfectly black are used for many purposes. In sacrifices to jnun the victims are by preference black. The best of all sacrifices at the Great Feast is that of a ram with black rings round its eyes. The noblest and holiest of all horses is the black horse. There are certain families for whom black is considered a lucky colour.

789 While black is the colour of darkness and gloom, white is the
822 colour of light and brightness, and is therefore regarded as good fal.
585 The benign magic virtue attributed to milk is due not only to its usefulness and taste, but also to its colour, which is often emphasised by the natives themselves. It is partly on account of its whiteness that milk plays such a prominent part in the marriage rites.

[19] Among [20] the Ait Waryager, when the bridegroom is painted with henna, a raw egg is put in the bowl containing the henna, so as to make his life "white".

755 [22] Among the Ait Waryager a person suffering from jaundice
822 who cannot persuade himself to drink his urine as medicine ties a red silk thread through his right earlap. Red is used in witchcraft, and in wedding rites. I have elsewhere suggested that the use of red which is found in the marriage ceremonies of so many countries, is meant to be not only a sign of virginity, but also a means of ensuring defloration.

755 [23] At Fez the itch (hakka) is cured by a bath in the Buhrareb, which carries away the sewage, and jaundice (busffar) by the eating of radishes and lemons and the drinking of a little of one's own urine. Among the Ait Waryager a person who has jaundice (bosaffir) cures it by having a similar drink on three consecutive mornings before breakfast; and a person who in walking knocks his toes against a stone stops at once and makes water on them.

[514]

777 [26] Pointed and sharp objects are often regarded as ill-omened.
576 Or if you hand to any one a pair of scissors or a knife or a dagger, you should keep the blade in your own hand and offer him the handle (Ait Waryager).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman. Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[a] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[b] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[a] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[b] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 326. First edition, Venice, 1550.

778 [823] [70] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [71] (the so-called l-hajra de l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 411 [842] [755] [73] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[74] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 755 [84] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[85] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [86] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.

825 782 The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. Thepati ent goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and [87] he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 8+] the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
[754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

696
778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [igliwa], tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager], tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[177] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have baraka.

778
823 Dysury is cured in a similar manner, the water being drunk on an
[755] empty stomach (Hiaina), or also by the patient making water on the head of a hoe which has been made red-hot (Ait Waryager).

Steel, brass, copper, silver, and gold, are supposed to counteract the evil glance, and so are [116] alum (Arab. sebb; Berb. azarif [Ait Yusi], zarif [Ait Waryager]), which is also used to keep off jnun, sulphur (Arab. kebrit; Berb. of Temsaman rsebriy), and certain
[777] stones. Silver is further a charm for good luck, and sulphur serves as a protection against witchcraft. Ordinary stones or pebbles are often used in magical practices.

821 [117] The rainbow indicates that the rain will cease, though I have also heard the contrary opinion (Fez, Tangier). According to the Muhammadan traditions, the Prophet enjoined his people to call it qausu llah, "God's bow", because by it God has promised to protect the world from a second deluge; but I have not heard this term used in Morocco.

821 In Andjra I was told that when there are two bachelors present in
775 a company, together with a married man who knows the custom, the latter asks them, "Which bride do you prefer, the green or the red one?" He who answers "the red" will go to hell and he who chooses "the green" will go to Paradise. This custom, which is also found in Dukkala and among the Ait Waryager, shows that in the minds of the people there is some connection between the rainbow and the journey of the soul at the last day.

821 [118] There is, in some measure, benign virtue in the lightning (Arab. braq; Berb. usman [Igliwa], usm, plur. usmän [Ait Sadden], lbraq [Ait Warain], rabraq [Ait Waryager], rabroq [Temsaman]).

Thunder (Arab. ra'd; Berb. iggig [Igliwa], tig nau [Ait Sadden], tijnau [Ait Warain], ajjar [Ait Waryager], ajjaj [Temsaman]) is caused by Sidna Jebril moving his wings (Andjra).

821 [119] The sun (Arab. sems, sems, or sems; Berb. tafukt [Igliwa],
789 tafuht [Ait Sadden], tfust [Ait Warain], tfust [Temsaman], dfuit [Ait Waryager]) purifies the ground, which is always liable to be
[782] defiled by unclean substances; at a place where the sun is shining you may say your prayers without making use of a mat, if you first sweep away any dirt you may find there. There are charms which are written while the sun is shining on the paper, at noon. A person who has been struck by the moon may cure himself by sitting in the sun

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[155] [132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

443 562 since the Spanish pacification of the Rif), women's markets came into being either as a concession or by default. Even so, women of the best families still do not attend them as a rule, much as they would probably like to; for the sale and purchase of eggs, chickens and pottery which forms the overt activities of women's markets are in reality, one might say, a disguise for more clandestine transactions: sale and purchase of potions, charms or recipes to induce love, fertility, sterility, and even, in some cases, poisons. Rifian males all know that their womenfolk "know all about such things", but their own knowledge of them is, by comparison, very superficial; and it is thus to their own advantage, in certain respects, to prevent their women from attending. In a manner of speaking, they are successful, for it is only old women, poor women, and women who are locally held in low repute who are market-goers, either to their own markets or to regular ones (the latter of which they have only attended in the last two decades or so).

Women's markets exist today only in the Thimsaman, where there is one (on Tuesdays, Suq th-Thratha, at Swani), and in the Aith Waryaghar, where there were seven in Spanish times: one on Sundays (Suq r-Had) at Iswiqen, mentioned above; two on Mondays (th-Thnain), at Azghar, near Ajdir in the Plain of Alhucemas, and at Isrihan, in what Blanco labels the "originating Jma'th" of the latter; one on Thursdays (r-Khmis) at Swani at the mouth of the Nkur River where it empties into the Bay of Alhucemas; two on Fridays (r-Jum'a), at Aghridh, near Isrihan, and at Suftura, in Ighmiren, of Aith 'Adhiya; and one on Saturdays (s-Sifth) at Aith Qamra. (Of these, only that on Mondays at Azghar, that on Saturdays at Aith Qamra, and the Tuesday market of Thimsaman were still functioning in 1959.) Interestingly enough, there are no women's markets, and there never have been, in the heart of the southern Jbil itself, although those of Iswiqen, Isrihan and Aghridh are all on its northern slope.

[184] Of the other Rifian tribes, the Aith 'Ammarth formerly had a women's market (on Thursdays, r-Khmis, at Ija'unen), as did the Igzinnayen (on Tuesdays, th-Thratha, at Inhanahan), Bni Bu Frah (on Tuesdays at Agni) and Aith Yittuft (in which the day and site of the market in question are unknown to us); but these are all said to have [114] disappeared before the time of 'Abd al-Krim. Sánchez Pérez, then, is essentially correct in localizing women's markets within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar, which was obviously their point of origin.

000 [103] [133] 117a--The Jbil Hamam, or Mountain of Doves (it is given this Arabic designation rather than the Rifian cognate adhrar n idhbiren), is in every way the mountainous backbone of the Aith Waryaghar, their highest point geographically (with its peak of Adhrar n Sidi Bu Khiyar at 1930 m.) and their point of origin traditionally. With certain notable [823] exceptions (such as the clan of Imrabdhen), all the tribal segments now [121] in the lowland part of Aith Waryaghar point to the Jbil Hamam as their ancestral home; and it was for these, as well as other, reasons, that we concentrated our own research in the southern mountains of the tribe.

226 tribe are cordial and that reciprocity be admitted; but this was not
[619] frequent.

The Aith Waryaghar considered as their fishing area the waters between the mouth of the Nkur River and the islets of the beach at Sfiha.

226 823 184 The Ibuqquyen used to mark with lime those points on the coast which by their topographical vagueness could not be distinguished from the sea, and set up good fishing sites which, once they were in them, permitted them excellent catches.

442 443 492 The fish are auctioned on the beach by loads which are afterwards taken to the market on muleback, and the proceeds are handed over daily to the administrator chosen, who periodically hands over his accounts every two or three months, usually at festival times or at the ends of seasons, a fact which thus gives rise to incidents through doubts about negotiation of payments.

226 If the fish are not sold owing to lack of buyers, they are divided up the same way in kind, and the owner is informed so that he can collect his share.

The substitutes for crew members, during justifiable absences, as mentioned above, did not enter into the proportional division of the profits, but they were given a prudential and arbitrary quantity of fish as compensation, reserving for the absent crew-member his own part as if he had been working.

226 685 Any vessel which through imprudence enters the net which another boat has laid down is responsible for the damage it causes, and any craft which in moving rams into another which has stopped is also responsible for the damage caused.

passers-by may slake their thirst. This also reflects the fact that the retention of surplus water is considered an act of bad faith by a person's neighbors; and the latter fact in part makes it necessary for irrigation water upstream to be properly carried out and led off, and thus that holdings under irrigation be leveled and conveniently prepared.

B) Usage of Water in General:

Utilization of water in the Rif presents three facets which are common to all societies: utilization by animate beings, by (or for) lands, and by (or for) industries. Rights of preference are also the same, and in the same order: first, animate objects, the surplus for lands, and what remains, for industry, which in the Rif is represented by turbine water mills (dhasirth w aman, pl. dhisira w aman), which in times of excessive dryness or drought do not have the right to utilize water from those irrigation channels which divert or subtract the flow from the principal ditch.

C) Water Points for Men and Animals:

Water points in Rifian villages whose liquid content is destined for human and animal consumption are not regulated by any by-laws other than that of designation of the hours in which men may go to them; the rest are reserved for women, for whom it is also customary to reserve, beforehand, and whenever possible, fixed points for washing and bathing. For this reason, if the village contains diverse water points, one is used by the women and another by the men; and the surplus water is channeled toward a pond (agirman, pl. igirmamen), which forms the common watering place for the animals as well as a malarial focus from which it is difficult to extinguish the mosquitoes.[118] The

000 which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

312 613 The flow taken up by the Aith Waryaghar bathes the meander of Sidi r-Hajj Yusif[161], and is used by the Aith Umnudh lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. It is divided [571] into two turns of twenty-four hours each: one for the lineage branch of Aith Ishshu (some 80 irrigators) and the other for the lineage branch of "True" Aith Umnudh (some 130 irrigators).[162] The flow taken up by the Axt Tuzin (clan of the Axt 'Akki) is distributed through the Dharga n Tufdhisth.

312 [823] [103] Azru n Srith ("The Rock of the Bride"): This legendary site[163], the point of departure for water from the pond of Thanda Hawa, beside the tomb of Sidi Birqi, is the principal shed for the waters of the Nkur River, and four ditches flow from it: one on the left, or Aith Waryaghar, side, Dharga n Tufrashth, and three on the right, called Sunduq (Axt Tuzin), Sidd Asiyar[164] (Thimsaman) and Ihajjamen ("barbers") (Thimsaman), respectively.

Sunduq and Tufrasht divide water into equal parts. In turn, the Sunduq ditch, by the same token, divides it with Dharga Usiyar, and the latter, in turn, with Ihajjamen, which in time of scarcity has no water.

[571] [613] The turn cycle of Dharga n Tufrasht is five days for Izakiren and two for Ighmiren.[165]

Dharga Sidd 'Arridh: begins at the same height as Dharga Hadhidha, on the other (west) bank, and beside and just upstream from the crossing of the main Tetuan-Melilla road and the piste to the Thimsaman.[166]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

Insectivora

Erinaceidae

136 *insi* (Arabic *kanfud*), the hedgehog, found throughout the region. This animal makes itself useful by killing snakes. It is said that formerly the Riffians ate the hedgehog, but that once a woman of the Beni Amart, going out reaping, left her two babies in a brush shelter which she had constructed at the edge of the field. When she returned to them she found a cobra arching up in front of them, and a little hedgehog spitting at the cobra and keeping it at bay. In recognition of this favor the Riffians refrain from killing the hedgehog. This tradition may be recent, since the episode is supposed to have happened less than a generation ago. The *insi* belongs to the genus Erinaceus; the exact species is doubtful since, according to Flower and Lydekker,[1] there are about twenty different ones. Hanoteau and Letourneau [2] identify the animal bearing the same name in Algeria as *Erinaceus* (=*Aethechinus*) *algirus*.

Carnivora

Viveridae

136 *thawartha*, a large mongoose greater in size than the *mush abaran*. It kills snakes, is variegated in color, and has bristly hair and a long tail. It is found throughout the region, except in the more arid portions to the east. Hanoteau and Letourneau do not mention this animal as existing in Kabylia. Dr. Allen suggests that it may be *Herpestes ichneumon*,[3] which was sacred to the Egyptians.

sibsib (Arabic *zerdi*), a small species of mongoose. Hanoteau and Letourneau [4] identify an animal of the same name as *Mangusta numidica*. Dr. Allen thinks that the *sibsib* may be a *Calogale*.

isgith may be the *Genetta africana* mentioned by Hanoteau and Letourneau,[4] or the *Genetta vulgaris* of Flower and Lydekker.[5]

Mustelidae

nims (Arabic *nims*), a weasel or polecat, found throughout the region where any forest or moisture remains. Hanoteau and Letourneau [6] call the *nims* of Kabylia a polecat, giving it the name *Putoris bocamela*. Yet the Berber name which they give it, *thader'ar'ats*, in Thamazighth means "mongoose," being another word for *thawartha*. Dr. Allen suggests that the *nims* may be *Mustela africana*.[7]

akazin w aman, or *ar w aman* (Arabic *kelb el ma*), the otter, found wherever there are streams and irrigation ditches. The animal causes constant annoyance by making holes in the ditches and uprooting gardens, as well as by stealing poultry. The animal of the same name and description in Kabylia is called by Hanoteau and Letourneau *Lutra vulgaris*.[6,7]

Felidae

bu haru, anciently *izim* (Arabic *seba*, *asad*), the lion. Lions, which were common in the Rif in the seventeenth century [8] and were killed at intervals up to forty years ago,[9] are now believed to be extinct or nearly so. It is popularly believed by the natives of Gzennaya

[1] Page 620.
[2] Page 142.
[3] Flower and Lydekker, pp. 589–590.
[4] Page 144.
[5] Page 328.
[6] Flower and Lydekker, pp. 535–536.
[7] Page 143.
[8] Sieur Roland Frejus, *Relation of a Voyage into Mauretania*, p. 26.
[9] Otto C. Arthaber, *Riffpiraten und Ihre Heimat*, p. 154.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

285 415 Hamara of the Gzennaya; Bokoya; Ijaonen of Beni Amart; Beni Hadifa and Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel; Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman; the Metalsa dwelling near Beni Mohammed, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, all the Senhaja and Ghomara, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, and the western Maritime tribes.

[314] *Wickerwork*, the third type, is called *asarow n ughanim*. Oleander switches and reeds are used, the oleander for the uprights, or warp, and the split reeds woven in and out between them. Baskets made of this material are often of great size, four to five feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are used for the transportation of grapes, figs, almonds, walnuts, and the like, and for the storage of raisins, dried figs, and dried apricots. (See plate 24.) They are to be found in Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikaroen, Temjunt, Bured, all of Gzennaya, Mountain Urriaghel, Taghzuth n Tassa and Tizera n Imziwen of Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, and Ain Mediuna of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Bu Shibet.

TEXTILES

286 [439] Textiles made in the Rif are confined to woolen cloths, all cotton and what little silk there is being imported.

283 [824] The first process in textile manufacture is washing the wool in a stream with the boiled roots of the plant known as *thaghigheshth*. The wool is hung up in the rafters of the house until dry, and is then carded. In the old days, cards of local manufacture, called *ikarthashen*, were employed, but today the cards used throughout the Rif are imported from Sheshawen and are of European type. The indigenous type consists of a long wooden handle about two feet in length, with a flat piece of cow's horn attached to one end. Into the horn are set two parallel rows of spikes, either wooden or brass, about the length of a human finger. The rows are set at right angles to the axis of the handle, and the spikes project from the handle at a right angle. These cards were kept in pairs, and when not in use were pushed up into the rafters, where, in old houses, a few of them may still be found.

Spinning, the next process after carding, is done in two ways:

1. The thread is suspended from a distaff, on which the rove is wound, and attached to a spindle whorl held just off the ground. Thread spun in this way is used for warp and is called *asarau*.

2. The rove is spun on the thigh and gathered into a pot below. This thread is used for weft and is called *amshin*.

286 [865] Weaving, the final process of textile manufacture, is done on two entirely different kinds of loom under different circumstances. The more primitive is the *azta*, an upright two-bar loom with a stick heddle and a wooden comb for battening the warp. The operation of the *azta* is entirely in the hands of women. A girl who does not know how to weave on the *azta* has a poor chance of marriage, and consequently girls learn this art at an early age. Parties are held for the teaching of it; a girl who is not expert invites a number of skilled weavers, who go to her house, eat, and instruct her. The cloth produced by the *azta* is called *tadsha* and is used for women's clothes, men's sleeveless shirts worn in winter, and blankets. It is generally white, sometimes with red horizontal bands or stripes. The *azta* is employed throughout the region under consideration, except in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa.

789 [95] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Igliwa); among the Ait Waryager he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger—among the Ait Waryager the forefinger of the right hand—with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz).

825 776 778 [97] The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much baraka in it; it is of high blood (d-demm l-kbir); it is like a shereef. It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; l-hail u l-hair wahed, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulad Bu'aziz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Ait Waryager). The sayatin, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Ait Waryager). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager); it says, L-hăer liya u l sidi, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Hiaina).

[103] Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean, a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of baraka. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by jnun (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

824 778 241 [105] As certain animal species so also certain species of the [106] vegetable kingdom are possessed of baraka. This is above all the case with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and seksu. The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Ait Waryager). It is the baraka of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.

824 778 Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber idea, since the date-palm (Arab. nahla; Berb. ainiu or tainiut [Igliwa], tini [Temsaman]) has been known to the Berbers from a very ancient period; but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia. Another holy tree, like- [107] wise held sacred in the East, is the olive (Arab. s-sejara de z-zeit un; Berb. tazzitunt [Igliwa], zzeitun [Temsaman]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times. It is said that it has one of the names

824 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka
778 of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit [Igliwa], zzest [Temsaman]) may be
so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan-
[842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power
[843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall
be good-looking (Tangier).

[109] Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words
755 from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul,
778 Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

[110] At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura (Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura, sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case
[231] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or, on the 17th of May (mut l-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame.
A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines,
842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the morning on an empty stomach.

[841] [111] Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro; Berb. fadis [Temsaman] or fadis [Ait Waryager]) is eaten by women suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 [112] The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand)
824 as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow.
696 Some scribes recite over it something from the [113] Koran, knot seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

696
778 to its owner and propose to bring it back to him if he pays a small
824 sum for it; and he will of course accept the proposal. Some other rites in which palmetto leaves are used will be mentioned below.

824 There is also baraka in walnut root or bark (swak), with which
302 women paint their lips and teeth brownish, as in antimony (Arab. khul; Berb. tazult [Ait Warain], tazult [Ait Sadden], dazurt [Ait Waryager], tazuts [Temsaman]), with which they paint their eyes
[171] black. These practices, as well as the use of henna, have presumably come from the East.

778 [114] As there is baraka in many animals and trees and plants,
823 there is also baraka in the ground (Arab. ard; Berb. akal [Igliwa], tamazirt [Ait Sadden], tamort [Ait Warain], damort [Ait Waryager], tamoa [Temsaman]), which gives corn and fruit to man and grass to animals. It is said in the Koran that God placed on the earth the firm mountains which tower above it and blessed it, and "apportioned therein its food in four days alike for those who ask". Nay, he created man himself from earth; hence to beat the ground is to beat one's own mother. If you do so, it will call for your mother and father, wanting them to die—it will cry out, Ara ummak ara buk; or it will punish you by pressing you in your grave. You should also avoid stamping on the ground, you should walk quietly (Andjra). Anybody who pours hot
[176] water on the ground is liable to be hurt by the mwalin l-ard, "the masters of the ground", that is, the jnun living in it; and he who burns earth—for making lime or bricks or tiles or earthenware—will never succeed in making money. On the other hand, the ground gives blessing to him who sits on it; there is rahma, "mercy", in it. The
[172] earth rests on a horn of a bull, the bull stands on a fish, and the fish is in the water; and it is also said that the water is on the wind and the wind on the empty space and the empty space on something which is only known to God. An earthquake (zenzla) is caused by the bull changing his burden from one horn to another. These beliefs have been imported from the East; the story of a bull supporting the earth and causing earthquakes seems to be spread all over the Moslem world, though there are many different versions of it.

[115] Among the mineral products of the earth there are many which are supposed to possess miraculous power, and some of them are directly said to have baraka.

778 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is
372 blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out
[155] unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direc-
778 tion of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[893] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology,
772 as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

● 824 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which
778 are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to
[534] play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners.
796 To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary bab lmakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[787] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 852 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355] t- Teida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child.

825 [752] In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra
●[824] [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[854] [357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 264 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

224 411 of these, and any Rifian worthy of his salt can knock down a partridge in full flight with noteworthy dexterity, and at a distance of fifteen to twenty-five meters.

[824] The sticks which they use are usually of wild olive wood, in the form of shepherds' crooks, backed by a few turns of copper wiring at each end and the upper third; and this at the same time increases resistence to breakage, facilitates throwing by its greater accuracy.... The net result is that the Rifian is as dangerous, or even more so, to game animals or birds than is the average European hunter with a double-barreled shotgun.

224 At the hour agreed upon, when every participant is provided with his corresponding weapon or dog, they all leave their houses and go toward the hunting site, crying "Haw-haw! Haw-haw!", which is the signal of hunting and reunion.

E) Ownership of Game Caught:[188]

Ownership of game which is caught follows certain rules which are based on a general principle attributing the game first to whoever discovers it; second, to whoever kills it; and finally, to whoever collects it. In different (or individual) cases, disputes may take [578] place, and these and the way they are resolved will be discussed further on. The principal elements of judgment are the range of vision [411] of the hunters, and the range of accuracy of the weapons, some fourteen stick-lengths, or forty feet in a stone's throw.

671 224 692 The customary law of Rifian society minutely anticipates how many cases may arise, and as, furthermore, it is inspired by reality, it is simple and useful, requiring of the judges, first, competence,

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a, d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Palmetto is exploited for its edible bud, and the old women who sell *ghaz* (palm cabbage) are a common sight in the streets of Tetuán and Tangier. During the summer, when cereal stocks are low, many families spend some time digging up palmetto.

Palmetto is exploited also for its fiber, used in the manufacture of *crin végétal*. The collecting is done by women, who deposit bundles of palm blades near scales set out along most of the roads. The fiber is dried in the sun, and then twisted into loose rope and baled for marketing. The finished product serves as a substitute for horsehair in upholstering. In 1955, exporters in the northern zone handled 12,622 tons of fiber.[20] Native craftsmen make hats, mats, and baskets of the same material.

Disturbance of this sort encourages lateral development rather than tall growth from a single stock, but seldom results in destruction of the plant.[21] The resiliency of palmetto is attested by its persistence in cultivated fields. The native farmer has no means of eradicating the deep roots of this plant. Fields are burned and then cleared with hoes and cutting tools. This practice eliminates most shrubs, but it does not destroy palmetto. On the contrary, this plant, as a deep-rooting and heliophilous species, profits from the removal of competitive growth. When fields lie fallow or are abandoned, dwarf palm promptly begins to colonize.[22] In relatively undisturbed formations the palmetto is of secondary importance. It is not conspicuous, for example, in mature stands of cork oak. On sacred sites palmetto is usually found on the edges of the protected growth. Where shrub vegetation is especially dense, as it is along the Mediterranean coast from Wad Lao to Puerto Capaz, dwarf palm grows on sunny south-facing slopes and on the upper edges of stream channels. Pure stands of palmetto seem to indicate floristic and morphologic impoverishment, a reduction of vegetation to its most resistant element.

Pistacia lentiscus (Arabic *dro*) is the second most important element of palmetto scrub. As with dwarf palm, it may be doubted that this plant should be described as a shrub. *Dro* usually appears as a shrub about one meter high, but where soils are deep and plants protected, it may grow three to five meters high. Such trees are rare today. With the exception of a few specimens scattered in the Anjra hills northeast of Tetuán, I have seen tall pistacias only on sacred sites and in a few areas protected by fences. In one form or the other this plant is encountered as an element of maqui in most of the Mediterranean region. It is found almost everywhere in Morocco; only in areas of extreme aridity and in the mountains above 1,500 meters is it absent. *Dro* is mixed with *Zizyphus lotus* in the Nkour

[20] *Marruecos, zona jalifiana: guía económica* (Tetuán: Delegación de Economía, 1955), p. 59.

[21] The ability of the palmetto to survive disturbance is recognized by Theophrastus (*Enquiry into Plants* . . . , II, 6): "The dwarf-palm is a distinct kind, having nothing but its name in common with the other palms. For if its head is removed, it survives, and, if it is cut down, it shoots again from the roots." Louis Emberger concludes, in *Les Arbres du Maroc et comment les reconnaître* (Paris: Larose, 1938), p. 76: "Cette forme naine est déterminée par l'action continuelle des troupeaux, qui broutent les jeunes pousses, et de l'homme qui exploite le Palmier nain pour en faire des cordages et consummer le cœur." M. Rikli, "Marokko," *Vegetationsbilder*, 24, Heft 4/5 (1934), concurs in this judgment, and adds that the prevalent form of the palmetto "als fuss- bis kniehohes Hartlaubgestrüpp ist sekundär, durch anthro- und zoogene Einwirkung entstanden."

[22] According to Louis Emberger, *Aperçu général sur la végétation du Maroc* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1939), p. 150, "son expansion est le résultat de la destruction des forêts dans lesquelles il était un élément floristique constant." G. Kuhnholtz-Lordat, *La Terre incendiée: essai d'agronomie comparée* (Nimes: Editions de la Maison Carrée, 1939), p. 44, coins a new verb, *endoumer*, the process by which forests degenerate to thickets of *doum*.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

more important at that time than it is today. In chapter vii evidence will be presented to show that the same coastal area was once an important center of shipbuilding.

Fresh-water fishing seems to be restricted to a few streams in the mountains of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. The Sanhajans make use of the toxic roots of *Daphne Gnidium* (Arabic *mat'nan*) to stun fish, a practice that has been observed also in Sardinia, Portugal, and Spain.[m]

Utilization of Wild Plants

The average Moroccan woman can identify at least a hundred plants, and many are thought to have medicinal or magical qualities. To cure an ear infection, the ear is plugged with a mixture of butter and the ground leaves of *Ruta Montana*. The cure for a cold is to induce sweating by drinking milk or tea heavily seasoned with *Mentha pulegium*. A wound is cleaned with the leaves of *Inula viscosa*, and the leaves of other plants are worn under headgear to cure or prevent headaches, or in slippers to reduce fatigue. The number of similar ideas is limitless.

Many wild plants have food value, and are collected even when regular harvests are bountiful. The list of such foods includes the seeds of several species of *Cistus* (*C. albidus*, *C. laurifolius*, *C. ladaniferus*), the sweet acorn of *Quercus Ilex*, the fruit of *Arbutus Unedo*, the roots of *Halimium lasiocalycinum*, and the berries of *Rubus ulmifolus* and *Crataegus laciniata*. Moroccans eat the bud of the palmetto. Acorns and *Cistus* seeds seem to be the most important famine foods.

Markets

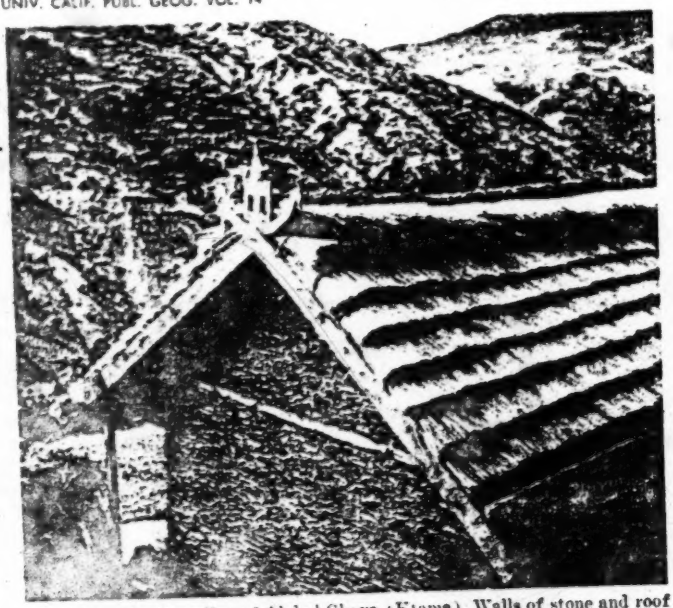
It would be a mistake to conclude that rural communities in northern Morocco live in complete isolation. Moroccans are fond of travel, and the men, at least, have some time to satisfy their wanderlust each year. There are few men, even in the remote highlands, who have not visited at least one city. But when a Rifian or Sanhajan sets out for Fez or Tetuán he is likely to be more interested in sightseeing than in shopping. He may bring back a new cloak for himself or a piece of costume jewelry for his wife, but more often returns only with accounts of strange sights and tales of adventure.

A rudimentary system of trade does exist. A few manufactured articles are found in most homes, and some communities produce marketable goods. For example, the village of Mediuna, just south of Cape Spartel, is engaged in quarrying millstones from the Caves of Hercules.[n] Here they find a gritty conglomerate that is ideal for milling. The *m'allimin* (masters) who hew out these stones transport them on muleback to Tangier, whence they are traded throughout northern Morocco. Rifian women spend some time making pottery. During the idle months of winter, after the cereals have been harvested, Rifian men work on mats and baskets. Leatherwork is done at Taghzut, and winnowing forks are made at Ktama. Yet none of these activities seriously disturb the subsistence orientation of rural life. Specialization of this sort supplements but never supplants agriculture. The abiding concern of all tribesmen is with their fields.

[m] R. F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," *Smithsonian Inst. Anthro. Papers*, 38 (1953), 263.
[n] C. S. Coon, *The Seven Caves: Archaeological Explorations in the Middle East* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1957), p. 45; E. Cecil Curwen, "Tangier Quern-Quarry," *Antiquity*, 119 (September, 1956), 174 and plate VII.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

342
824
532



a. A house in the valley of Abd al-Ghaya (Ktama). Walls of stone and roof of rye thatch. Ornamental figure represents crescent moon, a symbol of good luck; brazier and teapot are symbols of hospitality.

342

b. A typical two-story house in Ktama, with overhanging roof and projecting rafters. Lower floor serves as living quarters, upper for storage.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

that an old lion still lives in the bushes around the tomb of Sidi Mhend, near the village of Bured. The lion was pursued into these bushes about forty years ago by a large party of beaters, and is said to have been seen about once a year ever since. There is only one species, *Felis leo*.[1]

aghires (Arabic *nimr*), called by Hanoteau and Letourneau[2] the panther or leopard. This animal has been extinct in northern Morocco, by popular account, for over a hundred years. It is believed that there is no female of the *aghires*, and that it is reproduced in the following mythical manner. A lioness bears seven cubs in her first litter, six in her second, five in her third, four in her fourth, three in her fifth, two in her sixth; and in the seventh year (for she bears but one litter a year) she produces a single creature, the *aghires*, which is stunted but wiry, and stronger than a true lion; after bearing it the lioness becomes barren. The fact that such a legend can be believed warrants the assumption that the *aghires* has been extinct for a considerable period. In Kabylia the animal called *aghilas* (French transliteration *ar'ilas*) has been identified by Hanoteau and Letourneau[3] as *Felis pardus*. As in Morocco, the Arabic name is *nimr* (*gh* and *r'* are but two ways of transliterating the seventeenth character in the Arabic alphabet, and in Riffian dialects the normal Berber *l* becomes an *r*).

mush abaran (Arabic *ḳatt el khala*), a type of lynx or wild cat found throughout the Rif, Senhaja, and Ghomara, where any forest is left. Hanoteau and Letourneau[3] give for the *mush berran* of Algeria the specific name *Felis catus*, the wild cat. Dr. Allen suggests that the Riffian *mush abaran* may be *Lynx caracal*. This latter species is found in Algeria but is called *urael*.[4] The fact that *mush abaran* has tufted ears tends to favor Dr. Allen's suggestion.

Canidae

oshun (Arabic *dib*). The Arabs use this word for all species.

oshun awithair (Arabic *dib*). The Riffians recognize two species of dog-like animal, one at least of which is the true jackal. The *oshun*, the larger of the two, is different in appearance from the *oshun awithair*, which I have shot. Four of the former, which I saw in one evening, about dusk, looked as large as wolves — gray, and with straighter, more erect ears than the common jackal. At the time I thought them wolves, but later learned that the latter are not found in this part of North Africa.[5] Hanoteau and Letourneau[6] list but one species of jackal in Algeria, *Lupulus* (= *Canis*) *aureus*.

ohar (Arabic *tha'leb*), the fox. The Riffians distinguish but one species, but Hanoteau and Letourneau[6] find two in Algeria, *Vulpes atlanticus* and *Vulpes niloticus*.

Hyaenidae

ifis aghiul (Arabic *dheba'*), the striped hyaena, found everywhere in the region. It does not attack man. The species is *Hyaena hyaena*.[5]

ifis (Arabic *dheba'*). Here again the Arabs use one word for two species. This is the spotted hyaena, likewise found throughout the region. Neither Flower and Lydekker nor Hanoteau and Letourneau mention its presence in North Africa. The Riffians distinguish it from the *ifis aghiul* by its spotted markings, and by its habit of attacking man. Its

[1] Flower and Lydekker, p. 504.
[2] Flower and Lydekker, p. 548.
[3] Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 142; Flower and Lydekker, pp. 541-543.
[4] Page 142.
[5] Page 141.
[6] Hanoteau and Letourneau, p. 141.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

method of attack, as described by the Riffians, is as follows. It stupefies men travelling at night with its odor, hypnotizes the victim with its laughter until he falls down laughing, and then devours him. Despite the lurid nature of this portrayal, the accurate description of the animal's coat and the mention of its dangerous character imply that its existence is real. One of this species was run over and killed by an automobile owned by the Kaid Midboh of Gzennaya near Aknoul in March, 1928. Species: *Hyaena crocuta*, said to range south of the Sahara.[1]

Primates

rḳird (Arabic *el ḳird*), the Barbary ape. It was formerly distributed throughout the region, but is now limited to the mountain of Taghzuth, to Mt. Meggu behind Sheshawen, and to the pass of Bab el Ḥait in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Wenjin. The species is *Macacus inuus* according to Flower and Lydekker[2] and to Ghirelli;[3] *Pithecus inuus* Geoffroy according to Hanoteau and Letourneau[4] or *Macaca sylvanus* as currently used.

rkaramud (Arabic *el karamud*), a species of Cercopithecus, now extinct, said to have existed up until a hundred years ago. It was smaller than *rḳird* and longer-tailed.

Chiroptera

tharrith ighathain (Arabic *ṭair el lil*), the bat. This animal lives chiefly in caves. Hanoteau and Letourneau[5] give two species for Kabylia, *Vespertilio murinus* and *Rhinolophus unihastatus*. Bats recorded by Thomas for Western Algeria are as follows: *Asellia tridens*, a leaf-nosed bat; *Plecotus christiei*, a long-eared bat; *Pipistrellus kuhle*, a small pipistrelle; *Myotis oxygnathus*, probably the brown bat called *v. murinus*.[6]

This list is not, of course, supposed to be complete. Among mammals unlisted are shrews and probably numerous species of wild mice.

Other Animals

It would be difficult to compile a list of the birds, and practically impossible, for other than a specialist, to enumerate the amphibia and reptiles, while the fishes are not well known to the Riffians themselves.

Mentioning but briefly a few of the birds, one might include a species of grouse or partridge, commonly hunted, and the wild pigeon. Varieties of hawks and eagles are abundant, and there is a strong tradition concerning a giant hawk-like bird, larger than a man and now extinct, which swooped down and carried off livestock and children. The last of these creatures, called *baran*, are supposed to have nested on the mountain beneath which took place the famous massacre of Spanish troops, at Dhar u Baran and Anual.

Among the reptiles one encounters species of land tortoise and several varieties of snakes, including such general Morocean forms as the puff-adder, green python, cobra, and asp, all of which I have seen. Lizards abound and seem to represent numerous species, about one of which a curious legend has arisen. This creature is a small, laterally compressed

[1] Flower and Lydekker, pp. 541–543.
[2] Angelo Ghirelli, *El Norte de Marruecos*, p. 47.
[3] Page 143.
[4] Page 722.
[5] Page 141.
[6] Thomas, *Northern Zoögene*, vol. xx, p. 586; for central Western Sahara, *ibid.*, p. 23.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

reptile, green in color. When annoyed it puffs itself with air and exhales slowly, making an unpleasant noise. It is supposed to give birth to snakes, just as the lion is held responsible for the parentage of the panther.

Besides the snakes whose existence is unquestionable, one fabulous species is frequently mentioned. This creature is said to have a blunted tail, upon which it rises; using the tail as a lever it hurls itself through the air a great distance in the direction of its victim. The Riffians believe this firmly.

Fish are seldom seen in the smaller streams which empty into the Mediterranean; they are too swift, and, along their lower courses, too seasonal. In the Muluya, of course, fish are plentiful. What few there are in the mountain streams are eaten more by otters than by men, since the Riffians are not fond of fresh-water fish, although they preserve no definite tabu against them.

In the streams which empty into the Wergha on the Atlantic side of the watershed fish are more common, and are netted and eaten in Taghzuth and Beni Bu Nsar. Sea fishing, which has a special place under "Material Culture," [1] is carried on along practically all the coast.

[1] See below, p. 38.

778 [823] [70] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [71] (the so-called l-hajra de l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 [73] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints.

411 [842] [755] Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[74] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 755 [84] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[85] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [86] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.

[825] 782 The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

789 [95] He who hears something bad may also neutralise the evil influence by wetting his finger in the mouth and then closing his ear with it (Aglu, Igliwa); among the Ait Waryager he puts the little finger of the right hand into the left ear. Again, if a person hears something good he damps his finger—among the Ait Waryager the forefinger of the right hand—with spittle and then puts it into his right ear (Amzmiz).

825 776 778 [97] The noblest of all animals is the horse, and there is much baraka in it; it is of high blood (d-demm l-kbir); it is like a shereef. It gives blessing to its owner and his house. He who owns a horse has other animals as well, and corn and money and anything he wants; l-hail u l-hair wahed, "horses and prosperity are one" (Ulad Bu'aziz). To have a horse is as meritorious as to entertain forty scribes in the mosque (Ait Waryager). The sayatin, or evil spirits, avoid a place where there is a horse (Tangier, Ait Waryager). When it neighs it puts them to flight (Hiaina) or breaks the heads of forty evil spirits (Ait Waryager); it says, L-haer liya u l sidi, "Prosperity for myself and for my master" (Hiaina).

[103] Contrary to all other dogs, which are regarded as unclean, a greyhound, which is used in hunting, is considered to be possessed of baraka. A house to which a greyhound belongs is never haunted by jnun (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

824 778 241 [105] As certain animal species so also certain species of the [106] vegetable kingdom are possessed of baraka. This is above all the case with corn, especially wheat and barley, and anything made of corn, such as bread and seksu. The profession of the faith is written on every grain (Ait Waryager). It is the baraka of the corn that has given rise to most of the rites connected with agriculture, and of these many more are found in connection with the growing of wheat and barley than with that of other cereals, pulse, and vegetables; though the vegetable garden is also treated as a holy place.

824 778 Fruit-bearing date-palms are holy. This is probably an old Berber idea, since the date-palm (Arab. nahla; Berb. ainiu or tainiut [Igliwa], tini [Temsaman]) has been known to the Berbers from a very ancient period; but it was also a sacred tree in ancient Arabia. Another holy tree, like- [107] wise held sacred in the East, is the olive (Arab. s-sejara de z-zeit un; Berb. tazzitunt [Igliwa], zzeitun [Temsaman]), which seems to have been already cultivated in Northern Africa in prehistoric times. It is said that it has one of the names

●625 [27] Among the Ait Waryager a fox is styled si Ali, as though it were a scribe, other persons of that name being called 'Allus. They say that the fox was once a scribe, which is indicated by its Arabic name t a'leb—a confusion between t a'leb and taleb.

777 [30] There are auspicious words as well as inauspicious ones. It is
787 a good omen for a person who sets out on a journey in the morning to
192 hear the words mbarak, "blessed", or mes'ud, "lucky"; and if persons who are intent on robbery at night hear either of these words, which are also used as names for people, cried out, they are encouraged by it to carry out their evil intentions (Dukkala). The Ait Waryager regard it as good fal for one who starts on a journey in the morning to hear the names 'Absram ('Abdsslam) or Moh (Muhammed), but as bad fal to hear 'Esa or Musa. In other cases omens are drawn from words or statements which are by themselves neither lucky nor unlucky, but may become good or bad fal in accordance with the circumstances in which they are heard. If a person is speaking of something which he intends to do, and a stranger is at the same moment heard saying something which might be applied to the object of the conversation, then that which is said is regarded as fal. For example, if he says that he is going to travel or to marry, and somebody is heard saying "No", he should refrain from doing it (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [32] If a person starts on a journey or goes to the market and finds that he has left something behind or is called back, he should not turn back, or if he does he should not make another start on that day (Shawia, Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager) or he should eat a little flour before he sets out afresh (At Ubahti); otherwise he will have some misfortune. Hence if some one at home notices the thing left behind he should not ask the other one to return, but call out to make him stop and then take the thing to him.

To do something which is contrary to custom, and therefore improper, is followed by misfortune and, as we have noticed above, is often associated with the activity of [33] jnun or the devil. It is bad fal to light a candle or a lamp in the daytime (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[292] It is likewise bad to wear a garment with the inside out—such a
[784] thing is only done by Jews. Of him who does it people say that "his religion is reversed" (Ait Waryager).

It is bad to walk with one slipper only (Igliwa); it is said that he who does so is like the devil, who has only one foot (Andjra), or like a one-eyed person (Ait Waryager).

825 [262] The wild-boar, as well as the domestic pig, is an unclean animal and must not be used for food; swine's flesh is strictly forbidden to Moslems in four different places in the [313] Koran.

[317] It is generally believed that the hyena possesses the power of fascinating people with a view to devouring them, a belief which is also found in the East and is spoken of by Pliny as existing in classical antiquity. If a hyena makes water on a person (Casablanca, Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Aglu) or wets its tail and then sprinkles him with the urine (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or when seeking him makes a noise (Ait Waryager), he becomes enchanted or loses his senses and follows the animal to its den, where it eats him.

[755] [842] [319] The jackal contains much medicinal and magic virtue. [320] Childless men and women who are desirous of offspring burn the dried intestines of a jackal and fumigate themselves with the smoke, letting it pass underneath their clothes (Ait Waryager).

Among the Ait Waryager a person who is going out to steal puts the ear of a jackal in his bag in order to keep the dogs from barking; they will scent the smell of the jackal, of which they are much afraid.

[787] [321] To meet a jackal when you start on a journey is by some people said to be a good omen (Hiaina, Ait Waryager), but by others a bad one (Andjra, Aglu).

755 The fox contains 366 medicines.

825 [322] In other tribes the powder made of a charred fox, mixed with honey, or with honey, butter, and spices, is taken in the morning before breakfast as a cure for an affection of the heart (Ait Waryager) or for lberd (Ait Nder). Men who have been made impotent by witchcraft burn the penis of a fox and fumigate their own with the smoke.

[754] The gall of a fox is used by women for practising witchcraft, for example, with a view to inducing a man to divorce a rival wife.

[787] [323] Among the Ait Waryager the barking of a fox is supposed to indicate that the wind will be westerly, in Andjra and the Garb that it will be easterly. Charms are written on the skin of a fox.

The weasel is used as a medicine for horses and mules and, less often, for men. It is dried and burned, and the sick animal (Ulad Bu'aziz, Hiaina, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) or person (Temsaman) is made to inhale the smoke.

[324] The blood of a hedgehog is smeared on the head of a boy suffering from ringworm (daqassar), so that it shall be covered with hair as the hedgehog is covered with bristles (Ait Waryager).

825 The roasted and pounded liver of a hedgehog, mixed with honey, is also given to schoolboys to eat in the morning on an empty stomach in order that they may remember their lessons (Ait Waryager).

[326] The hare is said to have been once an old woman, who was transformed into a hare because she acted as a panderess (Ait Sadden). It menstruates like a woman and is therefore an unclean animal which [262] should not be eaten; but this rule is not strictly observed. It is eaten both as food and for magical and medicinal purposes.

825 755 [327] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from night-blindness (butallis), the liver of a hare is roasted and cut into three pieces by the schoolmaster of the village, who then writes something from the Koran on them. The patient takes one of the pieces and goes with it in the evening after sunset to the dung-heap (dazubait) of the house, calls a dog, and eats the piece of the liver, giving little bits of it to the dog as well. On the two following evenings he does the same with the other pieces of the liver; and then he will get rid of his complaint.

[787] If you go anywhere in the morning and meet a hare it is a bad omen (Dukkala, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa), especially if the hare is asleep and wakes up and runs ahead of you (Hiaina).

[328] The bat is used as medicine for fever. It is dried and burned and the smoke is made to pass underneath the clothes of the patient (Ait Waryager).

825 [331] To shoot a raven may also be attended with evil consequences. I was told of two men among the Bni Msauwar who did so and whose guns burst, and similar things are said to happen among the Ait Waryager.

[787] [333] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person goes somewhere at any hour of the day, it is a bad omen to see one raven ahead of him but a good one to see two.

[334] The eye of an owl is used as a means of preventing a person from falling asleep.

Both eyes are also removed and put into water. I was told that one of them always sinks and the other one floats; but while some people sew up the eye which sinks in a small leather case and wear it as a charm to prevent sleepiness (Ait Nder), others eat the eye which floats for the same purpose (Ait Waryager).

825 787 [335] The Ait Waryager maintain that the hooting of an owl outside a house indicates that somebody in that or a neighbouring house will die, and they drive the bird away by throwing at it a sooty piece of a broken old earthenware pan or fire at it with a gun.

825 [337] A wild-dove once saved the life of the Prophet when he was persecuted by Christians, by telling them that he had gone one way although he had gone another, and for this reason the faithful were forbidden to kill any bird of its species.

[777] 825 755 The Ait Waryager consider it unlucky if doves are living in a house, because they want to make it empty. In the same tribe, if a person suffers from fever, the dried dung of pigeons is burned, the smoke is made to pass underneath his clothes, and he inhales it as it comes through.

[751] [340] A person keeps his eyes in a good condition by [341] touching the inside of the eyelid with a raw and unbroken egg of a swallow or with a young bird newly hatched (Ait Waryager).

[342] A tortoise is never killed except for medicinal or magical purposes, and water tortoises, I believe, are not killed in any circumstances. People are afraid of them, as they are frequently supposed to be jnun; but when living in a spring or pond connected with a saint-shrine they are regarded as the servants of the saint and help to cure patients visiting the place.

Among the Ait Waryager the boiled flesh of a tortoise, prepared with salt, is eaten by sick people.

825 [231] [343] A tortoise may have an evil effect on cows, sheep, and goats. Among the Ait Waryager, if the owner of a cow which has calved does not give the cowherd the usual meal of bread and salt butter, the latter takes revenge by throwing a tortoise at the cow, which in consequence will never again give birth to a calf.

[344] There is a general fear of killing a frog or toad. At Aglu a man killed one with a stone, and his arm became paralysed. Among the Igliwa a person who killed a frog had fever for a year, and elsewhere also fever is supposed to be the consequence of such an act (Ait Waryager, &c.).

[348] The Ulad Bu'aziz believe that a snake which appears at the place where people are pitching a tent may be mul le-mkan, "the master of the place". They ask it politely to go away, and if it does not do so they kill it; but if they dream of the snake in their sleep they

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary bab lmakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[787] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 852 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355] t- Teida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child.

825 [752] [824] In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[834] [357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 264 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

224 All areas, except for the cultivated environs of houses, saints' tombs and cemeteries, could be used for hunting; those most preferred were low hillsides, stubble-fields and threshing-floors. [621] Each jma'th, in reality, came to have its hunting boundaries or habitual hunting areas, with preferential rights. Regarding times for hunting, they had no established limitations or prohibitions. [825] [821] Because of the facility of discovering animals or birds by their tracks, Rifians prefer to hunt when the sun is strongest.....

C) Organization:

224 554 671 [443] The hunt is organized one or two days beforehand, in the suq (as this is the meeting-place of distinct villages....); and here are determined the date, place, dispositive direction and leader (mulu')[183] or major beater, an individual who is always versed in the customary law of hunting.

224 Among points decided upon here is whether the hunting is to be in company (Mor. Ar. shirka, Rifian shirxth or sharxth) or not, which means ultimately if the game collected is for the person who killed it or not. [578] Ordinarily it is agreed to be in company. This tends to avoid multiple incidents and disputes, and it is only necessary to determine whether the hunters divide up the catch or gather in someone's house to eat it. They almost always agree on the division of the catch before coming back to the village. If there is much game, the division is in terms of the number of animals or birds taken; if not, the animals or birds are cut up and the pieces distributed (r-uzi'ath) among the hunters.

223 If partridges are being hunted, the net has a truncated conical form. The smaller end is placed in front of the nest and the larger tied to the ground with string or rope. The more the partridge tries to move forward, the more imprisoned it is.

685 691 Theft of nets is generally punished by a fine in accordance with the written qanums of the tribes.

224 K) Hunting of Jackals (Uhar), Wolves (Ushshan) and Foxes (Dhawardha):[196]

This is effected with an iron trap (dhakhshifth), with various strategems employed because of the cunning of the animals in question. Frequently one of these animals attacks the goats furthest away, and tears them into pieces before the goatherd can arrive. The remains of the goat are tied to a branch, and below them, hidden in the ground, the traps are placed in a circle. They are usually left there for a long time, for if their positions are changed, the animal or animals are apt to become wary. The jackal, after conscientious study and with maximum caution, succeeds most of the time in getting within the circle without harming himself, but the repeated jumps, each time with greater impulse, which he is obliged to make in order to get at the goat, end up with his getting caught in one of the traps (Zarqat).

224 184 825 In the Ibuqquyen, the bait is usually a reed tube full of horse-flies and covered with very rancid butter; this is hidden in the ground, and the traps are placed around it. The wary jackal usually gets inside the circle, attracted by the smell of the butter; but as the cautious animal scratches and bites, he is frightened by the flies, loses his head, and in one of his disorderly leaps, he lands on one of

224
184
825 the traps and is stuck. In other tribes, instead of a reed tube, dried figs with flies are tied to the traps.[197]

L) Ferrets:

224
231 In hunting with ferrets, these sometimes stay in the burrows of the game for several days and eat the game. In order to get a ferret out of the hole, its owner usually takes a chicken to the mouth of the den and makes it squawk; and the ferret is attracted by the noise. If he does not succeed through using this technique, the owner puts the chicken in a leather bag, in which it is kept, with the bag open, beside the entrance. When the ferret comes out, it enters the bag or stays crouched beside it.

Ferrets are also employed in hunting jackals and wolves (sic). The hunters prepare snares at the entrance of the animal's lair. They put the ferret there, and it is held down by its testicles. Aside from the snare already prepared, the hunters are then ready to finish the jackal off with blows from their sticks as it comes out.

M) Damages:

A hunting party is not responsible for damages which the individual hunters (Ar. mruyah, R. ingmarn) might inflict in garden, orchards, or beehives, etc., but the latter are. The injured party, if he does not accuse a specific person through not knowing who did the damage, can demand that the hunting party denounce the guilty individual, and if it does not wish to do this, it must declare, by name, those who passed closest to the site of the damage occasioned.[198]

[681]
[695] If the latter confess, they pay a fine, and in case of denial, they are obliged to swear that they have not done the damage and that they do not know the man or men who did.

884 and wearing a new bag (dajbirt); and he wears it not on his left side,
682 as usual, but on his right, to announce to all the people what he has done and to show that now he is a man. This is done whether the homicide took place in revenge or not. But though ordinary homicide
682 is admired, it is considered very bad to kill a scribe without sufficient reason because of his knowledge of the Koran, and it is also considered bad, though not in the same degree, to kill an unoffending shereef on account of his holy parentage; and if a man who has committed either of these cribes slaughters an animal, its meat will be difficult to digest. This indicates that the taboos imposed on manslayers have something to do with the moral side of the matter. And the same is obvious from the general view that it is neither sinful nor polluting to kill in war.

In other cases also wrongdoing contains magic energy productive
777 of evil.
789 If the first person you meet in [13] the morning when you set out
826 on a journey is one who does not observe his daily prayers, the best thing you can do is to turn back (Ait Waryager).

In Dukkala it is said that if a one-eyed person, a perfectly bald-headed person, and an albino meet in a boat it will not move.

The Ait Waryager say that the same will happen if a man who is blind, one who is bald, and one who has a sore under-lip meet on board a vessel.

[14] It is good fal for a man to have much hair on his chest (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager), evidently because it suggests strength; such hair is called s-sa'r de s-sbo'a, or "lion's hair".

777 [17] In Andjra, if anybody who is carrying something black meets
822 another person, he must put down what he is carrying while the other
789 one is passing; otherwise the latter will not pass at all but turn back, lest he should have some misfortune on that day. A similar custom prevails among the Shloh of Aglu and Glawi and among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; the person who is carrying the black object says when he puts it down, Hasak, or if he addresses more than one person, Hasakum, "With your permission", to which the answer is, 'Azk allah (in Rifian 'azzek allah), or if the person to whom it is said is a woman, 'Azkem allah, corresponding to our "pray".

789 [18] There are other cases in which people make use of the colour
822 black for their own benefit. It is used as a charm against the evil eye,
755

777 It is bad fal to eat or drink standing, to drink water from one hand
[264] only instead of drinking from both hands united (Andjra, Hiaina), and to drink with the mouth [34] in the water like an animal (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager); if you drink in the latter manner the water will go out through your anus.

[787] If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, his father or grandfather or some other relative of his will die (Ait Waryager).

777 The house will also be deserted by the angels (Tangier). It is
784 forbidden to whistle in a mosque or on a threshing-floor, and bad fal to do it on the road (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager). But it is the
533 custom for the shepherd to whistle; he thereby drives away evil influences from the animals (Hiaina, Ait Waryager). From a passage in the Koran it is understood that whistling was in the days of ignorance one of the idolatrous rites in the Meccan temple, and it is therefore generally held to be unlawful for pious Moslems.

787 [35] The twitches of muscles and itchings are interpreted as omens,
827 which are in most cases considered good or bad according as they occur on the right or the left side of the body. Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow (Hiaina, Tangier, Aglu, Igliwa, Ait Waryager).

According to a scribe from the Ait Waryager, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow.

[36] If the sole of one of your feet (Hiaina, Igliwa, Ait Waryager) or of your right foot (Dukkala, Shawia, Aglu) itches you will travel. Some people also believe that you will travel if you feel itching between the toes (Ait Waryager).

777 [40] There are magical influences of many kinds in the various days of the week. I have previously spoken of beliefs relating to Friday, the holy day of the Muhammadan world, as also of the abstinence from work on Sundays observed by the women in some Berber tribes. Sunday is generally considered the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some places even

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

the path or in the wilderness at night and seduces them. She usually leads them to a room beneath a stream, entered by a staircase running down through the water. Before allowing the man she has seduced to depart she exacts from him a promise never to reveal the place where her chamber is hidden. A man who breaks his promise will die as soon as the words have left his mouth.

The *jnun* which disturb the Riffians most are those which take the forms of dogs or jackals. Dogs with light eyes are believed to be *jnun*, and fierce jackals, transformed *jnun*, are said to guard treasure hidden in the bottoms of caves. Doors and shutters are closed at night to prevent *jnun* from entering and possessing the occupants. Hydrophobia is thought to indicate the entrance of a *jinni* into a man's body.

3. *er khier*, a ghost. Ghosts are said to be very tall and thin, and to travel about at night, especially in the neighborhood of cemeteries. They are sometimes able to strike at men with tongues of fire, and can appear and disappear at will.

4. *thasardunth imthran*, a she-mule, decked with bells. It comes out of cemeteries at night and eats people.

5. *er riaḳ*, a hot whirlwind which comes in summer, and is supposed to be a baleful supernatural being.

6. *thamza*, or *stuf*, an ogress. She is described as an ugly woman with long trailing breasts that touch the ground and squirt milk as she walks, long slobbering lips, and long, tangled, curly hair. She is able to change her form and appear as an enticing damsel, luring people to her house in order to eat them, and takes great delight in crunching and gnawing on human bones. This ogress lives in a house on a deserted part of a mountain.

7. *amziw* is the husband or male sex of the *thamza*. He resembles her in the configuration of his lips and in the form and condition of his hair. The *amziw* is also able to change his form and appear as a normal man, sometimes as an old man, and sometimes as a Negro. The *amziw* carries on the same means of livelihood as his wife, luring people to his house and eating them. The *amziw* is less frequently referred to in Riffian folklore than the *thamza*, and is apparently considered less common and less dangerous.

8. *bu seba ijjithen*, the Father of Seven Heads, is a creature large as a mule, possessing seven human heads. Its hind legs are those of an animal, and its front legs terminate in human hands. When travelling about the animal runs on all fours, but when in proximity to human beings rises on its hind legs and attacks its victims with its hands. From the nostrils and mouths of its seven heads it breathes fire. It eats its victims in the wilderness where it finds them, since it has no dwelling, wandering about and sleeping in deserted country. There is no mention of sex as applied to the *bu seba ijjithen*, wherefore one is led to conclude that it is either masculine or asexual. The *thamza*, *amziw*, and *bu seba ijjithen* are said to have been mortal, and to be long extinct.

9. *hajuj u majuj*, dwarfs, or gnomes. They live in subterranean caverns without exits to the surface. These creatures are as small as two-year-old children, bandy-legged, pigeon-toed, long-bearded, neckless, and bearing their heads directly on their shoulders. They are hunch-backed and wrinkled, and present every sign of senility, even while in infancy. They all go naked. Each day the dwarfs dig a passage upwards, with the intention of breaking through the earth's crust, issuing forth, destroying mankind, and taking possession of the earth. Each evening, however, they become tired, and say, "It is night now, and we are tired, let us go back to the center of the earth and sleep; there is not much work left

671 628 613 728 Things went well, while the violators of the past were humble figures among the allied groups, incapacitated by their slight strength and the fact that they had few friends to abuse the pact by opposing themselves to other groups concerned; but when the equilibrium was upset or broken by the hatreds of the more distinguished lineage members, dragging their powerful lineages into the fray, the pact was wrecked and peace disappeared anew.

671 628 728 Observe in note 1 the guarantee of peace. In note 2, the formality of the agreement obtained. In note 3, the punishment. In note 4, the violation of the agreement. In note 5, the executive organ, the mass of the population. In note 6, the procedure. In note 7, the reason for the punishment, because it is a voluntary law. In notes 8 and 9, the fulfillment. In notes 10 and 11, the notables, the really significant personages, the Aitharbi'in. In notes 12 and and 13, with economic details, the democratic sensation of defective practice. In note 14, the Rifian illusion.

671 628 152 Notes 3 and 4 seem to show that Rifian custom is not designed to punish the loyal combatant, who, in an inflamed dispute, comes impulsively to make use of arms, incapable of dominating his instincts and always quick to defend his rights, but also to avoid treachery, cunning and hatred, or rather, vengeance, reprisal, from which the Rifians did not know how to free themselves, and which used up men and families. This is a notion which renders honors to manhood and stigmatizes the coward.

554 671 In notes 2, 10 and 11 it may be seen who the Rifians of significance are and that only these men, and not the ordinary tribesmen, are the executives and legislators. This proves what has been said

623 immaterial; for a jma'th which formerly contained only two dharfiqin
613 may now have three, four or five, and tomorrow even more, with a
621 proportionate increase in houses and rifles. What the jma'th is not, however, is a family group united by blood ties--it is not a dharfiqth.

623 .....The jma'th came into being because of the necessity of common
182 usufruct of elements essential to sustain life, such as water, pasture
621 lands, brushwood, etc., and because of the necessity of regulating relations, both material and spiritual, with one's neighbors (hence mosques, which come into being after such an association has been effected). The result was that when a group for any reason abandoned its original jma'th in order to establish itself elsewhere--insofar as its growth and development made it do so, it cut off relationships with its parent group and its point of origin to constitute a new and independent nucleus[71].

621 Many Rifians confuse dharfiqth with jma'th, and proof of this
623 is that when one asks the members of a given group where they are
613 from, it is the same to them to answer "From such and such a jma'th"
[829] or "From such and such a dharfiqth", because the dharfiqth in question forms part of the jma'th whence they originated. Jma'th has a geographical connotation, while dharfiqth smells of nomadism (sic)[72]. This also explains why in different places one may find jma'th-s having the same name but formed by different dharfiqin, because over the course of time other splinter-groups from other jma'th-s became associated with the initial splinter-group from the first jma'th.....

621 I am dubious about the value of the number of households as a cri-
623 terion in definition; but I think that the best single datum available
571

(646 554 although not all of them with the same degree of forcefulness. Anyone may speak, although the majority, as elsewhere, are silent. A spontaneous speaker caused the same sensation, stupor and curiosity as those like him in Spain do in the bull-ring, and the result was almost the same. An amqqran or councilmember interrupted him, saying "You here, you have just made the gesture of a stupid idiot," and the poor man, reddened and embarrassed, was silent amid general noise and quarreling, which the ingenious councilmember smilingly recalled (646 554 124 in later years.....Another incident: once a man whom I did not know was proposed to me as a candidate for a position of tribal authority, and I wanted to find out about him. I began a series of questions and reflections regarding the virtues which anyone nominated would have to possess, such as honor, ability, etc. I was, however, surprised to find the person to whom I was talking interrupt me, saying quickly, "No, no, no! You think he is like So-and-so?" (And So-and-so was a very short-statured men, as I myself am.) "Not at all, he is thus!" With this the speaker, a big, fat fellow, raised his shoulders up with a graphic gesture, thumping his chest and laughing, saying that nobody could willingly argue about his own authority.

646 554 829 [671] Among Rifians, then, names of tribal functionaries seem literally and faithfully to interpret the idea of the function involved, as amghar and amqqran both convey the idea of "big, adult, old". This is reflected in the qanuns when, in reference to those attending a meeting, prior to inscribing a list of the names of the notables present, those who drew up the qanun in question were very

careful to state that all those at the convocation were the "majors" and the "minors" (los grandes y pequeños)[102] of such and such a place. The written titles or nominations of functionaries, and the pompous Arabic names of qa'id, qadi and mqaddim, with which some men like to adorn their names in order to astonish simpletons and impress strangers, are only of value inside their own houses (author's italics), just as the titles of doctor and coronel formerly were in certain South American republics! In the Rif, there was, in pre-'Abd al-Krim days, no qa'id and no qadi[103]; only imgharen and igrawn, iziddjifen, dharfiqin and turba, the last-mentioned being warlike amanuenses whose fingers are better suited to hilt or trigger than to pen, while the other names are the most definite external indices of the degree of Islamization[104] of those who possess them. We will not speak here of such fantastic personages as the bu-mwarith[105] or the ukil l-ghuyab[106] and other shadowy figures recently created by the Spanish protectoral administration, who will probably soon disappear if not taken proper care of!

6) Resume of Rifian Tribal Functionaries (given even though Rifians tend to confuse them among themselves!):

a) the iziddjifen, "headmen", or representatives of each dharfiqth, constituting the permanent council of the jma'th.

b) the imqqranen, "big ones" (or imgharen, pl. of amghar), the representatives elected by the jma'th (author's italics) for its own prestige, and the delegates of the latter territorial unit in the clan council, whose habitual meeting site was the market, and whose job it was to make the law.

794 871 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an....

[872] [873] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some

[829] [876] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 103 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 [631] 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

000 50--The fact of whether or not women inherit (informants invariably say that they do, according to the Shari'a, but they tend, by their actions, to prove the contrary) is a crucial question in Berber [114] social organization. This has been nicely perceived by Blanco, whose opinions on the subject will be treated in their proper place.

[114] 51--This prognostication made by Blanco has yet to come true, as the [669] revolt in late 1958 and early 1959 staged by the Aith Waryaghar against the Moroccan government has abundantly proven. Tribal [186] "we-feeling" and "the sociopolitical importance of the group"--at whatever level of segmentation--seems to us to be as strong as ever.

[829] 52--This is a most interesting notion, and one which is never expressed as such by Rifians but implied in most of their actions, behavior and conversation.

[114] 53--Blanco is in effect trying to define each of the Rifian social units in a state of isolation, as it were, from the others, and trying to take them out of context. In so doing, he advocates, in effect, rigid definitions when what is called for is fluid ones. Small wonder, therefore, that he admits his task to be difficult!

54--In the original, ramas familiares--and, as I have stated earlier, what the jajgu is in fact is a lineage branch of the dharfiqth, and can only be adequately discussed in the light of the latter--or, in anthropological terms, in the light of a total system of segmentary lineage organization.

55--Blanco's argument, when boiled down, is as follows: the jajgu or azwar is a social unit which is essentially the result of polygyny, and if a man has descendants reckoned agnatically from three wives, each of these three sets of descendants form the nucleus of a jajgu which takes a uterine descent from the wife in question as its point of departure.

This, of course, is preposterous. Given a perfectly genuine situation, Blanco has drawn conclusions which are entirely erroneous. He would have us believe, in effect, that matrilineal descent may exist, under certain conditions, in a patrilineal society! Hardly. The fact of the matter is that 1) even though ijujga may originate from the descendants of different wives of the same man; and 2) even though one or more of these wives may come from a clan or tribe other than that of her or their husband--in which case the name of the jajgu may reflect her origin or even her name, although even so it is invariably preceded by that of her son; even in instances of this kind, descent is always reckoned through the male line, and the patrilineal principle obtains throughout. Polygyny is in no way a function of uterine descent, even though there may be evidences of matronymy; and the only mitigating factor in Blanco's hypothesis is that from an overall standpoint, he himself still entertains some doubts about its validity.

56--This is a very good and well-taken point indeed, and goes a considerable way toward explaining why, particularly with respect to issues of wider scope than those within, say, the clan, the statements of different informants (often) tend to vary so greatly. We would go even further: we believe that such ambiguity is absolutely inherent

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individiual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants [114] beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

[423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, [614] do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most [829] Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

000 Ulad 'Abbu and J'auna) and in the Igzinnayen (or Gzinnaya: Bni 'Asim, Bni Yunis, Ulad 'Ali bin 'Aida, Bni Mhammad, Ulad l-Uta, and Imzdurar, of which only the last mentioned retains its Berber name, "mountaineers").

[114] [829] 147--The Branis tribe (Arabic branis, sing. barnus, "burnous") is very probably Berber by descent; but it is, as Blanco notes, entirely Arabic speaking today (as is Igzinnayen's other neighbor, Marnisa), and Rifians consider it "jabalan" rather than as one of their own.

[133] 148--Tizi Usli, "the pass of the bridegroom", is a tribal administration post in the northeastern Igzinnayen, while Azru Aqshar, "bald rock" or "bald mountain", is, at 2010 meters, the highest peak in the Central Rifian area, and is located just north of Tizi Usli, which nestles in its shadow.

[114] 149--Blanco is in error here, for all of Igzinnayen are Rifians, and of Berber origin. Even if they were not, there would in any case be little basis for a (largely artificial) contrast in physical type and/or language and/or institutions; and once again, Blanco is groping with outmoded anthropological theory.

150--As noted, the "Arab-Berber" dichotomy which Blanco draws within Igzinnayen is largely a figment of his imagination. The southern clans of Igzinnayen neither "obeyed" nor "resisted" the Makhzin in pre-Protectorate times, any more than the northern ones or any of the other Rifian tribes did. In fact, aside from Bushta al-Bahdadi's punitive expedition to Ibuqquyen in 1898, the Makhzin tended to leave the Rifians severely alone. Informants say that the sultans Mulay al-Hasan, Mulay 'Abd al-Aziz and Mulay Hafidh all appointed qa'ids and shaikhs in all the Rifian tribes, but such "appointments" were nothing but dahirs which ratified the already existing tribal and clan chiefs. In the Rif, therefore, the notion of "Republik" or siba was essentially characterized by a lack of contact between tribes and central government; and the above-mentioned dahirs merely preserved the status quo.

619 151--Like the Aith Waryaghar, the Igzinnayen are regarded as being divided into either two or five top segments, according to one's informants, although, unlike Aith Waryaghar, the problem of segment discontinuity within the tribe is (virtually) non-existent. The division into two top segments gives us the following: Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth. Asht Bu 'Amar is in turn segmented into Asht Yunis and Asht 'Asim; and the first of these, Asht Yunis, is again segmented into Asht Yunis Proper, Asht 'Aru 'Aisa and Asht Mhand, while the second Asht 'Asim, is divided into Asht 'Asim Proper and Asht Findish. Asht r-Manth is segmented into Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha.

The division into five top segments bypasses the level of the top to give us Asht 'Asim, Asht Yunis, Asht Mhand, Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha; and immediately we note a discrepancy between the two systems. In the first, Asht Mhand is given the status of a subsegment of Asht Yunis, while in the second it is a top-level segment or clan in its own right; and the Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (Aith Waryaghar), who was 'Abd al-Krim's top field commander in the Igzinnayen in 1925-26 and who provided us with the second set of data, told me

695 F) Oaths (fragmentary):[35]

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pretensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has [562] no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a women against her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter[36], where does one find more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and 695 839 the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape[36a] A, A etc., which, if not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

695 [671] [191] Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are 695 623 previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants [613] to[37]. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members of his dharfiqth[38].

695 829 181 Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to

A, [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

616 619 648 173 616 619 182 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [191] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [191] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[114] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 621 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

671 of a compressed crowd which, hooded and silent in a semi-circle, hears its own echo in the voice of one of its constituents calling out to the four winds in a harsh thamazighth accent and with graphic gestures, while the black muzzles of rifles above their heads make the moment more solemn and the silence more impressive and represent the law, a strong, hard and impassioned law, the primitive law of the pastoral (sic) peoples. And if we ourselves might have had the good fortune to be eye-witnesses, perhaps we would have felt the chill of the anathema against our brethren for making them responsible for our acts.

[539] Qanun of the Sub-Clan of the Aith 'Adhiya: ".....all of the above-mentioned villages of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as fine".

671 829 609 Do not ask the Rifians about their qanuns, as they do not like to reveal them; they know them to be modest, they fear that they will not be understood and that they will be considered as a joke; they guard them and conceal them as carefully as the dearest members of their families, as their own tongue, with an understandable atavism; and so strong is the feeling of mistrust that it would be offensive and erroneous to attribute to them an inferiority complex; and if, in circumstantial preservation, you wanted to learn their language, they would invariably try to dissuade you with bitter phrases which they once might have heard, if not from your lips from those of your brother officers; and one does not know whether to think the sad reproach, the instinctive defense of the community or an absurd conviction is 829 the reason[3]. They speak disparagingly of their own language as of

829 their own dwellings, anticipating possible impertinences and discourtesies which, wounding their brittle and easily hurt amour propre, would not be able to reject their ways and customs; but if, at some time, and it would not often happen, their instinctive suspicion and simulated servility and docility are momentarily broken down, a single sentence or even a single word will reveal to you all the power and strength of their race, the pride in their ancestry and the consciousness of their superiority; for it is precisely the Rifian resistance to all innovations and to all submission which is one of their most fundamental characteristics![4] In support of this we may refer to the
177
829
152 case of a qa'id, of an old qa'id of a Rifian tribe, who in the company
[123] of others had to attend an official meeting at which protocol compelled a special dress to be worn. The only indication that I gave him that he had to change his clothes for the officers was an outrage to him, which I noticed on seeing his cheeks turn red. The game was lost and an adequate answer was forthcoming: "Do you think I am a little boy?" The other quyad (pl. of qa'id) intervened, but he paid no attention to them; if they wished, he would do so, if not, he would retire; and that old and dignified mountaineer went out with his clothes unchanged, showing himself in the natural and logical manner of his own protocol and not in that of the others, a manner in which, also, he has all his excellence.

671 If we turn our attention to these qanuns, if, after putting aside our European criteria of judgment, we diligently examine their badly constructed phrases and sentences, if we analyze their meaning with all possible affection and if we really desire to penetrate into the spirit

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

"There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
628 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
616 inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[195] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alli-
[203] ances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater effi-cacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
671 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
628 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14)
728 for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
721 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
671 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
628 over it.
728

671
623

2) Commentary:

This document, this community charter, as is customary with such writings, begins by enumerating the men who attended the meeting in which it was drawn up. This simple list of names reveals to us, in the first place, the supremacy of the laymen, with civil power, over the clerics, a fact which may be observed in the name of the man figuring in first place being ahead of that of the Talib Sidi Shu'aib. The order in which the names occur is not a casual one. The editors of the qanums, profound psychologists who know to perfection the environment in which they operate, never dare to invert the terms of social protocol; they know with their eyes closed who must occupy the preferential place, and that the slightest transgression in this respect would tear down not only the agreement, through any quarrel which might take place, but also the effigy of the editors themselves[39].....

671 554 623

671 829 576 623

623

The first paragraph puts into relief just who are the representative men of the jma'th, the notables, the heads of the lineages making up the village, the iziddifen, who formed the council regulating neighborhood relations, the only council empowered to legislate in such questions (Blanco: paragraph i or j), and equivalent to the Spanish Consejo or Ayuntamiento.[40]

The agraw or council-meeting held on this occasion by the iziddifen had as its object, as the written qanun shows us, the legislation of neighborhood questions concerning the council, regulation of the coexistence of its lineage members, guaranteeing the free and peaceful usufruct of individual and communal (i.e. water) property,

000 sought to remedy them.

671 This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences
671 from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the
181 Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization,
[177] how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society.

181 In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from
369 the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means
554 of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes,
177 in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthen-
369 ing his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers
554 himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although
291 his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

369 The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders
829 on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

369 Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that [443] among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 574 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

671 701 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!" 648 Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on [181] [609] the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get [114] away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

243 While barley is the predominant crop, maize is an important secondary one. Wheat and rye are also grown but the latter is held in low esteem as a food product[1] and the former does not grow successfully on the thin residual soil of the region. In 241 [312] those areas where there are rivers or streams, small gardens are maintained by irrigation canals. In these are cultivated potatoes, tomatoes, onions, garlic, squash, turnips, green peppers and mint.

245 In addition to the grains, maize, and small vegetable gardens, many households also have orchards of fruit and nut trees. Fig, lemon, orange, pomegranate, walnut, almond, and olive trees are common. In some areas grapes are also cultivated. Around each house is a grove of prickly pears which serves not only as a means of preserving privacy, but also as a source of food. These products not only supplement and add variety to the regular diet but in the case of oranges, almonds and grapes serve as cash crops. The olives are pressed by the [258] [262] women to provide crude cooking oil. Nuts, dried grapes and figs are an important winter food reserve. The work of pruning and [221] grafting goes on during the months of February-March-April.

243 In early summer harvesting begins. Both men and women engage in this activity, the men doing the reaping with hand

---

[829] [1]Coon (1931:47-48) states that rye is highly praised by the Riffian but that since the Arabs scorn it as a foodstuff the Berbers are ashamed to admit its worth.

582 Within any one dharfiqth
[613] there are both endogamous and exogamous marriage. The same holds
582 true for the fraction although endogamy at this structural level
619 is probably more pronounced. There is no prohibition against marriage into other tribes and such marriage seems more a function of proximity than any cultural rule. There is more tribal exogamy between Ait Kamara in the Beni Wariyaghar and Izmourin in Ibuqquyen or Arba Turirt in Beni Wariyaghar and Igzinnayen than for the respective tribes as a whole. Proximity tends to be less
565 582 important among the notables who have a smaller pool of prospects from which to draw.

582 602 611 The main structural consequence of the absence of prescriptive rules is that there is no common genealogical unity at any level of social organization beyond the extended family. Since recruitment into the descent group does not follow any single principle, there is a weakening of the patrilineal principle. Although rights in property and children almost always
611 602 remain in the patrilineal line, the organization of the society is not exclusively or even preponderantly based on this principle. A man's matrilineal relatives (who may with cousin marriage also be related through patrilineal lines), as well as non-related friends, neighbors, and patrons, may receive equal or greater emphasis. A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was

---

582 114 [829] of such marriages does not appear to be high. It might be more correct to state that FaBrDa marriage is neither a preferred nor a completely approved union. As one young man expressed to me with disgust: "It's a custom of the Arabs. But it is wrong. It's like marrying your sister." The comment was made as we prepared to attend exactly such a union.

443 438 undoubtedly, in the fact that each production unit is a replica of all the other units. Each seller has the same commodities, in about the same proportions and selling for similar prices. Individual (A) has commodities x and y which he wishes to sell in order to buy z. Individual (B) has the same commodities which he seeks to dispose of in order to achieve the same goal. And so forth, throughout the whole of the assembled tribesmen. What exchange does take place among the fellah exists, for the most part, as a function of slight ecological differentiation between local areas.

The fellah, by and large, enters the market and disposes of his goods at whatever price they will fetch, either to fellow tribesmen or merchants from the outside. Naturally he seeks the best return that he can get, but his motivations lie far from the rest of the merchants who seek capital accumulation. His [439] desire is to acquire cash for tobacco, tea, sugar, cooking oil, kerosene, and a kilo of fish or meat, or to transfer his gain back into the status economy of which he is so much a part. He partakes of the selling process for only as long as it is absolutely necessary. Ideally, he should not even need to sell.

443 829 Unlike the peasants of many areas (Guatemala and Mexico come to mind), the average Riffian is not a "marketeer" and marketing is not a primary household activity. In an ethnographic study of the small village of San Antonino in Oaxaca, Mexico, I was impressed by the fact that everyone seemed to be deeply concerned about what went on in the market. Many of the

443 townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers
829 on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

443 Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I
438 mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local
182 suq because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic
443 advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the mer-
438 chants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has
571 certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market.
[609] Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of
443 transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best
438 price based on multiple competition, the larger the market,
435 the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the fellah is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local suq, he must return the animal home or be entirely

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The northern zone includes an area of about 20,000 square kilometers, roughly one-tenth of Morocco. The maximum width of the zone, from the Strait of Gibraltar to Wad Lukkus, is about 100 kilometers. The maximum length, from the Atlantic coast to Wad Moulouya, is about 340 kilometers. In 1950 the population of the zone was estimated at one million, including 85,000 Europeans in the Spanish protectorate, and another 150,000 Europeans in the cities of Tangier, Ceuta, and Melilla.

Territorial Divisions

Tribesmen of northern Morocco recognize three main confederations: Rif, Ghmara, and Sanhaja as-Srair (fig. 2). Most tribesmen recognize also a territory known as Jbala, the Arabic word for "mountains" or, in this case, "hills." There is no traditional name for the area west of a line drawn through Arcila and Ksar al-Kebir. In the Rif, tribesmen of the Atlantic coastal area are described as Igharbiyen (westerners). The Spanish referred to this area, approximately the basin of Wad Lukkus, as "Lucus." The easternmost sector of the protectorate, roughly the basin of Wad Kert, was known as Quert. The Moroccan government retained this division until August, 1958, when the northern zone was reorganized into larger territories.[1] In the discussion to follow, reference is made to the traditional divisions, not to territories established in recent decades.

The confederacy of Ghmara consists of nine tribes: Bani Bu Zra, Bani Mansur, Bani Khalid, Bani Silman, Bani Siyyat, Bani Zejal, Bani Rzin, Bani Grir, and Bani Smih. It is proper to use the prefix *bani*, Arabic for "sons of," since only a few villages in Bani Bu Zra and Bani Mansur retain Berber speech. According to tradition, these tribes are descendants of the nine sons of an immigrant schoolmaster named Aghmir.[2] Whether this explanation is historically accurate is unimportant. The significant point is that the Ghmaran tribes have a sense of belonging together through descent from a common, if perhaps hypothetical, ancestor.

The confederacy of Sanhaja as-Srair is formed of ten tribes: Ktama, Aith Seddath, Bani Gmil, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Bu Nsar, Bani Bu Shibat, Bani Hmid, Aith Bashir, and Zarqat. Here it is proper to use *aith*, Berber for "people of," since the tribes thus designated still speak Berber domestically. On the southern slope of the Rif Mountains, in what used to be French Morocco, are two other Sanhajan confederations, Sanhaja Ghaddu and Sanhaja Musbah, but these groups no longer speak Berber and have little contact with the Sanhajans of the northern zone.

The limits of the Rif are more difficult to trace. Many Moroccans apply this term to the entire eastern half of the zone. Tribesmen living within the eastern area are more restrictive. Bani Bu Frah and Bani Yittuft are usually regarded as Rifian, although they have nearly lost Rifian speech. Mtiwa and Mistasa are disclaimed by both Rifians and Ghmarans; they may be the descendants of immigrants or exiles, for immigrant or exiled Rifians are found near Fez, at several locations in Jbala, and in the Oran department of Algeria. Targist presents a special problem: the cultural affiliation of this tribe has been obscured by the

[1] For further details see *L'Afrique Française*, November–December, 1958; and W. H. Lewis, "Rural Administration in Morocco," *Middle East Jour.*, 14 (1960), 45–60.

[2] J. Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebíes* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957), pp. 140–143.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

231 not hold, since sheep-herding is done by grown men, especially old men whose age of usefulness in other pursuits has passed.

Dogs. Three breeds of dog are found in the Rif. The most common is the ordinary small yellow cur, with lop ears like a jackal and a bristly mane, which serves as a sentry during the night, is seldom fed, and keeps up a terrific racket, yipping at all hours. These dogs, which frequently breed with jackals and can with difficulty be distinguished from them, are half wild, back away snarling and yelping when approached, and are usually ignorant of human affection. When kept, however, by people kindly disposed to them, as is sometimes though rarely the case, they develop into quite tractable and intelligent pets and companions.

The second variety is a large shepherd dog, resembling a Scotch shepherd, with broad head and shaggy coat. Such dogs are treated with greater respect and are fed regularly. They go out with the boys tending the sheep, and show great intelligence in assisting them. The boys tending the sheep throw stones at them with plaited *halfa* slings, while the dogs snap at the heels of the more distant members of the flock; and between the efforts of the slingers and those of their dogs, the sheep seldom stray. Despite the care of the boys, both sheep and goats sometimes fall prey to the larger variety of *oshun*.[1]

The third type of dog, the aristocrat of canine society in Morocco, is the *sloughi*, the well-known North African greyhound, a smooth-haired variety, covering every possible range of color. The *sloughi*, kept exclusively for hunting, is confined in the Rif to the tribes of Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Yahyi. It is likewise kept by the Beni Znassen, a purely Zenatan tribe outside the Rif; it is considered by the Riffians a Zenatan introduction.

Cats are rare and serve as house pets, as elsewhere.

Ferrets are kept in cages in the houses and are used in hunting.[2]

Cattle occupy the first place among Riffian domestic animals. They belong to a short, shaggy-haired, stocky breed, generally red in color and long-horned. Although small, they are very hardy and well adapted to mountain life. They are kept by every family. No house which contains a woman lacks a cow, from the highest mountains to the desert of the Garet. While the weather is favorable, they are pastured in fields or on the less rugged mountain slopes and tended by women or girls; during the winter, and while the storms of October and November are raging, they are kept in the house. To conduct them to pasture is often a difficult feat, on account of the narrowness and steepness of the paths; often four or more women, pulling on ropes, horns, and tail, are required to guide a cow over a dangerous place. Despite this care, many fall and break their legs or necks.

Cows are kept in the house during the night, in the same room in which the family cooks, eats, and sleeps. The cow is given the lower fourth of the chamber, which is sunk below the level of the habitation floor. She is fed on straw, grass, and the stalks of maize. During the late winter, before the green shoots have appeared on the mountain sides, women often spend all their time in a search for weeds and grass to feed the family cow.

Bulls are owned in every village and are put to stud for hire. The mating of cattle is, curiously enough, the task of women. The owner of the bull and the owner of the cow each sends his wife to conduct his animal to a secluded place previously agreed upon, and the husbands take care not to approach the spot. For any man to witness the mating of cattle would be a shameful experience, although women may look upon it with impunity. [831]

[1] See Introduction, p. 12.

[2] See below, p. 87.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

245 242 *lishin*, the orange tree. Riffian oranges are of the common North African variety. Tangerines are not grown in the Rif. It is said that the fruit of the male orange tree is elongated, while that of the female tree is round. Orange shoots are grafted to wild lemon trees without distinction of sex.

limon, the cultivated lemon tree, as distinguished from the wild variety.

tifah, the apple tree. Riffian apples are small and stunted, and not very palatable. They are not commonly grown except in the highest mountain tribes. The apple shoots are frequently grafted onto hawthornes. A sex distinction is made between the apples: the male ones are said to be large and white, and the females red.

firas, the pear tree. It is said that the male pear is white, while the female is reddish. Grafting onto hawthorne is common.

thaghieshth, the walnut tree. Walnuts are called *nue n thaghieshth*. The Riffians distinguish male from female walnut trees as follows: The male tree bears a hard-shelled nut with little meat; the female's nut is thinner shelled and meatier. Usually the males are cut down to make room for others. No grafting is attempted with walnuts.

juz, the almond tree. The nuts from this tree are called *nue*, the same word which is applied to walnuts. It is said that the male almond bears a nut with a single meat, while the meat of the female is double. Almonds, like walnuts, are not grafted.

er mishmesh, a species of plum tree. The sex of plums is distinguished by breaking the stone and tasting the meat inside. If it is bitter the tree bearing it is supposed to be male. Plums, like apples and pears, are grafted to the hawthorne.

er barkok, the apricot tree. Males are said to have thick skins, and females thin ones. Males are preferred for export, and females for drying.

er khok, the peach tree. The Riffians do not distinguish sex in the peaches, and do not attempt to graft them.

[262] The Riffian prizes his fruit and nut trees highly, perhaps even more than his grain and vegetables, since on the dried fruit of these trees and upon raisins his family is often forced to subsist for months at a time during the winter. He digs around and manures the roots of the trees every spring, and leads irrigation ditches to their trunks. He keeps them carefully pruned and trimmed, and diligently removes insect parasites from leaves and branches.

262 831 [585] Not only does the Riffian take great pains to distinguish between the sexes of the trees, but he also imposes a sex tabu upon the eating of the fruit of two of them, walnuts and almonds. Walnuts may be eaten only by women, and almonds only by men. The reason for this is symbolically sexual, since walnuts, on account of their wrinkled appearance, are supposed to produce a drying and shrinking, whereas almonds are supposed to produce fluidity and potency in men. Both walnuts and almonds consequently play a prominent part in the wedding diet.

Vineyards. Grapes are as important to the Riffians as fruits and nuts. Those grown in the Rif are a large reddish-purple variety, resembling Malaga grapes in form and in taste. They are grown on vines set out on high mountain slopes too steep and too barren for the cultivation of anything else. The vines are kept trimmed, and in spring the soil about their roots is loosened. It is seldom possible to irrigate them, although fertilizer is brought laboriously uphill when possible.

Among the Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, and Beni Khennus, and in Taghzuth, another variety of grapes is grown, smaller and bluish-purple in color. These grapes are hardier

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

is at Tangier. Westermarck plots a wide distribution for the custom,[1] and shows that it is a survival of a midsummer rite.[2]

The religious feasts of Mohammedan origin celebrated in the Rif are *el Ashor*, *el Mulud*, the month of *Ramadan*, the *Aid es Sghir* at the end of this month, and the *Aid el Kebir*.

The *Ashor* serves chiefly as a vacation for the school children, and is not otherwise important. Many do not even know when it is in force.

On the *Mulud* the women of the *bone* cook coarsely ground barley into a mush and carry it to the mosque, early in the morning, where all the children of the *bone* eat it together. In the evening the men buy a bull or cow by subscription and sacrifice it in front of the mosque so that blood will spurt on the door, then cut it up by the door and divide it, each man taking his share home to eat.

Ramadan is kept strictly by the Riffians, who do not deviate from the orthodox regulations in any way. Those who ordinarily eat pork, smoke, or drink, abstain from these practices during *Ramadan*, and scour with ashes any cooking or eating vessel which has been used for unclean food at other times. On the twenty-seventh night of this fast they believe that the sky opens and that a man who gazes fixedly at it may see God. If he does he dies instantly and is carried to heaven. On the last night, which is the *Aid es Sghir*, everyone washes well and dresses in clean clothing. The father measures out with his hands three double handfuls of barley for each person in the house. He then sends for a poor woman to come and take it, before which no one in the house may eat.

On each day of the *Aid el Kebir*, which lasts three days, each household kills a sheep and eats it. The men and women go about from house to house in the *bone*, the men dividing into age groups, and the women all banding together. The unmarried boys form two groups, the very young and the adolescent, and play games, wrestle, and play at government. They imitate the councils, also Arab forms of government, appointing a *kaid*, a *pasha*,[3] and *mokhazniya*.[4] The boys hold mock trials and send each other to jail. The young married men form a third group, the chief diversion of which is the exchange of obscene stories. The last group consists of the middle-aged and old men, who amuse themselves by reminiscing and narrating legends.

Each night comes the dramatic presentation by the *ishuikhen*, unmarried men who dress themselves up to represent certain characters and act out parts. The dramas are always comic and inevitably obscene. Staid persons who at any other time would be shocked at the sight or description of any obscene or sacrilegious act cast aside their repressions and enter heartily into the fun.

The scenes and situations enacted differ from tribe to tribe and at times change, but the general type and technique are always the same. A description of the carnival presented in parts of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, and Beni Turin, follows. Descriptions of others may be found in Moulieras [5] and Westermarck.[6]

[1] Pages 182, 203–204.

[2] Pages 196–206. Westermarck eliminates the strong association with the idea of Jews by calling it *ex post facto*, and by bringing in parallels from other regions. For the present purpose, whether the Jewish factor be original or superimposed, as Westermarck has well demonstrated, in either case it indicates a degree of Jewish influence at some period of time.

[3] This Turkish title is applied in Morocco to mayors of cities.

[4] Guards, gendarmes, or retainers.

[5] Vol. I, pp. 106–111.

[6] Vol. II, pp. 133–158.

776 755 788 [325] The Ait Waryager rub pounded bitter almonds (ddauz mazag) mixed with oil and salt on the affected part of the body of a person who is troubled with le-ryah.

[328] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person suffers from an illness caused by jnun, a scribe writes a charm for him on a loaf of bread or on a paper, which is then put in the open in a place where no animal can get at it; it is left there over night so that the stars shall shine on it, and on the next day the patient eats the loaf or hangs the paper round his neck.

776 791 [356] Among the Ait Waryager there are women, called dizuhriyin (sing. dazuhrit), who are likewise able to tell people about secret things and future events owing to the information they derive from jnun.

832 [361] A mahabba, or love-charm, may contain either the names of Muhammadan jnun, as well as something from the Koran, or the names of sayatin. This is a way in which such a charm is used: the man who wants to be loved by a certain woman goes to the neighbourhood of her house, puts the charm between the forefinger and middle finger of his right hand, and moves the fingers with the charm three times in the direction of the house, at the same time whispering the woman's name. Then he burns the charm between his fingers and goes away; and now she will love him (Ait Waryager). The following practice serves the purpose of overcoming a woman's objection to marrying a man who wants to marry her. A scribe writes a charm and keeps it in his house for seven days, fumigating it every evening with the smoke of pepper and saffron. During this period he must refrain from salted food, so that jnun—muminin—may speak to him. He then ties the charm to an olive tree with a hair of the woman, which has been rpocured by the man who wants to marry her. When the wind makes it flutter the woman will lose her senses, and she will remain in that condition until the scribe removes the charm from the tree and takes it to his house. As soon as this is done she not only comes to her wits again, but gets fond of the man, and [362] they soon become husband and wife (ibid.).

776 [396] A jenniya whose name is widely known in Morocco is the Gola. She is said to be very big and have the appearance of a woman, although she has also been seen with her extremities looking like the feet of a goat and with very much hair all over the body and the face.

754 profit; a funeral is welcome to the scribes, it is called their wedding (Ait Waryager). For the same purpose they knock the bier which is kept in the mosque, telling it to get up to work: —Qum t hdem 'ala rasak; and they believe that somebody will die within three days (Andjra). Among the Ait Waryager they beat the bier three times at night, saying, Kar athadmed ya rmahmer, "Get up to work, O bier". And when they want a feast they take the empty palmetto or esparto mat (dasfirt) on which they keep their food when [579] they have a meal and give it a good beating, so that it shall help them to what they want (Ait Waryager). It is also shor when a person for wicked and selfish purposes tries to stop or prevent rain, when needed by the community, by ploughing with two cats "yoked" to a toy-plough.

787 [580] If a person accidentally bites his tongue while eating, he will eat meat (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If a man spills food (Andjra), or gets a piece of a straw or some other trifle (Ait Waryager), into his beard, he will have a guest.

832 [581] At Fez I heard of the following methods by which a man may strengthen his sexual power. He puts some chick-peas (hammos) into water and, when they have got soft and swollen, drinks the water; this, I was told, makes him so strong that he in one night might even deflower seventy-two virgin cows. Or he eats on three successive mornings before breakfast shelled almonds pounded with cinnamon and m mixed with honey, which is said to produce a lasting effect. Elsewhere also chick-peas (Tangier, where they are called hommes) and almonds (ibid., Ait Waryager) are used for the same purpose; and so are earth-nuts (biyanat or kaukau; Tangier Fez) and beans (Ait Waryager). The efficacy attributed to them is of course due to their suggestive shape.

585 832 At weddings there are many homœopathic rites intended to ensure or facilitate the consummation of the marriage, which is not surprising considering the frequency of enchantments wrought for the contrary purpose. Among the Ait Waryager, before the arrival of the bride, it is the custom for the bridegroom's mother to place in the yard a mug (daqdeht) upside down with a so-called didli (an ornament consisting of dollar and half-dollar pieces threaded on a string of horsehair and worn by women round the forehead) and an egg on the top of it, and for the bridegroom to break both the mug and the egg with a kick, as I was told, "to destroy the evil", which undoubtedly meant any

775 [546] Dead saints may appear to the living in human or animal shapes; but as to ordinary dead people I have been assured over and over again that the dead do not walk, and I remember how heartily my friends in the tribe of Jbel Hbib laughed when I told them that many Christians believe in ghosts. The dead may come and see their friends; but on these occasions they cannot themselves be seen by anybody, and they come not as enemies but as friends.

Among the Ait Waryager men who have fallen in war with the Christians come to their relatives at night, but they do so only in kindness.

[547] The Ait Waryager believe that graveyards are haunted both by the dead and by jnun who come out of the ground in the dark.

[548] The place where a person has been found killed is regarded as haunted, whether he is buried there—as is often the case with a stranger or one who has no family—or not. Everywhere in Morocco it is marked with a small cairn of stones.

In some parts of the country travellers passing such a cairn often add a stone to it (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Aglu), whereas in other parts of the country there is no such custom.

[550] In Andjra I was told that the place where a person has been killed is meskun, or haunted by jnun. A scribe from the Ait Waryager denied that it is meskun, but admitted that his people are afraid of it.

789 [552] In Northern Morocco, if a married woman is afraid that her husband is in love with somebody else, she secures the assistance of an old woman, who goes in the night to a cemetery with a dish of seksu, unearths the hand of a newly buried corpse, and stirs the seksu with it. Among the Ait Waryager the old woman cuts off the right hand of the corpse and brings it to the jealous wife, who uses it in the said manner, not only once but several times, when she is making seksu.

[556] The magic energy inherent in a corpse, however, is used not only in witchcraft but for prophylactic and curative purposes as well. [755] Among the Ait Waryager one who has decayed teeth rubs them with the forefinger of a dead person's right hand before or while he is washed.

[557] Among the Ait Waryager it often happens that when a grave has been dug, but before the dead body has been lowered into it, a man lies down full length in the grave in order to acquire strength, [755] whether he be ill or not. Among the same Rifians a person who suffers from a bad headache goes to the grave of a stranger (who may be a ho[illegible]man) before sunrise, places some bread or figs on it, and ties there a piece of his clothes as a little flag; and on the two following mornings he again visits the grave but without putting anything there.

778 372 [131] Berber-speaking people say that the fire in the fire-place is blessed (Aglu), that it is praying to God for food (Demnat), and that if it goes out there will not be much food to cook (Aglu, Demnat) or the baraka will leave the house (Ait Waryager).

[155] [132] The Ait Waryager do not extinguish the fire or let it go out unless they leave the house for a time. Fire is used for curative purposes, and so are ashes.

823 778 [138] Many other acts, besides prayer, are performed in the direction of Mecca on account of its baraka, for example, the slaughter of an animal.

[833] A child begotten by a man who has sexual intercourse in such a position will be blessed (Ait Waryager) or have a face "shining like the sun and the moon" (Andjra).

801 772 [142] The number seven figures very prominently in the theology, as well as in the ritual, of Islam—there are seven heavens, seven earths, seven seas, seven divisions of hell with seven gates, seven days, and so forth; indeed, so frequent is the use of this number that a whole book in Arabic is written on it. Groups of seven saints buried at [143] the same spot (seb at u rijal) are found in many places in Morocco. But there is also the saying, seb a s aiba, "seven is difficult". It would be unlucky for the buyer of a thing to pay for it seven muzunat or seven blain or seven dollars exactly (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager; but not in Fez), and sometimes the number seventy is also avoided in similar circumstances (Hiaina).

373 [161] Strange phenomena of light are often connected with dead saints.

824 778 [162] In the Rif also there are trees connected with saints which are seen shining at night, for example, a fig tree growing at Sidi Ahmed Marrui's shrine in the district of the Ait Waryager; my informant had seen it himself.

776 [163] The miracle-working capacity of dead saints, however wide its scope may be, is often to some extent specialised.

778 [534] [164] Among the Ait Waryager a person who wants to learn to play the flute (dasebbabt) visits the shrine of Sidi Esa, kills a cock or a hen, and spends a night there playing on his flute; and a week and a fortnight after he again visits the shrine.

776 796 [174] Many saints have their special days for receiving petitioners. To take a few instances:—

Sidi Buhaiyar among the Ait Waryager on Thursdays and Fridays.

778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts
[224] of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
[753] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
● 834 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

784 since the barley would otherwise be bad for the animal, and when he
778 gives it he should say the bismillah; I was told that these rules owe
834 their origin to the baraka of the barley (Hiaina). When you stroke the back of such an animal you should not do it with your palm but with the outer side of your hand, since the palm may be unclean (ibid.).

514 [234] Like sexual uncleanness, excremental impurity is injurious
784 to baraka. A person ought not to sleep inside a mosque, because
778 during sleep he may have a nightly pollution or break wind or make water. If anybody breaks wind in a mosque he kills thereby the angels in it or makes them blind, or at any rate displeases them, and he will himself fall ill or become poor. I have seen men remove their trousers before prayer, since no prayer will be accepted from a person in a state of uncleanness. Nobody is allowed to pray in a place where there are excrements of any other animals but such as are used for food, that is, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Urination and evacuation must not take place in the direction of Mecca; in the case of the former the person should have his face turned westward, in the case of the latter north- or south-wards. It is forbidden to do one's needs or urinate in the sea. It is also forbidden to do such things in a river or a pond. He who urinates in water will be struck by a jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden) or urinate blood after his death (Ait Waryager).

784 [239] Baraka may be spoiled by contact with the ground and its
778 impurities. The prayer-place of a Muhammadan must be clean;
782 hence a Moor of the better class often carried under his arm a coloured felt-cloth on which he kneels when he says his prayers, or a cloak is for the same purpose spread on the ground. Yet people may pray on the bare ground if the sun is shining on it. Neither the Koran, nor any other book containing the name of God, nor the writing-boards of schoolboys, must be placed on the ground, at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place; and even where the ground is clean a scribe would not leave on it the book which he consults when he writes a charm, for fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy. A t ebrid loses its power if it falls to the ground. Another written charm may perhaps in similar circumstances retain its efficacy if it is at once put in wheat or barley to be purified, but if anybody has trampled upon it its baraka is irremediably lost (Ait Waryager).

784 [243] Milk and butter are very liable to be injured by the evil
272 eye, witchcraft, or other evil influences, and are therefore in need of many precautions.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 gives it back. The *akouni*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his
852 livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two;
875 among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

585 The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

584 Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to
● [836] casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

582 By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at four-
584 teen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married
[805] until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

582 Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

623 The councillors go in a body, taking with them twenty or more girls adept at singing and dancing, hired musicians, a bull or cow, two or three mules laden with bread, and quantities of tea, sugar, and candles. The cost of the presents and the fees of the musicians are paid out of money collected in fines.

DUTIES OF THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 692 The task of the tribal council is to render judgment, exact fines, and destroy property in cases of adultery caught in the act, murder, and woundings; to make decisions as to tribal alliances in warfare; and to interfere with internal fights in other tribes.

Adultery caught in the act. A husband who surprises his wife in the act of adultery has 684 the traditional privilege of killing the man, removing his genitals and placing them in the mouth of his corpse, killing his wife, and ripping her from pubis to diaphragm with a knife. 837 This action is a privilege and not a duty. Many husbands are physically unable to do so; others are disinclined; still others mutilate their wives by cutting off the fleshy parts of their noses and let them go. One instance is known in Gzennaya of a man who thrust live coals into his wife's vagina and then released her. In at least half the cases, recently at any rate, no revenge is taken on the woman, her divorce and disgrace being considered ample punishment.

When the members of the tribal council hear of this event, they leave whatever they are 646 doing and go as rapidly as possible to the adulterer's house. This they burn; they impose a 684 fine of one thousand dollars or thereabouts, depending on the usage of the tribe, and on the importance of the *bone*. The fine is accepted either in cash, livestock, land, or in all three. 692 When land and livestock are taken they are sold on the spot, not by bidding but by arbitrary prices, fair to the victim, placed on each animal or portion of land. If the proceeds of the sale exceed the amount of the fine, the balance is returned to the *bone* of the adulterer. If the adulterer and the adulteress belong to different *bones* the burden of the fine is shared between the *bones*. If the adulterer has survived the vengeance of the injured man he must T58 leave the tribe forever. Women who survive go back to their families, forcibly divorced and forbidden to marry again.

After the cash of the fine is in hand, it is divided among the *fifths*, each receiving an 684 equal share, to be divided evenly among each *canton* composing the *fifth*. Thus the *canton* of the offenders receives back a portion of the money which some of its members have paid. It often refuses to accept this, in which case the money goes to the actual payers. *Cantons* friendly with that of the adulterer may likewise refuse to accept, and their money too is returned.

646 *Wounding.* When one man wounds another, the tribal council comes to the offender's 692 house and exacts a fine of five hundred dollars after questioning the councillor or councillors 683 belonging to the offending *bone*. The fine is always paid by the *bone* as a whole, whether the blood money is or not.

646 *Murder.* When one man murders another, whether or not in retaliation for a previous murder, the tribal council comes to his house, which it burns, providing it dares to. It cuts down the fruit trees and inflicts a fine of a thousand dollars. If the man and his *bone* refuse to pay the fine and resist the burning of the house or the cutting of the trees, the members 684 of the tribal council attack them. This fight may last anywhere from a half hour to several months, and may turn into a war. If the *bone* which has refused has no allies, it seldom wins, 621

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

789 Olive leaves may be used only for soaking off or for burning.

Oleander leaves may be used for soaking off or for burning. They are used especially in the treatment of malaria.

Pomegranate sticks are used only for shaking at a man to make him boast.

Split reeds are used only for burning.

Leaves of the reed have the same restrictions and use as those of the oleander.

Eggs are used only in the cure of sore eyes. The student passes the egg seven times around the orbit of the patient, then breaks the egg, finds a white speck of albumen in it, and throws the egg away. He claims that the speck of albumen is the illness of the eye, which he has removed. In bad cases he uses three eggs, one on each consecutive day for three days.

Amulets written on lead are used as protection against *jnun* while walking alone at night and against bullets in battle, and are worn by women to prevent their husbands from doing them bodily harm should they be caught in adultery. When used for the last-named purpose they are very expensive.

Hair cut from the head is used as string to tie amulets to trees, and cloth cut from garments is used to wrap the amulet or to burn with it.

The type of amulet used for attachment to the body is rendered impotent if borne over a major stream, such as the Bayu, Nekor, Ghis, Kert, Muluya, or Wergha, or over the sea. Branches of streams do not count. There are two ways to prevent this: by putting the amulet in a loaf of bread with salt before crossing, and by sewing a sprig of an herb called *er ḥamr* in its case. This herb is rare, and is sold in markets for an exorbitant price.

In all cases in which more than one amulet, such as seven, fourteen, or twenty-eight leaves, must be employed, for burning, soaking, or the like, one must be used on each consecutive day after and including the first day; otherwise the charm will not work.

The price of the materials used in the charm is not included in the fee charged by the student. He requires the applicant to go out and get anything needed; he must kill a bat or hoopoe if the blood of either is necessary. Payment is not made until the treatment is finished, and only in case of success. Such is the complexity of the formulae employed and so great are the possibilities of error that failures are attributed to mistakes in technique.

This type of magical practice is not approved by everyone, and such actions are performed in secret. A clerk loses his position if he is caught writing amulets.

THEIRA OF THE *JNUN*

This is the same type of magic as ordinary *theira*, except that the formulae are obtained from various books. Only one half the data in the manuals is obtained from the Koran; the other half is extracted from other books, which deal with the *jnun*; these are very rare, and are kept hidden. This type of *theira* is more sinister and dangerous than the other, and is concerned, among other things, with the prevention of sexual intercourse among newly married couples. The following are typical examples:

1. The student writes on the palm of an applicant's right hand. The applicant looks at this until he sees *jnun* walking across it, in the forms of dogs, cats, and black men with evil faces, and clothed only in tall turbans.

4: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The butchers are rele-

443 463 gated to a position as far removed from the rest of the market as possible, on account of the malodorous nature of their wares. If there is a stream in or near the market, the butchers are put on the other side of the stream from the rest. Farmers bring in cattle, sheep, and goats, and turn over the animals to the butchers, who are blacksmiths on other days of the week, or are members of the families of blacksmiths. After the butchers have slaughtered the animals, washed the blood from their throats, inflated their skins, flayed, and quartered them, the owners of the animals hang the meat on wooden racks permanently fixed to trees or posts nearby, where they are thus exposed for sale. Quarters of goat and sheep must have the hoofs and a portion of the adjoining skin left on so that customers can tell the difference between them. The butcher is paid for his work with a portion of the meat, with money, or with the hide, head, and entrails, which are the most common reward.

The meat market is the assembling place of all of the dogs in the *canton* which are able to get there, dozens of them waiting expectantly nearby each time an animal is slaughtered. They often snatch ends of intestine as the animal is being cleaned, and lap up eagerly the rills of blood flowing down towards the stream.

The butchering duties of the blacksmiths are not confined to the market. Whenever members of a *bone* together buy a cow or bull for the meat, the butcher is called in to slaughter it. The portions are divided equally among the married men, who must pay for their pieces before they can have them. A portion is sent up to the mosque of the *canton* for the students in it, and the blacksmith receives his portion as reward for his work.

443 Returning to the market, we find two other social outcasts at work, the market crier and the official weigher or measurer.[1] These are hired by the councillors, and carry on their functions as official appointees, but disputes arising from the work of the weigher or measurer are carried before the councillors. They work in as many markets as there are days in the week, except of course Friday, and providing that each market is within walking distance of their homes and that the councillors of each are willing to hire them.

½ *Women's markets.* In a number of *cantons* there is in addition to the regular market another devoted to women. All men are excluded from it, and are severely punished if they enter. It is commanded by a woman appointed by the councillors of the *canton*. In it the women sell, besides the fruits, vegetables, hens, eggs, and pottery which they dispense at the regular market, magico-medical materials which are supposed to act as contraceptives and to produce abortions. The sale and possession of these is kept secret from the men because the use of them is considered ample reason for divorce. Sometimes a woman who fails to bear children within a reasonable time after marriage is accused, on general suspicion, of using them and is divorced.

443 838 548 567 **Boy Markets.** In the Jebala, markets were formerly held in which boys stolen from their families were sold, to be used as apprentices by wandering musicians and as companions by ordinary individuals. They were and still are kept by their purchasers for the purpose of sodomy, and other uses to which these children are put are made secondary to it. When they have grown to an age at which they cease to interest their purchasers sexually they are released and allowed to earn their own living.

The market el Had Ikauen of Ktama was a famous boy market, and was not closed until the advent of the Spanish forces of occupation, who have been trying to prevent such

[1] See p. 92. ½ For comment on this, see the 121 slip-analyst

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

443
838
567
548
584
562
482
583

sales, although it is difficult to stamp out private transactions.[1] Boy markets are found in the Western Arabophone Senhaja, Ghomara, and Ktama (also, of course, in the rest of the so-called Jebala, and centered at Sheshawen and in the tribe of Beni Zerwal).

[1] The whole Jebalan area is permeated with this type of sexual depravity, which is practiced without mutual shame or any attempt at concealment. In the Rif persons sometimes live and die without knowledge of its existence, and those who have travelled and seen it cannot mention it at home without falling into disfavor. It was punished during the recent war, in at least two known instances, by soaking the culprits in gasoline and burning them alive.

This perversion, the only form known in this region, is accompanied in the Jebala by a low esteem for women, who perform the more arduous tasks of agriculture which in the Rif are done by men. A frequent sight in the Jebala is a troop of women marching long distances loaded down under heavy bundles of charcoal and other burdens, which in the Rif would be carried by mules or donkeys.

Bride purchase, a trait common to all Moroccans but the Jews, is in the Jebala literally applied, since here the wife becomes a definite chattel of her husband, not usually the case elsewhere.

The atmosphere created by this combination of cultural factors is in striking contrast to that of the Rif, which, although primitive, is wholesome and vigorous.

231 755 [288] The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (dmaggit; Ait Waryager); and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Ait Waryager). It is also used as a remedy [853] for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (ibid.).

231 839 [289] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Ait Waryager); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Ait Waryager, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn.

231 777 [292] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion.

262 [295] The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic hlib or halib; and in Berber akfai (Amanuz), takfit (Igliwa), aggu akffa (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi (At Ubahti), asaffai (Ait Waryager), asffai (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Buttermilk is called in Arabic lben; and in Berber agu (Amanuz, Igliwa), aggu anddu (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi asemmam (At Ubahti), agiy (Ait Waryager), agi (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Curded milk is called in Arabic rayib or raib; and in Berber ikkil (Ait Sadden), ekkir (Ait Yusi), aklil (Ait Warain), attsil (At Ubahti), assir (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[297] Fresh butter is called in Arabic zebda; and in Berber tudit (Amanuz), tamudit (Igliwa), udi (Ait Warain), tlussi (At Ubahti), drussi (Ait Waryager), trussi (Temsaman). Salt butter is called in Arabic smen; and in Berber udi (Amanuz, Igliwa, Aglu, Ait Warain), ddhen (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

252 [298] The Ait Waryager hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the aqasror, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before.

695 F) Oaths (fragmentary):[35]

In most cases, it is not the plaintiff who must prove his pre-
tensions or denunciations, but the accused, who has to justify himself
[562] if the complaint is false. There are cases in which the accused has
no defense, such as offenses against women, in which the notion of the
latter as minors comes into play. If the accusation of a women against
her assailant is sufficient to punish the latter[36], where does one find
695 more protection for the woman? Perhaps the rigor in these matters and
839 the fear of accusation by jealous husbands or fear of reprisals have
permitted to a certain extent crimes such as rape[36a] A, etc., which, if
not frequent, are nonetheless common enough to have a sanction imposed
upon them in defense of the common moral standard.

695 Means of Proof: Testimonies differ from those admitted by the
[671] Shari'a. In most cases testimony is invalid unless five members of the
[191] accused man's family (i.e. his agnates) are present to swear. They are
695 previously selected by him, but the jma'th, who know very well the men
623 constitute its membership, can refuse to admit any of them that it wants
[613] to[37]. In serious cases, ten members of the dharfiqth of the accused are
required to take oath; they are, however, not chosen by the defendant
himself, but by the jma'th, among (translator's italics) the members
of his dharfiqth[38].

695 Thus, if oaths are permitted as means of proof, the number of
829 cojurors varies according to the gravity of the offense; this provides
181 a greater guarantee and shows in yet another way that Rifian society is
not individual, but solid and familial; in its concept of collective
responsibility, blame or sanctions attach to the group rather than to
A, [This footnote was not included in the notes at the end
of this section, p. 229--Analyst]

681 the side with the lesser. (This last piece of information comes from
682 some of the lowland clans of the Aith Waryaghar, and the highlanders
[628] of the same tribe deny it.)

000 58--The victim, if he is alive, receives the rqisas, and, if dead, his family gets the ddiyith--if they choose to accept it rather than take up their guns. It is barely possible that in the division of the rhaqq by the imgharen along segmentary lines, the victim's family might receive a tiny fraction of the total, although the chances are strongly against it. The rhaqq almost always goes into the pockets of the imgharen themselves, and when we say that it is divided along segmentary lines, what we mean is that it is the imgharen of each segment and subsegment, rather than the rank-and-file of either, who are the real beneficiaries.

However, this is not really the point, which, in any event, Blanco [682] has missed entirely. The point is that a murderer pays bloodmoney to his victim's agnates and a fine to the council members (the latter only if the murder has taken place in the market or on a track leading to it).

[114] 59--Blanco is theoretically correct in saying that dharfiqin distribute their share of the fine to the nubath making them up (although in practice this almost never occurs, as the money which filters down, through the normal process of division, goes no further than the lineage heads!); but it is surprising that he does not start at the top levels of segmentation, the clans, as the imgharen themselves did, and work down from there (though even at this level the imgharen tended in practice to pocket the fines).

[114] 60--In this term, el poder ejecutivo, once again, we have a formalistic European notion, which, though certainly accurate in one sense, nonetheless ill befits the essential informality of the tribal council members who convened in the market to discuss the week's happenings and to assess, equally informally, any cases which came to them.

61--It may be stated categorically that such Qur'anically-inspired punishments as putting out a thief's eyes were completely unknown in the Rif and in the rest of Berber Morocco.

[839] 62--Though it is probably of frequent occurrence elsewhere, bestiality
[838] is not common in the Rif, and those who do practice it are always the object of derision. Furthermore, the Rif is probably one of the few regions of Morocco where homosexuality is nonexistent.

[143] 63--These notes of Blanco's on hunting are extremely fragmentary; for fuller information on Rifian hunting practices, see the final chapter in La Ley Rifeña on the hunting qanun or qanun r-rayah, as well as a recent summary of the same material in R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg, 16-17 September 1958 [114] (mimeographed). Our own impression of Blanco's data on hunting is that although very complete, his description is at the same time unnecessarily complex.

64--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting may take place on any day of the week.

824 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka
778 of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit [Igliwa], zzest [Temsaman]) may be
so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan-
842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power
[843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall
be good-looking (Tangier).

[109] Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words
755 from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul,
778 Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

[110] At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura (Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura, sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case
[231] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or, on the 17th of May (mut l-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame. A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines,
842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the morning on an empty stomach.

[841] [111] Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro; Berb. fadis [Temsaman] or fadis [Ait Waryager]) is eaten by women suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 [112] The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand)
824 as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow.
696 Some scribes recite over it something from the [113] Koran, knot seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts
[224] of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
[753] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

● 841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
634 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

792 partly through the *baraka* of the saint. The saints who teach music here are of a higher class than the itinerant musicians whom they instruct.

Among the saints of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja are those at Khunduktamda, descended from Sidi Abdullah el Kholani, from whom some of the Ikhuanen of the Gzennaya also claim descent. The latter send ambassadors once a year to build a fire in his tomb. At Aghbalu are saints who are students, but who fight and have no *baraka*. At Sidi Ali ben Daud in Marnissa and at Sidi Mehend u Ghulbuzur are similar saints. The students of Amshesh, who have no *baraka*, are yet classed as saints and refuse to fight.

Former saints who have died without leaving descendants are remembered by tombs, usually kept by wardens living on the produce of the tomb property. Other tombs have been deserted and allowed to fall into ruins. Sometimes a pile of stones, an ordinary grave, or merely a tradition, establishes the burial-place of a saint. Tombs are often located near a great rock, a spring, a grove, or at some other place of distinctive natural appearance, such as a cave, and this indicates that the hagiolatry of the Rif, like that of other Mediterranean countries and regions, is a survival of an older nature worship. Such places are credited with special magical powers attributed to the lingering *baraka* of the saint.

The tomb of Sidi Mohammed near Bured in the Gzennaya will serve as an example. This is located in a dense clump of bushes reputed to be full of wild animals, and the home of a venerable lion. Sidi Mohammed had a lion which served him, and followed him whenever he called him. While at Fez, Sidi Mohammed heard that a lion owned by the Sultan had fought and defeated all animals put in a ring with it, and boasted publicly that his lion could vanquish that of the Sultan. For this he was put in jail. While there he sent his servant to the Rif to get his lion, which would come if the words *a seba dh' amendud* were said before the clump of bushes. The servant recited this formula and led the lion to Fez, where it defeated all the others there. The Sultan then released Sidi Mohammed with a present, and the saint returned to the Rif with the lion. After he died his tomb was built in the clump of bushes, and no one has dared to enter the bushes for many years. The warden of the tomb does not enter, but farms the land around it.

At Sidi Merj in Bokoya is a *zawia* near a swampy pond full of lush vegetation. Students staying in the *zawia* declare that they have seen cats and dogs go in and out of the water at night, and that these animals are *jnun*. No one goes any nearer the pond than necessary.

[842] The cantonal mosque of Iherrushen in Gzennaya is accredited with the power to cause pregnancy, through the *baraka* of Sidi Misaud, who is buried there. Women come from other tribes to sleep in the mosque, since the *baraka* works during the night.

There are hundreds of these places scattered throughout the Rif and all Morocco. Although most Riffians believe in their efficacious powers, some do not, and there are many who do not believe in the powers of the Ikhemrijen shorfa and other imported saints. The people living east of Targuist do not credit them, while the Senhaja to the west of them do.

CELEBRATIONS

796 Celebrations of a religious character fall into two divisions, according to whether they are dated by the solar or lunar calendar. The former are considered by the Riffians to have nothing to do with Islam, but in accordance with the general hypocrisy of the people,

778 [823] [70] Narrow passages between stones or rocks, which are supposed to hold fast persons who have been cursed by their parents or other sinners, if they try to pass between them, but to benefit those who go through, are found in the vicinity of Sidi Mhammed u Sliman's shrine among the Iniknafen in Haha, Mulai 'Abdsslam ben Msis's among the Bni 'Aros [71] (the so-called l-hajra d l-moshotin), Sidi 'Ali ben Harazem's in Andjra, and Sidi Buhaiyar's among the Ait Waryager in the Rif; and in the wall of Sidi Hbib's qobba on the mountain bearing his name there is a hole to which similar qualities are attributed.

778 411 [842] [755] [73] Many cannons are regarded as holy and even as saints. Among the Ait Waryager in the Rif four of the mujahedin have cannons of unknown origin, to which sick people and women who want to become mothers tie torn-off pieces of their clothes.

[74] It is said that all guns partake of the baraka of the mujahedin, but this is of course pre-eminently the case with a gun which has been actually used in war against Christians; among the Ait Waryager such a gun is laid on the stomach of a barren woman to make her give birth to a child. The baraka of guns is shared by the rma, or shooters, and most of all by their chief, s-seh da r-rma. Their blessings are much sought for, and they are sometimes treated almost as if they were saints.

778 755 [84] In Morocco healing springs are very frequently connected with saint-shrines.

At the shrine of Sidi Mhand in the district of the Ait Waryager there is a spring the water of which is a remedy for the itch (ajajjid).

[85] In many cases the curative effect of a saintly spring is not attributed to the baraka of the saint alone, but also to the activity of friendly jnun who inhabit the spring. A famous [86] spring is attached to "the tombs of the Seven Men", seb'atu rijal, at Imzug in the tribe Ait Wauzgit in the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lalla Takerkust, who is said to have been their attendant.

825 782 The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or "masters of the place" (idbab lmakan). If a person is suspected of being troubled with laryah, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the vicinity of the qobba of Sidi Malek, on the border between the Ibqqoyen and the Ait Waryager in the Rif, there is likewise

778 a spring or pond, containing tortoises, which is visited by persons
755 suffering from the same complaint. Thepati ent goes there, without being accompanied by anybody, on three consecutive Saturdays, throws bread to the tortoises, and washes himself with the water, all the time observing absolute silence; and [87] he then proceeds to the shrine, where he spends the night, and goes away on the following morning. On the third Saturday he kills at the threshold of the qobba a cock, a goat, or a sheep, which is eaten by the mqaddem and other persons who happen to be present, but he himself must not partake of the meal.

778 [89] Great efficacy is ascribed to sea-water. In Andjra a person
755 suffering from fever goes in the morning before sunrise to a deep spring
823 or river, descends into it up to the neck, and walks round in the water seven times; but if this does not cure him he goes into the sea, likewise up to the neck, and drinks a little water from seven waves. In
[783 the same district a newly-married wife lets seven waves go over her
8+2] body in order to remove evil influences causing barrenness. Among
[754] the Ait Waryager a person who has been prevented by sorcery from marrying or getting children has recourse to the same method of breaking the spell.

823 [92] Yet the sea is not quite subdued even now; it is ill-tempered, irritable, and still shows a spirit of opposition to the divine will and the religion of the Prophet, although it will change its character on the last day (Rif). If the Koran is recited on it, the sea will become rough and an accident will happen to the vessel; but prayers said on the sea produce no such effect. I noticed that when one of my servants, a man from Andjra, went into the sea to bathe he moved his lips, and when asked about it he afterwards told me that he made a recitation from the Koran; he evidently did it for fear of the sea, but he did it inaudibly. If a person on the sea-shore cries out the profession of the faith, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the prophet of God", the sea at once becomes rough (Andjra); nay, it does so even if women trill the zgarit on the shore (Ait Waryager).

777 [94] Elsewhere people who are selling something spit on the first coin they receive (Andjra, where it was said to give good luck), or say, "In the name of God", and then spit on the coin; and a person who receives money in the late afternoon or the evening, when there are many jnun about, spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag (Ait Waryager).

824 778 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit [Igliwa], zzest [Temsaman]) may be so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan- [842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power [843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall be good-looking (Tangier).

[109] Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 755 778 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul, Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

[110] At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura (Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura, sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case [23] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or, on the 17th of May (mut 1-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame. A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines, 842 and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the morning on an empty stomach.

[841] [111] Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro; Berb. fadis [Temsaman] or fadis [Ait Waryager]) is eaten by women suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 824 696 [112] The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand) as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow. Some scribes recite over it something from the [113] Koran, knot seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

627 one of the enemy's men who was with them when the sacrifice was
728 made and therefore could explain its object to his tribesmen. Peace is concluded on condition that they pay a certain sum of money, perhaps one or two thousand dollars, to the victorious tribe; but neither in this nor in the case previously mentioned is the peace of long duration—in a few months or, at most, in a couple of years the hostilities commence afresh. The Rifians make peace when their food is scarce; when they have much corn they fight.

574 [537] The duty of hospitality is also closely connected with the belief in the 'ar and the compulsion it carries with it. A guest is in the 'ar of his host, in accordance with the principle, "He who is in your house is in your 'ar".

[538] Among the Braber of the Ait Yusi and Ait Sadden, if two or three unknown strangers arrive on horseback, an animal is killed for their entertainment; but the lonely wanderer is also treated as a guest (anbg i, plur. inbg aun), spending the night in the mosque if he has no acquaintance in the village. The same is the case among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; some one of the villagers brings food to the stranger and eats with him in the mosque if the fqi is not there, as somebody must eat with the guest. If the stranger knows any person in the village he is taken to his house, unless he has gone there in the first place.

It is considered necessary that the host should do his best to please his guest. The latter is received with a friendly welcome, and in the case of distinguished guests the greetings may be most profuse. The host sets before his guest all the food which has been prepared, and he should do so at once. If, for example, four fowls have been killed, they should all be served up; for l-'ain t at akul, "the eye is eating" (Fez), that is, the guest is delighted to see much food before him even though he cannot eat it all.

842 [559] Among the Ait Waryager parents who have lost a child de-
765 posit its shirt at a shrine as 'ar in order that they shall be blessed with another child.

776 [561] Mosques may also be asylums for refugees, who are there in
696 the 'ar of God and Sidna Jebril, the master of mosques. Among the Ait Waryager, I was told, a person who has fled to the mosque of a village is considered to be in the 'ar of the villagers and is therefore sheltered by them, whereas one who has fled to the shrine of a saint will be unscrupulously killed.

825 The wild-boar, as well as the domestic pig, is an unclean animal
[262] and must not be used for food; swine's flesh is strictly forbidden to Moslems in four different places in the [313] Koran.

[317] It is generally believed that the hyena possesses the power of fascinating people with a view to devouring them, a belief which is also found in the East and is spoken of by Pliny as existing in classical antiquity. If a hyena makes water on a person (Casablanca, Ulad Bu'aziz, Igliwa, Aglu) or wets its tail and then sprinkles him with the urine (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), or when seeking him makes a noise (Ait Waryager), he becomes enchanted or loses his senses and follows the animal to its den, where it eats him.

[755] [319] The jackal contains much medicinal and magic virtue.

[842] [320] Childless men and women who are desirous of offspring burn the dried intestines of a jackal and fumigate themselves with the smoke, letting it pass underneath their clothes (Ait Waryager).

Among the Ait Waryager a person who is going out to steal puts the ear of a jackal in his bag in order to keep the dogs from barking; they will scent the smell of the jackal, of which they are much afraid.

[787] [321] To meet a jackal when you start on a journey is by some people said to be a good omen (Hiaina, Ait Waryager), but by others a bad one (Andjra, Aglu).

755 The fox contains 366 medicines.

825 [322] In other tribes the powder made of a charred fox, mixed with honey, or with honey, butter, and spices, is taken in the morning before breakfast as a cure for an affection of the heart (Ait Waryager) or for lberd (Ait Nder). Men who have been made impotent by witchcraft burn the penis of a fox and fumigate their own with the smoke.

[754] The gall of a fox is used by women for practising witchcraft, for example, with a view to inducing a man to divorce a rival wife.

[787] [323] Among the Ait Waryager the barking of a fox is supposed to indicate that the wind will be westerly, in Andjra and the Garb that it will be easterly. Charms are written on the skin of a fox.

The weasel is used as a medicine for horses and mules and, less often, for men. It is dried and burned, and the sick animal (Ulad Bu'aziz, Hiaina, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) or person (Temsaman) is made to inhale the smoke.

[324] The blood of a hedgehog is smeared on the head of a boy suffering from ringworm (daqassar), so that it shall be covered with hair as the hedgehog is covered with bristles (Ait Waryager).

824 of God or some other holy word written on every leaf; and the baraka
778 of its oil (Arab. zit; Berb. zzit ⟨Igliwa⟩, zzest ⟨Temsaman⟩) may be
so strong as to make the oil increase by itself and even become dan-
[842] gerous. It is drunk by men in order to enhance their procreative power
[843] (Ait Waryager), and pregnant women eat olives so that the child shall
be good-looking (Tangier).

⟨109⟩ Baraka is ascribed to the oleander, especially to the so-called "sultan of the oleanders" or "sultan of the oleander".

824 In various tribes it is the custom for scribes to write some words
755 from the Koran or leaves of a "sultan of the oleander" (Tsul,
778 Temsaman, Ait Waryager), or even of an ordinary bush of the same species (Ait Sadden) for sick people, who burn the leaves, let the smoke pass underneath their clothes, and inhale it.

⟨110⟩ At Midsummer and asura there is miraculous virtue in a large number of vegetable species, and some of them have magic or medicinal qualities on other occasions as well. In the Hiaina sendgura (Lavandula stœchas or Teucrium Chamœpitys; also called sengdura, sengura, and, in the Berber of the Ait Yusi, tof ttarba) which has been gathered in the morning before the sun has risen and the hoopoe has made itself heard, especially on New Year's day, is said to contain one hundred and one medicines; it is taken internally by persons suffering from dysury, it is applied externally to the head in the case
[231] of a headache, and it is given in milk to dogs troubled with a cold or, on the 17th of May (mut l-ard), to savage dogs to make them tame.
A Rifian from the Ait Waryager said that it contains seventy medicines,
842] and that it is used by women as a remedy for barrennes; it is dried in the sun, pounded, and mixed with honey, and then taken in the morning on an empty stomach.

[841] ⟨111⟩ Charcoal made of lentisk (Pistacia lentiscus; Arab. dro; Berb. fadis ⟨Temsaman⟩ or fadis ⟨Ait Waryager⟩) is eaten by women suffering from irregular appearance of blood.

778 ⟨112⟩ The Ait Waryager use the fresh leaf of a palmetto (digazdand)
624 as a means of getting back a stolen horse, mule, donkey, ox, or cow.
696 Some scribes recite over it something from the ⟨113⟩ Koran, knot seven of its tips, and make fatha, after which they give the leaf to the owner of the animal. He ties it to the peg in the yard to which the animal used to be tethered; and this will have the effect that the thief will be unable to sell the animal. A friend of his will then go

776 against you by God and the religious law", so as to drive it away if it is a jenn or a saint, or to prevent the jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Waryager). A single raven seen in the morning by a person who sets out on a journey is sometimes said to be a jenn (Temsaman).

[271] Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of jnun, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits [264] saying the bismillah before eating, jnun or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks [272] standing (Andjra, Ait Waryager), or eats with his left hand (Ait Waryager), jnun are eating or drinking with him.

[782] If a person when he is praying does not bow down so low that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, jnun or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

776 262 [263] [278] Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted and consequently in many cases a source of danger. As already said, a person who gets angry with raw meat in his hand is very liable to be struck by jnun. The same is the case with one who is beaten by such a person (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager).

No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shawia, Andjra, Ait Waryager, etc.) or generally to the person who has given it; it would be bad for both parties (Ait Waryager).

If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market and his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them (Ait Waryager), since otherwise they will be hurt by jnun (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Sadden).

[843] [279] If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she aks, because otherwise the fetus (Ait Waryager) or the woman as well (Ulad Bu aziz) will die; should he refuse, her husband might complain of it to his governor, who would compel him to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for (ibid.).

776 264 If a person eats meat in the presence of some one else he must let him have a share of it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Sadden; for l-lham auwaj l-hanak, "meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it]", he will be made ill by jnun (Dukkala)). In explanation of these

595 832 possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage; it is significant that the bride puts on the didli on the morning after her first intercourse withher husband.

787 755 [586] The Ait Waryager believe that if a person gets a sty some woman of his family is soon going to bear a child; and in order to cure it he at night puts some sticks together in the shape of a robber's hut, burns the sticks, and lets the smoke go into his eyes, presumably to rob the affected eye of its sty.

787 843 An unborn child may also be subject to other homœopathic influences besides such as affect its sex. If a woman looks at a gazelle her future child will have eyes as big and beautiful as those of that animal (Ait Warain). At Tangier pregnant women eat quince-apples (sfarjel) or olives in order that the child shall be good-looking. In Morocco, as elsewhere, is found the belief that if a pregnant woman [587] (Hiaina), or one whose pregnancy has just become apparent (Ait Waryager), sees and desires to eat a certain piece of food but is not allowed to do so, the child will have a birthmark resembling that particular kind of food; or if a pregnant woman sees some food and nothing of it is given to her to eat, and she afterwards scratches herself, the child will have a similar birth-mark on the corresponding part of its body (Ait Sadden).

787 777 [590] Some tribes on the Mediterranean coast maintain that if the sardines are plentiful the year will be good (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 356 [312] [593] Rezq (razq, rezq) means all sorts of good things contributing to the maintenance and comfort of life. On the other hand, if a person cuts off the water supply for his neighbour he thereby shuts the door of his own rezq (Fez).

You may also sweep away your rezq. This will happen if you sweep the floor of your house or tent at night or after sunset (Fez, Hiaina, Dukkala, Tangier, Andjra, Tsul, Ait Waryager), or even after 'asar (At Ubahti); and the Rifians of Temsaman consider it necessary that the house should be already swept before the first cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon.

[595] Similar effects are ascribed to the broom (Arab. settaba; Berb. tasttabt [Ait Warain], tastta [Temsaman], disagwust [Ait Waryager]) even when it is not engaged in its normal function of sweeping. It is said that if a person is struck with a broom God will sweep him away from the earth (Andjra), or that he or some member of his family or some of his animals will become ill or die (Ait Waryager).

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XI

CRISES IN THE LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

128 Sociologists commonly recognize three major crises in the life of each individual: birth, puberty, and death.[1] Besides these major or biological crises they recognize others which lack direct biological importance, but are nevertheless sociologically of interest: naming, circumcision, and marriage. In the Rif, the first haircut should be added to the list and puberty subtracted, since no recognizable rite of passage is used to conduct the adolescent into the state of manhood or of womanhood.

In discussing these crises, my object is not so much to present a detailed picture of the ceremonies which accompany them as to work out a thorough plan of distribution for the various elements in each rite, in order to determine, where possible, the origins and relative antiquity of the various factors.

BIRTH

844 When a woman is considered to be within three days of the expiration of her term of pregnancy, the other women of her household go to the cantonal mosque and there hire a student to make out a charm which will help facilitate the birth. This charm is written, and the writing, soaked off the paper in warm water, is given the mother to drink. Care is taken to see that no knots are tied in the mother's clothing, and she is not allowed to work nor take any strenuous exercise during the last few days of her pregnancy.

On the actual day of the delivery, two midwives take charge of the situation, expelling the men of the family from the room in which the birth is to take place. One of the midwives sits on the floor, and holds the mother in her lap, in a posture half way between sitting and lying, and the mother meanwhile pulls on a rope which has been suspended from the rafters. The woman underneath her grasps her about the abdomen with both hands, helping thus to expel the child.

The Riffians explain the presence of the midwife underneath the mother by saying that it is shameful for a woman to bear a child while lying on the floor, since that is the manner of cattle.

While the mother is hanging by the rope, and the midwife under her is compressing her abdomen, the second midwife busies herself with the details of the actual delivery. When the child has been born, this second midwife cuts its umbilical cord with a pair of scissors, and afterwards goes outside, taking care not to be seen, and buries the afterbirth, the umbilical cord, and the scissors in a hidden place, which she is bound never to reveal, lest some enemy find the remains and with them wreak baleful magic upon the child.

844 554 The midwife who delivers the child and cuts the umbilical cord, and to a lesser extent her assistant, who does the heavier if cruder part of the work, is held in especial esteem by the child in its later life. The child may later even address the midwife as "mother," and

[1] A. M. Tozzer, *Social Origins and Social Continuities* pp. 86–89.

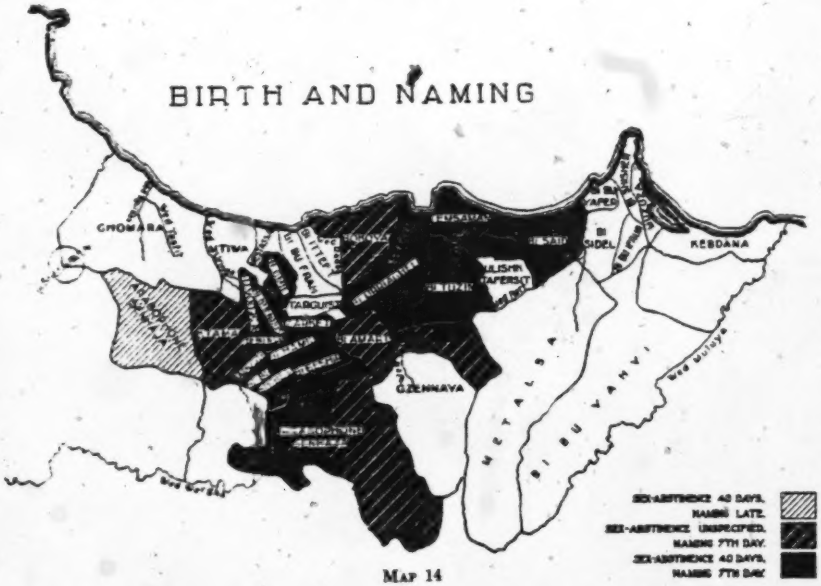
[p122]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rd MX3

care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden.



MAP 14

Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard.

Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *seksu*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea.

This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

844 case the child is masculine, having begun the fusillade at the moment of the delivery, or at the moment when the sex of the child was announced.

The women who come with their husbands bring with them chickens and other articles of food, especially wild greens such as watercress and asparagus, if these be in season. The women install themselves in the room in which the birth has taken place, and prepare nourishing broths for the mother, and for the next week or so continually come in and out looking after her.

[846] 846 On the seventh day the father holds a second celebration, similar to the first, which may be in many cases simply a continuation of it. On this seventh day, the guests, when they have finished drinking tea, each put a silver dollar on the tray; this money is intended as a present to the mother, who may spend it as she pleases.

Among the central Riffians the father is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until after the expiration of forty days after the birth of the child. During these forty days he avoids her as much as possible, seldom entering the room in which she has borne the child and seldom speaking with her. From economic necessity it is unavoidable that he should see and speak to her to a certain extent, but the tabu is nevertheless kept as rigidly as possible. Among the other tribes there is no fixed limit for the renewal of sexual relations, the matter being entirely personal, and there is no attempt at avoidance subsequent to the actual day of the birth, although the husband in most instances is kept busy outside entertaining the men for the first seven days, and naturally hesitates to enter his wife's room when a large number of women are there. The sex tabu is found in Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Iherrushen (except Tarosht, Telmest) Ikhuanen, Iherrassen, Beni Yunes, northern Ulishk, Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghzuth, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Beni Hamid, and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

NAMES AND NAMING

553 The second important event in the life of a child, be it a boy or a girl, is the occasion when it receives a name. Among the central Riffians this takes place on the seventh day, the same day on which the final feast celebrating the birth is held. Among the other tribes it takes place later, but usually before the child is more than a month or two old. Naming is done on the seventh day in[1] Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, northern Ulishk, Beni Yunes, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Beni Mohammed, Iherrassen, Ikaroen, Inhanahan, Bured, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Bokoya, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Beni Gmil, Zarket, Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Ktama, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and western Metalsa.

551 A boy child is at this time given a name usually of Arabic derivation and of religious significance, although such is not always the case. The name is frequently a derivative of the root *hmd*, meaning "to praise," of which Mohend, Moh, Bohosh, Haddu, Haddush, Hammush, Mohammadi, Hamidu, Hadi, and Omuah are all more or less Berberized variations. Of these, Mohend and Moh are the equivalents for Mohammed.

[1] According to de Castro, the Galiya and Kebdana likewise hold the naming on the seventh day. This information would serve to date the transition from a seven-day to a three-day custom between the time of de Castro's writing (1911) and the time at which my material was collected. See Fernandez de Castro, *Guelaia y Quebdana*, p. 130.

776 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] [304] Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

[305] For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

[784] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[307] The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

[308] The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

●[844] [309] Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

262 "In the name of God, God is most great". This may be said before
[264] the breaking of the first egg only (Andjra), or before the breaking of each egg (Ait [363] Waryager).

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz unmarried men and girls refrain from eating the nose of any animal, lest they should have rain at their wedding. Among the same tribe scribes and boys who are studying the Koran must not eat an animal's throat, because the eating of it would make their voices hoarse. Among the Ait Waryager the same part is for a similar reason not given to children to eat. They also prohibit their women from eating the testicles of any male animal, which are eaten by the men; and they believe that if a child ate the kidney of an animal it would come out as lumps on the face and body of the child.

[364] A man who has killed an edible wild animal or bird eats its head in order to be successful in hunting (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he eats, for the same reason, both the head and the heart, though he may share them with his wife and children.

224 [365] Various customs relating to hunting, target-practice, and
689 guns have been mentioned in earlier chapters, but others may be added.

Among the Ulad Bu'aziz in Dukkala, if one of the hunters misbehaves, the others draw round him a circle, a so-called gart r-rma, and he has to remain inside it until he pays a fine (haqq or d'aira), after which the hunters surround him and make fatha. An offence which makes a hunter subject to this treatment on the evening after the hunt is the shooting or killing of a hare which is asleep, in which case he will have to give a feast to his companions; for both in Dukkala and elsewhere (Ait Waryager) a hunter must not kill a sleeping hare because it deprives his companions and the grayhounds of the pleasure of hunting it.

[369] Among the Ait Waryager, if one of the rrma has misbehaved, the others punish him when they are shooting at targets by filling the hood of his cloak with stones and compelling him to sit at a distance from them; and they do not remove the stones and admit him to their company until he has repeated the prayer for the Prophet a certain number of times, fifty or a hundred or more, according to their discretion.

• 844 [370] When a woman is going to give birth to a child, or if her delivery proves difficult, certain practices are often resorted to in order to facilitate it.

844 [372] Among the Ait Waryager, before a woman gives birth to a child, the fqi of the village writes something from the Koran in a bowl, and water is poured over the writing and then given to the woman to drink. This is likewise supposed to facilitate the delivery.

[373] Among the Ait Waryager the after-birth (adan) and navel-string (dmit) are buried at the bottom of the dunghill of the house to prevent their being walked over.

[376] Among the Ait Waryager the mother is [377] immediately on her delivery given a dish of eggs and butter or oil to partake of, and after that the gravy of a fowl. Pieces of thin cakes, eggs, and butter are mixed together in an earthenware pot (dahabbit), which is placed on the head of a boy—a brother of the newborn child if there is one, otherwise a neighbour's son. The other children of the house and the women who are present eat from this pot on the boy's head; I was told that should they not do so something bad would happen to the child.

[378] Among the Ait Waryager, when a boy is born, the father puts into his right hand a knife (dahadmit) to make him a man, and when a girl is born he puts into her right hand a foot of a fowl to make her a good housewife; but the knife may also be a charm against the jnun.

[380] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the room of the lying-in woman is likewise fumigated with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels, who are consequently induced to remain there.

[384] The Ait Waryager have the custom of smearing henna on the top of the child's head on the day after its birth, "to make the head strong".

[387] In some places the child is referred to as the son or daughter of its father (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Amanuz and other people of Sus), and in other places as the son or daughter of its mother.

846 852 553 [391] Among the Ait Waryager the mother generally gets up on the third day, but keeps to the house till the seventh day, when she washes, fumigates herself with benzoin, and paints her hands and feet with henna, her eyes with antimony, and her teeth with walnut root. She also combs and oils her hair, puts a long silk scarf (rahzam) round her head, and dresses herself in her best clothes. On this day there is the ceremony of name-giving. The father kills a sheep or a

the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domestic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumcision and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed. While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assembled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so. However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially the second most important initiation ceremony in the society. On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by previous obligations established by gifts that the giver has received from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money, 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

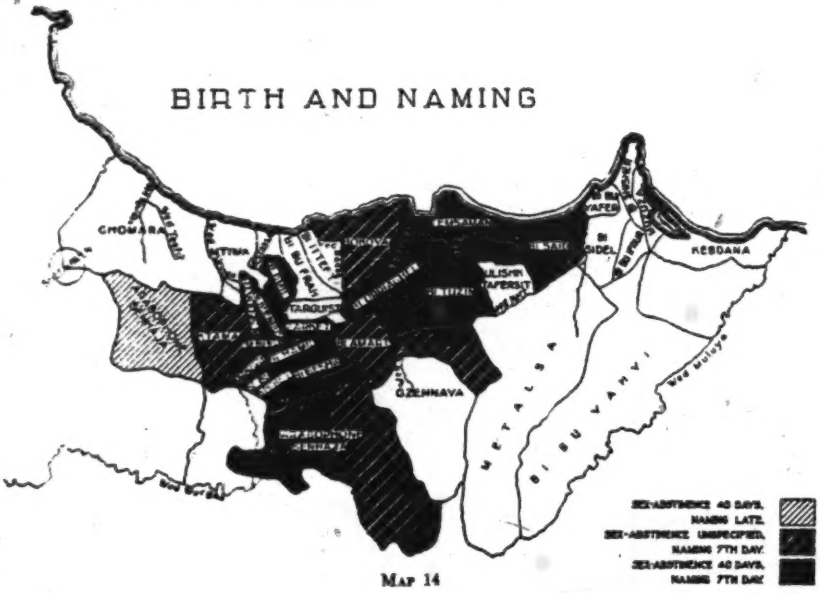
844
554
[845]

care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

853
582
608

If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden.



MAP 14

844
553

844

Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard.

844
782

Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *seksu*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea.

844

This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

case the child is masculine, having begun the fusillade at the moment of the delivery, or at the moment when the sex of the child was announced.

The women who come with their husbands bring with them chickens and other articles of food, especially wild greens such as watercress and asparagus, if these be in season. The women install themselves in the room in which the birth has taken place, and prepare nourishing broths for the mother, and for the next week or so continually come in and out looking after her.

On the seventh day the father holds a second celebration, similar to the first, which may be in many cases simply a continuation of it. On this seventh day, the guests, when they have finished drinking tea, each put a silver dollar on the tray; this money is intended as a present to the mother, who may spend it as she pleases.

Among the central Riffians the father is not allowed to have sexual intercourse with his wife until after the expiration of forty days after the birth of the child. During these forty days he avoids her as much as possible, seldom entering the room in which she has borne the child and seldom speaking with her. From economic necessity it is unavoidable that he should see and speak to her to a certain extent, but the tabu is nevertheless kept as rigidly as possible. Among the other tribes there is no fixed limit for the renewal of sexual relations, the matter being entirely personal, and there is no attempt at avoidance subsequent to the actual day of the birth, although the husband in most instances is kept busy outside entertaining the men for the first seven days, and naturally hesitates to enter his wife's room when a large number of women are there. The sex tabu is found in Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Iherrushen (except Tarosht, Telmest) Ikhuanen, Iherrassen, Beni Yunes, northern Ulishk, Zarket, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Taghzuth, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Beni Hamid, and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja.

NAMES AND NAMING

The second important event in the life of a child, be it a boy or a girl, is the occasion when it receives a name. Among the central Riffians this takes place on the seventh day, the same day on which the final feast celebrating the birth is held. Among the other tribes it takes place later, but usually before the child is more than a month or two old. Naming is done on the seventh day in[1] Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, northern Ulishk, Beni Yunes, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Beni Mohammed, Iherrassen, Ikaroen, Inhanahan, Bured, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Beni Amart, Bokoya, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, Beni Gmil, Zarket, Beni Hamid, Beni Bu Shibet, Beni Beshir, Ktama, Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and western Metalsa.

A boy child is at this time given a name usually of Arabic derivation and of religious significance, although such is not always the case. The name is frequently a derivative of the root *hmd*, meaning "to praise," of which Mohend, Moh, Bohosh, Haddu, Haddush, Hammush, Mohammadi, Hamidu, Hadi, and Omuah are all more or less Berberized variations. Of these, Mohend and Moh are the equivalents for Mohammed.

[1] According to de Castro, the Galiya and Kebdana likewise hold the naming on the seventh day. This information would serve to date the transition from a seven-day to a three-day custom between the time of de Castro's writing (1911) and the time at which my material was collected. See Fernandez de Castro, *Guelaia y Quebdana*, p. 130.

844 [372] Among the Ait Waryager, before a woman gives birth to a child, the fqi of the village writes something from the Koran in a bowl, and water is poured over the writing and then given to the woman to drink. This is likewise supposed to facilitate the delivery.

[373] Among the Ait Waryager the after-birth (adan) and navel-string (dmit) are buried at the bottom of the dunghill of the house to prevent their being walked over.

[376] Among the Ait Waryager the mother is [377] immediately on her delivery given a dish of eggs and butter or oil to partake of, and after that the gravy of a fowl. Pieces of thin cakes, eggs, and butter are mixed together in an earthenware pot (dahabbit), which is placed on the head of a boy—a brother of the newborn child if there is one, otherwise a neighbour's son. The other children of the house and the women who are present eat from this pot on the boy's head; I was told that should they not do so something bad would happen to the child.

[378] Among the Ait Waryager, when a boy is born, the father puts into his right hand a knife (dahadmit) to make him a man, and when a girl is born he puts into her right hand a foot of a fowl to make her a good housewife; but the knife may also be a charm against the jnun.

[380] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the room of the lying-in woman is likewise fumigated with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels, who are consequently induced to remain there.

[384] The Ait Waryager have the custom of smearing henna on the top of the child's head on the day after its birth, "to make the head strong".

[387] In some places the child is referred to as the son or daughter of its father (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Amanuz and other people of Sus), and in other places as the son or daughter of its mother.

• 846 852 553 [391] Among the Ait Waryager the mother generally gets up on the third day, but keeps to the house till the seventh day, when she washes, fumigates herself with benzoin, and paints her hands and feet with henna, her eyes with antimony, and her teeth with walnut root. She also combs and oils her hair, puts a long silk scarf (rahzam) round her head, and dresses herself in her best clothes. On this day there is the ceremony of name-giving. The father kills a sheep or a

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
848 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
848 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

000

65--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, hunting is entirely voluntary, and those who wish to hunt on a certain day go off in a group to do so.

66--In the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, the catch is invariably divided up equally among all the hunters present; and this holds true even if there are twenty hunters and all they catch is one rabbit amongst the lot of them.

67--As the catch is equally divided, so possible fines incurred are equally shared.

[411] 68--Usually a long stick, called r-mitrag, which is bound with copper wiring, and which Rifians can throw with incredible accuracy, killing birds on the wing with it, etc. Rifles were sometimes used to hunt rabbits during the Republik, but seldom, because cartridges were expensive and could be used to better advantage on one's enemies. Since [648] 1926, firearms have been prohibited in the Rif; for the Spaniards, [656] and their Moroccan successors, thought and think that the combination of Rifians and rifles was and is too dangerous to leave alone!

The radius of action of a throwing stick is not measured in the mountains of the Aith Waryaghar, although hunters there generally wait until an animal is up to five meters ahead of them before throwing, because if a rabbit's face is smashed up by a blow from a r-mitrag, the hunter who threw it is accused by his fellows of being [124] a poor shot. My informants state, furthermore, that what Blanco says [114] above is false, because of the invariably equal division of the catch.

It is always customary to pronounce the formula "B-ism-illahi [788] r-rahmani r-rahim!" (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) before throwing at an animal, as this renders it halal (i.e. permitted to be eaten); but generally, if an animal is found dead, it is thrown away.

Hunting with ferrets (nims, pl. inimsan) as well as trapping (dhakhshifth, "trap") are also common. The owner of the ferret gets the head of any animal captured by it; and the owner of a trap has the right to any animal he finds there, although if it is inedible or tabooed, he throws it away.

[114] 69--This is a contradiction of a previous statement by the author, in which he says that each party must pay 50 duros.

70--This, of course, would almost always turn out to be the case (vide [593] remarks on inheritance of property by women). What Blanco does not say, [848] however, is that her brothers would probably kill both their sister and the man in question, especially if she became pregnant.

71--This means, as mentioned in note 50, six cojurors (the accused and five agnates).

72--This was in the Republik. During Spanish times, a person was fined 5 duros (25 pesetas) for failing to take food to the fqih, and since independence the fine has been doubled to 500 Moroccan francs. Even in the Rif, the cost of living has gone up!

[114] 73--The dhwara concept of sending out a different shepherd or goatherd every day to pasture the animals of the jma'th by turn has never existed among the Aith Waryaghar.

A, [For information on the inheritance of property by women, see pp. 207-208--Analyst]

000 31--"Abandoning" is hardly the proper term, although we do know of a few cases in which this has actually happened. "Divorcing" is probably what is meant here.

32--The bride price varies considerably, according to the means of the persons involved, and may range from 30,000 francs up to over 100,000 (in 1960).

[671] 33--The Shari'a stipulates that if a husband goes away from home without providing for his wife and does not let her know of his whereabouts within three months, she may then divorce him. In practice, however, this three-month period is usually extended to a year, during which time the wife usually goes back to stay with her parents. She is, however, prohibited from remarrying for three months after divorce; this is to determine whether she is pregnant. If she is, [851] she must wait until her child is born before remarriage; and the child itself reverts to the father.

[114] [241] 34--Here Blanco is in error. Plowing and sowing are invariably done by men, and both operations are carried out by two men simultaneously, the sower preceding the plowman when cereal crops are planted, and following him when beans are planted.

[241] [231] [224] [226] 35--Rifian economics are based primarily on agriculture and secondarily on animal husbandry. Beside these activities, hunting (of rabbits, partridges, etc.) and fishing (only along the Mediterranean coast, and to a very limited extent) are extremely minor pursuits.

[565] [463] 36--Ironwork is carried on entirely by a debased, (largely) endogamous and (largely) propertyless social class of people called imziren (sing. amzir, "blacksmith"), almost all of whom, in the Central Rif, originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, which produces a number of other low-class social groups (in particular, imdhiyazen, musicians who play and sing at weddings and who also double as mule-breeders), all economic specialists, as well.

[198] [294] [286] 37--Women used to weave rugs on upright looms, and even jillabas (the national garment of the Moroccan male, a woollen cloak with sleeves and hood) on horizontal looms, but men have now, for at least the last 40 years, done all jillaba weaving. Sewing (jillaba seams, located in the front of the garment) is done entirely by tulba, or Koranic students.

[114] 38--Except for chickens and eggs, which are the exclusive property of women. However, again, Blanco's statement, interesting in that it comes from a Spaniard, seems a bit dogmatic and extreme.

[443] 39--In the Aith Waryaghar, women were expressly forbidden from attending markets under any circumstances, and even now only old ones, poor ones and loose ones show up on market day. However, in the same tribe, there are five women's markets (and one in the Thimsaman) to which men are equally expressly forbidden. With the segregation of the sexes [114] as pronounced as it is in the Rif, it is very difficult for a male anthropologist to find out (in other than the most general and roundabout way) what goes on at women's markets!

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

use them when in the presence of Arabs, lest the purpose of these names be misunderstood, for the Arabs would think that a man bearing his mother's name was illegitimate, and would ridicule him. For this reason the use of matronyms will probably soon die out.

Besides regular names, certain titles are in use. *Si* is prefixed to a man's name if he be a preceptor, schoolmaster, or clerk, or even a student proficient in reading and writing. *Sidi* is applied only to a reputed descendant of the prophet. The equivalent title *Mulai* is not known in the Rif, but is in use in the Senhaja Sghir, especially in Taghzuth, where a large part of the population, justly or otherwise, claims Sherifian blood.

THE FIRST HAIRCUT

The next event of importance in the life of the child is its first haircut. In the central tribes and the Senhaja it occurs after the expiration of a year; among the others, after six months. The former is the case in Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Gzennaya, and all the Senhaja.

On the day decided on for the first haircut, the father takes a goat to the cantonal mosque and gives it to the students, who sacrifice and eat it. One of the students returns with the father and shaves the child's head, leaving a single lock standing out on the occiput. With some of the hair he makes a necklace, which is tied around the child's neck; the rest he takes out with him and buries secretly. After this the father and mother and immediate family, generally the entire fein, hold a small feast.

The scalp lock which the student has left is kept uncut until the death of the individual, and after that event is used by the students washing the body as a convenient handle wherewith to turn the corpse without touching the flesh. The origin of the Berber scalp lock is lost in antiquity, since it is one of the earliest features of Berber culture to be recorded in history.[1]

The position of the lock on the occiput differs among the tribes, there being three places where it may be left; the right occiput, the left occiput, and the center of the occiput, just below lambda. The lock when worn on the left is called *thazhtoshth*, when on the right *tha'iyeshth*, when in the middle *themzurth*.

Distribution of the left scalp lock: Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Shawia, Jebarna. It is also worn by the Ulad Stut, Beni Ukil, the Arabs of Msun, and the Beni Znassen. It is called the Zenatan type.

Distribution of the right scalp lock: Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, rest of Gzennaya, some in Tafersit, Targuist, Western and Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, Ktama, Taghzuth, Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Beni Hamid. This is called the Senhajan type, and is worn by the Beni Zerwal, the Mtiwa dial Jbil, and by what few individuals of the Ghomara occasionally leave this lock. It is likewise worn by certain families of Fezzis, and by all of the Braber, who claim Senhajan origin.

Distribution of the median scalp lock: Beni Urriaghel,[2] Beni Amart, Bokoya, Maritimes, Zarket, Beni Beshir, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Shibet, and Beni Mesduy.

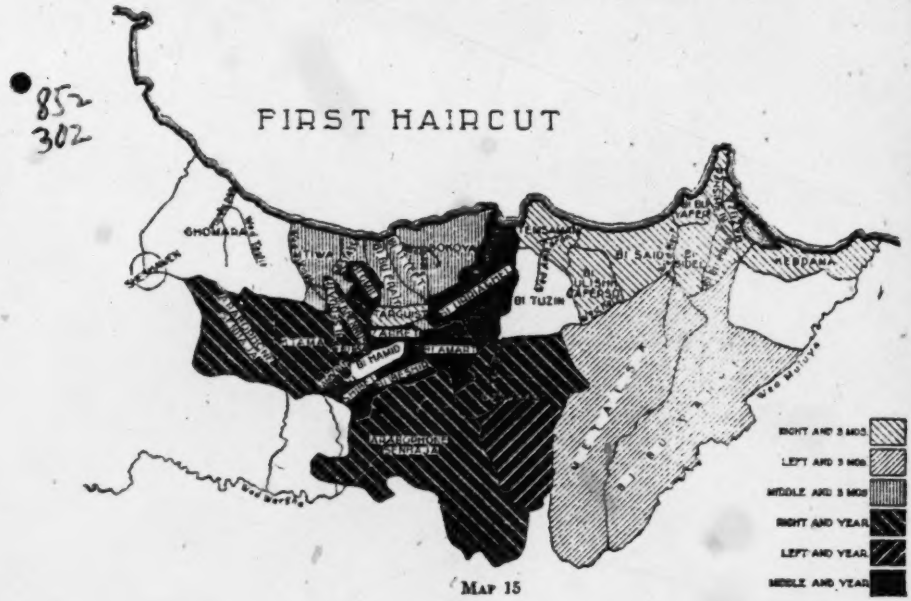
[1] Bates, pp. 134–137.

[2] Westermarck (p. 413) states that the Beni Urriaghel wear the lock on the *right* side, and that this lock is called *amalu*. I have never seen an Urriaghli with his scalp lock anywhere but in the middle of his occiput; and the word which Westermarck uses to denote the right lock is really the name of the median lock.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

302 *Tribes which shave the head*: Beni Tuzin, some in Targuist, and most of those in the Ghomara.

302 171 In most of Morocco, the scalp lock is worn by the boys up until puberty or marriage, when it is removed and the head shaved thereafter. In the Rif and Senhaja it is worn not only by boys but by grown men. In Beni Tuzin, and among most of the families of Targuist



MAP 15

302 171 and the Ghomara, the head is shaved at the time of the first haircut, and kept shaved thereafter. In Beni Urriaghel, Beni Amart, Iherrushen and Ikhuanen the men shave their faces; in other regions beards are usually worn.

302 By decree of Abd el Krim, who perhaps wanted to make his followers appear more civilized, the scalp lock was ordered removed in 1924. All Riffians and Senhajans within reach of Abd el Krim's punishing arm shaved them off, for the most part with considerable reluctance, with the exception of the exiled Riffians living in Fez and other places, who retained them. After Abd el Krim's surrender in 1926, many of the Riffians let them grow again, and now wear long scalp locks as before; others let their hair grow in the European style, and still others continue shaving their heads.

171 The Berber scalp lock dates back to Libyan antiquity; representations of it are frequent on Egyptian monuments.[1] A median occipital lock is also worn today in Northern Albania.

[1] O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pp. 133–137.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CIRCUMCISION

Despite the statement of Rohlfs to the contrary,[1] all the peoples of northern Morocco circumcise. This operation, although it may be performed at any time of the year, is usually carried out either in September, when the grapes have been picked, or in mid-winter, when it is considered that the cold will prevent infection. On account of this seasonal occurrence of the rite it is impossible to state definitely at what age it is performed. Nevertheless there is a significant difference in the ages at which it is carried out in different tribes, tribes of the central Rif usually performing it when the child is less than a year old. Three months is considered a felicitous age, but naturally the child is not always three months old at one of the favored times. Among the Arab-speaking peoples of Morocco it is usually performed at the age of seven or eight years. Circumcision is performed in early infancy in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Amart; all the Beni Urriaghel excepting Beni Hadifa, all of the Gzennaya excepting Shawia, Imsdurar, Inhanahan, and Iharshliyen, all the Senhaja Sghir, all the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja excepting Fenassa, Beni Koraa, and Rgheiwa, and all the Ghomara.

In all the rest of the region under consideration circumcision is carried out during the seventh or eighth year. It is interesting, from the point of view of comparison with other peoples, that the Arabs and Shluh circumcise at the age of seven or eight, that the Zenata, as represented by the Beni Znassen, put it off until just before marriage, and that among the Braber three separate customs are found; circumcision at seven or eight years, at the period immediately preceding marriage, and, among some groups, I have been told, failure to circumcise at all.

In regard to the person who performs the operation, here again we meet with a difference of custom. Among the central Riffian tribes the act is done by a preceptor or student who makes a specialty of this work, and who has a regular route which he follows twice a year, in September and in mid-winter. Some groups employ local preceptors; others patronize visiting ones from other tribes. Circumcision is performed by local or resident preceptors in Beni Urriaghel (with the exception of the mountain region), Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Targuist, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Taghzuth, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, all the Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. It is performed by borrowed or itinerant preceptors among the mountain Urriaghlis and in Beni Amart, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Ktama.

The routes or spheres or influence of some of the more prominent preceptors are as follows:

Preceptor of Ajdir: Ajdir and the rest of Aith Yusuf u Ali, Beni Bu Ayesh, Beni Abdullah, and sometimes Imrabten; all these being *fifths* of the Beni Urriaghel, excepting Ajdir, which is a village therein.

Preceptor of Iherrushen (from the *bone* of Ulad Alu Fars): Iherrushen, Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ain el Hamara, Ibershliyen, Inhanahan, Bured, and Temjunt; these are *cantons* of the Gzennaya. He likewise officiates for all the Aith Ali and the Jebel Hammam people of the Beni Urriaghel.

Preceptor of Targuist: Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, and Beni Hadifa of the Beni Urriaghel.

[1] Gerhardt Rohlfs, *Adventures in Morocco*, p. 45.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 875 Preceptor of Taghsuth: Taghsuth and Ktama.

Preceptor of Beni Bu Nsar: Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath.

In the rest of the region in which circumcision is performed by preceptors, all are local or resident. Preceptors build up reputations for dexterity in their trade, and their clientele of families grows or shrinks like that of family doctors. There are some families of Ajdir who send for the preceptor of Iherrushen instead of employing their own local practitioner, merely out of personal preference. Hence, due to the individual nature of the choice, the routes of the itinerant ones vary, while the distribution of the local ones remains the same.

304 In other tribes an illiterate man is employed. He performs the circumcision from the secular point of view of earning his living, rather than as an act of religious or magical virtue, as in the case of the preceptor. The lay practitioner is called by the name *akovani*, which means "illiterate" but has acquired the specialised meaning of "circumcisor" as well. The *akovani* is employed by the Kebdana, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, Mtiwa, Beni Bu Shibet. The Arabs of the plains normally use the *akovani*. In Fez, however, a preceptor is employed, as in the central Rif.

852 304 The preceptor when called to perform the operation, puts up a white flag on the roof of the house before he enters it, leaving the flag there until the operation is over and he is ready to depart. He takes eight to ten students with him, whose business it is to read the Koran aloud while he is working.

The preceptor and his students enter a special room, taking with them the boy, who has just been washed by his mother. The parents of the child, all women, and all illiterate men are excluded from the room during the operation.

The preceptor greases the foreskin and gland with butter until all is soft and pliant, puts a goat dropping inside the foreskin, which he twists around over it, and cuts off the foreskin with scissors, in such a way that the goat dropping is cut in two during the process.

Then he takes two eggs, the shells of which have been cracked and the whites of which have been drawn off, and thrusts the penis through holes in the shells into the yolks of both. It is said that this is done to cauterize the wound, and any magical significance which this action may imply is probably forgotten. After this has been done an old woman, preferably the child's grandmother, enters and picks the child up, taking him out on her back.

After the operation the preceptor and his students are given a great feast to which many guests are invited.

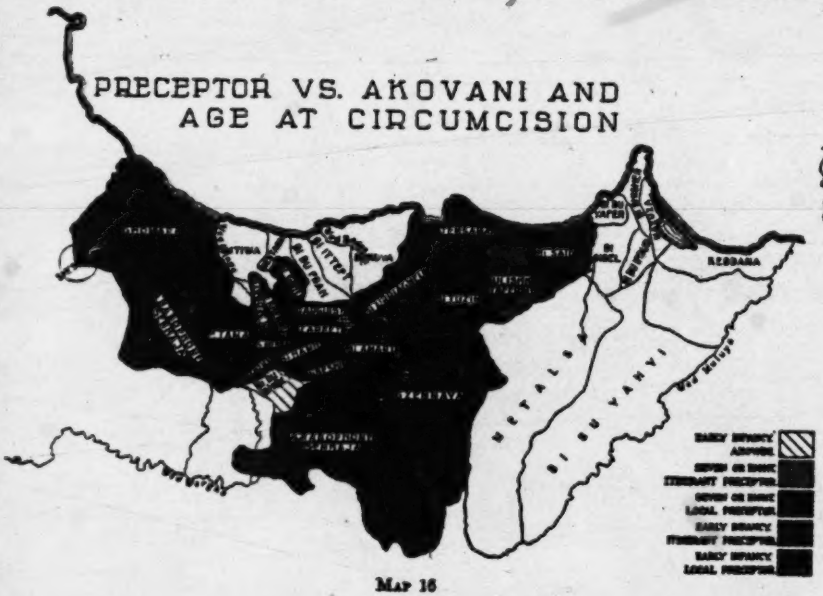
On account of the danger of infection circumcising is a dangerous practice, and the number of practitioners is few. During the hegemony of Abd el Krim, the preceptor of Ajdir once cut off the end of the gland of a child he was circumcising. If it had not been for [682] the intervention of Abd el Krim, who assessed five hundred dollars blood money, the preceptor would surely have been killed, since the child died shortly after the accident. On account of this incident many families of Ajdir call in the preceptor of Iherrushen, as has been previously noted.

304 The *akovani* is a different type of person from the preceptor. He is a rough, unlettered fellow, occupying a social position which, while not definitely degraded and certainly higher than that of blacksmiths and market-criers, is yet lower than that of the ordinary farmer. His occupation does not, however, imply Negro blood, and does not carry any social restrictions with it.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The technique of the *akovani* differs from that of the preceptor. He enters the room in which the child is sitting, without any accompanying students. The child's parents and all men except himself are excluded, but the presence of women is required. Fifteen or twenty of them sit around the room singing throughout the operation. The *akovani* proceeds in the same manner as the preceptor, until the foreskin has been removed. At this point, instead of thrusting the penis into egg-shells, he rubs it with powdered goat manure.

In the process of getting rid of the foreskin, the preceptor and the *akovani* likewise differ. The preceptor puts two eggs in an earthen bowl full of earth, and thrusts the fore-



MAP 16

akin into the earth between the eggs. He hands this to one of the students, who covers the whole with a cloth, and carrying it out into the courtyard gives it to the boy's father or paternal uncle, who takes it out secretly to an unfrequented place and buries it, bowl and all, so that it will never be found. Great care is taken to keep the location of the foreskin secret, and not even the preceptor is trusted with its disposal. The *akovani* does not employ a bowl or eggs, but gives the raw foreskin to the father or paternal uncle, who disposes of it with as great secrecy as in the case of the other technique.

In regard to payment, another difference appears between the preceptor and the *akovani*. The former considers that he is doing a charitable or virtuous work, and never demands payment. If the family is wealthy enough, the father gives him a dollar, a goat, or some article of food. If the preceptor considers the gift a strain on the family resources, he

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

gives it back. The *akoeani*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two; among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at fourteen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

751 [443] Among the Ait Waryager, when an infant has become forty
852 days old, its crown is smeared with henna as a protection against fleas,
754 lice, and the evil eye, and this is frequently repeated until it grows older; and they apply the same colouring matter to the chests and feet of their greyhounds, which they are the more anxious to preserve from envious looks as they have not many of them.

754 [444] Written charms are also frequently used against the evil eye.
[492] Horses and mules have a small case of brass or copper containing passages of the Koran hung as a charm round their necks (Fez, Ait Waryager).

695 [506] There are persons who swear in a state of nakedness, and a reason for their doing so may be fear lest otherwise the self-imprecation should cling to their clothes. It is believed that the oath of a naked person who is innocent will affect the other party, who made him swear (Tangier, Ait Waryager, Aglu); and the supposition that the absence of clothes is looked upon as a precaution derives support from the fact that in the Hiaina the person who has sworn, and all the people who live with him in the same house, have their clothes washed on the day when the oath was taken so as to rid them of the bas which is sticking to them.

[513] Among the Ait Waryager a person who is accused of having stolen a thing the value of which does not exceed a dollar is acquitted if he alone swears to his innocence; but if the stolen object is of higher value, four respectable men chosen from among his kinsmen have to swear with him. The same number of conjurators is necessary in the case of homicide, but their oaths only effect a suspension of the blood-feud, which will sooner or later be waged against the suspected individual. Among the Ait Temsaman the conjurators, including the offender, must be twelve men both in the case of homicide and theft, and they are all chosen by the injured party.

[515] Among the Ait Waryager, when two persons are quarrelling, one of them may in his rage make a vow to kill somebody or to marry a certain girl or to do something else, saying, "May my religion be forbidden to me and the holy places of Mecca not be forbidden to the Jews, if I do not do this or that". This vow is looked upon as most
627 sacred since it implies a conditional curse on Islam. Among the
578 same tribe an avenger of blood sometimes makes the vow that he will
266 eat the liver or the tongue of his enemy; in such a case he goes to the

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary bab lmakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[787] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 852 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355] t- Teida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child.

825 In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound [752] caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra [824] [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children [854] when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 264 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

844 [372] Among the Ait Waryager, before a woman gives birth to a child, the fqi of the village writes something from the Koran in a bowl, and water is poured over the writing and then given to the woman to drink. This is likewise supposed to facilitate the delivery.

[373] Among the Ait Waryager the after-birth (adan) and navel-string (dmit) are buried at the bottom of the dunghill of the house to prevent their being walked over.

[376] Among the Ait Waryager the mother is [377] immediately on her delivery given a dish of eggs and butter or oil to partake of, and after that the gravy of a fowl. Pieces of thin cakes, eggs, and butter are mixed together in an earthenware pot (dahabbit), which is placed on the head of a boy—a brother of the newborn child if there is one, otherwise a neighbour's son. The other children of the house and the women who are present eat from this pot on the boy's head; I was told that should they not do so something bad would happen to the child.

[378] Among the Ait Waryager, when a boy is born, the father puts into his right hand a knife (dahadmit) to make him a man, and when a girl is born he puts into her right hand a foot of a fowl to make her a good housewife; but the knife may also be a charm against the jnun.

[380] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager the room of the lying-in woman is likewise fumigated with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels, who are consequently induced to remain there.

[384] The Ait Waryager have the custom of smearing henna on the top of the child's head on the day after its birth, "to make the head strong".

[387] In some places the child is referred to as the son or daughter of its father (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Amanuz and other people of Sus), and in other places as the son or daughter of its mother.

846 852 553 [391] Among the Ait Waryager the mother generally gets up on the third day, but keeps to the house till the seventh day, when she washes, fumigates herself with benzoin, and paints her hands and feet with henna, her eyes with antimony, and her teeth with walnut root. She also combs and oils her hair, puts a long silk scarf (rahzam) round her head, and dresses herself in her best clothes. On this day there is the ceremony of name-giving. The father kills a sheep or a

852 553 goat with the assistance of his wife; but if he does not know how to slaughter an animal in the proper manner, the ceremony is performed by the fqi of the village. The meat of the animal is served at the feast which is given on this occasion, the scribes being entertained in the mosque, the other men outside the house, where they amuse themselves with shooting at targets, and the women inside the house. The liver is eaten by the members of the household, the head is given to the midwife, and the skin is sold. I was told that if this sacrifice were not made the child would die. The mother must present some money to the schoolboys of the village to induce the fqi to give them a holiday. On the previous day the nearest relatives brought boiled meat, bread, and butter as presents to the parents.

853 [401] It is a widespread belief that if a pregnant woman suckles a child the suckling will get an illness called la-gyel (l-gyel)—which literally means "the sucking of a pregnant woman", —from which many children die in Morocco (Tangier, Fez, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

755 [404] Among theAit Waryager women take their sick children to a mother of triplets, who cures the child by making cuts on its head and chest and the sides of its body, so that blood issues, and by pricking the top of its head with a red-hot oleander twig.

551 The name of the child is in certain cases fixed by custom. If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this is a very general and stringent rule. Moreover, if a saint has been invoked by the parents to help them to a son, the latter is in most cases called by the name of the saint, who is then supposed to become his protector.

The first-born son is very frequently called Muhammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Ait Waryager).

In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Muhammed. This is a very widespread practice; and it is believed that if the son were called after a living father whose name is not Muhammed, either the father or the son would soon die (Tangier, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[405] Among the Ait Waryager it seems to be the rule that if a man has more than one wife the eldest son of each wife is named Muhammed.

551 As the first son is called after the Prophet, so the first daughter is called after his daughter Fatimah, the wife of 'Ali and the mother of al-Hasan and al-Husain, from whom are descended the posterity of the Prophet known as Saiyids. Her name—which is in Morocco pronounced Fatuma, Fatma, Fatma, Fatna, or (by some Berbers) Fadma—is generally given to the eldest daughter, even though it be the name of the mother, which is otherwise avoided; but among the Ait Waryager the daughter is in such a case called Fattos.

[407] In Berber tribes Arabic names given to children are altered in ordinary conversation. Muhammed is changed into Muhand (Ait Yusi), Mohand (Ait Sadden), Mohand (Ait Waryager, in the case of a scribe or a man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), Momoh (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain), Mahha (Ait Sadden), Moha (ibid.), or Moh (Ait Waryager).

302 [408] At Fez no child of either sex must be shaved until it is one year of age; while among the Ait Waryager a boy is shaved a year after his birth and a girl never.

[409] Some hair, however, is always left on the head, in accordance with the custom of the family. In all families it is the custom to leave an 'orf, consisting of a narrow line from front to back, but in some families a garn, or tuft, is in addition left on the right side, and in others a garn on the left side as well.

[753] [414] It is believed that if the shaving of a person's head is left unfinished, because the razor is not sharp enough or for some other reason, his head will be affected (Ulad Bu'aziz) or he will become ill in one way or another (Ait Waryager).

[415] In Morocco there is a belief that if it is the custom of a family to leave a garn on the head of a child, the latter will become ill and most probably die if this custom is not observed. The Ait Warain and the Ait Sadden maintain that the same will happen to a boy if the garn left on his head is ever shaved. The Ait Waryager say that if it is shaved before the death of his parents, either the father, the mother, or the boy will die.

852 304 [416] The next important event in the life of a boy is his circumcision. The age at which it takes place varies greatly.

[417] I was told that among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager boys are as a rule circumcised when they are about one year old, but that there are instances of boys being circumcised a few months after their birth. This is the earliest age I have heard of anywhere in Morocco.

852 304 [429] Among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager circumcision often takes place on the twelfth day of the month of the Mulud, "the day of the feast", at least when the family is fairly well-to-do, and it is performed by an expert, accompanying a band of scribes. It is considered of importance that there should be scribes present to make recitations from the Koran in the room where the operation is made. This is not the room inhabited by the boy's own family—which on this occasion is occupied by the women—but another room in the same house; the Ait Waryager live in houses containing several rooms, each of which is inhabited by one family. On the day when the boy is circumcised his father kills a sheep or a goat or, if he cannot afford that, some fowls; the scribes have to be entertained with food, and rewarded with money as well. Contrary to the custom at Aglu, the father is present in the room where the boy is circumcised, but not the mother. The boy is dressed in new clothes, a belt (rahzam) is wound round the top of his head, and just before the operation is performed his eyes are blackened with antimony. If his father is a man of means, a silver bangle (ahalhal) is also put round the boy's ankle, or round each of his ankles, and is left there until he grows older, to be used again for the next son when he is circumcised. The wounded part of the penis is dipped into the yolk of an egg, which is then thrown away. The foreskin is put in some "clean" place, where nobody can walk over it. The boy is removed to his father's room, where he is confined for seven days.

[434] RITES AND BELIEFS CONNECTED WITH DEATH

763 If a person is very ill and his death is held to be immanent, his near relatives living in the same town or village assemble in the room in which he is lying. Should any of them fail to appear, the family of the dying person would look upon it as a sign of enmity and would make it a cause of quarrel. In country places a message may also be sent to relatives in neighbouring villages, who likewise hasten to the death-bed of their friend. No menstruating woman, however, should enter the room, nor any woman who has omitted to clean herself after sexual intercourse.

If the family of the dying person can afford it scribes are called in to recite a chapter of the Koran, unless some one of the assembled

the Berber. Of the various steps that one passes through, domestic celebrations of any magnitude occur only with the naming of the child and marriage. Birth itself, first haircut, circumcision and death are attended by very unelaborate ceremonies.

The ceremonial activities surrounding birth are rather insignificant. When the woman is on the point of delivery she sends for the neighborhood women and for a midwife. Relatives may come and often do although they are not required to. Coon (1931:123) states that on this day a sheep or goat is sacrificed. While wealthier families may offer an animal to feed the assembled guests, it is not ritually incumbent upon them to do so. However, the occasion of the birth of a male child, especially a first-born boy, is one of great joy and such hospitality is not uncommon among those who can afford it.

Coon may have been confusing the birth with the naming ceremony, which occurs seven days later and which is socially the second most important initiation ceremony in the society. On this day the father invites all the brothers and sisters of his wife as well as his own siblings. This is a time during which familial solidarity is required and all close kin of the child on both his mother's and father's sides are expected to be present and to offer gifts. The amount of gift is not fixed but is determined by the economic level of the giver and by previous obligations established by gifts that the giver has received from the parents. These presents include a small amount of money, 20 to 50 kilos of barley flour, a dozen loaves of bread, several

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

a tower used as a lookout and blockhouse.[9] Conflict was most serious in the Rif, where it was necessary to establish a system of women's markets so that the members of feuding cantons or tribes could carry on a rudimentary trade. Another indication of the varying degrees of dissidence is the scale of fines imposed by customary law. The fine imposed for murder by the Aith Wariyaghar was four times as large as the fine for the same crime among the more pacific Sanhajan tribes.[10] In the laws of the Aith Seddath there is no mention of house-burning, a frequent occurrence in the Rif.

In the days before the European occupation the division between government and dissidence coincided with a division between authoritarian order and representative councils. This division might be described also as a contrast between Arab and Berber systems of government. The Berber system was based upon superimposed councils. The smallest was the council of a village or a number of scattered farmsteads. The second council, called the "council of the great," had jurisdiction over a canton. At least one and sometimes all members of the second council participated in the deliberations of a tribal council. The system was democratic, with rotation of authority; thus no one could gain excessive power. The Arab system was and is quite different, for authority rests with individuals, from the *qaid* who rules the tribe to the *shaikh* or *muqaddam* who rules the village or hamlet.

Of the many ceremonies that influence an individual's life, marriage is by far the most important. Here again there are marked differences from one area to another. In the Rif the wedding celebration lasts seven days; on the first four days, private feasts are held for the families involved; on the last three days, guests are invited to the feasts. In Jbala, Ghmara, and most of Sanhaja as-Srair the wedding celebration lasts only three nights. Other differences appear in the entertainment offered to the guests and the complicated rules that govern the behavior of the bride and groom.[11]

The other crises in the life of an individual—naming, the first haircut, and circumcision—vary correspondingly, as do the procedures related to death and burial. When a corpse is ready for burial in the Rif, it is carried on the door of the local mosque, and virtually the whole community turns out for the procession and funeral. In the Arabized sector of northern Morocco the body is usually carried by paid pallbearers, and only the immediate family may attend the burial. Among the Aith Bu Yihyi and Ulad Stut it is standard practice to carry the dead to the burial place on the back of a donkey or mule.[12]

The number of material traits that can be used as a basis for cultural differentiation is almost unlimited. Containers of skin and iron in Garet contrast with pottery in the Rif, and wooden vessels in Sanhaja as-Srair. Even within the Rif one may distinguish the handmade pottery in Igzinnayen, Aith Ammarth,

[9] Most of the towers were removed in 1922 by order of Abd al-Krim. D. M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda*, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquíes, 2 (1954), 38.

[10] For further information on customary law in the Rif, see E. Blanco Izaga, *El Rif: la ley rifeña* (Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939), pp. 71–75.

[11] Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914).

[12] C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 143–145.

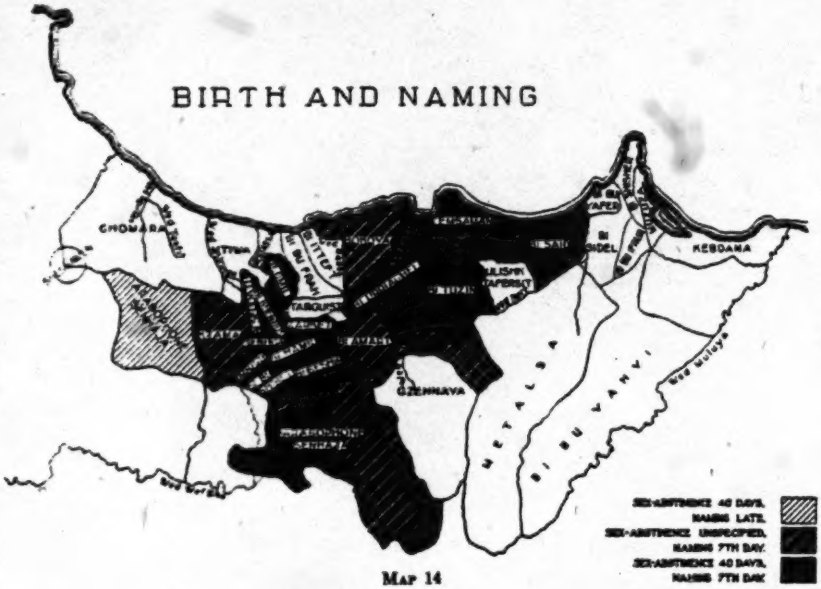
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 9 1

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

care for her as he would for his real mother. Midwifery is both an honorable and a charitable profession; midwives are respected by everyone, and receive no fees for their work.

The birth of twins is considered a great felicity.

If the mother is found to lack sufficient milk for suckling her child, another woman, usually of the same *bone*, takes charge of its feeding. The foster-mother is later considered by the child as an alternate mother, and marriage between a child and a foster child of the same woman is considered incestuous and is forbidden.



MAP 14

Let us return to the father, who has been unceremoniously bundled out of the room. When news of the impending birth has been spread abroad, the entire adult population of the *bone* comes to the house, the women going into the actual birth chamber, and the men joining the father in another room or, if the house contain but a single room, in the courtyard.

Before the assembled men, the father sacrifices a sheep or goat, the meat of which is put on the fire to stew. In the meanwhile the father produces a large bowl of *seksu*, which has been awaiting this moment, and the guests eat this with despatch. When they have finished this first course the stew made from the sacrificial animal is served. When this is over the father serves tea.

This meal, which usually is served during the afternoon, suffices until night, when two others are served. These are necessary, because the men sit up all night firing off guns, in

231 755 [288] The milk of a donkey, though unlawful like its flesh, is drunk as a cure for whooping-cough (dmaggit; Ait Waryager); and a piece of bamboo filled with it and sealed up may, besides, be hung round the neck of the young patient (Aglu). It is believed, however, that the donkey's milk will have a bad effect on the intelligence of the child who drinks it (Ait Waryager). It is also used as a remedy [859] for a child who has become ill by sucking his mother while pregnant (ibid.).

231 839 [289] Young boys who have not yet attained the age of puberty have intercourse with she-asses in order to get sexual capacity and make the penis grow (Ait Waryager); and for the same purpose they also dip it into a heap of fresh donkey's dung (Tangier). In the case of grown-up men bestiality is despised or ridiculed. Among the Ait Waryager, if a man is caught in the act, a cairn is made at the place, a stick with a small flag is thrust into it, and people dung on the cairn.

231 777 [292] Among the Ait Waryager, if a person buys a cow in the market in order to keep it, he must also buy a small quantity of wheat or fish to take home with him to eat; this will make the animal lucky. On the other hand, he must on no account buy meat on that occasion.

262 [295] The fresh milk of cows, sheep, or goats is called in Arabic hlib or halib; and in Berber akfai (Amanuz), takfit (Igliwa), aggu akffa (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi (At Ubahti), asaffai (Ait Waryager), asffai (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Buttermilk is called in Arabic lben; and in Berber agu (Amanuz, Igliwa), aggu anddu (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), agi asemmam (At Ubahti), agiy (Ait Waryager), agi (Temsaman, Ait Warain). Curded milk is called in Arabic rayib or raib; and in Berber ikkil (Ait Sadden), ekkir (Ait Yusi), aklil (Ait Warain), attsil (At Ubahti), assir (Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

[297] Fresh butter is called in Arabic zebda; and in Berber tudit (Amanuz), tamudit (Igliwa), udi (Ait Warain), tlussi (At Ubahti), drussi (Ait Waryager), trussi (Temsaman). Salt butter is called in Arabic smen; and in Berber udi (Amanuz, Igliwa, Aglu, Ait Warain), ddhen (At Ubahti, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

252 [298] The Ait Waryager hang a dead hoopoe over the place where they are going to make butter, and they also burn its body underneath the aqasror, or earthenware vessel in which they make their butter, and fumigate it with the smoke, leaving the head of the bird hanging, as said before.

852 goat with the assistance of his wife; but if he does not know how to
553 slaughter an animal in the proper manner, the ceremony is performed by the fqi of the village. The meat of the animal is served at the feast which is given on this occasion, the scribes being entertained in the mosque, the other men outside the house, where they amuse themselves with shooting at targets, and the women inside the house. The liver is eaten by the members of the household, the head is given to the midwife, and the skin is sold. I was told that if this sacrifice were not made the child would die. The mother must present some money to the schoolboys of the village to induce the fqi to give them a holiday. On the previous day the nearest relatives brought boiled meat, bread, and butter as presents to the parents.

853 [401] It is a widespread belief that if a pregnant woman suckles a child the suckling will get an illness called la-gyel (l-gyel)— which literally means "the sucking of a pregnant woman", —from which many children die in Morocco (Tangier, Fez, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

755 [404] Among theAit Waryager women take their sick children to a mother of triplets, who cures the child by making cuts on its head and chest and the sides of its body, so that blood issues, and by pricking the top of its head with a red-hot oleander twig.

551 The name of the child is in certain cases fixed by custom. If a son is born after his father's death he is named after the father; this is a very general and stringent rule. Moreover, if a saint has been invoked by the parents to help them to a son, the latter is in most cases called by the name of the saint, who is then supposed to become his protector.

The first-born son is very frequently called Muhammed, and in many parts of the country invariably so, unless he has been born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being; but even in the latter case it is in some places the custom to give him that name (Demnat, Ait Waryager).

In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Muhammed. This is a very widespread practice; and it is believed that if the son were called after a living father whose name is not Muhammed, either the father or the son would soon die (Tangier, Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Waryager).

[405] Among the Ait Waryager it seems to be the rule that if a man has more than one wife the eldest son of each wife is named Muhammed.

825 remove the tent on the following morning, because then they know that the snake is the master of the place and does not want them to remain there. The Shloh of Aglu call a snake found in their granary bab lmakan, the Rifians of the Ait Waryager bab umhan, both expressions being equivalent to the Arabic mul le-mkan.

[349] Among the Ait Waryager a snake which is seen on the rafters is driven away by shooting or by the burning of the horn of a goat, the smoke of which is supposed to put it to flight.

[787] [353] If you see a snake in the morning you will succeed in your business—Sabbah 'al l-haiya hajt u maqdiya (Hiaina; Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, Igliwa).

825 852 [354] There are families that, when a child is born, have to procure from some shereef belonging to the so-called surfa [355] t- Teida (among the Bni'Aros), of Mulai 'Abdsslam's family, a live scorpion, which then, enclosed in a piece of bamboo, is hung round the neck of the infant, because otherwise he would become ill or die; it is left on the child until he is able to walk and begins to speak, after which it is deposited at a shrine (Tangier). The Ait Waryager hang a live scorpion enclosed in a piece of bamboo round the neck of a sick child.

825 [752] [824] In other tribes also the scorpion is killed and rubbed on the wound caused by it (Ait Sadden, Ait Warain, Temsaman); and in Andjra [356] the wound is then cauterised with the end of a bamboo which has been set alight. The Ait Waryager apply to the wound a hot compress of bran of wheat soaked in water.

[854] [357] Pounded red ants mixed with milk are given to little children when they cry at night (Tangier), and a child who is in the habit of making water in bed is made to eat a little earth from an ant-hill and then to urinate on the hill (Ait Waryager).

[787] [359] Among the Ait Waryager a moth (dabassart) fluttering about a light is considered a good omen if it is white or red, but the reverse if it is black; in any case, however, the person who sees it would say, "If you bring with you good leave it here, if you bring with you evil take it away with you".

[361] An animal should not be killed unless it is either harmful or allowed to be eaten or otherwise useful to man or killed in hunting.

262 264 [362] When eggs are to be used as food it is in Morocco the custom for the person who breaks them to say, "In the name of God", or,

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *c*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a, d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

627 representative), while among the Shluh Berbers of the Western Atlas
171 and among the Rgaybat Bedouins of the Western Sahara, women can be
562 their own ukilat (fem. pl. of ukil), although they cannot represent other women, as I once saw in Ibuqquyen (West-Central Rif)[66]...Rifian
562 [574] women may visit their families whenever they want to, and, in general, if Berber women are not given the same treatment and value as men are, they do, nonetheless, have certain advantages which derive from
[443] their status as minors.....In the Rif, women's markets are an example of this: they are meeting places completely free from men, where transactions take place, where brides are looked for, where amulets are bought and where news of the day is heard and spread. But a
[576] woman in the Rif, if she passes a man on a path, must always give him the right of way; she greets him first, lets him have the right of
855 way, and continues on the lower part of the path....Rifian women love their children.

E) Property (fragmentary notes):

432 [623] In the buying and selling of individual property, the jma'th (used here in the sense of council) did not intervene; the only parties concerned were the buyer, the seller, two 'udul (notaries public) and the qadi, the latter three individuals having to draw up and sign the necessary document. Even in the case of jma'th property[67], the jma'th did not intervene; once again, the 'udul drew up the document
427 623 in question....In the event of renting land, in which a document is not needed, the petition is handed to the village mqaddim (headman)
426 686 who convokes the jma'th and agrees to the conditions. The same applies in case of mortgages....In case the petitioner does not fulfill his
627 623

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49 A], and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[443] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The
[574] Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

A, [This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

231

In the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Amart,
Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Targuist, and Bokoya, and in the western maritime tribes, [556]
horses are owned only by very wealthy and influential men, who buy them in the lowlands, keeping them more for display than for any other purpose. In the Senhaja Sghir and the Ghomara horses are very seldom encountered; in fact none were owned in Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Seddath, Beni Khennus, or Ktama at the time of the Spanish conquest. The sedentary peoples who own horses keep them in the courtyards of their houses and take excellent care of them; without exception the animals are fat, well fed, and not overworked.

Donkeys are found throughout the region, more particularly in the lowlands. They are of a small hardy breed. During the war the Riffians stole many large Spanish jackasses from the military encampments to increase the size of their own animals. In the high mountains of the central Rif and Senhaja, even donkeys are none too frequently encountered. They are used for transport, riding, threshing, and the operation of olive-grinders. They also are kept in the courtyards of the houses at night and are fed on barley and straw.

Mules are more common than either horses or donkeys. For the most part, the breeding of horses, donkeys, and mules is carried on in the lowlands, where the animals are bought by the mountain people. Mules are more highly prized than either of their parental stocks, since they can carry a much heavier load than donkeys and can navigate the steep trails and passes of the mountains better than horses. They are also used for threshing and for the operation of olive-grinders.

Camels are owned only by the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi. Of the usual dromedary type, they are used wholly for the transport of goods and are only exceptionally ridden.

Sheep are kept principally by the nomadic tribes, and to a lesser extent by the lowland tribes of the eastern Rif. They are found only in the southern part of Gzennaya and are seldom raised in the northern section of that tribe. They are likewise absent from the southern Beni Urriaghel area and are rare in the mountains of the western Beni Tuzin. In Beni Amart and Targuist, on account of the flat plateau-like nature of the territory, sheep are fairly numerous. Throughout the Senhaja Sghir and Ghomara they are practically unknown, and of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja tribes only those on the southwestern extremity own them in any quantity.

Goats, on the other hand, have an opposite distribution. Although they are known and kept everywhere, their numbers increase with the altitude. On the lowlands the sheep are more numerous. In tribes on higher levels, such as Temsaman, the numbers are about even, and in the mountain nucleus at the headwaters of the Nekor and in the Senhaja Sghir the goats hold undisputed sway, for they are better able to withstand cold and to climb about mountain crags. The breeding of sheep, on the other hand, where feasible, is more lucrative than that of goats. This distribution does not, however, indicate the priority of goats over sheep in the Rif (even though this may well be the case), since the environmental factor is, in this particular instance, the governing one.

Sheep and goats are pastured by small boys, usually the sons of the owners, who amuse [857]
themselves by shooting with flintlock guns at pigeons, grouse, and small quadrupeds. Sheepfolds consisting of rough stone enclosures are used at night in stormy weather, and in winter the flocks are usually kept in the courtyard when the weather forbids their presence outside. The purchasing or raising of sheep or goats among the sedentary tribes depends largely upon the presence of sons of proper age to tend them, and the animals are usually sold when the sons have grown too old. In Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa this restriction does

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember [261] [272] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-871 754 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 857 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect" — alam n-nbi waqaf, —that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] 42--Dhwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in
[233] error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither
[851] a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect
[196] to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The
[651] most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time
[691] provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for
[171] either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

695 action for public demerit in the "Big Ones" (imqqranen)[42]. The oath
[171] formula, haqq dil-baraka, is distinct from the Arabic formula, although oaths are as important among Arabs as among Rifians[43]. The "Little Ones" (imzzyanen, or minors) do not believe in this nor in anything else, but nevertheless they follow the example of their peers and try to limit themselves to abiding by the decisions and keeping the conventions, although they are usually not the same in both categories.... Proof of this is that if a stranger has to swear, he is obliged to do so in places fixed by local tradition[44].

[562] Men swear during the day, while women swear at night[45]. Jews
[563] were forced to swear by going through the market with packsaddles on their backs[46].

G) Penalties: (fragmentary):

681 Berber law does not admit the penalties which Islamic law does
[171] in order to punish crimes (sic)....Rifian law excludes corporal punish-
[697] ment and deprivation of liberty; there are no jails[49]A, and in this
562 respect a man's dignity cannot be degraded. On the other hand, it
[855] tolerates maltreatment of women, but because of their status as minors,
[861] being in perpetual childhood, and incapable of taking care of themselves; in the same way, the Rifians do not hesitate to beat their children, if necessary, in order to oblige them to follow "the right
[443] path"[48]. Berber women have all the freedom, in truth, that they desire,
[574] and in the Rif they even have their own markets and feasts[49]. The Rifian male does all he can to protect this feminine society of minors, and he does not enter at all within the limits of his women's social activities.

A,[This should read "47" not "49"--Analyst]

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif mx3

173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East
Rif mx3

623 minor points of difference, the men let them arbitrate and set fines
867 of a few eggs or loaves of bread, for their own consumption. Having thus learned the routine of sitting in judgment and also some of the oral qanūns, the boys are ready for the serious business ahead.

623 Once a week, when the nearest market meets, the older men of
627 the neighboring villages, corresponding to the "brains" of the Kabyles, meet in a house just off the grounds, or in good weather, under a tree. Over glasses of tea they settle any disputes which may
628 come up in the market or which litigants may bring them. When
619 more serious matters arise, such as the trouble between the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmut, the councilors of a single geographical unit, consisting of several clans, come together. They must be fed, and it is in the interest of the feuding parties to make a speedy settlement, with fines and blood money. Fines go to the councilors, who eat part and divide the rest. Blood money goes to the kin of the wounded or dead. If these councilors cannot settle the problem, the "fifth" is invoked—the whole series of little valleys and watershed cantons which forms the next largest political unit. Some tribes have only one "fifth," but Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel each have five. If the "fifth" cannot settle the dispute, and the bloodshed spreads, then all the fifths join in. If the whole tribe is embroiled, the councilors of another tribe may invade and catch them unawares, to their great loss. The longer the fight remains unsettled the greater the number of participants, each new and larger body trying to capitalize on the confusion of the partisans.

It can be readily seen that few troubles reach intertribal proportions. This device of government in depth works. Feuding keeps the population down, and the fear of interference keeps the feud isolated and within bounds. Chronic troublemakers, and those who break the rules, must go. On the other hand when some outside force threatens more than a small portion of the Rif, the mechanism is at hand for all to unite, forcefully if ephemerally. The elders of one clan perform a compulsion of shame on another, thus forcing them into alliance, called *lif*, as elsewhere. As the danger grows, so
643 does the lif. In this manner 'Abd el-Krīm (who had been educated by
721 the Spaniards) set up a government of the whole Rif, which defeated Spain in two great battles in 1921 and 1924, and but for the use of aircraft and tanks by his enemy, might have held the French army indefinitely at bay. No sultan had ever been able to conquer this classic corner of the Land of Insolence, which is all the more remark-

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

285 415 Hamara of the Gzennaya; Bokoya; Ijaonen of Beni Amart; Beni Hadifa and Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel; Sidi Bu Daud of Temsaman; the Metalsa dwelling near Beni Mohammed, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, all the Senhaja and Ghomara, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, and the western Maritime tribes.

[314] *Wickerwork*, the third type, is called *asarow n ughanim*. Oleander switches and reeds are used, the oleander for the uprights, or warp, and the split reeds woven in and out between them. Baskets made of this material are often of great size, four to five feet in diameter and six feet in height. They are used for the transportation of grapes, figs, almonds, walnuts, and the like, and for the storage of raisins, dried figs, and dried apricots. (See plate 24.) They are to be found in Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ulad Alu ben Aissa, Ikaroen, Temjunt, Bured, all of Gzennaya, Mountain Urriaghel, Taghzuth n Tassa and Tizera n Imziwen of Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Bu Adl, Beni Koraa, and Ain Mediuna of the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Bu Shibet.

TEXTILES

286 [439] Textiles made in the Rif are confined to woolen cloths, all cotton and what little silk there is being imported.

283 [314] The first process in textile manufacture is washing the wool in a stream with the boiled roots of the plant known as *thaghigheshth*. The wool is hung up in the rafters of the house until dry, and is then carded. In the old days, cards of local manufacture, called *ikarthashen*, were employed, but today the cards used throughout the Rif are imported from Sheshawen and are of European type. The indigenous type consists of a long wooden handle about two feet in length, with a flat piece of cow's horn attached to one end. Into the horn are set two parallel rows of spikes, either wooden or brass, about the length of a human finger. The rows are set at right angles to the axis of the handle, and the spikes project from the handle at a right angle. These cards were kept in pairs, and when not in use were pushed up into the rafters, where, in old houses, a few of them may still be found.

Spinning, the next process after carding, is done in two ways:

1. The thread is suspended from a distaff, on which the rove is wound, and attached to a spindlewhorl held just off the ground. Thread spun in this way is used for warp and is called *asarau*.

2. The rove is spun on the thigh and gathered into a pot below. This thread is used for weft and is called *amshin*.

286 Weaving, the final process of textile manufacture, is done on two entirely different kinds of loom under different circumstances. The more primitive is the *azta*, an upright two-bar loom with a stick heddle and a wooden comb for battening the warp. The operation of the *azta* is entirely in the hands of women. A girl who does not know how to weave on the *azta* has a poor chance of marriage, and consequently girls learn this art at an early age. Parties are held for the teaching of it; a girl who is not expert invites a number of skilled weavers, who go to her house, eat, and instruct her. The cloth produced by the *azta* is called *tadsha* and is used for women's clothes, men's sleeveless shirts worn in winter, and blankets. It is generally white, sometimes with red horizontal bands or stripes. The *azta* is employed throughout the region under consideration, except in the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 872 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Kofan. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 794 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 574 431 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Sekau* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

● 871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[212 789] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolba*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One of the principal occupations of the students consists in copying the books of the preceptor, since it is impossible to buy books, and the only way to accumulate a library is to copy it off by hand. In order to get a greater variety of books students often travel from *canton* to *canton* through many tribes.

Some of the books are in Arabic and some in Berber, not necessarily of Riffian dialect. Many are in the dialect of the Sous. Most of the books deal with magic and religious problems, but a few of them deal with history and geography. There are also books written in a numerical code, called *el ughabari*, which the students use as a secret means of communication. There are many different kinds of *el ughabari*, and many different codes, but all are based on numbers. Another system is to use a set word for each letter in the alphabet, and to spell out the message, a word for a letter. This system is used in speech as well as in writing, and has the disadvantage of being very lengthy and tedious. It is called *er unsas*; students use it when they want to say something uncomplimentary about someone present.

Students travel from mosque to mosque in order to absorb the learning of different preceptors who have specialized in different subjects. To obtain what is considered a well-rounded education a student must thus fulfill a considerable itinerary. Some preceptors are popular and draw crowds of students from all over the Rif, others teach the local students only.

Wandering or visiting students are fed by the people of the *canton* in which the mosque is situated. Families send food every day to the mosque. Goats are often sacrificed in cantonal mosques containing saintly remains, and the students and their preceptor take half the meat, giving the warden the other half.

There is no fixed time for the completion of studies in the cantonal mosque. When a student is satisfied with his state of erudition, feels that his share of labor is needed by his family, or wishes to marry, he simply stops going to the mosque and spends his time farming instead. Most students stop when they get married; those who continue after marriage do so with the intention of adopting a professional career. Some prefer the indolent, wandering life of the student to the restrictions imposed upon them by marriage, and roam about, living off the land, until they are old. In most cases the latter type of student goes sooner or later to the Jebala and affiliates himself with some religious brotherhood.

Besides being fed by the *canton* in which they study, the students earn money by tailoring and embroidering jellabas, shirts, trousers, and other garments. Ex-students usually embroider their wives' garments for them. They also earn money by chanting from the Koran at funerals and weddings. They are immune from physical violence, and can pass from tribe to tribe with impunity, no matter what the state of affairs may be, except during those periods when the tribal council fails to meet and all law has gone from the land.

A student who aspires to become a *kadhi*, or "judge," must attend either the mosque of Sidi Bu Daud in Temsaman, that of the Beni Mejrau in Beni Zerwal, the university at Tangier, or the Kairawiin university at Fez. At the Kairawiin the student enters the secular, not the religious, college.

Whichever of these institutions the student attends, he studies law and related subjects until he has qualified himself as a judge and has obtained a certicate to that effect from the head of the institution. Formerly very few Riffians studied in Fez, but in recent years the number has been increasing.

1: Coon) E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

871
522

Riffian students deport themselves more or less in conformity with Riffian ideas of morality and decorum. They enjoy practical joking and general jollification, but do not indulge in the hashish smoking and sodomy practiced by students from the Jebala, who bring with them boys ostensibly serving as musical apprentices. Before European occupation, these western students did not meet with a warm reception in the Rif. They were frequently refused entrance to some districts. In others, so many jokes were played upon them that they left hurriedly and never returned.

On one occasion, Jebalan students entered the mosque in a *canton* of the Gsennaya, leaving outside a mule which they had brought with them. They asked for food, and ate more than was thought necessary by the men who provided it. When they asked for more food, one of the men went outside, cut a slice of meat from the mule's rump, cooked it, and then brought it in. The students ate it. One of them, going outside to feed the mule, found its condition, whereupon the students left immediately, and few of their type have come there since.

Since European occupation, the Riffians have been prevented from excluding the students of the Jebala by such rigorous means. At present many of these undesirables are found in the Rif, to the consternation of the powerless inhabitants, who fear that they will spread their vicious practices among the younger generation.

231 sheep, the shepherd takes his knife and puts it between his teeth; then the jackal will be no more able to bite the sheep than he himself is able to bite the knife (Andjra).

871 [600] Some schoolboy customs may also be mentioned in this connection. In order to learn their lessons more easily or to remember [261] what they have learned the boys eat before breakfast potter's earth [272] (sansal), which is supposed to produce these effects because they are in the habit of rubbing their writing-boards with it, after washing them, to make them white and clean (Tangier, Ait Waryager); or they drink the water with which they have washed the writing-boards, or knock the latter against their foreheads (Fez). The schoolboys sometimes steal the rope with which they are beaten by the fqi and throw it into a well, so as to cool the temper of the fqi as the water cools the rope (Ulad Bu'aziz); but if a boy steals the schoolmaster's whip he will become indocile (Ait Waryager). Schoolboys, however, are up to more [601] serious mischief. If the father or mother of a new-871 born child refuses to pay the schoolmaster money to give them a 754 holiday, they take a cruel revenge. They dig a little grave at the door of the house or at the entrance of the yard and bury in it an egg which they have stolen from the mother, reciting over it a chapter of the Koran as at an ordinary funeral; and it is believed that when the mother walks over the "grave" her child will die and she will ever after have an effusion of blood from her genitals (Andjra). Or the boys go to the entrance of the yard, break there a pen, and make "the reversed fatha" over the pieces with a view to killing the child (Ait Waryager).

789 Children's games are also in various cases supposed to cause events 857 which bear a certain resemblance to them. Sometimes the event is a desirable one. If children are playing with flags "the flag of the Prophet will be erect" — alam n-nbi waqaf, — that is, the Muhammadans will be powerful (Andjra, Ait Waryager). If little boys playfully ride on bamboo canes l-hair maji, "the good is coming" (Andjra), or the year will be good (Ait Waryager); it is the shiny appearance of the cane that accounts for this. In other cases children invite disaster by their plays. If they throw stones at each other there will be fighting (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

787 [603] If an animal or fowl dies at once when its throat is cut the days of its owner are numbered, whereas if it rises on its legs he will

619
613
614

The ("holy" clan of the) Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are descended from Sidi Musa bin Mshish[163], the brother of one of the "poles" of Western Islam, Sidi 'Abd al-Salam bin Mshish, who is buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Sidi Musa is buried among the Khmid(?) (unidentifiable).

The principal idea to be extracted from the foregoing is the following: around a principal nucleus consisting of Asht 'Asim, Imzdurar and Asht Marar[164], clans which are known to and recognized by all the Igzinnayen, there came over the course of time an infinite number of lineages originating from very diverse points of northern Morocco; and these lineages intermingled with the above. Their motives for so doing varied between hunger and war. They were brought to the Rif either because there was no room for them elsewhere or because the possibilities of living well there attracted them.....It is probably necessary to look for their origins in regions which are particularly barren and unproductive, such as the Khuld of Huwwara or the northern part of the Angad Plain, in the case of elements from the Aith Bu Yihyi; the Tafrata for the Ahl Rashida, the clayey hills of Mtalsa, and, in general, all the places more or less bordering the Mulwiya River, which, even if they are by no means paradises, are at least hospitable (sic)[165].

794
871
[793]

3) Qur'anic Instruction: --This is organized in exactly the same way as it is among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, and is largely beyond the control of the Administration....There is usually a school in each village, the fqih of which is paid annually and in kind by its inhabitants. Instruction is carried out almost

794 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a
871 rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an....

[872] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedi-
[873] cated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some
[829] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar
[876] and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that
103 of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never
[631] formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

871 621 793 c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

621 574 651 The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muna) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the 621 iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare 241 651 reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to [794] be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for 792 this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a 794 fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

---

14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

241 312 day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

241 735 476 At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathis* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

241 735 All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

252 471 Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he 252 is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

794

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.
3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.

[872]

4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

[778]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

travellers go to both types of mosque but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuqaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-har*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *haggus*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 100.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Gennaya it is equivalent to 16 kilos, in Beni Urriaghel 40, in Beni Tuzin 13, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 30.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas,
●872 but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the
794 great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to
574 the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed
431 "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[212 In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of
789] them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolba*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

794 871 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an....

[872] [873] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some

[829] [876] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 103 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 [631] 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

794 871 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an....

[872] [873] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some

[829] [876] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 103 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 [631] 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One of the principal occupations of the students consists in copying the books of the preceptor, since it is impossible to buy books, and the only way to accumulate a library is to copy it off by hand. In order to get a greater variety of books students often travel from *canton* to *canton* through many tribes.

Some of the books are in Arabic and some in Berber, not necessarily of Riffian dialect. Many are in the dialect of the Sous. Most of the books deal with magic and religious problems, but a few of them deal with history and geography. There are also books written in a numerical code, called *el ughabari*, which the students use as a secret means of communication. There are many different kinds of *el ughabari*, and many different codes, but all are based on numbers. Another system is to use a set word for each letter in the alphabet, and to spell out the message, a word for a letter. This system is used in speech as well as in writing, and has the disadvantage of being very lengthy and tedious. It is called *er unsas*; students use it when they want to say something uncomplimentary about someone present.

Students travel from mosque to mosque in order to absorb the learning of different preceptors who have specialized in different subjects. To obtain what is considered a well-rounded education a student must thus fulfill a considerable itinerary. Some preceptors are popular and draw crowds of students from all over the Rif; others teach the local students only.

Wandering or visiting students are fed by the people of the *canton* in which the mosque is situated. Families send food every day to the mosque. Goats are often sacrificed in cantonal mosques containing saintly remains, and the students and their preceptor take half the meat, giving the warden the other half.

There is no fixed time for the completion of studies in the cantonal mosque. When a student is satisfied with his state of erudition, feels that his share of labor is needed by his family, or wishes to marry, he simply stops going to the mosque and spends his time farming instead. Most students stop when they get married; those who continue after marriage do so with the intention of adopting a professional career. Some prefer the indolent, wandering life of the student to the restrictions imposed upon them by marriage, and roam about, living off the land, until they are old. In most cases the latter type of student goes sooner or later to the Jebala and affiliates himself with some religious brotherhood.

Besides being fed by the *canton* in which they study, the students earn money by tailoring and embroidering jellabas, shirts, trousers, and other garments. Ex-students usually embroider their wives' garments for them. They also earn money by chanting from the Koran at funerals and weddings. They are immune from physical violence, and can pass from tribe to tribe with impunity, no matter what the state of affairs may be, except during those periods when the tribal council fails to meet and all law has gone from the land.

A student who aspires to become a *kadhi*, or "judge," must attend either the mosque of Sidi Bu Daud in Temsaman, that of the Beni Mejrau in Beni Zerwal, the university at Tangier, or the Kairawiin university at Fez. At the Kairawiin the student enters the secular, not the religious, college.

Whichever of these institutions the student attends, he studies law and related subjects until he has qualified himself as a judge and has obtained a certicate to that effect from the head of the institution. Formerly very few Riffians studied in Fez, but in recent years the number has been increasing.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

travellers go to both types of mosque but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuḳaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-har*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *haggus*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 100.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Grennaya it is equivalent to 16 kilos, in Beni Urriaghel 40, in Beni Tusin 13, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 30.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around 872 in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the 794 great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to 574 the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed 431 "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[21a 787] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolbe*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

One of the principal occupations of the students consists in copying the books of the preceptor, since it is impossible to buy books, and the only way to accumulate a library is to copy it off by hand. In order to get a greater variety of books students often travel from *canton* to *canton* through many tribes.

Some of the books are in Arabic and some in Berber, not necessarily of Riffian dialect. Many are in the dialect of the Sous. Most of the books deal with magic and religious problems, but a few of them deal with history and geography. There are also books written in a numerical code, called *el ughabari*, which the students use as a secret means of communication. There are many different kinds of *el ughabari*, and many different codes, but all are based on numbers. Another system is to use a set word for each letter in the alphabet, and to spell out the message, a word for a letter. This system is used in speech as well as in writing, and has the disadvantage of being very lengthy and tedious. It is called *er unsas*; students use it when they want to say something uncomplimentary about someone present.

Students travel from mosque to mosque in order to absorb the learning of different preceptors who have specialized in different subjects. To obtain what is considered a well-rounded education a student must thus fulfill a considerable itinerary. Some preceptors are popular and draw crowds of students from all over the Rif; others teach the local students only.

Wandering or visiting students are fed by the people of the *canton* in which the mosque is situated. Families send food every day to the mosque. Goats are often sacrificed in cantonal mosques containing saintly remains, and the students and their preceptor take half the meat, giving the warden the other half.

There is no fixed time for the completion of studies in the cantonal mosque. When a student is satisfied with his state of erudition, feels that his share of labor is needed by his family, or wishes to marry, he simply stops going to the mosque and spends his time farming instead. Most students stop when they get married; those who continue after marriage do so with the intention of adopting a professional career. Some prefer the indolent, wandering life of the student to the restrictions imposed upon them by marriage, and roam about, living off the land, until they are old. In most cases the latter type of student goes sooner or later to the Jebala and affiliates himself with some religious brotherhood.

Besides being fed by the *canton* in which they study, the students earn money by tailoring and embroidering jellabas, shirts, trousers, and other garments. Ex-students usually embroider their wives' garments for them. They also earn money by chanting from the Koran at funerals and weddings. They are immune from physical violence, and can pass from tribe to tribe with impunity, no matter what the state of affairs may be, except during those periods when the tribal council fails to meet and all law has gone from the land.

A student who aspires to become a *kadhi*, or "judge," must attend either the mosque of Sidi Bu Daud in Temsaman, that of the Beni Mejrau in Beni Zerwal, the university at Tangier, or the Kairawiin university at Fez. At the Kairawiin the student enters the secular, not the religious, college.

Whichever of these institutions the student attends, he studies law and related subjects until he has qualified himself as a judge and has obtained a certicate to that effect from the head of the institution. Formerly very few Riffians studied in Fez, but in recent years the number has been increasing.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER X

JUDICIAL AND CLERICAL OFFICERS; LAWS GOVERNING INHERITANCE

THERE are in the Rif two classes of officials who concern themselves with judicial and clerical functions: the "clerk," or *adl* (plural *adul*[1]), and the "judge," or *kedhi*. The former is something between a town clerk and minor judge, and the latter a supreme court of appeal. Both concern themselves only with civil, never with criminal, disputes.

The clerk is a former student who specialized in the cantonal mosque in the study of law, rather than in the usual study of magic and religion: some clerks, however, indulge in magical practices on the side as an additional source of income. The clerk takes pains to keep this second profession secret, lest he be expelled from office. Most clerks spend longer than the average period at study, and attend several different mosques in the course of their preparation.

There is at least one clerk in every *bone*. Any person who is qualified by his training may set up as a clerk, but must receive the consensus of local approval before he is entrusted with enough business to make this occupation profitable. A clerk must be dignified and pious.

The clerk is often the schoolmaster of the *bone* as well. In smaller *bones* it is usually an economic necessity for one man to fulfill these two offices, consequently the terms "schoolmaster" and "clerk" have become somewhat confused. A clerk is often called schoolmaster, but a schoolmaster who is not a clerk is never called clerk.

The duties of the clerk include writing and reading letters for illiterate persons, settling controversies as to ownership of property, making out and administering wills, and drawing up documents of sale for landed property and documents of marriage and divorce. He is also called upon to slaughter animals upon ceremonial occasions.

In making out a document of marriage, the clerk writes out the names of the bride and groom, and the amount paid for the bride. He gives the paper to the bride and makes a duplicate, which he keeps. His signature renders the document valid. He similarly makes out divorce papers, which he gives to the woman, who can thus prove that she is no longer under obligation to her husband.

When the clerk makes out the document for a land sale, he takes the old document from the seller, and gives both old and new papers to the purchaser. Each time a piece of land changes hands a new paper is made out, and the present owner has in his possession all of the extant bills of sale for that piece of land. When a piece is subdivided the heir of the owner of the original piece at the time of its subdivision keeps the papers recording transfers prior to this subdivision.

When a man wishes to sell some of the land which has been in his family since time immemorial, and for which there is no paper, he informs the clerk, who advertises for any other claim to this land, either written or oral, and finding none makes a bill of sale.

[1] The usual Arab notary.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CIRCUMCISION

Despite the statement of Rohlfs to the contrary,[1] all the peoples of northern Morocco circumcise. This operation, although it may be performed at any time of the year, is usually carried out either in September, when the grapes have been picked, or in mid-winter, when it is considered that the cold will prevent infection. On account of this seasonal occurrence of the rite it is impossible to state definitely at what age it is performed. Nevertheless there is a significant difference in the ages at which it is carried out in different tribes, tribes of the central Rif usually performing it when the child is less than a year old. Three months is considered a felicitous age, but naturally the child is not always three months old at one of the favored times. Among the Arab-speaking peoples of Morocco it is usually performed at the age of seven or eight years. Circumcision is performed in early infancy in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Amart; all the Beni Urriaghel excepting Beni Hadifa, all of the Gzennaya excepting Shawia, Imsdurar, Inhanahan, and Iharshliyen, all the Senhaja Sghir, all the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja excepting Fenassa, Beni Koraa, and Rgheiwa, and all the Ghomara.

In all the rest of the region under consideration circumcision is carried out during the seventh or eighth year. It is interesting, from the point of view of comparison with other peoples, that the Arabs and Shluh circumcise at the age of seven or eight, that the Zenata, as represented by the Beni Znassen, put it off until just before marriage, and that among the Braber three separate customs are found; circumcision at seven or eight years, at the period immediately preceding marriage, and, among some groups, I have been told, failure to circumcise at all.

In regard to the person who performs the operation, here again we meet with a difference of custom. Among the central Riffian tribes the act is done by a preceptor or student who makes a specialty of this work, and who has a regular route which he follows twice a year, in September and in mid-winter. Some groups employ local preceptors; others patronize visiting ones from other tribes. Circumcision is performed by local or resident preceptors in Beni Urriaghel (with the exception of the mountain region), Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Targuist, Beni Gmil, Beni Bu Nsar, Taghzuth, Beni Hamid, Beni Beshir, all the Arabophone Senhaja, and Ghomara. It is performed by borrowed or itinerant preceptors among the mountain Urriaghlis and in Beni Amart, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, Beni Khennus, Beni Seddath, and Ktama.

The routes or spheres or influence of some of the more prominent preceptors are as follows:

Preceptor of Ajdir: Ajdir and the rest of Aith Yusuf u Ali, Beni Bu Ayesh, Beni Abdullah, and sometimes Imrabten; all these being *fifths* of the Beni Urriaghel, excepting Ajdir, which is a village therein.

Preceptor of Iherrushen (from the *bone* of Ulad Alu Fars): Iherrushen, Iherrassen, Ikhuanen, Ain el Hamara, Ihershliyen, Inhanahan, Bured, and Temjunt; these are *cantons* of the Gzennaya. He likewise officiates for all the Aith Ali and the Jebel Hammam people of the Beni Urriaghel.

Preceptor of Targuist: Targuist, Beni Mesduy, Zarket, and Beni Hadifa of the Beni Urriaghel.

[1] Gerhardt Rohlfs, *Adventures in Morocco*, p. 45.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 Preceptor of Taghsuth: Taghruth and Ktama.

•875 Preceptor of Beni Bu Nsar: Beni Bu Nsar, Beni Khennus, and Beni Seddath.

In the rest of the region in which circumcision is performed by preceptors, all are local or resident. Preceptors build up reputations for dexterity in their trade, and their clientele of families grows or shrinks like that of family doctors. There are some families of Ajdir who send for the preceptor of Iberrushen instead of employing their own local practitioner, merely out of personal preference. Hence, due to the individual nature of the choice, the routes of the itinerant ones vary, while the distribution of the local ones remains the same.

304 In other tribes an illiterate man is employed. He performs the circumcision from the secular point of view of earning his living, rather than as an act of religious or magical virtue, as in the case of the preceptor. The lay practitioner is called by the name *akovani*, which means "illiterate" but has acquired the specialized meaning of "circumcisor" as well. The *akovani* is employed by the Kebdana, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Bokoya, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, Mtiwa, Beni Bu Shibet. The Arabs of the plains normally use the *akovani*. In Fez, however, a preceptor is employed, as in the central Rif.

85-
0304 The preceptor when called to perform the operation, puts up a white flag on the roof of the house before he enters it, leaving the flag there until the operation is over and he is ready to depart. He takes eight to ten students with him, whose business it is to read the Koran aloud while he is working.

The preceptor and his students enter a special room, taking with them the boy, who has just been washed by his mother. The parents of the child, all women, and all illiterate men are excluded from the room during the operation.

The preceptor greases the foreskin and gland with butter until all is soft and pliant, puts a goat dropping inside the foreskin, which he twists around over it, and cuts off the foreskin with scissors, in such a way that the goat dropping is cut in two during the process.

Then he takes two eggs, the shells of which have been cracked and the whites of which have been drawn off, and thrusts the penis through holes in the shells into the yolks of both. It is said that this is done to cauterize the wound, and any magical significance which this action may imply is probably forgotten. After this has been done an old woman, preferably the child's grandmother, enters and picks the child up, taking him out on her back.

After the operation the preceptor and his students are given a great feast to which many guests are invited.

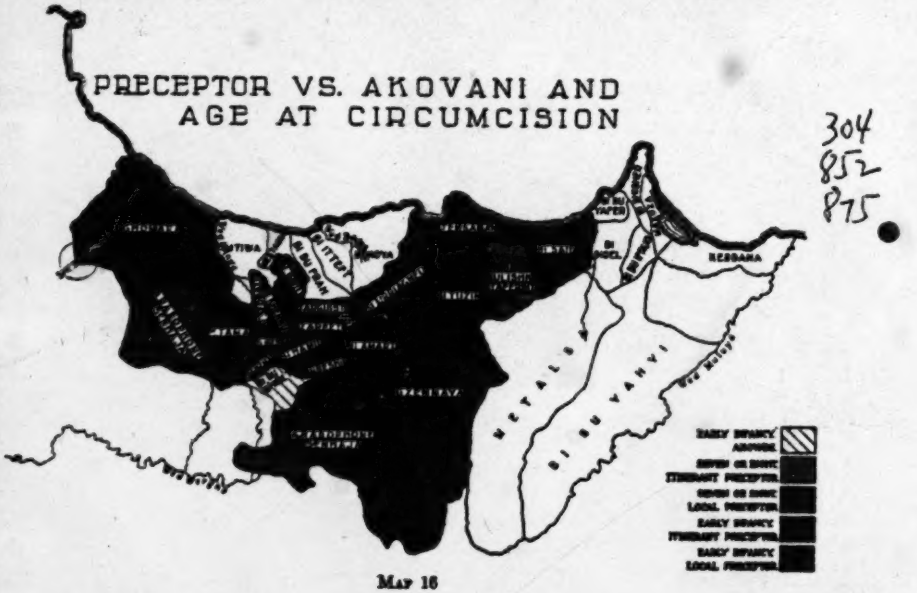
On account of the danger of infection circumcising is a dangerous practice, and the number of practitioners is few. During the hegemony of Abd el Krim, the preceptor of Ajdir once cut off the end of the gland of a child he was circumcising. If it had not been for [682] the intervention of Abd el Krim, who assessed five hundred dollars blood money, the preceptor would surely have been killed, since the child died shortly after the accident. On account of this incident many families of Ajdir call in the preceptor of Iberrushen, as has been previously noted.

304 The *akovani* is a different type of person from the preceptor. He is a rough, unlettered fellow, occupying a social position which, while not definitely degraded and certainly higher than that of blacksmiths and market-criers, is yet lower than that of the ordinary farmer. His occupation does not, however, imply Negro blood, and does not carry any social restrictions with it.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The technique of the *akovani* differs from that of the preceptor. He enters the room in which the child is sitting, without any accompanying students. The child's parents and all men except himself are excluded, but the presence of women is required. Fifteen or twenty of them sit around the room singing throughout the operation. The *akovani* proceeds in the same manner as the preceptor, until the foreskin has been removed. At this point, instead of thrusting the penis into egg-shells, he rubs it with powdered goat manure.

In the process of getting rid of the foreskin, the preceptor and the *akovani* likewise differ. The preceptor puts two eggs in an earthen bowl full of earth, and thrusts the fore-



MAP 16

skin into the earth between the eggs. He hands this to one of the students, who covers the whole with a cloth, and carrying it out into the courtyard gives it to the boy's father or paternal uncle, who takes it out secretly to an unfrequented place and buries it, bowl and all, so that it will never be found. Great care is taken to keep the location of the foreskin secret, and not even the preceptor is trusted with its disposal. The *akovani* does not employ a bowl or eggs, but gives the raw foreskin to the father or paternal uncle, who disposes of it with as great secrecy as in the case of the other technique.

In regard to payment, another difference appears between the preceptor and the *akovani*. The former considers that he is doing a charitable or virtuous work, and never demands payment. If the family is wealthy enough, the father gives him a dollar, a goat, or some article of food. If the preceptor considers the gift a strain on the family resources, he

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

304 852 875 gives it back. The *akouani*, on the other hand, depends largely upon circumcising for his livelihood, and is always paid. Among the nomads he generally receives a dollar or two; among the Galiya his fee is fixed at three dollars and a sheep.

MARRIAGE

585 The wedding rite is an act, or series of acts, of great importance in the Rif, and requires the expenditure of considerable time, effort, and money. It contains more variable elements of custom than any other single social phenomenon.

584 Before a wedding is to transpire several things must be settled: the identity of the couple, the consent of others interested, the amount of financial compensations to be made, and the date. Both the boy and the girl have considerable choice in the matter, unless their parents feel some strong compulsion dictated by political expediency. Since all women go unveiled in the Rif, and it is freely permitted for boys and girls to talk together, the children have ample opportunity to become acquainted with each other and to form preferences for particular individuals of the opposite sex.

These opportunities for conversation and observation seldom go so far as to include recognized meetings or courtships, but are usually, to the outward eye at least, confined to [836] casual encounters in the course of daily occupations. Assignations are held in the utmost secrecy through fear of shame and punishment if discovered.

582 584 By the time the boy has arrived at the age of sixteen or seventeen and the girl at fourteen or fifteen, which are the usual ages at which young people are married, they often have formed distinct preferences and have made up their minds whom they desire to marry. The situation is totally different from that of the Arabs, among whom the groom is not supposed to have seen the bride unveiled until the actual nuptial night. Although the ages given above approximate the mean in this respect, they are by no means fixed. Some boys are married at fifteen; others delay the ceremony until after they are twenty.

A serious student who intends to become a schoolmaster or clerk may not be married [805] until considerably later than the age of twenty. By the time a boy has reached the age of fifteen he has already become uncertain as to his exact age, and by the time he is twenty he cannot usually tell within three years how old he is. This renders impossible any definite statements as to the marriage age.

582 Marriages are as a rule exogamous between *veins* and endogamous within *bones*. It is considered incestuous to marry the daughter of a paternal uncle, but proper to marry the daughter of a maternal aunt or uncle or of a paternal aunt. In this way cousin marriage frequently takes place, and most of the *bones*, on account of their small size, are thoroughly inbred. Marriage between *bones* involves the alliance in war of the *bones* involved, and hence is often discouraged through fear of the whole *bone* being dragged into a struggle in which it is not personally interested. On the other hand, a *bone* which is not sure of its martial standing and general security may seek such alliances with stronger *bones*. The traditional distaste against such marriages, however, generally prevents them unless there is good reason for their occurrence. Marriage by preference is usually endogamous within the *bone*, unless two *bones* are so close together that intimate acquaintances may arise readily between the children of them. Unions dictated by the performance of a magical compulsion by one *bone* upon another are seldom refused.

794 871 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an.... [872] [873] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some [829] [876] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family....The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 103 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 [631] 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

000 40--Adultery in the Rif is almost always punished by the death of both the guilty parties, if caught in flagrante delictu. This, at any rate, is the procedure which is most favored culturally, and even if the Moroccan Government attaches a six-month or a year's jail sentence to it, many Rifians follow this path of action in such a case.

41--Ar-raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, is the term used by the Algerian Kabyles to designate blood-vengeance. The Rifians use another Arabic word, l-'adawa, Rifianized to r'adhawth, meaning "hatred, hostility".

[114] 42--Ihwara is synonymous with nubth, and here Blanco is again in
[233] error, for, in the Central Rif, taking goats to pasture is neither
[851] a communal activity, nor is it done in turn by each small boy or girl in the community, but by the children of each nuclear family on their or its own account.

[114] 43--Blanco's phrase is Es, pues, una sociedad turnante, and this
[196] notion, in my opinion, is one of its author's most significant contributions to the study of Rifian social organization. With respect to Blanco's definition of nubth, it should be stated that the lexical meaning of the word is "turn", but that in the Rif it refers to a nuclear family, or that of a widow with unmarried children. The
[651] most significant function of the nubth in a wider sense, perhaps, is that the annual tirtib tax, calculated on the basis of ownership of animals and crop-yield, worked out on this basis in each village community in a tribe. It should here be noted that the tirtib tax was officially abolished in Morocco in the summer of 1961.

[144] 44--It is maintained by both Rifians and Berbers in the Central Atlas
[691] that a man may have an unlimited number of wives at the same time provided that every fifth one is a negress. Not only is this fact considered to be sanctioned by the Shari'a, but I actually knew one Rifian qa'id (now deceased) who had 4 ordinary Rifian wives and a fifth one who was black.

[171] 45--Both widow inheritance (wife marries deceased husband's brother) and the sororate (husband marries deceased wife's sister) are standard practice in the Rif, as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world (see Coon, 1931, op. cit., and E. D. Chapple & C. S. Coon, Principles of Anthropology, New York: Holt, 1942). An outstanding example of widow inheritance is furnished by a woman I know (an informant's mother, to be exact) in the highlands of Aith Waryaghar, who married two brothers in succession (the first was killed in a bloodfeud and the second during the Rifian War of 1921-26) before finally marrying a third brother (the informant's father) and having five children by him!

[881] 46--Puberty rites, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist for
[171] either sex in the Muslim Middle East. That a boy or girl is old enough to fast during Ramadan is a tacit sign that puberty has commenced. In the Rif, at this time, boys help their fathers in the fields and girls help their mothers in the house; it is only children of pre-puberty age, of either sex, who pasture goats.

592
593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth
883 and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age
[785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time.
[584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave
885 his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage,
593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in
[591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the
[594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own.
883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and
885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council
623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he
616 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].
794
575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced
593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there
586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

581 the community at large expect various benefits. For marriage is a
585 good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight (Andjra) or at any rate join in the feast (Ulad [10] Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager), and it is bad fal if he does not do so; and the same applies to other feasts besides weddings. These beliefs may spring from a feeling that a person should not miss the opportunity to be present on a blessed or joyful occasion—it is in particular good fal if the host invites the traveller to stay over the whole occasion. But there may also be another reason for it, which suggested itself when I discussed the matter with a native informant: a gathering of happy people may have a tendency to throw off the bas, which is then floating about and liable to affect the passer-by. Some consider it bad fal to meet a party of people who are making merry (Andjra, Shawia). So also the contrary belief that it is good fal to meet a funeral (Shawia, Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman) might be explained by the tendency of the latter to attract the bas; the person who meets it will live long (Tangier).

783 Manslayers are unclean.

755 [11] Feigned stabbing by a homicide is a very widespread cure for stinging pain, in Arabic called nahsa, nogza, bab, or biban, among the Igliwa nnahst or nnogzt, among the Ait Warain tauwurt, among the Ait Waryager dauwort. In the last-mentioned tribe ashes are put on the part of the body where the pain is felt, and the homicide then pretends to stab it with his dagger seven times, every alternate time touching the flesh.

783 [12] The uncleanness of a manslayer is not merely due to the
775 blood pollution but also to his sin. Among the Rifians of the Ait
682 Waryager an ordinary manslayer is not considered unclean, nor is he blamed for his deed. They admit that murder was forbidden by the Prophet and that a murderer will go to hell; but if he says his prayers and gives alms and invites scribes to recite the Koran he is likely to get rid of his sin, and besides, a Rifian is not much afraid of hell.
884 Whatever religion may say on the matter, a man who has not taken
682 anybody's life before he is married is not considered a man. When a young fellow has for the first time killed a person he goes to the next market at the head of his family, dressed in his best clothes

and wearing a new bag (dajbirt); and he wears it not on his left side, as usual, but on his right, to announce to all the people what he has done and to show that now he is a man. This is done whether the homicide took place in revenge or not. But though ordinary homicide is admired, it is considered very bad to kill a scribe without sufficient reason because of his knowledge of the Koran, and it is also considered bad, though not in the same degree, to kill an unoffending shereef on account of his holy parentage; and if a man who has committed either of these cribes slaughters an animal, its meat will be difficult to digest. This indicates that the taboos imposed on manslayers have something to do with the moral side of the matter. And the same is obvious from the general view that it is neither sinful nor polluting to kill in war.

In other cases also wrongdoing contains magic energy productive of evil.

If the first person you meet in [13] the morning when you set out on a journey is one who does not observe his daily prayers, the best thing you can do is to turn back (Ait Waryager).

In Dukkala it is said that if a one-eyed person, a perfectly bald-headed person, and an albino meet in a boat it will not move.

The Ait Waryager say that the same will happen if a man who is blind, one who is bald, and one who has a sore under-lip meet on board a vessel.

[14] It is good fal for a man to have much hair on his chest (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager), evidently because it suggests strength; such hair is called s-sa'r de s-sbo'a, or "lion's hair".

[17] In Andjra, if anybody who is carrying something black meets another person, he must put down what he is carrying while the other one is passing; otherwise the latter will not pass at all but turn back, lest he should have some misfortune on that day. A similar custom prevails among the Shloh of Aglu and Glawi and among the Rifians of the Ait Waryager; the person who is carrying the black object says when he puts it down, Hasak, or if he addresses more than one person, Hasakum, "With your permission", to which the answer is, 'Azk allah (in Rifian 'azzek allah), or if the person to whom it is said is a woman, 'Azkem allah, corresponding to our "pray".

[18] There are other cases in which people make use of the colour black for their own benefit. It is used as a charm against the evil eye,

592
593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth
883 and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age
[785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time.
[584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave
885 his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage,
593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in
[591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the
[594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own.
883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and
885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council
623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he
616
794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].
575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced
593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there
586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

623 5) Councils and Tribesmen of Authority: All units under consideration up to now (the three "family" ones and the three "social" ones) have their relationships regulated by councils, which, although bearing different names, have similar and analogous functions. The council of the jma'th must undergo no formality in order to convene, and it has no president, although at times the agreements which it comes to are drawn up in writing. Any male (above the age of puberty) [885] [613] may attend and take part in its deliberations; but the personification of it is embodied in the iziddjifen or headmen of each dharfiqth, and these men together form an authentic and permanent council. This council above all legislates what the jma'th deems necessary, in conformance with custom and its agreements. The assembly itself or its representatives chosen for each particular case[86] make and execute all decisions. It is thus a legislative, consultative and executive body[87]. Its attributes, nonetheless, are constantly limited on the [614] one hand by family law, in the form of reprisals, and on the other by the power of the clan, which tries to keep it from prejudicing neighboring jma'th-s or the clan itself in its external politics. Thus, what it has is an administrative autonomy.

623 This council(s) elects its functionaries, the best defined of 793 which is the fqih of the mosque, who is in charge of leading the 212 prayer and of burial services; he is administrator of mosque property (habus)[88], as well as jural notary and council clerk and secretary. In large councils, however, these jobs may be handled by more or less ignorant tulba (sing. talib)[89], who pompously attribute to themselves 600 the qualifications of qadis. The fqih attended to the resources of the

793 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property
794 owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his
465 services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is
789 not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in
791 Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif
754 society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his
[793] knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are
[799] embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female
754 witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed
791 on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches
562 although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are
[888] universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

754 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical tech-
791 niques. The fqih dispersees charms and spells by writing passages
789 from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qual-
793 ities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood
[443] from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their